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SOURCES

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1985

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FRENCH COURT DANCE IN ENGLAND, 1706-1740:

A STUDY OF THE SOURCES

by

CAROL MARSH

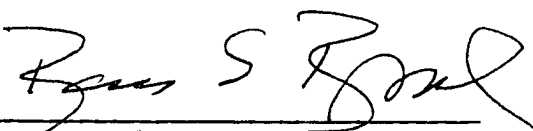
A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Music in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

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INTRODUCTION

In the second half of the seventeenth century a new style of dance emerged at the court of Louis XIV. This so-called "French noble style" was codified by the members of the Académie Royale de Danse, and was subsequently disseminated throughout Europe by dancing masters who had studied in Paris. A member of the Académie, Pierre Beauchamp, invented a notation system in the 1680's which enabled dances to be recorded and transmitted. Notated choreographies were first published in Paris in 1700, and a number of dances are also preserved in manuscript; more than 320 dances survive. The majority of these are dances à deux, ballroom dances performed by one couple at a time which were choreographed to a specific piece of music. Such dances were performed at formal court balls as well as on other occasions, and required considerable technique to achieve the requisite air of effortlessness. And since new collections of danse à deux were published every year, dancing masters were assured of a steady supply of pupils.¹

This notation was also used to preserve a number of more difficult choreographies performed by professional dancers (who are often identified on the first page of the dance). These dances, usually set to music from contemporary French operas, are often described as "theatrical," although in practice such a distinction is not always clear-cut.

1. For further information about the role of dance at the French court see Wendy Hilton, Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style 1690-1725 (Princeton: Princeton Book Co., 1981), chapter 1.

The influence of Louis XIV's court on other European courts was as strong in dance as in the other arts. French dancing masters, or dancing masters trained in France, were employed at courts from Madrid to St. Petersburg. In England the French style of dance was firmly established with the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660. In spite of (or perhaps because of) this early start, by the eighteenth century England had developed a tradition of court dance which in many respects was independent from France. This is seen most clearly in the dance publications: over seventy-five choreographies were published in London in the first four decades of the eighteenth century. (There are almost no published dances from other European countries, and very few manuscript ones.) A number of dance treatises were also published in England, most of them translations of French works. However, one work, Kellom Tomlinson's The Art of Dancing (1735), is one of the very few original dance treatises not written by a Frenchman. (The other major non-French treatise, Gottfried Taubert's Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister (1717), is in part a translation of Feuillet's Chorégraphie (1700) but with a great deal of additional material.)² Most of the notated choreographies published in England are dances à deux. The exception, a collection of more difficult solo and duet dances c1725, is modeled on collections of French theatrical dances.

Two other types of dancing co-existed in England along with the French noble style: country dances and "grotesque" or character dances. The English country dance was performed by many couples at once, and had no prescribed order of steps. By the 1680's country dances had lost

2. See Angelika Gerbes, Gottfried Taubert on Social and Theatrical Dance of the Early Eighteenth Century (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1972; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 73-2001).

their rustic associations, and were very much a part of court balls and public assemblies. The term "grotesque dancing" was used by the 18th-century dancer John Weaver to describe such diverse elements as pantomime, commedia dell'arte, and character dancing (in which the dancer, by means of a costume and appropriate gestures, assumed the identity of, for example, a French peasant or a Dutch fisherman).³ Notated examples of this kind of dancing are almost non-existent, and the brief verbal descriptions which do survive are not sufficient for any kind of authoritative reconstruction or analysis.

Current State of Research

The importance of dance in the music of the early eighteenth century has long been recognized by musicologists and performing musicians alike. Recent studies by James Anthony,⁴ Meredith Ellis Little,⁵ and others have demonstrated the extent to which Baroque dance and music are interrelated. Yet many questions about the precise nature of this relationship remain to be answered. Anne Witherell's recent dissertation on nine court dances by the French dancing master Pécour is the first study which explores this relationship in depth; her

-
3. See the introductory essay by Emmett L. Avery in Part 2, vol. 1 of The London Stage 1660-1800. A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960).
 4. James Anthony, French Baroque Music from Beaujoveulx to Rameau, rev. ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978).
 5. Meredith Ellis, The Dances of J.B. Lully (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1967; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 67-17418). See also her articles in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980): "Bourée," "Forlana," "Gavotte," "Gigue," "Loure," "Minuet," "Passepied," "Rigaudon." Her forthcoming inventory of French court dance, to be published by Broude Brothers, will be an indispensable tool for researchers in this field.

thoughtful analyses and insights into these dances are a worthy model for future studies of French and English dance.⁶ An interesting study by Margaret Mullins, "Music and Dance in the French Baroque," focuses on the theatrical entrees of Pécour.⁷ Although the article contains some factual and analytical errors, the approach is valid and worth applying to other dance types.

The greatest influence on future studies of Baroque dance and music will undoubtedly come from Wendy Hilton's masterful book, Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style 1690-1725.⁸ Hilton's purpose is to define and explain the technique of the French "noble style" as it was described by the French dancing master Pierre Rameau. Other sources are used at times, particularly when Rameau is unclear, but the goal of the book is to arrive at a synthesis of this style for use in present-day reconstructions of the dances. For this reason questions of historical precedence or of differences in national style are for the most part not addressed. My corrections and differences of interpretation are usually in these two areas, and should not be interpreted as detracting from the value of Hilton's work.

This study should also prove useful to the disciplines of theatre and social history. Scholars in both fields tend to slight the importance of dance, no doubt because so little reliable information is available. On the other hand, when information about dance is included

6. Anne Witherell, Louis Pécour's 1700 Recueil de dances (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1983). My review of this work will appear in The Eighteenth Century: A Current Bibliography (forthcoming).

7. Studies in Music XII (1978), 45-67.

8. See footnote 1.

it is often marred by inaccuracies.⁹

Purpose and Scope of this Study

Although the French style of dance was taught and practiced throughout Europe, only in England do we find a substantial corpus of notated dances as well as treatises. This body of material has never been systematically studied, and to do this is the purpose of this dissertation, thus laying the groundwork for more detailed studies in the future. I have limited this study to the period 1706-1740, the dates of the earliest and latest publications of notated dances in England, although the great majority of these dances appeared by about 1725. The term "French court dance" in the title is used in the broadest sense, encompassing both danse à deux and "theatrical" dances in the noble style. I have excluded from consideration the other two categories of English dance mentioned above, namely country dances and character or "grotesque" dances, as well as the theoretical works of John Weaver.¹⁰

Two chapters are devoted to dance treatises. English translations from the French are compared with the originals to see what, if any, differences occur. An original English treatise (Tomlinson's 1735 The

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9. See, for example, A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800, 8 vols. to date, ed. Philip Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-). The project has been praised by theatre historians for its substantial essays on major figures in London theatre history, but the articles on dancers and dancing masters are very uneven and contain many factual errors.
10. A dissertation on the English country dance is being completed by William MacPherson at Harvard University, while Richard Ralph's study and edition of Weaver's works is soon to be published by A. Pischl.

Art of Dancing) is studied in detail as a source for information about the English style of dance, particularly as it differs from the French style.

My study of the dances themselves concentrates primarily on questions of dating and publication history, an area in which almost no work has been done. (The RISM entries, particularly for the dances of Isaac, are inaccurate and misleading.) Since many of Isaac's dances appear to have been composed a number of years before they were published, any considerations of stylistic development cannot be attempted until more accurate dates are established.

The sources of the music for these dances is another previously unexplored area. Based on the concordances I have been able to locate, it appears that music for court dances in England was almost always newly composed, whereas in France some court dance tunes have been identified as coming from contemporary operas. (However, more work on the French dance music is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn.)

In an introductory chapter I discuss the dancing masters active in London during this period, listing the contributions of each one (treatises, dances, other publications). Although some of these men are as significant to dance in England as Purcell and Handel are to the music of the period; very little reliable biographical information about them is available.

The existence of so much English dance material raises the question of whether there is an "English style" of dance and, if so, how it differs from the French style. Although a definitive answer to this question is not yet possible (in part because the French style has not yet been adequately defined), I have been able to identify several

characteristics which seem to be typical of English dances. These are presented in the penultimate chapter of this study. A concluding chapter suggests directions for further research.

I have assumed that readers will have a passing familiarity with the terminology of French dance. Those without this knowledge should consult Hilton's study mentioned above. Except in direct quotes spellings of names, dance titles and dance steps have been standardized. When discussing English dances I use the anglicized spelling of the dance type (e.g., rigadcon instead of rigaudon); likewise, I have followed contemporary English practice and omitted the diacritical marks in names such as L'Abbe and Roussau.

Chapter I

ENGLISH COURT DANCE AND DANCING MASTERS, 1706-1740

The activities of the dancing masters provide much important information about court dance in England. These versatile men not only functioned as teachers but assumed many other roles: as choreographers, performers, notators, theorists, translators, publishers, or even composers. A recent study of the English dancing master by Jennifer Martin concentrates on their activities in the spheres of court, society, and theatre.¹ Martin's concern is with the activities of the dancing masters rather than with their writings or choreographies. She confines her study to those dancing masters "who are known to have taught dancing and/or choreographed," pointing out that the term "master" meant someone who had attained excellence in his field, and was not necessarily a teacher.² But since she was apparently unaware of a number of sources which provide evidence of teaching or choreographing activity, her list of dancing masters is too limited. My intent in this chapter is to show how extensive the dancing master "industry" had become in the early eighteenth century, as well as to provide documentary evidence for the activities of the more important of these men.

1. Jennifer Kaye Lowe Martin, The English Dancing Master, 1660-1728: His Role at Court, in Society and on the Public Stage (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 77-18074). Although much useful information is contained in this study, the author's unfamiliarity with the primary sources has led to a number of errors.

2. Ibid., 7-8.

The large number of dancing masters active in London at the end of the seventeenth century was commented on by the satirist Tom Brown:

Dancing-masters are also as numerous in every street as posts in Cheapside, there is no walking but we stumble upon them; they are held here but in very slight esteem, for the gentry call them leg-livers, and the mob, for their nimbleness, call them the devil's grasshoppers.³

The size of this group and the extent of their activities are another reflection of the great increase in leisure pursuits among the nobility and gentry in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London.⁴ While Plumb does not mention dance in his study, it is clear that the same factors were operating here as in the leisure activities he does discuss. These factors include the conscious imitation of the social mores of the court, an economic structure which encouraged mobility, and a tremendous increase in publications which promoted leisure activities.

Information about these dancing masters, while not abundantly available, can be pieced together from a variety of sources. In addition to references in contemporary literature (often satirical), the names of dancing masters can be found in dance publications of various sorts, in lists of subscribers to these dance publications, in newspaper advertisements, diaries, and payment records. The information from these sources has been compiled in Appendix A, a list of more than 150 dancing masters who were active in London or the provinces during

3. Tom Brown, "Letters from the Dead to the Living: From Henry Purcell to Dr. Blow," in Arthur L. Hayward, ed., Amusements Serious and Comical (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1927), 432-3.

4. For other examples of this phenomenon see J.H. Plumb, The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-century England (Reading, England: University of Reading, 1973).

the period 1706-1740.⁵

Publications and Subscribers' Lists

A number of theoretical works on dance, both original and translations from French sources, were published in England between 1706 and 1738.⁶ The prefaces and dedications to these publications often include biographical information about the more prominent dancing masters of the period, and even the body of the text sometimes contains important information not found elsewhere. Also from the same time period there are more than eighty-five dances written in the Beauchamp/Feuillet system of notation.⁷ A number of these dances or collections of dances also include information about dancing masters.

Six dance treatises or collections of dances published in London between 1706 and 1735 include subscribers' lists, in all but one instance composed entirely of dancing masters. These lists are of great interest for several reasons: they provide the names of many dancing masters for whom no other documentation exists, and they help date the careers of a number of dancing masters. Furthermore, in the case of the

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5. Very little reliable information about English dancing masters has been published. Eight volumes (A to Keyse) of the Biographical Dictionary have appeared to date. However, as I mentioned in the Introduction, the articles on dancers and dancing masters are uneven. It should also be noted that the majority of dancing masters in my Appendix A had no documented theatrical connections, and are therefore not included in the Biographical Dictionary.
 6. The titles of these works are listed in the section of the bibliography devoted to primary sources. A number of them will be studied in more detail in subsequent chapters.
 7. This notation system, apparently invented by Pierre Beauchamp in the late seventeenth century and first published by Raoul Auger Feuillet in his Chorégraphie (1700), was used throughout Europe. More than 320 dances have been preserved in this notation.

L'Abbe collection the presence of ten illustrious continental dancing masters' names on the list attests to the importance of this work.

The six publications, with the number of "Dancing-Master Subscribers" in each, are listed below:

1706	Weaver (trans.), <u>Orchesography</u>	39 names
1706	Isaac, <u>A Collection of Ball Dances</u>	47 names
1711	Pemberton, <u>An Essay for the Further Improvement</u>	58 names
1721	Weaver, <u>Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures</u>	31 names
c1725	L'Abbe, <u>A New Collection of Dances</u>	68 names
1735	Tomlinson, <u>The Art of Dancing</u>	22 names

This is a total of 265 names, but since a number of dancing masters appear on more than one list the actual total, excluding duplications, is 142 names. The lists of dancing masters in the two 1706 collections are very similar: all of the Orchesography subscribers are included on the Collection list (with a few modified spellings and locations) and eight new names appear. Of the fifty-eight names on Pemberton's list, thirty-three are new, while twenty-five were on one or both of the 1706 lists. The five men who were listed as "Monsieur" in the 1706 lists (L'Abbe, Camille, Cottin, D'Elisle, and L'Sac) have been anglicized to "Mr." At least eleven of Pemberton's subscribers are from outside of London, including one (Mr. Evans) of Virginia.

Weaver's 1721 list of subscribers contains fourteen new names along with seventeen which had appeared on previous lists. The next such list was in the undated collection of L'Abbe dances published by Roussau. It contains thirty names which were on previous lists; twenty-six names of English dancing masters new to these lists; and twelve foreign dancing masters, most of whom had well-established reputations as dancers and/or choreographers.

Tomlinson's list is the only one to include names other than dancing masters (although Weaver's first 1706 list acknowledges the "Subscriptions of several of the Nobility and Gentry"). Exactly half of the twenty-two names on this list had appeared previously, while the other half are new.⁸

Additional information from a variety of sources will be incorporated in the following biographical sketches of the more important dancing masters active in England during the years 1706-1740. I have included in this section all those dancing masters who are represented in print in some capacity; most of them also composed dances, of which one or more examples survive.

Dancing Masters to the Royal Family

Although there is no documentation of an official court dancing master during the Restoration, both Princess Mary (1662-94) and Princess Anne (1665-1714), daughters of James II, received dancing lessons as part of their education.⁹ Anne's dancing master was Mr. Gorey, whom she called out of retirement to teach her son William.¹⁰ A contemporary reference to a Mr. Goree claims that "He had the Honour to teach eight or nine Crown'd Heads . . . during the Minority of

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8. Tomlinson's subscription list is studied in more detail in Chapter III.
9. Edward Gregg, Queen Anne (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 11. Gregg states that Anne had a harpsichord teacher and a guitar teacher as well as a dancing master, but does not cite a source for this information.
10. Hester W. Chapman, Queen Anne's Son (London: Andre Deutsch, 1954), 76.

Mr. Isaac."¹¹ Another candidate for dancing master to Mary and Anne is the actress Peggy Fryar. A London Stage entry for 28 January 1723 quotes a theatre reference to the "celebrated Peggy Fryar, aged 71," and goes on to mention that she has "played but once since the days of King Charles, and taught three Queens to Dance."¹²

Isaac

The dancing master and choreographer Isaac is one of the most important figures in English dance of the early eighteenth century, yet very little is known about his life, his nationality is in question, and we do not even know his full name. John Essex, another dancing master, wrote in 1728 that "the late Mr. Isaac, . . . had the Honour to teach and instruct our late most excellent and gracious Queen when a young Princess."¹³ Since Anne was born in 1665, Isaac could have begun teaching her as early as the 1670's which would not be inconsistent with what little we know of his career. Essex also describes Isaac as "the prime Master in England for forty Years together: He . . . was justly stiled the Court Dancing-Master."¹⁴ Because of this statement, several recent studies have referred to Isaac as court dancing master to Queen Anne (r. 1702-1714).¹⁵ However, while Isaac may have been

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11. E. Pemberton, An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing (London, 1711), dedication to Part II.
 12. The London Stage, 1660-1800. A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces, 11 vols., ed. Emmett L. Avery, William van Lennep, et al. (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960-68), Part 2, vol. II, 707.
 13. John Essex, The Dancing Master (London, 1728) xi.
 14. Ibid.
 15. Martin, English Dancing Master, passim; Susan Bindig, "Early

considered the unofficial court dancing master by virtue of his numerous dances published in honor of Queen Anne's birthday, there is no evidence that such a title existed until the reign of Anne's successor George I (r. 1715-1727). In the dedication to Isaac in John Weaver's Orchesography (1706) there is no mention of such a position. And in the 1710 edition of Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia, a kind of handbook of court officials and appointees, there is likewise no mention of a dancing master. The lack of a formal appointment for Isaac may have been due to the fact that there were no children at court for him to teach. (Queen Anne's last surviving child, Prince William, died in 1700.)

A dancer named Isaac is mentioned in connection with the masque Calisto produced at court in 1675: he is the first of several English dancers listed, and is paid £10, the other dancers (English and French) receiving £5.¹⁶ Nothing is known of Isaac prior to this, although a dancer by the name of Isaac performed in a number of ballets de cour in Paris during 1670 and 1671.¹⁷ The diarist John Evelyn's daughter Mary

Eighteenth Century English Court Dance: An Interpretation of Three Choreographies by Mr. Isaac for Queen Anne" (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1978), 10ff; Wendy Hilton, Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style 1690-1725 (Princeton: Princeton Book Co., 1981), 51. Unfortunately, the Biographical Dictionary article on Isaac relies heavily on Martin's work, and perpetuates many of her factual errors and unsupported hypotheses.

16. For a detailed account of this production see Eleanore Boswell, The Restoration Court Stage (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1932).
17. Marie Françoise Christout, Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV, 1643-72, mises en scène (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1967). As Bindig has pointed out, Jennifer Martin's statement that Isaac was an apprentice to John Ogilby in 1631 is clearly in error, since this would put his birthdate at 1617 or earlier (assuming apprenticeships

began lessons with Isaac in 1682,¹⁸ and his grandson followed suit in 1703.¹⁹ In 1684 an English dancing master by this name instructed the French court in the manner of performing country dances.²⁰

Another of Isaac's well-connected pupils was Katharine Booth (later Howard) who came to London in 1688 at the age of seventeen to study singing and to take dancing lessons.²¹ She became one of Isaac's best pupils, and danced a solo at the Birthnight Ball at court, November 4, 1689. An account of Katharine's success on this occasion was sent to her mother by Lord Delamere, a cousin. Isaac himself wrote to Mrs. Booth on January 3, 1690, thanking her for the present she sent him and describing how pleased the Princess [i.e., Anne] was with Katharine's dancing.²²

During the years 1706-1714 Isaac published a total of twenty dances, all but one of them ball dances for a couple. A number of these appear to have been composed prior to 1706, some in the 1690's or earlier. The dances were notated by several other dancing masters,

began at age fourteen). In turn, this would mean that he was at least eighty-five when Queen Anne became queen, and still composing dances in his nineties! Although such a prospect is not impossible, none of the contemporary references to Isaac make any mention of his advanced age.

18. John Evelyn, Diary, 6 vols., ed. E.S. de Beer (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), IV, 271, 423.
19. Samuel Pepys, Private Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Samuel Pepys, 1679-1703, 2 vols., ed. J.R. Tanner (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1926), II, 300.
20. Jean-Michel Guilcher, La Contredanse et les renouvellements de la danse française (Paris: Mouton, 1969), 16-17.
21. Mary Arnold-Forster, Basset Down: An Old Country House (London, Country Life Ltd., 1950), 109.
22. Both letters are reproduced in Arnold-Forster, Basset Down, 112-13.

including Weaver, De la Garde, and Pemberton. After the death of Queen Anne on 1 August 1714, Isaac continued to compose dances and teach, but his connections with the court were apparently at an end. His last two known dances, published in 1715 and 1716, are "for the Year 17 _" rather than for the monarch's birthday. On 8 July 1717 he received payment for teaching Rachel Baillie, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Grisell Baillie.²³ Isaac's death date is not known, but it may have been soon after the payment recorded above. His name does not appear on Weaver's 1721 subscribers' list; furthermore, in the second edition of Orchesography the dedication to Isaac is omitted, and while the date of this edition is uncertain, it was certainly before 1722.²⁴

L'Abbe²⁵

The French dancer Anthony L'Abbe was first brought to London in 1698 by Thomas Betterton, manager of the Lincoln's Inn Fields theater.²⁶ During this visit L'Abbe also danced at court for King William and the French Ambassador.²⁷ L'Abbe was apparently the first of what was to become a constant stream of foreign performers, and his

23. Robert Scott-Moncrieff, ed., The Household Book of Lady Grisell Baillie, 1692-1733, Publications of the Scottish History Society, New Series, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1911), 53.

24. Questions of dating of this and other sources are discussed in subsequent chapters.

25. Throughout this study I have adopted eighteenth-century English spellings of French names or terms, in which the diacritical accents are usually omitted.

26. Judith Milhous, Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695-1708 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 134.

27. A brief account of this performance is in the London Stage entry for 13 May 1698 (I, 495).

dancing seems to have made a considerable impression on the theatre-going public. The melodies for two of the dances he performed during this visit were printed at the end of a collection of country dances published in 1698, under the rubric "Spanish Entry and Sarabrand danc'd by L'Abbe"28

L'Abbe returned to England in 1700, having signed a three-year contract to dance at the Lincoln's Inn Fields theater.²⁹ On 29 December 1702 he danced at the rival Drury Lane theatre with "Isaack's scholar," and from 1703 to 1706 his name appears in connection with both theatre companies. L'Abbe's career as a choreographer may have begun soon after his arrival in England. The libretto for an undated Divertissement donne à sa Majeste Britannique à Kensington describes L'Abbe as "un des meilleurs danseurs de France nouvellement arrive en Angleterre qui a compose toute les Entrees de ce Ballet."³⁰

In an undated document included in the Lord Chamberlain's papers, L'Abbe was named "Master to Compose and Teach" at the Queen's Theatre for a salary of £60 per season.³¹ A London Stage entry for 16 August

28. The Second Part of the Dancing Master, 2nd ed. (London: John Playford, 1698). The "Spanish Entry" is from Campra's L'Europe Galant, first performed and published in Paris in 1697. A dance to this music for male solo by the French choreographer Feuillet is preserved in manuscript, but there is no way of knowing whether this is the dance which L'Abbe performed.
29. Milhous, Betterton, 134.
30. A copy of this libretto is in the library of the Royal Academy of Dance, London.
31. Allardyce Nicoll, A History of Early Eighteenth-Century Drama (Cambridge: The University Press, 1925), 277. No mention of this document appears in the London Stage.

1710 refers to a La Bee "lately arrived from the Opera at Paris"; this may mean that L'Abbe returned to France for a time, or it may refer to another dancer altogether.

L'Abbe's career as Royal Dancing Master began in late 1714 or early 1715, with the accession of George I to the throne. His appointment is better documented than was Isaac's (if indeed such an appointment existed for Isaac), perhaps because he was in charge of teaching the three young granddaughters of George I. L'Abbe's salary is listed as £240 in the 1728 edition of Magnae Britanniae Notitia, the first edition to include the household accounts of the princesses, and this salary remains fixed until at least 1755. (Handel's salary as music master to the princesses is only £200.) Like his predecessor, he published a new dance every year, usually coinciding with the birthday of one of the members of the royal family. His first dance, "The Princess Royal," was in honor of "his Majesty's Birth-Day" (May 28) and was dedicated to Anne, the King's oldest granddaughter. Another dance in the following year was also for the young princess, and included a similar dedication. An additional eleven dances survive from the years 1717-33. The titles of most of these dances (eleven of thirteen) refer to specific members of the royal family.

In the 1720's L'Abbe also published A New Collection of . . . Ball and Stage Dances, a retrospective collection of thirteen dances which date back to his years as choreographer at Drury Lane and Lincolns Inn Fields. L'Abbe's title notwithstanding, these dances are for the most part too demanding technically to be classed as "ball dances."

L'Abbe was held in high regard by his colleagues as a dancer, choreographer, and teacher. Weaver singles him out for praise in several of his publications, stating in 1706: "whoever shall see the admirable Compositions of Mons. L'Abbe in Ballet, and his Performance . . . can hope to see nothing in this Art of greater Excellence." Tomlinson dedicated his 1721 dance "Passacaille Diana" to L'Abbe.³² Essex, in 1728, offered the following assessment of L'Abbe:

MONSIEUR L'Abbe, who came from France about the Year 1700, succeeded [Isaac] at Court. He is an excellent Master, and was a great Performer when upon the Stage: Nobody gave greater Satisfaction to the Spectators than he did in his Performances. His Talent chiefly lay in the grave Movement, and he excelled all that ever appeared on the English Stage in that Character; and what more eminently makes him shine, is his excellent Instructions of those of the Royal Family whom he hath the Honour to teach, and who by their noble Presence, easy Deportment, and graceful Carriage proclaim the Merit of their Master.³³

One of L'Abbe's pupils was the dancer and notator De la Garde, who "maintained the genteel Part of Dancing upon the Stage many Years after his Master" ³⁴ L'Abbe's approbation of the second edition of Essex's Dancing Master parallels the approbation of the original French treatise by the great French choreographer Pécour, and suggests the great esteem in which the Englishman was held. This approbation, dated 10 December 1731, lists his address as Great Broad-Street.

The exact date of L'Abbe's death is not known.³⁵ His name appears in Tomlinson's 1735 subscription list, and references to

32. Kellom Tomlinson, The Art of Dancing (London, 1735), fol. b. No copy of the dance is known.

33. Essex, The Dancing Master, xii.

34. Ibid.

performances of one of his ball dances on the stage in April and May 1737 suggest that he was still alive at that time.

Desnoyer

The French dancer Desnoyer (Denoyer) made his London debut at Drury Lane on 11 January 1721, dancing there more than fifty times in the next year and a half. During this time he performed three choreographies by L'Abbe which were published in the latter's collection of theatrical dances. (Desnoyer was one of the subscribers to this collection.) After the 1721-1722 season Desnoyer was sent to Hanover as dancing master to Prince Frederick, the oldest of George I's grandchildren, who did not come to England in 1714 with the rest of his family. Desnoyer's salary was said to be £500 per year, more than twice what L'Abbe received.³⁶

Glover

The dancing master and choreographer Leach Glover, a pupil of Dumirail, began his career as a dancer at King's Theatre on 16 March 1717.³⁷ After a trip to Paris [to study dance?] he again danced in London at the King's Theatre on 12 February 1719. Many performances by him are recorded during the years 1723-26, and his name continues to appear sporadically in the rosters until 1741. Glover also was active as a choreographer for London theatres. Entries in the London Stage include a dance by him for five couples, "The Faithful Shepherd," first

35. Hilton gives his date of death as 1737, but cites no source (Dance, 22).

36. Biographical Dictionary, IV, 332.

37. Biographical Dictionary, VI, 234-35. The King's Theatre, Haymarket, was known as the Queen's Theatre during Anne's reign.

performed at Covent Garden on 22 February 1735, and a "Scotch Dance" at the same theatre on 14 April 1735. At some date prior to 1741 (perhaps after L'Abbe's death) he replaced L'Abbe as dancing master to the princesses, receiving the same salary of £240 per annum.³⁸ The "princesses" at this time would have been Amelia, Caroline, and Mary. Glover's only surviving choreography, "The Princess of Hesse," is in honor of Mary, the fourth daughter of George II and Caroline, who married Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, on 8 May 1740. Glover died in 1763.

Other Dancing Masters

John Weaver

The most versatile of the English dancing masters is undoubtedly John Weaver (1673-1760).³⁹ Although no notated dances by him survive, he was active as a choreographer and dancer in the theatre for a number of years. His numerous publications include translations of two French dance treatises, Feuillet's Chorégraphie and his short "Traité de la Cadance," a collection of six Isaac dances (which Weaver notated), two books on dance history, and a book on the physiology of dance. Weaver is best known to dance historians today for his innovative "dramatick Entertainments" in which the plot is unfolded through the movements of

38. According to the Biographical Dictionary Glover did not succeed L'Abbe until after April of 1741, but since there were no editions of Chamberlayne's Magnae Britanniae Notitia between 1737 and 1741 it is impossible to know exactly when Glover became dancing master to the princesses.
39. See Selma Jeanne Cohen, "Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing," in Famed for Dance: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing in England, 1600-1740 (New York: The New York Public Library, 1960), 35-48. The definitive work on Weaver's life and works may well be Richard Ralph's forthcoming study.

the dancers, thus foreshadowing the reforms of Noverre.⁴⁰

Siris

A rival translation of Feuillet's Chorégraphie was published by P. Siris, also in 1706. From his preface we learn that Siris had studied with the Frenchman Beauchamp prior to 1688. Although his nationality is unknown, the fact that the Amsterdam-based publisher Etienne Roger advertised a number of his works suggests that Siris was originally from the continent. At least six of his dances were published in England between 1708 and 1725: five of them survive, while a sixth, a gavotte with the title "Princess Ann," is known only from a reference in a contemporary treatise. The 1725 dance is attributed to Mr. Siris Senior, from which we can infer that a son had entered the profession by this date. Siris may have published other dances as well. A 1716 Roger catalogue lists "Les dances de Monsieur Siris, fameux maître de dance à Londres et autheur de la Corographie angloise."⁴¹ The price for the collection is f. 3.0. This collection, along with Siris's 1708 dance "La Camilla" (also advertised in the 1716 catalogue), appear in the 1737 catalog prepared by Roger's successor, Michel-Charles Le Cène, "La Camilla" with a price of f. 1.10, the collection of dances still at f. 3.0.⁴²

40. One of the three surviving libretti for these works is reproduced in Selma Jeanne Cohen, Dance as a Theatre Art: Source Readings in Dance History from 1581 to the Present (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 51.

41. François Lesure, Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles Le Cène (Amsterdam 1696-1743) (Paris: Editions française de musicologie, 1969), 80.

42. Ibid., page 16 of the catalogue facsimile.

Siris was apparently still alive in 1735, for his name appears as a dancing master on Tomlinson's list of subscribers. (Curiously, it is absent from the other five subscribers' lists.) Although there is no record of Siris having danced professionally, at least one of his students, a Miss Evans, danced on the stage from 1706 on. In that year he had a house in Newport Street, and his address in 1708 was given as "Rue St. Martins Lane."

Siris seems to have been something of an outsider in London dancing master circles. Not only is his name absent from all the subscribers' lists except Tomlinson's, but he is mentioned in only one dance-related publication: T. Graham's The Use of the Art of Dancing (1717). Perhaps Siris was ignored by his colleagues because his translation of Feuillet's treatise made him a rival to the establishment figure John Weaver.

John Essex

The most important contributions of the dancing master John Essex are his translations of French treatises. In 1710 he published a translation of Feuillet's 1706 treatise on country dancing, adding five of his own country dances and omitting a number of the French ones. A revised edition of this work (undated, but published in 1715 or later) included Essex's only surviving notated court dance, as well as six additional country dances recorded in the modified Feuillet system. Essex also published a deportment manual, The Young Ladies Conduct: or, Rules for Education (1722). Essex's most significant work is his 1728 translation of Rameau's Le Maître à danser. The preface to this work is of particular interest because of Essex's thumbnail sketches of a number of his contemporaries.

Essex had two sons who were also dancers: John Essex Jr., whose name appears on the L'Abbe/Roussau subscriber's list along with that of his father, first danced in public at Drury Lane in 1724. The other son, William, is included on Weaver's 1721 list of dancing masters, and died in 1746, two years after his father.⁴³

Pemberton

Edward (or Edmund) Pemberton was important as a notator and publisher of the dances of others, but apparently did not compose any of his own. On the title page of Isaac's 1709 "Royal Portuguez" is the following notice: "Any Masters or Gentlemen that are desirous to Learn ye Characters of Dancing may be Instructed by Mr. Pemberton who is approv'd of Mr Isaac he will attend at his house next ye fire Office in St Martins Lane."⁴⁴ Two years later Pemberton published an anthology of eleven dances for one to twelve women under the somewhat misleading title An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing. He may have notated most of the dances in this collection himself; he also notated the four Isaac dances published between 1713 and 1716, as well as publishing the last one. In addition, Pemberton notated and published L'Abbe's thirteen ball dances issued between 1715 and 1733.

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43. The Biographical Dictionary includes entries for John and William (V, 95-97) but seems unaware of the existence of John Jr. Because of this, the authors assume that the two Essexes dancing on stage from 1724 on were father and son, in spite of the fact that John Sr. apparently had not danced professionally since the 1702-03 season.
44. In the British Library exemplar the word "next" has been crossed out and replaced by "against." The puzzling remark in Pemberton's 1711 collection, "it being by his [Isaac's] Approbation I first appear'd in Print to instruct Masters in the Characters," may refer to the advertisement on the 1709 dance. No other Pemberton publication prior to the 1711 collection is known.

Pemberton's name appears on all of the subscribers' lists (except that of his own book), but on the Tomlinson list (where his first name is given as Edmond) a mark by his name indicates that he has died. This puts his death date at around 1734.

Pemberton had several addresses: the St. Martins Lane address listed above also appears on the title page of his 1711 anthology. From 1715 to 1717 he was at Mercer St. in Long-Acre; from 1718-31 his address was at the "Iron Rails ye lower end of Oxindon St. near ye Hay-Market;" and in 1733 he was back at the Mercer Street address.

Tomlinson

The dancing master Kellom Tomlinson is a central figure for the study of English court dance. His 1735 publication, The Art of Dancing, is the only major original English dance treatise and it provides important information about the French style of dance in England as well as information not included in the French treatises. Since Tomlinson was English by birth, and apparently never studied in France, his treatise as well as his dances may reflect an English style of performance.

In the preface to his treatise Tomlinson includes a short biographical sketch, from which we learn that he was apprenticed to Mr. Caverley (see below) between the years 1707-14. From this we can infer that he was born around 1693. No notice of his death is recorded, but he was still alive in 1754 when an engraving of him was made by F. Morellon la Cave.⁴⁵ Although Tomlinson studied theatrical dancing with the French dancer Cherrier, there is no record of his having

45. The engraving is reproduced in the facsimile edition of Tomlinson's treatise.

performed professionally. He published seven dances between the years 1715 and 1721, the last one of which has not survived. His 1735 treatise, referred to above, is of major significance for the study of English dance of the period, and is examined in detail in Chapter III.

Tomlinson had several addresses during his career:

- 1715-17 At Mr. Smiths a Coach-maker, the Corner of King's Gate Street in Holbourn
- 1718 Southampton Street, the Fifth Door from Holbourn
- 1719-20 Devonshire Street, the last but one before Queens Square
- 1735 Red and Gold Flower Pot next Door to Edward's Coffee-House in High Holbourne
- 1744 Great Ormond-Street, the End next Lamb's Conduit

Roussau

The dancing master F. Le Roussau was also active as a choreographer and notator in London in the 1720's. His address is given as York Street near St. James's Square. Roussau's six surviving choreographies are all contained in a manuscript anthology which he compiled around 1720. Three other dances in the manuscript are by French choreographers, and all but one of the nine dances are unique to this source. The exception, Roussau's "Chacon for a Harlequin," was subsequently published as a single dance, probably around 1729 or later.

Roussau's name suggests that he was of French extraction, and this is reinforced not only by the presence of the other three dances by French choreographers in the manuscript, but by his spellings (Characters, Entrée, arlequin) and by the occasional annotations in French in the manuscript version of his harlequin dance. The latter may represent corrections made by Roussau himself preparatory to the engraving.

Roussau's name appears several times in the London Stage for the years 1723 and 1724. On 31 January 1723 there is "Dancing by a Girl of Six Years of Age, for her Diversion, Scholar to Mr. Roussau"; and other pupils of his dance on March 14 and December 16 of the same year. Roussau himself dances, along with two of his students, on 9 March 1724. And a benefit performance for the Aston family was held at Roussau's Dancing School on 4 March 1724 (no address is given in the London Stage entry).

Roussau's most significant contribution was his publication of the collection of thirteen dances by L'Abbe mentioned above. According to the title page, they were "recollected, put in Characters, and engraved" by Roussau himself (L'Abbe apparently did not notate any of his twenty-six dances). We learn very little else about Roussau from the preface to this collection, other than that the work was slow in appearing. The subscribers' list is more revealing. It includes the names of a number of the most famous continental dancers and dancing masters, e.g., Jean Balon, Blondy, Dupré, Dezais, and Fécour in Paris; Duruel in Dusseldorf; Gaudro [Gaudrau] in Madrid; and Hautin and Jourdain in the Hague. Such an illustrious list no doubt reflects an interest in L'Abbe's theatrical dances, the only collection to rival those of Fécour published in 1704 and c1713. The list may also indicate the extent of Roussau's continental connections, since he would probably have been responsible for soliciting subscribers.

Dancing masters in Pemberton's 1711 collection

Pemberton's 1711 collection of dances contains eleven dances "by the most eminent masters." Three of them, Isaac, L'Abbe, and Fécour,

each have a solo dance in the second part of the book. The eight dancing masters represented in the first part of the book are for the most part less well known. Several of them ran boarding schools for young ladies, or dancing academies where classes were held. Very few of them published any dances other than the one figure dance in this collection, so that no assessment of their style can be made. The eight dancing masters will be discussed in alphabetical order (the dances in the collection are arranged by the number of participants--from three to twelve women).

Caverley

The esteem in which the dancing master Thomas Caverley was held by his contemporaries is evidenced by the fact that four dance publications were dedicated to him: the first part of Pemberton's 1711 collection of dances, Weaver's 1712 History of Dancing and 1721 Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures, and Tomlinson's 1715 dance, "Passepiéd Round-O."⁴⁶ Born around 1648, he lived until 1745.⁴⁷ Caverley's name appears on five of the six subscribers' lists, missing only from the collection of L'Abbe dances published by Roussau. In most of these lists he is identified as "of Queen Square," and according to a 1749 reference cited by Fletcher, this was the address of his boarding school for ladies.⁴⁸ However, several references to "Caverley's Academy in

46. Tomlinson refers to the dedication to Caverley in the preface to his treatise, but it is not preserved in the 1720 reissue of the dance.

47. "Mr. Caverley--and some others. English Dancing Masters of the Eighteenth Century," Dancing Times XXIII (December 1932), 293-6.

48. Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, Bibliographical Descriptions of Forty Rare Dance Books (London: Dance Books Ltd., 1977), no. 19.

Chancery Lane" as the location for concerts also appear during the years 1713-1718.⁴⁹ Caverley receives high praise from his colleagues: according to Pemberton (1711) he is "the most eminent of our Profession" and has "us'd the best of Methods to arrive at a Mastery in Your Art." (Pemberton continues "You have been peculiarly Happy in the Conversation of Mr. Isaac, who is so Great a Master that as he wants no Encomium, is likewise above the Malice of petty Upstarts." Could this apparent reference to professional rivalries among dancing masters be directed towards Siris?) In the following year Weaver describes Caverley as one who has perfected the "Natural and Unaffected Manner" of dancing. Weaver's dedication in the 1721 treatise acknowledges that Caverley's teaching was the inspiration for the lectures which make up the book. And Tomlinson, in the preface to his 1735 treatise, describes his former teacher as "that great Master." Only two dance notations by Caverley are known: a figure dance for five women published by Pemberton in 1711, and an undated dance for a single woman, "Slow Minuet," also published by Pemberton in the 1720's.

The name of Mr. Ant. Caverly also appears in the two 1706 subscription lists. This may be the "Mr. Caverly Junior" listed in the Pemberton 1711 subscribers. No further mention of this name occurs.

Couch

The name of Mr. Couch appears on the five subscriber lists from

49. Michael Tilmouth, "A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces, 1660-1719," RMA Research Chronicle I (1961), passim. See also the entries in The London Stage for 13 June 1715 and 21 March 1718.

1706 to the 1720's. He was also one of the six dancing masters singled out for special praise by John Weaver in 1712: "happy Teachers of that Natural and Unaffected Manner, which has been brought to so high a Perfection by Isaack and Caverly."⁵⁰ On 24 February 1710 a "consort of music" was held at Couch's Dancing Room in Walbrook.⁵¹ Couch's only known dance is the figure dance for nine women in Pemberton. The entry in the Biographical Dictionary suggests that the dancing master Couch was John Crouch, a court and theatre violinist of the period, but no evidence is offered for this conjecture.⁵²

John Groscort

Groscort's name appears in the subscribers' lists for 1706, 1711, and the 1720's collection of L'Abbe dances. He is one of the six dancing masters mentioned by Weaver in 1712 as "happy Teachers" (see above). Of greater significance is the dedication to Groscort of The Dancing Master (1728), John Essex's translation of Rameau's Le Maître à Danser, suggesting that Groscort had attained the stature of a Caverley or Isaac. Essex praises Groscort for his excellence in the teaching of "genteel Dancing," i.e., social rather than theatrical dancing. Only one dance by Groscort survives: "An Echhoe," the first dance in the Pemberton 1711 collection.

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50. Weaver, History, fol. A 1'. The others were Firbank, Geary, Groscort, Holt, and Lewis.
51. The advertisement in the Daily Courant, 20 February 1710, is cited by Tilmouth, "Calendar," 213. The London Stage entry for this event lists the location as "Couch's Drawing Room."
52. Biographical Dictionary, IV, 7. In another entry the authors justify the conflation of two names by claiming that at this time all dancing masters were violinists. While this was true in the mid-seventeenth century, it was no longer the case in the early eighteenth century.

Hickford

A Mr. Hickford is found in only one list of dancing master subscribers, the same Pemberton 1711 collection in which his figure dance for ten women appears.⁵³ Hickford Jr. is one of the dancing masters in the L'Abbe/Roussau subscribers list of the 1720's.

Hickford's Dancing School, on the corner of Panton and James streets, was also used as a concert hall, the first such usage being advertised on 20 November 1697.⁵⁴ Also referred to as "Hickford's Room," this was a very popular location for concerts throughout much of the eighteenth century.

Holt

There were four or more dancing masters with the surname of Holt active in the first three decades of the eighteenth century. At least one of them was associated with Holt's Dancing Room in Bartholomew Lane behind the Royal Exchange, where a concert was held on 4 March 1706.⁵⁵ Rich[ard] Holt was a subscriber to the two 1706 publications but nothing else is known of him. Two other Holts also subscribed to this collection: Walter Sen. and Walter Jun. In the next three subscribers' lists (1711, 1721, c1725) only one Walter Holt appears, suggesting that either the father or the son had died. A William Holt also appears in these three lists. Finally, a Mr. Holt Jr. (with no

53. In the Biographical Dictionary article (VII, 284-5), Hickford's first name is given as Thomas, although another source mentioned in the article gives John as a Christian name.

54. The advertisement is quoted in full in the Biographical Dictionary article.

55. Biographical Dictionary, VII, 395-96.

given name) is included in the last of these lists.

William Holt composed the danse à deux "Rigadon Renouvelle," published c1720. However, it is impossible to determine whether he or Walter was the author of the figure dance for four women in the Pemberton collection. The "eminent master" responsible for this dance was no doubt also the Holt to whom Weaver referred in 1712 as one of the "happy Teachers" (see footnote 50 above).

Josias Priest

The dancer and choreographer Josias Priest was dancing professionally by 1667, continuing to dance on the stage until at least the 1690's. He is listed as "Mr Preist, Senior, of Chelsea" on Pemberton's 1711 list, but his name appears on none of the other five subscribers' lists. He died in 1734.⁵⁶ Priest choreographed the dances for several of Purcell's operas, and it was for Priest's boarding school for ladies in Chelsea that Dido and Aeneas was composed and first performed.⁵⁷ Weaver praised Priest in 1712 as the greatest master of grotesque dancing (by which he meant character dancing rather than dancing in the "French noble style"). Only one dance by Priest survives: a figured minuet for twelve women in the Pemberton collection.

Prince

Prince's name first appears on the roster of dancers for the

56. For more information about Priest's career, see Cohen, "Theatrical Dancing," 22-33.

57. Priest's collaborations with Purcell are discussed by Robert E. Moore, Henry Purcell and the Restoration Theatre (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961).

United Company in the 1693-94 season, and his career as a dancer continued until his death in 1718. From 1710 on he is associated exclusively with the Drury Lane theatre, and a benefit there in 1714 for "Prince, the Dancing-Master" suggests that he may have choreographed for the theatre as well. (A "Witche's Dance, compos'd by Mr Prince" was performed there in 1714.) Prince's only surviving choreography is a figure dance for eight women published in the Pemberton collection. The third volume of the Dancing Master (1718?) contains a country dance, "Mr Prince's Scotch Dance." Music for three dances "by Mr. Prince" appears in an undated collection of dance music at the British Library (shelf mark K.5.b.32). It is not clear from this rubric whether the dances were composed by Prince or performed by him.

Richard Shirley

The dancing master Mr. Shirley appears on all of the subscriber lists except for Tomlinson's. He does not seem to have been a professional dancer, as there is no record of such a name in contemporary theatrical records. However, a student of his, Miss Lindar, made her debut at Drury Lane in 1717.⁵⁸ Shirley apparently also worked as a notator. In 1715 he advertised his notated version of Balon's "Silvea" ("La Silvie," published in Paris in 1712), as well as Pecour's "Aimable Vanquer, or The Louvre."⁵⁹ Shirley's address is given as the corner of Newport-Street, the upper end of St. Martin's-Lane; also mentioned in the advertisement is his school at Mr. Dowsons in Barthalomew Close.

58. London Stage, part 2/I, 468, 496.

59. The British Weekly Mercury, March 5-12, 1715. No copies of either of Shirley's notations are extant. Another English edition of the Pecour dance, originally published in Paris in 1701, was included in the second edition of Weaver's Orchesography, c1722.

Shirley's only extant choreography is a figured minuet for six women in Pemberton's 1711 collection.

Dancing Lessons and Balls

Dancing lessons were part of the education of children of the royalty and nobility as well as the gentry and middle classes. Such lessons were considered important not only for learning the specific skills necessary to dance in public but also for teaching one to move properly and gracefully.

Dancing masters also instructed adult students who had not learned to dance as children, or who wished to improve their skills or learn new dances. The irony of learning upper-class manners and deportment from a social inferior (i.e., a dancing master) was not lost on eighteenth-century writers.⁶⁰ English ambivalence towards dancing masters is also reflected in many Restoration and post-Restoration plays, in which a "French dancing master" is often a stock comic character. Samuel Pepys's diary contains a number of references to his wife's dancing lessons, as well as to his own abortive attempts to improve his dancing skills.⁶¹ Similar accounts of dancing lessons appear in another diary written more than a half century later by the young London law student Dudley Ryder.⁶² Ryder also has ambivalent feelings towards his dancing master Mr. Fernley, inviting him for a visit but worrying that

60. For an interesting discussion of this problem see the article by C.J. Rawson, "Gentlemen and Dancing-Masters," Eighteenth-Century Studies I/2 (Dec. 1967), 127-158.

61. A number of these references are cited by Martin, *passim*.

62. William Matthews, ed., The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716 (London: Methuen & Co., [1939]), *passim*.

his friends might find out that he is socializing with an inferior. At one point Ryder even expresses a desire to become a dancing master himself, although he realizes it would be considered an unworthy profession.

Dancing lessons took place either at the pupil's home, at the dancing master's residence, or in a dancing school or academy. In many cases these dancing schools were also used for public concerts and balls. There are references to more than twenty "dancing-rooms" or academies in the first few decades of the eighteenth century.⁶³

Several descriptions of English dancing schools, more often than not satirical in nature, have come down to us.⁶⁴ One such account, by the satirist Ned Ward, describes a kind of recital by the young ladies of a dancing school.

. . . the pretty Female Poppets who were to Entertain the Company with some new French Figaries, and feats of Activity, were Usher'd into Publick View . . . and dropping their Honours to the Assemble, mov'd cross the Room to their Places [After dancing some branles and other dances] . . . we had as many Changes given us upon Currant, Bory Minuet, and Jig, as could be rung upon four Bells, now and then intermix'd with a Figure-Dance. [At this point there was a brief intermission, during which the dancing master changed his clothes, and the mothers of the young ladies bragged about the accomplishments of their offspring.] . . . and then the whole Entertainment to be turn'd up in a few Country Dances, that the Ladies, I suppose might Couple themselves at last with Partners, who at least would be so Civil to see them safe Home⁶⁵

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63. See the List of Abbreviations in the front of the London Stage volumes as well as the index in Tilmouth, "Calendar."
64. The Budgell letter in the Spectator no. 67 is perhaps the best known of the satirical descriptions.
65. [Edward Ward], The Dancing School: or, The Adventures of the High Holy Days (London, 1700), 3-7.

Fees for dancing lessons are of interest. An advertisement for a Royal Academy which would offer dancing lessons as well as instruction in other disciplines proposed the following rates for "Externs" (i.e., students who would not live at the Academy): three hour lessons, three times a week would cost six pounds a year, which according to the advertisement, was "less than one half what is commonly paid, to the meanest masters."⁶⁶ In March 1696 the dancing master William Cox advertised lessons at 10s per month.⁶⁷ In 1714 and 1715 the dancing master Mr. Fert advertised lessons for one guinea per month at students' houses.⁶⁸ In November 1715 Dudley Ryder negotiated with his dancing master Mr. Fernley to learn the rigadon and perfect the minuet for a fee of 2 1/2 guineas.⁶⁹ Fees to Isaac varied from £2. 14s. 3d to £3. 4s. 6d per month in 1715, and in 1717 he was paid £8. 2s for three months, or £2. 14s per month.⁷⁰ Nearly twenty years later Tomlinson offered to teach dance notation for "no more than ye usual Prices for Dancing only, viz at their own Houses one Guinea and an half 12 Lessons: and in Proportion if they . . . come to him."⁷¹

Dances were organized for all levels of society. Balls at court, infrequent during the last years of Anne's reign, were a regular feature under the Hannoverians, with the Prince and Princess of Wales sponsoring

66. Michael Tilmouth, "The Royal Academies of 1695," Music and Letters XXXVIII (1957), 327. The academy never materialized.

67. Tilmouth, "Calendar," note to second printing, March 1968.

68. Spectator, 29 October 1714; Daily Courant, 19 January 1715.

69. Matthews, ed., Diary, 138.

70. Scott-Moncrieff, Grisell Baillie, 32-53.

71. Tomlinson, Dancing, Plate 0.

weekly balls at St. James's Court.⁷² Public assemblies, begun at Bath by Beau Nash in 1705, were held at other watering places in the summer and in London in the winter season, and continued to grow in popularity during the eighteenth century. The masquerade, an assembly in which the participants wore disguises, became popular towards the end of the second decade of the century. The emphasis at the latter events was less on dancing and more on such amatory adventures as establishing an adulterous liaison.⁷³

Most public balls had an admission fee, and in addition one was expected to tip the musicians.⁷⁴ Dudley Ryder reports being refused admission to a dance because he was not known by the door-keeper. On another occasion he managed to bribe his way into a ball at court. Fees for balls ranged from 3d. for a dance at Lambeth Wells to 3s. for a dance at Mr. Fernley's dancing school (plus 1s for the "hautboy"). Ryder paid one guinea for three tickets to King George's birthday ball on 28 May 1716, but this price included a buffet supper.

Summary

The study of court dance in England in the early eighteenth century must begin with the dancing masters. As we have seen, many of these men were involved in activities which extended far beyond the teaching of dance. Their contributions as translators, theorists and

72. See John M. Beattie, The English Court in the Reign of George I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), for accounts of some of these balls. Additional information from other sources is in Martin, Dancing Master.

73. See Terry Castle, "Eros and Liberty at the English Masquerade, 1720-1790," Eighteenth-Century Studies XVII/2 (Winter 1983/84), 156-76.

74. There are several references to this practice in Dudley Ryder's diary.

choreographers are the subject of the remainder of this study.

Chapter II

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF FRENCH DANCE TREATISES

The large number of English publications from the first half of the eighteenth century which deal with some aspect of dance is evidence of the importance of dance to the nobility and gentry. These publications divide themselves into four groups: 1) theoretical works on dance history, aesthetics, and physiology (all by John Weaver); 2) deportment manuals intended for the proper upbringing of young women which include sections on dance; 3) dance manuals or treatises which offer specific instructions for steps and dances, usually including notation; 4) notated dances, available both in collections and individually. The theoretical works of John Weaver have been studied by Selma Jeanne Cohen, Shirley Wynne, and more recently by Richard Ralph, and will not be considered here.¹ Deportment manuals have also been excluded from this study, since for the most part they provide very little information on the actual performance of dance. The third category, treatises on dance, is the subject of this and the following chapter. Dance choreographies, both collections and individual works, will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Table 1 is a short-title list of all the dance treatises published in England between the years 1706 and 1738.² They are for the most

1. See Chapter I, footnote 39; also Shirley Wynne, The Charms of Complaisance: The Dance in England in the Early Eighteenth Century (Ph. D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1967; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 68-3093), chapters 4 and 5.

2. Complete titles are included in the bibliography.

part translations of French manuals; the only large-scale 'original' work is Tomlinson's The Art of Dancing, 1735. Yet a fair amount of information about English attitudes and tastes can be gleaned from a careful comparison of the translations with the originals.

Table 1. Dance Treatises Published in England, 1706-1738

Siris/Feuillet*	<u>The Art of Dancing</u>	1706
Weaver/Feuillet*	<u>Orchesography</u>	1706 (2/c1722)
Weaver/Feuillet*	<u>A Small Treatise</u>	1706
Essex/Feuillet*	<u>For the Further Improvement</u>	1710 (2/c1715)
Pemberton	<u>An Essay</u>	1711
Essex/Rameau*	<u>The Dancing Master</u>	1728 (2/1731)
Tomlinson	<u>The Art of Dancing</u>	1735 (2/1744)
Bickham	<u>An Easy Introduction</u>	1738 (2/1751?)

*indicates a translation from the French

The Siris and Weaver Translations of Feuillet's Chorégraphie³

The publication of Feuillet's Chorégraphie in 1700 was the single most significant event in the history of Baroque dance, for it made available to dancing masters, students, and others throughout Europe a system of notation for recording and preserving ballroom and theatrical dances.⁴ Feuillet's treatise was translated or adapted for use in at least five languages, including English, German, Italian, Spanish, and

3. Raoul Auger Feuillet, Chorégraphie (Paris, 1700). A facsimile edition of this work was published by Broude Brothers (1968), and of the 1701 edition by Arnaldo Forni (Bologna, n.d.).

4. For more information on Feuillet and his other publications see Meredith Ellis Little, "Feuillet, Raoul-Auger," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), VI, 514-5.

Portugese. Three subsequent "editions" of the treatise were published: the "Seconde edition, augmentée" (1701), actually a reissue of the 1700 publication with the addition of a four-page "Supplément" of step symbols plus a few other changes; a 1709 edition in which the text has been reset, but which retains the more than fifty engraved plates from the first edition; and finally a 1713 reissue of the 1709 edition.⁵

In 1706 two different English translations of Chorégraphie were published, one by John Weaver, the other by the dancing master P. Siris.⁶ It is not known which version appeared first. Siris's translation was advertised in the London Gazette on 28 March 1706,⁷ while Weaver's version was in print before May 1706, when it was mentioned in an ad for another Weaver publication.⁸ Neither book refers to the existence of the other, at least directly, although Weaver twice mentions other unnamed translators in disparaging terms.⁹

5. In this study I use the term "second edition" to refer to a publication in which more than half of the text has been reset or reengraved. If only the title page is new the publication is described as a reissue. See Philip Gaskell, A New Introduction to Bibliography, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1972), 313-6.
6. Weaver's translation was entitled Orchesography. Or, the Art of Dancing by Characters and Demonstrative Figures. It was printed by H. Meere at the Black Fryar, and was to be sold by the French bookseller P. Valliant. Siris's translation, The Art of Dancing. Demonstrated by Characters and Figures, does not mention a printer or bookseller. A facsimile edition of the Weaver translation was published by Gregg International Publishers in 1971, from a copy in the possession of Mrs. Raymond Lister. At least six other copies are extant: GB Ckc; Cu; Lbl; Ob - US NYp; R. The Siris translation is not available in facsimile. Copies known to me include: A Smi - E Mn - GB Lbl (incl.) - US CAh.
7. Tilmouth, "Calendar," 65. According to the ad, the book was available from R. Meares and A. Livingston.
8. The Post-Man, 7-9 May, 1706. The ad was for A Small Treatise, discussed later in this chapter.
9. Weaver, Orchesography, fol. A4'.

Weaver also states ". . . had I not first undertaken to make Mons. Feuillet speak English, this character had yet a longer while remain'd a Secret to this Nation,"¹⁰ a remark that seems to disregard Siris totally. In support of Siris's primacy is the claim in the deportment manual by T. Graham that "Mr. Syris [was] the first who communicated that knowledge to the English Nation."¹¹

Both translations are good, although each has minor defects that will be discussed below.¹² Siris is more original in layout and format, and presents the material more efficiently; he also includes two notated dances at the end of the book, a practice which Weaver adopts in his second edition. Yet Weaver's translation seems to have won out; it was taken over by the publisher John Walsh in 1708, probably at the same time Walsh began issuing Isaac's dances.¹³ This is not surprising, since Weaver was already a well-known figure, and his translation had the support of the court dancing master and choreographer Isaac. Siris's publishing connections were with the Amsterdam-based firm of Roger, Walsh's chief rival; the only subsequent advertisements I have seen for Siris's version occur in one of Roger's catalogues.¹⁴ Both

10. Ibid., fol. a.

11. T. Graham, The Use of the Art of Dancing, London (1717), 33.

12. A detailed comparison of these three treatises was the subject of a master's thesis by Shirley Ritcheson [Wynne], "Feuillet's Choreographie, [sic] and Its Implications in the Society of France and England, 1700," Ohio State University, 1965.

13. Walsh's first known advertisement for Weaver's treatise appeared in the Daily Courant on 22 October, 1708. See William C. Smith, A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh During the Years 1695-1720 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1948), no. 280.

14. See Chapter I, footnotes 41 and 42.

Siris and Weaver worked from the 1701 edition of Chorégraphie since their translations incorporate changes made by Feuillet in his second edition.

Title Pages

Feuillet's title, "Chorégraphie," (literally, "dance writing") has been changed to "Orchesography" by Weaver, while Siris omits the word entirely, beginning with Weaver's subtitle, "The Art of Dancing." The remainder of Weaver's title page is similar to Feuillet's, with two additions: Weaver mentions "Rules for the Motions of the Arms" (not included on either the Feuillet or Siris title pages; and he adds a Latin quote from Virgil's Aeneid 6: "Pars pedibus plaudunt Choreas" (some with their feet are beating out the dance). Weaver omits Feuillet's reference to dancing masters (which Siris renders as "a Work very useful to all such as practise Dancing, especially Masters"), and calls his treatise "An Exact and Just Translation." Siris's title page follows the original French more closely, the only substantial change being the mention of the two dances which are included at the end of the treatise.

Dedication

It is interesting to note that all three books are dedicated to dancing masters rather than the customary patron or patroness, usually a member of the royalty or nobility. Perhaps Siris and Weaver were merely imitating Feuillet; in any case, subsequent publications, both French and English, resume the more normal practice. Feuillet's treatise is dedicated to "Monsieur Pécour," composer of ballets for the Paris Opera and one of the best-known and most prolific choreographers of his

time.¹⁵ Weaver dedicates his translation to "Mr. Isaac," referring to his "Excellence in the Art [of dancing]" and his "admirable Compositions." The Siris translation is dedicated "To the Dancing-Masters of this City and Kingdom." This rather vague phrase relieves him of the obligatory lines of praise; what follows is more in the nature of a preface, and will be discussed below.

