

**ART AND NATURE JOIN'D: HESTER SANTLOW AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF DANCING ON THE LONDON STAGE, 1700-1737**

by

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ABSTRACT

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The thesis deals with the dancing career of the English dancer-actress Hester Santlow (c1690-1773), from her debut in 1706 to her retirement from the stage in 1733, with particular reference to her influence on the development of dancing on the London stage through her repertoire of entr'acte dances and her work with the dancing-masters John Weaver, John Thurmond, and Roger. The early eighteenth century was a significant period for the development of dancing. On the London stage, new forms and genres of entr'acte dances were introduced as well as two new afterpiece genres, the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' of John Weaver (the first independent theatre works to tell a story through dance and mime alone with no spoken or sung text) and pantomimes. The thesis focusses on Santlow's repertoire of entr'acte dances, those of her dances recorded in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation, and her dancing roles in both 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes. In order to analyse and interpret her entr'acte and notated dances, the style and technique of early eighteenth-century dancing is reviewed, and the forms and genres of dancing on the London stage in the early 1700s are defined. For the assessment of her afterpiece roles, Santlow's own career as an actress and the careers of several of her contemporaries, in particular the dancers and dancing-masters with whom she worked most closely, are investigated. The thesis argues that Hester Santlow made a significant contribution to the developments in dancing on the London stage during the course of her career, and that the most important of these developments, the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' of John Weaver, could not have been produced for the London stage without her.



HESTER SANTLOW AS A FEMALE HARLEQUIN.
PORTRAIT PROBABLY BY JOHN ELLYS, c1725.
(Theatre Museum, London)

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TABLE 1. JOHN WEAVER'S GENRES OF DANCING

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PREFACE

The thesis follows the guidelines in the *MHRA Style Book*, fourth edition (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1991).

In accordance with the *MHRA Style Book*, the titles of dances advertised as given in the entr'actes will be treated like songs and other short individual pieces and given in roman within single quotation marks, e.g. 'Harlequin', 'Dutch Skipper', except for those dances whose titles reflect only their musical type which will be given without quotation marks and begin with an upper case letter, e.g. Chacone, Minuet. Other references to musical types based on dances will use the terms preferred in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by S. Sadie, sixth edition (London: Macmillan, [1980]). Those dances which were separately published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation will be treated like other works individually published under their own titles and given in italics, e.g. *The Union*, *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*; where these dances were published within collections, for example in L'Abbé's *A New Collection of Dances*, their titles will be given in roman within single quotation marks, e.g. 'Passacaille of Armide', 'Chacone of Galathee'. Danced afterpieces, and afterpieces with dancing will be treated like substantial musical compositions and italicized, e.g. *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*.¹

Dates in Great Britain followed the Julian Calendar, and the form of dating referred to as 'Old Style' (O. S.) in which the year began on 25 March, until 1752. Dates in the thesis are 'Old Style', following those in the primary and secondary sources used, but the year will be taken as beginning on 1 January, and the form '1705/6' will not be used for dates between 1 January and 25 March. By 1700 'Old Style'

¹ *MHRA Style Book* (1991), p. 21.

dates in Great Britain were eleven days behind the 'New Style' dates of the Gregorian Calendar used on much of the continent.²

For performances in the London theatres, all references to dates, places and casts, and all quotations from advertisements will be taken from the relevant volumes of *The London Stage* (which will not be cited), unless otherwise stated. Information taken from the available volume of the forthcoming new, revised edition of *The London Stage* will be indicated. Details of the volumes consulted are given below in 'Frequently Cited Works'.

The names of dancers, actors and other stage personnel will be given according to the form preferred in Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993). Their biographical details will also be drawn from this source (which will not be cited), unless otherwise stated. Other biographical sources, including the *Dictionary of National Biography*, will be cited where necessary. Composers' names will be given according to the form preferred in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*; this work will be cited in footnotes when it is the source of additional (including biographical) information.

Following her marriage to Barton Booth in 1719, Hester Santlow was always referred to by her married name. In the thesis she will generally be referred to as Hester Santlow, except in chapter two (a chronological survey of her life and career) where she will be named as Hester Santlow or Hester Booth as appropriate, and in quotations, where her name will be given as in the original text.

² *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, ed. by C.R. Cheney. Repr. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981), pp. 4, 10-11.

Frequently Cited Works

The following works will be referred to throughout the thesis by the short forms given here:

BDA: Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*. 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993)

Belle Dance: *La Belle Dance: catalogue raisonné fait en l'An 1995*. Sous la direction de Francine Lancelot (Paris: Van Dieren, 1996)

Coke: *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706-1715*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982)

E1728: Pierre Rameau, *The Dancing-Master: or, the Art of Dancing Explained*, trans. by John Essex (London: [J. Essex], J. Brotherton, 1728)

Quotations from Rameau will usually be taken from this translation and not his original treatise in French.

F1701: Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Choregraphie ou l'art de de'crire la dance, par caracteres, figures et signes de'monstratifs*. 2nd éd., augmentée (Paris: l'Auteur, Michel Brunet, 1701)

FT1704: Raoul Auger Feuillet, 'Traité de la Cadance', in *Recueil de dances contenant un tres grand nombres [sic], des meillieures entrées de ballet de Mr. Pecour* (Paris: Feuillet, 1704)

The 'Traité' is unpaginated; references will include page numbers within square brackets, taking the first page of the 'Traité' as p. [1].

Index to the London Stage: Index to the London Stage 1660-1800, compiled by Ben Ross Schneider, Jr. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979)

Lambranzi: Gregorio Lambranzi, New and Curious School of Theatrical Dancing, trans. by Derra de Moroda, ed. by Cyril W. Beaumont. 2nd print. (New York: Dance Horizons, 1972)

LMC: Meredith Ellis Little and Carol G. Marsh, La Danse Noble: an Inventory of Dances and Sources (Williamstown: Broude Brothers, 1992)

LS1: The London Stage 1660-1800: a Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces together with Casts, Box-receipts and Contemporary Comment. Part 1: 1660-1700, ed. by William Van Lennep (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965)

LS2: The London Stage 1660-1800: a Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces together with Casts, Box-receipts and Contemporary Comment. Part 2: 1700-1729, ed. by Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960)

LS2 (New): The London Stage 1660-1800. Part 2: 1700-1729. A new version compiled and ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume. Draft of the Calendar for Volume I 1700-1711 (To be published by Southern Illinois University Press)

LS3: The London Stage 1660-1800: a Calendar of Plays, Entertainments and Afterpieces together with Casts, Box-receipts and Contemporary Comment. Part 3: 1729-1747, ed. by Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965)

New Collection (Facsimile): Anthony L'Abbé, A New Collection of Dances: Originally Published by F. Le Roussau c.1725, introduction by Carol G. Marsh (London: Stainer & Bell, 1991)

New Grove: The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. by S. Sadie. 6th ed. 20 vols. (London: Macmillan, [1980])

Ralph: Richard Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver* (London: Dance Books, 1985)

References to Weaver's works within the text of the thesis will quote the page number in *Ralph*, except in Appendix II where it is necessary to refer directly to page or plate numbers in Weaver's *Orchesography* and *A Small Treatise of Time and Cadence in Dancing*.

Register: A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660-1737, compiled and ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume. 2 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991)

R1725: Pierre Rameau, *Le maitre à danser* (Paris: Jean Villette, 1725)

RA1725: Pierre Rameau, *Abbrégé de la nouvelle methode, dans l'art d'écrire ou de tracer toutes sortes de danses de ville* (Paris: l'Auteur, I. Villette, Jacque Josse, le Sr. Boivin, le Sr. Des-Hayes, [1725])

S1706: Raoul Auger Feuillet, *The Art of Dancing, Demonstrated by Characters and Figures*, trans. by P. Siris (London: the Author [i.e. the translator], 1706)

T1735: Kellom Tomlinson, *The Art of Dancing Explained by Reading and Figures* (London: the Author, 1735)

W1706: Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Orchesography. Or, the Art of Dancing, by Characters and Demonstrative Figures*, trans. by John Weaver (London: H. Meere for the Author [i.e. the translator], P. Valliant, 1706)

John Weaver's translation of Feuillet's *Choregraphie*. In Appendix II reference will be made to page numbers in the original text.

WT1706: Raoul Auger Feuillet, *A Small Treatise of Time and Cadence in Dancing*, trans. by John Weaver (London: H. Meere for the Author [i.e. the translator], Isaac Vaillant, 1706)

John Weaver's translation of Feuillet's *Traité de la Cadance*. In Appendix II reference will be made to page numbers in the original text.

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This thesis was guided through its initial stages by Dr Richard Ralph, then Principal of London Contemporary Dance School, and through its later stages by Dr Joan Scanlon and Dr Claire Seymour of London Contemporary Dance School, Professor Michael Irwin of the University of Kent at Canterbury, and Alastair Macaulay (who first suggested that I undertake a thesis on Hester Santlow, and kindly gave me copies of his own notes on her). I would like to thank them for their advice throughout what has been a long and demanding process of research and writing.

I would also like to thank the following people, who have between them provided help, information, advice and support at various stages of my work: Selma Jeanne Cohen, David Gordon and Evelyn Nallen who have explained, reconstructed and played (for rehearsals and performances) the music for the dances of Hester Santlow and her contemporaries, Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Robert D. Hume, Mary Ann Malkin, Sarah McCleave for allowing me a copy of her doctoral thesis on Marie Sallé and Handel, Carol Marsh, Judith Milhous, Maurice Packer, Patricia Rader for giving me a copy of her master's dissertation on Hester Santlow, Norma Reeves and John Adams, and (last but not least) Jennifer Thorp with whom I have discussed, reconstructed, and performed so many of the dances of Hester Santlow and her contemporaries over more than ten years of creative and rewarding collaboration. I am more than grateful to all of them.

Most of my research has been carried out in the British Library, which has unparalleled collections of early eighteenth-century materials relating to the theatre, including printed dance notations, music scores, play texts, poems, memoirs, newspapers, and manuscript documents, as well as a very comprehensive collection of secondary sources. My work as a curator at the Library has allowed me privileged access to these materials, without which I would not have been able to undertake the research for a doctoral thesis in the time left over from a full-time job. Among my colleagues at the Library, I would like particularly to thank Michael Crump, Director of Reference Services and Collection Development, who supported my initial application to the Library for support to undertake the thesis and subsequently authorised my regular requests for study leave, Robert Parker of the Music Library, and Dr Frances Harris of the Department of Manuscripts.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

My interest in the English dancer-actress Hester Santlow (c1690-1773) began with the reconstruction and performance of the ‘Passacaille of Armide’, a duet choreographed by the dancing-master Anthony L’Abbé for her and Mrs Elford and recorded and published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation early in the eighteenth century. The dance is thrilling in its complexity and intensity, and it provided me with a first glimpse of a dancer whom I knew only for her work with John Weaver, for she is barely mentioned in most histories of dancing.

There was enough information available about Hester Santlow to stimulate my interest further, for she had been the subject of three studies. The first of these, an essay by Selma Jeanne Cohen, was published in 1960 in *Famed for Dance: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing in England, 1660-1740*, and provides the foundation for all subsequent work, including this thesis.¹ Alastair Macaulay reinterpreted some of the evidence provided by Cohen and added fresh details about Santlow’s life and career in his 1990 article ‘The First British Ballerina: Hester Santlow c1690-1773’.² The most extensive study of Hester Santlow’s dancing career was the 1992 master’s dissertation by Patricia Rader, ‘Harlequin and Hussar: Hester Santlow’s Dancing Career in London, 1706-1733’, which appraised the known sources, added further new facts, and documented her dance repertoire; Rader’s work also included a detailed analysis of *The Union*,

¹ Selma Jeanne Cohen, ‘Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing: III Hester Santlow’, in Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, Selma Jeanne Cohen, Roger Lonsdale, *Famed for Dance: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing in England, 1660-1740* (New York: New York Public Library, 1960), pp. 49-58.

² Alastair Macaulay, ‘The First British Ballerina. Hester Santlow c1690-1773’, *Dancing Times*, 81 (1990), 248-250.

another of Santlow's dances to survive in notation.³ However, it was obvious that there was more to be discovered, for none of these studies investigated Santlow's dance repertoire in depth or examined her contribution to the development of dancing on the London stage.

Hester Santlow's career, which began with her debut as a dancer in 1706 and ended with her retirement from the stage in 1733, coincided with a period of change and development for the London stage. Italian opera came to London for the first time, and its success (together with its expensive foreign singers) had a considerable effect on the established repertoire in the theatres. The pantomime developed, based on the characters of the *commedia dell'arte* but drawing on several other forms of entertainment (including dancing), and became overwhelmingly successful. The ballad opera, almost an antidote to Italian opera, was introduced and also enjoyed enormous success. The early eighteenth century was a particularly significant period for the development of theatrical dancing; new forms and genres of entr'acte dances were introduced and the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' of John Weaver, the first independent theatre works to tell a story through dance and mime alone with no spoken or sung text, formed a new afterpiece genre.⁴ Hester Santlow took the leading female role in each of Weaver's works and was thus closely involved in the most important of these developments.

Her career also came at a time when dances were being recorded in the Beauchamp-Feuillet system of notation, which had been developed in the late

³ Patricia Weeks Rader, 'Harlequin and Hussar: Hester Santlow's Dancing Career in London, 1706-1733' (unpublished master's thesis, City University of New York, 1992).

⁴ Weaver's own terminology 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' will be used for his serious works, see John Weaver, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (London: W. Mears, J. Browne, 1717), titlepage. Although modern writers sometimes use the term '*ballet d'action*' to describe Weaver's works, this was not used in London in the early eighteenth century and its meaning is yet to be properly defined. The 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' and the pantomime are usually confused with one another, for example see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), chapter 2.

seventeenth century and published for the first time in 1700. These notated dances allow the study of part of the repertoires of leading dancers in both Paris and London, through academic written analysis and practical reconstruction and performance. Seven of Hester Santlow's dances survive in notation, more than for any other dancer on the London stage in the early eighteenth century, and they provide a unique opportunity to investigate her dancing style and technique.

Dance historians have focussed their attention on developments in France during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and, although Weaver usually merits a mention in general histories, interest in dancing in London has centred on the French dancer Marie Sallé who appeared there during several seasons between 1716-1717 and 1734-1735. Sallé is seen as the greatest exponent of expressive dancing in this period, and as an important influence on the dancing-master Jean-Georges Noverre, who claimed to be the creator of the *ballet d'action*.⁵ Like John Weaver, Noverre published his theories on expressive dancing; his *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* appeared in Stuttgart and Lyon in 1760.⁶ Hester Santlow's contribution to the development of expressive dancing, and her possible influence on Sallé has been ignored. Yet, between 1706 and 1733, Santlow was a leading actress as well as the leading dancer on the London stage. She acted with all the leading players at Drury Lane, and danced for nearly all of London's leading dancing-masters, many of whom created dances and dancing roles for her. Unusually for dancers of this period, a wealth of documentary evidence survives not only for her performances but also for her dance and drama repertoires. Given her status on the London stage, the nature of her career, the people with whom she worked closely, the range of her repertoire, and the surviving documentation, Hester Santlow is obviously deserving of detailed study.

⁵ For Sallé's influence on others, including Noverre, see Sarah McCleave, 'Dance in Handel's Italian Operas: the Collaboration with Marie Sallé' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1993), pp. 96-101.

⁶ Jean-Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur la danse, et sur les ballets* (Stuttgart, Lyon: Aimé Delaroche, 1760).

Like Santlow herself, the period of her career has been unjustly neglected by both dance and theatre historians. Although there have been several important studies of the administrative, economic, and political aspects of the London stage in the early eighteenth century, notably those by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, little has been written about the leading players, the dramatic repertoire, or performance practices. The only studies of theatrical dancing in this period have been those by Emmett L. Avery, principally in his article ‘Dancing and Pantomime on the London Stage’ published in 1934 and his introduction to part 2 of *The London Stage* published in 1960, and the essay by Ifan Kyrle Fletcher ‘Ballet in England, 1660-1740’ published in 1960 in *Famed for Dance*.⁷ John Weaver is the only dancer of this period to have been the subject of a modern scholarly study, Richard Ralph’s *The Life and Works of John Weaver* published in 1985, but Ralph focussed on Weaver’s published works and paid relatively little attention to Weaver’s contemporaries or dancing on the London stage. Since it is impossible to assess Santlow’s career and her influence without reference to the context within which she worked, it was necessary to undertake additional research into that context and to summarise some of the findings within the thesis.

Similarly, despite the information provided by the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, there are no authoritative studies of the dancers (other than Ralph’s work on John Weaver) who were Santlow’s contemporaries on the London stage. Since her career and her repertoire cannot be adequately assessed without reference to the work of other dancers in the London theatres, it was necessary to document the careers of several of the most important of the dancers and dancing-masters with whom she worked. This information has been summarised within the thesis, to allow comparison between their respective careers and that of Hester Santlow, and to provide a basis for the discussion of their work with her.

⁷ Emmett L. Avery, ‘Dancing and Pantomime on the English Stage’, *Studies in Philology*, 31 (1934), 417-452, and ‘Dancers and Dancing’, in *LS2*, pp. cxxx-cxxxv. Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, ‘Ballet in England, 1660-1740’, in *Famed for Dance*, pp. 5-20.

The central arguments of the thesis developed from the documentary evidence gathered during the research process. These arguments are, that Hester Santlow made a significant contribution to the developments in dancing on the London stage during the course of her career, and that the most important of these developments, the ‘dramatic entertainments of dancing’ of John Weaver, could not have been produced for the London stage without her.

Research Methodology and Arrangement of the Thesis

The emphasis on documentary evidence in this thesis is inevitable, given the lack of existing authoritative studies of dancing on the early eighteenth-century London stage. In the thesis, it has been necessary to draw on as wide a variety of evidence as possible, but particularly dance treatises and notations, advertisements for performances, and printed descriptions of ‘dramatic entertainments of dancing’ and pantomimes, and to bring these different sources together in new ways. The surviving evidence has many gaps, which can only be filled with difficulty, in particular the absence of the majority of the dances and dance works in which Santlow appeared (they were never recorded in any way) and the lack of detailed eye-witness testimony or criticism of them (theatrical criticism did not develop until later, and even then was little concerned with dancing). The thesis therefore relies on the inferences which may be drawn from the available evidence, which is often insufficient to support definite, and irrefutable, conclusions.

The research methodology for this thesis included not only the traditional academic approach, through the discovery and interpretation of primary and secondary source materials, but also practical reconstruction of many of the notated dances referred to in the text. This process extended to public performances in concerts and at conferences of several of these dances, including Isaac’s *The Union* and *The Saltarella*, and L’Abbé’s ‘Passacaille of Armide’, ‘Menuet’, ‘Passagalìa of Venüs & Adonis’, and *The Prince of Wales’s Saraband*.⁸

⁸ These dances were all in Santlow’s repertoire, and are discussed in chapter five. The duets were reconstructed and performed with Jennifer Thorp.

Each chapter of the thesis examines a different aspect of Hester Santlow's career and dance repertoire in order to provide evidence in support of the central arguments. Chapter Two gives a chronological account of Santlow's career, and its development from her apprenticeship in 1704 to her retirement in 1733. It places her dancing career within the context of her acting career, and examines both against the background of the Drury Lane company and its rival at Lincoln's Inn Fields. It thus shows how she pursued simultaneous careers as a dancer and an actress, gives a profile of both her dancing and acting repertoires, provides evidence of her status and her popularity, and includes testimony from her contemporaries through quotations which refer specifically to her. It is supported by Appendix I, which lists Santlow's entr'acte dances, afterpiece dancing roles, dramatic roles, and epilogues. Chapter Three looks at dancing on the London stage during the early eighteenth century. It provides an assessment of the theatres and stages where Santlow danced, summarises the careers of her principal dancing partners, reviews the styles and techniques of dancing which Santlow would have had at her command, and investigates the forms and genres of dancing current on the London stage in the early 1700s. This chapter provides the basis for the discussion of Santlow's repertoire in the following chapters. It is supported by Appendix II, which provides a glossary of early eighteenth-century terms for dancing.

Hester Santlow's dancing repertoire is examined in three chapters, dealing respectively with her entr'acte dances, her notated dances, and her afterpiece dancing roles. Chapter Four concentrates on the most significant of the solos, duets, and group dances that Santlow performed in the entr'actes. It suggests interpretations of the solos and duets through surviving notations for similar dances, and provides evidence that several of the group dances either influenced, or were influenced by, the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' introduced by Weaver to the Drury Lane repertoire. It also looks at the significance of these dances within Hester Santlow's repertoire, and the subsequent performance history of several of them. Chapter Five examines Santlow's seven surviving notated dances,

for the evidence they provide not only of her dancing style and technique but also, and more significantly, for what they reveal about her expressive abilities as a dancer. The choreographic structure of each dance is briefly analysed, and its vocabulary of steps and figures is compared with other related dances recorded in notation. This chapter is informed by experiences from reconstructing the dances, and it is supported by Appendix III, which reproduces the notations for all seven dances with brief annotations.

Chapter Six returns to a chronological approach for the appraisal of those works by John Weaver, John Thurmond, and Roger in which Hester Santlow took the leading female dancing roles. It looks at the dance content of each 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' and pantomime, and relates this to both entr'acte and notated dances. The chapter focusses on Santlow's contribution to each work, assessing each of her roles as well as her part in the creation (rather than merely the interpretation) of them, and her importance to the success of each work on the London stage. The subsequent performance history of each afterpiece is examined, as well as its influence on other works produced at Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields. The conclusion, Chapter Seven, examines again the central arguments of the thesis presented here, reassessing their validity in the light of the evidence presented in Chapters Two to Six.

CHAPTER 2

THE LIFE AND CAREER OF HESTER SANTLOW c1690 - 1773

In 1706, Hester Santlow made her debut as a dancer at Drury Lane. In 1709, she made her debut as an actress at the same theatre, and thereafter pursued a career as both an actress and a dancer until her retirement in 1733. During Mrs Santlow's twenty-seven years on the stage, there were many changes in London's theatrical life, and she participated in important developments in entertainment on the London stage.

When Mrs Santlow began her career there were only two theatres in London offering regular performances, the *Drury Lane Theatre* managed by Christopher Rich, and the *Queen's Theatre* in the Haymarket managed by Sir John Vanbrugh. During her early years on the stage, Santlow's career was affected not only by the rivalry between Drury Lane and the Queen's Theatre, but also by the uneasy relationship between the long-established drama repertoire and the newly introduced Italian opera. These difficulties had hardly been solved before John Rich (the son of Christopher) opened a new theatre at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1714, and revived theatrical competition. By 1714, Hester Santlow was securely settled at Drury Lane under the successful management of Colley Cibber, Robert Wilks, and Barton Booth (who later became her husband), where she enjoyed many years of success. The later years of her career saw an intensification of the rivalry between Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, and a steady increase in competition as new theatres opened in the Haymarket in 1720, Goodman's Fields in 1729, and Covent Garden in 1732. Only after Santlow's retirement did the Licensing Act of 1737 return the London stage to a two company monopoly.

The period between 1714 and the late 1730s was one of increasing competition for audiences, which encouraged the introduction of new forms and genres of entertainment on the London stage, particularly those with dancing. Performances

in the London theatres of the early 1700s provided a great variety of entertainments.¹ There was music by the playhouse band before the performance began. A prologue, given by a leading actor, preceded the principal play of the evening, the mainpiece, which was usually either a comedy or a tragedy but might be a semi-opera or a ballad opera. It was followed by the epilogue, given by one of the leading actresses. From about 1715 onwards, the mainpiece was often followed by an afterpiece, in the form of a farce, a masque, a pantomime, or a 'dramatic entertainment of dancing'. Between the acts and at the end of the mainpiece, and sometimes at the end of the afterpiece, a variety of entr'acte entertainments were given, including music (solos and ensemble pieces), singing (solo songs and dialogues, some taken from plays or operas), speciality acts (including acrobatics and rope-dancing) and, most important of all, dancing.

Hester Santlow not infrequently danced in the entr'actes or the afterpiece as well as acting a leading role in the mainpiece. As an actress, she was most successful in genteel comedy and specialised in witty heroines like Harriet in Etherege's *The Man of Mode*.² She was extremely popular in breeches roles, which she played throughout her career; after gaining the role of Hellena in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*, she appeared in the play every season until she retired. Santlow did play in tragedy, but never appeared in the more taxing roles, being much better suited to pathetic heroines such as Ophelia in *Hamlet*. She was in many respects a natural successor to Anne Bracegirdle, several of whose roles she inherited from Mrs Bracegirdle's immediate successors. As a dancer, Mrs Santlow had an unusually wide repertoire of entr'acte dances, and regularly took leading roles in new afterpieces. Her dancing and acting careers were closely intertwined, and her experience as an actress was of particular importance when she came to create afterpiece dancing roles for John Weaver, John Thurmond, and Roger.³

¹ For the varied entertainments offered each evening by the London theatres in the early eighteenth century, see *LS2* pp. cxvi-cxvii.

² For a complete list of Santlow's dramatic roles and epilogues, see Appendix I.

³ For a complete list of Santlow's entr'acte dances and afterpiece dancing roles, see Appendix I.

Hester Santlow's career has been divided into several periods, beginning with her apprenticeship between 1704 and 1706. The period 1706 to 1712 runs from her debut as a dancer, through her debut as an actress, to the only significant break in her career, when she left the stage during the 1712-1713 season to bear her daughter. From 1713 to 1719 she worked to re-establish and consolidate her career as a leading player at Drury Lane, a process which culminated in her marriage to the actor-manager Barton Booth. Between 1719 and 1731, with Booth's protection and support, she was able to maintain and extend her acting career, but the increasing popularity of pantomime afterpieces meant that her dancing career assumed a greater importance than before. The final years of Hester Santlow's career, between 1731 and her retirement in 1733, saw her last significant dancing partnership with Denoyer and a change to her acting career, when the death of Anne Oldfield in 1730 left Santlow as the leading actress in comedy at Drury Lane.

Apprenticeship: 1704-1706

The date and place of Hester Santlow's birth remain undiscovered, and virtually nothing is known about her family background. She may have been born about 1690 and the suggestion has been made that she originally came from Dorset.⁴ The name Santlow is not common and may be French in origin, although Hester Santlow herself was always referred to as English.

Wherever she came from, by 1704 Hester Santlow was in London and apprenticed to the dancing-master René Cherrier. The year is given by a document, probably dating from January 1708, recording an agreement made between them at about the time of her debut in 1706:

⁴ Selma Jeanne Cohen suggested a birthdate of about 1690, 'Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing', in Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, Selma Jeanne Cohen, Roger Lonsdale, *Famed for Dance: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing in England, 1660-1740* (New York: New York Public Library, 1960), pp. 21-58 (p. 50). Alastair Macaulay referred to her as being of 'good Dorsetshire stock', 'The First British Ballerina. Hester Santlow c1690-1773', *Dancing Times*, 81 (1990), 248-250 (p. 248).

Mr Cherrier's Agreement with Mrs St Loe for 5 years from ye time of her beginning to Dance which is 2 years now passing. He is to give her half of what he recieves [sic] for her dancing under ye mutuall pentalty [sic] of £100 forfeiture

He taught her 2 years before she went upon ye stage—⁵

The agreement indicates that Hester Santlow was Cherrier's apprentice, since the periods mentioned (five years following her stage debut, plus two years training before it) total seven years, the usual length of apprenticeship at that time.⁶

Relatively little is known about Cherrier. He is recorded as performing in the opera at Metz in 1699, but there is otherwise very little evidence about his career before he came to London in 1703.⁷ However, three duets for the dancers 'Mr. Piffetot and Mr. Chevrier' were published in 1704 by Feuillet in his collection of Pecour's theatre dances: a sarabande from *Alcide* by Louis Lully and Marais, a canary from Desmarests's *Didon*, and an entrée from Campra's *L'Europe galante*.⁸ Although the name is not listed in the surviving cast lists, these notations provide evidence that a Chevrier or Cherrier danced at the Académie Royale de Musique (the Opéra) in Paris during the 1690s, for both *Alcide* and *Didon* were first given there in 1693 and *L'Europe galante* was first performed in 1697.⁹ All three dances require a virtuoso technique, since they incorporate such *pas composés* as single and multiple *pirouettes* (with and without *pas battus*), *entre-chats* and *demies cabrioles en tournant un tour en saut de basque*. Cherrier's London debut at Drury Lane on 14 December 1703 supports the idea that he had danced in Paris

⁵ *Coke* no. 41.

⁶ No research has been published on the training and apprenticeship of dancers and dancing-masters in England during the early eighteenth century.

⁷ Cohen, 'Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing', p. 50.

⁸ *LMC* 7860, 1780, 4240; *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/24, 25, 26.

⁹ François Parfaict and Claude Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris*. 7 vols. (Paris: Lambert, 1756), entries for *Alcide*, *Didon*, *L'Europe galante*.

and thus was the dancer named in the notations, for he appeared (in the first of a series of subscription concerts) alongside L'Abbé, who had enjoyed a career at the Paris Opéra.¹⁰

Cherrier's success in London was such that on 7 February 1704 he appeared with Du Ruel and Mrs Mayers at St James's Palace in 'several new entertainments' to celebrate the birthday of Queen Anne.¹¹ Although the bills rarely provided information about Cherrier's repertoire during his first season, he was advertised as the choreographer of a Chacone 'perform'd by him and 6 others' at Drury Lane on 10 February 1704, and the new Entry similarly advertised on 15 February 1704 may have been the same dance.¹² He was also billed with Du Ruel and Laforest on 9 June 1704 in an '*Arbour Dance in Imitation of the Original*' for a revival of Thomas Shadwell's *Psyche*, and on 21 June 1704 the entr'acte dances at Drury Lane included '*Cyclops Dance (from Psyche)*, in which Monsieur Cherrier perform'd the part of Vulcan with great applause'. Cherrier ended the season with a further demonstration of his versatility by performing a 'Punchanello' on 29 June, which he repeated on 1 July 1704.

Although he danced regularly throughout the 1704-1705 and 1705-1706 seasons, the advertisements rarely specified Cherrier's dances. He was billed for a 'Spanish Dance' as well as his 'Punchanello' on 27 November 1704, and repeated the 'Punchanello' on 1 January 1705. On 5 February 1706 he again danced at court, alongside L'Abbé, and others, for the Queen's birthday.¹³ By this time he had become well acquainted with the leading London dancing-masters, for he subscribed to John Weaver's *Orchesography* and *A Collection of Ball-Dances*

¹⁰ *New Collection (Facsimile)*, p. x.

¹¹ The dances were repeated at Drury Lane the following day, 8 February 1704.

¹² The modern term 'choreographer' will be used rather than the eighteenth-century term 'composer' for the creators of dances and dance works, to avoid confusion with composers of music for works presented on the London stage.

¹³ *LS2*.

Perform'd at Court by Isaac, both published in 1706.¹⁴ In the preface to *Orchesography* Weaver declared that 'whoever shall see the admirable Compositions of Mons. *L'Abbe* in *Ballet*, and his Performance, with that of M. *Desbargues*, M. *Du Ruel*, and M. *Cherrier*, can hope to see nothing in this Art of greater Excellence'.¹⁵

Cherrier's name disappeared from the bills after the 1707-1708 season but he may have stayed in London to teach, for Kellom Tomlinson later recorded that he was 'further instructed in the theatrical way, by that great performer Mr Cherreir [sic]' during his apprenticeship to Thomas Caverley between 1707 and 1714.¹⁶ Hester Santlow must have been apprenticed to Cherrier within a few months of his first London performance, so she may already have been receiving dance tuition, perhaps from a dancing-master who realised that he had a particularly talented pupil suitable for training 'in the theatrical way'. Cherrier provided Hester Santlow with a sound foundation of *belle dance* style and technique, and probably introduced her to both comic and grotesque dancing.

First Seasons on the Stage: 1706-1712

Hester Santlow made her debut as a dancer at Drury Lane, on 28 February 1706, in 'several new Entertainments of Dancing compos'd by Monsieur Cherrier, and perform'd by him and Miss Santlow, his Schollar, being the first time of her Appearance on the stage'.¹⁷ The mainpiece was the opera *Arsinoe, Queen of Cyprus*, preceded by Act IV of *The Old Batchelor*, but it is impossible to tell whether she danced in the opera or in the entr'actes (dancing is not called for in the fourth act of the play). She appeared regularly throughout the rest of the season, for she was billed twenty-three times between her first performance and her last at Dorset Garden on 9 July 1706, when the mainpiece was again *Arsinoe*. She danced with Cherrier at every performance, and was invariably advertised as 'his

¹⁴ *W1706*; *LMC 1706-Isa*.

¹⁵ *Ralph* p. 181, italics reversed.

¹⁶ *T1735*, sig. b1^r.

¹⁷ *LS2 (New)*.

Scholar', but none of their dances were named so it is not possible to tell what sort of repertoire she had. The advertisement for the performance on 28 March 1706 runs 'And Dancing by Monsieur du Ruel, Mrs du Ruel, Monsieur Cherrier, and Mrs Santlow his Scholar, particularly the *Harlequin Dance*'; the 'Harlequin' dance could have been a solo, a duet, or even a group dance, but it seems unlikely that this was Hester Santlow's first performance in the role she was to be so closely identified with later in her career.¹⁸ She may well have danced in the semi-operas and Italian operas given at Drury Lane in 1705-1706, for she appeared on bills which included *The Tempest*, *The Indian Queen*, *The Island Princess*, and *Camilla*, as well as *Arsinoe*. This was probably the season when Anthony L'Abbé choreographed the 'Passacaille of Armide' for her and Mrs Elford, who was a leading dancer at the Queen's Theatre.¹⁹

Hester Santlow did well enough in her debut season to be granted a benefit at Drury Lane on 16 April 1706, in which *Valentinian; With the Rape of Lucina* was the mainpiece and singing as well as 'three several Entertainments of Dancing by Monsieur Cherrier and Miss Santlow his Scholar' completed the evening's entertainment.²⁰ Hers was the last benefit of the season.

The benefit system had begun in the late seventeenth century as compensation for salaries which were not paid in full.²¹ By 1709 the dates and conditions attached to their benefits were part of actors' contracts.²² Benefits were important to players because they could significantly augment their salaries.²³ Players worked hard to

¹⁸ LS2 (New).

¹⁹ LMC 6520; *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/02.

²⁰ LS2 (New).

²¹ Robert D. Hume, 'The Origins of the Actor Benefit in London', *Theatre Research International*, 9 (1984), 99-111 (pp. 108-109).

²² Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660-1900*. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952-1959), II: Early Eighteenth-Century Drama, 286-287.

²³ Colley Cibber recorded that the takings at Mrs Oldfield's benefit often amounted to double her annual salary, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*. 2nd ed. (London: J. Watts, the author, W. Lewis, 1740), p. 333.

ensure good receipts by selling tickets and advertising their benefits, and the playhouse was sometimes rearranged to ensure the maximum audience at the highest prices by placing extra seating on the stage and railing part of the pit into boxes.²⁴ The benefit date, and its placing in relation to the benefits of other players, was a clear indication of a performer's ranking in the company; the nearer the benefit date was to 1 March (the earliest possible benefit date) the more profitable it was likely to be, and the more likely the player was to be among the leading members of the company. Some benefits were also command performances attended by one or more members of the royal family. These and other performances 'By Command' were accorded only to the leading players and were evidence of special favour.

In September 1706 the Lord Chamberlain ordered a genre split.²⁵ The musicians and dancers, including Hester Santlow, remained at Drury Lane, where Christopher Rich was allowed to produce plays (provided that they included music, songs and dances) and operas; the principal actors were transferred from Drury Lane to the Queen's Theatre, where Vanbrugh could produce only plays with nothing other than instrumental music.

Hester Santlow began her second season at the Dorset Garden Theatre, where she appeared between 1 and 28 November 1706. From 30 November she returned to Drury Lane, where she continued to appear until 2 June 1707. Although she was billed for only twenty-four performances she may have appeared far more often, for the advertisements often specified dancing without naming the dancers. This

²⁴ Betterton's benefit performance on 7 April 1709 was described in the *Tatler*, 12 April 1709, by Steele, who wrote 'the Stage it self was covered with Gentlemen and Ladies, and when the Curtain was drawn, it discovered even there a very splendid audience', *The Tatler*, ed. by Donald F. Bond. 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), I, 19. At Hester Booth's benefit on 23 March 1724 the advertisement stated 'Tickets [for the boxes] at 5s. Two benches of the Pit to be rail'd in at the same Price'. Seats in the pit were usually cheaper than those in the boxes.

²⁵ Curtis A. Price, 'The Critical Decade for English Music Drama, 1700-1710', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, 26 (1978), 38-76 (pp. 56, 58 and note 61), *Coke* no. 4.

season she was not invariably billed alongside Cherrier (nor was she always referred to as 'his Scholar'), and she began to work with new partners, for she appeared with both Desbarques and Du Ruel. Her most notable performance this season took place at court on 6 February 1707, when she and Desbarques danced Mr Isaac's *The Union* before Queen Anne to celebrate both her birthday and the Act of Union between England and Scotland.²⁶ The dance proved popular when it was given at Drury Lane on 8 March 1707, for it received three more performances during April. Perhaps as a result of her success in *The Union*, Hester Santlow's benefit came on the earlier date of 25 March 1707, when she and Cherrier danced 'a new *Dutch Skipper*' in the entr'actes to *The Committee*.

Santlow's third season on the stage was an unsettled and unsettling one. Her first billing came as late as 11 November 1707 at Drury Lane, when the dancing was by 'Legard and Miss Santlow his Scholar'.²⁷ It is probable that this was a mistake, for Delagarde appeared several times this season with 'his scholar', who is elsewhere named as Miss Norris.²⁸ On 22 November, Santlow was billed alongside Cherrier, and appeared with him again later that month and in December. On 10 January 1708, hers was the only dancer's name in the advertisement, providing clear evidence of her increasing popularity. However, on 31 December 1707 the Lord Chamberlain had issued an order for the union of the two companies, giving a monopoly of opera to Vanbrugh at the Queen's Theatre, and a monopoly of drama to Rich at Drury Lane.²⁹ When the union took effect on 13 January 1708, the actors returned to Drury Lane while the musicians and dancers (amongst whom was Hester Santlow) transferred to the Queen's Theatre. Santlow's first billing at her new theatre was not until 7 February 1708, when the mainpiece was

²⁶ *Daily Courant*, 6 February 1707. *The Union* was published in notation by John Weaver, see LMC [1707]-Unn.

²⁷ *LS2 (New)*.

²⁸ The performance at Drury Lane on 4 November 1707 included 'Dancing by Monsieur Leguard and Miss Norris his scholar', *LS2 (New)*.

²⁹ Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields 1695-1708* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), pp. 217-218.

Bononcini's *Camilla* with dancing by 'Monsieur Cherrier, Monsieur Debargues, Mrs Debargues, Mrs Santlow, Mrs Evans, and others'.³⁰ On 21 February 1708 the advertisement included 'a new Dance Compos'd for her Majesty's Birth-day call'd, *The Saltarella*, to be perform'd by Monsieur De Lagarde and Miss Santlow'; *The Saltarella* was choreographed by Mr Isaac.³¹

Hester Santlow's move to the Queen's Theatre provides some documentary evidence of her status in her new company, for a list survives which gives the daily salaries for singers, musicians and dancers for the spring of 1708.³² She appears among the dancers. Desbarques heads the list at £2.10.0., followed by Cherrier at £1.10.0. and Delagarde at 12s.6d., next come Mrs Desbarques, Hester Santlow and Mrs Evans all at £1.3.4., then Miss Alloway and Shaw at 10s.0d. each, and finally Miss Bruce and Mlle Cadett at 7s.6d. each. Hester Santlow was obviously regarded as one of the principal female dancers in the new company, ranking only a little behind her teacher René Cherrier.

The performance of *The Saltarella* marked Hester Santlow's last advertised billing of the 1707-1708 season, but another source confirms that she appeared in eight performances of the opera *Love's Triumph* between its first performance on 28 February and its last on 17 April 1708. A document which probably dates from April 1708 lists the dancers and their appearances in each act of the opera: the eight dancers (who are listed side by side in couples) were Cherrier and Hester Santlow, Desbarques and Miss Alloway, Delagarde and Mrs Evans, and Shaw and 'Malle Cadet'.³³ These appearances in *Love's Triumph* marked the end of Hester

³⁰ *LS2 (New)*.

³¹ *LS2 (New)*. *The Saltarella* may also have been performed at court for Queen Anne's birthday on 6 February 1708, R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 217. Delagarde also notated the dance for publication, see *LMC* [1708]-Slit.

³² *Coke* no. 50.

³³ *Coke* no 65. Miss Alloway is listed as 'Malle Aloay', and the 'Mr Cha' recorded in the document was probably the dancer John Shaw. See also *Coke* no. 66.

Santlow's partnership with René Cherrier, who apparently left the London stage at the end of the season.

She remained at the Queen's Theatre for the 1708-1709 season, although her name did not feature in the advertisements except for her benefit on 12 April 1709, when the mainpiece was the opera *Pyrrhus and Demetrius* and she was the only dancer mentioned. As she received a benefit, she must have performed regularly during the season, and as only Italian operas were given in the Haymarket she must have appeared on the same bill as, or even in, the operas. The only performances at the Queen's Theatre for which dancing is mentioned are those of 5 and 9 February 1709, advertised as having dancing 'By Dumirail, lately arriv'd from the opera at Paris'. Hester Santlow and Dumirail probably danced together during the season, although no evidence for their partnership survives. Dumirail seems to have danced quite frequently at the Paris Opéra in the early years of the eighteenth century: he appeared in Gatti's *Scylla* in 1701, in Lacoste's *Philomèle* and Lully's *Roland* in 1705, and in *Polyxène et Pyrrhus* by Collasse in 1706.³⁴ Two notations survive for dances choreographed by Pecour and performed by Dumirail and Mlle Victoire at the Opéra, an 'Entrée à deux' from Campra's opera *Hésione* of 1700, and a 'Contre-dance à deux' from Campra's opera *Tancredi* of 1702, both published in Paris in 1704.³⁵ Dumirail apparently had a command of *belle danse* style and technique, although he seems not to have been in the first rank of dancers. The Dumirail mentioned by Rameau as a contemporary of Beauchamps was perhaps his father.³⁶

At Drury Lane, during the 1708-1709 season Rich became involved in a dispute with his actors over their benefit payments, and on 6 June 1709 the Lord Chamberlain issued an order of silence against him.³⁷ At the beginning of the

³⁴ Dumirail is listed in the casts for these works in the *Dictionnaire des théâtres*.

³⁵ LMC 2620, 2180; *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/16, 20.

³⁶ R1725 p. xii.

³⁷ For the dispute and the silencing, see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'The Silencing of Drury Lane in 1709', *Theatre Journal*, 32 (1980), 427-447 (pp. 431-436).

1709-1710 season the Drury Lane Theatre was still dark and the Queen's Theatre was the only playhouse in London, giving Italian operas on two nights a week and plays on the other four. Hester Santlow was included among the proposed performers for the Haymarket in a document prepared by the manager Owen Swiney in November 1709.³⁸ On 21 November 1709, after much negotiation behind the scenes, William Collier, one of the share owners at Drury Lane, was granted a licence for the theatre, and on 22 November he broke into the theatre and turned Rich out; on 23 November Drury Lane reopened for business with the young Aaron Hill as Collier's manager.³⁹ Drury Lane, like the Queen's Theatre, was allowed to present a mixed repertoire of plays and musical entertainments, although the latter did not in practice extend to Italian operas. Santlow was omitted from the list of performers at the Queen's Theatre in an order issued by the Lord Chamberlain on 24 December 1709, since she had been granted permission to perform at Drury Lane.⁴⁰ The Drury Lane company included many younger and less experienced actors, who had been unable to get employment alongside the leading players at the Queen's Theatre; it provided fresh career opportunities for some of them, including Hester Santlow.

On 3 December 1709, Hester Santlow appeared as Prue in Congreve's *Love for Love* 'being the first time of her Appearance on the Stage as an Actress'.⁴¹ On 29 March 1710, the seal was set on her new career when she was listed among the Drury Lane 'Comedians to be sworn' in a warrant of the Lord Chamberlain.⁴² The 1709-1710 season brought Hester Santlow overwhelming success and established her as one of the leading players on the London stage. She was advertised for fifty

³⁸ *Coke* no. 81. The only dancers named were Cherrier and Hester Santlow. The inclusion of Cherrier may indicate that he had worked at the Queen's Theatre during the 1708-1709 season, if not as a dancer then as a choreographer.

³⁹ Milhous and Hume, 'Silencing of Drury Lane', pp. 440-442.

⁴⁰ *Coke* pp. 133-135.

⁴¹ *LS2 (New)*.

⁴² Arthur H. Scouten and Robert D. Hume, 'Additional Players' Lists in the Lord Chamberlain's Registers', *Theatre Notebook*, 27 (1983), 77-79. She is named as 'Eastr. Mariana Santlow', the only time a second name is mentioned.

performances, more than twice as many as in any of her previous seasons, and after her acting debut she went on to appear in eight more roles, from the small part of Rose in Farquhar's *The Recruiting Officer* on 15 December 1709 to the title-role in Brome's *The Northern Lass* on 18 April 1710. During the season she also spoke seven new epilogues, a sure sign of her popularity (three of them were for plays in which she did not otherwise appear). Despite the complaint of a much later commentator, she did not neglect her dancing.⁴³ Her repertoire included a 'Harlequin' duet with the comic dancer Lewis Layfield, and she was billed for the first time dancing a solo 'Harlequin'. She appeared several times in a solo 'French Peasant', which she paired with a Chacone on 12 April 1710, and she also danced a solo 'Dutch Skipper'. At several performances she was the only dancer advertised. Hester Santlow was granted two benefits during the season: the first came on 14 February 1710, when she made her debut as Ophelia in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, danced a solo 'Dutch Skipper', and gave a new epilogue 'in boys' clothes'; the second was the last performance of the Drury Lane season, on 6 June 1710, when she appeared as Prue in *Love for Love*, danced 'Harlequin' before the play and gave a new epilogue. This benefit was shared with the actress Mrs Moore.

Her greatest success this season was undoubtedly in the title-role of Charles Shadwell's new play *The Fair Quaker of Deal*, which received its first performance on 25 February 1710 and for which she also spoke the epilogue. Colley Cibber paid tribute to her achievement when he came to publish his *Apology* in 1740:

But during the trial of *Sacheverel*, our Audiences were extremely weaken'd, by the better Rank of People's daily attending it: While, at the same time, the lower Sort, who were not equally admitted to that grand Spectacle, as eagerly crowded into *Drury-Lane*, to a new Comedy, called

⁴³ Dr. John Doran, "*Their Majesties' Servants*". *Annals of the English Stage from Thomas Betterton to Edmund Kean*, ed. and rev. by Robert W. Lowe, 3 vols. (London: John C. Nimmo, 1888), I, 405. Doran wrote 'Many admirers, however, regretted that she had abandoned the ballet for the drama. They mourned as if Terpsichore herself had been on earth to charm mankind, and had gone never to return'. He gave no source for his remarks.

The fair Quaker of Deal. This Play, having some low Strokes of natural Humour in it, was rightly calculated, for the Capacity of the Actors, who play'd it, and to the Taste of the Multitude, who were now, more dispos'd, and at leisure to see it: But the most happy Incident, in its Fortune, was the Charm of the fair Quaker, which was acted by Miss *Santlow*, (afterwards Mrs. *Booth*) whose Person was then in the full Bloom of what Beauty she might pretend to: Before this, she had only been admired as the most excellent Dancer; which, perhaps, might not a little contribute to the favourable Reception, she now met with as an Actress, in this Character, which so happily suited her Figure, and Capacity: The gentle Softness of her Voice, the compos'd Innocence of her Aspect, the Modesty of her Dress, the reserv'd Decency of her Gesture, and the Simplicity of the Sentiments, that naturally fell from her, made her seem the amiable Maid she represented:⁴⁴

Hester Santlow's impact on her audiences was recorded by a visitor to London, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, who also provided an insight into the social status which her fame had brought her:

In the evening we saw an extremely live [sic] comedy: 'The Fair Quaker of Deal', an uncommonly curious play, in which English Quakers and Quakeresses are represented most naturally. The female who played the chief part, that of a Quaker, is a person well known throughout England, called Mistress Sandlow. She is universally admired for her beauty, matchless figure and the unusual elegance of her dancing and acting, and she is visited by those of the highest fashion in England. To my mind her

⁴⁴ Colley Cibber, *Apology* pp. 347-348. The trial of Dr Henry Sacheverell, for his sermons attacking toleration of dissenters and the practice of occasional conformity, took place at Westminster between 27 February and 20 March 1710 and drew large crowds, *DNB* entry for Sacheverell. A head and shoulders portrait of Hester Santlow, apparently depicting her in the role of the 'Fair Quaker', is now at Port Eliot in Cornwall. It was the subject of a mezzotint by Robert Bowyer Parkes in the mid-nineteenth century, reproduced in *Ralph*, p. 57.

looks must be very much gone off, though her style is still tolerable. She is certainly the best actress of this company. The comedy was played in Drury Lane. ... Between every act they introduced several dances for variety, which is never done there. The above-mentioned actress danced charmingly as Harlequin, which suits her excellently and much pleases the English. They make such a to-do about her that her portrait in this costume is painted on snuff-boxes and frequently sold.⁴⁵

The performance seen by von Uffenbach was that of 2 June 1710, the advertisement for which referred only to '6 several Entertainments of Comical Dancing between the Acts' and made no specific mention of Santlow's 'Harlequin' dance.⁴⁶

Hester Santlow's success came during a troubled season at Drury Lane. The actors were unhappy with Aaron Hill's management and the performance on 2 June had been preceded by a riot against him. Hill had tried to lock them out, and they in turn had barred him from entering as they put on the performance.⁴⁷ Santlow's second benefit on 6 June was among several scheduled by Hill in an attempt to buy off the disgruntled actors, but it took place under the management of those actors who had led the riot.⁴⁸ She may have experienced divided loyalties, for the opportunities she had been given during the season had come from Aaron Hill (the epilogue to his play *Elfrid* was 'the first epilogue she ever spoke') as well as from the actors he had associated with him in the management of Drury Lane. Aaron Hill was later known as a reformer of stage practices, advocating a more natural acting style and the use of historically accurate costumes. If Hester Santlow did not participate in any attempts by Hill to introduce reforms during this

⁴⁵ *London in 1710. From the Travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach*, trans. and ed. by W. H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), pp. 30-31.

⁴⁶ *LS2 (New)*.

⁴⁷ Milhous and Hume, 'Silencing of Drury Lane', pp. 443-444.

⁴⁸ The second benefit for Hester Santlow and Mrs Moore was first announced in the *Daily Courant*, 27 May 1710, while Hill was still in control at Drury Lane.

season, she must nevertheless have heard his ideas not long after she first worked with John Weaver.

The 1710-1711 season did not begin until 4 November 1710, when the Queen's Theatre opened to present plays. On 6 November the Lord Chamberlain granted a licence for the Queen's Theatre to Swiney, Wilks, Cibber and Doggett, but on 15 November William Collier assigned to them the lease he had arranged on the Drury Lane Theatre. On 20 November 1710 Drury Lane reopened, with a reunited company of actors (including Hester Santlow) and a new genre split which placed drama there and opera at the Queen's Theatre. Collier received the opera concession and transferred to the Queen's Theatre with Aaron Hill as his manager. This season marked a welcome return to stability for players in the London theatres.⁴⁹

At Drury Lane, Santlow was first billed on 23 November 1710 as Corinna in Vanbrugh's *The Confederacy*. She was now in a company which included all the leading players on the London stage, and faced competition from established actresses as varied in repertoire and skills as Anne Oldfield and Margaret Bicknell. Although she was billed for only thirty-three performances she repeated several roles from her first season as an actress and took on eleven new ones, three of which were in new plays. Among the new roles were some which became part of her permanent repertoire, in particular Gatty in Etherege's *She Wou'd If She Cou'd* and Harriet in his *The Man of Mode*. She became unwittingly involved in a controversy when she played the part of Gatty, for the role had previously belonged to the singer-actress-dancer Letitia Cross, who this season was not employed at Drury Lane. A group of Mrs Cross's admirers threatened to disrupt the performance on 19 March 1711, when Hester Santlow was scheduled to play in *She Wou'd If She Cou'd*, although Mrs Cross claimed to have dissuaded them from action and there was apparently no trouble.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ For the events of November 1710, see Milhous and Hume, 'Silencing of Drury Lane', pp. 445-446.

⁵⁰ *Coke* nos. 102, 103.

By April 1712, Colley Cibber, Robert Wilks, and Thomas Doggett were the managers at Drury Lane, and Hester Santlow had settled into the company where she would spend the rest of her career. Between 27 September 1711 and 23 May 1712, she repeated eight roles from previous seasons but added only two, one of which was Flora in Thomas Doggett's farce *Hob; or, The Country Wake*, one of the most successful afterpieces of the period. She was billed as dancing on only three occasions. The first of these was at the Queen's Theatre on 22 April 1712, for a concert which included one scene of the opera *Thomyris* as well as 'several entertainments by Mrs Santlow, and young Mr Camille, composed by Mr Isaack'. The performance was a benefit for the castrato singer Nicolo Grimaldi, known as Nicolini, who according to the advertisement repeated the pieces he had sung before Queen Anne on her birthday the previous February. The reference to Mr Isaac as the choreographer of the dances may also be connected with the Queen's birthday, since he had created a new dance each year for that occasion since the beginning of her reign and these had been published regularly since 1707. It is possible that Hester Santlow and Mr Camille performed some of these dances, since the notations for all of them were reissued in 1712 by the music publisher John Walsh. The Queen's birthday dance for this year was *The Royal Ann*, and it may well have been included in the April performance.⁵¹ On 2 May 1712, Santlow was billed as dancing with Delagarde for her benefit performance; she was the third woman in the Drury Lane company to receive a benefit, after Mrs Oldfield and Mrs Porter.

⁵¹ The reissued dances are listed in *LMC* pp. 107-111. Patricia Rader suggested that Mrs Santlow might have performed *The Royal Ann*, and added that she might also have performed *The Gloucester*, see Patricia Weeks Rader, 'Harlequin and Hussar: Hester Santlow's Dancing Career in London, 1706-1733' (unpublished master's thesis, City University of New York, 1992), p. 62. Nothing is known of Mr Camille, who is not otherwise billed as appearing on the London stage, although Rader (p. 62) suggests that he could have been the son of the Mr Camille who subscribed to Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing* in 1711.

James Craggs

After only one appearance, on 23 September 1712 in *The Country Wake*, Hester Santlow was absent from Drury Lane for the rest of the 1712-1713 season.⁵² Harriot, her daughter by James Craggs, was probably born in February 1713, although the exact date and the place of her birth are unknown.⁵³ Hester Santlow's absence from the stage seems to have gone unremarked, and the parentage of Harriot Craggs remained unknown outside the Eliot and Craggs families until much later; although published genealogies of the two families include Harriot as the illegitimate daughter of James Craggs, none mention Hester Santlow as her mother.⁵⁴ The liaison between Hester Santlow and James Craggs is assumed to have begun as early as 1706, with her first appearances on the stage, but it probably did not start until several years later.⁵⁵ Hester Santlow remained under the tutelage of Cherrier until at least April 1708, when they appeared in *Love's Triumph* together. James Craggs left England in May 1708 to take up a post in Barcelona as secretary to James Stanhope, Envoy Extraordinary to the King of Spain, and remained there until December 1709, returning to Spain with Stanhope in May or June 1710 before finally coming back to England in August 1710.⁵⁶ The earliest likely period for the beginning of their liaison is therefore the autumn of

⁵² *The Country Wake* was given again on 2 October 1712, but Hester Santlow's role of Flora was omitted; no casts were listed for subsequent performances.

⁵³ *Genealogical Memoranda relating to the Families of Eliot of Port Eliot and Craggs of Wyserley* (London: Taylor & Co., 1868), p. 6, includes 'Memoranda on fly-leaves of an old Bible in the Port Eliot library' which records the marriage of Richard Eliot on 10 March 1726 to 'Harriot his wife aged thirteen years and one month'.

⁵⁴ See: *Hasted's History of Kent*, ed. by Henry H. Drake. Part I (London: Mitchell and Hughes, 1886), p. 138; John Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*. 7th ed. (London: Henry Colburn, 1841). Dr John Doran identified Hester Santlow as Harriot's mother, Doran, "*Their Majesties' Servants*", p. 404.

⁵⁵ Doran wrote that Santlow 'first bounded on to the stage this season, and the heart of Mr. Secretary Craggs bounded in unison', but gave no source for his remarks, Doran, "*Their Majesties' Servants*", p. 298. He was followed by Cohen, 'Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing', p. 54, and Macaulay, 'The First British Ballerina', p. 249.

⁵⁶ D. B. Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1689-1789* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1932), pp. 129-130.

1710, but since their daughter was not born until 1713 (and there is no evidence that Hester Santlow had become pregnant before 1712) it is also possible that they did not become lovers until 1711 or even 1712.

James Craggs was born in 1686.⁵⁷ He was the only surviving son of James Craggs the elder, an astute man of business who managed the affairs of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, and his education had included travel abroad to Hanover and Turin.⁵⁸ Craggs took an early interest in the theatre, for with a letter to Thomas Coke (later the Vice Chamberlain) he enclosed tickets for the joint benefit of Miss Mountfort and Miss Evans at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 26 June 1704, 'which I fancy you'll be willing to dispose of for the encouragement of so hopeful a beginner'.⁵⁹ In 1711 Craggs apparently became more closely involved in theatrical affairs, for he seems to have acted as an arbitrator in the dispute between Wilks, Doggett, Cibber and Swiney which led to the cancellation of an agreement between them.⁶⁰ It may have been at this time that he met Hester Santlow.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote a pen portrait of James Craggs the younger, when 'He was in his first bloom of youth and vigour, and had so strong an appearance of that perfection, that it was called beauty by the generality of women'.⁶¹ Of his character she added:

Young Craggs had great vivacity, a happy memory, and flowing elocution; he was brave and generous; and had an appearance of open-heartedness in

⁵⁷ Details of James Craggs's life and career are from *DNB* unless otherwise stated.

⁵⁸ Abel Boyer, *The Political State of Great Britain ... for the Month of October, 1721*, (London: the author, T. Warner, A. Rocayrol, [1721]), p. 443.

⁵⁹ Historical Manuscripts Commission. *12th Report, Appendix, Part III. The Manuscripts of the Earl Cowper*. Vol. III (London: HMSO, 1889), p. 79, which misdates the letter to 1707. It is not clear which of the two young performers Craggs was referring to.

⁶⁰ *Register* 2173.

⁶¹ *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. by Lord Wharnclyffe, additions and corrections by W. Moy Thomas. 2 vols. (London: George Bull and Sons, 1887), I, 9.

his manner that gained him a universal good-will, if not a universal esteem.⁶²

Her assessment was echoed later by Craggs's close friend the poet Alexander Pope, who described him as 'candid, free, sincere', and the dramatist John Gay who wrote of him as 'Bold, gen'rous *Craggs*, whose heart was ne'er disguis'd'.⁶³

The duration of Hester Santlow's liaison with the younger Craggs is unknown. It seems to have lasted until at least 1717, when Craggs fought a duel on her behalf. The circumstances which led to his action were described many years later by Colley Cibber in his *Apology*, in which he wrote of 'a young Actress, of a desirable Person, sitting in an upper Box at the Opera', who when 'a military Gentleman thought this a proper Opportunity to secure a little Conversation with her; ... she rather chose to give the Musick the Preference of her Attention'. The would-be admirer thereupon turned to insults until the actress 'being beaten too far out of her Discretion, ... turn'd hastily upon him, with an angry Look, and a reply, which seem'd to set his Merit in so low a Regard, that he thought himself oblig'd, in Honour, to take his time to resent it'. Cibber went on to describe how the man continued his insults when the actress next appeared upon the stage, until he was challenged by a 'Gentleman, then behind the Scenes', with the conclusion that 'their Dispute was ended the next Morning in *Hyde-Park*, where the determin'd Combatant, who first asked for Satisfaction, was oblig'd afterwards to ask his Life too'.⁶⁴

⁶² *Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, I, 11.

⁶³ 'Epistle to James Craggs, Esq; Secretary of State', in *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. by John Butt (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 465. 'Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece', in *The Poetical Works of John Gay*, ed. by G. C. Faber (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 164-168 (p. 166).

⁶⁴ *Cibber. Apology*, pp. 65-67. Cibber did not directly identify the parties to the dispute, but added that 'his Antagonist, in a few Years after, died in one of the Principal Posts of Government'. They were named as Hester Santlow, 'Captain Montague', and James Craggs in *The Laureat: or, the Right Side of Colley Cibber, Esq;* (London: J. Roberts, 1740), p. 28.

However, Craggs's increasingly successful political career must have begun to affect his relationship with Hester Santlow some years before 1717. In 1714, he was sent to Hanover to report Queen Anne's death to the new King, George I; in 1715, he became Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance, and was involved in the aftermath of the Jacobite rebellion.⁶⁵ In 1717, Craggs was appointed Secretary at War, and in the following year he succeeded Joseph Addison as principal Secretary of State for the South. His new responsibilities caused him to withdraw from his involvement in the theatre, for in 1718 he sold back to John and Christopher Rich the share in Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre he had purchased in 1714.⁶⁶ His liaison with Hester Santlow seems to have been over by 1718, the year her relationship with Barton Booth, one of the managers at Drury Lane and a fellow actor, began to develop.

Mid-Career: 1713-1719

The 1713-1714 season began at Drury Lane on 22 September 1713, but Hester Santlow's name was not included in the advertisements until 7 October, when she appeared in the title-role of *The Fair Quaker of Deal*. She returned to a secure company with a monopoly over drama (the only other theatre, the Queen's Theatre, gave nothing but opera this season), under the management of William Collier (who played no active part), Colley Cibber, Robert Wilks, and Thomas Doggett.

Colley Cibber was also a leading actor with the company, specialising particularly in fops, and a leading dramatist. A number of his plays were revived regularly almost every season in the early eighteenth century: during her career Hester Santlow often played in Cibber's *The Double Gallant*, *Love Makes a Man*, *She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not*, *The Lady's Last Stake*, and *The Careless Husband*. Aaron Hill, describing Cibber's abilities as an actor, wrote 'when He represented a

⁶⁵ Horn, *British Diplomatic Representatives*, p. 52; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Eleventh Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of the Marquess Townshend* (London: HMSO, 1887), pp. 169-171, 222.

⁶⁶ *Register* 2430, 2882, 3043.

ridiculous Humour, He had a Mouth, in every Nerve, and became Eloquent, without speaking. His Attitudes were *pointed* and *exquisite*, and His *Expression* was stronger, than *Painting*'.⁶⁷ Cibber's responsibilities, as a manager at Drury Lane, included the company's repertoire; he chose the new plays and the revivals that Santlow appeared in, from the 1710-1711 season until almost the end of her career.

Robert Wilks was the leading actor at Drury Lane, with a wide range of roles in both comedy and tragedy. His heavy acting schedule, and his perfectionism, probably contributed to the ill-temper that threatened to disrupt his relations with others in the playhouse. John Downes, prompter at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre until 1706, described him as 'Proper and Comely in Person, of Graceful Port, Mein and Air; void of Affectation; his Elevations and Cadencies just'.⁶⁸ As one of the managers at Drury Lane, Wilks was responsible for overseeing rehearsals. In 1710-1711, he and Hester Santlow were in the same company for the first time and they began to build an on-stage partnership. In their first two seasons together, she played Ophelia to Wilks's Hamlet, Harriet to his Dorimant in *The Man of Mode*, and Miranda to his Sir George in Mrs Centlivre's *The Busy Body*.

Thomas Doggett's management tasks at Drury Lane were concerned with the company's finances, for he was both cashier and treasurer.⁶⁹ Doggett was a very accomplished and extremely popular comic actor, described by a fellow-actor, Tony Aston, as 'a little, lively, spract Man' and 'the best Face-player and Gesticulator'.⁷⁰ During the short time they were both at Drury Lane, Doggett and Hester Santlow appeared together in several plays, including *The Country Wake*, in

⁶⁷ *The Prompter*, 19 November 1734.

⁶⁸ John Downes, *Roscious Anglicanus*, ed. by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), p. 106. *Roscious Anglicanus* was first published in 1708.

⁶⁹ *Coke*, p. 190.

⁷⁰ Anthony Aston, *A Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber, esq; His Lives of the Late Famous Actors and Actresses* ([London]: the Author, [1747]), pp. 15, 16.

which he was Hob and she was Flora, and Vanbrugh's *Aesop*, in which he was Learchus and she was Euphronia. Doggett must have enjoyed working with Santlow, for when he returned briefly to the stage for three performances in 1717 one of them was her benefit on 25 March 1717, and another was Mrs Bicknell's benefit on 1 April 1717, when he again played Hob in *The Country Wake* and Mrs Santlow may have taken the role of Flora.

There was an important change in management at Drury Lane in November 1713, when the Lord Chamberlain issued a new licence to Collier, Wilks, Cibber, Doggett, and the company's leading tragic actor Barton Booth. The admittance of Booth to the management dismayed Cibber and Wilks, and provoked Doggett into leaving the theatre in protest.⁷¹

On her return, after a whole season's absence from the stage, Hester Santlow was faced with the task of re-establishing her position in the Drury Lane company. During the 1712-1713 season, some of her roles had been omitted when the plays were given, and some had been taken over by other actresses. She immediately regained the roles of Dorinda (Miranda's sister) in Thomas Shadwell's adaptation of *The Tempest*, Hotspur's Wife in *King Henry IV. Part 1*, and Flora in *The Country Wake*, for none of these plays had been given in the previous season. Santlow took back the role of Gatty in *She Wou'd If She Cou'd*, which had been played by Susanna Mountfort in 1712-1713, but she lost the role of Ophelia in *Hamlet* to Mrs Mountfort, who kept it until the end of the 1714-1715 season. The role of Prue in *Love for Love* had been played by Mrs Bicknell in 1712-1713, and it was taken over by Elizabeth Younger in 1713-1714. However, Hester Santlow did take on five new roles in 1713-1714, and gave epilogues for two plays, signs that the Drury Lane management were happy to have her back. Two of the roles, and both of the epilogues, were for new plays, one of which was Mrs Centlivre's *The Wonder: a Woman Keeps a Secret* (in which she took the role of Donna Isabella); neither of the plays was successful. Her other new roles were in revivals.

⁷¹ *Coke* pp. 203-204.

Hester Santlow was not advertised as dancing until her benefit, which came unusually late on 30 April and followed that of Mrs Mountfort as well as those of Mrs Oldfield and Mrs Porter, indicating some loss of status within the company. Her dance repertoire this season included the 'Harlequin' dance, which she performed both as a solo and as a duet, and a 'French Peasant' duet. Her partner for both duets was the comic dancer Sandham. During 1713-1714 she was named in advertisements for only twenty-five performances, but may have appeared on another twenty-three occasions, so the number of her appearances was not significantly different from previous seasons.

The death of Queen Anne on 1 August 1714 was inevitably followed by changes in the London theatres. The licence under which Drury Lane was operating became void on the Sovereign's death and Colley Cibber, Robert Wilks and Barton Booth immediately sought a more effective replacement for Collier. On 18 October 1714 a new licence was issued to Sir Richard Steele, with Wilks, Cibber, Booth and Doggett, although the last-named continued to play no part in the theatre's management.⁷² On 18 December 1714 Drury Lane lost its monopoly when John Rich, who had inherited his father Christopher's patent, was allowed to open the rebuilt Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre.⁷³ Sir Richard Steele quickly petitioned the King on behalf of the Drury Lane company, and on 19 January 1715 he was granted a patent (with its greater legal status and security) for the theatre.⁷⁴ From the 1714-1715 season there were again two theatres in London, competing for audiences with the same mixed repertoire of plays and other entertainments.

For the 1714-1715 season, Hester Santlow was first advertised on 6 October 1714, dancing in the entr'actes with Mrs Bicknell. They danced together several times this season. Santlow acquired a number of new acting roles, following the

⁷² *Coke* p. 226.

⁷³ Christopher Rich died on 4 November 1714.

⁷⁴ The patent was valid for Steele's life plus three years. John Loftis, *Steele at Drury Lane* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), pp. 45-46, 243-245.

departure of one of Drury Lane's leading actresses, Lucretia Bradshaw, who had left the company at the end of the 1713-1714 season to marry. Among the roles she inherited were Angelica in Farquhar's *The Constant Couple*, Cordelia in Nahum Tate's adaptation of Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Harriet in Steele's *The Funeral*, and Alithea in Wycherley's *The Country Wife*. Mrs Bradshaw, whose first recorded stage appearance was in 1696 at Lincoln's Inn Fields, had been a protégé of Mrs Barry and had appeared frequently in both comic and tragic roles since the 1706-1707 season. She and Hester Santlow seem to have had much in common as actresses, for among her roles were others which Santlow later played, including Ophelia in *Hamlet*. Both excelled in genteel comedy, but Letitia Bradshaw had a much wider range in tragedy. Charles Gildon wrote of Mrs Bradshaw that 'if she be not the best Actress the Stage has known, she has hindred Mrs. Barry from being the only Actress', indicating that she was thought of as Mrs Barry's successor.⁷⁵ In addition to repeating several of her old roles Hester Santlow also created one new role, that of Aura in Charles Johnson's *The Country Lasses*, which later the same season became an afterpiece under the title *The Custom of the Country*. Only two of her dances were named in the advertisements during 1714-1715, the 'Harlequin' solo, and a 'French Peasant' duet which she danced with Wade.

The 1714-1715 season was the first after the accession of George I. Drury Lane was closed on 20 October 1714, the day of his coronation, and during the season there were many performances 'By Command', and attended by members of the new royal family. One of these was at the renamed King's Theatre on 11 December 1714, when the opera *Arminius* was given, the Prince and Princess of Wales attended, and Santlow danced.⁷⁶ The circumstances in which Hester

⁷⁵ Charles Gildon, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton* (London: Robert Gosling, 1710), p. 41.

⁷⁶ The newspaper advertisements do not refer to Santlow's appearance at this performance, which is known only from an entry in a manuscript diary known as 'Colman's Opera Register', British Library, Additional MS. 11258. The entry for 4 December 1714 records a performance of the opera *Ernelinda* and states 'Mrs. Santlow danced', while that for 11 December records 'Dancing by Mrs. Santlow'. She is the only dancer named by the diarist. See the transcription by Konrad

Santlow was allowed to appear at another theatre are unknown, but her performance there points to her immediate popularity with the new royal family. She participated in several other command performances, including Mrs Oldfield's benefit on 10 March 1715, when she and Mrs Bicknell danced together in the entr'actes. Santlow's own benefit came on 17 March 1715, 'By Their Royal Highness's Command'; she did not act in the mainpiece, which was Buckingham's *The Chances*, but she danced in the entr'actes with Wade as her partner. She had regained her ranking in the company, for hers was the third benefit for an actress, following Mrs Oldfield and Mrs Porter.

By the 1715-1716 season, Hester Santlow was completely re-established as one of the leading actresses at Drury Lane and the company's leading dancer. She was so much in demand that she was advertised for 102 performances, one of the highest totals of her career. She repeated many of the roles she had acquired in the previous season, and she regained the role of Ophelia. Since Susanna Mountfort was still at Drury Lane, Santlow's repossession of the role must have been due to her popularity, with the royal family as well as the regular audience. A later commentator was not entirely complimentary about her interpretation of the role, for he wrote 'Mrs. Booth's figure, voice, and deportment, in this part, raised in the minds of the spectators, an amiable picture of an innocent, unhappy maid: but she went no farther'.⁷⁷ Hester Santlow inherited more roles from a departing actress, this time Mrs Rogers, who left Drury Lane for Lincoln's Inn Fields in January 1715, and whose roles of Lady Gentle in Cibber's *The Lady's Last Stake*, and Caelia in Ben Jonson's *Volpone* were passed on to Santlow in the following season. Her other new roles included Desdemona in *Othello*, in which she appeared with Barton Booth. By this season she was playing opposite Booth

Sasse, 'Opera Register from 1712 to 1734 (Colman-Register)', *Händel-Jahrbuch*, 5 (1959), 199-222 (p. 209).

⁷⁷ Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (London: the Author, 1785), III, 131. Davies was comparing Santlow with Susanna Cibber, remarking of the latter 'Till the sweet character of Ophelia was personated by Mrs. Cibber, it was not well understood, at least for these last sixty years'.

regularly, including Lady Percy to his Hotspur in *King Henry IV. Part 1*, and Cordelia to his *King Lear*.

Only two of Hester Santlow's dances were named in the advertisements, the 'Harlequin' and a 'Spanish Entry' both of which were duets with a new partner, Louis Dupré, who had moved to Drury Lane from Lincoln's Inn Fields for the 1715-1716 season. However, more is known about her dancing repertoire this season, because of the survival of several Drury Lane bills for copying music. The earliest of these was dated 10 November 1715:

... for writing three other Dances, (viz) the Passacaille of Galatée &c. The Dutch Skipper By [written over 'and' which is crossed through] Mrs. Santlow & Mr. Bovall; and a Swedish Dance by Mrs. Santlow & Mr. Bovall ...⁷⁸

This bill indicates not only that Santlow danced the duets 'Dutch Skipper' and 'Swedish Dal Karle' with Bovall this season, which are not recorded in the advertisements, but also that she may have performed a dance to the passacaille from Lully's *Acis et Galatée*, unless this is the 'Chacone of Galathee' by Anthony L'Abbé, which was recorded and published in notation in the early 1720s, but for which no performance dates are known.⁷⁹ Another bill, dated 4 February 1716, refers to 'Mrs. Santlow's Chacone for the Little Flutes', implying that she performed a solo which is not recorded in the surviving advertisements for this season.⁸⁰ The first performance of Colley Cibber's masque *Myrtillo*, with music by Pepusch, and a final dance led by Hester Santlow and Dupré, was given on 5

⁷⁸ *Register* 2577.

⁷⁹ The advertisements indicate that Santlow had not danced the 'Dutch Skipper' duet since the 1706-1707 season, when she was billed for a single performance with Cherrier on 25 March 1707. Her first advertised billing in the 'Swedish Dal Karle' was not until 25 March 1718. For the 'Chacone of Galathee', see *LMC* 1860, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/04.

⁸⁰ *Register* 2696. This solo by Santlow did not appear in the advertisements until 5 May 1719, when it was billed as a 'Flute Chacone'.

November 1715; the 'Grand Dance' or 'Pastoral' from *Myrtillo*, separated from its original context, became a regular feature of the entr'acte entertainments in subsequent seasons. Hester Santlow's benefit was on 7 April 1716 and preceded Mrs Porter's; although it was not advertised as 'By Command', it was attended by King George I, who saw her as Lady Gentle in *The Lady's Last Stake*.

After her hard work and successes in 1715-1716, the 1716-1717 season was much quieter for Hester Santlow. She was advertised for only fifty-five performances (although she may have appeared on another twenty-three occasions). She played ten acting roles this season, but only one of them, Selima in Rowe's *Tamerlane*, was new. *Tamerlane* was a great success, with ten performances in 1716-1717, one of which (6 December 1716) was commanded by the Prince of Wales.

Santlow also gave the epilogue to Charles Johnson's new play *The Sultanness*, although she was not included in the cast. The advertisements provide very little information about her dancing repertoire; none of her solos or duets were named, although she did appear in the 'Pastoral from *Myrtillo*', 'Lads and Lasses', and a 'Grotesque Dance' in all of which she and Dupré seem to have been the lead couple. The most important event this season, as far as dancing was concerned, was the production of Weaver's 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, first given as an afterpiece at Drury Lane on 2 March 1717. Hester Santlow was Venus, with Louis Dupré as Mars and John Weaver as Vulcan. The production was successful, with seven performances during the season. Colley Cibber remembered it, and its favourable reception, many years later in his *Apology*:

To give even Dancing therefore some Improvement, and to make it something more than Motion without Meaning, the Fable of *Mars* and *Venus*, was form'd into a connected Presentation of Dances in Character, wherein the passions were so happily express'd, and the whole Story so

intelligibly told, by a mute Narration of Gesture only, that even thinking Spectators allow'd it both a pleasing, and a rational Entertainment;⁸¹

Cibber, perhaps with hindsight, highlighted two of the innovative features of the afterpiece, the linking of the dances presented and the use of gesture to unfold the story.

Hester Santlow appeared in at least ten command performances this season, at which she mostly danced in the entr'actes, as she did at Mrs Oldfield's benefit on 11 March 1717, commanded by the Prince and Princess of Wales. Her own benefit was on 25 March 1717, with *Love for Love* as the mainpiece (in which she may have played Prue, although no cast was listed in the advertisements) but no dancing. The performance was not 'By Command' and not attended by any members of the royal family. Her benefit may also have been her last performance for the season, for after that date her roles were on several occasions taken by others.⁸²

The 1717-1718 season began at Drury Lane on 28 September 1717 with *Hamlet*, in which Hester Santlow played Ophelia. This season, in addition to her established repertoire, she returned to the role of Prue in *Love for Love*, in which she had not been advertised since 1711-1712.⁸³ She also played Dorcas Zeal in *The Fair Quaker of Deal* for the first time since 1713-1714.⁸⁴ Mrs Santlow acquired only one new role in 1717-1718, the second Constantia in Buckingham's *The Chances*, relinquished to her by Mrs Oldfield. Since Anne Oldfield continued

⁸¹ Cibber. *Apology*, pp. 422-423.

⁸² Among the actresses to take on Santlow's roles was Elizabeth Younger, who played Caelia in *Volpone* on 15 May, Angelica in *The Constant Couple* on 17 May and Angelina in *Love Makes a Man* on 6 June 1717.

⁸³ In the intervening seasons the advertisements for *Love for Love* had not always listed the cast; Elizabeth Younger was advertised in the role for performances late in the season between 1712-1713 and 1716-1717, but it is possible that Santlow appeared as Prue earlier in each season.

⁸⁴ *The Fair Quaker of Deal* had been out of the repertoire at Drury Lane from 1714-1715 to 1716-1717.

to play the role occasionally in subsequent seasons, Hester Santlow was not able to make the second *Constantia* her own property until 1720-1721. Santlow returned to her popular 'Harlequin' dance in 1717-1718, her only solo to be named in the advertisements. She had lost her partner of the past two seasons, Dupré, who had chosen to return to Lincoln's Inn Fields, but she gained a new partner in John Shaw, who had left Lincoln's Inn Fields for Drury Lane at the same time. They danced together in the revival of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, with Shaw in Dupré's role of Mars. Weaver created a second, and far more ambitious, 'dramatic entertainment of dancing', *Orpheus and Eurydice*, in which he and Santlow took the title roles; the afterpiece was not a success, although it survived for four performances.

At Drury Lane the 1718-1719 season began, as the previous year, with *Hamlet*, in which Wilks (as usual) took the title-role and Santlow appeared as Ophelia. The season was hardly established before the company travelled to Hampton Court for the first of a series of seven performances there in September and October. In the autumn of 1717 George I had quarrelled with his son, who had left St James's Palace and set up a rival court at his houses in Leicester Square and Richmond. The King retaliated by making *his own court as brilliant as possible, and the performances at Hampton Court by the Drury Lane company were part of this strategy.*⁸⁵ The Great Hall at Hampton Court was converted into a theatre for these performances, which took place on 23 September, and 1, 6, 9, 13, 16, and 23 October, with the company travelling by water between the palace and Drury Lane where they returned to play on the intervening dates.⁸⁶ Hester Santlow appeared on 6 October in 'Entertainments of Dancing' with Shaw, Wade, Topham, and Mrs

⁸⁵ J. M. Beattie, 'The Court of George I and English Politics, 1717-1720', *English Historical Review*, 81 (1966), 26-37 (pp. 28-35); Graham Barlow, 'Hampton Court Theatre, 1718', *Theatre Notebook*, 37 (1983), 54-63 (pp. 54-55). The King and the Prince were not reconciled until 1720.

⁸⁶ The stage of the Hampton Court Theatre was thirty-seven feet deep by forty feet wide, with a forestage fifteen feet deep, Barlow, 'Hampton Court Theatre', p. 58. These dimensions indicate that the space for dancing could have been much the same as at the Drury Lane Theatre.

Bicknell.⁸⁷ On 9 October she played Angelica in *The Constant Couple* and danced with Shaw, Mrs Bicknell and Miss Lindar, on 16 October she played Caelia in *Volpone*, and on 23 October she appeared in more 'Entertainments of Dancing', this time with Shaw, Thurmond, Topham, Mrs Tenoe and Miss Lindar.⁸⁸ Santlow may well have appeared in the first performance given at Hampton Court, for the performance at Drury Lane on 24 September was advertised as including 'The same Entertainments that were perform'd yesterday before His Majesty'; the Drury Lane managers would have had every reason to present their leading dancer, who was already well known to the royal family.⁸⁹

When the Drury Lane company settled back to normality after 23 October, Hester Santlow resumed her usual roles, although this season she took on no new ones. In addition to her 'Harlequin' solo she performed a solo 'Flute Chacone', and a duet with Shaw advertised only as a 'Serious Dance'. She and Shaw also danced together in 'Myrtillo'. Both *The Loves of Mars and Venus* and *Orpheus and Eurydice* were revived, the former for seven performances but the latter for only one performance 'With Alterations'.⁹⁰ More significant was the production of *The Dumb Farce*, 'A new Dramatic Entertainment of Dancing, compos'd by Mr Thurmond', given for the first time on 12 February 1719 with Hester Santlow as Angelique. This was John Thurmond's first afterpiece for Drury Lane, following his move from Lincoln's Inn Fields with Shaw in 1717-1718, and it was popular enough to receive twelve performances.