Preface

Feuillet's preface includes a very brief account of the history of dance notation, mentioning what he considers to be the first work of this kind, Arbeau's Orchesographie of 1588 (which Feuillet, however, had not seen).¹⁶ He goes on to claim that he has invented all the signs, characters, and figures in the book. (In fact, the notation system which Feuillet used was apparently invented by the dancing master and choreographer Pierre Beauchamp, to whom Feuillet gives no credit.)¹⁷ The book's usefulness is touted since, he says, it will enable everyone to read dances as easily as they read music. At the end of the preface he mentions the two collections of dances, one by Feuillet and one by Pécour, which usually are bound with Chorégraphie. He also promises the publication of some more dances.

Weaver's preface, although based in part on Feuillet's, is not a translation of it, but is directed to his English readers. Weaver begins by discussing the Arbeau treatise, which he was able to examine,

15. Meredith Ellis Little, "Pécour, Louis Guillaume," New Grove, XIV, 325.

16. The standard translation is by Mary Stewart Evans, with additional notes by Julia Sutton (New York: Dover Publications, 1967).

17. Meredith Ellis Little, "Beauchamp, Pierre," New Grove, II, 323.

and comments that he is disappointed, ". . . For tho' it might perhaps have given the Hint to Mr. Beauchamp; yet it is nothing but an imperfect rough Draught"18 There follows more discussion of Beauchamp's role in the invention of the notation system, which was "perfected" by Feuillet. He claims that Feuillet's system is so good that he has followed it exactly rather than invent his own. Other translators are criticized for not understanding the meaning of the original, thus rendering it unintelligible; is this, perhaps, aimed at Siris? Weaver also claims to have translated all the French terms into English; in fact, he has only translated the less common ones.

The next paragraphs concern the "perfection of Dancing in England." Weaver mentions some of the most important dancers, choreographers, and teachers in addition to Isaac: "Mons. L'Abbe in Ballet" (both his compositions and his performance); and the dancing of Desbargues, Du Ruel, and Cherrier. Finally, Weaver defends his decision to "make Mons. Feuillet speak English" because it makes this treatise available to all, whereas prior to this only those who had access to it privately were profiting from it.

As mentioned earlier, Siris does not provide a separate preface, but includes what is usually considered prefatory material in his dedication. He covers a similar range of topics: the advantages to be derived from dance notation; crediting the invention of the system to Beauchamp; and praise for the English dancing masters. He also cites two advantages to be derived from his translation: 1) it will lead to uniformity among dance students, so that, regardless of whom they have studied with, students of one master will be able to dance with students

18. Weaver, Orchesography, fol. A4.

of another at Assemblies and Balls; 2) access to works of "the most expert Masters" will help the dancing masters "form a good Gout." Siris promises further publications: a treatise on the courante and the minuet, and collections of dances by Beauchamp, Pécour, and others. Apparently none of these was ever published. The Beauchamp dances would have been particularly interesting, since only one dance known to be by him survives.¹⁹ Siris further states that he learned this notation system from Beauchamp "above eighteen years ago" (i.e., prior to 1688), and adds "it must needs be no small concern to him to see that another has all the Honour and Advantage of what cost him so much Study and Labcur."²⁰

Siris twice refers to the improvements he has made over Feuillet's treatise, once on the title page, "Done from the French . . . with many Alterations on the Characters"; and again in the dedication/preface: "I have Design'd them [the notation symbols] after a Manner more proper than He" It is not entirely clear what he means by this; however, his notational symbols are, I think, easier to read, particularly because of his use of a wedge-shaped foot symbol rather than a thin line at the end of the step.

19. This dance, a sarabande for a man, was in the collection of Friderica Derra de Moroda (now at the Musikwissenschaftliches Institut der Universität, Salzburg). The first page of the manuscript is reproduced in her article, "Chorégraphie: The Dance Notation of the Eighteenth Century: Beauchamp or Feuillet?" The Book Collector XVI/4 (Winter 1967), 465. Another manuscript choreography, "Rigaudon de Mr bauchand," may also be by Beauchamp. See Regine Astier, "Pierre Beauchamps and the Ballets de Collège," Dance Chronicle VI/2 (1983), 138-63, and the addendum in the subsequent issue.

20. Siris, Dancing, [ii].

Text

Feuillet's treatise can be divided into three parts for the purposes of this discussion: part one (pp. 1-46) is an explanation of terms and symbols; part two (pp. 47-86) is a series of tables illustrating the varieties of each step, with no additional verbal explanation; part three (pp. 87-106) is a miscellaneous section including a brief discussion of the various meter signs used for the dances, some subtleties of notation, the use of the arms, and an example of castanet rhythms. Weaver's translation of part one adheres closely to the original; the layout of the books is similar, both in terms of the amount of material on one page and the placement of diagrams.

Siris organizes the material into sixteen chapters, each chapter heading corresponding to one of Feuillet's subject headings. This results in widely-varying chapter lengths, from one paragraph (chapters 2 and 16) to eight pages (chapter 6). Siris also uses a different layout: all of the diagrams and examples of notations are removed from the text (which was typeset) and appear on a series of engraved plates. Since the plates were printed separately, they could be inserted by the binder within the text, or bound together at the end of the book. Neither system is wholly satisfactory for the reader; even when the plates are bound into the text, a certain amount of page turning is necessary.

In the second section of the treatise (the step tables), we find that Weaver again follows Feuillet almost exactly.²¹ Each step in the

21. Unlike Feuillet, Weaver's pagination is not continuous. Instead, the tables of steps begin again with page 1, allowing them to be sold separately. An advertisement for Weaver's "Tables of the Steps used in Dancing, price sticht 5s." appeared in the Post-Man, 7-9 May 1706.

tables is labeled, so there is no need for explanatory material (see illustration 1). Siris condenses the forty pages of Feuillet's tables into sixteen pages (plates 10-25), with a separate page of type-set explanatory material for each plate. His layout in this section works very well; since the explanations for each plate fit on one page, they can be bound facing the diagrams (see illustration 2).

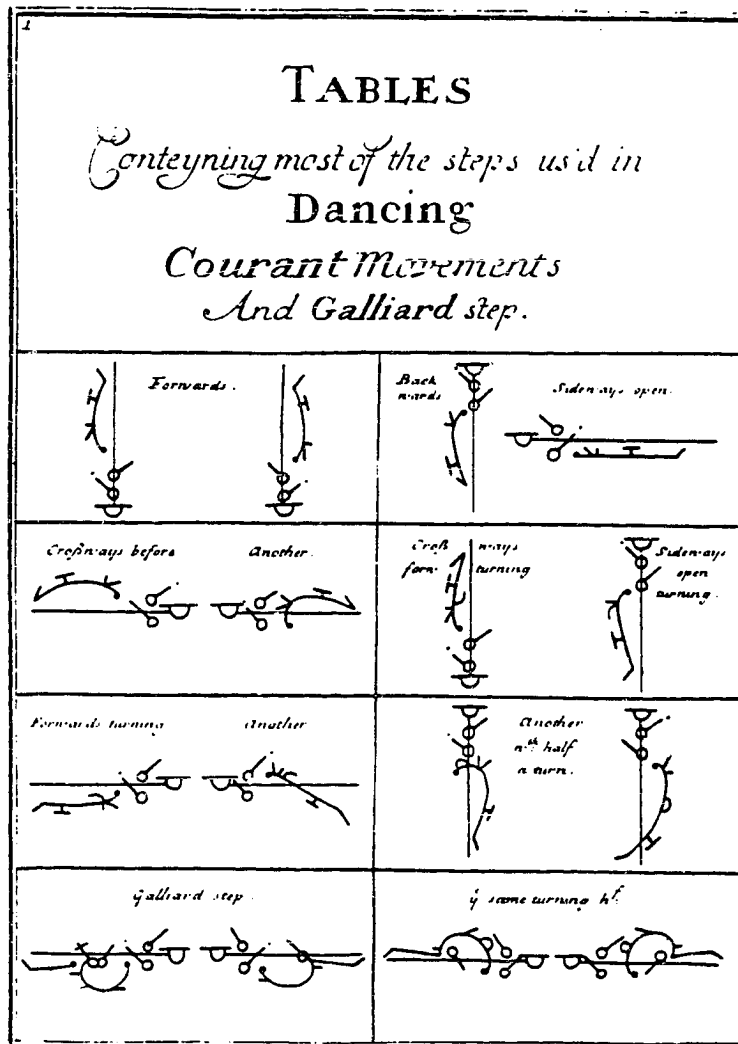


Illustration 1. Weaver, *Orchesography* (1706), plate 1.

In section three, Weaver continues to follow Feuillet (although with considerably more alterations). Siris omits a great deal of

PLATE X.

A TABLE of the Sliding-Steps in a Courante, of the Steps in a Gaillarde, and of Half-Coups's.

- Figure 1, 2. A Sliding-Step in a Courante. Forwards, Open or Straight.
- Figure 3. The same Backwards.
- Figure 4. The same Side-ways open.
- Figure 5. Crois'd before.
- Figure 6. Crois'd before, Turning quarter round.
- Figure 7. Open Side-ways, Turning the same.
- Figure 8. Forwards Turning.
- Figure 9. Another Turning half round.
- Figure 10. Another.
- Figure 11. Another.
- Figure 12. A Gaillarde-Step.
- Figure 13. The same.
- Figure 14. The same Turning.
- Figure 15. A Half-Coup Forwards.
- Figure 16. The same Backwards.
- Figure 17. Open and Backwards.
- Figure 18. The same.
- Figure 19. The same, with a Round of the Leg Forwards.
- Figure 20. The same, with a Round of the Leg Side-ways.
- Figure 21. Open Side-ways.
- Figure 22. Crois'd before.
- Figure 23. Another.
- Figure 24. Crois'd behind.
- Figure 25. Forwards, and Close upon the two Points of the Toes.
- Figure 26. Backwards the same.
- Figure 27. Forwards Emboulté.
- Figure 28. Backwards the same.

PLATE

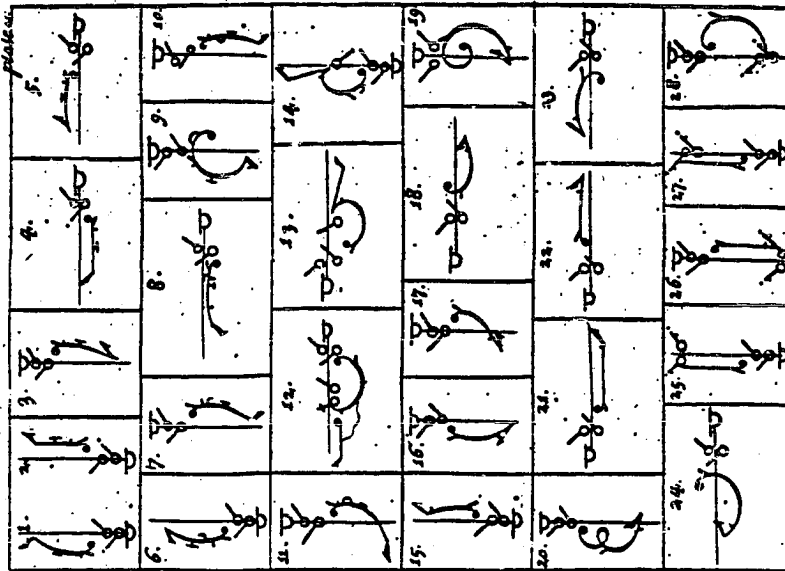


Illustration 2. Siris, The Art of Dancing.

Feuillet's material, condensing twenty pages in the original to two chapters with a total of five pages (two of text, three of diagrams). And what Siris does retain is considerably rearranged. These changes will be considered in more detail later.

At the end of Chorégraphie Feuillet mentions two collections of dances, his own Recueil and another one by Pécour. Although both these collections have separate title pages, in most extant issues of Chorégraphie the three volumes are bound into one. Weaver translates Feuillet's remark literally, even though there is no companion volume of dances at the end of the treatise. However, a collection of dances by Isaac, notated by Weaver, was issued in 1706, and perhaps Weaver intended for the two books to be sold together.²²

Siris again displays his independence from Feuillet by including two dances at the end of his translation. (The plate numbers are continuous, so it is clear that these dances were part of the volume, and not simply bound in later.) The two dances, one English and one French, are Isaac's "Rigaudon" and Pécour's "La Bretagne" (which Siris calls "The French Bretagne"), the latter first published in Paris in 1704. Siris explains his choice of dances as follows: since everyone knows the "Rigaudon" already, it is a good dance to use as an introduction to notation; and he claims the French dance is "Short, Gentile and Easy" and a good model for English choreographers.

It is also worth noting that the 1706 collection of Isaac dances mentioned above includes a different version of this rigadon, and that the second edition of Weaver's translation (c1722) included not only

22. A Collection of Ball Dances (London, 1706). No publisher is named, and since the dances were not included in the Post-Man ad mentioned above, perhaps they did not appear until later in the year.

this dance and "La Bretagne" but also another French dance, Pécour's "Aimable Vainquer" (1701), one of his most popular dances.²³

In his preface Weaver refers to those translators who "pretending to meddle with Books of Art, and not understanding the Terms of Art, give us such an odd Jargon, that we can never understand it without the Interpretation of a Master, or having Recourse to the Original it self" (fol. A4'). This may be an oblique reference to Siris who is less inclined to translate every French term; yet even Weaver leaves several step names in French, suggesting that these terms were in common usage in England at this time. Siris proves to be more useful, however, for in almost every instance where a French term is retained he provides an explanation. Furthermore, preceding the step tables Siris describes eight of the steps, something neither of the other treatises does. The following table shows, first, some terms which are translated by Weaver but not by Siris; and second, the terminology employed by the two English translations in the tables of steps. The table shows clearly the greater use of English terms by Weaver.

23. The different versions of these dances are compared in Chapter VI.

Table 2. French Terms and Translations²⁴

<u>Feuillet</u>	<u>Siris</u>	<u>Weaver</u>
emboëtté signe en l'air échappé ou saillie	emboetté Mark en l'Air échappé	inclos'd Mark for the Foot up starting step
<u>Table des</u>	<u>Table of</u>	<u>Table of</u>
Tems de Courante et pas de Gaillarde Demy Coupés Coupés Pas de Bourée, ou Fleurets Jettées Contre-temps Chassées Pas de Sissonne Piroüettes Cabrioles, et demie Cabrioles Entre-chats, et demy entre-chats	Steps in a Courante, Steps in a Gaillarde Half-Coupés Coupés Bourrée-steps or Fleurets Jettés Contretemps Chassés Steps in a Sissonne Pirouettes Capers Entre-Chats, and Half-Entre-Chats	Courant Movements and Galliard Step Half Coupees Coupee's Bouree steps or Fleurets Bounds, or Tacs Contretemps or compos'd Hops Chasses or Drives Sissonnes or Cross-Leaps Pirouettes Capers, and Half-Capers Entre-chats, or Cross- Capers



In addition to the changes in organization detailed above, a number of other kinds of changes have been made in one or both of the English translations. For ease of comparison I have grouped them into the following categories: errors (translation, notation of dance or music); omissions and condensations; and additions.

Errors

There are very few errors in either of the English translations of the first part of Chorégraphie, and those that do exist are for the most part not significant. Siris's choice of words is sometimes more

24. I have preserved the original spellings in this table (although they are not always consistent even within a single source). Elsewhere in this study spellings are standardized unless otherwise indicated.

ambiguous than Weaver's: "right" for bonnes, where Weaver has "true"; "backwards" instead of "behind" for derriere; and "simple and compound" for simple et double. Both English authors have trouble with Feuillet's pas droit en avant (a straight [i.e., plain, unembellished] step forward); Siris translates this phrase as "The Right Step is when the Foot moves in a Right Line," while Weaver offers "A straight step, is when the Foot moves in a right Line"

Notation errors in this section are also infrequent and usually insignificant. Where there are mistakes in the original (I am aware of only two in this section) they are usually left uncorrected. However, in at least one case Weaver improves on Feuillet: on p. 15 of Chorégraphie the sign for sauté is given as  when it should be ; Weaver gives the correct sign, while Siris has what appears to be a conflation of both signs, although the lower flags may have been partially removed.

Errors in the second section are also rare, particularly considering the great number of symbols included (over 530 in Feuillet). Such is not the case, however, with the third section, especially in Weaver's translation. (Siris has condensed this section so much that the probability of errors has been greatly reduced.) Weaver seems somewhat uncomfortable with the terminology of music. Feuillet uses the term mesure to mean both meter (trois sortes de Mesures) and bar (un Pas pour chaque Mesure); and temps to mean beat (un soupir pour un temps). Siris translates these terms as "measure" and "time" respectively, and uses them in the same way. However, in Weaver the word "time" means both meter and beat, and in the discussion of rests in dance notation he translates the French terms literally: "un quart de temps" = "a quarter

time," etc., rather than using the more idiomatic "semi-quaver," etc., used by Siris.

However, it is in the notated examples, both dance and music, that the most errors occur. Weaver's musical examples contain several pitch and other notational errors, and the notated dance phrases on pages 48 and 51 omit at least twelve modifying symbols. Furthermore, the diagram on page 51, which is meant to show how the rhythm of the steps matches the rhythm of the music, is so poorly done that it is useless.

Omissions and Condensations

Both Siris and Weaver condense Feuillet's tables for reasons that are usually easy to surmise. The tables are exhaustively thorough, showing every possible permutation or variant of a given sequence or step, and then repeating the information starting with the opposite foot. Weaver condenses some of this material, and Siris ruthlessly prunes away much of the excess. For example, in part one, Feuillet devotes four pages to tables showing the changing of the five basic positions of the feet (e.g., first position to second). He gives every possible permutation, a total of ninety-six examples. Weaver chooses forty examples, ten from each page, while Siris edits more radically, giving only nineteen examples on one page. His selection is carefully made and offers a good representation of Feuillet's examples.

The second part of Feuillet's treatise consists of eleven tables of step notations on forty pages (with an additional four pages in the 1701 issue). The number of variations given for each basic step ranges from four in the case of the galliard step to 106 for the coupé. The types of variation include: changes in direction (backwards or to either side, or turning while making the step); leg gestures (circular

motions in the air, beating against the supporting leg); and a movement to other than the normal finishing position for the step (e.g., to 3rd rather than 4th position). Although the total number of variation techniques which Feuillet uses is not overly large, the possible permutations are vast. Furthermore, Feuillet gives two examples of each variation, one starting with the left foot and one with the right. The following table shows the number of examples of each step included in each treatise:

Table 3. Step Tables in Feuillet, Weaver and Siris:
Number of Examples in Each Table

	Feuillet	Weaver	Siris
Courante	16	11	11
Galliard	4	3	3
Demi-coupé	58	58	36
Coupé	106	106	53
Bourrée	94	94	71
Jeté	34	34	8
Contretemps	70	70	25
Chassé	10	21*	18
Sissonne	12	12	12
Pirouette	24	24	28
Cabriole	22	22	22
Entrechat	10	10	10
Waving Steps	-	14	-
Supplement	70	16**	-

*Includes 10 examples from Feuillet's "Supplément"

**Includes 6 examples not in Feuillet

Weaver adheres closely to Feuillet, both in terms of the number of examples and of layout. Occasionally he gives only one version (right or left) of each step variation. Siris again condenses Feuillet, sharply reducing the number of variants in the tables of demi-coupés, coupés, bourrées, jetés, and contretemps. No important variants seem to be omitted; Siris is simply relying on the reader's ability to extrapolate or synthesize information already presented. For example,

rather than showing the same step with one-quarter, one-half, three-quarter, full, and one and one-half turns, Siris may give only one or two of these variants. Likewise, he does not always include both forward and backward versions of the same step. He also gives only one example for each variation:

You must observe, that each Square contains only one Simple or Compound-Step, and I have not thought fit to Mark any one in particular belonging to the Right-Foot, or the Left, because, over and above that there is no Body who does not know that to be a good Dancer, one must perform all sorts of Steps equally well with both Legs, this would give Occasion to every One to attempt Marking, of himself, the Step of the contrary Foot to that which should be mark'd on the Plate. This means I have made use of to acquire, with facility, the Writing and Reading of any Dance.²⁵

His severe editing of Feuillet's table of jetés (he includes fewer than one-fourth of the original examples) is justified as follows:

It would have been to little purpose to have describ'd the great Number of Jettés, which might be made Forwards, Side-ways or Turning, since you need only add the Springing-Mark to all the Half-Coupés, and they will immediately become so many Jettés in like manner as all the Coupés will by adding the same Springing-Mark to them, and not subjoining the second Step. For this reason I have only set down some of them for Example.²⁶

In the tables of more complicated and difficult steps (chassés, sissonnes, pirouettes, cabrioles, and entrechats) Siris includes all of Feuillet's examples, and, in the case of the pirouette, he adds two steps not in Feuillet (example 1).

25. Siris, Dancing, 31.

26. Ibid., 40.



Example 1. Pirouette steps in Siris which are not in Feuillet.

Both Siris and Weaver incorporate steps from Feuillet's "Supplément" into other step tables, particularly the table of chassés. In fact, after his "Table of Chasses or Drives" Weaver inserts a "Table of Chasses and Falling Steps" which contains ten steps from Feuillet's "Supplément." He also inserts a "Table of Waving Steps" which includes fourteen steps from the same source. All told, Weaver includes thirty-six steps from Feuillet's "Supplément" and adds six steps which are not in Feuillet, while Siris includes thirteen "Supplément" steps, adding the two new variations shown above. Both English treatises omit the examples showing changes of weight-bearing from toe to heel, etc., and they also leave out many of the waving steps, Siris including only two. These notations seldom appear in court dances in any case. Siris also does not include any of the six steps added by Weaver, in spite of the fact that several of them are used in Isaac's "Rigadoon." His decision not to include any minuet steps may have been because of his announced intention to publish a treatise on that particular dance.

Omissions of text can usually be explained as follows:

- 1) Redundant material (e.g., Feuillet, pp. 38-40). After explaining how to tell the right foot from the left in reading the notation, Feuillet repeats the information for the left foot.
- 2) References which might not be meaningful to an English audience.

For example, in section three Feuillet includes musical examples from several French operas. The music is not identified by title in the English translations. Three other musical examples in Feuillet (all from Lully operas) are omitted entirely by both Weaver and Siris.

3) Material which Siris may have intended to publish separately is omitted from his translation; this includes Feuillet's discussion of the courante and minuet, and also the section on the use of arms.

Both Siris and Weaver omit Feuillet's discussion of the use of castanets in dancing. This discussion is illustrated by a 16-bar notated dance to the "Folia" melody in which both arm movements and castanet rhythms are given for the dance.²⁷ (Feuillet does not indicate whether castanets could be used in dances other than the folia, e.g., the Spanish entree.) Since this example is one of the very few dances which includes arm movements (and the only one with castanet rhythms) its omission from both English translations is puzzling. Castanets were used in England, at least in theatrical dances, in the late seventeenth century,²⁸ and although no English folia choreographies survive, Tomlinson mentions a "Follie D'Espagne" by L'Abbe.²⁹ One might also argue that since the use of castanets was reserved for theatrical dances, and since Siris and Weaver intended their books for an audience interested in court dances, the inclusion of

27. All of the extant "Folia" choreographies are set to the later version of the melody (see Richard Hudson, "Folia," New Grove, VI, 691). This melody can be found in a number of late seventeenth-century English publications with the title "Farrinel's Ground" or "Joy to Great Caesar."

28. Examples of the use of castanets in Restoration plays can be found in Curtis A. Price, Music in the Restoration Theatre (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1979), passim.

29. Tomlinson, Dancing, 148.

this section was thought to be inappropriate. Yet both men include other material which was found only in stage dances: capers, entrechats, and waving steps, to name the most obvious. Perhaps it was a matter of taste, the English preferring to separate totally the noble style of dance from the exotic or "grotesque."

Additions

Although there are very few additions of material or ideas in the English translations, those that do occur are of special interest for the light they may shed on English dance practices and traditions. In part one, Feuillet's discussion of springing steps (sauté) is hardly a model of clarity. Weaver improves this passage by distinguishing between two kinds of leaps: a bound is a leap from one foot to the other, while a hop is a leap on the same foot. Siris follows Feuillet by using one term for both kinds of leaps; but he also improves the sense of the passage by designating which foot does which action. This is particularly important, because the notation for hops seems illogical at first sight. As Siris states: "when there is a Springing-Mark, and afterwards a Mark en l'Air . . . [for] the Right Foot, it signifies one must Spring [hop] with the Left Foot"30

Siris makes another important contribution: his Chapter 17, except for the first paragraph, is new material. He defines eight of the basic steps, omitting only the galliard step, bourrée and caper. Since Siris's step descriptions are the only ones in English until the Essex translation of Rameau in 1728, I include them here in their entirety.

30. Siris, Dancing, 11.

Now, as the greatest Part of the Steps in a Dance have no peculiar Terms to express them by exactly in English, and that it is next to impossible to give them such as will properly suit with them, I have, in many Places, retain'd the French Terms, whereof a short Explanation follows.

A Step in the Courante is made by Bending, and Stretching out the two Knees, at the same time that one Foot passes aside of the other, and afterwards Slides upon some one of the Positions.

A Half-Coupé is made by Bending the two Knees, at the same time that one Foot goes aside of the other; and afterwards by Stretching them out in Rising on the Toes of the same Foot, upon some one of the Positions.

A Coupé is a Compound-Step, made out of the Half-Coupé we have been speaking of, and another Step either Beaten or Sliding, &c.

A Contretemps is also a Compound-Step, and when you are to perform it with your Right-Foot you must Bend, then Stretch out your two Knees, and afterwards Spring upon your Left-Foot, at the same time that your Right shall pass aside to Walk upon some one of the Positions; and last of all you must make a Step with your Left-Foot either Beating or Sliding, &c.

The Jetté is perform'd by Bending your two Knees, at the same time, that your Right-Foot passes aside of the other, and you extend them by Springing, upon the same Foot, to some one of the Positions.

We commonly call the Chassé, where one Foot being found plac'd in the Second, Fourth or Fifth Position, after having taken its Movement on the Ground, or en l'Air, goes and places it self directly in the Room of the other, by beating it either Forwards, Backwards or Side-ways.

A Sissonne-Step is commonly made by Bending the Left-Knee, at the same time that the Right-Leg opens outwards to Spring either forwards or backwards to the Third Position, upon the two Points of the Toes, and at the same instant you must Bend your two Knees to rebound upon One, or the other Foot, in the same Place.

As for the common Entre-Chat, it is perform'd in the same manner with the Right Caper upon the Third Position, but in Springing you must remember to Cross before and behind with your Legs en l'Air, two, three or four Times from the Fifth Position to the same again, wherefore we distinguish the Entre-Chats into 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8, because every time that you open your Legs in the 2d Position, and Cross them in the 5th en l'Air, it must be reckon'd for two Beatings.³¹

31. Siris, Dancing, 31-3.

Although in his list of steps Siris omits the pirouette, he does define it in the explanatory notes to the tables: "Opening the Leg, and Crossing it behind to Pirouetter, or Whirl about on the two Points of the Toes half-round."³²

Six of the sixteen steps in Weaver's "Suplement of Steps" are not found in Feuillet's step tables:

minuet step with a bound	balancé ("to Ballance")
bourrée with a bound	contretemps with a bound
sissonne with a contretemps	contretemps with a slide

The first of these is used frequently in the minuet section of Isaac's "Chaconne" for a solo woman, but to my knowledge is not found in French or other English choreographies.³³ The balancé is found frequently in both French and English dances. Perhaps it was omitted by Feuillet because it is comprised of two demi-coupés, usually requiring two bars of music, and thus was considered as two separate steps rather than a single step-unit. The remaining four steps are singled out by Weaver because of their occurrence in Isaac's "Rigadoon," where they ". . . give a particular grace to ye dance, which ye common way of performing them would not do; and it is to Mr Isaac we owe the so frequent use of them here since they are seldom, or ever found, in any other Dances whatsoever."³⁴ The steps are indeed used in Isaac's "Rigadoon," the first one in particular appearing twenty-four times. Yet some of these steps were not unknown to the French. Weaver's contretemps with a bound is used in two of the theatrical dances in

32. Ibid., [48].

33. This step-unit is the same as Feuillet's "menuet a la boëmiene" but with a jeté replacing the last step.

34. Weaver, Orchesography, [88].

Feuillet's 1700 collection, and the countretemps with a slide appears in Pécour's "Bourrée d'Achille" of the same year.³⁵

In summary, Weaver adheres closely to Feuillet with only a few exceptions, namely: 1) he includes two additional tables incorporating steps from Feuillet's 1701 "Supplément"; 2) his own supplement of steps draws on Feuillet's supplement but also includes six steps not in Feuillet, some of which Weaver implies are unique to Isaac; 3) he omits some of Feuillet's theatrical steps. Weaver's translation is somewhat more accurate than is Siris's, at least in parts one and two; however, his third part contains many errors, perhaps a result of hasty preparation for the press.

Siris, on the other hand, condenses heavily, both in the tables in part two and in the text of part three; he also expands the chassé table, drawing on Feuillet's supplement; and he includes the important "Jetté sans sauter" which Weaver omits. However, he does not give a supplement of steps, which means the minuet step is not included in his treatise; also omitted are some of the theatrical steps which Weaver does include. His decision to omit Feuillet's duplication of step symbols for both right and left feet, as well as his omission of many of the minor variants for the easier steps, suggest that Siris was impatient with the pedantry of the French model. Yet this is a thoughtful and at times original work which deserves more attention than it has received, both in the eighteenth century and today.

35. Witherell does not comment on the use of this variant, which appears only in the da capo section of the dance, mm. 3 and 7 (Pécour, 14).

The Second Edition of Weaver's Orchesography

A second, undated, edition of Weaver's translation was published by John Walsh in late 1721 or early 1722.³⁶ The title page of this edition follows the layout of the 1706 edition, and is similar in other respects except for some slight changes in punctuation and a greater use of italic or script style of letters. The Latin motto has been omitted, and in its place the following note appears:

N:B:To this Edition is added, the Rigadoon, the Louver, & the Brittagne, in Characters, with the Contents, or Index; the whole Engraven: and likewise may be had where these are sold, 20 Dances in Characters by Mr. Isaac, in one Vollume.

The imprint reads:

London: Printed for, & Sold by In.^o Walsh, Musick Printer, & Instrument Maker to his Majesty, at the Harp, in Catherine Street in the Strand; & In.^o Hare at the Viol, & Flute, in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange.

A number of changes have been made in the prefatory material. The four-page dedication to Isaac has been omitted, and, in the preface, the paragraphs referring to Isaac and other dancers and choreographers active in 1706 (more than a page of text) have been removed. The subscriber's list has also been deleted, along with the list of errata which was at the bottom of the page (although the errors have not been corrected in the second edition). New to the second edition is a

36. This date comes from an ad in the Post-Boy for 10-13 February 1722 which describes the work as "Just publish'd." See William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721-1766 (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1968), no. 617 (which, however, omits the phrase "just published"). At least five copies are known; some of them may be of a later issue, discussed below: F Po - GB Lcs; Ob - US CAh; Ws.

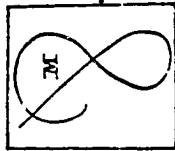
two-page table of contents which follows the preface. The text of the treatise follows the first edition almost exactly, although it, like the prefatory material, has been engraved rather than typeset. Several plates from the first edition are re-used (pages 29, 30, 33, and 38) and the entire forty-two pages of plates illustrating the notation of the various steps are also reprinted here unchanged except for being numbered consecutively. Walsh does make one correction in the second edition: the list of tables preceding the step notations (page 45 in the 1706 edition) now includes "Of Chassees, and Falling Steps."

The three notated dances mentioned on the title page have been added at the end of the treatise, bringing the total number of pages to 120. Two of these, Isaac's "Rigadoon" and Pécour's "Bretagne," are the same dances which appeared at the end of Siris's translation. The "Louver" is Pécour's "Aimable Vainqueur" (1701), one of his best-loved and most enduring dances. (Neither of the Pécour dances is identified by choreographer.) Isaac's "Rigadoon" is printed from the same plates that were used in the 1706 Collection of Ball Dances notated by Weaver. The notation and engraving styles do not match that of the two French dances. The latter adhere closely to the original French versions (much more so than the Siris edition of the "Bretagne").³⁷

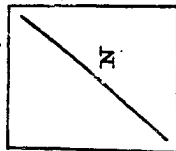
At least two different engravers prepared the plates for the second edition. The vast majority of the plates (pages 6-44 and 88-100) use a script-like italic style in which the Roman and italic typefaces of the first edition are reversed (illustration 3b). The prefatory material (pages iii-vi) and pages 2-5 of the treatise follow the typeface styles of the first edition, and the italic style is less

37. The editions are compared in Chapter VI.

The Circular Line, is that which goes round the Room, as is expressed by the Letter M.



The Oblique Line, is that which goes across the Room, from Corner to Corner, as may be seen by the Line N.



Every one of these Lines, or Tracts, may jointly or separately form the Figure of a Dance, on which may be described the Positions and Steps, as in Figure O. The beginning of which Tract, is shown by the Character representing the Posture or Presence of the Body, which must be joined to it, to shew the Position of the Body at the beginning of the Dance.

Of the Positions.

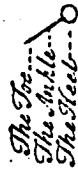
There are ten Sorts of Positions, generally us'd in Dancing, which are divided into True and False.

The True are when the Feet are plac'd uniform, and have the Toes turn'd out equally.

The False are some of them uniform, others not, and differ from the True in that the Toes are turn'd inward, in one in and the other out.

In all Positions what's over the Form of the Foot is known by these marks, Viz. That which resembles an O represents the Heel; the Line join'd to it, the Ankle; and the Extremity of that Line, the Point of that Foot.

A half Position.



This Figure of the Foot, is but a half Position, because it represents but one Foot, whereas a whole Position does that of two, as in the Figure A B.

Position.



Illustration 3. Weaver, Orchesography, 2nd ed.

script-like than in the subsequent pages (illustration 3a). On page 45 the engraving style matches that of the opening pages (ill. 3a), but the typefaces are reversed as in 3b. One possible explanation for this anomaly is that Walsh did in fact engrave the first edition at some point after he took it over from Meere, using the reversed typeface style found in most of the second edition. After Isaac's death Walsh decided to reissue the work, and for this he had the preliminary material re-engraved, as well as the first five pages of the treatise (perhaps to give it the appearance of a new edition?) He also corrected the error on page 45 mentioned above. The three dances could have been added at any time in this sequence of events. However, in the absence of such an "interim" edition this hypothesis remains unprovable.

Walsh's second edition was reissued in 1730 or later with two small alterations to the title page: John Hare's name and address have been removed, and the Walsh catalogue number 160 has been added.³⁸ According to Smith and Humphries, Walsh's collaboration with the Hares had ended by about November 1730, and after this time their names were usually erased from the plates.³⁹ Catalogue numbers first began to be added to Walsh publications sometime after 1727.⁴⁰

38. Smith and Humphries, Bibliography, no. 618. At least four copies of this issue are extant: E Mn - GB Lrad - US CAh (another example); Wcr. Copies listed in footnote 36 which I have not been able to examine, and which therefore may be of this issue, include F Po - GB Lcs - US Ws. The destroyed British Library copy was also a reissue, and should be listed under Smith/Humphries no. 618, not 617.

39. Ibid., vii-viii, xvi.

40. Smith, Bibliography, xxiii.

Weaver: A Small Treatise

In 1706, shortly after the publication of Orchesography, John Weaver also published A Small Treatise of Time and Cadence in Dancing.⁴¹ This small 12-page booklet is a translation of Feuillet's "Traité de la Cadance [sic]," included as part of the introductory material to his 1704 Recueil de dances, a collection of thirty-three theatrical dances by Pecour. Feuillet's text is three pages long, followed by four pages of examples. Weaver spreads the text out over six pages, but follows the original layout for the examples.

No credit is given to Feuillet on Weaver's title page; however, in an introductory paragraph he refers to Orchesography and goes on to say

but having since met with a more correct and perfect Method of Monsieur Feuillet's, . . . in which are several Rules and Examples, for a more exact and nice Observation of the Time, Cadence, and Measure; . . . I thought a Publication of this latter would not prove unacceptable⁴²

The remainder of the text is a straightforward translation from the French. The musical and dance notation examples have been retained, with the music being re-notated in treble clef.

Weaver's assessment of Feuillet's treatise is correct: one of the most crucial aspects of dance reconstruction is, of course, the relationship of the dance step to the music--what dancers refer to as

41. The Post-Man for May 7-9, 1706, contains the following ad: "This day is published, A Treatise of Time and Cadence in Dancing . . . 3s." The imprint is the same as for Orchesography, except that the French bookseller is now listed as Isaac Vaillant instead of P. Valliant. The only known copy of this publication is at GB Lbl. A facsimile is included in the Gregg Publishers/Dance Horizons edition of Orchesography.

42. Weaver, Small Treatise, 3.

'timing'. This aspect of notation was given only a minimal amount of attention in Chorégraphie, and, as was mentioned earlier, Feuillet's most important example was reproduced so poorly in Weaver as to render it useless.

Feuillet's "Traité" begins with a discussion of rhythmic notation showing that all meters can be reduced to duple or triple:

$$\begin{aligned} 1/2 \text{ bar of } C &= 1 \text{ bar of } 2 & 1 \text{ bar of } 6/4 &= 2 \text{ bars of } 3/4 \\ 1 \text{ bar of } 12/8 &= 4 \text{ bars of } 3/8 \end{aligned}$$

He then discusses the ways in which dance steps are to be fitted to measures of duple and triple meter music; this is followed by two pages of examples (24 examples per page) showing a variety of combinations of musical rhythms and dance notations. Each example contains one bar of music with the beats numbered 1,2 or 1,2,3; the same dance step is shown for both duple and triple meter examples. Numbers corresponding to those in the music appear in the dance notations showing precisely where the beats occur. While these tables do answer certain questions, especially with regard to jumping and hopping steps as well as to some of the elaborate theatrical steps involving leg gestures and pirouettes, many questions of rhythmic interpretation arise in the choreographies which are not resolved here.

Weaver's translation is accurate and clear. However, as in Orchesography he translates temps as "time" rather than beat. Feuillet's term pas double [two steps occurring in one beat] is omitted by Weaver, but his explanation and notation is unambiguous. Accompanying the first dance couplet in Feuillet (set to an entrée from Lully's Amadis) is an elaborate description which explains how to count the beats and emphasizes the importance of counting "without

interruption and equally [evenly] if it is possible." A second dance couplet, set to the "folia" melody, illustrates the same principles in triple meter. Weaver removes the accompanying text from these dance couplets, transferring it to another page. He also condenses it considerably, suggesting that he had greater confidence in the musical abilities of his readers than did Feuillet.

Weaver's two pages of examples contain a great many errors of the kind seen already in Orchesography. Mistakes in the musical notation are less serious, since they usually involve wrong pitches rather than rhythms. (Weaver omits all of the ornament signs in Feuillet's musical examples.) There are several mistakes in the dance notation in the second table, although again in most cases the proper execution can often be deduced from the context, or by referring to the companion example. More serious, however, is the misplacement of the numbers above the music to which the dance steps correspond. Since the correct rhythmic alignment of step and beat is the primary purpose of this treatise, Feuillet is very careful, both in the one-bar examples and in the longer dance phrases, to align properly the beat numbers with the music. Weaver's errors occur in measures with dotted rhythms, mostly in triple meter examples. He consistently aligns his beat numbers with the notes, rather than with the pulse:

	1 2 3	instead of	1 2 3
	♩ · ♪ ♩		♩ · ♪ ♩
or	1 2	instead of	1 2
	♩ · ♩		♩ · ♩

It is not clear whether this error is a result of careless proofreading on Weaver's part, or whether he misinterpreted Feuillet's examples.

Surely Weaver understood the difference between meter and rhythm. But one wonders how many provincial dancing masters were teaching their students the disjointed version of the "Folia" which would result from a literal interpretation of Weaver's example.

Essex: For the Further Improvement of Dancing

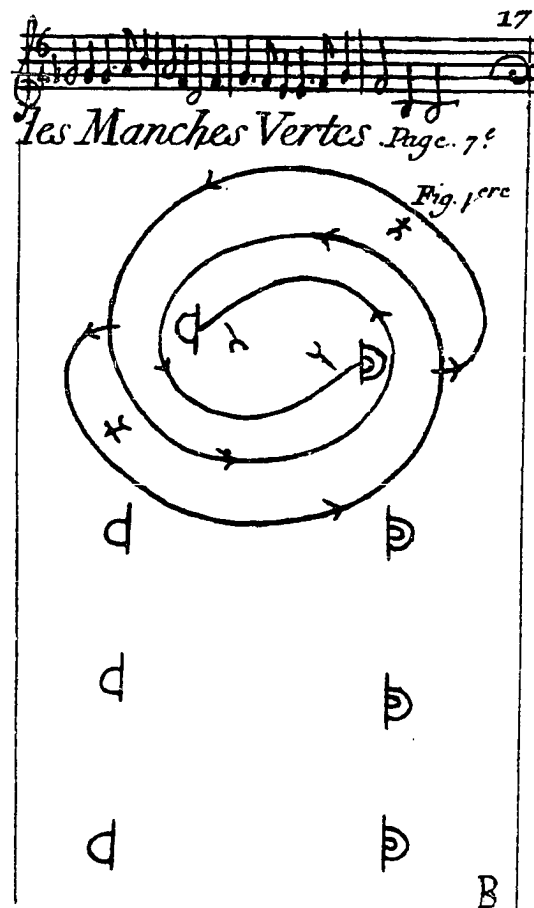
Although the English country dance is outside the scope of this study, the genre deserves some attention for the way in which it fits into the picture of dance in England as a whole. The English country dance of the second half of the seventeenth century was performed by many couples at once, and for the most part did not use a rigidly prescribed step vocabulary. By this time any direct connections with the presumed rustic origins of the genre had long since disappeared, and country dances were very much a part of court balls, along with the more formal minuets and other dances à deux. Accounts from the period describe private balls and assemblies where country dancing lasted for six hours, or even all night.⁴³ Country dances were introduced to France from England in the 1680's and, in somewhat Frenchified versions, became extremely popular. These dances (and their successors the cotillion and quadrille) eventually supplanted the danse à deux in polite society, the minuet alone surviving this onslaught.⁴⁴

The format of country dance publications in England remained the

43. Dudley Ryder's diary entry for 16 June 1715 describes a dance lasting from 6 PM to midnight. In an anonymous treatise dated 1727 the author recommends dancing "from Dinner Time till Supper Time, which will be about six Hours" (A Mechanical Essay on Singing, Musick, and Dancing, 45).

44. For more information on the history of this genre see Guilcher, Contredanse.

found in Feuillet's 1706 publication, Recueil de contredances.⁴⁷ A modified system of chorégraphie is used in which the floor patterns are shown, along with occasional symbols for steps or other motions or gestures (see example 3). Feuillet's treatise is dedicated to the Duchesse of Maine. In his two-page preface he acknowledges that the English were the inventors of the country dance; thus he has included a number of their dances "engraved as they are danced in that country" (gravées comme elles ont été dansées dans le pais). He attributes five



Example 3. Feuillet, Recueil de contredances, 1706.

47. A facsimile edition was published by Broude Brothers in 1968.

of the dances in the collection to the French dancing master Voisin, and Feuillet himself has contributed three.

The text of the treatise occupies the next twenty-six pages. Included here are the basic principles of the notation system: floor patterns and symbols for steps and gestures, as well as a detailed explanation of the progressive figures characteristic of almost all of the country dances from this period. Symbols taken from court dance notation include the signs for bending, rising, jumping or springing, and turning. Notation is given for the following steps or step-units: jeté, saut contretemps (demi-contretemps), balancé, pas de rigaudon, and reverence (honor).⁴⁸ Surprisingly, Feuillet does not mention the minuet step, although there are two minuet country dances in his collection, "Menuet de la Reine" and "Menuet du Chevalier."

Other notation symbols introduced by Feuillet include those for a number of miming gestures which are not part of the court dance tradition: stamping with the toe, heel, or flat foot one or more times; the lunge or estocade used in fencing; clapping your own hands or those of your partner; making a threatening or beckoning sign with the index finger; turning one or both wrists "as when you wind thread."

The text of the treatise is followed by thirty-two country dances notated by Feuillet in his modified system of chorégraphie. At least half of these dances are based on country dances in various editions of Playford's Dancing Master, although in some cases the figures have been considerably modified by Feuillet.

In 1710 the dancing master John Essex published an English

48. The notation for the pas de rigaudon differs from that in court dance treatises: the "foot in the air" sign following the first hop is omitted. This variant is used consistently in both the Feuillet and Essex collections of country dances.

translation of Feuillet's Recueil de contredances entitled For the Further Improvement of Dancing.⁴⁹ The complete title page reads as follows:

For the Furthur Improvement of Dancing, A Treatis of Chorography or ye Art of Dancing Country Dances after A New Character, In which The Figures Steps, & Manner of Performing are describ'd, & ye Rules Demonstrated in an Easie Method adapted to the Meanest Capacity. Translated from the French of Monsr. Feuillet, and Improv'd wth. many additions, all fairly Engrav'd on Copper plates, and a new Collection of Country Dances describ'd in ye same Character by John Essex Dancing Master.

Essex's title emphasizes the didactic material rather than the collection of dances, no doubt a reflection of the fact that he has included only ten dances in his publication (vs. Feuillet's thirty-two). His statement, "Improv'd wth. many additions," is somewhat misleading, since Essex adds nothing to Feuillet's text and omits several passages. (Perhaps the additions are his own country dances which appear in place of those printed by Feuillet.)

Essex dedicates his translation to the Duchess of Bolton, who was Henrietta Crofts (c1682-1730), youngest natural daughter of James, Duke of Monmouth and Eleanor Needham. He states that her illustrious name will help protect his "Curious and Novel" undertaking. He also refers to her excellence as a dancer, a common theme in dedications of this sort.

The two-page preface is by Essex, not a translation of Feuillet's preface. Essex first states that country dancing, "the Product of this

49. At least four copies of the Essex translation are extant: GB Lbl; Lcs; Lrad - US NYp. A facsimile edition of the British Library exemplar, in which the plate size has been enlarged approximately 25%, was published by Gregg International/Dance Horizons in 1970.

Nation," has spread throughout the courts of Europe, and is also found in "Publick Assemblies." He credits Feuillet with inventing the notation system, and Weaver with the "First Translation." (Here, Essex is speaking of the 1700 Chcrégraphie rather than the 1706 Recueil, but he does not make this clear to his readers.) Finally, he mentions the five French dances which he is including, stating that "all the rest are my own Composing."⁵⁰

Essex's translation of Feuillet's treatise is surprisingly faithful to the French text, considering that he was writing for an audience which was already familiar with the mechanics of country dancing. He does omit the last three pages of the original, Feuillet's tedious explanation of how one fits the music (available in a separate volume) to the dance. Of more significance is Essex's omission of a passage in the section "Advice concerning ye steps that best sute with Country Dances." In this section Feuillet makes some suggestions concerning the choice of appropriate steps, since even in notated country dances most of the steps are not specified. The Essex translation is given below; I have supplied in brackets the passage he omitted.

The most ordinary steps in Country Dances (those excepted that are upon Minuet Airs) are steps of Gavot, drive sideways[,] Bouree step and some small Jumps forward of either Foot in a hopping manner, or little hopps [similar to those which are used in the "Cotillon," where partners take hands, which I will call here demi contretemps;] in all round Figures as the preededing & following are, one may make little hopps or Bouree steps but little hopps are more in fashion.⁵¹

50. One of these five dances, "A Trip to the Jubilee," first appeared in Playford's 1701 edition of the Dancing Master. None of the dances in Playford's collections are attributed.

51. Essex, Improvement, 15-16. The original French reads "certains

Feuillet is referring here to the anonymous dance "Le Cotillon," published in 1705. The notation of this step in the dance is the same as the "saut contretemps" in his treatise:

demys contretemps	}
or	
saut contretemps	

Essex may have omitted this passage because he did not understand the reference, or because the dance was not known in England. Yet this passage is significant for the light it sheds on the performance of a court dance step, the contretemps de menuet or minuet hop, to be discussed in Chapter III.

Subsequent Editions of Essex's Translation.

The use of Feuillet notation to record country dances apparently did not become widespread in England; Playford's successors and their competitors continued to publish country dances throughout the eighteenth century using verbal descriptions. Nevertheless, Essex's translation was apparently reissued several times: in the Tatler no. 271 (January 1711) is an advertisement for a second edition with six new country dances. And a third edition was advertised in March 1712 in several issues of the Spectator, and again in January 1717 in the Post Man.⁵² No copies of either are known to have survived. However, the work was reissued in folio format (with pages about four times the size

petits sauts en avant tant d'un pied que de l'autre en forme de cloche pied semblables à ceux que l'on fait au Cotillon, aux endroits cu l'on y donne la main, que j'appelleray ici des demys contretemps."

52. The last of these references is from Tilmouth, "Calendar," 96.

of the 1710 publication) sometime after the death of Queen Anne in August 1714.⁵³ The terminus a quo is established both by the imprint, in which Walsh is listed as "servant to his Majesty," and by a new dedication to "Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales," King George's daughter-in-law Caroline of Ansbach, wife of the future George II. No terminus ad quem can be established, although it is reasonable to assume that Essex would have wanted to curry favor at court as soon as was decently possible after the mourning period for Queen Anne. Smith suggests a date of 1715, but this is based on his mis-reading of a notice on the 1716 L'Abbe ball dance, the "Princess Anna".⁵⁴

The text of Essex's new title page is identical to the 1710 edition through the phrase "Engrav'd on Copper plates".⁵⁵ It continues, "with a Collection Of Country Dances, and a New French Dance Call'd the Princess's Passpied Compos'd and Writt in Characters by John Essex." At the end of the imprint Essex adds that at his house are taught "all the Ball Dances of the English and French Court." In his new dedication Essex apologizes for approaching the Princess when her thoughts are "Employ'd upon the Princely Education of your Illustrious Issue." He goes on to praise her example to her children and to the Court, where she has "retriv'd the English Gallantry, which for these late Years has been Entirely Neglected." This is apparently a reference to the court balls which the Prince and Princess of Wales held in the

53. The only known copy of the folio edition is at GB Lbl.

54. Smith, Bibliography, no. 478. The notice in question, which appears in Smith no. 494, reads "ye Art of Dancing Demonstrated by Characters and Figures," and is almost certainly for Weaver's translation of Chorégraphie rather than for the folio edition of Essex.

55. The title page is reproduced in Smith, Bibliography, plate 23.

beginning of the Hannoverian reign.⁵⁶ In contrast, dances at court were infrequent during the last years of Queen Anne's reign, perhaps due in part to her frequent attacks of gout. Essex speaks highly of Caroline's dancing, and suggests that her patronage and encouragement will raise the art of dancing to its "highest perfection." The preface of the 1710 edition is omitted.

This issue contains the entire text and the ten dances included in the 1710 edition, but with the original plates run off four to a page, so that the eighty-eight pages of the original are reduced to twenty-two. Essex adds five new country dances and the "new French dance" mentioned above, his only known danse à deux. The original plates appear to be unaltered except for the spelling of the country dance title "The Tost" which has been changed to "The Toast."

In 1711, a year after the Essex translation first appeared, Walsh issued another dance publication, E. Pemberton's An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing. The similarity between the titles was surely intentional and, like the Essex work, this one uses the modified Feuillet notation to record dances for larger groups, in this case three to twelve women. However, since the work has almost no explanatory text or other didactic pretensions, it will be discussed in Chapter IV.

In the next sixteen years a large number of dance-related publications appeared in England. These include two theoretical works by John Weaver; deportment manuals by Graham, Essex, and an anonymous author; and nearly fifty choreographies, the bulk of the English repertoire. Yet in spite of all this activity the Weaver translation of

56. In addition to the Dudley Ryder diary and Beattie, George I, see Spencer Cowper, ed., The Diary of Mary Countess Cowper, (London: John Murray, 1864), 47.

Feuillet remained unchallenged as the guide to dancing. A new dance treatise, the first wholly original one to appear in England, was written in the 1720's by Kellom Tomlinson, but its publication was delayed by the appearance of another English translation.

Essex: The Dancing Master

Introduction

The importance of Rameau's Le Maître à Danser (1725) to our understanding of Baroque dance style has been stated repeatedly by dance historians.⁵⁷ It provides the first comprehensive verbal descriptions by a French dancing master of the various steps and step-units, as well as detailed information about the arm motions which accompany the steps.⁵⁸ A companion volume, Abbrégé de la nouvelle methode, was also published in late 1725 or early 1726. It offers Rameau's revisions to Feuillet's notation system, particularly with regard to the timing of certain steps, and updates certain of Feuillet's older steps with newer versions.⁵⁹ No English translation of the Abbrégé was published, nor is it referred to in any of the subsequent English writings on dance.

Le Maître has been available to English-speaking readers for over

57. Subsequent editions appeared in 1734 and 1748. A facsimile of the first edition was published by Broude Brothers in 1967.
58. Gottfried Taubert's monumental (1176-page) treatise, Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister oder gründliche Erklärung der Französischen Tanz-Kunst (1717), includes similar information. See Angelika Gerbes, Gottfried Taubert on Social and Theatrical Dance of the Early Eighteenth Century, (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1972; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 73-2001).
59. Abbrégé was published in facsimile by Gregg International Publishers, 1972.

fifty years through Cyril Beaumont's generally excellent translation.⁶⁰ However, the treatise was first translated into English and published in 1728 by the dancing master John Essex, who had previously translated Feuillet's 1706 country dance treatise into English in 1710. As in his earlier translation, Essex adheres closely to the format and contents of the original, with a few important exceptions which will be discussed below. His title page (transcribed in full below) is more informative than Rameau's. Essex describes the contents in some detail, including a reference to the "Minuet-Figure," and recommends the work to, among others, "those which keep Boarding-Schools." Rameau's illustrative plates were re-engraved for the Essex translation by G. Alsop. Essex apparently published the work himself, although it was also available from the bookseller J. Brotherton. No price is given on the title page, but it is listed in a Walsh catalog (c1730) for £1. 1s.⁶¹ At least seven copies of this edition are extant.⁶²

The work was reissued in 1731 (Essex describes it as a second edition, and for the sake of clarity in the following discussion I will

60. The Dancing Master (London, 1931), reprinted by Dance Horizons in 1970. The information in Beaumont's introduction continues to be cited in the current literature (including the New Grove), in spite of the fact that it contains a number of errors. Some of these errors are corrected in my subsequent discussion of Essex's translation of Rameau.
61. Smith and Humphries, Bibliography, no. 607. The authors erroneously assume this publication to be Essex's 1710 translation (or the subsequent folio reissue) of Feuillet's contredanse treatise.
62. The RISM entry, much in need of revision, lists the following copies: GB Ob; US SMh, Wr. To these should be added the following: GB Lcs; Lrad (2 ex.); and a copy formerly in the Cole collection. Catalogue of the Jack Cole Collection of Books and Pictures on the Dance: Part I, Sotheby Parke Bernet auction catalogue, 16-17 July 1979, no. 416.

do likewise). There are minor changes to the title page, the addition of approbations by Pécour and L'Abbe, and a new version of one of the plates. All of the other plates are identical to those in the first edition, and the remaining text appears not to have been reset.⁶³ Another issue of this second edition, with the identical title page and text, but with mostly new plates, was published in 1733 or later. This issue will be considered in detail below.

Since the Essex translation is not available in facsimile, the title page is transcribed here. Changes in the second edition are indicated as follows: square brackets enclose text that has been altered; within the brackets, text appearing before the slash is from the 1728 title page, after the slash, from the 1731 edition; a blank space before or after a slash indicates that the text in question did not appear in that version. Certain details of layout, capitalization, and use of italics were also altered in the second edition, but no attempt has been made to reproduce these here.

The Dancing-Master: or, The [Art/whole Art and Mystery] of Dancing Explained; [Wherein/And] the Manner of Performing all Steps in Ball-Dancing [is made easy by a new and familiar Method/made short and easy]. In Two Parts. The First, Treating of the proper Positions and different Attitudes for Men and Women, from which all the Steps are [to be/] taken and performed; adorned with instructive Figures: [With/And] a Description of the Minuet-Figure, shewing the beautiful Turns [and graceful Motions/] of the Body in that Dance[./: As also the Manner how Men and Women ought to walk gracefully with a genteel Behaviour upon all Occasions. Likewise the Ceremonial, as used at the King's Great Ball, and of behaving genteely at Regulated Balls.] The Second, Of the Use and [graceful/agreeable] Motion[/s] of the Arms [with the/and] Legs in taking [the/their] proper Movements[/'] and forming the [Contrasts, with/Contrast. With] Figures for [the/their] better

63. RISM lists two copies of this edition at US R, but they are in fact two different issues. Other copies, not in RISM, are at GB Lbl; US CAh; and A Smi.

Explanation[. The Whole containing Sixty Figures drawn from the Life, and curiously Engraved on Copper Plates./; in Sixty Draughts, done from the Life, and Engraved on Copper Plates.] Done from the French of Monsieur Rameau, by J. Essex, Dancing-Master. [/The Second Edition.] London Printed, and Sold by him at his House in Rood-Lane, Fenchurch-street; and J. Brotherton, Bookseller, at the Bible in Cornhill. [M.DCC.XXVIII/M.DCC.XXXI.]

Although most of the changes in the second edition seem minor, an important addition is the sentence calling attention to "the Ceremonial, as used at the King's Great Ball."

Facing the title page in the second edition is a page of "approbations," the eighteenth-century equivalent of today's book-jacket testimonials. The first of these, dated 1 January 1725, is by Pécour, and is a translation of his approbation which appears in the French original.⁶⁴ The second approbation, dated 10 December 1731, is by "Mr. Labee, Court-Master to the present Royal Family."

As in most Arts and Sciences, so in Dancing, there is a certain Rule or Method, as a Standard which all Masters may safely go by; and I take this Book, entituled [sic] The Dancing-Master, to have laid down those Rudiments by which all genteel Dancing may be attained: I also advise all Masters to follow these Precepts, that Scholars, when they change their Master, may not be put into a contrary Manner by such a Change.

The book is dedicated to "Mr. Groscourt," author of "The Ecchoe," the first of the figure dances in Pemberton's 1711 collection.⁶⁵ The dedication identifies Groscourt as among the "[first] Masters of our

64. A translation by Beaumont is included in his introduction (Dancing Master, [vii]).

65. It is interesting to note that a number of English dance treatises and collections are dedicated to dancing masters rather than members of the royalty or nobility. This would seem to suggest that more financial support was forthcoming from the dancing masters (and perhaps their pupils) than from the traditional patrons.

Profession." Essex says he has known Groscourt for many years, and praises his "easy Manner of Teaching" which has produced fine "Scholars of both Sexes."⁶⁶

A ten-page preface follows in which Essex credits the French with a "peculiar Genius" for dancing, and praises the Rameau treatise. He goes on to give short biographical sketches of a number of prominent English dancers and dancing masters, in many cases the only such biographical information we have about these figures. They are, in order: Mr. Weaver, the late Mr. Isaac, Monsieur L'Abbe, Mr. D'la Garde, Mr. Firbank, the late Mr. Shaw, Mr. Caverley, Mr. Ayiworth, and finally Mrs. Booth [Hester Santlow]. Essex's preface is followed by his translation of the original French preface.⁶⁷ It is clear that Essex has used the latter as a model. Rameau, after discussing the purpose of the treatise and the value of dancing, goes on to mention some of the most prominent French choreographers, dancers and composers. Essex does not have a subscriber's list.

Rameau's treatise is divided into two parts, the first containing forty-two chapters which cover the basic foot positions, bows, and steps; and a second part with eighteen chapters on arm movements for the various step-units. (Only sixteen chapters for part two are listed in Rameau's table of contents.) Essex follows this format exactly, except for his division of Rameau's last chapter into three separate chapters. Since Essex's page size is somewhat larger than the French publication

66. The implication here is that Groscourt has taught primarily amateurs, an impression reinforced by the fact that no pupils of his, either professional dancers or members of the nobility, are mentioned by name, either here or elsewhere.

67. For another English translation, see Beaumont, Dancing Master, xi-xv.

he manages to fit the same material onto 160 pages, rather than 271 as in the original.