⁸⁷ The advertisement for the performance at Drury Lane on 7 October 1718 included 'The Entertainments of Dancing that were perform'd Yesterday before His Majesty at Hampton Court'.

⁸⁸ Each of the performances at Hampton Court were repeated at Drury Lane on the following night. John Thurmond was usually called 'Thurmond Junior' in advertisements, to distinguish him from his father who was an actor at Drury Lane. He will be referred to as Thurmond, with no epithet, in this thesis.

⁸⁹ The play given at Hampton Court on 23 September was Farquhar's *The Beaux Stratagem*, in which Santlow had no role.

⁹⁰ *Orpheus and Eurydice* was given on 25 October 1718.

The continuing quarrel within the royal family probably contributed to the increase in the number of command performances this season. Mrs Santlow participated in several of these, including appearances as Cordelia in *King Lear* on 20 November, as Venus in *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (although no cast was listed in the advertisements) on 2 December, and as Dorcas Zeal in *The Fair Quaker of Deal* on 15 December 1718, at all of which the Prince of Wales was present. She danced with Shaw at Mrs Oldfield's benefit on 3 March 1719, a performance commanded by the Prince who was again present. Hester Santlow's own benefit on 30 March was 'By His Majesty's Command' with the King in the audience; the mainpiece was *The Tempest* and the afterpiece *The Dumb Farce* and, although no casts were advertised for either, it is likely that she appeared in both.⁹¹ Her favour with the royal family is also shown by a letter from Elizabeth Godolphin to her niece Lady Anne Evelyn, which can probably be dated to 3 January 1719. Elizabeth Godolphin wrote 'they tell me ye Princess Ann danced one of Miss Santlow's stage dance[s] extreemly prettyly a new years day'.⁹² Princess Anne was the Princess Royal, the nine year-old eldest granddaughter of George I. The link between the Princess and Santlow's dance may well have been Anthony L'Abbé, Princess Anne's dancing-master, who created several stage-dances for Hester Santlow.⁹³ It is possible, given her favour with the King, that Mrs Santlow might herself have taught the dance to the Princess.

Hester Santlow completed a very successful season with an event of great personal significance, for on 3 August 1719, at the parish church of Chipping Ongar in

⁹¹ During the 1718-1719 season Santlow played Dorinda in *The Tempest* on 11 December 1718 and 9 February 1719, so it is very likely that she played the role again at her benefit.

⁹² British Library, Evelyn Papers, SJE 7. Lady Anne Evelyn was the wife of Sir John Evelyn, 1st Baronet.

⁹³ For L'Abbé's appointment as dancing-master to Princesses Anne, Amelia and Caroline see *New Collection (Facsimile)*, pp. x-xi.

Essex, she married the Drury Lane company's manager and leading tragic actor, Barton Booth.⁹⁴

Barton Booth

Barton Booth was born in 1681, the son of John Barton of Lancashire; the Booth family was said to be related to the Earls of Warrington. Financial difficulties brought the Booths to London in about 1684, and Barton Booth was sent to Westminster School in about 1689 but left at the age of seventeen to pursue a career in the theatre. He began acting in Dublin, and returned to London in 1701, where he was accepted into Betterton's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields. In 1704 Booth married for the first time, his bride was Frances Barkham the daughter of Sir William Barkham of Norfolk, but the marriage did not last long for she died in 1710.⁹⁵

Booth remained with Betterton's company during the early 1700s, where he took on roles as varied as Hotspur in Shakespeare's *King Henry IV. Part 1* and the Ghost in *Hamlet*.⁹⁶ For the 1709-1710 season he joined the Drury Lane company, under the management of Aaron Hill, where he had more opportunities to take leading roles, such as Castalio in *The Orphan*, the title-role in *Othello*, and Valentine in *Love for Love*.⁹⁷ He also appeared opposite Hester Santlow, when he played Worthy to her Dorcas Zeal in *The Fair Quaker of Deal*. During the season Booth was one of seven actors involved in the company's management; when Hill withdrew their managerial powers he looked for one of them to manage rehearsals,

⁹⁴ The event was reported in the *Weekly Packet* of 8 August 1719, 'We hear that the celebrated tragedian, Mr Booth, was yesterday se'nnight marry'd to Mrs Santlow'. The correct date is given by the parish register for St Martin's, Chipping Ongar, which contains the entry 'Mr Barton Booth of St Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, widower and Mrs Hester Santlow of St Paul, Covent Garden, single, married 3 August 1719'. Essex County Council Archives, D/P 124/1/1.

⁹⁵ Benjamin Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth* (London: John Watts, 1733), pp. 3-7.

⁹⁶ Booth first played Hotspur on 18 November 1707 at the Queen's Theatre, and the Ghost in *Hamlet* on 15 January 1708 at Drury Lane.

⁹⁷ Booth took the role of Castalio on 30 November 1709, that of Valentine on 3 December 1709, and the title-role in *Othello* on 21 January 1710.

but Booth 'with an Insolence, peculiar to his Nature, refus'd it'. He played a leading part in the actors' riot of June 1710, for Hill reported that, when the actors broke into the Drury Lane Theatre, 'a Crowd, with Booth at their Head, burst into ye office upon me, with drawn swords in their Hands'.⁹⁸ Booth was temporarily suspended from acting, along with the other ringleaders, but nevertheless returned to Drury Lane with the reunited acting company for the 1710-1711 season.⁹⁹

Barton Booth's career was relatively slow to develop, but the success he achieved when he played the title-role in Addison's *Cato* at Drury Lane on 14 April 1713 ensured him a leading place in the company. Benjamin Victor later wrote:

The part of *Cato* greatly augmented Mr. *Booth's* Interest with his Reputation, and procur'd him the particular Favour and Service of the Lord *Bullingbroke*, then Secretary of State, who, within a Year after, ... got him added to the Number of the Managers, by procuring him a special License from the late Queen.¹⁰⁰

Despite the opposition of Wilks, Cibber and Doggett, and Doggett's departure from Drury Lane in protest, Booth joined Wilks and Cibber in the management of Drury Lane, to form a new triumvirate which would last until 1732. His future career was assured by his new responsibilities, and he soon took on such roles as Lear in Tate's *King Lear*, Pinchwife in *The Country Wife*, and the title-role in *Tamerlane*.¹⁰¹ Like Wilks, Booth carried a heavy acting load throughout much of his career.

Benjamin Victor described Booth as an actor:

⁹⁸ *Coke* no. 86.

⁹⁹ *Coke*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, p. 7. The 'special License' was the new licence issued to the Drury Lane managers (including Booth) in 1713, see *Coke*, p. 203.

¹⁰¹ Booth was first billed as Lear on 26 April 1715, as Pinchwife on 18 May 1716, and as Tamerlane on 27 December 1716.

He was of a Form altogether Graceful, accompanied with an Air that gave the highest Dignity to all his Gestures. His Face had a manly Sweetness; and his Features were so happily turn'd, as to be able to express the roughest Passions, without losing any thing of the Agreeableness of his Countenance. His Voice had great Strength in it, and a Tone uncommonly musical. His Articulation was so exceedingly distinct and clear, that he could be heard to the farthest Part of the Theatre, even in a Whisper.

Victor added that Booth had 'a most accurate Knowledge of the Passions, and the proper Peculiarities by which they express themselves'.¹⁰² Victor's assessment was echoed by Theophilus Cibber, who wrote of Booth that 'The Tones of his Voice were all musical, ... He was not only harmonious, but properly so; while he filled the Ear, he spoke to the Heart', and 'Though he was but of a middle Stature, there was such exalted Dignity in his Appearance, no body on the Stage looked taller'.¹⁰³

After his first wife's death, Booth had begun a liaison with the actress Susanna Mountfort. When their relationship ended in 1718, he was apparently accused of treating her badly, but Benjamin Victor gave an account of Booth's honesty and generosity to her, and published a document in which Mrs Mountfort herself acknowledged Booth's fair dealings with her.¹⁰⁴ According to the actress George Anne Bellamy, writing many years later, Santlow and Mrs Mountfort were close friends; when Booth married Hester Santlow Mrs Mountfort 'gave way to a desperation that deprived her of her senses' and she died soon afterwards. Mrs Bellamy claimed Colley Cibber as her source, but her account of the liaison between Mrs Mountfort and Barton Booth contains a number of errors: she confused Susanna Mountfort with her mother Susanna Verbruggen, and stated that a property at Cowley near Uxbridge (which belonged to Booth) was Mrs

¹⁰² Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, p. 28.

¹⁰³ Theophilus Cibber, 'The Life and Character of that Excellent Actor Barton Booth', in *The Lives and Characters of the Most Eminent Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: R. Griffiths, 1753), pp. 1-89 (pp. 44, 45-46).

¹⁰⁴ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, pp. 9-11.

Mountfort's.¹⁰⁵ There is no other evidence to support or contradict her version of events. Benjamin Victor referred merely to 'the Misfortunes that attended that unhappy Woman, occasion'd by her Conduct, which first bred a Difference and Separation between them [i.e. Booth and Mrs Mountfort], and soon after brought on her Death'.¹⁰⁶ *Mist's Weekly Journal* for 7 May 1720 announced that Susanna Mountfort had died on 3 May.

Hester Santlow's interests were undoubtedly well served by marrying Barton Booth, who would be a powerful protector, but most of their contemporaries remarked on the happiness of their marriage. Victor wrote in 1733 that 'This was a happy and fortunate Marriage to him, which he express'd by the Overflowings of his grateful Heart on all Occasions'.¹⁰⁷ William Chetwood, prompter at Drury Lane while both Barton Booth and Hester Santlow were members of the company, wrote that Santlow's 'wise Conduct, Beauty, and winning Behaviour, so wrought upon him, that Home, and her Company, were his chief Happiness'.¹⁰⁸ Theophilus Cibber wrote of Hester Santlow that 'she was an excellent good Wife; — which he [i.e. Booth] has frequently, in my hearing, talked of in such a Manner, as nothing but a sincere heart-felt Gratitude could express; and I was often an Eye-witness (our Families being intimate) of their conjugal Felicity'.¹⁰⁹ However, the critic John Dennis, in a pamphlet entitled *The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar*, an attack on Sir Richard Steele published anonymously in 1720, chose also to attack members of the Drury Lane company, including Booth, who he referred to as 'a notorious Tragedian, who being admonish'd by his Friends not to marry a certain Strumpet, of whose acquir'd Attractions he was grown very fond; because

¹⁰⁵ *An Apology for the Life of George Anne Bellamy*. Second edition. 5 vols. (London: the Author, J. Bell, 1785), I, 186-188. Mrs Bellamy wrote 'The reason that Colley Cibber has taken no notice of so remarkable a circumstance in his "Apology," must be owing to his friendship for Mrs. Booth, who was alive when he wrote it' (p. 188).

¹⁰⁶ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ Chetwood, W. R. *A General History of the Stage* (London: W. Owen, 1749), p. 93.

¹⁰⁹ Theophilus Cibber, 'The Life and Character of that Excellent Actor Barton Booth', p. 33.

such a Marriage would bring Shame and Infamy upon him; swore by G---, that he lik'd her the better for it'.¹¹⁰ Dennis seems to have been a lone voice, although his remarks influenced writers during the following century.¹¹¹

Barton Booth was a poet and dramatist as well as an actor. His masque *The Death of Dido* was given at Drury Lane in 1716, with music by Pepusch, and published the same year.¹¹² Benajmin Victor described Booth as 'a Man of strong, clear, and lively Imaginations; his Conversation was engaging and instructive. ... he had the Advantage of a finish'd Education, to improve and illustrate the bountiful Gifts of Nature', and included a number of Booth's poems in the *Memoirs*.¹¹³ One of them, the 'Ode on Mira, Dancing' which describes the power and charm of Hester Santlow in performance, begins:

She comes! the God of Love asserts his Reign,
Resistless o'er the gazing Throng:
Alone she fills the spacious Scene!
The Charm of ev'ry Eye! the Praise of ev'ry Tongue!
Order and Grace together join'd,
Sweetness with Majesty combin'd,

¹¹⁰ John Dennis, *The Characters and Conduct of Sir John Edgar* (London: M. Smith, 1720), p. 19.

¹¹¹ Later writers to follow Dennis included Edmund Bellchambers, in his edition of *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber* (London: W. Simpkin and R. Marshall, 1822), p. 499, who wrote 'Mr. Booth, who seems to have been a libertine and a sensualist, gave his hand to Miss Santlow, a strumpet of condition, ... two successive, and perhaps rival, possessors, had revelled in her charms'. John Galt wrote, in *The Lives of the Players* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), p. 171, that Santlow was, when Booth married her, 'celebrated for her beauty, her money, her jewels, and her incontinency'. John Doran drew on the judgment of most of Santlow's contemporaries when he wrote that she 'became to Booth one of the truest, most charming, and most unselfish of mortal wives', although he, too, drew attention to her other liaisons, "*Their Majesties' Servants*", pp. 403-404.

¹¹² Barton Booth, *The Death of Dido* (London: Bernard Lintott, [1716]).

¹¹³ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, p. 34. The poems are printed on pp. 37-58.

To make the beauteous Form compleat,
On ev'ry Step and Motion wait.

Now to a slow and melting Air she moves;
Her Eyes their Softness steal from *Venus'* Doves:
So like in Shape, in Air, and Mien,
She passes for the *Paphian* Queen;
The Graces all around her play;
The wond'ring Gazers die away.

Whether her easy Body bend,
Or her fair Bosom heave with Sighs;
Whether her graceful Arms extend,
Or gently fall, or slowly rise;
Or returning, or advancing;
Swimming round, or sidelong glancing;
Gods! how divine an Air
Harmonious Gesture gives the Fair!¹¹⁴

Victor stated that 'The Ode on Dancing was wrote in the Year 1718, and left incorrect', and the opening stanzas seem to refer to Hester Santlow's appearances as Venus in Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.¹¹⁵

Mid-Career: 1719-1731

Hester Santlow returned to work at the very beginning of the 1719-1720 season, for she and Robert Wilks appeared in their accustomed roles in *Hamlet*, at the Drury Lane company's opening performance on 12 September 1719. She was billed for the first time as Mrs Booth, the name under which she would appear for the rest of her career, but otherwise her marriage made little immediate difference. By now Hester Booth was identified as an actress specialising in genteel comedy,

¹¹⁴ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, pp. 49-50. The poem has seven stanzas in all.

¹¹⁵ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, p. 35.

with a particular line in witty, spirited young women who might be expected to appear in breeches. She also took a small number of pathetic roles in tragedy, like Ophelia or Cordelia, but she was not suited to roles which required a powerful or passionate acting style. This season she acquired one entirely suitable new role, Hellena in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*, which she played for the first time on 1 January 1720. The role had belonged to Susanna Mountfort, until she moved to Lincoln's Inn Fields for the 1718-1719 season, who had taken it over when Anne Oldfield ceased to play Hellena after the 1714-1715 season. Hellena, another breeches role, would remain in Mrs Booth's repertoire until the end of her career, and, with Wilks as Wilmore, was popular enough to receive one, two, or even three, performances each season.

Dancing was becoming ever more important at Drury Lane, and more of Mrs Booth's entr'acte dances were named in the advertisements this season. They included her solo 'Harlequin', as well as a solo Passacaille, and the group dances 'Myrtillo', and 'Lads and Lasses'. She performed the 'Hussars' duet for the first time, with John Shaw, who was her regular partner again this season. The 'Hussars' was to become one of her most popular dances. Mrs Booth also appeared in four afterpieces during 1719-1720. There were revivals of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, *Orpheus and Eurydice* 'With material Alterations', and *The Dumb Farce*, and John Thurmond also created a new afterpiece *A Duke and No Duke*, described as 'A new Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing ... (after the Manner of the Pantomimes)', which was given for the first time on 4 December 1719 but lasted for only three performances. The continuing quarrel in the royal family meant that there were several command performances this season, mostly ordered by the Prince of Wales, who also attended a number of them. Mrs Booth's benefit on 24 March 1720 was apparently not commanded, but the King attended and made her a gift, for the Privy Purse receipts record 'ye Sume of twenty one pound being his Majesty Bounty to me one my benefit nighth [sic]'.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ The receipt is preserved in the archives of the Prince of Hanover, and is transcribed in: Donald Burrows and Robert D. Hume, 'George I, the Haymarket Opera Company and Handel's *Water Music*'. *Early Music*, 19 (1993), 323-341 (p. 330). It was endorsed 'For [written over 'by'] my

A poem by John Gay, 'Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece', written in 1720 but not published until many years later, indicated Mrs Booth's status, as a dancer if not as an actress, at this time. In one stanza Gay brought together three ladies of the aristocracy with three popular Drury Lane dancer-actresses, while preserving a suitable distance between them:

See next the decent *Scudamore* advance,
 With *Winchelsea*, still meditating song:
 With her perhaps Miss *Howe* came there by chance,
 Nor knows with whom, nor why she comes along.
 Far off from these see *Santlow*, fam'd for dance;
 And frolick *Bicknell*, and her sister young;
 With other names, by me not to be nam'd,
 Much lov'd in private, not in publick fam'd!¹¹⁷

The 1720-1721 season was overshadowed by the frenzied speculation and then the stock market crash of the South Sea Bubble, which occurred during the autumn of 1720. None of the leading players at Drury Lane are known to have lost large sums of money through unwise investments. This season, Mrs Booth performed the role of Dorcas Zeal in *The Fair Quaker of Deal* for the last time, but she also

daughter hester [sic] Booth Joanna Santlow'; 'Joanna' was Hester Santlow's mother (elsewhere named as Jane), but Burrows and Hume incorrectly assume that she was Santlow's illegitimate daughter.

¹¹⁷ *The Poetical Works of John Gay*, ed. by G. C. Faber (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), pp. 164-168 (p. 166). Gay's poem was not published until 1776, see *Poetical Works of John Gay*, p. 164. 'Scudamore' was Frances Scudamore, wife of James Scudamore, 3rd Viscount Scudamore. 'Winchelsea' was the poetess Anne Finch, wife of Heneage Finch, 5th Earl of Winchilsea. 'Miss Howe', who is referred to in a manuscript draft of the poem as 'Sophy How' (see *The Poetical Works of John Gay*, p. 669) may have been Mary Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the Countess of Darlington, who married Emanuel Scrope, 2nd Viscount Howe in 1719. See G. E. C., *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*. New ed., reprinted (London: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1984), entries for Scudamore, Winchilsea, and Howe.

took on three new acting roles.¹¹⁸ She appeared as Florimel in Cibber's *The Comical Lovers* on 8 October 1720, another role previously taken by Mrs Mountfort (and created by Mrs Oldfield), and as Elvira in Dryden's *The Spanish Fryar* on 1 November 1720, a role which Mrs Oldfield relinquished to her. *The Comical Lovers* disappeared from the Drury Lane repertory after the 1721-1722 season, but Mrs Booth played Elvira regularly for the rest of her career. The third role was Charlotte in Cibber's new play *The Refusal*, given its first performance on 14 February 1721; it survived for six performances in 1720-1721, but did not return to the repertoire for over twenty-five years.

Very few of her dances were named in the advertisements this season and no danced afterpieces were given. Hester Booth may perhaps have danced with Denoyer, who joined the Drury Lane company for the first time during 1720-1721; the advertisement for 24 May 1721 announced dancing by 'Mrs Booth, Denoyer, Mrs Bicknell, Mrs Younger', although Denoyer was elsewhere billed as dancing with Mrs Younger and Mrs Bullock.¹¹⁹ Mrs Booth's benefit on 16 March 1721 had no royal command or presence; she played Ophelia in *Hamlet* and danced the 'Hussar' with John Shaw in the entr'actes.

On 16 February 1721, during her run in *The Refusal*, Mrs Booth's former lover and the father of her daughter, James Craggs now a Secretary of State, died of smallpox. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on 1 March. Although she played regularly until 27 February, Hester Booth was absent from the stage between 28 February and 4 March; she must have mourned Craggs's death, although it is unlikely that she attended his funeral. James Craggs Senior, badly affected by his son's death and deeply implicated in the South Sea Bubble, died on 16 March 1721 leaving a considerable fortune to be divided between his three daughters, Anne

¹¹⁸ Her last appearance in *The Fair Quaker of Deal* was on 28 October 1720. The play was subsequently dropped from the Drury Lane repertoire.

¹¹⁹ Denoyer and Elizabeth Younger were the only dancers advertised for 18 January 1721, and he and Anne Bullock were the only dancers advertised on 12 May 1721.

Newsham, Elizabeth Eliot and Margaret Trefusis, and his granddaughter Harriot, Hester Santlow's daughter.¹²⁰

During 1721, John Weaver published his *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing*, and in the preface paid Hester Booth some handsome compliments:

we have a Dancer in the Person of Mrs. *Booth*, where Art and Nature have combin'd to produce a beautiful Figure, allow'd by all Judges in our Art to be the most graceful, most agreeable, and most correct Performer in the World.¹²¹

The only other dancers named by Weaver in his preface were Delagarde and L'Abbé.

Mrs Behn's *The Rover* opened the 1721-1722 season at Drury Lane on 9 September 1721, with Wilks as Wilmore and Hester Booth as Hellena. Among the new roles she took on this season none lasted in her repertoire, although Ambrose Philips's play *The Briton* (in which she played Gwendolen) achieved a run of eight performances. John Thurmond's new pantomime, *The Escapes of Harlequin*, first given on 10 January 1722, was rather more successful, for not only did it receive nine performances during 1721-1722 but it was also revived in several subsequent seasons. It was described as 'A new Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing in Grotesque Characters', with Shaw as Harlequin and Hester Booth as Harlequin Woman. She appeared with Shaw at her benefit on 15 March 1722, when they danced a series of duets, the 'Coquette Shepherdess', the 'Hussar', and the 'Harlequin'.

¹²⁰ James Craggs the elder, *DNB*. Both James Craggs the younger and his father died intestate. Administration of their estates was not granted to Craggs's three surviving sisters until 1722, PRO PCC PROB 6/97.

¹²¹ *Ralph*, p. 869, italics reversed.

A rare insight into Hester Booth's conditions of employment is given by a memorandum to the Drury Lane Treasurer, signed by the company's three managers early in the 1722-1723 season. The memorandum is dated 22 September 1722 and states 'It is agreed that Mrs Booth be allow'd fifty pounds per annum in consideration of her providing Cloaths for her self in all Parts of Tragedy, Comedy, and Boys Cloaths'. Such allowances had been given before, for example to Mrs Oldfield in 1709, but this still represented a special privilege.¹²²

Hester Booth took on three new roles this season. The first of them was Lucinda in Sir Richard Steele's new play *The Conscious Lovers*, first performed on 7 November 1722. The play was an immediate success and was given twenty-five performances during 1722-1723. The leading roles of Bevil Junior and Indiana were taken by Barton Booth and Mrs Oldfield, while Wilks, in the role of Myrtle, and Hester Booth played the second pair of lovers in the play. *The Conscious Lovers* was part of Steele's attempt to reform the stage, and was an early example of the sentimental comedies which would come to dominate the repertory at all the theatres. As an exemplary comedy with virtuous but serious characters, it was immediately and controversially compared to Etherege's *The Man of Mode*, an older satirical comedy with licentious but ridiculous characters.¹²³ The other two roles were both breeches parts. One was the new role of Rosalind in *Love in a Forest*, adapted by Charles Johnson from Shakespeare's *As You Like It*; the play was first given on 9 January 1723, but survived for only six performances and was never revived. The other role was Dowglass, page to Mary Queen of Scots (played by Mrs Oldfield) in *The Albion Queens* by John Banks. This play returned to the repertory at Drury Lane after an absence of more than seven years, and was then revived regularly until the late 1720s, usually with Mrs Booth as Dowglass.

¹²² *Register* 3118. For the significance of the document, and Mrs Oldfield's similar allowance, see Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, 'Memos to the Treasurer at Drury Lane, 1715-1730', *Theatre Notebook*, 45 (1991), 16-30 (p. 22).

¹²³ *The Conscious Lovers*, and the controversy surrounding it, are discussed in detail in Loftis, *Steele at Drury Lane*, part 4, chapters 1-3, see particularly pp. 204-205.

Hester Booth's successful dancing partnership with John Shaw continued. In 1722-1723 they added 'Les Cotillons' to their repertoire of duets, alongside the 'Harlequin' and 'Hussars', both of which they danced during the season, and they appeared together again as Harlequin and Harlequin Woman in *The Escapes of Harlequin*. Shaw danced in the entr'actes with Mrs Booth at her benefit on 18 March 1723, which was 'By His Majesty's Command'. She returned the compliment for his benefit on 18 April, when she also appeared as Angelica in *The Constant Couple*.

Drury Lane opened the 1723-1724 season on 14 September 1723, with *The Conscious Lovers*, although the play received only three performances this season. On 16 October, Hester Booth played the first of two new roles, Oriana 'a Lady contracted to Mirabel, who wou'd bring him to reason' in Farquhar's *The Inconstant*, with Wilks as Mirabel.¹²⁴ On 22 October 1723, *Pasquin* roundly criticised the play, 'excepting that Mrs. Booth, in whatever Part she appears, must always be agreeable'. *Pasquin* described Mirabel as 'a Gay, Pleasurable young Man' and Oriana as 'a Young Lady of Beauty, Innocence and Fortune'; these were types of roles closely associated with Wilks and Mrs Booth. This was another role in which Hester Booth was required to wear 'Boys Cloaths' for part of the play, although *The Inconstant* was not revived again at Drury Lane during her career. Her other new role this season was Mrs Clerimont in Steele's *The Tender Husband*, which had been played by Mrs Bicknell until her death on 24 May 1723. Mrs Booth kept this role for a number of seasons.

1723-1724 was dominated by a pantomime war between Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields. On 26 November 1723 Drury Lane presented *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, 'a new Grotesque Entertainment' by John Thurmond, with a concluding 'Masque of the Deities' in which Hester Booth appeared as Diana. The pantomime was given forty performances during the season. Lincoln's Inn Fields responded with *The Necromancer; or, Harlequin Doctor Faustus* on 20 December 1723;

¹²⁴ George Farquhar, *The Inconstant* (London: J. Knapton, G. Strahan, and B. Lintot, [1728]), dramatis personae, p. 12.

Rich's pantomime was performed fifty-one times during 1723-1724. The rivalry between the two theatres encouraged Drury Lane to revive *The Loves of Mars and Venus* as well as *The Escapes of Harlequin*. It is likely that Hester Booth appeared in all the afterpiece performances (although she did not usually appear in both a mainpiece and an afterpiece on the same bill), so that she played over 100 times during the season. The pantomimes attracted a number of command performances: the Prince and Princess of Wales attended on 13 December 1723, when the afterpiece was *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, and the 'Ambassador from the Emperor of Morocco' attended *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* on 31 January and *The Loves of Mars and Venus* on 7 February 1724. Dancing in pantomime afterpieces was to be an important part of Mrs Booth's career until she retired from the stage, for she seldom appeared in them less than forty times a season. During this season she continued to dance with John Shaw, but she was also partnered by John Thurmond from time to time, in Shaw's absence. Shaw's benefit on 17 April 1724 was 'By Their Royal Highnesses' Command' and attended by the Prince of Wales, perhaps because of his success as Faustus in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*.

On 20 April 1724, Mrs Booth's mother was buried at the parish church of St Laurence, Cowley, near Uxbridge, not far from the summer residence that Hester shared with Barton Booth.¹²⁵ Jane Santlow's death may have been unexpected, for her daughter appeared regularly at Drury Lane until 17 April 1724, after which she was absent until 28 April.¹²⁶ The demands of her career meant that she returned on 29 April, to play Harriet in *The Man of Mode*, and thereafter appeared regularly until the end of the season.

¹²⁵ The burial of 'Jane Santeloo' is recorded in: Greater London Record Office, Parish of St. Laurence, Cowley, Middlesex, Burials Register 1724. Hester Santlow's will requested that she be buried 'near the remains of my late mother and my late husband ... in the church of Cowley in the county of Middlesex', Public Record Office PCC PROB 11/985, ff. 326^r - 327^v.

¹²⁶ During this period her roles were taken by others, including Mrs Thurmond, who appeared as Ophelia in *Hamlet* on 24 April 1724, and as Cordelia in *King Lear* on 27 April 1724.

The 1724-1725 season began at Drury Lane as it quite often did, with *Hamlet*, in which Wilks took the title-role and Mrs Booth played Ophelia. Her speciality in breeches roles continued to develop, for on 4 January 1725 she added to her repertoire *Fidelia*, 'in love with Manly, and followed him to sea in man's clothes', in Wycherley's *The Plain Dealer*.¹²⁷ Her immediate predecessor in the role was Elizabeth Younger, who had left Drury Lane at the end of the 1723-1724 season. Her other new role, *Massina* in Nathaniel Lee's *Sophonisba*, was short-lived, for the play was given only two performances and then dropped from the Drury Lane repertoire. During 1724-1725 Hester Booth's dancing was dominated by appearances in pantomime afterpieces. She appeared thirty-two times in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, and Thurmond's new pantomime, *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin Mercury* (in which he and Mrs Booth took the title roles), first performed on 20 February 1725, was given eighteen times. She thus had a heavy schedule of performances this season, appearing at least 110 times, and occasionally performing in both mainpiece and afterpiece on the same evening. John Thurmond became her regular dancing partner this season, for John Shaw was absent for much of 1724-1725. He did not appear at his benefit on 12 April 1725, when Hester Booth was the only dancer billed.

In 1725 the poet James Thomson was in London, and visited the theatre on several occasions. He saw Hester Booth act and dance, and recorded his impressions:

Mrs Booth acts some things very well and particularly Ophelia's madness in *Hamlet* inimitably but then she dances so deliciously has such melting lascivious motions airs and postures as indeed according to what you suspect almost throws the material part of me into action too ...

Thomson saw her in *Apollo and Daphne* on 1 March, as *Angelica* in *The Constant Couple* on 4 March (when she also danced in the entr'actes), again in *Apollo and*

¹²⁷ William Wycherley, 'The Plain Dealer', in *Love in a Wood. The Gentleman Dancing-Master. The Country Wife. The Plain Dealer*, ed. by Peter Dixon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 283-399 (dramatis personae, p. 289).

Daphne on 6 March, and at her benefit on 15 March 1725, when she appeared as Ophelia in *Hamlet* as well as dancing ‘Hussars’ with Thurmond.¹²⁸

1725-1726 was another busy season for Hester Booth. At Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Marie Sallé had returned to work with John Rich for the first time since her appearances in London as a child during the 1716-1717 and 1718-1719 seasons. Her presence in the company allowed him to mount his own version of *Apollo and Daphne* on 14 January 1726, with her and her brother Francis in the title roles. Thurmond responded by revising his pantomime, and *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin’s Metamorphoses* was first given on 11 February 1726; he and Hester Booth repeated their performances in the title roles. Drury Lane also revived *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* and *The Escapes of Harlequin*, so, together with her acting roles, Mrs Booth may have appeared in over 120 performances during 1725-1726. Entr’acte dancing was also advertised at Drury Lane more often than in recent seasons, perhaps because of Marie Sallé’s return to London. Hester Booth was advertised in a ‘Harlequin’ solo and a solo Passacaille, as well as the ‘Hussars’ duet with Thurmond. She also appeared in ‘Le Badinage Champetre’ with Roger, the choreographer, who had joined the Drury Lane company that season. John Shaw did not return to Drury Lane to dance with Hester Booth for the 1725-1726 season. He died on 8 December 1725, and was buried at St Paul, Covent Garden on 15 December. Whatever her private feelings may have been, Mrs Booth appeared at Drury Lane regularly during December 1725; she paid her last respects to Shaw when she appeared at the benefit performance given for his widow on 20 April 1726.

Mrs Booth took on only one new acting role during 1725-1726, Belinda in Vanbrugh’s *The Provok’d Wife*, which was added to the Drury Lane repertoire on 11 January 1726. Although the play had been first performed at Lincoln’s Inn Fields in April 1697 (and had been part of the repertoire there in recent seasons),

¹²⁸ James Thomson (1700-1748) *Letters and Documents*, ed. by Alan Dugald McKillop (Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1958), pp. 8-9.

this was the first time it had been given at Drury Lane. Hester Booth continued to play Belinda regularly until she retired.

During the season a very important event took place in Hester Booth's private life, for on 10 March 1726 her daughter Harriot was married to Richard Eliot, brother-in-law to James Craggs's sister Elizabeth.¹²⁹ The bride was only just thirteen years old, while the groom was thirty-two. They were married at Lincoln's Inn Chapel, very near to the Drury Lane Theatre, so Mrs Booth must surely have attended the ceremony, although her acting schedule meant that she was regularly billed at Drury Lane during February and March and she appeared as Ophelia in *Hamlet* on the evening of the wedding day.¹³⁰ Her heavy schedule of appearances, together with Shaw's death and her daughter's marriage, must have put her under some strain, for the advertisement for the performance on 2 May 1726 carried the unusual announcement 'Mrs Booth being very ill and not able to perform the part of Hellena, the Tickets delivered out for *The Rover* will be taken at this Play'. She was recovered enough to return to the stage for a performance of *The Funeral* on 13 May 1726.

The 1726-1727 season was also extremely busy, for Mrs Booth was advertised for 109 performances. In addition to her full performance schedule, she had other worries. Shortly after the beginning of the season, Barton Booth became seriously ill, and he was unable to act at all between 15 September 1726 and 16 January 1727. During the period of his illness, his wife continued to appear regularly at Drury Lane. It was perhaps partly because of Booth's illness that she took on no new acting roles this season.

¹²⁹ Elizabeth Craggs married Edward Eliot in April 1718, *Genealogical Memoranda Relating to the Families of Eliot of Port Eliot and Craggs of Wyserley*, p. 13.

¹³⁰ The register entry for the marriage is printed in, *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn*. 2 vols ([London]: Lincoln's Inn, 1896), II, 568, 'Richard Eliot, Esq., of St. George's, Hanover Square, Middlesex, and Harriot Smith, of the same Parish, were married March 10th 1725 [i.e. 1725/6]'.

The continued rivalry with Lincoln's Inn Fields meant that Drury Lane again put greater emphasis than usual on dancing. John Thurmond produced a new pantomime, *The Miser*, given its first performance at Drury Lane on 30 December 1726, which ended with a ballet created around Mrs Booth as Pomona, dancing with Thurmond, Michael Lally, Roger, and William Essex as four statues. Marie Sallé was again at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and Rich followed *Apollo and Daphne* with the even more successful *The Rape of Proserpine*, given its first performance on 7 February 1727, which culminated in a ballet of the elements in which both the Sallés danced. Thurmond Junior responded by revising *The Miser*, which began a second run under the title of *Harlequin's Triumph* on 27 February 1727, with the same final ballet. *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* was still in the repertoire, although this season Miss Robinson Senior occasionally danced Diana, and *Apollo and Daphne* (with Mrs Booth as Daphne) was also revived.

On 11 June 1727, George I died in Osnabrugh. The theatres opened as normal for the 1727-1728 season, but when George II was crowned on 11 October 1727, they all closed for the day. At Drury Lane, the new reign made little immediate difference to the management or the repertoire of the company. Mrs Booth was given two new acting roles during 1727-1728. The first was that of Violante in Lewis Theobald's *Double Falsehood*, according to the advertisement 'Written Originally by Shakespear [sic]', which was given on 13 December 1727. Booth was to perform the leading role of Julio but, although he had appeared regularly since his return from illness at the beginning of the year, he was again taken ill before the first performance of *Double Falsehood*. He was able to join the cast on the fifth night of acting, and played for several nights, but his appearance as Julio on 9 January 1728 was his last on the London stage. Hester Booth's other new role was Helena in *Love in several Masques*, the first play by Henry Fielding, given on 16 February 1728. The play managed only four performances, since it was put on during the run of the phenomenally successful *The Beggar's Opera*, which opened at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 29 January 1728 and ran for thirty-two consecutive nights. *Mist's Weekly Journal* wrote on 2 March 1728:

While *Polly* charms the present Age,
 And *Venus' Train* the Fair surrounds,
 Autumnal *O—l---ld* broils with Rage,
 And rugged *P-rt--r* grimly frowns.

To the soft Flute *B--th* trips in vain,
 Nor longer draws th'applauding Throng:
 E'en pretty *Y-ng-r's* Comic Strain,
 Yields with the rest, to Polly's song.¹³¹

Nathaniel Mist was no friend to Drury Lane, but his verses were less cruel to Mrs Booth than to Drury Lane's two leading actresses.¹³² Drury Lane had already had its own success, with Sir John Vanbrugh's, *The Provok'd Husband* (a play left unfinished at his death and completed by Colley Cibber), which opened on 10 January 1728 and enjoyed a run of twenty-eight nights. Mrs Booth had no role in the play, and it was not accompanied by entr'acte dances, so she did not appear on stage for about a month. This must have come as a welcome relief, which gave her an opportunity to care for her sick husband.

This season Hester Booth was advertised four times for the 'Hussars' duet, which she performed with Thurmond, and she added a new duet to her repertoire, the 'Muzette' which she performed with Michael Lally. John Essex (the father of one of her current dancing partners), singled her out for special praise in his preface to *The Dancing-Master*, his translation of Pierre Rameau's *Le Maître a danser*, published in 1728:

We have had a great many Women attempt to be Theatrical Dancers, but none ever arrived to that Height and Pitch of Applause as the incomparable Mrs. *Booth*, in whom Art and Nature are so beautifully wove together, that

¹³¹ Italics reversed. Mrs Younger had been a leading actress at Lincoln's Inn Fields since the 1725-1726 season.

¹³² Colley Cibber referred to Mist's enmity in his *Apology*, p. 428.

the whole Web is of a Piece so exquisitely formed to Length and Breadth, that the Produce of the many different Characters she represents is the Wonder and Admiration of the present Age, and will scarce be credited by the Succeeding. I shall beg leave to mention the *Chaconne, Saraband, Menuet*, in which she appears with that Grace, Softness, and Address none can look on but with Attention, Pleasure, and Surprise. She far excels all that went before her, and must be the just Subject of Imitation to all that dare attempt to copy after her. Besides all these, the *Harlequin* is beyond Description, and the *Hussar* another opposite Character in which she has no Rival. All which shew how many extensive as well as extraordinary Qualifications must concentre [sic] in one Person to form so bright a Genius: A Subject becoming the most elevated Wit to describe, and the politest Taste to contemplate.¹³³

Essex was deliberately drawing a comparison between Hester Booth and Françoise Prévost, who had been praised in similar terms by Rameau in his own preface to *Le Maître a danser*.¹³⁴

Although she played her usual acting roles during 1728-1729, and took on the new role of Miranda in *The Tempest* (having previously played that of Dorinda), during the season Mrs Booth's energies were mostly devoted to pantomime afterpieces. Both *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* and *Apollo and Daphne* were revived, but the most important production of the season was *Perseus and Andromeda* by Roger and Weaver, which was given its first performance on 15 November 1728. Michael Lally and Hester Booth took the title roles, and the pantomime was performed forty-nine times during 1728-1729. There were numerous command performances this season, and members of the royal family attended five

¹³³ *E1728* pp. xv, xvi.

¹³⁴ *E1728*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

performances which included *Perseus and Andromeda* as the afterpiece.¹³⁵ This season Mrs Booth apparently did not herself appear at her benefit on 18 March 1729, even though it was ‘By Command of His Royal Highness’.

Hester Booth was probably absent from Drury Lane from the end of March, for her last advertised performance was on 27 March 1729, and after Easter others were billed in her roles.¹³⁶ Benjamin Victor recounted the travels made by her and Booth in an attempt to recover his health:

in *April* 1729, ... Mr. *Booth* went to *Bath*, where he remain'd Eleven Weeks, and return'd to Town without finding any Benefit. He remain'd in *London* Three Weeks, and fansying the Sea-Sickness might prove a Cure for his Jaundice, he embarqu'd in a Packet-Boat, with Mrs. *Booth*, for *Ostend*; from thence he went through *Flanders* to *Antwerp*; designing to make a Tour of *Holland*, ... But his Fever returning so fast, and so severely upon him (compelling him as he travell'd to keep his Bed every other Day) he was oblig'd to alter his Resolution, and return the nearest way to *England*.

Victor added that ‘he continu'd a considerable time in a very severe and dangerous Condition’.¹³⁷

Booth's continuing illness was probably the reason that his wife did not rejoin the Drury Lane company until 30 September 1729, although the theatre had opened for the 1729-1730 season on 11 September. This season she was advertised for

¹³⁵ On 7 November 1728 the King, Queen, Prince William and three princesses attended; on 30 November the King and Queen came with their three daughters; on 12, 19, and 26 December Prince Frederick attended with one or more of his sisters.

¹³⁶ The other actresses included Mrs Thurmond who played Belinda in *The Provok'd Wife* on 22 April, and Jane Cibber who played Hellena in *The Rover* on 1 May, and Harriet in *The Funeral* on 8 May 1729.

¹³⁷ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, pp. 14-15.

only fifty-one performances, far fewer than in recent years, although she did take on one new role, Victoria in James Miller's *The Humours of Oxford*, which did not survive its first season. John Rich scored another triumph this season, with his version of *Perseus and Andromeda*, which opened at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 2 January 1730 and was played sixty times during 1729-1730. Drury Lane could offer only revivals, including its own version of *Perseus and Andromeda*. Mrs Booth was given several solo billings during 1729-1730, including her 'Harlequin' and a Chacone, and she was partnered by Roger in his new entr'acte dance, the 'English Medley'. She also appeared as Diana in *Diana and Acteon*, an afterpiece created by Roger for his benefit on 23 April 1730, described in the advertisement as 'A New Pantomime Entertainment'. *Diana and Acteon* was given only a single performance.

The 1730-1731 season began on 12 September 1730 with *Hamlet*, in which Wilks took the title role with Mrs Booth as Ophelia. This season she returned to her regular schedule, for she was advertised to appear at 103 performances. Her roles included Miranda in *The Busy Body*, which she had not played since the 1722-1723 season, and Lady Gentle in *The Lady's Last Stake*, which she had last played in 1725-1726. She also took on another entirely new role, Florella in William Mountford's *Greenwich Park*, which had not been given at Drury Lane since 1719-1720, when Mrs Younger had played the role; Mrs Booth played Florella each season until she retired. The acting company at Drury Lane suffered a severe blow this season, for they lost their principal actress when Mrs Oldfield died on 23 October 1730.

Dancing was advertised more often at Drury Lane during 1730-1731. Marie Sallé had returned again to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and this perhaps spurred the Drury Lane management to advertise, if not increase, its offerings of dancing. Mrs Booth's entr'acte dance repertoire included her solo 'Harlequin', a solo Chacone, and a solo Minuet. At her benefit on 22 March 1731 she and William Essex performed

the ‘*Prince’s Saraband*, compos’d by L’Abbe for her Majesty’s birthday’.¹³⁸ Essex was her principal partner this season. The most successful new work at Drury Lane in 1730-1731 was *Cephalus and Procris*, ‘a new Dramatic Masque’ by Roger given on 28 October 1729, with singing as well as dancing, and with the ‘Habits, Scenes, Machines, and the other Decorations entirely new’. *Cephalus* was Mrs Roberts and *Procris* was Miss Raftor (later better known as Kitty Clive). Hester Booth appeared first as a Deity of Pleasure, with William Essex, and then as *Amphitrite*, in a final scene set in ‘A magnificent Temple of Neptune’.¹³⁹ *Cephalus and Procris* received seventy-four performances during the season. Lincoln’s Inn Fields, in its turn, could respond only with revivals.

Late Career: 1731-1733

The 1731-1732 season opened, as so often at Drury Lane, with *Hamlet*, which was given on 18 September 1731 with Wilks in the title-role and Mrs Booth as Ophelia. Just a month later, on 18 October 1731, the company gave a performance of *The Recruiting Officer* at Hampton Court before the King and Queen, the Prince of Wales and the other royal children, and the Duke of Lorraine.¹⁴⁰ The performance included dancing, and although neither the dances nor the dancers were advertised by name when it was repeated at Drury Lane on the following evening, the dancers at Hampton Court must surely have included Mrs Booth. She and William Essex performed ‘The Lorraine’ at Drury Lane on 26 October 1731, and it is likely that this was a repeat performance of a dance first given at Hampton Court in honour of the visiting Duke.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ The dance was published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation with the title *The Prince of Wales’s Saraband*, see LMC [1731]-Prw, *Belle Dance* FL/1731.1. Patricia Rader was the first to identify that the two dances were the same, see ‘Harlequin and Hussar’, pp. 35, 68.

¹³⁹ *Cephalus and Procris. A Dramatic Masque* (London: J. Watts, 1733), p. 18.

¹⁴⁰ LS3.

¹⁴¹ The visitor was François-Étienne, Duke of Lorraine (1708-1765), who later married Maria Theresa, and became German Emperor in 1745.

This season Denoyer returned to Drury Lane. At his first performance on 22 December 1731, he was described as ‘dancing-master to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales’, and he and Mrs Booth were the leading dancers in ‘A new *Grand Ballad d’Amour*’ which Denoyer himself had choreographed. On 22 February 1732, they appeared together in Denoyer’s ‘Le Chasseur Royal’, and they also danced a Minuet on several occasions. Both ‘Le Chasseur Royal’ and the Minuet were included among the entr’acte dances given at Denoyer’s benefit on 16 March 1732. During 1731-1732, Hester Booth also danced the ‘Coquette’ with Michael Lally and ‘Hussars’ with William Essex, and appeared in *Perseus and Andromeda* and *Cephalus and Procris*.

This season Mrs Booth took on two new acting roles. The first was Elfrid in Aaron Hill’s *Athelwold*, on 10 December 1731, when she also spoke the epilogue. The play was a revised version of Hill’s *Elfrid*, which had been given at Drury Lane during the 1709-1710 season. The correspondence between Hill and Booth about *Athelwold* showed that, since the actors’ rebellion of 1710, the two had become good friends. Hill was very concerned about the casting of *Athelwold*, and a letter to him from Barton Booth referred specifically to the role of Elfrid:

You were pleas’d to tell me, that you had Thoughts of my Wife for *Elfrid*;
I was apprehensive, not having read it, that the Part might require great
Force, and be too powerful for her Voice: But I find, ‘tis neither long, nor
violent; and, as our Company stands, I think she might undertake it.¹⁴²

In 1731, Booth was still involved in the management of the Drury Lane Theatre, although he could no longer act, and he understood his wife’s limitations as an actress very well. Hill had originally written the part of Elfrid for Mrs Oldfield.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Letter from Barton Booth to Aaron Hill, 8 November 1731, in *A Collection of Letters, Never before Printed: Written by Alexander Pope, Esq; and Other Ingenious Gentlemen, to the Late Aaron Hill, Esq;* (London: W. Owen, 1751), p. 78.

¹⁴³ Letter from Aaron Hill to Robert Wilks, 25 September 1731, *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill*, 4 vols. (London: printed for the benefit of the family, 1753), I, 75.

The part of Athelwold had been meant for Wilks, who declined it; the role was played by Roger Bridgwater, who had joined the Drury Lane company in 1723 and had taken over a number of leading roles in recent seasons.¹⁴⁴ Hester Booth's other new role was Lady Easy in Cibber's *The Careless Husband*, which she took over from Mrs Porter, who performed less often following an accident during the summer of 1731. Mrs Booth's benefit was on 13 March, when she played Harriet in *The Man of Mode* and danced the Minuet with Denoyer; the performance was commanded and attended by the Prince of Wales.

With the death of Sir Richard Steele on 1 September 1729, the Drury Lane patent had become due to expire on 1 September 1732. Cibber, Wilks and Booth secured a new patent effective from that date 'for 21 years to the longer liver, and assignable'.¹⁴⁵ Even before the new Drury Lane patent was to come into effect the triumvirate began to dissolve. During the summer of 1732 Barton Booth sold half of his share in the patent to John Highmore, a gentleman amateur with little experience of the theatre.¹⁴⁶ On 27 September 1732, Robert Wilks died; his share passed to his widow, who appointed the painter John Ellys as her deputy. During September, Colley Cibber passed his interest in the management to his son Theophilus, in return for an annual charge plus a salary for each performance.¹⁴⁷ The new management team at Drury Lane was reported in the *Grub-street Journal*, 2 November 1732. Neither Highmore nor Ellys had experience of running a theatre, and Theophilus Cibber already had a reputation for temperamental and arrogant behaviour. The Drury Lane company began to suffer the problems of an inexperienced and disunited management just as it had lost several of its principal actors and actresses, and competition was increasing from the theatres in Covent Garden and Goodman's Fields.

¹⁴⁴ Letter from Robert Wilks to Aaron Hill, 10 October 1731, *A Collection of Letters ... to the Late Aaron Hill*, pp. 86-87.

¹⁴⁵ *Grub-street Journal*, 4 May 1732.

¹⁴⁶ *Daily Courant*, 13 July 1732.

¹⁴⁷ Robert D. Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre 1728-1737* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 144.

The first performance of the season was 8 September 1732, commanded and attended by Queen Caroline, with Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* as the mainpiece and 'Myrtillo' danced by 'Mrs Booth and others' in the entr'actes. The new managers looked to Hester Booth to take at least some of Mrs Oldfield's roles, for this season she appeared for the first time as Angelica in *Love for Love*, and Indiana in *The Conscious Lovers*. Otherwise she played many of the roles which had become her property over the years, including Ophelia in *Hamlet*, Hotspur's Wife in *King Henry IV, Part 1*, Harriet in *The Man of Mode*, Cordelia in *King Lear*, Selima in *Tamerlane*, Hellena in *The Rover*, and Belinda in *The Provok'd Wife*.

Mrs Booth danced as much as ever in 1732-1733. In the entr'actes she performed a solo Chacone and a solo Minuet, and she was the leading dancer in 'Myrtillo'; she also appeared in *Cephalus and Procris*, which was performed eighteen times this season. On 17 November 1732 she performed the new role of Phoebe, with William Essex as Colin, in the anonymous afterpiece *The Country Revels*, 'a Grotesque Entertainment' which seems to have been danced throughout. On 6 February 1733, she appeared in her last new dancing role, Helen of Troy in John Weaver's *The Judgment of Paris*, with Denoyer as Paris. The work was given four performances, and then absorbed into Theophilus Cibber's topical afterpiece *The Harlot's Progress*, based on Hogarth's series of engravings published in 1732.

By January 1733, there were disagreements between the new Drury Lane managers.¹⁴⁸ A notice in the *Daily Post* for 25 January 1733 reported 'Mrs. Booth has been very ill, but is recover'd'; she may have been affected by the unhappy atmosphere in the company, or merely have caught a sickness which had been raging among the other actors.¹⁴⁹ She was not billed between 20 and 27 January,

¹⁴⁸ Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre*, p. 155.

¹⁴⁹ The same issue of the *Daily Post* reported 'Numbers of the Actors, and other Performers, belonging to *all the Theatres*, have been lately so ill, they have scarce been able to supply a sufficient Number of Entertainments for their daily Performance'.

and may not have returned to the stage until 3 February 1733. At about the same time Barton Booth fell ill again, and during March his illness became worse. Benjamin Victor recorded that ‘On 22d of *April* his Fevers left him; after which he seem’d once more to think of recovering. But on *Tuesday* the 8th of *May* following, he was seiz’d with his last fatal Illness’, on 9 May ‘Mrs. *Booth*, apprehending the ill Consequences, sent away for Sir *Hans Sloan*’, and Sloane attended Booth until he died on 10 May 1733 at his house in Charles Street, Covent Garden.¹⁵⁰ Barton Booth was buried at St Laurence Church, Cowley near Uxbridge, on 17 May 1733.¹⁵¹ He had made his will in 1731 and he left his entire estate to ‘my dearest and well beloved wife Hester Booth’:

I have considered my Circumstances and finding upon a strict Examination, that all I am now possessed of does not amount to two thirds of the Fortune my said Wife brought me on the day of our Marriage together with the yearly Additions and Advantages since arising from her Laborious Employment upon the Stage during twelve years past I thought myself bound by honesty, honour, and gratitude due to her constant affection not to give away any part of the remainder of her Fortune at my death ...¹⁵²

Booth appointed his wife as his executrix, and she received the grant of probate which allowed her to administer the will on 11 May 1733. On 7 May 1733, Hester Booth had danced in *The Country Revels*. The performance was probably her last at Drury Lane.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth*, pp. 18, 20.

¹⁵¹ Greater London Record Office, Parish of St. Laurence, Cowley, Middlesex, Burials Register 1733.

¹⁵² Copy of Booth’s will, Public Record Office PCC PROB 11/659 quire 141.

¹⁵³ The performance record for Drury Lane in 1732-1733 is incomplete, because many issues of the *Daily Post* (in which the theatre advertised its performances) have not survived, *LS3*, p. 230. There were a number of performances after 10 May 1733 which included mainpieces or afterpieces in which Mrs Booth had roles, but there are no certain cast lists for these. It is extremely unlikely that Hester Booth would have returned quickly to the stage after the difficult period of her husband’s illness and death, particularly as the Drury Lane company was in a state

The 1732-1733 season ended abruptly on 28 May, when the Drury Lane patentees locked the players out of the theatre.¹⁵⁴ The events which led to this action had probably begun in March 1733 when, following Highmore's purchase of Colley Cibber's share in the patent, Theophilus Cibber had proposed himself as a deputy manager for the company and been refused. Cibber Junior then persuaded a group of the actors to join him in taking out a lease on the theatre in their own names. When the patentees discovered what had happened, they had no choice but to lock the actors out, to prevent them taking possession of the theatre building. This resulted in a stalemate reminiscent of that of 1710: the patentees had a theatre but no actors, while the actors had no patent and no theatre.¹⁵⁵ With her husband's death, Hester Booth had become one of the Drury Lane patentees by virtue of the one-sixth share she had inherited from him.

There was a great deal of comment in the newspapers about the troubles at Drury Lane. The *Craftsman* of 2 June 1733 summarised events, concluding 'this Season is likely to end with great Convulsions and Changes in the Theatrical, as well as the Political World'. The *Daily Post* of 4 June published the patentees' case, which was answered later in the month by *A Letter from Theophilus Cibber, Comedian, to John Highmore, Esq;*. Cibber was careful to separate Mrs Booth from the other patentees, for he wrote 'in Justice to Mrs. Booth's Excellent Performances, she is and ought to be excepted, if she will again appear upon the Stage', adding later;

If Mrs. Booth pleases to continue on the Stage, she may have all the Advantages and an Allowance as good as ever yet she had; nay probably a

of disarray. The performance by a Mrs Booth at Bartholomew Fair on 4 September 1733, which *BDA* suggests might have been by her, was undoubtedly another performer; Hester Booth had never, throughout her career, danced at the fairs.

¹⁵⁴ *Daily Post*, 29 May 1733.

¹⁵⁵ Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre*, pp. 155-158.

better, and we should be sorry for the sake of the Theatre that she should not appear, while she is so capable of giving Delight to the Town.¹⁵⁶

Theophilus Cibber was well aware of the advantages of having a popular leading actress, with a share in the patent, on his side. Nevertheless, his remarks show that, after twenty-seven years on the stage, Hester Booth had still not lost her appeal for audiences. It was not until late July or early August that the patentees' case was again put forward, in *An Impartial State of the Present Dispute between the Patent and Players*, but the differences between the two sides were by then irreconcilable.¹⁵⁷

Another work dealing with the rebellion was decidedly equivocal in its attitude to Mrs Booth. *The Theatric Squabble* was published on 2 July 1733, and had been written by an anonymous author who opposed the patentees and those who supported them.¹⁵⁸ It included attacks on Mary Wilks and Hester Booth:

The *W-d-ws* sit at home and blow the Feud,
 Are *Proud*, and *Foolish*, scandalous and *Rude*;
 One like a *Matron*, t'other like a *Prude*.
 They write Petitions --- bellow out their Wrongs --
 'Tis well their Cause depends not on their Tongues;
 For if it did, they would so prate and bawl,
 They'd out-talk *Actors*, *P---ntees* and all.
 * *My little Lady's* Choler does so rise
 That, could she reach, she'd tear out all their Eyes:
 Continual Scandal does her Mind so rack,

¹⁵⁶ *A Letter from Theophilus Cibber, Comedian, to John Highmore, Esq;* [London, 1733], pp. 1, 4.

¹⁵⁷ *An Impartial State of the Present Dispute between the Patent and Players* [London, 1733].

¹⁵⁸ The publication of *The Theatric Squabble* was advertised in the *Grub-street Journal*, 5 July 1733.

She'll Empty all the Venom --- in her Back.¹⁵⁹

The writer's tone changed some lines later:

Unhappy *B---th!* to join with Men like these,
 And in the Grave disturb thy Husband's Peace:
 Oh! mark his Steps, and to right Reason turn,
 Nor rouse his shade in Vengeance from its Urn.¹⁶⁰

In his lines on Hester Booth, including his scarcely-veiled reference to her name before she married Booth, the author seemed to be recalling an earlier notoriety, rather than her reputation in the 1730s.

There may have been some surprise when the *London Evening-Post* of 18-20 September 1733 reported 'We hear Mrs. Booth ... resolves to leave the Stage, having sold her Share in the Patent to Mr. Giffard, the Master of Goodman's-Fields Theatre'.¹⁶¹ Hester Booth retired from the stage while she was still popular with audiences, when, in other circumstances, she might have had several more years of success, as an actress if not as a dancer, before her.

Retirement

The troubles at Drury Lane took some months of negotiation to resolve.¹⁶² The *Grub-street Journal* for 10 January 1734 included satirical 'Preliminary articles of peace between the Patentees and the Revel [sic] company of Comedians', in which article ten suggested that 'for the more effectual restoring, settling, confirming, and establishing the peace and tranquillity of the Stage, the illustrious dowager Hester

¹⁵⁹ *The Theatric Squabble: or, The P---ntees. A Satire* (London: E. Nutt and A. Dodd, 1733), p.

4. The asterisk before '*My little Lady's*' refers to a note at the foot of the page '*Mrs. S---w*'.

¹⁶⁰ *The Theatric Squabble*, p. 5.

¹⁶¹ The sale was also reported in the *Daily Post*, 20 September 1733, and the *Universal Spectator*, 22 September 1733.

¹⁶² Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre*, pp. 173-180.

Booth shall be given in marriage to the most serene Infant Don Theophilus Cibber'. On 24 January Charles Fleetwood purchased the shares of both John Highmore and Mary Wilks, and Drury Lane reopened with Fleetwood as manager and a reunited company of actors on 8 March 1734.¹⁶³

In April and May 1734, Hester Booth was staying with her daughter's family in Cornwall, for several letters written by Harriot's husband Richard Eliot from there mention her.¹⁶⁴ In one, dated 20 April 1734 and addressed to his sister-in-law Anne Nugent, he writes of Hester Booth's pleasure in her grandchildren and adds 'Mrs Booth ... seems to be happy beyond expression'. By July 1734, the family, with Hester Booth, were at Port Eliot, where Richard Eliot wrote on 7 July 1734 to his sisters-in-law Elizabeth Eliot and Anne Nugent, saying 'Harriot and Mrs Booth joyn with me in best services & respects'.¹⁶⁵ By this time, Harriot was twenty-one and had four children.

Hester Booth apparently lived a quiet, private life among family and friends after she retired. There are occasional glimpses of her, which indicate that she did not entirely ignore the worlds of dancing and the theatre. In 1735, she was listed among the subscribers to Kellom Tomlinson's *The Art of Dancing*, as 'Mrs. Booth the celebrated Dancer'.¹⁶⁶ Many years later, she subscribed to *The Works of the Late Aaron Hill*, published in four volumes in 1753-1754,¹⁶⁷ and in 1771 Benjamin Victor dedicated his *The History of the Theatres of London, from the Year 1760 to the Present Time* to her, even though he wrote 'I know you had rather pass your

¹⁶³ Hume, *Henry Fielding and the London Theatre*, pp. 179, 180.

¹⁶⁴ A three-quarter length portrait of Hester Booth as a widow, probably dating to about 1734, is now at Port Eliot in Cornwall.

¹⁶⁵ Huntington Library, Stowe Collection, Nugent Papers, STN correspondence, Eliot, no folio numbers.

¹⁶⁶ List of subscribers, sig. B1^v, italics reversed. She may have subscribed to the work during the 1720s, when Tomlinson apparently wrote his treatise (he claimed to have advertised the work in 1726 and 1727, sig. B4^r).

¹⁶⁷ She is included in the list of subscribers as 'Mrs. Hester Booth', *Works of the Late Aaron Hill*, I, sig. a2^v.

remaining days forgotten as an Actress, than to have your Youth recollected in the most favourable Light'.¹⁶⁸ In 1755, Mrs Booth, with Mrs Horton (another former actress in the Drury Lane company), visited the actor William 'Gentleman' Smith 'behind the scenes ... from a Curiosity to see the "Young Gentleman" ', who was appearing at Covent Garden.¹⁶⁹

It seems that Hester Booth divided her time between her friends from her days as an actress and a dancer, and her daughter with her ever-growing family. Between 1734 and 1743, Harriot had five more children; seven of the nine children she bore to Richard Eliot survived to adulthood. In 1748, Richard Eliot died, and in 1749 his widow married John Hamilton, the second son of the sixth Earl of Abercorn.¹⁷⁰ Harriot had two children by her second husband, who was a captain in the Royal Navy and died in 1755 when his ship was wrecked off Spithead. Harriot died in 1769, leaving the residue of her estate to her youngest son John James Hamilton.¹⁷¹

In 1772, Hester Booth commemorated her husband Barton Booth:

... by erecting a monument for him in the Abbey, with a suitable inscription thereon. Soon after it was put up, attended by some friends, Mrs. Booth

¹⁶⁸ Benjamin Victor, *The History of the Theatres of London, from the Year 1760 to the Present Time* (London: T. Becket, 1771), p. iii.

¹⁶⁹ BDA, entry for Smith, William (1730-1819).

¹⁷⁰ For Richard Eliot's death see, *Genealogical Memoranda Relating to the Families of Eliot of Port Eliot and Craggs of Wyserley*, p. 7. For the marriage of Harriot Eliot and John Hamilton, see DNB, John Hamilton (d. 1755).

¹⁷¹ Copy of Harriot Hamilton's will, Public Record Office PCC PROB 11/946, ff. 339^v - 341^r. The only mention of her mother was in a codicil, 'I remitt to my Dear John Eliot [her son] the Debt of three Hundred and fifty pounds Jointly borrowed with Mrs Booth for the Payment of his Commission for the Government of West Florida'.

went to look at it; and after considering it for some time, with attention and considerable emotion, she returned back to her house.¹⁷²

Hester Booth died on 15 January 1773 at her house in Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, and was buried in St Laurence Church, Cowley near Uxbridge, beside her husband and her mother, on 21 January 1773.¹⁷³ She had made a new will when her daughter died in 1769, appointing her eldest grandson Edward Eliot and Samuel Salt of the Inner Temple as her executors. The will included more than £600 in legacies, including bequests to charity, her servants, friends, and grandchildren. She requested that the residue of her estate should be divided between four of her six surviving Eliot grandchildren, Harriot Neale, John Eliot, Ann Bonfoy, and Catherine Eliot, leaving out Edward Eliot and Elizabeth Cocks, but asking ‘I hope and desire they will not impute it to any Difference in my Affections towards them since I have an equal Regard for all but to their different Situations in Life’. She left John Hamilton, the son (and only surviving child) of her daughter’s second marriage, a bequest of twenty guineas.¹⁷⁴ Mrs Booth appended a codicil to her will, showing her particular affection to Ann Bonfoy by leaving her ‘my silver tea kettle [sic] and lamp my silver tea table and all the rest of my silver tea equipage [sic] that is in my ebony tea box’.¹⁷⁵

Although her origins remain unknown, her exceptionally successful career as a dancer and an actress was not entirely respectable, and her daughter was illegitimate, Hester Santlow’s descendants belong to the British aristocracy.

¹⁷² Rev. Mark Noble, *A Biographical History of England, from the Revolution to the End of George I’s Reign*. 3 vols (London: W. Richardson, Darton and Harvey, W. Baynes, 1806), entry for Barton Booth, III, 413–417 (pp. 416–417).

¹⁷³ For the date of her death see, David Erskine Baker, *Biographia Dramatica, or, a Companion to the Playhouse*. New ed. (London: Rivingtons [et al.], 1782), entry for Barton Booth, pp. 30–33 (p. 33). For her burial see, Greater London Record Office, Parish of St. Laurence, Cowley, Middlesex, Burials Register 1773.

¹⁷⁴ Copy of Hester Booth’s will, Public Record Office PCC PROB 11/985, ff. 326^r - 327^v.

¹⁷⁵ The codicil, which is still attached to the original will, is in Hester Booth’s own hand, Public Record Office, PCC PROB 10/2608.

Edward Eliot, her eldest grandson and her executor, was created Baron Eliot in 1784, and his second son John Eliot (who succeeded him) was created Earl of St Germans in 1815. John Hamilton, her daughter's son by her second husband, succeeded his uncle as ninth Earl of Abercorn in 1789 and was created Marquess of Abercorn in 1790.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ G. E. C., *Complete Peerage*, entries for St Germans and Abercorn.

CHAPTER 3

DANCING ON THE LONDON STAGE 1700-1737

From the opening of the theatres following the Restoration in 1660, dancing was part of the entertainments offered on the London stage. There was dancing in plays, between the acts of plays, in masques added to plays, and in semi-operas. The development of theatrical dancing in late seventeenth-century London was much influenced by French dancers and dancing-masters: Monsieur St André, a member of the Académie Royale de Danse (the Paris Opéra), in 1675 choreographed dances for both the court masque *Calisto* and the opera *Psyche* produced at the Dorset Garden Theatre.¹ Anthony L'Abbé and Claude Ballon came to London from the Paris Opéra to dance at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre in 1698 and 1699 respectively, and were followed in 1701 or 1702 by Marie-Thérèse de Subligny.² St André's visit may well have encouraged London dancers and dancing-masters to develop their skills, as Mr Isaac and Mr Preist were to do, and the example of L'Abbé, Ballon and Mlle Subligny would influence a new generation of native-born dancers. By 1700 dancing was an integral but subordinate part of the entertainments offered on the stages of the London theatres. By 1737, when the Licensing Act was passed and affected every area of London's theatrical life, dancing was established as an indispensable part of each evening's entertainment on the London stage. There was dancing in the entr'actes, in mainpieces, and in afterpieces. Dancers appeared in plays, in operas, and in pantomimes, and dancing had achieved independent status in the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' developed by John Weaver.

¹ Andrew R. Walkling, 'Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court: John Crowne's *Calisto*', *Early Music*, 24 (1996), 27-62 (p. 41).

² For L'Abbé and Ballon see, Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields 1695-1708* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), p. 134. For Subligny see, Robert D. Hume, 'A Revival of *The Way of the World* in December 1701 or January 1702', *Theatre Notebook*, 26 (1971), 30-36.

The growth in popularity of dancing between 1700 and 1737 can be charted through the advertisements for performances recorded in *The London Stage*. For the 1700-1701 season, advertisements survive for over 100 performances, but only three explicitly mention dancing. For 1709-1710, over 350 performances are listed and over seventy (or about 20%) include dancing. By 1736-1737, advertisements survive for about 700 performances and about 250 (over 35%) explicitly mention dancing. The numbers of named entr'acte dances increased similarly: in 1700-1701 only one dance was named, in 1709-1710 there were about twenty named dances, and by the 1736-1737 season the number of named dances had risen to over fifty. Over the period 1700-1701 to 1736-1737, more than 250 entr'acte dances were identified by name in the advertisements. The numbers of dancers grew along with the increasing popularity of dancing. In 1700-1701 only five dancers were identified by name in the advertisements. By 1709-1710 the number had risen to fourteen, and by 1736-1737 eighty-five dancers were named in the bills during the season. This enormous growth rate charted not only the rising numbers of dancers professionally employed by the playhouses, but also their ever-increasing importance as a draw for audiences. Hester Santlow's career coincided with a period of unprecedented change and development for dancers on the London stage.

Dancing and the Stage

All of the early eighteenth-century London theatres were small; Drury Lane, the Queen's Theatre and Covent Garden were much the same size, and Lincoln's Inn Fields was slightly smaller, with audiences ranging from between 500 and 1000 at Drury Lane to 1400 at Covent Garden.³ The theatres all had certain features in common. The audience was accommodated on several levels: in the pit, which

³ Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatres', in *The London Theatre World, 1660-1800*, ed. by Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), pp. 35-65 (pp. 61-65). The interior dimensions of Drury Lane were 108 x 52 feet, those of the Queen's Theatre were 106 x 56 feet, and those of Covent Garden 112 x 56 feet; the interior size of Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre is unknown but its site measured 100 x 56 feet.

was a little below the stage; in front boxes, which faced the stage on a level with it; in side boxes which ran along the sides of the auditorium from the stage in two tiers or more, at stage level and above (some boxes being within the stage area); and in a gallery above the front boxes. The larger theatres had a second gallery above the main or first gallery.⁴ Seating in all the playhouses was flexible; there were no separate numbered seats and so no fixed capacity, and on special occasions seating could be altered when part of the pit was railed into boxes.⁵ Some members of the audience sat on the stage, either informally or in specially built boxes, but the royal box was placed in the centre of the front boxes, directly opposite the stage, and not among the stage boxes along the side.⁶ The whole theatre was illuminated by candles, with footlights at the front of the stage, and both auditorium and stage remained lit throughout the performance.⁷

The stage area was divided into three distinct parts:⁸

Forestage: the area in front of the proscenium arch, which was wider than it was deep. It was flanked by the proscenium doors and stage boxes, and was the most brightly lit of the stage areas because, as well as having footlights, it was directly under the chandeliers that also illuminated the auditorium.

Scenic Stage: the area immediately behind the proscenium arch, deeper than the forestage but progressively narrowing towards the upstage area. It was enclosed by the wings and shutters which formed the scenery, and was the area where machines were deployed for special effects, e.g. flying, transformations. Both the

⁴ LS2, pp. xliii-xliv.

⁵ St. Vincent Troubridge, *The Benefit System in the British Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1967), pp. 149-150.

⁶ Richard Leacroft, *The Development of the English Playhouse*. Rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1988), pp. 97, 107.

⁷ Leacroft, *Development of the English Playhouse*, pp. 64, 118.

⁸ Leacroft, *Development of the English Playhouse*, chapter 5. There has been no study of the use of the stage for dancing at this period.

forestage and the scenic stage had traps.⁹ The scenic stage was probably less brightly lit than the forestage, since it was illuminated from the sides and not from above, and the level of illumination may have been less towards the upstage area.

Vista Stage: the area beyond the scenic stage used for deep perspective scenes. Unlike the forestage and the scenic stage, this was not an area used for acting, so it is highly unlikely that it was used for dancing.

Sightlines differed according to the area of the auditorium; dancers on the forestage would have been clearly visible to all, but dancers in the scenic stage may not have been visible to some of the audience in the side boxes if they were too far to stage left or stage right. Dancers too far upstage may have had their movements obscured by poorer lighting.

At Drury Lane the forestage was thirty feet wide and fifteen feet deep, with a scenic stage twenty feet deep. The dimensions of the stage at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre are unknown, but it was later said to be 'more extended than that of the rival theatre [i.e. Drury Lane]' and that the stage 'stretched itself nearly to the center of the house greatly to the diminution of the Pit'.¹⁰ At the Queen's Theatre the forestage was only about eleven feet deep but forty feet wide, with a scenic stage thirty feet deep; at Covent Garden the forestage was about twelve feet deep and only twenty-five feet wide, with a scenic stage over forty feet deep. At Drury Lane, the Queen's Theatre, and Covent Garden the forestage and the scenic stage were equally raked, forming a continuous stage area. The degree to which the scenic stage narrowed differed from theatre to theatre, as did the placing of the wings and shutters which affected the usable stage area.¹¹ There is some evidence

⁹ Graham F. Barlow, 'Vanbrugh's Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket, 1703-9', *Early Music*, 17 (1989), 515-521 (pp. 519-520).

¹⁰ For the first quotation see, Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies*. 3 vols. (London: printed for the author, 1783-1784), I, 247. For the second quotation see, Paul Sawyer, *The New Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1979), pp. 14, 28.

¹¹ Leacroft, *Development of the English Playhouse*, pp. 101, 106.

that the first set of shutters was normally placed about nine feet upstage of the proscenium arch.¹² On a purely practical level it would obviously have been possible to dance both on the forestage and within much of the scenic stage.

The stage space available to Hester Santlow as a dancer was not great. At the Drury Lane Theatre she had at most an area of perhaps twenty-five feet square extending from the forestage into the scenic stage, or less when there were spectators on the stage.¹³ At the Queen's Theatre, the comparatively shallow forestage probably meant a greater use of the scenic stage by dancers; it is possible that the dancers could use an area as much as thirty feet square, much of which was within the scenic stage. Hester Santlow never danced at either Lincoln's Inn Fields or Covent Garden.

Hester Santlow's Dancing Partners

During her career, Hester Santlow had several important dancing partnerships. Her first significant partnership was with Louis Dupré, with whom she appeared in Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus* in 1717.¹⁴ She was subsequently partnered by the English dancer John Shaw, who was succeeded by the dancing-masters John Thurmond and Roger. From the late 1720s both William Essex (the son of the dancing-master John Essex) and Michael Lally danced regularly with her. Her last important partnership was with Denoyer; they danced together in Weaver's last work for the stage, *The Judgment of Paris*. Hester Santlow's career

¹² Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery: its Origin and Development in the British Theatre* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), pp. 166-167.

¹³ Patricia Rader suggested that Hester Santlow would usually have had a space for dancing on the forestage no greater than twenty feet wide by fifteen feet deep 'assuming she did not extend her dancing into the scene stage area (which would have extended the depth of the stage to twenty-five feet)'. Patricia Weeks Rader, 'Harlequin and Hussar: Hester Santlow's Dancing Career in London, 1706-1733' (unpublished master's thesis, City University of New York, 1992), p. 21.

¹⁴ Santlow's earlier partnerships with Desbarques, with whom she danced Isaac's *The Union*, and Delagarde, with whom she danced Isaac's *The Saltarella* and L'Abbé's 'Chacone of Galathee', will be discussed in chapter five.

was influenced by her principal dancing partners as well as by the dancing-masters who created dances and dancing roles for her.¹⁵

Of all her partnerships, only that with Dupré has received attention from writers on dance, because he has hitherto been identified with the French dancer Louis 'le grand' Dupré. It has now been conclusively proved that the 'London' Dupré was not Louis 'le grand' Dupré.¹⁶ The Dupré who partnered Hester Santlow was first mentioned in the advertisements as dancing at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 22 December 1714, and he featured regularly among the dancers there throughout 1714-1715. His dances were rarely named, but they included a 'Harlequin and two Punches' with Moreau and Boval on 2 May 1715, and a 'Grand Spanish Entry' with Moreau, Boval, and Mrs Bullock on 24 May 1715.

For the 1715-1716 season, Dupré moved to Drury Lane where he was first billed on 4 October 1715 alongside Hester Santlow and other dancers. At Drury Lane his repertoire included 'Spanish Entry' and 'Harlequin' duets with Mrs Santlow, as well as the group dances 'Myrtillo' and 'Lads and Lasses' in which he and Santlow were the leading couple.¹⁷ He also had the opportunity to create his own choreography, for on 19 October 1715 the bill included 'Comic Entertainments compos'd by Monsieur Dupré'. His benefit on 10 April 1716 was attended by the Princesses Anne and Amelia, and the performers included Hester Santlow, although Dupré apparently had not danced at her benefit on 7 April 1716. During the 1716-1717 season Dupré's repertoire of entr'acte dances was much the same, but on 2 March 1717 he appeared in his first important dancing role in an afterpiece when he and Santlow took the title roles in Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. Hester Santlow appeared at Dupré's benefit, which was commanded

¹⁵ There are virtually no studies of male dancers on the London stage at this period.

¹⁶ Moira Goff, 'The "London" Dupré', *Historical Dance*, 3.6 (1999), 23-26.

¹⁷ Dupré and Santlow danced a 'Spanish Entry' on 24 October 1715, and a 'Harlequin' duet on 25 May 1716. They danced in both 'Myrtillo' and 'Lads and Lasses' (billed as 'Country Lads and Lasses') on 31 May 1716.

‘For the Entertainment of the Young Princesses’ (the granddaughters of George I), as early as 19 March 1717, but he was not billed for hers on 25 March 1717.

Dupré left Drury Lane at the end of the 1716-1717 season and returned to Lincoln’s Inn Fields, where he appeared again on 25 October 1717. It is possible that there had been some disagreement between him and members of the Drury Lane company, for on 22 November 1717 he took the role of Mars in *Mars and Venus; or, The Mouse Trap*, the Lincoln’s Inn Fields burlesque of Weaver’s ‘dramatic entertainment of dancing’, a production which undoubtedly owed a great deal to Dupré’s inside knowledge of the original.

Dupré spent the rest of his career at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, where he was a leading dancer. His appearances in John Rich’s highly successful pantomimes were central to his work: on 24 January 1718 he created the title-role in *Amadis; or, The Loves of Harlequin and Colombine*, on 19 October 1723 he added the role of Leander (Mars) in *Jupiter and Europa; or, The Intrigues of Harlequin*, and on 20 December 1723 that of a Harlequin Man in *The Necromancer; or Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, on 21 January 1725 he danced a Fury in *Harlequin a Sorcerer*, on 14 January 1726 he was a Spaniard in *Apollo and Daphne*, and on 13 February 1727 he appeared as a God of the Woods, a Demon, and the element Earth in *The Rape of Proserpine*. These roles were the mainstay of Dupré’s career until his last season on the stage. He died between 8 May 1734, when he made his last recorded appearance at Covent Garden, and 1 December 1735, when the performance was a benefit for ‘Dupré’s widow’ among others.¹⁸

Anthony L’Abbé choreographed dances in the serious style for Dupré and four of these were recorded in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation by F. Le Roussau; Dupré was

¹⁸ In a volume of nineteenth-century transcripts of playbills for the London theatres which are no longer extant, the entry for Covent Garden on 1 December 1735 has ‘Tickets delivered out by the Widow Dupre & others will be taken this day’, that for 2 December 1735 has ‘Tickets delivered out for the benefit of Monsr Dupre’s widow & others that could not be admitted last night will be taken this night’, British Library, Additional MSS, 32251, fols 285^v, 286^f.

also listed among the subscribers as ‘Mr. Louis Dupré’.¹⁹ These dances reveal Dupré’s strong technique; the ‘Chacone of Amadis’ includes multiple *entre-chats droit à six*, multiple *pirouettes*, *pas tortillés* and *cabrioles* - all steps which clearly belong to virtuoso theatrical dancing. In the comic-grotesque genre Dupré was well known for his performances in the role of Harlequin, and Le Roussau paid tribute to him in the dedication to his notation of *A Chacoon for a Harlequin* where he wrote ‘My chief Design being to discribe [sic] on paper, ye postures wch: are most in practice for the Harlequin, I have endeavour’d to represent some of yours: but however without pretending (by these figures) to demonstrate ye Excellency of your motions, ye Exactness & subtility [sic] of wch: surprizes so agreeably’.²⁰ Dupré owed his success to his versatility as well as his virtuosity.

Dupré’s successor as Hester Santlow’s principal dancing partner was John Shaw. According to Kellom Tomlinson, Shaw had been apprenticed to Thomas Caverley, but he had also been taught by Hester Santlow’s dancing-master René Cherrier. Tomlinson recorded:

Mr. *Cherreir*’s great merit, after he quitted the Stage, was supported a long Time by the late Mr. *John Shaw*, who was justly esteemed not only one of the finest Theatrical Dancers, but one of the most beautiful Performers in the Gentleman-like Way.²¹

Hester Santlow and John Shaw first worked together during the 1707-1708 season, when they both appeared in *Love’s Triumph* at the Queen’s Theatre.²² On 1 February 1715, Lincoln’s Inn Fields announced dancing by ‘Shaw, who has not

¹⁹ *New Collection (Facsimile)*. The four dances are: ‘Saraband’ of Issee performd’ by Mr Düpré & Mrs Bullock’ (pp. 31-36); ‘Jigg by ye same’ (pp. 37-39); ‘Canaries performd’ by Mr La Garde & Mr Düpré’ (pp. 40-45); ‘Chacone of Amadis performd’ by Mr Dupré’ (pp. 57-64). Dupré is represented by the same number of dances as Hester Santlow.

²⁰ F. Le Roussau, *A Chacoon for a Harlequin* (London: the Author and Mr Barrett, [1729?]). The notation is embellished with drawings showing some of Harlequin’s ‘postures’.

²¹ T1735, sig. b1^r, italics reversed.

appear'd upon the Stage these Six Years'. John Shaw danced regularly for John Rich until the end of the 1716-1717 season, with a mixed repertoire which included the *commedia dell'arte* role of Punch. Shaw danced Punch at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 3 October 1715, when he and John Thurmond appeared in '*Punchanello and Scaramouch*', and during his last season at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Shaw danced Punch in two afterpieces, *The Cheats; or, The Tavern Bilkers* and *The Jealous Doctor*.²³ Shaw's mastery of *belle dance* technique, and his choreographic skills, are indicated by the 'new *Serious Dance*, compos'd by Shaw, and perform'd by Shaw, Kellum's Scholar, Newhouse, Mrs Schooling, Mrs Cross' at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 29 November 1716.