Essex makes very few changes in Rameau's text, even when it might seem reasonable for him to do so. (For example, Rameau's derogatory remarks about country dancing in chapter twenty-five might understandably have been omitted by the translator of a country dance treatise and composer of a number of such dances.) Essex is inconsistent in his use of English vs. French terms for step names, perhaps a reflection of current practice in England. He retains the more common French terms such as *coupé*, *courante*, *bourrée*, and *rigaudon* as did Siris and Weaver in 1706.⁶⁸ Essex also does not translate "*sissonne*" (Weaver translated this as cross-leap); but the step sequence for the *pas de gaillarde*, (*assemblé*, *pas marché*, *pas tombé*) is given as "a joined step, a walk, and a falling step." Rameau's varying and confusing terminology for the *demi-jeté* (translated by Essex as half-bound), includes the terms *jeté échappé* and *demi-coupé échappé*, the latter appearing in Essex as "easy bound" and "tack or bound" respectively.⁶⁹

Essex occasionally omits passages of Rameau's text, perhaps because he thinks they will not be of interest to his English readers. In the discussion of the ceremonial ball at court (ch. 16), Essex deletes the sentence referring to "Monseigneur et Madame la Dauphine" and other members of the French royalty; similarly, a reference in

68. Beaumont's translation retains the French step names throughout; however, Rameau's "*sur la pointe*" is silently altered to "*sur la demi-pointe*."

69. This puzzling step will be considered at greater length in Chapter VI.

chapter eleven to the Tuileries (as a place where one would be bowing in public) is omitted by Essex.

In the course of his treatise Rameau refers to ten French ball dances, seven of them as illustrations of specific steps or as examples of dances in which particular arm movements are appropriate. (The other three dances are courantes, no longer a fashionable dance in Rameau's time.) The seven non-courantes are all by Pécour, and were originally published between 1700 and 1709. Five of them were renotated by Rameau in the second part of his Abbrégé, and two, "La Bretagne" and "Aimable Vainqueur," were also published in England by Siris and Weaver. Essex, like Weaver, refers to the latter dance as the "Louvre." Essex retains most of Rameau's references, but omits both mentions of "La Bacchante" (1706), suggesting that this dance may not have been known in England.

In his translation of the text which accompanies the two plates omitted from the English edition, Essex does not always make the necessary adjustments. In chapter twelve, "Of Honours backwards," the numbers (1) and (2) referring to the accompanying [missing] figure have been deleted from the text, but not the phrase "as the Figure represents." Likewise, in the text accompanying the [missing] plate of the King's Great Ball, Essex deletes a sentence describing the illustration, but neglects to remove a later reference, "as shewn by the Figures (1) (2) (3) (4)."

Occasionally Essex corrects a mistake made by Rameau; the most important of these occurs in the description of the minuet figure and will be discussed later. Errors made by Essex include occasional mistranslations, although the correct word is usually clear from the context. Arabic numerals used in the text to refer to a specific arm or

foot position in the plate under discussion are sometimes missing (from either text or plate).

Plates

Included in Rameau's Le Maître were a number of engraved plates illustrating various aspects of the text. Most of these plates were drawn by Rameau himself (they are signed F. Rameau fecit at the bottom) although a few were by J. Denis. The plates include a frontispiece, showing a dancing lesson in progress; the often reproduced "grand ball" scene; six plates showing the floor patterns for the minuet; three plates depicting the motions of the shoulders, elbows and wrists; and forty-eight plates in which one or two dancers illustrate some aspect of the dance--a total of fifty-nine plates.⁷⁰ Some copies of each edition of Rameau's treatise include an extra plate numbered 74. This plate, which I have labelled 74b, is very similar to 74[a], but is labelled "Figure preste à faire le tems de Courante," a caption which also appears on plate 215 with a different illustration.⁷¹ The plates for the first English edition were engraved by G. Alsop; only twenty five are signed (either G. Alsop Delin, or G. A. Delin), but all are in the same style. For the most part they adhere rather closely to Rameau's engravings, although they lack the charm and naivete of the

70. The plates in surviving copies may not always appear in the same order, since they were printed separately from the text and the entire book was usually sold unbound. The plates were numbered to show the page opposite which they were to be bound.

71. Copies which contain this extra plate include the following: 1725 edition, US NYp; 1734 edition, US NYp; 1748 edition, GB Lrad - US Wc; Library of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (no RISM siglum), hereafter referred to as GN. (I have been unable to inspect or find accurate bibliographical information on a number of other copies.) In the GN exemplar plate 74[b] bears faint traces of the circular inscriptions surrounding the arms in plate 215.

latter. (As Witherell has pointed out, the value of drawings made by a dancing master, no matter how unsophisticated artistically, should not be overlooked.)⁷²

Essex may have been working from a Rameau copy with the extra plate mentioned above, since his title page promises "Sixty Figures." Nevertheless, only fifty-seven plates are included in the first edition of the English translation. And although the title page of the second edition again promises "Sixty Draughts" and includes a specific reference to the "Ceremonial as used at the King's Great Ball," neither this scene nor the other plate omitted in the first edition is included.⁷³ One change was made, however: plate no. 7 ("The first position") has been re-engraved. Although the figures are similar, in the second version the heels seem to be slightly closer together, the dancer's shadow is to his right, and the hands are moved closer in to the center of the body.

Another issue of this second edition appeared in 1733 or after. Although the title page and text are identical to the second edition just discussed, only seven diagrammatic plates (four minuet plates, and the three plates illustrating wrist and arm motions) have been retained. Fifty new plates, most of them signed by G. Bickham Jr. and dated 1732

72. Anne Witherell, "Pierre Rameau's French Menuet," (Master's project, Stanford University, 1973), 67.

73. Beaumont accepted Essex's claim and apparently did not count the plates, for he states that the edition contains sixty plates (Dancing Master, viii). Fletcher tries to justify this discrepancy by claiming that because three of the plates contain two people rather than one, there are in fact sixty "figures," i.e., people. But this reasoning does not hold up, since there are nine diagrammatic plates with no people, and thus only a total of fifty-one figures (Forty Books, no. 30).

or 173_, replace the Alsop plates.⁷⁴ In addition, the two plates which Alsop did not engrave, the "first movement of the bow forwards" and the grand ball scene (dated 1733), appear in the English translation for the first time. Only three copies of this issue are known to have survived: the copy used by Beaumont in 1931 for his edition (present whereabouts unknown); a copy in the Sibley Library, Eastman School of Music; and a copy in Jackson Library, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Even a superficial comparison of the Alsop and Bickham plates supports the conclusion reached by Beaumont, Witherell, and others, that the latter are far superior artistically to Alsop's, whose dancer seems overweight and clumsy, with disproportionately large arms and hands. And since Bickham's plates are anatomically more accurate, such crucial information as correct foot positions and arm placements can more easily be observed. However, Bickham's plates go beyond artistic superiority and anatomical accuracy: they introduce a new element of variety not found in Rameau's plates, and only occasionally in those by Alsop. In the Le Maître plates we see the same dancer, whose wig, overcoat, shoes, and facial expression remain unchanged. In the Bickham plates, however, the artist seems to be deliberately introducing as much variety as possible. Wig length and style varies from plate to plate; sometimes there is a curl which comes over the right or left shoulder. Neck bows, gloves, sleeve ruffles, and patterned stockings appear and disappear unexpectedly. And the male dancer's coat has a disconcerting way of opening and closing in the middle of a sequence of steps (see, e.g.,

74. The existence of this other version of the second edition was first pointed out by Beaumont; he was unaware of the other two copies discussed below.

ex. 9a-9d below).

Another important detail in which Bickham's drawings differ from those of Alsop is in the hand position. The hands in Rameau's plates are usually slightly open and relaxed, and he twice cautions the reader, "if the Thumb was to press one of the Fingers, that would shew a determined Motion, which would cause the upper Joints to look stiff, and prevent that easy Motion which the Arms ought to have."⁷⁵ Alsop's hands are similar to Rameau's. However, in Bickham's plates the thumb and index finger are frequently touching, resulting in a more closed hand position (although it is still possible to be relaxed), but with the little finger often separated and pointing away from the rest of the hand (see the examples below). This hand position, used consistently by Bickham, may well represent an English style distinct from the French.⁷⁶

A comparison of the Rameau and Bickham grand ball engravings is also of interest (examples 4a and 4b). It is clear that Bickham has copied the French version, although a number of details have been simplified. The ornate wall and ceiling decorations have disappeared, there is much less detail in the faces and clothing of the courtiers, and the orchestra has been reduced from eighteen to thirteen players. Otherwise the illustrations are very similar, and there is no reason to

75. Essex, Dancing Master, 56. On page 116 is a similar warning, "if the Thumb was to touch one of the Fingers, it would make the Motion more stiff."

76. This hypothesis is supported by the plates in Tomlinson's Art of Dancing (1735). A similar conclusion was reached by Shirley Wynne, "Reconstruction of a Dance from 1700," Dance History Research: Perspectives from Related Arts and Disciplines, Proceedings of the Second Conference on Research in Dance (New York: CORD, 1970), 31-3.

assume that Bickham's engraving was meant to represent a typical English court ball. Indeed, in Essex's translation the reference to "the end of the room . . . which is near the musicians" ("qui est du côté de l'Orchestre"), has been changed to "which is by the Musick Room," from which we can infer that the position of the musicians in the engraving does not reflect English practice.⁷⁷

Essex corrects two errors in Rameau's description of the figures of the minuet.⁷⁸ However, a mistake in the plate "The fifth Figure of presenting the Right Hands" was overlooked in the Alsop engraving. In his text, and in the diagram in plate 88 (example 5a), Rameau states that the couple should make one turn ("en faisant un tour entier"). Yet the floor pattern shows them turning one and a half times around, which will put them on the wrong sides of the room to begin the left hand turn as it is described in the following plate. In other words, the position of the dancers at the beginning of the left hand turn should be as follows:⁷⁹

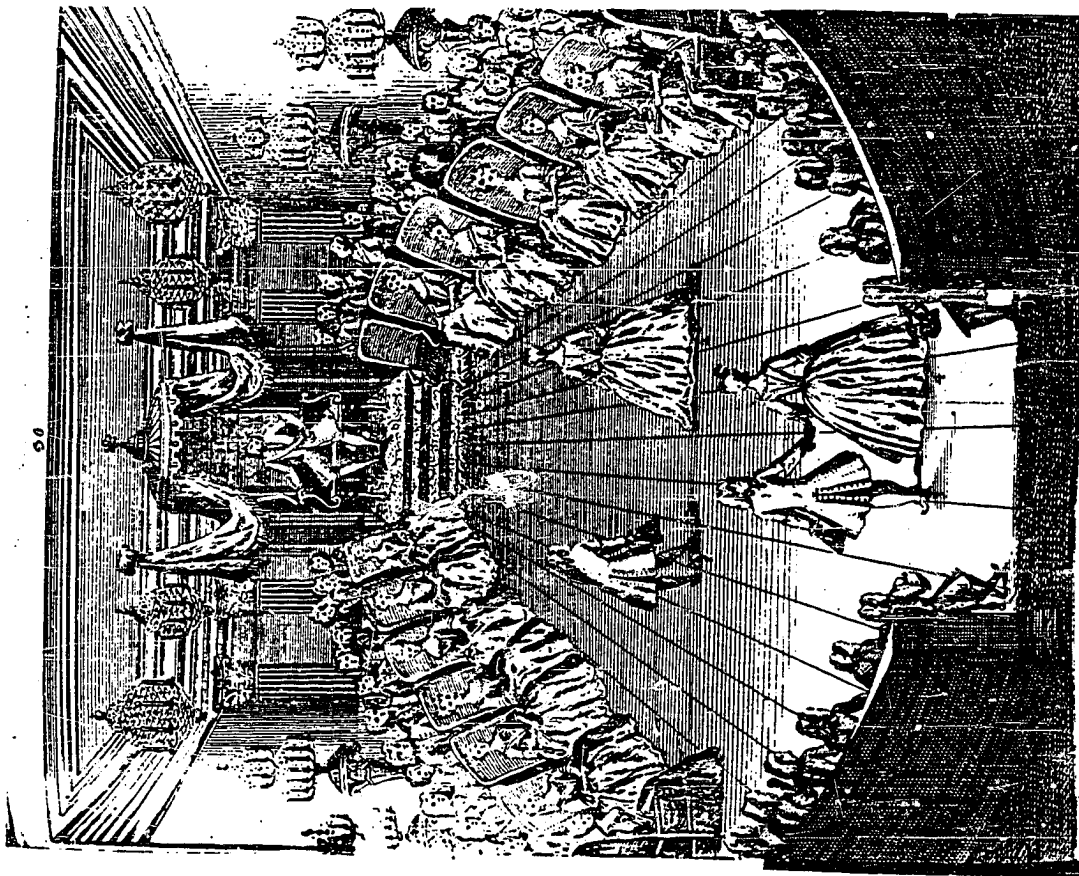


This error is not fatal to the dance, since the partners can make less than a full turn in the following figure, or they can reverse their positions later in the dance. The Alsop diagram is almost identical to that of Rameau, and Essex makes no comment in his translation about the problem; it is only in the Bickham engraving that the error is finally

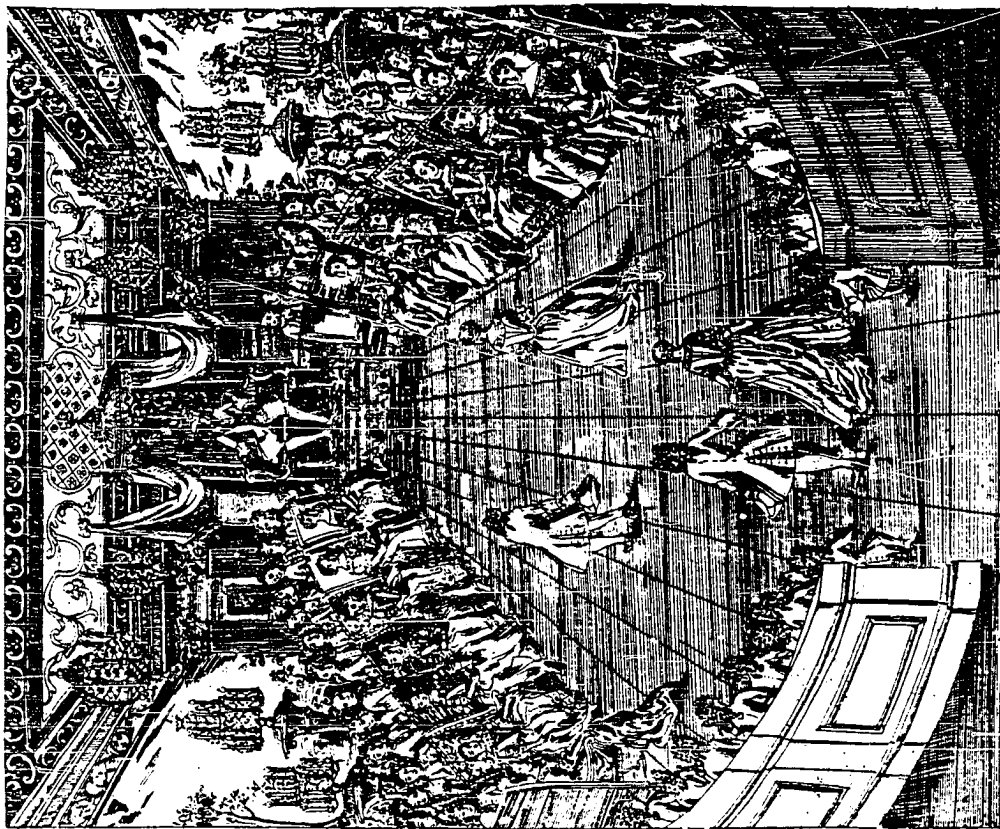
77. Rameau, Le Maître, 50; Essex, Dancing Master, 29.

78. Some differences between Rameau's description of the minuet and Essex's translation are pointed out by Hilton, Dance, 308.

79. Hilton does not comment on this discrepancy, and has followed the floor pattern rather than the text, showing the left hand turn beginning with the dancers reversed (Dance, 304).



Example 4b. Essex, *Dancing Master*. (1732), copy B2



Example 4a. Rameau, *Le Maître* (1725)

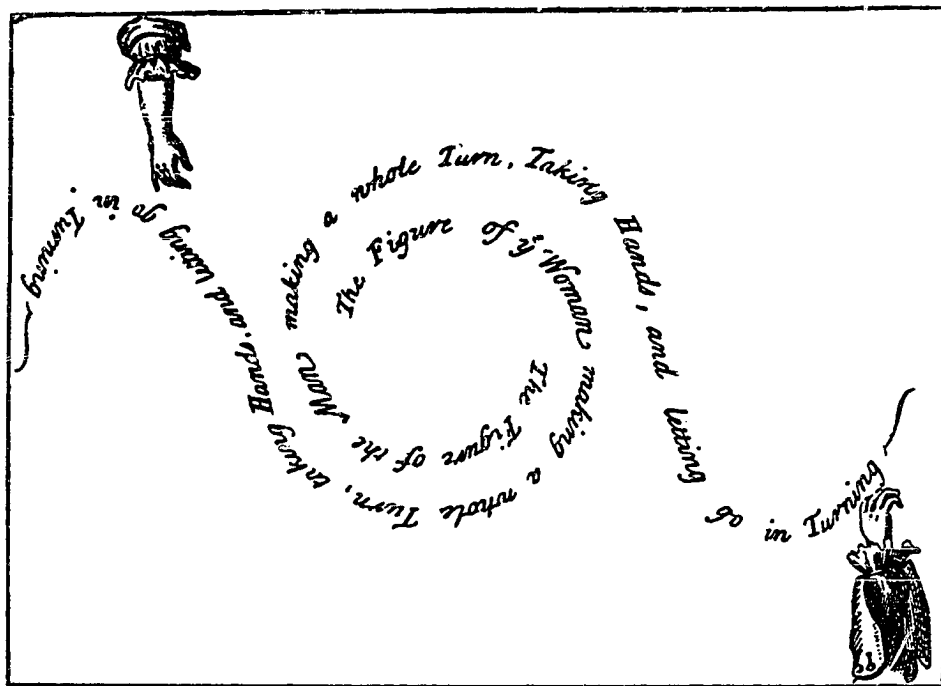


Fig. 31. The Fifth Figure—presenting Right Hands

Example 5b. Essex, Dancing Master (c1733)



Figure pour presenter la main droit

Example 5a. Rameau, Le Maître (1725)

corrected (ex. 5b).⁸⁰

A careful comparison of the three sets of Bickham plates reveals that three different states are represented. Alterations were made on at least twelve of the plates, alterations which are not found in all three copies; and one plate has been completely re-engraved. For the purposes of this discussion the three copies are identified as follows: B1, Sibley Library, Eastman; B2, Jackson Library, UNC-G; B3, copy used by Beaumont, present whereabouts unknown. All three copies include the seven plates taken from the first Essex edition mentioned above. B1 and B2 each contain fifty-nine plates, but four of the plates in B2 differ from their counterparts in B1. (The plates in question are 50[b], 50[c], 108[c], and 127[b].) Beaumont's copy, B3, was apparently missing five plates; of the remaining fifty-four plates, ten differ from both B1 and B2, and three differ from B1.⁸¹

Several types of changes are found, ranging from the relatively insignificant addition of a hat or removal of a shadow to the more important alteration of the position of one or both arms. In order to evaluate these changes it was necessary to determine which copy was the

80. Tomlinson's floor pattern for this figure shows that the turn is to be done once around only, and in his chapter "Of the Mistakes in Dancing of a Minuet" he reminds his readers that in the right- and left-hand circling figures the dancers must return to their original positions (Dancing, 138).
81. The plates lacking in Beaumont's copy are as follows: the frontispiece, "The First Position" (Beaumont's Fig. 2), "The Second Attitude of the Bow Backwards" (Fig. 16), the grand ball scene (Fig. 20), and "A Man and Woman making their Honours to Dance" (one of two such plates, the second of which is Beaumont's Fig. 22). Figures 2 and 16 were reconstructed for Beaumont's edition; however, the plate which should precede Fig. 22 was not included, and Beaumont altered the text so that its omission would not be noticeable.

original and in what order the revisions were made. The answer was provided by copy B2. A close examination of two of the plates which it has in common with B3 but not with B1 (108c and 127b) reveals faint but unmistakable traces of the original arm positions as they exist in copy B1. These traces occurred because the plate was not completely hammered out when the revisions were made. Thus this copy represents an intermediate step between B1 and B3 and establishes the chronology B1→B2→B3. Table 4 summarizes the changes which have been made.

The first version of plate 42b (reproduced as the lower figure in Hilton, page 167) is signed simply "G. Bickham Sculp." The plate in the Beaumont copy is also signed "G. Bickham Invt Sculp." The absence of the "jun" from both copies may indicate that they were engraved by the senior George Bickham.⁸² Perhaps it is significant that it was this plate that was engraved twice in some of the Rameau copies. There appear to be no substantive differences between the two engravings, although in B3 the hands are rotated slightly towards the front.

Plate 50b is the only one which exists in three different states: a large numeral "4" has been added near the words "Step Aside" in both B2 and B3, engraved in the former and either re-engraved or added by hand in B3. (The numbers are not as carefully formed in the latter copy.) A full explanation of this anomaly, which seems to suggest that the B2 plate postdates the B3 plate, will not be possible until the Beaumont exemplar is located, or a fourth copy with Bickham plates is discovered.

The omission of the hat in plate 50c was clearly an oversight,

82. According to Witherell, the two Bickhams were careful to distinguish their respective engravings ("Minuet," 67, fn. 4).

Table 4: Alterations to Bickham's Plates

<u>Plate Number*</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Type of Change (B1 → B3)</u>
42b [26]	The Fourth Figure representing the Equilibrium or Balance	Entire figure re-engraved, small details of costume altered
50b [32]	The Sixth Figure of Presenting Left Hands	Large numeral 4's added
50c [33]	[Presenting both hands in the Minuet]	Hat added to man's head
56b [35]	The Second Attitude of the Arms in the Menuet	Weight on left foot; shadow from right foot eliminated
57 [36]	The Third Attitude of the Arms in the Menuet	Weight on right foot; left foot off floor
99b [39]	The Second Attitude after the Spring	Left arm higher and more extended; left hand position altered
105 [40]	The First Attitude of the Chasse in the Babet	Left arm extended, raised, drawn back
106 [41]	The Second Attitude of the Chasse in the Babet	[alteration is similar to previous plate] Left arm straightened, raised, drawn back
108b [43]	The Second Attitude of the Sallies	Arms lowered from elbows, extended slightly forward
108c [44]	The Third Attitude of Sallies or Starting Steps	Arms straightened, lowered from elbows
127b [52]	The Third Figure of the Movement of the Instep (temps de couraite)	Arms straightened, lowered [to match plate 127a]
128 [53]	The Fourth Figure representing the Contraste	Right arm extended and raised; right hand position changed
152c [57]	The Third Attitude after the Hop	Left arm higher, extended [changes similar to those in plate 99b above]

*When two or more plates have the same number I have added letters (a, b, c) to distinguish them. Beaumont renumbered the plates in his edition; these numbers are shown in brackets.

since it appears in the Rameau and Alsop plates (and in order to present both hands one has to do something with one's hat!). In plates 56b and 57 the shadows have been altered to show more clearly which foot bears the weight of the body.

In the eight remaining plates listed in Table 4 alterations have been made to one or both arms. The importance of the arms in Baroque dance should not be underestimated; according to Rameau, ". . . how well soever a Dancer may perform with his Feet, if his Arms are not easy and graceful, his Dancing will appear heavy and dull, and by consequence will have the same Effect as a Picture without its Frame."⁸³ Thus these changes may be significant either as examples of an English style of dancing, or as illustrations of a refinement of the French style which was inadequately depicted in previous plates. I have chosen five examples which are representative of the types of changes which were made. In addition to the reproductions of the plates (examples 6-10) I have quoted Rameau's instructions for the arms where appropriate.

Examples 6a-6d show the four versions of the "Second attitude after the Spring" (Essex 99b). Except for the varying placement of the shadow and the lowering of Rameau's right toe, the position of the feet and body is similar in all four plates. Alsop's right arm seems slightly more bent than Rameau's, and his right hand position is also more open. In the first version of the Bickham plate (6c), both the left arm and hand are considerably more rounded, while the right hand adopts the characteristic Bickham hand position described above. In the revised version of this plate (6d), the left arm has been opened out and

83. Essex, Dancing Master, 114.

raised, agreeing more closely with the Rameau plate, although the focus has not been altered. The left hand position now matches the right. The same step is shown in plate 152c (the only step for which Rameau provides two sets of plates) and the alterations made to the latter are very similar to the ones in 99b.

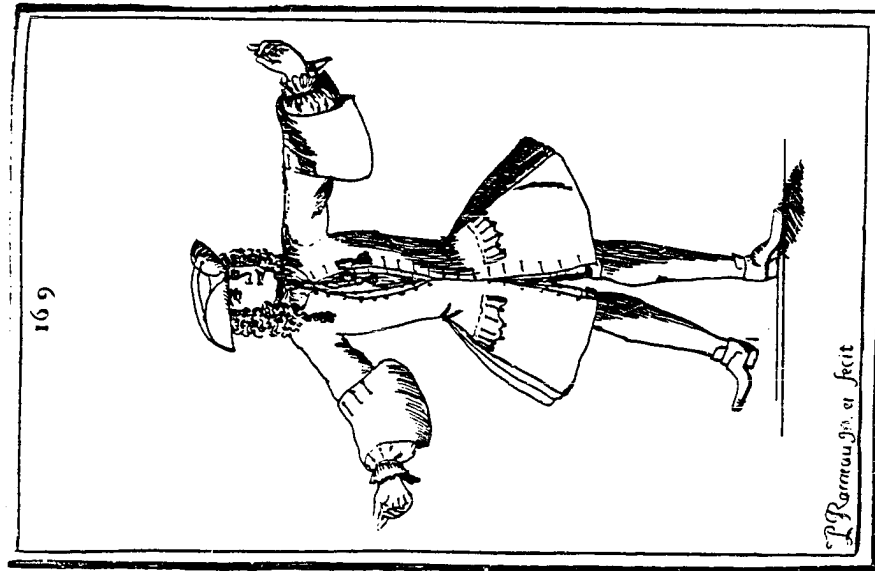
The types of alterations made in plate 105 show a similar consistency. Although a different step is being illustrated, the arms in this plate are almost identical to those in 99b, and again the alterations in B3 are very similar.

Examples 7a-7d show the four versions of the plate "The Second Attitude of the Chassée in the Babet." Here again the arms are not dissimilar to those in example 6 (although the step is different). Rameau's description of this arm position is translated by Essex as follows:

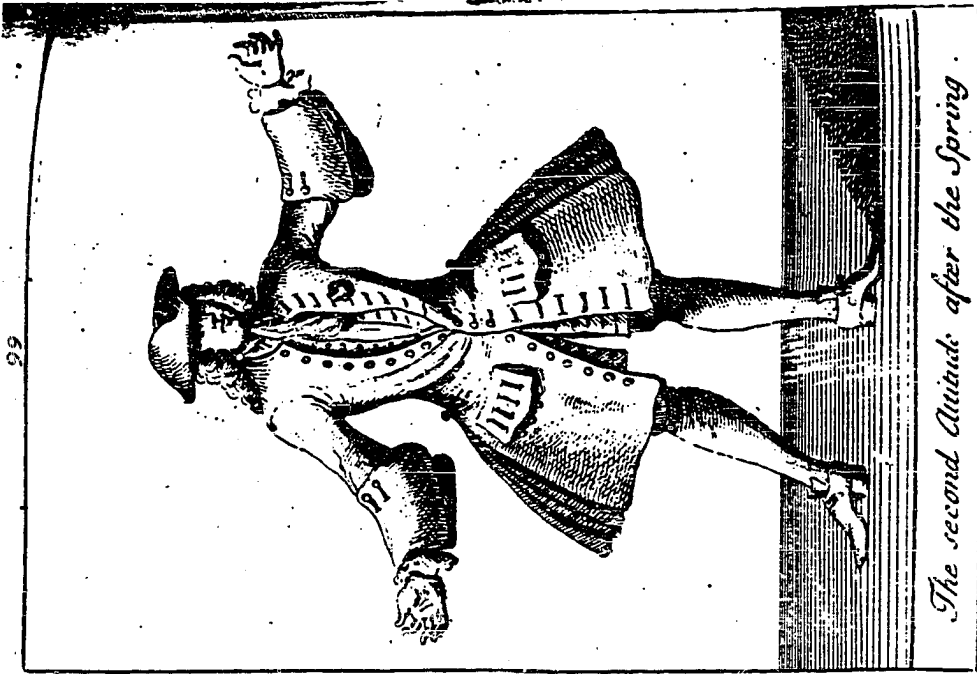
They [the chassées] are also made sideways, as I have observed in the first Part, of which there are two Figures which express the Movements [plates 105 and 106]. It's enough in this Step to have the Arms extended: For Example; if you take it returning to the left Side, the right Leg ought to rise more than the left Arm and Shoulder, though both are extended, because the Arms in this Step serve for a Ballance; but nevertheless there should be a little Action of the Wrists at the first Movement to prevent a Stiffness that would appear without some.⁸⁴

In Alsop's plate both arms are somewhat more bent than in Rameau, while in B1 and B2 the same left arm rounding and changes in both hand positions can be seen. The alterations to this plate in B3 (ex. 7d) consist of straightening out the left arm and altering the left hand position (along with shortening the glove). It seems clear that only the interference of the edge of the plate kept this arm from

84. Essex, Dancing Master, 158.



Example 6a. Rameau, Le Maître (1725)



Example 6b. Essex, Dancing Master (1728)

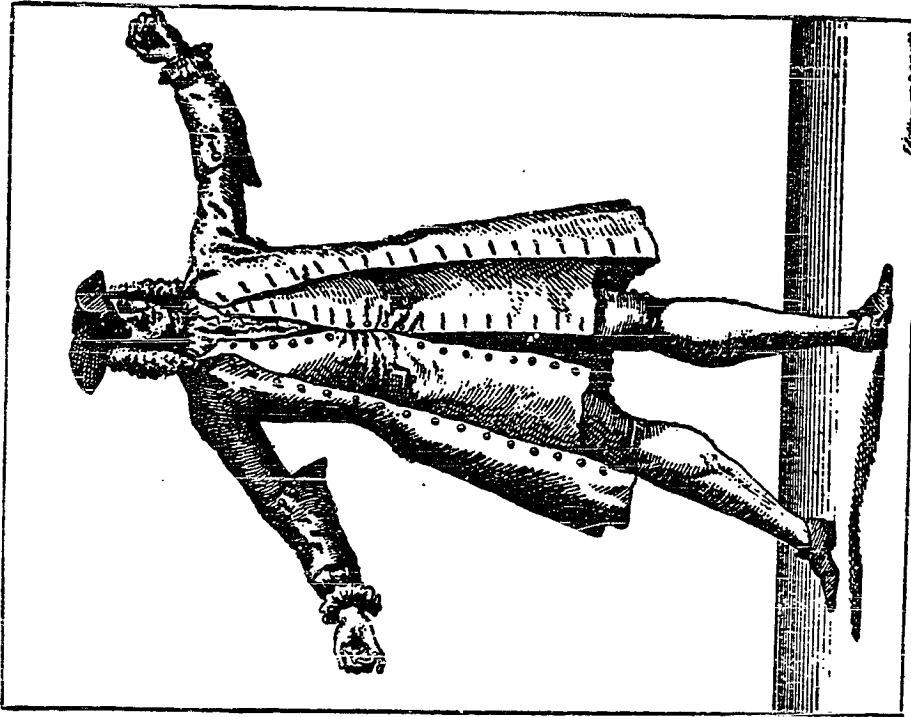
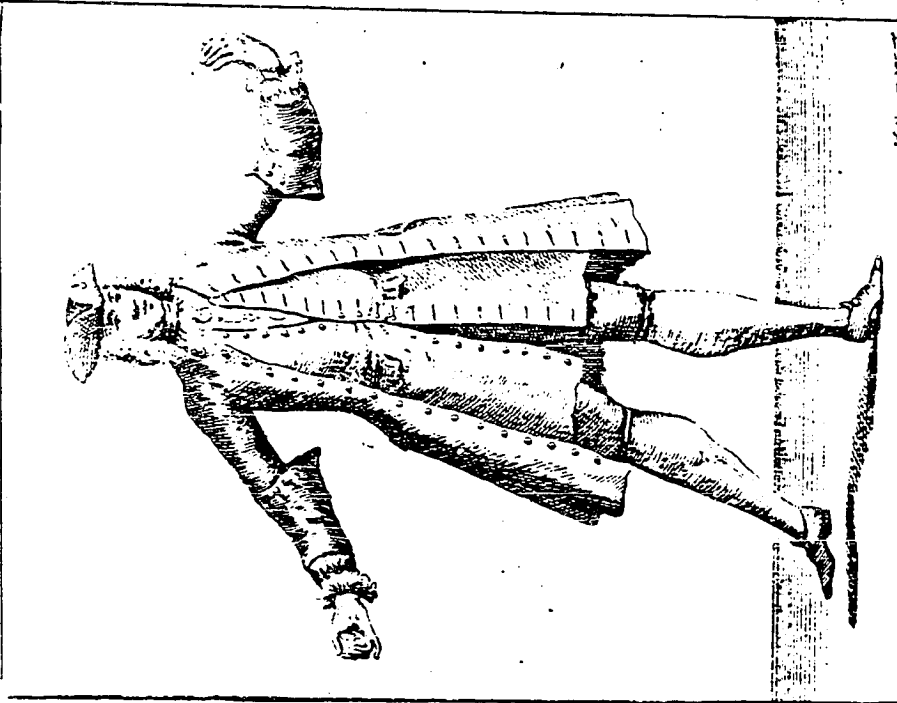


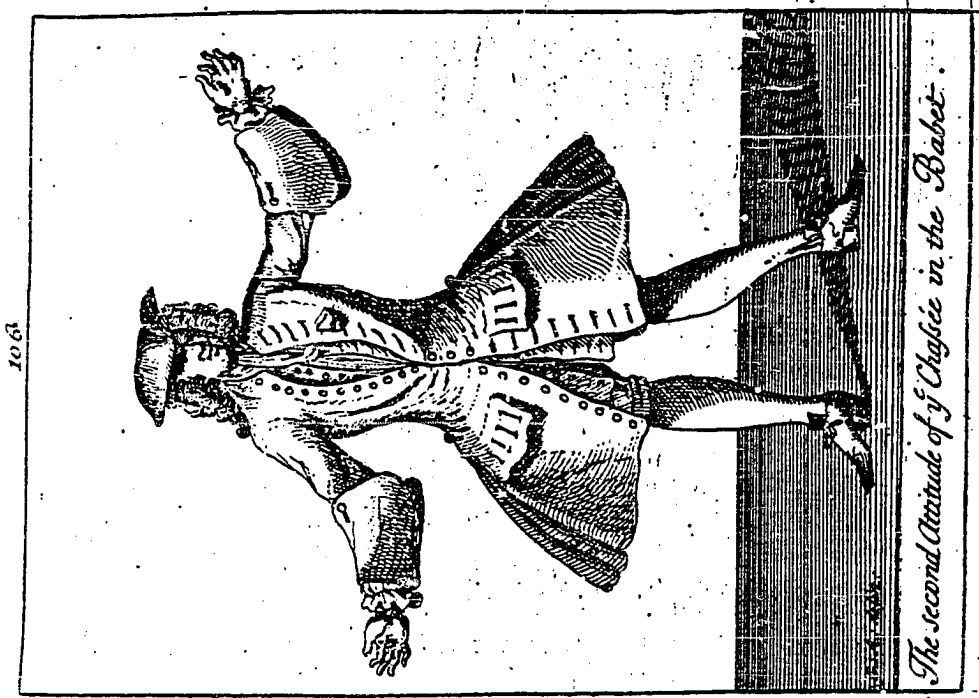
Fig. 39. Second Posture after the Hop



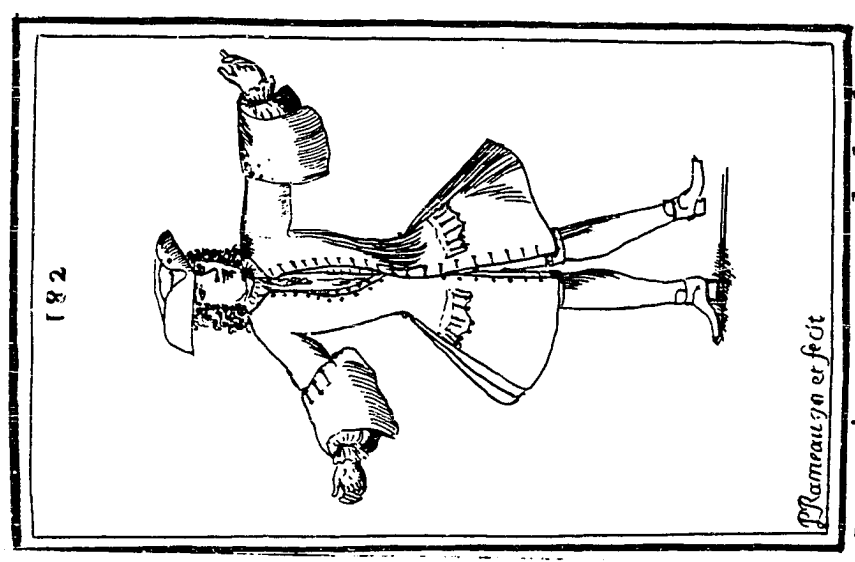
The Second Attitude after the Spring.

Examples 6c and 6d: the same figures as they appear in copies B1/E2 (left) and B3 (right).

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Example 7b. Essex, Dancing Master (1728)



Example 7a. Rameau, Le Maître (1725)

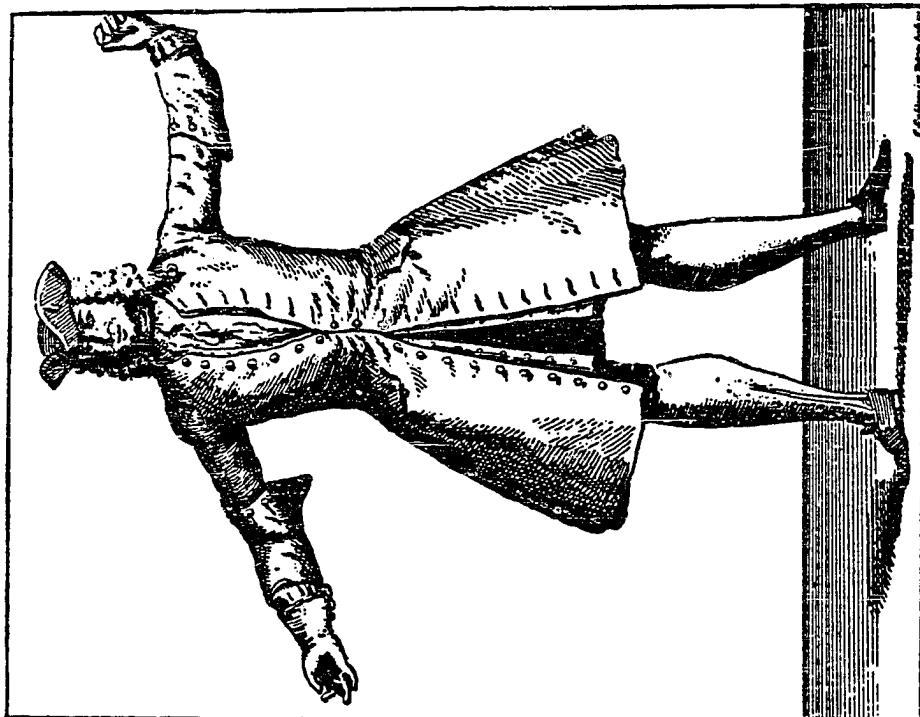
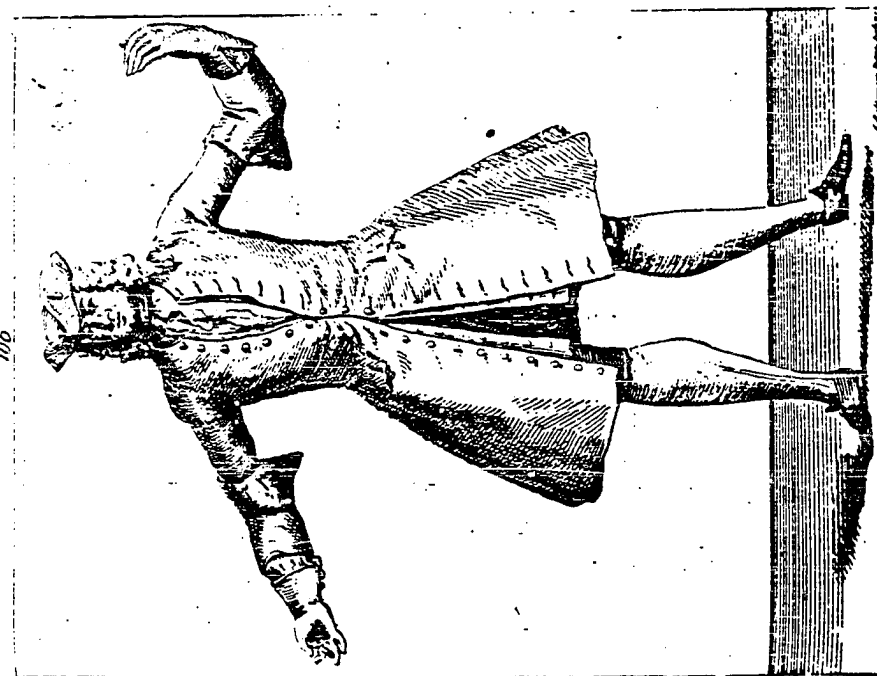


Fig 41. Second Posture of the Chassé in La Babette



The second Attitude of the Chassé in the Babette.

Examples 7c and 7d: the same figures as they appear in copies B1/B2 (left) and B3 (right).

106

corresponding more closely to Rameau's drawing.

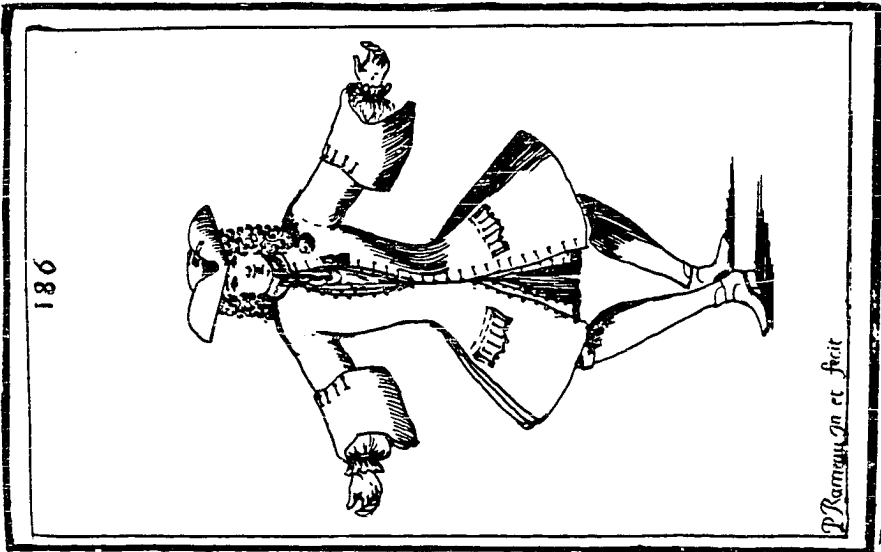
Examples 8a-8c show the three figures of the saillies or échappé (in performance, the first figure or position returns before the third, so that the actual sequence would be 8a, 8b, 8a, 8c). Alsop's plates adhere closely to Rameau's, and are not reproduced here. Although in the Rameau plates the arms do not seem to move throughout the sequence, two different arm positions are shown in the Bickham plates (exs. 9a-9d). In the original Bickham copy (B1), all three figures show the bent arms and close hand position seen in 9a and 9b. In copy B2, the first and second figures have bent arms, but they are straightened in the third figure (the sequence is 9a, b, d). Note that in the last plate the little finger has been curved in. And in the third exemplar, B3, the sequence of plates is 9a, c, d; the bent arms of the first plate have been lowered in the second (9c) and perhaps curved slightly forward.

Rameau's description of the arms for this step, again from the Essex translation:

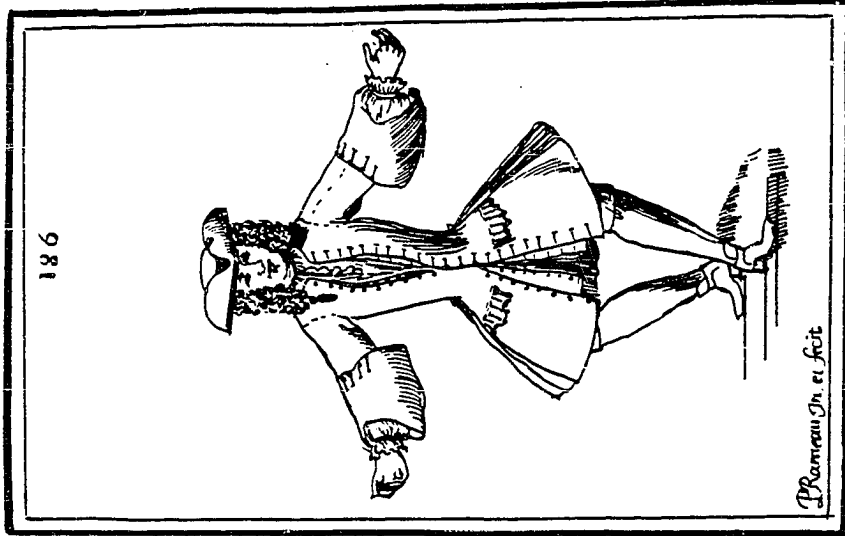
. . . when you begin, having the Feet in the fourth Position, and by consequence one Arm in Contrast, that Arm must then extend turning downwards, and the other come upwards; but no Change must be made at the second Hop: Afterwards in making the Third which is a closed Step, let both Arms fall by your Side
⁸⁵

While this description is not entirely clear, it does seem to suggest that once the arms are in opposition for the first hop (8a or 9a) there is no movement of the arms until the final assemblé (not shown by

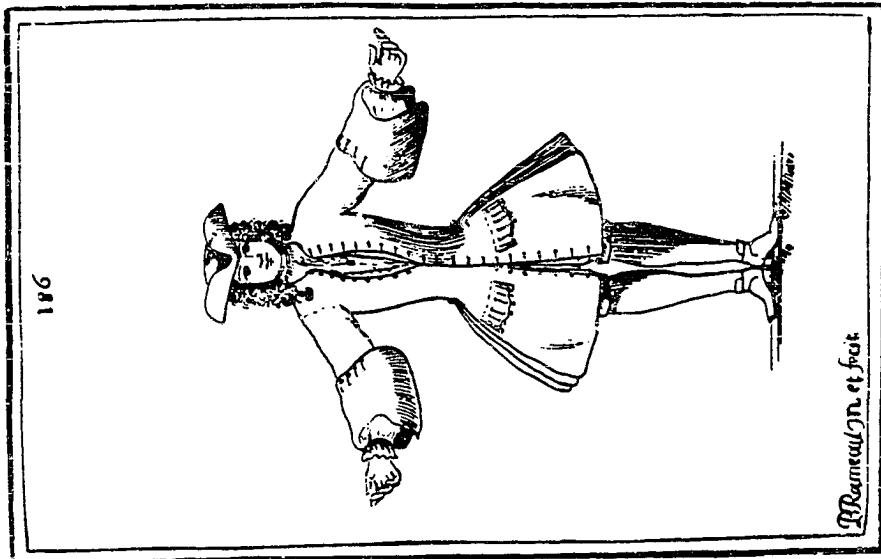
85. Essex, Dancing Master, 159.



*Premiere Figure des saillies
ou paréchapee*

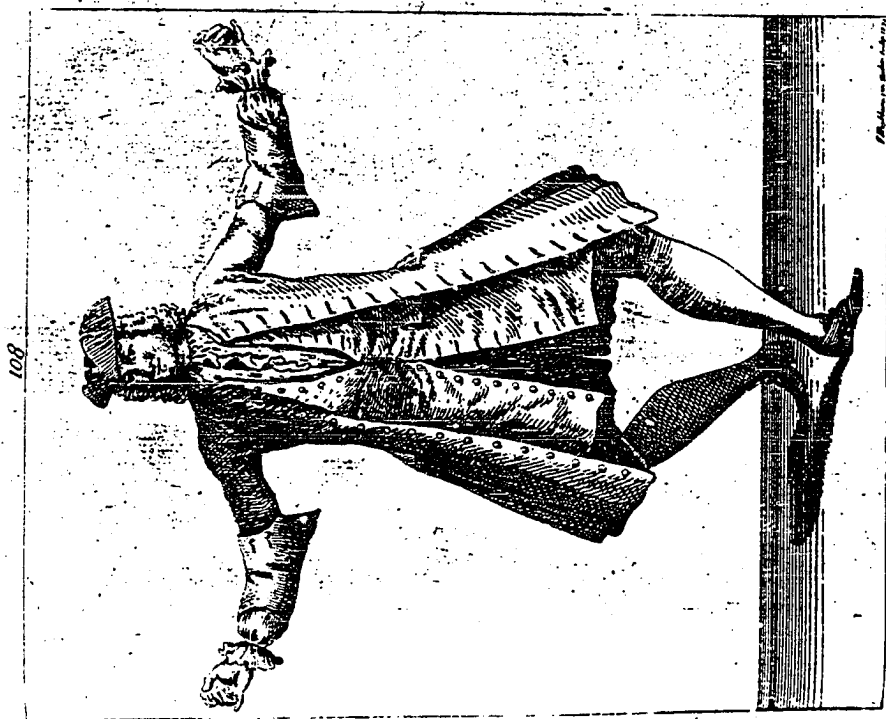


Deuxieme attitude des saillies



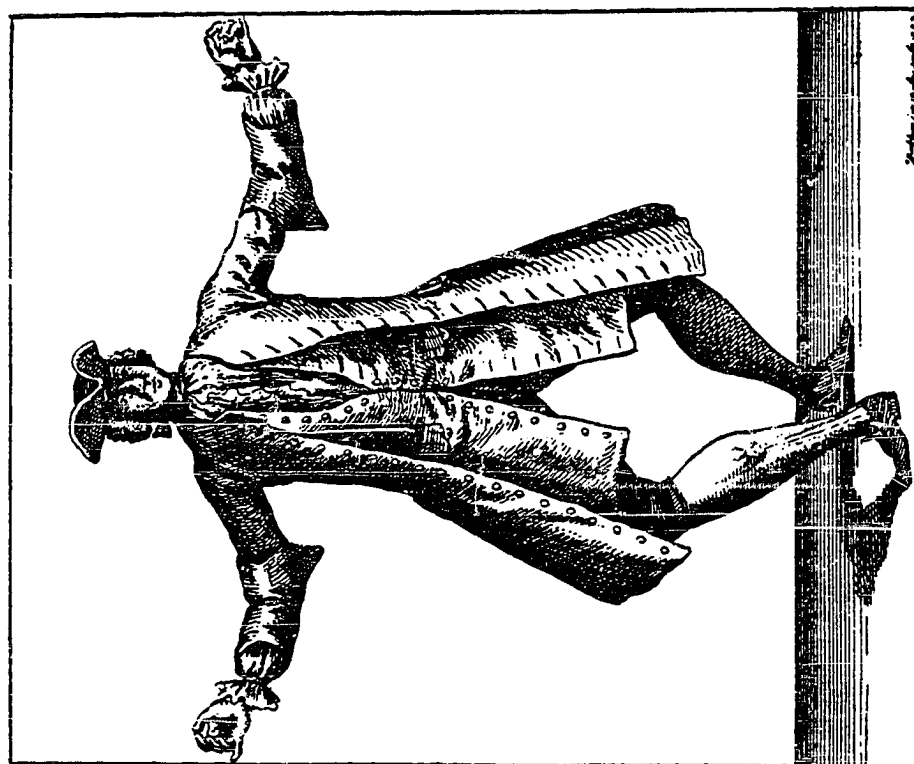
Troisieme Figure des saillies

Example 8. Rameau, *Le Maître* (1725)



The Second Attitude of the Sallies.

Example 9b. Essex, B1, B2



First Posture in the Saillie or Echappé

Example 9a. Essex, B1-B3.

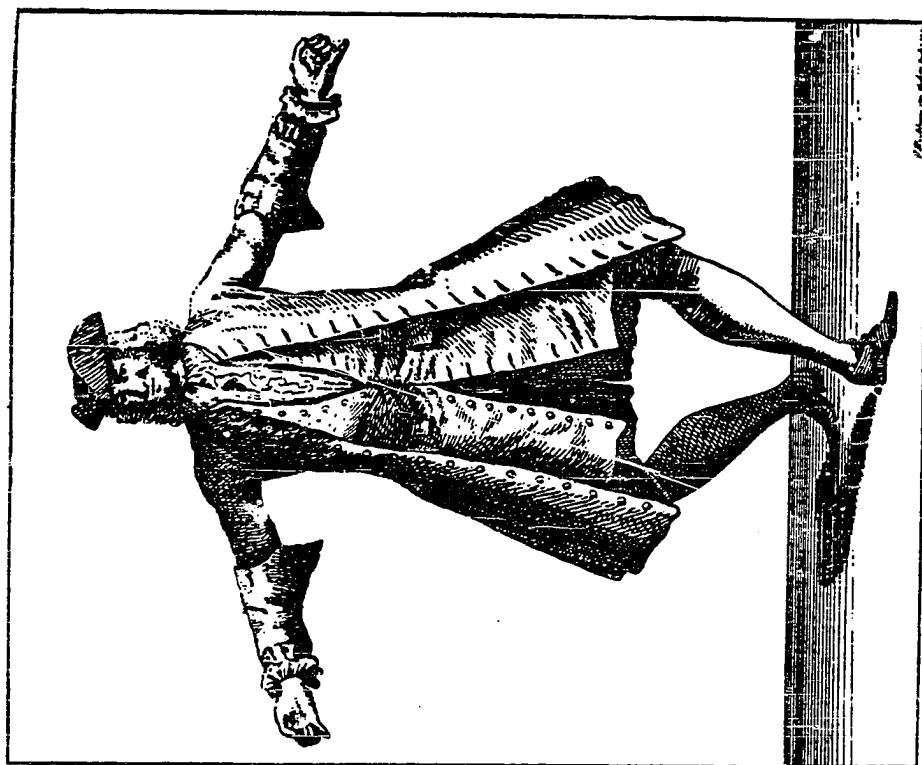
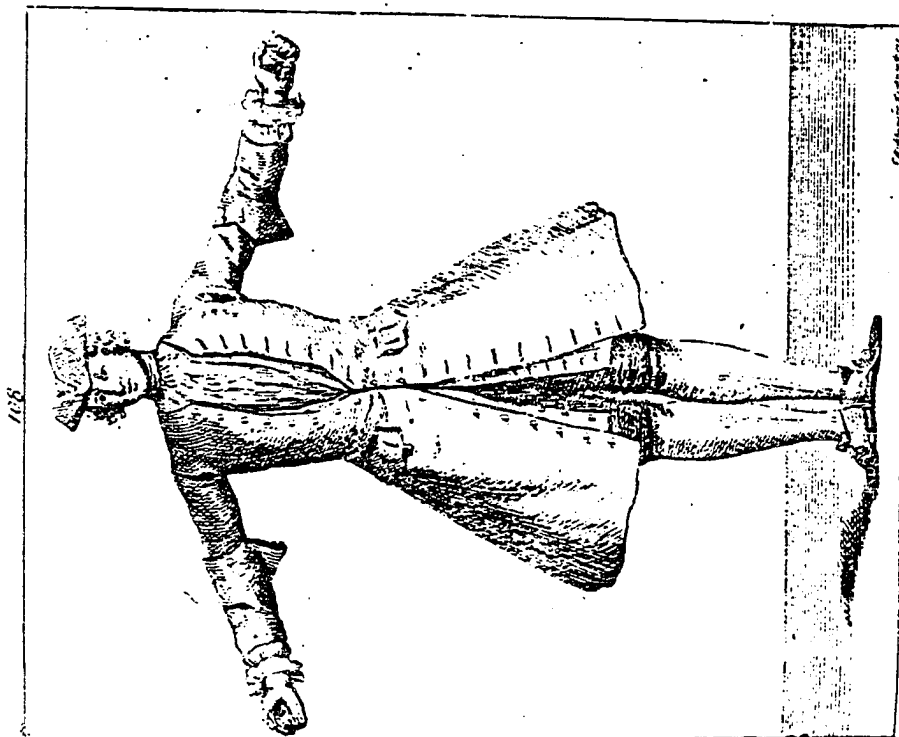


Fig. 43. Second Posture in the Saille or Echappé

Example 90. Essex, B3



The third Attitude of Sallies or Starting Steps.

Example 9d. Essex, B2, B3

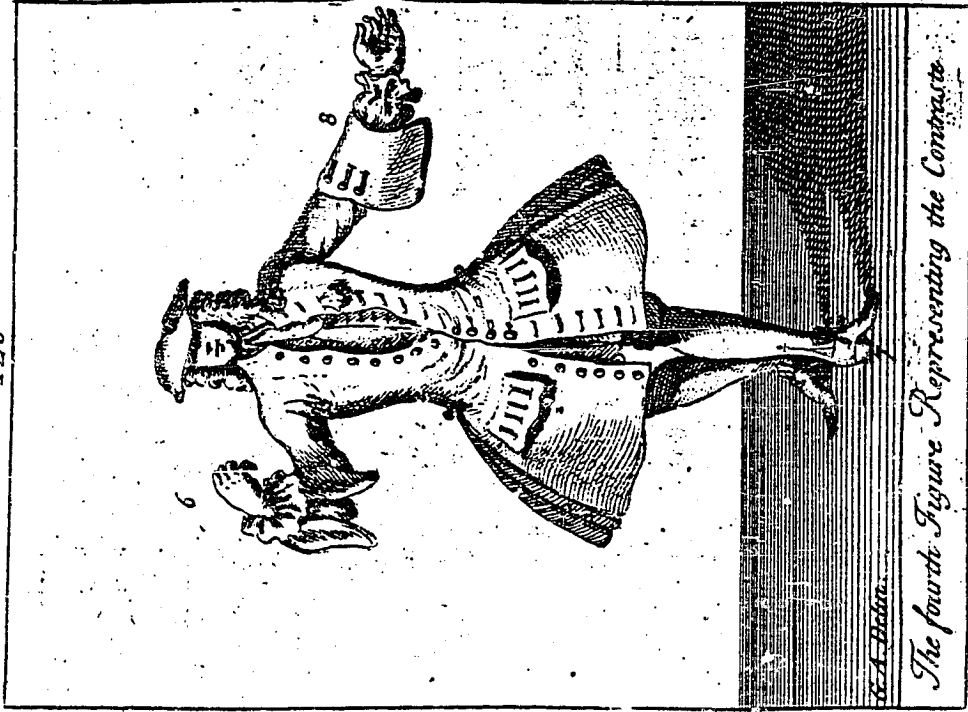
Rameau). Thus the changes introduced by Bickham would seem to be in error. Yet Rameau's own plates also seem not to adhere to his description, as they certainly do not represent opposition.

According to Rameau the arms in plate 127b should be unchanged from the previous plate, except for the opening of the hands. In the first version of the Bickham plate (B1), the arms are bent upwards, similar to the arm position in exs. 9a and 9b. The revised plate, in copies B2 and B3, straightens the arms in accordance with Rameau's text.

One of the most dramatic changes in the Bickham plates is seen in examples 10a-10d, showing the opposition of the right arm to the left foot. Also, as usual, follows Rameau's drawing closely, although his right arm is a bit higher than Rameau's, and the dancer's focus seems less directed towards the opposing arm (10b). In the first Bickham version (10c), the right arm has opened to the side, the focus is now away from this arm, and the left arm has lowered, with the left thumb and forefinger touching. In the revised version (10d), all semblance of a rounded opposing arm has been dropped. The right arm appears to be extended backwards with the hand closed and the little finger extended.