When he transferred to Drury Lane for the 1717-1718 season, John Shaw immediately received top billing among the male dancers there and began to partner Hester Santlow regularly.²⁴ On 12 October he appeared as Mars to her Venus in Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, succeeding Dupré. His repertoire at Drury Lane was much wider than it seems to have been with John Rich's company: with Hester Santlow he danced duets entitled 'Coquette Shepherdess', 'Les Cotillons', 'Harlequin', 'Hussars', a 'Serious Dance' and a 'Swedish Dal Karle' as well as a Passacaille, and he may well have choreographed a number of these dances, for he was either her first or her only partner in them.²⁵ He regularly appeared in comic-representative dances and in the pastoral dances 'Myrtillo' and 'Lads and Lasses', but he maintained his skills in comic-grotesque dancing (with a change of character), for he created the Harlequin roles in Thurmond's pantomime afterpieces *The Dumb Farce* and *The Escapes of*

²² *Coke* nos. 65, 66.

²³ *The Cheats; or, The Tavern Bilkers* was first given on 22 April 1717 and *The Jealous Doctor* on 29 April 1717.

²⁴ In his first season at Drury Lane, Shaw's benefit was on 2 May 1718, after those of Weaver and Thurmond. By the early 1720s his was invariably the first benefit among the male dancers.

²⁵ Shaw and Santlow first danced a 'Harlequin' together on 5 February 1722, and a 'Swedish Dal Karle' on 25 March 1718; for their first performances of the other dances, see Appendix I, 'Dance Repertoire - Duets'.

Harlequin.²⁶ The apogee of Shaw's career came on 26 November 1723, when he took the title-role in Thurmond's overwhelmingly successful *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* and danced as Mercury in the pantomime's concluding 'Masque of the Deities'. Despite his success in *commedia dell'arte* roles, Shaw was thought of as a serious dancer, for John Essex wrote 'He was very excellent in many Characters; the last he performed was *Mercury* in Dr. *Faustus*, which he did with that Correctness and Truth in all its Attitudes, that those who have attempted that Character fall but short of him'.²⁷ John Shaw died on 8 December 1725, at the height of his powers.

During the seasons following Shaw's death, Hester Santlow was usually partnered by either Thurmond or Roger.²⁸ At the performance of *Apollo and Daphne* on 2 November 1726, although Thurmond performed as Apollo to Santlow's Daphne, Essex danced the Sylvan who partnered her when she took the role of a Nymph in the concluding divertissement. He had already danced Mercury in the 'Masque of the Deities' in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* on 1 October 1726, and he subsequently appeared as one of the Statues in *The Miser* and *Harlequin's Triumph*.²⁹ By 9 May 1728, when he danced 'Hussars' with her, Essex had become one of Hester Santlow's regular partners.

Essex has usually been identified with the dancing-master John Essex, the translator of Rameau's *Le Maître à danser*, but it is more likely that he was his son William.³⁰ John Essex had been advertised as appearing in the London theatres between 1701-1702 and 1703-1704, after which he had left the stage, perhaps

²⁶ *The Dumb Farce* was first given at Drury Lane on 12 February 1719, and *The Escapes of Harlequin* on 10 January 1722.

²⁷ *E1728* p. xiv.

²⁸ The careers of Thurmond and Roger will be discussed in chapter six.

²⁹ *The Miser* was first given at Drury Lane on 30 December 1726 and *Harlequin's Triumph* was first performed there on 27 February 1727.

³⁰ *Ralph*, p. 822, identifies him as William Essex.

because of a disagreement with Christopher Rich.³¹ No other dancer named Essex was billed until 26 September 1724, when Essex Junior appeared at Drury Lane. This dancer, subsequently billed as Essex, appeared there throughout 1724-1725, but he disappeared from the rosters during 1725-1726. A dancer named Essex was again billed at Drury Lane during 1726-1727 in an extensive repertoire of serious dances, including a 'Turkish Dance' (with Roger, Lally, Boval, and Duplessis) on 25 April 1727, and a Chacone (with Young Rainton, Miss Robinson, 'and others') on 1 May 1727. John Essex was probably a near-contemporary of John Weaver, who was born in 1673, but the repertoire performed by the dancer Essex in the mid-1720s indicates a much younger man. The most likely candidate is William Essex.³²

During the seasons following 1726-1727, William Essex appeared frequently in the entr'actes at Drury Lane, in a varied repertoire of dances including a 'Muzette' with Miss Robinson on 15 May 1728 and an 'Ethiopian Dance' with her on 10 October 1728.³³ He also took roles in afterpieces; he danced as Mercury, a Triton, and Jupiter in *Perseus and Andromeda*, and as a Deity of Pleasure (partnering Hester Santlow) and a Sea God in *Cephalus and Procris*.³⁴ In 1730-1731, Santlow and Essex danced the 'Prince's Saraband', L'Abbé's new dance for the birthday of Queen Caroline, and in 1731-1732 they danced 'The Lorrain', in honour of the Duke of Lorraine who was visiting England. During Hester Santlow's last season on the stage, they took the leading roles of Colin and Phoebe in the afterpiece *The Country Revels*. William Essex's repertoire indicates that he

³¹ Register 1708.

³² John Essex apparently had two sons, John Junior and William. The Essex who danced in 1724-1725 may have been John Junior, but the dancer who appeared in 1726-1727 was most likely William. John Junior must have predeceased his father, who died in 1744, for (unlike William) he was not mentioned in his will, whereas the dancer of 1726-1727 continued to appear on the London stage until 1745-1746.

³³ Miss Robinson Junior was advertised as 'a Scholar of Mr Essex's' at Drury Lane on 5 January 1728.

³⁴ *Perseus and Andromeda* was first given at Drury Lane on 15 November 1728, and *Cephalus and Procris* on 28 October 1730.

had a mastery of *belle dance* style and technique, and was a capable comic dancer whose range did not extend to the *commedia dell'arte* roles with which Louis Dupré and John Shaw had had such success.

After Hester Santlow's retirement in 1733, Essex joined the Drury Lane rebels and danced at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket for much of the 1733-1734 season. He returned to Drury Lane when the company reunited and remained there until the 1740-1741 season, again performing a variety of entr'acte dances, occasionally taking dancing roles in pantomime afterpieces, and being granted a solo benefit each season. Early in 1736-1737 he sustained an injury, and thereafter he appeared only for his benefit performance each season.³⁵ Essex's final appearance on the stage was for his benefit on 17 April 1746, when he danced Vulcan in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, billed as an 'Entertainment of Dancing (never performed before)'. He died in 1747.

William Essex was not Hester Santlow's only partner during the late 1720s and early 1730s. On 20 March 1727, she and Lally danced the 'Coquette Shepherdess' at Drury Lane for her benefit, and they repeated the dance for his benefit on 20 April 1727. Michael Lally, who may have been born in 1707, was probably the son of Edmund Lally and brother to the dancers Edward and Samuel Lally.³⁶ He began his career, billed as Lally Junior, at Lincoln's Inn Fields during the 1721-1722 season and continued to dance there until he and his brother were discharged from the theatre on 3 December 1723.³⁷ Edward Lally later returned to Lincoln's Inn

³⁵ The advertisement for Essex's benefit on 23 April 1737 included the note 'many of my Friends may not be apprised of the hurt I receiv'd in my Performance on the Stage at the beginning of this Season, which still continues'.

³⁶ The entry for Edward Lally in *BDA* confuses him with his father Edmund Lally, who was apparently born about 1677. Edward Lally, son of Edmund and Mary Lally, was baptised at St Andrew Holborn on 23 November 1701, and Michael Lally, son of Edward and Margaret Lally (probably Edmund, and perhaps Mary Lally), was baptised there on 9 February 1707, *International Genealogical Index*. Samuel Lally was born about 1712.

³⁷ The first advertisement to mention Lally Junior was 17 October 1721, when he appeared in the entr'acte dances with his brother and several others. For the discharge, see *Register* 3204.

Fields but Michael moved to Drury Lane, although his name did not appear regularly in the advertisements until 1725-1726, when his repertoire included appearances on 28 September 1725 in 'La Folette', on 31 March 1726 in a 'Turkish Dance' (with Thurmond, Roger, and Duplessis), and on 13 May 1726 in a 'Pastoral' (with Mrs Walter). In 1726-1727 he began to be billed in afterpiece roles, including Mercury in the 'Masque of the Deities' in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, from 25 October 1726, and a Statue in both *The Miser* and *Harlequin's Triumph*. Like Essex, Lally did not appear in comic-grotesque *commedia dell'arte* dances.

Lally's partnership with Hester Santlow continued into the 1727-1728 season. Although she also danced regularly with Essex, she and Lally danced in 'Myrtillo' together, and on 7 May 1728 added a 'new *Muzette*' to their repertoire of duets.³⁸ On 15 November 1728 they took the title roles in *Perseus and Andromeda: With the Rape of Colombine; or, The Flying Lovers* by Roger and Weaver. Thereafter, although Lally continued to dance as Mercury in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* as well as regularly dancing Perseus, and appeared as Acteon with Hester Santlow as Diana in Roger's *Diana and Acteon* at Drury Lane on 23 April 1730, he and Santlow were billed in no new entr'acte duets. They did continue to dance together in 'Myrtillo' until the 1731-1732 season, and they danced a 'Coquette' duet (probably the 'Coquette Shepherdess') on 18 April 1732. Lally took over the role of Paris in *The Judgment of Paris* from Denoyer on 20 April 1733, and he and Hester Santlow danced together for the last time at his benefit on 23 April 1733.

Michael Lally remained at Drury Lane until the end of the 1733-1734 season, but for 1734-1735 he transferred to John Rich's company. During the 1734-1735 season he regularly partnered Marie Sallé; they appeared together in *Pigmalion* on 29 November 1734, and in 'La Coquette Francois' on 14 December 1734. On 14 April 1735 Lally and Sallé danced together at his benefit, and he appeared with Mlle Sallé in *Pigmalion* for her benefit on 24 April 1735. Lally's career continued

³⁸ Santlow and Lally probably first danced the lead couple in 'Myrtillo' on 18 February 1727.

until 1742-1743, although from the 1736-1737 season he was billed only for his benefit performances. He died in 1757, but more than fifteen years later (and nearly forty years after they had last danced together) Hester Santlow remembered him in her will with the bequest 'to Mrs. Elizabeth Lally the Widow of Michael Lally Esquire deceased my Diamond Ring with two Hearts joined together.'³⁹

Hester Santlow's last new partnership was with Denoyer. He had first been advertised in London at Drury Lane on 11 January 1721, 'lately arrived in England'.⁴⁰ Apart from the 'new Comic Dance by Denoyer, Boval, and Miss Smith' on 16 May 1721, none of Denoyer's dances were named in the advertisements. His benefit on 18 May 1721 was 'By His Majesty's Command' and attended by the King. Denoyer returned to Drury Lane for the 1721-1722 season, during which he created the role of Pierot in Thurmond's pantomime *The Escapes of Harlequin*, although again none of his entr'acte dances were named.⁴¹ At the end of the season, Denoyer went to Hanover to take up a post as dancing-master to the fifteen-year old Prince Frederick, the son of the Prince of Wales.

It was during this period that Anthony L'Abbé created two solos for Denoyer, the 'Spanish Entrée' and the 'Entrée', and the 'Türkish Dance' duet with Elizabeth Younger (which includes a lengthy solo for Denoyer), which were published in notation by Le Roussau.⁴² The solos deploy the full range of male virtuoso *belle dance* technique from *pas cabriollés* and *pas tortillés* to *entre-chats droit à six* (including one with a *tour en l'air* in the 'Türkish Dance'), and multiple *pirouettes* (with and without *pas battus*).

Denoyer did not return to the London stage until 22 December 1731, when he appeared at Drury Lane in a 'new *Grand Ballad d'Amour*' (which he had also

³⁹ Copy of Hester Booth's will, Public Record Office PCC PROB 11/985, ff. 326^v - 327^r.

⁴⁰ Denoyer may have been the son of the 'Desnoyers' who had worked for the Queen of Prussia in 1701.

⁴¹ *The Escapes of Harlequin* was first performed on 10 January 1722.

⁴² LMC 8100, 4180, 8220; *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/11, 12, 13.

choreographed) ‘being the first Time of his Dancing since his Arrival in England’. During 1731-1732 he danced mostly with Hester Santlow; as well as the ‘Grand Ballad d’Amour’, they appeared together in ‘Le Chasseur Royal’ and a Minuet.⁴³ They also danced at one another’s benefits. Denoyer’s benefit on 16 March 1732 was ‘By Command of His Royal Highness’, Frederick Prince of Wales, and was attended by the Prince with his brother the Duke of Cumberland and four of his sisters. Denoyer again danced at Drury Lane in 1732-1733, although his first performance of the season was not until 6 February 1733, when he took the title role in Weaver’s *The Judgment of Paris*. He usually partnered Santlow, although none of their dances were named in the surviving advertisements, and he danced at her benefit on 8 March 1733 (although Santlow herself acted the role of Dowglass in *The Albion Queens* but did not dance). She danced at Denoyer’s benefit on 26 March 1733, which was ‘By Command’ of the Prince of Wales, who was in the audience. Their last advertised appearance together was on 31 March 1733, in *The Judgment of Paris*.

Denoyer returned to Drury Lane after Hester Santlow’s retirement and continued to dance there until 1739-1740, partnering Catherine Roland and Mrs Walter among others, and reviving some of the dances he had performed with her.⁴⁴ His entr’acte repertoire included a very popular solo ‘Russian Sailor’, first given on 9 January 1735, and he appeared as Adonis in the afterpiece *The Fall of Phaeton*, a ‘New Dramatic Masque’ first given at Drury Lane on 28 February 1736. The *Mars and Venus* given at Drury Lane on 2 May 1739, with Denoyer as Mars, Mrs Walter as Venus, and Essex as Vulcan, was probably Weaver’s *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. Denoyer seems not to have performed any comic-grotesque *commedia dell’arte* dances after his return to the London stage in 1731. During 1734-1735 ‘The Celebrated Monsieur Denoyer and Mademoiselle Salle, by Permission of the Masters of the two Theatres Royal, ... agreed to dance together at each other’s

⁴³ ‘Le Chasseur Royal’ was first given on 22 February 1732, and Denoyer and Santlow first danced a Minuet together on 13 March 1732.

⁴⁴ Denoyer danced ‘Le Chasseur Royal’ with Catherine Roland on 15 September 1735, and a ‘Ballet d’Amour (new)’ with Anne Roland on 9 February 1736.

Benefit'.⁴⁵ Both benefits were commanded by Frederick Prince of Wales. Denoyer and Sallé danced a Minuet together at both performances. Was it perhaps the Minuet which Denoyer had danced with Hester Santlow?

Denoyer moved to Covent Garden for 1740-1741 and 1741-1742, which proved to be his last seasons on the stage. While at Covent Garden he partnered Barbara Campanini ('La Barbarina'), and their repertoire included 'a Grand Serious Ballet called *Mars and Venus*' which may have been a version of Weaver's first 'dramatic entertainment of dancing'. Denoyer retired at the end of the 1741-1742 season, after which he continued to teach the younger members of the royal family to dance. He died in 1788.

Dancing Style and Technique

In 1700 Raoul Auger Feuillet's treatise *Choregraphie* was published in Paris.⁴⁶ It was the culmination of nearly thirty years of work by several dancing-masters on the development of a notation for dance.⁴⁷ Feuillet accompanied his treatise with two collections of dances which he had notated, one of which contained theatre dances of his own composition while the other recorded ball-dances by Guillaume-Louis Pecour, dancing-master at the Paris Opéra.⁴⁸ *Choregraphie* was translated into English and published in London in 1706 in two rival versions, John Weaver's *Orchesography* and P. Siris's *The Art of Dancing*; Weaver's work was accompanied by a separately published collection of ball-dances by Mr Isaac.⁴⁹ The publication of *Choregraphie* led to a virtual explosion of publishing on the subject of dancing over the next thirty-five years, including several treatises and

⁴⁵ *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 17 March 1735, quoted in LS3.

⁴⁶ Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Choregraphie ou l'art de de'crire la dance, par caracteres, figures et signes de'monstratifs* (Paris: l'Auteur, Michel Brunet, 1700). Feuillet published a second edition of *Choregraphie* in 1701, which is the edition which will usually be referred to in this thesis, F1701.

⁴⁷ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Carol G. Marsh, *Musical Theatre at the Court of Louis XIV: Le Mariage de la Grosse Cathos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 84-87.

⁴⁸ LMC 1700-Feu, *Belle Dance* FL/1700.1/; LMC 1700-Péc, *Belle Dance* FL/1700.2/.

⁴⁹ W1706; S1706; LMC 1706-Isa.

over two hundred and fifty dances recorded in notation and issued singly or in collections.⁵⁰ The most important of the treatises was *Le Maître à danser* by Pierre Rameau, published in Paris in 1725 which, a generation after the appearance of *Choregraphie*, provided detailed explanations of how to perform the basic steps which Feuillet had set down in notation. In 1728, John Essex translated Rameau's *Le Maître à danser* into English as *The Dancing-Master* and published it in London.⁵¹ Several years later, in 1735, Kellom Tomlinson published a treatise entitled *The Art of Dancing* which he claimed in his preface was 'actually finished in 1724 ready for the Press, as it is now published, without any material Alteration, a full Year before the Publication of Monsieur Rameau's Book'.⁵²

Together, these treatises provide much of the surviving evidence about the style and technique of dancing in France and England during the early eighteenth century, which had developed from (and was still in many respects close to) the *belle danse* defined in the mid-seventeenth century by de Pure as 'une certain finesse dans le mouvement, au port, au pas, & dans toute la personne, qui ne se peut ny exprimer ny enseigner par les paroles'.⁵³ In his 'Rules and Institutions for Dancing' in *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* published in 1721, John Weaver described dancing similarly as 'an elegant and regular

⁵⁰ For the publication of treatises and notations in France and England, including a chronological listing, see Moira Goff, '“The Art of Dancing, Demonstrated by Characters and Figures”: French and English Sources for Court and Theatre Dance, 1700-1750', *British Library Journal*, 21 (1995), 202-231. Many more dances survive in manuscript. For inventories of the dances which survive in notation, both printed and manuscript, see *LMC* and *Belle Dance*.

⁵¹ *E1728*.

⁵² *T1735*, sig. B4^r, italics reversed.

⁵³ Michel de Pure, *Ide'e des spectacles anciens et nouveaux* (Paris: Michel Brunet, [1668]), pp. 180-181. Eugénia Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher provides a supplementary definition, 'It designates a style of dance that, from the beginning was presented as the privilege of the "good dancer", ... Found in the context of either the court or the theater, *belle danse* reveals both a social and esthetic conception of the dance. Closely linked to the manners of the court within which it developed, it became the norm of reference ... in all of XVIIIth century Europe', *Belle Dance* p. xi.

Movement, harmonically composed of beautiful Attitudes, and contrasted graceful Postures of the Body'.⁵⁴

Further information about style, technique, and choreographic conventions is provided by the dances published in notation at this period. Between 1702 and 1725, a series of annual collections of notated ball-dances were published in Paris, by Feuillet and his successor Dezais. These made available choreographies by Pecour and Claude Balon, among others. Two collections of theatre dances by Pecour were published, one in 1704 by Feuillet and one in about 1713 by Gaudrau; between them they contain sixty-five dances, forty-nine of which were performed at the Paris Opéra, and record a small part of the repertory of such dancers as Balon, Blondy, and Marcel, among the men, and Mlles Subligny, Guiot and Prévost, among the women.⁵⁵ Weaver's collection of Isaac's dances was followed by the publication of a series of his annual ball-dances, choreographed to celebrate the birthday of Queen Anne each year between 1707 and 1713. When Anthony L'Abbé became royal dancing-master, following the accession of George I, he continued the practice with the publication of a new ball-dance in honour of the king, or another member of the royal family, nearly every year between 1715 and 1733. A collection of thirteen of L'Abbé's dances for the theatre was published in London in the early 1720s by F. Le Roussau; the choreographies were created for L'Abbé himself, as well as Balon, Delagarde, Dupré, Denoyer and Hester Santlow, among others.⁵⁶

Among the works on dancing published other than in France and England two are of particular significance as far as stage dancing in London is concerned. Gregorio Lambranzi published a volume of engravings in Nuremberg in 1716 under the title *Neue und Curieuse theatralische Tantz-Schul*. According to Lambranzi:

⁵⁴ *Ralph* p. 1011.

⁵⁵ *LMC* 1704-Péc, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/; *LMC* [c1713]-Péc, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/.

⁵⁶ *LMC* [c1725]-Lab, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/.

My aim is not to describe in detail the choreography of these dances or any particular *pas*, ... But by means of the illustration and its accompanying air, the majority of which are my own compositions, I shall portray a principal character in appropriate costume, the style of his dance and the manner of its execution. I shall also explain the essential matters in such illustrations and indicate what *pas* should be employed.⁵⁷

Despite the background from which the work came, Lambranzi's collection contains many dances which can be linked, by title or subject, to those performed on the London stage.⁵⁸ The *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister, oder gründliche Erklärung der Frantzösischen Tantz-Kunst* by Gottfried Taubert was published in Leipzig in 1717.⁵⁹ Taubert devoted six chapters of book two of his treatise to theatrical dancing, taking French practice as his starting point.⁶⁰ Rameau had specifically excluded theatrical dance from *Le Maître à danser* for he wrote 'je n'ai entrepris que de donner l'instruction de faire les differens pas des danses de ville', adding at the end of the work 'je donnerai incessamment un autre Traité qui enseignera la maniere de faire tous les differens pas de Balets, tant serieux que comique'.⁶¹ His promised treatise does not survive, if it was ever published, so that the only works dealing explicitly with stage dancing in the early 1700s (apart from the theoretical works by John Weaver) are those by Lambranzi and Taubert.

Despite the twenty-five year gap between their publication dates, Feuillet and Rameau dealt with much the same basic vocabulary of steps through an almost

⁵⁷ Lambranzi, p. 15.

⁵⁸ The resemblance between Lambranzi's work and dancing on the London stage is noted by Marian Hannah Winter, who also calls attention to the travels of dancers between European cities during the eighteenth century, which led to a widely shared repertoire, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet* (London: Pitman, 1974), pp. 32-34, 54.

⁵⁹ LMC 1717-Tau.

⁶⁰ See Angelika Gerbes, 'Gottfried Taubert on Social and Theatrical Dance of the Early Eighteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, 1972), chapter 8.

⁶¹ R1725 pp. 70, 270. Essex translated the first of these as 'I took upon me only to give Instructions in the several Steps used in Ball Dancing', E1728 p. 40, but omitted the second.

identical terminology. Feuillet began *Choregraphie* with a list of what he regarded as the most important elements of dancing: *positions, pas, plié, élevé, sauté, cabriolle* (i.e. *cabriollé*), *tombé, glissé, tourné, cadence* and *figure*.⁶² Rameau described the five positions of the feet which ‘were brought to light by the Pains of the late Monsieur *Beauchamp*’.⁶³ Feuillet had shown these same positions in *Choregraphie*, and they are essentially those still in use in classical ballet today. *Beauchamp-Feuillet* notation seems to indicate that the feet were turned out no further than forty-five degrees (half the ninety-degree turnout required for ballet from the early nineteenth century on), but Rameau does not specify the degree of turnout saying only that the feet must be ‘equally turn’d outwards’.⁶⁴

When he turned to the *pas* and *pas composés*, Rameau began with the *demi-coupé* since ‘commonly all those Steps which are composed of many Steps, begin with half Coupees’, and followed it with descriptions of the *pas de menuet* and *contre-temps du menuet* before explaining how to perform a *tems de courante*.⁶⁵ Feuillet’s first table of steps included the *tems de courante*, and in successive tables he dealt with the *demi-coupé*, the *coupé* and the *pas de bourée*, to each of which Rameau devoted chapters in *Le Maître à danser*.⁶⁶ The *tems de courante*, *coupé* and *pas de bourée* are essentially walking steps. Feuillet’s tables continued with springing steps, the *jetté, contre-temps, chassé* and *pas de sissonne*, all of which are described by Rameau.⁶⁷ These steps, together with the *pas tombé* and quarter and half-turn *pirouettes*, formed the basic step vocabulary of early eighteenth-century *belle dance*.⁶⁸ Much of the terminology recorded by Feuillet and Rameau survives in modern classical ballet, although almost all of the steps have changed considerably.

⁶² *F1701* p. 2. For definitions of these and other terms from the treatises of Feuillet, Rameau and their contemporaries, see Appendix II, ‘Glossary of Early Eighteenth-Century Dance Terms’.

⁶³ *R1725* p. 9, *E1728* p. 6.

⁶⁴ *R1725* p. 11, *E1728* p. 7.

⁶⁵ *R1725, E1728* chapters 20, 21, 25, 27; Essex follows Rameau in the numbering of chapters.

⁶⁶ *R1725, E1728* chapters 20, 28-30.

⁶⁷ *R1725, E1728* chapters 34, 36-39.

Steps could be ornamented in a variety of ways, thus extending the vocabulary; the many examples in Feuillet's step tables show how turns, *pas battus* and *pas emboîtés* could be added to *coupés*, *fleurets*, *contre-temps* and other steps. An important method of ornamentation was the addition of an extra *plié* and *élevé* to a step, either with a *jetté sans sauter*, as in the *coupé à deux mouvements*, or with the more vigorous *jetté*, as in the *contretemps* with a bound. The *pas de menuet* had a number of different forms, depending on the number of *pliés* and *élevés*, and to which of the four basic *pas marchés* of this *pas composé* they were added. The basic step vocabulary could thus be extensively varied, and in *Choregraphie* Feuillet not only recorded the basic steps but also provided a framework for new additions to the vocabulary. The dances in notation show how dancing-masters used this framework to create variations on the familiar *pas composés* for new choreographies.⁶⁹

Beauchamp-Feuillet notation indicates that, in early eighteenth-century choreographies, each *pas* and *pas composé* was directly related to its corresponding musical measure. Each of the basic steps in the vocabulary had a particular rhythm, which might change according to whether the music was in duple or triple metre and could also be varied by changes to the timing of elements of the step, for example *pliés* and *élevés*, or the introduction of ornamentation. Pauses could also be used at the beginning, within, or at the end of steps to introduce further variety. The *demi-coupé*, which began many steps, had the *plié* on the upbeat and the *élevé* on the downbeat of the measure, and similarly in the *contre-temps* the *saut* came on the downbeat.⁷⁰ Neither dance nor music phrases

⁶⁸ For *pas tombés* and *pirouettes* see R1725, E1728 chapters 31, 32.

⁶⁹ Ken Pierce, 'Dance Vocabulary in the Early 18th Century as Seen through Feuillet's Step Tables', in *Proceedings: Society of Dance History Scholars Twentieth Annual Conference, New York, 19-22 June 1997* (Riverside, Calif.: University of California, Riverside, 1997), pp. 227-236; Jennifer Thorp and Ken Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity: Three English Chaconnes of the Early Eighteenth Century', *Historical Dance*, 3.3 (1994), 3-16.

⁷⁰ FT1704 pp. [3, 4], WT1706 p. 7, pl. 1.

were necessarily regular, nor did they always coincide with each other. The choreographies recorded in notation were through-composed, when the music repeated the dance steps usually did not, and many dances have a highly sophisticated relationship with their music. There is, apparently, no surviving evidence about musical tempi for dances on the London stage. Given the strength of French influence on dancing in the London theatres, it is possible that French practices were followed. The relatively small dance spaces, in London as in Paris, favoured small steps and faster speeds and support the idea that the evidence relating to tempi for dancing in the latter was applicable to the former.⁷¹

Towards the end of *Choregraphie*, Feuillet dealt with the notation of *ports de bras*, and Rameau devoted part two of *Le Maître à danser* to the arm movements appropriate for each of the steps he had described in part one, writing of ‘the Arms in Dancing as a Frame made for a Picture’.⁷² Feuillet declared that ‘the Carriage and Movement of the Arms depend more on the Fancy of the Performer than on any certain Rules’.⁷³ Rameau followed Feuillet in dividing arm movements into those of the wrist and the elbow (both shown as circling movements), and the shoulder.⁷⁴ He also discussed, and illustrated, the principle of opposition between arms and feet. By the early eighteenth century dance technique already included *épaulement*, for Rameau had written that ‘the Shoulder is shaded behind’ in opposition.⁷⁵ A further refinement lay in the timing of arm movements relative to those of the feet, for Rameau indicated that the position of opposition could be reached on different steps of *pas composés*, for example on the completion of the single step of a *tems de courante*, and on the second step of a *coupé*, but on the

⁷¹ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, ‘Interpreting Pendulum Markings for French Baroque Dances’, *Historical Performance*, 6.1 (Spring 1993), 9-21.

⁷² R1725 p. 196, E1728 p. 114.

⁷³ F1701 p. 97, W1706 p. 55.

⁷⁴ R1725 p. 200, E1728 p. 117. Rameau’s remarks are very similar to those made by Feuillet, see F1701 p. 98, W1706 p. 56.

⁷⁵ R1725 p. 210, E1728 p. 118.

first step (the *demi-coupé*) of a *fleuret*. Thus the arm movements might emphasise different musical beats to those marked by the feet.

The last of the elements of dancing listed by Feuillet was *figure*, the floor pattern traced by the dancer. He began with an explanation of the four directions in which a dancer might face in relation to the dancing space, followed by the various directions and types of path a dancer might use, but he did not deal with the figures themselves until near the end of his treatise. Feuillet distinguished only regular and irregular figures, according to whether the dancers traced the same path in mirror image (mirror symmetry) or in parallel (translational symmetry); his examples were based on two dancers, reflecting his concern with the *danse à deux*. The notated dances show that there was a third type of figure, in which the dancers traced the same path around a central point, now referred to as axial symmetry. Most *danses à deux*, whether for the ballroom or the theatre, were comprised of a series of figures which changed one or more times between mirror and axial symmetry. Translational symmetry was a particular feature of certain dances, for example the *courante* and the *passepiéd*. Rameau dealt with figures only as part of his instructions for performing the ballroom *menuet*, and did not analyse them as Feuillet had tried to do.⁷⁶

The notated dances provide evidence about the importance of the dancer's body direction in relation to the audience and, in *danses à deux*, to the partner. It is clear that the body directions now codified for classical ballet were known to and used by dancing-masters and dancers of the early eighteenth-century, although they were not explicitly referred to in any of the treatises and (unlike the positions of the feet) had not been analysed and named. Feuillet did not use specific terminology for the directions as the dancer faced each side and corner of the dancing space.⁷⁷ His rudimentary treatment of these directions, together with the practices to be

⁷⁶ R1725, E1728 chapter 22.

⁷⁷ For body directions in classical ballet see Cyril W. Beaumont and Stanislas Idzikowski, *A Manual of the Theory and Practice of Classical Theatrical Dancing (Classical Ballet) (Cecchetti Method)*. Rev. ed. (London: ISTD, 1977), p. 32.

found in the notated dances, indicate that dances (even those intended for the theatre) were considered in the round as well as in relation to the presence or audience.⁷⁸

In duets, dancers performed in close relation to each other: they danced side-by-side, faced one another, danced back-to-back, or faced inwards or outwards along diagonals which crossed. Although the surviving notations give the impression that the horizontal plane of the floor pattern was the most important element of dances in the early 1700s, reconstruction shows clearly the importance of the vertical plane. The *plié* and *élevé* of the *demi-coupé*, the *plié* followed by a *saut*, the inclusion or omission of a *plié* following a *saut*, were all significant visually as well as rhythmically.⁷⁹ Each dancer's use of *épaulement* as well as the continually changing directions in relation to the dancing space, the audience, and the partner also had vertical significance. The most important spectators, whether at court or in the theatre, sat almost on a level with the dancers and would thus have been more aware of the vertical than the horizontal presentation.

By the time Hester Santlow made her debut, professional dancers were well established on the London stage. Very little is known about the training of such dancers, although Kellom Tomlinson hinted at its specialised nature in *The Art of Dancing* when he wrote 'I had likewise the good Fortune to be further instructed in the Theatrical Way by that great Performer Mr. *Cherreir*'.⁸⁰ Rameau referred to the separation between amateur and professional dancers when describing *demie cabrioles* in *Le Maître à danser*, 'which are only for those whose Form is exquisitely nice, and who make Dancing their Business'.⁸¹ For Weaver, the

⁷⁸ For the term 'presence' see Appendix II, 'Dancing Space'.

⁷⁹ Ken Pierce, 'Saut What? (Sauts in Early Eighteenth-Century Dance)', in *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Conference, Society of Dance History Scholars, North Carolina School of the Arts, February 12-14, 1988* ([Riverside, Calif.]: Society of Dance History Scholars, 1988), pp. 68-95.

⁸⁰ T1735 sig. b1^r, italics reversed.

⁸¹ R1725 p. 164, E1728 p. 96.

separation was complete, at least as far as dancing-masters were concerned, for he wrote:

when I speak of a Knowledge in *Musick*; *Rhetorick*; and *Painting*; I would be understood only, as they are necessary Qualifications, for such who intend to arrive to the utmost Perfection of this Art, or design to apply themselves intirely to the Stage, and in the Composition of *Opera Performances*, or of *Dramatick Entertainments in Dancing*.⁸²

Presumably most female dancers had some knowledge of music, but were expected to cope with the demands of dancing-masters without any understanding of rhetoric and painting, since these are unlikely to have featured in their general education.

Rameau pointed out that ‘les Entre-chats, cabrioles & autres pas .. sont reservez pour le Ballet’ and, although Feuillet devoted separate tables to *entre-chats* and *cabrioles*, these steps do not feature in the ballroom dances of the early 1700s.⁸³ Taubert referred to the greater elevation, more extensive variations and the higher *port de bras* used for serious dancing on the stage.⁸⁴ The notated dances in the three collections of theatrical choreographies provide evidence of the virtuosity required of male dancers, including multiple *pirouettes* (two or three turns, sometimes incorporating *pas battus*, *ronds de jambe* and transfers from one foot to the other) and *entre-chats droit à six* with or without a full turn in the air, as well as a variety of *cabrioles*, *pas tortillés* and other equally difficult steps. The women’s dances were closer to the *belle dance* technique of the ballroom, but included a variety of *pas sautés*, *pas battus*, and *pirouettes* which are not found in the ball-dances. Some of the surviving theatrical dances for women are long, with much complex footwork, and make significant demands on stamina, memory,

⁸² *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing*, 1721, *Ralph* p. 1016.

⁸³ *R1725* p. 193, *E1728* pp. 111-112; Essex translated the passage as ‘Capers and other Steps made use of in Stage Dancing’. *F1701* pp. 84-86, also included by Weaver, *W1706* plates 38-40.

⁸⁴ Gerbes, ‘Gottfried Taubert’ p. 224 note 1.

physical control and the concentration necessary to sustain a performance before an audience.

Some of the notated dances provide evidence of the style and technique of comic dancing, for example Pecour's 'La Paysanne' and L'Abbé's 'Turkish Dance', but such dances were almost all passed on within a purely oral tradition and thus never written down.⁸⁵ Feuillet records the five false positions, which must have been used in many comic dances; these appear in the surviving Harlequin dances, which also provide some information about the head and arm movements appropriate to grotesque dancing and show how the props of hat and bat were manipulated. No dances survive for Scaramouch, but illustrations in Lambranzi and elsewhere indicate that the character had a much wider range of movement than was permitted by the *belle dance*.⁸⁶ Lambranzi's engravings include dances by a variety of *commedia dell'arte* characters, alongside peasants, craftsmen, various nationalities, and a few speciality dances, allowing a glimpse of the performance style, if not the steps and the technique required, for comic dancing.

The costumes worn by Lambranzi's comic dancers are rather different from those appropriate for dancers in the serious style, who also feature among the engravings. For the comic dancers, heels on shoes are lower and the women's skirts are shorter, nor do the women seem to be as rigidly corseted as polite society required. Other illustrations provide evidence that on the London stage women wore heeled shoes and their skirts were no longer than ankle length. One version of Hester Santlow's portrait in Harlequin costume shows her skirt reaching to just above her ankles, while an engraving of the Lincoln's Inn Fields dancer Mary Laguerre shows her with her skirt tucked up to just below her knees.⁸⁷ Neither

⁸⁵ LMC 6800, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/22; LMC 8220, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/13. The relationship between the notated dances and comic dancing on the London stage has yet to receive attention from researchers.

⁸⁶ *Lambranzi* part 1 plates 23-25. See also Winter, *Pre-Romantic Ballet*, p. 27.

⁸⁷ The portrait of Hester Santlow is at Port Eliot in Cornwall. Mary Laguerre is depicted in the Lincoln's Inn Fields pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda*, see Frederick George Stephens,

dancer is wearing a hoop beneath her skirt. Both illustrations provide evidence of costume for female dancers that allowed for a far greater range of movement than was possible with the restrictions of fashionable dress. There is no evidence to suggest that dancers on the London stage wore masks.

Genres of Dancing: John Weaver and Entr'acte Dances on the London Stage

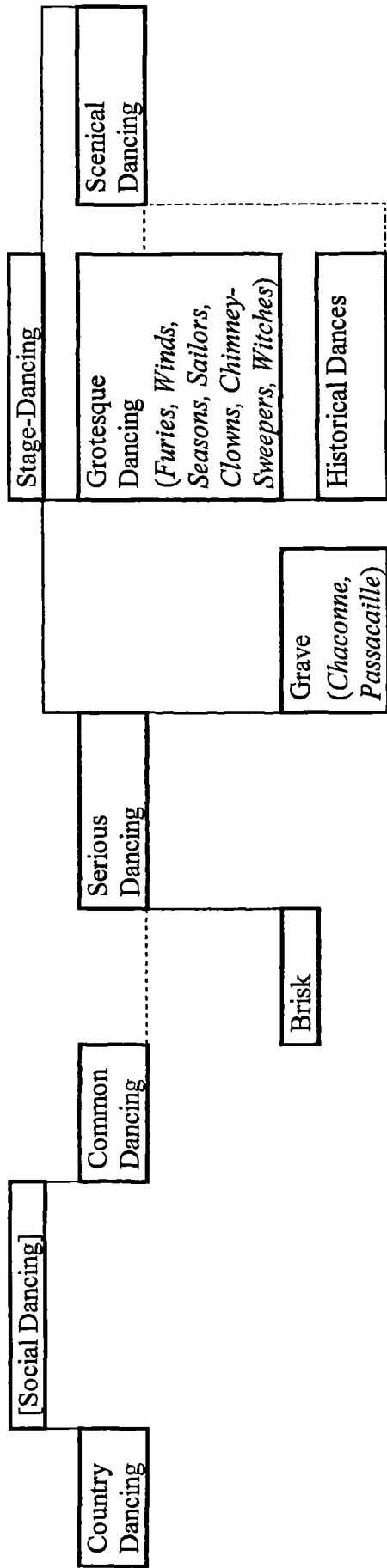
The surviving sources for dances performed on the London stage in the early eighteenth century provide evidence of a wide and seemingly heterogeneous repertoire. It is important to be able to categorise the known dances, at least by type and genre, in order to analyse the relationship between entr'acte dances and the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes given as afterpieces, and trace the contributions of individual dancers to the development of dancing during this period.

One way in which this may be approached is through John Weaver's definitions of the genres of dancing in *An Essay Towards an History of Dancing* (1712), together with his modified ideas in *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728). When he wrote his *Essay*, Weaver drew on two distinct areas of his knowledge and experience. He made extensive use of texts from classical literature for precepts and precedents on dancing, but he also drew on his own practical involvement in dancing on the London stage, although he preferred to make few direct references to this. The genres of dancing described by Weaver in the *Essay*, and the relationships between them, are shown in Table 1. Weaver's treatment 'Of the Modern Dancing' in chapter seven of the *Essay* was an attempt to relate the dancing of his own time to that of classical antiquity, and he began with 'Theatrical or Opera Dancing' for which he used the generally accepted term 'Stage-Dancing'. He immediately applied a three-fold subdivision into 'Serious,

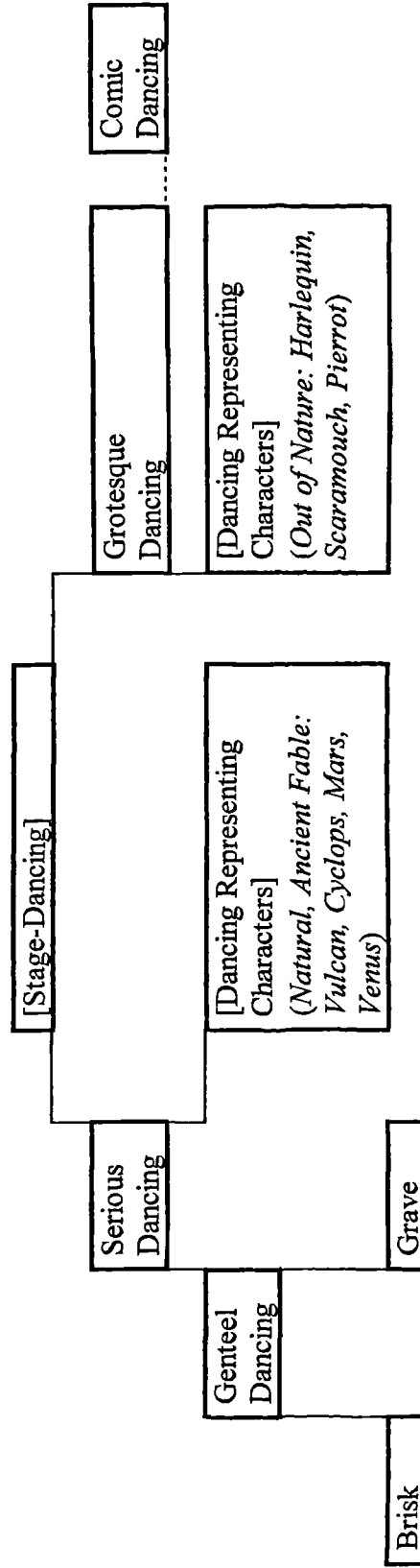
TABLE 1

JOHN WEAVER'S GENRES OF DANCING

An Essay towards an History of Dancing (1712)



The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes (1728)



[] Term not used by Weaver; - - - Terms explicitly linked by Weaver; - - - - Terms implicitly linked by Weaver.

Grotesque, and *Scenical*' genres of dancing, and then gave a general definition drawn from his reading of classical authors:⁸⁸

Stage-Dancing was at first design'd for *Imitation*; to explain Things conceiv'd in the Mind, by the *Gestures* and *Motions* of the Body, and plainly and intelligibly representing *Actions*, *Manners*, and *Passions*; so that the Spectator might perfectly understand the *Performer* by these his *Motions*, tho' he say not a Word.

Weaver thus claimed for all three genres the same expressive purpose, the representation of '*Actions*, *Manners*, and *Passions*' (to which he added 'any *Character*') and thus the representation of 'the *Subject of the Story*'.⁸⁹

Weaver first considered serious dancing, which he linked to the '*Common-Dancing* usually taught in Schools' only to contrast the two, for he wrote that the '*Steps of both are generally the same, yet they differ in the Performance*', adding that '*there are some Steps peculiarly adapted to this Sort of Dancing, viz. Capers, and Cross-Capers of all kinds; Pirouettes, Batteries, and indeed almost all Steps from the Ground*'.⁹⁰ Weaver thus made a distinction between the levels of technique for serious dancing and common dancing, while identifying them as belonging to the same genre.⁹¹ He divided serious dancing into '*the Brisk and the Grave*', identifying the *chaconne* and the *passacaille* as examples of grave dances. Nowhere in his discussion did Weaver refer to serious dancing as expressive. In fact, rather than relating it to the dancing of the mimes and pantomimes of ancient Rome, Weaver described serious dancing in terms of his own first-hand experience.

⁸⁸ Weaver drew particularly from the Greek writer Lucian, whose *Peri Orcheseos* he consulted in translation, see *Cohen* p. 39, *Ralph* p. 131.

⁸⁹ For Weaver's discussion of stage dancing see *Ralph* pp. 650-653.

⁹⁰ For Weaver's discussion of serious dancing see *Ralph* pp. 655-658.

⁹¹ The steps which Weaver referred to as specific to serious dancing appear in the tables of both Feuillet's *Choregraphie* and Weaver's translation *Orchesography* but, with the exception of the simplest *pirouettes* and *pas battus*, they are not found in the notated ball-dances of the period.

He identified it with the formal dances associated with specific musical types, familiar from his work on notating the ball-dances of Mr Isaac, which, when taken into the theatre, used a more highly ornamented and hence more difficult vocabulary of steps. According to Weaver, such dances were not, and were not intended to be, expressive.

Weaver next dealt with grotesque dancing, which he defined as ‘wholly calculated for the Stage, and takes in the greatest part of *Opera-Dancing*, and is much more difficult than the *Serious*, requiring the utmost Skill of the Performer’, making clear that he was using the term to describe all stage dancing that used a specifically theatrical technique.⁹² Weaver’s choice of the term ‘*Grotesque*’ for dancing intended to represent ‘Characters’ may relate to his experience of dancing on the London stage: the advertisements of the time used the word ‘*Grotesque*’ rarely, but by 1712 it was already established as referring to comic dances, including those by *commedia dell’arte* characters.⁹³ Weaver was aware of this usage (his discussion of grotesque dancing includes references to dances by Sailors, Clowns and others), but he regarded the *commedia dell’arte* players as descendants of the classical mimes and pantomimes, describing them as ‘these modern Mimes inimitable’.⁹⁴ It was perhaps for this reason that he chose the term ‘*Grotesque*’ and tried to apply it to characters of all types, not merely comical ones.

Weaver considered at some length ‘*Historical Dances* (which consist most in Figure, and represent by *Action* what was before sung or express’d in Words)’, for which the dancer should aim ‘to become what he performs; to be capable of representing all manner of *Passions*, which *Passions* have all their peculiar *Gestures*’.⁹⁵ By ‘Figure’, Weaver meant the dancer’s bodily presentation (although

⁹² For Weaver’s discussion of grotesque dancing see *Ralph* pp. 658, 660.

⁹³ At Drury Lane, 25 June 1706, the bill included ‘two *Grotesque Dances*, *The Swiss Dance* and *Dutch Skipper*’, while that for 28 June 1706 included ‘several *Grotesque Dances* ... particularly a *Scaramouch*’.

⁹⁴ *Ralph* p. 665.

⁹⁵ For Weaver’s discussion of historical dances see *Ralph* pp. 660, 662.



he may also have meant 'Figure' in the sense of the floor patterns traced by the dancer), and he used the word 'Historical' in the sense of 'narrative'; he saw this type of dancing as particularly expressive, with gesture given greater prominence than the steps in order to represent actions, manners, passions and characters.⁹⁶

Although he categorised historical dances as part of grotesque dancing, Weaver's description also implicitly linked them with serious dancing.

Last of all, Weaver turned to scenical dancing, 'a faint Imitation of the *Roman Pantomimes*, and differs from the *Grotesque*, in that the last only represents *Persons, Passions, and Manners*; and the former explains whole *Stories* by *Action*'. He revealed how important an influence on his thinking were the 'merry conceited Representations of *Harlequin, Scaramouch, Mezzelin, Pasquariel, &c.*' whose stage performances often consisted of 'the Introduction of a following, or Explanation of a foregoing Scene, which they demonstrated by *Action*'.⁹⁷ Weaver did not describe scenical dancing in detail since his mention of mimes and pantomimes referred back to chapter six of the *Essay*, where he had discussed their expressive performances at length and looked at the range of stories they drew on. By inference scenical dancing was to be based on historical dances. It was thus linked to both serious and grotesque dancing.

In 1728, in *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes*, Weaver revised his definition of grotesque dancing to mean 'only such Characters as are quite out of Nature; as *Harlequin, Scaramouch, Pierrot, &c.*' and referred explicitly to its wider use by dancing-masters for 'all *comic* dancing whatever'. At the same time he revised his definition of serious dancing to include 'not only that *genteel Dancing* in which the *French* have excelled', Weaver was here referring back to his original definition of serious dancing, 'but also where such *Dancing* shall represent any Character that is either Natural, or belonging to ancient Fable, or otherwise'.⁹⁸ Serious dancing thus took on the expressive function that Weaver

⁹⁶ For Weaver's discussion of 'Figure', see *Ralph* pp. 533-534.

⁹⁷ For Weaver's discussion of scenical dancing, see *Ralph* pp. 665-666.

⁹⁸ *Ralph* pp. 731-732.

had in 1712 given to grotesque dancing, while grotesque dancing became identified with comic dancing. Nowhere in *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* did Weaver use the term scenical dancing, preferring serious dancing instead. The genres of dancing described by Weaver in 1728, and the relationships between them, are shown in Table 1. The changes since the *Essay* of 1712 are indicative of the development of dancing on the London stage in the intervening sixteen years.

In his successive definitions, John Weaver moved uneasily back and forth between theoretical influences from his reading of classical texts, and practical influences from his experiences as a dancer in the London theatres. Weaver's description of the various genres and his treatment of expressive dancing owe as much to the dancing of his own time as to his beliefs about the dancing of classical antiquity, although this has usually been overlooked. The genres of dancing to be found on the London stage are thus as important as Weaver's published treatises for an understanding of his stage works.

Another approach to categorising the theatre dance repertoire is through the entr'acte dances named in the advertisements, which provide insights into the range of themes presented. In his introduction to part 2 of *The London Stage*, based on information in the surviving advertisements, Emmett Avery attempted a classification of dances given in the early eighteenth-century London theatres, which provides a starting point for identifying the genres of dancing in the London theatres in the early 1700s.⁹⁹ The advertisements give places and dates of performances and frequently include the names of the dancers who are to appear; dances are less often named, but it is possible to trace successive performances and performers of individual dances. Other information is given more rarely, for example the name of the choreographer or the roles assigned to individual dancers (which indicate that a particular dance has a narrative element). Short descriptions of the dances are very occasionally given, but the advertisements almost never

⁹⁹ *LS2* pp. cxxxii-cxxxv.

include details of the music for dancing on any part of the bill.¹⁰⁰ Only a handful of the dances known to have been performed in the London theatres during the early 1700s were notated, although other dances surviving in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation may well be related to the repertoire of dances on the London stage.

The advertisements provide evidence that some dances were choreographed whereas others appear to have been generic types which changed according to who was dancing them, when and where. Many dances with the same name were performed as solos, duets and even group dances, as well as by different performers in rival theatres. Some dances were closely associated with particular dancers but were nevertheless taken over by other dancers either in succession or in rivalry. Dances, whether choreographed or not, were passed from performer to performer within an oral tradition rather than by written notation, with inevitable changes between performers and over time. The close relationship between players and audiences in the London theatres of the period makes it likely that most dances contained an element of improvisation in performance, as dancers tried to win applause.

Entr'acte dances on the London stage came in four basic forms:

1. Dance: a single continuous sequence of steps and figures, in three forms,
 - Solo, a single dancer
 - Duet, two dancers, often referred to as a *danse à deux* or a couple dance.
 - Group Dance, three or more dancers.

2. Divertissement: a series of dances intended to be performed one after the other in a sequence, usually (but not always) linked by a common theme.

¹⁰⁰ The many collections of country dances and the music tutors published during the period sometimes contain pieces of music with titles similar to those of popular dances on the London stage. No systematic study of these has yet been published.

3. Scene: a mixture of dancing and gesture presenting specific characters in a single continuous action too slight to be a story.

4. 'Dramatic Entertainment of Dancing': described by John Weaver as an entertainment 'where the Representation and Story was carried on by Dancing, Action and Motion only'.¹⁰¹ An independent dramatic work with specific characters and a story told in several scenes, in which the narrative and action were conveyed in dance and gesture to music but with no spoken or sung text.¹⁰²

Dances, divertissements and scenes all featured in the entr'actes, and were given with (sometimes within) mainpieces and afterpieces. 'Dramatic entertainments of dancing' were usually given as afterpieces, although short examples were occasionally billed during the entr'actes. The term 'Ballet' quite often appeared in advertisements, but in the early eighteenth century (as now) it could mean either a divertissement or a 'dramatic entertainment of dancing', and was thus a less specific term.¹⁰³

The advertisements indicate that there were five principal genres of entr'acte dances. Table 2 shows these, with their subordinate types.

1. Serious Dances: those using theatrical *belle dance* style and technique, as described by Weaver in his *Essay*.

2. Pastoral Dances: those using theatrical *belle dance* style and technique, but either explicitly billed as 'pastoral' or representing idealised shepherds and shepherdesses.

¹⁰¹ *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes*, Ralph p. 721.

¹⁰² Some works identifiable as 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' included songs which were incidental to the narrative and action.

¹⁰³ The term 'Ballet' will not be used in the thesis, except where it occurs in quotations.

3. Comic Dances: those using a wide variety of styles and techniques, from *belle dance* vocabulary to speciality dancing, i.e. 'all *comic* dancing whatever'. There were several types of comic dances:

3.A. Representative: these were intended to represent '*Actions, Manners, and Passions*' by means of '*Positions, Gestures and Movements*'.¹⁰⁴ They may be subdivided into several categories:

Character Dances: representing a character that is 'natural', defined by age, gender, social class, etc., e.g. 'Clown', 'Country Maid'.

Nation Dances: representing the inhabitants of a nation, province, city, town, or other geographical area, e.g. 'French Peasant', 'Dutch Skipper'. Also exotic dances, e.g. 'Moorish Dance', 'Turks' Dance'.

Occupation Dances: representing a task or profession, perhaps by imitating its work, e.g. 'Fishermen and their Wives', 'Cooper's Dance'.

Celebration Dances: representing a festive occasion by means of a celebratory dance, e.g. 'Whitson Holiday', 'Wedding Dance'.

3.B. Grotesque: representing 'such Characters as are quite out of Nature'. Two categories can be distinguished:

Mythological Characters: usually personifications of a natural force or a spirits from either heaven or hell, e.g. 'Furies Dance', 'Winds' Dance'.

Commedia dell'arte Characters: those associated with the *commedia dell'arte*, e.g. 'Harlequin', 'Pierot', 'Scaramouch'.

3.C. Speciality:¹⁰⁵ these dances were exhibitions of skill and were not representative in any sense. They could be divided into two sub-categories:

Technique Dances: those with a specialised technique, e.g. 'Wooden Shoe Dance'.

Prop Dances: those based around the manipulation of specific props, e.g. 'Flag Dance', 'Ladder Dance'.

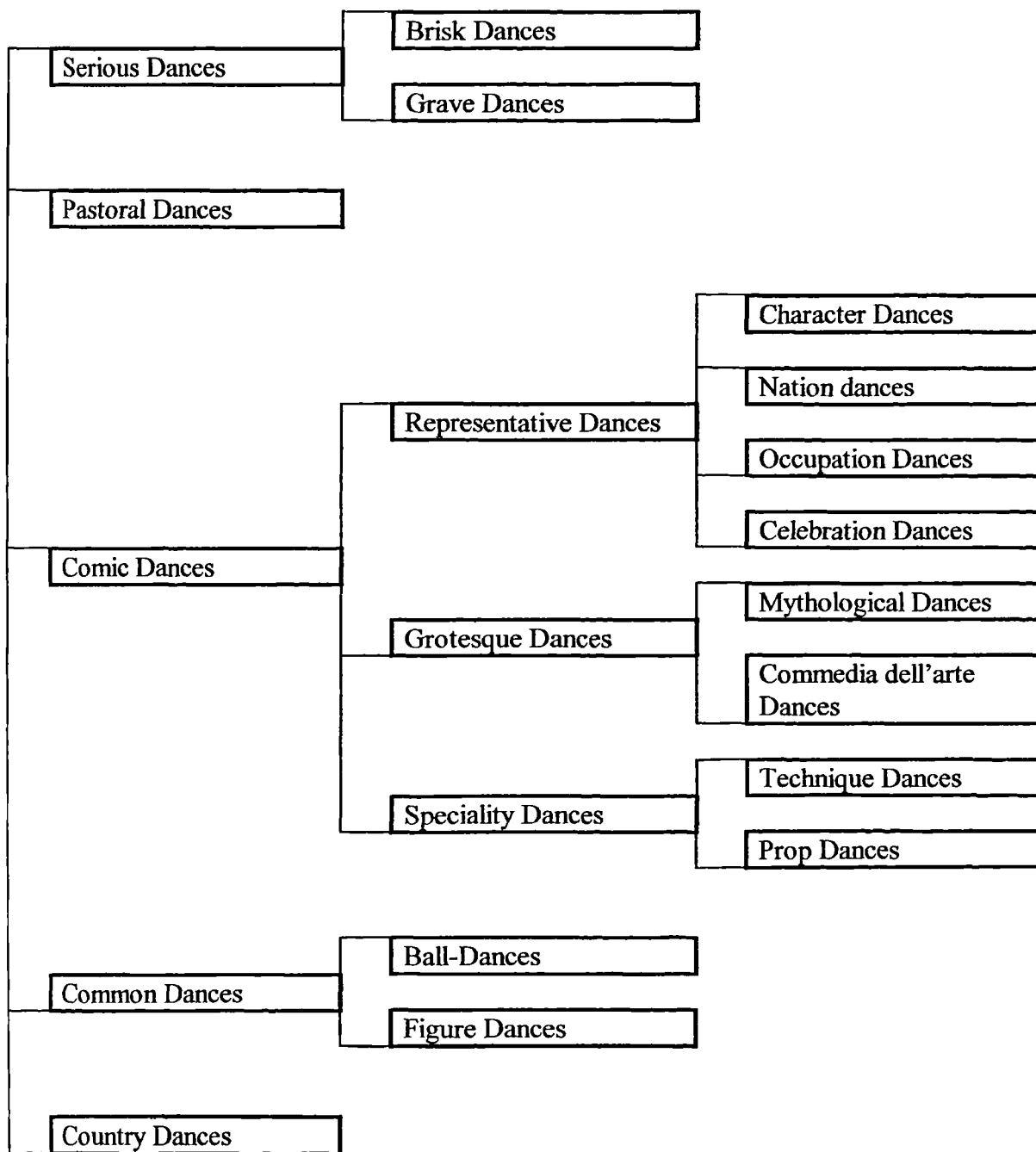
4. Common Dances: those intended for the ball-room. These can be divided into two categories:

¹⁰⁴ *Ralph* p. 652.

¹⁰⁵ Rope dancing falls outside the categories being considered.

TABLE 2

GENRES OF ENTR'ACTE DANCES ON THE LONDON STAGE 1700-1737



Ball Dances: those based on the non-theatrical *belle dance* style and technique, e.g. Isaac's *The Union*, L'Abbé's *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*.

Figure Dances: these were usually group dances characterised by the complex interweaving floor patterns (figures) traced by the dancers but using a restricted range of *belle dance* steps.¹⁰⁶

5. Country Dances: group dances characterised by interweaving floor patterns and a simple step vocabulary, based on those of the country dances performed at social gatherings.

None of the categories defined above would have been recognised as such by the audiences who watched the dances given in the London theatres in the early 1700s. However, the fact that dances as well as dancers were frequently named in advertisements indicates that theatre-goers were as interested in the former as in the latter, and that there were definite distinctions between different types of dances by genre as well as by form. Neither Weaver's genres, nor the genres and types of entr'acte dances that can be deduced from the evidence in the advertisements, provide a classification scheme that can be rigidly applied to dances on the London stage. Many of the named dances fit easily into more than one category, and some defy classification altogether. Nevertheless, the genres and types of dances listed above provide a framework for the analysis of Hester Santlow's dance repertoire.

The Entr'acte Dance Repertoire

Between 1700-1701 and 1736-1737, more than 250 dances were named in the advertisements.¹⁰⁷ They enjoyed varying fortunes. Some were presented season

¹⁰⁶ A collection of figure dances was published by the dancing-master Edmund Pemberton, *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing: Being a Collection of Figure Dances*, ... (London: J. Walsh, J. Hare, the author, 1711).

¹⁰⁷ There has been no detailed study of the entr'acte dance repertoire, so the analysis given here is based on the relatively limited evidence gathered as part of general research to elucidate the

after season over many years, with inevitable changes as they passed from dancer to dancer, others lasted for only a few seasons before disappearing from the repertory, and yet others received only a handful of performances before being dropped. Popular dances (particularly those associated with individual dancers) might begin life as a solo or duet and be later incorporated into a scene, or even be the pretext for a scene within a pantomime.¹⁰⁸ These dances form the context for Hester Santlow's own entr'acte dance repertory, and it is worth exploring some of the genres and types of dances, described above, through individual dances given on the London stage in the early eighteenth century.

The title 'Serious' was used regularly, if infrequently, for dances throughout the period. The earliest known mention of serious dancing on the eighteenth century London stage was in an advertisement for a performance at York Buildings on 5 February 1703, which had a 'Variety of New Dancing, both Comick and Serious, by Mr Weaver, Mr Essex, and others'.¹⁰⁹ The next such billing did not appear until 18 October 1716 at Lincoln's Inn Fields, when the dancing was 'Serious and Comic, by two Children, Scholars of M Ballon'; the two children were Francis and Marie Sallé.

Serious dances were an important part of Hester Santlow's entr'acte repertory, but, although the advertisements usually say who is dancing, they provide few other clues to the nature of these serious dances. Some were duets, like the 'new *Serious Dance*' by Moreau and Mrs Bullock at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 24 November 1716, while others were group dances, like the 'new *Serious Dance*, compos'd by Shaw' for three men (led by Shaw himself) and two women given at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 28 November 1716. From the mid-1720s, the 'Serious

context within which Hester Santlow worked as a dancer. The names of dances (as well as other details of performances) given in the advertisements are very often inconsistent, making any survey difficult.

¹⁰⁸ Moira Goff, ' "Actions, Manners, and Passions": Entr'acte Dancing on the London Stage, 1700-1737', *Early Music*, 26 (1998), 213-228 (p. 223-225).

¹⁰⁹ *LS2 (New)*.

Dance' was advertised regularly, if infrequently, among the entr'acte entertainments. The duets by a man and a woman probably had choreography using *belle dance* style and technique, similar to the ball-dances published in notation, although both steps and figures may have been ornamented and varied to suit performance in the theatre by professional dancers. The group dances were performed by as few as four or five dancers or as many as eight or nine; whether the numbers were even or odd, there were often more men than women in group serious dances, as in the '*Serious Dance* by Dupre, Glover, Pelling, Newhouse, Mrs Bullock, Mrs Ogden, Miss Latour' given at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 21 April 1727. Less frequently, they were male solos, for example the '*Serious Dance*' performed by Denoyer at Drury Lane on 16 March 1732, which may well have been displays of virtuosity, like L'Abbé's '*Entreé*' for Denoyer published in the mid-1720s.¹¹⁰

The advertisements clearly differentiate between '*Serious Dances*' and '*Comic Dances*', although they provide little evidence as to what the differences were. Weaver's description in *An Essay* indicated that, whether it was a solo, a duet, or a group dance, the '*Serious Dance*' was not expressive but a display of style and technique, in which the dancers showed '*Air and Firmness, with a graceful and regulated Motion of all Parts*'. Weaver also said that, for serious dancing, '*the most Artful Qualification is a nice Address in the Management of those Motions*'.¹¹¹ Hester Santlow was noted for her '*Address*'.

Pastoral dances performed in the entr'actes in the London theatres probably owed much to the semi-operas and operas given in London and Paris.¹¹² In London such works included Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas* (1689) and *The Fairy Queen* (1692) and, among the French operas given there, Cambert and Grabu's *Ariane ou le*

¹¹⁰ LMC 4180, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/12.

¹¹¹ *An Essay Towards an History of Dancing* (1712), Ralph p. 656.

¹¹² For English pastoral masques, operas, and entr'acte dances, see Sarah McCleave, '*Dance in Handel's Italian Operas: the Collaboration with Marie Sallé*' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1993), pp. 108-114.

mariage de Bacchus (1674) and Lully's *Cadmus et Hermione* (1686).¹¹³ In France, pastoral abounded in Lully's *comédies-ballets* and *tragedies en musique*, as well as in the *opéras-ballets* of his successors.¹¹⁴ Many of the dances published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation can be identified as pastoral by their music, or by their original context; works to which they can be related by their music include Lully's *Acis et Galatée* (1686), Marais's *Sémélé* (1709), and Campra's *Les Fêtes vénitiennes* (1710). Entr'acte dances on the London stage can be identified as pastoral by their titles, which sometimes specify the characters, for example 'Shepherd and Shepherdess', or announce the theme, for example 'Le Badinage Champetre', or refer to their original context, for example 'Myrtillo'.

Pastoral dances formed an important genre on the London stage, and they were also significant to Hester Santlow's career. They deserve detailed study (which cannot be undertaken here), without which it will not be possible to properly distinguish between the different guises in which pastoral appeared. Pastoral was obviously used to present audiences with pleasing evocations of the Golden Age, as well as the loves of less-than-innocent shepherds and shepherdesses, which were (perhaps) particularly suitable themes for expression through dancing, but it may also have had other meanings for early eighteenth-century audiences.

Pastoral dances seem to have explicitly reached the entr'acte repertoire with a 'Pastoral' danced by Miss Schoolding at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 4 June 1718. They came in a variety of forms: in addition to solos (usually by female dancers) there were duets, for example that by Glover and Mrs Wall at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 12 October 1724, and occasionally group dances, such as the '*Pastoral Dance* by Glover, Dupre Jr, Lanyon, Mrs Ogden, Mrs Anderson' given at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 3 October 1726. The genre was later given a grotesque twist with '*The*

¹¹³ For *Dido and Aeneas*, see Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 129-140. For French pastoral operas, and their performances in London, see James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*. Rev. and expanded ed. (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1997), pp. 87, 140-141.

¹¹⁴ Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, chapter 6.

Pastoral (a new comic dance)' given at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 20 February 1726, in which a Shepherd was joined by Punch, Harlequin, Pierot and a Sailor.

'Shepherd' dances entered the repertoire in the 1719-1720 season with a 'Shepherd and Shepherdess' by Edward Lally and Miss Tenoe at Drury Lane; a duet with the same title was performed by Marie Sallé with various male partners between the 1725-1726 and 1734-1735 seasons, first at Lincoln's Inn Fields and later at Covent Garden.¹¹⁵ Hester Santlow performed a 'Coquette Shepherdess', also a duet with a male partner, between 1721-1722 and 1731-1732. This particular genre later found expression in 'A New Ballet call'd *The Shepherd's Mount*, Composed by Denoyer, and performed by Denoyer, Essex, Mrs Walter, Mrs Anderson, Villeneuve, Livier, Davenport, Miss Mann, Mrs Davenport, Miss Brett' at Drury Lane on 18 February 1735. Denoyer may have been influenced by his work with Weaver on *The Judgment of Paris* (also a pastoral work) in 1733.

Dances described as comic were far more frequently advertised than serious dances. The earliest such billing to survive was for a performance at Drury Lane on 9 June 1702, with 'several Comick Dances; Particularly Tolet's Ground'.¹¹⁶ Subsequent billings were mostly for duets such as the 'new *Comic Dance*' created by Fairbank for Topham and Miss Tenoe which was performed at Drury Lane on 6 May 1718, or group dances, such as the 'Grand Comic Dance' choreographed by John Thurmond for himself with three other men and two women performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 8 April 1717.

Most comic dances were specifically named in the advertisements, so the relative popularity of individual types can be assessed. Dances representing characters

¹¹⁵ Edward Lally and Miss Tenoe danced a 'Shepherd and Shepherdess' at Drury Lane on 26 April 1720. Marie Sallé was first billed in a 'Shepherd and Shepherdess' with her brother at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 2 November 1725; her last billing was on 29 March 1735 at Covent Garden when she was partnered by Michael Lally.

¹¹⁶ LS2 (*New*).

which were ‘natural’ formed a significant minority among the entr’acte entertainments, but nation dances were far more popular. More than a quarter of the entr’acte dances named in the advertisements were linked with particular nations, areas or towns. The Dutch, the English, the French, the Irish (sometimes described as Fingalians), the Italians (including Neapolitans and Venetians), the Polish, the Scotch (including Highlanders), the Spanish, the Swedish, and the Swiss were all the subject of entr’acte dances. Dances of nation extended beyond Europe to more exotic locations. There were dances by Moors (Hester Santlow appeared in a ‘Grand Dance of Moors’ in 1732-1733), Numidians, a Sultana, and Turks. The authenticity of all these dances is impossible to judge; they presumably imitated behavioural traits or used dance types popularly associated with the individual nationalities. Hester Santlow’s entr’acte repertoire included Dutch, English, French, Spanish, Swedish, and Venetian dances.

Dances portraying occupations also formed a significant minority of the entr’acte entertainments given in the London theatres. Among the occupations represented were those of the cobbler, the cooper, the fisherman, the gardener, and the miller. Most popular of all was the sailor, who appeared in various contexts as well as in several nationalities. The ‘Sailor’s Dance’ received its earliest known billing on 24 February 1707 at Drury Lane, under the title ‘Three Sailors and their Wives’. Just a few years later, the success of the comedy *The Fair Quaker of Deal* inspired the ‘Original *Sailor’s Dance* by Commodore Flip and his Boadly-Crew’, given at the Greenwich Theatre on 24 July 1710.¹¹⁷ Lambranzi included a Dutch sailor among his engravings of dances, as well as blacksmiths, coopers, a tailor, and a cobbler; the latter are all shown at work with the tools of their respective trades, perhaps indicating how similar dances may have been performed on the London stage.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ *LS2 (New)*. Flip was a character in the *The Fair Quaker of Deal*; the role was played by the actor and dancer Francis Leigh (d.1719) both in the original production of the play at Drury Lane, and when it was given at the Greenwich Theatre during the 1710 summer season.

¹¹⁸ *Lambranzi*, Part 2, pp. 2-4, plates 11, 25-30.

According to the advertisements, dances of celebration were relatively rarely performed. The most popular one was the 'Wedding Dance', which entered the repertory at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 1 June 1703 in a version 'compos'd by Monsieur l'Abbe, and perform'd by himself, Mrs Elford, and others'.¹¹⁹ On 11 September 1710, during the summer season at the Greenwich Theatre, a 'Whimsical Country Wedding' was given, and the 'Wedding Dance' next returned to the London stage during the 1713-1714 season danced by 'Prince and others'.¹²⁰ On 14 January 1716, a '*Grand Comic Wedding Dance* by Moreau, Kellom's Scholar, Cook, Mrs Schoolding, Mrs Cross, Miss Smith, Salle, Mlle Salle' was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields; Moreau may well have been the choreographer, for on 4 October 1718 the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre advertised 'Moreau's new *Grand Wedding Dance*' which he performed with Mrs Moreau 'and others'.

Although dances by Furies, Witches and Winds were occasionally billed throughout the period, grotesque entr'acte dances by mythological characters could not compete in popularity with the *commedia dell'arte*. Both Harlequin and Scaramouch were well known to audiences by 1700, but the success of Night Scenes early in the eighteenth century undoubtedly encouraged other dancers to present these *commedia dell'arte* characters in the entr'actes. Harlequin was to become the most popular character on the London stage, and Hester Santlow's appearances in solo or duet 'Harlequin' dances were a feature of her career. Scaramouch also appeared frequently in entr'acte dances as well as pantomimes. The first surviving entr'acte billing for Scaramouch is for 13 December 1700 at Drury Lane, when an unnamed dancer performed a 'French Scaramouch'. Only a few years later, on 12 February 1703 at Drury Lane, came the first 'Scaramouch Man and Scaramouch Woman' danced by Laferry and Mrs Lucas. Duets did not prove popular in the entr'actes, although they were later to feature in several pantomimes. Scaramouch proved most popular either when he appeared in scenes with Harlequin, or when he danced on his own.

¹¹⁹ LS2 (New).

¹²⁰ Drury Lane, 20 July 1714.

Dances billed as, or recognisable from their titles as, ball-dances included some of the birthday dances created for the sovereign or members of the royal family, for example Mr Isaac's *The Saltarella*, or L'Abbé's *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*. Other non-royal dances which were also published in notation were occasionally billed; for example, on 10 January 1716 at Lincoln's Inn Fields, there was 'a new dance call'd *The Morris*, composed by Mr Isaac, and at the request of several masters perform'd by de la Garde and Mrs Bullock', and *The Submission*, choreographed, notated and published by Kellom Tomlinson in 1717, was performed by Marie Sallé and her brother Francis at Lincoln's Inn Fields in that year.¹²¹

Although the dancing-masters working in London's theatres may well have made use of country dance figures when choreographing group dances for the entr'actes, and country dances were a regular feature of mainpiece and afterpiece plays, there is no clear evidence that country dances (of the type danced in the ball-room) were performed among entr'acte entertainments. Some names of entr'acte dances appear to indicate country dances, but the wording of the advertisements suggests that these belonged to other genres. The title 'Country Dance' appeared occasionally in the bills, but nearly all such dances were solos, such as the '*Pierot and Country Dance by Roger*' at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 14 April 1725, or duets, like the '*Country Dance by Young Rainton and Miss Robinson*' on 21 April 1726 at Drury Lane, or they rounded off a mainpiece or an afterpiece, as did the 'Country Dance' given at the end of Charles Coffey's *The Devil to Pay* at Drury Lane on 20 August 1731.

Even a relatively superficial investigation of the whole repertoire of entr'acte dances between 1700-1701 and 1736-1737, when taken together with a more detailed examination of the performance histories of particular entr'acte dances, sheds light on the genres and types of dances which were popular and how these changed over the years, affecting the development of dancing throughout the

¹²¹ LMC [1716]-Mrr; LMC [1717]-Sbm.

period. The advertisements show clearly how important dances, and dancers, were to theatre managers in the bid to draw audiences. In the early 1700s, dances were advertised as additions to the bill, with no indication of where they would come on the programme. By the 1720s, advertisements were beginning to specify when dances were to be performed, either at the end of a particular act or sometimes within it. The placing of dances on the bill seems to have reflected their popularity, or more often the popularity of the dancers who performed them; the later a dance came on a bill, the greater the drawing power it was deemed to have. There seems usually to have been little or no relationship between entr'acte dances and the mainpieces or afterpieces they were matched with.¹²² This threw entr'acte dances into closer relationship with each other which, together with their variety and popularity, inevitably led to developments in dancing on the London stage up to, including, and beyond, John Weaver's 'dramatic entertainments of dancing'. As a dancer in both entr'acte entertainments and afterpieces, Hester Santlow made an important contribution to these developments.

¹²² This aspect also needs further research. It is possible that some dances were performed in or at the end of acts of plays (rather than following the act) because they were, or became, linked with a particular play.

CHAPTER 4

HESTER SANTLOW'S REPERTOIRE: THE ENTR'ACTE DANCES

Throughout her career, even after she had become a leading actress at Drury Lane, Hester Santlow regularly danced in the entr'actes. Seven of her solos, eighteen of her duets, and ten group dances in which she appeared were named in advertisements between 1706 and 1733. There has been no study of the repertoire of entr'acte dances given in the London theatres during the early eighteenth century, probably because very little music and very few choreographies are known to survive. However, there is a wealth of contextual evidence, including notations that record dances related by title or dance type to those named in advertisements, and this can shed light on the entr'acte dances performed by Hester Santlow and her contemporaries. These entr'acte dances were closely related to dancing in the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes given as afterpieces, as well as the occasional dancing in mainpieces, including semi-operas and Italian operas.

The beginning of Hester Santlow's career coincided with the introduction of Italian opera to the London stage. In her early seasons, she often appeared on the same bill as Italian operas, and may have danced in some of them, rather than merely appearing in the entr'actes. She undoubtedly danced in *Love's Triumph*, given at the Queen's Theatre during the 1707-1708 season; during the 1708-1709 season she was a member of the Queen's Theatre company, and must have danced in the operas given there, although there is no evidence to confirm this. Semi-operas, popular in the late seventeenth century, lost ground to the Italian operas, but Hester Santlow did appear on the same bill as some of these, and danced in *The Island Princess* and *The Indian Queen*.¹ When she became an actress, Mrs

¹ Hester Santlow appeared on the same bill as *The Island Princess* on 7 March 1706 at Drury Lane, when the advertisement read 'The Dances perform'd by Monsieur Cherrier and Miss Santlow his Scholar. Also by Mrs Evans, taught by Monsieur Siris, Mrs Cross and others'. Similarly, when *The Indian Queen* was billed at Drury Lane on 2 April 1706, the advertisement specified 'And all

Santlow undoubtedly danced in plays when the plot demanded it. One such opportunity occurred in the final scene of *The Fair Quaker of Deal*, when Dorcas Zeal (the 'Fair Quaker', played by Santlow) is asked to join in a dance and takes some persuading. She finally responds 'Well rather than spoil your mirth, I will walk about', which must surely have drawn applause from an audience used to seeing Hester Santlow's compelling performances as a dancer in the entr'actes.² Many country dances, which were regularly published in collections from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, bore titles which connected them with plays given in the London theatres. Those which might have links to Hester Santlow include 'The Fair Quaker of Deal', 'Hobb's Wedding', and 'Love for Love'.³

Hester Santlow's entr'acte performances were an important part of her career, and an analysis of her entr'acte dance repertoire is essential to an understanding of her danced roles in John Weaver's 'dramatic entertainments of dancing', and in the pantomime afterpieces created by John Thurmond and Roger.

Hester Santlow's Entr'acte Repertoire

The surviving records of Hester Santlow's entr'acte repertoire are very incomplete; most performance details, particularly for entr'acte dances, were given in the great bills posted up in the streets, few of which have survived. Usually, four or five of her dances were advertised in the newspapers each season, but she danced in many performances for which the advertisements give no details. Although prologues, epilogues, and the prefaces to printed plays regularly mentioned the 'Criticks' in the audience, critical appraisals of performances did

the Dances perform'd by Monsieur Cherrier, and Miss Santlow his Scholar, by Mrs du Ruel; and also Mrs Evans'. *LS2 (New)*.

² Charles Shadwell, *The Fair Quaker of Deal, or, the Humours of the Navy* (London: J. Knapton, B. Lintott, and E. Sanger, 1710), p. 62. The subsequent stage directions indicate that this was a 'Country Dance'.

³ 'The Fair Quaker of Deal' appeared in *The Dancing-Master, Vol. the Second* (London: W. Pearson, J. Young, 1718), p. 235; 'Hobb's Wedding', described in its title as 'A Kissing Dance in The Country Wake', and 'Love for Love: Danc'd in the Play', were first published in *The Second Part of the Dancing-Master*. (London: H. Playford, 1696), pp. 16, 20.

not begin to be regularly published until the 1730s.⁴ There was no considered criticism of theatrical dancing throughout the whole of Hester Santlow's career.

The first of Hester Santlow's entr'acte dances to be named in the advertisements was *The Union*, a ball-dance choreographed by Mr Isaac, which she performed with Desbarques at Drury Lane during 1706-1707. In the same season, she and Cherrier were advertised as dancing a 'Dutch Skipper' duet. In the following season, 1707-1708, she and Delagarde were billed as performing another of Isaac's dances, *The Saltarella*, at the Queen's Theatre. No more of her dances were named until she rejoined the Drury Lane company in 1709-1710, as an actress as well as a dancer. In 1709-1710, her drawing power for audiences was such that four of her solos and one duet were advertised by name; the solos were a 'Harlequin', a 'French Peasant', a 'Dutch Skipper' and a Chacone, and she danced a 'Harlequin' duet with Layfield. Thereafter, her entr'acte dances were named regularly, but not frequently, in the advertisements.

In 1715-1716, the season which marked the beginning of stiff competition between Drury Lane and the recently reopened Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre (where the emphasis was on entr'acte entertainments, and dancing in particular), various sources name nine dances which she performed, although the advertisements refer only to five. Four of the dances, a solo Flute Chacone, a Chacone duet, and 'Dutch Skipper' and 'Swedish Dance' duets, are known to have been performed that season only from bills for copying the music paid by the Drury Lane management.⁵ In 1731-1732, eight of Santlow's dances were named in the advertisements. The 'Hussars' duet was advertised, ostensibly after three seasons in which it had not been given, although Hester Santlow's partner in both 1727-1728 and 1731-1732 was William Essex, and he had appeared regularly at Drury Lane during the intervening seasons. 1731-1732 also marked her first billing in a Minuet duet. Given the popularity of the minuet in the ballroom, it is

⁴ LS2 pp. clxv-clxvi. See also, Charles Harold Gray, *Theatrical Criticism in London to 1795* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

⁵ *Register* 2696, 2779.

surprising that she is not recorded as dancing a Minuet duet with earlier partners, particularly John Shaw, who had a fine *belle dance* style and technique.

Four of the theatre dances choreographed for her by L'Abbé were published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation in a collection which stated on the titlepage that all the dances had been 'performed both in *Drury-Lane* [sic] and *Lincoln's-Inn-Fields*', yet there are no references to any of them in the advertisements.⁶ John Essex, in *The Dancing-Master* published in 1728, referred to 'the *Chaconne*, *Saraband*, *Menuet*, in all which she appears with ... Grace, Softness, and Address'; the earliest billings for Hester Santlow in a solo Minuet are not until the 1730-1731 season, and none of the advertisements mention that she danced a sarabande before her performance of *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* in 1730-1731.⁷ A handful of her dances seem to survive only in the tunes used for country dances. 'Miss Santlow's Frolic' seems to belong to an earlier period of her career.⁸ The tune of 'Mrs. Booth's Minuet' bears no resemblance to that of the notated 'Menuet', and the music for 'Booth's Hornpipe' (undoubtedly a dance by Mrs Booth and not by her husband) is not related to the hornpipe in *The Union*, the only hornpipe she is known to have danced.⁹

Hester Santlow's known entr'acte dances ranged over a number of the genres which were identified in chapter three. She is not known to have performed any comic-representative character dances, occupation dances, or celebration dances,

⁶ *New Collection (Facsimile)*, 'Passacaille of Armide' pp. 7-16, 'Menuet' pp. 17-21, 'Chaconne of Galathee' pp. 22-30, 'Passagalia of Venüs & Adonis' pp. 46-56.