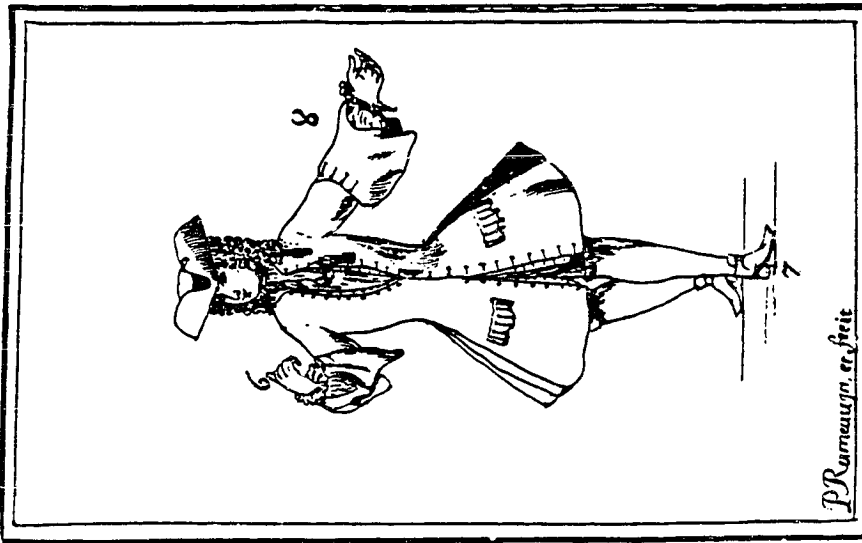
Rameau's description of the opposition of the arms is as follows:
 ". . . the right Arm (6) is opposed to the left Foot (7) which is placed before; the right [i.e., left] Arm (8) extended and drawn back as well as the Shoulder, which makes the Opposition just and according to Rule." Is it possible that the translation error in Essex [Rameau correctly describes the arm numbered (8) as "gauche"] is responsible for the drastic alterations made in the Bickham plate? Certainly the right arm of example 10d could be described as "extended and drawn back"; and this would explain why the altered Bickham plate deviates so greatly

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Example 10b. Essex, Dancing Master (1728)

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Example 10a. Rameau, Le Maître (1725)

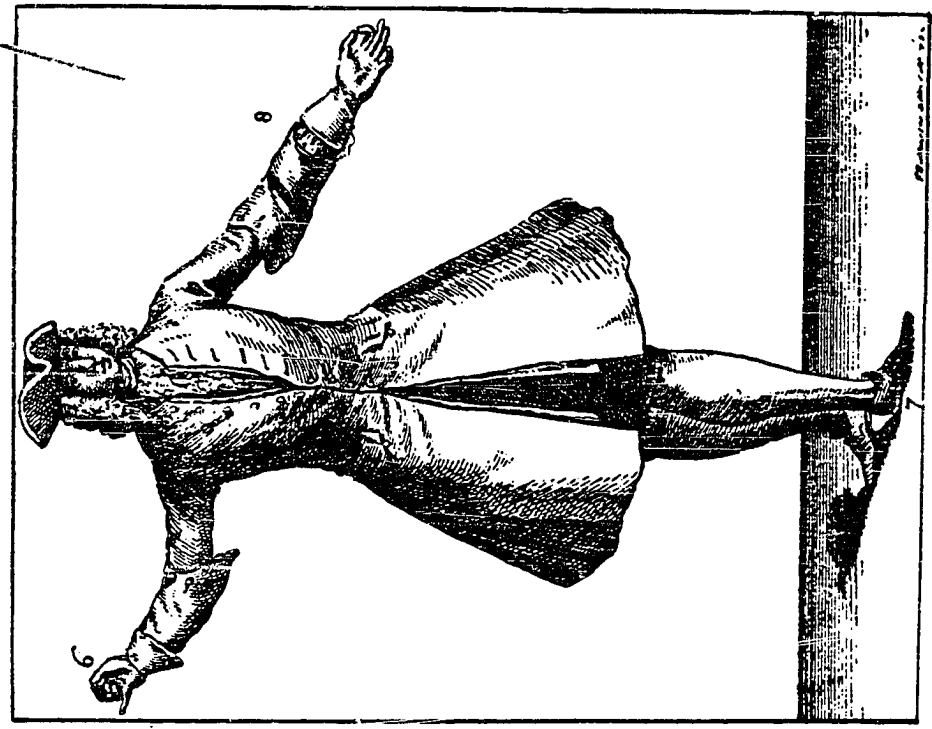
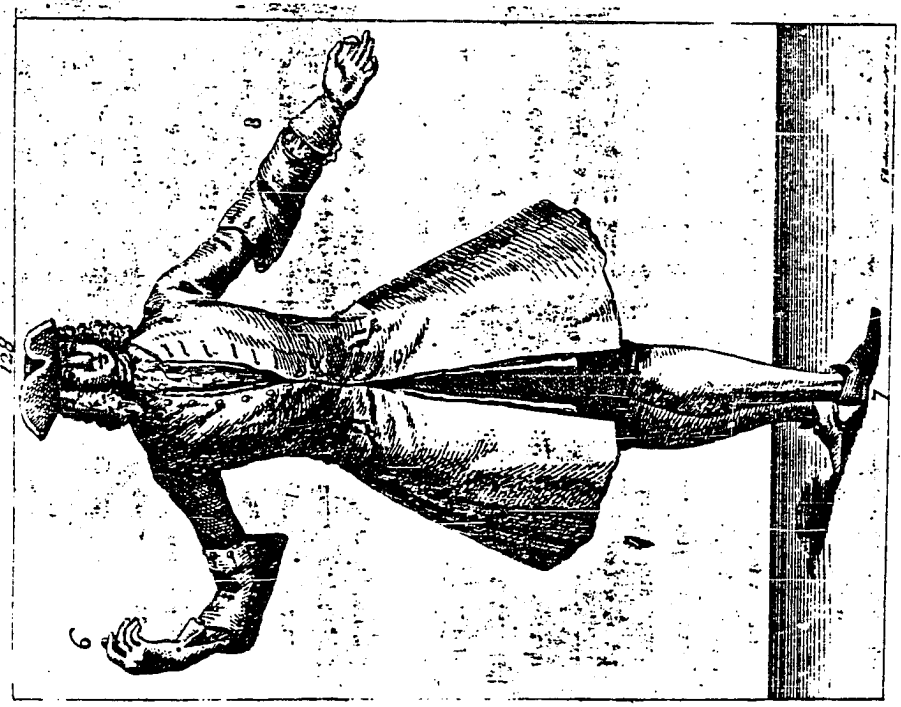


Fig. 13. Commencement of the Opposition



The fourth Figure representing the Country.

Examples 10c and 10d: the same figures as they appear in copies B1/B2 (left) and B3 (right).

from the others. (No such radical change has been made to plate 126/Fig. 50, the mirror image of this plate.)

The alterations which have been made on the Bickham plates can be summarized as follows: when both arms are involved, the bent elbows are straightened out, resulting in a lowering of the forearms. When only one arm is involved, the change is from a rounded to a straighter, more extended shape, in most cases bringing the engraving closer in line with Rameau's original drawing. In every case, Rameau's relaxed hand position has been replaced by the tighter and more artificial shape described above.

The existence of the Bickham plates raises a number of questions. First, of course, is why Essex thought it necessary to have a completely new set of plates made. Beaumont suggested that "dancing had grown more sedate, and hence the exaggerated gestures and positions represented in some of the older plates had adversely affected the sales of the book."⁸⁶ But Bickham's plates are no more sedate than Alsop's; furthermore, neither Rameau nor Tomlinson saw fit to alter their plates in subsequent editions published anywhere from nine to twenty-three years after the original.

An even more puzzling question is why no reference to these new plates appears on the title page. It is possible that Essex intended to include the Bickham plates in his second edition (hence the new title page calling attention to the grand ball ceremony), but that for some reason he decided to release the second edition before the Bickham plates were completed, and thus was forced to re-use the Alsop plates.

86. Beaumont, Dancing Master, ix.

L'Abbe's approbation, with its recommendation that all dancing masters follow this treatise for the sake of uniformity, would certainly have meant a great deal to Essex; and perhaps he was afraid of delaying publication of the second edition for fear that L'Abbe might change his mind.

There is one event which might explain Essex's actions (his apparent haste to publish the "unimproved" second edition, his recommissioning of a better set of plates, and the variety to be found in these plates): the impending publication of Kellom Tomlinson's The Art of Dancing. Although this treatise did not appear until 1735, the work was apparently completed in the mid-1720's and publication was only held up due to lack of subscription funds.⁸⁷ Essex would surely have been aware of the fact that Tomlinson had commissioned a series of elegant plates to illustrate his treatise from some of the finest engravers active in London. This knowledge may have been responsible for Essex's decision to have the plates in his translation re-done for the second edition. Furthermore, the threat of a competing dance treatise may explain why the Bickham plates were revised: Essex was concerned not only that his publication be as accurate as possible, but that it reflect the "English style," which Tomlinson's was sure to do. This hypothesis implies that Essex's concern for accuracy was motivated by commercial rather than artistic goals; yet regardless of the motivation the results are no less valuable.

87. The Tomlinson treatise is studied in detail in Chapter III.

Chapter III

THE ENGLISH DANCE TREATISES

Although England was the only country outside of France to publish a sizable number of notated choreographies, almost all of the English dance manuals during this period were translations of French works. It was not until 1735 that an original English treatise on dancing appeared, Tomlinson's The Art of Dancing. This was followed in 1738 by Bickham's An Easy Introduction to Dancing, a short treatise on the minuet. This chapter will focus primarily on the first of these two works because of its significant contributions to our understanding of English dance style.

Tomlinson: The Art of Dancing (1735)

Introduction

Tomlinson's treatise is the only comprehensive dancing manual written by an Englishman, and is thus of great value, not only for its information regarding dance in England in the first third of the eighteenth century, but for information which supplements that given by Rameau, particularly with regard to the timing of the steps.¹ The book was published in 1735, although the text may have been written ten

1. This assessment of Tomlinson's significance is shared by a number of dance historians. Yet Tomlinson may not have been as important a figure as we would like to think. His lack of court connections and professional performing experience, the omission of his name from prefaces to other dance publications, and his inability to attract more than twenty-two dancing master subscribers may be indications that he was not well regarded by his contemporaries. Thus it is possible that the differences between Tomlinson and the French

years earlier; a second edition, essentially unaltered, appeared in 1744.² In the following discussion I will compare the treatise with the Rameau/Essex volume discussed in the previous chapter, paying particular attention to differences between the two works which may illuminate aspects of English baroque dance style. I will also propose that the thirty plates of dancers, which make this work the most attractive of all the eighteenth-century dance treatises, were not part of the original design of the book, but were added by Tomlinson in an effort to compete with the Essex translation.

What little we know about Tomlinson is provided in the preface to his treatise. He began his apprenticeship with Mr. Caverley in 1707, finishing in 1714, which would establish his birthdate at c1693. During this time he also studied theatrical dance with the French dancer René Cherrier, a frequent performer on the London stage (c1699-1708) who was cited by Weaver in 1706 as one of the four best performers in England. However, there is no evidence that Tomlinson himself had a career as a performer, as his name appears in none of the records associated with the London stage. Between 1715 and 1721 he composed and published seven ball dances, one each year, and the first six of these were reprinted as a collection in 1720. Tomlinson changed lodgings frequently during the early years of his career: the title pages of the six dances give three

treatises (particularly Rameau) represent an individual rather than a national style. Furthermore, Tomlinson's impact on the subsequent history of court dance in England is difficult to assess, since only one choreography published after 1735 has survived.

2. At least seven copies of the first edition survive: GB Lbl; Ob; RAD - NL DHgm - US CAh; NYp; Wcm. There are three copies of the second edition: E Mn - GB HAdol - US LAc. A facsimile edition of the British Library exemplar was published by Gregg International/Dance Horizons in 1970.

addresses, and each edition of the treatise has a new address as well.

Tomlinson's biographical sketch also mentions his two scholars, John Topham and Miss Frances, the latter performing the "Passacaille de Scilla, consisting of above a thousand Measures or Steps, without making the least Mistake."³ His 1717 ball dance, "The Submission," was one of the dances performed by the two Sallé children during their engagement at Lincolns Inn Fields that year.⁴ Tomlinson ends his preface with a short history of his name: he was originally known as "Mr. Kellom," a corruption of his true first name Kenelm, but following his apprenticeship he was called by some "Mr. Tomlinson." Hence, to avoid confusion, he wishes to be known by both first and last names.

Although Tomlinson's treatise was not published until 1735, he claims on the title page that it was "the ORIGINAL WORK/First Design'd in the YEAR 1724"; and he includes the testimony of various witnesses that the work was completed well before the publication date. At the front of the book is a statement dated 12 February 1728 by Joseph Sandys, Gent., and Henry Carey, Master of Music, that the treatise was "design'd and composed . . . in the Year 1726 . . . we having seen the said Work in the Year above mentioned, . . . [it was] intended for the Press as soon as his Subscription was full" Similar statements

3. Tomlinson, Dancing, fol. b. According to the London Stage, a Miss Francis danced a new passacaille at Lincolns Inn Fields on March 19, 1719 and again on April 27 of the same year. The only extant choreography with this title is a Pécour solo for a woman published in his 1704 Recueil p. 20, a dance which Tomlinson cites three times in his treatise. However, since this dance is only 219 measures long, Tomlinson was either referring to another dance or exaggerating the talents of his pupil.
4. For more information on this event, see the London Stage entries for this period, and Emmett Avery, "Two Children on the English Stage, 1716-1719," Philological Quarterly XIII/1 (Jan. 1934), 78-82. Neither source was aware of the existence of the Tomlinson dance.

appear at the end of each of the two books of the treatise by the dancing masters Alex. and Joseph Jackson, who claim that they examined the work on 27 January 1727/8 and found it to be the same as the published form. The reason for these testimonials is made clear in the preface: in an advertisement in Mist's Journal, 13 January 1728, Tomlinson first learned of the impending publication of Essex's translation of Le Maître à danser.

This gave me no small Surprize, having never before heard of either any such Book, or Author. Had it been my Fortune to have known, either before, or after I undertook to write on this Art, that such a Book was extant, my Curiosity would certainly have led me to have consulted it; and had I approved it, 'tis highly probable, I should have given the World a Translation of it, with some additional Observations of my own.⁵

As further proof that his book was completed prior to 1728, Tomlinson cites his first advertisement in Berington's Evening Post, 15 October 1726, "two Years and three Months, before ever the Translation of Monsieur Rameau's Book was advertised . . . "; and he mentions six more advertisements placed in various newspapers during the next twelve months. Tomlinson's response to this unsettling news was two-fold: he immediately secured the testimonies of the four men cited above, and he placed another advertisement in the Mist's Journal of 27 January 1728, accusing the rival publication of plagiarism.

Tomlinson's text may well have been completed before 1726, and internal evidence supports this statement. However, it seems likely that of the thirty-five plates in the published version of the treatise only the five lettered plates (A, E, I, O, and U) were completed prior to 1726. As I mentioned above, the thirty numbered plates depicting

5. Tomlinson, Dancing, fol. B3'-B4.

dancers were added by Tomlinson after 1728 in an effort to compete with the translation of the Rameau treatise. Furthermore, the first set of plates is preceded by an explanatory page dated June 26, 1735, and the date 1735 also appears on the first page of text under the coat of arms.

The Treatise

Dedication. The treatise is dedicated "To the Right Honourable Catherine Viscountess Fauconberg," one of Tomlinson's former students whom he taught "for some Time." Catherine, whose maiden name was Betham, married Thomas Belasyse, the fourth Viscount Fauconberg, on 5 August 1726.⁶ The names of both Catherine and her husband appear in Tomlinson's list of subscribers, and plate XI (Book II) is dedicated to her and their daughter, "the Honourable Miss Belasyse."⁷ The Fauconberg coat of arms (engraved by G. Bickham and dated 1735) appears on the first page of the dedication; the motto, "Bonne et belle assez," is a clever pun on the family name of Belasyse.

This same motto is used as the title of a dance, shown in the portrait of Tomlinson bound into the British Library copy.⁸ Only the title page is shown in the engraving; it reads "Bonne et Belle Assez, A New Grand Dance By Mr. Kellom Tomlinson 1753." No such choreography appears to have survived. Also in the engraving (on the table by Tomlinson's elbow), are fragments of music and Feuillet notation. The

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6. Cokayne, Peerage, V, 266. Thomas was twenty-seven years old; Catherine's age is not given, but she died in 1760.
 7. The "Honourable Mr. Belasyse" to whom the plate is also dedicated would seem to be Thomas's first cousin, Anthony Belasyse (1714-1754). Information on other dedicatees appears later in this chapter.
 8. The portrait is reproduced in the Dance Horizons facsimile. It was engraved by F. Morellon la Cave in 1754, based on a 1716 painting by Rd. V. Bleeck.

dance, two measures of which are shown, is a theatrical solo for a man; and the music, also two bars long, is in 3/4 and could be a minuet. It is unlikely that the dance fragment is the "grand dance" referred to above, since this term usually implied a choreography for several dancers.

Subscribers. In his dedication Tomlinson makes the expected complimentary remarks about Catherine's skill as a dancer, saying that she "perform'd in a Manner no less elegant than uncommon." He also commends her "wonderful Genius and exquisite Taste for Music, which is one of the greatest Helps to a perfect Performance in Dancing." This is surely a sincere compliment, since Tomlinson's concern for dancing in time to the music is manifested throughout his treatise, not only in his instructions for the timing of each step but in his cautions about the possible mistakes in dancing.

In the nine years between the first advertisement and the publication of the treatise, Tomlinson managed to acquire 179 subscribers, nearly three times more than any of the previously published dance treatises or collections of dances. One reason for the much greater length of Tomlinson's list is that, unlike his predecessors, his subscription list is not restricted to dancing masters. Instead, this list presents a cross-section of the upper and middle classes of British society, ranging from Dukes to Gentlemen and including a variety of professions and occupations, making it a fascinating document in its own right. However, Tomlinson was less successful in recruiting subscriptions from dancing masters, perhaps because of the competition of the Essex/Rameau treatise, or because he was an Englishman trying to teach what was still considered a French art. Whatever the reason, his list

includes only twenty-two dancing masters, compared to the sixty-eight names in the L'Abbe collection of dances published by Roussau c1725, and many of these are new names not seen on previous lists.

In addition to the dancing masters and dancers, several other professions and occupations are represented, and are listed below:

Engraver	5	Paintress	1
Physician (M.D.)	4	Music Master	1
Bookseller	2	Printer	1
Theatre Master	1		

Some of these subscribers have additional connections with Tomlinson's treatise: one of the engravers, John Clark, contributed a plate to the work; and the music master Henry Carey was one of Tomlinson's witnesses to the date of origin of the treatise. The majority of the subscribers are members of the nobility (thirty-three names) or gentry (107 names). The numbers for each rank are as follows:⁹

Nobility (Peers)

Duke	3	Duchess	1
Marquis	-	Marquess	1
Earl	2	Countess	5
Viscount	1	Viscountess	1
Baron	3	Baroness	6

Gentry

Baronet	11	Lady	8
Hon. Esq.	2	Hon. Mrs.	4
Esquire	38	Mrs.	24
Gentleman	14		
Mr.	3	Miss	3

9. Forms of address for the first four ranks of the nobility include the person's title, e.g., "His Grace Edward Duke of Norfolk." The form of address for a baron or baroness is "The Right Honorable the Lord (Lady) _____." The Baronet (Bart.) is the lowest hereditary British rank, followed by the ranks of Knight, Esquire, and Gentleman (entitled to a coat of arms). The wife of a Baronet is addressed as "The Lady _____." Some of the younger titled subscribers were children of others on the list.

Among the nobility, women subscribers considerably outnumber men, but the ratio is nearly reversed among the gentry (67 vs. 40). Twenty of the subscribers, over 10%, died before the work was finally published.

Another point of interest regarding Tomlinson's subscription list is the wide geographical distribution of his subscribers. Many of Tomlinson's subscribers who lived considerable distances from London probably maintained households in the city, and the same is no doubt true of his pupils who were not subscribers. Of particular interest is the presence of the large number of names from the county of Derby: at least fourteen subscribers are so identified, six of whom also have plates dedicated to them or members of their families.

Preface. The subscription list is followed by the preface, which contains, in addition to the material already discussed (biographical information about Tomlinson and his attack on the Essex translation), an explanation of his purpose in writing the treatise. He begins by claiming that it is the first of its kind: Feuillet's Chorégraphie included primarily dance notation, and was therefore of use only to dancing masters, whereas his treatise offers descriptions of the steps as well as illustrations ("Figures representing Persons"). His aim is not to formulate new "Laws for Dancing," but to present a collection of principles and rules of the art. The plates with figures enable the reader to be aware of three things at once: the music, the order of the steps, and the position of the feet and body at the step shown.¹⁰ Tomlinson goes on to say that the "Figures in each Plate are designed

10. Tomlinson makes the same points in the inscriptions accompanying three of the Book I plates.

only to shew the Postures proper in Dancing, but not to bear the least Resemblance to any Person to whom the Plate is inscribed"¹¹ Finally, Tomlinson apologizes for not being able to keep up with the "continual Change of the Fashion," adding that the figures have been deliberately drawn without gloves so that the beautiful shape of the hands can be more readily observed.¹²

Plates. There are three sets of plates in Tomlinson's treatise: five lettered plates (A, E, I, O, U), sixteen plates accompanying the text of Book I (labelled I-XVI), and fourteen plates accompanying Book II (labelled I-XIV). In addition, separate frontispieces were engraved for both sets of plates. The lettered plates are very concise; Plates A-O provide a summary of the Feuillet notation system, while Plate U contains a complete minuet. The numbered plates, which show one or two dancers performing a step notated on the floor (see Example 3 below), have a different purpose. The notation in these plates is rarely referred to in the text, but they are cited frequently in discussions of the performance of a particular step. The Book II plates also illustrate a minuet, similar to that shown in Plate U, but in a more leisurely fashion with the addition of the opening honors or bows, and with some of the details altered. The ordered sequence of the Book II plates is in sharp contrast to Book I, where the plates appear in random fashion with no relationship to the organization of the text.

In Le Maître, and in the two versions of Essex's translation, all

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11. Fletcher mistakenly claims that the figures in the plates "are probably pupils of Tomlinson . . . the only portraits of them that exist" (Forty Books, no. 33).
 12. Perhaps Tomlinson is referring here to some of the Bickham plates in the Dancing Master where the glove obscures the angle of the wrist.

or almost all of the plates are by one engraver: Rameau himself, Alsop, or Bickham. In the Art of Dancing the lettered plates and the introductory pages to the two books of numbered plates were engraved by R. W. Seale, but for the numbered plates themselves Tomlinson adopted a different approach, enlisting the talents of at least eight well-known London engravers. Eight of the thirty numbered plates are signed by Van de Gucht, five plates by H. Fletcher, three each by G. Vertue and G. Bickham (the father or uncle of the Essex Bickham), two by the team of Arnoldus Vanhaecken and G. King, and one each by John Clark and J. Smith. There are seven unsigned plates, although plate 8 in Book II can safely be assigned to Van de Gucht on stylistic grounds, giving him a total of nine. Despite this diversity of engravers, the plates are surprisingly similar, perhaps because they were all designed by Tomlinson.

Also of interest are the names of people to whom Tomlinson dedicated his numbered plates. Twenty-seven of the thirty plates are inscribed to his students, former students ("once honoured scholar"), or to children of his subscribers. (Plates 1, 5, and 7 in Book I have no dedications.) Often, a plate is dedicated to two or more children in a family, only one of whom is a student. As was mentioned earlier, a high percentage of these plates is dedicated to the higher ranks (baronet and above). Although Tomlinson writes in his preface that the plates represent a "small Testimony of my Gratitude to some honourable Persons," surely the gratitude is for extra financial support which was contributed towards the publication of the book. If so, Tomlinson stood to benefit from these plates in several ways: first, a "dedication fee" was no doubt more than enough to offset the engraving cost; second, the

inclusion of a number of plates allowed him to charge a higher price for the work as a whole, since people were accustomed to paying considerably more for engraved plates than for typesetting; third, Tomlinson stood to make additional profits from the separate sale of the plates--they are advertised on the frontispiece to Book I of plates as "The Price of the CUTS . . . without ye Printed Part is Two Guineas [£2. 2s.]"--and he further encourages the sale of these plates by stressing their decorative qualities: "proper Furniture for a Room or Closet, being of themselves an intire and independant Work, for if put in Frames with Glasses, they will not only shew the various Positions or Postures at one View, but be very agreeable & instructive Furniture." A similar notice appears in the forward to the second book of plates. And finally, the presence of so many high-born names, with Tomlinson listed as the teacher of their children, would surely have been helpful to his career as well as to the sales of his book.

A Comparison of Tomlinson Book I with Rameau

A comparison of the two treatises supports Tomlinson's contention that he was unaware of Rameau's work until after his own was completed. There are certain obvious similarities between the works: both are divided into two books, but in Rameau the second book is devoted to a discussion of arm movements, whereas in Tomlinson it is devoted primarily to the minuet. The order in which the steps are discussed is also similar in both works, but this order is also more or less the same as that followed by Feuillet. Differences between the treatises are perhaps more revealing: Rameau's introductory material, including information on how to stand, walk, and bow (the latter meriting seven chapters), as well as the five basic positions, requires a total of

nineteen chapters or seventy pages, over 25% of the book's total. Tomlinson, in contrast, devotes only four chapters or twenty-two pages (representing 14% of his book) to the same material. A major difference between the two works is that Tomlinson includes notation examples for the steps he describes, whereas Rameau's notation is in a separate publication.

These preliminaries are followed in both treatises by descriptions of specific step-units. Tomlinson devotes thirty-five chapters to this information compared to only twenty-one for Rameau. Part of this difference can be accounted for by the fact that Tomlinson often has separate chapters for steps which are discussed in one chapter in Le Maître. Tomlinson also includes a number of theatrical steps at the end of Book I which are not in Rameau. The following table lists the step-units described by Tomlinson as well as their corresponding location in the Essex translation of Rameau. (I have preserved the original spellings from the tables of contents of the two treatises.)

Table 1. Step-units included in Tomlinson and Rameau/Essex

<u>Tomlinson</u> <u>Book I</u>	<u>Rameau/Essex</u>
Ch. 5: Coupee of one Step or Half Coupee	Ch. 20: Half Coupees
Ch. 6: Coupee	Ch. 29: Coupees of different Manners
Ch. 7: Coupee with two Movements	Ch. 30: Coupees of Motion
Ch. 8: Bouree-Step or Fleuret	Ch. 28: Boree Step and Fleuret
Ch. 9: Bouree with two Movements	[see Ch. 28]
Ch. 10: Pasgrave or March	Ch. 27: Courant Step or March
Ch. 11: Point and March	[see Ch. 27, "Pointings"]
Ch. 12: Spring or Bound	Ch. 36: Bounds or half Capers

Ch. 13: Close or Jump	[see Ch. 31]
Ch. 14: Spring or Leap	[not included]
Ch. 15: Rigadoon-Step of one Spring	Ch. 35: Rigaudon Step
Ch. 16: Rigadoon-Step of two Springs or Sissonne	Ch. 34: Sissonne Step
Ch. 17: Gailliard and Falling Step	Ch. 31: Falling Step and Gailliard
Ch. 18: Bouree with a Bound	[see Ch. 28]
Ch. 19: Slip before and then behind, etc.	[see Ch. 29]
Ch. 20: Hop or Contretemp	Ch. 37: Contretems of the Gavotte
	Ch. 38: Several sorts of Contretems sideways
Ch. 21: Chassee or Driving Step	Ch. 39: Of Chasses of different Manners
Ch. 22: Chassee or . . . Bounding Coupees	[see Ch. 39]
Ch. 23: Beaten Coupee or Hop	[see Ch. 29, 42]
Ch. 24: Chassee . . . of three Springs in the same Place	[see Ch. 39]
Ch. 25: Flying Chassee or Driving Step backwards	[see Ch. 39]
Ch. 26: Hop of two Movements	[not included]
Ch. 27: Chaconne or Passacaille Step	[not included]
Ch. 28: Hop and two Chassees	[not included]
Ch. 29: Fall, Spring . . . and Coupee to a Measure	[not included]
Ch. 30: Close beating before . . . upright Spring . . . and Coupee to a Measure	[not included]
Ch. 31: Pirouette	Ch. 32: Pirouettes
Ch. 32: Pirouette introduced by a Coupee	[see Ch. 41]
Ch. 33: Bouree before and behind . . . advancing in a whole Turn	[not included]

Book II

Ch. 1: Minuet Step	Ch. 21: Menuet Step
Ch. 2: Hop in the Minuet	Ch. 25: Contretems, or Composed Hop
Ch. 3: Double Bouree upon the same Place	[see Ch. 28, "open Boree"]

- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| Ch. 4: Balance | Ch. 33: Ballances |
| Ch. 5: Two Coulees or Marches | [not included] |
| Ch. 6: Slip behind and Half
Coupee forwards | [see Ch. 28] |

Steps in Rameau which are not in Tomlinson:

- Ch. 23: Of the Graces that may be made in the Minuet [temps de courante plus demi-jeté]
- Ch. 26: A Discourse on the Courant in general [includes pas de courante]
- Ch. 40: Of Sallies or Starting Steps of the Feet
- Ch. 41: Opening of the Leg
- Ch. 42: Beats after different Manners

A comparison of the step descriptions in the two treatises reveals a fair number of differences, not only in the way the information is presented but in the actual performance of the steps, as well as in the timing. In the discussion which follows I will consider some of the more important of these differences, as well as those steps which are unique to Tomlinson's treatise. Less significant differences, such as the position from which a step begins, or the addition of a slide to a sideways step, will not be considered here unless they affect some other aspect of the performance of the step.

Demi-coupé. The detail with which Rameau treats the introductory material of his treatise extends into his initial chapters on the steps. Thus we find a lengthy and thorough discussion of how to perform the demi-coupé, along with a series of four plates depicting the various elements of the step, in comparison to which Tomlinson's chapter seems totally inadequate. Since this is the basic step for Baroque dance technique, such a cavalier treatment on Tomlinson's part seems puzzling. However, in his defense it should be added that much of the information

in Rameau's description is scattered throughout the next several chapters in Tomlinson. And in later chapters it is Tomlinson who provides more detail (sometimes to the point of redundancy), while Rameau gives only the basic description of a step. However, Tomlinson seems to allow for two slightly different performances of the demi-coupé, at least when it is the first element of a composite step. In chapter VII he describes the step as follows: "the Rise [is made], after the Foot has moved" (p. 27), but later in the same chapter we read "to sink, before the Foot moves, and rise in moving, or immediately after it has moved" (p. 28--emphasis added). Only the first of these versions is illustrated in Tomlinson's table of steps; the second would presumably be notated as follows: \int . This symbol is found in a number of English choreographies.

Coupé. Tomlinson, like Rameau, devotes two chapters to the coupé. Chapter six describes the coupé of one movement, which can either be performed plain or with a slide on the second step. (Rameau only mentions the latter version, the coupé soutenue.) In his next chapter Tomlinson describes two ways of performing the coupé of two movements: "smooth upon the Floor . . . [or] bounding off." Both versions have a bend and rise in the middle of the second step, but only the first is included in Tomlinson's step tables.

In addition to the coupé soutenue, Rameau describes his preferred way of performing the coupé, in which there is an additional bend after the demi-coupé.¹³ Rameau describes only one way of performing the coupé of two movements (translated by Essex as "coupé of motion"):

13. See Hilton, Dance, 176-7 for a more detailed explanation of Rameau's coupé.

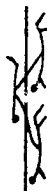
with a demi-jeté as the second step.¹⁴

Fleuret. In his chapter on the fleuret or pas de bourrée Rameau begins by differentiating between the "true" pas de bourrée, in which the final step is replaced by a demi-jeté, and the fleuret, the latter step being the same as the one described by Tomlinson (who makes no distinction between the two terms). According to Rameau the difficulty of performing the pas de bourrée correctly has led to its replacement by the fleuret.

In addition to his chapter on the bourrée or fleuret, Tomlinson includes separate chapters on the bourrée of two movements and the bourrée with a bound. He describes the bourrée of two movements (chapter IX) as a coupé plus a demi-coupé, adding that (as in the coupé of two movements), the last step may be done "with a Spring from the Ground, which is what we call a Bound" The second version of the step (ex. 1b) is shown in his notation table, while the first version (ex. 1a) appears only in Plate I, measure 8. Tomlinson's distinction between the bourrée with a bound and the bourrée with two movements, the latter without a leap, seems clear enough, but he confuses the issue by calling Chapter XVIII "Of the Bouree with a Bound," a more accurate title for which would be "Of the Bouree plus a Bound" (ex. 1c).¹⁵

14. Rameau specifies the use of the demi-jeté in a number of other step-units as well. No such step is described or notated by Tomlinson, and it is my contention that this was a subtlety of the French style of performance and should not be applied indiscriminately to English dances. This question will be discussed at greater length in Chapter VI.

15. Hilton conflates the two steps shown in ex. 1b and 1c, and assumes they were both performed with a demi-jeté (Dance, 183).



Example 1a. Bourrée
with two movements
(Pl. I m. 8)



Example 1b. Bourrée
with a bound
(Ch. IX; Table 3/8)



Example 1c. Bourrée
with a bound (Ch.
XVIII; Pl. I m. 6)

Another difference between the two treatises concerns the timing of a fleuret variant which Tomlinson calls "twice behind," Rameau's fleuret emboîté. According to the latter, the first two steps are made more quickly than in other fleurets; however, Tomlinson makes no mention of this timing, which leads me to suspect it was not known in England.¹⁶

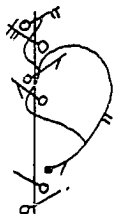
March. In the next chapter, Tomlinson calls the French temps de courante a "march," also referring to it as a "coulee" in Book II, Chapter V. The French pas marché is rendered by Tomlinson as a walk or a straight step. His avoidance of the term "courante" may be a reflection of the fact that, while the step continued to be used by choreographers, the dance in its original form was no longer performed.¹⁷ Tomlinson also omits any mention of Rameau's "pas de courante" (a demi-jeté followed by a coupé), described in chapter XXVI of Le Maître.

Rigadoon steps. Tomlinson's description of the rigadoon (of one spring) varies slightly from Rameau's in that it can be performed on

16. See Hilton, Dance, 187, for a description of this step.

17. According to Rameau (1725) "Formerly the Courante was much in fashion" An English country dance first published c1709 ("Lady Mary's Courant") states "to be done with the Courant Step if the Company can do it."

the ground or off (the French treatise only describes the latter version). The step can also be performed using third as well as first position.¹⁸ His "rigadoon step of two springs" (which the French treatises refer to only as a *sissonne*) is more problematic. Tomlinson's seemingly contradictory descriptions of the step and its timing can be understood when one realizes that there are two different versions of the step, as seen in his Table 9. Rameau's *sissonne* is comprised of two leaps or springs, the first of which closes in third position on both feet, the second going to third position on one foot. Tomlinson's notation for this version (which agrees with the French treatises) is shown in example 2a. (For ease of comparison I have shown the step moving forward instead of backward.) His other version of the step (ex. 2b) is similar to Weaver's "sissonne with a *contretemps*," one of the steps in his 1706 "Suplement" which is not found in French treatises (example 2c).



Example 2a.
Tomlinson,
Table 9 ex. 2



Example 2b.
Tomlinson,
Table 9 ex. 1



Example 2c.
Weaver, Pl. 42

Tomlinson describes the step shown in example 2b as follows: the first spring, rather than closing in third position, "advances or retires, about the Length of a March"; he continues, if the first spring is on the left foot, the right "at the same Instant, moves directly the

18. See Plate E, Table 8, exs. 2-5. A variant of this version is used by Siris in his 1708 rigadoon, "La Camilla."

same Way, as in the March, except that the March is performed on the Ground . . . but this off" The second part of the step makes it clear that the feet are in fourth rather than third or fifth position: ". . . the second [spring] is made from the aforesaid Position divided; that is to say, the right Foot is, near the Length of a Step in Dancing, before the left." This description is followed by instructions for timing, but Tomlinson fails to indicate that he is now discussing the first version of the step rather than the second. A timing for the second version is not given in this chapter, but is alluded to in the chapter on the minuet hop (Book II) which, as Tomlinson points out, is the same as the rigadon hop [second version] plus a jeté. He describes the timing of the minuet hop as follows: "the Spring is made in like Manner upon the first Note; but, instead of the right or advanced Foot's being set down upon the second Note [as in the rigadon step of two springs], it is now put down to the third" (p. 114). This gives us the following timing for the "English step":

↓	↓	↓	↓
hop	step	hop from	bend
left	right/ bend	both feet to one foot	

Hop or contretemps. Tomlinson describes two ways of performing the hop or contretemps, both of which are different from the French description. In the first version the step begins from third position, and, assuming the hop is on the left foot, the right moves to the side as in the point and march, and then moves forward. Tomlinson refers to plates VI and XV in this description, both of which clearly illustrate the free foot extended to the side (see example 3). Siris's description of this step seems to correspond with Tomlinson's: "Spring [hop] upon your Left-Foot, at the same time that your Right shall pass aside to

Walk upon some one of the Positions."19

The other version begins from fourth position, and is similar to the step as described by Rameau: if the hop is on the left foot, the right foot makes "a plain Walk or Step forwards . . . after which the left Foot is advanced, the Length of a Step . . . (p. 63)." Tomlinson makes it clear that the hop is made from fourth rather than first position, an important distinction which we will return to later.²⁰ Tomlinson also describes and notates two other variations of this step: the "Hop, Step, and Bound" and the "Hop, Step, and Draw behind Sideways," both of which are included in Weave's 1706 "Supplement" but not in Feuillet.

Chassé. Tomlinson devotes five chapters to the chassé or driving step, either alone or in combination with other steps, and here again there are differences between his description and that of Rameau. Tomlinson's first version (chapter 21) is done on the ground, as is clear from his notated examples, if not always from his text (example 4a). He sometimes refers to the "chassee or hop," but his notation table for this step shows a driving step with no hop, and in the following chapter he refers back to this step with the phrase, the "Movement made upon the Ground." For Tomlinson the distinctive feature

19. Siris, Dancing, 32. Hilton does not mention this method of performance, although I find it very attractive (and more difficult). Instead, she states that the initial hop is performed in the same manner as the opening hop of the contretemps ballonné (Dance, 219) when in fact both the notations and descriptions of these steps differ.

20. Hilton describes the hop in first position and does not mention Tomlinson's version of the step (Dance, 212). However, this omission (and others mentioned elsewhere in this study) is understandable in view of Hilton's focus on French dance as described by Rameau, rather than on regional or national variants.

B. I. *Saraband.* P. VI.

Very Slow.

2 3 4 5 6 7 8

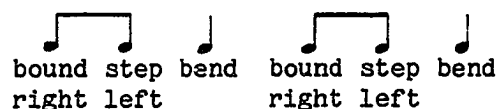
K.T. Inv. C. Vanderrecht Sculp.

To my ever respected Scholars Nathaniel Curzon and Asheton Curzon Esq^r Sons to Sir Nathaniel Curzon of Kedleston in the County of DERBY Bar. This PLATE is most humbly inscrib'd by their very much obliged servant, *Kellem. Tomlinson*


Example 3. Tomlinson, The Art of Dancing, Book I, Plate VI.

of this step (which he goes to great lengths to describe) is the preparation in the previous measure consisting of an "easy Stamp or Kick" with the heel of the free foot. No special notation sign is provided for the stamp other than the slide which leads into it.

Tomlinson's "Chassee, or Driving Step of two Movements or Bounding Coupees" (chapter 22), is the same as the first chassé step described by Rameau. According to the English treatise the step is usually introduced by a beaten coupé or hop, ending in an open position (second or fourth). The beaten coupé is the subject of the next chapter, but halfway through the chapter he returns to the "flying chassee" of chapter 22. Tomlinson's timing for this step is as follows:²¹

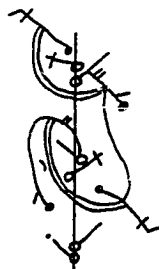


Tomlinson's Chapter 24, "Of the Chassee or Driving Step, of three Springs in the same Place, from the third Position," has a slightly misleading title, since chassés of two springs are also discussed. This step is the same as the first version of Rameau's jeté chassé, the only difference in performance being that Tomlinson begins the step from third position instead of fourth, resulting in an initial leg gesture somewhat similar to that of the sissonne (see example 4b).²²

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21. Hilton's timing,  (*Dance*, p. 231), may be a misprint. Not only is this a misreading of Tomlinson, but it does not agree with Rameau's description of the step quoted by Hilton on the facing page: ". . . the left Leg is placed quickly in the second Position, which makes it appear as if a Person lighted on both Feet."
22. Hilton does not clearly differentiate between Rameau's first chassé type, which he says is made with a "half spring or Hop . . . slipping on the ground," and his "Bounds en chasiez," which are done with a more pronounced spring. Furthermore, her statement that the jeté chassé does not travel does not agree with Rameau.



Example 4a. Chassé
on the ground.
(Plate I, Table 13/1)



Example 4b. Chassé
of two springs.
(Table 15/1)

Chapters 25-30 describe composite steps which are more properly part of the theatrical step vocabulary. None of them are in Rameau, and their presence in the English treatise is puzzling, since Tomlinson claims that his book is a treatise on social dancing. Furthermore, he makes no attempt to give a comprehensive study of theatrical dance steps, omitting not only the échappé (which Rameau includes) but many other steps such as the capers, entrechats, and waving steps which were in Feuillet and Weaver. In each of these chapters, as well as in some others, Tomlinson mentions one or two choreographies which include the step in question. It is interesting that almost all of the dances used as examples by Tomlinson are from Pécour's 1704 collection of theatrical dances, suggesting that at least some of the dances from this collection were being studied and performed in England in the 1720's and 1730's. Since Tomlinson's citations are not always complete I have listed them below arranged by step type.

<u>Step-unit</u>	<u>Dance Title and Location in 1704 Recueil</u>
Beaten coupé (Ch. 23)	"Chaconne de Phaeton" (p. 10) "Passacaille de Scilla" (p. 20)
Chaconne (Ch. 27)	"Passacaille de Scilla"

Hop and two Chassés (Ch. 28)	"Chaconne de Phaeton"
Fall, Spring and Coupé (Ch. 29)	"Passacaille de Scilla"
Close, beating before, etc. (Ch. 30)	"Entrée pour deux hommes" (p. 164) "Entrée Espagnolle" (p. 74)
Pirouette (Ch. 31)	"Sarabande pour un homme" (p. 210)

Tomlinson also mentions two English dances which contain some of these steps. In Chapter 25 he refers to L'Abbe's "Passacaille," the only theatrical dance published in England before the 1720's.²³ The other English dance, his own (lost) "Passacaille Diana," is mentioned in Chapter 28. The relatively large number of references to both French and English solo dances for women may indicate that Tomlinson's women pupils were technically more proficient than his men students.

Book II

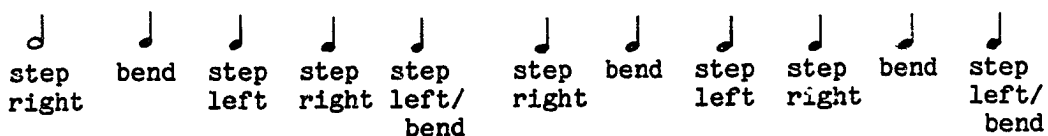
Minuet steps. In the first six chapters of Book II Tomlinson describes the minuet step and other steps used in this dance "by way of Embroidery or farther Grace." His chapter on the minuet step begins by stating that all such steps are "composed of four plain straight Steps or Walks," the various types being differentiated by the placement of marks (i.e., bend and rise signs). He lists the following types: 1)

23. Pemberton, An Essay (1711). Tomlinson's citation is in error: he says the step in question occurs in the sixth bar, when in fact it occurs only in the sixty-seventh bar of L'Abbe's dance. He specifically mentions the solo rather than the duet version of the dance; the latter was included in a collection of L'Abbe dances published c1725. This suggests that Tomlinson did not have access to the L'Abbe collection, perhaps because he completed his treatise before it was published.

the "English Minuet Step" (a fleuret plus a demi-coupé); 2) the same with a bound in place of the demi-coupé; 3) "One and a Fleuret" (also called the "French Step" or the "New Minuet Step"); 4) the "Minuet Step of three Movements" or "New Step." He dismisses the first two types "because they are rarely, if ever, practised amongst Persons of the first Rank," and also because their movements have been discussed in chapter XVIII, "Of the Bouree with a Bound." Both steps are in Weaver's "Suplement"; the first is also in Feuillet, labelled "menuet a la bo#mienne." The second, "with a Bound," is is not found in French sources.²⁴

Tomlinson's third minuet step also has two movements, but they are arranged as a demi-coupé followed by a fleuret. This step is shown in his Table 2 moving in three different directions: forward, to the right on a diagonal path, and to the left. No example of a backwards minuet step is given. Tomlinson describes the minuet step of three movements, his fourth and last type, as having another movement (bend and rise) added to the last step of the previous version. He describes the step both moving forwards and to the left, but only gives notated examples moving to the left (Table 2, ex. 4-5), perhaps because it only occurs in this direction in his two minuet choreographies. The most important difference between the two steps is in the timing, seen in example 5.

24. Hilton interprets the bound as a demi-jeté, and says that Tomlinson's first two types appear frequently in English choreographies (*Dance*, 195). However, I have found only one example: the minuet section of Isaac's "Chaconne" (1711), which contains seven of the latter steps.



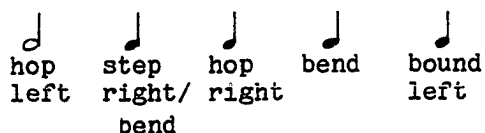
Example 5. Minuet step of
two movements

Minuet step of
three movements

Rameau's timing for the minuet step of three movements is the same as Tomlinson's, but in his minuet step of two movements the bends are on beats 2 and 5 rather than 3 and 6.

An important detail in Tomlinson's version of the minuet step sideways is that after the second open step in moving to the right (and the first open step moving to the left), the free foot remains pointed to the side, and then is drawn behind the other foot (rather than moving without a slide). This notation is shown in only one example (Table 2, ex. 5) but the description occurs several times in the text.²⁵

As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, Tomlinson's explanation of the minuet hop (Chapter 2) refers the reader back to the rigadon hop of two springs (Book I, chapter 20), since the steps are the same except for the difference in timing and the addition of a bound in the former. Tomlinson's timing for the minuet hop is as follows:



Rameau's timing for this step, as presented in the Abbrégé, is more ambiguous, with the possibility that the step following the first hop occurs on the second rather than the third beat of the measure.²⁶

25. This detail is omitted by Hilton from her quotation of Tomlinson's description (Dance, 194).

26. For a more detailed discussion of the Rameau version of this step

described by Tomlinson as beginning in third position as opposed to Rameau's first position. Rameau has a special term for this initial hop, not used elsewhere in his treatise: "sauter a cloche pied." A similar phrase was used by Feuillet in 1706 to describe the demi-contretemps (see Chapter II of this study). Essex translated this (in 1710) as "small jumps . . . in a hopping manner," and in his 1728 translation of Rameau he used the phrase "hop on one leg." Yet it would seem that a term as descriptive as "bell-leg" or "bell-foot" might have a more specific meaning. A clue to this meaning can be found, I propose, in Tomlinson's second version of the contretemps de gavotte (discussed earlier in this chapter) in which the free leg moves from fourth position rear to fourth position front. This swinging motion is also found in a late sixteenth-century Italian step, the campanella, and although the terminology did not survive in England, it would seem that the step did.²⁷ If this hypothesis is correct, the implications for performance are as follows: 1) In Feuillet's 1706 Contredanses the demi-contretemps should be performed with the swinging motion suggested by the term "cloche pied" i.e., starting from 4th rather than 1st

see Hilton, Dance, 216. It is not clear from her description that in Tomlinson the bend on beat three occurs with the step rather than before it.

27. Such links between otherwise disparate dance styles are notoriously difficult to establish and should be viewed with a considerable amount of skepticism. However, having suggested one such link I would like to propose another: an unnamed step variant which occurs frequently in English dances as a replacement for the demi-contretemps (see Chapter VI, exs. 8 & 9) may have its origin in the late sixteenth-century Italian fioretto. In a similar vein, Shirley Wynne has suggested that some of the Baroque theatrical steps can be traced to late Renaissance dances ("Balli in Italian Baroque Opera," a paper presented at the American Musicological Society Annual Meeting, 28 October 1983).

position. (The step may have been imported from England, along with the dances.) 2) By 1725, the date of Rameau's treatise, the term was still known, but the performance of the step had been modified, starting in first position rather than fourth. 3) In England no special terminology existed for this version of the demi-contretemps, and the choice of which one to use was apparently up to the dancer.

Tomlinson's chapter III, "Of the Double Bouree upon the same Place," also describes the "Bouree running or flying along the Room." The steps are shown in Plate 0, Table 3, exs. 3-4. Rameau includes the first of these steps in chapter 28, where it is called an "open bouree," but he does not mention the minuet in connection with it. He describes the first step as onto a flat foot (right), the left foot following in first position, whereas Tomlinson specifies the step is to be made on the instep or toe, with the left foot remaining in place with the toe pointed; thus Rameau's second step into second position is replaced in Tomlinson by a simple weight change onto the heel of the left foot. The subsequent rise prior to the third beat slide is also omitted in the English version. Tomlinson's running or flying bourrée (two fleurets in succession in place of one minuet step) is not mentioned by Rameau.

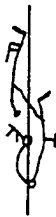
The balancé, Tomlinson's next minuet "grace," is found frequently in dances other than the minuet (although he does not mention this fact). The step is described (and notated--Table 3, ex. 5) as a side-to-side movement, with no mention of Rameau's preferred forward and back motion (chapter 33). Tomlinson describes two ways of performing the step, but only one notation is given.²⁸

28. An explanation of the two methods of performance is in Hilton, Dance, 198-9.

Tomlinson's next chapter, "Of the two Coulees or marches" (temps de courante) is suitably brief, since the performance is the same as for a single march. The term "coulee" (Fr. coul   = slide) is not used elsewhere to my knowledge. Although this step is not included in Rameau, a similar step is included in his chapter on minuet graces.

The final minuet step variant in the English treatise bears the awkward title "the Slip behind and Half Coupee forwards to the right and left Hands, each to a Minuet Step," but it is simply another of the fleuret variants included in chapter 28 of Le Maître. One difference in performance between the two treatises is that the slide on the second step in Tomlinson occurs on the third step in Rameau. Tomlinson's two notated examples (Table 3, exs. 7-8) show two different timings for the step, the first of which takes six beats (equal to one minuet step) for each side. The same step-unit can be done in three (or four) beats, as shown in the second example. According to Tomlinson the slow version is used in the minuet, while both slow and fast versions are used in other dances.

The one step described in Rameau's chapter on the "graces" in the minuet, a temps de courante followed by a jet     chapp  , is not included in Tomlinson's text. However, in the margin of the introduction page to the Book II plates there are two notated minuet phrases, the second of which begins with a step similar to Rameau's. This step also appeared in Weaver's "Supplement of Steps," so it had been known in England since 1706, and Tomlinson's omission may have been an oversight. The notations are shown in example 6.

Weaver, OrchesographyRameau, Abbrégé

Tomlinson

Example 6. Three versions of a minuet "grace" step.

According to Rameau (ch. 25) this step should be used by tall people in place of the minuet hop.

Tomlinson's Minuet

The "menuet ordinaire" differed from the notated choreographies of the period because it allowed the dancers a great deal of flexibility. The framework of this dance, described by Rameau, Tomlinson, and later theorists, remained the same throughout the eighteenth century. However, within this basic framework the dancers had latitude in the following areas: the length of the dance, the shape of the floor patterns (within certain limits), the steps used, and the relationship of the dance phrases to the music phrases. Some idea of the possible variants can be seen by comparing the two versions of the minuet in Tomlinson's treatise with each other and with Rameau.

This basic framework consisted of five floor patterns performed in a prescribed order. These floor patterns are illustrated in Tomlinson's Plate U (example 7), where they are described as follows:

The Introduction

The S reversed or common form of the Minuet
 The Presenting of the right Arm
 The Presenting of the Left Arm
 The S reversed or common form of the Minuet
 The Presenting of both Arms and Conclusion

U

<p><i>The Introduction</i></p> <p><i>Minuet</i></p> <p>1st Division.</p>	<p><i>The S reversed or common form of the Minuet.</i></p> <p>2^d Division.</p>	<p><i>The Presenting of the right Arm.</i></p> <p>3^d Division.</p>
<p><i>The Presenting of the Left Arm.</i></p> <p>4th Division.</p> <p><i>K. Tomlinson inven. ac. scilicet</i></p>	<p><i>The S reversed or common form of the Minuet.</i></p> <p>5th Division.</p>	<p><i>The Presenting of both Arms and Conclusion</i></p> <p>6th Division. <i>Fine.</i></p> <p><i>R. W. Child, sculp.</i></p>

The above is the whole Form and regular Order of the Minuet written in Characters & Figures, as describ'd in Book II.

Example 7. Tomlinson, The Art of Dancing, Plate U

Although the order of these patterns is fixed, the dancers may lengthen the dance by repeating each of the reversed S divisions one or more times. According to Tomlinson two or three repeats of each S are permissible, but the same number of repeats must be taken both times the pattern occurs (p. 140). Rameau is more flexible, allowing for as many as five or six repeats of the principal figure the first time it occurs, and three or four repeats after the presenting of the arms.

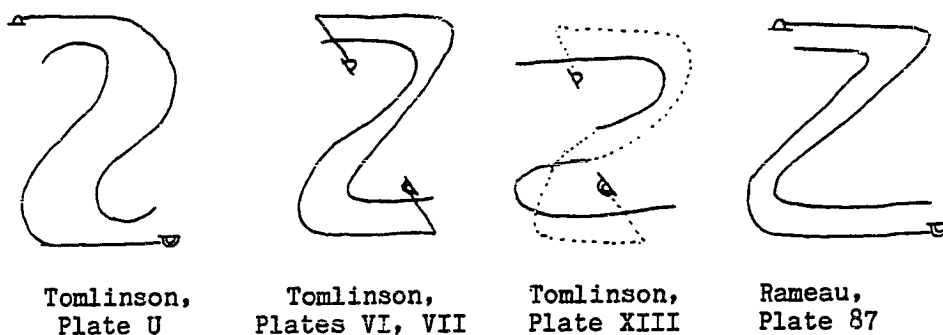
The shape of the floor patterns is apparently also flexible, to judge from the surviving examples of the dance (neither Rameau nor Tomlinson comment on this aspect). Tomlinson gives two versions of the minuet, one in his Plate U and one in the numbered plates. Since the order of the dance is not always apparent in the latter series (Tomlinson re-uses certain plates and provides optional plates), the correct order in relationship to the six "divisions" of Plate U is shown below. (Optional plates are enclosed in parentheses).

<u>Divisions (Plate U)</u>	<u>Book II Plates</u>	<u>Music</u> ²⁹
Introduction	IV, V	A
S Reversed	VI, VII (XIII)	B
Right Arm	VIII, IX	A
Left Arm	X	B
S Reversed	VIII, XI (XIV)	A
Both arms, conclusion	VI, XII	B

Floor patterns. The opening floor patterns of Tomlinson's two

29. The order of the music as shown here assumes no additional repeats of the S figure. If the first S were repeated once the following figure would be danced to "B" music.

minuets are almost identical, as are the closing figures; however, both differ somewhat from Rameau. The main differences between Tomlinson's two floor patterns occur in the "S reversed" figure, which in the numbered plates is more like the Z of Rameau's minuet. Example 8 shows the floor patterns of these versions:



Tomlinson,
Plate U

Tomlinson,
Plates VI, VII

Tomlinson,
Plate XIII

Rameau,
Plate 87

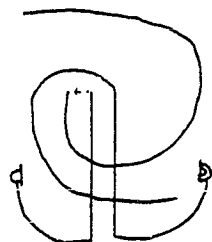
Example 8. Floor patterns for the reversed S or Z figure.

The opening step of this figure as shown in Plate VI (in which the dancers move one minuet step away from each other on the diagonal) is also found in the remaining four patterns of the numbered plate version of Tomlinson's minuet.³⁰

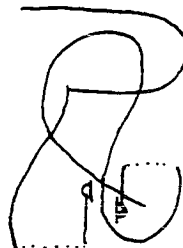
A bar-by-bar comparison of the French and English floor patterns is not possible because, unlike Tomlinson's regular eight-bar dance patterns, Rameau's are of irregular lengths or, as in the case of the circling figures, of undefined length. However, some comparisons and observations can be made. (In this discussion I am speaking of 6-beat rather than 3-beat measures.) In Rameau's opening seven-bar pattern the

30. According to Rameau (ch. 22) the principal figure was originally an S shape and was changed to a Z by Pécour. Thus, Tomlinson's use of an S figure in Plate U and a more Z-like figure in the numbered plates supports my hypothesis (presented later in this chapter) that the latter were added to the treatise after 1728 and represent Tomlinson's attempts to compete with the Essex translation of Rameau.

dancers move towards each other and then up the room facing the Presence for three bars, after which they move to opposite corners, dropping hands two bars before the end of the phrase (example 9a).³¹ Tomlinson's opening pattern, eight bars long, is less symmetrical, and the two-bar addressing of the Presence has been replaced by a curving pattern in which the dancers' focus is on each other. The dancers take hands after four bars, dropping them only one bar before the end of the pattern, which leaves them closer to each other than in the French version (example 9b). This closeness may be the reason for the movement away from each other at the start of the next figure.

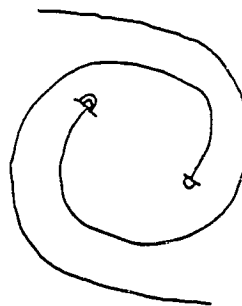
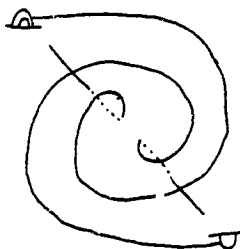


Example 9a. Rameau



Example 9b. Tomlinson

The problems with Rameau's right-hand floor pattern were discussed in the previous chapter. Both of Tomlinson's circling patterns show the dancers making a full turn, ending in the same position from which they began, as seen in example 10.



Example 10. Right- and left-hand circling patterns in Tomlinson.

31. The diagram of the second half of this pattern in Hilton (Dance, 297) has been printed upside down.

Steps. In the first column of Table 2 are listed the step sequences for Tomlinson's minuet as given in Plate U, his earlier version of the "menuet ordinaire." Any changes which occur in his second version (Plates IV-XIV) are listed in the next column. Other variations, particularly steps which may be substituted for the minuet steps, are listed in the third column. As can be seen from this table, the step sequences of Tomlinson's two minuet versions are almost identical. The one consistent change is a substitution of a minuet step to the right for one to the left, to accommodate the change in the floor pattern at the beginning of divisions 2, 3, 5, and 6. The final step sequence also differs slightly in each version.

Table 2: Steps in Tomlinson's Minuet

<u>Plate U</u>	<u>Plates BII/IV-XIV</u>	<u>Other Possible Steps</u> (described in Tomlinson's text)
1st Div. 1. minuet r		
Intro. 2. minuet l*		
3. minuet l*		
4. minuet fwd		
5. minuet r/fwd		minuet fwd (man)
6. minuet r/fwd		slip
7. minuet r/fwd		
8. minuet r		balance; or minuet fwd (lady)
"S" re- versed 1. minuet l**	minuet r	minuet fwd
2. minuet l		minuet r
3. minuet l		minuet r
4. minuet l		minuet r; or double bouree
5. minuet fwd	minuet l (VII)	
6. minuet fwd		minuet r
7. minuet fwd		minuet r; or 2 marches
8. minuet fwd	minuet r (XIII)	
R. arm 1. minuet l	minuet r	
2. minuet l		
3. minuet l		
4. minuet l		
5. minuet fwd		
6. minuet fwd		
7. minuet fwd		
8. minuet r		

L. arm	1. minuet fwd		
	2. minuet hop		2 marches
	3. minuet fwd		
	4. minuet fwd		
	5. minuet fwd		
	6. minuet r		
	7. minuet r		slip, etc.
	8. minuet r		slip; or double bouree
"S" re- versed	1. minuet l	minuet r	
	2. minuet l		
	3. minuet l		
	4. minuet l		
	5. minuet fwd	minuet l	
	6. minuet fwd		
	7. minuet fwd		2 marches
	8. minuet r	minuet fwd	
Both arms	1. minuet l	minuet r	
	2. minuet l		
	3. minuet l		
	4. minuet fwd	minuet l	
	5. minuet hop	minuet fwd	
	6. minuet fwd	minuet hop	minuet hop or slip?
	7. minuet r/fwd	minuet fwd	minuet bkd/fwd
	8. final step	final step	

*minuet step of three movements

*#minuet step of three movements, with slide on third step
(all minuet left steps from here to the end)

Music. Both of Tomlinson's minuets are set to binary tunes, each strain of which is eight bars long. Since each minuet step requires two bars of music, each "division" of the minuet corresponds to a repeated strain of music. Such correspondence is by no means desirable, according to Tomlinson, but it is safer if the dancers do not have a good ear. (Rameau's irregular dance phrases have already been noted above. He makes no comments about the correspondence with the music.)

Tomlinson's choice of music for his two minuets is of interest: in Plate U the music is straightforward, with a slight variation (actually a simplification) of the melody in the last repeat of the B strain. A much more elaborate musical structure is found in the minuet

"A" phrase

IV
V
VII (a)
IV
VII (b)
XI
XIV
VII (a)
VII
X (a)
X (b)
VI (b)
XII

"B" phrase

VI (a)
VII
X (a)
X (b)
VI (b)
XII

Example 11. Minuet tune and written-out ornamentation, Tomlinson, *The Art of Dancing*, Book II
plates IV-XIV.

plates IV-XIV (example 11). Unlike the music in plate U, all of the repeats are written out, and each repeat presents a different ornamentation of the melody; furthermore, the two halves of the A strain are almost identical, with each of these four-bar phrases being ornamented differently. Although Tomlinson does not comment on the ornamentation, it may have been his own (we know he composed at least one dance melody). In any case, this piece provides us with a model for ornamenting other often-repeated dance melodies.

Dance Types

In Chapter 13, "Of Time or some Account of what Time is," Tomlinson discusses the metrical organization of most of the dance types, giving examples of choreographies for many of them. Since he does not always identify the examples clearly (particularly the French dances) I have summarized this information in the following table.

Table 3. Examples of Dance Types Cited by Tomlinson.

<u>Dance Type</u>	<u>Dance Titles</u>	<u>Choreographer</u>	<u>Date</u>
Gavot	Princess Royal	L'Abbe	1715
	Princess Ann	Siris	lost
	Prince Eugene	Tomlinson	1718
Galliard	Royal Galliard	Isaac	1710
Quadruple time	Entrée d'Apolon	Pécour	1704
	Godolphin	Isaac	1714
Courante	La Bourgogne	Pécour	1700
	Brawl of Audenarde	Siris	1709
Sarabande, Passacaille	Princess Ann	L'Abbe	1716
	Follie D'Espagne	L'Abbe	lost
	Passacaille	L'Abbe	1711

Chaconne	Princess Ann's Chaconne	L'Abbe	1719
Passepied	Royal George	L'Abbe	1717
	Bretagne	Pécour	1705
	Passepied Round O	Tomlinson	1715
Louvre or slow Jig	Entrée Espagnol	Pécour	1704
	Pastoral	Isaac	1713
	Union	Isaac	1707
Jigs or Forlanas	Princess Amelia	L'Abbe	1718
	Forlana	Pécour	1704
	Shepherdess	Tomlinson	1716
Canary	Royal Galliard	Isaac	1710
Hornpipe	Union	Isaac	1707
	Richmond	Isaac	1706

The dances are discussed by metrical type, starting with duple, and then triple and compound duple meters. Omitted from the duple-meter group is the bourrée, a dance type which Tomlinson may have considered to be out of favor by the 1720's, although L'Abbe composed two bourrée sections, one in 1716 and one in 1724. More surprising is Tomlinson's omission of the rigadon, clearly a very popular dance, to judge by the amount of surviving music in the various annual collections. Not only did he choreograph three rigadon sections himself (two in one dance) but he cites Isaac's well-known rigadon three times in Book I as an example of certain steps. Perhaps Tomlinson was puzzled by the conflicting metrical signs: contemporary rigadoons not associated with a specific choreography were usually in 6/4 or 6/8 meter, whereas the choreographed dances were in 2 (see Chapter V of this study).

The Dating of Tomlinson's Treatise

I have found no evidence to dispute Tomlinson's claim that his

treatise was completed before he knew of the Rameau treatise or its English translation. While there are obvious points of similarity between the two works, there are enough differences, both in the step notations and performance and also in the manner of presentation, to indicate that Tomlinson was working independently of Rameau. Tomlinson's short chapter on the use of the arms (less than four pages, compared to Rameau's eighteen chapters) and his inclusion of timings for most of the steps and discussion of tempo and dance types (none of which are in Rameau) support this view. Furthermore, the absence of references in the treatise to any dances published after 1719 (other than Tomlinson's own 1721 dance), in particular the collection of L'Abbe dances published by Roussau c1725, suggests that Tomlinson may have written this work early in the decade.

However, I suspect that Tomlinson did copy one idea from Rameau, namely, his inclusion of plates showing one or two dancers performing a particular step. My hypothesis is as follows: the original version of the Art of Dancing contained only the five plates lettered A, E, I, O, U; these plates, while compact, contain all the illustrations necessary for Tomlinson's treatise. It was not until 1728, after Tomlinson knew of the Essex translation, that he decided to include additional plates similar to those in the latter work in his treatise. This hypothesis would help explain the long delay between the publication of the Essex translation (when, according to Tomlinson's preface, his work was already complete) and the appearance of the work in 1735; he would have needed the extra time to design thirty plates, locate sponsors for each, and commission the engravings.

My hypothesis is supported by three types of evidence: 1) the organization of the Book I plates, as well as the contents of both sets of plates; 2) the labeling of the footnotes in the text which refer to these plates; 3) the ages of the dedicatees.

As was pointed out in the previous discussion of Tomlinson's minuet, the plates in book II are for the most part a repetition of the diagrams and steps shown in Plate U. The only new material is the first honour, the alternate version of the reversed "S," the elaborate new music, and, of course, the figures of the dancers. But Tomlinson's text is not dependent on any of these features to make sense, and all references to the numbered plates could be omitted with no loss of clarity.

The plates in Book II, for all their redundancy, at least proceed in a more or less orderly sequence through the minuet patterns. Such is not the case with the Book I plates, which appear to have been assembled in no particular order, either with respect to the chapters of the text, the dance types which they purportedly illustrate, or with any internal logic. Thus, there are two plates depicting the five basic foot positions of Baroque dance, one of which (no. VIII) occurs after several plates which include difficult theatrical steps. In other words, material from the first lesson is mixed in indiscriminately with steps for only the most advanced students. Another curious feature of this group of plates: nos. 1-15 depict only male dancers, yet only a few of the step sequences in the illustrations are clearly theatrical in character, the others being more appropriate for a couple.³² Perhaps Tomlinson's use of men in these plates reflects the almost exclusive use

32. Since the men in these plates are always mirror-image "twins"

of male dancers by Rameau. There is also no apparent relationship between these fifteen plates and the last one in Book I, "A Single Dance for a Young Lady." Although much shorter than the average dance of this time, it is musically complete (two 8-bar strains, unrepeated), and could conceivably end with the addition of honours (the final step would normally move backwards rather than forwards).

Anyone who works seriously with the Tomlinson treatise must soon become exasperated with his overuse of footnotes which refer the reader to the plates at the end of the book. Rather than a few well-chosen examples, there are literally hundreds, if not thousands, of these citations, many of them to the same plate again and again, and some of them marginally applicable to the text. For example, in the fifteen pages 59-73, there are fifty-four such footnotes. Many of these refer to information such as the basic foot positions or other material already covered in previous chapters.

Tomlinson's system of labelling footnotes seems at first glance to be haphazard, but on closer analysis provides further evidence for my hypothesis. Three kinds of footnote designations are used: lower-case letters (a), which are usually used consecutively with no regard for the beginnings of chapters; arabic numerals (1), used in Book II only (again consecutively); and a variety of printers' symbols such as *, #, and & which do not follow a regular pattern.

There is no apparent reason for the use of both symbols and letters in the first three chapters of Book I, since there is no difference in content between the two (see example 12). However, in

performing a mirror-image dance sequence, it is possible that the composition of the plates was influenced more by artistic considerations of symmetry than by a realistic depiction of a male pas de deux.

the Poise rests upon one Foot, the other being inclosed or placed before the Ankle of that Foot by which the Weight is supported (c). Fourthly, when the inclosed Foot is advanced upon a right Line, about the Length of a Step in Walking (d). And, Fifthly, when the Heel of the advanced Foot is so crossed and placed before the Toe of that Foot on which the Body rests, as that the Turning may be made, and yet one Foot not, in the least, interrupt the other (e). Having briefly described the most agreeable Postures of *Standing* in Conversation, and laid down the Rudiments of the whole ART of DANCING, I shall now proceed to treat on *Motion*, the Result of Position, and first begin with *Walking*.

C H A P. II Of W A L K I N G.

WALKING consists of Motion and a Change of Place, by transferring the Weight or Poise of the Body from one Foot to the other, by stepping or advancing the disengaged Foot (whichsoever it be) from the first Position † to the fourth advanced ||, and so alternately, concluding as at first †, but always on the contrary Foot. In order to *walk* gracefully, it is to be observed, that, during the Step or Motion made by the disengaged Foot, as above ||, the

* See Plate VIII. (a) See Plate II. (b) See Plate III. (c) See Plate IV. (d) See Plate IX. (e) See Plate XI. † See Plate I. ‡ See Plate IX.

B 2

whole

Example 12. Tomlinson, The Art of Dancing, 5.

Chapter IV the first nineteen footnotes, (a) to (s), all refer to Plate A, and these footnotes interrupt the sequence of letters begun in chapter II. The sequence is resumed again (with letter v) after this interruption. One explanation which makes some sense of this footnote chaos is that the footnotes were added in three stages. In the original version of the treatise (1724?) the only footnotes were to the lettered plates since the others had not yet been added. Some of these survive with their labels unaltered, notably the nineteen footnotes just mentioned as well as footnotes (a) to (f) in chapters V-VIII, all referring to Plate E. When the numbered plates were added to the

treatise, references to them were inserted, also using lower-case letters. Examples are the footnotes (a) to (u) in chapters II and III, and (v) onwards in Chapter IV. To avoid confusion between the two series of letters, the old footnotes were apparently re-labelled after page thirty. Still more footnotes were added at a later stage using the printers' symbols described earlier. These begin in Chapter I and appear frequently until page forty-one, after which they almost disappear until Book II.

The final evidence for my hypothesis that the numbered plates were not part of Tomlinson's original treatise comes from the plate dedications: several of the children to whom the plates are dedicated were not yet born when Tomlinson claims to have finished the treatise, and some of his pupils were probably just learning to walk.³³ In the following table I have listed those children for whom I have been able to find birthdates, and who would have been less than four years old in 1726.³⁴

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Birth</u>	<u>Plate</u>
James Aston*	1723	I/4
Assheton Curzon*	Feb. 1730	I/6
Peter Giffard	1728 or later	I/12
Thomas Giffard	1729 or later	I/12

33. One could argue that Tomlinson designed the plates prior to finding donors willing to subsidize the engraving, but in view of the other evidence presented here this seems unlikely. He would surely have come up with a more rational way to integrate the plates into the text if they had been part of his original plan for the book.

34. Dates are from Georde Edward Cokayne, The Complete Peerage, new ed., 12 vols. (London: The St. Catherine Press, 1910-1959); and Burke's Peerage and Baronetage, 105th ed., (London: Burke's Peerage Ltd., n.d. [1970]).

Elizabeth Fauconberg	1727 or later	II/11
Mary Elizabeth de Courcy	1726	II/12

*Tomlinson's students

A comparison of the Book I and Book II dedications also suggests that the Book II plates were commissioned first. All of the highest ranking families are represented in Book II, although some of these families also have plates in Book I. However, the latter are dedicated to the younger children in the family rather than the "son and heir." (See, for example, the Aston family plates, I/4 and II/4; also the Talbots, I/8 and II/7.) Furthermore, when these names are excluded from the Book I dedicatees, the remaining names are baronets or esquires, with no members of the nobility.

If the Book II plates were in fact designed first, and if I am correct in assuming that the plates were a money-making proposition, then the "grab-bag" character of the Book I plates makes sense: Tomlinson continued to add plates to the collection until he had exhausted his supply of patrons.

The plates accompanying Books I and II are especially useful to us today as illustrations of arm and hand positions, and of the carriage of the body. In the discussion of the Bickham plates in the previous chapter I mentioned the possibility that some of the alterations might have been made to bring them in line with the "English style" plates being prepared for Tomlinson's treatise. If Tomlinson's plates are representative of such a style, as distinct from Rameau's illustrations in the original edition of Le Maître, this style can be summarized as follows: 1) the hand position consistently shows the thumb and index finger touching or nearly touching, while the other fingers are opened

out somewhat (plate I/2) or curved in (I/15); 2) when the arms are in opposition, the hand of the arm opposing the forward foot is curved in rather sharply at the wrist (plates I/12-13); 3) for certain steps there is a considerable amount of shading of the upper torso (turning to the side and/or tilting away from the vertical--I/7, 15, II/12).

It has been amply demonstrated in this chapter that Tomlinson's treatise is no mere imitation of Rameau's, but an independent work which differs in many respects from the French counterparts. These differences--in the notation and performance of steps, in the step patterns and figures of the minuet, and in the illustrations--are important clues in our efforts to define an English style of dance.

Bickham: An Easy Introduction to Dancing

In 1738 a short treatise on the minuet was published by George Bickham Jr., the same man who supplied the second set of plates for the Essex translation of Rameau. The title page describes the contents in detail:

An Easy Introduction to Dancing: or The Movements in the Minuet fully Explained. Adorn'd with Twelve Figures Drawn from the Life, Representing the Different Attitudes of young Gentlemen and Ladies With an Additional Plate, Representing the Form or Figure of the Said Dance. As also Six New Minuets and Rigadoons, likewise their Proper Basses, for the Harpsichord, Spinnet, Violin &c. . . . Printed for T. Cooper.35

The work consists of five pages of explanatory text, followed by seven engraved plates. Each plate has a title referring to some aspect of the minuet figure ("The first Honour," "Presenting Hands," etc.) and they are all dated 1 October 1738. Another undated edition of the work has a different imprint: "London, Printed and sold in May's buildings,

35. Copies are at GB Lcs and US NYp.

near Covent Garden."³⁶ In this edition the title page and five pages of text have been reset with minor changes, but the plates are identical to the first edition. The sixth page, which was blank in the first edition, here includes advertisements for various books printed for George Bickham (at the same address as was on the imprint). One of these is a 1752 publication, so this particular copy, at least, dates from after that year.

As Anne Witherell has pointed out, Bickham's work draws heavily on the Essex translation of Rameau, both for the descriptions of the minuet and the illustrations.³⁷ Thus, while it contributes little of significance to our understanding of English dance, it would seem to indicate that a market existed for the "French" version of the minuet. Bickham begins with a description "Of the Movements in General," and discusses the instep, knee, hips and arms. The hand position is that described by Rameau: neither open nor shut, and the thumb should not press one of the fingers. Only the minuet step of two movements is included (the description is taken almost verbatim from Essex, p. 44), and none of the other steps used in the minuet are included.

All of the first six plates depict a dancing couple (the "twelve figures" referred to on the title page). Underneath each of these couples appear two short dance movements, a minuet and a rigadoon. The dances are in binary form, with short phrases: mostly eight bars long in the minuets and four and six bars respectively in the rigadoons. The latter are all in 6/8 meter. The last plate, "The Compleat Figure of the Minuet," illustrates some hand positions as well as four of the five

36. A copy of this edition is at GB Lbl.

37. Witherell, "Minuet," 4.

minuet patterns (all but the final figure). An amusing innovation is the addition of footprints (rounded toes for the man, pointed toes for the woman) which outline two of the floor patterns of the dance.

One can only wonder who might have purchased this book, since the information about the minuet is insufficient for someone to learn the dance without a teacher. On the other hand, the plates are nicely done, and the music, while uninspired, does include bass lines. But it was most likely the price of Bickham's work which was attractive: one shilling for the 1738 edition compared to one guinea for the Essex translation and two guineas and a half for Tomlinson.

Chapter IV

SOURCES FOR ENGLISH CHOREOGRAPHIES

There has been no reliable bibliographic information to date about the English dances; previous studies in this field have had to rely on library catalogues, book sellers' catalogues, and other secondary sources, most of which were unreliable, at least from a bibliographic point of view.¹ The inclusion in RISM of some (but not all) of the English choreographies has only made matters worse, since the entries are drawn from the same secondary sources mentioned above, rather than from first-hand examination of the dances. In this chapter I will consider the following questions: publication or manuscript dates; dates of composition (if these differ significantly from publication dates; and various editions or issues of the dances.²

There are a total of eighty-five extant "English" choreographies from the years 1706-1740. They are listed by choreographer and type of dance in Table 1. Included in this table are four dances by French choreographers; these dances survive only in English sources, or were first published in England.

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1. Hence, the recent studies by Jennifer Martin, Susan Bindig, and Wendy Hilton (among others) contain incorrect dates for some English dances.
 2. Library locations for all of the published dances are included in Appendix B, as are corrections for the RISM dance entries.

Table 1. Inventory of English Chcoreographies

<u>Choreographer</u>	<u>Total No. of Dances</u>	<u>Court Dances</u>	<u>Theatrical Dances*</u>	<u>Dances for One or More Women*</u>
L'Abbe	27	13	13	1
Isaac	22	21		1
Tomlinson	8	7		1
Roussau	6	4	2	
Siris	5	5		
Caverley	2			2
Holt	2	1		1
Balon	1		1	
Couch	1			1
D'Angeville	1		1	
Essex	1	1		
Glover	1	1		
Groscort	1			1
Hickford	1			1
Marcelle	1	1		
Pecour	1		1	
Priest	1			1
Prince	1			1
Shirley	1			1
Anon.	1			1
TOTALS	85	54	18	13

*These categories are not mutually exclusive: for example, three of L'Abbe's theatrical dances are for women. Dances in the last column include the eight figure dances for women in the Pemberton collection and several solos for women which do not demand theatrical technique.

Of these eighty-five dances, at least seventy-seven were published, the remaining eight dances surviving only in manuscript. (Manuscript versions of several of the published dances also are extant and will be discussed in Chapter VI.) These dances will be considered by choreographer, starting with Isaac and L'Abbe, and then proceeding chronologically with the other choreographers.

Isaac

Publication dates

Isaac published a total of twenty-two dances, all but one of which are ballroom or court dances for a couple. Original publication dates for seventeen of these dances are known: a collection of six dances published in 1706, eight dances for the Queen's birthday (one per year, 1707-14), two dances "for the Year 17__" published in 1715 and 1716, and the dance for a single woman published in the 1711 Pemberton collection. The titles of these dances are listed below in chronological order.³

1706	The Richmond
	The Rondeau
	The Rigadoon
	The Favorite
	The Spanheim
	The Britannia
1707	The Union
1708	The Saltarella
1709	The Royal Portuguez
1710	The Royal Galliarde
1711	The Rigadoon Royal
	Chacone for a Woman
1712	The Royal Ann
1713	The Pastoral
1714	The Godolphin
1715	The Friendship
1716	The Morris

3. I have standardized the spellings of dance titles throughout this chapter.

n.d. The Princess
 The Gloucester
 The Marlborough
 The Royal
 The Northumberland

The five undated dances were apparently published between 1709 and 1711, judging from the title pages of the dances for these three years. On the title page of the "Royal Portuguez" (1709) is a list of the eight previously published Isaac dances. On the title page of the 1710 dance this list has been increased to twelve dances; the three new titles (at the end of the list) are "The Princess," "The Gloster" [sic], and "The Marlborough" [sic]. Two more new titles are inserted on the title page of the 1711 dance: "The Royal" and "The Northumberland." It should be noted that these publication dates do not necessarily represent the date of composition of the dances; as I will show later in this chapter, at least eleven of Isaac's dances existed prior to their publication dates.

The first six dances by Isaac to be published appeared in the following collection:

A Collection of Ball-Dances perform'd at Court: Viz. The Richmond, The Roundeau, The Rigadoon, The Favourite, The Spanheim, and The Britannia. All Compos'd by Mr. Isaac, and Writ down in Characters, By John Weaver, Dancing-Master. London: Printed for the Author, and sold by F. Vaillant, Bookseller in the Strand. 1706.⁴

Although no publisher is named, similarities between this work and Weaver's Orchesograph in terms of type styles, layout of the title

4. Only two copies of this collection are known: US Wc; and a copy advertised by the antiquarian bookseller Richard MacNutt (Tunbridge Wells, England) in 1975, the present whereabouts of which is unknown. In the Library of Congress exemplar, the order of dances as listed on the title page has been altered, so that the "Rigadoon" comes first, and the "Richmond" is third.

pages and prefatory materials, and the lists of subscribers suggest that it may also have been published by H. Meere. The collection was a retrospective one in the sense that all of the dances had been composed anywhere from several months to many years prior to publication. It may have been inspired by the Pécour Recueil of 1700, the first French collection of dances à deux, which was a companion volume to Feuillet's Chorégraphie. Characteristics of the Pécour collection which are also found in the Isaac dances include: the diversity of dance types; the inclusion of several dance "suites" (multimovement dances); and the wide range of difficulty of the dances (from the metrically and choreographically straightforward "Rigadoon" to the complex "Richmond").⁵ Another parallel between the two collections is that Feuillet notated Pécour's dances, while Weaver, Feuillet's translator, notated Isaac's dances.

The collection is dedicated by Weaver to the Duke of Richmond, Charles Lennox (1672-1723), after whom the first dance is named.⁶ The Duke was an illegitimate son of Charles II by the Duchess of Portsmouth. His abilities as a dancer are praised; according to Weaver he has performed "all, or most" of the dances in the collection. Weaver also acknowledges the Duke's encouragement in publishing this collection. The subscribers' list of forty-seven dancing masters includes all thirty-nine names from the Orchesography list plus eight new names.

Several of the dances in the Library of Congress exemplar have two

5. These characteristics in the Pécour dances are summarized by Anne Witherell, Pécour, chapter 10.
6. Fletcher's statement that the dance was written for Sarah, 2nd Duchess of Richmond and Lennox, is in error, since she did not assume this title until her marriage in 1719 (Forty Books, note to entry no. 30).

sets of page numbers, suggesting that the dances were also available singly in 1706. However, it is not known whether this in fact occurred. All six dances were taken over by Walsh and reissued (using the same plates) at least twice in the next decade.

No publisher is given for Isaac's 1707 dance, the "Union." John Weaver is again identified as the notator, and H. Hulsbergh is listed as the engraver. From 1708 to 1715 the publisher John Walsh held a virtual monopoly on the publication and/or distribution of English dances. The "Saltarella," Isaac's birthday dance for 1708, was advertised by him in the February 11 issue of the Daily Courant.⁷ At this point Walsh was still only acting as an agent (both the advertisement and the dance read "Sold by" rather than "Printed for"). However, within the next six months Walsh had apparently acquired the publishing rights (and the original plates) for all of Isaac's previous dances (as well as for Weaver's Orchesography). These dances were advertised by Walsh on October 22, again in the Daily Courant.⁸

The use of a stock or passe-partout title page for printing items in a series was a common practice of Walsh and his contemporaries.⁹ Walsh used two different stock title pages when reissuing Isaac's dances. This practice is responsible for much of the confusion and misinformation in the standard bibliographic sources mentioned

7. Smith, Bibliography, no. 270. This seems to be Walsh's first advertisement for a dance choreography. I can find no evidence for the issue of the "Britannia" listed in Smith as no. 207, and assume it is a bibliographic ghost.

8. Ibid., no. 280.

9. For a discussion of this practice see Smith, Bibliography, xx-xxii.

earlier.¹⁰ The first of these, which I have labeled "Title Page A," is shown in illustration 1. It is modeled closely after the title page of the 1707 birthday dance, "The Union," both in terms of content and layout, the only important change being the addition of Walsh's imprint. The wording of this imprint, "Printed for J. Walsh . . . J. Hare . . . and P. Randal," establishes the date of the stock title page (and therefore of Walsh's takeover of the plates) as before October 4, 1708, since from that date on both Walsh and Randall's names appear together at the same address.¹¹ Title Page A was used until about 1711, both for the reprints of the 1706 dances and for four of the five Isaac dances published between 1709 and 1711,¹² a total of ten dances. The original version of the plate was engraved with the title "Britannia"; in some of the other dances a new title has been pasted over this one.¹³ At some point this title was removed and the space left blank.

For the birthday dances from 1708-1711 Walsh engraved individual title pages which were considerably more elaborate than the "Union" title page (see illustration 2). Not only does he identify the composer of the music ("Mr. Paisible") and the notator ("Mr. De La Garde"), but beginning in 1709 he includes a list of other Isaac dances already published, as well as an advertisement for Weaver's translation of

10. As in Chapter II, I am using the term "reissue" to refer to dances in which the same plates are used, but with the addition of a different title page, reserving the term "another edition" for those dances in which the plates have been re-engraved. This distinction is not preserved by Smith or the editors of RISM.

11. Smith, Bibliography, 87.

12. The fifth dance, "The Northumberland," was most likely first issued with this title page, but no copies have survived.

13. Smith, Bibliography, no.375. Most of the Isaac dances in GB Ge have title pages with a pasted-in strip.

The
RONDEAU
 a New DANCE
 Compos'd
 by
 M^r. Isaac
Perform'd at Court
on Her MAJESTIES
Birth day
Feb: y^e 6th
 17

Printed for I. Walford, Servant to Her Majesty at a Harp & Hoboy in Rathbone Street near Somerset House in London. Also Instrument maker at the Golden Violin in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange, and Printed by J. Innes and Lutz by Paul's Church-yard Court without Temple Barr in the Strand.

Illustration 1. Title Page A: "Rondeau" has been pasted in over "Britannia"

Chorégraphie which Walsh had also taken over in 1708.

The remaining three birthday dances (1712-1714) have similar title pages; the list of dances is increased each time, and the notator changes to Pemberton in 1713 (no notator is listed in 1712). After the death of Queen Anne on August 1, 1714, Isaac's court connections were severed, and L'Abbe was named Dancing Master to the Princesses. Isaac composed two more dances, "The Friendship . . . for the Year 1715" and "The Morris . . . for the Year 1716." The first of these was published by Walsh, with a title page following those of the previous birthday dances; curiously, at the end of the list of dances by Mr. Isaac appears the title "The Princess Royal," L'Abbe's first birthday dance composed in his new position, surely a tactless error on the part of Walsh. Isaac's last-known dance was published by Pemberton.

A second passee-partout title page, "Title Page B," was based on that of the 1712 dance "The Royal Ann" (see illustration 3). Walsh reprinted at least eleven Isaac dances using this title page during the years 1712-1714.¹⁴ These included all of the dances printed with Title Page A (except "The Marlborough") plus "The Union" and "The Northumberland." The new title was added by hand in the blank space where the original title had been. Changes or corrections to the plates are rare in the reissues of Isaac's dances; however, corrections are often added by hand to individual copies.¹⁵

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14. The imprint identifies Walsh as "servant in ordinary to her Majesty," indicating that the reprints appeared before August 1714. According to Smith, Walsh was very careful to change the pronoun when there was a change in monarchs.
15. An exception is the Glasgow exemplar of the "Britannia," where several errors (both in the music and in the dance notation) have been corrected in the plates.

The Royall
G A I L L I A R D E
M^r Isaac's
New Dance
 made for
Her Majesty's Birth Day
 1710
The tune by M^r Paisible
Engraven in Characters & Figures for y^e use of M^{as}.
Writt by M^r de la Garde Dancing Master.
Note these following Dances by M^r Isaac is Printed. viz

The Royall Portuguez. The Saltarella. The Union. The Britannia. The Spanheim. The Favourite. The Richmond.		The Rigadoon. The Rondeau. The Princess. The Gloster. The Marlborough. <i>And y^e Art of Dancing done into</i> <i>English by M^r Weaver.</i>
--	--	--

London. Printed for J. Walsh & P. Randall at y^e Harp & Ho boy in
 Catherine Street, & J. Hare at y^e Viol & Flute in Cornhill.

Illustration 2. Isaac, "Royall Gailliarde," title page

The
ROYAL ANN
M^r Isaac's
New DANCE.
made for
Her MAJESTY'S Birth Day

1712
The Tune by M^r Paisible.

Engraven in Character's & Figures for y^e use of Masters

Note these following Dances by M^r Isaac are likewise Printed.

<i>Viz The Rigadcon Royal .</i>	<i>The Richmond .</i>
<i>The Royal Galliarde .</i>	<i>The Rigadcon .</i>
<i>The Royal Portuguez .</i>	<i>The Rondeau .</i>
<i>The Saltarella .</i>	<i>The Princess .</i>
<i>The Union .</i>	<i>The Gloster .</i>
<i>The Britannia .</i>	<i>The Warlbrough .</i>
<i>The Spanheim .</i>	<i>The Royal .</i>
<i>The Favourite .</i>	<i>The Northumberland .</i>
<i>And y^e Art of Dancing done in Character's</i>	

*Printed for T. Wallis Ser^g. in Ordinary to Her Majesty at the
Harp & Hoboy in Katherine Street in y^e Strand. & J. Hare
at y^e Viol & Flute in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange.*

Illustration 3. Title Page B, original version

Isaac's dances continued to be reissued and sold by Walsh long after he ceased to publish new dance choreographies of any sort. Walsh's Catalogue 18, dating from around 1730, lists "20 Books of Figure Dances by Mr. Issacc" as well as "All the Dances that are Printed in Characters."¹⁶ This collection of twenty Isaac dances was also advertised by Walsh on the title page of the second edition of Orchesography (c1722). The twenty dances probably included all of Isaac's dances except for the solo "Chaconne" and the 1716 "Morris," since the latter was not published by Walsh. No such collection is known to exist; however, there is a compilation of nineteen dances in the British Library (h.993) containing all of Isaac's dances listed on the title page of "The Friendship," and in the same order. Missing from the list (and from this compilation) is the 1709 dance, "The Royal Portuguez." Although Isaac may well have composed many more dances than the twenty-two that have come down to us, there is no evidence that additional dances were notated or published.

Dates of Composition

The previous discussion has established probable publication dates for Isaac's twenty-two dances. Yet there is strong evidence that at least eleven of these dances were actually composed before 1706, the earliest publication date of his or any other English choreography. Since any attempt at an analysis of Isaac's style depends in part on an accurate chronology of his dances, I have attempted to determine the date of composition for as many of these as possible. There is no reason to doubt that the birthday dances, one each year from 1707

16. Smith and Humphries, Bibliography, nos. 531 & 532.

through 1714, and the two dances for the years 1715 and 1716 were composed shortly before publication. Those in question, then, are the six dances in the 1706 Collection and the five non-birthday dances published between 1709 and 1711.

Evidence for the composition dates of these dances is of three types: 1) the name or title of the dance, often referring to a specific person, usually a member of the royalty or nobility;¹⁷ 2) the publication date of the music for the dance; 3) references to the dance in contemporary sources. Naming dances after members of the royalty or nobility is a practice that goes back to at least the mid-fifteenth century; examples can be found in the basse-danse repertoire, and in the late sixteenth-century dances of Caroso and Negri. At least eleven of Isaac's dance titles fall into this category. The following list, alphabetically arranged, identifies each of the personages in question.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| The Favorite | The subtitle, "A Chaconne Danc'd by her Majesty," refers to Anne (according to Pemberton, 1711). |
| The Gloucester | This was Anne's son William, Duke of Gloucester, who died July 30, 1700 at the age of 11. ¹⁸ |
| The Marlborough | John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, a member of Queen Anne's cabinet; for an additional political reference, see below. |
| The Northumberland | This may refer to George Fitzroy, Duke of Northumberland (1665-1716), or possibly his wife Catherine. The Duke, an illegitimate son of Charles II, held various positions at court from 1686 until Anne's death. |

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17. For example, "The Goldolphin" (1714) is dedicated to Lady Harriot Godolphin, one of the ladies of the bedchamber to Queen Anne. Born c1699, she was the granddaughter of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and the oldest daughter of Francis Godolphin, a member of Queen Anne's cabinet.
18. The next holder of this title was Frederick Lewis, grandson of George I, who assumed it unofficially c1715.

The Princess	Queen Anne, prior to 1702
The Richmond	The dedicatee of Isaac's 1706 <u>Collection</u>
The Royal	May refer to Queen Anne after her coronation.
The Spanheim	Ezekiel Spanheim (1629-1710) was ambassador to London from the King of Prussia (by way of Paris) between 1701 and 1705.

Some of Isaac's dance titles also refer to contemporary political events. For example, the "Union" (1707) refers to the union between England and Scotland which was signed into law by Parliament on 7 May 1707. Similarly, a more specific reference for the "Marlborough" (mentioned above) is to the Battle of Blenheim against the French, won by the Duke of Marlborough on 13 August 1704.

A second type of evidence for dating Isaac's dances is the publication date of the dance music. Walsh's normal practice was to publish, along with each new dance, a companion collection of dance music, which began with the newest "birthday dance" tune.¹⁹ These small collections were advertised and published at the same time as the choreographies, usually in late January or early February. The two types of publications can be distinguished not only by the wording of the advertisement (those for dances usually contain the phrase "writ in characters," while the music ads refer to the newest minuets and rigadoons) but also by their prices: 6d. for the music, vs. 5s. for the choreographies (for those dances which have prices). Far fewer music collections than dances survive; nevertheless, their existence is well documented.²⁰ Walsh was not the only publisher to do this; others

19. Table 3 in Chapter V lists all of Walsh's dance music publications for which choreographies survive.

20. These collections are studied in detail in Chapter V.

such as Pearson, Cross, and Wright also capitalized on the popularity of the birthday dances by issuing music collections containing these tunes.

Since in every case for which such a dance/music combination exists the two appeared simultaneously, the implication is clear that Isaac preferred to choreograph to new music, rather than to pre-existing melodies. The one exception is "The Royal Gailliarde" (1710), the tune of which appears in the sixth edition of Apollo's Banquet (1690) as "The Princess." Subsequent choreographers followed this practice as well; I have found only three examples in the English court dance repertoire which use pre-existing music, in each case from a popular contemporary opera. Whether this procedure was the norm in the French court dance repertoire is difficult to say, since no study of this aspect has been made. However, if the evidence from Pécour's 1700 Recueil is any guide, the French were more likely to use pre-existing music: six of the nine dances in this collection are set to music from seventeenth-century operas and other works, some dating from as early as 1654.²¹ In the theatrical dance repertoire both French and English choreographers used contemporary French opera music almost exclusively.

Returning to the court dances of Isaac, I think we can assume that for those dances composed prior to 1706, the earliest publication date of the music corresponds to the date of composition of the dance. I have found musical concordances prior to 1706 for all of the eleven dances in question; they are listed below.

Britannia "Mr. Isack's new Dance . . . 1706. The Tune by
Mr. Paisible. To which is added all the new Minuets, Riggadoons
and French Dances" (Smith no. 196; no copy known)

21. Witherell, Pécour, 265-6.

- Favorite Referred to as "the New French Dance" in Apollo's Banquet, 6th ed., 1690; also in a manuscript collection dated 1694 (GB Lbl Add. 35043).
- Gloucester Theater Musick . . . with the French Dances perform'd at both Theaters, as also the new Dances at ye late Ball at Kensington on ye Kings Birth day [4 November 1698]. (Smith no. 19a)
- Marlborough "Mr. Isaack's new Dance, . . . danc'd at Court on her Majesty's Birth-day, 1705." (Smith no. 170; no copy known)
- Northumberland The Self-Instructor on the Violin . . . the newest Tunes and Ayres (Advertised 15 July 1695; Smith no. 1, copy at I Baf)
- Princess Three musical concordances published in 1699, the earliest of which is probably The Second Book of Theatre Musick: Containing . . . All the New French Dances (Smith no. 20a)
- Richmond The Self-Instructor [1695]. (See "North-umberland")
- Rigadoon Theater Musick [1698]. (See "Gloucester." This is the Siris version of the tune; I have found no concordances for the Weaver version.)
- Rondeau Apollo's Banquet, 7th ed., 1693; "Round O: A new French Dance."
- Royal Second Book of the Lady's Banquet . . . with the most Noted Minuets Jiggs and French Dances, 1706. (Smith No. 187)
- Spanheim Second Book of the Lady's Banquet, 1706

The third type of evidence for the existence of these choreographies prior to their publication dates comes from references found in music publications and elsewhere. Thus we learn from the parallel music publications that the "Marlborough" and the "Britannia" were the birthday dances for 1705 and 1706 respectively; and from Pemberton's 1711 collection of dances that the "Favorite" was "Danc'd by her Majesty." Since Anne suffered from severe gout during most of her reign and would therefore have been unlikely to dance, a 1690 date for this

choreography is not implausible. "The Princess" was also a birthday dance for Anne in 1699 before she became queen; the inscription in Theater Musick reads " . . . a New Dance at ye Ball on ye Princess Birth Day." A country dance to the tune of the Spanheim was already known in 1705, suggesting that the court dance was earlier than this.²²

The foregoing information is summarized in the following table; a date or range of possible dates is given for each of the eleven Isaac dances composed before 1706.

Britannia	1706
Favorite	1690 or before ²³
Gloucester	1698
Marlborough	1705
Northumberland	1695 or before
Princess	1699
Richmond	1695 or before
Rigadoon	c1695
Rondeau	1693
Royal	1702-05
Spanheim	1701-05

L'Abbe

The publication history for the other English choreographers is

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22. Court dance melodies were frequently recycled as country dance tunes, but the reverse does not occur; evidence for this assertion is presented in Chapter V.
23. The music for this dance is also found in a continental collection of dance music published in 1688: A. Pointel's Deuxième recueil de dances et contredances avec la basse continue, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1688).

considerably less complicated. Anthony L'Abbe first came to England in 1698 and seems to have been a permanent resident from 1701 on. His career prior to 1715 was as a theatrical dancer and choreographer rather than as a teacher. Only after he was appointed Royal Dancing Master did he begin composing and publishing court dances.

L'Abbe's twenty-seven extant choreographies fall into three categories: 1) thirteen ball dances published by Walsh and/or Pemberton during the years 1715-1733; 2) a collection of thirteen theatrical dances published by the dancing master F. Le Roussau c1725; 3) a solo dance for a woman in the 1711 Pemberton collection (actually a solo version of a dance for two women in the Le Roussau collection).

Ball Dances

L'Abbe composed and published thirteen danse à deux between the years 1715-1733. A chronological list of these dances follows:

1715	Princess Royal
1716	Princess Anna
1717	Royal George
1718	Princess Amelia
1719	Princess Ann's Chacone
1721	Prince William
1723	New Rigadoon
1724	Canary
1725	Prince Frederick
1727	Prince of Wales
1728	Queen Caroline
1731	Prince of Wales's Saraband
1733	Prince of Orange

L'Abbe's first two dances as Royal Dancing Master were published both by Walsh and by Pemberton. Since Pemberton's name had appeared frequently on Walsh publications prior to this time (as teacher, author, notator, or editor), his challenge to Walsh's virtual monopoly on the publication of dances must reflect a serious falling out between the two

men. Pemberton's title pages are no match for the elegant engravings of Walsh, but his dance notations compare favorably. Both editions of the 1715 dance include a dedication to Princess Anna (oldest granddaughter of George I, and the princess royal of the title) with the identical wording; Walsh's is engraved, Pemberton's typeset. The only other substantive difference between the two dances is in the identification of the music: Walsh calls the tune a "Gavot" while Pemberton labels it a "Branle." Walsh's title page for the 1716 dance mentions neither the composer of the music nor the notator; however, he does advertise L'Abbe's 1715 dance, as well as the ubiquitous Weaver Orchesography. There is again a dedication to Princess Anna by L'Abbe. This dedication does not appear in the copies of the Pemberton edition I have examined; however, a two-page manuscript dedication to Princess Anne has been added to the copy formerly in the Cole collection.²⁴ The notations are very similar, much more so than for the 1715 dance. In fact, at first glance one would assume they were identical, and I can only conclude that they are the work of the same notator/engraver.

After 1716 Walsh apparently withdrew in favor of Pemberton, publishing only one new dance after this date, Marcelle's "Primrose" in 1721. (He may also have published a second version of L'Abbe's "New Rigadoon" in 1723; the only surviving copy of this edition is missing the title page.) Walsh did continue to issue the annual collections of dance music, containing the newest court dances. (These collections are discussed in Chapter V.)

Pemberton's 1717 title page for the "Royal George" is a definite

24. Auction catalog of the Cole collection, no. 277. A number of English dances were included in this sale. I have not been able to determine the present locations of any of them.

improvement over his previous two efforts, and the notation is more secure as well. The dances for the next two years have similar title pages, both with flowery script, beautifully engraved. From 1721 on Pemberton used an elegant passe-partout title page with an elaborate border, in which only the dance title, year, and occasion (Birthday or New Year's dance) are changed. This title page is also used for two other dances not by L'Abbe: Caverley's "Slow Minuet" and the anonymous "Cybelline."

The other edition of L'Abbe's "New Rigadoon" mentioned above differs significantly from the Pemberton edition. The dance, spelled "Rigadon," has been spread out over seven pages rather than five, and the engraving style of both dance and music is quite different from that in Pemberton. There are also some changes in the notation which will be discussed in Chapter VI.

L'Abbe's duties as Royal Dancing Master were to instruct the "three young Princesses," granddaughters of George I; their brother Frederick remained in Hanover until 1725, where his dancing master was Desnoyer. Eleven of L'Abbe's thirteen court dances are named after some member of the royal family, most often these grandchildren and their siblings, all offspring of the Prince of Wales (the future George II) and his wife Caroline. The couple produced eight children between the years 1707-1724, seven of whom survived to adulthood.

The following list includes the names and dates of the children and the dance or dances by L'Abbe named for them.

<u>Name of Child</u>	<u>Date and Title of Dance</u>
Frederick (1707-1751)	1725 "Prince Frederick" (in honor of Frederick's arrival in London)

	1731	"The Prince of Wales's Saraband" ²⁵
Anne (1709-1759)	1715	"Princess Royal"
	1716	"Princess Anna"
	1719	"Princess Anne's Chacone"
	1733	"Prince of Orange" ²⁶
Amelia (1711-1786)	1718	"Princess Amelia"
Caroline Elizabeth (1713-1757)	No dances known	
George William (1717-1718)	No dances known ²⁷	
William (1721-1765)	1721	"Prince William"
Mary (1723-1772)	No L'Abbe dances; but see Glover	
Louisa (1724-1751)	No dances known	

Dances for the children's parents and grandfather include the following:

George I (1660-1727)	1717	"Royal George" ²⁸
George II (1683-1760)	1727	"Prince of Wales" ²⁹
Caroline (1683-1737)	1728	"Queen Caroline"

L'Abbe's remaining two court dances have generic titles: "New Rigadoon"

25. Frederick was named Prince of Wales on January 8, 1729, nearly two years after his father ascended the throne. A dance in honor of his marriage to Augusta of Saxe-Gotha in 1736 is mentioned in the London Stage but no copy is known.
26. L'Abbe's last known court dance, this is subtitled "La Mariee" and is in honor of William IV of Orange, whose marriage to Princess Anne took place on 14 March 1733.
27. The 1717 dance "Royal George" was advertised in March of that year, whereas the young prince was not born until 2 November.
28. Although this dance could also have been written in honor of the future George II, in view of the strained relations which existed between father and son it seems unlikely that L'Abbe would have jeopardized his standing with the King (his employer) by such a move.
29. This dance must have been published before June 11, the date of George I's death.

(1723) and "Canary" (1724).

No L'Abbe dances are extant for the following years: 1720, 1722, 1726, 1729-30, 1732, and after 1733. Although I had initially assumed that dances for these years were lost (given the regularity with which Isaac produced dances), in fact none may have been composed. Two types of evidence support this contention: 1) the companion music collections published by Walsh and others; 2) contemporary collections of the surviving dances, bound in order. The practice of issuing collections of the newest dance tunes on a yearly basis (as opposed to the sporadic editions of Apollo's Banquet and other similar collections) dates from at least as early as 1703. Such collections usually began with the music (treble and bass lines) for the most recent court dance, with the presence of this music indicated in the title of the collection by the phrase "the newest French Dance." Since there is a strong correlation between these music publications and extant choreographies, the absence of such music for a given year suggests that no dance was published. Walsh published two collections of dance music in 1720. A Collection of Minuets, Rigadoons, or French Dances for the Year 1720 was advertised in February of that year.³⁰ It includes music for only one "French" dance, the anonymous "Cybelline." The other publication, The new Minuets and Rigadoons, and French Dances, perform'd at the Ball at Court on his Majesty's Birthday, 1720, was advertised in June of that year.³¹ No copies of this publication are known. Walsh's 1722

30. Smith, Bibliography, no. 576. A copy of this publication, unknown to Smith, is in the collection of Gerald Coke. I am most grateful to Mr. Coke for providing me with photocopies of this and several other items in his possession.

31. Ibid., no. 589.

collection, Minuets, Rigadoons or French Dances for the Year 1722, contains only two pieces which might qualify as "French Dances": "New Royal George" (p. 6) and "Chacone Darliquin and Round O" (p. 12). The music of the first dance is identical in structure to L'Abbe's 1717 "Royal George": a duple-meter section of 8- and 12-bar strains, followed by a passepied section, also with 8- and 12-bar strains. Both tunes are in A major. The first strains of both tunes are given in example 1.



Example 1a. "Royal Georqe" (1717), first strain.



Example 1b. "New Royal George" (1722), first strain.

These similarities lead me to believe that the 1722 tune was an alternate for the earlier dance (particularly since a new dance tune would have appeared at the beginning of the collection). This is not without precedent: two alternate tunes were printed for L'Abbe's 1721 dance, "Prince William."³² No choreography is known for the "Chacone Darliquin," although three other dances with similar titles are extant. However, all three are difficult character dances for a male solo, and it seems unlikely that a court dance by this title would have been

32. Both versions are transcribed in Appendix C.

composed.

Walsh apparently did not publish a yearly collection of dance music in 1726 or 1732 (there are no entries for these years in Smith/Humphries); and he omitted mention of French dances from the title page of the 1730 collection. While the absence of surviving copies of dance music does not prove that no dance was composed, it does suggest that none was published. The last use of the term "French dances" on the title page of these collections occurs in late 1732 in a volume published for 1733.³³ Although Walsh continued to issue these booklets until the firm ceased operating under this name in 1766, from 1733 onward they contained minuets only.

The second type of evidence comes from three sets of L'Abbe dances which survive in various stages of completeness. The Harvard set is missing only the 1733 dance, while the set at the Cecil Sharp Library contains the nine dances from 1715-1725, and that at the British Library (h.801b) includes the first six dances (1715-21). The dances in each set occur in either chronological or reverse chronological order, and there are no omissions of "known" dances. Thus, while not conclusive, this evidence certainly supports the theory that L'Abbe did not publish dances for at least some of the five years in question. The one "lost" L'Abbe dance for which evidence does exist is his "Follie d'Espagne," mentioned by Tomlinson. This was probably a theatrical dance, since all six surviving Folia dances and fragments are of this type; it must date from 1719 or earlier, the cutoff date for the dances cited by Tomlinson.

Theatrical Dances

A beautifully engraved edition of thirteen L'Abbe choreographies

33. Smith/Humphries, Bibliography, no. 1051. No copy is known.

was published by the dancing master F. Le Roussau c1725. The title page reads as follows:

A New Collection of Dances, Containing a great Number of the best Ball and Stage Dances: Composed by Monsieur L'Abbe, Dancing-Master to Their Royal Highnesses, the Three Young Princesses. That have been performed both in Drury-Lane [sic] and Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by the best Dancers, viz. Monsieur Balon, Mons' L'Abbe, Mons' La Garde, Mons' Dupre, Mons' Desnoyer, Mrs. Elford, Mrs. Santlow, Mrs. Bullock, Mrs. Younger. A Work very Useful to all masters, and other Persons that apply themselves to Dancing. Recollected, put in Characters, and engraved, by Monsieur Roussau, Dancing-Master.³⁴

No publisher is listed; the collection is to be sold by the book-binder Mr. Barreau and by Roussau (here identified as Mr. instead of Mons.).

Although the title page specifically mentions ball dances as well as stage dances, the focus of this collection is very much on theatrical dances, and as such it is unique in the English repertoire of published dances. Only four of the thirteen dances are for a couple, the remaining nine being for a solo dancer or two men or women. And while some of these couple dances could conceivably have been within the technical abilities of well-trained amateurs, they are considerably more difficult than the court dances published in the 1720's. Furthermore, all of the dances in the collection were said to have been danced on the stages of the two London theatres, Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, by dancers in the two companies.

It is clear that Roussau modeled this collection after the two large collections of theatrical dances by Pécour, published in 1704 and c1713 by Dezais and Gaudrau respectively. In particular, the spacious

34. Three copies of the publication are known: A Smi, GB Ob, and a copy formerly in the Cole collection, current whereabouts unknown.

layout and elegantly engraved notation are reminiscent of the Gaudrau volume. Other points of similarity include the following:

1) Like the two French collections, this one contains theatrical rather than social dances (although the Gaudrau collection begins with nine ball dances).

2) A variety of performing forces is called for: there are four dances each for male solo and for a couple, two dances each for two women and for a solo woman, and one duet for two men. A similar distribution is found in both French collections.

3) L'Abbe's dances are identified by performer (except in the case of the anonymous "gentleman") and the source of the music is often included in the dance title, a practice found in both French publications.

4) The music which L'Abbe has chosen for his dances is similar to that used by Pécour. Of the twelve pieces for which I have found concordances, eleven come from operas by Lully, Campra, and their contemporaries. (The music will be discussed in Chapter V.)

One respect in which this collection differs from its French counterparts is in the organization of the contents. In both French collections the dances are arranged by performers: all of the dances for a couple are grouped together, as are dances for one or two men or women. In contrast, L'Abbe's collection appears to be a retrospective one, with the dances arranged chronologically from earliest to latest.

L'Abbe dedicates his collection "to the King's Most Excellent Majesty." (Pécour's collections were also dedicated to the King, in his case, Louis XIV.) He praises dance for its beneficial physical effects, pointing out that it has emerged from its licentious and lewd

past to become "the Darling and Delight of all Courts." L'Abbe credits Beauchamp with the invention of dance notation (with no mention of Feuillet), and mentions Pécour's role as dancing master to the French royal family, perhaps to remind the King (and L'Abbe's subscribers) that he considers himself the English equivalent of the illustrious French choreographer. In closing he refers briefly to the dancing abilities of the three princesses.

The dedication is followed by a rather curious preface by Roussau. After praising L'Abbe's dances he becomes defensive about the delay in publication of the dances: "there may be some Persons that will say, That I am very tedious in the Performance of my Promise; but they will cease blaming me, when they consider that . . . I was willing to engrave it my self, to render it more compleat." In a subsequent paragraph he advertises one of his own dances, a "Chacoon for a Harlequin," which he has engraved. (It is not clear from this remark whether the dance has been published, or is available privately from Roussau. I suggest later in the chapter that the only known printed copy of this dance dates from 1729 at the earliest.) Roussau also mentions that individual dances from the collection can be purchased at 2s. 6d. (the price for the entire collection was 25s). However, no single copies of the dances are known. The subscriber's list which follows includes sixty-eight names, ten of which are from the continent (e.g., Paris, Vienna, The Hague).

A list of the dance titles follows. (I have preserved the original spelling.)

Loure or Faune performd, before his Majesty King William ye 3
by Monsr Balon and Mr L'abbé

Passacaille of Armide by Mrs Elford & Mrs Santlow

Menuet performd, by Mrs Santlow
 Chacone of Galathee performd, by Mr La Garde and Mrs Santlow
 Saraband, of Issee performd, by Mr Düpré & Mrs Büllock
 Jigg by ye Same
 Canaries performd, by Mr La Garde & Mr Düpré
 Passaglia of Venūs & Adonis performd by Mrs Santlow
 Chacone of Amadis Performd, by Mr Dupré
 Pastoral performed by a Gentleman
 Spanish Entreeé Performed by Mr Desnoyer
 Entree performd, by Mr Desnoyer
 Türkish Dance Performd, by Mr Desnoyer & Mrs Younger

Approximate dates of composition of the dances in the collection can be determined from biographical information about the dancers who performed each dance.³⁵ The performance of the first dance in the collection must have taken place in April or May of 1699, when Jean Balon was brought to Lincoln's Inn Fields for five weeks, L'Abbe having arrived in London the previous year. There are no records of Balon having returned to England again and, in any case, William died in March of 1702.

The second dance, "Passacaille of Armide," was performed by "Mrs. Elford" and "Mrs. Santlow." Hester Santlow's first stage appearance was on 28 February 1706.³⁶ Since Mrs. Elford's name does not appear on the rosters after the 1705-06 season, the dance would seem to date from

35. In the following discussion all performance dates are from the second volume of The London Stage. This volume is currently being revised to include a great deal of new information, particularly about the first decade of the eighteenth century.

36. Curtis Price's suggestion that her debut occurred a decade earlier

1706. Although the two women were dancing at different theatres during this season (Elford at LIF/Queens and Santlow at Drury Lane), it was not unknown for a dancer from one company to appear at a rival theatre. The solo version of this dance, published in Pemberton's 1711 collection, would therefore seem to be an arrangement of the duet.

The third dance, a solo minuet performed by Hester Santlow, must date from 1706 or later. She also performed the fourth dance in the collection, "Chacone of Galathee," this time with [Charles?] La Garde. La Garde first appeared on the stage in 1705, and he and Santlow are listed as dancing together on a number of occasions in the following years. The fifth and sixth dances, "Saraband of Issee" and "Jigg by the Same" (i.e., the same dancers) are the first couple dances in the collection. The performers, "Mr. Dupre" and "Mrs. Bullock," are first listed in the London Stage on 22 December 1714 at Lincoln's Inn Fields (Bullock under her maiden name of Ann Russell). The names of both dancers appear frequently on the rosters of both companies throughout the remainder of the decade.³⁷

Dupre performed two other dances in this collection, the "Canaries," a duet for him and La Garde, and the ninth dance, a solo Chaconne. Thus both dances must date from the end of 1714 or later. (Both men were at Lincoln's Inn Fields from January 1715 to the end of

is in error. Price bases his suggestion on a reference to Santlow in a collection of dance music which he dates 1695, but the music is almost certainly from c1720. (Curtis Price, "'To Make Amends for One Ill Dance': Conventions of Dance in the Restoration Theatre" Dance Research Journal X/1 (Fall 1977), 4.

37. Several dancers with the surname Dupre danced in London during this period, but the records are too confusing and incomplete for Christian names to be assigned. (See the Biographical Dictionary articles, IV, 512 ff., and my subsequent remarks about Roussau's "Chaconne.")

the next season.) The eighth dance, a solo passacaille for Hester Santlow, may have been composed before July 1719, the date of her marriage to the actor Barton Booth. She is consistently referred to as "Mrs. Booth," at least in theatre records, after this time.

The "Pastoral" is the only dance for which no performer is identified by name. Pastoral dances were performed on the London Stage in 1716 and 1718-19, but there is no way of knowing if they are related to this dance. The tune, one of only two in the collection not from a French opera, was used by Isaac in a couple dance of the same name published in 1713.

The last three dances must have been composed after 11 January 1721, the date on which Desnoyer (the future teacher of Prince Frederick) arrived in London. His performances at Drury Lane continued through the next season as well. In the final dance of the collection, a "Turkish Dance," Desnoyer is partnered by Elizabeth Younger, a dancer at Drury Lane since 1714.³⁸

Dances by Other Choreographers

Tomlinson

In addition to the two dances included in his treatise, Tomlinson composed at least seven other court dances: the six yearly dances published between 1715 and 1720 (listed below) and the lost "Passacaille Diana" (1721).

38. Several performances of the "Turkish ceremony" from Moliere's Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme were presented in London in 1720 and 1721. As is true of all such "ethnic" dances, there is nothing "Turkish" about the choreography. The music, from Campra's opera L'Europe Galante (1697), is identified as a march and two airs "pour les Bostangis." According to the Oxford English Dictionary a Bostangi was a Turkish soldier who guarded the Sultan's palace.

1715	Passepied Round O
1716	Shepherdess
1717	Submission
1718	Prince Eugene
1719	Address
1720	Gavot

As was mentioned in Chapter III, the title page of another dance, "Bonne et Belle Assez, A New Grand Dance . . . 1753," is shown in the portrait of Tomlinson inserted in the front of some of the copies of his treatise. However, this is probably not the fragment of dance notation at Tomlinson's elbow, a solo dance for a male. Neither of the two dances in his treatise, the minuet mentioned above and the short (16-bar) canary, seem to have been published separately.

Tomlinson's first three dances (1715-1717) were sold by John Walsh as well as by the author. The florid engraving style of the "Passepied Round O" is in marked contrast to the other five dances; and with this change of engravers (although perhaps unrelated) came a doubling of the price of the dance from 2s. 6d. to 5s. No publisher is given for any of the dances, and after 1717 Walsh's name is no longer mentioned; the dances are "to be had only of the author." In 1720 Tomlinson reissued his dances in a collection entitled Six Dances Compos'd By Mr. Kellom Tomlinson.³⁹ In his collection Tomlinson retained the original title pages for each dance and adding a dedication "To the LADIES." Tomlinson's rhetoric in this dedication is that of an eighteenth-century feminist. After crediting the "fair sex" with the advancement of dancing due to their protection and encouragement, he points out the unfairness of their having been denied access to dance notation, "which

39. Two copies of the collection are known: F Pc and GB Lbl. A facsimile edition of the British Library exemplar was published by Gregg International/Dance Horizons in 1970, bound with Tomlinson's treatise.

Art is now become equal, and of the same Use, with Notes, &c. in Musick." Tomlinson offers to teach this notation to women ("notwithstanding all the Jestes and Reflections which may be thrown upon me"), insisting that women are as capable as men of learning to read dances. "That you, Ladies, have a Capacity of acquiring any Art or Science, to which you shall apply your Selves, is a Truth too notorious for Contradiction: The many living Instances of Female Excellence, which are now among us, make Envy it self confess it."⁴⁰

According to the title page of the 1720 collection (and the preface of his treatise), his 1716 dance "The Submission" was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields by "Monsieur and Mademoiselle. the Two French Children" (i.e., the Sallés),⁴¹ but there is no evidence that he composed the dance for them. The meaning of this dance title is unknown; likewise, the titles "The Address" and "The Shepherdess" may have had special significance to contemporary audiences, but I have been unable to find any associations with events or persons of the time. The only obvious reference to the nobility is "Prince Eugene's March" (1718). Although Eugene of Savoy was an important British ally in the battles against the French earlier in the decade, his name does not appear in accounts at this time. The remaining four dances have generic titles. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that both Tomlinson's lost dance and the 1725 Siris dance refer to a "Diana"; since no member of the royal family had this name, the reference may be to a noblewoman.

40. I cannot help but be somewhat skeptical of Tomlinson's motives, since offering to teach dance notation to women could easily be a lucrative undertaking.

41. This is confirmed in the London Stage entries for 21 and 25 February, 1717. See Chapter III, footnote 4.

(Mythological references do not seem to occur in this repertoire.)

Siris

The collection of dances which Siris promised in his 1706 translation never appeared or, if it did, has not survived.⁴² His five surviving dances are listed below:

1708	La Camilla
1709	Brawl of Audenarde
1712	New English Passepied
1714	Siciliana
1725	Diana

His first extant dance, "La Camilla," was published in two editions. One edition, a unique copy of which is in the British Library, is dated 1708. It has a title page entirely in French with a price of "Cinq Florins" (corrected by hand to "trois") and with the following imprint: "A Londres, Chez le Sieur Siris, Rue St. Martins Lane. Et a Amsterdam, Chez le Sieur Etienne Roger." In the choreography both French and English terms are used: on the first page the tune is labelled "La Camilla, Rigadoon mouvement," while the dance itself is called "The Camilla." The page is signed "Engrav'd by S. Conniand"; he also engraved Siris's 1709 dance. The pages are labelled "Pla: 1," etc., rather than the more usual "Couplet 1," etc. Bound into this edition is a separate page of manuscript music identified as "La Basse de La Camilla, Mouvement de Rigaudon."