⁷ The music for a 'Slow Minuet by Mrs Booth' and a 'Sarabande by Mrs Booth' is included in a manuscript collection of song and dance tunes first compiled in 1722, British Library, Additional MSS 47446, fols. 11^v, 109^r-108^v (the pieces of music run through the volume in both directions). The two dances may have been performed during the 1721-1722 season.

⁸ 'Miss Santlow's Frolic' is referred to in Kate Van Winkle Keller and Genevieve Shimer, *The Playford Ball: 103 Early Country Dances 1651-1820* (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 1990), p. 34, without giving the original source, which has not been located.

⁹ 'Booth's Hornpipe' and 'Mrs Booth's Minuet' both appear in *The Dancing-Master: or, Directions for Dancing Country-Dances, with the Tunes to Each Dance, for the Treble-Violin. The Third Volume* (London: W. Pearson and J. Young, [1728?]), pp. 16, 149.

nor did she dance any comic-grotesque mythological dances (these were usually, if not always, danced by men), or speciality dances. Common figure dances and country dances undoubtedly formed part of her repertoire, although in the entr'actes they were probably used within the choreography of group dances rather than being presented in their original form. In terms of the numbers of dances named in the advertisements, Hester Santlow's entr'acte repertoire mainly comprised serious, pastoral, and comic-representative nation dances. In terms of the numbers of performances, she was most popular in pastoral dances (chiefly because of the perennial popularity of the group dance 'Myrtillo'), although the 'Hussars' duet (a comic-representative nation dance) and the 'Harlequin' solo and duet (comic-grotesque *commedia dell'arte* dances) were also advertised for performance many more times than any of her other dances. Of course, in addition to her personal preferences, Mrs Santlow's known repertoire reflects the choices made by the Drury Lane management as well as the lacunae in the sources.

Early in her career, Hester Santlow was quite often billed as dancing solos, and this pattern recurred during her final seasons on the stage, although for most of her career, her duets were far more often advertised. Before 1715-1716, she was not billed in any group dances, since these seem to have been rare in the London theatres during the early years of the century, but by the mid-1720s they formed a significant part of her recorded repertoire and continued to do so until the end of her career. Mrs Santlow had a varied entr'acte repertoire throughout her seasons on the London stage, although the advertisements indicate some changes over the years. The popularity of pastoral dances grew following the success of 'Myrtillo', and by the mid-1720s they formed an important part of her repertoire. Over the same period, with the exception of 'Hussars', she ceased to be advertised in comic-representative nation dances. In her final seasons on the stage, serious dances and common ball dances became a greater part of her repertoire. This perhaps reflected changing audience tastes, rather than a diminution of her powers, for ball-dances had also been important in the years immediately following her debut. During 1732-1733, the difficult season which culminated in her retirement, Hester Santlow was advertised as dancing a solo Flute Chacone,

solo and duet Minuets, and three group dances, 'Myrtillo', a 'Grand Dance of Moors', and the 'Grand Dance to the Country Revels'; as had become customary, she led the women in the group dances. In her last season, her popularity, and her energy, seem to have been as great as ever.

Although her performance record is incomplete, it is extensive. More information survives about Hester Santlow's entr'acte dance repertoire than for almost any other dancer working in the London theatres during the same period. With the help of the available contextual information, it is possible to discover more about her dances than merely their names, and her contribution to the development of entr'acte dancing on the London stage during the early 1700s can be traced through her repertoire.

Solo Dances

Of the seven of Hester Santlow's solo entr'acte dances named in the advertisements, three provide important evidence about the range of her dancing style and technique. All of these dances entered her repertoire during the 1709-1710 season. She was the first female dancer known to have been billed in a solo 'Harlequin' dance, which was particularly associated with her throughout her career. The 'French Peasant', which she apparently only danced in 1709-1710, was usually a solo for male dancers and was rarely performed by female dancers alone. The Chaconne was the first of her serious dances to be named in the advertisements, and showed her to be the natural successor to Mrs Elford, who had been L'Abbé's partner in the years immediately after 1700 and an early exponent among the female dancers in London of *belle dance* style and technique.

Hester Santlow's first certain billing in the 'Harlequin' dance was at Drury Lane on 6 June 1710, when she performed it before the mainpiece *Love for Love* (in which she played Prue and gave a new epilogue). The advertisement of the previous day had declared that it was 'the first time of performing it this season', indicating that Mrs Santlow had performed the dance before.¹⁰ A 'Harlequin'

¹⁰ *Daily Courant*, 5 June 1710.

dance had been included in the performance which she gave with Cherrier and Monsieur and Mrs du Ruel at Drury Lane on 28 March 1706, but the advertisement had not specified who danced it and the performance came just a month after Santlow's debut, rather early in her career for such an individual solo. Her first performance of the 'Harlequin' solo was probably either in the 1706-1707 or the 1707-1708 season. The 'Harlequin' was not advertised again after 1709-1710 until the 1713-1714 season, when Mrs Santlow danced it at least twice. Thereafter she performed her solo 'Harlequin' every season until 1719-1720, and from 1725-1726 it was again advertised nearly every season until 1730-1731. In the 1730-1731 season Hester Santlow performed the 'Harlequin' solo at least three times, demonstrating its lasting popularity.

Behind Mrs Santlow's 'Harlequin' solo lay a tradition established in both Paris and London during the late seventeenth century. An Italian *commedia dell'arte* troupe, subsequently known as the Comédie-Italienne, had been established in Paris in 1662, and played there until they were expelled by order of Louis XIV in 1697.¹¹ During that period the character of Harlequin had grown in importance and developed, in performances by Domenico Biancolelli, who played with the Comédie-Italienne from 1662 until his death in 1688, and his successor Evaristo Gherardi, who died in 1700. The influence of the *commedia dell'arte* had reached the London theatres (via Paris) by the 1670s and could be seen in plays such as Edward Ravenscroft's *Scaramouch a Philosopher*, performed at Drury Lane in May 1677, and Aphra Behn's *The Emperor of the Moon*, given at Dorset Garden probably in March 1687.¹² By the time of Hester Santlow's debut, London had seen at least four English Harlequins - Jo Haines, Tom Jevon, William Pinkethman, and Richard Baxter.¹³ Hester Santlow later worked with both Pinkethman and Baxter.

¹¹ Virginia Scott, *The Commedia dell'Arte in Paris 1644-1697* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), chapters 4-15.

¹² Clive Chapman, 'English Pantomime and its Music' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1981), pp. 33-53

¹³ Haines appeared as Harlequin in the first performance of *Scaramouch a Philosopher*. Jevon appeared as Harlequin in the first performance of *The Emperor of the Moon*, and was succeeded in

The character of Harlequin, as performed in plays in Paris and London, had certain distinctive traits which were succinctly described in a mid-eighteenth century source:

His character is that of an ignorant valet, fundamentally *naïve*, but nevertheless making every effort to be intelligent, even to the extent of seeming malicious. He is a glutton and a poltroon, but faithful and energetic. Through motives of fear or cupidity he is always ready to undertake any sort of rascality and deceit. He is a chameleon which takes on every colour. He must excel in impromptu, and the first thing that the public always asks of a new Harlequin is that he be agile, and that he jump well, dance, and turn somersaults.¹⁴

By 1700, Harlequin also had a distinctive costume, with a long jacket and trousers which had a symmetrical pattern of blue, red, and green diamond-shaped lozenges, a black hat decorated with the tail of a rabbit, hare, or fox, or a tuft of feathers, and a wooden bat. He also wore a black mask.¹⁵

Hester Santlow's portrait was painted in Harlequin costume, probably during the 1720s. It shows her in a jacket and skirt with blue, yellow, red, and purple triangular patches. The jacket sleeves are trimmed with red ribbons, and it is fastened at the waist by a long red sash; her long-sleeved, lace trimmed chemise can be seen above the low-cut neckline of the jacket and below its sleeves. The relatively narrow line and deep folds of the skirt indicate that she is not wearing a hoop. Mrs Santlow has a black hat, decorated with either a rabbit or fox tail tuft,

that role by William Pinkethman. Richard Baxter's earliest recorded appearance in London was at Drury Lane on 7 October 1703 in a '*Night Scene between Scaramouch and Harlequin*', with Joseph Sorin as Scaramouch.

¹⁴ Pierre Louis Duchartre, *The Italian Comedy*, trans. by Randolph T. Weaver (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), p. 133. The original source from which the passage was taken is cited as *Calendrier historique des théâtres*, published in Paris in 1751; no copy or record of this work has been located.

¹⁵ Duchartre, *Italian Comedy*, pp. 134-135.

and a wooden bat, and her long auburn hair flows down her back, loosely tied with a red ribbon. She is not wearing a mask.¹⁶ Other illustrations of female Harlequins show that the costume worn by Hester Santlow was as well established as that of the male Harlequin by the early eighteenth century.¹⁷

Although her costume was closely related to that of the male Harlequin (except that she did not cross-dress), the character as danced by Hester Santlow probably had equally close links with Colombine. The development of the *commedia dell'arte* role of Colombine in the late seventeenth century has been attributed to Catherine Biancolelli, daughter of the Harlequin Domenico Biancolelli, who joined the Comédie-Italienne in 1683 at the age of seventeen. Colombine was witty, a coquette, and a successful intriguer - not unlike the witty heroines who were Hester Santlow's most successful roles on the dramatic stage.¹⁸ The development of the female Harlequin as a solo dancing role can be attributed to Hester Santlow. Although Françoise Prévost danced as an Arlequine in the *Ballet des Fragmens de Lully* in 1702, and in the *comédie-ballet La Vénitienne* in 1705, and Margaret Bicknell danced a 'Harlequin' at Drury Lane in 1705, all of these performances were duets with a male partner.¹⁹ Hester Santlow was the first female dancer recorded as dancing a solo 'Harlequin'. No other female dancer

¹⁶ The portrait is now in the Theatre Museum, London, see, Geoffrey Ashton, *Catalogue of Paintings at the Theatre Museum, London*, ed. by James Fowler (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, Society for Theatre Research, 1992), pp. 7-8. A copy of the portrait, now at Port Eliot in Cornwall, shows her in the same costume, but with a skirt to just above her ankles - probably the length she actually wore for performances.

¹⁷ Patricia Rader, 'Harlequin and Hussar: Hester Santlow's Dancing Career in London, 1706-1733' (unpublished masters thesis, City University of New York, 1992), p. 45.

¹⁸ Scott, *Commedia dell'Arte* in Paris, pp. 306-307, describes the role as developed by Catherine Biancolelli as a 'modern, cynical, immoral, and successful young Frenchwoman, linked to the Dorines and Toinettes of Molière, but younger, smoother, and more certainly devoted to the feminine cause in the eternal battle of the sexes'.

¹⁹ For Françoise Prévost's performances as Arlequine, see François and Claude Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris*. 7 tom. (Paris: Lambert, 1756), II, 636, VI, 114. In *Les Fragmens de M. Lully*, Prévost danced with 'Le Sieur Dupré', who may have been the dancer who later came to London and appeared as Mars in Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. Mrs Bicknell was partnered by Laforrest in a 'Harlequin' at Drury Lane on 1 January 1705.

was advertised on the London stage in a solo 'Harlequin' dance until 27 May 1718 when Miss Lindar appeared at Drury Lane.

'A Skaramoutch by Mrs Saintloe att the Theatre' is included in a collection of music for dancers in the London theatres.²⁰ It can be identified as the 'Chaconne des Scaramouches, Trivelins et Arlequin' from Lully's music for the 'Ballet des Nations' in Molière's *comédie-ballet* of 1670, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. The music connects Hester Santlow's 'Harlequin' dance to two of the three surviving notations for male solo 'Harlequin' dances; both survive only in manuscript sources. One choreography is by Feuillet, and the other is probably by the 'Monsieur dela montagne' who is named on the notation but otherwise remains unidentified.²¹ A third notation for a 'Harlequin' solo, *A Chacon for a Harlequin* by F. Le Roussau, is to music composed by Charpentier for Molière's *Le Malade Imaginaire* in 1673.²² Le Roussau's choreography, published in London about 1728, was dedicated to Hester Santlow's erstwhile partner, Louis Dupré. The music for all three dances is a chaconne, and the dances themselves share characteristic figures and *pas composés*, as well as head and arm movements particularly associated with Harlequin.²³

All three dances begin with a sequence of steps to bring Harlequin downstage for an elaborate bow, parodying the correct social form.²⁴ The bow is followed by a *pas assemblé*, after which the dance proper begins. In all three notations, the step

²⁰ The only known copy of the collection, which has no titlepage, is in the British Library, Music Library, shelfmark K.5.b.32, bound with *The Compleat Flute-Master* (London: J. Hare and J. Walsh, 1695); it probably dates to about 1720, see Carol Marsh, 'French Court Dance in England, 1706-1740: a Study of the Sources' (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University of New York, 1985), p. 187.

²¹ LMC 2760; *Belle Dance* FL/Ms05.2/01. LMC 1880; *Belle Dance* FL/Ms05.1/07.

²² LMC 1980; *Belle Dance* FL/1728.3s.

²³ Susan Bindig suggests that 'Harlequin had a readily identifiable movement lexicon that was as much part of his performances as his distinctive costume', 'Dancing in Harlequin's World' (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 1998), p. 49.

²⁴ Le Roussau included a description of Harlequin's bow in the introduction to his notation. Pierre Rameau devoted several chapters of *Le Maître à danser* to the correct manner of bowing, R1725.

vocabulary includes many *pas sautés*, particularly *jettés*, *jettés chassés*, and *chassés*, but also *sauts* with both feet either in parallel or first position. *Coupés battus* and *demies cabrioles en passant* appear among the *pas composés* in the three dances, but none include *entre-chats* or *cabrioles*. The choreographies by Feuillet and La Montagne use false first position, in sequences where Harlequin turns his feet in and out, and incorporate *pas tombés* to a wide second position; La Montagne's dance also includes *pas échappé*. La Montagne and Le Roussau give Harlequin a *tour en l'air*, for comic effect, and Le Roussau follows this with a series of characteristic head movements, which he explains in his introduction and with which he embellishes the notation.

As well as a characteristic vocabulary of steps, Harlequin also has some characteristic figures and arm movements. The most significant of the figures is a circle, which Harlequin describes in small quick steps (six to each measure of music).²⁵ Both Feuillet and Le Roussau notate arm circles at one point during the dance; none of the notations make any reference to Harlequin's wooden bat, but the arm circles could signify that he had drawn it and was flourishing it, in a parody of formal sword-play. The three dances end differently. Feuillet's choreography has a complex sequence of *jettés chassés* and *jettés*, finishing with Harlequin facing towards upstage left. La Montagne has a sequence incorporating a *pas échappé* and a *pas assemblé*, before Harlequin travels upstage with six quick *sauts* backwards in first position. Le Roussau's Harlequin performs eight *pas de bourée vite* forwards, travelling in an 'S' figure (probably a parody of the similar figure to be found in a number of serious dances) towards upstage left.

Hester Santlow may well have included many of the characteristic steps, movements, and figures found in the notated solos in her own 'Harlequin' dance. She may even have performed the *tour en l'air*, for Anthony L'Abbé included one for her in the 'Chacone of Galathee'.²⁶ Santlow's 'Harlequin' dance must have embodied a tension between the male Harlequin, with his familiar conventions of dance and gesture, and his female counterpart Colombine. Although there is no

²⁵ Le Roussau replaces the six steps with a *pas de bourée vite*.

²⁶ See *New Collection (Facsimile)*, plate 26.

evidence that she danced Harlequin in male costume, as an actress Mrs Santlow was accustomed to breeches roles and must have had a command of the deportment appropriate for heroines pretending to be gallants - including swaggering bravado, witty self-confidence, fear, and cowardice - that would also have been appropriate for a female representation of Harlequin. In her dance she may well have switched constantly between the coquetry and feminine wiles of Colombine (identified with Santlow's own persona as a dancer and an actress), and an imitation of Harlequin as portrayed (in mime as well as dance) by her male contemporaries. The 'lascivious motions airs and postures' remarked in 1725 by the poet James Thomson would have found an entirely appropriate place in Hester Santlow's 'Harlequin' dance, alongside a non-verbal satirical commentary on the posturings of the male Harlequins.

Mrs Santlow also danced in a 'Harlequin' duet, first advertised on 4 February 1710 when she was partnered by the comic actor and dancer Lewis Layfield. The duet was much less popular than the solo; it was advertised only eight times during the period 1709-1710 to 1722-1723. Over the years, Layfield was succeeded by Sandham, Dupré, and finally John Shaw. Mrs Santlow appears to have given up performing the 'Harlequin' duet after Shaw's death in 1725.

Lambranzi described and illustrated a 'Harlequin' duet:

Harlequin and his wife step forward ... Now he runs round her with his usual movements and then she round him. Afterwards Harlequin goes to the extreme back of the stage and the woman to the extreme front, where she dances alone facing the audience with her back to the man. Then Harlequin beckons to the woman as if intimating they should go off, but she turns round and shows she has no intention of doing so. Harlequin runs towards his wife and she to where he formerly stood. Afterwards Harlequin dances alone as she did, and now she beckons him in the same

manner. Finally they approach each other, hold each other's left hand, draw their swords or bats, strike each other on the shoulder and exit.²⁷

This dance incorporated solos for both the woman and the man, indicating that Mrs Santlow's 'Harlequin' duet could have been related to her solo, as well as to the male solos. Lambranzi labelled all the dance tunes for Harlequin 'Chicona'.²⁸ According to a surviving bill for copying music, Hester Santlow danced a Chacone duet with Richard Baxter during the 1715-1716 season.²⁹ Since Baxter was well known as a Harlequin, it is possible that this Chacone was not a serious dance but a 'Harlequin' duet.

Hester Santlow was advertised in a solo 'French Peasant' dance five times during the 1709-1710 season at Drury Lane. The first time was on 19 January 1710, when it was apparently the only entr'acte dance she performed, and the last time was on 12 April 1710, when she coupled it with a '*Chacoon*' and the advertisement suggests that she performed the serious dance immediately after the comic dance. Hers was the first 'French Peasant' solo to be mentioned in the advertisements, and the dance was not billed again as a solo until 14 October 1715 when Aubert danced both a 'Harlequin' and a 'French Peasant' at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The 'French Peasant' solo was particularly associated with French male dancers; those later advertised as performing it included Nivelon and Poitier, both of whom danced it for several seasons.³⁰ No other female dancer, either English or French, was ever advertised in a solo 'French Peasant' dance.

Lambranzi included a number of engravings of 'Peasant' dances in his treatise. His first such illustration was of a solo man, of which he wrote:

²⁷ Lambranzi, Part I, pp. 24-25, plate 31.

²⁸ Lambranzi, Part I, plates 29-31.

²⁹ Register 2779.

³⁰ Francis Nivelon first danced a 'French Peasant' at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 8 May 1724, billed as 'Nivelon Sr'. Michael Poitier was first advertised in a 'French Peasant' on 9 May 1726 at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket.

This plate represents the first peasant step. It is then done the opposite way with the other foot, and succeeded by *contretemps* and *pas de rigaudon*, with a drawing to and fro of the arms, knees and legs, but in divers manners in peasant style.

The man's posture includes a flexed foot with his heel on the ground, his body bending forward and a little to the side, and both his arms swung to the same side.³¹

Three solo 'Peasant' dances survive in notation, one of which was choreographed by Feuillet while the other two are anonymous. Two are to the same music, from the *entrée* for France in Campra's *L'Europe galante*, the third is to music from Lully's 1685 opera *Roland*.³² Both pieces of music are in duple time, but neither is readily identifiable with a specific dance type.³³ The dances to the music from *L'Europe galante* are very short, only thirty-six measures long; the other dance is a more standard length, at sixty-two measures. All three share a similar vocabulary of steps, in which *pas sautés* predominate, particularly *demi-contre-temps*, *contre-temps*, *pas assemblés*, and *sauts* on two feet in first position or into fourth or fifth position. Some of the *pas sautés* are embellished with *pas rond*, and *pas tortillés* are used to change from true to false positions and back again. Some of the *pas composés* incorporate stamps. The most distinctive *pas composé* found in these 'Peasant' dances is a sequence of two *demi-contre-temps*, each of which is ornamented with a *pas battu* either *devant et derrière* or *derrière et devant*, performed in a single measure of music. These are sometimes performed in two-measure, or even four-measure, phrases. They appear travelling backwards, forwards, or in a circle, and seem to be particularly associated with 'Peasant' dances.

The notations indicate that 'Peasant' dances, as choreographed in France, had a recognisable vocabulary of steps, providing clues to their style and technique.

³¹ *Lambranzi*, Part I, p. 19, plate 4.

³² LMC 3040, 3060, 5320; *Belle Dance* FL/Ms05.1/06, FL/Ms05.1/05, FL/Ms17.1/03.

³³ Neither LMC nor *Belle Dance* identify the dance types for these notated 'Peasant' dances.

The name 'French Peasant' given to them on the London stage presumably derived from their association with French performers. Hester Santlow might have learnt the 'French Peasant' from her teacher, Cherrier, or perhaps from du Ruel, but she might equally well have learnt it from the English dancer Lewis Layfield, with whom she danced during the 1709-1710 season and who himself danced a solo 'French Peasant' at Drury Lane on 11 March 1710.

Mrs Santlow later appeared in a 'French Peasant' duet, first with Sandham on 17 May 1714, and then with Wade on 28 February 1715.³⁴ On the London stage the duet was far more popular than the solo. It appears to have been introduced by du Ruel, who danced a 'French Peasant and his Wife' with Mrs du Ruel at Drury Lane on 29 June 1704. Lambranzi illustrated a dance of 'two peasants in love. At the beginning they push each other with their elbows and heels, then continue the dance with various other actions'. In the engraving, both have their hands on their hips with their elbows akimbo and one foot flexed with the heel on the floor.³⁵ Three 'Peasant' duets survive in notation and one, 'La Paysanne pour un Homme et une Femme' by Pecour to a forlana by Campra from *La Sérénade vénitienne* (added to the *Ballet des Fragmens de Lully* in 1703), includes many of the *pas composés* in the solo 'Peasant' dances, in particular the paired *demi-contre-temps* with *pas battu*; this duet can readily be interpreted as a comic dance.³⁶

The first of Hester Santlow's serious dances to be named in the advertisements was the solo Chacone which she performed at Drury Lane on 12 April 1710, after dancing a 'French Peasant'. Very few solo chaconnes had been advertised before this, all of them for women. The earliest was that danced by Mrs Elford at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 14 June 1703. Mrs du Ruel danced a Chacone at Drury Lane on 1 July 1704, Miss Evans performed a Chacone at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 16 October 1704, and on 28 September 1705 Miss Bruce 'taught by Elford [i.e.

³⁴ The music for 'French Peasants by Mr Shaw Mrs Booth &ca' appears in British Library, Additional MSS 47446, fol. 97^r, and may have been performed as a group dance during the 1721-1722 season.

³⁵ *Lambranzi*, Part I, p. 20, plate 8.

³⁶ LMC 6780, 4130, 6800; *Belle Dance* FL/1702.1/02, FL/Ms13.1/08, FL/1713.2/22.

Mrs Elford]’ danced a Chacone at Lincoln’s Inn Fields which she repeated several times during the 1705-1706 season. Mrs Elford was advertised in a solo ‘*Chacoon and Passacail*’ at the Queen’s Theatre on 13 June 1706.³⁷ A solo Chacone was performed by Anne Bullock for over twenty years, between 1714-1715 and 1734-1735.³⁸ After her single performance in 1709-1710, Hester Santlow was not again advertised in a solo Chacone until 16 April 1730, the dance then remained in her repertoire until the 1731-1732 season.

In the intervening years she had been billed in a Flute Chacone, the only dancer to appear in such a dance. A bill for copying music dated 4 February 1716 refers to ‘Mrs Santlow’s Chacone for the Little Flutes’, providing the only evidence that she performed the dance as early as the 1715-1716 season.³⁹ She was first advertised in a Flute Chacone on 5 May 1719, and performed a dance of the same name three times in November 1732. The music for ‘A Chaccone Danc’d by Mrs Sainteloe at the Theatre’ appears in the undated collection of music referred to earlier; the ‘Chaccone’ may perhaps relate to Hester Santlow’s Flute Chacone. Another clue to possible performances of a Flute Chacone which are not mentioned in the advertisements comes from *Mist’s Weekly Journal* of 2 March 1728, which (describing the success of *The Beggar’s Opera*) declared ‘To the soft Flute *B--th* trips in vain’. These pieces of evidence, together with John Essex’s reference in 1728 to her performances of the chaconne, indicate that Hester Santlow danced a Chacone in the entr’actes far more often than the few performances recorded in the surviving advertisements.

A modern description of the chaconne defines it as a ‘Baroque Dance in triple metre whose musical scheme was incorporated into a continuous variation form’ and traces its history from Latin America in the late sixteenth century, to Spain (where the dance was both humorous and obscene) and Italy in the early seventeenth century, and to France (where it became slower and more dignified)

³⁷ *LS2 (New)*.

³⁸ Mrs Bullock’s first appearance in a Chacone was on 24 May 1715 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, and her last on 11 September 1734 at the Goodman’s Fields Theatre.

³⁹ *Register* 2696.

in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁰ The chaconne is closely related musically to both the passacaille and the sarabande.⁴¹ The chaconne's Spanish links are indicated by an association with castanets, for Feuillet included an example of castanet rhythms for the chaconne from Lully's opera *Phaéton* in *Choregraphie*.⁴² The dance's early history in Spain perhaps also underlies the existence of a distinct comic genre within danced chaconnes, of which the three surviving notated dances for Harlequin provide examples. Lambranzi indicates the comic rather than the serious use of the dance, for he includes only one 'Cicona' (other than those for Harlequin): 'A gypsy, playing castanets, dances a solo *Chaconne*, with *ballonnés* and *pas de bourée*, combined with *contretemps*, *balancés* and *pirouettes*, until the air is concluded', her dance is followed by a scene in which she is first bewitched by and then dances with a necromancer.⁴³ The serious chaconnes which survive in notation are almost all quite lengthy dances, and, although they use *belle dance* style and technique, may well have offered opportunities for pantomime or expressive gestures.⁴⁴

Apart from the three chaconnes for Harlequin, eight solo chaconnes survive in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation, ranging in length from sixty-four to one hundred and fifty-two measures of music.⁴⁵ Six of them are for men, ranging from the 'Chaconne de mr. feuillet' to music from Campra's *L'Europe galante*, which uses a very simple vocabulary of steps and straightforward four-measure phrases which are repeated (this dance was possibly a classroom exercise), to the extreme of virtuosity represented by the 'Chaconne of Amadis Performd' by Mr Dupré', choreographed by Anthony L'Abbé to music from Lully's *Amadis* for performance on the London stage, which includes three *entre-chats droits à six* in succession and a *pirouette* of four turns ornamented with *pas battus* and a *pas*

⁴⁰ *New Grove*, entry for chaconne.

⁴¹ Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 199-202.

⁴² *F1701* p. 101. See also, Betty Bang Mather, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987), p. 227.

⁴³ *Lambranzi*, Part II p. 6, plate 49.

⁴⁴ Little and Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, pp. 200-201.

⁴⁵ The 'Chaconne Danc'd by Mrs Sainteloe at the Theatre' has eighty-eight measures of music.

rond.⁴⁶ The other male solos include steps of varying degrees of virtuosity, although most of them include *entre-chats droit à six* and ornamented *pirouettes* with one or more turns.⁴⁷

It is unlikely that Hester Santlow would have emulated male soloists in her Chacone, although she may have used more ornamented and thus more complex *pas composés* than those to be found in the two solo chaconnes for women, which use step vocabularies appropriate for the ball-room. One is a dance by Mr Isaac, published in 1711 in Edmund Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing*.⁴⁸ The chaconne lasts for only sixty-four measures of music and is coupled with a minuet, the two together forming a single dance. There is no evidence to suggest when, or by whom, this solo was performed, although it may perhaps have been a display piece created for one of Isaac's pupils. The 'Chacone' contains no theatrical *pas composés*, although the basic steps used incorporate many unusual variants not found in Feuillet's step tables, and Isaac made sparing use of repetition in its choreographic phrases. The second dance is French, choreographed by Guillaume-Louis Pecour to music from Lully's opera *Phaéton*, and published in 1704 in Feuillet's *Recueil de dances*.⁴⁹ It is among the longest of the chaconnes surviving in notation, with one hundred and fifty-two measures of music. There is no evidence that it was performed in the opera (although it could have been choreographed for the 1702 revival of *Phaéton*), but it may have been created as a display piece for performance at court, either during a ball or masquerade, or as part of a private theatrical performance.⁵⁰ The dance includes no theatrical *pas composés*, and its steps generally lack ornamentation apart from the addition of *pas battus*, although Pecour makes much use of the standard variants on the basic vocabulary of *fleurets*, *coupés*, and *contre-temps* to

⁴⁶ LMC 1900, *Belle Dance* FL/Ms05.1/16. LMC 1840, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/09.

⁴⁷ LMC 1920, 1940, 1960, 2000; *Belle Dance* FL/Ms05.1/23, FL/Ms17.1/10, FL/1704.1/29, FL/1704.1/28.

⁴⁸ LMC 1820.

⁴⁹ LMC 2020; *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/03.

⁵⁰ Régine Astier, 'Chacone pour une Femme: Chaconne de Phaéton. A Performance Study', *Dance Research*, 15.2 (Winter 1997), 150-169 (p. 150).

be found in Feuillet's *Choregraphie*. The chaconne has an elaborate formal structure, with a complex use of phrase repetition, including the development of certain phrases during the dance. Its simplicity of step vocabulary may perhaps have been intentional, to allow the dancer the freedom to incorporate expressive gestures within her performance.⁵¹ Whatever its meaning, this dance, created by a leading French choreographer, provides an example of a lengthy solo chaconne danced by a woman which may contain clues to the solo Chacone in Hester Santlow's own repertoire.

The 'Harlequin', the 'French Peasant', and the Chacone demonstrate Hester Santlow's range as a dancer, and show the variety of the danced entr'acte entertainments in which she played so important a part. The 'Harlequin' was a comic-grotesque *commedia dell'arte* dance, using steps and figures derived from *belle dance* together with gestures expressive of the character and actions of Harlequin. The 'French Peasant' was a comic-representative nation dance, with a vocabulary of steps related to the grotesque. Both dances were primarily associated with male dancers, and required a technique capable of virtuoso *pas composés*. The Chacone was a serious dance, and a display of *belle dance* style and technique, but it was possibly also expressive - designed to imitate the passions. Santlow's 'Flute Chacone' may well have been intended to portray love, or even Venus the goddess of love.⁵² Hester Santlow's other named solos were a 'Dutch Skipper', a comic-representative nation dance and thus the same genre as the 'French Peasant', but with its own conventions of steps and figures, and a Passacaille and a Minuet, both serious dances like the Chacone. The Passacaille probably offered even greater opportunities for expressive dancing than the Chacone. Mrs Santlow also danced duet versions of all of her solos, with male partners.

⁵¹ This solo was reconstructed with expressive gesture and performed at the Dance to Honour Kings Conference, held in London 22-24 August 1996, see Régine Astier, 'Chacone pour une Femme: Chaconne de Phaéton.', pp. 152-168.

⁵² For the association of the flute with amorous themes and the character of Venus, see Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 17.

Duets

The eighteen of Mrs Santlow's named entr'acte duets include four which were significant either because of the genre to which they belonged, or because of their popularity within her repertoire. The 'Hussars', the 'Coquette Shepherdess', and the Passacaille all belong to the period of her partnership with John Shaw; the music for 'Hussars' survives but poses some interesting questions, while the 'Coquette Shepherdess' and the Passacaille can be interpreted within the context of surviving notations. The Minuet was among the last of her named dances, and came from the final period of her career when she danced with Denoyer; it, too, can be interpreted through the surviving notations.

On 10 February 1720 at Drury Lane, Hester Santlow and John Shaw were first billed in the entr'acte dance 'Hussars'. The duet was to become one of the most popular in Mrs Santlow's repertoire, for she performed it several times nearly every season until 1727-1728, first with Shaw and after his death with John Thurmond, and the last advertisement for the dance was as late as 10 May 1732, when she was partnered by William Essex. Despite its popularity, no other dance with a similar or related title was given during the same period, although 'Hussars' seems to have been revived by Nivelon and Miss Robinson, who gave a dance of the same name at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket on 20 February 1734, and Denoyer and Signora Domitilla gave a 'New Dance call'd *The Hussar*' at Covent Garden on 5 April 1742.⁵³

Hussars were light cavalry regiments formed in imitation of Hungarian light horsemen, described picturesquely in the *London Gazette* in 1698, 'They are cloathed in Red, having Caps with Feathers on their Heads, and Wolfs Skins on

⁵³ During the 1730-1731 season, the Lincoln's Inn Fields version of the pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda* was revised, changing the Spaniard to a Hussar (both roles were taken by Francis Nivelon), the first performance of the new version was on 15 December 1730. The change was possibly related to the popularity of Santlow's 'Hussars' duet, pointing to unrecorded performances of 'Hussars' between 1727-1728 and 1731-1732.

their left Shoulders'.⁵⁴ Although this may give a clue to the costumes worn by Mrs Santlow and her partner, it does not explain the choice of characters for the duet (which may have been choreographed by John Shaw). The military connection is hard to trace, for only one English regiment had the title Hussars in the early eighteenth century.⁵⁵ The dance may have been inspired by a contemporary event, or have a source in stage entertainments given in either London or Paris; these are yet to be discovered. John Essex provided a clue to the nature of the dance, when he wrote in *The Dancing-Master* that 'the Harlequin is beyond Description, and the Hussar another opposite Character in which she has no Rival', thereby deliberately contrasting the two.⁵⁶

The music for the 'Hussar Dance by Mr Shaw & Mrs. Booth' is included in a manuscript collection, alongside several other dance tunes relating to Hester Santlow's repertoire.⁵⁷ It is the forlana from Campra's *La Sérénade vénitienne* of 1703, used for three dances published in notation in the early 1700s. One is 'La Paysanne pour un Homme et une Femme' by Pecour, discussed above in connection with the 'French Peasant' duet. The second is an 'Entrée pour deux femmes', created by Pecour as a duet for Mlles Victoire and Dangeville and danced in the *Ballet des Fragmens de Lully*, and the third is a ball-dance 'La Triomphante' by Feuillet; both these dances were published in notation in 1704.⁵⁸ As a dance type, the forlana was often associated with Venetians when it was used at the Paris Opéra, and Campra follows this convention. It is difficult to guess how, or why, this particular music came to be used for a 'Hussars' dance, particularly since it may already have been familiar to London audiences in a quite different context. Neither the 'Entrée pour deux femmes' nor 'La

⁵⁴ *London Gazette* no. 2349/3, quoted in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, entry for Hussar. Rader draws attention to the military link, and the colourful costume, which she describes as 'exotic and elaborate', 'Harlequin and Hussar', p. 47.

⁵⁵ The Princess Anne of Denmark's Dragoons became a Regiment of Hussars on her accession as Queen in 1702, see *A Register of the Regiments and Corps of the British Army*, ed. by Arthur Swinson (London: Archive Press, 1972), p. 23.

⁵⁶ *E1728*, p. xvi.

⁵⁷ British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, fols. 57'-58'.

⁵⁸ LMC 4200, 8200; *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/08, FL/1704.2/03.

Triomphante' have a characteristic vocabulary of steps and figures which might provide clues to the choreography of 'Hussars'. 'La Triomphante' is a typical ball-dance in the range of its step vocabulary and the complexity of its dance phrases. As a theatrical dance, the 'Entrée pour deux femmes' has steps and figures which are more complex than those of the ball-dance, with many more *pas sautés*, *pas battus*, and *pas tournés*. A detailed analysis of the steps and figures of the fourteen notated forlanas might perhaps shed light on the choreography of 'Hussars', but is beyond the scope of this thesis.⁵⁹ However, a brief survey of the operas from which most of the music for these forlanas is taken provides another possible clue, for it is frequently used in scenes where the characters are *Masques*. Was 'Hussars' presented as a masquerade dance?

The 'Coquette Shepherdess' was first advertised at Drury Lane on 15 March 1722, when Hester Santlow and John Shaw danced it alongside the 'Hussars' and a 'Harlequin' duet. The wording of the advertisement suggests that the dance may have been performed before, although there is no evidence of an earlier performance.⁶⁰ After the 1721-1722 season, the 'Coquette Shepherdess' was apparently not revived until 20 March 1727, when Mrs Santlow danced it with Michael Lally at Drury Lane. He partnered her in the dance until its final recorded performance in 1731-1732. The title 'Coquette Shepherdess' identifies the dance as belonging to the pastoral genre but, among the 'Shepherd' dances which entered the entr'acte repertoire of the London theatres in the 1720s, Santlow's was the only one whose title referred to the Shepherdess alone. 'Coquette' recalls the 'Coquetry ... seen in affected Airs' of Weaver's *Venus in The Loves of Mars and Venus*, and hints that this may have been a scene with gesture as well as dancing.⁶¹ Santlow's dance appears to have inspired others, such as the 'Coquette' given by Mrs Bullock at Goodman's Fields on 18

⁵⁹ For the notated forlanas, see *LMC*, p. 159.

⁶⁰ The advertisement says 'particularly *The Coquette Shepherdess*, *The Hussar*, and *The Harlequin*'.

⁶¹ *Ralph*, p. 22.

December 1733, and 'La Coquette Francois' which Marie Sallé danced with Michael and Samuel Lally at Covent Garden on 14 December 1734.⁶²

There are six surviving French notations which are identifiable from their head-titles as theatrical duets for a shepherd and shepherdess (referred to either as a 'pastre' and a 'pastourelle' or as a 'berger' and a 'bergère'); all are by Pecour.⁶³ Another five French notations can be identified as theatrical 'Shepherd' duets by reference to the libretti or scores of the operas from which their music is taken; they too are all by Pecour.⁶⁴ Between 1700 and 1710 a number of ball-dances by Pecour were published which were to music, from operas, which was originally used for dances by shepherds and shepherdesses.⁶⁵ One English ball-dance, by Kellom Tomlinson, was published in 1716 with the title *The Shepherdess*.⁶⁶ These dances merit detailed analysis for the information they might provide about the style and technique of 'Shepherd' entr'acte dances on the London stage, but this cannot be undertaken here.

A limited investigation of the notated theatre dances shows that the dance types represented include a forlana, a rigaudon, a bourrée, and a musette; most of the music is in duple or compound duple metre. The dances share a similar vocabulary, with many jumping steps, in particular *contre-temps*, *contre-temps balonné*, *pas de sissonne*, *jettés*, *jettés chassés*, and *chassés*. The *contre-temps* are often embellished with *pas battus*, either 'bâtu sur le cou de pied, et le second bâtu derriere' or 'bâtu derriere en tournant', but the step associated with 'Peasant' dances (the *demi-contre-temps* ornamented with *pas battu*) appears very rarely.⁶⁷

⁶² Sallé's dance may also have related to 'La Coquette et les Jaloux' given at Drury Lane on 2 December 1734 by Denoyer, Poitier, and Mille Roland.

⁶³ LMC 4020, 4060, 4080, 4300, 4320, 4340; *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/15, FL/1713.2/14, FL/1713.2/17, FL/1704.1/21, FL/1704.1/22, FL/1713.2/16.

⁶⁴ LMC 2680, 4380, 4420, 4440, 4460; *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/10, FL/1713.1/11, FL/1713.2/13, FL/1713.2/10, FL/1713.2/12.

⁶⁵ LMC 1260, 5360, 6300, 6320; *Belle Dance* FL/1704.2/01, FL/1700.2/02, FL/1707.1/01, FL/1710.1/01.

⁶⁶ LMC 8020.

⁶⁷ *F1701*, pp. 74, 78.

Turns are frequently added to steps, and *pas battu* is much used as ornamentation, particularly in the *coupé* and the *fleuret*. *Pas de bourée vite* appears in a number of the dances. The notations provide evidence to suggest Santlow's style and technique of dancing in the 'Coquette Shepherdess' which, if it was a scene, probably culminated in a dance.

The first time Hester Santlow was advertised as dancing a passacaille duet in the entr'actes was on 10 February 1724 at Drury Lane, when she appeared with John Shaw. They repeated the dance on 26 March 1724, but passacaille duets were not popular in the entr'actes, and these are apparently the only occasions on which Mrs Santlow was billed in such a dance (Shaw danced a passacaille with Mrs Younger on 12 May 1724). The only other dancers to perform a passacaille in the entr'actes were Delagarde and Mrs Bullock, who danced 'The last new *Pasacaille* and *Swedish Dal Karle*' at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 7 May 1716, and Edward Lally and Mrs Wall, who danced a passacaille several times at Lincoln's Inn Fields between 16 October 1724 and 9 November 1725.⁶⁸

Although passacailles were almost always included in the *tragédies en musique* and *opéra-ballets* given in Paris, only one duet survives in notation, created by Pecour for Balon and Mlle Subligny to music from Lully's *Persée* and apparently danced in the opera.⁶⁹ Passacailles, like chaconnes, were lengthy dances with music which developed through continuous variations, and the two were frequently linked by contemporary music theorists, although the passacaille was usually described as a slower dance with more emotionally expressive music.⁷⁰

The passacaille from *Persée* has ninety-nine measures of music, to which Pecour

⁶⁸ The advertisement for 16 October 1724 at Lincoln's Inn Fields included a 'Passacaille by Ed. Lally and Mrs Wall'; their last billing in the dance was 9 November 1725 at the same theatre.

⁶⁹ LMC 6500, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/13. See also, Rebecca Harris-Warrick, 'Contexts for Choreographies: Notated Dances Set to the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully' in *Jean-Baptiste Lully. Actes du colloque, Saint-Germain-en-Laye - Heidelberg 1987*, réunis par Jérôme de La Gorce et Herbert Schneider, Neue Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, Band 18 (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1990), pp. 433-455 (pp. 454-455).

⁷⁰ Little and Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 200. See also *New Grove*, entry for passacaglia.

created a choreography not unlike that for the solo chaconne from *Phaéton*. The step vocabulary is close to that of the ballroom, but Pecour varies many steps with quarter, half and full turns, making the spatial relationship between the two dancers far more complex than in most French ball-dances. The formal structure of the choreography contains many repeated phrases, including sequences of steps immediately repeated (with or without variation) as well as repeated sequences within longer phrases; it also contains repeated steps, for example *fleurets* or *contre-temps*, which are grouped in twos within longer phrases. The figures of the dance, when combined with the steps, are expressive, for example in one sequence the woman performs a series of *fleurets* around the man, while he performs a series of quarter-turn *pirouettes* to keep facing her as she moves, after which the sequence is repeated with the roles reversed. As with the chaconne, the simplicity of the steps may have been intended to leave room for gesture, although the steps and figures of this dance are expressive in themselves.⁷¹ Pecour's duet may well have provided a model for dancers on the London stage, for it was published in notation in 1704, and there were many French dancers (particularly men) working in the London theatres throughout the period of Hester Santlow's career who could have taught, as well as performed, dances given at the Paris Opéra. It is possible that John Shaw (who had been trained by Santlow's own teacher, Cherrier) choreographed the passacaille which he and Hester Santlow performed together.

The minuet was established as a ballroom dance during the seventeenth century, and was included in works for the stage in both Paris and London before 1700.⁷² According to the advertisements it was slow to reach the entr'acte entertainments in the London theatres, for the earliest mention of the dance in the entr'actes is a solo Minuet given at Drury Lane on 30 October 1717 by Miss Lindar. Hester Santlow was not billed in a solo minuet until 25 March 1731, although John Essex's reference to her performances in the dance indicates that she had appeared in a minuet by 1728.⁷³ The first mention in the advertisements of the minuet as a

⁷¹ See, Betty Bang Mather, *Dance Rhythms of the French Baroque*, pp. 119-125

⁷² *New Grove*, entry for Minuet.

⁷³ *E1728*, p. xvi.

duet was on 14 April 1726, when Glover and Mrs Laguerre danced a ‘Saraband and Minuet’ at Lincoln’s Inn Fields. Glover danced a ‘Louvre and Minuet’ with Marie Sallé at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on 3 May 1731, but the first minuet to be billed as a separate dance was that performed by Denoyer and Hester Santlow at Drury Lane on 13 March 1732.⁷⁴ After the 1731-1732 season, minuets were regularly performed in the entr’actes, although they were still often paired with another dance, usually a ‘Louvre’, a ‘Saraband’, or a ‘Rigadoon’. Denoyer danced a minuet with Marie Sallé at Drury Lane on 17 March 1735, when their performance was billed as ‘in modern Habits’, implying that the minuet was usually given in costumes which reflected an earlier period, perhaps a version of French formal court dress.⁷⁵ The billing also raises questions about the nature of the minuet as danced on the stage, including its relationship to the minuet as danced in the ballroom.

The ballroom minuet was described in great detail by Pierre Rameau in *Le Maître à danser*, in which he devoted five chapters to the steps, figures and correct manner of performance of the dance.⁷⁶ He explained how to perform the *pas de menuet en fleuret*, the *pas de menuet à trois mouvements*, and the *contre-temps du menuet*, as well as a number of the *agrémens* or grace steps used as ornamentation within the dance.⁷⁷ Rameau described the usual sequence of figures of the minuet, which began with formal honours, followed by three figures to place the dancers diagonally opposite one another, so that they were ready for the principal figure of the minuet, in which they each traced a path in the form of a ‘Z’ passing one another by right shoulders in the middle. This figure might be repeated five or six

⁷⁴ The dance was also given on 16 and 23 March 1732.

⁷⁵ In France, the formal court dress for women, the *grand habit*, retained features of fashionable dress in the 1670s, with bare shoulders, a stiffly boned bodice, and a train, see Diana de Marly, *Louis XIV & Versailles* (London: Batsford, 1987), pp. 63-64. In England, the *grand habit* was worn only on special occasions, such as royal weddings; female court dress otherwise consisted of a lavishly decorated mantua, see Aileen Ribeiro, *A Visual History of Costume: the Eighteenth Century* (London: Batsford, 1983), pp. 13, 44. In both countries, court dress for men was not subject to the same restrictions but followed the current fashions.

⁷⁶ *R1725*, chapters 21 - 25; *E1728*, chapters 21 - 25.

⁷⁷ See Appendix II for descriptions of these steps.

times, and was followed by the presentation of right hands (a full turn holding right hands), then the presentation of left hands (a full turn holding left hands), after which the 'Z' figure was resumed and repeated three or four times. The dance concluded with the presentation of both hands (one or two turns holding both hands), at the end of which the dancers came side by side and completed the dance with a repeat of the formal honours with which they had begun.⁷⁸

According to contemporary music theorists, for example Brossard (in a work published in 1703), the minuet was 'always very gay and very fast', although Mattheson (in a work published in 1739) described the dance as of 'moderate cheerfulness'.⁷⁹ Kellom Tomlinson grouped the minuet with the *passepied* as 'still brisker' than sarabandes, *passacailles* and *chaconnes*, and referred to both as the fastest of the triple-time dances.⁸⁰ The minuet performed by Denoyer and Hester Santlow in 1732 was probably a much faster and lighter dance than that of the late eighteenth century.

Ten choreographies for minuet duets survive in notation. Six are from French sources, two come from a Portuguese manuscript which records French choreographies, and two are from English sources. Only two of these notated dances were performed in the theatre; the rest are ball-dances. All the French ball-dances, including the two from the Portuguese source, use a narrow range of steps, particularly the *pas de menuet en fleuret*, and have figures which recognisably relate to those of the ballroom minuet as described by Rameau.⁸¹ The two French theatrical minuets, both by Pecour, differ markedly from one another. One, a 'Menuet à deux' danced by Dumoulin l'aîné and Mlle Victoire in

⁷⁸ Wendy Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater*. Dance & Music Series No. 10 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997), chapter 13.

⁷⁹ Translation of Brossard's description from Little and Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, pp. 63, 67. Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, transl. by Ernest C. Harriss (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981), p. 451.

⁸⁰ *T1735*, part II chapter 13.

⁸¹ For the French minuets see: *LMC* 2380, 5600, 5720, 5760; *Belle Dance* FL/1728.1/13, FL/1709.1/02, FL/1715.1/02, FL/Ms17.1/41. For the two minuets in the Portuguese source, see: *LMC* 5800, 5980; *Belle Dance* FL/Ms19.1/02, FL/Ms19.1/11.

Campra's *Fragments de Mr de Lully* possibly in 1702, has a vocabulary of steps mainly consisting of the *pas de menuet en fleuret* and the *contre-temps du menuet*, although its figures cannot readily be related to those of the ballroom minuet.⁸²

The other, described as an 'Entrée pour un homme et une femme' and danced by Balon and Mlle Subligny in Destouches's opera *Omphale* in either 1701 or 1702, makes only occasional use of the *pas composés* associated with the minuet; most of the steps are those generally used in other ball-dances, and the figures do not correspond to those of the ballroom minuet.⁸³

Of the two English dances, one, by Kellom Tomlinson, was merely a notated version of the ballroom minuet.⁸⁴ The other was 'Prince Frederick A New Dance for the Year 1725', choreographed by Anthony L'Abbé in honour of the eldest grandson of George I, who had not yet visited England.⁸⁵ L'Abbé's choreography was a ball-dance, but although the *pas de menuet en fleuret* features throughout and *agrémens* are used, most of the step vocabulary is not that of the ballroom minuet. Nor are the figures of the dance those of the ballroom minuet, although they bear a subtle relationship to them. L'Abbé may have been drawing on an English minuet tradition, in which the dance had a more complex form than in France.

Eleven notated dances in the form of multipartite choreographies include the minuet. The minuet sections in the four French examples have much the same characteristics as the minuet duets already mentioned.⁸⁶ Six ball-dances with

⁸² LMC 5540, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/07.

⁸³ LMC 4400, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/09.

⁸⁴ T1735, plate U. Tomlinson used an 'S' figure rather than a 'Z' figure.

⁸⁵ LMC 6940, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.3. LMC, p. 122, says that 'this dance was composed for his [i.e. Prince Frederick's] arrival in the English capital in 1725', but the *DNB* entry for Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales states that the prince did not come to England until December 1728.

⁸⁶ LMC 1340, 1360, 1480, 2120; *Belle Dance* FL/1718.1/03, FL/1705.1/01, FL/1700.2/01, FL/1724.1/03.

minuet sections were published in London in the early eighteenth century.⁸⁷ One, *The Brawl of Audenarde* published in 1709, was by P. Siris, and two, *The Submission* and *The Address* published in 1717 and 1719 respectively, were by Kellom Tomlinson.⁸⁸ All three of these dances are more varied, both in steps and figures, than their French counterparts. However, none of them reach the complexity and sophistication of two choreographies by Mr Isaac which include minuet sections, *The Britannia* and *The Rondeau*, both published in *A Collection of Ball-Dances Perform'd at Court* in 1706.⁸⁹ The minuet sections of both dances use a wide range of steps, including *pas de menuet en fleuret*, *pas de menuet à trois mouvements*, *contre-temps du menuet*, and other *pas composés* not usually associated with the minuet; many of the steps have been transformed through ornamentation and variation. Where the figures of each dance have a recognisable relationship to those of the ballroom minuet, this is subtle and complex. Isaac's dances may reflect an earlier version of the minuet, or a specifically English approach to the dance; L'Abbé, as Isaac's successor at court, would have been aware of his work and may well have wished to continue the tradition when he came to create *Prince Frederick*. Hester Santlow, of course, worked with both Isaac and L'Abbé in the course of her career.

All three of the performances of the minuet danced by Denoyer and Hester Santlow were commanded and attended by Prince Frederick, who had been created Prince of Wales in 1729. It is possible that they danced L'Abbé's minuet of seven years before (he was still the royal dancing-master in 1732), but it is more likely that the dance was newly choreographed in the prince's honour by Denoyer, who was dancing-master and a close friend to Prince Frederick. It is likely, too, that the dance referred to the ballroom minuet in both its steps and its

⁸⁷ A seventh dance, 'The Montaigu' by F. le Roussau, appears only in a manuscript collection, see LMC 6080, *Belle Dance* FL/Ms13.1/01. The dance's minuet sections have a step vocabulary similar to that of other English minuet choreographies, but the figures spell out 'Montaigu'.

⁸⁸ LMC 1600. LMC 8120, 1120.

⁸⁹ LMC 1660, 7440. A third dance, *The Royal Portuguez* published in 1709, has a minuet section which bears no resemblance at all to a minuet, either in its vocabulary of steps (which do not include any of the *pas composés* associated with the minuet) or in its figures, see LMC 7500.

figures, but that it used a much greater variety of steps, with much ornamentation and variation, and that it transformed the conventional figures in complex and sophisticated ways. Performances of this and other minuets on the London stage in the early eighteenth century may have presented a heightened form of the ballroom dance, and were intended as displays of the most refined minuet style and technique, rather than being purely theatrical dances which bore little resemblance to their social counterpart. Did Hester Santlow's familiarity with the choreographic styles of both Isaac and L'Abbé enable her to collaborate with Denoyer in the creation of their Minuet duet? Was the Minuet that Denoyer performed with Marie Sallé, just a few years later, either the same or a very similar dance?

The duets, even more than the solos, provide evidence of Hester Santlow's mastery of 'Serious, Grotesque, and Scenical' dancing.⁹⁰ The 'Hussars', ostensibly a comic-representative nation dance, may have been a masquerade dance; its popularity hints that it was either virtuoso or expressive, possibly even both. The 'Coquette Shepherdess' belonged to the pastoral genre, and thus would have used *belle dance* style and technique, although it may have been a scene rather than a dance. Both the Passacaille and the Minuet were serious dances, using *belle dance* style and technique at their most refined. The Passacaille duet, like Mrs Santlow's entr'acte solo, may well have been an expressive dance. Her other duets included a 'Spanish Entry' and a 'Swedish Dal Karle', both comic-representative nation dances, although the 'Spanish Entry' may have been closely related to serious dancing.⁹¹ The Muzette was undoubtedly a pastoral dance, perhaps related to the 'Coquette Shepherdess'. The duets 'Les Cotillons' and 'The Lorrain' may both have been ball-dances.⁹² Three other ball-dances created

⁹⁰ John Weaver, *An Essay towards an History of Dancing* (1712), *Ralph*, p. 651.

⁹¹ The surviving notated dances include an 'Entrée Espagnolle' choreographed by Pecour for Balon and Mlle Subligny to dance in Campra's *L'Europe galante* (LMC 4120, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/05), and a 'Folie Despagne', another duet by Pecour to the well-known set of musical variations (LMC 4720, *Belle Dance* FL/Ms05.1/12). Both use *belle dance* steps and figures, and may be related to the 'Spanish' dances performed on the London stage.

⁹² Patricia Rader suggests that 'The Lorrain' may have been the notated dance by Claude Balon, published in 1719 (LMC 5220, *Belle Dance* FL/1718.2/02), see 'Harlequin and Hussar', pp. 41-42.

for Hester Santlow and performed by her were published in notation, *The Union* (1707), *The Saltarella* (1708), and *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* (1731).⁹³

Group Dances

Ten of the named dances in which Hester Santlow appeared were group dances, but only five of them were obviously significant within her repertoire: 'Myrtillo', 'Lads and Lasses', 'Le Badinage Champetre', 'Grand Ballad d'Amour', and 'Le Chasseur Royal'. The first to enter her repertoire was 'Myrtillo', in the 1715-1716 season, and the last was 'Le Chasseur Royal', in 1731-1732. 'Myrtillo' was the first group dance to achieve popularity, and it influenced the introduction of more group dances to the entr'actes. By the time 'Le Chasseur Royal' received its first performance it was able to draw on the examples provided by popular entr'acte group dances, as well as the dancing in both pantomimes and 'dramatic entertainments of dancing'. Over the years, expressive dancing (of the type used in Weaver's afterpieces) found its way into the entr'actes and was no longer confined to afterpieces.

Group dances appeared in the advertisements very early in the eighteenth century. A performance at the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre on 1 June 1703 included 'The Wedding Dance, compos'd by Monsieur L'Abbé, and perform'd by him, Mrs Elford, and others', L'Abbé and Cherrier (Hester Santlow's teacher) performed in a 'Grand Dance' for three men and three women given in a concert at the Drury Lane Theatre on 4 January 1704, and Cherrier appeared in a Chaconne with six other dancers at Drury Lane on 10 February 1704. All of these dances probably owed their origins to the *grand ballet* which was the culmination of the French *ballet à entrées*. In 1682, Claude-François Ménéstrier described the *grand ballet*:

Le grand Ballet est la dernière entrée, par laquelle se terminent ces représentations muettes. Il est dit grand Ballet, parce que le nombre des

⁹³ These dances will be discussed in chapter five.

Danseurs y est toujours plus grand qu'en toutes les autres Entrées, & que l'on y fait un plus grand nombre de passages & de figures.⁹⁴

Productions such as Thomas Shadwell's *The Tempest* and *Psyche*, given in London in 1674 and 1675 respectively, culminated in large-scale group dances which may well have contributed to the development of the 'Grand Dance' which featured in the entr'actes from the early eighteenth century.⁹⁵ The 'Grand Dances' which came in the final scenes of Thomas Betterton's productions of Purcell's *King Arthur* in 1691 and *The Fairy Queen* in 1692, for which Josias Preist provided the choreography, were doubtless also influential.⁹⁶ Group dances were not regularly billed before the 1715-1716 season, but by the 1720s they had become established as part of the entr'acte dance repertoire.

On 5 November 1715 at Drury Lane the first performance was given of *Myrtillo*, a pastoral masque with a libretto by Colley Cibber and music by Pepusch. Although the singers were not named in the advertisements, these did mention 'Dancing. Proper to the Masque by Dupre, Boval, Dupre Jr, Miss Santlow, Mrs Bicknell, Miss Younger' and further volunteered the information that *Myrtillo* was 'Never perform'd before. Compos'd to Musick after the Italian Manner and performed all in English. The Habits being all New'. *Myrtillo* was thus an afterpiece of some importance. The libretto, which was first published in 1716, named the principal singers as Mrs de l'Epine and Mrs Barbier but did not name the dancers or make any reference to dancing, other than to specify a 'Chorus of Voices and Dancers' to end the masque.⁹⁷ The inclusion of dancing is confirmed by the advertisement for the performance on 21 May 1716, which refers to '*Myrtillo's Grand Dance*' among the entr'acte entertainments.

⁹⁴ Claude-François Ménéstrier, *Des Ballets anciens et modernes selon les regles du theatre* (Paris: René Guignard, 1682), pp. 277-278.

⁹⁵ See: Thomas Shadwell, *The Tempest: or, The Enchanted Island* (London: J. Tonson, T. Bennet, R. Wellington, G. Strahan, and B. Lintott, 1701), p. 60; Thomas Shadwell, *Psyche: a Tragedy* (London: J. M. for H. Herringman, and R. Bentley, 1690), p. 54.

⁹⁶ See: John Dryden, *King Arthur: or, the British Worthy* (London: J. Tonson, 1691), p. 51; *The Fairy-Queen: an Opera* (London: J. Tonson, [1692]), p. 51.

⁹⁷ Colley Cibber, *Myrtillo: a Pastoral Interlude* (London: B. Lintott, 1716), pp. [6], 21.

At Drury Lane, the masque did not last beyond its first season, despite achieving eleven performances. Ironically, given the lower status of dancing on the London stage, the 'Grand Dance' became part of the Drury Lane entr'acte repertoire and was performed nearly every season until 1734-1735. In the advertisements it was usually referred to either as the 'Pastoral Dance of Myrtillo' or simply 'Myrtillo', and it seems to have been closely associated with Hester Santlow, for she was the leading female dancer at nearly every performance. She was sometimes the only dancer billed, as on 4 May 1732 when the advertisement stated simply '*Myrtillo* by Mrs Booth'. On the relatively infrequent occasions that the dancers were explicitly mentioned, 'Myrtillo' was advertised as a dance for three men and three women; the advertisement for 9 May 1723 listed them as three couples.⁹⁸ Hester Santlow's partners changed over the years; she was initially partnered by Dupré, who was succeeded by John Shaw, and she subsequently danced with John Thurmond and then Michael Lally. As a pastoral dance, 'Myrtillo' would have been based on *belle dance* style and technique. It is possible that Dupré created the original choreography for the dance, and that the dance may have been revised (or entirely re-choreographed) by Shaw and Thurmond in turn, but Hester Santlow's identification with 'Myrtillo' suggests that she, too, may have been one of its choreographers.

A complete manuscript score for the masque survives, which includes an instrumental piece just before the final chorus which is the music for the 'Pastoral Dance of Myrtillo'.⁹⁹ The dance music comprises five different dance types. 'Myrtillo' may have been performed as five separate dances, in quick succession, or it may have been given in the form of a suite, so that the dances flowed

⁹⁸ On 18 April 1719 at Drury Lane, 'Myrtillo' was advertised with four couples, apparently the only performance to have eight dancers instead of six. The dance entered the entr'acte repertoire at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 17 October 1722 and continued to be given until 1728-1729; it was performed there by three couples.

⁹⁹ London, Royal Academy of Music, MS 88, fols 1-55. The music for the dance is on fols. 52^v - 54^v.

continuously from one to another.¹⁰⁰ Each of the five sections has music in the form AABB and all, except the final section, are in duple time. The first section is titled 'Entrée' and is similar to a rigaudon, it has fifty-two measures and is followed by a gavotte (also titled 'Entrée') with fifty-six measures. The central section, headed 'Trio pour les Flutes' has a contrasting character and may perhaps be a musette; it has forty-eight measures and is followed by an untitled section which is also similar to a rigaudon, with thirty-two measures. The dance concludes with a passepiéd of forty measures. The dance types are thus all pastoral in character, and the whole dance amounts to 228 measures of music - between four and five minutes of dancing.¹⁰¹

The music provides hints about the structure of this 'Pastoral Dance'. All six dancers may well have danced together in the lively opening section, the gavotte could perhaps have been for the four supporting dancers, while the central slower section and the livelier one that follows could have been a duet for the principal couple, before all three couples came together again for the final passepiéd.¹⁰² This is only one of a number of possibilities. The survival of the music for the 'Pastoral Dance of Myrtillo' provides important evidence about group dances on the London stage in the early eighteenth century which supplements that to be found in the notations and the advertisements.

¹⁰⁰ For a list of multipartite choreographies showing the different dance types associated within single dances, see *LMC* pp. 163-164. Most of these are ball-dances intended for continuous performance.

¹⁰¹ Edith Lalonger identifies the rigaudon, gavotte, musette, and passepiéd as 'typically found in a *ballet pastoral*', 'J. F. Rebel's *Les Caractères de la danse: Interpretative Choices and their Relationship to Dance Research*' in, *Dance & Music in French Baroque Theatre: Sources and Interpretations. Papers presented at Dance to Honour Kings: Sources for Court & Theatrical Entertainments, 1680-1740, King's College London, August 1996*, ed. by Sarah McCleave. Institute of Advanced Musical Studies. Study Texts, no. 3. (London: King's College London, 1998), 105-123 (p. 110).

¹⁰² *The Diana* by P. Siris, a ball-dance published in 1725, was in the form of a musette followed by a rigaudon. See *LMC* 2480. The central dance also appears in British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, f. 36^r, where it is entitled 'Dance in Mirtillo by Mr Shaw, Mrs Booth & ca.'.

The 1715-1716 season also saw performances of another group dance. 'Lads and Lasses', was first advertised at Drury Lane on 16 May 1716, and was perhaps another piece of choreography by Dupré who was the leading dancer there that season. 'Lads and Lasses' (sometimes billed as 'Country Lads and Lasses') remained in the entr'acte repertoire at Drury Lane until 1729-1730, although it was not given every season.¹⁰³ The advertisements were not helpful with information about the dance. The most explicit was that for 15 April 1724, which listed the dancers as 'Shaw, Mrs Booth, Miller, Miss Tenoe, Topham, Miss Lindar', making it clear that (in the 1723-1724 season at least) 'Lads and Lasses', like 'Myrtillo', was a dance for three couples. The advertisement for 14 January 1720 included '*Lads and Lasses* by Weaver, Shaw, Mrs Booth, and others', raising the possibility that the dance included a trio at some point, although the billing could merely reflect the popularity of the three dancers. The title 'Lads and Lasses' hints at an amorous theme, while the occasional billing as 'Country Lads and Lasses' points to its being a pastoral dance. Music for 'Lads and Lasses' is included in the early eighteenth-century manuscript collection of song and dance tunes referred to earlier.¹⁰⁴ The music, a hornpipe, has two strains each of which is repeated twice, making twenty-four measures of music in all. It is likely that 'Lads and Lasses' followed the same conventions as 'Myrtillo' and was a suite of dances; if this was the case, then the surviving tune represents only a small part of the total music for the dance. Both 'Myrtillo' and 'Lads and Lasses' could have influenced the group dance of gods and goddesses which concluded Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, which received its first performance in the following season.

Some years later, on 19 November 1725 at Drury Lane, the audience saw 'a new Dance (never perform'd before) call'd *Le Badinage Champetre*, composed by Roger and given by him, Boval, Lally, Duplessis, Haughton, Mrs Booth, Mrs

¹⁰³ 'A new 'Grand Dance' called *Lads and Lasses*' entered the entr'acte repertoire at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 22 April 1728, although it lasted only two seasons.

¹⁰⁴ British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, fol. 95^r, with the title 'Lads & Lasses by Mr Shaw Mrs Booth &ca.'. The same music, with the title 'Lads and Lasses', appears in *The Dancing-Master: ... The Third Volume* ([1728?]), p. 78.

Tenoe, Mrs Brett, Mrs Walter, Miss Lindar'. 'Le Badinage Champetre', a direct successor to 'Myrtillo' and 'Lads and Lasses', was performed thirteen times during 1725-1726, revived every season until 1729-1730, and returned to the Drury Lane entr'acte repertoire briefly in 1733-1734.¹⁰⁵ The advertisement for the first performance listed a cast of five men and five women, and the billing for the performance on 23 March 1727 made clear that they formed five couples, with Roger and Hester Santlow listed first, as well as referring to 'Le Badinage Champetre' as 'The Grand Flower Dance', emphasising that it was a pastoral dance. Since neither the music nor any other description of the dance survives, it is not possible to be sure of its form or its theme. 'Le Badinage Champetre' might perhaps have been part of a line of development that led ultimately to the 'Ballet des Fleurs' in Rameau's *Les Indes Galantes*, given in Paris in 1735.¹⁰⁶ Marie Sallé, who took the leading role of the Rose in the 'Ballet des Fleurs', was in London during the 1725-1726 and 1726-1727 seasons and may well have had an opportunity to see 'Le Badinage Champetre'.

By the mid-1720s, such 'Grand Dances' were being billed in the entr'actes several times each season. They involved various numbers of dancers. Many dances had equal numbers of men and women, for example the 'Grand Dance by Dupre, Mrs Wall, Salle, Mrs Bullock, Lally, Mrs Anderson' given at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 21 March 1726, but it was as common for the men to outnumber the women, either by one, as in the 'new Grand Dance by Glover, Poitier, Pelling, Newhouse, Dupre, Lanyon, Mrs Legare, Mrs Bullock, Mrs Anderson, Mrs Ogden, Miss Latour' performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 6 May 1728, or by two to one, as in the 'new Grand Dance by Shaw, Thurmond, Boval, Topham, Topham Jr, Essex, Mrs Booth, Mrs Tenoe, Mrs Anderson' at Drury Lane on 14 November 1724. In

¹⁰⁵ The advertisement for 1 April 1734 at Drury Lane listed Michael Lally and Mrs Walter as lead dancers, with four men and four women as the supporting cast. Both had danced in the first performance of 'Le Badinage Champetre' and had appeared in the dance in subsequent seasons, so the revival may have used much of the original choreography.

¹⁰⁶ *Les Indes galantes* was performed at the Paris Opéra for the first time on 23 August 1735. The 'Ballet des Fleurs' formed part of the third Entrée, 'Les Fleurs, Fête Persane', and depicted flowers in a garden ravaged by Borée and then restored by Zéphire. See Louis Fuzelier, *Les Indes galantes, ballet heroique* (Paris: J.-B.-C. Ballard, 1735), pp. 44, 57-58.

the latter, it is possible that the dancers formed a series of trios, so Hester Santlow would have danced with John Shaw and John Thurmond. In the former, either one of the men (probably Glover) danced solo, or two of the men and one of the women (Glover, Poitier, and Mrs Laguerre) formed a leading trio, while the rest of the dancers formed couples. The advertisements quite often omitted dancers, but the frequency of billings with the same pattern of performers indicates that there were accepted conventions for the numbers of dancers in 'Grand Dances' and that these were reflected in the bills.

No significant new group dances were created for the entr'actes at Drury Lane until Denoyer returned for the 1731-1732 season. He marked his reappearance on the London stage on 22 December 1731 at Drury Lane with 'A new *Grand Ballad d'Amour*, composed by Monsieur Denoyer, Dancing-Master to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, perform'd by Denoyer, Mrs Booth, and others'. On 27 December 1732 the 'Grand Ballad d'Amour' was given within the popular afterpiece *Cephalus and Procris*, replacing the scene for the 'Deities of Pleasure' (usually danced by William Essex and Hester Santlow). The advertisement for 28 December 1731 made clear that the 'Grand Ballad d'Amour' was more than merely a group dance, for it listed the characters Adonis (by Denoyer) and Venus (by Hester Santlow), each with four attendants, showing that this may have been a 'dramatic entertainment of dancing'.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that the 'Grand Ballad d'Amour' was no more than a scene depicting the idyllic love between Venus and Adonis, omitting the tale's tragic outcome, but it seems unlikely that these particular characters would have been named for what would have been little more than a pastoral divertissement. The story of Venus and Adonis was familiar to London audiences; a masque, *Venus and Adonis* by Colley Cibber with music by Pepusch, had been given as an afterpiece at Drury Lane during the 1714-1715 season, and revived both there and at Lincoln's Inn Fields during the 1720s, although it did not, apparently, include dancing.¹⁰⁸ Denoyer's decision to create a

¹⁰⁷ Denoyer revived the piece, under the title 'Le Ballet d'Amour', with himself and Mlle Anne Roland in the leading roles, at Drury Lane on 9 February 1736.

¹⁰⁸ *Venus and Adonis* received its first performance at Drury Lane on 12 March 1715. Its last performance, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, was on 16 March 1730. The libretto makes no mention of

work of this type, for himself and Hester Santlow, immediately on his return to London is an indication of his interest in expressive dancing. Although he would have had no chance to see Weaver's earlier works during his first visit to London, between 1721 and 1722, Denoyer could have met him then.¹⁰⁹

On 22 February 1732 another entr'acte group dance by Denoyer, 'Le Chasseur Royal', was given at Drury Lane, led by him and Hester Santlow with a supporting cast of six male and six female dancers. The advertisement stated 'All the Habits entirely New', so this production was accorded some importance by the Drury Lane management. There were six performances of 'Le Chasseur Royal' during the season, but none of the advertisements provide any further information about the dance.¹¹⁰ Its title indicates that it, too, may have been closer to a 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' than a *divertissement*, but there is no evidence as to the characters in this particular work. On 23 January 1736, Lincoln's Inn Fields gave a pantomime called *The Royal Chace; or, Merlin's Cave*, and the similarity of the title indicates a possible relationship with the Drury Lane entr'acte dance of a few seasons earlier. The published libretto for *The Royal Chace* includes Diana and Endimion among the characters in the serious plot, referring to Endimion as 'A Royal Chasseur' and Diana as 'A Royal Huntress'.¹¹¹ The story of Diana and Endimion was popular in Paris, where it was performed in several guises, for example in the first *entrée* of *Les Amours des Déesses a ballet héroïque* by the composer Jean-Baptiste Maurice Quinault, given at the Paris Opéra on 9 August 1729.¹¹² It is possible that Hester Santlow and

dancing or dancers, Colley Cibber, *Venus and Adonis: a Masque*. 2nd ed. (London: B. Lintott, 1715).

¹⁰⁹ Weaver was in London during the 1720-1721 season until at least 27 April 1721 when he received a benefit performance at Drury Lane, see *Ralph* p. 26.

¹¹⁰ 'Le Chasseur Royal' was revived by Denoyer on 18 September 1735, when he danced with Catherine Roland, but the advertisements provide no further information.

¹¹¹ Edward Phillips, *A New Dramatic Entertainment called the Royal Chace; or, Merlin's Cave* (London: T. Wood, 1736), p. 5. Endimion is referred to only as a 'Royal Chasseur' until p. 21.

¹¹² In *Les Amours des Déesses*, the roles of Diana and Endimion were taken by singers, with David Dumoulin, Marie Sallé, and Marie-Anne de Camargo as a *berger* and two *bergères* in the ballet within the *entrée*'. Other versions of the story staged in Paris included *Endimion, a canevas italien*

Denoyer depicted the story of Diana and Endimion in 'Le Chasseur Royal', and that Denoyer had taken his theme (and perhaps some of his staging and choreography) from works given earlier in Paris in order to create a 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' in emulation of Weaver's works. This dance and the 'Grand Ballad d'Amour' by Denoyer are significant for the evidence they provide of the inclusion of expressive dancing, of the type advocated by Weaver, in the entr'actes.

Thus, between 1715 and 1732, Hester Santlow participated in a series of entr'acte group dances which marked new developments in dancing on the London stage. 'Myrtillo' drew on an earlier London repertoire which was derived from French traditions dating back to the mid-seventeenth century, or even earlier. It was immediately popular and its numerous performances undoubtedly led to an increase in the number and frequency of group dances in the entr'actes. These dances developed just before the afterpieces ('dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes) which would dominate the repertory of the London theatres in the 1720s, and they doubtless influenced the dancing in the latter. The most important of the group dances were created at Drury Lane, perhaps by Dupré (to whom the choreography of both 'Myrtillo' and 'Lads and Lasses' may plausibly be attributed), as well as Roger, and Denoyer. The latest of the group dances, 'Grand Ballad d'Amour' and 'Le Chasseur Royal' by Denoyer, apparently continued Weaver's quest for dances that could tell 'whole *Stories by Action*' and thus contributed to the further development of dancing on the London stage.¹¹³ All three men danced with Hester Santlow, who took the leading female role in each of the dances they created. She was thus instrumental to these important developments, and it is possible that she was not merely an interpreter of her dancing roles but that she was closely involved in the creation of them.

performed at the Tuileries, and *Endimion* by Collin de Blamont, a *pastorale héroïque* performed at the Paris Opéra, both first given in 1721. See *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris*.

¹¹³ *Ralph* p. 665.

CHAPTER 5

HESTER SANTLOW'S REPERTOIRE: THE DANCES IN NOTATION

During her stage career, at least seven of the dances performed by Hester Santlow were recorded in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation and published: *The Union* and *The Saltarella* by Mr Isaac, the 'Passacaille of Armide', a 'Menuet', the 'Chacone of Galathee', the 'Passaglia of Venūs and Adonis', and *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* by Anthony L'Abbé.¹ No other dancer working in the London theatres had their repertoire so extensively recorded; even Louis Dupré, for a time the leading male dancer in London, had only four of his dances published in notation.² Although her surviving dances cannot compare in number with those of the French dancers Marie-Thérèse Subligny, fifteen of whose dances were notated, or Marie-Catherine Guyot, sixteen of whose dances were published in notation, Hester Santlow's repertoire was much better documented than that of her near-contemporary in Paris Françoise Prévost, for whom only five duets with Mlle Guyot were notated.³ The recorded repertoire of Hester Santlow's much younger contemporary Marie Sallé is represented by only one notated dance, choreographed and published in London when she appeared at Lincoln's Inn Fields as a child.⁴

The careers of Subligny, Guyot, and Prévost coincided with the period during which dances choreographed by Pecour, Balon and others were being notated and published in Paris. Hester Santlow's career similarly came at the time when

¹ The notations for these dances are reproduced as Appendix III.

² For a list of Dupré's dances and those of other dancers on the London stage, see *LMC* pp. 156-157.

³ For lists of the dances performed by Milles Subligny, Guyot, and Prévost which were recorded in notation, see *LMC* p. 157. *Belle Dance* FL/1702.2 (*LMC* 1200) records an additional duet by Mlle Subligny and Balon.

⁴ *The Submission* by Kellom Tomlinson was published in 1717, see *LMC* [1717]-Sbm. The titlepage to the collection of Tomlinson's dances published in 1720 stated that the dance had been performed by 'Monsieur and Mademoiselle Salle, the Two French Children', *LMC* [1720]-Tom.

Weaver, Le Roussau, and Edmund Pemberton were among those recording and publishing the dances of Isaac, L'Abbé, and their fellow dancing-masters in London. Santlow's recorded dances comprise three ball-dances and four theatre dances, they range in date from 1707 to 1731, represent the work of two of the most important choreographers working in London in the early 1700s, and they encompass seven different dance types. They provide many significant insights into her style and technique as a dancer, which can be explored through the process of reconstruction. Together with the notated dances of her French contemporaries, they provide an unprecedented opportunity to analyse and compare dances performed by leading female dancers of the early eighteenth century. They are also an extremely important source for the interpretation of Santlow's roles in both 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes.

The Sources

Hester Santlow's dances began to be notated and published very soon after Weaver had initiated the annual publication of dances in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation in London. Mr Isaac collaborated with John Weaver who published *The Union* in 1707, apparently as the first of the annual dances to appear in London. By 1708, when *The Saltarella* appeared, Isaac had established a working relationship with the music publisher John Walsh, who issued and re-issued his dances until about 1730, and he worked successively with the notators Delagarde (for a time Hester Santlow's dancing partner), and Edmund Pemberton, who took over the publication of his dances from Walsh in 1716.⁵ Pemberton went on to work with Anthony L'Abbé, when the latter succeeded Isaac at court, and published his ball-dances regularly until 1733; *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* was the last but one to appear, in 1731.⁶ Many, if not all, of the dances were performed at court as part of the birthday celebrations of the sovereign or member of the royal family to whom they were dedicated. All the dances were sold

⁵ Jennifer Thorp, 'John Walsh, Entrepreneur or Poacher: the Publication of Dance Notations 1705-c.1730', in *A Handbook for Studies in 18th-Century English Music VII*, ed. by Michael Burden and Irena Cholić (Oxford: Burden & Cholić, 1996), pp. 1-27.

⁶ Moira Goff, 'Edmund Pemberton, Dancing-Master and Publisher', *Dance Research*, 11.1 (1993), 52-81.

separately, and comprised a titlepage followed by several pages of notation; although the name of the choreographer and sometimes the name of the composer of the music were given, no reference was ever made to the dancers who performed each dance at court and in the theatre. The notations were apparently intended for dancing-masters and their pupils, to learn the latest and the most important of the fashionable ball-dances. They possibly also had the value of keepsakes, reminding the purchaser of the occasion when the dance was first given. In addition, they had political significance, for they demonstrated the purchaser's loyalty to the sovereign and the royal family, in whose honour most of the dances had been created and performed.

L'Abbé's theatre dances were published in *A New Collection of Dances* by F. Le Roussau in the 1720s, which was probably intended to emulate the collections of Pecour's theatre dances published by Feuillet and Gaudrau in 1704 and about 1713 respectively.⁷ The titlepage of the collection declared that it contained 'a great Number of the best Ball and Stage Dances: *Composed by Monsieur L'Abbe, ... That have been performed both in Drury-Lane [sic] and Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by the best Dancers*'; despite the inclusion of the word 'Ball', all of the dances are clearly intended for professional dancers in the theatres.⁸ The titlepage identified the dancers as 'Monsieur Balon, Mons' L'Abbe, Mons' La Garde, Mons' Dupre, Mons' Desnoyer, Mrs. Elford, Mrs. Santlow, Mrs. Bullock, Mrs Younger', and the head-titles on individual dances also identified the performers. Hester Santlow was represented by four dances, the same number as Louis Dupré; the other dancers had only one or two dances each. The purposes for which the collection was published are not easy to guess. In his preface, Le Roussau declared that the 'Intention to present the Publick with a Collection of his Dances' was L'Abbé's own, and claimed that 'Lovers of Dancing, will find in this Collection wherewith to satisfie themselves'. Neither statement sheds any light on the reasons why the

⁷ LMC [c1725]-Lab, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/. LMC 1704-Péc, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1. LMC [c1713]-Péc, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2.

⁸ Carol Marsh pointed out the similarities between Le Roussau's collection and that by Gaudrau, in particular the wording of the titlepages (Gaudrau's collection did contain several of Pecour's ball-dances), see *New Collection (Facsimile)*, pp. xi-xii.

dances were published, or the uses to which the collection might be put. Since it was published by subscription, and the subscribers included many of the most important dancing-masters and dancers in Paris and London (including Pecour and Weaver), it was presumably meant as a record of some of L'Abbé's choreographies for those who could appreciate and make use of them. Le Roussau also offered for sale single dances from the collection, raising the possibility that admirers of individual dancers might purchase their dances as mementos of performances they had seen.⁹ This was the only such collection to be published in England, and it clearly shows that by the time Hester Santlow began her career French *belle dance* had become integral to the style and technique of dancers working in the London theatres.