The other edition of the dance has been preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford; the lack of a title page makes it impossible to determine which version appeared first, although a date of 1709 has been

42. However, a 1716 Roger catalog includes "Les dances de Monsieur Siris," an entry repeated in the 1737 catalog of Roger's successor, Le Cène. (See Chapter I, footnotes 41 and 42.) No copies of these collections are known.

added by hand on the first page of this exemplar. The notations of the two editions are almost identical, and it is only by comparing small details such as the precise shape of a liaison line, the placement of a turn sign in the dance, or the shape of the sharp symbol in the music that one notices that the two editions are distinct.

A number of minor errors, most often involving the direction of the foot symbol, occur in both editions. Mistakes are occasionally corrected, or new mistakes introduced, but these variants do not support a pattern of transmission in either direction. An advertisement for "La Camilla, a new Dance," sold by Siris and Walsh, appeared in the Jan. 15, 1708 London Gazette.⁴³

Siris's 1709 dance, "The Brawl of Audenarde," was named after the famous battle of Oudenaarde in The Netherlands on 11 July 1708, in which Marlborough and Eugene of Savoy decisively defeated the French forces under Vendome and Louis, duc de Bourgogne.⁴⁴ According to the Cole catalog (no. 472), this dance was also engraved by Conniand and sold by Siris and Walsh. Walsh and Hare's imprint on a separate slip has been pasted over the original one.

Another Siris dance, previously known only from an advertisement in the Spectator, was also included in the Cole sale.⁴⁵ The Cole

43. Tilmouth, "Calendar," 70.

44. As was the case with the 1704 battle of Blenheim, a number of country dance titles also refer to these military victories. Examples from Walsh's 1709 collection of country dances include "Vendome's Retreat," "Marlborough's Victory," and "Drive the Mounsiour from Flanders."

45. The ad reads, "Last Tuesday [29 January] was Publish'd The new English Passepied, Mr. Siris's New Dance for the Year 1712. The book is sold by Mr. Siris . . . and J. Walsh . . . price 2s 6d." Spectator no. 291, Feb. 2, 1712.

catalogue describes this as having four pages plus a title page with the imprint "Sold to [sic] Mr. Siris and I Walsh," and with the music attributed to "Mr. C." (more likely Mr. Galliard, who was also responsible for the 1709 music).

The only surviving copy of Siris's 1714 dance, "The Siciliana," has no title page. The overall appearance of the notation and engraving is similar to his earlier dances. Walsh published music for both this and the 1709 dance.⁴⁶ Siris's last extant dance, "The Diana . . . for the Year 1725," was also unknown prior to the Cole sale. According to the catalog there is no imprint; the title page bears the unusual caption, "This Book is given Gratis to all the Dancing Masters in England at Mr. Siris's House."

A lost dance by Siris, "The Princess Ann," is cited by Tomlinson as an example of a gavotte.⁴⁷ The dance must have been published between 1715 and 1719, since the title refers to the Princess Royal of L'Abbe's dances, rather than Queen Anne, and all of the dances which Tomlinson cites as examples (except for his own dances) were published prior to 1720.

One characteristic of the Siris dances I have examined which is not found in those of his contemporaries is the fairly extensive use of ornaments in the melody of the dance. These consist mainly of signs for trills, mordents, and appoggiaturas. Similar signs are used in some dances published in the 1720's and later, but their use in the first two decades of the century is unique to Siris.

46. Smith, Bibliography, nos. 310 and 445. No copies of either publication are known.

47. Tomlinson, The Art of Dancing, 145.

Essex

In addition to his translations and original country dances discussed in Chapter II, John Essex published one court dance, "The Princess's Passepied." The dance is included in the folio edition of his translation of Feuillet's country dance treatise, where it is prominently mentioned on the title page. The precise publication date of the dance is not known (see Chapter II for a discussion of this question). This edition is dedicated to Caroline, Princess of Wales (the princess of the title); Essex commends her for setting a good example for her children and for encouraging dancing.

Caverley

In addition to his dance for five ladies in the 1711 Pemberton collection Caverley also composed a "Slow Minuet . . . for a Girl," published by Pemberton with a tune by Firbank. There is no date on the title page, but in a copy in the Bodleian Library (minus the title page) the date 1729 and Caverley's name have been added on the first page of the dance. In any case, the dance must have been published before 1733, since in that year Pemberton's address changed from Oxindon-Street (the address on Caverley's dance) to Mercer Street.

Glover

Glover was L'Abbe's successor as Dancing Master to the Royal Family; the exact date of his appointment (presumably at the death of L'Abbe) is unknown. His only surviving choreography, "The Princess of Hesse," was written in honor of Mary, 4th daughter of George II and Caroline, who married Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, on 8 May 1740. The only extant copy of this dance is missing the title page;

again, the date (1740) and choreographer's name have been added by a contemporary hand.

Holt

Another choreographer from the 1711 Pemberton collection is also represented by a single dance in Feuillet notation: William Holt's "Le Rigadon Renouvele," the only known copy of which was formerly in the Cole collection. According to the Cole catalogue entry, the title page gives neither an imprint nor a date, but it does state "put in Characters in a less Compass then any hitherto done . . . ," perhaps explaining why the dance is only two pages long.

Marcel

Marcel (or Marcelle) was a well-known dancer at the Paris opera, but there is no record in the London Stage of his having performed in England. Thus it is surprising to find that his only known dance, "The Primrose," was first published in England by John Walsh at the end of 1720 ("for the Year 1721"). A French edition, entitled "Rigaudon Nouveau," was published by Dezais in his XXII Recueil de Dances of 1724. The change in title was necessary because Pécour's dance "La Primeroze" was also in this collection.

Anon.

The only anonymous English choreography, "La Cybelline," was published by Pemberton, probably in 1720.⁴⁸ This dance also uses the stock title page found on the L'Abbe and Caverley dances described

48. The Cole catalogue erroneously lists Pemberton as the choreographer, mistaking the phrase "writ by" [= notated by] to mean "composed by."

earlier. The music for the dance, attributed to Firbank, is found in a 1720 collection of dance music published by Walsh.⁴⁹

Dance Anthologies

Collections of dances by Isaac (1706) and L'Abbe (c1725) have been discussed earlier in this chapter. There are also two English collections of dances by various choreographers, one published by Pemberton in 1711, and the other a manuscript compiled by Roussau, the notator of the L'Abbe collection.

Pemberton

In 1711 Walsh published a collection of dances edited and notated by E. Pemberton with the title An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing.⁵⁰ Pemberton's title was clearly based on that of the country dance treatise translated by Essex in 1710 (discussed in Chapter II). However, the publication is essentially a collection of dances, and includes only a minimal amount of text. Advertisements for subscribers appeared in June 1710, urging interested dancing masters to hurry, the "work being near Compleat."⁵¹ Walsh seems to have lost interest in the work after it was published; no subsequent advertisements are known, nor was there a later issue or edition.

The collection is divided into two parts: the first includes

49. See note 30 above.

50. At least four copies of this publication are extant: GB Lbl - US Wc; NYp. A copy was also sold at the Cole auction; if the catalog description is accurate it is lacking nine plates. A facsimile edition based on the British Library exemplar (but with a considerably reduced plate size), was published by Gregg International/Dance Horizons in 1970.

51. Tatler, nos. 182, 185.

eight "figure dances" for groups of from three to twelve women, each one by a different well-known English dancing master, while the second part (really a separate booklet with its own dedication) is comprised of three "single dances" (i.e., solo dances) by three of the best-known choreographers of the time, Isaac, L'Abbe, and Pécour. The dances in both parts of the collection are paginated individually (each dance beginning again with page one). While such an arrangement often suggests that the dances were meant to be sold separately, single copies were not advertised by Walsh or Pemberton. (A single copy of L'Abbe's "Passacaille" is at GB Ob.) Although it is not stated on the title page, all eleven dances are for women, and the collection may well have been intended for use at schools or academies for women.⁵²

In his preface, Pemberton states that the collection was begun at the request of dancing masters living outside of London (seventeen names on his subscription list fall into this category). He explains that the dances in the first part of the collection are written in the modified Feuillet notation as found in the 1710 Essex translation, and when specific step symbols are needed "I have follow'd Mr. Weaver's Method" (a reference to Orchesography). The importance of dance notation as a method for teaching and preserving dances is stressed (a common theme in all such prefaces): "it [will be] equally as ridiculous to teach Dancing as Musick, without understanding the Notes or Characters." As an example, Pemberton cites Isaac's "Favorite," a dance performed by

52. At least two of the dancing masters represented in the first part of the collection, Caverley and Priest, operated such schools. (See Chapter I for more information on this subject.) Since the young ladies of Priest's Chelsea academy presented the first performance of Purcell's Dido and Aeneas in 1689, it is not unreasonable to assume that some of the dances in that performance may have resembled those in the Pemberton collection.

Queen Anne which would have been lost to posterity but for the invention of notation. Pemberton also refers his readers to Weaver's Small Treatise, called here the "Book of Times."

The page headed "Explanation," which follows the subscriber's list, clarifies certain notational symbols and calls the reader's attention to the unusual layout of the dances: there are two rows of figures on each page, but one is to proceed across both pages of each opening before going to the bottom row.⁵³

Part I of Pemberton's collection is dedicated to the dancing master Caverley. Pemberton refers to him as "the most eminent of our Profession" and, perhaps to avoid any jealousy, mentions Isaac in the next sentence as someone "who is so Great a Master that as he wants no Encomium, is likewise above the Malice of petty Upstarts." (We are given no clues as to who Pemberton has in mind here.)

In the second (and last) paragraph of the dedication Pemberton talks about the purpose of the publication, explaining that he did not intend for it to be a treatise on how to compose figure dances. He says that "regular and irregular Lines ought to be us'd in Dancing as Concerds and Discords in Musick," although he does not define these terms.⁵⁴ He makes a puzzling reference to Mr. Isaac, "it being by his Approbation I first appear'd in Print to instruct Masters in the Characters, which afterwards brought this necessary Work [i.e., the present collection?] upon me" This remark suggests that

53. Pemberton's layout has been silently altered in the facsimile edition mentioned above: the dance by Prince, originally on two large foldout pages, is reprinted on four plates, and the three pages of Couch's dance have been rearranged.

54. This statement suggests a possible approach to the analysis of both figure dances and court dances.

Pemberton was involved in a previous publication, yet there are no notices of any such works other than the ones we have already discussed.



The second part of Pemberton's anthology is dedicated to "Her Grace the Dutchess of Buckingham and Normanby." She was Katherine Darnley, illegitimate daughter of James II by Katherine Sedley, and was born c1682. Described as haughty, and proud of her connection to the Stuart royalty, she married John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham and Normanby on March 16, 1706. A Tory party leader, he had been a member of the privy council under Queen Anne. With the overthrow of the Whigs in 1710 he was reinstated. Thus, Pemberton's dedication may have been politically motivated. As a young girl the duchess had been a pupil of Mr. Goree, the court dancing master who preceded Isaac.

A list of the dances in this collection follows:

<u>Dance</u>	<u>Choreo- grapher</u>	<u>No. of Dancers</u>	<u>Dance Types</u>
An Ecchoe. Boree	Groscort	3	Bourree, Minuet
Minuet	Holt	4	Minuet, Jigg [6/4]
Minuet	Caverley	5	Minuet
Minuet	Shirley	6	Minuet
-	Prince	8	[Minuet], 0
-	Couch	9	[Jigg] 6/4, Minuet
Jigg	Hickford	10	Jigg 6/4
Minuet	Priest	12	Minuet

[Part II]

Chaconne	Isaac	1	
Passacaille	L'Abbe	1	
A Jigg. Forlana	Pecour	1	

The eight figure dances in the first part of the book are unique in the repertoire of eighteenth-century notated dances. (The term "figure dance" was used in England to describe a dance with a specific floor pattern or figure in which the choice of at least some of the steps was left up to the performers.) These dances combine some standard country dance figures, e.g., the hey, circles for three or four, hands right and left, and figure-eight patterns, with some more elaborate geometrical patterns (particularly in the dances for large groups of women). According to Pemberton, such dances were performed at "Entertainment[s] of Publick Dancings," and there are occasional references to figure dances in contemporary literature. The dance types used most often are the minuet (seven examples) and the "jigg" (three examples). The minuet melodies differ from contemporary court dance minuets in that they are notated in 6/4 rather than 3/4. Several of them share the following rhythmic motive: . The jiggs are also in 6/4 meter, but with a dotted rhythmic pattern () which distinguishes them from the minuets.

The three solo dances in the second part of the book are unrelated to the figure dances. Isaac's "Chacone," a moderately difficult and lengthy solo consisting of a chacone and minuet, is unique to this collection. The duet version of L'Abbe's "Passacaille" has been discussed earlier in this chapter; in spite of its later publication date (c1725), it was probably composed and performed c1706. The solo version in Pemberton was probably an arrangement of the duet and may have been made especially for the collection. Pécour's "Forlana" was first published in France in 1704. (More information on this dance is in Chapter VI).

Roussau

In comparison to the French sources there are very few dances preserved only in English manuscripts. In fact, the one manuscript collection which does survive, while bearing an English title, seems to have strong French connections. The title page of this manuscript reads "A Collection of New Ball and Stage Dances Compos'd by Several Masters . . . All writ down in Characters by F. Le Roussau Dancing-Master."⁵⁵ At the bottom of the title page a date of 1720 has been added in a different hand. The dances are listed here in the order in which they appear in the manuscript:

<u>Choreographer</u>	<u>Title</u>
Roussau	Montaigü
Roussau	Düches
Roussau	Two Virgins
Roussau	Villette
D'Anjeville	Entrý for Two Men
Balon	Mattelott
Pécour	Saraband . . . danc'd by Monsr Marcell and Madlle Menais at Paris 1720
Roussau	Entrée for two French Country Men
Roussau	Chacoon for a Harlequin

All of the dances have been notated by the same person (presumably Roussau). The first four choreographies in the manuscript are danse à deux, while the remaining five are theatrical dances for one or two men or a couple. The three dances by the French choreographers Balon,

55. The manuscript is at GB En, where it is incorrectly described as being a manuscript version of the collection of L'Abbe dances notated and engraved by Roussau.

D'Anjeville, and Pécour are unique to this source, although Pécour composed another dance to the same sarabande music found here (from Destouches, Issé, 1697). The French dancer D'Anjeville's "Entry for Two Men" is his only known choreography. He was in London for three months in 1720 appearing with a French theatrical company.⁵⁶ This fact, along with the subtitle of the Pécour dance, provides additional support for the 1720 dating of the manuscript.

The first and last dances in the collection, both by Roussau, deserve additional comment. In the "Montaigü" the dancers trace the letters of the title, one letter per page (see illustration 4). In order to preserve the symmetry so integral to dance figures of this period the letters "N" and "G" are traced out simultaneously in normal and mirror-image shapes. This dance might be considered a Baroque choreographic equivalent of Renaissance "Augenmusik," since the patterns are more clearly discernible on paper than they would be on the dance floor. Although no other eighteenth-century choreographies use such a floor pattern, the idea of spelling out a name with a group of dancers (in the manner of football half-time shows) was used in the seventeenth century and perhaps earlier.⁵⁷ There is no clue as to the identity of the dance's namesake. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689-1762), the well-known feminist and writer, is certainly a possibility, but other Montagues were also prominent in London society.

Roussau's "Harlequin Chacoon" is also unusual. It is a rare example of a notated "grotesque" dance (what we would call a character

56. Biographical Dictionary, IV, 139-40.

57. See, for example, the "Masque of Flowers" (1614) and Ménéstrier's Des ballets anciens et modernes (1682).

piano

The Montaigne
Composed by
M. Roussau

Illustration 4. Roussau, "The Montaigne," 1st couplet

dance) utilizing false positions as well as many head and arm gestures. The latter are notated and/or illustrated next to the dance notation, and similiar drawings illustrate the characteristic Harlequin gestures made with the hat.⁵⁸

Roussau subsequently engraved and published this dance (see illustration 5).⁵⁹ The published version is very similar to the manuscript; the four-page "Advice to the Reader" which includes an explanatory table of signs is retained and a dedication to Louis Dupre has been added:

The neatness with which you perform ye Character of Harlequin in all ye different Attitudes which belong to it . . . obliges me to take ye liberty to offer you this little work it being ye first of this kind that ever yet appear'd in publick. My chief design being to discribe on paper, ye postures which are most in practice for the Harlequin

This dedication is of particular interest because it confirms the fact that the elder Dupre who danced the role of a Harlequin man at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the 1720's was in fact the famous French "Le Grand" Dupre.⁶⁰ There are a number of corrections in the manuscript copy, some of which have been incorporated into the printed version.

Although the publication date of Roussau's "Chacoon" is not known, the frontispiece is from 1729 at the earliest. This engraving includes the words "New Duncido," a reference to Alexander Pope's Dunciad (1729),

58. Two other "Harlequin" dances, both anonymous, appear in French manuscript collections of dances. They share a similar step vocabulary with the Roussau dance, but contain many fewer illustrations.

59. The only known copy is at GB Lbl.

60. The Biographical Dictionary entries for the various members of the Dupre family question whether Louis ever performed in England.



Illustration 5. Roussau, "Chacon for a Harlequin," 1st couplet

a satirical commentary on the literary standards of his day. The illustration also bears a number of similarities to another satirical engraving, "The Triumph of Pantomime," which appears in James Miller's Harlequin Horace, a commentary on the Pope work. (It is, of course, possible that the engraving is not contemporary with Roussau's dance, but was bound in at some later date.)

Prices

Prices for dance choreographies, compared with the prices for engraved music, are fairly high. The standard price for a dance was 5s., regardless of the number of pages, whereas Walsh's collections of dance music sold for as little as 6d., and his beautifully engraved Third Book of the Harpsichord Master (1702) was priced at 1s. 6d. for twenty-four pages. Prices for type-set books in the early and mid-eighteenth century ranged from less than 1d. per sheet to more than 4d. per sheet,⁶¹ making them more expensive than engraved music publications but cheaper than dances. Although it is possible that production costs of dances were higher because dance engravers were more expensive than music engravers, it seems more likely that Walsh charged more for the dances because he held a virtual monopoly on their publication and distribution.

Prices for dance choreographies in England remain fairly stable throughout the period under discussion, although since the trend is towards shorter dances, the effective price per page is increased. Publishers usually did not include the price of the dance on the title page; Tomlinson is the exception. Walsh dance prices are taken from his

61. Gaskell, Bibliography, 178-9.

frequent advertisements reproduced in Smith. The following list summarizes the price information I have found to date.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Choreographer/Title</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>No. of pages</u>
1707	Isaac, "The Union"	5s	14
1708	Isaac, "The Saltarella"	5s	8
1708	Siris, "La Camilla"	5(3) florins	5
1712	Siris, "The New English Passepied"	2/6	4
1715	L'Abbe, "The Princess Royal"	5s	7
1715	Tomlinson, "The Passepied Round O"	2/6	5
1716	Tomlinson, "The Shepherdess"	5s	5
1717	Tomlinson, "The Submission"	5s	7
1718	Tomlinson, "Prince Eugene"	5s	8
1719	Tomlinson, "The Address"	5s	6
1720	Tomlinson, "The Gavot"	5s	4
1721	Marcelle, "The Primrose"	2/6	8
1725	Siris, "The Diana"	Free!	4

Dance collections

1720	Tomlinson, <u>Six Dances</u> (the total price of the dances purchased separately would have been 27s. 6d.)	1 1/2 gn. (31/6)
c1725	L'Abbe/Roussau collection dances 2s. 6d.	25s; single
c1730	Isaac, "Twenty Books of Figure dances" price per dance would be 1s. 6d.)	£1. 10s. (the
c1730	"All the Dances that are Printed in Characters" 5s each	

Treatises

1706	Weaver, <u>Orchesography</u>	1 gn. (£1. 1s.)
1706	Weaver, Tables of steps from this work	5s.
1706	Weaver, <u>Small Treatise</u>	3s.
1711	Pemberton	1/2 gn. (10/6)
c1722	Weaver, <u>Orchesography</u> (2nd ed.)	12s.
1728	Essex/Rameau, <u>Dancing Master</u>	1 gn.
1735	Tomlinson, <u>Art of Dancing</u>	2 1/2 gns.
	Tomlinson breaks the price of his treatise into two parts: "The Price of the Cuts" is 2 gns., and the "Printed Part" (i.e., the text) is 1/2 gn.	

Chapter V

SOURCES FOR ENGLISH DANCE MUSIC

Introduction

As was the case in France, music for English theatrical choreographies (those by L'Abbe and, perhaps, Roussau) was drawn almost entirely from French operas by Lully and his successors. English court-dance music, on the other hand, appears to have been almost always newly composed by musicians active in London court and theatrical circles. This differs from the French practice, where thirty percent or more of the ballroom dances were set to music from contemporary French operas.¹ This chapter will examine the sources of English dance music for both theatrical and social dances, and, where possible, will identify the composers of this music. The large number of concordant sources for court dance music are useful for several reasons: they are often the only source for bass lines (since the latter do not appear in the choreographies); they may include ornaments or melodic variations; and they give us some indication of the popularity and durability of the tune and/or dance. Eighteenth-century English collections of dance music also contain evidence for the existence of a dance which is not mentioned in theoretical sources: the generic rigadon.

1. This percentage is derived from information contained in Meredith Little's inventory of Baroque dance choreographies (to be published by Broude Brothers, New York). Since many dances may be set to as yet unidentified opera music, the percentage is probably somewhat higher.

Dances to Pre-existing Music

Theatrical Dances. Eleven of the thirteen dances in the L'Abbe collection discussed in Chapter IV are set to music from French operas. A twelfth dance, the "Pastoral," is set to a tune used by Isaac in 1713. The music for the remaining dance, a minuet, remains unidentified. Table 1 lists the dances in order and the sources of the music where known.

Table 1. Musical Sources for the L'Abbe Theatrical Dances

<u>No.</u>	<u>Dance</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Opera</u> (Act and Scene)
1	Loure	Lully	<u>Acis et Galatée</u> (1686), II/6
2	Passacaille	Lully	<u>Armide</u> (1686), V/2
3	Menuet	-	-
4	Chacone	Lully	<u>Acis et Galatée</u> (1686), II/5
5	Saraband	Destouches	<u>Issé</u> (1697), IV/2
6	Jigg	La Coste	<u>Bradamente</u> (1707), IV/4
7	Canaries	Lully	<u>Isis</u> (1677), V/3
8	Passagalia	Desmarets	<u>Venus et Adonis</u> (1697), V/5
9	Chacone	Lully	<u>Amadis</u> (1684)
10	Pastoral	Paisible	- [music used by Isaac, 1713]
11	Spanish Entree	Lully	<u>Le bourgeois gentilhomme</u> (1670)
12	Entree	Lully	<u>Acis et Galatée</u> (1686), Prol.
13	Turkish Dance	Campra	<u>L'Europe galante</u> (1697)

As was mentioned in Chapter IV, this publication is clearly modeled on the Pécour/Gaudrau Recueil (c1713); and four of the opera excerpts used by L'Abbe (nos. 1, 2, 5 and 6) were also set by Pécour in the latter collection. The music for no. 11 is used by Feuillet in his

1700 collection, and there is still another Pécour choreography to the "Saraband" (no. 5) in the Roussau manuscript. The existence of several choreographies to the same tune is not unusual in the French theatrical dance repertoire. But while a theatrical and a social dance may share the same music (this happens only once in the English repertoire, more often in France), there are no examples of two ball dances with the same tune.

The dance types which are predominant in the French theatrical dance collections are also found in L'Abbe's collection. These include slow triple-meter dances such as the chacone, the passacaglia, and the sarabande, and such compound duple-meter dances as the loure, gigue, canary, and "Spanish entree." A further clue to the theatrical character of the collection is the relative absence of dance suites. Only the "Pastoral," to the English tune used by Isaac, and the final "Turkish dance" contain contrasting dance sections, and the latter was originally three separate pieces in the Campra opera.

Roussau composed two theatrical dances, nos. 8 and 9 in his manuscript collection: an "Entree for two French Country Men" and the "Chacon for a Harlequin." I have not been able to identify the music for either dance.

Ballroom Dances. Unlike the theatrical dances, music for English ball dances appears to have been newly composed (with a few exceptions which will be discussed below). The evidence for this statement can be summarized as follows: 1) where the composer is known, no concordances for the dance tunes in his other works have been found (exceptions are the three dances of music from Handel and Bononcini operas); 2) with one exception, the music for dances composed from 1705 on was published

simultaneously with or later than the dance; 2) concordant sources usually preserve the title of the dance as well as the original key of the music, often adding the label "French dance"; this suggests that the music originated with the dance. And although a similar statement cannot be made with such assurance for the ten or more Isaac dances composed prior to 1705, there is no evidence to contradict the hypothesis that in most cases the music was composed for the dance, and did not exist previously.

Of course, the existence of additional musical concordances providing evidence to the contrary cannot be ruled out. But I have found no concordances for the English notated dance music in the thematic catalogues of music by Henry Purcell and Jeremiah Clarke, or in the dance movements included in the thematic catalogue of Handel operas.² And until more (and better) thematic catalogues and indexes to both anonymous and attributed English music of this period are made available, such identifications will not be possible.³

The absence of any surviving choreographies to Purcell's music is

2. Franklin B. Zimmerman, Henry Purcell, 1659-1695: Melodic and Intervallic Indexes to His Complete Works (Philadelphia: Smith Edwards-Dunlap, 1975); Thomas F. Taylor, Thematic Catalog of the Works of Jeremiah Clarke, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography No. 35 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1977); Bernd Baselt, Händel-handbuch Vol. 1; Thematisch-systematisch Verzeichnis: Bühnenwerke, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1978). There is as yet no intervallic index to the Handel opera arias, making it almost impossible to locate concordances in this repertoire.
3. See, for example, The National Tune Index: Phase 1, 18th-century Secular Music, edited by Kate Van Winkle Keller and Carolyn Rabson (New York: University Music Editions, 1980). Unfortunately, this otherwise exemplary undertaking omits most of the "art" music of the period, and is therefore only helpful in finding court dance tunes which were subsequently used as country dances and/or in ballad operas.

particularly regrettable. No notation system was available in England in the 1690's to preserve the dances composed by Josias Priest and others for Purcell's dramatic operas.⁴ And by 1706, when the Feuillet system arrived in London, these dances may no longer have been in the repertoire, or were considered too complex to be notated. Isaac, the one published choreographer whose career overlapped Purcell's, was apparently reluctant to use pre-existent music, or at least music by someone as famous as Purcell. Dance music for use in the theater continued to be composed in quantity after Purcell's death in 1695.⁵ Yet there is no evidence to suggest that any of the dances done to this music were notated, and a preliminary investigation of the theater music collections indicates that the two genres seldom overlapped.

Composers

Composers of court dance music are sometimes identified on the title page of the dance, or on the first page of the choreography. In other cases the identification occurs only in a concordant musical source. Title page identifications must be treated cautiously, however, particularly if a passee-partout title page is being used, as was the case with so many of the Isaac dances.

The following table lists all of the composers of English ball dance music which I have been able to identify. The dances are listed in approximate chronological order by choreographer. An asterisk following the composer's name indicates that the attribution does not

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4. Priest's only surviving choreography is a "figure dance" for twelve women published in the 1711 Pemberton anthology discussed in Chapter IV.
 5. See Curtis Price, Music in the Restoration Theatre (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1979).

appear in the dance itself; and square brackets show that the attribution comes from a stock title page and is not supported by any other sources.

Table 2. Composers of English Court Dance Music

<u>Dance</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Dance</u>	<u>Composer</u>
ISAAC		L'ABBE	
Favorite	[Paisible]	Princess Royal	-
Rondeau	[Paisible]	Princess Anna	-
Northumberland	[Paisible]	Royal George	Paisible*
Richmond	[Paisible]	Princess Amelia	Paisible*
Gloucester	[Paisible]	Princess Ann's	
Princess	[Paisible]	Chacone	Galliard*
Rigadoon	[Paisible]	Prince William	-
Royall	[Paisible]	New-Rigodon	-
Spanheim	[Paisible]	Canary	-
Marlborough	Paisible*	Prince Frederick	-
Britannia	Paisible*	Prince of Wales	Handel*
Union	Paisible*	Queen Caroline	Handel*
Saltarella	Paisible	Prince of Wale's	
Royal Portugese	Paisible	Sarabande	-
Royal Galliarde	Paisible	Prince of Orange	-
Rigadoon Royal	Paisible*		
Chacone	-	TOMLINSON	
Royal Ann	[Paisible]	Passepied Round O	Loeillet
Pastoral	Paisible	Shepherdess	Loeillet
Godolphin	Paisible	Submission	Loeillet
Friendship	Paisible	Prince Eugene	Loeillet
Morris	-	Address	Babell
		Gavot	Tomlinson
ESSEX		SIRIS	
Princess Passepied	-	La Camilla	Bononcini
HOLT		Brawl of Audenarde	Galliard*
Rigaudon nouvelle	-	New English	
GROSCOURT		Passepied	Mr. C.
Ecchoe	-	Siciliana	-
		Diana	Ariosti
ROUSSAU		CAVERLEY	
Montaigu	-	Slow Minuet	Firbank
Dutches	-		
Two Virgins	-	ANONYMOUS	
Villette	-	Cybelline	Firbank

At least ten Isaac dance tunes can be fairly securely attributed to Faisible and, regardless of how many of the others he composed, such a well-defined composer/choreographer relationship is unique for the ball dance repertoire.⁶ James Paisible, described by Lasocki as "probably the most significant recorder player of the era," was one of four French musicians who arrived in England in September 1673.⁷ He apparently remained in England until his death in 1721; his only court appointment was to the Roman Catholic Chapel of James II from 1686-8.⁸ However, he performed frequently in public concerts, and was active as a theater musician and as a composer.⁹

No composers are listed on the title pages of the L'Abbe ball dances published by Walsh or Pemberton, but some attributions do appear in concordant musical sources. These include two to Paisible and one to Galliard. (For more information on the latter composer see the discussion of the Siris dances below.) Two of L'Abbe's dances are set to pre-existing music, both of them popular pieces from contemporary Handel operas. The music for "The Prince of Wales: A Song" (1727) comes from the first section of Caesar's da capo aria "Non è si vago è bello" in Giulio Cesare, first performed (and published) in London in

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6. I am not suggesting that Paisible did not compose the remaining tunes, only that the evidence is less strong than both RISM and Paisible's biographers seem to realize. As is shown below, the first Walsh publication which mentions Isaac's dances (in 1703) attributes the tunes to Mr. Lefevre. Only in the following year is a connection between Isaac and Paisible mentioned.
7. David Lasocki, "Professional Recorder Playing in England II: 1640-1740," Early Music X (April 1982), 183.
8. Ibid., 184.
9. Ibid., 185-9. See also Ian Spink, "Paisible, James," New Grove, XIV, 97.

1724. The only clues to the operatic origins of this music are the unusual formal structure (a through-composed piece with a ritornello) and the words "A Song" underneath the music on the first page of the dance. "Queen Caroline: A March" (1728) is set to the famous march in Handel's Scipio, first performed and published in London in 1726.

Four of Tomlinson's six dances published between 1715 and 1720 are to music by Loeillet. This is presumably the "John Loeillet of London" (the Flemish "Jean Baptiste") born in 1680. According to the New Grove he emigrated to London in 1705, where he remained until his death in 1730.¹⁰ He was active as a theater musician, playing oboe, recorder, and flute, and later in his career as a harpsichordist and composer. No concordances for these four tunes are given in the thematic catalogue of Loeillet's works.¹¹ Tomlinson also choreographed one piece by William Babell, another musician/composer active in London court circles and in the theater. I have been unable to locate a concordance for this piece.

Tomlinson's Art of Dancing contains three short but complete dance movements: two minuets and a canary. And in the Book I plates and frontispieces to the two sections of plates there are an additional fifteen phrases of dance music ranging in length from less than one to ten bars. I have found no concordances for any of these pieces or fragments.

Four of the five extant Siris dances include composer attributions. The source for "La Camilla" (1708), another dance to

10. Alec Skempton and Lucy Robinson, "Loeillet (3)," New Grove, XI, 124-5.

11. Brian Priestman, "Catalogue thematique des oeuvres de Jean-Baptiste, John et Jacques Loeillet," Revue Belge de Musicologie VI (1952), 219-74. The RISM entry L2733 is for one of these dances, "The Shepherdess."

pre-existent music, is clearly indicated on the title page of the British Library exemplar: "Dance Nouvelle, sur un air Italien de l'Opera Du meme Nom, par Signor Bononcini." The aria in question, "O Nymph of Race Divine," is from Giovanni Bononcini's opera Il Trionfo di Camilla (1696), first performed in London in 1706.¹² Attributions for the next two Siris dances come from copies listed in the auction catalogue of the Cole collection. According to this source, the title page of the "Brawl of Audenarde" lists "Mr. G." as the composer of the music; he is identified as "Mr. Galliard" in a 1709 publication of dance music (to be discussed below).

John Ernest Galliard was a German-born composer and oboe/recorder player who came to London in 1706 as court musician to Queen Anne's husband, Prince George. He remained in London until his death in 1749. His first published work was a set of six recorder sonatas (1710), and in 1712 his English opera Calypso and Telemachus was produced, but it was unable to compete with the popularity of Italian opera, closing after three performances. Later works, including music for a number of masques and pantomimes, are listed in the New Grove.¹³ Siris's 1725 dance, "The Diana," is to music by "Signior Attilio," the Italian composer Attilio Ariosti. He arrived in London in 1716 or earlier, and by 1724 had reached the height of his popularity due to the success of his operas Coriolano and Vespasiano.¹⁴

12. The impact of this opera on the musical life of London is discussed by Curtis Price, "The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700-1710," Harvard Library Bulletin XXVI (1978), 49f.

13. Roger Fiske, "John Ernest Galliard," New Grove, VII, 107-9.

14. James L. Jackman and Dennis Libby, "Attilio Ariosti," New Grove, I, 583.

According to RISM, the Mr. Hudson who composed the tune for Glover's "Princess of Hesse" (1740) is the same as the John Hudson to whom four songs are attributed. No such composer is listed in the New Grove (although five other Hudsons are included), but the Biographical Dictionary includes a violinist John Hudson who was in the royal musical establishment from December 1730 until the 1740's. The article assumes that this was the same man as the Mr. Hudson "of the Musick" at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1724-29. Hudson is also listed as one of the composers of Select Minuets Collected From the Operas, the Balls at Court, the Masquerades, and all Publick Entertainments . . ., along with Handel, Green and Festing, in a 1739 Walsh publication.¹⁵

Two dances have music attributed to Charles Firbank: the anonymous "Cybelline" (1720) and Caverley's undated "Minuet." Although the composer/dancing-master Firbank (or Fairbank) does not appear in either the New Grove or Eitner, he is one of the nine English dancers and dancing masters singled out for special praise by Essex in his 1728 translation of Rameau's Le Maitre.

Mr. Firbank was for some time Competitor to Mr. D'la Garde; for he was strong and active in his Way of Dancing, yet very taking and genteel, which he kept up so long as he performed on the Stage. The World must allow him an extraordinary Genius in Musick, and his happy Compositions in several Dramatick Entertainments by their great Success confirms this to a Demonstration.¹⁶

In addition to the two ball dances listed above, music by Firbank is included in a 1720 collection advertised by Wright (see the

15. Smith and Humphries, Bibliography, no. 1061.

16. Essex, The Dancing Master, xiii. The "happy Compositions" were probably the music he wrote for Weaver's productions discussed below.

explanatory note to Smith no. 576) and in a similar 1721 collection published by Walsh (Smith/Humphries no. 925). The latter collection includes "The 12 following tunes by Mr Fairbank for his own Balls," and a "New Lowver" [loure]. He also composed music for some of Weaver's innovative theatrical productions, notably The Loves of Mars and Venus (1717) and Orpheus and Euridice (1721); the music does not survive. Firbank's talents as a composer were also praised by John Weaver in the preface to his Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures on Dancing, 1721.¹⁷

I have found no musical concordances for any of the four Roussau ball dances in his c1720 manuscript. I have also been unable to locate musical concordances or identify a composer for the dances by Essex, Groscourt, and Holt. A number of prominent court and theater composers apparently were not involved with any of the choreographers working in London. Conspicuous by their absence are the names of Daniel Purcell, Eccles, Lenton, Finger, and others.

In addition to the three ball dances set to opera tunes by Handel and Bononcini, there is at least one other example of a ball dance being choreographed to pre-existing music. Isaac's "Royal Galliarde," his "new dance" for the year 1710, uses a tune which was first published in the 1690 edition of Apollo's Banquet with the title "The Princess." The only significant variants are the use of the more old-fashioned time signatures C, D, C3, and 3 in Apollo's Banquet instead of 2, 2, 3, and 6/8. Although there is no way of proving that this was a forgotten twenty-year-old dance dusted off and presented as a new one, two factors

17. Weaver's remarks are quoted in George Dorris, "Music for the Ballets of John Weaver," Dance Chronicle III (1979), 59. For information on Firbank's career as a dancer, see the entry "Charles Fairbank" in the Biographical Dictionary, where the Essex quote cited above is incorrectly attributed to Weaver.

support this possibility. The period 1709-1711 was the time when Isaac had notated and published five other early dances (see discussion in Chapter IV), at least one of which (the "Northumberland") may have been composed in 1695 or earlier. Furthermore, the sectional character of this dance (like the "Northumberland" it has four distinct metrical sections) is more typical of Isaac's earlier dances.

Concordances

Musical concordances as a source for composer identification have been discussed above, and their usefulness in helping to date a choreography was established in Chapter IV. The following discussion looks at these concordant sources in a more systematic fashion.

English publications which contain concordances for court dance music fall into several categories, although the dividing lines between these categories are admittedly blurred at times. They include collections specifically devoted to dance music, anthologies which include dance music along with theater tunes and other instrumental music, instrumental tutors, and country dance collections.

Collections of Dance Music. The earliest surviving English collection of dance music without any professed didactic intent is found in the second part of Thomas Bray's Country Dances (1699); the collection includes ball dances (three by Isaac, two by Pécour, and two by unidentified choreographers), theatrical dances, and generic minuets and rigadoons.¹⁸ In the following year, Walsh's first collection devoted solely to dance music was advertised (no copy of this or most of the other dance music collections discussed below has survived):

18. More information on this source can be found in my article "Thomas Bray's Country Dances 1699," now in preparation for publication.

The French Dancing Master; being a Collection of the choicest Minuets, Rigadoons, Jiggs, Entry's and Paspy's, Danced at Court, the Theatres, and publick Balls: also the Play-house Dances by Mons. Baloon, Labee, Nevelong, Cotine, La-sac, the Bohemian Woman, and others. The whole being very proper for Lovers of Musick and Dancing. The Tunes for the Violin and Haut-boy, most of them within the compass of the Flute, fairly engraven.¹⁹

Another publication of dance music by Walsh was advertised in February 1703: "Mr. Isaks new Dances Danced at Court on her Majesties Birthday, 1703. The Tunes by Mr. Lefevre. To which is added several others of the newest French Dances."²⁰ This is the first reference to the so-called "birthday dances," and the first association of Isaac's name with Anne's after she became queen in 1702. In 1704 Walsh advertised another collection of dance music, somewhat larger than the previous year's collection to judge by the price (1s vs. 6d) and the contents.

The Court and Country Dances. Containing Mr. Isaacks new Dances made for her Majesty's Birth-day, 1704. The Tunes by Mr. Paisible. To which is added, all that's new, both French and Country Dances, by several hands. As also the Quakers Comical Dance, the whole fairly engraven, price 1s.²¹

And in his collection for the following year Walsh established a title page format which was to remain essentially unchanged for the next fourteen years.

The Marlborough, Mr. Isaack's new Dance, set by Mr. Paisible, danc'd at Court on her Majesty's Birth-day, 1705. To which is added several new Minuets, Rigadoons and Jiggs by Mr. Lafayer, Mr. Lane and others, danc'd at Schools and publick Entertainments, pr. 6d.²²

19. Smith, Bibliography, no. 34.

20. Ibid., no. 116.

21. Ibid., no. 145.

22. Ibid., no. 170.

This is, of course, the music for the Isaac choreography which was published sometime between 1709 and 1711. The format of these music publications from this point on until 1720 remains pretty much the same. The title of the collection is taken from the featured ball dance; and the music for this dance, supplied with a bass line in all the surviving examples, is followed by a miscellaneous collection of minuets, rigadoons, and other dances for which only the melody is given. Since Walsh's publications after 1706 use the same title for both choreography and dance music, the two can be confused (particularly if one of them is no longer extant).²³

Walsh continued to publish these collections after 1719, but with the name of the new ball dance omitted from the title. In 1717 Walsh advertised the second of two books "of the choicest French Dances, consisting of Minuets, Rigadoons, Sarabands, Jiggs, Entries, Paspies, Chacoons, Gavots and Brawls, in all 250: Together with the Birth Day Figure Dances perform'd at Court; as also several of the late Masquerade Dances."²⁴ In each of the next two years he issued smaller collections "of the newest Minuets, Rigadoons, and French Dances . . ." which sold for 6d, as well as the collections containing the birthday dance music as before.²⁵ And from 1720 on his annual dance music collections (occasionally there are two in one year) have titles similar to those of the 1718 and 1719 collections, i.e., with the name of the new ball dance omitted.

23. Smith makes this error several times. See, for example, nos. 269 and 270, which he assumes are two different editions of Isaac's "Saltarella" choreography; or no. 506, which he takes to be the choreography of L'Abbe's "Royal George," when in fact it is the [lost] music to the dance.

24. Smith, Bibliography, no. 514.

25. Ibid., nos. 535 and 559.

A number of these music publications were owned by the nineteenth-century music dealer Thomas W. Taphouse, whose collection was sold by the Sotheby auction house in 1905.²⁶ The catalogue includes a number of items which are not recorded elsewhere (see, for example, the Pearson publications listed below). And although the present whereabouts of most of the Taphouse items of interest to this study are unknown, studies of Taphouse's collection before it was dispersed were made by Frank Kidson and F.C. Woods.²⁷ Woods, in particular,* describes in detail the contents of some of these music books, even including the bass line to Isaac's "Rigadoon Royal" from the 1711 Walsh publication, now lost. The following table lists all of the known Walsh publications of court dance music.

Table 3. Annual Dance Music Publications by Walsh

<u>Date</u>	<u>Short Title</u>	<u>Source*</u>
1703	Mr. Isacks new Dances	S116*
1704	The Court and Country Dances	S145*
1705	The Marlborough, Mr. Isaack's new Dance	S170*
1706	The Britannia. Mr. Isack's new Dance	S196*
[1707]	The Court Dances or Union for 1707	S258* T238*
1708	The Saltarella, Mr. Isaac's New Dance	S269*
[1709]	Minuets for the Royall Portuguise	S309*

26. The sale catalogue, a copy of which is in the British Library, is entitled Catalogue of the Valuable and Interesting Musical Library . . . of the late T.W. Taphouse.

27. Frank Kidson, Old English Country Dances, London: W. Reeves, 1890; and F. Cunningham Woods, "A Brief Survey of the Dances Popular in England During the Eighteenth Century," Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association XXII (1895-96), 89-109.

[1709]	Minuets for the Brawl of Audenard	S310*
[1710]	The Royall Galliard Minuet Book	S362*
1711	Rigadoon Royal	T234*
1714	Siciliana. Mr. Seris new Dance	S445*
1715	Friendship	GB Ob
1716	All the new Minuets with the new Morris and Shepherds French Dances	S490*
1717	Royal George	S506*
1718	Princess Amelia	S538*
1719	Princess Anne's Chacoone	S568*
1720	A Collection of Minuets [begins with "The Cybelline. A New Dance for the Year 1720"]	S576 GB Coke
1721	A Collection of Minuets [begins with "Prince William"]	S/H 925
[c1728]	[Minuets. Includes "Queen Caroline. A new Dance by Mr. L'abbe"]	S/H 1039

*Key to symbols: * = no copy known; S = Smith, Bibliography; S/H = Smith/Humphries Bibliography; T = Taphouse collection, sale catalogue number; Coke = private collection of Gerald Coke. Smith was unaware that copies existed of the "Friendship" or of the 1720 publication in the Coke collection.

According to Smith, Walsh's publications were frequently pirated by Daniel Wright, and I have found three such examples of this practice in connection with the dance music collections. Woods mentions a Wright publication, "The Union," which also contains other dances, and is probably a pirated edition of Smith no. 258.²⁸ Item no. 233 in the Taphouse sale is listed as "The Godolphin, Mr Isaac's new Dances, Perform'd at Court on Her Majesties Birthday, 1714, the Tunes Composed by Mr. Paisible . . ." and published by D. Wright, Brook St. Holborn.

28. Woods, "Survey," 95.

Although no such title by Walsh survives, it seems likely that Wright's work is based on a lost Walsh publication. The third example is Wright's 1716 publication, A Collection of the Newest Minuets, Rigadoons, and French Dances, a copy of which is at GB Lcm. Since the first piece in this collection is "The Shepherdess," it is probably taken from the lost Walsh publication listed above (S490). No bass lines are included in the Wright edition. (This publication is also mentioned by Kidson, p. 157.)

A rival series to Walsh's annual collections of dance music, The Compleat Dancing-Master's Companion was first advertised in the March 13, 1703 issue of the Post Man. Although only the seventh book of this series, published in 1709, is known to survive, the third book (1705) was in the Taphouse sale and is also described by Woods, and the first two books were advertised by Cullen in 1707. These editions are listed below:

The Compleat Dancing-Master's Companion. In Two Parts . . . the Second part contains the Newest French Dances. London, J. Young, [1703].²⁹

The Second Book of the Compleat Dancing-Masters' Companion: In Two Parts. The first containing Mr Isaac's New Dances, made for Her Majesties Birth-day, 1704. The Tunes by Mr. Paisible³⁰

The Compleat Dancing-Masters' Companion, containing the Marlborough, Mr. Isaack's New Dance, set by Mr. Paisible . . . danced at Court on her Majesty's birthday, 1705; the third book, London, printed by William Pearson, and sold by John Cullen, and Humfrey Saultter . . . [1705].³¹

29. Tilmouth, "Calendar," 48.

30. Advertised in the 1707 Cullen edition of Gottfried Keller's Compleat Method.

31. This was item no. 241 in the Taphouse sale catalogue. The contents were described by Woods, "Survey."

The Compleat Dancing-Master's Companion: containing Mr. Isaak's New Dance, call'd the Royal Portugueze, set by Mr. Paisible: To which is added, several New Minuets, Rigadoons, etc. by Mr. Lefevre, Mr. Lane, and others, made for her MAJESTY'S Birth-Day, 1709. Also French and Country-Dances, with Directions to each Dance. The seventh Book. London: Printed by W. Pearson, and Sold by John Young, . . . John Cullen . . . and Mrs. Miller.³²

The 1709 edition begins with treble and bass lines for Isaac's "Royal Portuguez," followed by melodies of over thirty other dances, mostly minuets and rigadoons. The treble and bass lines for Siris's 1709 "Brawl of Audenarde" appear next, "The Tune by Mr. Gaillard." Three more dances with treble and bass follow, "An Entry from Paris," "Spanish Entry Danc'd by Mrs. Evans," and "Jigg Danc'd by Mr[s]. Evans." Judging by the titles and the character of the music, all three dances appear to be theatrical rather than social; however, no choreographies for any of them survive.³³

Tutors and Anthologies. Concordances for court dance tunes are also found in anthologies such as the first and second books of Theater Musick published by Walsh in 1698 and 1699. These collections include tunes from the most recent plays as well as "the French Dances perform'd at both Theaters, as also the new Dances at ye late Ball at Kensington."

The popularity of instrumental tutors in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is a phenomenon apparently unique to England. It is no doubt one manifestation of the "commercialisation of leisure" described by Plumb.³⁴ Several recent studies have investigated these

32. A copy is at GB Lbl, shelf mark K.1.a.19; it is missing the French and country dances.

33. The dancer Mrs. Evans performed at both Drury Lane and Queen's Theater during the years 1705-08. There is no listing of a Mr. Evans during this period.

34. See Chapter I, footnote 4.

tutors, but an assessment of their role in the fabric of English society is still needed.³⁵

Many of the instrumental tutors from this period are thinly disguised anthologies similar to the ones described above. The addition of the word "Master" or "Instructor" in the title plus a few pages of basic theory, some scales, a fingering chart and a table of ornaments were considered sufficient to qualify the book as a tutor. But, as has been pointed out in the studies mentioned earlier, no attention was given to any kind of graded material, and the contents were usually far beyond the capabilities of a beginner. Regardless of their failures as teaching material, these books are tremendously useful to us today. Unfortunately the survival rate of these publications is as poor as for the dance music. Of the nearly forty violin tutors published between 1682 and 1730, only ten are known to have survived.³⁶

Several observations can be made about these instrumental tutors and their relationship to dance music: 1) it is in this category that the first use of the term "the newest French dances" appears (Apollo's

35. Recent studies of English instrumental tutors include Thomas E. Warner, An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600-1830, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography No. 11 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1967) and Adrienne Simpson, "A Short-Title List of Printed English Instrumental Tutors up to 1800, Held in British Libraries," Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle VI (1966), 24. Both studies would have profitted by familiarity with David Boyden's articles, "Geminiani and the first Violin Tutor," Acta Musicologica XXXI (1959), 161; and "A Postscript to 'Geminiani and the first Violin Tutor,'" Acta Musicologica XXXII (1960), 40. The contents of a number of harpsichord tutors are included in John Caldwell, English Keyboard Music (New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1973), 182-217.

36. Boyden, "Postscript."

Banquet, 1687); 2) the popularity of these publications, as evidenced by their numbers, reflects the English enthusiasm for self-help or do-it-yourself publications, already evident in the quantities of dance publications in the early eighteenth century; 3) the changing contents of these tutors can be taken as a reliable indicator of the changing musical tastes in early eighteenth-century London: dance music, and "French" dance music in particular, reaches the height of its popularity in the first decade of the century, but rapidly gives way to Italian opera arias after about 1710.

Country Dance Collections. A number of the court dance melodies were subsequently used as country dance tunes; these are listed in Table 4. Although the country dances seldom make choreographic references to the court dances (except for specifying, not always appropriately, the use of the minuet step), they are remarkably consistent about preserving the form and key of the original dance, and many of them also preserve the name. In some cases, only one section of a dance suite is used for a country dance, but in others the country dance preserves the meter change of the original, an unusual occurrence for this repertoire. The recycled court dance tunes are similar in character to contemporary country dance tunes--short two-reprise forms with clearly defined rhythms and accessible melodies. Metrically ambiguous courantes, slow sarabandes, asymmetrical melodies and rondo forms are generally avoided. Some of these tunes were recycled once again for use in ballad operas.³⁷

37. Concordances can be found in the National Tune Index.

Table 4: Court Dance Tunes used for Country Dances

<u>Isaac Dances</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Country Dance Sources(s)</u>	<u>Country Dance Title</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Princess	c1699	DM I/11-18 (1701+) Walsh I	Princess	2nd section (6/4) only
Royal	>1706	Walsh c1705 DM II/1 (1710)	Manage the Miser	2nd section (3/2) only
Spanheim	>1705	Walsh c1706 DM II/1	Spanheim	
Marlborough	1705	DM I/13 (1706)	Marlborough	Both sections; "with the minuet step"
Royal Galliarde	1710	DM II/3 (1718)	Royal Galliard	2nd section (bouree) only
Rigadoon Royal	1711	DM II/3	Rigadoon Royal	
Pastoral	1713	DM II/3	A Trip to the Boar	2nd section (3/2) only
Friendship	1715	DM II/3	Friendship	
Morris	1716	DM III/2 (1726?)	French Morris	
<u>L'Abbe Dances</u>				
Princess Amelia	1718	DM III/2	Princess Amelia	
Prince William	1721	Walsh II/1 (1731)	Prince William	
New Rigadoon	1723	Walsh II/3 (1735) Cal.CD's (1750)	Edgeworth Bumpkins Prince Frederick's Hornpipe	
Canary	1724	DM III/2	Canary	
Queen Caroline	1728	Walsh II/1	Queen Caroline	"to be done with the minuet step" (I)

Bass Lines³⁸

If the surviving Walsh and Pearson editions listed above are any indication, the music for each new "French dance" (i.e., a dance notated in chorégraphie) was published with a bass line. Unfortunately, most of these publications seem not to have survived, and we must seek bass lines elsewhere. In addition to the anthologies and tutors mentioned earlier, other sources for bass lines include collections of broadsides or single sheets, in which the court dance melody has had words and a bass line added, and ballad operas, some of which have had bass lines supplied by Pepusch and others (admittedly of a somewhat later date than that of the dance).

The locating of bass lines, while useful in reconstructing the harmonies of the dance music, does not help answer the question of how (or by whom) this music was performed. Although dancing lessons were probably accompanied by a single melody line played on a violin or a pochette, "public" dancing was almost certainly accompanied by an ensemble of some sort which included a bass instrument.³⁹ Iconographical evidence supports this statement: all of the illustrations of social or theatrical dancing which I have been able to locate show a minimum of three instrumentalists accompanying the dancing, one of which is always a bass instrument of some sort (viola da gamba, cello, and/or

38. Appendix C includes all of the court dance bass lines I have located to date.

39. Evidence for the inclusion of bass lines in the performance of dance music is presented in my paper, "Fishing for Basses: Finding Musical Concordances for English Country Dances," Dance History Scholars: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference (n.p., 1983), 95-104. Margaret Downie is preparing an iconographical study of the pochette, including its use by dancing masters.

bassoon). These musicians are seldom shown playing from music, but this may reflect an iconographic convention dating back to the Middle Ages. (Bass lines could also have been improvised once the musicians were familiar with the melody.) However, at least one contemporary account refers to the dance musicians' "sheets" (i.e., music).⁴⁰

The Generic Rigadoon⁴¹

Dudley Ryder's diary entry for 15 November 1715 reads as follows:

Mr. Fernley [Ryder's dancing master] came to see me about dancing. I would have agreed with him to learn the rigadoon for a guinea, but he would not take under 2 guineas. I intended to give him that if I might learn the minuet perfect for it also, but he asked another half-guinea for all that⁴²

Ryder agreed to Fernley's terms, and began learning the rigadoon two days later. The minuet which he wished to perfect was no doubt a generic minuet similar to those described by Rameau and Tomlinson--a series of figures into which the dancers could fit steps chosen from a prescribed vocabulary. No analogous choreographic model exists for a generic rigadoon, yet the evidence for the existence of such a dance can be found in contemporary music sources. Rigadoons and minuets are mentioned on the title pages of dance music collections as early as 1699, the rigadoon continuing to appear until the 1730's and the minuet remaining popular to the end of the century. The Walsh title pages

40. [Edward Ward], The Dancing-School, with the Adventures of the Easter Holy-Days (London, 1700), 4.

41. My use of the term "generic" is based on Witherell's description of the menuet ordinaire as a generic minuet, i.e., a dance in which the basic floor patterns and steps are prescribed, but with much of the detail left up to the dancers.

42. Matthews, ed., Diary, 137.

quoted earlier in this chapter are typical; they consistently make a distinction between the minuet and rigadon (generic dances) and the French dances (dances in Feuillet notation, although not necessarily by French choreographers).

The characteristics of these generic rigadon melodies can be easily summarized. Although all the extant rigadon choreographies, both English and continental, are in duple meter, generic rigadon melodies appear in both duple and compound-duple meter, with the latter predominating after 1709, and used exclusively from 1725 on. Table 5 lists in chronological order the music sources I have found which include compound-duple rigadons.

Table 5: Generic Rigadoons in English Publications

<u>Date</u>	<u>Short Title</u>	<u>Meter: Duple</u>	<u>Compound</u>
1698	<u>Theater Musick</u>	3	3
1699	Bray: <u>Country Dances</u>	1	2
[1699]	Hely: <u>The Compleat Violist</u>	1	1
1700	<u>Complete Instuctor for the Flute</u>	-	1
1709	<u>Compleat Dancing Master's Companion</u>	5	8
1710	<u>For the Flute</u>	-	6
1715	<u>The Friendship</u>	1	5
1715	<u>Nolens Volens</u> (6th Book)	1	3
c1715	<u>The Compleat Tutor to the Hautboy</u>	2	12
1716	<u>A Collection of the Newest Minuets</u>	1	11
1719	<u>Compleat Tutor to the Violin</u> (3rd Book)	4	12
1720	<u>A Collection of Minuets, Rigadoons, or French Dances</u>	1	8
1721	<u>The Newest Minuets, Rigadoons, and French Dances</u>	5	11

1722	<u>Minuets, Rigadoons or French Dances</u>	3	13
1723	<u>For the Flute The Newest Minuets</u>	3	5
1723	<u>Compleat Tutor to the Violin (6th Book)</u>	3	5
1725	<u>The Newest Minuets Rigadoons and French Dances</u>	-	14
1729	<u>The New Flute Master</u>	-	4
1738	<u>Bickham: An Easy Introduction to Dancing</u>	-	6

The melodies are in two-reprise form (AABB), and frequently consist of a four-bar strain followed by a six-bar strain. (The same structure is found in many of the duple-meter rigadon choreographies.) The shortness of such a piece--twenty bars in all--suggests that in performance the rigadon melody would have been repeated a number of times. Examples of two compound-duple rigadoons (both with bass lines) are given below:

Example 5a. Rigadon from A Collection of the newest Minuets, Rigadoons & French Dances (1720).



Example 5b. Rigadoon from Bickham, *Dancing*, 1738.

Although certain characteristics of the generic minuet can be found in a number of the figured minuet choreographies,⁴³ I have been unable to detect any recurring floor patterns or step sequences in the English notated rigadoons which might reflect a generic dance. One thing is certain: the generic dance could not have consisted of a succession of rigadoon steps. Since this peculiar step does not travel, nor does it ever involve a turn or change of direction, the partners would spend the entire dance in one spot, without even an opportunity to face in a new direction! The thetic or cadential quality of the step is so strong that in rigadoon choreographies it is used sparingly, usually at the ends of strains.

43. See Witherell's comments about the minuet section of Pécour's "Bourrée d'Achille" (Pécour, 16). There are similar instances in Isaac's "Britannia," L'Abbe's "Prince Frederick," and other English minuets.

Summary

Sources for English dance music seem to differ according to the type of dance. Most of the theatrical dances in L'Abbe's collection (c1725) are set to pre-existent music from French operas by Lully and others, whereas almost all of the English social dances appear to use music which was newly composed for this purpose. (The exceptions, two dances each by Siris and L'Abbe, use excerpts from operas by Bononcini, Ariosti, and Handel which were already familiar as single sheet publications.) In contrast, a much higher percentage of French social dances are set to previously existing music. Thus it is possible that in England the structure of the dance was more likely to influence the musical structure. Except for James Paisible, whose association with Isaac may have extended over a period of twelve years, composers are usually not identified.

Much of the social dance music was published in contemporary anthologies and tutors by John Walsh and others. Although the majority of these publications have not survived their existence testifies to the demand for this music. In the musical concordances which do survive there are usually few if any differences from the tunes as they appear in the choreographies. Most of these publications also include a bass line for the "French dance," i.e., the dance published in Feuillet notation. These publications also provide evidence for the existence of the "generic rigadoon," a dance in duple or, more often, compound-duple meter. As in the generic minuet, the choice of steps was up to the dancers. No choreographic models for this dance are known.

Chapter VI

THE ENGLISH STYLE OF DANCE: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Introduction

When I began this study I had hoped, among other things, to be able to define an "English" style of dance as distinct from the "French" style represented by the works of Pécour, Balon, and others. However, it soon became apparent that this goal would be unattainable here since, in order to make such a distinction, comprehensive analyses of both the French and English repertoires would be necessary, taking into consideration such factors as individual dance types, theatrical versus social dances, and the styles of individual choreographers.¹

To further complicate matters, it must be remembered that English choreographers were not working in a vacuum, isolated from the developments in French dance. Rather, the opposite seems to have been the case--new French dances were known and danced in London, sometimes even before their publication in France. A 1698 Walsh publication, Theater Musick, contains the music for two dances published in the 1700 Pécour Recueil, "la Mariée" and "la Forlana." That the dances as well as the music were known in England is evident from the rubrics: "The Furlane Danc't at ye Ball at Kingsinton" and "La: maro a new Dance." French publications were available in London from the "French booksellers" Vaillant and their successor Ribotteau, the latter

1. It should be noted that Witherell's dissertation is devoted to only nine of Pécour's more than 100 choreographies, and she wisely refrains from generalizing about his style on the basis of these works.

advertising Dezais's IX Recueil de danses for 1711.²

Finally, the nationality of the "English" choreographers must be considered. Of the dancing masters living in England who composed five or more dances only one, Kellom Tomlinson, is definitely not of French origin. L'Abbe, Roussau, and Siris are almost certainly French, and it is possible that Isaac is as well.³ Did their French origins influence their style of choreography? And did the English dancing masters who went to France to study return with the latest French dances and styles? Such questions make the definition of an English style even more problematical.

Although we cannot yet state with certainty what constitutes the "English style" of dance, in previous chapters we have identified a number of characteristics which seem typical of English dances. Tomlinson's treatise, in particular, demonstrates that performance styles of the same step differed between the two countries. Yet the question remains whether these differences represent a national style or are simply the characteristics of an individual choreographer. In this chapter we shall make additional comparisons between the French and English repertoires from the following points of view: the choice of dance types as well as their grouping, the existence of a dance type not found in French sources, and the differences in notation and step vocabulary.

Dance Types

The choice of dance types by French and English choreographers is

2. Tilmouth, "Calendar," 80.
3. Martin, Dancing Master, excludes L'Abbe from her study, even though he had been living and working in England for at least fifteen years prior to his appointment as royal dancing master in 1715.

shown in Table 1. The total number of English dance types (114) is greater than the number of choreographies (73) because of the multi-movement dances. (I have omitted from this and the following table the figure dances in Pemberton's 1711 collection as well as the three dances by French choreographers in the Roussau manuscript. All of the other dances discussed in Chapter IV are included.)

Table 1. A Comparison of Extant Dance Types Used by French and English Choreographers

<u>Dance Type</u>	<u>French</u> ⁴	<u>English</u>
Allemande	1	-
Bourrée	23	7
Canary	7	4
Chaconne	8	6
Courante	8	2
Entrée grave	8	2
Folies d'Espagne	4	-
Forlana	13	2
Gaillarde	3	1
Gavotte	10	4
Gigue	10	2
Hornpipe	-	6
Loure	8	5
Marche	2	3
Mariée	4	1

4. Information about the French dance types has been compiled from Little, Inventory.

Minuet	20	13
Passacaglia	3	2
Passepied	14	7
Rigadoon	18	12
Saltarello	1	1
Sarabande	18	8
Other (Branle, Pavane, etc.)	5	1
Untitled duple meter	40	9
Untitled triple meter	17	7
Untitled compound meter	18	9
TOTALS	263	114

When expressed as percentages of the total number of dance types, the numbers are remarkably similar, with a few exceptions: in the French repertoire there are more bourrées (8.5% vs. 6%), courantes and entrées grave (3% vs. 2%), folies d'Espagne (no English dances), forlanas (5% vs. 2%), giges (4% vs. 2%), and untitled duple meter dances (15% vs. 9%). Of these, the entrées grave, folies d'Espagne, forlanas, and giges are usually theatrical rather than social dances, and since more French theatrical choreographies are preserved, it is not surprising to find that such dance types are more common in that repertoire. Dance types for which the percentage is higher in England include the minuet (7.5% vs. 11.5%), the rigadoon (7% vs. 10.5%), the hornpipe (unique to England), and the chaconne and passacaglia (4% vs. 7%). The latter two dance types are used exclusively for theatrical dances in France, whereas in England only the passacaglia is a theatrical dance, and three of the six chaconnes are danse à deux. Other dance types associated

almost exclusively with theatrical dancing in France are used by English choreographers for social dances as well. These include the canary, the forlana, and the loure.⁵ The choice of dance types by English choreographers is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Distribution of English Dance Types by Choreographer

<u>Dance Type</u>	<u>Isaac</u>	<u>L'Abbe</u>	<u>Toml.</u>	<u>Roussau</u>	<u>Siris</u>	<u>Other</u>
Bourrée	3	2	-	1	-	Groscourt 1
Canary	1	2	1	-	-	-
Chaconne	2	3	-	1	-	-
Courante	1	-	-	-	1	-
Entrée grave	1	1	-	-	-	-
Forlana	-	1	1	-	-	-
Gaillarde	1	-	-	-	-	-
Gavotte	-	1	2	-	-	Glover 1
Gigue	-	1	-	-	1	-
Hornpipe	4	2	-	-	-	-
Loure	2	3	-	-	-	-
March	-	2	1	-	-	-
Mariée	-	1	-	-	-	-
Minuet	4	2	3	1	1	Caverley 1 Groscourt 1
Passacaglia	-	2	-	-	-	-
Passepiéd	-	1	1	2	1	Essex 1 Glover 1
Rigadoon	2	3	2	3	1	Holt 1

5. The distinction between court and theatrical dances for a couple is not always as clear-cut as the foregoing discussion implies, particularly in England. I have classified as theatrical those dances for which professional performers are listed.

Saltarello	1	-	-	-	-	-
Sarabande	2	3	1	2	-	-
Siciliana	-	-	-	-	1	-
Untitled duple meter	6	1	-	1	-	Anon. 1
Untitled triple meter	6	-	1	-	-	-
Untitled com- pound meter	6	2	-	-	1	-
TOTALS	42	33	13	11	7	8

The large number of unidentified dance types by Isaac, many of them dating from before 1706, are for the most part of greater choreographic complexity than dances by other choreographers. Isaac avoids both the simpler gavotte and passepied as well as the theatrical forlana and passacaglia. L'Abbe's choice of dance types is more evenly distributed, and he omits only the courante and the gaillarde, the former out of fashion by 1715. Tomlinson's preference for the more common dance types in uncomplicated meters (he composed no courantes, hornpipes, or loures) is in keeping with his straight-forward choreographic style. Likewise, the dances in the final column, most of which can be dated after 1715, utilize the most common dance types.

Dance Suites. One of the most striking differences between the French and English repertoires is the clear preference for dance suites in the latter. (I am using the term "dance suite" to refer to choreographies comprised of two or more sections in contrasting meters and affects.)⁶ Of the seventy-three extant English dances included in Table 2, at least twenty-eight (38%) are of this type. By comparison,

6. Witherell uses the term "multi-movement dances"; there are two such dances in Pécour's 1700 Recueil. A dance-suite was always performed in its entirety, and without pauses between the sections.

fewer than 10% of the more than 220 French choreographies are dance suites. Isaac's choreographies contribute significantly to this statistic: thirteen of his twenty-two dances are suites with two or more movements. (Those dances which I believe were composed prior to 1706 frequently have three or four movements, whereas in later dances two contrasting sections is the norm.)

While there are no standard dance-suite formats, certain observations can be made about those that exist: all seven bourrées are part of suites, and three of them are followed by minuets; the most frequent dance-suite section is the minuet, occurring eight times (this number would increase to fourteen if the Pemberton figure dances were included); dance suites usually begin with a slower, statelier dance type, such as a chaconne, sarabande, or loure, and are more likely to end with a livelier movement, such as a passepied, canary, or rigadoon. Sometimes there is a return to the original dance type, either repeating the music in rondo fashion or using new music. Certain choreographers also exhibit preferences for which dance types are used in a suite: for example, all four of Isaac's minuets are parts of suites, as are three of his four hornpipes. Conversely, neither of his two rigadoons is in a suite. Two-section dances are the norm, but there are dance suites with as many as four, five or six discreet sections. When more than four sections occur, there is always some repetition of music. As in the French repertoire, the transition from one section to the next usually occurs in the final bar of the current dance type, which is written in the new meter (see example 1). This metrical change is almost always reflected in the choreography by means of one or more of the following devices: a cadential step, a change of direction, or a change of

continent.⁹ The Germans Handel and Kusser both composed hornpipes, but only after they had settled in London.¹⁰

Various aspects of the hornpipe have been discussed by recent writers: the traditional dance by Emmerson, the history by Dean-Smith, and seventeenth-century hornpipe music by Curti.¹¹ However, none of them was aware of the existence of six Baroque hornpipe choreographies in Feuillet notation.

History

References to the hornpipe date back to Chaucer's time, but it is not always clear whether the term refers to the instrument, the music, or the dance. The earliest surviving example of music is Hugh Aston's "Hornepype" from the first half of the sixteenth century.¹² There are frequent literary references to the hornpipe at the end of the sixteenth century, and at least two cittern collections from the period include hornpipes.¹³

9. Ibid., fn. 197.

10. See Telle, Tanzrhythm, 107-8. Kusser's hornpipes are mentioned by Harold E. Samuel, "John Sigismond Cousser in London and Dublin," Music and Letters LXI/2 (April 1980), 169.

11. George S. Emmerson, A Social History of Scottish Dance (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), chapter 14; Margaret Dean-Smith, "Hornpipe," The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), VIII, 720-22; Martha Curti, "The Hornpipe in the Seventeenth Century," Music Review XL/1 (Feb. 1979), 14.

12. Curti, "Hornpipe," 14. Although Curti lists Aston's death date as 1621, it was around 1558 according to the New Grove. In this same paragraph Curti attempts to identify the hornpipes mentioned by Reese as being in the so-called "Henry VIII" manuscript. But Reese is in error, and the piece which Curti cites is apparently a basse danse, as has been shown by John M. Ward, "The Manner of Dauncynge," Early Music IV/2 (April 1976), 131ff.

13. Curti, "Hornpipe," 15.

A new type of hornpipe music first appears in prints and manuscript sources in the 1650's. Characteristics include, in addition to the triple meter and four-bar phrases of the late sixteenth-century hornpipe, syncopated rhythms, usually in the second and fourth measures, and a point of arrival on the third beat of the cadential measure. By the end of the century, time signatures of 3/2 rather than 3/4 predominate. Numerous examples of this kind of hornpipe appear in publications by the Playfords and others, and are cited by Curti. Certain resemblances between these hornpipes and the earlier type have already been noted. But Curti's assumption that the two types are directly related seems unwarranted in view of the fact that no hornpipes are extant between the years 1610 and 1651, a period which saw sweeping changes in musical style in England.

This new hornpipe remained popular in England as a dance movement throughout the rest of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century. Purcell seemed particularly fond of the type (it is often referred to as a Purcellian hornpipe), composing at least twenty-four, and it is the second most frequently appearing dance type in his works.¹⁴ Another source for hornpipes is the instrumental music written for the Restoration stage. In his catalogue of this music, Price lists at least fifty hornpipes associated with forty-four plays.¹⁵ These "theatrical" hornpipes first appear around 1690, remaining popular

14. Franklin Zimmerman, Henry Purcell: 1659-1695: An Analytical Catalogue of His Works, (London: Macmillan, 1963), passim. Dean-Smith's statement in the New Groves that there are thirty-five hornpipes by Purcell in the 1691 edition of Apollo's Banquet is in error.

15. Curtis Price, Music in the Restoration Theatre (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1979), passim.

throughout the first decade of the eighteenth century. Sixteen are by Henry Purcell, with two other composers, Godfrey Finger and John Lenton, represented by six each.

Because of the lack of evidence concerning the hornpipe dance of the late sixteenth century it is impossible to say whether it is related to the 3/2 hornpipe music of the second half of the seventeenth century. Curti is of the opinion that the consistent phrasing of the latter originates in the dance steps.¹⁶ But no such music-dance correspondence can be demonstrated in other dance types. In the eighteenth century the 3/2 hornpipe was gradually replaced by a duple-meter version, although the two co-existed for some time. It is this later type of hornpipe which became associated with the sailor's dance.

Dance

According to Dean-Smith, there are three types of hornpipe dances: a solo dance from the sixteenth century and earlier, a "rustic round dance for both sexes" from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, and a longways country dance of the late seventeenth century.¹⁷ Since almost nothing is known about the first two types, at least with regard to specific steps or choreographic patterns, any connections with later hornpipes must be purely speculative. The so-called country dance hornpipes, which first appear in quantity in the 1690 collection of the Dancing Master, are often set to music from contemporary plays.¹⁸

16. Curti, "Hornpipe," 16.

17. Dean-Smith, "Hornpipe," 720.

18. Dean-Smith has misunderstood this process, suggesting that the country dance was the inspiration for the theater music, rather than the other way around.

1712), 157.

Music

The six "French" hornpipes are related musically but not choreographically to the country dance hornpipes.²¹ Four of the six are by Isaac, and the other two are by L'Abbe. Isaac's first published hornpipe, the "Richmond," appeared in 1706, but the dance may date from 1695 (see the discussion of dating in Chapter IV). Five of the hornpipes are couple dances, while one, L'Abbe's "Pastoral," is a theatrical dance for male solo. Table 3 lists the hornpipes in chronological order.

Table 3. The English Hornpipes

<u>Date</u>	<u>Choreographer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Meter</u>	<u>Suite</u>
1706	Isaac	Richmond [#]	Anon.	3/2	No
1707	Isaac	Union [*]	Anon.	3/2	Yes [Loure]
c1709	Isaac	Royall	Anon.	3/2	Yes (Saraband)
1713	Isaac	Pastoral	Paisible	3/2	Yes (Loure)
1719	L'Abbe	Princess Ann's Chacone	Galliard	3/2	Yes (Chaconne)
c1725	L'Abbe	Pastoral	Paisible	3/2	Yes (Loure)

^{*}Identified as a hornpipe by Tomlinson (Dancing)

It should be noted that the Isaac and L'Abbe "Pastoral" dances are to the same music, a rare occurrence in the English repertoire (although it is not uncommon for two French theatrical dances to be choreographed to

21. The hornpipe section of one court dance, Isaac's "Royall," was also used for the country dance "Manage the Miser," first published by Walsh c1705, and then by Young in Volume II of the Dancing Master, 1710.

the same piece). Furthermore, while the dances are quite different in character, as one would expect from a social and theatrical dance, they do share certain similarities which suggest that one may have influenced the other. All but one of the dances are two-movement suites; in each case the hornpipe is second, and is preceded by a slow triple- or compound duple-meter section: sarabande, loure, or chaconne. Two of these dances are identified as hornpipes by Tomlinson in his chapter on meter ("Of TIME or some Account of what TIME is . . .").

There is still a Movement unobserved, of the like Quantity of Notes to a Measure, viz, the Hornpipe, which is of three Minims or six Crotchets in the Bar, and, in marking or beating Time, agrees with a Tune of triple Time or of three, as for Instance a Saraband, in which the Foot remains down, during the counting of One, Two, and upon the third rises to mark the ensuing Measure &c. The second Parts of the Union and Richmond are both Dances of a Hornpipe Movement, and of the late Mr Isaac's Composition.²²

All of the tunes use a meter sign of 3/2, and two are in E minor, a somewhat unusual key in this repertoire.²³ The musical structure of the dance tunes is shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Musical Structure of the Hornpipes

<u>Dance</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Length of Sections</u>	<u>Total No. of Measures</u>
Richmond	Sectional	8/8/8/8/8/4/8	52
Union	Two-reprise	8/8	32
Royall	Two-reprise	8/8	32
Pastoral	Two-reprise	8/8	32

22. Tomlinson, Dancing, 150.

23. The only other dances in E minor are Tomlinson's "Gavot" (1720) and L'Abbe's "Canary" (1724). The relationship of dance types, keys, and the Affektenlehre is a topic which needs further study.

Princess Ann's
Chacone


ABA

8/8

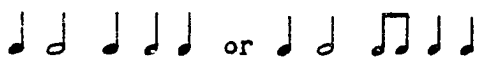
24

Three of the dances are in the normal two-reprise form. The musical structure of the two dances which are not of this type is in fact somewhat more complicated than it appears in Table 4. Isaac's "Richmond," the only non-dance suite, exhibits a sectional form which resembles the continuous variation form of the chaconne or passacaglia, but without an identifiable underlying harmonic formula or bass line. Most of the eight-bar strains are comprised of two almost identical four-bar phrases, and in some cases these repeats are exact. Thus a more accurate description of the form would be as follows: AA'BBCC'DDEEFGG, in which the repeats of the B, D, E, and G music are not written out. The ABA structure of "Princess Ann's Chacone" might also be considered a hybrid/two-reprise form, in that each strain consists of two almost identical four-bar phrases: aa' bb' aa'.

Musical phrases in the hornpipe melodies are, without exception, four bars long, ending either in a half or full cadence. Most of these four-bar phrases can be further subdivided into two-bar groups, the first of which is somewhat more active rhythmically than the second, resulting in a pattern of alternating tension and repose. A striking characteristic of the hornpipes of this period, exhibited in all but one of the dance tunes in question, is the delaying of the cadence note or point of arrival until the third half-note beat of the measure.

Hornpipe melodies also make frequent use of syncopation: the rhythm  occurs at least once in each of the Isaac dance tunes, usually as a cadential measure. Similar syncopations also occur in other parts of the phrase, although always on the level of the half- and

quarter-note, and never on the eighth-note level. Examples of this are:



In the absence of bass lines one might be tempted to view some of these syncopations as rhythmic shifts to 6/4 meter, of the sort which are characteristic of the courante, the other Baroque dance in 3/2 meter. However, the unequivocal harmonic rhythm of the surviving instrumental hornpipes by Purcell and others suggests that this type of rhythmic shift was never used. (It is interesting, in this context, to note what happened to the tune of Mr. Isaac's Maggot in example 2b.)

L'Abbe's "Princess Anne's Chaconne," which was the exception referred to above, is also unique in having a dotted-quarter and eighth-note anacrusis to each of the phrases, and a resultant point of arrival on the first beat of the cadential measure. None of the other dance tunes have upbeats, nor are they common in the instrumental hornpipes.²⁴

There seem to be no identifiable melodic characteristics associated with these hornpipe melodies other than the smooth eighth-note patterns found in almost all the dances (either scale passages or turn passages). Overall, the melodies have a somewhat jerky quality, due to the frequent use of syncopation, the alternation of active and slow-moving rhythms, and the presence of large leaps. Although the tempo of the half-note is relatively slow, the dance has a lively character.²⁵

24. Only four of the twenty-four Purcell hornpipes have upbeats, and one of these is atypical in other respects.

25. This statement is based on my own experience. The dance is not discussed in French theoretical writings on tempo, and Tomlinson does not mention it in his discussion of relative dance tempos.

Choreography

As in all other Baroque dance types, the steps in the hornpipe move on the half- and quarter-note level. But because there are six rather than three or four quarter-notes per bar, elaborate composite step-units, involving at least two movements or bend/rise combinations, comprise almost the entire step vocabulary of the Isaac dances. None of these composite steps (with the exception of the bourrée plus a bound) is described in contemporary dance treatises; however, their component parts are easily recognizable, and the timing is usually clear. Those step-combinations used most frequently are shown in example 3:



Ex. 3a
Fleuret +
jeté



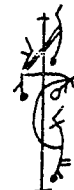
Ex. 3b
Jeté +
fleuret



Ex. 3c
Fleuret +
coupé



Ex. 3d
Contr. de
gav. + jeté



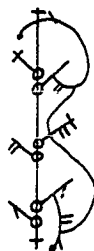
Ex. 3e
Contr. bal.
+ coupé

Isaac's four hornpipes, while retaining the individuality characteristic of all his dances, also share other features which are not found in the L'Abbe ball dance. One of these is the use of a large variety of step types, with no one step appearing more than a few times within a single dance. The fifty-two bars of the "Richmond" include thirty-three different step-units, only one of which (the fleuret in m. 3) is part of the normal step vocabulary of Baroque dance. This diversity is reduced somewhat in the other three dances: in the "Royal" there are twenty-one different step units, and in the "Union" and the "Pastoral," eighteen each. In addition, each dance includes a number of

steps not found in any of the other three. Thus, here as elsewhere in his dances, Isaac seems to have been striving for choreographic originality rather than a definition of a particular dance type.

This is not true of L'Abbe's "Princess Ann's Chaconne," where the step-unit fleuret + jeté (ex. 3a above) appears ten times (42%), establishing the following dance rhythm as a motive for this dance:

♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ . The "triple sissonne" step-unit, unique to this dance, is used three times (example 4).



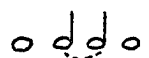
Example 4. "Triple sissonne"

Steps not found in any of the hornpipes, either singly or in combination with other steps, include the temps de courante and the pas de rigaudon.

"Princess Ann's Chaconne" also differs from the Isaac dances in that it utilizes more of the "normal" step vocabulary, and there is more repetition and regularity within the dance phrases. L'Abbe's theatrical hornpipe, the "Pastoral," is of a different character altogether. Because it is a theatrical solo, rather than a social dance, it cannot fairly be compared with the other five hornpipes. But since it does use the same music as Isaac's "Pastoral," a comparison of the dance phrases is appropriate, and will appear later.

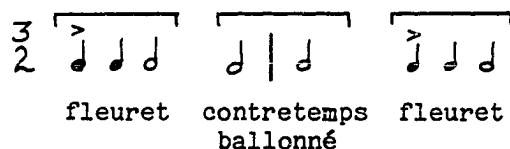
One particularly interesting characteristic of Isaac's hornpipes is his use of cross-rhythms between the dance and music phrases. Although examples of this can be found in other Isaac dances, as well as other English choreographies, it is not a common occurrence in English

dances. Most of these cross-rhythms are in the form of choreographic hemiolas, that is, three step-units which occupy the space of two bars of music, resulting in the following 3/1 rhythm in the dance:



The music remains in 3/2 meter. The presence of a dance hemiola within a two-bar phrase is determined by what happens on the first beat of the second bar. There are at least three possibilities: 1) there is no motion of any sort (the clearest hemiola); 2) the normal movement (bend/rise) has been shifted to the third beat of the previous measure (strong evidence that a hemiola is intended); 3) the step that begins the bar can also be interpreted as belonging to the end of the previous bar (more ambiguous than the other two examples).

The most frequently occurring hemiola pattern, found in four of the six dances, is a fleuret, followed by a contretemps ballonné (with or without jeté) and another fleuret. The dance rhythm of this pattern is shown below (accents indicate the rise of the movement).



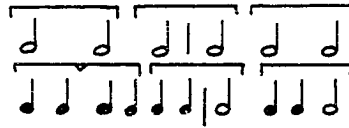
If a demi-coupé is substituted for the jeté, as is often the case, the hemiola effect is strengthened by the removal of the accent on the first beat of the second measure. Three hornpipe choreographies open with this step sequence, and it occurs seven times in Isaac's "Pastoral," one of the few instances where his dances are repetitious. Other examples of dance hemiolas, and their associated rhythmic groupings are:

sissonne, sissonne, fleuret



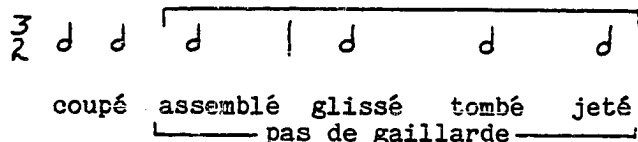
coupé, coupé, coupé

two demi-contretemps, fleuret, fleuret



Isaac's "Richmond" is permeated with these and similar patterns (every strain opening with a dance hemiola of some sort) and there are over forty identifiable hemiola patterns in the four Isaac dances. In general, the dance hemiolas coincide with the two-bar musical phrasing, that is, they occur from an odd- to an even-numbered bar (1-2, 5-6); occasionally, however, the musical phrasing is violated, resulting in an additional cross-rhythm between music and dance of the kind found frequently in the cadential bars of *passepied* phrases. These dance hemiolas are almost never notated by means of a *liaison* line connecting the two measures (a device used frequently by Pécour when he wished to indicate such cross-rhythms). The only examples of this in English hornpipes occur in the "Union," bars 5-6 of the second strain, and in L'Abbe's "Pastoral," bars 4-5 of the first strain repeat.

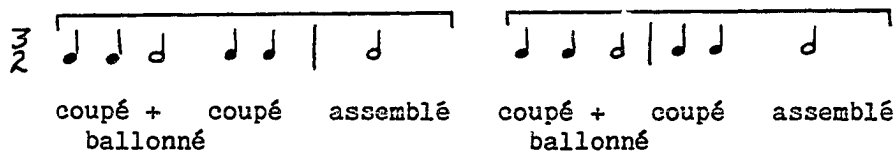
L'Abbe's "Princess Ann Chaconne" again differs from the Isaac hornpipes in that it uses a dance hemiola only once, at the transition from the chaconne to the hornpipe. This is the only example of a dance cross-rhythm which overlaps two strains of music. In fact, it would seem that L'Abbe is deliberately trying to camouflage the beginning of the hornpipe, perhaps in an effort to achieve greater continuity in the dance. The meter change in the music occurs on the last bar of the chaconne, and the upbeat on the third half-note of this bar implies that the hornpipe begins in the next measure. But the hemiola dance rhythm, with its strong *thetic* accent (*assemblé*) on this upbeat, contradicts the musical implications.



Cross-rhythms other than hemiola also occur in some of the hornpipes. Isaac's "Pastoral" begins with the following pattern, which suggests a 5/2 meter:



Another type of cross-rhythm occurs at the beginning of the second strain: here the phrasing is in 4/2.²⁶



And a final subtle rhythmic trick occurs in the repeat of the B strain, where Isaac adheres to the normal 3/2 meter, but phrases the dance in three- rather than two-bar groups (mm. 1-2 = mm. 4-5, both in terms of steps and floor patterns).

Isaac's rhythmic manipulations were not lost on L'Abbe, for in his dance to the "Pastoral" music we find similar rhythmic events.²⁷ At

26. Similar observations concerning Isaac's use of cross rhythms in dance phrases were made by Janis Pforsich in an unpublished paper presented at the Conference of Dance History Scholars, New York City, February 1980.

27. I have argued in Chapter IV that Isaac's dance preceded L'Abbe's.


the beginning of the dance L'Abbe also suggests a 5/2 meter, albeit with different steps from those used by Isaac. The choreographic phrasing is made even clearer by the insertion of a rest on the second beat of the second measure:

"triple glissade" entrechat rest triple glissade entrechat

And while L'Abbe does not imitate Isaac's 4/2 pattern at the opening of the B strain, he does use a rhythmic displacement:

mm. 2-3 entrechat coupé jeté m. 8 entrechat coupé jeté

Dance/Music Relationships

Although the dance cross-rhythms discussed above have no counterpart in the music, other correspondences between music and dance do occur in the hornpipes. The most obvious and frequent such example is at cadences. The rhythmic pattern , with the cadence on the third half-note beat, occurs at least once in all the tunes except "Princess Ann's Chaconne." It has as its choreographic counterpart a step-unit which ends with the punctuating assemblé, or a jeté. The exception to this, in addition to the L'Abbe dance, is Isaac's "Richmond," in which no attempt is made to correlate musical and dance phrases. Cadential step-units can not be differentiated from those used elsewhere in the dance, perhaps as a result of the large number of hemiolas.

Summary

English hornpipe characteristics can be summarized as follows:

1) music--regular phrases of four and eight bars, usually subdivided into two-bar units; but syncopation occurs frequently on the half- and quarter-note level.

2) dance--a step vocabulary unlike that of any other dance: the step-units are created by combining regular steps, with infrequent use of the latter.

3) dance/music relationships--frequent use of hemiolas and other cross-rhythms in the choreographies, to a much greater degree than in any other English dance type.

Step Vocabulary of English Dances

A comparison of French and English dance based on theoretical sources yields certain differences in step vocabulary and notation, most of which have already been discussed in this study. But the differences between the dance styles of the two countries appear far greater when the dances themselves are compared. In the English social dances, particularly those by Isaac, there is often a larger variety of steps within a given dance type than in comparable French dances. A second difference is the far greater incidence of step variants in the English choreographies, the French adhering more faithfully to the step notations contained in theoretical sources. Many of these variants are unidentified step-units which are usually formed by the combination of existing steps. A further point of comparison between the two repertoires involves the demi-jeté which, according to Rameau, was used in a number of step-units. However, the step is not documented in English sources.

I have chosen two dance types, the bourrée and the minuet, to illustrate the differences in the step vocabulary between French and English choreographies. In Pécour's 1700 Recueil there are three bourrées: "Bourrée d'Achille," "la Bourgogne," and "la Savoye." The step vocabulary of the first two (in which the bourrée is a section of a dance suite) is very conservative. There are only four step-units in the sixteen bars of "la Bourgogne": fleuret, jeté, balancé, and temps de courante. Six step-units are used in the forty-eight bars of "Bourrée d'Achille": fleuret, jeté, temps de courante, contretemps de gavotte, sissonne, and coupé. And in the sixty-four bars of "la Savoye" there are only ten different step-units: all those in the previous dance (minus the temps de courante) plus the glissade, contretemps ballonné, pirouette, tombé, and temps. A similar economy with regard to step vocabulary is seen in many of the later French bourrées.²⁸

In the 1706 collection of dances by Isaac (a collection which is comparable to the Pécour 1700 Recueil) there are two bourrées, both of which are parts of dance suites. In the "Favorite," a fairly conservative dance for Isaac, there are nine different step-units in thirty-six bars, two of which are unidentified steps not appearing in any theoretical treatises of the period. And in the twenty-eight bars of the "Britannia" Isaac uses ten different step-units. One of these, the chassé, was not found in any of the Pécour dances described above; and two others are unidentified step-units. Bourrée sections by L'Abbe show a similar pattern. In the "Princess Anna" (1716) there are ten

28. Two notable exceptions are Dezais's "la Corsini" (1718) and Pécour's "la Nouvelle Bourgogne" (1720), both of which use an expanded step vocabulary similar to that found in English bourrées.

different step-units in thirty-two bars. One of the two unidentified steps, a fleuret plus a hop, is also found in Isaac's "Britannia." A similar number of step-units is found in the 1724 "Canary" (again with two unidentified step-units) although the dance is somewhat longer. The tendency to use a large number of different step-units in a given choreography is typical of English dances, and is one reason why the dance types resist analysis, at least on the basis of step vocabulary.²⁹

Similar observations can be made by comparing the figured minuets of both countries. French minuet choreographies are very similar in their step vocabulary to the "menuet ordinaire" as described by Rameau, the main differences in the two being in the figures or floor patterns. In a French figured minuet one would expect to find the following steps: minuet step (of two or three movements), contretemps de menuet, balancé, the unnamed minuet "grace" step described by Rameau. In the minuet section of Pécour's "Bourrée d'Achille," only two steps are used: the pas de menuet and the contretemps de menuet. A few English minuets, notably those by Siris and Tomlinson, are also fairly conservative in their step vocabulary, although the percentage of minuet steps is lower than in comparable French dances. However, in Isaac's three minuet sections as well as in the minuet by L'Abbe, we again find a much greater number of different steps. (I have excluded Isaac's "Royal Portuguez" from consideration. Although the concluding section

29. This homogenization, in which any step-unit could be used in any dance (the minuet step and, to some extent, the rigadon step were exceptions), resulted in the loss of identity of the individual dance types, and was undoubtedly one of the factors in the decline of Baroque court dance. It is a phenomenon still poorly understood by musicologists, who often assume, for example, that the pas de bourrée is unique to the bourrée dance type.

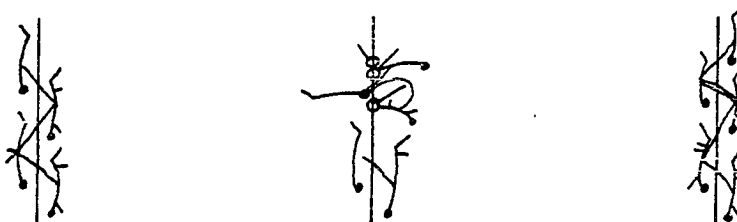
of this dance is labelled "Minuet," the dance is barred in three rather than in six and none of the usual minuet step vocabulary is used.) The triple meter section of Isaac's "Rondeau" (not identified by dance type) begins with two minuet steps and a balancé, and thus it is not unreasonable to call it a minuet. (The minuet step is found only in minuets and passepieds.) However, only twelve of the twenty-eight step-units in the dance are part of the minuet step vocabulary.³⁰ The minuet section in Isaac's "Britannia," also from 1706, is barred in six and begins like a normal figured minuet, using four steps from the normal minuet vocabulary. Yet only two of the remaining twenty-four steps are of this type, and Isaac seems to have abandoned all pretense of composing a figured minuet that would be recognized in France as such.

L'Abbe's minuet entitled "Prince Frederick" (1725) shows more affinity with its French relative: there are twelve minuet steps and four other step-units from the minuet vocabulary. Furthermore, the floor pattern at times is suggestive of the patterns found in the menuet ordinaire. Yet in the repeat of the music L'Abbe is nearly as fantastical as Isaac, with only half of the forty steps related to the minuet.

In the surviving English minuets there are nearly seventy different step-units which are not part of the normal minuet vocabulary, and which are for the most part not found in theoretical sources. Since step-units in a minuet are six beats long, most of these unidentified steps consist of two shorter steps joined together. The most common

30. This dance is also barred in three, but to facilitate comparisons with the other minuets, I have described the number of step units as if it were barred in six.

steps of this type are fleurets or coupés in combination with another step, e.g., a coupé plus a fleuret or a fleuret plus a jeté. Some of the more unusual steps are shown in example 5.



Example 5. Unidentified step-units found in English minuets.

Several English minuets include performance variants consisting of a minuet step starting on the left foot or a contretemps de menuet starting with a hop on the right foot (examples in Isaac's "Rondeau," Siris's "Brawl of Audenarde," Groscourt's "Ecchoe," and Caverley's "Slow Minuet"). There is no support in the theoretical sources for this practice, and to my knowledge it does not occur in the French repertoire. Its occurrence in the Isaac, Siris, and Groscourt dances may be to preserve the mirror-image symmetry of the choreography.

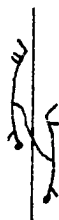
Notational Variants

Notational variants of the sort found in the English minuet and bourrée are characteristic of almost all the English choreographies and would, I believe, enable one to identify a dance as of English provenance on this basis alone. Several steps which seem to be peculiar to English dances have been discussed earlier in this study (Chapters II and III). In addition to the steps described in theoretical works, English dances contain a great many other step variants. For example, in Isaac's "Saltarella" more than one-third of the steps are not found in the Feuillet/Weaver treatise. In contrast, Pécour's 1700 collection

of nine dances, seventy-two pages in length, contains only one step not found in Feuillet's treatise.³¹ The examples discussed below represent only a small percentage of the notational variants found in English dances. They have been chosen because they appear in several dance types and are used by more than one choreographer. With one exception, none of these variants is to be found in either French or English treatises, nor are they used in French ball dances.

A frequently used variation technique, seen in example 6, is the substitution of a jeté, demi-coupé, slide, or fall for a plain step in the coupé or fleuret. In example 6a a jeté has replaced the walking step of the coupé; this variant is found in dances by Isaac, L'Abbe, Tomlinson, Glover, and the anonymous 1720 "La Cybelline."

The most common fleuret variant, the bourrée with a bound, has already been discussed in Chapter III. Another variant, a fleuret with a slide, is shown in example 6b.



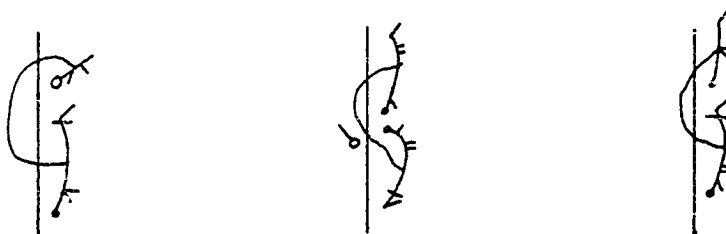
Example 6a. Coupé variant.



Example 6b. Fleuret variant.

Variations of the contretemps ballonné are shown in example 7. In the first example, the normal jumps have been replaced by signs for a bend and rise, softening the step considerably.

31. Witherell, *Pécour*, 114-5. This step, which Witherell calls a "modified contretemps ballonné," occurs several times in the collection. It also is found in English dances (see example 7 below). Step-unit variants are rare in French dances.



Example 7. Contretemps ballonné variants.

One of the most frequently occurring step variations in the English choreographies is found in the "Supplement" of Feuillet's 1701 edition of Chorégraphie.³² It is clear from the notation that this is a variant of the contretemps de menuet, although Feuillet refers to it only as a "pas qui se fait comunement dans le menuet." Example 8 shows the contretemps and the variant.



Example 8. Contretemps de menuet.



Variation of this step.

In this step the initial hop of the contretemps is replaced by a quick enclosed coupé, with the remainder of the step unchanged. The step may well have been used in the menuet ordinaire in France, but it does not appear in any of the notated minuet choreographies which I have examined. Conversely, while it is not included in either Weaver's or Siris's translation of Feuillet, nor in Tomlinson's treatise, it is used frequently in English notated minuets. A similar variant occurs in other English contretemps step-units, with the characteristic initial

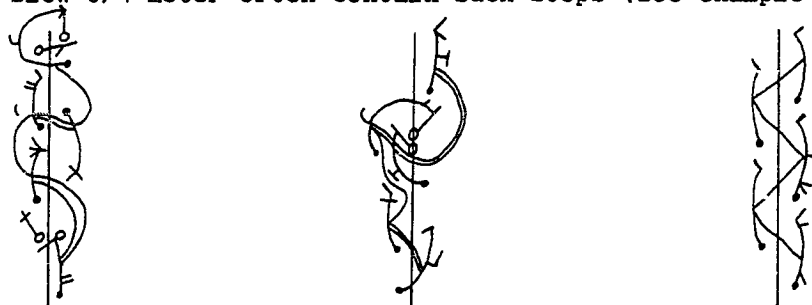
32. Feuillet, Chorégraphie (1701), 80.

hop replaced by a coupé: the contretemps de gavotte (and chaconne), the contretemps ballonné, the sissonne with a contretemps, and the unnamed step-unit consisting of two demi-contretemps. Examples of some of these are shown in example 9.



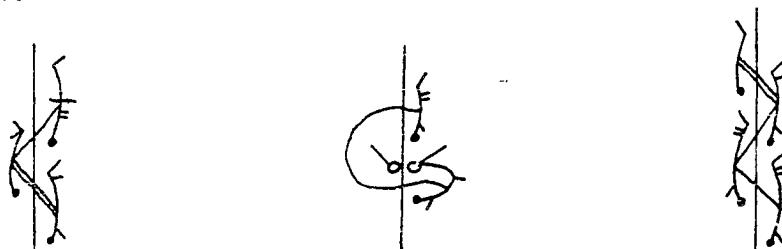
Example 9. Contretemps variants in other step-units.

"New" or unidentified step-units formed by the combination of two or more steps are frequently found in metrically more complex dances. The hornpipe, discussed earlier in this chapter, is such an example. Dances in slow 6/4 meter often contain such steps (see example 10).



Example 10. Unidentified step-units in dances with complex meters.

Even in simple meters (2, 3, 6) English choreographers frequently seem inspired to invent new step combinations; some of these are shown in example 11.



Example 11. Unidentified step-units in dances with simple meters.

Demi-jeté

The demi-jeté, a softer, less energetic version of the jeté, was first defined and notated by Rameau.³³ He implies that by 1725 the demi-jeté was in wide-spread use, and he describes at least eight steps in which it is found, including the minuet step of three movements, the coupé of two movements, the pas de bourrée and pas de bourrée vite, the pas de gaillarde, and the glissade. In all but the last example Rameau substitutes the demi-jeté for the final step as notated by Feuillet, while in the glissade demi-jetés replace the demi-coups of the first and third steps. The demi-jeté is thus a replacement for three different steps: Feuillet's "jetté sans sauter" (in the coupé of two movements); the demi-coupé (in the minuet of three movements and glissade); and the jeté (in the pas de gaillarde and pas de bourrée vite). However, not all step-units are similarly altered; for example, the final jetés of the contretemps de menuet and contretemps ballonné forward are not changed to demi-jetés by Rameau.³⁴

Although Feuillet makes no mention of the demi-jeté, he does include notation for a "jetté sans sauter ou demy coupe en l'air" in the 1701 "Supplement" to Chorégraphie. This step, which was included in Siris's translation but not Weaver's, is used by Feuillet in the coupé

33. See Hilton, Dance, 174, for Rameau's notation and description of this step. As she points out, the discussion in Le Maître is not exactly a model of clarity, and Rameau's use of several different terms to describe the same step suggests that the terminology was new even if the step was not. In Abbrégé (published slightly later than Le Maître) Rameau has settled on the term "demi-jeté."

34. Hilton describes the latter step as a hop and a demi-jeté (perhaps because Rameau suggests this modification when the step is performed to the side). However, she does add that a jeté better suits the character of the step (Dance, 219).

of two movements (see example 12a below). However, it is not found in any of the other step-units to which Rameau ascribes the demi-jeté. Hilton assumes that Feuillet's "jetté sans sauter" is the equivalent of Rameau's demi-jeté.³⁵ But she also argues that it was a convention in Feuillet's time to perform the final demi-coupé of a step-unit as a demi-jeté, and thus no notation was needed. Yet if this explanation is correct, Feuillet's "jetté sans saute" must represent something other than the demi-jeté, since the latter could have been notated by a demi-coupé, at least in the coupé of two movements. Furthermore, it does not address the inconsistent use of the jeté at the end of a step-unit.

Of more concern to the present study is the extent to which the demi-jeté was known and used in England, if in fact it was used at all. In Essex's translation of Rameau's Le Maître the term appears as "half-bound," but neither this nor any other reference to a demi-jeté is used by Tomlinson.³⁶ Tomlinson does use Feuillet's notation for the "jetté sans sauter," but only in the coupé of two movements.³⁷ He has no special name for this step, but his description corresponds to the notation: "the Sink and Rise are together in the Midst of the Motion the Leg makes, in stepping"³⁸ At the end of the

35. Hilton, Dance, 174.

36. According to Hilton, Tomlinson states that "the choice of jeté or demi-jeté will depend upon the character of the dance" (Dance, 174). I have been unable to locate this statement in The Art of Dancing, and Hilton provides no source.

37. Tomlinson, Dancing, Plate E, Table 2, ex. 2 & 3.

38. Ibid., 27-8.

39. Ibid., 28.

chapter he adds that it "is made sometimes smooth upon the Floor, and sometimes by bounding off."³⁹ Witherell interprets this to mean a demi-jeté,⁴⁰ but Tomlinson could also have meant that the second movement was a jeté, as seen in example 6 above. Tomlinson also gives the same two options for performing the pas de bourrée, although here each version of the step has a different name: the bourrée with two movements is performed on the ground (it is not included in Tomlinson's notation tables), while the bourrée with a bound was off the ground (shown in Tomlinson's table 3, ex. 8). This description confirms the fact that there were at least two ways of performing the English bourrée of two movements, neither one of which is the same as Rameau's pas de bourrée.

Feuillet's "jetté sans saute" is found frequently in English dances, particularly those by Siris. Example 12 illustrates some of the step-units in which it appears.



Example 12a. Coupé of two movements.



Example 12b. Bourrée of two movements.

An important point to be made about these notations is that in almost every dance where they are found, other versions of the same step-unit also appear. And Tomlinson makes it clear in his treatise that alternate performances of a given step are acceptable. Thus, regardless of whether the final step in example 12 is interpreted as a modified

40. Witherell, Pécour, 41.

demi-coupé or as a demi-jeté (and in actual practice the difference is minimal), there is no justification for assuming that all versions of this step-unit are to be performed in the same manner. To do so overlooks the enormous variety of step-units and notations that seem to be part of the "English style" from Isaac to Glover.

Notations and Notators

Any systematic study of the English step vocabulary must also take into account the role of the notator, since some of the variants described above may well be a result of differences in notational style, and do not necessarily reflect a different performing style. The importance of the dance notator was such that he was frequently acknowledged on the title page of the dance: in England, the usual phrase was "Writ by Mr. X" or "Put in Characters by Mr. Y", the analagous phrase in France being "mises au jour" or "mise sur le papier."⁴¹ In France, the publication of dances was carefully regulated by the state; this meant that Feuillet was the sole notator of the more than eighty-five dances published between 1700 and 1709. After Feuillet's death his student Dezais continued as notator and publisher of the yearly collections. Only two other French notators of published dances are known: the dancing master Gaudrau, who was responsible for the collection of theatrical dances published c1713 as well as some ballroom dances; and Rameau, whose renotated versions of twelve Pécour dances (originally notated by Feuillet) were published in 1725 or later.

41. We do not know what procedure was used to notate a dance. The notator may have watched someone perform the dance, a bar or phrase at a time, or the dance may have been "dictated" to him by the choreographer. Use of the former procedure would be more likely to produce notational variants in different editions of a dance.

No such continuity or orderly succession is seen in England, where at least eight and perhaps many more notators were responsible for the eighty-five dances included in this study. Table 5 lists the notators who were active in England during this period, and the choreographers with whom they were associated.

Table 5. Dance Notators in England, 1706-1735

<u>Notator</u>	<u>Choreographer</u>	<u>No. of Dances</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Weaver	Isaac	7	1706-7
De la Garde	Isaac	4	1708-11
	L'Abbe	1	1711
Pemberton	Isaac	5	1711, 1713-16
	L'Abbe	13	1715-33
	Caverley	1	c1729
	Anon.	1	1720
Roussau	Others	8	1711
	L'Abbe	13	c1725

Essex, Tomlinson, and Roussau notated their own dances, and Siris, Holt, and Glover may have done so as well.

An innovation to the Feuillet system of notation is mentioned on the title page of Isaac's "Royal Portuguez" (1709):

Note the Sinks which are in divers places in this Dance mark'd before the Bars, which indeed is uncommon yet if Consider'd are in a truer & more necessary place then if put other wise being that all Rises Bounds or Hopps are certainly to mark that which we call Time after ye said Bars and not the Sinks

Similar alterations are made in the 1708 dance, the "Saltarella" (also notated by De la Garde), but in both dances the bend marks are not

applied consistently to the last step of the measure. It is not clear whether this innovation is Isaac's or De la Garde's; both title pages also mention that the notation was "Revis'd by the Author." (Pemberton, in the preface to his 1711 collection of dances, refers to De la Garde's "curious Way of Writing." However, there are no displaced bend signs in L'Abbe's "Passacaglia," the dance which De la Garde notated.)

Engravers

One further complication must be mentioned: in most cases the notated dance was transferred to a metal plate for printing by yet another person, the engraver. The engravers are usually not acknowledged, either in French or English publications, although two dances by Siris (1708 and 1709) have plates signed by S. Conniand, and some of Tomlinson's notation plates from his treatise are also signed. Many of the obvious errors in the printed dances, particularly those in the music, can be attributed to the engraver: since the dance had to be engraved in reverse, it would be easy to misplace a foot symbol. Such errors are rarely corrected in subsequent printings, but mistakes will often be corrected by hand in printed copies.

Engravers undoubtedly had individual styles as well, so that dances by the same notator but engraved by two different people may appear very different.⁴² At least two choreographer/notators (Rameau and Roussau) did their own engraving, and Roussau also served as notator and engraver for the L'Abbe collection of theatrical dances.

⁴². A comparison of Tomlinson's plates illustrates this point nicely, since a number of different engravers are represented. The reverse is also true. See, for example, the three solo dances in the 1711 Pemberton collection: each is notated by a different person, yet the anonymous engraver has obliterated any individual notational style traits.

Two Versions of the Same Dance

Several English dances survive in two versions, and there are also a number of French dances for which English editions exist, either in print or in manuscript. A comparison of these versions can provide useful information about notational styles, either in terms of the differences between French and English notators, or between two English notators.⁴³ And in at least one case, Isaac's "Rigadoon," the two editions represent different performance traditions of the dance.

Table 6 lists these dances in two groups: French dances for which an English version is extant, and English dances for which two versions exist. (I have included the Marcel "Primrose" with the French dances, even though the English publication preceded that of the French.)

Table 6. Dances For Which Two Versions Exist

A. French Dances⁴⁴

<u>Choreographer</u>	<u>Original title and date</u>	<u>Notator or publisher</u>	<u>English title</u>
Pécour	Aimable vainqueur (1701)	Weaver 1717+	Louvre
	La bretagne (1704)	Siris 1706	French bretagne
		Weaver 1717+	Brittagne
	Forlana (1704)	Pemberton 1711	Jigg
	La nouvelle gaillarde (1709)	Undated ms.	[same]
Marcel	Rigaudon nouveau (1724)	Anon. 1721	Primrose

⁴³. Many French choreographies also exist in two or more versions, the best-known examples of which are Rameau's renotated versions (c1725) of twelve Pécour dances. Detailed comparisons of five of these dances are included in Appendix A of Witherell, Pécour.

⁴⁴. Other French dances renotated for the English public, copies of which have not survived, include Balon's "la Silvie" (1712) which was advertised for sale by the dancing master Richard Shirley.

B. English Dances

<u>Choreographer</u>	<u>Dance title</u>	<u>Notators or Publishers</u> ⁴⁵	
Isaac	Rigadoon	Weaver 1706	Siris 1706
Siris	La Camilla	Roger 1708	Roger 1709?
L'Abbe	Passacaille	Pemberton 1711	Roussau c1725
	Princess Royale	Walsh 1715	Pemberton 1715
	Princess Anna	Walsh 1716	Pemberton 1716
	New Rigadoon	Pemberton 1723	Anon. [1723]
Roussau	Chacoon for a Harlequin	Ms. c1720	Undated print (after 1728)

English Editions of French Dances

English editions of French dances invariably include several changes in the music appearing at the top of each page of dance notation. The French violin clef (g¹ on the bottom line) is changed to treble clef; ornament signs in the French dances (+ or x) are almost always omitted in the English versions; and as was pointed out in the previous chapter, modal key signatures (D- or G-Dorian are the most common) are changed to tonal ones.

Changes in the dance notation are less predictable. In the two Pécour dances renotated by Weaver ("Aimable vainquer" and "la Bretagne"), there are very few changes other than those in the music as mentioned above. Weaver retains the layout, floor patterns, and step notations of the originals almost exactly. Changes in Pemberton's edition of Pécour's "Forlana", other than the new title, "A Jigg", are

⁴⁵. In most cases it has not been possible to determine which version of the dance came first; thus, the order presented here is arbitrary, unless the dates indicate otherwise.

also slight.⁴⁶ There are a few minor errors in the dance notation, and a number of wrong notes in the music, which has been rather poorly engraved.

The anonymous English notator of Pécour's "la Nouvelle gaillarde" has followed the 1709 French edition closely with respect to the layout and floor patterns.⁴⁷ However, seven of the sixteen fleurets in the French edition have been changed to the English "bourrée with a bound".

The English publication of Marcel's "Primrose" (Walsh, 1721) preceded the French publication (Dezais, 1724) by three years.⁴⁸ Since the title page of the English edition has not survived the identity of the notator is unknown, but the dance was published by Walsh.⁴⁹ In general, the two versions are very similar, both with respect to floor patterns and step notations. The English version contains a number of mistakes, in the music as well as in the dance, but

46. Pécour's dance, a solo for a woman, was notated and published by Feuillet in Recueil de dances contenant un tres grand nombres, des meillieures entrées de ballet (Paris, 1704), 5. It appears in the second part of Pemberton's 1711 anthology of dances for women. In his preface to the collection (fol. A) Pemberton states that this dance was "transcrib'd by Mr. Feuillet," so the absence of changes is not surprising.
47. Pécour's dance first appeared in VIIe. Recueil de dances pour l'Année 1709, notated by Feuillet. Another French edition is included in the large collection of Pécour's dances published by Gaudrau c1713, and two French manuscript versions also survive. I have not compared these versions with the original. The English version is reprinted (from an unidentified manuscript) as the second part of Pécour's Recueil de danses by Gregg International Publishers, 1970.
48. It is the fourth and final dance in XXII Recueil de dances pour l'Année 1724, with the title "Rigaudon nouveau" to distinguish it from Pécour's "la Primeroze", also in the same collection.
49. Smith, Bibliography, no. 598. Smith was unaware of the copy at GB Ob.

most of them are obvious and could be corrected even without reference to the French version. It is worth noting that the anonymous notator was fairly consistent in his use of double liaison lines connecting the first two steps of the fleuret, a practice which can be found in French dances of the same period, but which is used infrequently by English notators.

Pécour's "la Bretagne," notated by Siris, was published in 1706 at the end of his translation of Feuillet's Chorégraphie. Unlike the Weaver version of this dance mentioned earlier, Siris's edition makes some significant alterations. He condenses Pécour's eight-page layout onto six pages, although his notation is so clear that it does not seem crowded. The floor patterns are nearly identical until the last page, where Siris embellishes Pécour's straight-forward figure with some elegant curves. The most notable alteration in the music is the omission of the tie which creates a hemiola in the second strain of the *passepied* section.⁵⁰ Siris changes the notation of a number of steps: in the *passepied*, two of the four "minuet hops" are notated with the variant shown earlier in example 8; and in the duple-meter dance which follows (a *rigadoon*, although not so labelled by either Pécour or Siris), three of the fleuret steps are replaced by either a "bourrée with a bound" or a bourrée of two movements. On two occasions Siris replaces Pécour's cadential assemble with a coupé or (for the man) a bourrée of two movements. Siris's unusual notation of the *rigadoon* step, shown in example 13, is used by him in other dances, but not by

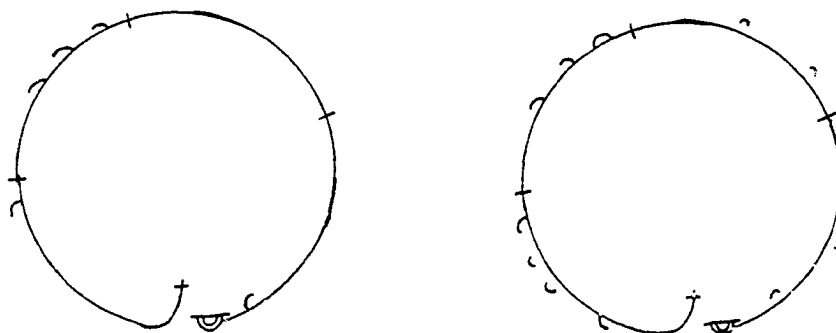
50. This omission, which occurs in both statements of the music, may be intentional. Although a hemiola in the second strain of a *passepied* tune is standard in French dances, none of the seven English *passepieds* demonstrate this characteristic.

any other English choreographers.



Example 13. Notation of the rigadon step by Siris (left), Weaver (right).

A final difference between the two notators is in the use of turn signs. Many of Pécour's 90-degree turn signs are rendered by Siris as two 45-degree turns, and some of Pécour's 180-degree turns are similarly altered, resulting in a smoother and less dramatic version of the dance in terms of the partners' relationship to each other. Furthermore, Siris frequently uses 1/8th-turn signs to reinforce a change of direction in the floor pattern, even when the dancer's relationship to this pattern does not change (see example 14).



Example 14. Floor patterns and turns as notated by Pécour (left) and Siris (right).

English Dances in Two Editions

In dances for which two English versions exist the differences are

frequently minor and of little significance. This is true of the dances by Siris and Roussau, both of which were discussed in Chapter IV, and for L'Abbe's first two court dances which, although from different publishers, are nearly identical in terms of notation. There are more significant differences between the two editions of L'Abbe's 1723 dance, the "New Rigadoon."⁵¹ Pemberton's edition is seven pages long, while that by an anonymous notator (the title page is missing) is only five pages. The floor patterns of the two dances differ considerably, as do the notations of certain steps. These differences are greater than one would expect to find merely as a result of notational style. Minor variants in the music also support the hypothesis that two different versions of the dance are represented here. Since by this date Pemberton was well established as L'Abbe's publisher, I suspect that the anonymous edition may have less authority, but in any case it seems not to have been pirated from Pemberton.

One of the more interesting examples in Table 6B is L'Abbe's "Passacaille," a theatrical dance which exists as a solo for one woman and a duet for two women.⁵² The solo version of the dance uses the same steps as the duet (with some exceptions which will be discussed below), but the floor pattern, rather than adhering to one of the duet roles, is a conflation of the two. Since the two versions were published more than ten years apart, it is possible that these changes

51. It is interesting to note that several of the dances with notational changes are rigadoons.

52. In Chapter IV I present arguments suggesting that in spite of the later publication date the duet version was composed prior to the solo version.

represent the choreographer's revisions and are not a result of differences in the notators' styles. When the step notations differ, Roussau's notations are always more complex than are Pemberton's. Some of Roussau's 360-degree pirouettes, for example, are only 180 degrees in Pemberton. Two other examples of step notation variants are shown in example 15.



Example 15. Step variants in L'Abbe's "Passacaille": Pemberton (left) and Roussau (right).

Rhythmic alterations in the music are also of interest. In Pemberton's version the smooth eighth-notes of the original source (Lully's Armide) have been changed to a dotted-eighth and sixteenth note pattern, presumably to approximate the French notes inégales. This is not done in the Roussau version, although occasional other variants do occur.

Siris's version of "la Bretagne" discussed above may not reflect English practice so much as Siris's own personal style of notation derived, perhaps, from his study with Beauchamp.⁵³ A comparison of Siris's version of Isaac's "Rigadoon" with that of John Weaver provides further evidence of Siris's individuality as a notator. The editions are so varied that at first glance we seem to be dealing with two different dances, particularly since two different tunes are used. (Although neither melody is memorable, Siris's tune is preferable to

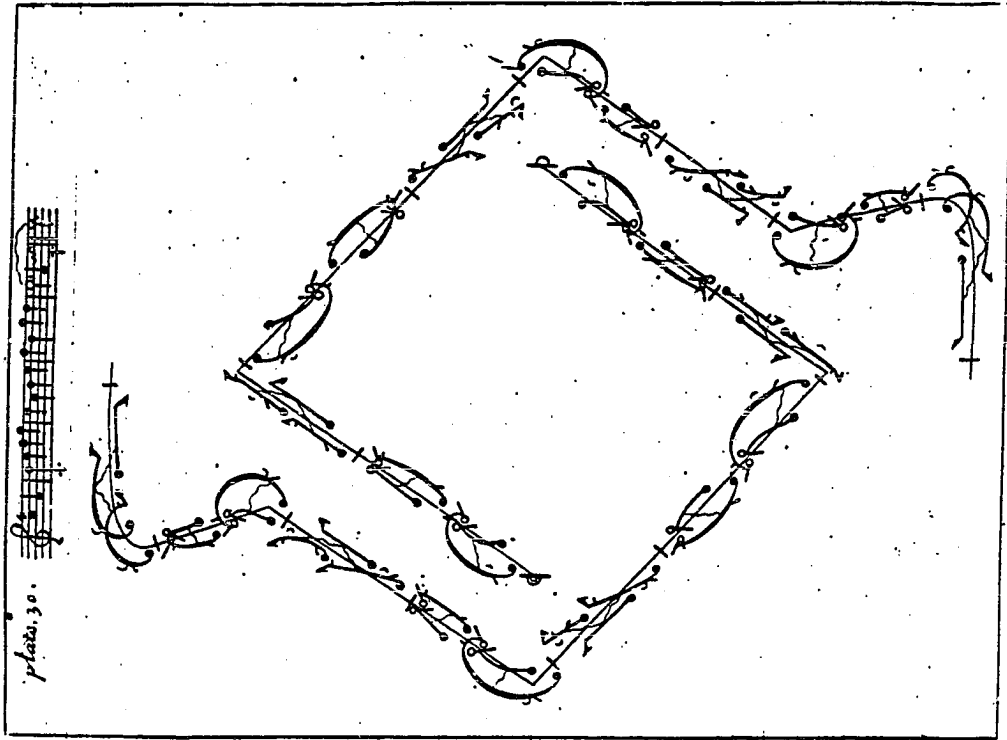
53. Siris was almost certainly not a native Englishman; see Chapter I for additional information about his life.

Weaver's repetitive and tonally ambiguous one.) But in spite of differences in music, layout, floor pattern, and steps, there is no question that this is still the same dance.