A number of modern researchers have undertaken detailed analyses of specific notated choreographies, and made valuable contributions to the understanding of early eighteenth-century dances. Anne Witherell focussed on the reconstruction of a group of French ball-dances for performance, analysing the relationship between the dance steps and the music by identifying the *pas composés* in each dance and tabulating them against the music.¹⁰ Jennifer Thorp and Ken Pierce concentrated their investigation on a smaller group of English dances, looking at spatial symmetries, dancers' body directions, step symmetries, and orthodoxy of step vocabulary.¹¹ Linda Tomko investigated the ways in which one English ball-dance made 'cultural meanings' at a particular point in British history.¹² Judith Schwartz analysed one French theatrical dance in terms of rhetoric and expression in both dance and music.¹³ The following investigation of Hester Santlow's notated dances draws on these works as appropriate, as well as the author's own

⁹ No copies of the individual dances are known to survive, and stage performances of most of the dances cannot be identified in the advertisements.

¹⁰ Anne L. Witherell, *Louis Pécour's Recueil de dances* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983).

¹¹ Jennifer Thorp and Ken Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity: Three English Chaconnes of the Early Eighteenth Century', *Historical Dance*, 3.3 (1994), 3-16.

¹² Linda Tomko, 'Issues of Nation in Isaac's *The Union*', *Dance Research*, 15.2 (1997), 99-125.

¹³ Judith L. Schwartz, 'The *Passacaille* in Lully's *Armide*: Phrase Structure in the Choreography and the Music', *Early Music*, 26.2 (1998), 300-320.

experiences in reconstructing the dances for performance, but its focus is necessarily narrower, for it seeks primarily to uncover the evidence within the notations for Santlow's technical, stylistic and expressive skills as a dancer and the development of these during her career.

Mr Isaac

Despite his importance to the development of dancing in England, and his acknowledged status as court dancing-master during the reign of Queen Anne, Mr Isaac remains a shadowy figure.¹⁴ In 1675, an 'Isaack' was listed first among the English dancers in the court masque *Calisto*, immediately after Monsieur St André the principal choreographer of the work.¹⁵ Isaac was a dancing-master as well as a dancer: John Essex, in his preface to *The Dancing-Master*, mentioned that Isaac taught Queen Anne 'when a young Princess', and the diarist John Evelyn referred to Isaac's tuition of both his daughter and his grandson. Isaac's close court connections were clearly demonstrated when his pupil Katherine Booth danced a solo at the birthnight ball on 4 November 1689, and his work at court even extended to teaching deportment to the maids of honour.¹⁶ His key position among English dancing-masters was emphasised by Weaver's publication in notation of six of his dances in 1706; *A Collection of Ball-Dances Perform'd at Court* was meant to accompany *Orchesography*, which Weaver had dedicated to Isaac thanking him for the 'generous Assistance, which you have been pleased to give me in the compiling of this Book'.¹⁷

Twenty-three of Isaac's dances were published in notation, beginning with Weaver's *A Collection of Ball-Dances* in 1706 and ending with *The Entree*

¹⁴ The most reliable biographical account of Isaac, from which the following information is taken (unless otherwise specified), remains that by Carol Marsh, 'French Court Dance in England, 1706-1740: a Study of the Sources' (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University of New York, 1985), pp. 13-16.

¹⁵ Andrew Walkling, 'Masque and Politics at the Restoration Court: John Crowne's *Calisto*', *Early Music*, 24.1 (1996), 27-62 (p. 36).

¹⁶ Frances Harris, '“The Honourable Sisterhood”: Queen Anne's Maids of Honour', *British Library Journal*, 19.2 (1993), 181-198 (p.190).

¹⁷ *Ralph*, p. 178.

published by Pemberton in 1718.¹⁸ Most of these were ball-dances published annually by John Walsh to celebrate the birthday of Queen Anne on 6 February. The inference is that they were all performed at court, although little evidence survives to confirm this. A number of Isaac's dances were also performed in the theatre. *The Union* was given at Drury Lane in 1706-1707 and *The Saltarella* was performed at the Queen's Theatre in 1707-1708, Hester Santlow and Mr Camille danced 'several entertainments ... composed by Mr Isaack' at the Queen's Theatre in 1711-1712, and Ann Russell (later Ann Bullock) and Delagarde performed *The Friendship* in 1714-1715 and *The Morris* in 1715-1716 at Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹⁹

Mr Isaac was still alive in 1717, when he received payment for teaching Rachel Baillie. He probably died between 1718 and 1721, for he did not subscribe to Weaver's *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* published in 1721.²⁰ In 1728, John Essex provided a pen portrait of him:

The late Mr. *Isaac*, ... first gained the Character and afterwards supported that Reputation of being the prime Master in *England* for forty years together: He taught the first Quality with Success and Applause, and was justly stiled the *Court Dancing-Master*, ... His Qualifications were great; for he was both generous and charitable to all: He was an agreeable Figure in his Person, and had a handsome Mein joined to an easy Address and graceful Deportment, which always appeared without Affectation.²¹

Hester Santlow performed in many of Isaac's dances (he may have created both *The Union* and *The Saltarella* on her), and she must have known Isaac well. Since

¹⁸ *The Entree* apparently does not survive, see Goff, 'Edmund Pemberton', p. 78.

¹⁹ *The Friendship* was given on 15 March 1715, for the notation see LMC [1715]-Frn. *The Morris* was given on 10 January 1716, for the notation see LMC [1716]-Mrr.

²⁰ In addition to Weaver's *Orchesography* and *A Collection of Ball-Dances*, Isaac had subscribed to Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing* in 1711, the only other dance treatise to be published by subscription during this period.

²¹ E1728, pp. xi-xii.

she began her association with him within a year of her stage debut, he was undoubtedly an important influence on her style and technique in ball-dances. She may perhaps have owed to his tuition her mastery of 'Address'.

The Union

The Union was first performed at court, at St James's Palace, on 6 February 1707 by Hester Santlow and Desbarques.²² The dance was simultaneously published in notation, perhaps by John Walsh and Joseph Hare, although the titlepage carries no imprint.²³ Santlow and Desbarques subsequently performed *The Union* several times at Drury Lane, on 8 March, and 3, 17, and 22 April 1707.²⁴ The political and ceremonial origin of the dance meant that it was not revived in the following seasons.²⁵ However, its theme emerged again later, with a dance 'The Union by a Scots Man and Woman' performed at Angel Court on 24 September 1718, and 'The Union of the Two Nations, composed by Prince, and performed by Houghton, Bridgewater, Mrs Willis, Mrs Houghton' at the Richmond Theatre on

²² R. O. Bucholz, *The Augustan Court: Queen Anne and the Decline of Court Culture* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 217.

²³ William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh During the Years 1695-1720*. Reprinted (Oxford: Bibliographical Society, 1968), no. 234. For the notation, see *LMC* [1707]-Unn.

²⁴ Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 233, refers to a second performance at court on 6 March, citing *The Daily Courant* for 2 April 1707 which does not mention it. Hester Santlow and Desbarques may have performed the dance in the theatre as early as 20 February 1707, when the advertisement referred to 'The new Dance that was perform'd at Court upon her Majesty's Birth-day by Mr du Ruel and others', although it is strange that Hester Santlow should be mentioned only indirectly, among the 'others', *LS2(New)*.

²⁵ There are no advertisements mentioning *The Union* among the entr'acte entertainments in the London theatres in the years after 1707, but dance was still current enough in the ballroom to warrant a mention in *The Female Tatler* for 11-13 July 1709, see Patricia Rader, 'Harlequin and Hussar: Hester Santlow's Dancing Career in London, 1706-1733' (unpublished masters thesis, City University of New York, 1992), p. 103. It may have been danced in 1712, when Hester Santlow and Mr Camille performed several of Isaac's choreographies at the Queen's Theatre, and Walsh and Hare reissued all of Isaac's notated dances, including *The Union*. See *LMC* [c1712]-Unn.

27 June 1724.²⁶ Nearly thirty years after its first performance, on 6 May 1736, the Goodman's Fields Theatre advertised 'By Desire of several Persons of Quality, in Modern Habits, *The Union* (a Ball Dance), with a Minuet by Dukes and Mrs Bullock', which may have been Isaac's original dance.²⁷ Did Hester Santlow help with the revival of *The Union* from the notation?²⁸ She was well-acquainted with Henry Giffard (the theatre's manager), for she had sold him her share in the Drury Lane patent in 1733.

Isaac choreographed *The Union* as his contribution to the celebrations for the political union between England and Scotland and the creation of Great Britain, achieved in 1707. The Act of Union, passed by the Edinburgh Parliament in January and the Westminster Parliament in February 1707, brought an end to the recent tensions between the two countries.²⁹ Relations between them were already strained when the Queen succeeded in 1702, and had worsened when the Scots passed the Act of Security in September 1703, establishing a separate succession to the Scottish crown and raising English fears of the Stuart pretender and his French allies. The English retaliated with the Aliens Act of March 1705, designating all Scots aliens. The impasse thus created led swiftly to the appointment of English and Scots commissioners to negotiate a political union, which would replace the uncertain dynastic ties between the two nations. The commissioners met in London for the first time in April 1706, and a treaty of

²⁶ 'The Union of the Two Nations' was advertised again on 4 July 1724 as a '*Union Dance* performed by Houghton and Mrs Willis'.

²⁷ Rader speculates that this dance was Isaac's *The Union*, and that the phrase 'in Modern Habits' might imply 'either that the dance was performed in the clothing fashions of 1736 rather than those of 1707, or that possibly *The Union* was originally danced in antique or allegorical costume', 'Harlequin and Hussar', pp. 103-104. It is also possible that it was first performed in formal court dress, for the same phrase was used of a Minuet danced by Denoyer and Marie Sallé in 1735, referred to in chapter four.

²⁸ The notation for *The Union* was probably reissued by Walsh in about 1730, 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: Bibliographical Society, 1968), nos. 531, 532.

²⁹ J. P. Kenyon, *Stuart England. The Pelican History of England, Vol. 6* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Pelican Books, 1979), pp. 308-311.

union was signed in July 1706. Isaac's dance was probably created late in 1706, or possibly very early in 1707, once the union had become a certainty. It was performed at court and in the theatre during the interim between the passing of the legislation and 1 May 1707, when the Union took effect. Its repeated performances in the theatre may have been part of the government's efforts to persuade the English in favour of the Union.

Hester Santlow's partner in *The Union* was the French dancer Desbarques, whose first appearance in London had been on 6 November 1705 at the Queen's Theatre, billed as 'the famous Monsieur Des Barques ... newly arriv'd from Paris'. During the 1705-1706 season his repertoire included both serious and comic dances, and at the performance on 13 June 1706 the advertisement announced 'Genteel and Comical Dances composed and performed by de Barques and others' indicating that he was also a choreographer. Desbarques frequently partnered Mrs Elford during his first season on the London stage. He transferred to Drury Lane for the 1706-1707 season and then returned to the Queen's Theatre when the companies were united in 1707-1708. His last London performances were in *Love's Triumph*, for which he was a choreographer as well as a dancer.³⁰ John Weaver was an admirer of Desbarques's mastery of serious dancing, and wrote 'The best Performer of this *Dancing* that ever was in *England*, I take to be Monsieur *Desbargues*, who had a certain *Address* and *Artfulness* in his *Gestures*'.³¹ Although there is no evidence that they danced together regularly, Santlow's partnership with Desbarques in *The Union* undoubtedly provided her with a valuable opportunity to refine her *belle dance* style and technique through his example.

The Union is one of very few early eighteenth-century notated dances to have been discussed in detail by modern researchers: Richard Ralph appraises the dance in the context of John Weaver's career; Patricia Rader discusses it and analyses it in detail within the context of Hester Santlow's career; and Linda Tomko investigates the ways in which the dance might have represented the union

³⁰ *Coke* no. 65.

³¹ Weaver, *An Essay Towards an History of Dancing* (1712), *Ralph*, p. 658.

of the nations of England and Scotland.³² The dance is a multipartite choreography, comprising a loure followed by a hornpipe; the dance types were identified by Kellom Tomlinson in *The Art of Dancing* published in 1735.³³ Isaac was to use the same combination of dance types in 1713, in *The Pastorall*, a dance created in the year of the Treaty of Utrecht.³⁴

The music for *The Union* was apparently composed by James Paisible, a recorder player and composer who worked both at court and in the theatres.³⁵ The music for the loure has the time signature 6/4, but Weaver divided each measure in two with a dotted line, to relate the music more easily to the steps of the dance, which he notated with one *pas composé* to each half-measure of music. It has the musical form AABB; section A has sixteen measures (i.e. eight measures of music), and section B has twenty-eight measures (i.e. fourteen measures of music). The loure thus has eighty-eight measures of *pas composés*. Loures are often referred to as slow giges; the music theorist Johann Mattheson described them as revealing ‘a proud, arrogant nature: for this reason [they] are very beloved by the Spanish’.³⁶ Modern musicologists have drawn attention to the loure’s connections with the pastoral tradition, particularly in the works of Lully (where it seems to have originated as a dance form) and his contemporaries.³⁷ *The Union* is

³² Ralph, pp. 339-355; Rader, ‘Harlequin and Hussar’, pp. 102-164; Linda Tomko, ‘Issues of Nation in Isaac’s *The Union*’. Both Ralph and Rader reproduce the complete notation with annotations.

³³ *T1735*, pp. 149-150.

³⁴ *LMC* [1713]-Pst. *The Pastorall* was created as the peace negotiations (to end the War of the Spanish Succession) were coming to a successful conclusion; the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in April and May 1713. There is no evidence that the dance was performed at court or in the theatre, but it may have been, for the celebrations for Queen Anne’s birthday were particularly brilliant in 1713, see Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp. 218, 223.

³⁵ See *New Grove*, entry for James Paisible. Paisible is first named as the composer of *The Union* on the titlepage supplied by Walsh and Hare for the reissue of the dance in about 1712, see *LMC* [c1712]-Unn. Marsh, ‘French Court Dance in England’, p. 214, points out that the attribution to Paisible ‘comes from a stock title page and is not supported by any other sources’.

³⁶ *Johann Mattheson’s De vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest C. Harriss (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981), p. 457.

³⁷ *New Grove*, entry for Loure. Little and Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, pp. 185-188.

one of only three notated ball-dances created to a loure; they include Pecour's extremely popular *Aimable Vainqueur* of 1701.³⁸

The loure in *The Union* has a relatively simple and restricted vocabulary of steps, including *coupés*, *fleurets*, *contre-temps*, *jettés*, *jettés chassés*, and *pas assemblés*. Isaac enriched this vocabulary with turns, which take the dancers in different directions (often in quick succession) or in which they turn on themselves to change the direction in which they are facing. Although he quite frequently joined together *pas*, and even *pas composés*, to increase the rhythmic complexity of steps, Isaac added ornaments to steps, in the form of *pas battus* and *pas ronds*, in only one sequence within the dance.³⁹

The complexity of the loure resides as much in its figures as in its steps. It opens with the dancers honouring first the presence and then each other (these are written into the notation and form part of the first A section). The dancers then travel forwards on a right line towards the presence, according to convention. They cast out, move towards the back of the room, and cross on a diametrical line. In the third couplet they take diagonal paths, before travelling away from one another on diametrical lines and moving to the top and bottom of the dancing space to face one another. The figures within these first three couplets (the A section of the music and its repeat) could be interpreted as acknowledging the crosses of St George, for England, and St Andrew, for Scotland, even though these are not actually represented in the floor patterns.

The first B section begins in the fourth couplet, with the dancers walking towards each other on a right line, before moving away from and towards each other with a series of rapid directional changes which end with them facing each other across the room. The fifth couplet introduces a circular figure, which is followed by a more complicated figure-of-eight, in which the woman circles the man while he moves around a small square and they then repeat the sequence with their roles reversed. The B repeat begins in the eighth couplet, with the dancers facing the

³⁸ LMC 1701-Amv, *Belle Dance* FL/1701.1.

³⁹ Measures 65-73 in the 8th couplet.

presence and retreating. They then travel successively sideways and forwards, and sideways and backwards. The couplet ends with a circling figure which continues into the ninth couplet, in which the dancers come face to face up and down the room. On the three occasions in the *loure* when this happens, the woman (Hester Santlow) has her back to the presence, while the man (Desbarques) is upstage of her and faces the presence. The two dancers complete the *loure* by dancing towards each other, parting sideways, and turning to face each other ready to begin the hornpipe.

Mattheson categorised hornpipes with the '*Angloise*, the English dance' to which he assigned the characteristics 'stubbornness; yet accompanied with unlimited generosity and noble kindheartedness'. He declared that hornpipes 'are of the Scottish origin' and suggested that in Scotland they were played on an instrument like the French *musette*.⁴⁰ The musicologist Carol Marsh identified and analysed the new type of hornpipe, which appeared in English country dance collections from the 1650s and in the theatre music of Purcell and others from the 1690s.⁴¹ Six hornpipes were recorded in notation, the earliest being Isaac's 'The Richmond' published in Weaver's *A Collection of Ball-Dances* in 1706.⁴² The hornpipe in *The Union* is in 3/2 and has the musical form AABB (both A and B have eight measures); it is 32 measures in length, so is much shorter than the *loure*. In *The Union*, Isaac was using a relatively recent British addition to the corpus of dance types, and one which he found particularly congenial to his choreographic tastes.

The hornpipe in *The Union* contains a variety of *pas composés*, although these are created by the inventive linking of steps basic to the *belle dance* vocabulary to make new and rhythmically more complex composites.⁴³ Among these basic

⁴⁰ Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, pp. 459-460.

⁴¹ Marsh, 'French Court Dance in England', pp. 243-258.

⁴² For the notated hornpipes, four of which were by Isaac and two by L'Abbé, see *LMC*, p. 160.

⁴³ Marsh, 'French Court Dance in England', p. 252, counts eighteen different *pas composés* in *The Union*'s hornpipe, paying attention to the composite steps rather than the underlying conventional vocabulary.

steps are *coupés*, *fleurets*, *contre-temps*, *contretemps* with a bound, *jettés*, and *pas assemblés*. The step which appears most frequently is a *jetté* followed by a *fleuret*, and *The Union* also contains several occurrences of step sequences characteristic of the hornpipe - three *pas composés* within two measures of music creating a danced hemiola.⁴⁴

The figures of the hornpipe are less complex than those of the loure, in keeping with its more demanding step vocabulary. The loure changes between mirror and axial symmetry according to its successive figures; the hornpipe begins in axial symmetry and returns finally to mirror symmetry for the B repeat which ends the dance. The hornpipe has many circular figures, but it also includes one figure in which the dancers face one another up and down the room and come together on a right line, after which the woman moves backwards (away from the presence) as the man advances towards her, and they then reverse roles. Unlike the loure, on each occasion that the dancers face one another up and down the room, the woman (Hester Santlow) faces the presence, while the man (Desbarques) has his back to it. The hornpipe ends the dance, with the dancers moving apart and then together on a curving path towards the lower end of the room, before finally turning to face the presence. The formal honours to end *The Union*, if there were any, are not notated.

The Union provides clear evidence that Hester Santlow, at the age of only seventeen and with less than a year's experience on the stage, had the personal and technical command to perform an exceptionally demanding ball-dance in public before the Queen of Great Britain. The reconstruction and performances of *The Union* in which I was involved showed the demands Isaac made on his dancers. He required a high degree of musical awareness from them, to cope with the rhythmically sophisticated *pas composés* as well as the change from loure to hornpipe part way through (the two sections of *The Union* are performed continuously). The technique of *belle dance* demands good control of *placement*, and Isaac intensified this through his idiosyncratic creation of new *pas composés*

⁴⁴ Marsh 'French Court Dance in England', pp. 253-255.

as well as a multiplicity of rapid directional changes. *The Union* requires clarity of rhythmic articulation and phrasing from its dancers if it is to make its proper effect. In performance, the loure and the hornpipe must be related to one another, but also differentiated, in both style and technique. Linda Tomko suggests that the choreography of *The Union* was intended to be both symbolic and expressive of union and the ambivalence of both English and Scots towards the Union.⁴⁵ Although her theory does not refer to the pastoral connections of both the loure and the hornpipe, and leaves other questions unanswered, it provides an interesting interpretation of *The Union*. It also raises the possibility that, right at the beginning of her career, Hester Santlow learned to make her dancing expressive, albeit through affective rather than imitative expression.

The Saltarella

The entr'acte dances which accompanied the performance of the opera *Camilla* at the Queen's Theatre on 21 February 1708 included 'a new Dance Compos'd for her majesty's Birth-day call'd *The Saltarella*, to be perform'd by Monsieur de Lagarde and Miss Santlow'.⁴⁶ The dance may also have been performed at court on 6 February 1708, for although the Queen was ill and did not come to town there were celebrations at Kensington Palace.⁴⁷ The notation was published at about the same time, and named Isaac as the choreographer, Paisible as the composer of the music, and Delagarde as the notator; the music for the dance was also published separately.⁴⁸ *The Saltarella* seems to have had only one performance in the theatre, but it did not sink without trace for the notation was reissued by Walsh and Hare in about 1712 and probably again by Walsh in about

⁴⁵ Tomko, 'Issues of Nation in Isaac's *The Union*', and specifically p. 107, where she contrasts 'imitative expression' (as described by Weaver) with 'affective expression' (as used in the French 'noble style').

⁴⁶ *LS2 (New)*.

⁴⁷ Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, p. 217.

⁴⁸ Smith, *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 1695-1720*, nos. 269, 270. For the notation, see *LMC* [1708]-Slr.

1730.⁴⁹ The dance could have been included among the ‘several entertainments’ by Isaac performed by Mrs Santlow and Camille in 1712.

Isaac may have chosen his dancers for *The Saltarella*; Hester Santlow must have pleased him with her dancing in *The Union*, and Delagarde had replaced John Weaver as the notator of the birthday dances for Queen Anne.⁵⁰ According to Soame Jenyns, writing more than twenty years later, Delagarde was French:

France for one Worthy will produce them ten,
Alike illustrious both for Arts and Men.
From her the Sword-knot sprung, and smart Toupée,
From her *Legar* arose, and fam’d *L’abbé*.⁵¹

Delagarde’s first advertised performance in London was at the Queen’s Theatre on 12 December 1705, when he appeared alongside L’Abbé, Desbarques, Mrs Elford, and others in a ‘Grand Dance’. During the 1705-1706 season he was billed in both serious and comic dances, including ‘Three Clowns’ with Desbarques and Fairbank. By the beginning of the 1707-1708 season he had moved to Drury Lane, where he appeared on 21 October 1707 in the ‘last new dances by Legard and his Scholar that were performed in *The Recruiting Officer*’ and later apparently danced with Hester Santlow. In January 1708, following the union of the companies, Delagarde returned to the Queen’s Theatre where he became dancing-master and, as well as *The Saltarella*, danced in the opera *Love’s Triumph*.⁵²

⁴⁹ The passe-partout titlepage used by Walsh and Hare for their reissue of Isaac’s dances in about 1712 includes *The Saltarella* among the list of dances available, see LMC p.108. For the reissue of about 1730, see Smith and Humphries, *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh, 1721-1766*, nos. 531, 532.

⁵⁰ As well as *The Saltarella*, Delagarde notated *The Royal Portuguez* in 1709, and *The Royal Gailliarde* in 1710. See LMC [1709]-Ryp, [1710]-Ryg.

⁵¹ Soame Jenyns, *The Art of Dancing* (London: W. P. and J. Roberts, 1729), p. 23.

⁵² The titlepages of *The Saltarella* and *The Royal Portuguez* describe him as ‘Dancing Master belonging to ye Operas at ye Queens Theatre’, LMC [1708]-Slit, [1709]-Ryp.

Between 1708 and 1715, Delagarde was rarely mentioned in advertisements, although he was billed as dancing with Hester Santlow at her benefit at Drury Lane on 2 May 1712. During the 1714-1715 season, he joined the Lincoln's Inn Fields company where he was billed (inaccurately) at his first appearance on 1 January 1715 as 'de la Garde, who has not appear'd these six years'. His stage career seems to have ended in 1719.⁵³ Delagarde's dancing made a favourable impression on his fellow dancing-masters, and John Essex wrote of him:

Mr. *L'Abbe* bred up Mr *D'la Garde*, who maintained the genteel Part of Dancing upon the Stage many Years after his Master, and with great Honour supported the Character the World had long before entertained of Mr. *L'Abbe*

Essex added, 'Mr. *D'la Garde* was happy enough in his Comic Performances, but more graceful and pleasing in the Serious'.⁵⁴ Hester Santlow thus had a further opportunity, early in her career, to work with a fine exponent of *belle dance* on a new choreography by an eminent dancing-master.

Isaac's dance is one of only four saltarello notations, and the second to be published. The first was Pecour's *La Saltarelle*, published in Paris in 1703, which he followed with *La Bourbon* in 1709, choreographed to music entitled 'La Saltarella' from Campra's *La Sérénade Vénitienne* (added to the *Ballet des Fragmens de Lully* in 1703), and *La Saltarelle Nouvelle* in 1722.⁵⁵ *La Saltarelle Nouvelle* is actually a forlana, but *La Saltarelle* and *La Bourbon* have music with characteristics similar to those of Isaac's *The Saltarella*; all three are in 6/4 with a half-measure upbeat, and a B section which is much longer than the A section,

⁵³ *BDA* confuses his career with those of his two sons. *LS2* contains scattered references to him as a choreographer (but not a dancer) in 1720-1721 and 1723-1724. The Delagarde who was regularly billed from the 1728-1729 season was probably one of his sons, who he had introduced to the stage in 1718-1719.

⁵⁴ *E1728*, pp. xii-xiii.

⁵⁵ *LMC* 7600; *Belle Dance* FL/1703.1/01. *LMC* 1460; *Belle Dance* FL/1709.2/01. *LMC* 7620, *Belle Dance* FL/1722.1/01.

although Isaac's dance has the musical form AABA (A has twelve measures, B has twenty-two measures) while both of Pecour's have the form AABB. The music theorist Sébastien de Brossard, writing in the early eighteenth century, described the saltarello as 'a kind of movement that is always jumping' and linked it to the forlana, the siciliana, and the English jig.⁵⁶

Isaac's dance is not easy to interpret, but is probably closely related to the forlana, which was apparently known in the early eighteenth century as an energetic courtship dance popular in Venice.⁵⁷ The first forlana ball-dance to be published was Pecour's *La Forlane*, which appeared in Paris in 1700 and quickly became popular.⁵⁸ It was followed by Feuillet's *La Triomphante* in 1704, Pecour's *La Bavière* in 1705 (which combined a minuet and a forlana), and several other ball-dances between 1710 and 1718.⁵⁹ The music for the French forlana ball-dances was drawn from contemporary operas, in nearly every case from a masquerade scene. The music for *La Saltarelle* came from Campra's *Aréthuse* of 1701, where it had been used within a marine ballet; the music for *La Bourbon* had originally been used more conventionally, for dancing by Venetians. When he came to create *The Saltarella*, Isaac may well have paid attention to the contexts associated with saltarellos and forlanas in French operas, although his dance owes little to the other notated ball-dances either in its steps or its figures.

Isaac began *The Saltarella* in an unorthodox way for a ball-dance, with the dancers performing a *pas glissé* on the upbeat, curving outwards to travel downstage, quickly travelling upstage again taking inside hands, and then letting go before turning to face the presence with a *pas assemblé*. As in *The Union*, Isaac used the basic steps of the *belle dance* to create a fresh vocabulary, by adding *pas* and *pas composés* together, by devising variant steps, and by changing the timing of elements within his new composite steps. More than half of the

⁵⁶ *New Grove*, entry for Saltarello, which includes the translated quotation from Brossard.

⁵⁷ Little and Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 190.

⁵⁸ LMC 4800; *Belle Dance* FL/1700.2/08.

⁵⁹ LMC 8200; *Belle Dance* FL/1704.2/03. LMC 1360; *Belle Dance* FL/1705.1/01. For the other notated forlanas, see LMC p.159.

steps in *The Saltarella* include *sauts* or *pas sautés*, and as many are ornamented with *pas glissés*. Isaac made particular use of *fleurets*, *glissades*, and the *contretemps* with a bound, but also included *tems de courante*, as well as *coupés* (usually within more complex *pas composés*), and *jettés chassés*. Towards the end of the dance, he added a *pas de sissonne battu*, a step more associated with the stage than the ballroom. The *pas composés* of *The Saltarella* have a wide dynamic range, from the graceful and easy *tems de courante* to the strong and lively *pas de sissonne battu*.

Isaac used right lines, diametrical lines, oblique lines, and circular figures in *The Saltarella*, and gave particular emphasis to the changing spatial relationships between the dancers. He included several figures in which the dancers part and come together, or cross, along straight paths, for example in the third couplet, the fifth couplet, and the eighth couplet. Isaac also developed a figure which he had used in the hornpipe to *The Union*, in which the man advances while the woman retreats, and the dancers then change roles. In *The Saltarella* he included this in the seventh couplet, setting it on a diagonal path, and had the dancers perform the same steps (with small variations) but in a different order, so that they move in counterpoint to one another. In several figures the dancers take hands, moving upstage or downstage or in a circle; towards the end of the dance they face one another (the woman, Hester Santlow, with her back to the presence, as on every occasion in *The Saltarella* when the dancers face one another up and down the room), and take both hands for two small jumps on both feet. The dance ends conventionally, with the dancers travelling towards the lower end of the room (the man dancing backwards and the woman forwards) and curving first slightly away and then towards each other, before both face the presence on the final step.

The Saltarella was a very different dance to *The Union*, although it made just as many demands on the dancers' musical awareness and technical control. It may have had a masquerade theme (either a shepherd and his shepherdess or *commedia dell'arte* characters).⁶⁰ Isaac perhaps sought to use the comic as well as the

⁶⁰ Rader, 'Harlequin and Hussar', p. 35, described *The Saltarella* as 'a playful dance' and suggested that it 'may be part of Weaver's early Grottesque category'.

serious dancing skills of Delagarde and Hester Santlow, for in this dance he seems to have been working as much with an eye to the theatre as to the court. About half of the *pas composés* do not appear in the step tables in Weaver's *Orchesography*, but less than one fifth are presentational, for during much of *The Saltarella* the dancers face one another. *The Saltarella* as reconstructed is an attractive dance in performance, but it is difficult to decide whether its style should be lyrical (as a pastoral dance) or dynamic (as a comic-grotesque *commedia dell'arte* dance).

Hester Santlow's association with Mr Isaac lasted until at least 1712, when she and Camille gave 'several entertainments ... composed by Mr Isaack' at the Queen's Theatre, among which they may have performed *The Royall Ann*, Isaac's birthday dance for that year. This performance, together with her much earlier work with the dancing-master, raise the possibility that Santlow performed some of the intervening birthday dances, but this seems unlikely. *The Royal Portuguez* of 1709, and *The Royal Gailliarde* of 1710 were probably not given at court, because of the period of mourning for the death of the Queen's husband Prince George of Denmark, although they may have been given in the theatre.⁶¹ In 1711, the year of *The Rigadoon Royal*, Hester Santlow played in *The Fair Quaker of Deal* on the evening of 6 February, so she may not have been able to appear at any of the celebrations at court that day.⁶² None of the theatre advertisements mentioned the dance. Hester Santlow was absent during most of the 1712-1713 season, for the birth of her daughter, and so could not have danced in *The Pastorall* of that year. It is perhaps unlikely that she danced in *The Godolphin* of 1714 (which was dedicated to Lady Harriot Godolphin), although it may have been performed at court, and the dance for the following year, *The Friendship* (performed at court on New Year's Day in honour of King George I), was

⁶¹ Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp. 217, 233. No advertisements survive for performances of either dance in the theatres.

⁶² These included a concert in the early afternoon and a ball in the evening, Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp. 218, 234.

subsequently danced at Lincoln's Inn Fields by Delagarde and Miss Russell.⁶³ By 1715, Mrs Santlow's professional association with Mr Isaac was almost certainly over. The court dancing-master was Anthony L'Abbé, who had already choreographed several stage dances for her, with whom she would work successfully for some years to come.

Anthony L'Abbé

Anthony L'Abbé came to London in 1698, at the invitation of Thomas Betterton, having previously enjoyed a ten-year career at the Paris Opéra where he had first appeared in 1688 at the age of twenty-one.⁶⁴ During his first season in London, his repertoire seems to have included a 'Spanish Entry' and a Saraband, since music for both was published in 1698, and (according to the libretto) he also choreographed dances for *Le Palais des plaisirs: divertissement donné à sa Majesté Britannique à Kensington*. In 1700, L'Abbé signed a three-year contract with Betterton and returned to the London stage, but there are very few records of his activities before 1702 and he later complained to the Lord Chamberlain about his treatment by the actor-manager.⁶⁵ Despite his disagreement with Betterton, L'Abbé danced at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane from the 1702-1703 season until 1705-1706, when he transferred to the Queen's Theatre. During this period, he often partnered the English dancer Mrs Elford, in a repertoire which included a 'Grand Dance' which also featured Desbarques and Delagarde.⁶⁶ L'Abbé seems to have retired from dancing by the end of the 1705-1706 season. He probably remained in London, for until 1709 he is recorded as paying rates on the house in Gerrard Street he had occupied since 1702.⁶⁷

⁶³ Despite the Queen's ill-health in 1714, there was a ball and other celebrations at Windsor where she was in residence, Bucholz, *The Augustan Court*, pp. 219, 234.

⁶⁴ The best summary of L'Abbé's career is that by Carol Marsh, *New Collection (Facsimile)*, pp. x-xi, from which the following information is taken unless otherwise indicated.

⁶⁵ Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660-1900*. 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952-1959), II, 292.

⁶⁶ The 'Grand Dance' was advertised at the Queen's Theatre from 17 November to 26 December 1705, with various dancers.

⁶⁷ Westminster Archives Centre, Parish of St Anne Soho, rate books 1702-1709, A32, A34, A36, A40, A44, A48, A52.

In 1706 L'Abbé subscribed to both John Weaver's *Orchesography* and *A Collection of Ball-Dances*, and Weaver referred in the preface to the former to 'the admirable Compositions of Mons. *L'Abbe* in *Ballet*, and his Performance'.⁶⁸ In 1711, he not only subscribed to Edmund Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing*, but also contributed a solo passacaille for a woman to it.⁶⁹ Following the accession of George I, L'Abbé was quickly appointed as dancing-master to the King's three young granddaughters, but he must also have continued to work in the theatre, for in 1719 he was invited by the directors of the Royal Academy of Music to submit a budget for dancers for the opera (the venture came to nothing). Between 1722 and 1737 he lived in Great Broad Street (now Broad Street), and he may have been the Anthony L'Abbé who was married in Lincoln's Inn Chapel in 1726.⁷⁰ L'Abbé seems to have returned to France in about 1737, for he was succeeded by Leach Glover as royal dancing-master in 1738, and he was recorded as still alive in Paris in 1756, when he would have been nearly ninety years of age.

By the 1720s, Anthony L'Abbé commanded a position of special respect among English dancing-masters. In 1721, Weaver singled him out for praise in the preface to *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* as 'that great Master in every Branch of this Art', and in the same year a dancing-master of the younger generation, Kellom Tomlinson, dedicated his new dance the 'Passacaille Diana' to him.⁷¹ John Essex wrote of L'Abbé:

⁶⁸ *Ralph*, p. 181, italics reversed.

⁶⁹ *LMC* 6480, *Belle Dance* FL/1711.1/10.

⁷⁰ For L'Abbé's residence, see Westminster Archives Centre, Parish of St James's Piccadilly, rate books 1722-1737, D29-32, D35, D38-40, D48, D49, D437, D1441. The register of Lincoln's Inn Chapel records a marriage between Anthony L'Abbé, of St James Westminster, and Martha Turner, of St Andrew's Holborn, on 6 November 1726, see *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn*. 2 vols ([London]: Lincoln's Inn, 1896), II, 571.

⁷¹ *Ralph*, pp. 868-869. L'Abbé also subscribed to *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing*. For Kellom Tomlinson's dedication see *T1735*, sig. b1^r; L'Abbé also subscribed to Tomlinson's *The Art of Dancing*.

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 lay in the grave Movement, and he excelled all that ever appeared on the *English Stage* in that Character;⁷²

Hester Santlow probably met L'Abbé during her apprenticeship, for he and Cherrier danced together several times during the 1703-1704 and 1704-1705 seasons. She certainly worked with L'Abbé right at the beginning of her career, and their partnership endured until shortly before she retired from the stage. The length of time during which they worked together, and the quality of L'Abbé's surviving dances for her, point to an exceptional creative relationship between them.

L'Abbé's *A New Collection of Dances* was published between 1722 and 1725 by F. Le Roussau, who also notated and engraved the thirteen dances it contained.⁷³ Very little is known about Le Roussau, who taught in London and appeared briefly on the London stage, or the circumstances in which he recorded L'Abbé's dances.⁷⁴ They appear to be in chronological order and cover a span of more than twenty years, from the 'Loure or Faune' danced by L'Abbé and Balon in about 1699 to the 'Türkish Dance' performed by Denoyer and Mrs Younger in 1721 or 1722.⁷⁵ It is possible that the inclusion of dances with performance dates which can be ascribed to a much earlier period indicates their survival, perhaps with different performers, within the repertoire of the London theatres in the 1720s.

'Passacaille of Armide'

The 'Passacaille of Armide by Mrs Elford and Mrs Santlow', the first dance in *A New Collection of Dances* to feature Hester Santlow, probably dates to 1706.⁷⁶

⁷² E1728, p. xii. The second edition of *The Dancing-Master*, published in 1731, included an 'Approbation' from L'Abbé.

⁷³ Marsh dates the collection to about 1725, *New Collection (Facsimile)*, p. xiv.

⁷⁴ *New Collection (Facsimile)*, p. xi.

⁷⁵ *New Collection (Facsimile)*, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁷⁶ LMC 6520, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/02.

Mrs Elford's last mention in the advertisements was on 13 June 1706, when she danced a '*Chacoon and a Passacail*' at the Queen's Theatre. Hester Santlow's first appearance on the stage was at Drury Lane on 28 February 1706. Thus, the only time they could have appeared together was during the latter part of the 1705-1706 season.⁷⁷ Unless Hester Santlow danced with Mrs Elford in the *Passacaille* billed on 13 June, the most likely dates for their appearances together seem to be either 1 or 8 August 1706, when the operas *Camilla* and *Arsinoe* were given successively at the Dorset Garden Theatre with dancing 'By the best Performers'.⁷⁸ The '*Passacaille of Armide*' could have been danced in the entr'actes, or even inserted into one or other of the operas; London audiences in the early 1700s were unlikely to be perturbed by the introduction of a French *passacaille* into an Italian opera.

Mrs Elford had begun her stage career by 5 July 1700, when the bill at Lincoln's Inn Fields included 'Mrs Elford's new Entry, never performed but once' among the entr'acte dances. On 21 October 1701 she was billed alongside Prince and Weaver, and by the 1702-1703 season she was appearing regularly with Anthony L'Abbé. She and L'Abbé continued to dance together until the 1705-1706 season, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, Drury Lane, and the Queen's Theatre, in a repertoire which included both serious and comic dances, like the 'Wedding Dance' and 'Blouzabella' which they performed on 11 June 1703 at Lincoln's Inn Fields. L'Abbé's last recorded performance as a dancer was on 5 February 1706, and during the rest of the season Mrs Elford danced with Desbarques, including a 'new Entry' at the Queen's Theatre on 30 April 1706. Mrs Elford's only recorded solo repertoire, apart from the 'Entry' of 1700, was a *Chacone and a Passacaille*; she apparently passed the former on to Miss Bruce, billed as 'Mrs Elford's Scholar' at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 11 October 1705, who danced a *Chacone* in

⁷⁷ Marsh, in *New Collection (Facsimile)*, p. xiii, dates the '*Passacaille of Armide*' to 1706 on this evidence.

⁷⁸ Hester Santlow had already been billed in 'Entertainments of Dancing' given with both *Camilla* and *Arsinoe* at Drury Lane in June and July 1706, when she had performed alongside Cherrier.

the entr'actes several times early in 1706.⁷⁹ The reasons for Mrs Elford's disappearance from the rosters after the 1705-1706 season are unknown, but she was probably among the dancers who found themselves out of work following the genre split ordered by the Lord Chamberlain, which took effect at the beginning of the 1706-1707 season and greatly reduced the numbers of dancers employed in the theatres.⁸⁰ Hester Santlow seems to have been her successful rival for employment, and she went on to work with both of Mrs Elford's former dancing partners, L'Abbé and Desbarques.

L'Abbé took the music for the 'Passacaille of Armide' from act five scene two of Lully's opera *Armide*, first performed at the Paris Opéra in February 1686.⁸¹ The work had been revived in 1688, and again in 1703 when Mlle Subligny danced an 'amante fortunée' in act five, apparently as a solo.⁸² When Subligny visited London in late 1701 or early 1702, she danced a solo choreographed by Pecour to the passacaille from *Armide*, which was subsequently notated and published.⁸³ L'Abbé may have seen her performances in London, but he was probably already familiar with the opera and may even have danced in the 1688 revival (which came in the year of his debut at the Paris Opéra). He could have brought the score with him to England, and he certainly came with a thorough knowledge of the style, technique, and staging conventions of *belle dance* as practised on the stage of the Paris Opéra by the leading dancers there. L'Abbé undoubtedly drew on these influences when he came to create his own choreographies in London.

Philippe Quinault based his libretto for *Armide* on episodes derived from Tasso's late sixteenth-century epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberata*.⁸⁴ *Armide*, a sorceress, is

⁷⁹ Miss Bruce's first appearance in a 'new Chaconne' was on 2 January 1706 at the Queen's Theatre.

⁸⁰ See chapter two, 'First Seasons on the Stage: 1706-1712', for changes in the London theatres before the 1706-1707 season.

⁸¹ See Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Armide* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1686), pp. 220-231.

⁸² François and Claude Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris*. 7 tom. (Paris: Lambert, 1756), entry for *Armide*.

⁸³ LMC 6560, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/32.

⁸⁴ Philippe Quinault, *Armide* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1686).

in love with the Christian knight Renaud. She gains his love through enchantment but, knowing that her love is real while Renaud's is false, calls on Hate to destroy her love for him. Hate fails in the attempt, and warns Armide that Renaud will leave her. She has taken Renaud to her magic palace, but leaves him to call on the infernal powers for help. During her absence, Armide conjures up an entertainment of spirits disguised as fortunate lovers to beguile Renaud; this is the scene in which the passacaille is performed. It marks the turning point in the drama, after which the opera moves swiftly to a tragic conclusion. Renaud is released from his enchantment by his fellow knights, and leaves Armide. She invokes her demons, and flies away in her chariot as she destroys her magic palace.

Lully's *Armide* dealt with a series of opposites - good and evil, love and hate, truth and falsity, and reality and appearance. The passacaille, in which a dancer represented an infernal spirit appearing as a fortunate lover, embodied these opposites and the tensions between them. It is interesting that L'Abbé did not follow Pecour in creating another solo for a woman, nor did he create a duet for a man and a woman, but instead chose the far less usual form of a duet for two women.⁸⁵ He may have wished to create a dance for Hester Santlow and Mrs Elford as two exceptional English female dancers, but he may also have had in mind the dualities within Lully's opera, and the expression of these within the music and the choreography of the passacaille.

The music for the 'Passacaille of Armide' is 149 measures in length, with a structure of eighteen variations most of which are eight measures long with two identical four-measure phrases.⁸⁶ L'Abbé did not follow the phrase structure of

⁸⁵ Among the surviving notated theatre dances there are only seven duets for two women, but twenty-four female solos and more than thirty duets for a man and a woman, see *LMC* 1704-Péc, [c1713]-Péc, [c1725]-Lab, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/, FL/1713.2/, FL/1725.1/. On the London stage, very few female duets were advertised between 1700 and 1740. For possible links between L'Abbé's choreography and the solo by Pecour for Mlle Subligny, see Schwartz, 'The *Passacaille* in Lully's *Armide*', pp. 303, 307.

⁸⁶ For an analysis of the music of the passacaille, see Schwartz, 'The *Passacaille* in Lully's *Armide*', pp. 302, 304-306.

the music slavishly: in two-thirds of the variations, his phrases do not repeat; among the remaining third, in variation two the second phrase is an ornamented version of the first (with added turns and differences in timing), and in variation sixteen the phrase repeats on a different alignment. From the beginning of variation four (measure 25), L'Abbé responded to the music by beginning his dance variations on the second beat of the measure, often marking the end of the previous variation on the first beat with a *pas assemblé* or a *coupé avec une ouverture de jambe* (notated with a double liaison line).⁸⁷ L'Abbé, like Isaac, required exceptional musical sensitivity from his dancers.

L'Abbé used a number of the basic *belle dance* steps in the *passacaille*, particularly *coupés*, *fleurets*, and *contre-temps*; both *coupés* and *fleurets* were often ornamented with turns and, occasionally, with *pas battus*. *Coupés* were sometimes combined with another *pas* or *pas composé*, and in some sequences *fleurets* were replaced by *pas de bourées*, with either a *jetté sans sauter* or a *jetté* as the final *pas*. L'Abbé made particular use of the *pas de bourée vite*, which appears in at least ten variant forms, and into which he introduced various subtleties of timing and dynamics. There are many small *pas sautés* in the dance, including *chassés* and *jettés-chassés* as well as *sauts* on one or both feet (often with a quarter-turn or a half-turn). Although the step vocabulary of L'Abbé's choreography for Elford and Santlow lacks the virtuoso *pas battus* and *pas sautés tournés* which Pecour gave to Subligny, it still makes many demands on its dancers. The greater technical simplicity of L'Abbé's dance may have been because it was a duet, in which the two dancers had to keep strictly in time with each other as well as with the music.

The 'Passacaille of Armide' begins conventionally, with the dancers travelling a direct line towards the presence but with complex *pas composés*. The opening variations anticipate a number of demanding passages in the choreography, the first of which comes in variations eight and nine (measures 61-72, plates 10-11),

⁸⁷ The double liaison line between the *demi-coupé* and the *ouverture de jambe* in this *coupé* signifies that the second movement should happen almost instantaneously with the first, i.e. on the first beat of the measure.

in which the dancers travel forwards on a right line with ornamented *pas de bourées vites*, cross on a diametrical line and return directly upstage with a sequence of *pas composés* incorporating small jumps embellished with turns, which continues as they cross again. Variation twelve (measures 97-101, plate 13) includes a passage in which the dancers travel rapidly downstage with a series of *jettés* and *pas marchés* culminating in a *pas assemblé battu*.⁸⁸ These dynamic passages contrast with others which are calmer and more flowing, for example variation seven (measures 53-60, plate 10) in which the dancers trace circular paths, crossing downstage and again upstage, with a sequence of seven *pas de bourées*. The circular figure in variations eleven and twelve (measures 89-96, plate 13) is livelier, for L'Abbé included the passacaille step and *jettés* alongside *pas de bourées vites* ending with a *jetté*.

Except for one short sequence on an oblique line (measures 45-52, plate 9) the dance is in mirror symmetry throughout, even the circular figures (measures 54-60, plate 10, and measures 89-97, plate 13), in which L'Abbé might have used axial symmetry, are choreographed in mirror symmetry. The dancers' focus is predominantly towards the presence; when they cross, as they do several times during the dance, they never face one another up and down the stage but either travel sideways, both facing the presence, or forwards, facing their direction of travel to stage right or stage left. The dancers also face one another, or face in the same direction, far more often than they have their backs to one another. These features of the choreography may have been practical, to help the dancers keep in time with one another and trace accurate floor patterns, but they may also have reflected the conventions for such dances at the Paris Opéra. They may additionally have had a dramatic meaning, making the two dancers seem to be in complicity with one another, or like two aspects of a single character - embodying the dualities within Lully's *Armide*.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ The *jettés* are similar to *demies-cabrioles*, with a *saut* and not a *cabriole*.

⁸⁹ Although the two dancers perform the same steps throughout, there are some instances when these are notated differently, for example the *pas de bourée vite* in measure 65 and the *fleurets* in measures 86-87. These do not seem to be notational errors, for they were not corrected when the collection was reissued, see Appendix III.

The meanings within L'Abbé's 'Passacaille of Armide' for Mrs Elford and Mrs Santlow are difficult, if not impossible, to recover.⁹⁰ As with Pecour's choreography for Mlle Subligny, the complexity of the steps suggests that little or no use was made of gesture, a view which is supported by reconstruction and performance of the dance. The passacaille predates Weaver's *Essay* (with his discussion of the imitation of the passions) by six years, and his first 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' by eleven years; in 1706 L'Abbé is unlikely to have followed theories yet to be published, even though he knew Weaver. He is far more likely to have drawn on his own recent background at the Paris Opéra, and the 'affective' rather than 'imitative' expression of the dancing there. In performance, the intensity of the 'Passacaille of Armide' derives principally from the music and the choreography. L'Abbé's version of the dance undoubtedly relates to Pecour's choreography and, possibly, to that used in the revival of 1688 (or even earlier).⁹¹ It fits very easily into Weaver's category of serious dancing, which he closely identified with French dancers.⁹² However, the notation for his 'Passacaille of Armide' hints that L'Abbé went beyond Weaver's understanding of French *belle dance* and sought, through the steps and figures of his duet, to express the opposing themes within Lully's opera. The opportunities for such expression, using the successive affects offered by the variation structure of both music and choreography, become most apparent when the dance is reconstructed and performed.

Right at the beginning of her career, when she was still only sixteen, Hester Santlow was chosen to perform a theatre dance which required complete mastery of *belle dance* style and technique, as well as stamina, memory, and a singular ability to express the passions through formal dance movement alone. Although there is no record of her performances with Mrs Elford, she must have surpassed

⁹⁰ Schwartz, 'The *Passacaille* in Lully's *Armide*', suggests an interpretation of Pecour's version (which she also applies to L'Abbé's dance) based on rhetorical structure.

⁹¹ Schwartz, 'The *Passacaille* in Lully's *Armide*', p. 307.

⁹² Weaver wrote in his *Essay* 'It must be allow'd that the *French* excel in this kind of *Dancing*; and Monsieur *Pecour* (as I am inform'd) in the *Chacoone, or Passacaille*', *Ralph*, p. 658.

L'Abbé's expectations, for in the years to come he favoured her with even more demanding choreographies.⁹³

'Menuet'

The 'Passacaille of Armide' is immediately followed in L'Abbé's *New Collection* by a solo 'Menuet performd' [sic] by Mrs Santlow'.⁹⁴ This dance was created many years before Mrs Santlow's first known billing in a solo minuet (in 1731), since it probably dates to between 1706 and 1712.⁹⁵ Hester Santlow's earliest solo billing was not until 10 January 1708 at Drury Lane, shortly before she moved to the Queen's Theatre. The most likely seasons for performances of the 'Menuet' are 1707-1708 to 1709-1710, when she had left the tutelage of Cherrier and was beginning to make a name for herself, for in 1710-1711 she was not billed as dancing at all, and in 1711-1712 she was rarely advertised as dancing in the entr'actes. The composer of the music and its source are unknown, but the tune appeared as music for a skylark in *The Bird Fancier's Delight* in 1717, which may have been a new edition of *The Flagelet Reviv'd; or, The Bird Fancier's Delight* published in 1708.⁹⁶ The evidence thus suggests that the 'Menuet' dates to around 1708.

L'Abbé's 'Menuet' for Hester Santlow was one of a number of solo minuets for female dancers created in England. Relatively few such dances were billed in the London theatres, but Santlow's 'Menuet' was one of four recorded in notation in

⁹³ The 'Passacaille of Armide' also appears, in a solo version, in Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing* published in 1711, see LMC 6480, *Belle Dance* FL/1711.1/10. The solo probably derives from the duet and not vice versa. It is possible that Hester Santlow kept the dance in her repertoire after 1706, but as a solo, although no sources make any reference to it.

⁹⁴ LMC 5780, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/03.

⁹⁵ Marsh, *New Collection (Facsimile)*, p. xiii, dates it '1706 or later'. In the collection, the 'Menuet' follows the 'Passacaille of Armide', and is followed by the 'Chaconne of Galathee'.

⁹⁶ *The Bird Fancier's Delight* (London: J. Walsh, J. Hare, [1717]), p. 19, see also Smith, *Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 1695-1720*, no. 513. For *The Flagelet Reviv'd*, no copy of which is known to survive, see Smith, no. 286.

England.⁹⁷ Mr Isaac's 'Minuet', the second part of a female solo which began with a 'Chaconne', was published in 1711 in Pemberton's *Essay*.⁹⁸ Mr Caverley's *Slow Minuet*, described on its titlepage as a 'New Dance for a Girl', may have been published in about 1720.⁹⁹ These two dances were probably intended for performances by pupils at dancing schools; both have a limited and unornamented vocabulary of steps based around *coupés* and *fleurets* as well as various *pas de menuet*, with two-measure and four-measure phrases in which steps are repeated in changing directions or on different alignments. The two have some similarities of steps and figures, indicating that Caverley may have used Isaac's dance as a source for his own choreography. The music for both dances is extremely repetitive, with eight-measure A and B sections.¹⁰⁰ The third dance, Kellom Tomlinson's 'Minevit for a Woman', was created for Mrs Schoolding who danced it at a performance of *The Island Princess* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 10 May 1716.¹⁰¹ This solo, with music by Loeillet, has only thirty-two measures, but Tomlinson used *coupés*, *fleurets*, and *pirouettes*, as well as the *pas de menuet à trois mouvements* and the *contre-temps du menuet*, embellishing many of the steps with turns. Despite its ornaments and its theatre context, the dance is simple as well as short.

Santlow's 'Menuet' is apparently earlier than any of the other notated solos. It is also far more complex. It has a musical structure AABBAABB (A has twelve measures, and B has eighteen measures), with 120 measures of music. Although the music is repetitive, the greater length of the two sections and the different number of measures in each provide variety. L'Abbé used the steps and figures of the dance to build a very different choreographic structure, making use of

⁹⁷ The only French solo minuet is the 'menuet de mr ballon' recorded in a manuscript collection, LMC 5700, *Belle Dance* FL/Ms17.1/36.

⁹⁸ LMC 1820b.

⁹⁹ LMC [c1729]-Mnt. See also, Goff, 'Edmund Pemberton', pp. 78-80, and *A Workbook by Kellom Tomlinson*, ed. by Jennifer Shennan, Dance & Music no. 6 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1992), pp. 16-19, 42-51.

¹⁰⁰ The anonymous music for Isaac's 'Minuet' runs AABB'BB'AABB'BB' and has 96 measures, that for Caverley's *Slow Minuet* runs AABBAABBAABBAABB and has 128 measures.

¹⁰¹ *Workbook by Kellom Tomlinson*, pp. 78-79.

repetition, variation and ornamentation to do this; as well as using the stage space for unusual figures, he created many ingenious variants on a basic vocabulary of *coupés*, *fleurets*, *pas de menuet en fleuret*, *pas de menuet à trois mouvements*, and *contre-temps du menuet*. When reconstructed and performed, Mrs Santlow's 'Menuet' can be seen as a dance of considerable choreographic sophistication.

The 'Menuet' opens in an unorthodox way, with a circular figure anti-clockwise around the stage in which the dancer performs a single phrase of six *pas de menuet à trois mouvements* to the first A section of the music. It is as if Mrs Santlow were welcoming each member of her audience, some of whom would have sat on the stage to either side of her. She begins the dance proper with the A repeat (plate 17), performing a *balancé* followed by a full turn on both feet (over two measures of music), then *pas de menuet* to right and left on shallow oblique lines. The opening circle is repeated, with variations, later in the dance. It begins the last repeat of the A section (measures 73-80, plate 20), using the same steps but tracing a much smaller circle, and it closes the penultimate repeat of the B section (measures 95-102, plate 21), travelling just over half a circle with *contre-temps du menuet* as well as *pas de menuet à trois mouvements*.

In the circular figures the emphasis is on the floor pattern rather than the steps, but the 'Menuet' also contains several sequences of more difficult *pas composés* on a right line either away from or towards the presence. The first such sequence comes in the first B section (measures 31-40, plate 18) in which the dancer moves upstage with two *contre-temps du menuet* backwards and three *pas de menuet* sideways; in the latter she turns to face stage right and stage left in turn, and alternates *pas de menuet à trois mouvements* with *pas de menuet en fleuret*. This is immediately followed by a more difficult passage (plate 19), in which she travels directly downstage with a sequence of two *pas composés* each comprising a *coupé* (with a full turn on the *demi-coupé*) followed by a *pas tombé* and a *jetté*, finishing with two ornamented and one orthodox *contre-temps du menuet*.¹⁰² The

¹⁰² Feuillet included the ornamented *contre-temps du menuet* in the 'Supplément de pas' added to the 1701 edition of *Choregraphie*, describing it as a 'pas qui se fait comunement [sic] dans le menuet', *F1701*, Supplément p. [4].

most virtuoso sequence comes in the third A repeat (measures 65-68, plate 20), as she travels forwards directly upstage with two steps that appear to be variants of the *contre-temps du menuet*, in which the first *pas sauté* is replaced by a *coupé* to fifth position followed by a *pas plié*, and the final *jetté* (with a three-quarter turn) is followed by an *ouverture de jambe*. The last sequence comes in the penultimate B section (measures 89-94, plate 21) and refers back to that in the first B section, as the dancer performs *pas de menuet* sideways, moving upstage but turning to face stage right and stage left as she travels.

At several points in the dance (including the sequence in measures 89-94), the notation indicates that the dancer is on stage left rather than centre stage. In reconstructing the dance, it becomes evident that, in addition to the presence downstage centre, there is a second point of focus downstage left. The dancer deliberately moves towards this point on two occasions, first in measures 55-58 (plate 19) with a rhythmically complex *pas composé* incorporating a *fleuret*, *jettés* and a *pas tombé*, followed by a *pas de bourée battu*, and for the second time in measures 85-88 (plate 21) with an equally complex *pas composé* based on a series of *jettés*, followed by a *fleuret* and a *coupé*. It is possible that L'Abbé created the 'Menuet' for a particular performance, perhaps a benefit, at which Hester Santlow had a special guest who was seated in the stage box on that side.

The final B section begins (plate 21) with an echo of the second A section, as the dancer performs *balancé* and a full turn on both feet, but this time the turn takes only one measure of music and is followed by a *pas tombé* and a *pas sauté* with an *ouverture de jambe* and this turning sequence is immediately repeated; the phrase ends with a *pas de menuet en fleuret* sideways. She then retreats upstage to perform two *pas composés* comprising a *coupé* (ending in a *plié*) and *coupé battu avec ouverture de jambe*, steps first used near the beginning of the first B section (measures 27-30, plate 18), followed by a *contre-temps du menuet* (on the left foot) incorporating a *rond de jambe*. The 'Menuet' ends in an orthodox manner as the dancer travels backwards upstage to end with a *coupé soutenue*.

With the 'Menuet' L'Abbé created a dance that was personal to Hester Santlow, based on her stage personality as well as her style and technique as a dancer. Whatever the occasion for its creation, it reflected the conditions in the London theatres - where members of the audience sat on the stage as well as in the auditorium, and dancers had to pay attention to those on either side of them as well as those in front of them. Although the dance used *pas de menuet* and *contre-temps du menuet*, it merely hinted at the conventional figures of the minuet. L'Abbé's 'Menuet' exploited Hester Santlow's ability to please her audience through her elegance, wit, and coquetry, as well as using her address, musical sophistication, and dynamic range in steps and figures of understated virtuosity; all of which was to be viewed and admired at close quarters as well as from afar.¹⁰³ The 'Menuet', perhaps created for Hester Santlow at the age of eighteen when she was already a favourite with audiences, is a display piece intended to entertain and charm rather than to express the passions.

'Chacone of Galathee'

The next dance in the *New Collection* is the 'Chacone of Galathee', choreographed by L'Abbé for Hester Santlow and Delagarde.¹⁰⁴ Mrs Santlow was never billed in a Chacone duet, and she and Delagarde were rarely advertised as dancing together when they worked at the same theatre during the 1707-1708 and 1708-1709 seasons. After Hester Santlow's return to Drury Lane for the 1709-1710 season to begin a parallel career as an actress, Delagarde appeared there only occasionally, as he did on 2 May 1712 when he partnered Santlow at her benefit. It is unlikely that he danced with Hester Santlow after his move to Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1714-1715, so the 'Chacone of Galathee' probably dates to between 1708 and 1712.¹⁰⁵ L'Abbé may have created it during 1708-1709, when the

¹⁰³ Rader, 'Harlequin and Hussar', p. 37, describes the 'Menuet' as a 'coquettish solo'.

¹⁰⁴ LMC 1860, *Belle Dance* FL/1725.1/04.

¹⁰⁵ Marsh, *New Collection (Facsimile)*, p. xiii, dates the 'Chacone of Galathee' to '1706 or later', but Thorp & Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity', p. 6, from the evidence of Santlow's and Delagarde's respective careers suggest the period 1708 to 1712. The music for the 'Chacone of Galathee' appears in the collection datable to about 1720, bound with *The Compleat Flute-Master of 1695* in the copy at the British Library, Music Library (shelfmark K.5.b.32), where it is entitled 'An Entrée Danc'd by Mrs Saintloe at the Theatre'. Santlow may have kept the dance in her repertoire, with

Queen's Theatre presented a season of opera, but Hester Santlow's benefit performance in 1712 would also have been a suitable occasion for a new dance by one of London's leading dancing-masters.

L'Abbé turned again to Lully for the music for his new dance for Santlow and Delagarde, using the chaconne from act two scene five of *Acis et Galatée*, a *pastorale héroïque* first performed in 1686 at the Château d'Anet and then the Paris Opéra, and often revived later.¹⁰⁶ The opera told the story of the love between the shepherd Acis and the sea nymph Galatée, his death at the hands of the cyclops Polyphemus, followed by Neptune's restoration of Acis to life, so that the lovers could live happily ever after.¹⁰⁷ The chaconne opened the scene following Galatée's promise to marry Acis, and was followed by a solo sung by Galatée expressing her suffering until she declared her love.¹⁰⁸ The chaconne may not have been danced in the Paris productions, so L'Abbé is less likely to have created his duet with reference to the music's original context.¹⁰⁹ The music for the 'Chaconne of Galathee' was adapted from the original score for L'Abbé's choreography; it is in the form of five eight-measure variations, which are repeated giving an AA structure eighty measures in length.

The 'Chaconne of Galathee' has been analysed in detail by Jennifer Thorp and Ken Pierce, as part of an investigation and comparison of three chaconne duets published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation in England in the early eighteenth century.¹¹⁰ They look particularly at symmetry and step orthodoxy within the

other partners, but it is also possible that L'Abbé either adapted the duet for her to perform as a solo, or created a completely new dance for her to the same music which was never recorded in notation.

¹⁰⁶ *Dictionnaire des théâtres de Paris*, entry for *Acis et Galatée*.

¹⁰⁷ Jean Galbert de Campistron, *Acis et Galatée*, in *Recueil general des opera representez par l'Academie Royale de Musique, depuis son etablissement*. 16 vols. (Paris: C. Ballard, 1703-1745), III, 179-222.

¹⁰⁸ Jean-Baptiste Lully, *Acis et Galatée* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1686), pp. 76-82.

¹⁰⁹ Thorp & Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity', p. 15 note 13.

¹¹⁰ Thorp & Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity'. The other two are ball-dances, Isaac's *The Favourite* (1706), and L'Abbé's *The Princess Ann's Chaconne* (1719).

dances, and conclude that the theatrical context for which the ‘Chacone of Galathee’ was created significantly influenced L’Abbé’s choreographic style. They characterise the dance as predominantly presentational, while pointing out that it also contains an extended section (measures 49-68, plates 27-29) in which the dancers perform face-to-face, and they draw attention to the high proportion of steps which do not appear in Weaver’s step tables in *Orchesography*.¹¹¹ They also look briefly at the differences between Isaac’s and L’Abbé’s choreographic styles, suggesting that L’Abbé’s work ‘seems to reflect his theatrical background, even in the ball dances he created for the royal family’, while Isaac ‘seems to have worked more consciously within the etiquette of the royal court’.¹¹² These observations are particularly interesting in the context of Hester Santlow’s early career, and the development of her dancing style and technique, for she worked simultaneously with both dancing-masters in the years between 1706 and 1712.

The ‘Chacone of Galathee’ was choreographed as a showpiece for two virtuoso dancers. L’Abbé used a wide range of the basic steps of *belle dance* alongside complex and difficult theatrical *pas composés*. As well as the *coupé ordinaire*, he included the *coupé sans poser le corps*, the *coupé avec une ouverture de jambe*, the *coupé à deux mouvements*, and the *coupé battu*, alongside *fleurets* he used *pas de bourée* (in several variant versions) and *pas de bourée vites*. The springing steps included *pas assemblé*, *jetté*, *pas de sissonne*, and *jetté-chassé*, as well as *contre-temps* and *contretemps* with a bound. The dance contains very few repeated sequences, although two *coupés à deux mouvements* followed by a *pas de bourée vite* (part of a four-measure phrase completed by either a *fleuret* or a *coupé*) occurs four times in different directions and on different alignments, and L’Abbé also included several sets of paired steps.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Thorp & Pierce, ‘Taste and Ingenuity’, p. 13.

¹¹² Thorp & Pierce, ‘Taste and Ingenuity’, p. 14.

¹¹³ The four-measure phrase occurs in measures 9-12 (plate 23), 57-64 (twice, plate 28), and 77-80 (the end of the dance, plate 30). Paired steps occur in measures 13-14 and 69-70 (variants of the *pas de bourée* which are not exact repeats, plates 23, 29), and measures 45-46 and 73-74 (*jettés-chassés*, plates 26, 30). Thorp and Pierce, ‘Taste and Ingenuity’, p. 11, point out that only the *jettés-chassés* are truly symmetric.

L'Abbé began the 'Chacone of Galathee' in a surprising way, for the first step the two dancers perform is a *coupé* 'en avant et le second fait en rond en dedans et ouvre à côté' which is the preparation for a *pirouette* 'ouverte un tour en dehors', instead of the expected sequence of steps travelling downstage.¹¹⁴ L'Abbé ended the first A section (measures 33-40, plate 25) with a demanding sequence of *pas sautés tournés* and *pas battus* travelling downstage on a right line, culminating in a *pas assemblé battu* for both dancers (incorporating a *cabriole* for Delagarde), and finishing quietly with a variant *pas de bourée* and a *fleuret*. He reserved the most virtuosic steps for the second part of the 'Chacone of Galathee', with a *tour de force* for both dancers soon after the beginning of the A repeat. In measure 44 (plate 26), while Delagarde performed an *entre-chat droit à six*, Hester Santlow performed a *tour en l'air*.¹¹⁵ Although other female dancers performed *pirouettes*, for example the one-and-a-half turn *pirouette* on one foot by Mrs Bullock in L'Abbé's 'Saraband of Issee', and turns with jumps, like the *pas assemblé* with a full turn by Mlle Guyot in the gigue from Campra's *Tancredi*, the 'Chacone of Galathee' is the only notated dance which records a woman performing a *tour en l'air*.¹¹⁶ The step belonged to the vocabulary usually reserved for men. It is possible that Hester Santlow was accustomed to including a *tour en l'air* in her 'Harlequin' dance; its use by L'Abbé in the 'Chacone of Galathee' may provide a clue to the nature of the choreography.

L'Abbé made more use of contrasting passages in the second half of the 'Chacone of Galathee', for example he followed a dynamic sequence of jumps and turns on oblique and diametrical lines (measures 49-56, plate 27) with a flowing sequence of *coupés à deux mouvements* and *pas de bourée vites* on a circular path (measures

¹¹⁴ F1701, pp. 54, 82.

¹¹⁵ The term *tour en l'air*, although used in modern ballet terminology for the step that Santlow performed, does not appear in early eighteenth-century treatises on dancing.

¹¹⁶ Mrs Bullock's *pirouette* occurs in measure six of the 'Saraband' of Issee', see *New Collection (Facsimile)*, plate 31. Mlle Guyot's turning *pas assemblé* occurs in measure thirteen of the 'Gigue pour une femme Seul dancée ... a lopera de tancrede' (the turn sign has been omitted but the starting position and the path of the *pas assemblé* clearly indicate a full turn), LMC 5060, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/30.

57-64, plate 28). In measure 72 (plate 29), Delagarde again performed an *entre-chat droit à six* and (although no turn is notated) Hester Santlow probably repeated her *tour en l'air*.¹¹⁷ L'Abbé continued adding difficult steps until close to the end of the dance, for measure 75 (plate 30) contains a variant of the *pas de sissonne* 'bâtu devant pour retomber derriere'.¹¹⁸ The 'Chacone of Galathee' closes in a more orthodox manner than it began, with the dancers performing a *pas de bourée vite* sideways upstage (with their backs to one another), turning to face the audience on the *coupé* which ends the dance.

The 'Chacone of Galathee' was technically far more demanding than any of Hester Santlow's previous notated dances. It seems to have been intended principally as a virtuoso display - the sort of dance that John Weaver described in his *Essay* of 1712 as 'nothing more than Motion, Figure and Measure'.¹¹⁹ L'Abbé apparently responded directly to the complexities of the music, and the abilities of his dancers, paying little attention to the original pastoral context of this particular chaconne. The nature, and the difficulty, of many of the steps preclude the use of expressive gesture, or indeed anything other than the most general characterisation. The presentational emphasis of the dance also limits the interaction between the man and the woman, whose partnership seems to be merely formal and spatial. The 'Chacone of Galathee' may have been intended to provoke surprise and admiration, and to evoke nothing more specific than the pleasures of a *fête champêtre*.

'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis'

The last of L'Abbé's dances for Hester Santlow to appear in the *New Collection* is the 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis'.¹²⁰ The advertisements provide no clues to

¹¹⁷ Thorp and Pierce, 'Taste and ingenuity', p. 9, draw attention to the probable omission of the turn sign from Santlow's *tour en l'air* in measure 72. Full turn signs may also have been omitted from Delagarde's *entre-chat droit à six* in measures 44 and 72.

¹¹⁸ *F1701*, p. 81.

¹¹⁹ Weaver was describing the dancing of Claude Balon (a younger contemporary of Anthony L'Abbé), *Ralph*, p. 614.

¹²⁰ *LMC 6580, Belle Dance FL/1725.1/08*.

the date when the 'Passagalia' might have been performed. Hester Santlow was billed in a solo Passacaille at Drury Lane on 5 April 1720, and (according to the advertisements) did not again appear in such a dance until 15 April 1726. She is named as 'Mrs Santlow' on the notation, which suggests a date before her marriage in 1719.¹²¹ The dance is preceded in the collection by the 'Saraband of Issee' and a 'Jigg', danced by Dupré and Mrs Bullock, and a 'Canaries', danced by Delagarde and Dupré, which can plausibly be dated to the 1714-1715 season when all three were together in Rich's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹²² L'Abbé's 'Chacone of Amadis' for Dupré, which immediately follows the 'Passagalia' in the collection, could possibly be associated with Rich's pantomime *Amadis: or, The Loves of Harlequin and Colombine*, first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 24 January 1718 with Dupré in the title role. Thus L'Abbé's 'Passagalia of Venüs & Adonis' may belong to the period 1715 to 1718.

It is unlikely that the 'Passagalia' was associated with the masque *Venus and Adonis* by Colley Cibber with music by Pepusch, first performed at Drury Lane on 12 March 1715 but only occasionally billed with dancing. It could, perhaps, have been performed as an entr'acte dance at Santlow's benefit on 7 April 1716, which was attended by George I. Another special occasion, for which the 'Passagalia' could have been created, came on 23 October 1718, when the Drury Lane company (including Hester Santlow) were summoned to Hampton Court to give the first of a series of performances before the King in a newly erected theatre in the Great Hall. The scale of the 'Passagalia of Venüs & Adonis', and its innovative choreography, suggest that it was created for a particularly important occasion.¹²³

¹²¹ Marsh, *New Collection (Facsimile)*, p. xiii, dates the dance only to '1706 or later'.

¹²² During the 1714-1715 season, the three were frequently billed together although few of their dances were named; Mrs Bullock appeared as Miss Russell until her marriage on 3 May 1715. The three dancers were not all in the same company again until the 1717-1718 and 1718-1719 seasons, which provide possible alternative datings for these dances.

¹²³ See also, Moira Goff, 'Serious, Grotesque, or Scenical? The *Passagalia of Venüs & Adonis* and Dancing on the London Stage 1700-1740', in *On Common Ground. Proceedings of the Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society Conference, 24th February 1996, Middlesex University School of Dance, Bedford* ([Bedford]: Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society, [1996]), pp. 8-26 (p. 11).

L'Abbé again turned to French music for his new dance for Mrs Santlow. The 'Passagalia' is to music from act five scene five of the opera *Venus et Adonis* by Henri Desmarets, first performed at the Paris Opéra in April 1697 but not revived there until 17 August 1717.¹²⁴ The dancers at the first performance are unknown, although L'Abbé could have danced in the original production. The opera tells the familiar love story of Venus and Adonis, and the passacaille is performed at the point when the people of Amathonte are celebrating the triumph of Adonis over the monster which has been terrorising them and remembering their suffering, unaware that Adonis has been mortally wounded in the fight. In the following scene, Venus (also unaware of Adonis's fate) sings of her sorrow at his absence and anticipates the joy of their reunion.¹²⁵ The passacaille thus comes at the turning point in the drama, marking the transition from happiness to tragedy. The music is unusual in form, since the 209 measures are in three sections: section A, measures 1-64, is in triple time; section B, measures 65-144, is in duple time; section C, measures 145-209, returns to triple time. It nevertheless follows the usual passacaille form, with twenty-five variations all but one of which have eight measures with two four-measure phrases (variation twenty-three has sixteen measures with two eight-measure phrases).¹²⁶

Whatever the exact date of its first performance, L'Abbé's 'Passagalia of Venus & Adonis' belonged to a decade in which there were a number of important experiments with expressive dancing, in both France and England. One of the earliest of these seems to have been in 1714 at the Château de Sceaux, where Claude Balon and Françoise Prévost performed for the Duchesse du Maine a 'danse caractérisée de Camille et d'Horace' in which they 'mimaient l'action et les sentiments qui agitaient les héros de Corneille' with 'gestes' and 'jeux de physionomie'.¹²⁷ One of the most influential was 'Les Caractères de la Danse'

¹²⁴ Michel Antoine, *Henri Desmarest (1661-1741)* (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1965), p. 192.

¹²⁵ J. B. Rousseau, *Venus et Adonis* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1697), pp. 48-50.

¹²⁶ Henri Desmarets, *Venus et Adonis* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1697), pp. 239-250.

¹²⁷ Adolphe Jullien, *Les Grandes nuits de Sceaux* (Paris: J. Baur, 1876), p. 42.

created by Françoise Prévost in 1715 or soon after.¹²⁸ Prévost's dance, performed at the Paris Opéra, represented various characters according to their fortunes in love and imitated their different passions, each being associated with a particular dance type. No choreography survives for 'Les Caractères de la Danse', but an anonymous verse 'Parodie' published in 1721 indicates that Prévost used the vocabulary of the *belle danse* and accompanied the steps with appropriate gestures to help convey their meanings to her audience.¹²⁹ The most ambitious of these experiments were John Weaver's 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' at Drury Lane, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* in 1717, and *Orpheus and Eurydice* in 1718, in each of which Hester Santlow took a title role.

The 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis' opens with a surprise, for on the first step (a *coupé sans poser le corps*) the dancer turns her back on the audience. She continues the turn with a *coupé avec ouverture de jambe* in measure two and, facing the audience again, travels downstage on the conventional right line. However, her progress towards the audience is interrupted by *pas composés* which move backwards as well as forwards (measures 3, 5, plate 46). The first half of the second variation includes some *pas composés* which are unusual in the context of a serious dance. The first of these (measure 10, plate 46) comprises two *pas de bourée ouverts*, in each of which the second step is onto the heel, and a *jetté-chassé*.¹³⁰ The second (measure 11, plate 46) comprises a *coupé battu*, followed

¹²⁸ Pierre Aubry & Émile Dacier, *Les Caractères de la Danse* (Paris: H. Champion, 1905), pp. 12-14.

¹²⁹ 'Parodie sur les caracteres de la danse', *Le Mercure*, Juin & Juillet 1721, pp. 64-72. See also, Edith Lalonger, 'J. F. Rebel's Les Caractères de la danse: Interpretative Choices and their Relationship to Dance Research' in, *Dance & Music in French Baroque Theatre: Sources and Interpretations. Papers presented at Dance to Honour Kings: Sources for Court & Theatrical Entertainments, 1680-1740, King's College London, August 1996*, ed. by Sarah McCleave. Institute of Advanced Musical Studies. Study Texts, no. 3. (London: King's College London, 1998), pp. 105-123.

¹³⁰ The *pas de bourée ouvert* in measure 22 of *The Saltarella* was similarly notated. Rameau specified that the second step of this *pas composé* was to be made 'setting the Heel down first', but it was rarely notated that way, *R1725* p. 127, *E1728* p. 72. The notation in both the 'Passaglia' and *The Saltarella* must mean that the step onto the heel was to be given unusual emphasis.

by a *demi-contre-temps tortillé* which also steps onto the heel but without a transference of weight.¹³¹ Both these *pas composés* have elements associated with dances that can be categorised as comic-representative character and comic-grotesque. In the third variation, the dancer traces a figure in which she faces each side of the stage in turn, as if acknowledging her stage audience. These first three variations (measures 1-24, plates 46-47) seem to form an introductory section to the 'Passaglia'.

The triple time A section of the 'Passaglia' includes three sequences in which the dancer travels on a right line downstage. The first opens the dance. The second comes in variation five (measures 33-35, plates 47-48), and is a fast and dynamic sequence of *jettés* and *pas marchés*.¹³² The third comes in variation eight (measures 58-61, plate 49), and forms a complete contrast with a quiet sequence of *fleurets* and *coupés*; this sequence is near the end of the A section, and is followed by a very similar phrase in which the dancer moves upstage again. The vocabulary in section A is mostly *coupés*, *fleurets*, *pas de bourée vites* and *contre-temps*, but L'Abbé used many variations on these basic steps to create rhythmic and dynamic variety. The majority of the steps incorporate *pas sautés*, and a significant number include quarter or half turns. In measure 50 (plate 49) L'Abbé added a difficult ornamentation to the beginning of a composite step found in many of the notated dances, for a *demi-entre-chat* comes before a *coupé* (ending in a *plié*) which is followed by a *coupé battu avec ouverture de jambe*. The *pas de bourée vite* in measure 52 (plate 49) has a turn added to each *pas* within it, making one-and-a-quarter turns in all and increasing its difficulty, particularly in combination with the following *contre-temps de chaconne* which begins with a half-turn. Thus, L'Abbé used ornamentation to add virtuosic elements to an ostensibly simple vocabulary of *pas composés*.

The duple time B section begins in measure 65 (plate 49), in which the dancer (who had turned to face stage left with a *contre-temps* in measure 64) performs a

¹³¹ *Pas tortillés* (without the step onto the heel) appear in Pecour's choreography for Mlle Subligny to the passacaille from *Armide*, measures 94 and 95.

¹³² These *jettés* are also similar to *demies-cabrioles*, with a *saut* and not a *cabriole*.

coupé sans poser le corps with a three-quarter turn to face the audience. She begins by dancing in a shallow curve to left and right, with a sequence of *fleurets*, *pas de bourées* and *pas de sissonne* (measures 67-72, plate 50). This opening figure, which continues the circular path to the right and then downstage (measures 73-75, plate 50), could be interpreted as a fresh introduction. Like section A, this part of the 'Passaglia' contains steps which are unusual in the context of a serious dance. In variation eleven (measures 85-86, plate 50), there is a *contre-temps battu* backwards in which both the *pas sauté* and the *pas* have an added beat, followed by a *contretemps* with a bound which has a beat on the *pas sauté*. These steps are often associated with 'Peasant' dances.¹³³ Equally unusual *pas composés* appear in variation seventeen (measures 132, 136, plate 53), a *pas tombé* to fourth position, followed by two *pas sautés* (each changing feet), and a *pas tombé* to fourth position, followed by a *pas sauté* and another *pas tombé* (each again changing feet). Both are variants of the *pas échappé*, and usually appear in men's dances - including one of the notated 'Harlequin' dances.¹³⁴

The B section has a number of sequences in which the dancer moves to left and right across the stage, for example in variation thirteen (measures 97-101, plate 51), and variation fourteen (measures 106-112, plate 52) which is followed in variations fifteen to sixteen (measures 118-121, plate 52) with a sequence moving to the right and then the left. In the B section L'Abbé used fewer *coupés* but many more varieties of the *fleuret*, and far more *pas sautés* (including *jettés* and *pas de sissonne*, as well as an even greater variety of *contre-temps*) than in the A section. Variation seventeen begins (measure 129, plate 52) with a *demie cabriole*

¹³³ For the vocabulary of 'Peasant' dances, see chapter four, 'Solo Dances'. Similar steps can be found in other dances for men, for example the 'Spanish Entrée Performed by Mr Denoyer', *New Collection (Facsimile)*, plate 81.

¹³⁴ The step appears in the 'Loure or Faune' performed by Balon and L'Abbé, *New Collection (Facsimile)*, plate 5. For the *pas échappé* in a notated 'Harlequin' dance, see chapter four, 'Solo Dances'.

en tournant un demi tour, a step frequently found in dances for men but rarely performed by women in notated solos or duets.¹³⁵

The final triple-time C section of the 'Passaglia' begins in measure 145 (plate 53) with the dancer making a half-turn with a *coupé* to face the audience. In this section L'Abbé used simple figures: in variation nineteen (measures 146-152, plate 54) the dancer moves to left and right in a diametrical line (the figure is again like an introduction); the subsequent figures in variations twenty to twenty-three (measures 153-189, plates 54-55) are confined to right lines along which she moves towards or away from the audience; in variation twenty-four (measures 195-200, plate 56) she again moves on a diametrical line to right and left. L'Abbé reserved his most sophisticated effects in section C for the *pas composés*.