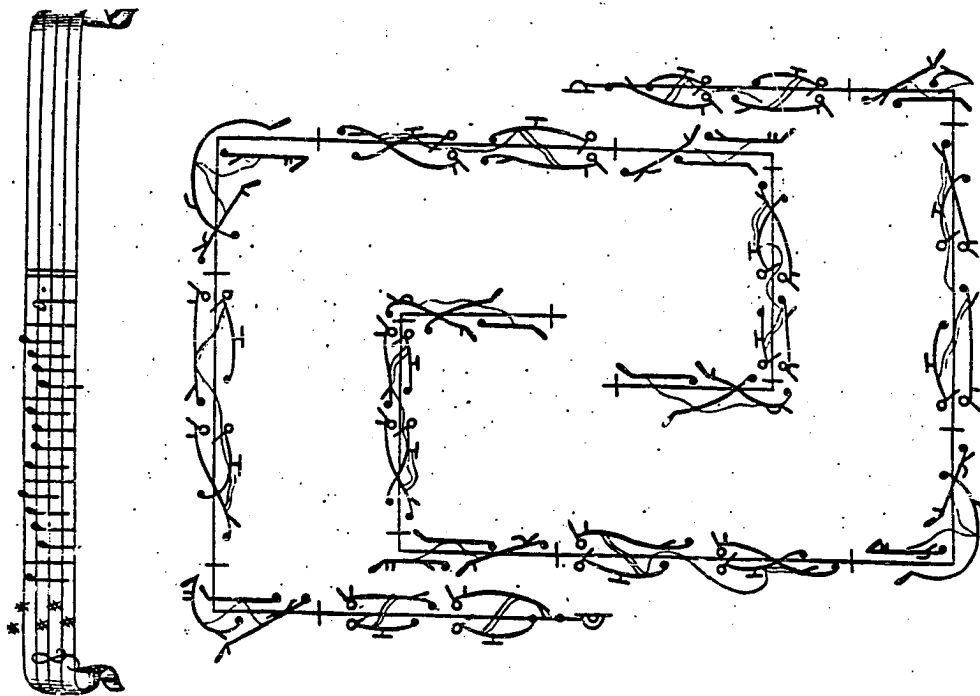
Weaver's version, on six pages, is slightly more compact than Siris's seven-page version. The floor patterns vary considerably at the beginning of the dance, but become more similar by the end. The most striking difference is shown in example 16, where Weaver's rectangular floor pattern has been rotated 45 degrees, assuming a more unusual diamond shape. In the next couplet a straight line moving on the diagonal in Weaver's dance is notated by Siris as a complex "zig-zag" pattern.

Example 16 also illustrates the differences in steps and step notations between the two versions. The glissades (occurring in bars 1, 3, 5, and 7) are notated by Weaver with double liaison lines and slides, whereas Siris notates two coupés and no slide marks. Bars 2, 4, and 6 are notated by Weaver as a bourrée with a bound, while Siris has a bourrée of two movements. As in his version of the "Bretagne," Siris is more likely to notate a 90-degree turn as two 45-degree turns, and the turns do not always occur on the same step in both dances. In example 16, Weaver's three 90-degree turns in measure 4 are spread out an extra half-bar by Siris (who is also missing a 45-degree turn in bar 5). Siris has the partners taking hands during the opening figure of the dance as the partners approach the presence, while Weaver does not.

In spite of the title, the only rigadon steps in the dance occur in the first two measures, and they are of the sissonne-variant type (Weaver's "sissonne with a contretemps," Tomlinson's "rigadon step of two springs"). The two notations indicate a difference in performance:



16b. Isaac "Rigadoon," notated by Siris



Example 16a. Isaac "Rigadoon," 2nd complet, notated by Weaver

in Weaver the hop-step is into third position, in Siris it is into fourth. Even when the steps are notated in the same way, the direction of travel (forward, to the side) is often different.

The existence of these two versions raises more questions than it answers. Weaver's version would seem to have more authority, since his ties with Isaac are well established: in addition to the seven Isaac dances he notated, his 1706 translation is dedicated to the choreographer. Yet Siris's version is in many ways more pleasing aesthetically, and he is a more precise notator.⁵⁴ Do they represent two different performing traditions of the same dance? Did other dances composed before 1700 develop similar variants? If so, what are the implications for dances such as Isaac's "Gloucester" or "Princess" which were notated many years after they were originally composed?

Finally, how common was the practice of substituting another melody for the original one?⁵⁵ (It is worth noting that the majority of the generic rigadon melodies are of the same form and length as both melodies used for Isaac's rigadon.)

I have argued in my discussion of the demi-jeté that the many

54. The superiority of Siris's notation is most clearly demonstrated in the final figure. In Weaver's version the woman is required to make two successive sissonne steps both of which start with the left foot in front. To accomplish this she makes an extra foot gesture not matched by the man, so that the awkwardness of the step sequence is compounded by assymetry. Siris solves the problem much more elegantly by substituting a coupé for the fleuret preceding the sissonne, thereby allowing the woman's pattern to mirror the man's to the end of the dance.

55. At least one other English dance, L'Abbe's "Prince William" (1721), includes a substitute tune in the companion dance music publication although there is no indication of this in the choreography. An alternate tune for L'Abbe's "Royal George" (1717) was discussed in Chapter IV.

notational variants for step-units such as the bourrée and contretemps ballonné are intentional, and should not be assimilated into a single performance style. The same argument applies, I believe, to the performance of the steps in the dances just discussed. The evidence from these dances is that in England there was a greater variety in the performance of certain steps, and this variety is reflected in the notation.

Summary

In this chapter I have discussed a number of elements which differentiate the French and English styles of dance. Social dances published in England include a higher percentage of the following dance types: minuet, rigadoon, and the chaconne and passacaglia (the last two are not used for dances à deux in France). Dance suites, or multi-movement dances, are also more common in the English repertoire, particularly in the choreographies of Isaac. One dance type, the hornpipe, is unique to England, and its musical and choreographic characteristics have been studied in more detail.

English dances are more likely to include a larger step vocabulary, including a number of step-units not described in theoretical sources, than their French counterparts. Notational variants are also frequent, whereas in France they are almost non-existent. One such variant has led Hilton to conclude that the French demi-jeté was in wide-spread use in England. However, I think it more likely that the variety in notational practices reflects a less unified performance style than may have existed in France, and that the demi-jeté, if it was used at all, was only one of several options for the performance of a given step.

The influence of individual notators and engravers on this issue has also been raised. Apparently neither Issac nor L'Abbe notated their own dances, and when two editions of a dance exist, each by a different notator, significant variants appear. To further complicate the issue, some of these differences may have been introduced by the engraver (unless, like Roussau, he was also the notator). Before a definitive statement about the choreographic styles of Isaac, L'Abbe, and other English dancing masters can be made, a detailed investigation of the questions raised here must be undertaken. In the following chapter I suggest a number of other areas in which further study is needed to arrive at such definition.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this dissertation has been to investigate the French noble style of dance as it existed in England through a study of the sources. As the title of the previous chapter suggests, this study in many ways is only a beginning, and should be seen as laying the groundwork for future, more specialized, investigations of English court dance. In the absence of stylistic studies of French court dance (including the more difficult theatrical dances), it is impossible to make meaningful comparisons between the styles of the two countries, or even to determine to what extent the English developed their own style. However, some of the information presented in this study suggests that even before 1700 there were differences between England and France. Some of the differences between the two countries are summarized below.

Although there may have been no more dancing masters per person in England than in France or elsewhere in Europe, the English ones seem to have contributed to the profession more actively than their continental counterparts. In addition to teaching, many of them also functioned as performers, choreographers, notators, translators, publishers, and even composers. This active involvement in so many aspects of dance, plus the absence of a controlling organization such as the French dance academy, resulted, I believe, in a greater diversity of styles as well as more individual notational practices.

The earliest dance treatises published in England were translations which for the most part adhered closely to their French models. However, even in Weaver's Orchesography (1706) certain steps are listed as being unique to England. The figure dances for ladies published by Pemberton in 1711 have no known counterparts on the continent and may represent a distinctly English genre. John Essex's 1728 translation of the important Rameau treatise Le Maître à danser (1725) indicates that French writings on dance were still considered important in England. While the translation adheres closely to Rameau's text, the Bickham plates often do not follow those of the original, particularly with regard to the position of the arms, suggesting that an English style, based on the French but differing in certain details, may have been firmly established by the 1720's.

More evidence for the existence of this style may be found in the only major dance treatise not based wholly or in part on a French model. Tomlinson's Art of Dancing (1735), while thoroughly grounded in the French noble style, includes many examples of this English "accent." Examples of this occur in the illustrations of the arm and hand positions as well as the carriage of the body; in the use of steps not found in French treatises; in the notations and performance directions for steps; and in the description of the minuet. An analysis of certain typographical features of the publication as well as the order of the plates and the dedicatees, led to my hypothesis that Tomlinson significantly altered his treatise after 1728 in response to the publication of Essex's translation of Rameau. This hypothesis is consistent with the notion of an English style.

Bickham's short work, An Easy Introduction to Dancing, represents a counterreaction to Tomlinson's treatise, in that it consists mainly of Rameau's version of the minuet. Yet his inclusion of music for six compound-duple meter rigadoons (which I have taken to represent a "generic rigadon") shows the author's English associations.

The sheer number of choreographies published in England (or preserved in manuscripts of English provenance) is in itself evidence of a flourishing dance tradition. Although at least some French choreographies were imported to London, relatively few French dances were published in English editions. And when this did occur the dances are often notated according to English practice. (Whether this notation represents a different style of performance is another question which must be studied.)

One of the important contributions of the chapter on the English choreographies is my suggested dates for the composition of many of Isaac's dances. If these dates are reasonably accurate, and if the published notations (some of which may be twenty years later than the dance) accurately represent the original version of the dance, it appears that Isaac's earlier choreographies are in general more complex than his later ones. They are usually multi-movement dances, often involving complex meters, and frequently use steps that are not part of the French tradition.

In Chapter V I have investigated the sources for English dance music, showing how these differ in certain respects from the French practices. Although most of the music appears to have been newly composed for the specific dance with which it appears, I have also been able to identify a number of musical concordances for dances set to

pre-existing music. (Most of the latter are theatrical dances by L'Abbe.) The bass lines which I have located for twenty of the social dances will be helpful in future analyses of dance/music relationships.

In the previous chapter I have provided some preliminary observations regarding the differences between French and English styles of dance. Much further research in a number of areas is needed before a definitive statement can be made regarding the nature of English court dance. One such area is that of notation: detailed studies of both French and English dances by choreographer, notator, and dance type need to be made. Individual dance types in both countries need to be studied in greater detail to see whether certain steps or step sequences, as well as certain floor patterns, are associated with particular dance types. The types of floor patterns and the treatment of symmetry are other stylistic characteristics which need to be investigated. (My initial impression is that English choreographers use more imaginative floor patterns as well as more frequent non-symmetrical passages.)

Of particular interest to musicologists is the question of dance/music relationships: to what extent do the dance phrases parallel the music phrases? If no immediately apparent relationship is present (which seems to be the case rather frequently in English dances) what are the underlying principles guiding the choreographer? Is the phrase structure of English dances more irregular than their French counterparts? And if so, does this reflect the influence of the choreographer on the composer? More research needs to be done on the generic rigadon, the existence of which I have postulated based on surviving musical rather than choreographic sources. Finally, the relationship of court and country dances needs to be studied. Although

in France, imported English country dances were being performed with steps from the French noble style, is there any evidence that this was also the case in England? And is there reverse influence, i.e., does the gradual simplification of French court dance (in both countries) reflect the increasing popularity of the simpler country dances?

Yet whatever their differences, court dances in both countries suffered the same fate. The ability to read dance notation may have been widespread, but after 1740 in England there were no new dances to be read (and only three were published in the previous decade). By mid-century the elegant miniatures of Pécour, Isaac, and their contemporaries had been replaced by cotillions and quadrilles, minuets and country dances.

APPENDIX A

DANCING MASTERS ACTIVE IN ENGLAND, 1706-1740

In the following table I have listed the names of nearly 150 dancing masters who were active in England in the first four decades of the eighteenth century. Much of this information comes from the subscribers' lists in the six publications given below. Additional information has been found in contemporary newspaper advertisements, diaries, and references in literature. Entries in the Biographical Dictionary are listed here (volume and page no.), but information from this source has not been included (the most recent volume stops at "Keyse"). Information included in the body of the dissertation has not been repeated here; instead the reader is referred to the appropriate chapter.

Spellings of names varies widely; I have used the spelling found in the earliest source, and have alphabetized the names following the subscribers' lists (e.g., Du Ruell under "D" but Le Sac under "S").

Subscribers' Lists: Abbreviations

- W-1 Weaver, Orchesography, 1706
- W-2 Weaver, A Small Treatise of Time and Cadence, 1706
- P Pemberton, An Essay for the Further Improvement, 1711
- W-3 Weaver, Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures, 1721
- L L'Abbe, A Collection of Ball and Stage Dances, c1725
- T Tomlinson, The Art of Dancing, 1735 (but Tomlinson's list was begun in 1728 or earlier)

Other Abbreviations (for complete titles see bibliography)

BD Highfill, Biographical Dictionary of Actors

DM Playford (and others), The Dancing Master

E-1728 Essex, Dancing Master, 1728 (preface)

LS Avery, The London Stage

LS Index Schneider, Index to the London Stage

S, S/H Smith, Bibliography
Smith/Humphries, Bibliography

W-1712 Weaver, An Essay towards an History of Dancing, 1712 (preface)

<u>Name</u>	<u>Subscribers' Lists:</u>	<u>Biogr. Dict.</u>	<u>Other Comments and Information</u>
L'Abbe, Anthony	W-1 W-2 P W-3 L T		see Chapter I
Ager	P		"of Warwick"
Aleworth, John	P W-3 L T		Partner, Caverley's boarding school (E-1728)
Allen	P L		"of York" (L)
Barton	W-3 L		
Beardwell	W-3		"of Oxford"
Beveridge			Composed a number of country dances; "Mr. Beveridge's Room," 2 April 1719 (LS)
Birkhead, Matthew	W-3	II/136	Composed collections of country dances, 1721 & 1722 (S592, S/H166)

Bosely, Thomas	W-1 W-2 P	L	II/247	"of Norwich" (W-1,2). Ad in <u>Tatler</u> (16 Sept. 1710) reads in part: "Orchesography; or the Art of Dancing by Characters; is taught after an easie Method, by Thomas Bosely, Master in the Art of Dancing, at Mr. Delawar's School."
Botterberg		L		
Boval		L	II/247	
Brograve	P			"of Birmingham"
Brograve, John		T		"of Rudgley"
Bronzet		L		
Burney, Thomas			II/429	At least two, and perhaps three, dancers with the surname Burney are listed in <u>LS</u> 1726-32.
Camille	W-1 W-2 P		III/25	
Carey		L		A country dance, "Carries Maggot," appeared in <u>DM</u> 1701.
Caverly, Ant.	W-1 W-2 P			"Junior" (P)
Caverley, Thomas	W-1 W-2 P W-3			"Senior" (P); boarding school, Queens Square; Shaw was his pupil. [See Chapter I.]
Cherrier, Rene	W-1 W-2		III/189	Taught Hester Santlow, Tomlinson; cited by Weaver as one of the four best performers in England (W-1).
Christian	W-1 W-2 P			"of Blandford" (P)
Claxton	W-1 W-2		III/313	
Coignand				Coignand's Dancing School, 14 March 1718 (<u>LS</u>); Coignand's Great Room, 1719-20 (<u>LS</u>).

Cook		L	III/443	
Cooke, Phillip			III/471	
Cottin	W-1 W-2	P	IV/6	
Couch	W-1 W-2	P W-3 L	IV/7	see Chapter I
Counley	W-1 W-2			"of Barbadoes" (W-1)
Cox, John George			IV/19	
Cragg	W-1 W-2			
Crocher		L		
Deacombe		P		"of Worcester"
Dehaver	W-2	P		
Delagarde [see Garde, De la]				
Delamain	W-1 W-2		IV/285	"of Dublin." The <u>BD</u> entry may refer to a son or other relative.
Delamain		P		"the younger brother"
Desbargues	W-1 W-2		IV/341	Mentioned by Weaver (W-1) as one of the four best dancers in England.
Desnoyer		L	IV/332	see Chapter I
Douson	W-1 W-2	P	IV/465	May be the same as "Mr Dowson in Barthalomew Close" mentioned in Shirley's 1715 ad (see Chapter I).
Le Duc	W-1 W-2			

Dukes, Nicholas			IV/499		Published a short treatise, <u>A Concise and Easy Method of Learning the Figuring Part of Country Dances</u> , 1752.
Duplessy		T	IV/511		
Dupre, Louis		L	IV/512		The <u>BD</u> entries on the various members of this family need revising--see Chapter IV.
Dupree, J		T	IV/513		"Dancing-Master at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden" (T)
Du Rueil	W-1 W-2	L	IV/523		"Mons. Phil Duruel, of Dusseldorp in Germany" (L). Listed in W-1 as one of four best dancers in England. <u>LS</u> : a "scholar of Pettour" [Pecour].
Eastland	P W-3				"of St. Edmonds Bury" (W-3)
d'Elisle	W-1 W-2 P				The <u>BD</u> entry (IV/297) apparently refers to another person by this name.
Essex, John	W-1 W-2 P W-3 L		V/95		The <u>BD</u> entries for the various members of the Essex family need revising--see Chapter I.
Essex, John Jr.	L T				Teacher of Henry Holt; "the most celebrated Master in England" (<u>BD</u> VII/396).
Essex, William	W-3		V/97		
Eustone	P				
Evans	P				"of Virginia." Apparently not the same as the Evans listed in <u>BD</u> , V/111.
le Faird	L				Perhaps this is the dancing master Mr. Le Fer who advertised in the <u>Plain Dealer</u> on 3 May 1725.

Fern	P	"of Coventry"			
Fornley		D. Ryder's dancing master, 1715-16 see Chapter I. A concert at Mr. Fearnly's, Bread Street, Cheapside was advertised on 7 Nov. 1711 (<u>LS</u>).			
Fert, Anthony		Advertisements for a dancing master and choreographer by this name appeared in various newspapers from 1710-1715.			
Firbank [Fairbank]	P W-3 L	see Chapter V	V/136		
de la Garde	P W-3 L T	Pupil of L'Abbe. Notated 4 Isaac dances, 1708-1711. Performed dances by Isaac and L'Abbe on stage. (<u>LS</u> <u>Index</u> entries need revising.)	IV/279		
Gazaine	P				
Gery [Geare, Geary]	W-1 W-2 P L	see Chapter I			
Ginheimer	L				
Glover, Leech		see Chapter I	VI/234	T	
Godwin		A country dance, "Goodwin's Maggot," appeared in the <u>DM</u> , vol. II (1710).	VI/246		
Graham	W-3				
Grisdale, Hen.	W-3 L				
Griffin [Griffith]	W-2 P L		VI/371		
Groscort, John	W-1 W-2 P L				
Hale	P W-3	Mr. Hale's Dancing School, Hungerford Market, was advertised in the <u>Tablet</u> , 27 May 1710.			

Hargrave, Henry			T	"of Newark"
Hart	W-2 P			Possibly a relative of the Nathan Hart listed in <u>BD</u> , VII/154.
Hauton, Will.	P	L		"of York" (L)
Haydock, George	W-3 L		VII/205	
Heale [Hele]	W-1 W-2 W-3			"of Salisbury"
Hickford	P		VII/284	see Chapter I
Hickford, jun.		L		
Hikey		L		
Hill			VII/292	Country dances named after Hill were published in 1701 (<u>DM</u>) and c1706.
Hinton	P			
Hodgson	P			"of Leicester"
Holt, Rich.	W-1 W-2		VII/395, 396	At least four Holts were active as dancing masters in London during this period; see Chapter I. (The <u>BD</u> entries are in need of revision.)
Holt, Walter, sen.	W-1 W-2 P W-3 L			
Holt, Walter, jun.	W-1 W-2	L		
Holt, Will.	P W-3 L			
Horwood [Harwood]	P		VII/168	
Hume [Home]	P			A concert at "Hume's Dancing School, Frith Street" was advertised in the <u>Spectator</u> , 21 April 1711.

Isaac	W-1 W-2 P	VIII/103	see Chapter I
Jackson, Alex.			Witness (along with Joseph Jackson) that Tomlinson's treatise was completed by 1728.
Jackson, Joseph	P L T		See above
King	W-3 L		"of Jamaica" (W-3); "of Ipswich" (L)
Kinhammer	W-2		
Kirk, Ayscough	L T		"of Stamford"
Kynaston, Nathaniel			Composer and choreographer; 5 collections of country dances published by Walsh, 1710-1718.
La Busiere, Tim.			
Lally, Edmund	W-1 W-2 P W-3		Several dancers with this surname performed from 1719 on. (The <u>LS Index</u> entries are hopelessly confused.)
Lally, Edw.	W-3 L		
Lally, junior	L		
Lane	P L		Three country dances published 1695-96.
Langton, Edward			"of Leicester"
Lewis, Char.	W-1 W-2 P		"of Newington" (P); mentioned in W-1712.
Lewis, Daniel			"of Bristol"
Love			Mentioned by D. Ryder, 23 March 1716. A reference to the "faggot L <u>l</u> " occurs in <u>The Dancing-Master</u> . A <u>Satyr</u> (1722).

Moore	W-2 P		"of Salisbury" (P)
Moreau, A.		T	"in Dublin" (dancing master at the theatre); danced frequently in London, 1714-1729
Morgan	P		
Newhouse		L	Frequent appearances as a dancer, 1715-34
Nicholson	W-1 W-2		
Noseman		L	
Oliver, Tho.		L	
Orlabeer	W-1 W-2 W-3		A concert at "Orlibeer's School" was advertised 28 November 1712 (LS); a country dance, "Orlabeer's Maggot," was published in the DM, vol. III (c1719).
Pawlet	W-1 W-2		A concert at "Mr. Pawlet's Great Dancing-Room near Dowgate in Thames-street" was advertised 30 June 1702 (LS).
Pemberton, Edmond	W-1 W-2	W-3 L T	Listed as Edw. in (L). (See Chapter I)
Pemberton, James		W-3	
File		P	"of Hereford"
Polhampton	W-2 P		"of Worcester" (P)
de Pont			A concert at de Pont's Dancing school, Maiden Lane, was advertised in the <u>Post Man</u> , 4 Oct. 1711.
Porter	W-1 W-2		"of Darby"
Preist, sen.		P	"of Chelsea"---see Chapter I

Preist, Thomas	W-2	Music for four dances in Bray, <u>Country Dances</u> , 1699
Prince	P	see Chapter I
Pritton	U-1 W-2	"of Coventry" (W-2)
Reymers		L
Rhobotham	P	
Rogers	W-1 W-2 P	
Le Roussau		see Chapter I
L'Sac [Le Sac]	W-1 W-2 P	"of Chester" (P)
Sawyer, William		T "of Rudgley in Staffordshire"
Serancour	W-1 W-2	
Sexton	W-1 W-2	"of York"
Shaw, John	W-3 L	E-1728 refers to the "late Mr. Shaw" as Caverley's pupil.
Snirley	W-1 W-2 P W-3 L	see Chapter I
Siris, P.		T see Chapter I
Smith	W-2	"of Dublin"
Smith, Robbin	L T	Robert (T)
South		L
Stag	P W-3 L	"of Bristol" (P); "of the Bath" (W-3, L)
Tanner		L

Testard	L	
Thomas	P	
Thurmond, John	L	see the extensive entries in <u>LS</u>
Tomlinson, Kellom	L	see Chapters I, III
Topham, Hen.	L	There seem to have been at least three Tophams dancing on the London Stage; the entries in the <u>LS Index</u> are badly tangled.
Topham, John	M-3 L T	Tomlinson's pupil
Tully, James	L T	A dancer named Tully performed frequently during 1714-19.
Tyrrill	W-3	
Wade, John	W-3 L	<u>LS</u> lists frequent appearances 1712-19.
Walker	P	
Weaver, John	P L T	see Chapter I
Wyat	P	"of Beckles"

APPENDIX B

LIBRARY LOCATIONS FOR ENGLISH CHOREOGRAPHIES

This appendix serves two functions: it provides a complete list of all the individual choreographies published in England or preserved in English manuscripts, and it gives library locations for all of these dances, correcting and amplifying the entries in RISM.¹ The most serious error is the failure to recognize that the phrase "compos'd by" could refer to the choreographer as well as to the composer of the music. This has resulted in two series of sigla for the Isaac dances, with no cross-references in either series. Dances by Caverley, Glover, and Tomlinson also have unexpected sigla.

Dances are listed alphabetically by choreographer. An asterisk following the library location indicates that the title page is missing; thus it is not possible to determine the issue. Dances for which no library location is given were formerly in the Cole collection, sold at Sotheby's in 1979.

<u>RISM</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Library</u>
<u>Sigla</u>		<u>Location</u>
<u>Isaac Dances</u>		
-	<u>A Collection of Ball-Dances perform'd at Court.</u> London, 1706. [Contains six dances: the Britannia, the Favorite, the Richmond, the Rigadoon, the Rondeau, and the Spanheim. All of them were subsequently reissued by Walsh at least twice, using two different title pages.]	US Wc
I 71	<u>The Britannia a New Dance Compos'd by Mr. Isaac Perform'd at Court on Her Majesties Birth day Febr. ye 6th 17</u> . London: Walsh, Hare and Randall, [1708]. [I have labelled this "Title Page A"; see the discussion and illustration in Chapter IV, 165-6.]	D-ddr GZbk GB Ge, Lbl#
P 82	<u>The Britannia Mr. Isaac's New Dance made for Her Majestys Birth Day 17 The Tune by Mr. Paisible. Engraven in Characters & Figures for ye use of Masters.</u> London: Walsh and Hare, [c1712]. [I have	GB Lbl

1. It should be noted that RISM coverage of English libraries was based for the most part on the British Union Catalogue of Early Music, (ed. Edith Schnapper, London, 1957). Hence the responsibility for the errors, omissions, and conflations in RISM should be placed on the latter source.

labelled this "Title Page B"; see Chapter IV, 167 and 169.]

- A Chacone. [Published in Pemberton, For the Further Improvement, 1711. No single copies known. For library locations see Chapter IV, 196.]
- I 72 The Favorite . . . [c1708]. [Title Page A; see comments for I 71] GB Ge; Lbl
- P 83 The Favorite . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B; see comments for P 82] GB Lbl
- P 84 The Friendship Mr. Isaac's New Dance for the Year 1715 the Tune by Mr. Paisible Engraven in Characters & Figures for ye use of Masters Writ by Mr. Pemberton. London: Walsh and Hare, [1715]. [A ms. copy of this dance is at GB Lbl, 785.k.7. RISM P 85 is an entirely different publication; it includes the music for the dance plus other dance music, but no choreographic figures.] GB Lbl
US Wc*
- I 73 The Gloucester . . . [c1710]. [Title Page A] GB Ge
US LAc
- P 86 The Gloucester . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl
- P 87 The Godolphin Mr. Isaac's New Dance made for Her Majestys Birth Day 1714 the Tune by Mr. Paisible. London: Walsh and Hare, [1714]. GB Lbl
US Wc
- I 74 The Marlborough . . . [c1708]. [Title Page A] GB Ge; Lbl
US LAc
- I 75 The Morris a new Dance for the Year 1716 Compos'd by Mr. Issac. London: [Pemberton, 1716. A manuscript version of this dance is at GB Lbl, 785.k.7.] GB Du; Lbl;
Lcs
US CAh
- P 88 The Northumberland . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl
US Wc*
- P 89 The Pastorall Mr. Isaac's New Dance made for Her Majestys Birth Day 1713 The Tune by Mr Paisible. London: Walsh and Hare, [1713]. GB Lbl
US Wc
- The Princess . . . [c1710]. [Title Page A] F Po
US Wc*
- P 90 The Princess . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl
- I 76 The Richmond . . . [c1708]. [Title Page A] GB Ge; Lbl*

- P 91 The Richmond . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl
- I 77, 78 The Rigadoon . . . [c1708]. [Title Page A] GB Ge; Lbl*
- P 92 The Rigadoon . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B. GB Lbl
Another edition of this dance is included in Siris,
The Art of Dancing, 1706.]
- I 79 The Rigadoon Royal Mr. Isaac's New Dance made for GB Lbl (2 exs.)
Her Majestys Birth Day 1711. London: Walsh and Hare, US Wc
[1711].
- I 80 The Rondeau . . . [c1708]. [Title Page A] GB Ge; Lbl*
- P 93 The Rondeau . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl
- I 81 The Royall . . . [c1710]. [Title Page A] GB Ge
US LAc; Wc*
- P 95 The Royall . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl
- P 96 The Royal Ann Mr. Isaac's New Dance made for Her GB Lbl
Majestys Birth Day 1712 The Tune by Mr. Paisible. US Wc
London: Walsh and Hare, [1712].
- P 97 The Royall Gailliarde Mr. Isaac's New Dance made GB Lbl
for Her Majesty's Birth Day 1710 The tune by Mr US Wc
Paisible. London: Walsh, Randall and Hare, [1710].
- P 98 The Royal Portuguez Mr. Isaac's New Dance made for GB Lbl
Her Majesty's Birth Day 1709 The Tune by Mr. Paisible. US Nsc; Wc
London: Walsh, Randall and Hare, [1709].
- P 99 The Saltarella Mr. Isaac's New Dance made for Her GB Lbl (2 exs.)
Majesty's Birth Day 1708 The Tune by Mr. Paisible. US LAc
London: Walsh and Hare, [1708].
- I 82 The Spanheim . . . [c1708]. [Title Page A] GB Ge; Lbl*
- P 100 The Spanheim . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl
- I 83 The Union a New Dance Compos'd by Mr. Isaac GB Ge;
Perform'd at Court on Her Majestie's Birth day Febr. Lbl; Ob
ye 6th 1707. [n.p., 1707.] US CAh
- P 101 The Union . . . [c1712]. [Title Page B] GB Lbl

L'Abbe Dances

- The Canary A New Dance for the Year 1724. By Mr. GB Lbl; Lcs
Labbe Witt by Mr Pemberton. And sold by Him. at the US CAh
Iron Rails the lower End of Oxindon-Street near ye Hay
Market. [London, 1724. This was a stock title page

used by Pemberton for the L'Abbe dances (and two other dances) published between 1721 and 1733; only the first sentence was altered for each new dance.]

- The New-Rigodon A Dance For the Year 1723. GB Lbl
[London, 1723.] US CAh
- L 48 The New Rigadon. [Another edition of this dance, GB Lbl
lacking a title page. The date 1723 appears on the
first page of the choreography.]
- A Passacaille by Mr Labbee. [Published in GB Ob
Pemberton, For the Further Improvement, 1711. This
dance is a solo version of a duet for two women,
probably composed c1706 but not published until
c1725.]
- Prince-Frederick A New Dance For the Year 1725. F Po
[London, 1725.] GB Lbl (2 exs.);
Lcs
US CAh
- L 49 The Prince of Orange A New Dance, For the Year GB Lbl; Ob*
1733 . . . over-against ye End of Mercer's-Street in
Long-Acre. [London, 1733.]
- The Prince of Wales, A New Dance For the Year GB Lbl (2 exs.)
1727. [London, 1727.] US CAh
- L 50 The Prince of Wales's Saraband A New Dance For Her F Po
Majesty's Birthday 1731. [London, 1731.] GB Lbl
US CAh; R
- L 51 Prince William A New Dance For His Majesty's GB Lbl (2exs.);
Birth-day 1721. [London, 1721.] Lcs
US CAh
- L 52 The Princess Amelia, A New Dance For his Maj:ties F Po
Birth-day. Compos'd by Mr. L'Abbe. For the Year 1718. GB Lbl; Lcs
Writ by Mr. Pemberton And Sold by him at the Iron- US CAh
Rails ye lower end of Oxindon-street near ye
Hay-market. [London, 1718.]
- L 53 The Princess Ann's Chacone A New Dance . . . 1719. GB Lbl; Lcs
[London, 1719. Title page follows L 52.] US CAh
- L 54 The Princess Anna a new Dance for his Majestys F Po
BirthDay 1716 Compos'd by Mr. L'Abbe Writ by Mr. GB Lbl (3 exs.);
Pemberton and Sold by him against Mercer Street Long Lcs
Acre. [London, 1716.] US CAh
- L 55 The Princess Anna Mr. L'Abbee's New Dance for his GB Lbl
Majesty's Birth Day 1716. Engraven in Characters & US NYp
Figures for the use of Masters. London: Walsh and

Hare, [1716]. [Another edition of L 54.]

- L 56 The Princess Royale a new Dance for his Majestys Birth Day 1715 Compos'd by Mr. L'Abee Writ by Mr. Pemberton (Author of ye Book entitl'd an Essay for ye further Improvement of dancing &c) and Sold by him against Mercer Street in Long Acre. [London, 1715.] GB Lbl; Lcs
US CAh; LAc
- L 57 The Princess Royal a new Dance for his Majesty's Birth Day 1715 Compos'd by Mr. L'Abee The Figure & Characters fairly Engraven. London: Walsh and Hare, [1715]. [Another edition of L 56.] GB Lbl; Ob
- Queen Caroline A New Dance For her Maj:tie's Birth Day 1728. [London, 1728.] GB Lbl; Ob*
US CAh
- L 58 The Royal George A New Dance Compos'd by Mr. L'Abee For the Year 1717. Writ by Mr. Pemberton And sold by him against Mercers street Long-Acre. [London, 1717.] F Po
GB Lbl (2 exs.);
Lcs
US CAh
- A New Collection of Dances, Containing a great Number of the best Ball and Stage Dances: Composed by Monsieur L'Abbe, Dancing-Master to Their Royal Highnesses, the Three Young Princesses. That have been performed both in Drury-Lane and Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by the best Dancers. [London, c1725.] [Contains thirteen dances by L'Abbe, notated by F. Le Roussau. See Chapter IV, 183-6, for a list of the dances and library locations.]
- Roussau Dances
- "A Collection of New Ball- and Stage Dances Compos'd by Several Masters." [A manuscript c1720 notated by Roussau; it includes six of his dances plus three by French choreographers. See Chapter IV, 201, for a list of the dances.] GB En
- L 2039 A Chacoon for a Harlequin. [London, c1729.] [A published edition of the last dance in the previous manuscript.] GB Lbl
- Siris Dances
- S 3526 The Brawl of Audenarde, Mr. Siris New Dance for the Year 1709. The Tune by Mr G; and Engrav'd by S. Conniand. [London, 1709.] GB Ob*
- S 3527 La Camilla: Dance Nouvelle, Sur un Air Italien de L'Opera Du meme Nom. par Signor Bononcini. La Dance est composee & mise au jour par Monsieur Siris. Maitre GB Lbl

de Dance à Londres London and Amsterdam,
1708.

- The Camilla 1709. [Another edition of the
previous dance, lacking a title page.] GB Ob*
- The Diana Mr. Siris Senior's New Dance For the
Year 1725. Dedicated To The Right Hon:ble Lady Diana
Spencer, The Tune by Signior Attilio. [London, 1725.]
- The New English [sic] Passepied; Mr. Siris New
Dance For the Year 1712. The Tune by Mr. C.
[London]: Sold by Siris and Walsh, [1712].
- S 3528 The Siciliana. Mr. Siris New Dance For the Year GB Ob*
1714. [London, 1714.]

Tomlinson Dances

- The Address a New Rigadoon Compos'd for the Year
1719 by Mr. Kellom Tomlinson [London, 1719.]
- The Gavot, A New Dance, Compos'd for the Year
1720. By Mr. Kellom Tomlinson [London,
1720.]
- The Passepied Round O A New Dance Compos'd and
Written into Characters, In the Year, 1715. By Kellom
Tomlinson, Dancing Master. [London, 1715.]
- The Prince Eugene, A New Dance, Compos'd and
Written into Characters and Figures, In the Year 1718.
By Kellom Tomlinson [London, 1718.]
- L 2733 The Shepherdess. A New Dance . . . 1716. GB Ob
[London, 1716.]
- The Submission, A New Ball Dance . . . 1717.
[London, 1717.]
- K 285 Six Dances Compos'd By Mr. Kellom Tomlinson. F Po
- T 951 Being A Collection of all the Yearly Dances, publish'd GB Lbl
by him from the Year 1715 to the present Year
[London, 1720.] [This collection is the only source
for four of Tomlinson's dances.]

Dances by Other Choreographers

- F 952 Mr. Caverley's Slow Minuet. A New Dance for a GB Lbl; Ob*
Girl. The Tune Composed by Mr. Firbank Writt by Mr. US R
Pemberton [London, c1729.]

- John Essex, The Princess Passpie. [London, GB Lbl
c1715.] [Included in the second edition of Essex's
treatise, For the Further Improvement of Dancing.]
- H 7608 Leach Glover, The Princess of Hesse. [London, GB Ob*
c1740.]
- William Holt, Le Rigadon Renouvele Put In
Characters in a less Compass than any hitherto Done
and Engraved. [London, c1720.]
- M 418 The Primrose by Mr Marcelle. London: Walsh and GB Ob
Hare, [1720].
- F 953 Anon., La Cybelline, A New Dance for a Girl GB Lbl
 [London, 1720.] [Passe-partout title page US R
also used for Caverley's minuet.]

APPENDIX C

SOURCES OF ENGLISH COURT DANCE MUSIC

This appendix contains transcriptions of all the court dance music for which I have found bass lines. The French opera concordances for the dances in the L'Abbe Collection (see Chapter V, 210) are not included here. In the list of musical concordances which follows, the dances are arranged in alphabetical order by choreographer. All titles are in the British Library unless otherwise indicated.

Isaac Dances

1. The Friendship.

The Friendship. Mr. Isaac's New Dance for the Year 1715 . . . to which is added . . . Minuets, Rigadoons & French Dances. London: Walsh and Hare, [1715]. GB Ob

2. The Gloucester.

A. Theater Musick Being A Collection of the newest Avers for the Violin, with the French Dances perform'd at both Theaters, as also the new Dances at ye late Ball. London: Walsh, [1698], pp. 15-16. GB DRc

B. Thomas Bray, Country Dances: Being a Composition Entirely New . . . Also, The Newest French Dances in use, Entryres, Genteel and Grotesque, Chacons, Rigodoons, Minuets, and other Dancing Tunes. London: Pearson, 1699, part II, pp. 1-2. GB Lcs

3. The Marlborough.

The Second Book of the Ladys Banquet being A Choice Collection of the Newest and Most Airy Lessons for the Harpsichord . . . with the most Noted Minuets Jigs and French Dances perform'd at Court the Theatre's and Publick Balls. London: Walsh and Hare, 1706, p. 1.

4. The Morris.

Caledonian Country Dances Being a Collection of all the Celebrated Scotch Country Dances now in Vogue . . . with their Bases for the Bass Violin, or Harpsicord, 3d Edition. London: Walsh, [1736], p. 80, "Blazing Star." US GN

5. The Northumberland.

A. Bray, Country Dances, II, pp. 5-6.

B. Ornamented version of the melody in The Self-Instructor on the Violin: . . . Together with a Choice Collection of the

newest Tunes and Ayres. London: Walsh, Miller and Hare, 1695.
I Blic

6. The Princess.

Bray, Country Dances, II, pp. 3-4.

7. The Rigadoon Royal.

A. The Rigadoon Royal Mr. Isaac's New Dance for the Year 1711. Present location unknown; music in Woods, "Survey."

B. "Ah Chloe, when I prove my passion," undated single sheet publication.

8. The Royal.

Second Book of the Lady's Banquet, p. 2.

9. The Royal Portugese.

The Compleat Dancing-Master's Companion . . . the 7th Book.
London: Pearson, 1709, pp. 2-3.

10. The Saltarella.

The Saltarella, Mr. Isaac's New Dance . . . To which is added all the new Minuets, Rigadons, and French Dances. London: Walsh and Hare, 1708. No copy known; see Smith No. 269. Music bound with copy of dance, GB Lbl, h.993.(7), is presumably from this publication.

11. The Spanheim.

Second Book of the Lady's Banquet, p. 3.

Siris

12. The Camilla

Giovanni Maria Bononcini, Il Trionfo di Camilla, 1696; first produced in London in 1706. The dance is set to the second aria, "O Nymph of Race Divine."

13. The Brawl of Audenarde

The Compleat Dancing-Master's Companion, 1709, pp. 16-17.

14. The Siciliana

Contredanses et Branles qui se dansent aux bals de l'opera. Paris, n.d. The dance is entitled "La Blonde et la Brune" (no. 29). F Pn

L'Abbe

15. The New Rigadoon

Caledonian Country Dances. London: Walsh, 1733, p. 9. GB
Lcs. The dance is called "Prince Frederick's Hornpipe."

16. Prince Frederick

"Beauteous Cloe," undated single sheet publication.

17. The Prince of Wales

Handel, Giulio Cesare (1724), "Non è si vago è bello." The
dance is set to the first section of the aria.

18. Prince William

A Collection of Minuets London: Walsh and Hare, 1721.
Contains two different musical settings.

19. Queen Caroline

Handel, Scipione (1726), "March."

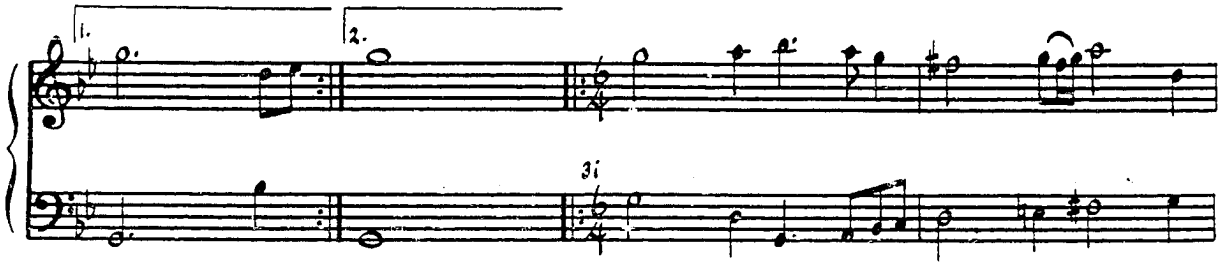
Anon.

20. The Cybelline

A Collection of the newest Minuets Rigadoons & French Dances
Perform'd at the Ball at Court on his Majesty's Birth Day 1720
Together with the new Dance London: Walsh and Hare,
[1720], p. 1. GB BENcoker

1. Isaac, "The Friendship"







3. Isaac, "The Marlborough"

The first system of music features a treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 2/4 time signature. The melody in the treble clef consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some beamed sixteenth notes. The bass clef accompaniment uses quarter and eighth notes.

The second system continues the piece with similar rhythmic patterns in both staves, maintaining the melodic flow in the treble and harmonic support in the bass.

The third system concludes with a first ending bracket over the final few notes of the treble staff. The word "Fine" is written at the end of both staves.

The fourth system begins with a second ending bracket over the treble staff. The key signature changes to two flats, and the time signature changes to 3/4. The piece ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

The fifth system continues the piece in the new key and time signature, featuring a more active treble melody with eighth notes and a steady bass accompaniment.

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with several slurs and accents. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains a harmonic accompaniment with chords and moving lines.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff continues the melodic line with a prominent slur and a final accent. The lower staff continues the harmonic accompaniment with sustained chords and moving bass lines.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff features a first ending (1.) and a second ending (2.) with the instruction "D.C. al Fine" above the staff. The lower staff also features a first ending (1.) and a second ending (2.) with the instruction "D.C. al Fine" below the staff.

5. Isaac, "The Northumberland"

The image displays a musical score for Isaac's "The Northumberland". It consists of five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system includes a tempo marking of 3/4 and a first ending bracket. The second system features a first ending bracket with a repeat sign and a second ending bracket. The score is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and dynamic markings.

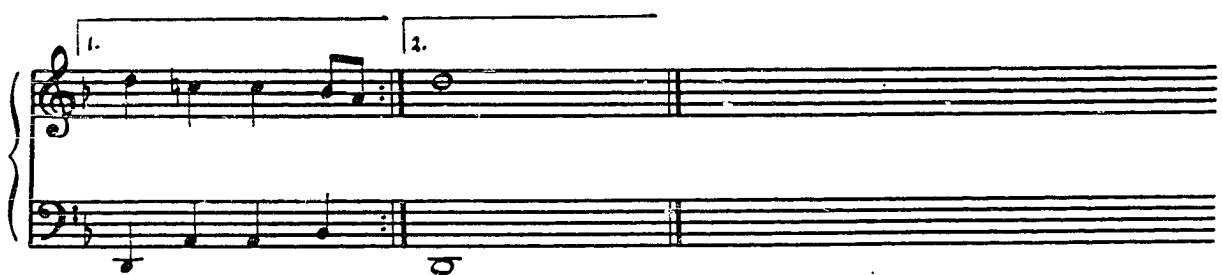
First system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is in 3/4 time. The upper staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a trill-like figure. The lower staff contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. A fermata is placed over the final note of the upper staff. A '3i' marking is present above the final measure of the lower staff.

Second system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is in 3/4 time. The upper staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The lower staff contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes. A '3i' marking is present above the first measure of the lower staff.

Third system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is in 3/4 time. The upper staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The lower staff contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes.

Fourth system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is in 3/4 time. The upper staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The lower staff contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes.

Fifth system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is in 3/4 time. The upper staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The lower staff contains a bass line with quarter and eighth notes.



6. Isaac, "The Princess"

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. It contains a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature, providing a harmonic accompaniment with eighth and quarter notes.

The second system continues the piece. The upper staff features a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The lower staff has a more active accompaniment, including a sixteenth-note run in the final measure.

The third system shows a change in the key signature to one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The upper staff has a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The lower staff features a prominent sixteenth-note accompaniment.

The fourth system continues in the one-flat key signature and common time. The upper staff has a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes. The lower staff has a steady accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

The fifth system concludes the piece. The upper staff features a melodic line with quarter and eighth notes, ending with a slur over the final two measures. The lower staff has a steady accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

First system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The music features a melodic line in the treble with eighth and sixteenth notes, and a bass line with quarter and eighth notes.

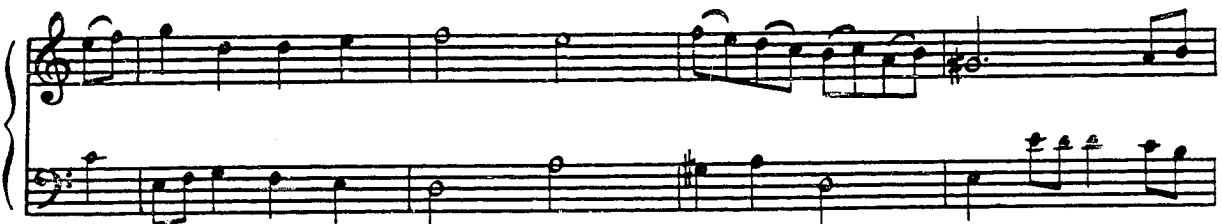
Second system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has one flat. A double bar line is present in the middle of the system, with a 6/4 time signature change indicated below the bass staff.

Third system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has one flat. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a bass line.

Fourth system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has one flat. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a bass line.

Fifth system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The key signature has one flat. The music concludes with a final double bar line and repeat sign.

7. Isaac, "The Rigadoon Royal"



8. Isaac, "The Royal"

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in 3/4 time. The upper staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody starts on a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The lower staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The accompaniment starts with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in 3/4 time. The upper staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody starts on a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The lower staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The accompaniment starts with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4.

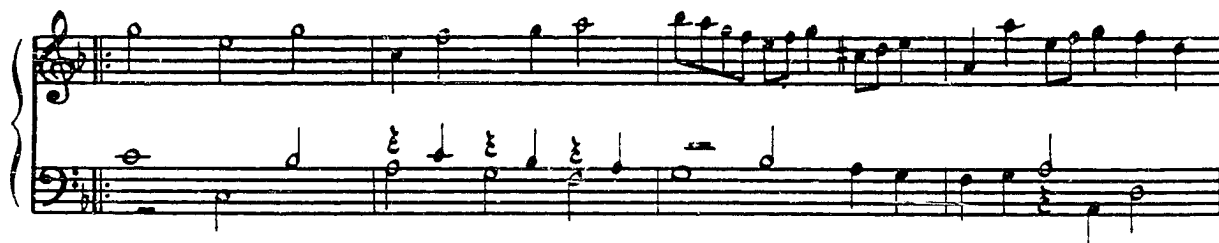
The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in 3/4 time. The upper staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody starts on a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The lower staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The accompaniment starts with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in 3/4 time. The upper staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody starts on a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The lower staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The accompaniment starts with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4.

The fifth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in 3/4 time. The upper staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 3/4 time signature. The melody starts on a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The lower staff begins with a bass clef and a 3/4 time signature. The accompaniment starts with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4.



First system of musical notation, consisting of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The upper staff features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a trill-like passage. The lower staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.



Second system of musical notation, continuing the piece. The upper staff shows a melodic line with a trill-like passage. The lower staff features a more active accompaniment with eighth notes and chords.



Third system of musical notation, concluding the piece. The upper staff has a melodic line with a trill-like passage. The lower staff features a harmonic accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes. The system ends with a double bar line and repeat dots.

9. Isaac, "The Royal Portugese"

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is in 4/4 time and features a melodic line in the treble with various ornaments and a supporting bass line.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. This system includes a first ending (marked '1.') and a second ending (marked '2.') in the treble staff, both indicated by bracketed lines above the notes.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line.

The fifth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music concludes with a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line.

First system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef. The music includes a first ending bracket labeled '1.' and a second ending bracket labeled '2.'. The notation consists of eighth and sixteenth notes in both staves.

Second system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes in both staves.

Third system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes in both staves.

Fourth system of musical notation, featuring a treble and bass clef. The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes in both staves.

10. Isaac, "The Saltarella"

The image displays a musical score for the piece "The Saltarella" by Isaac. It is organized into four systems, each consisting of a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The first system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second system continues in the same key signature. The third system concludes with the word "Fine" written below the staff. The fourth system is marked with a key signature change to two sharps (D major) and a common time signature.

11. Isaac, "The Spanheim"

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a 4/4 time signature. The upper staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody starts on a G4 note and moves through various intervals, including eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The lower staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with a bass line that includes some chromatic movement and rests.

The second system of musical notation continues the piece. The upper staff features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including some slurs. The lower staff continues the accompaniment with a steady bass line and some chordal textures.

The third system of musical notation shows further development of the melody and accompaniment. The upper staff has a more active melodic line with slurs and ties. The lower staff maintains a consistent accompaniment pattern.

The fourth system of musical notation continues the musical piece. The upper staff shows a melodic line with some slurs and ties. The lower staff provides a steady accompaniment.

The fifth system of musical notation concludes the piece. The upper staff features a melodic line that ends with a final cadence. The lower staff provides a final accompaniment line.

12. Siris, "The Camilla"

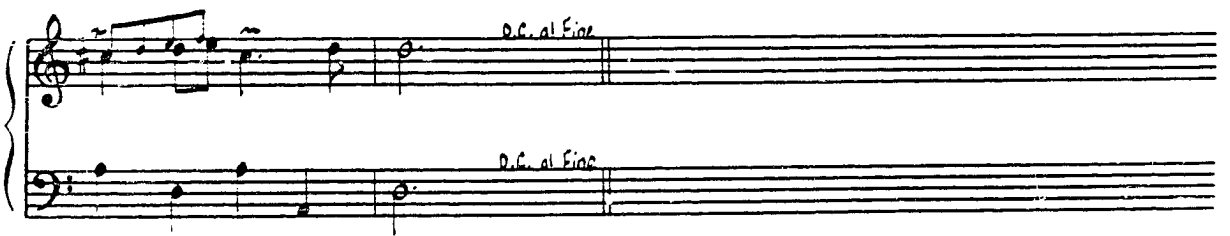
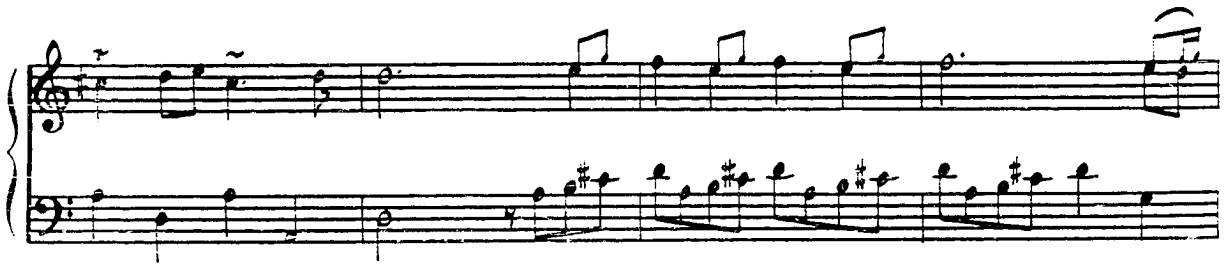
The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The time signature is 2/4. The music begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The melody in the treble clef starts with a quarter note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The bass line starts with a quarter note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, B2, and C3.

The second system of musical notation continues the piece. The treble clef staff features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a triplet of eighth notes. The bass clef staff provides a steady accompaniment with quarter notes.

The third system of musical notation shows the continuation of the melody and accompaniment. The treble clef staff has a more active melody with eighth notes and some grace notes. The bass clef staff continues with a consistent rhythmic pattern.

The fourth system of musical notation includes the word "Fine" written in the center of the staff. The treble clef staff concludes with a final note and a fermata. The bass clef staff ends with a few final notes.

The fifth system of musical notation is the final system on the page. It continues the melodic and harmonic development of the piece, ending with a final cadence in both staves.



13. Siris, "The Brawl of Audenarde"

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is in 4/4 time and features a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody in the upper staff is characterized by eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together, with some notes marked with accents. The bass line provides a steady accompaniment with quarter and eighth notes.

The second system continues the piece with two staves. The notation remains consistent with the first system, showing a continuation of the melodic and harmonic material. The upper staff features more complex rhythmic patterns, including some triplets and sixteenth-note runs.

The third system includes a first ending bracket over the first two measures of the upper staff, labeled '1.', and a second ending bracket over the next two measures, labeled '2.'. This indicates a repeat section with an alternative ending. The bass line continues to support the melody.

The fourth system shows further development of the musical theme. The upper staff has a more active melody with frequent eighth-note patterns. The bass line remains active with a consistent rhythmic accompaniment.

The fifth system concludes the piece with two staves. The melody in the upper staff reaches a final cadence, while the bass line provides a clear harmonic foundation. The notation is clean and well-defined.

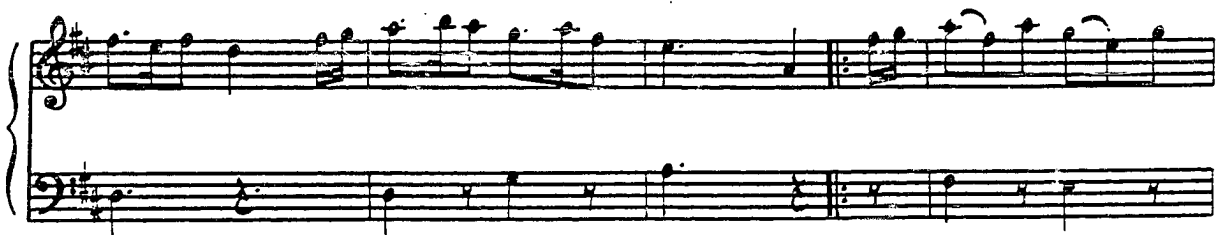
The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The music features a melodic line in the treble with eighth and sixteenth notes, and a supporting bass line with quarter and eighth notes. A repeat sign is present in the middle of the system.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line. A repeat sign is present in the middle of the system.

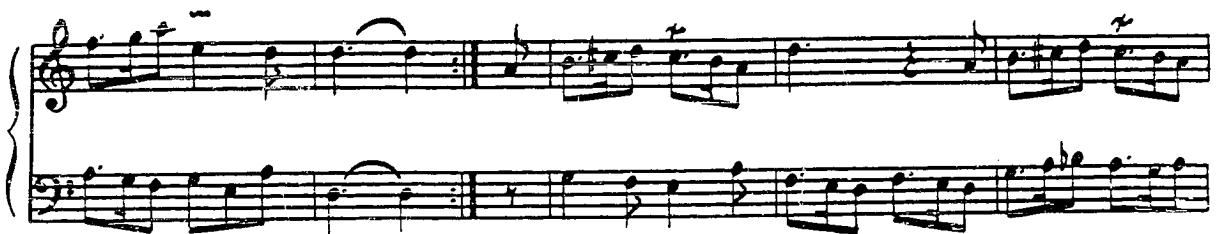
The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line. A repeat sign is present in the middle of the system.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line. A repeat sign is present in the middle of the system.

The fifth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps. The music continues with a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line. A repeat sign is present in the middle of the system.



14. Siris, "The Siciliana"





15. L'Abbe, "The New Rigadoon"



16. L'Abbe, "Prince Frederick"



17. L'Abbe, "The Prince of Wales"







18. L'Abbe, "Prince William"

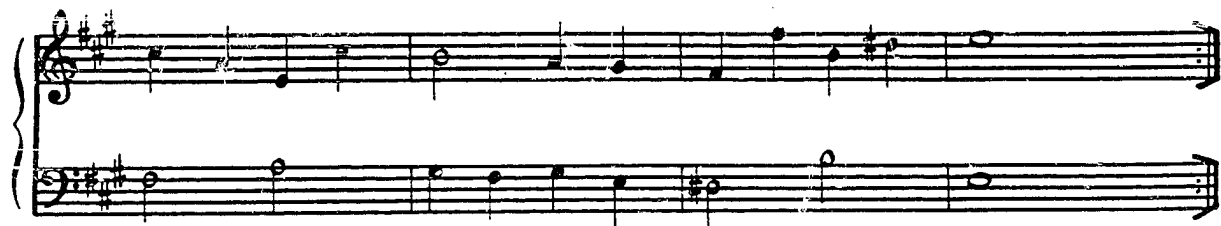
The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a single system, with a brace on the left side. The key signature has one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 4/4. The melody in the treble clef begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and C5. The bass line starts with a half note G2, followed by quarter notes A2, Bb2, and C3.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music continues from the first system. The treble clef melody features a series of eighth notes: G4, A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4, F4, E4, D4, C4. The bass line continues with quarter notes: G2, A2, Bb2, C3, Bb2, A2, G2, F2, E2, D2, C2.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The treble clef melody continues with eighth notes: C4, B3, A3, G3, F3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2, F2, E2, D2, C2. The bass line continues with quarter notes: B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1, B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The treble clef melody continues with eighth notes: B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1, B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1. The bass line continues with quarter notes: B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1, B1, A1, G1, F1, E1, D1, C1.

18. L'Abbe, "Prince William" (second version)



19. L'Abbe, "Queen Caroline"

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Queen Caroline" by L'Abbe. It consists of five systems of piano accompaniment, each with a treble and bass staff. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and dynamic markings. The score is presented in a clean, black-and-white format, typical of a printed musical manuscript.

20. Anon., "The Cybelline"

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5, which are beamed together and have a slur above them. This is followed by quarter notes B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4, and B3. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4, which are beamed together. This is followed by quarter notes B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, and B2.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5, which are beamed together and have a slur above them. This is followed by quarter notes B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4, and B3. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4, which are beamed together. This is followed by quarter notes B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, and B2.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5, which are beamed together and have a slur above them. This is followed by quarter notes B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4, and B3. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4, which are beamed together. This is followed by quarter notes B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, and B2.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5, which are beamed together and have a slur above them. This is followed by quarter notes B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4, and B3. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4, which are beamed together. This is followed by quarter notes B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, and B2.

The fifth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). It begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5, which are beamed together and have a slur above them. This is followed by quarter notes B4, A4, G4, F#4, E4, D4, C4, and B3. The lower staff is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. It begins with a half note G3, followed by quarter notes A3, B3, and C4, which are beamed together. This is followed by quarter notes B3, A3, G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, and B2.

The first system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both staves are in the key of D major, indicated by two sharps (F# and C#). The music features a melodic line in the upper staff and a supporting bass line in the lower staff, with various note values and rests.

The second system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both staves are in the key of D major. The music continues with a melodic line in the upper staff and a supporting bass line in the lower staff, featuring various note values and rests.

The third system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both staves are in the key of D major. The music continues with a melodic line in the upper staff and a supporting bass line in the lower staff, featuring various note values and rests.

The fourth system of musical notation consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both staves are in the key of D major. The music continues with a melodic line in the upper staff and a supporting bass line in the lower staff, featuring various note values and rests.

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