Although he again built his vocabulary around *coupés*, *fleurets*, *pas de bourée vites*, and *contre-temps*, he used an even greater range of variations on the basic steps, and introduced many new *pas composés* which he created through ornamentation as well as combining orthodox steps. L'Abbé choreographed the technically most difficult phrase in the dance at the beginning of variation twenty-three (measures 178-181, plate 55), with a sequence combining *pas assemblés* and *pas sautés avec ouverture de jambe* and ornamented with a final *pas glissé battu*, to which he added a half-turn in the first measure, a three-quarter turn in the second measure, and another half-turn in the third measure, completing the phrase with a *coupé à deux mouvements* with a three-quarter turn on the *demi-coupé* and a *rond de jambe* on the *demi-jetté*. The phrase requires musical sophistication, speed, turning ability, and considerable control to make its full effect.

In the final variation of the 'Passaglia' (measures 202-207, plate 56), L'Abbé referred back to the opening variation (measures 6,7, plate 46), and variation fifteen (measures 114-117, plate 52), with a repeated sequence of *tems* and *tems de courante*, and recalled the sequence of *jettés* and *pas simples* in variation five (measures 34-35, plate 48) with new versions of the *pas composé* incorporating a

¹³⁵ See the 'Chaconne of Amadis Performed' by Mr Dupré' and the 'Türkish Dance' in which L'Abbé gave Mrs Younger a similar *cabriole* with a quarter-turn, *New Collection (Facsimile)*, plates 60, 96.

pas battu as ornamentation. The last three variations (measures 193-209, plate 56) together seem to form the conclusion to the dance. After her final approach to the audience, the dancer retreats backwards upstage with a *pas de bourée vite* and finishes with a *pas assemblé* followed by a *pas simple* and a *pas glissé*.¹³⁶

L'Abbé's 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis' for Hester Santlow is one of the longest of the surviving notated dances.¹³⁷ The formal structure of the music, and L'Abbé's equally formal choreographic structure, can easily be related to rhetorical structure, as in the music and choreography for the passacaille from Lully's *Armide*. However, the figures and *pas composés* of the 'Passaglia' also suggest an interpretation based on contemporary experiments with expressive dancing. The dance is in three contrasting sections, and at the beginning of each Hester Santlow turned to face the audience, having previously turned her back. Within these sections L'Abbé used a similar choreographic device several times, almost always as one variation ends and another begins (for example in measures 24-25, 56-57, 128-129, 144-145, 176-177, and 193-194): these *pas composés* could be interpreted as marking the transition between one character or passion and another. This idea is supported by the structure of the music and the choreography, with its series of individual variations. Each choreographic variation is characterised by its own steps and sequences of steps, none of the sequences is exactly repeated in other variations, and many of the more complex *pas composés* are specific to their own variation. L'Abbé could have been following Weaver's description of grotesque dancing in the *Essay*:

the Master must take peculiar Care to contrive his Steps, and adapt his *Actions*, and *Humour*, to the *Characters* or *Sentiments* he would represent or express, so as to resemble the Person he would imitate, or Passion he would excite:¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Pecour's choreography for Mlle Subligny to the passacaille from *Armide* also finishes with a passage towards the presence and a final retreat in the last two measures of the dance.

¹³⁷ Only one dance is longer, the 'Passacaille pour une femme Dancée par Mlle Subligny à l'Opera de Scilla', which has 219 measures, LMC 6540, *Belle Dance* FL/1704.1/04.

¹³⁸ *Ralph*, pp. 660, 662.

L'Abbé, like Weaver, was interested in new developments in dancing, and he may well have wished to explore imitative as well as affective expression.

The opening sequence of steps in the 'Passagalia', with their movement alternately backwards and forwards, could perhaps resemble teasing or coquetry. The complex *pas composés* in measures 10-11 could have called to mind Hester Santlow's 'Harlequin' dance with its 'lascivious motions airs and postures', while those in measures 86-87 could have reminded the audience of the 'French Peasant', and a more rustic approach to flirtation. The link to the 'Harlequin' dance could have been picked up again, in a new context and with a different meaning, in the *pas échappés* in measures 132 and 136. The opening variations of the final C section of the 'Passagalia' contrast strongly with the A and B sections. The step vocabulary in measures 162-172 is simple, but enriched with numerous turns, as Hester Santlow faced first one side of the stage and then the other, and moved upstage, downstage, and then upstage again. The simplicity of the steps could have allowed her to add gestures as she moved, to express passions such as grief or entreaty. The much more dynamic step sequence in measures 178-189 might have expressed more powerful emotions, with or without the help of gestures. L'Abbé may have been experimenting with both imitative and affective expression, to represent the passions expressed in the words sung by the chorus and then Venus in Desmarests's *Venus et Adonis*. In the final variation the steps recall earlier choreographic sequences, and their associated characters or passions, as the dance draws to a close.

Hester Santlow never performed 'Les Caractères de la Danse', brought to London by Marie Sallé who first danced it at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 27 November 1725, but she and L'Abbé may together have created an equally innovative and expressive dance. Like 'Les Caractères de la Danse', the 'Passagalia of Venus & Adonis' may represent the various aspects of love through various characters, or it may represent the contrasting aspects and passions of Venus, the Goddess of Love, with whom Hester Santlow was several times identified in her dancing roles. The process of reconstruction reveals the 'Passagalia' as the most personal

of all Hester Santlow's notated dances, demonstrating the strength of her technique, her 'Elegance of Action', and her ability to 'put all the Powers of the Soul in a Ferment'.¹³⁹ The 'Passaglia' was probably created for Santlow when she was in her mid-twenties and at the height of her powers as a dancer. It is one of the most important of the notated dances surviving from the early eighteenth century.

The Prince of Wales's Saraband

The last of L'Abbé's dances for Hester Santlow to be recorded in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation was a ball-dance, *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*, performed by Hester Santlow and William Essex at Drury Lane on 22 March 1731 (the performance was for Santlow's benefit). The sarabande may also have been performed at court in celebration of the Queen's birthday on 1 March, and the notation was published, probably at much the same time, by Edmund Pemberton.¹⁴⁰ It was to be followed by only one more dance in honour of the royal family, *The Prince of Orange*, created in 1733 to celebrate the marriage of Ann, the Princess Royal.¹⁴¹ *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* was revived as the 'Prince of Wales's Saraband and Minuet' on 21 August 1734 at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, and on 17 May 1735 at Drury Lane by Davenport and Miss Brett. It was revived again as a 'Ball Dance, call'd *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*' on 25 April and 13 May 1737 at Covent Garden by Dupre (i.e. James Dupre) and Miss Norman. *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* is the only notated ball-dance which is entirely a sarabande, although the surviving notations include four sarabande duets created for the theatre one of which, the 'Saraband of Issee' for Dupre and Mrs Bullock, was by L'Abbé.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* (1721), *Ralph*, p. 1018.

¹⁴⁰ LMC [1731]-Prw, *Belle Dance* FL/1731.1.

¹⁴¹ LMC [1733]-Pro, *Belle Dance* FL/1733.1.

¹⁴² LMC 7640, 7660, 7680, 7840, *Belle Dance* FL/Ms13.1/07, FL/1713.2/18, FL/1704.1/19, FL/1725.1/05. Several multipartite ball-dances include sarabandes, see LMC pp. 163-164.

The sarabande originated in the sixteenth century in Latin America and Spain as a dance with singing.¹⁴³ By the seventeenth century it had reached France, where it retained traces of its Spanish past. In 1690, it was described as ‘a dance in triple metre’ which was ‘usually danced to the sound of the guitar or castanets. Its *mouvement* is gay and amorous’.¹⁴⁴ By the eighteenth century a distinction was made between the Spanish sarabande, an expressive dance performed with castanets, and the French sarabande, which a later commentator described as ‘always melancholy and exudes a delicate yet serious tenderness’.¹⁴⁵ Both types of sarabande were probably seen on the London stage.

L’Abbé’s *The Prince of Wales’s Saraband* is a dance of elegant simplicity. The music has the familiar AABB structure (A has ten measures, B has fourteen measures), and the dance is short for it has only forty-eight measures in all. The choreography contains no repeated sequences, although L’Abbé made use of symmetric (and quasi-symmetric) pairs of *pas composés* and occasionally repeated two-measure phrases. He created the sarabande from the basic *belle dance* vocabulary of steps, and included only two *pas composés* which cannot be classified as either orthodox or heterodox (measures 29, 31, plate 2) both of which have a *pas plié* into a small fourth position, followed by a *saut* changing feet, and ending with a *coupé* sideways. Although he embellished nearly half of the steps with turns, L’Abbe used very little ornamentation (there are no *pas battus*). He created figures as clear and simple as the steps, for the dance has only one passage of axial symmetry, at the beginning of the repeat of the B section (measures 35-42, plate 3) when the dancers briefly circle round one another and then trace separate circular paths before coming side-by-side.

¹⁴³ *New Grove*, Sarabande.

¹⁴⁴ Description by Antoine Furètiere, translated and quoted by Patricia Ranum, ‘Audible Rhetoric and Mute Rhetoric: the 17th-Century French Sarabande’, *Early Music*, 14.1 (February 1986), 22-39 (p. 22). Ranum takes the word ‘*mouvement*’ to mean ‘emotion’ as well as ‘motion’, p. 36.

¹⁴⁵ For the Spanish sarabande see, Ranum, ‘Audible Rhetoric and Mute Rhetoric’, p. 22. For the French sarabande, as described by Toussaint Rémond de Saint-Mard, see the translation and quotation by James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*. Rev. and expand. ed. (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1997), pp. 136-137.

The Prince of Wales's Saraband begins with a series of subtle variations on the conventional opening for a ball-dance. Facing the presence, the dancers perform a *tems* and a *tems de courante* first on the inside and then on the outside foot, so they hardly move forward at all. They then perform two *pas de bourées*, the first facing each other and the second facing the presence, but both the steps move sideways so again they hardly move from their starting point. When they do travel towards the presence, they perform a *fleuret tourné* and a *pas de bourée tourné* followed by a *pas de bourée vite* sideways facing each other. This opening passage (the first A section) finishes as the dancers turn to face the presence and perform a *fleuret* sideways away from each other. It introduces many of the steps L'Abbé used throughout the dance, for he included *pas de bourée* and *pas de bourée vites* (both with *jettés* instead of *demi-jettés* as the final *pas*) alongside *fleurets*, *coupés*, and *contre-temps* for rhythmic and dynamic variety. For the close of the sarabande, he chose a figure similar to the ending of *The Union*, in which the dancers curve first away from and then towards one another as they move upstage, with a quarter turn on the final step to end facing the presence.

L'Abbé's sarabande is indisputably a ball-dance. It cannot be compared with the 'Saraband of Issee', with its virtuoso *pas battus* and *pas tournés*, or with Pecour's much simpler sarabande duets for the theatre, which similarly make much use of the basic *belle dance* vocabulary of steps. L'Abbé's *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* is much closer in choreographic style to the sarabandes found in multipartite ball-dances, for example Isaac's *The Royall* published in 1711 and Pecour's 'La Royale' published in about 1713, both of which are similar in length and equally sparing in the ornamentation of steps.¹⁴⁶

The simplicity of *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* raises a number of questions. Were L'Abbé's powers as a choreographer waning? In 1731 he was in his mid-sixties, and after he left England to return to France in 1737 or 1738 there is no evidence that he continued to create dances. Does the notation actually represent the dance performed by Essex and Mrs Santlow at Drury Lane? Although the last

¹⁴⁶ *The Royall* sarabande has forty-two measures, see LMC 7520. The 'La Royale' sarabande has forty-eight measures, see LMC 7560, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/01.

three of L'Abbé's notated dances share several characteristics, in particular their basic *belle dance* vocabulary with very little ornamentation of the *pas composés*, *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* is significantly more presentational - an indication that the choreography was intended for performance on the stage rather than in the ball-room. Did the simplicity of the dance reflect a change in the style and technique considered appropriate for ball-dances created in honour of the royal family, since Isaac's creation of *The Union* nearly twenty-five years earlier? By 1731, was a version without the ornamentation used in the theatre more acceptable to those likely to purchase the notation? *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* was among the last of the dances to be published in notation, in itself an indication of changing tastes.

It is unlikely that *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* reflects a diminution in Hester Santlow's powers as a dancer, for during the 1731-1732 season she was chosen by Denoyer as his partner and he created several new works in which they appeared together, and in 1733 she created the last of her roles for John Weaver as Helen of Troy in *The Judgment of Paris*. The simplicity of L'Abbé's dance is deceptive, for the many turns incorporated into the steps and the subtleties of rhythm and dynamics demand impeccable technical control and musical sensitivity. L'Abbé's use of fast as well as slow steps recalls a seventeenth-century description of a solo sarabande danced by a man:

Now and then he would let a whole rhythmic unit go by, moving no more than a statue and then, setting off like an arrow, he would be at the other end of the room before anyone had time to realize that he had departed.

The description continues with the expressive qualities of the dance as the dancer 'began to express the emotions of his soul through the motions of his body, and reveal them in his face, his eyes, his steps and all his actions'.¹⁴⁷ L'Abbé may have intended Essex and Mrs Santlow to display their skills in such affective expression, within the conventions of a sarabande for the ball-room, but he may

¹⁴⁷ Father François Pomey, translated and quoted by Patricia Ranum, 'Audible Rhetoric and Mute Rhetoric', p. 35.

also have deliberately created *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* to show at its most refined the 'Address' for which Hester Santlow was so much admired.

Hester Santlow's Notated Dances

The seven dances recorded in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation chart Hester Santlow's development as a dancer, from an exceptionally talented newcomer in 1706 to the undisputed leading female dancer on the London stage in 1731. They reveal the significance of her professional relationships with two of the leading choreographers working in London, and they provide evidence for the important developments in dancing on the London stage during the early eighteenth century.

In 1706, in L'Abbé's 'Passacaille of Armide', Santlow proved her technical assurance and stage presence at the beginning of her career by dancing alongside an established dancer, Mrs Elford, in a choreography equal in complexity to those created for leading dancers at the Paris Opéra. In 1707 and 1708, in *The Union* and *The Saltarella*, she demonstrated the strength of her *belle dance* style and technique and her command of 'Address' by dancing alongside two acknowledged masters, Desbarques and Delagarde; the two dances also show how Isaac drew inspiration from his dancers as he created choreographies for important celebrations at court. In the 'Menuet' L'Abbé gave her a dance which allowed her to display her personal charm and wit, while the 'Chaconne of Galathee' showed off her virtuoso technique. By the time of the 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis', Hester Santlow had achieved maturity as an exceptionally gifted dancer-actress with the courage and imagination to experiment with L'Abbé in extending the boundaries of expressive dancing. L'Abbé's four notated theatre dances for her show how they deepened their creative relationship over the years, as he responded to and exploited Santlow's developing skills and experience. In *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*, L'Abbé used the simplest of means to show the complete mastery of *belle dance* that Hester Santlow had achieved during her twenty-five years on the stage. Isaac's and L'Abbé's notated dances for Hester Santlow provide evidence of the technical and interpretative skills with which she influenced other dancers and dancing-masters, and contributed significantly to the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes created by Weaver and others.

CHAPTER 6

HESTER SANTLOW, THE 'DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENT OF DANCING', AND THE PANTOMIME

During the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the afterpiece developed from an occasional addition to the evening's entertainment to an integral part of the theatrical bill. Until about 1715, very few afterpieces were given and they were limited to a handful of well-trying farces. With the opening of the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre during the 1714-1715 season, and the ensuing fierce competition for audiences with Drury Lane, afterpieces became important weapons in the rivalry between the two theatres and rapidly increased in numbers.¹ Both theatres introduced new theatrical forms, including the 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' and the pantomime, and put on lavish afterpiece productions with singers and dancers rather than actors.

Hester Santlow's career coincided with these developments. Her first appearance in an afterpiece was in 1711-1712 in the role of Flora in Thomas Doggett's *Hob; or, The Country Wake*, with Doggett himself as Hob.² In 1714-1715, she appeared as Aura in *The Custom of the Country*, adapted from a mainpiece called *The Country Lasses; or, The Custom of the Manor* by Charles Johnson.³ These were both acting roles. In 1716-1717 she took a leading dancing role in John Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. Thereafter, her appearances as a dancer in the 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes given at Drury Lane were an important part of that theatre's armoury against Lincoln's Inn Fields. She took roles in nearly all of John Thurmond's pantomimes, including the

¹ Kevin Pry, 'Theatrical Competition and the Rise of the Afterpiece Tradition 1700-1724', *Theatre Notebook*, 36 (1982), 21-27

² Hester Santlow first appeared in *The Country Wake*, as it was usually billed, at Drury Lane on 6 October 1711.

³ Santlow's first appearance in *The Country Lasses* was on 4 February 1715, and in *The Custom of the Country* on 5 May 1715, both at Drury Lane.

phenomenally successful *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* in 1723-1724. When Thurmond was succeeded by Roger, she appeared in the latter's *Perseus and Andromeda* (for which Roger collaborated with Weaver) in 1728-1729 and his very popular *Cephalus and Procris* in 1730-1731. During her last season on the stage Mrs Santlow appeared in Weaver's final work for the stage, *The Judgment of Paris*.

Published descriptions survive for many of the afterpieces in which Hester Santlow appeared, which, together with Weaver's theoretical writings, allow her roles in these works to be analysed in some detail. Dancing in these afterpieces was closely related to dancing in the entr'actes, so the evidence for Santlow's entr'acte repertoire (including the notated dances) also sheds light on her roles in the works of Weaver, Thurmond, and Roger. Each afterpiece was created collaboratively by the dancers as well as the dancing-master billed as its creator; since Santlow brought her skills as both an actress and a dancer to these works, several of which required what Weaver described as '*Scenical Dancing*', she was more than merely instrumental to the innovations in stage dancing which they presented.

John Weaver and the Development of the 'Dramatic Entertainment of Dancing'

John Weaver, the son of a dancing-master, was born in Shrewsbury in 1673.⁴ By 1695 or 1696 he was himself a dancing-master in the town of his birth, but by 1700 he was working as a dancer in the London theatres. Between the 1699-1700 and 1702-1703 seasons, Weaver appeared at both Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields, in a repertoire which included the comic dances '*Roger a Coverley ... after the Yorkshire manner*' and '*Tollet's Ground*'.⁵ He also produced his first work for the stage, *The Tavern Bilkers* given at Drury Lane in either 1702 or 1703, which he later described as the '*first Entertainment that appeared on the English Stage, where the Representation and Story was carried on by Dancing, Action and*

⁴ Details of Weaver's life and career are taken from *Ralph*, unless otherwise indicated.

⁵ *Ralph*, p. 8.

Motion only'.⁶ By 1702, the court dancing-master Mr Isaac had become Weaver's patron, an association which lasted until at least 1707. Weaver met L'Abbé, Cherrier, John Essex, and the politician Sir Richard Steele at this period, and he may have met Hester Santlow soon after she began her apprenticeship. He returned to Shrewsbury in late 1707 or early 1708, but his experiences during his first period on the London stage must have been profound, for he continued to draw on them for the rest of his theatrical career.

By 1715, Sir Richard Steele had become patentee of the Drury Lane Theatre and (*with the agreement of his fellow-managers Booth, Cibber, and Wilks*) he may have invited Weaver to return to the London stage.⁷ Weaver worked at Drury Lane every season from 1716-1717 until 1720-1721, dancing in the entr'actes as well as producing and appearing in afterpieces. In 1716-1717, he produced his first 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (with Hester Santlow as Venus), and a 'Burlesque Entertainment in Dancing, in Grotesque Characters' entitled *The Shipwreck; or, Perseus and Andromeda*.⁸ In 1717-1718 he produced another 'Entertainment in Grotesque Characters', *Harlequin Turn'd Judge*, as well as the serious *Orpheus and Eurydice* (with Hester Santlow as Eurydice).⁹ Weaver maintained his reputation as a comic dancer with entr'acte performances of the 'Irish Trot' and 'Sailor and his Lass', and he also participated in the group dance 'Lads and Lasses'.

Weaver did not return to Drury Lane until the 1727-1728 season, and worked there only until the end of 1728-1729. This time, he presumably came at the invitation of Booth, Cibber and Wilks, for Sir Richard Steele had ceased to take an active part in the theatre's management after 1721.¹⁰ He created the comic scenes

⁶ *Ralph*, p. 9. Weaver described the production in *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728), see *Ralph*, p. 721.

⁷ *Ralph*, pp. 23, 25.

⁸ Weaver, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728), see *Ralph*, p. 722.

⁹ Weaver, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728), see *Ralph*, p. 724.

¹⁰ John Loftis, *Steele at Drury Lane* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952), p. 155.

for Roger's successful new pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda: With the Rape of Colombine; or, The Flying Lovers*, and his repertoire of entr'acte dances included his popular 'English Clown', which he had first performed during the 1718-1719 season. Weaver also appeared as Colombine's father in Roger's *Harlequin Happy and Poor Pierrot Married*.¹¹

Weaver returned to Drury Lane for the last time in 1733, when he produced his final work for the stage, *The Judgment of Paris*, in which Hester Santlow appeared as Helen of Troy. Roger had died suddenly in 1731, and there had subsequently been changes in the management of Drury Lane, following the incapacity through illness of Barton Booth, the death of Robert Wilks, and the retirement of Colley Cibber. Weaver was probably invited by the new management team of John Highmore, John Ellys, and Theophilus Cibber, to help the company counter the rival attractions at Rich's new theatre in Covent Garden. If he hoped for new opportunities to advance the art of stage dancing at Drury Lane, Weaver must quickly have been disappointed; the season ended disastrously, and Hester Santlow (who was widowed before it drew to a close) retired before the next season began. By the end of the 1732-1733 season, Weaver had left the London stage for good. He returned to Shrewsbury, where he spent the rest of his career as a dancing-master and died in 1760.¹²

Weaver first set down his theories about stage dancing in his *Essay*, which he had begun before he left London for the first time.¹³ His particular interest was in scenical dancing, which could explain 'whole *Stories by Action*', and which he regarded as 'a faint Imitation of the *Roman Pantomimes*'. He devoted a significant part of the treatise to the '*Mimes and Pantomimes*' of classical

¹¹ Weaver danced an 'English Clown' for the first time at Drury Lane on 4 May 1719, and he appeared in a 'Clown' dance for the last time there on 2 May 1729. For his participation in *Harlequin Happy*, see *Ralph*, p. 33.

¹² Weaver did not put his stage works entirely behind him, for he is recorded as arranging performances by his pupils of excerpts from *The Loves of Mars and Venus* and *The Judgment of Paris* as late as the 1740s and 1750s, *Ralph*, p. 36.

¹³ *Ralph*, p. 138.

antiquity who ‘tho’ *Dancers*, had their *Names* from *acting*, that is, from *Imitation*; *copying* all the *Force* of the *Passions* meerly by the *Motions* of the *Body*’.¹⁴

Weaver looked to their example for ‘such *Positions*, *Gestures* and *Movements*, as represent ... *Passions*, *Manners*, and *Actions*’, but his thinking and his practice, when he came to produce his ‘dramatic entertainments of dancing’ on the London stage, were also the result of contemporary influences.¹⁵

Weaver was not the first theorist of dancing to look to classical antiquity. Michel de Pure had referred to many of the same sources in his *Idée des spectacles anciens et nouveaux*, published in Paris in 1668 and dealing with ballet at the French court. He had defined ballet as ‘une representation muette, où les gestes & les mouvemens signifient ce qu’on pourroit exprimer par des paroles’, and had written of the need for expressive dancing which he, too, had linked to the skills of the ancient mimes.¹⁶ De Pure had stated that ‘la principale & la plus importante regle est, de rendre les pas expressif, que la teste, les epaules, les bras, les mains facent entendre ce que le danseur ne dit point’.¹⁷ Claude-François Ménéstrier took up a very similar theme in *Des ballets anciens et modernes selon les regles du theatre*, published in Paris in 1682. He, too, wrote of ballet as ‘une Poësie muette, qui parle, parce que sans rien dire il exprime par les gestes & par les mouvemens. Ce qui est parler aux yeux’.¹⁸ Ménéstrier added that ‘Le ballet n’imite pas seulement les actions, il imite encore selon Aristote les passions & les moeurs’.¹⁹ Both De Pure and Ménéstrier may have been writing theoretically, rather than reflecting the practical concerns of the dancing-masters and dancers of their day, yet because they were drawing on the same sources they articulated

¹⁴ *Ralph*, p. 590.

¹⁵ *Ralph*, p. 652.

¹⁶ Michel de Pure, *Idée des spectacles anciens et nouveaux* (Paris: M. Brunet, [1668]), pp. 210, 214-215.

¹⁷ De Pure, *Idée des spectacles*, p. 249.

¹⁸ Claude-François Ménéstrier, *Des Ballets anciens et modernes selon les regles du theatre* (Paris: R. Guignard, 1682), pp. 153-154, citing Plutarch as his source.

¹⁹ Ménéstrier, *Des Ballets anciens et modernes*, p. 160.

aspirations for dancing very similar to those of John Weaver.²⁰ Their theories found a place on the French professional stage, for in his *comédies-ballets* and *tragédies en musique* Lully fostered dancing that was both expressive and an integral part of the drama.²¹

During his early years on the London stage, Weaver was able to observe the work of several leading French dancers trained in the style and technique of the *belle dance* which De Pure, Méneſtrier, and Lully had helped to form. He was equivocal about their dancing. In his *Essay* of 1712, Weaver was hostile to Claude Balon, who ‘pretended to nothing more than a *graceful Motion*, with *strong and nimble Risings*, ... The Imitation of the Manners and Passions of Mankind he never knew any thing of, nor ever therefore pretended to shew us’.²² In 1706, in his Preface to *Orchesography*, Weaver had praised ‘the admirable Compositions of Mons. *L’Abbe* in *Ballet*, and his Performance, with that of M. *Desbargues*, M. *Du Ruel*, and M. *Cherrier*’.²³ Weaver knew the merits of *belle dance*, as well as being aware of what he saw as its deficiencies. All of the leading dancers in his ‘dramatic entertainments of dancing’ were notable exponents of French *belle dance*.

Soon after 1700, while he was still dancing in the London theatres, Weaver also had opportunities to witness performances by French players in the style of the *commedia dell’arte*. At Drury Lane on 22 August 1702, the bill included a ‘*Night Scene by a Harlequin and a Scaramouche, after the Italian Manner, by Serene and another Person lately arrived in England*’; the players were probably Joseph Sorin and Richard Baxter, who were billed together in a similarly described ‘*Night Scene*’ at Drury Lane on 7 October 1703. These pieces were not merely dances,

²⁰ De Pure and Méneſtrier were both closely associated with the production of ballets at the French court, see Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV 1643-1672, Vie musicale en France sous les rois Bourbons*, 12 (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard, 1967), pp. 142, 151. *Ralph*, pp. 134, 402, states that Weaver was not directly acquainted with the works of De Pure or Méneſtrier.

²¹ James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau*. Rev. and exp. ed. (Portland, Or.: Amadeus Press, 1997), pp. 133, 185.

²² *Ralph*, p. 614.

²³ *Ralph*, p. 181, italics reversed.

but short scenes with a tenuous narrative conveyed by mime, into which dances were occasionally inserted.²⁴ Weaver's interest was in their use of gesture to tell a story, as well as their ability to express a range of passions without the help of words. It is noteworthy that virtually all the dancers he worked with most closely in his 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' included *commedia dell'arte* style dances in their repertoires.

The early part of Weaver's career as a professional dancer coincided with the final years on the stage of Thomas Betterton, Elizabeth Barry, and Anne Bracegirdle, London's leading actors, whose work was influential with a younger generation of players including Hester Santlow.²⁵ As he developed his theories about expressive dancing, Weaver must have been well aware of the methods used by the leading actors to represent a variety of characters in the many plays given each season in the London theatres. Charles Gildon, a contemporary of Weaver, published *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton* in 1710; the work was essentially a treatise on the art of acting, ostensibly drawn from Betterton's own practice and precepts.²⁶ Gildon, like Weaver, appealed to classical precedents, and his theories have much in common with those of the dancing-master.²⁷ He identified 'the *Government, Order, and Balance, ... of the whole Body; ... the Regiment and proper Motions of the Head, the Eyes, the Eye-brows, and indeed the whole Face; and ... the Actions of the Hands*' as central to expressive acting.²⁸ Gildon included descriptions of the performances of contemporary actors in support of his

²⁴ Virginia P. Scott, 'The Infancy of English Pantomime: 1716-1723', *Educational Theatre Journal*, 24.2 (May 1972), 125-134 (pp. 129-130).

²⁵ Hester Santlow's acting repertoire included several roles created by Mrs Barry or Mrs Bracegirdle, for example Hellena in Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (created by Mrs Barry in 1677), Cordelia in Nahum Tate's version of *King Lear* (created by Mrs Barry in 1681), Belinda in Vanbrugh's *The Provok'd Wife* (created by Mrs Bracegirdle in 1697), and Selima in Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane* (created by Mrs Bracegirdle in 1701).

²⁶ Charles Gildon, *The Life of Mr. Thomas Betterton* (London: R. Gosling, 1710).

²⁷ Gildon and Weaver may have borrowed from each other, see *Ralph*, pp. 130-131, 135-136.

²⁸ Gildon, *Betterton*, p. 57. Weaver later wrote that the 'Face or Countenance had a large Share in this Performance [i.e. of the mimes and pantomimes]', *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (London: W. Mears, and J. Browne, 1717), *Ralph*, p. 740

theories. The player Anthony Aston later wrote of Mrs Barry, ‘In *Tragedy* she was solemn and august — in *Free Comedy* alert, easy, and genteel — pleasant in her Face and Action; filling the Stage with Variety of Gesture’.²⁹ Aston’s description indicates the difference between acting in tragedy and in comedy; most of the leading actors in the London theatres of the early 1700s had to be able to play in both. Among Weaver’s leading dancers in his ‘dramatic entertainments of dancing’, only the women were able to provide a combination of both dancing and acting skills.

The Loves of Mars and Venus (Weaver, 1717)

On 2 March 1717, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* ‘A New Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing after the Manner of the Ancient Pantomimes’ was given its first performance at the Drury Lane Theatre. The advertisements identified the principal characters as Mars, Vulcan, and Venus, danced respectively by Dupré, Weaver, and Hester Santlow.³⁰ The published description of the afterpiece named Weaver as its author, and he later identified the composers as Henry Symonds, who provided the ‘Symphonies’, and Charles Fairbank, who provided the ‘musical Airs of the *Dancing Parts*’.³¹ Despite Cibber’s admission that ‘from our Distrust of its Reception, we durst not venture to decorate it, with any extraordinary Expence of Scenes, or Habits’, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* received seven performances in its first season.³² It was given seventeen times in 1717-1718, with John Shaw as Mars (Dupré had returned to Lincoln’s Inn Fields), and its popularity was such that John Rich mounted a rival production entitled *Mars and Venus; or, The Mouse Trap*, with Dupré as Mars, himself as Vulcan and Mrs

²⁹ Anthony Aston, *A Brief Supplement to Colley Cibber, Esq;* (London: the author, [1747?]), p. 8.

³⁰ Dupré was not the French dancer Louis ‘le grand’ Dupré, see chapter three, ‘Hester Santlow’s Dancing Partners’.

³¹ Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* (1721), see *Ralph*, p. 1017. No music is known to survive, but the tune for a country dance named ‘Mars and Venus’, published in about 1728 in the third volume of *The Dancing-Master*, may be related to the music for *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, see George Dorris, ‘Music for the Ballets of John Weaver’, *Dance Chronicle*, 3 (1979), 46-60 (pp. 50-53).

³² Colley Cibber, *An Apology for the Life of Mr. Colley Cibber*. 2nd ed. (London: J. Watts for the author, W. Lewis, 1740), p. 423.

Schooling as Venus. Rich's afterpiece may well have made use of the action, dances, and gestures in Weaver's work, in order to ridicule his ideas. *The Loves of Mars and Venus* received a further seven performances at Drury Lane in 1718-1719, and eight more in 1719-1720. The afterpiece was revived in 1723-1724 for five performances, when it was criticised for the improbability of its action and the poverty of its costuming, and then dropped out of the repertoire.³³

The published description of *The Loves of Mars and Venus* not only provides details of the plot and action of Weaver's first 'dramatic entertainment of dancing', but also describes the gestures used by the principal characters to express their passions and affections. The action is divided into six scenes which tell the story of the affair between Mars and Venus and the revenge of Venus's husband Vulcan. The construction of the entertainment is simple and clear; Weaver observed the dramatic unities as well as paying close attention to the constraints on actions which had to be conveyed purely through mime and dancing.³⁴ It is the only one of Weaver's works to have consistently received attention from writers on dance.³⁵ Despite this continuing interest, the only detailed analysis remains that by Richard Ralph in *The Life and Works of John Weaver*.³⁶ Ralph identifies Weaver's principal source as Motteux's masque *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 14 November 1696, and makes a detailed comparison between it and Weaver's version. However, Ralph (in common with others who have written about the work) does not attempt to analyse its dance content by relating it either to other dancing on the London stage or to the surviving notated dances.³⁷

³³ *Pasquin*, 18 February 1724.

³⁴ In his preface to *The Loves of Mars and Venus* Weaver referred to the 'Rules of Drama' observed by classical writers, meaning the unities of time, place and action, see *Ralph*, p. 740.

³⁵ *Ralph*, pp. 49-50, appraises several of the modern accounts of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.

³⁶ *Ralph*, pp. 53-64. For an annotated facsimile reprint of the description, see *Ralph*, pp. 737-762.

³⁷ The version of *The Loves of Mars and Venus* recreated by Mary Skeaping for Ballet for All used 'ballroom steps of the period', Peter Brinson and Clement Crisp, *Ballet for All* (London: Pan Books, 1970), p. 12. Although Skeaping's version was televised, no viewing copy is currently available at the National Film and Television Archive.

The first scene was set in a 'Camp', where the four Followers of Mars performed a 'Pyrrhic to a March', after which Mars arrived and performed a solo 'Entry' followed by another 'Pyrrhic' with his Followers; although the final 'Pyrrhic' included warlike actions, no mime is indicated in the description.³⁸ Weaver was at pains to explain the 'Origin, Manner, and Performance of the *Pyrrhic* Dancing among the Ancients', but it is more likely that the dancing in this scene used the virtuoso *belle dance* style and technique seen in the surviving notations for leading male dancers (including Dupré).³⁹ The dancing was intended to show the character of Mars through the music and choreography only. The second scene introduced Venus, in her 'Dressing-Room', by means of a similarly characteristic dance, a *passacaille*, probably with 'Flutes' prominent among the instruments.⁴⁰ She began dancing alone, and was then joined by the three Graces and the Hour. The odd number of dancers may indicate that Venus alternated solo passages with the other four dancers, who danced in twos or all four together. The dance probably used *belle dance* steps and figures, and exploited Santlow's virtuoso technique in the manner of L'Abbé's 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis', created for her at much the same period. Weaver specified no gestures for the *passacaille*; like the 'Entry' for Mars, the dance apparently used affective rather than imitative expression to show the character of Venus.

With Vulcan's entrance, presaged by a 'wild rough Air', Weaver made the first use of his innovatory scenical dancing. Venus and her companions 'seem in Surprize' at his approach, and the companions exit, leaving Venus and Vulcan alone together. The two performed a duet, a 'Dance being altogether of the *Pantomimic* kind', for which Weaver specified in detail the passions expressed and their associated gestures.⁴¹ Vulcan was given a wider range of passions than

³⁸ For scene one, see *Ralph*, pp. 749-750.

³⁹ These dances were referred to in chapters three, four and five. Weaver may have derived his staging of the dance from the semi-opera *Psyche*, revived at Drury Lane on 9 June 1704. In act three the Priests of Mars 'dance, striking their Swords upon the Targets, showing the postures of their Swords', Thomas Shadwell, *Psyche* (London: J. M. for H. Herringman, and R. Bentley, 1690), p. 30.

⁴⁰ For scene two, see *Ralph*, p. 752.

⁴¹ For the description of these passions and gestures, see *Ralph*, pp. 754-756.

Venus: his began with admiration, and ran through jealousy, anger, and upbraiding, to threats and indignation; hers were limited to neglect, contempt, and disdain, together with coquetry 'seen in affected Airs, given her self throughout the whole Dance'. The gestures of Venus required Santlow to use her face, head, and hands, and could easily be performed while she danced; several of Vulcan's gestures, for example astonishment and indignation, involved the body in a way that required Weaver to stop moving in order to achieve the desired effect.

Weaver described this passage as a dance, so did both he and Santlow perform conventional *belle dance* steps and figures as well as their gestures, with Vulcan remaining still at certain points while Venus continued to dance? Unlike the dances previously performed by Mars, Venus, and their followers, which were directed solely to the audience, this dance imitated a dramatic exchange between the two characters, employing gesture instead of speech to convey meaning.

In scene three, Weaver returned to more conventional representation:

Vulcan ... strikes at the Scene which opens to *Vulcan's* Shop, where the *Cyclops* are discover'd at Work; some at the Forge; some at the Anvil; some Hammering; and some Fileing; while *Cupid* is pointing his Arrows at the Grindstone.⁴²

The scene presents players miming a series of tasks in a manner reminiscent of Lambranzi's portrayals of occupation dances.⁴³ Four of the Cyclops 'advance, and perform their Entry', joined by Vulcan; the action in which Vulcan 'delivers Wire to the *Cyclops* to form a Net' falls within the conventions of comic occupation dances. Weaver specified only one gesture for Vulcan in this scene, to express 'some notable Exploit in Hand'.

⁴² For scene three, see *Ralph*, p. 757. Weaver may have taken this scene from *Psyche*, where the Cyclops appear at the beginning of act three 'at work at a Forge, forging great Vases of Silver. The Musick strikes up, they dance, hammering the Vases upon Anvils', Shadwell, *Psyche*, p. 23.

⁴³ For these dances see chapter three, 'The Entr'acte Dance Repertoire'.

The following scene in a 'Garden' changed the mood entirely, with a conventional formal entrance of Mars and Venus to a 'Prelude of Trumpets, Hautbois, Violins and Flutes'.⁴⁴ Weaver described the scene as 'alternate, as representing Love and War', with dancing intended to represent 'Strength, and Softness, reciprocally, and alternately ... in their full Power'. Mars and Venus embraced and then enacted a short mime passage, in which Mars showed 'Gallantry, Respect; Ardent Love; and Adoration', to which Venus responded with 'An affected Bashfulness; reciprocal Love; and wishing Looks'. Although Weaver referred to the 'Actions' of Mars, he described none, and the response of Venus required only appropriate facial expressions and posture, in accordance with Weaver's intentions, since 'the Gestures made use of in this Scene; they are so obvious, relating only to Gallantry, and Love; that they need no Explanation'. Mars and Venus then sat together on a couch while their respective suites began an 'Entry'.⁴⁵ The dance started with the four Followers of Mars, who danced alone before being joined by the Graces and the Hour; since Weaver emphasised the alternation of strength and softness in this scene, the Graces and the Hour possibly danced alone before the Followers of Mars joined them. When Mars and Venus joined the dance in their turn, it is likely that they had a duet alone, before all ten dancers finished the 'Entry' together. This is the only point in the action of the afterpiece where Mars and Venus could have danced together, and the audience would not have been satisfied without a virtuoso exhibition of serious dancing by Dupré and Santlow, who were regularly partners in the entr'actes. Much of scene four was probably in the nature of a divertissement, with a sequence of dances differing in type, and using appropriate gestures in the course of the dancing.⁴⁶ The dance, and the scene, concluded 'with every Man carrying off his Woman'.

⁴⁴ For scene four, see *Ralph*, pp. 758-759.

⁴⁵ Mars was accompanied by his four Followers, while Venus was accompanied by 'Graces, &c.' In view of the dance which follows, which requires equal numbers of men and women, it is likely that Venus, too, had a suite of four, i.e. the three Graces, and the Hour, from scene two.

⁴⁶ Weaver probably used the term 'Entry' here with a meaning very similar to the French 'Entrée', used for each act of an *opéra-ballet* with its divertissement of songs and dances, see Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, pp. 168-169.

For the fifth scene, which returned to ‘*Vulcan’s Shop*’, Vulcan was ‘discover’d leaning in a thoughtful Posture upon his Anvil’, until the Cyclops appeared and ‘working the Net; they joyn it together’.⁴⁷ Vulcan then danced a solo, which gave Weaver an opportunity to display his abilities as both a comic dancer and a mime, although he specified only one gesture for Vulcan, an ‘Expression of being pleas’d at some Thought of Deceit’. The scene ended as Vulcan and the Cyclops carried the finished net away.

The sixth scene opened with a ‘soft Symphony of Flutes’, betokening the triumph of love over war, as Mars and Venus were revealed.⁴⁸ They performed a quiet mime to ‘express by their Gesticulations, equal Love, and Satisfaction; and a pleas’d Tenderness which supposes past Embraces’. As they apparently fell asleep, Vulcan and the Cyclops entered, caught the couple in the net, and immediately began an ‘insulting Performance’, another comic dance, presumably enlivened with gestures which Weaver did not need to explain in the published description. Jupiter, Apollo, Neptune, Juno, Diana, and Thetis entered, and Vulcan showed them his prisoners.⁴⁹ Vulcan, Mars and Venus then performed the afterpiece’s final dramatic exchange, for which Weaver again provided descriptions of their gestures.⁵⁰ Since Mars and Venus were imprisoned by the net, their gestures were restricted to movements of the head and hands: Venus, as the goddess of love, expressed ‘Shame; Confusion; Grief; and Submission’; Mars, as the god of war, expressed ‘Audacity; Vexation; Restlessness’ and finally joined Venus in ‘a kind of unwilling Resignation’. In expressing Vulcan’s ‘Rejoicing; Insulting; and Derision’ and, following the successful intercession of Neptune, how Vulcan ‘at length condescends, and forgives’ Mars and Venus, Weaver was able to take centre stage to put his theories into practice. His first experiment in

⁴⁷ For scene five, see *Ralph*, p. 759.

⁴⁸ For scene six, see *Ralph*, p. 760.

⁴⁹ At the beginning of the scene, Mars and Venus were accompanied by Gallus, Cupid, ‘&c.’, implying their respective suites. However, it seems likely that the assembled gods and goddesses were doubled by three of the Followers of Mars and the three Graces, since all were required to participate in the final ‘Grand Dance’ but none were named in either the advertisements or the printed description. The ‘&c.’ perhaps refers to only one of the Followers of Mars and the Hour.

⁵⁰ *Ralph*, p. 762.

scenical dancing ended with the well-trying convention of a 'Grand Dance', with Mars, Venus, Vulcan, and the six gods and goddesses. The odd number indicates that there may have been solo passages for Mars, and a trio for him, Vulcan, and Venus. The 'Grand Dance' from *Myrtillo*, with its sequence of dance types appropriate to its theme and forming a suite of dances, provided one possible model for the closing 'Grand Dance' of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.⁵¹

The structure of *The Loves of Mars and Venus* shows a mixture of the new and experimental with the well-trying and conventional. Weaver's theatre background was as a comic dancer, and there is no evidence that he ever performed dances which required a virtuoso *belle dance* technique. Thus, although he undoubtedly created the mime sequences within *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, and Vulcan's scenes and dances, he may have had to depend on his performers for much of the rest of the choreography.⁵² He would certainly have collaborated with Dupré, who was a choreographer as well as a dancer, on the dances for scene one. Similarly, Santlow may have drawn on her existing entr'acte repertoire for the passacaille in scene two. The divertissement in scene four, far from being 'somewhat in Imitation of a Dancing among the Ancients', was probably composed of a variety of dances familiar from the entr'actes, chosen and assembled (perhaps with help from Dupré) because they could represent the themes of strength, softness, and love.⁵³ For the 'Grand Dance' which concluded the entertainment, Dupré may have created the choreography for the entr'acte dance which provided the most obvious example to follow, and thus could have helped Weaver with his finale.

Hester Santlow was the obvious choice for the role of Venus, because of her status in the company, her popularity with audiences, her range and experience as both an actress and a dancer, and her personal beauty. No other woman in the Drury

⁵¹ The 'Grand Dance' from *Myrtillo* was discussed in detail in chapter four, 'Group Dances'.

⁵² Ralph implies that Weaver prepared his works for the stage very quickly, indicating a collaborative process, and Weaver himself admitted that he had 'too much inclin'd to the Modern Dancing' in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, *Ralph*, pp. 23, 36, 743.

⁵³ *Ralph*, p. 758.

Lane company, or on the London stage, could equal her.⁵⁴ No evidence survives as to how she and Weaver worked together, and it is very difficult to draw a line between his part in creating the role of Venus and her part in interpreting it.

What evidence there is suggests that Hester Santlow herself created the role of Venus, drawing on the skills and experience she had gained during eleven years on the London stage. L'Abbé's 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis' shows what she was capable of as a dancer at this period. As an actress, she was an obvious successor to Anne Bracegirdle, who had created the role of Venus in Motteux's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, since she specialised in witty heroines in comedy and pathetic heroines in tragedy, roles which would have provided her with plenty of material to draw on as she developed the role of Venus. The gestures that Weaver wished to use were probably less 'entirely novel and foreign' to her than to Dupré, providing her with some freedom of interpretation.⁵⁵ Although Weaver could provide the framework, he did not have the knowledge, skills, and experience to create the character of Venus in '*Positions, Gestures and Movements*'. Hester Santlow did.

The Loves of Mars and Venus dropped out of the Drury Lane repertoire after the 1723-1724 season, but that was not the last time the afterpiece was played. On 2 May 1739, *Mars and Venus* was given at Drury Lane, with Denoyer as Mars and Mrs Walter as Venus, as part of a benefit performance for William Essex, who played Vulcan. The cast listed in the advertisement shows clearly that this was a revival of the work by John Weaver. It received five performances during the 1738-1739 season. Could Hester Santlow have helped with this revival? She danced with Denoyer in Weaver's last work, and she continued to live close to the

⁵⁴ In 1716-1717 the only women in the Drury Lane company who danced regularly in the entr'actes were Santlow herself, Mrs Bicknell, Miss Younger, and Elizabeth and Mary Willis. At Lincoln's Inn Fields there were only four regular female dancers, Mrs Schoolding, Miss Smith, Mrs Bullock, and Letitia Cross. Other than Hester Santlow, none had both the range and the experience to undertake a role such as Venus.

⁵⁵ Some of Weaver's gestures are similar to those described (in the context of acting) by Gildon, *Betterton*, pp. 44-46.

theatres in London after her retirement. On 21 November 1740, the bill at Covent Garden included ‘a Grand Serious Ballet called *Mars and Venus*’, in which Denoyer and Barbara Campanini (‘La Barbarina’) must have taken the title-roles; this piece was repeated on five subsequent occasions and performed again in 1741-1742. It may well have been adapted from Weaver’s work, providing evidence that Denoyer (like Essex) was interested enough in Weaver’s theories to revive his works for the stage.⁵⁶ On 17 April 1746, *Loves of Mars and Venus* was given at Covent Garden, with Cooke as Mars and Signora Campioni as Venus; the performance was again a benefit for Essex, who danced Vulcan.⁵⁷ Weaver’s first ‘dramatic entertainment of dancing’ was still remembered nearly thirty years after its opening season.

***Orpheus and Eurydice* (Weaver, 1718)**

Weaver’s second ‘dramatic entertainment of dancing’, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, was given its first performance at Drury Lane on 6 March 1718. The success of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, just a year before, had persuaded the managers of the theatre to some expenditure on Weaver’s behalf, for the afterpiece was given ‘With proper Scenes and Habits’. Weaver played Orpheus, Hester Santlow was Eurydice, and the supporting cast included John Shaw; no casts were included in the newspaper advertisements, but a detailed cast list was given in the description published to accompany performances.⁵⁸ The music for the dances was again by Charles Fairbank.⁵⁹ The afterpiece enjoyed little success; it received only four

⁵⁶ Another version of the Mars and Venus story, *Les Filets de Vulcain* by François Riccoboni, had been performed in Paris on 5 May 1738. According to the action described in the *Mercure de France* for May 1738, pp. 989-992, several parts of the *ballet pantomime* had similarities to Weaver’s work. *Les Filets de Vulcain* may also have influenced the ‘Grand Serious Ballet’ danced by Denoyer and La Barbarina.

⁵⁷ *Loves of Mars and Venus* was billed as an ‘Entertainment of Dancing (never performed before)’. If this was Weaver’s original work, it had been revised or adapted, for the cast list included the role of Bacchus.

⁵⁸ *Orpheus and Eurydice, a Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing* (London: W. Mears, J. Browne, and W. Chetwood, 1718). For an annotated facsimile reprint, see *Ralph* pp. 765-812. For the cast list, see *Ralph*, pp. 794, 796.

⁵⁹ Weaver, *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* (1721), see *Ralph*, p. 1017.

performances in 1717-1718, was given one performance 'With Alterations' on 25 October 1718, and one performance 'With material Alterations' on 21 March 1720. The failure of the work is underlined by the lack of any riposte, in the form of a rival production, by Lincoln's Inn Fields.

Orpheus and Eurydice was the most original of John Weaver's works for the stage, in which he tried to depart furthest from the conventions of dancing in the London theatres. The only detailed analysis of the work is that by Richard Ralph in *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, who establishes that Weaver based *Orpheus and Eurydice* directly on classical literary sources with no intermediary text such as he had used for *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. Ralph also draws attention to other treatments of the story which Weaver could have seen on the London stage, and traces the particular influence of Shadwell's *Psyche* on the work.⁶⁰ *Orpheus and Eurydice* had eight scenes, which told the story of the marriage of Orpheus and Eurydice, her sudden death, and the journey of Orpheus to Hell to reclaim her, only to lose her again. Weaver included a final scene in which Orpheus was killed by the Bacchae.

Orpheus and Eurydice began in a 'Temple', where the marriage of the two leading characters was celebrated.⁶¹ The first dance in the work was performed by the High Priest and four other Priests. Weaver claimed that this was 'after the manner of those us'd by the ancient *Greeks* in their religious Worship', but the form of the dance may well have been derived from the choreography provided for the 1704 revival of *Psyche*.⁶² After the wedding, the music changed to 'a brisk Air' to which Orpheus, Eurydice, the Swains, and the Nymphs danced. The description refers to the 'most intimate Friend' of Orpheus, and Ralph suggests that this role was taken by the first of the Swains (John Shaw) so that the remaining Swains and Nymphs could form a quartet.⁶³ This dance may have been a 'Wedding Dance', in the form of a suite, with dances by the two Swains and two Nymphs, a duet for

⁶⁰ *Ralph*, pp. 66-73.

⁶¹ For scene one, see *Ralph*, pp. 797-799.

⁶² See Shadwell, *Psyche*, p. 13.

⁶³ *Ralph*, p. 798, where the dancer is incorrectly identified as Joseph Prince.

Orpheus and Eurydice, and perhaps a trio for them with the Friend.⁶⁴ After the dance, all left the Stage 'as conducting the Bride to her Husband's House'.

Scene two was set in '*A Garden*', where Eurydice and the Nymphs danced to music played by Orpheus.⁶⁵ This was perhaps a short divertissement, with a solo for Eurydice (Hester Santlow's only solo in the afterpiece), a quartet for the Nymphs, and a dance for all five together. The dance types may well have been those associated with pastoral themes, such as the bourrée, the musette, or the passepied. Santlow could easily have drawn on her entr'acte repertoire for her part in the dancing. The mood changed dramatically when 'suddenly in the middle of the Dance, *Eurydice* stung by a Serpent falls down dead', followed by 'Gestures of Sorrow' from the Nymphs, and Weaver's mime as the 'Actions of Orpheus express the Violence of his Grief'.⁶⁶

For scene three the action moved to a '*Forrest*' and a '*Bacchanalian* Dance by *Satyrs* and *Bacchiae* [sic]'.⁶⁷ No such dances were advertised in the entr'actes at this period, but Bacchus and his followers appeared in *Psyche* (although they apparently did not dance), and Bacchantes featured in several French operas.⁶⁸ Weaver probably intended this dance to be more sombre and violent than those of the French repertoire; several of the players listed for the roles of Satyrs and Bacchae were not usually advertised in entr'acte dances, indicating that this dance

⁶⁴ It is possible that the casting was intended to provide a duet, not for Weaver and Santlow but for Shaw and Santlow; they were regularly partners in entr'acte dances, and Shaw had taken over the role of Mars in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, whereas Weaver and Santlow were rarely billed together in the entr'actes.

⁶⁵ For scene two, see *Ralph*, p. 800.

⁶⁶ Selma Jeanne Cohen points out that 'The actress might well have made much of the death scene, for in this version she expires suddenly and quite dramatically in the midst of a happy dance with her nymphs', 'Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing', in Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, Selma Jeanne Cohen, and Roger Lonsdale, *Famed for Dance: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing in England, 1660-1740* (New York, New York Public Library, 1960), pp. 21-58 (p. 52).

⁶⁷ For scene three, see *Ralph*, p. 801.

⁶⁸ Shadwell, *Psyche*, pp. 53-54. The surviving notations include an 'Entrée de deux Bacchante' danced by Milles Guiot and Prévost in La Coste's *Philomèle* (1705), LMC 2880, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/25.

was not based on virtuoso *belle dance* technique but on action and generalised gesture. Scene four provided a powerful contrast, as Orpheus entered ‘in a melancholly Posture’ to express ‘by Actions the Violence of his Sorrows’ as he mourned Eurydice.⁶⁹ He sought ‘Relief from the Celestial Deities’, to no avail, and resolved ‘to visit the infernal Powers’. The entire scene was performed in gesture, with no dancing.

Scene five, Hell, presented a mixture of the spectacular (following staging practices that had been established in late seventeenth century tragedies and semi-operas), conventional dancing, and mime. The scenery opened to discover ‘a poetical Hell in all its Torments’: Pluto and Proserpine were ‘seated on a Throne’, and behind them were Phlegias, Tantalus, Sisyphus, Ixion, and Tityus suffering their prescribed torments (detailed in the printed description).⁷⁰ Hell was ‘thus represented in its Torments for some Time’. After the surprise when the shutters opened, the ‘Entry’ by three Furies (who included John Shaw) returned to the conventions associated with virtuoso *belle dance*. Although ‘Fury’ dances were not often advertised in the entr’actes, they were included in English semi-operas and appeared (as dances by *Démons* or *Divinités Infernales*) in the French repertoire.⁷¹ Such dances were outside Weaver’s technical range and experience, and the choreography may have been created by Shaw.

The Furies stopped dancing at the entrance of Orpheus, and the ensuing exchange between Orpheus, Pluto, and Proserpine was entirely in mime. Pluto passed from astonishment to anger while Proserpine showed admiration; Orpheus had a far more complex passage, in which he ‘by his Gesticulation Sues and Intreats a Sight

⁶⁹ For scene four, see *Ralph*, p. 802.

⁷⁰ For scene five, see *Ralph*, pp. 803-810. *Ralph*, p. 70, remarks that this was ‘the original of many later pantomimic imitations’; although he cites Dryden’s *Albion and Albanus* as a source for the staging, *Ralph* does not refer to a similar scene in *Psyche*, see Shadwell, *Psyche*, p. 43.

⁷¹ *Psyche* included a dance by Furies, see Shadwell, *Psyche*, p. 43. Furies, played by dancers, were also included in the cast for *Amadis; or, The Loves of Harlequin and Colombine*, first performed at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on 24 January 1718. The surviving notated dances include an ‘Entrée de deux homme’ danced by Marcel and Gaudrau (as *Divinités Infernales*) in a revival of Lully’s *Persée*, LMC 2940, *Belle Dance* FL/1713.2/34.

of his Wife, and a return with him to Earth'. The sequence in which he persuaded Pluto and Proserpine to grant his request was perhaps a more sophisticated version of the exchange between Neptune and Vulcan in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.⁷² Hester Santlow, as Eurydice, then returned to the stage 'brought in by two Shades' but, although she and Orpheus 'run and embrace each other', the description specifies no other actions for her. Weaver had to resort to a song, by a Shade, to explain the terms of Eurydice's release from Hell. Orpheus and his wife departed, as 'Hell resumes its Torments'.

In scene six, the 'Confines of Hell', Orpheus and Eurydice entered 'as travelling through the Shades of Death'; they crossed the stage and went off, to enter again further downstage, where Orpheus stopped and turned to look at Eurydice, who 'sinks, and vanishes from his Sight in Thunder and Lightning'.⁷³ The scene ended with Orpheus 'in Despair'. As she followed Orpheus across the stage, no passions were ascribed to Eurydice which Santlow could have represented with gestures. The role of Eurydice was almost entirely passive.

Weaver returned to convention with a dance by four Rustics in scene seven, set in a 'Country'.⁷⁴ This was probably a 'Peasant Dance' of a type familiar from the entr'actes, and may even have been the same as the '*Four French Peasants* by Weaver, Wade, Shaw, and Topham' given at Drury Lane on 25 October 1717. The final scene returned to the '*Forrest*' of scenes three and four, opening to show Orpheus 'seated on a little Mount playing on his Harp', to the Rustics who listened 'in Admiration'.⁷⁵ The Bacchae entered, threw stones, and then danced to 'a rude wild Movement' of music, before seizing 'Implements of Agriculture' from the Rustics and driving them off the stage.⁷⁶ Weaver gave a final practical expression of his theories as Orpheus 'begs and implores for Mercy' before the

⁷² *Ralph*, p. 70, points out the similarity of the passions to those in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.

⁷³ For scene six, see *Ralph*, p. 810.

⁷⁴ For scene seven, see *Ralph*, p. 811.

⁷⁵ For scene eight, see *Ralph*, pp. 811-812.

⁷⁶ *Ralph*, pp. 811-812.

Bacchae killed him and carried 'his dismembered Body of [sic] the Stage in Tryumph'.⁷⁷

There are no contemporary accounts of Weaver's *Orpheus and Eurydice* that might help to explain its failure. The lack of detailed advertisements for the work is puzzling, but Drury Lane may have relied on the great bills rather than the newspapers to attract audiences. Drury Lane needed a success; Lincoln's Inn Fields mounted nineteen afterpieces to their six in 1717-1718, one of them being the popular pantomime *Amadis; or, The Loves of Harlequin and Colombine*, with Dupré as Amadis and John Rich as Harlequin. What evidence there is indicates that *Orpheus and Eurydice* failed because Weaver paid too much attention to his theories, and too little to the practicalities of the theatre and the demands of audiences. The work's structure was less focussed than that of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, there was more mime and less dancing, and the only clearly presented character was that of Orpheus; even Eurydice remained a shadowy type rather than an individual. Neither Hester Santlow nor John Shaw was given much dancing, and the character of Eurydice apparently offered Santlow few opportunities to draw on her experience in tragic acting roles.⁷⁸ Weaver's decision to end with the death of Orpheus meant that Eurydice did not return to the stage after scene six, and there was no opportunity for a 'Grand Dance' (in which both Shaw and Santlow could have appeared) to end the entertainment.⁷⁹ Weaver's major miscalculation, however, may have been in casting himself as Orpheus. At the time of the performances of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, he was forty-four years old with an established career as a comic and not a serious dancer; audiences who applauded his performances as Vulcan may well have found him unacceptable as Orpheus, a role in which they would have expected to see a leading male dancer like John Shaw or Louis Dupré. The failure of *Orpheus and*

⁷⁷ They may have used Vulcan's gesture for triumph, see *Ralph*, p. 762.

⁷⁸ By 1718, Santlow's regular acting repertoire included Ophelia in *Hamlet*, Cordelia in Tate's *King Lear*, Desdemona in *Othello*, and Selima in Rowe's *Tamerlane*; all were roles on which she could have drawn for the character of Eurydice.

⁷⁹ *Ralph*, p. 71, indicates that Weaver could have provided a happy ending, in which Orpheus and Eurydice were reunited, if he had wished.

Eurydice reveals Weaver's dependence on his leading dancers, particularly Hester Santlow, for success.

The story of Orpheus and Eurydice did not appear again on the London stage as a separate entertainment until the 1730s, when a version by Lewis Theobald with music by John Frederick Lampe, first performed at Covent Garden on 12 February 1740, achieved notable success.⁸⁰ Although Theobald's work included dances for Nymphs, Furies, and Bacchantes, which may have been inspired by Weaver's much earlier treatment of the story, the latter's 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' was not revived in any form either in the entr'actes or as an afterpiece.

John Thurmond, John Rich and the Pantomime

The pantomime made its first appearances on the London stage at much the same time as the 'dramatic entertainment of dancing'.⁸¹ The two afterpiece genres were closely related, for they had shared origins and developed under similar influences; several of the Drury Lane pantomimes had serious parts which were virtually identical to 'dramatic entertainments of dancing'. Modern writers have so far failed to distinguish between the two genres.

Pantomimes were anticipated by the 'Night Scenes', given in the entr'actes in the London theatres by Sorin and Baxter (among others) between 1702 and 1705, which revolved around the antics of Harlequin and Scaramouch.⁸² Sorin and Baxter returned to London during the 1715-1716 season, and two of the works they gave at Drury Lane, *The Whimsical Death of Harlequin* and *La Guingette; or, Harlequin Turn'd Tapster*, were particularly influential as the pantomime

⁸⁰ The afterpiece was a pantomime and included dancing, see Lewis Theobald, *Orpheus and Eurydice; an Opera* (London: T. Wood, 1739).

⁸¹ Although the word 'pantomime' was not included in either the published descriptions or the advertisements for the works which modern scholars now categorise in this way, it was used by contemporaries. Weaver referred to 'Dramatick Entertainments, consisting of *Dancing, Gesture, and Action*, intermix'd with *Trick and Show*, to which they [i.e. the 'Town'] have given the Name of *Pantomimes*', *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728), *Ralph*, p. 678. Colley Cibber also referred to 'our childish Pantomimes', *Apology*, p. 422.

⁸² See Scott, 'Infancy of English Pantomime'.

began to develop.⁸³ Lincoln's Inn Fields quickly responded with *Harlequin Executed; or, The Farmer Disappointed*, which began as an 'Italian Mimic Scene' among the entr'acte dances and then became an afterpiece.⁸⁴ Another, quite different, influence came from the masque and its close relation the semi-opera (both of which included scenes in which singing and dancing predominated), not only recent examples like Drury Lane's *Myrtillo* and *Venus and Adonis* but also well-established works like *The Tempest* and *Macbeth*.⁸⁵ Entr'acte dances were a rich source of material for pantomimes.⁸⁶

During the 1716-1717 season, pantomime was established as a weapon of rivalry between the two theatres; Drury Lane mounted Weaver's *The Shipwreck*, which was followed at Lincoln's Inn Fields by *The Cheats; or, The Tavern Bilkers* (probably intended as a hit at Weaver), and *The Jealous Doctor; or, The Intriguing Dame*.⁸⁷ The 1717-1718 season saw Weaver's pantomime *Harlequin Turn'd Judge*, and the riposte from Lincoln's Inn Fields *Colombine; or, Harlequin Turn'd Judge*. Weaver's work enjoyed far more performances than its rival, but Lincoln's Inn Fields also mounted *Amadis; or, The Loves of Harlequin and Colombine*, which proved to be the most successful pantomime so far. *Amadis* was apparently the first work in the new genre to have both a serious and a comic plot, as well as most of the characteristics which came to be associated with the pantomime.⁸⁸ These included its status as an afterpiece, its loose and flexible

⁸³ *The Whimsical Death of Harlequin* was given on 4 April 1716. *La Guingette* was first performed on 11 April 1716. Scott, 'Infancy of English Pantomime', p. 130, points out that *La Guingette* 'has most of the elements which are characteristic of the English dramatic pantomime'.

⁸⁴ *Harlequin Executed* was first given in the entr'actes on 26 December 1716, it was given as an afterpiece (presumably in a revised and extended form) from 10 May 1717.

⁸⁵ See Brent Chesley, 'Comic Fable or Dolphins in the Skies: Understanding Eighteenth-Century Pantomime', *Restoration and 18th Century Theatre Research*, 2nd Series, 9.2 (Winter 1994), 1-25.

⁸⁶ There has been no study of the use of entr'acte dances in early eighteenth-century pantomimes.

⁸⁷ *The Shipwreck* was first given on 2 April 1717, *The Cheats* followed on 22 April 1717, and *The Jealous Doctor* on 29 April 1717. *The Jealous Doctor* was a parody of *Three Hours After Marriage*, by Gay, Pope and Arbuthnot, which had opened at Drury Lane on 16 January 1717.

⁸⁸ See: Emmett L. Avery, 'Dancing and Pantomime on the English Stage, 1700-1737', *Studies in Philology*, 31 (1934), 417-452 (p. 436); Clive G. Chapman, 'English Pantomime and its Music' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1981), p. 207. No description of the action of

structure, both mythological and *commedia dell'arte* characters, the use of mime for part or all of the action, songs and dances, elaborate scenery with numerous scene changes, and novel and sophisticated scenic effects which allowed surprising tricks and transformations.⁸⁹ The 1717-1718 season established a pattern which was to be repeated in the future, whereby Drury Lane mounted a successful new pantomime and Lincoln's Inn Fields replied with another on the same theme (with the same or a very similar title) which surpassed the original work.

Although Weaver's *Harlequin Turn'd Judge* enjoyed some success, the failure of *Orpheus and Eurydice* perhaps decided the managers of the theatre to look elsewhere, and they turned their attention to John Thurmond, who joined the company from Lincoln's Inn Fields for the 1718-1719 season. Thurmond was the son of the actor John Thurmond (also a member of the Drury Lane company), and had begun his career in Dublin.⁹⁰ His first billing on the London stage was as an actor in 1708-1709, but during the 1709-1710 and 1710-1711 seasons he appeared at the Queen's Theatre and the Greenwich Theatre as a dancer.⁹¹ He was advertised at Greenwich on 3 July 1710 in an 'Italian Scaramouch', and appeared there again on 13 September 1711 in 'a *Spanish Entry* that he performed in the Opera at the Hay-Market last Winter with great Applause' as well as his 'Scaramouch' dance. After dancing briefly at Drury Lane in the 1711-1712 season, Thurmond left London for Dublin and did not return until 1715.⁹²

Amadis was ever published, but the advertisements for its first performance on 24 January 1718 called it a 'new Dramatick Opera in Dancing in Serious and Grotesque Characters'.

⁸⁹ Scott, 'Infancy of English Pantomimes', p. 132, lists these as characteristics of the pantomime, with reference to Frank L. Miesle, 'The Staging of Pantomime Entertainments on the London Stage: 1715-1808 (unpublished doctoral thesis, Ohio State University, 1955), pp. 14-15.

⁹⁰ The entries for John Thurmond Senior and John Thurmond in *BDA* confuse the careers of the two men; the *Index to the London Stage* also muddles their respective performance records.

⁹¹ Thurmond was first billed as Edgeworth in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* at Drury Lane on 31 August 1708. He appeared in acting roles as well as dancing at Greenwich.

⁹² Thurmond was billed as dancing at Drury Lane between 6 May and 12 June 1712; the benefit on 9 June 1712 was probably for his father, who acted there for much of the season. For Thurmond's

On 10 May 1715 Thurmond was billed for one performance at Drury Lane, dancing in the entr'actes with Hester Santlow and Margaret Bicknell, but on 16 May he appeared at Lincoln's Inn Fields (advertised as 'lately arriv'd from Ireland') in a 'Spanish Entry' and a 'Scaramouch'. He danced at Lincoln's Inn Fields until the end of the 1717-1718 season in a varied entr'acte repertoire of serious and comic dances; he also created dances, including a 'Grand Comic Dance' for four men and two women and a 'Spanish Dance', which was a duet for himself and his 'Scholar' and regular dancing partner Miss Smith, both given on 8 April 1717.⁹³ He was quite often billed with John Shaw, with whom he danced a 'Punchanello and Scaramouch' on 3 October 1715. Thurmond made a speciality of the *commedia dell'arte* role of Scaramouch; as well as performing a 'Scaramouch' dance in the entr'actes, he also appeared as Scaramouch in several of the Lincoln's Inn Fields afterpieces, *The Cheats*, *The Jealous Doctor*, *Mars and Venus; or, The Mouse Trap*, and *Colombine; or, Harlequin Turn'd Judge*.⁹⁴ These appearances perhaps gave Thurmond ambitions to produce his own pantomime afterpieces, and led to his transfer to Drury Lane for the 1718-1719 season.

John Thurmond immediately became a leading dancer at Drury Lane, partnering Miss Smith in the entr'actes in a 'new *Comic Dance*' on 8 October 1718, appearing with her in 'Myrtillo' on 18 April 1719, and dancing a 'Dutch Skipper' with her on 12 May 1719. He appeared with the company at Hampton Court on 24 October 1718, and his first afterpiece, *The Dumb Farce*, was given at Drury Lane on 12 February 1719. He took the role of Scaramouch, with John Shaw as Harlequin, Miss Smith as a Scaramouch Woman, and Mrs Bicknell as Colombine, while Hester Santlow appeared as Angelique. The cast list indicates that Thurmond had drawn his plot from a *commedia dell'arte* scenario and the title confirms that the afterpiece was a pantomime, although the advertisements

Dublin career, see William Smith Clark, *The Early Irish Stage: the Beginnings to 1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 134, 155.

⁹³ Miss Smith was advertised as Thurmond's 'Scholar' at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 12 June 1716.

⁹⁴ *Colombine; or, Harlequin Turn'd Judge* was first given on 11 December 1717.

described it as a 'new Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing'. Thurmond's most likely source was *La Foire de St. Germain*, which had been given by the 'French Company of Comedians' at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 7 and 12 November 1718, was published in an English version in the same year, and had much the same cast of characters.⁹⁵ His afterpiece illustrates the influence of *forain* visitors on the development of the English pantomime.⁹⁶ *The Dumb Farce* received thirteen performances in 1718-1719, but was revived for only one performance in 1719-1720, and then disappeared from the repertoire.

The second of Thurmond's afterpieces to be given at Drury Lane was *A Duke and No Duke*, performed on 4 December 1719, and based on the play by Nahum Tate, with Thurmond and Hester Santlow as the Duke and Duchess, and John Shaw and Margaret Bicknell in the comic roles of Trapolin and his wife.⁹⁷ Despite its billing as a 'new Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing, ... (after the Manner of the Pantomimes)', the afterpiece did not last beyond its third performance. Neither *The Dumb Farce* nor *A Duke and No Duke* drew any response from Lincoln's Inn Fields, where no successful pantomimes were mounted until *The Magician; or, Harlequin a Director* on 16 March 1721.⁹⁸

The popularity of *The Magician* probably persuaded the Drury Lane management to give Thurmond another chance, for *The Escapes of Harlequin* was given on 10 January 1723 and achieved a modest success, with nine performances in its first

⁹⁵ *La Foire de St. Germain*, by Jean-François Regnard and Charles Rivière de Fresny, had been first performed in Paris in 1695, see Virginia Scott, *The Commedia dell'Arte in Paris 1644-1697* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), p. 376. For the English translation, see: *The Fair of St. Germain* [trans. by John Ozell] (London: W. Chetwood, J. Roberts, 1718).

⁹⁶ See Scott, 'Infancy of English Pantomime'.

⁹⁷ Tate's play had been first performed at either Drury Lane or Dorset Garden in August 1684 and had been given in the London theatres during most seasons between 1709-1710 and 1717-1718.

⁹⁸ *The Magician* presumably parodied the events of the South Sea Bubble in 1720, for Weaver referred to it as the 'South-Sea Director' in *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728), *Ralph*, p. 726.

season.⁹⁹ It was described in the advertisements as a ‘new Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing in Grotesque Characters’, and the cast was entirely drawn from the *commedia dell’arte*. John Shaw was Harlequin, with the new young virtuoso Denoyer as Pierot, and Thurmond himself as a Punch. Hester Santlow traded on the popularity of her entr’acte repertoire by appearing as a Harlequin Woman (this was the only time she appeared in a pantomime in a *commedia dell’arte* role), with Mrs Bicknell as Colombine, and Elizabeth Younger as a Punch Woman. *The Escapes of Harlequin* was presumably derived from one of the plays in the repertoire of the French comedians who had been appearing at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket in 1721-1722, but there is no evidence to suggest which play provided Thurmond with inspiration. The afterpiece received six performances in both its second and its third season, was revived in 1725-1726, and then disappeared from the stage.

John Rich’s answer to *The Escapes of Harlequin* was *Jupiter and Europa; or, The Intrigues of Harlequin*, given at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on 23 March 1723 and described in the advertisements as a ‘new Dramatic Entertainment of Dancing in Burlesque Characters’. Rich took the role of Jupiter (Harlequin) with Mrs Rogier (later Mrs Laguerre) as Europa; the cast included singers as well as dancers, and the pantomime was probably the first to have a serious part that was sung.¹⁰⁰ *Jupiter and Europa* served as the curtain raiser to serious pantomime competition between the two playhouses. On 26 November 1723, Thurmond’s new pantomime *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* received its first performance at Drury Lane; it achieved an astounding forty performances in its first season, but was outshone by Rich’s *The Necromancer; or, Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, which opened at Lincoln’s Inn Fields on 20 December 1723 and was played fifty-one times in the 1723-1724 season. Both pantomimes continued to draw audiences into the next decade.

⁹⁹ Weaver identified Thurmond as the creator of *The Escapes of Harlequin*, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728), *Ralph*, p. 726.

¹⁰⁰ Weaver described the work as ‘mixt with Singing’, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (1728), *Ralph*, p. 727.

Thurmond included serious dancing only at the end of *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, with the 'Masque of the Deities' which culminated in the appearance of Hester Santlow as Diana. She and Thurmond took the title roles in his next successful pantomime, *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin Mercury*, in 1724-1725.¹⁰¹ The Lincoln's Inn Fields pantomime in 1724-1725 was *Harlequin a Sorcerer: With the Loves of Pluto and Proserpine*, the first of Rich's productions to have a libretto by Lewis Theobald. Rich did not respond to *Apollo and Daphne* until 1725-1726; his version, *Apollo and Daphne; or, The Burgomaster Trick'd*, with Francis and Marie Sallé in the title roles, persuaded Drury Lane to mount Thurmond's pantomime with a new comic part, *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin's Metamorphoses*. The Lincoln's Inn Fields version was far more successful, and by 1726-1727 the rivalry between Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields was intense. At Drury Lane Thurmond produced *The Miser; or, Harlequin and Abericock*, a continuation of the Faustus story in which Santlow again danced only in the concluding divertissement. Rich ignored it, and instead fulfilled a long-cherished ambition with *The Rape of Proserpine; or, The Birth and Adventures of Harlequin*, a 'Dramatick Entertainment mixt with Singing'.¹⁰² Drury Lane responded with a revised version of *The Miser* under the new title *Harlequin's Triumph*. The success of *The Miser* and *Harlequin's Triumph* (which together received thirty-four performances to the thirty-two of *The Rape of Proserpine*) was not enough for the managers at Drury Lane, who decided to look elsewhere for a dancing-master to mount pantomimes for them.

Thurmond remained at Drury Lane until the beginning of the 1732-1733 season, appearing in the pantomimes of his successor Monsieur Roger as well as dancing

¹⁰¹ Thurmond had created another unsuccessful pantomime earlier in the season; no cast lists survive for *Harlequin Shepard*, given at Drury Lane on 28 November 1724, but it is unlikely that Santlow had a role in the afterpiece, which survived for seven performances.

¹⁰² Rich had had to postpone *The Rape of Proserpine* from the 1724-1725 season 'being disappointed of some very necessary persons from abroad, on whom we depended', *A Dramatick Entertainment Call'd Harlequin a Sorcerer: With the Loves of Pluto and Proserpine* (London: T. Wood, 1725), p. [iii]. The 'Persons from abroad' probably included the dancers Francis and Marie Sallé, who took the leading dancing roles in the pantomime. The description of the afterpiece is Weaver's, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes*, *Ralph*, p. 731.

in the entr'actes. In December 1732, he transferred to the Goodman's Fields Theatre, where he worked as a dancer and a choreographer until 1734. Thurmond returned to Drury Lane for the 1734-1735 season and danced there until he retired from the stage at the end of 1736-1737. He died early in 1754 and was buried in St Paul's, Covent Garden on 31 January 1754. He was later described by the Drury Lane prompter Chetwood as 'a Person of a clean Head and a clear Heart, and inherits the Mirth and Humour of his late Father'.¹⁰³ John Thurmond was a dancer of considerable range, a successful choreographer, and an innovative creator of pantomimes; all of his successful afterpieces included significant dancing roles for Hester Santlow, and several of them were influenced by John Weaver. There has, as yet, been no study of his life and work.

Harlequin Doctor Faustus (Thurmond, 1723)

According to the advertisement for its first performance at Drury Lane on 26 November 1723, *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* was a 'new Grottesque Entertainment ... in the Character of Harlequin, Mephostophilus, Scaramouch, Pierrot, Punch, and the Spirit of Helen: the whole concluding with a grand Masque of the Heathen Deities'. The composer was Henry Carey, although none of the music for the masque survives, and the pantomime was the first of Thurmond's afterpieces to be accompanied by a printed description.¹⁰⁴ After its initial forty performances, the afterpiece received thirty-two performances in its second season, and continued to be played between ten and twenty times a season until 1729-1730, after which it was only occasionally revived.

Harlequin Doctor Faustus had sixteen scenes. The first fifteen dealt with the story of Doctor Faustus, and his adventures in the guise of Harlequin. John

¹⁰³ W. R. Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London: W. Owen, 1749), p. 226.

¹⁰⁴ Roger Fiske identifies Carey as the composer, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 75. The description was reprinted several times, the two principal editions are: *Harlequin Doctor Faustus: With the Masque of the Deities. With Additions and Alterations* (London: W. Chetwood, 1724); *An Exact Description of the Two Fam'd Entertainments of Harlequin Doctor Faustus: With the Grand Masque of the Heathen Deities: and The Necromancer, or Harlequin Doctor Faustus* (London; T. Payne, [1724?]).

Thurmond's source was probably *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus: With the Humours of Harlequin and Scaramouch* by William Mountfort, performed at Dorset Garden in 1687-1688 and revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1697, the year it was published.¹⁰⁵ The action of the pantomime began in Faustus's study, as he signs away his soul, and ended there as Time and Death accost him, Time 'strikes the Doctor with his Dart, at which he drops down dead', and demons bear Faustus's body off to hell, tearing it 'Limb from Limb'.¹⁰⁶ The intervening scenes included the appearance of Helen of Troy to dance for Faustus, Faustus cutting off his own leg to repay a debt and its magical restoration by Mephostophilus, and the spectacular burning of a barn. John Shaw took the title role, with Thurmond as Mephostophilus, and Mrs Younger as Helen of Troy.

For contemporaries, the sixteenth scene, the 'Masque of the Deities', was nearly as important as the Faustus story told in scenes one to fifteen. It opened to discover a 'Poetical Heaven. The Prospect terminating in plain Clouds. Several Gods and Goddesses ... rang'd on each side'; the deities were assembled to express 'the utmost Satisfaction at the Doctor's Fall, because he, by his Magick Art, was deem'd to have an Influence on the Sun, Moon, and Seasons of the Year'.¹⁰⁷ The whole scene formed an extended but conventional divertissement of dances, beginning with a duet by Flora and Iris (Ann Bullock and Theodosia Tenoe), after which Mars (John Thurmond) danced a solo 'Pyrrhic', followed by Bacchus and Ceres (Boval and Elizabeth Younger) who danced a duet, then Mercury (John Shaw) who performed a dance 'compos'd of the several Attitudes belonging to the Character'.¹⁰⁸ All the dancing was in the serious style, and the masque was designed to be as magnificent as possible, culminating as:

¹⁰⁵ William Mountfort, *The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus, Made into a Farce* (London: E. Whitlock, 1697).

¹⁰⁶ *Exact Description*, pp. 1, 16 (first sequence). Mountfort's play also ended with Faustus's body being torn apart, see *Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ Scene sixteen is described in *Exact Description*, pp. 17-18 (first sequence).

¹⁰⁸ Thurmond's 'Pyrrhic' solo as Mars recalls the opening scene of Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.

This Dance [i.e. Mercury's solo] ended, the Cloud that finishes the Prospect flies up, and discovers a further View of a glorious transcendent Coelum.

Diana standing in a fix'd Posture on an Altitude form'd by Clouds, the Moon transparent over her head in an Azure Sky, tinctur'd with little Stars, she descends to a Symphony of Flutes; ...

Diana was also described as dancing 'to Rural Musick'; Hester Santlow probably performed her solo to one of the dance types associated with the pastoral genre.¹⁰⁹ After Diana's solo, all the deities performed a 'Choral Dance' together to round off the entertainment.¹¹⁰

The 'Masque of the Deities', and particularly Santlow's entrance, caught the imagination of audiences, and it was several times discussed in the newspapers. The *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post* of 7 December 1723 compared the comic action in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* with the performances of the classical mimes (to the disadvantage of the former), and ridiculed the 'Heathen Gods' who 'have no Parts but to appear and dance'. The writer was nevertheless forced to admit that '*Lady Luna* [Hester Santlow] is a pretty Dancer, and if there was no Part fit for her in the Entertainment, the bringing her down in a Machine to Dance was a notable Contrivance'. The writer in the *Universal Journal* of 4 March 1724 had evidently seen both *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* and *The Necromancer* several times, for he declared that 'Dr. *Faustus* makes an equal ridiculous Figure at both Houses. *Lunn* [i.e. John Rich] has improved upon them [i.e. the Drury Lane managers]; they are improving upon him again'. He declared himself in favour of the Drury Lane pantomime, because of the 'Masque of the Deities', which provided a 'beautiful Representation of the heathen *Olympus*; where several Gods and Goddesses dance agreeable to their Characters', and described the impact of Diana's appearance by quoting Virgil's description of the goddess in the first book of the *Aeneid* (in both Latin and English) finishing with the lines:

¹⁰⁹ *Harlequin Doctor Faustus: With the Masque of the Deities*, p. 22.

¹¹⁰ *Exact Description*, p. 18 (first sequence).

Amidst a Thousand Nymphs the Goddess stands confest,
 In Beauty, Majesty, and Port Divine,
 Supreme and Eminent.

Even Alexander Pope referred to Santlow's appearance as Diana in the 'Masque of the Deities', in *The Dunciad*, where his lines satirising the two Faustus pantomimes include 'Another Cynthia her new journey runs'.¹¹¹ Hester Santlow contributed more than a little to the success of Thurmond's *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*.

Weaver's influence on John Thurmond is evident from the description published to accompany *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, in which each deity was described in classical guise, including Diana:

She is pictur'd of a middle Stature, her Hair loose, a Bow in her Hand, and a Quiver of Arrows hanging at her Shoulders; a Deer-Skin fasten'd to her Breast, a Gown of Purple, tuck'd up to her Knees with Jewels; her Legs adorn'd with Buskins up to the Calf, her Dress, tho' careless, handsome; her Behaviour free and easy, tho' modest and decent.¹¹²

Was Hester Santlow accepted on the London stage in a gown shorter than any Marie-Anne Camargo was to wear later at the Paris Opéra?¹¹³ Did Santlow dance

¹¹¹ Alexander Pope, 'The Dunciad Variorum' in, *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. by John Butt. Repr. (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 416. The reference is usually assumed to be to *The Rape of Proserpine*, see Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, p. 78. Since neither that pantomime nor *The Necromancer* include a character associated with Cynthia or the Moon, the line must refer to Santlow's appearance as Diana in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*.

¹¹² *Harlequin Doctor Faustus: With the Masque of the Deities*, p. 23.

¹¹³ Marie-Anne Camargo has been universally accepted by modern writers as the first dancer to shorten her skirts above floor-length in order to reveal her brilliant footwork, see *International Dictionary of Ballet* (Detroit: St James Press, 1993), entry for Marie-Anne Camargo. Hester Santlow is pictured in a skirt above ankle-length, and other female dancers on the London stage apparently tucked up their skirts to dance, see chapter three, 'Dancing Style and Technique'.

in a classically inspired costume with her hair loose, more than ten years before Marie Sallé appeared in *Pygmalion* in classical draperies with her hair down?¹¹⁴

The Necromancer outshone *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* from its first performance, and maintained its popularity into the 1740s although both versions were played with much the same frequency during the 1720s. John Rich was able to outdo Drury Lane with his comic action, for *The Necromancer* had a more coherent plot and far more spectacular scenic effects than *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, but he ended his pantomime with nothing more than an ‘Antick Dance’ by a Harlequin Man and Woman, a Punch Man and Woman, a Scaramouch Man and Woman, and a Mezzetin Man and Woman.¹¹⁵ He was unable to mount anything to equal the ‘Masque of the Deities’, for he had no female dancer in his company who could challenge Hester Santlow.

Apollo and Daphne (Thurmond, 1725)

The first performance of Thurmond’s *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin Mercury* was given at Drury Lane on 20 February 1725. It was advertised as ‘A New Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing’, and no expense was spared, ‘The Cloaths, Scenes, Machines, Flyings, and other Decorations being entirely New’.

Thurmond took the role of Apollo, with Santlow as Daphne, and Theophilus Cibber as Harlequin Mercury; Thurmond and Santlow also danced, in the characters of a Sylvan and a Nymph, at the culmination of the divertissement which ended the pantomime. The music was by Richard Jones and Henry Carey, but virtually none of it survives.¹¹⁶ The afterpiece received eighteen performances

¹¹⁴ Santlow is shown with her hair loose in her portrait in Harlequin costume, see chapter four, ‘Solo Dances’. Marie Sallé appeared in *Pygmalion* at Covent Garden on 14 February 1734, and her costume drew comment in the *Mercure de France*, April 1734, pp. 770-772, but was not mentioned in the London newspapers.

¹¹⁵ For a comparison of the two pantomimes, see Chapman, ‘English Pantomime’, pp. 304-306. For the ‘Antick Dance’ see *Exact Description*, p. 15 (second sequence), and the advertisements for the first performance of *The Necromancer*.

¹¹⁶ Fiske attributes the music to Jones and Carey, *English Theatre Music*, p. 75. The only piece of music known to survive is ‘The Hunting Song in Apollo and Daphne ... set by Mr. Carey’, published about 1730.

in its first season, and was revived on 11 February 1726 with a new comic part as *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin's Metamorphoses*, in response to *Apollo and Daphne; or, The Burgomaster Trick'd*, the new pantomime given at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 14 January 1726.¹¹⁷ Rich's version had Francis and Marie Sallé in the title roles, and he played Harlequin, with Elizabeth Younger as Colombine, and Francis Nivelon as the Burgomaster; the Sallés also took the dancing roles of Zephyrus and Flora in the entertainment which ended the pantomime. The Drury Lane version enjoyed a further twenty-seven performances in 1725-1726, but survived as a separate entertainment only until 1727-1728.¹¹⁸ The Lincoln's Inn Fields version received forty-five performances in 1725-1726 and was performed several times each season until 1739-1740.¹¹⁹

Thurmond's *Apollo and Daphne* had been preceded at Drury Lane by a masque by John Hughes, given on 12 January 1716, and a 'new Dramatic Entertainment ... design'd by Mr Theo Cibber, with new Music compos'd and adapt'd by Mr Jones', given on 12 August 1723. Cibber's work may well have been related to that by Hughes, and Thurmond's afterpiece possibly drew elements from both.¹²⁰ Thurmond's *Apollo and Daphne* had ten scenes.¹²¹ It opened with a prologue, sung by Night and Aurora, with no dancing.¹²² The second scene, set in 'a fine pleasant Country, the Prospect terminated with Hills', showed Apollo's encounter with Daphne, with whom he falls in love, and the third scene presented Apollo's

¹¹⁷ Ralph, pp. 153, 729, overlooks the initial run of performances of Thurmond's *Apollo and Daphne* in 1724-1725, and mistakenly assumes that Thurmond was copying Rich, although the reverse was true.

¹¹⁸ The last performance of 'the Scene of Apollo and Daphne', with Thurmond and Santlow in their original roles, was as part of the afterpiece *The Comical Distresses of Pierot* at Drury Lane on 10 December 1729.

¹¹⁹ Marie Sallé appeared in *Apollo and Daphne* rarely after 1726-1727, the roles of Daphne and Flora were usually danced by Mary Laguerre.

¹²⁰ John Hughes, *Apollo and Daphne. A Masque* (London: J. Tonson, 1716). No description of Cibber's *Apollo and Daphne* survives.

¹²¹ The published description does not number these scenes, but it does indicate scene changes, John Thurmond, *Apollo and Daphne: or, Harlequin Mercury* (London: A. Dodd, 1726).

¹²² For the action of the pantomime, see Thurmond, *Apollo and Daphne*, pp. 15-21.

attempts to court her and her flight from him. The serious part of the pantomime was then suspended for four scenes showing the adventures of Harlequin, Colombine, and other *commedia dell'arte* characters, in a self-contained comic plot. The serious action resumed in scene eight, with Apollo in pursuit of Daphne through 'a Wood', and finished in scene nine as Daphne finally eluded his grasp by being 'metamorphos'd into a Lawrel-Tree'. The afterpiece finished with a divertissement of dances associated with the action by being set in 'the Temple, and Pallace of *Apollo*'.

With *Apollo and Daphne*, Thurmond was consciously emulating Weaver, for the first part of the published description includes a lengthy quotation from Dryden's translation of Ovid's version of the story, and the serious part of the pantomime was performed with gesture rather than dancing.¹²³ The only dance in the serious part to be explicitly mentioned was that for Daphne and three Nymphs (referred to as Daphne's Followers in the advertisements) in scene two, immediately after the four had entered 'with Spears in their Hands, as ready for the Chace'. It was undoubtedly a dance in the pastoral genre, perhaps with a solo for Santlow as well as an ensemble for all four dancers, during which Apollo 'in the Chariot of the Sun' entered 'to gaze with pleasure upon Daphne' and be struck by an arrow from Cupid's bow. In the third scene the action was shown in mime as '*Apollo* comes on to the Nymphs, and courts *Daphne*; she slights him'. Thurmond may well have taken Weaver's scene between Venus and Vulcan in *The Loves of Mars and Venus* as his source, and created a dance 'of the *Pantomimic* kind' in which he and Santlow used gesture to express a series of passions as they danced together.¹²⁴ The scene ended as '*Daphne* breaks from *Apollo* and runs off' in pursuit of a stag and pack of hounds which have crossed the stage, providing a link to scene eight in which '*Daphne* flys across, pursu'd by *Apollo*'. Although the description gives no hint, the flight might have been portrayed in dance and gesture and thus more expressive than a swift and simple crossing of the stage by Daphne and Apollo. In the final scene, Santlow was given the opportunity for an extended sequence of mime, as '*Daphne* enters in the utmost Fright, kneels, and supplicates her Father

¹²³ For the introduction, see Thurmond, *Apollo and Daphne*, pp. 3-14.

¹²⁴ Weaver, *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, Ralph, p. 752.

Peneus for Succor’; in developing her performance, she could draw not only on her own gestures as Venus in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, but also on Weaver’s as Orpheus in *Orpheus and Eurydice*.¹²⁵ Thurmond perhaps drew on the same source when, after Daphne has been changed into a laurel tree, Apollo entered ‘to lament her Change’.¹²⁶

There was apparently very little dancing in the serious part of the pantomime, but this was redressed in the final divertissement which began with a dance by Pan and seven Satyrs ‘by Comedians’, presumably a comic dance with a solo for Pan. They were followed by ‘Peasants and their Wives’, named in the advertisements as Countrymen and Countrywomen, who probably performed one of the ‘Peasant’ dances familiar from the entr’actes. A dance for Shepherds and Shepherdesses provided a contrast, and led to a dance by ‘two Silvans’ (in the advertisements described as a Sylvan and a Nymph) performed by Thurmond and Hester Santlow. A duet similar to L’Abbé’s ‘Chacone of Galathee’ might well have been appropriate for Thurmond and Mrs Santlow in this divertissement. The dances probably formed a sequence of separate numbers, with all the dancers coming together as the final chorus was sung by the Priests of Apollo.¹²⁷ Thus, although Thurmond drew much of his inspiration for *Apollo and Daphne* from Weaver’s works, including *Orpheus and Eurydice*, he did not repeat Weaver’s mistakes. He gave the role of Daphne greater emphasis than that of Apollo, making judicious use of Hester Santlow’s skills, experience, and popularity, and he included a final divertissement with plenty of dancing, in order to be sure of pleasing his audiences.

¹²⁵ In scene four of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, Orpheus ‘begs, and seeks Relief from the Celestial Deities’, *Ralph*, p. 802.

¹²⁶ In scene four of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, Orpheus ‘expresses by Actions the Violence of his Sorrows, and deplores his lost *Eurydice*’, *Ralph*, p. 802. Thurmond’s use of Hughes’s masque as a source is indicated by some of the stage directions and song-texts in the libretto for the latter. See Hughes, *Apollo and Daphne*, p. 14, ‘Exit Daph. pursu’d by Apollo’ and ‘Re-enter Daphne looking back as affrighted’, p. 15, (Apollo’s final song) ‘O fatal Flight! – O curst Disdain! / O *Peneus*, how shall we our Loss deplore?’.

¹²⁷ The description says they ‘dance their different Measures’, implying a sequence of dance types suited to the various characters, Thurmond, *Apollo and Daphne*, p. 21.

John Rich was unable to reply to Thurmond's *Apollo and Daphne* until the 1725-1726 season, when Francis and Marie Sallé were again both at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Despite giving them the title roles in *Apollo and Daphne; or, The Burgomaster Trick'd*, Rich regarded the scenes with singing as central to his version of the pantomime; although the libretto was published, it made few references to the dancing and no mention at all of the action either for Apollo and Daphne or in the comic scenes.¹²⁸ These omissions make it difficult to guess how the story of Apollo and Daphne was inserted into the serious part of the pantomime, and impossible to tell if and how gesture might have been used (as well as dancing) by Francis and Marie Sallé. Did they pay close attention to the performances by Thurmond and Santlow, in order to develop their own? Rich was able to include a danced divertissement to end the pantomime with 'several Dancers ... representing different Parts of the World' and a 'Grand Entry, in which *Flora* represents an Inconstant'.¹²⁹ The advertisements indicate that the 'Grand Entry' comprised dances by Spanish, 'Polonese' (i.e. Polish) and French couples, and probably a duet for Zephyrus and Flora.

Drury Lane responded to the Lincoln's Inn Fields *Apollo and Daphne* by bringing together all the serious scenes at the beginning of the pantomime, and replacing the comic plot with a new one.¹³⁰ Some changes were made to the final divertissement, which was referred to in the advertisement for 11 February 1726 as 'a Rural Masque: Les Bois d'Amourette'. The Countrymen and Countrywomen disappeared, but the Shepherds and Shepherdesses doubled in number to four men and four women. Hester Santlow was again a Nymph, but with two 'Rival Swains' danced by Thurmond and Roger, indicating the introduction of a narrative thread perhaps in response to the performance of the

¹²⁸ Lewis Theobald, *Vocal Parts of an Entertainment Called Apollo and Daphne: or, The Burgomaster Trick'd* (London: T. Wood, 1726). The music was by John Ernest Galliard.

¹²⁹ Theobald, *Apollo and Daphne*, p. 14.

¹³⁰ John Thurmond, 'Apollo and Daphne: or Harlequin's Metamorphoses' in, *Three Entertainments, Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane* (London: T. Corbett, 1727), pp. 20-30. No details of the new comic plot are given.

Sallés as Zephyrus and Flora,¹³¹ The emphasis in Drury Lane's *Apollo and Daphne* remained on the serious plot and the final divertissement.

There are no contemporary descriptions of Hester Santlow as Daphne, but her performance in the role may well have been the subject of several lines in her husband's 'Ode on Mira, Dancing':

But now the flying Fingers strike the Lyre!
 The sprightly Notes the Nymph inspire;
 She whirls around! she bounds! she springs!
 As if *Jove's* Messenger had lent her Wings.
 Such *Daphne* was, when near old *Peneus'* Stream
 She fled, to shun a loath'd Embrace;
 (Of antient Bards the frequent Theme)
 Such were her lovely Limbs, so flush'd her Charming Face!
 So round her Neck! her Eyes so fair!
 So rose her swelling Chest! so flow'd her Amber Hair!
 While her swift Feet outstript the Wind,
 And left th'enamour'd God of Day behind.¹³²

Hester Santlow may well have danced with her hair loose, and perhaps enjoyed the freedom of a classical-style costume similar to the one described for Diana in the 'Masque of the Deities'.

The Miser / Harlequin's Triumph (Thurmond, 1726-1727)

The rivalry between the two playhouses emerged even more strongly during the 1726-1727 season, with Thurmond's *The Miser* at Drury Lane, and Theobald's *The Rape of Proserpine* at Lincoln's Inn Fields. *The Miser*, a sequel to *Harlequin*

¹³¹ For the 1726-1727 and 1727-1728 seasons the cast list for the final divertissement reverted to its original version.

¹³² Barton Booth, 'Ode on Mira, Dancing', in Benjamin Victor, *Memoirs of the Life of Barton Booth* (London: J. Watts, 1733), pp. 50-51. Victor (p. 35) dates the poem to 1718, but Booth may have revised it and added extra stanzas at a later date.

Doctor Faustus, was given its first performance on 30 December 1726 with 'Scenes, Machines, Cloaths, &c. entirely New'. The action of the pantomime was wholly comic, with the exception of a final divertissement of dancing, included as 'an Entertainment for the Celebration of *Harlequin's* Nuptials'.¹³³ The music was by Richard Jones, and *The Miser* is the only one of Thurmond's pantomimes for which any appreciable amount of music survives.¹³⁴ *The Miser* was performed eighteen times during December 1726 and January 1727. The success of *The Rape of Proserpine*, given at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 13 February 1727, persuaded Drury Lane to revise Thurmond's pantomime in the hope of gaining fresh audiences. It was renamed *Harlequin's Triumph* and given with a slightly different comic plot, but the same final divertissement, on 27 February 1727; it survived for a further sixteen performances, but neither version was revived in later seasons.¹³⁵ *Harlequin's Triumph* was the last of John Thurmond's pantomimes for Drury Lane.

Hester Santlow's role in both *The Miser* and *Harlequin's Triumph* was limited to an appearance at the end of the final divertissement. The description for *The Miser* says nothing about the dancing which ended the afterpiece, but the advertisements gave a cast list (which showed that the divertissement remained the same in both versions of the pantomime) and the description for *Harlequin's Triumph* volunteers the information that, after the 'Triumph of Harlequin ... the Scene changes to a View of a Pleasant Country, when after several Rural Dances, it changes to the Temple of *Pomona*, who appears, and joins in a Dance of Statues'.¹³⁶ The first part of the divertissement comprised dances for a Rural Lass, two Country Lads, and Countrymen and Countrywomen. Hester Santlow

¹³³ John Thurmond, *The Miser; or, Wagner and Abericock* (London: W. Trott, 1727), p. 10.

Thurmond may have derived part of his plot from Molière's *L'Avare*, which had been performed by visiting French companies at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket in 1720-1721 and 1721-1722.

¹³⁴ The 'Symphony or Overture in Wagner and Abericock' by Jones appears in *The Ladys Banquet First Book* (London: J. Walsh, J. Hare, [1730]), pp. 8-9. Chapman, 'English Pantomime', pp. 352-355, suggests that the music which follows the overture probably also belongs to the pantomime.

¹³⁵ John Thurmond, 'Harlequin's Triumph' in, *Three Entertainments Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane* (London: T. Corbett, 1727).

¹³⁶ Thurmond, *Three Entertainments*, p. 35.

appeared as Pomona, with Thurmond, Roger, Lally, and Essex as the Statues.¹³⁷ Although 'Statue' dances appeared in many other works, Pomona was presumably introduced merely to give Hester Santlow a dancing role, as Drury Lane's leading dancer and a powerful draw for audiences.¹³⁸

Her appearance was vital to *Harlequin's Triumph*, for at Lincoln's Inn Fields Rich had at last managed to produce a reply to the 'Masque of the Deities' (which was still being played regularly within *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*). At the end of *The Rape of Proserpine* 'The Heavens open, and discover *Jupiter* attended by Celestial Deities; the Earth opens, and *Pluto* and *Proserpine* rise as from Hell, attended by Infernals', after *Jupiter* has pacified *Ceres* 'Enter several Dancers, who represent the four Elements, and celebrate the Marriage of *Pluto* and *Proserpine*, by a Grand Ballet'.¹³⁹ Francis Sallé was Water, with Louis Dupré as Earth, Glover as Air, and Poitier as Fire. The women dancers, Mrs Pelling, Mrs Laguerre, Mrs Bullock, and Marie Sallé, were not allotted individual roles but referred to in the advertisements merely as 'Females'. The emphasis was clearly on the men, who were undoubtedly able to present a series of solos of thrilling virtuosity. Despite Rich's efforts, and the success of *The Rape of Proserpine*, its final 'Grand Ballet' drew none of the attention which the 'Masque of the Deities' had received.

Roger, Weaver and Dancing in the Afterpieces

The 1727-1728 season was dominated by *The Provok'd Husband* at Drury Lane, and *The Beggar's Opera* at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The only new pantomime of note was *Harlequin Happy and Poor Pierrot Married* 'Composed by Mons Roger' and given at Drury Lane on 11 March 1728. Roger's first billing on the London stage had been with a troupe of Fench comedians at the King's Theatre on 3 May 1720, in 'Mad Men and Mad Women' as 'Roger, who plays the part of

¹³⁷ *Ladys Banquet*, pp. 14-15, has a 'Statue Dance' which could belong to *The Miser*. It is followed by an 'Aire' which could perhaps be the music for Santlow's solo as Pomona.

¹³⁸ Some of the works on the London stage which featured 'Statue' dances are listed by Sarah McCleave, 'Dance in Handel's Italian Operas: the Collaboration with Marie Sallé' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1993), p. 82.

¹³⁹ Lewis Theobald, *The Rape of Proserpine* (London: T. Wood, 1727), pp. 17, 19, italics reversed.

Pierrot'.¹⁴⁰ His origins are unknown and it has been suggested that he was English rather than French, although this seems unlikely.¹⁴¹ In 1720-1721, Roger appeared with a French company at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, where he was again closely associated with the role of Pierrot.¹⁴² He did not return to London (and the Little Theatre, with another French company) until the 1724-1725 season, when he not only appeared as Pierrot but also showed the diversity of his skills, as the choreographer of 'un Nouveau Ballet Comique & autres Danses' on 8 March 1725, and as the composer and performer of a 'new Sonata on the Violin' at his benefit on 18 March 1725.

Roger joined the Drury Lane company for the 1725-1726 season, where he was first advertised on 28 September 1725 in 'the last new Dance, in Comic Characters, call'd *La Folete*, composed by Mons Roger the French Pierot, and perform'd by him, Thurmond, Boval, Lally, Mrs Brett, Miss Tenoe'. He played Harlequin in both Thurmond's *The Escapes of Harlequin* and *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, and appeared as Pierrot in the comic part and a Rival Swain in the concluding divertissement of *Apollo and Daphne*.¹⁴³ He danced a 'Peasant' dance on 28 October 1725 and a 'Turkish Dance' (with Thurmond, Lally and Duplessis) on 31 March 1726, as well as introducing the duet 'La Pieraite' (with Miss Brett) to the repertory, and choreographing 'Le Badinage Champetre' for himself and Hester Santlow with four supporting couples. Roger was granted a benefit on 13 April 1726, immediately after John Thurmond.

¹⁴⁰ Roger may have been 'the Person who plays Pierrot at Paris' who appeared at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 29 January 1719.

¹⁴¹ Ifan Kyrle Fletcher stated that Roger was English, but provided no evidence to support his assertion, 'Ballet in England, 1660-1740' in, *Famed for Dance: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Theatrical Dancing in England, 1660-1740*, by Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, Selma Jeanne Cohen and Roger Lonsdale (New York: New York Public Library, 1960), pp. 5-20 (p. 17). Roger was occasionally billed as 'Monsieur' at Drury Lane, as on 13 April 1726 and 19 March 1728.

¹⁴² Roger was billed as 'alias Pierot' on 27 February 1721, and as 'Roger, who acts the Part of Pierot' on 23 March 1721.

¹⁴³ Roger appeared in *The Escapes of Harlequin* on 19 October 1725, in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* on 3 June 1726, and in *Apollo and Daphne* on 11 February 1726.

During the 1726-1727 season, Roger added the roles of Pierrot and a Statue in *The Miser* and *Harlequin's Triumph* to his repertoire. He also created 'The Cobbler's Jealous Wife', first given at Drury Lane on 21 April 1727, which seems to have had a narrative thread and been more than merely a scene.¹⁴⁴ By 1727-1728, Roger was well established at Drury Lane and his first pantomime, *Harlequin Happy and Poor Pierrot Married*, in which he took the role of Pierrot with Weaver as Colombine's Father, received twelve performances. The success of *Harlequin Happy* encouraged the Drury Lane managers to entrust him with a far more ambitious undertaking. *Perseus and Andromeda: With the Rape of Colombine; or, The Flying Lovers*, with Michael Lally and Hester Santlow in the title roles, was created by Roger in collaboration with John Weaver, who had returned to the London stage for a short period. It was first performed on 15 November 1728, and was played forty-nine times during the season. John Rich's reply was delayed until 1729-1730, probably because of the success of *The Beggar's Opera*, but the Lincoln's Inn Fields *Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Spaniard Outwitted*, with the roles of Perseus and Andromeda taken by singers, and Rich in his accustomed role of Harlequin, achieved sixty performances between its opening on 2 January 1730 and the end of the season.

Roger's new works during 1729-1730 were limited to a short-lived afterpiece, *The Comical Distresses of Pierrot* (in which he played the title role) which received one performance on 10 December 1729, an equally unsuccessful entr'acte dance the 'English Medley' first given on 4 April 1730 and led by himself and Hester Santlow, and a 'New Pantomime Entertainment' *Diana and Acteon* given a single performance at his benefit on 23 April 1730. The title roles in *Diana and Acteon* were taken by Hester Santlow and Michael Lally, and the cast list indicates that the work could have been a 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' influenced by Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.¹⁴⁵ On 28 October 1730, Roger finally

¹⁴⁴ Moira Goff, ' "Actions, Manners, and Passions": Entracte Dancing on the London Stage, 1700-1737', *Early Music*, 26 (1998), 213-228 (p. 225).

¹⁴⁵ No description of *Diana and Acteon* has survived. The afterpiece was revived at Goodman's Fields on 19 April 1734 with Mrs Bullock and Vallois in the title roles; the advertisement added that the story was 'Taken from Ovid's Metamorphoses', and the revival was 'With a new Scene'.

outdid Rich with *Cephalus and Procris: With the Mistakes*, a ‘new Dramatic Masque’ which was the most successful of all the Drury Lane pantomime afterpieces of this period. It followed the pattern established by Lincoln’s Inn Fields, with title roles taken by singers and danced divertissements.

During the late 1720s and early 1730s, Roger continued to visit Paris to dance in the fair theatres. In 1729, he and Francis Nivelon presented *La Noce Angloise*, *L’Amour et la Jalousie*, and *La Guingette Anglaise* at the St Laurent fair.¹⁴⁶ On 11 November 1731, the *Daily Advertiser* reported that Roger had died in Paris, and the performance of *Perseus and Andromeda* on 4 December 1731 was advertised as ‘Composed by the late Monsieur Roger’. Roger’s death must have come as a blow to Drury Lane, for he had proved himself a talented creator of pantomime afterpieces and entr’acte dances, and a worthy rival to John Rich. His career has yet to attract the attention of scholars.

There were no successful new pantomimes mounted at Drury Lane during 1731-1732. The lack of a dancing-master who could create fresh afterpieces (despite the presence in the company of both John Thurmond and Denoyer) led the new Drury Lane management to recall Weaver to London during the 1732-1733 season to create his last work for the London stage, *The Judgment of Paris*. His subsequent withdrawal to Shrewsbury, and Hester Santlow’s retirement from the stage, marked the end of an important era for the development of dancing in the London theatres.

***Perseus and Andromeda* (Roger and Weaver, 1728)**

Perseus and Andromeda: With the Rape of Colombine; or, The Flying Lovers, ‘In five different Interludes, viz. Three Serious, and two Comic. All the Scenes painted by Mr Devoto’, was first performed at Drury Lane on 15 November 1728. The description published to accompany the production announced on its titlepage that the serious interludes were by Roger, and the comic ones were the work of

Roger’s wife, who had danced as a Follower of Diana in the original version, married Vallois after Roger’s death; she again appeared as a Follower of Diana in the revival.

¹⁴⁶ Winter, *Pre-Romantic Ballet*, pp. 62, 84.

John Weaver.¹⁴⁷ Weaver's contribution to the afterpiece may have drawn on his pantomime of 1716-1717, *The Shipwreck*. The music has been attributed to Pepusch, although virtually none of it survives.¹⁴⁸ As well as Michael Lally in the role of Perseus and Mrs Santlow as Andromeda, William Essex appeared as Mercury, John Thurmond was Medusa, Roger was Pierot (Doctor's Man) and Weaver was Clown (Squire's Man). *Perseus and Andromeda* was the first Drury Lane pantomime to enjoy significant royal patronage, for King George II commanded the performances on 20 and 30 November 1728, and the royal children (without their parents) attended several performances in its first season.¹⁴⁹ On 15 March 1729, the afterpiece was retitled *Perseus and Andromeda: With the Devil Upon Two Sticks* and given with a new comic plot by Roger, who kept his role of Pierot; Weaver disappeared from the cast list.¹⁵⁰ *Perseus and Andromeda* continued to be played at Drury Lane until the 1731-1732 season, although another change was made to the comic plot on 25 November 1731 when it was retitled *Perseus and Andromeda: With Pierrot Married*, perhaps as a response to the Lincoln's Inn Fields version of the pantomime *Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Spaniard Outwitted*, which had opened on 2 January 1730 and been an immediate success. Hester Santlow and Michael Lally continued to dance the title roles until the pantomime disappeared from Drury Lane's repertoire.

Perseus and Andromeda has attracted little attention from dance scholars, although it was briefly discussed by Richard Ralph in *The Life and Works of John*

¹⁴⁷ *Perseus and Andromeda. With the Rape of Colombine: or, The Flying Lovers. In Five Interludes; Three Serious, and Two Comic. The Serious Compos'd by Mons. Roger, and the Comic by Mr. John Weaver* (London: W. Trott, 1728). For an annotated facsimile reprint, see Ralph, pp. 815-836.

¹⁴⁸ Fiske identifies Pepusch as the composer for the Drury Lane *Perseus and Andromeda*, *English Theatre Music*, pp. 76, 91. Chapman, 'English Pantomime', p. 419, states that 'The identity of the composer of the music for Drury Lane's *Perseus* is not known'. The entries for Pepusch in *BDA* and *New Grove* make no mention of any connection with the afterpiece.

¹⁴⁹ The Prince and Princess of Wales commanded a performance of *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* on 13 December 1723, but none of the subsequent Drury Lane pantomimes attracted royal interest.

¹⁵⁰ *Perseus and Andromeda. Or, The Devil Upon Two Sticks* (London: W. Trott, 1729).

Weaver.¹⁵¹ The serious part of the pantomime began with Perseus slaying the Gorgon, and then told the story of Perseus's rescue of Andromeda from a sea monster, followed by their marriage. Roger's serious interludes were influenced by Weaver's 'dramatic entertainments of dancing', indicating that he and Weaver may have worked together on the whole pantomime; Roger would undoubtedly have drawn on Hester Santlow's experience to create the role of Andromeda. The published description clearly shows Roger's interest in expressive dancing, as well as his use of the conventional entr'acte dance repertoire. With his varied experience of choreographing entr'acte dances, Roger may have created many of the dances for the serious part of *Perseus and Andromeda*, although Lally, Santlow, and Essex could have drawn on their individual repertoires for their own dances. Like *Orpheus and Eurydice* and *Apollo and Daphne*, the story of *Perseus and Andromeda* allowed the integration of special effects into the serious interludes, and Roger took full advantage of this.

Perseus and Andromeda began with a serious interlude. The curtain rose on 'Medusa's Cavern' with Medusa and the Gorgons; Mercury entered and lulled them to sleep before he armed Perseus, who killed Medusa and mounted Pegasus ('engender'd' from Medusa's blood). The scene ended as Mercury and Pegasus, carrying Perseus, flew away.¹⁵² The interlude had three dances. The first was for Medusa and her two sister Gorgons, who danced 'expressing a Horror at their Condition'; since it was intended to express a powerful emotion, it may have been a pantomime dance rather than a comic-grotesque dance. The second dance, for the four Hours of Sleep, was probably a conventional quartet in the serious style. The third, a duet for Perseus and Mercury, could have provided an opportunity for virtuoso display by Lally and Essex.

After the first comic interlude, for which no details were given in the published description, the pantomime immediately returned to the serious plot and 'a

¹⁵¹ *Ralph*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁵² For the first serious interlude see *Ralph*, pp. 825-827.

Prospect of the Sea, Bounded with Rocks'.¹⁵³ The second serious interlude introduced Andromeda. It began with 'Six Sailors, or Boatmen' who performed a 'Comic Dance', probably of a type familiar from the entr'actes, which was followed by the entrance of '*Cepheus, Cassiopea, Andromeda, and Attendants*' who performed what must have been a serious dance for seven, which may have included a solo for Hester Santlow as Andromeda, a quartet for her Attendants, and a dance for all five. The rest of the interlude was mainly given over to action and spectacular effects, as 'out of the Sea spring Four Tritons, who bind Andromeda to a Rock to be devour'd by a Sea Monster' (the Tritons were Thurmond, Essex, Haughton, and Rainton, who may have performed a conventional dance after imprisoning her), followed by the appearance of the monster, and the arrival of Perseus to slay it and rescue her. The action in which Perseus killed the Monster and rescued Andromeda, is explained in the description by a lengthy quotation from Addison's translation of the story from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was perhaps intended to explain the action on the stage:

Chain'd to a Rock she stood; young *Perseus* staid
 His rapid Flight, to view the beauteous Maid.
 So sweet her Frame, so exquisitely fine,
 She seem'd a Statue by a Hand Divine,
 Had not the Wind her waving Tresses show'd,
 And down her Cheeks the Melting Sorrows flow'd.

Later lines referred to Andromeda's 'rising Blushes' and how 'She acted to her full extent of Power'; if Andromeda's hands were bound, Hester Santlow's expressions of sorrow, shame, and fear would have been limited to her face and posture.¹⁵⁴ The interlude ended as '*Perseus* has deliver'd *Andromeda* by the Death of the Monster, he receives her from her Father and Mother, and all go out together'.

¹⁵³ The comic plot is summarised in a song given during the first comic interlude and printed in the description, see *Ralph* pp. 835-836. For the second serious interlude, see *Ralph*, pp. 828-833.

¹⁵⁴ *Ralph*, pp. 829, 830. Italics reversed.

This scene was followed by the second comic interlude, after which the curtain rose to discover ‘the Garden of *Venus* Terminated with the Temple of Love’ which provided the location for the final divertissement celebrating the happy end to the story.¹⁵⁵ This third and final serious interlude celebrated the marriage of Perseus and Andromeda in the form of a masque, with a dance for Cupid’s Devotees, a duet for Perseus and Andromeda, another dance for Jupiter (William Essex) ‘attended by *Juno, Minerva, Diana* and *Venus*’, and a final ‘Chorus Dance’ for the Lovers (Cupid’s Devotees) who remain on stage after Jupiter ‘takes his Son and Daughter with him into his Chariot, and ascends to Heav’n with the rest of the Deities’. The duet for Michael Lally and Hester Santlow, as Perseus and Andromeda ‘expressing their Mutual Love’, was obviously intended as a display of refined and sophisticated *belle dance* style and technique and could perhaps have been a chaconne or a passacaille. The ‘Grand Dance’ was probably that for Jupiter, Perseus, Andromeda, and the assembled goddesses, and perhaps included a solo for Jupiter and a trio for him with Perseus and Andromeda. The ‘Chorus Dance’ accompanied the closing tableau as the deities, with Perseus and Andromeda, rose Heavenwards.

At Lincoln’s Inn Fields, where all the principal roles were taken by singers, *Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Spaniard Outwitted* had far less dancing.¹⁵⁶ The role of the Spaniard was danced by Francis Nivelon, who may have choreographed the dances for the afterpiece.¹⁵⁷ The first danced divertissement accompanied the arming of Perseus by Mercury, with the help of five Cyclops, a ‘Train of Warlike Nymphs’, and a ‘Company of Infernals’.¹⁵⁸ According to the published libretto, the only other dancing came in the final scene in which the ‘Palace of *Venus* descends, in it the Goddess, *Cupid, Hymen*, the Graces, Loves and Sports’ and the ‘Subjects of *Cepheus* end with Dances, expressing their

¹⁵⁵ For the third serious interlude, see *Ralph*, pp. 833-834.

¹⁵⁶ Lewis Theobald, *Perseus and Andromeda* (London: T. Wood, 1730).

¹⁵⁷ See, Goff, ‘“Actions, Manners, and Passions”’, p. 217.

¹⁵⁸ Theobald, *Perseus and Andromeda*, pp. 5-6, italics reversed. The seven Infernals were danced by the leading male dancers at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, including Francis Sallé and Louis Dupré.

Joy'.¹⁵⁹ *Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Spaniard Outwitted*, shows clearly how Rich tried to copy and surpass Drury Lane, as well as the preference for singing over dancing in the serious parts of the pantomimes given at Lincoln's Inn Fields.¹⁶⁰ Despite its enormous success, Rich made changes to *Perseus and Andromeda*. On 15 December 1730, the pantomime was advertised as *Perseus and Andromeda; or, The Cheats of Harlequin*, Nivelon's role was changed from a Spaniard to a Hussar (perhaps in reference to Santlow's very popular 'Hussars' duet), and the pantomime concluded with a 'Grand Dance of Momus' drawn from another afterpiece.¹⁶¹ The change to the concluding dance was probably to provide an adequate counter-attraction to the final masque in the Drury Lane *Perseus and Andromeda*.

***Cephalus and Procris* (Roger, 1730)**

In his next pantomime for Drury Lane, *Cephalus and Procris: With the Mistakes* first performed on 28 October 1730 and described in the advertisements as a 'new Dramatic Masque', Roger showed that he had learnt some important lessons from John Rich. The serious part was sung, with Mrs Roberts as Cephalus and Miss Raftor (later better known as Kitty Clive) as Procris; the published libretto provided details of the comic scenes as well as the sung text, but said little about the dancing in the serious part.¹⁶² The songs in the serious part (which were published) were by Henry Carey, but the music for both the comic scenes and the dancing (none of which survives) may have been by another unnamed

¹⁵⁹ Theobald, *Perseus and Andromeda*, pp. 16-17, italics reversed.

¹⁶⁰ Chapman, 'English Pantomime', p. 420, briefly compares the Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields versions of *Perseus and Andromeda*.

¹⁶¹ The 'Grand Dance of Momus' had originally formed part of Ebenezer Forrest's afterpiece *Momus Turn'd Fabulist*, first performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 3 December 1729.

¹⁶² The only known edition of the libretto was published a few years after the first performance of the pantomime, *Cephalus and Procris. A Dramatic Masque. With a Pantomime Interlude, Call'd Harlequin Grand Volgi* (London: J. Watts, 1733). The pantomime was given a new comic part and advertised as *Cephalus and Procris: With Harlequin Grand Volgi* at Drury Lane on 4 December 1730.

composer.¹⁶³ Roger's decision to copy Lincoln's Inn Fields was justified by the success of *Cephalus and Procris*, which was performed seventy-four times during 1730-1731 with several performances commanded or attended by members of the royal family.¹⁶⁴ The afterpiece was performed twelve times in 1731-1732, and eighteen times in 1732-1733; its last revival was in 1739-1740.

Cephalus and Procris began with a scene in which Aurora admitted she loved the sleeping Cephalus and had him carried away by Cupids. This was immediately followed by several scenes of comic action, until the serious part resumed with a scene change to a 'beautiful Garden, adorn'd with eight Statues of the Heathen Deities, and several running Fountains' where Aurora declared her love to Cephalus, who rejected her.¹⁶⁵ The next scene, with Procris, was also serious, but immediately followed by several more comic scenes which brought the comic plot to a conclusion. The pantomime then returned to the serious plot, with a hunting scene for Cephalus, who having inadvertently killed Procris 'Throws himself into the Sea' in his remorse.¹⁶⁶ In the final scene, as Aurora reunited the lovers for eternity; a 'magnificent Temple of *Neptune* rises out of the Sea' to provide the backdrop for the happy close to the afterpiece.¹⁶⁷

The libretto refers only to a 'Dance of *Pleasure*, and her Followers' when the serious part resumes for the first time, and a 'Grand Dance of Tritons and Sirens' in the final scene, but the advertisements list Deities of Pleasure (Hester Santlow and William Essex) with four female followers, and Amphitrite (Santlow) with six Sea Gods and four Syrens, indicating that the afterpiece included two danced

¹⁶³ Henry Carey, *All the Songs in the New Entertainment of Cephalus and Procris* ([London]: T. Cobb, [1731]).

¹⁶⁴ The first performance was 'By Their Majesties' Command' and attended by the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, and Princesses Amelia and Mary. The King and Queen (with some of their children) attended again on 10 and 17 December 1730.

¹⁶⁵ *Cephalus and Procris*, p. 5. The scenes are not numbered in the libretto, although scene changes are clearly indicated.

¹⁶⁶ *Cephalus and Procris*, p. 17.

¹⁶⁷ *Cephalus and Procris*, p. 18.

divertissements.¹⁶⁸ The first divertissement probably comprised a duet for Santlow and Essex, a quartet for the female Followers, and a dance for all six. This scene also included some action for the Statues forming part of the elaborate scenery, as the ‘Pedestals all sink to soft Music, ‘till the Statues are even with the Ground, then move themselves into Attitudes of Supplication’, pleading with Cephalus on behalf of Aurora; there is no indication that the Deities of Pleasure and their Followers participated in this.¹⁶⁹

The ‘Grand Dance’ in the final scene must have come at the end of a divertissement, which perhaps included a dance for the six Sea Gods, a dance for the four Syrens, and a dance for them with four of the Sea Gods, culminating in a solo for Hester Santlow as Amphitrite. Santlow may have danced a trio with Lally and Essex (who appeared as Sea Gods), and all eleven dancers probably participated in a danced finale, before a sung chorus brought the pantomime to a close. In contrast to most of the Drury Lane pantomimes, including Roger’s *Perseus and Andromeda*, there was no explicitly expressive dancing in the serious part of *Cephalus and Procris*. The two divertissements were purely decorative, drawing on the entr’acte dance repertoire, and designed to please audiences with performances by Drury Lane’s leading dancers, particularly Hester Santlow.

The Judgment of Paris (Weaver, 1733)

John Weaver’s final work for the London stage, *The Judgment of Paris*, was first performed at Drury Lane on 6 February 1733.¹⁷⁰ The titlepage of the description published to accompany the performances called the afterpiece a ‘Dramatic Entertainment in Dancing and Singing, After the Manner of the Ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*’; Weaver was still mindful of classical antecedents.¹⁷¹ The work told

¹⁶⁸ *Cephalus and Procris*, pp. 7, 20. The libretto was probably published after the last performance of *Cephalus and Procris* in 1732-1733; from 1733-1734 the dancing role of Amphitrite was omitted from cast lists.

¹⁶⁹ *Cephalus and Procris*, p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ *Ralph*, p. 76.

¹⁷¹ John Weaver, *The Judgment of Paris* (London: J. Tonson, 1733). For an annotated facsimile reprint see, *Ralph*, pp. 839-852.

the story of the contest between Juno, Pallas, and Venus for a golden apple intended for the most beautiful of the goddesses, and the decision of Paris in favour of Venus who rewards him with the love of Helen of Troy. Weaver derived his plot from William Congreve's masque, *The Judgment of Paris*, first given at Dorset Garden on 21 March 1701; the music for his version was by Mr Seedo but none of it is known to survive.¹⁷² Denoyer took the role of Paris, with Mrs Walter as Juno, Miss Mears as Pallas, Miss Robinson as Venus, and Hester Santlow as Helen of Troy 'the fairest Woman in the World'.¹⁷³

Weaver's *The Judgment of Paris* has been discussed by Richard Ralph, in the only comprehensive account of the work to date.¹⁷⁴ Congreve's structure provided Weaver with a coherent framework for his danced action; in *The Judgment of Paris*, Weaver returned to the unities of time, place and action he had so consciously adhered to in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, but he departed from Congreve in many details, in particular with his introduction of the character of Helen of Troy, who is merely mentioned in the earlier work.¹⁷⁵ In contrast to *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, Weaver used songs to explain some of the action, perhaps reflecting his response to changed audience expectations (and management pressure to meet these) rather than uncertainty that dance and gesture alone were able to convey the plot. In some respects, *The Judgment of Paris* looked back to the older tradition of the masque, with its mixture of singing, dancing, and emblematic scenes. Weaver used songs, dances, narrative actions,

¹⁷² William Congreve, *The Judgment of Paris* (London: J. Tonson, 1701). The titlepage of Weaver's *The Judgment of Paris* declares that the work was 'Set to Musick by Mr. Seedo'.

¹⁷³ Ralph, p. 844.

¹⁷⁴ Ralph, pp. 76-82. Ralph makes a detailed comparison between Weaver's *The Judgment of Paris* and that of Congreve.

¹⁷⁵ The production of Weaver's *The Judgment of Paris* in 1733 raises the possibility that he returned to London at the request of Hester Santlow. Weaver's patron until 1721 had been Sir Richard Steele, who had encouraged his work at Drury Lane, but he seems subsequently to have lacked support from the managers there. In 1733, the changes in the management of Drury Lane had enhanced Santlow's status and influence in the company, and she was well placed to negotiate Weaver's return to the theatre.

and expressive gesture throughout the afterpiece; almost all the principal characters were played by dancers.

At the beginning of *The Judgment of Paris*, the curtain rose to show a 'Landscape of a beautiful Country, supposed to be on Mount *Ida*', with four Shepherds dancing 'to a Rural Air' and Paris sitting 'on a Bank'.¹⁷⁶ He rose to join them and, although the description does not specify, Denoyer may have performed a solo at this point. The opening scene established the pastoral theme of the work, and the first dance would have been of an appropriate type, perhaps a *bourrée* or a *rigaudon*.¹⁷⁷ The dancing was interrupted by the descent of Mercury and his appearance led to a mime sequence, as the Shepherds showed surprise and fear before running off stage, and Paris expressed 'some Concern'.¹⁷⁸ Mercury explained in a recitative and an air that Paris was to judge which of the goddesses Juno, Pallas, and Venus was worthy to receive the golden apple. The three then descended onto the stage 'in a large Cloud, supported by Zephyrs' and danced an 'Entry' together, to the astonishment of Paris. In another song, Mercury assured Paris that he need not be afraid but, since he was 'still in the utmost Confusion', Paris asked to see each goddess alone.¹⁷⁹

Juno remained on stage as Pallas and Venus left and she danced her own 'Entry'. The description provides no clue to the dance type, but it was presumably a slow, majestic dance in keeping with Juno's status. After her dance, the scene changed to a 'Palace' with a throne and the 'Symbols of Royalty and supreme Authority'. Although Juno herself 'by Actions' offered Paris 'absolute Empire', Power also performed a song explaining what Paris could gain if he gave Juno the prize.¹⁸⁰ She then retired, and Pallas advanced 'to a Symphony of Trumpets and Hautboys, alternate'. Pallas danced her 'Entry'. The music, and her offer of success in war, calls to mind the representation of Mars in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. Pallas's

¹⁷⁶ *Ralph*, p. 845. There are no numbered scenes in the description.

¹⁷⁷ See chapter four, 'Duets', for the dance types associated with 'Shepherd' dances.

¹⁷⁸ *Ralph*, p. 845.

¹⁷⁹ *Ralph*, pp. 846-847.

¹⁸⁰ *Ralph*, pp. 847-848.

'Entry' was presumably livelier than that of Juno and, although it is unlikely that the choreography tried to emulate male virtuosity, it may well have included many of the beats and turns appropriate to a female dancer. After her dance, a scene change showed Paris the 'Arms, Arts, and Sciences' he could win, and Fame sang of the 'Laurel Wreaths' and 'Conquest' open to him if he chose her.¹⁸¹

Pallas in her turn left the stage, and Venus appeared, 'to a Symphony of Flutes; she beckons in *Cupid* from one Side, and the *Graces* from the other; they surround her, adjust, and set in order her dress, &c.'¹⁸² Venus then danced her 'Entry'. The scene with Venus was central to the plot, and thus longer and more complex than those with Juno and Pallas. After her dance, Venus commanded a scene change and a 'beautiful Garden' with Shepherds, Shepherdesses, Cupids, and one of the Graces was discovered. The Grace sang of the joys of love, and her song was followed by a dance for the Shepherds and Shepherdesses, which was perhaps either a gavotte or a passepied.¹⁸³ The Grace then performed another song, praising Paris and introducing Helen, who was 'discover'd by *Cupids* in a beautiful Grotto'. Paris was duly 'astonish'd at her Charms' as she came downstage to dance her 'Entry'. Both Venus and Helen of Troy represented the power of love. The dance associated with Venus in *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (and in Santlow's own repertoire of notated dances) was a passacaille. Did Miss Robinson perform a passacaille as Venus, while Hester Santlow performed another dance (perhaps a sarabande) as Helen of Troy, or was the passacaille (as the longest and most complex of the serious dances) reserved for Santlow?¹⁸⁴ Helen's dance was followed by a short mime scene for her and Paris: he approached her 'with all the Actions of Love, Respect, and Desire' for a scene of

¹⁸¹ *Ralph*, pp. 848-849.

¹⁸² *Ralph*, pp. 849-851. *Ralph* draws attention to the similarities with the first appearance of Venus in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.

¹⁸³ For the association of the gavotte and the passepied with the pastoral genre, see chapter four, 'Group Dances'.

¹⁸⁴ For Santlow's 'Passagalia of Venüs & Adonis', and the associations of the sarabande (discussed in relation to *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*), see chapter five. Several solo sarabandes for women survive among the notated dances, see *LMC* 7760, 7780, 7800, 7880, 7960; *Belle Dance* FL/Ms05.1/17, FL/Ms05.1/20, FL/Ms05.1/21, FL/1700.1/05, FL/1704.1/01.

‘Love, Courtship, &c.’ on his side, and ‘respectful Coyness and unwilling Refusal’ on hers. When Helen was taken from him, Paris returned downstage ‘in Despair’.¹⁸⁵

After this extended scene, the other two goddesses joined Venus to stand before Paris ‘to demand his Decision in this Contest’. Power, Fame, and the Grace sang by turns to persuade him to make his choice, but when Venus showed Helen to him once again Paris unhesitatingly ran to Venus with the golden apple. Juno left the stage with ‘Anger and Threats’, and Pallas went off with ‘Indignation, Scorn, and Contempt’; both probably used the gestures given by Weaver for these passions in the description for *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.¹⁸⁶ Venus was ‘conducted by Mercury to a Chariot’ for her exit, and the afterpiece ended with a short divertissement. Paris embraced Helen and they danced a duet, perhaps a musette or a minuet, which was followed by another song from the Grace, and a final chorus to which a ‘Grand Dance’ was performed, probably by the Shepherds, Shepherdesses, Paris, and Helen.¹⁸⁷

Although all the principal characters used mime as well as dancing, there was much less emphasis on expressive gestures in *The Judgment of Paris* than there had been in *The Loves of Mars and Venus* or *Orpheus and Eurydice*. The description says nothing about the dance type for each character’s ‘Entry’, but this may well have been important to the representation of each of the three goddesses

¹⁸⁵ *Ralph*, p. 851. *Ralph*, pp. 80-81, relates the actions and passions in the scene to similar passages in *The Loves of Mars and Venus* and *Orpheus and Eurydice*.

¹⁸⁶ *Ralph*, pp. 851-852. For the possible use of gestures from *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, see *Ralph*, p. 81.

¹⁸⁷ The musette was the culminating dance of ‘Les Caractères de la Danse’, representing happy lovers, see Edith Lalonger, ‘J. F. Rebel’s Les Caractères de la danse: Interpretative Choices and their Relationship to Dance Research’ in *Dance & Music in French Baroque Theatre: Sources and Interpretations. Papers presented at Dance to Honour Kings: Sources for Court & Theatrical Entertainments, 1680-1740, King’s College London, August 1996*, ed. by Sarah McCleave. Institute of Advanced Musical Studies. Study Texts, no. 3. (London: King’s College London, 1998), 105-123 (p. 114). Denoyer and Santlow had danced a minuet together in the entr’actes in the 1731-1732 season, see chapter four, ‘Duets’.

as well as to Paris and Helen.¹⁸⁸ The dances in *The Judgment of Paris* were undoubtedly closely related to the London entr'acte dance repertoire, but they may also have been associated with the dance types used in contemporary French operas for specific characters and their Followers.¹⁸⁹ The most extended passages of mime were given to Denoyer and Hester Santlow. Denoyer may have helped Weaver with the choreography by composing his own dances (and perhaps his dances with Hester Santlow), just as Dupré may have done sixteen years before. In 1733, Weaver's dependence on Hester Santlow's unrivalled experience and undiminished skills as both an actress and a dancer was as great as ever.¹⁹⁰ The role of Helen of Troy was central to Weaver's version of *The Judgment of Paris*, and Santlow could undoubtedly have created both the dance and mime elements with the minimum of direction from Weaver. Her presence in the afterpiece was crucial to its success.

The Judgment of Paris was performed six times between 6 and 15 February 1733. On 31 March 1733 the first performance took place of *The Harlot's Progress; or, The Ridotto Al'Fresco*, an afterpiece by Theophilus Cibber based on the very popular series of paintings and prints by William Hogarth. The new afterpiece (with Miss Raftor as the harlot Kitty) included a 'Grand Masque call'd, The Judgment of Paris'. Weaver's last 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' was apparently included within Cibber's afterpiece until 25 May 1733.¹⁹¹ Hester Santlow seems to have continued to appear in *The Judgment of Paris* until at least 4 May, but the severe illness of her husband from 8 May and his death on 10 May 1733 must have prevented her from appearing in performances after that date. Although *The Harlot's Progress* was revived throughout the 1730s, and for much

¹⁸⁸ See Lalonger, 'Rebel's Les Caractères de la danse' for a discussion of the meanings and characters which could be associated with different dance types.

¹⁸⁹ Although the presence in London of many French male dancers with experience of the repertoire of the Paris Opéra is well known, there have as yet been no studies of the possible influence of French *tragedies en musique* or *opéra-ballets* on 'dramatic entertainments of dancing', pantomimes, or other works with dancing given on the London stage in the early 1700s.

¹⁹⁰ She may perhaps also have coached Miss Robinson in the role of Venus.

¹⁹¹ The cast list for *The Harlot's Progress* (including *The Judgment of Paris*) survives only for 31 March, 21, 26 April, and 4 May 1733. From 21 April the role of Paris was taken by Michael Lally.

of the 1740s, *The Judgment of Paris* was not advertised as part of performances after the 1732-1733 season, providing mute testimony to the importance of Santlow's performances as Helen of Troy.

Hester Santlow and Dancing in the Afterpieces

From the 1714-1715 season, Drury Lane consistently took the lead in the introduction of new afterpiece genres and subjects; the masque was revived there in 1714-1715, and the first 'dramatic entertainment of dancing' as well as the first example of the English pantomime were both given there in 1716-1717. Drury Lane was also first to perform pantomimes based on the stories of Doctor Faustus, Apollo and Daphne, and Perseus and Andromeda. The Drury Lane pantomimes were almost all based on dancing, and the evidence suggests that Hester Santlow's skills and popularity as a leading dancer-actress were crucial in determining this, for she took leading roles in the afterpieces devised in turn by John Weaver, John Thurmond, and Roger. Despite Lincoln's Inn Fields' greater success with pantomimes based on singing, Drury Lane maintained the emphasis on dancing until Roger's *Cephalus and Procris* in 1730. At Lincoln's Inn Fields, the form of John Rich's rivalry was several times dictated by the need to respond to the popularity of Santlow's appearances. This is most clearly shown by his use of the French dancer Marie Sallé as a counter-attraction, either in title roles or (more often) in the concluding divertissements of pantomimes given at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Hester Santlow's influence on dancing in afterpieces can readily be seen.

Hester Santlow's creative contribution to the afterpieces in which she appeared is difficult to prove, for there is little evidence of the process by which these works were produced for the stage. Indirect evidence is provided by the roles she took in these works, which were related to both her dance and drama repertoires, but also indicate a willingness to experiment and take risks, an ability to apply and extend her skills in new genres, and a desire to take her talents in fresh directions. A comparison between Santlow and the dancers and dancing-masters with whom she worked shows the wider range of her skills and experience, pointing persuasively to her active involvement in the creation of her dancing roles for Weaver, Thurmond, and Roger, and to their dependence on her for success.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION: HESTER SANTLOW AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DANCING ON THE LONDON STAGE

My initial interest in Hester Santlow was that of a dancer learning the dances created for another dancer, but she very quickly also engaged my attention as a researcher. I wanted to know as much as possible about her, and I also wanted to understand as much as I could of the dancing of her time and the context within which she worked as a dancer and an actress. As I read more, and reconstructed more notated dances, I became ever more dissatisfied with the very sketchy accounts of dancing on the early eighteenth-century London stage offered by writers on dance. Hester Santlow was usually missing from these, except when she was mentioned in connection with John Weaver. My frustration with the severe limitations of what passes for the history of dancing in London before 1800 led me to investigate early eighteenth-century dances, dancers, and dancing as thoroughly as I could. When I began my research, I was certain of Hester Santlow's importance, but I was very surprised to discover from the documentary evidence I had amassed that she was central to the development of dancing on the London stage and crucial to the success of John Weaver's works.

The history of dancing on the early eighteenth century London stage is a difficult area for research because of the lack of adequate primary sources. Performances of the dances and dance works of the period have vanished beyond recall. Very few dances were written down, and no record was ever made of the choreography and staging of 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' and pantomimes; the music for individual dances, as well as for dancing in the afterpieces, was rarely published and very little survives in manuscript. There are very few eye-witness accounts and virtually no informed critical writing. Valuable sources do exist, notably dance notations, printed descriptions and libretti for the afterpieces, and advertisements for performances, but they are relatively few in number and they have never been brought together. In my pursuit of the dancer-actress Hester

Santlow, I tried to gather as much documentary evidence as I could and to make the fullest possible use of it.

Santlow's dance performance record is unusually full throughout her career; very few of her contemporaries were mentioned as often as she was in advertisements, or had as many of their dances named. She enjoyed a long and, indisputably, a successful career. The advertisements show that her status within the Drury Lane company was that of its leading female dancer, for she was invariably billed first among the women, and her popularity is confirmed by the regularity with which she was billed alone, even if the named dances indicated that other dancers also featured on the bill. Her dance repertoire included a wide range of types and genres; it seems to have been wider than those of many other dancers, although their less extensive performance records make this difficult to confirm.

Following her debut as an actress in 1709, Hester Santlow both danced and acted for the rest of her career; she often acted in the mainpiece, and danced in the entr'actes or the afterpiece on the same evening. As an actress, she was most successful in comedy, as a lively, witty heroine able to outsmart any man, and able to appear convincingly in men's clothes *should the plot demand it*. In tragedy, Santlow was more limited, preferring the soft, vulnerable roles which required the display of more passive emotions. Both wit and pathos can be found in her notated dances; it is therefore likely that her acting influenced her dancing, and vice-versa.

Some interesting conclusions emerged from detailed consideration of the evidence associated with individual solos, duets, and group dances from Hester Santlow's repertoire. She was an innovative dancer: she was the first to be billed in several dances, including her solo 'Harlequin'; some of her repertoire was unique or particularly identified with her, for example the 'Hussar' duet; she was the only female dancer to appear in certain dances, such as the 'French Peasant' solo. This concern with new repertoire extended to such dances as the 'Coquette Shepherdess' duet, the only 'Shepherd' dance with a woman as the protagonist, newly popular group dances like 'Myrtillo', and the group dances in which she

appeared with Denoyer, 'Grand Ballad d'Amour' and 'Le Chasseur Royal', which were probably closer to 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' than to divertissements. Santlow was also influential, for other female dancers followed her in solos such as the 'Harlequin', and she apparently taught several duets to a succession of male partners, including 'Hussars' and the 'Coquette Shepherdess'. This close association with the creation and transmission of dances, with such partners as Dupré, Shaw, Lally, Roger, and Denoyer, suggests that Santlow was herself, if not a choreographer, then either a creative collaborator or an adept arranger of dances; the sources, of course, remain silent about this.

My investigation of the notated dances was of particular significance for my understanding of Hester Santlow as a dancer. She is one of several dancers of this period for whom repertoire survives, and the notations provide direct evidence of her abilities as a dancer. They immediately reveal her musical sensitivity and her technical strength. Her entr'acte dances suggest that Santlow had a technique which, in some aspects, was close to that of a man, and the notated dances support this. The *tour en l'air* in the 'Chacone of Galathee', and the *demie cabriole en tournant un demi tour* in the 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis', are among the steps which usually appear only in dances for men. The inclusion of sequences of intricate steps with much ornamentation, as well as classically severe passages drawing on the basic vocabulary of the *belle dance*, underline her musical understanding and point to her much-praised 'Address'.

The notations provide the music, the floor pattern traced by the dancer or dancers, and the steps (including their detailed relationship to the music). They do not give body, arm, or head movements, which must be supplied through reference to other sources. The reconstruction of individual dances is, therefore, partly an act of informed creative imagination. For my reconstruction of Santlow's dances, I made much use of background information derived from dance treatises, the score and the libretto for each of the works from which music had been taken (where the music's source was known), and Weaver's works, including the published description for *The Loves of Mars and Venus* with its explanations of the gestures she and Weaver used. I referred constantly to the information I had about Hester

Santlow's career, and I made what use I could of other dances of the same and similar type. My aim was to discover the meanings which each dance might have had in performance for audiences.

The first stage of reconstruction is to have the music recorded and learn the steps. This shows up errors in the notation, suggests the detailed relationship between the dance steps and phrases and the music, starts to reveal the way in which the dance uses the stage, and begins to indicate the spatial relationship between the dancer and her audience (and, in duets, with her partner). This work is immediately concerned with the meanings of the dance, for it leads to two important questions. How did Hester Santlow perform this dance for an audience? What did the dance mean to that audience? The second stage of reconstruction is the choice of appropriate body, arm, and head movements to accompany the steps. The third stage of reconstruction is to perform the dance before an audience. The way in which the music is played, including its tempo, changes during each stage. The second and third stages together begin to generate a series of possible answers to the two questions posed during the first stage. These answers are changed or refined over years, through an iterative process of research, reconstruction, and performance.

There are, at present, no live or recorded performances of Hester Santlow's notated dances available to me for study. I have, therefore, no other choice but to reconstruct these dances on my own body, and to judge the results of my work by performing them live before an audience. My experience has been that, imperfect though this methodology is as a research tool, it has provided me with unique insights into the dance technique and performance style of Hester Santlow.

The two dances which allowed me to approach Hester Santlow most closely as a dancer were the solos created for her by Anthony L'Abbé, the 'Menuet' and the 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis'. They can be dated to very different points of her career: the 'Menuet' came just a few years after her stage debut, while the 'Passaglia' dates to much the same period as *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. The 'Menuet' revealed much about the relationship which Hester Santlow was able to

create with her audience. The dance works best with an audience sitting to either side of the stage as well as in front, close to and nearly surrounding the performance space. It requires elegance, wit, and coquetry if it is to be successful, while making formidable demands of technical control and refinement. The 'Menuet' has no deep meanings, but it says a great deal about the captivating personality that Santlow brought to her roles for Weaver, Thurmond and Roger.

The 'Passaglia' makes exceptional demands. It is long (it takes five minutes to dance), and L'Abbé's confidence in Santlow was such that he reserved the most difficult sequence of steps to the final section of the dance. As I struggled to master the steps and to find a way to project the dance to an audience, both my research and my work of reconstruction suggested that this was a dance which represented the varied passions of either one or a series of characters using both affective and imitative expression. Santlow the woman appeared in the more coquettish moments of the dance, and Santlow the dancer performed the more unusual and demanding steps, while Santlow the tragic actress was present in its sombre passages. The 'Passaglia', performed (as far as possible) in accordance with early eighteenth-century theories of expressive dancing, is completely accessible to modern audiences. It is probably the nearest we can get to Santlow's performance of the passacaille and the ensuing pantomime dance in scene two of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*.

The published description of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, the first of Weaver's 'dramatic entertainments of dancing', suggests that it was based on conventional dances (of types to be found in the entr'actes), as well as gestures derived partly from acting and partly from *commedia dell'arte*. Essentially, Weaver added imitative expression to the affective expression of the French *belle dance*. Hester Santlow was the only dancer on the London stage who was equally highly skilled in *belle dance*, serious and comic acting, and comic-grotesque *commedia dell'arte* dancing with its associated gestures, and thus the only dancer who could embody Weaver's theories of expressive dancing.

Surviving evidence indicates that Weaver's experience on the London stage was limited to comic dancing, casting doubt on his hitherto accepted status as the sole creator of his 'dramatic entertainments of dancing'. Weaver's limitations suggest that he was dependent on Santlow for the creation of the role of Venus in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. The failure of *Orpheus and Eurydice*, in which he played the central role of Orpheus and made little use of Santlow as Eurydice, and his deliberate addition of the central dancing role of Helen of Troy to *The Judgment of Paris*, expressly for Santlow, strengthen the case for Weaver's dependence on her. All the pantomimes given at Drury Lane, before *Cephalus and Procris* in 1731, had a danced and not a sung serious part, probably because Santlow was in the company. John Thurmond and Roger included 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' within their pantomimes *Apollo and Daphne* and *Perseus and Andromeda* respectively. Like Weaver, Thurmond and Roger were dependent on Hester Santlow, for she took the title roles of Daphne and Andromeda. Santlow's central involvement in all these works suggests that she did more than merely dance, it points to her collaboration in their creation, and strongly supports the argument that Weaver's works (and those of Thurmond and Roger) could not have been produced for the stage without her.

Hester Santlow, whether in dramatic dancing roles like Venus or Daphne, or as the leading dancer in the concluding 'Masque of the Deities' in *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* and the other divertissements which ended Drury Lane's pantomimes, was the object of John Rich's rivalry. At Lincoln's Inn Fields he strove to counter her success, making use of the French dancer Marie Sallé whenever she was in his company. Sallé followed Santlow in the role of Daphne in the Lincoln's Inn Fields version of *Apollo and Daphne*, and she took a central dancing role in the concluding divertissement of *The Rape of Proserpine*, Rich's answer to the 'Masque of the Deities'. Her performances seem not to have attracted the same attention as Santlow's, despite the greater success of the Lincoln's Inn Fields pantomimes.

The documentary evidence shows clearly that Hester Santlow led and Marie Sallé followed. Sallé is famous for her performances in *Pygmalion*, in which she

appeared in classical draperies with her hair loose. The published description for the 'Masque of the Deities' suggests that Santlow danced the role of Diana with flowing hair in classical costume long before Sallé appeared in *Pygmalion*. Sallé would have had many opportunities to see Santlow's performances in *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, the 'Masque of the Deities', and *Apollo and Daphne*, as well as several of her entr'acte dances (including Roger's 'Le Badinage Champetre'). It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Sallé, who was younger by seventeen years, was profoundly influenced by Santlow as she developed her own approach to expressive dancing.

Indeed, it is possible to go further. It is generally accepted by writers on dance that Weaver's works had no impact beyond their own time, that they disappeared from the repertoire of the London theatres and had no influence on others. This is untrue. Thurmond's, Roger's, and Denoyer's indebtedness to Weaver is obvious, and a version of *The Loves of Mars and Venus* was performed as late as 1746. Unfortunately, there has been no research into dancing on the London stage in the 1740s and 1750s, before Noverre's first visit to London, to tell us if there were other works which can be categorised as 'dramatic entertainments of dancing'. I suggest that Hester Santlow's performances in Weaver's works inspired Marie Sallé to develop dancing that used both affective and imitative expression, and that Sallé was a successor to Santlow. Noverre's *ballets d'action*, which like Weaver's 'dramatic entertainments of dancing' told a story through dance and gesture alone, owed (by his own admission) some of their inspiration to Sallé. I suggest that Hester Santlow's dance performances on the London stage are the missing link in the line of development which joins Weaver's theories on expressive dancing published in London in 1712 in *An Essay Towards an History of Dancing*, to Marie Sallé's performances in *Pygmalion*, in the 'Ballet des Fleurs' within *Les Indes Galantes*, and in the other works in which she appeared from the 1730s, leading ultimately to Noverre's *ballets d'action* of the 1750s and later, and his theories on expressive dancing published in Stuttgart and Lyon in 1760 in *Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets*. Hester Santlow's contribution to these developments makes her one of the most important dancers of the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX I

HESTER SANTLOW: DANCE AND DRAMA REPERTOIRE

This appendix provides details of Hester Santlow's repertoire of dances, dancing roles, and dramatic roles during her career. It is divided into two parts, each with introductory notes.

Dance Repertoire: tables showing all of Hester Santlow's named dances and dancing roles and the seasons in which she performed them. There are four separate tables:

Solos

Duets

Group Dances

Afterpieces

Drama Repertoire: tables showing all of Hester Santlow's dramatic roles and epilogues and the seasons in which she performed them. There are three separate tables:

Mainpieces

Afterpieces

Epilogues

HESTER SANTLOW: DANCE REPERTOIRE

The following four tables list Hester Santlow's repertoire of named dances:

Solos

Duets

Group dances

Afterpieces

In each table the dances or dance roles are listed in the order in which they entered her repertoire, with the date of the first advertised performance after the title of the dance. The seasons in which she performed each dance are indicated by asterisks. Information about the dances, dancing roles, and performances is drawn principally from *The London Stage*.

The title of each dance is given in the form used most frequently in *The London Stage* (although abbreviation has occasionally been necessary, e.g. by omitting the word 'dance'), and follows the conventions stated in the introduction. For the afterpieces, the choreographer's name is given before the title. Hester Santlow's role in each work is given in parentheses after the title, with a note if she was the role's creator. The date she first performed in the work is given at the end of the entry.

HESTER SANTLOW: DANCE REPERTOIRE - SOLOS

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
'French Peasant' 19 January 1710	-	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
'Dutch Skipper' 14 February 1710					*																								
Chacone 12 April 1710					*																				*	*	*		
'Harlequin' 6 June 1710					*				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*						*	*		*	*			
Flute Chacone [Jan / Feb 1716?]												* ¹		*														*	
Passacaille 5 April 1720																*					*								
Slow Minuet [Date unknown]																													

¹ Not listed in LS2, see *Register* 2696.

² The music for a 'Slow Minuet by Mrs Booth', apparently performed in 1721-1722, appears in British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, f.11^v.

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	
Sarabande																	* ³												
[Date unknown]																													
Minuet																										*			*
25 March 1731																													

NOTE: Apart from the dances indicated above, two solos choreographed by Anthony L' Abbé and performed by Hester Santlow were recorded and published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation by F. Le Roussau in about 1725: a 'Menuet' and the 'Passaglia of Venus and Adonis'.⁴ There is no evidence to indicate if or when they were danced in the theatre.

³ The music for a 'Sarabande by Mrs. Booth', apparently performed in 1721-1722, appears in British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, f. 109^v - 108^r (the music in the manuscript is written both from front to back and vice versa).

⁴ *New Collection (Facsimile)*, pp. 17-21, 46-56.

HESTER SANTLOW: DANCE REPERTOIRE - DUETS

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
Isaac, Mr.																													
<i>The Union</i> ¹																													
6 February 1707																													
'Dutch Skipper'		*																											
25 March 1707											* ³																		
Isaac, Mr.																													
<i>The Saltarella</i> ⁴				*																									
21 February 1708																													
'Harlequin'					*																								
4 February 1710																	*	*											
'French Peasant'																													
17 May 1714																													

¹ This dance was published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation.

² Includes one performance at court, for Queen Anne's birthday.

³ Not listed in *LS2*, see British Library, Egerton MS. 2159, f. 20^r.

⁴ This dance was published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation.

⁵ For the music for 'French Peasants by Mr Shaw & Mrs. Booth', apparently given during 1721-1722, see British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, f.97^r.

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
'Swedish Dal Karle' [November 1715?]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	* ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chacone [20 April 1716?]											* ⁷																	
'Spanish Entry' 24 October 1716										*																		
'Serious Dance' 14 April 1719													*															
'Hussars' 10 February 1720															*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
'Coquette Shepherdess' 15 March 1722																	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rigadoon ⁸ [1721-1722?]																*												

⁶ Not listed in *LS2*, see British Library, Egerton MS. 2159, f. 20^r.

⁷ Not listed in *LS2*, see *Register* 2779.

⁸ For the music for a 'Rigadoon by Mr Shaw and Mrs Booth', apparently given during 1721-1722, see British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, f. 48^r.

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
'Venetian Dance' ⁹ [1721-1722?]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
'Les Cotillons' 16 May 1723																		*											
Passacaille 10 February 1724																			*										
Muzette 7 May 1728																							*						
'Pieraité' ¹⁰ [12 May 1728]																							*		*				
L'Abbé, A. Prince's Saraband ¹¹ 22 March 1731																										*			

⁹ For the music for a 'Venetian Dance by Mr Shaw & Mrs Booth', apparently given during 1721-1722, see British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, f. 105'.

¹⁰ There is no certainty that Hester Santlow performed the 'Pieraité': the dance is billed on 13 May 1728, when the dancers were 'Roger, Mrs Booth, Miss Robinson Sr, Miss Robinson Jr', and on 14 April 1730, when the dancers were 'Mrs Booth, Roger, Lally, Essex and Thurmond'. The inference is that Roger danced the 'Pieraité' with Hester Santlow at those performances, although he usually partnered either Mrs Brett or Mrs Delorme in the dance.

¹¹ This dance was published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation as *The Prince of Wales's Saraband*.

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
'The Lorrain'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
26 October 1731	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	
Minuet																													
13 March 1732																													*
																													*

NOTE: Apart from the dances indicated above, two duets choreographed by Anthony L'Abbé and performed by Hester Santlow were recorded and published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation by F. Le Roussau in about 1725: the 'Passacaille of Armide' with Mrs Elford, and the 'Chacone of Galathee' with Delagarde.¹² There is no evidence to indicate if or when they were danced in the theatre.

¹² *New Collection*, pp. 7-16, 22-30.

HESTER SANTLOW: DANCE REPERTOIRE - GROUP DANCES

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
'Myrtillo' 5 November 1715	-	06	-	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
'Lads and Lasses' ¹ 16 May 1716										*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
'Grotesque Dance' 3 January 1717											*																	
Jigg ² [1721-1722?]																	*											
'Grand Dance' 14 November 1724																				*								
Roger. 'Le Badinage Champetre' 19 November 1725																					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

¹ Also billed as 'Country Lads and Lasses'. 'Lads and Lasses' was first mentioned in the advertisements on 16 May 1716 but may have been performed as early as 14 October 1715, when the same group of dancers were billed for the entr'acte entertainments but no dances were named.

² For the music for a 'Jigg by Mr Shaw Mrs Booth &ca', apparently given during 1721-1722, see British Library, Additional MSS, 47446, f. 3^v.

	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
Roger.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
'English Medley' 4 April 1730	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	
Denoyer.																													
'Grand Ballad d'Amour', ³ 22 December 1731																													*
Denoyer.																													
'Le Chasseur Royal' 22 February 1732																													*
'Grand Dance of Moors' 8 November 1732																													*

³ Also billed as 'Grand Ballet d'Amour'. In some performances of this dance Hester Santlow was billed as Venus.

'Grand Dance to The Country Revels' ⁴ 16 April 1733	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32			
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33			
																													*		

⁴ In this dance Hester Santlow was billed as Phoebe, the role she had taken in the play.

HESTER SANTLOW: DANCE REPERTOIRE - AFTERPIECES

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Weaver, J. <i>The Loves of Mars and Venus</i> (Venus, created role). 2 March 1717		15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Weaver, J. <i>Orpheus & Eurydice</i> (Eurydice, created role). 6 March 1718				*	*	*	*												
Thurmond, J. <i>The Dumb Farce</i> (Angelique, created role). 12 February 1719					*	*													
Thurmond, J. <i>A Duke and No Duke</i> (Duchess, created role). 4 December 1719						*													
Thurmond, J. <i>The Escapes of Harlequin</i> (Harlequin Woman, created role). 10 January 1722								*	*	*		*							

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Thurmond, J. <i>Harlequin Doctor Faustus</i> (Diana, created role). 26 November 1723	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Thurmond, J. <i>Apollo & Daphne</i> (Daphne; Nymph. Created roles). 20 February 1725¹										*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Thurmond, J. <i>The Miser</i> (Pomona, created role). 30 December 1726												*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Thurmond, J. <i>Harlequin's Triumph</i> (Pomona). 27 February 1727												*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Roger / Weaver, J. <i>Percus</i> & <i>Andromeda</i> (Andromeda, created role). 15 November 1728															*	*	*	*	*

¹ This production was entitled *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin Mercury*. The pantomime was revived the following season, with alterations, and presented at Drury Lane on 11 February 1726 as *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin's Metamorphoses*.

² This pantomime was a revised version of *The Miser*.

	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Roger. <i>Diana & Actaeon</i> (Diana, created role). 23 April 1730	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Roger. <i>Cephalus & Procris</i> (Deity of Pleasure; Amphitrite. Created roles). 28 October 1730																*		*	*
[Anon.] <i>The Country Revels</i> (Phoebe, created role). 17 November 1732																			*
Weaver, J. <i>The Judgment of Paris</i> (Helen, created role). 6 February 1733																			* ³

³ Most of the performances of *The Judgment of Paris* were given as part of the afterpiece *The Harlot's Progress*.

HESTER SANTLOW: DRAMA REPERTOIRE

The following three tables list Hester Santlow's repertoire of dramatic roles and epilogues:

Mainpieces

Afterpieces

Epilogues

In each table the roles or epilogues are listed in the order in which they entered her repertoire, with the date of her first advertised performance in each. The seasons in which she performed each role or epilogue are indicated by asterisks.

For the mainpieces and the afterpieces, the name of the dramatist is followed by the title of the play, which omits any subtitle, and the role played by Hester Santlow is given in parentheses after the title, with a note if she was the role's creator. Where she played more than one role in a particular play, e.g. *Love for Love* in which she first took the part of Prue in the 1709-1710 season and first appeared as Angelica in the 1732-1733 season, each role is given a separate entry and footnotes draw attention to the related entry. The date she was first advertised in each role is given at the end of each entry. For the epilogues, the dramatist's name is followed by the title of the play for which the epilogue was given; where the author of the epilogue differs from the author of the play, and is known, his or her name appears in parentheses after the title. Information about Santlow's dramatic roles and epilogues is drawn principally from *The London Stage*.

HESTER SANTLOW: DRAMA REPERTOIRE - MAINPIECES

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Congreve, W. <i>Love for Love (Prue)</i> ¹ 3 December 1709	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Farquhar, G. <i>The Recruiting Officer (Rose)</i> 15 December 1709	*																							
Vanbrugh, Sir J. <i>The Confederacy (Corinna)</i> 17 December 1709	*	*	*																					
Shadwell, T. <i>The Tempest (Dorinda)</i> ² 20 January 1710	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rochester. <i>Valentinian (Eunuch)</i> 28 January 1710	*																							

¹ For appearances as Angelica in *Love for Love* from 28 October 1732, see below.

² For appearances as Miranda in *The Tempest* from 2 January 1729, see below.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Caryl, J. <i>Sir Solomon Single</i> (Julia) 21 May 1714					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Farquhar, G. <i>The Constant Couple</i> (Angelica) 11 October 1714						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cibber, C. <i>The Double Gallant</i> (Silvia) 22 October 1714						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cibber, C. <i>Love Makes a Man</i> (Angelina) 24 November 1714						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Tate, N.³ <i>King Lear</i> (Cordelia) 9 December 1714						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

³ An adaptation by Nahum Tate of Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Johnson, C. <i>The Country Lasses</i> ⁴ (Aura, created role) 4 February 1715	-	-	-	-	-	*																		
Steele, Sir R. <i>The Funeral</i> (Harriet) 22 February 1715						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Lee, N. <i>Mithridates</i> (Monimia) 21 March 1715						*	*	*	*	*				*	*		*							
Wycherley, W. <i>The Country Wife</i> (Alithea) 18 May 1715						*	*	*	*	*		*												
Cibber, C. <i>She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not</i> (Rosara) 20 May 1715 ⁵						*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

⁴ This play was also given as an afterpiece under the title *The Custom of the Country*, see Drama Repertoire - Afterpieces.

⁵ The first performance of *She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not* in 1714-1715 was 30 September 1714, when Santlow may have appeared as Rosara; no casts were listed until 20 May 1715.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Cibber, C.	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
<i>The Lady's Last Stake</i> (Lady Gentle) 17 December 1715						*				*												*		
Shakespeare, W.																								
<i>Othello</i> (Desdemona) 7 January 1716						*	*	*	*															
Otway, T.							*																	
<i>The Soldier's Fortune</i> (Silvia) 17 January 1716																								
Jonson, B.							*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Volpone</i> (Caelia) 26 January 1716				*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Rowe, N.								*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
<i>Tamerlane</i> (Selima) [5 November 1716] ⁶								*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

⁶ The first performance of *Tamerlane* in 1715-1716 was 5 November 1716, but no casts were listed until 27 December 1716.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Buckingham.	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>The Chances</i> (2nd Constantia) 24 October 1717	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
Behn, Mrs A. <i>The Rover</i> (Hellena) 1 January 1720									*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cibber, C. <i>The Comical Lovers</i> (Florimel) 8 October 1720												*												
Dryden, J. <i>The Spanish Fryar</i> (Elvira) 1 November 1720												*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Cibber, C. <i>The Refusal</i> (Charlotte, created role) [14 February 1721] ⁷												*												

⁷ No casts were advertised for performances of *The Refusal*; the cast was included in the edition of the play published in 1721.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Beaumont, F. & Fletcher, J. <i>The Maid's Tragedy</i> (Aspatia) ⁸ 28 October 1721	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rowe, N. <i>The Ambitious Stepmother</i> (Cleone) [25 January 1722] ⁹													*											
Philips, A. <i>The Briton</i> (Gwendolen, created role) 19 February 1722													*											
Steele, Sir R. <i>The Conscious Lovers</i> (Lucinda, created role) ¹⁰ 7 November 1722														*	*	*								

⁸ L52 gives the role incorrectly as Arpasia.

⁹ The first performance this season of *The Ambitious Stepmother* was 25 January 1722, but no casts were listed until 26 January 1722.

¹⁰ For appearances as Indiana in *The Conscious Lovers* from 4 April 1733, see below.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Johnson, C. <i>Love in a Forest</i> (Rosalind, created role) [9 January 1723] ¹¹																								
Banks, J. <i>The Albion Queens</i> (Dowglass) 2 March 1723													*	*			*	*	*	*				*
Farquhar, G. <i>The Inconstant</i> (Oriana) 16 October 1723															*									
Steele, Sir R. <i>The Tender Husband</i> (Mrs Clerimont) 18 November 1723															*	*	*	*	*	*	*			
Wycherley, W. <i>The Plain Dealer</i> (Fidelia) 4 January 1725																	*	*	*	*				

¹¹ No casts were advertised for *Love in a Forest*, which was first performed on 9 January 1723; the cast was included in the 1723 edition of the play.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Lee, N. <i>Sophonisba</i> (Massina) 1 February 1725	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vanbrugh, Sir J. <i>The Provok'd Wife</i> (Belinda) 11 January 1726																*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Theobald, L. <i>Double Falsehood</i> (Violante, created role) 13 December 1727																		*	*	*				
Fielding, H. <i>Love in Several Masques</i> (Helena, created role) [16 February 1728] ¹²																			*					
Shadwell, T. <i>The Tempest</i> (Miranda) ¹³ 2 January 1729																				*				

¹² No casts were advertised for *Love in Several Masques*, which was first performed on 16 February 1728; the cast was included in the 1728 edition of the play.

¹³ For appearances as Dorinda in *The Tempest* from 20 January 1710, see above.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Miller, J. <i>The Humours of Oxford</i> (Victoria, created role) 9 January 1730	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mountfort, W. <i>Greenwich Park</i> (Florella) 10 October 1730																					*			
Hill, A. <i>Aithelwold</i> (Elfrid, created role) [10 December 1731] ¹⁴																							*	
Cibber, C. <i>The Careless Husband</i> (Lady Easy) [29 January 1732] ¹⁵																							*	

¹⁴ No casts were advertised for *Aithelwold*, which was first performed on 10 December 1731; the cast was included in the 1732 edition of the play.

¹⁵ The first performance this season of *The Careless Husband* was on 29 January 1732, but no casts were listed until 2 February 1732.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Congreve, W. <i>Love for Love</i> (Angelica) ¹⁶ 28 October 1732	-	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Steele, Sir R. <i>The Conscious Lovers</i> (Indiana) ¹⁷ 4 April 1733																								*

¹⁶ For appearances as Prue in *Love for Love* from 3 December 1709, see above.

¹⁷ For appearances as Lucinda in *The Conscious Lovers* from 7 November 1722, see above.

HESTER SANTLOW: DRAMA REPERTOIRE - AFTERPIECES

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Dogget, W. <i>The Country Wake</i> (Flora) 6 October 1711	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Johnson, C. <i>The Custom of the Country</i> ¹ (Aura, created role) 5 May 1715			*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

¹ This play was also given as a mainpiece under the title *The Country Lasses*. See Drama Repertoire - Mainpieces.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Gentleman of Christ-Church College in Oxford. <i>The Apparition</i> [25 November 1713] ¹	-	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Mrs S. Centlivre. <i>The Wonder (Mr Philips)</i> ² 27 April 1714					*																			
C. Johnson. <i>The Country Lasses</i> [4 February 1715] ³						*																		
C. Johnson. <i>The Sultanness</i> 25 February 1717								*																

¹ Santlow presumably gave the epilogue on the first night of *The Apparition* on 25 November 1713, but she is named as the speaker only in the 1714 edition of the play.

² *The Prologues and Epilogues of the Eighteenth Century. The First Part: 1701-1720*, ed. by Pierre Danchin (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1990), p. 560, suggests that Mr Philips was Samuel Philips, who had written a prologue and an epilogue for Farquhar's *The Stage Coach* when the play was given at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1704. It seems more likely that Mr Philips was Ambrose Philips, whose tragedy *The Distrest Mother* had first been given at Drury Lane during the 1711-1712 season.

³ Santlow presumably gave the epilogue on the first night of *The Country Lasses* on 4 February 1715, but she is named as the speaker only in the 1715 edition of the play.

	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33
A. Hill. <i>Athelwold</i>																						*		
[10 December 1731] ⁴																								

⁴ Santlow presumably gave the epilogue on the first night of *Athelwold* on 10 December 1731, but she is named as the speaker only in the 1732 edition of the play.

APPENDIX II

GLOSSARY OF EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DANCE TERMS

In order to write about dancing and dances in the early eighteenth century, and in particular to analyse and discuss the dances surviving in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation which are associated with Hester Santlow, appropriate terminology is needed for steps, arm and body movements, floor patterns or dance figures, directions of travel, and placing and orientation of the dancer within the dancing area in relation to other dancers (for duets and group dances) and in relation to the audience.

By 1700 an extensive vocabulary of specialised dance terms was available to dancing-masters; much of this survives today within classical ballet, although many of the terms have changed considerably in meaning so that the steps they signify are quite different from their baroque antecedents. There is, as yet, no technical lexicon for early eighteenth-century dance, although valuable information is provided by Wendy Hilton in *Dance of Court & Theater: the French Noble Style, 1690-1725* (London: Dance Books, 1981), Carol Marsh in 'French Court Dance in England, 1706-1740: a Study of the Sources' (unpublished doctoral thesis, City University of New York, 1985), and by Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Carol Marsh in *Musical Theatre at the Court of Louis XIV: Le Mariage de la Grosse Cathos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).¹ The most extensive source is that by Eugénia Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher, 'Aux Origines de la danse classique: le vocabulaire de la "belle danse" 1661-1700' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Paris XIII, 1991) which traces the development of dance terminology during the seventeenth century. In the absence of an existing widely used lexicon, this glossary of terms has been compiled to assist the discussion of dances within the text of the thesis.

¹ Hilton's work was reissued in facsimile in Wendy Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater*. Dance & Music Series, No. 10 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997).

For the purposes of the thesis, it was necessary to choose between the variety of terms given in the treatises and manuals published by dancing-masters in the early eighteenth century, but the glossary nevertheless includes all the terms most commonly used in these sources. The earliest of the sources consulted was Raoul Auger Feuillet's *Choregraphie* in its revised and enlarged second edition of 1701, supplemented by the *Traité de la Cadance* which Feuillet included among the preliminary pages of *Recueil de Dances contenant un tres grand Nombres des meilleures Entrees de Ballet de M. Pecour* which he published in 1704.² Pierre Rameau's *Abregé de la nouvelle Methode* and *Le Maître a Danser* (both published in 1725) use many of the same terms, providing alternatives for a number of them and adding some extra terms not mentioned by Feuillet.³ Together, these treatises provide names for steps and some terms for floor patterns, directions of travel and the orientation of the dancer within the dancing area.

Almost all the French treatises were translated into English a few years after their publication.⁴ *Choregraphie* was translated by John Weaver as *Orchesography*, and P. Siris also translated and adapted it as *The Art of Dancing*; both versions were published in 1706.⁵ In the same year, Weaver added *A Small Treatise of Time and Cadence in Dancing*, which provided an English translation of Feuillet's *Traité de la Cadance*.⁶ John Essex translated *Le Maître a Danser* as *The Dancing-Master* in 1728, while in 1735 Kellom Tomlinson published *The Art of Dancing* which, although he claimed that it was an original work, had much in common with Rameau's treatise, including the terminology.⁷ These works anglicise many of the

² F1701, FT1704.

³ R1725, RA1725.

⁴ The exception was Rameau's *Abregé de la nouvelle methode* (Paris, 1725), which seems never to have been translated into English, although Essex's translation of *Le Maître a Danser* includes passages which hint at a familiarity with the *Abregé*.

⁵ W1706, S1706.

⁶ WT1706.

⁷ E1728, T1735.

terms used by Feuillet and Rameau, translate others and also provide a number of English terms equivalents of which are not to be found in the French sources.

By the mid-eighteenth century French was well established as the language of dance.⁸ The glossary therefore uses Feuillet's original French terms, adding terms from Rameau where necessary, and choosing what seems to be the most common spelling for each.⁹ Where a term exists only in English it has been included in the glossary in English, again in what seems to be its most common spelling. The use of some English terms alongside the French ones might be seen as inconsistent; however, where these terms have no French equivalent, a form chosen by an eighteenth-century dancing-master seems preferable to a modern and therefore artificial translation. This also has the benefit of clearly indicating those terms which seem only to have been used in England, although the steps they describe were often also used in dances created and recorded in France. Some terminology seems not to have been in common usage (and probably had not even been developed) in the early eighteenth century, for example there are few words for describing the dancer's placing within the dancing area, and none for defining the

⁸ In *The Art of Dancing*, P. Siris wrote 'the greatest Part of the Steps in a Dance have no peculiar Terms to express them 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' (p.31). Much later Charles Pauli discussed the use of French for dance terms in *Elemens de la danse* (Leipsic: Ulr. Chret. Saalbach, 1756) and he wrote 'Ce sont les François qui ont moriginé [sic] la danse de notre tems, qui ont cultivé & poli la belle danse, qui ont inventé la Chorégraphie, & qui enfin ont enrichi l'art de danser de mots & de termes fort significatifs & propres aux sujets', adding 'Ces mots & ces termes ... seroient forts difficiles à rendre avec autant de précision & d'energie dans une langue étrangère' (pp. [6-7]). The French language was widely known and used by those members of the English nobility and gentry who would have learnt the sort of ball dances which were recorded in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation; these dances are sometimes referred to as 'French' in English sources.

⁹ Orthography in the early eighteenth century, whether French or English, was not fixed as it is today. The same word might appear in a variety of spellings (and with or without accents), even within the same treatise. In the glossary accents have occasionally been silently changed or omitted to conform with modern usage, but wherever possible the original spellings have been retained in order to differentiate the terms from modern ballet terms.

changing symmetries within dances; it has been necessary to derive such terms from elsewhere, and a variety of sources have been used.

The Glossary is divided into six sections:

Dancing Space

Directions

Figures

Positions of the Feet

Steps

Arm Movements

Each section has a list of terms in alphabetical order, with references to preferred terms where appropriate. The French term is given first, followed by alternatives, the English term appears within round brackets immediately after the last French term, with alternatives; some of the alternatives to be found in the sources have been omitted. Primary source references for the earliest French and English usage of the terms in the treatises appear in italics within round brackets. Each term is followed by a definition, where this is taken from a contemporary treatise it is enclosed within single quotation marks and is followed by its source reference; definitions as translated by English sources have been preferred. Codes for the sources used will be found in the list of frequently cited works.¹⁰ Modern works used as sources of terminology are referred to in footnotes where necessary.

The glossary does not include the whole of the verbal descriptions used by Feuillet to name his more complex examples of *pas composés*, since these are often lengthy, although the elements he makes use of are included separately, i.e. the name of the step, e.g. *coupé*, *contre-temps*, the nature of the step, e.g. *glissé*,

¹⁰ The 1701 edition of Feuillet's *Choregraphie* has been preferred over the 1700 edition: the 1701 edition has the same contents and pagination as that of 1700, except that it has an extra four unnumbered pages entitled 'Supplément des tables precedentes'; page numbers for these have been supplied in square brackets beginning with p.[1].

tourné, the direction of travel, e.g. *en avant*, *en arriere*, and the end position, *croisé* or *ouvert*. Where several steps are joined together and there is no specific name for the resulting *pas composé*, Feuillet describes each step separately. Weaver does much the same.¹¹ Similar conventions are used in the thesis.

Dancing Space

Feuillet says that ‘La Salle ou theatre est le lieu où l’on dance’, and Weaver translates this as ‘The Stage or Dancing-Room’.¹²

Haut de salle (Upper end of the room):¹³ (*F1701 p.33, W1706 p.34*)

Bas de salle (Lower end of the room): (*F1701 p.33, W1706 p.34*)

Côté droit de la salle (Right side of the room): (*F1701 p.33, W1706 p.34*)

Côté gauche de la salle (Left side of the room): (*F1701 p.33, W1706 p.34*)

Since none of the sources refer to directions on the stage, the modern terms will be used.¹⁴

Downstage

Upstage

Stage right

Stage left

Directions

À droit (To the right): (*F1701 p.34, W1706 p.35*)

À gauche (To the left): (*F1701 p.35, W1706 p.35*)

De côté (Sideways): (*RA1725 p.17*)¹⁵

¹¹ Weaver also provides a list of the terms he has abbreviated in his tables, *W1706 p.45*.

¹² *F1701 p.3, W1706 p.3*.

¹³ Tomlinson refers to the ‘*Presence or Upper End*’ of the dancing-room in *The Art of Dancing*, *T1735 p. 19*. See also *présence du corps* under ‘Steps’ below for the general usage of the term ‘*présence*’.

¹⁴ Wendy Hilton adopts the modern terms, see *Dance and Music of Court and Theater*, p. 85.

Derrière (Behind): (*F1701 p.9, W1706 pl.18*)

Dessous (Behind): (*F1701 p.58, W1706 pl.11*)

Dessus (Before): (*F1701 p.55, W1706 pl.8*)

Devant (Before): (*F1701 p.9, W1706 pl.9*)

En arrière (Backwards): (*F1701 p.9, W1706 p.9*)

En avant (Forwards): (*F1701 p.9, W1706 p.9*)

En dedans (Inwards): (*F1701 p.9, W1706 p.9*)

En dehors (Outwards): (*F1701 p.9, W1706 p.9*)

Since there is no term for steps which do not move in any direction the modern terms **Sur place (In place)** will be used.

En tournant (Turning): (*F1701 p.47, W1706 pl.1*)¹⁶

Quart de tour (Quarter-turn): (*F1701 p.12, W1706 p.11*)

Demi tour (Half-turn): (*F1701 p.12, W1706 p.11*)

Trois quarts de tour (Three-quarter turn): (*F1701 p.12, W1706 p.11*)

Tour entier (Whole turn): (*F1701 p.12, W1706 p.11*)

Figures

Axial symmetry: The floor pattern is rotated around a central, vertical axis.¹⁷

Chemin (Tract): (*F1701 p.4*). ‘The line on which the dances are described, I call the Tract’ (*W1706 p.4*). See also: Figure; Ligne

Double-passe [No English equivalent]: ‘un homme et une femme marchant de côté, l’un allant de la gauche à la droite, & l’autre de la droite à la gauche en se

¹⁵ Feuillet uses the term ‘à côté’, *F1701 p. 9*, which Weaver translates as ‘sideways’, *W1706 p. 9*. Rameau follows the modern usage ‘de côté’ in *Le Maître a Danser*, for example in his description of the *demi-coupé*, *R1725 p. 75* (translated by Essex as ‘sideways’, *E1728 p. 42*), and this has been preferred here.

¹⁶ Feuillet uses the term ‘en tournant’ for *pas* and *pas composés*, such as *coupés*, *fleurets*, *contre-temps* and *pas de sissonnes*, which incorporate quarter, half and whole turns.

¹⁷ Jennifer Thorp and Ken Pierce ‘Taste and Ingenuity: Three English Chaconnes of the Early Eighteenth Century’ *Historical Dance*. 3.3 (1994), 3-16 (p. 7).

croisant, & revenir à leur même place; ce que l'on appelle double-passe' (*RA1725 p.19*)

Figure (Figure): (*F1701 p.2*). 'Figures, are Tracts made by Art, on which the dancer is to move' (*W1706 p.2*)

Figure irréguliere (Irregular figure): (*F1701 p.92*). 'An irregular Figure, is when two Dancers move together, both in the same Figure, on the same side' (*W1706 p.52*). See also: **Translational symmetry**

Figure réguliere (Regular figure): (*F1701 p.92*). 'A regular Figure, is when two or more Dancers move contrarily, the one to the Right, and the other to the Left' (*W1706 p.51*). See also: **Mirror symmetry**

Ligne circulaire (Circular line): (*F1701 p.5*). 'The Circular Line, is that which goes round the Room' (*W1706 p.5*)

Ligne diamétrale (Diametrical line): (*F1701 p.4*). 'A Diametrical Line, is that which goes cross the Room from side to side' (*W1706 p.4*)

Ligne droite (Right line): (*F1701 p.4*). 'A Right Line, I call that which extends itself in Length, from one end of the Room to the other' (*W1706 p.4*)

Ligne oblique (Oblique line): (*F1701 p.5*). 'The Oblique Line, is that which goes cross the Room, from corner to corner' (*W1706 p.5*)¹⁸

Mirror symmetry: The pattern is reflected across a central, vertical plane.¹⁹ See also: **Figure réguliere**

Presentational: the dancer(s) face the presence at the end of a given measure.²⁰

Rond [No English equivalent]: 'marcher en avant en formant un rond' (*RA1725 p.18*). A figure tracing a completely circular path.

Translational symmetry: The pattern is shifted horizontally, keeping the same orientation.²¹ See also: **Figure irréguliere**

¹⁸ For the purposes of the thesis the term 'oblique line' will also be used to refer to diagonal paths which do not go directly from corner to corner but are nevertheless not either 'diametrical' or 'right' lines.

¹⁹ Thorp & Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity', p. 7.

²⁰ Thorp & Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity', p. 9.

²¹ Thorp & Pierce, 'Taste and Ingenuity', p. 7.

Positions of the Feet

Positions (Positions): (*F1701 pp.2, 6*). ‘Positions, are the different Placings of the Feet in Dancing’ (*W1706, p.2*), ‘There are ten sorts of Positions generally us’d in Dancing, which are divided into True and False’ (*W1706 p.6*)

Bonnes positions (True positions): (*F1701 pp.6,7*). ‘The True, are when the Feet are plac’d uniform, and have the Toes turn’d out equally’ (*W1706, p.6*), ‘There are five true Positions’ (*W1706 p.7*)

Première position (First position): (*F1701 p.7*). ‘The first is when the two Feet are join’d together, the Heels being one against the other’ (*W1706, p.7*)

Deuxième position; Seconde position (Second position): (*F1701 p.7*). ‘The second is when the Feet are open, or separate, on a Line, one distant from the other the length of the Foot’ (*W1706, p.7*)

Troisième position (Third position): (*F1701 p.7*). ‘The third is when the Heel of one Foot is join’d to the Ankle of the other, which I shall hereafter term inclos’d’ (*W1706, p.7*)

Quatrième position (Fourth position): (*F1701 p.7*). ‘The fourth is when the two Feet are plac’d one before the other, the distance of a Foot in length’ (*W1706 p.7*)

Cinquième position (Fifth position): (*F1701 p.7*). ‘The fifth is when the two Feet are cross’d, the Heel of one directly opposite to the Toe of the other’ (*W1706 p.7*)

Fausse positions; mauvaises positions (False positions): (*F1701 pp.6, 8*). ‘The False, are some of them uniform, others not, and differ from the True, in that, the Toes are turn’d inward, or one in, and the other out’ (*W1706 p.6*), ‘There are also five of these [i.e. false positions]’ (*W1706 p.8*)

Première fausse position (First false position): (*F1701 p.8*). ‘The first is when the Toes are turn’d inwards, and touch each other, the Heels being open on the Line’ (*W1706, p.8*)

Deuxième fausse position; Seconde fausse position (Second false position): (*F1701 p. 8*). ‘The second is when the Toes are turn’d inwards, there being the

distance of a Foot's length between the Toes; the heels as before [i.e. 'open on the Line']' (*W1706 p.8*)

Troisième fausse position (Third false position): (*F1701 p. 8*). 'The third is when the Toe of one Foot is outwards, and the other inwards, the one parallel towards the other' (*W1706, p.8*)

Quatrième fausse position (Fourth false position): (*F1701 p.8*). 'The fourth when the Toes are turn'd inwards, so that the Toe of one Foot points to the Ankle of the other' (*W1706 p.8*)

Cinquième fausse position (Fifth false position): (*F1701 p.8*). 'The fifth false Position ... whereas in the true one, the Toes are turn'd outwards, in the false, they are turn'd inwards, crossing each other, so that the Heel of one Foot is right against the Toe of the other' (*W1706 p.8*)

Steps

Agréments (Graces): *pas composés* which are used in the *menuet* in addition to the *pas de menuet* and *contre-temps du menuet* and function as ornaments to the dance. The most common are a *tems soutenu*, a *contre-temps en pas soutenu*, a *balancé*, and two *fleurets*; like the *pas de menuet*, each of these *pas composés* takes two bars of music to perform. (*F1701 Supplément p.[4]*, *W1706 pl.42*, *R1725 pp.92-98*, *E1728 p.52*, *RA1725 p.57*, *T1735 pp. 115, 118, 119*). See: **Balancé; Contre-temps en pas soutenu; Fleuret; Jetté; Tems de courante; Tems soutenu**

À pied joint see **Pied joint**

Assemblé see **Pas assemblé**

Balancé (Balance): Two *demi-coupés*, one to the right and one to the left or one forwards and one backwards. The second *demi-coupé* sometimes incorporates a *pas battu*. (*W1706 pl.42*, *R1725 p.153*). See also: **Agréments**

Balonne see **Contre-temps balonné**

Boree with a bound [No French equivalent]: A *pas de bourée* in which the final *jetté sans sauter* is replaced by a *jetté*. (*W1706 pl.42*). See also: **Pas de Bourée**

Bound [No French equivalent]: 'Spring ... made with the Foot that moves' (*W1706 p.16*). See also: **Jetté, Pas Sauté**

Cabriole (Caper):²² a *pas sauté* in which the two legs beat together in the air.

(F1701 p.84, W1706 pl.38)

Cabriole chassée (Caper chassee): a *cabriole* which ends with the leg which does the *pas sauté* in the air. (F1701 p.84, W1706 pl.38)

Cabriole droite (Upright caper): a *pas sauté* from two feet to two feet with a beat in the air and a change of feet on landing. (F1701 p.85, W1706 pl.39)

Cabriollé²³ (Cutting): (F1701 p.2) ‘Capers, are when in rising or leaping from the Ground, one leg beats against the other, which we call Cutting’ (W1706 p.2). See also: Cabriole

Chaconne step; Passacaille step [No French equivalent]: a *jetté en avant* with a half turn, followed by a *contre-temps balonné* with a half turn on the first *saut*. (T1735 p.83)²⁴

Chassé (Chassee; Drive): (F1701 p.80, W1706 pl.33; R1725 p.175) ‘This Step is commonly preceded by a ... Step that leads to the second Position, ... and is made sideways either to the Right or the Left; ... if to the Left you sink on both Legs and rise with a half Spring or Hop, ... and in taking this Movement on both Feet, the right Leg approaches the Left to fall in its Place; therefore ... the Chassée drives it farther off in the second Position, ... two are commonly made together’ (E1728 p.103).²⁵ See also: Jetté chassé

Chassé battu (Beaten chassee): a *chassé* with a *pas battu* incorporated into the *pas sauté*. (F1701 Supplément p.[1], W1706 pl.33)

²² Eugénia Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher assigns particular significance to the *cabriole*: ‘elle [la *cabriole*] ... devient très rapidement le pas symbole de la danse par haut’. The *cabriole* sign, besides notating a step in which the legs beat against one another, also indicates the force of a step: ‘pour chassé: “saut”, pour chassé battu: “saut battu”, et pour ... [cabriole chassé]: “saut battu avec intensité”’, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, 1991), pp. 368, 371.

²³ Feuillet uses the term ‘cabriolle’ alongside ‘plié’, ‘élevé’, ‘sauté’, etc. He presumably meant *cabriollé*, a form which Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher adopts, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, p. 298.

²⁴ This *pas composé* is found in French as well as English notated dances, but is not named in any of the French treatises.

²⁵ The *chassé* also appears travelling backwards in the notated dances.

Chassé de l'allemande [No English equivalent]: a *pas composé* beginning in second position with a *jetté de côté* (*pas assemblé* with a *saut*) into fifth position behind into *plié* on both feet, followed by a *pas marché de côté* with the front foot. (R1725 p.82)

Chassé en pas tombé (Chassee and falling step): a *jetté chassé* in which the *pas sauté* is replaced by a *pas tombé*. (F1701 Supplément p.[2], W1706 pl.34)

Chassé ouvert *see* **Jetté chassé**

Chassé sans sauter (Chassé without springing; Drive without springing): a *chassé* in which the *pas sauté* is replaced by a *demi-coupé*. (F1701 Supplément p.[1], W1706 pl.34)

Contre-temps (Compos'd hop): a *pas sauté* (hop) followed by two single *pas*, usually *pas marchés*. (F1701 p.74, W1706 pl.27)²⁶

Contre-temps à deux mouvements *see* **Contre-temps balonné**

Contre-temps balonné; Contre-temps à deux mouvements (Balonne;

Composed hop of two movements): a *pas sauté* (hop) followed by a *jetté* (bound). (F1701 p.75, W1706 pl.28)

Contre-temps battu *see* **Demie cabriole en passant**

Contre-temps de chaconne; Contre-temps ouvert (Chaconne contretemps;

Open contretemps): this *pas composé* travels sideways, beginning in fifth position, the hop is followed by a *pas marché* to second position and the second *pas marché* closes in fifth position. (R1725 p.170, E1728 p.100)²⁷

Contre-temps de gavotte; Contre-temps en avant (Contretemps of the gavotte; Contretemps forwards): this *pas composé* travels forwards and begins with a hop which is followed by two *pas marchés*. (R1725 p.166, E1728 p.97)²⁸

²⁶ The *saut* of the *contre-temps* may have been (in modern terminology) a *relevé*, for Rameau uses the phrase 'se relever en sautant dessus', translated by Essex as 'rise upon it with a spring' in his description of the step, R1725 p. 166, E1728 p. 97.

²⁷ Feuillet and Weaver notate this *contre-temps* but give it no specific name, F1701 p. 75, W1706 pl. 28.

²⁸ Feuillet and Weaver notate this *contre-temps* but give it no specific name, F1701 p. 75, W1706 pl. 27.

Contre-temps du menuet (Hop in minuet time; Composed hop of the menuet): (*F1701 Supplément p.[4], W1706 pl.42, R1725 p.104*) ‘sink upon the Left, and rise upon it with a Hop, ... having the Body on the left Foot, you sink a second Time upon it; and while the Knee is bent, you slide the right Foot before you in the fourth Position, and rise upon it with a Hop; ... as you have the Body rested on the right Foot you sink upon it, bringing the Left close up; then in rising you move it easily forwards, and fall upon it with a Bound’ (*E1728 pp.59-60*).

Contre-temps en avant see **Contre-temps de gavotte**

Contre-temps en pas soutenue [No English equivalent]: one of the *pas composés* used as *agrémens* to the *menuet*; it comprises a *tems de courante* followed by a *jetté sans sauter*. (*RA1725 p.57*). See also: **Agrémens; Tems soutenu**

Contre-temps ouvert see **Contre-temps de chaconne**

Contretemps with a bound [No French equivalent]:²⁹ a *contre-temps* in which the second *pas marché* is replaced by a *jetté*. (*W1706 pl.42*)

Contretemps with a slide [No French equivalent]: a *contre-temps* in which the second *pas marché* is replaced by a *pas glissé*. (*W1706 pl.42*)

Coupé (Coupee): a *demi-coupé* followed by a single *pas*, usually a *pas glissé*. (*F1701 p.54, W1706 pl.7*)

Coupé à deux mouvements (Coupee with two movements): a *demi-coupé* followed by a *jetté sans sauter*. (*F1701 Supplément p.[1], S1706 p.38*)

Coupé avec une ouverture de jambe (Coupee with an opening of the leg):³⁰ a *demi-coupé* followed by a *demi pas* in which the foot remains in the air at the end of the *pas composé*. (*R1725 pp.136, 232, E1728 pp.78, 136*)

Coupé battu (Coupee with a beat):³¹ a coupé incorporating a *pas battu* in either or both of the *demi-coupé* and the *pas* which follows it. (*R1725 p.136, E1728 p.77*)

²⁹ Although this step also appears frequently in French as well as English notated choreographies it is not named in any of the French treatises. In modern usage early dance specialists often refer to this *pas composé* as a *contre-temps à deux mouvements*, which is in fact an alternative name for the *contre-temps balonné*.

³⁰ Feuillet and Weaver notate this *coupé* but give it no specific name, *F1701 p. 54, W1706 pl. 7*.

Coupé ordinaire; Coupé soutenue (Common coupee):³² a *demi-coupé* followed by a *pas glissé*. (*R1725 p.133, RA1725 p.41, E1728 p.76*). See also: **Glissade**.

Coupé sans poser le corps (Coupee without resting the body thereon): a *demi-coupé* followed by a *pas simple* in which the weight is not transferred but the foot is pointed with the toes on the ground. (*R1725 p.232, E1728 p.135*). See also:

Poser la pointe du pied

Coupé simple [No English equivalent]: a *demi-coupé* followed by a *pas marché*. (*RA1725 p.41*). See also: **Glissade**.

Coupé soutenue see **Coupé ordinaire**

Croisé (Crossed): a *pas* which ends in fourth or fifth position. (*F1701 p.31, W1706 p.31*)

Demi-balancé [No English equivalent]: a *demi-coupé à côté*, i.e. half of a *balancé*. (*RA1725 p.33*)

Demi-contre-temps [No English equivalent]: a *pas sauté* (hop) followed by a *pas marché* with the same foot, i.e. the first part of a *contre-temps* omitting the second *pas marché*. (*RA1725 p.65*)

Demi-coupé (Half coupee): (*F1701 p.49, W1706 pl.2, R1725 pp.72-74*)

‘Therefore to begin this half Coupee, you bring the right Foot up to the Left, in the first Position, and bend both Knees equally together, keeping the Body on the left Foot, ... the Right off the Ground, both the Knees equally bent, and turned outwards, the Waste steady, and the Head upright.

In this Sink you carry the right Foot before you, without rising, to the fourth Position, ... and at the same Time bring the Body forwards on it, rising upon the Toes of the right Foot ... with an extended Knee, and bringing the left Foot close up ... with its Knee extended also, ... which for that reason we may call the Equilibrium or Balance, because the Body is only supported by one Foot.

³¹ Feuillet and Weaver notate the *coupé battu* but do not use the generic term, *F1701 p. 54, W1706 pl. 7*.

³² Feuillet and Weaver notate the *coupé ordinaire* first on their tables of *coupés* but give it no specific name, *F1701 p. 54, W1706 pl. 7*.

Afterwards you let the Heel down to the Ground, which makes an End of this Step' (E1728 pp.41-42).³³

Demi-entre-chat (Half entrechat):³⁴ beginning in fourth position, a *pas sauté* (bound) *en avant* with the back foot, crossing in front of the other, both feet in the air, before closing behind. (F1701 p.86, W1706 pl.40)

Demi-jetté *see* **Jetté sans sauter**

Demi-pas; Pas imparfait [No English equivalent]:³⁵ a *pas simple* in which there is no change of weight and which finishes with the leg in the air. (RA1725 p.24)

Demi-sauté [No English equivalent]: a *pas* which combines a *sauté* with a *tombé*. (RA1725 p.96)³⁶

Demie cabriole (Half caper): (F1701 p.84, W1706 pl.38, R1725 p.164) 'They [i.e. bounds, meaning *jettés*] are yet made after another Manner which requires more Strength in the Spring, Quickness in the Rise, and Extension of the Legs, striking them one against the other, falling on the contrary Foot to that sunk upon' (E1728 p.96). *See also:* **Jetté**

Demie cabriole en avant; jetté battu (Half caper forward; Beaten bound): a *demie cabriole* forwards (i.e. a *jetté* forwards incorporating a *cabriole* before landing) finishing with the back foot in third position behind in the air (F1701 p.84, W1706 pl.38)

Demie cabriole en passant; contre-temps battu (Half caper in moving; Beaten hop): a *demi-contre-temps* incorporating a *cabriole*. (F1701 p.84, W1706 pl.38)

Demie cabriole en tournant un tour en saut de basque (Half caper with a whole turn):³⁷ a *demie cabriole* with a three-quarter turn followed by a *pas marché en avant* with a quarter turn. (F1701 p.85, W1706 pl.39)

³³ Essex's translation of Rameau's description includes several references to accompanying illustrations, which have been omitted.

³⁴ Feuillet does not hyphenate the term, which he gives as 'demy entre-chat'.

³⁵ Rameau does not hyphenate the term which he gives as 'demi pas'.

³⁶ Rameau explains 'parce qu'il tient du sauté, & même du Pas tombé; c'est pourquoi je regarde cela comme un demi-sauté'.

³⁷ Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher discusses this *pas composé* in some detail. She concludes that it is a 'saut de basque avec cabriolé en l'air qui se termine sur un pied', she adds that the 'saut de

Échappé *see* **Pas échappé**

Élevé (Rising):³⁸ (*F1701 p.2*) ‘Risings, are when we rise from a Sink, or erect our selves’ (*W1706 p.2*). The rise can take place before the foot moves, as it moves, or after it moves. *See also: Pas élevé*

Emboëtté (Inclosed): a *pas* ending in the third position (*F1701 p.7; W1706 p.7*).

See also: Pas emboëtté

En écartant les pieds (Separating the feet): a *pas* ending in second position (*F1701 p.31; W1706 p.31*)

Entre-chat (Entrechat): a *pas sauté* or *saut* from two feet in which the feet cross one or more times in the air before landing (*F1701 p.86; W1706 pl.40*)

Entre-chat à 3 (Entrechat of 3): beginning in fourth position, a *saut* from two feet in which the two close to fifth position and change in the air before landing on the front foot (*F1701 p.86; W1706 pl.40*)³⁹

Entre-chat à 4 (Entrechat of 4): beginning in second position, a *saut* from two feet which close to fifth position and change in the air before landing in second position (*F1701 p.86; W1706 pl.40*)

Entre-chat en avant à 5 (Entrechat of 5): beginning in fourth position, a *pas sauté* (bound) *en avant* crossing in front of the other foot, changing to behind and again to front before landing in fifth position (*F1701 p.86; W1706 pl.40*)

Entre-chat droit à six (Entrechat of 6 in ye same place): beginning in fifth position, a *saut* from two feet changing three times in the air before landing in fifth position with the other foot in front (*F1701 p.86; W1706 pl.40*)

basque est donc bien un coupé sauté en tournant’, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, pp. 448-450.

³⁸ Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher suggests that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century when Feuillet published *Choregraphie*, ‘élevé’ was used as a synonym for ‘élevé sur les pointes’, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, p. 316.

³⁹ The examples given by both Feuillet and Weaver finish with a *pas marché* forward by the back foot, but their descriptions indicate that this final step was not an integral part of the *pas composé*.

Équilibre (Equilibrium; Balance): the feet are in first position and the body is supported on the ball of one foot with both legs straight (*R1725 p.74; E1728 p.42*)⁴⁰

Fleuret (Fleuret):⁴¹ a *demi-coupé* followed by two *pas marchés* (*F1701 p.63; W1706 pl.16*). See also: **Pas de bourée**

Glissade (Slip): a *coupé simple* or *coupé ordinaire* sideways, usually two are performed to a single bar of music (*R1725 p.137; E1728 p.78*).⁴² A variant version begins with a *jetté* instead of a *demi-coupé* (*R1725 pp.137-8; E1728 p.79*). See also: **Coupé ordinaire, Coupé simple**

Glissé (Sliding): (*F1701 p.2*) ‘Slidings, are when, in moving, the Foot slides on the Ground’ (*W1706 p.9*). See also: **Pas glissé**

Heterodox steps: steps which are similar to those in Feuillet’s step tables, but which differ in some detail such as turn or position symbols, tie lines, etc.⁴³ See also: **Orthodox steps**

Hop [No French equivalent]: ‘Spring ... made on the Foot that does not move afterwards’ (*W1706 p.17*). See also: **Pas sauté**

Hop and two chasses or drives round in the same place [No French equivalent]:⁴⁴ a hop with a half turn *en dehors*, followed by two *chassés ouverts* each with a quarter turn so that the *pas composé* makes one full turn. (*T1735 pp.84-86*)

⁴⁰ Rameau and Essex use the term as part of their descriptions of the *demi-coupé*.

⁴¹ Neither Feuillet nor Weaver make any distinction between the terms *fleuret* and *pas de bourée* and neither notate the step which Rameau calls a *pas de bourée*.

⁴² Rameau and Essex explain that usually three *glissades* come together, with the third in the following bar of music.

⁴³ Thorp & Pierce, ‘Taste and Ingenuity’, pp. 11-12. Thorp and Pierce define steps as orthodox or heterodox by reference to Weaver’s 1706 translation of Feuillet’s *Choregraphie*, but in the thesis reference will be to the 1701 edition of *Choregraphie*. Weaver’s *Orchesography* will only be used for reference to the additional dance steps found in his ‘Suplement of Steps’, *W1706 pl. 42*.

⁴⁴ This *pas composé* is found in a number of choreographies but does not appear in either Feuillet’s or Weaver’s step tables. Tomlinson refers to Pecour’s use of this step in the *Chaconne de Phaeton*.

Hop of two movements from the fifth position round in two half turns [No French equivalent]:⁴⁵ a hop with a half turn *en dehors* with the working leg making a half circle in the air; the working leg is placed in fourth position front and takes the weight, the second leg closes into third position behind with a low bound or spring. The *pas composé* finishes with a repeat of the initial hop and half turn *en dehors* on the same leg, to complete a full turn, and finishes with the working leg in the air in second position. (*T1735 pp.81-82*)

Jetté (Bound; Tac):⁴⁶ (*F1701 p.71; W1706 pl.24; R1725 p.163*) ‘To make one forwards, I suppose the left Leg before and the Body upon it, the Right close to it and ready to move the Moment you sink on the left Leg; and when you rise, which is by the Force of Extension of the left Leg, you fall on the Toes of the Right, which had compleated its Motion forwards in the Sink, and set down the Heel afterwards, which is all the Step’ (*E1728 pp.95-96*). See also: **Demie cabriole Jetté battu** see **Demie cabriole en avant**

Jetté chassé (Bound chassee):⁴⁷ ‘The Body being on the left Leg you sink on it, and the Right which is off the Floor moves forwards extending it self, and when you have risen it crosses with a Bound in the third Position, which forms this Bound *Chassee*; this right Foot falling before the Left takes its Place, and by consequence obliges it to rise behind and the right Knee to bend afterwards’ (*E1728 p.105; R1725 p.178*).

⁴⁵ This step is found in both French and English notated dances, although it does not appear in Feuillet’s step tables. Tomlinson refers to its use in his own dance the *Passacaille Diana*, for which no notation appears to survive.

⁴⁶ Rameau (and Essex in his translation) says that two *jettés* are needed to fill one bar of music, *R1725 p. 164, E1728 p. 95*. Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher draws attention to the use of the *jetté* as part of the *contre-temps balonné* and the *contre-temps du menuet*, as well as some *chassés*, *pas tombés* and the *pas de bourée vite* (which she refers to as ‘le pas doublé’), in all of which it comes at the end of the *pas composé*, she adds ‘lorsqu’il apparaît au début, c’est souvent une combinaison libre et fortuite’, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, p. 357.

⁴⁷ Feuillet notates this step in the ‘Table des Chassées’ calling it a ‘[chassé] ouvert’, which Weaver translates as a ‘[chassee or drive] open’, *F1701 p. 80, W1706 pl. 33*. Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher points out that Rameau is the first to distinguish between a *chassé* and a *jetté chassé* in his terminology, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, p. 462.

Jetté échappé *see* **Jetté sans sauter**

Jetté sans sauter; Demi-jetté; Jetté échappé (Half bound; Jetté without springing):⁴⁸ a *pas* in which both the sink and the rise occur in moving, the effect is similar to a *jetté* performed without a *saut* (*F1701 Supplément p.[1]; S1706 p.40*)

Joint *see* **À pied joint**

Minuet step with a bound [No French equivalent]: a *demi-coupé*, two *pas marchés* and a *jetté* (*W1706 pl.42*)⁴⁹

Movement: ‘one sink and rise’ (*T1735 p.27*)⁵⁰

Orthodox steps: steps in dances notated exactly as in Feuillet’s step tables.⁵¹ *See also: Heterodox steps*

Ouvert: a *pas* ending in second position (*RA1725 p.33*)

Ouverture de jambe (Opening of the leg): (*R1725 p.187*) ‘If you are to make an Opening of the Leg with the left Foot, the Body must rest on the Right in the fourth Position, that the hinder Leg may rise from its Position and move slowly by the Right, crossing before in a half Circle which ends sideways, the Leg remaining still off the Floor ... when the left Leg moves forwards to the Right its Knee is extended, and when it crosses it bends extending again in finishing the half Circle’ (*E1728 p.109*)

Pas (Step): (*F1701 p.2*) ‘Steps, are the Motions of the Feet from one Place to another’ (*W1706 p.2*). *See also: Pas composé; Pas simple*

⁴⁸ Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher discusses the terminology and notation relating to the *jetté sans sauter*, pointing out that the notation often shows a *demi-coupé* at the end of a *pas composé*, when a *jetté sans sauter* is meant (she bases her observation on evidence from the two collections of dances published in 1700), ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, pp. 380-383. Weaver does not include this *pas* in his tables, although Siris does.

⁴⁹ Tomlinson says that this *pas de menuet* is essentially the same as a *pas de bourée vite* (which he calls a ‘bouree with a bound’) except for the timing. He adds that it is ‘now rarely, if ever, practised among Persons of the first Rank’, *T1735 p. 104*.

⁵⁰ Tomlinson gives this definition as part of his description of the ‘Coupee with two Movements’. Neither Rameau nor Essex use the terms ‘mouvement’ and ‘movement’ respectively with this precise meaning.

⁵¹ Thorp & Pierce, ‘Taste and Ingenuity’, pp. 11-12.

Pas assemblé (Close): a *pas* which closes in first, third or fifth position, usually with a *saut* (*F1701 p.44; W1706 p.43*)

Pas balancé see **Balancé**

Pas battu (Beaten step):⁵² (*F1701 p.9*) ‘The beaten Step, is when one Leg or Foot is beaten against the other’ (*W1706 p.9*)

Pas battu à côté (Beat sideways): a *pas simple* or *demi-coupé* beginning and ending in second position incorporating a beat against the side of the supporting foot (*F1701 pp.10, 51; W1706 p.10, pl.4*)

Pas battu contre la cheville du pied (Beat on the ankle): a *pas battu* in which the working foot passes from behind to before and finishes behind the supporting foot (or vice versa). The working foot passes around the ankle of the supporting foot. (*F1701 p.45; W1706 p.44*)

Pas battu derrière (Beaten step backwards): a *pas simple* or *demi-coupé* beginning and ending in fourth position behind incorporating a beat behind the supporting foot (*F1701 pp.10, 51; W1706 p.10, pl.4*).⁵³ See also: **Pas battu derrière le talon**

Pas battu derrière et devant (Beat behind and before): a *pas battu* in which the working foot begins in third position behind, beats behind the supporting foot and then passes in front of the ankle before stepping forward (*F1701 p.45; W1706 p.43*)

Pas battu derrière le talon (Beat behind the heel): a *pas battu* from fourth position behind, which beats behind the heel of the supporting foot and returns to fourth position behind (*F1701 p.45; W1706 p.43*). See also: **Pas battu derrière**

Pas battu dessus et dessous (Beat above and below): a *pas battu* from fourth position behind which beats in front of the supporting foot and returns to fourth position behind. The working foot crosses right in front of the supporting foot, unlike the *pas battu contre le cheville* (*F1701 p.45; W1706 p.43*)

⁵² Rameau uses the term ‘battemen’ for *pas battus* as well as *entre-chats* and *cabrioles*, *R1725* pp. 190-193.

⁵³ Feuillet and Weaver notate a *pas simple*, but in the notated dances this is often a *demi-coupé* with the beat occurring on the *plié*.

Pas battu devant (Beaten step forwards):⁵⁴ a *pas simple* or *demi-coupé* from fourth position front to fourth position front, incorporating a beat in front of the supporting foot (*F1701 pp.10, 51; W1706 p.10, pl.4*).⁵⁵ See also: **Pas battu sur le cou de pied**

Pas battu sur le cou de pied (Beat on the instep): a *pas battu* from fourth position front in which the working foot beats against the instep of the supporting foot and returns to fourth position. (*F1701 p.45; W1706 p.43*). See also: **Pas battu devant**

Pas cabriolé see **Cabriole; Cabriolé**

Pas composé (Compound step): (*F1701 p.46*) ‘a compound Step, is, where two or more Steps are join’d together by a Line [i.e. the tie or liaison line used in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation to indicate the relative timing of *pas* within *pas composés*], and which then are to be reputed as one Step only’ (*W1706 p.44*). See also: **Pas; Pas simple**

Pas de Bourée (Bouree step):⁵⁶ a *demi-coupé*, *pas marché* and *jetté sans sauter* (*R1725 p.122; E1728 p.70*). See also: **Fleuret**

Pas de bourée à quatre pas see **Pas de bourée vite**

Pas de bourée de côté (Bouree step sideways): a *demi-coupé* to second position, a *pas marché* closing to third position behind, and a *pas glissé* forwards (*R1725 pp.125-6; E1728 pp.71-2*)

Pas de bourée emboëté (Close boree):⁵⁷ a *demi-coupé en arrière* to fourth position, a *pas marché en arrière* closing in third position behind (with a pause)

⁵⁴ Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher refers to Feuillet’s choice of terminology for this *pas composé* ‘Lorsque les dénominations pas battu devant, ou pas battu dessus ne désignent pas à la fois l’orientation du battement et celle du poser de la jambe libre par la suite, Feuillet précise à l’aide d’une périphrase descriptive: battu devant pour retomber derrière ... ou battu dessus et emboëté derrière’, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, p. 312.

⁵⁵ Feuillet and Weaver notate a *pas simple*, but in the notated dances this is often a *demi-coupé* with the beat occurring on the *plié*.

⁵⁶ The distinction between a *fleuret* and a *pas de bourée* seems to have been first made by Rameau, who also called the latter *pas composé* a ‘pas de bourée à deux mouvemens’ and ‘pas de bourée vrai’, *R1725 p. 129*.

and a *pas glissé en avant* with the front foot to fourth position (*R1725 p.128; E1728 p.73*)

Pas de bourée ouvert (Open boree): (*R1725 pp.126-7*) ‘Being in the first Position with the right Foot off the Ground, sink on the Left and step with the Right in the second Position, and rise upon it: In rising on the Right, the Left follows in the first Position while the right Foot rests intirely on the Ground; then step with the left Foot in the second Position setting the Heel first down, and when the Body rests on this Foot, rise on the Toes, which brings up the Right, which slides behind the Left in the third Position and makes an End of the Step’ (*E1728 p.72*)⁵⁸

Pas de bourée vite; Pas de bourée à quatre pas (Quick boree; Boree of four steps): a *demi-coupé*, two *pas marchés* and a *jetté sans sauter* (*R1725 pp.129-30; E1728 p.74*).⁵⁹ See also: **Boree with a bound**

Pas de courante (Courant step): there are two forms of this *pas composé*, a short version comprising a *tems de courante* followed by a *jetté sans sauter*, and a long version comprising a *coupé soutenue* followed by a *jetté sans sauter*.⁶⁰

Pas de gaillarde (Galliard step): there are two forms of this *pas composé*. The earlier comprises a sink in fifth position followed by a rise in which the foot behind is carried to first position and then steps to second position (*F1701 p.48; W1706 pl.1*). The later version comprises a *pas assemblé* to first position, a *pas marché* to

⁵⁷ Feuillet and Weaver notate the *pas de bourée emboëté* without using the specific term, *F1701 p. 63, W1706 pl. 16*.

⁵⁸ The sinks and rises described by Rameau (included by Essex in his translation) are not usually shown in the notated versions of this step, which comprise a *demi-coupé* to second position, a *pas marché* passing through first position to second position, and a *pas marché* to third position behind. Feuillet and Weaver notate the *pas de bourée ouvert* in this way but give it no specific name, *F1701 p. 65, W1706 pl. 18*.

⁵⁹ This step is often notated in dances with a final *jetté* instead of a *jetté sans sauter*.

⁶⁰ These two forms of *pas de courante*, which are found in the surviving notations, are given by Gottfried Taubert in his *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister*. Translations of the relevant passages are given in Gerbes, ‘Gottfried Taubert’, pp. 285-286. Rameau describes the *pas de courante* as a ‘demi-jetté ... & ensuite un coupé’, thereby reversing the order of the *pas* which make up the *pas composé*, and is followed by Essex in his translation, *R1725 p. 112, E1728 p. 64*.

second position and a *pas tombé* sideways followed by a *jetté* (R1725 p.144; E1728 p.83).⁶¹

Pas de gavotte:⁶² a *contre-temps de gavotte* followed by a *pas assemblé*.

Pas de menuet à deux mouvements; Pas de menuet a la boémienne (Minuet step; English minuet step):⁶³ a *demi-coupé*, two *pas marchés* and a *demi-coupé* or *jetté sans sauter* (F1701 Supplément p.[4]; W1706 pl.42)

Pas de menuet à la boémienne see **Pas de menuet à deux mouvements**

Pas de menuet à trois mouvements (French minuet step): a *demi-coupé*, *demi-coupé*, *pas marché* and *demi-coupé* or *jetté sans sauter* (F1701 Supplément p.[4]; W1706 pl.42)

Pas de menuet à un seul mouvement [No English equivalent]: a *demi-coupé* followed by three *pas marchés* (F1701 Supplément p.[4])

Pas de menuet en fleuret (Minuet step with a fleuret): a *demi-coupé*, *demi-coupé* followed by two *pas marchés* (F1701 Supplément p.[4])

Pas de rigaudon (Rigadoon step): this *pas composé* does not travel. It begins in the first position with a *plié* followed by a *pas sauté* (a hop) on one foot with the

⁶¹ Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher discusses the difference between the *pas de gaillarde* notated by Feuillet ‘un déplacement de la jambe libre qui, sans transfert de poids, se pose en assemblé soit à terre, soit en l’air, puis s’ouvre droit à côté’ and that described by Rameau, a *pas de gaillarde* as notated by Feuillet ‘avec comme seule différence le sauté à la place de l’assemblée - et le second en pas tombé en chassé et jeté’. She suggests that Feuillet’s *pas de gaillarde* was slowly replaced by the version described by Rameau, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, pp. 351-353. See also Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater* p. 233. In *The Art of Dancing* Tomlinson describes the *pas de gaillarde* similarly to Rameau, T1735 pp. 48-52.

⁶² Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher discusses the omission of this step by Feuillet, despite earlier mentions in the literature which allow it to be identified in notated gavottes; an earlier version comprised three *pas marchés en avant* and a *pas assemblée*, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, pp. 479-480.

⁶³ Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater*, p. 191 uses the term ‘pas de menuet à deux mouvements’ as a synonym for the *pas de menuet en fleuret*. She follows Rameau who in the *Abbrégé* uses the former, but as shorthand for ‘pas de menuet à deux mouvements en fleuret’, R1725 pp. 54, 56. Tomlinson refers to the *pas de menuet à deux mouvements* as the ‘English Minuet Step’, T1735 pp. 103-4.

other foot opening to the side, this foot closes to first position and the other opens to the side in its turn before closing to first. (*F1701 p.76; W1706 pl.29*)⁶⁴

Pas de sissonne (Sissonne): beginning in fifth position, a *saut* from two feet in which one opens to the side and closes to fifth position *plié* on landing, followed by another *saut* from two feet landing on one (*F1701 p.81; W1706 pl.35*)⁶⁵

Pas de sissonne brissé see **Pas de sissonne battu**

Pas de sissonne battu; Pas de sissonne brissé (Sissonne beat before return behind): a *pas de sissonne* incorporating a *pas battu dessus & dessous* within the first *saut* of the *pas composé* (*F1701 p.81; W1706 pl.35*). See also: **Sissonne battue.**

Pas de sissonne coupé (Sissonne coupee): (*R1725 p.158*) ‘at the first Hop you fall on both Feet, without bending the Knees; but then you sink afterwards to make the second Hop, which may be called the Sissonne Coupee, because there is a rest made to sink at the second Hop’ (*E1728 p.92*). See also: **Sissonne with a contretemps**

Pas de sissonne-de-chaconne (Sissonne de chaconne): a *pas assemblé* with the back foot closing in fifth position front, a *pas glissé en avant* to fourth position rising on the front foot, two *jettés chassés* (*R1725 pp.241-2; E1728 pp.141-2*)

Pas doublé [No English equivalent].⁶⁶ two *pas* or *pas composés* danced to a single bar of duple time or a half bar of quadruple time (*F1701 p.89*)

⁶⁴ Both Feuillet and Weaver include the *pas de rigaudon* in their tables of *contre-temps*. In the notated dances the *pas de rigaudon* is usually followed by a *saut* on both feet in first position.

⁶⁵ Rameau and Essex distinguish between the two *sauts*, *R1725 p. 156, E1728 p. 91*. Essex says ‘The Composition of this Step consists of two Manners of springing or hopping different from one another; viz. to sink to rise and to fall again to sink, and the other being sunk is to rise again with a Hop’.

⁶⁶ Feuillet uses the *pas de bourée vite* as the example for his explanation of the use of the double liaison or double tie, with the term ‘pas doublé’. However, it is not clear whether he is using ‘pas doublé’ as a name for this *pas composé* (as Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, p. 428, assumes), or merely as a more general term to describe two *pas* or *pas composés* joined by a double liaison to make a new *pas composé*. Weaver omits the final part of Feuillet’s sentence and thus does not translate the term ‘pas doublé’ and Siris does the same, *W1706 p. 49, S1706 p. 51*.

Pas droit (Straight step): (*F1701 p.9*) ‘A straight Step, is when the Foot moves in a right Line’ (*W1706 p.9*). See also: **Pas marché**

Pas échappé; Saillie (Starting step; Sallie):⁶⁷ (*F1701 p.23; W1706 p.26; R1725 pp.183-4*) ‘Being raised on the Toes, ... the Feet in the fourth Position, and the Weight of the Body equally on both, ... the right Foot foremost, you from thence let your two Legs start or slip, as if your Strength failed you, letting the right Foot slip behind and the Left come forwards, separating both at the same Time, and in falling the Knees bend and at the same Instant you rise again, re-placing the right Foot before and the Left behind, which brings you to the same Position whence you began: But still your Knees are bent, and you rise at the same Time throwing the Body on the left Foot, and bringing by this springing Movement the right Foot up to the Left, resting the Body in the first Position you then make a Step with the left Foot’ (*E1728 pp.107-8*)

Pas échappé entier et assemblé: beginning in first position, a *pas tombé* to fourth position, followed by another *pas tombé* to fourth position changing feet and a *pas assemblé* (*RA1725 p.83*)⁶⁸

Pas élevé (Rise): a rise on two feet or one foot (*F1701 p.11; W1706 p.11*). See also: **Élevé**

Pas emboëté (Inclos'd step): a *pas* which ends in third position (*F1701 p.44; W1706 p.43*). See also: **Emboëté**

Pas glissé (Slide): a *pas* which slides along the floor (*F1701 p.11; W1706 p.11*). See also: **Glissé**

Pas grave see **Tems de courante**

Pas imparfait see **Demi pas**

Pas marché (March on the toes): a step on the ball of the foot (*R1725 p.76; E1728 p.43*).⁶⁹ See also: **Pas droit**

Pas ouvert (Open step): (*F1701 p.9*) ‘The open Step, is when the leg opens; which is to be done three ways, one outwards, another inwards, both of which

⁶⁷ For a discussion of the different versions of the *saillie*, see: Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher, ‘Aux Origines de la danse classique’, p. 355; Hilton, *Dance and Music of Court and Theater*, p. 237.

⁶⁸ Rameau explains that the *échappé* is both a *pas tombé* and a *pas sauté*, *RA1725 p. 84*.

⁶⁹ Rameau and Essex use the term when describing the *pas de menuet*.

make an Arch or half Circle, and the third sideways, which may also be called a straight Step, because the motion of it is in a direct Line' (*W1706 p.9*)

Pas plié (Sink): a bending of the knees (*F1701 p.11; W1706 p.11*). See also: **Plié**

Pas rond; Rond de jambe (Round step; Circular step): a pas in which the working foot describes one or more small circles in the air, which can be *en dehors* or *en dedans* (*F1701 p.9; W1706 p.9*)⁷⁰

Pas sauté (Spring; Bound; Hop): (*F1701 p.15*) 'A Springing Step, is perform'd two ways, either by springing and falling on the same foot which moves forward, which I shall for the future, call a Bound; or springing and falling on the foot that does not move forward, which I shall call a Hop' (*W1706 p.16*).⁷¹ See also:

Bound; Hop; Jetté; Sauté

Pas simple (Simple step): a single step (*F1701 p.46; W1706 p.44*). See also:

Pas; Pas composé

Pas Tombé (Falling step): a pas which falls from a rise or a flat foot to end in *plié* (*F1701 p.11; W1706 p.12*). See also: **Tombé**

Pas tortillé (Waving step): (*F1701 p.9*) 'The waving Step, is when the Foot, in moving, turns both inwards and outwards' (*W1706 p.9*)

Passacaille step see **Chaconne step**

Pied en l'air (Foot up): the foot is lifted from the ground. This term is used for steps which end on one foot with the other in the air (*F1701 p.12; W1706 p.12*)

Pied joint; Joint (Feet joined; Joined): a pas which ends in first position. (*F1701 p.31, W1706 p.31*)

Pirouette (Pirouette):⁷² (*F1701 p.82; W1706 pl.36; R1725 p.148*) 'The Pirouette is a Step which is made in one Place, ... but its propriety consists in the Body's

⁷⁰ Feuillet uses the term 'rond de jambe' in his table of *coupés*, which Weaver translates as 'circular [Step]', *F1701 p. 54, W1706 pl. 7*.

⁷¹ Only the English treatises make a terminological distinction between a *pas sauté* on one foot and a *pas sauté* from one foot to the other.

⁷² Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher notes that Feuillet uses the terms *en dehors* and *en dedans* to describe the direction of a *piroüette* on one foot, but *à droite* and *à gauche* to describe the direction of a *piroüette* on two feet, 'Aux Origines de la danse classique', p. 284.

turning about either on one Foot or on both as on a Pivot' (E1728 p.86).⁷³ See also: Tourné

Plié (Sinking): (F1701 p.2) 'Sinkings, are Bendings of the Knees' (W1706 p.2).

See also: Plié

Pointe; Pointe du Pied (Toes): in the context of a *pas élevé* (for example in a *demi-coupé*), *pointe* signifies a rise onto the ball of the foot; in the context of a *tems*, it signifies that the working foot is pointed.

Poser la pointe du pied (Point the foot): the working foot is pointed with the toes on the floor, the weight remains over the supporting foot (F1701 p.12; W1706 p.12)

Poser le talon (Place the heel): the heel of the working foot is placed on the floor with the toes off, the weight remains over the supporting foot (F1701 p.12; W1706 p.12)

Présence du corps (Presence of the body): (F1701 p.3) 'The Posture or Presence of the Body, is to have respect to that part of the Room, to which the Face or Fore-part of the Body is directed' (W1706 p.3)

Rond de jambe see Pas rond

Saillie see Pas échappé

Saut (Springing): (F1701 p.15) 'Springings may be perform'd two ways, viz. with both Feet at once, or with one Foot only' (W1706 p.16). See also: Pas sauté

Sauté (Springing):⁷⁴ (F1701 p.2) 'Springing, is a rising or leaping from the Ground' (W1706 p.2). See also: Pas sauté; Saut

Sauter à cloche pied: a *plié* followed by a *saut* on one foot while the other foot is in the air (RA1725 p.64)

⁷³ Both Rameau and Essex, who are dealing with ballroom dancing, refer only to quarter and half turns, but Feuillet and Weaver include full turns with a variety of *pas battus* and *pas ronds* in their tables of *pirouettes* and more complex as well as multiple turns can be found in the notated theatrical dances.

⁷⁴ Feuillet does not describe *sauté* by reference to the timing of the *saut*, as he does with 'avant de marcher', 'en marchant', and 'après avoir marché' for the *plié* and the *élevé*, but Kougioumtzoglou-Roucher applies these by analogy and with reference to the notated dances published in 1700, 'Aux Origines de la danse classique', p. 297.

Sauter sur la pointe du pied (Spring on the toe): a *saut* onto the ball of the foot
(F1701 p.20; W1706 p.22)

Sauter sur le plat du pied (Spring on the flat foot): a *saut* onto a flat foot
(F1701 p.20; W1706 p.23)

Sauter sur le talon (Spring on the heel): a *saut* onto the heel (F1701 p.20;
W1706 p.22)

Sissonne see **Pas de sissonne**

Sissonne battue (Beaten sissonne): a *pas de sissonne* incorporating a *cabriole* in each of the two *pas sautés* of this *pas composé* (F1701 p.84; W1706 pl.38). See also: **Pas de sissonne battu.**

Sissonne with a contretemps [No French equivalent]: a *pas de sissonne* which the first *pas sauté* is replaced by a *demi-contre-temps* (W1706 pl.42). See also:

Pas de sissonne coupé

Tems (Pointing): (R1725 pp.119-120) ‘There are Steps which we call Pointings, ... this Step is a Sink and a Rise, and a Motion of the Foot sideways without a Slide’ (E1728 p.68).⁷⁵

Tems de courante; Pas grave (Courant step; March): (F1701 p.47; W1706 pl.1; R1725 pp.116-7) ‘Supposing it then to be made with the right Foot; having therefore the left Leg foremost, and the Body upon it, with the right Foot in the fourth Position, the Heel up ready to move; from thence you sink, opening the right Foot; and when you rise again with the Knees extended, you slide the right Foot forwards to the fourth Position, and the Body goes intirely on it: But as the right Foot slides forwards, the left Knee gives way and its Heel rises, which throws the Body easily on the right Foot, and at the same Time you rise on the Toes: Afterwards you set down the Heel, which finishes the March’ (E1728 pp.66-7)

Tems soutenu [No English equivalent]: (R1725 p.94)⁷⁶ one of the *pas composés* used as *agrémens* to the *menuet*, it comprises a *tems de courante* followed by a *jetté*. See also: **Agrémens; Contre-temps en pas soutenue**

⁷⁵ The notated dances also include *tems* to fourth position *devant* or *derrière*.

⁷⁶ Although Essex translates Rameau’s description of the *tems soutenu* he does not name the step, E1728 p. 52.

Tombé (Falling): (*F1701 p.2*) ‘Fallings, are when the body, being out of its proper Poise, falls by its own Weight’ (*W1706 p.2*). See also: **Pas tombé Tortillé** see **Pas tortillé**

Tourné (Turning): (*F1701 p.2*) ‘Turnings, are when the Body turns either one way or the other’ (*W1706 p.2*). See also: **Pirouette**

Arm Movements

Contraste see **Opposition**

De bas en haut (From below upwards): the direction of turn of the wrist or elbow (*R1725 pp.204, 206; E1728 p.119, 121*)

De haut en bas (From above downwards): the direction of turn of the wrist or elbow (*R1725 pp.204, 206; E1728 p.119, 121*)⁷⁷

Demi mouvement des poignets & des coudes (Half movement of the wrists and elbows): a part circle (i.e. less than a half circle) of the wrists and elbows from below upwards (*R1725 p.237; E1728 p.138*)⁷⁸

Effacer l'épaule (Shading the shoulder): (*R1725 p.201*) ‘These Movements of the Shoulder appear yet more in Opposition, in that the Arm being extended, the Shoulder is shaded behind: For Example; if you go by any one aside, you draw back your Shoulder.’ (*E1728 p.118*)

Effacer le corps (Shading the body): (*R1725 p.228*) ‘shading the Body or turning a little sideways’ (*E1728 p.133*)

Elevation des bras (Elevation of the arms): (*R1725 p.197*) ‘according to the Rules, the Arms should be raised to the Height of the Pit of the Stomach’ (*E1728 p.115*)⁷⁹

⁷⁷ In describing the *rond du poignet* Rameau says ‘il faut laisser plier le poignet en dedans’, Essex translates ‘en dedans’ as ‘inwards’. *R1725 p. 204, E1728 p. 119.*

⁷⁸ Rameau (and Essex in his translation) refers to this ‘demi mouvement’ in describing the arm movements to accompany the *coupé à deux mouvements*.

⁷⁹ Rameau adds more specific directions on the arms, *R1725 pp. 197-198*, which Essex translates as ‘with the Feet in the second Position, which is relative to the Arms, in that the Legs being open and the Feet on the same Line, the Arms ought to be opened and raised equally’, *E1728 p. 115.*

Main en dessous (Hand downwards): the palm of the hand is turned down, to face the floor (*R1725 pp.203-4; E1728 p.119*)

Main en haut (Hand upwards): the palm of the hand is turned up, to face the ceiling (*R1725 p.203; E1728 p.119*)

Mouvement de l'épaule (Movement of the shoulders): (*R1725 p.208*) 'As to the Movement of the Shoulders, as they are no where distinguished but in the falling Step, when the Arms are extended ... they must fall a little lower than the Hips, without bending either Elbows or Wrists, ... for when they fall they rise to the Height again from whence they fell, which is solely by the Movement of the Shoulder.' (*E1728 p.122*)

Opposition; Contraste (Opposition; Contrast): (*R1725 p.210*) 'to see different Persons walk, you will find that when they step with the right Foot forwards, the left Arm will naturally oppose it, which seems to be a certain Rule: And on this same Rule able Dancers have moved their Arms, bringing the Arm in Opposition to the Leg, that is, when you have the right Leg before you, the left Arm ought to be in Opposition during the Extent of the Step.' (*E1728 p.123*)

Ports de bras (Movement of the Arms): (*F1701 p.97*). 'the Carriage and Movement of the Arms' (*W1706 p.55*)

Rond du coude (Turn of the elbow; Movement of the elbow): a half circle of the lower arm, so that the hand ends in the opposite place (i.e. up or down) from where it started (*R1725 p.207; E1728 pp.119, 124*)

Rond du poignet (Turn of the hand; Movement of the wrist): a half turn of the wrist, so that the palm faces the opposite direction (i.e. up or down) from where it started (*R1725 p.204; E1728 pp.119, 124*)

Two important terms are not included in the preceding list. Rameau often refers to the 'inclination' of the body or head and Essex uses the same term, similarly Rameau writes of the head as being 'tournée' which Essex translates as 'turned' or 'turned aside'; these terms are used as part of the descriptions of arm movements for specific steps but the head and body movements to which they refer are not themselves explicitly described.

APPENDIX III

HESTER SANTLOW'S NOTATED DANCES

This appendix provides reproductions of the seven dances from Hester Santlow's repertoire which were recorded and published in Beauchamp-Feuillet notation:¹

Mr Isaac. *The Union* (1707)

Mr Isaac. *The Saltarella* (1708)

Anthony L'Abbé. 'Passacaille of Armide' [published c1725]

Anthony L'Abbé. 'Menuet' [published c1725]

Anthony L'Abbé. 'Chacone of Galathee' [published c1725]

Anthony L'Abbé. 'Passaglia of Venüs & Adonis' [published c1725]

Anthony L'Abbé. *The Prince of Wales's Saraband* (1731)

They accompany the analysis and discussion of the dances in Chapter Five. Each notated dance is preceded by a summary which includes:

Publication history of the dance

Source of the copy

Date of first performance

Music analysis

Annotations for each plate

The publication history includes references to the entries in Little and Marsh's inventory *La Danse Noble* and Lancelot's *catalogue raisonné La Belle Dance*.²

The annotations give only the measure numbers and musical sections notated on each plate, together with any significant errors or variants in the dance notation.

All the notations are reproduced by permission of the British Library.

¹ Only Mr Isaac's *The Union* and the four dances from Anthony L'Abbé's *A New Collection of Dances* are currently available in modern facsimiles, see *Ralph*, pp. 341-355, and *New Collection (Facsimile)*.

² *LMC* and *Belle Dance*. The latter does not include entries for Mr Isaac's dances.

MR ISAAC. *THE UNION* (1707)

Publication History

The first edition of *The Union* was published in 1707. The dance was reissued in about 1712, and probably again in about 1730. All the surviving copies are printed from the same engraved plates, with no corrections or alterations.

LMC [1707]-Umn

Source of Copy

British Library, Music Library, h. 993.(8)

Date and Place of First Performance

6 February 1707, St James's Palace

Music

Dance types: Loure / Hornpipe

Length: 44 measures (loure) / 32 measures (hornpipe)

Time signature: 6/4 (loure) / 3/2 (hornpipe)

Structure: AABB (loure, A=16, B=28) / AABB (hornpipe, A=8, B=8)

1st Couplet

Measures: 1-16

Music section: Loure, A

Dance notation errors: Measure 16 (woman's side), foot position omitted in *pas assemblé*.

2d. Couplet

Measures: 17-24

Music section: Loure, A (repeat, measures 1-8)

Dance notation errors: Measure 21 (woman's side), *plié* sign omitted from the second *demi-coupé*.

3d. Couplet

Measures: 25-32

Music section: Loure, A (repeat, measures 9-16)

4th Couplet

Measures: 33-44

Music section: Loure, B (measures 1-12)

Dance notation errors: Measure 36 (both sides), there should be a half-turn and not a quarter-turn sign on the *saut*.

5th Couplet

Measures: 45-48

Music section: Loure, B (measures 13-16)

6th Couplet

Measures: 49-56

Music section: Loure, B (measures 17-24)

Dance notation errors: Measure 52 (woman's side), the two pause signs following the *pas assemblé* shown on the man's side are omitted.

7th Couplet

Measures: 57-60

Music section: Loure, B (measures 25-28)

8th. Couplet

Measures: 61-78

Music section: Loure, B (repeat, measures 1-18)

9th. Couplet

Measures: 79-88

Music section: Loure, B (repeat, measures 19-28)

10. Couplet

Measures: 1-8

Music section: Hornpipe, A

11. Couplet

Measures: 9-12

Music section: Hornpipe, A (repeat, measures 1-4)

12th. Couplet

Measures: 13-16

Music section: Hornpipe, A (repeat, measures 5-8)

13th. Couplet

Measures: 17-24

Music section: Hornpipe, B

14th. Couplet

Measures: 25-28

Music section: Hornpipe, B (repeat, measures 1-4)

15th. Couplet

Measures: 29-32

Music section: Hornpipe, B (repeat, measures 5-8)

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

The Tune by M^r Paisible.

Engraven in Characters & Figures for y^e use of Masters

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

<p><i>Viz The Rigadoon Royal.</i></p> <p><i>The Royal Galliarde.</i></p> <p><i>The Royal Portuguez.</i></p> <p><i>The Saltarella.</i></p> <p><i>The Union.</i></p> <p><i>The Brittainia.</i></p> <p><i>The Spanheim.</i></p> <p><i>The Favourite.</i></p>	<p> </p>	<p><i>The Richmond.</i></p> <p><i>The Rigadoon.</i></p> <p><i>The Rondeau.</i></p> <p><i>The Princess.</i></p> <p><i>The Gloster.</i></p> <p><i>The Marlborough.</i></p> <p><i>The Royal.</i></p> <p><i>The Northumberland.</i></p>
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And y^e Art of Dancing done in Characters

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

The
UNION
 a New DANCE
 Compos'd
by
 M^r. Isaac
Perform'd at Court
on Her MAJESTIES
Birth day
Feb: y 6th
 1707.

and writt down in Characters by John Weaver. —

H. Hulbergh Schulp.

The Union by M.^r Isaac.

1st Couplet.

The image displays a musical score for a 2nd Couplet. At the top, a single staff of music is shown in treble clef, featuring 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, along with rests. Below this staff is a large, stylized graphic of musical notation. This graphic consists of several curved lines and vertical stems, resembling a calligraphic or abstract representation of musical notation. The lines are arranged in a way that suggests a melodic contour, with some lines curving upwards and others downwards. The overall style is reminiscent of early 20th-century graphic notation or a highly stylized manuscript.

2.^d Couplet.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for guitar. At the top, there is a standard five-line staff with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, some with slurs and accents. Below the staff is a large, hand-drawn diagram of a guitar fretboard, oriented vertically. The diagram shows the neck of the guitar with frets and strings. Notes are written on the strings, and small circles with numbers (1-4) indicate fingerings. The notes are arranged in a pattern that suggests a specific scale or sequence of chords. The entire score is enclosed in a rectangular border.

3^d Complet.

The image displays a musical score for a 4th Couplet. At the top, there is a single staff of music with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. Below this, the score is arranged in a large, irregular, roughly rectangular shape. This shape is composed of multiple staves of music, some of which are oriented vertically. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines, creating a complex and somewhat abstract visual structure. The entire score is enclosed within a double-line border.

4^o Couplet.

6th Couplet.

The 6th Couplet section consists of a single staff of music at the top, showing a melodic line in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. Below the staff is a large, intricate diagram. It features two large, overlapping circles. Inside each circle, there are smaller rectangular boxes containing musical notation, including notes, stems, and clefs. The circles are connected by various lines and smaller musical symbols, creating a complex, interconnected visual structure.

7th Couplet.

The 7th Couplet section consists of a single staff of music at the top, identical in notation to the one above. Below the staff is a diagram with four vertical musical structures. Each structure is a vertical arrangement of notes and stems, with some elements resembling a stylized face or a specific musical motif. The structures are arranged in two pairs, one on the left and one on the right, with some connecting lines between them.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for an 8th Couplet. At the top, there is a single staff of music with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values and melodic lines. Below the staff is a large, complex diagram enclosed in a rectangular border. This diagram consists of multiple horizontal lines, each containing musical notation such as notes, stems, and beams. The lines are interconnected, forming a dense, web-like structure. At the bottom center of the diagram, there is a large, circular, swirling pattern of musical notation, possibly representing a specific musical motif or a decorative flourish. The entire composition is rendered in black ink on a white background.

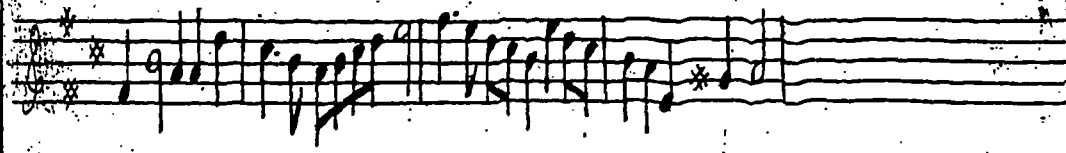
8th Couplet.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a 9th Couplet. At the top, there is a single staff of music with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines. Below the staff is a large, intricate diagram consisting of a central circle with several lines extending from its perimeter. These lines are decorated with musical notation, including notes, stems, and beams, arranged in a circular or radial pattern. The diagram appears to be a visual representation of a musical structure, possibly a cycle or a specific rhythmic pattern. At the bottom of the page, the text "9th Couplet." is written in a cursive hand.

9th Couplet.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "10. Couplet". At the top, a single staff of music is shown, containing a sequence of notes and rests. Below this staff is a large, circular graphic composed of multiple overlapping musical staves. These staves are arranged in a circular pattern, with each staff containing musical notation. The notation includes various note values, stems, and beams, creating a complex, swirling visual effect. The entire composition is enclosed within a rectangular border.

10. Couplet .



22th Couplet.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "13th Couplet." The score is contained within a rectangular border. At the top, there are two staves of musical notation. The first staff is a single melodic line with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). It contains a series of notes, including eighth and sixteenth notes, with some slurs and accents. The second staff is a shorter melodic line, also in treble clef, with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature, containing a few notes. Below these staves is a large, circular musical diagram. This diagram consists of a continuous, winding melodic line that forms a circle. The line is composed of various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and is decorated with slurs, ties, and other musical symbols. The circular arrangement suggests a continuous or looping melody. At the bottom center of the page, the text "13th Couplet." is written in a cursive hand.

The image displays a musical score for the 14th Couplet. At the top, a single staff of music contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. Below this, the main visual element is a large, stylized graphic of a couplet. The graphic is composed of several interconnected lines and curves, with musical notes and stems integrated into its structure. The lines are arranged in a way that suggests the shape of a couplet, with two main vertical stems and two curved lines extending outwards. The overall style is minimalist and abstract, using black ink on a white background.

14th Couplet.

The image displays a musical score for a 15th Couplet. At the top, a single staff of music is shown, containing a sequence of notes and rests. The staff is decorated with a ribbon-like graphic on the right side. Below the staff, a large circular graphic is formed by musical notation. The notation consists of two vertical staves on the left and right sides, with musical notes and stems connecting them to form a circular shape. The text "15th Couplet." is written in the center of the circle, and "Finis." is written below it. The entire composition is enclosed in a rectangular border.

MR ISAAC. *THE SALTARELLA* (1708)

Publication History

The first edition of *The Saltarella* was published in 1708. The dance was probably reissued in about 1712, and again in about 1730. All the surviving copies are printed from the same engraved plates, with no corrections or alterations.

LMC [1708]-Slr

Source of Copy

British Library, Music Library, h. 993.(7)

Date and Place of First Performance

21 February 1708, Queen's Theatre (the dance may have been performed at court on 6 February 1708)

Music

Dance type: [Saltarello]

Length: 58 measures

Time signature: 6/4

Structure: AABA (A=12 measures, B=22 measures)

1st. Couplet

Measures: 1-4

Music section: A (measures 1-4)

2d Couplet

Measures: 5-12

Music section: A (measures 5-12)

3 Couplet

Measures: 13-18

Music section: A (repeat, measures 1-6)

4 Couplet

Measures: 19-24

Music section: A (repeat, measures 7-12)

5 Couplet

Measures: 25-34

Music section: B (measures 1-10)

6 Couplet

Measures: 35-41

Music section: B (measures 11-17)

Dance notation errors: Measures 39-40 (woman's side), bar line between the measures omitted.

7 Couplet

Measures: 42-48

Music section: B (measures 18-22), A (repeat, measures 1-2)

Dance notation errors: Measure 46 (woman's side), pause sign omitted after the *pas assemblé*?**8 Couplet**

Measures: 49-58

Music section: A (repeat, measures 3-12)

Dance notation errors: Measures 51-52 (woman's side), bar line between the measures omitted; Measure 56 (man's side), pause sign after the *saut* omitted.

The 7

SALTARELLA

Mr. Isaac's

New DANCE

made for

Her MAJESTY'S Birth Day

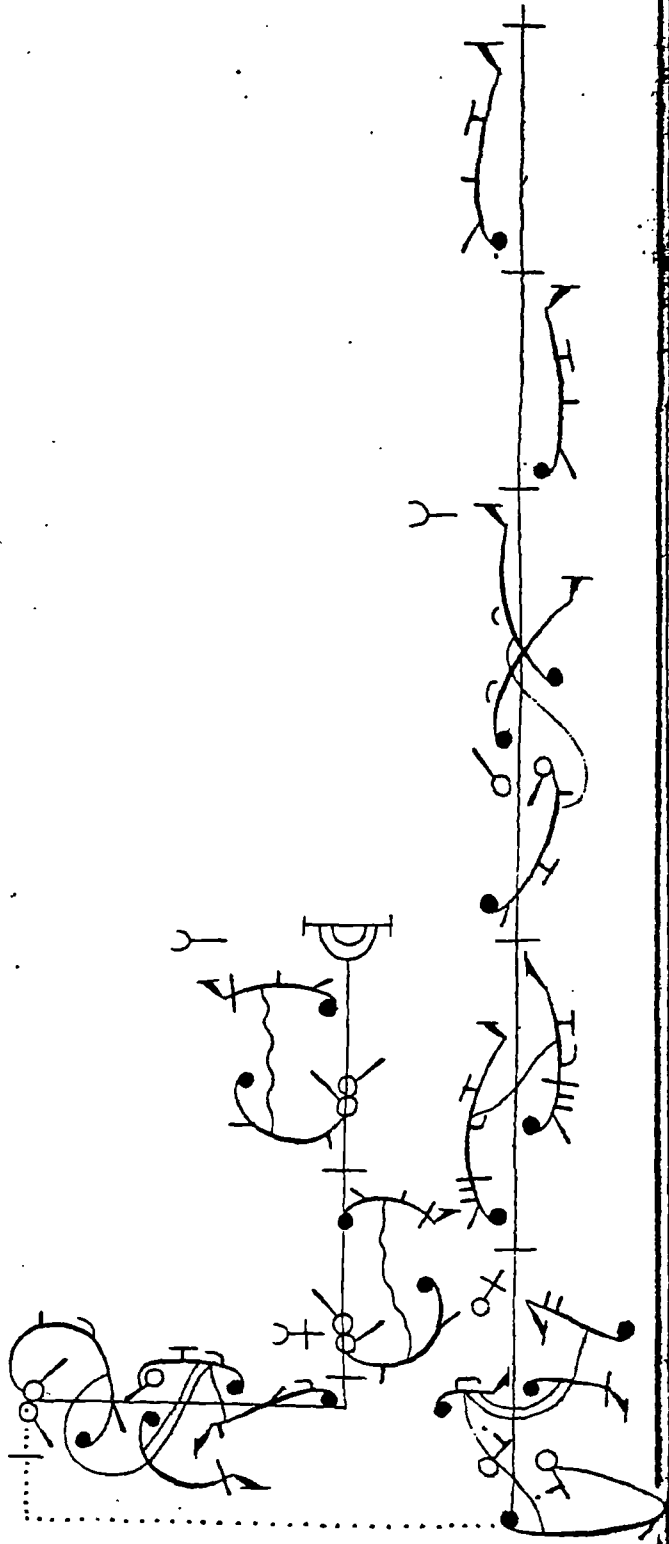
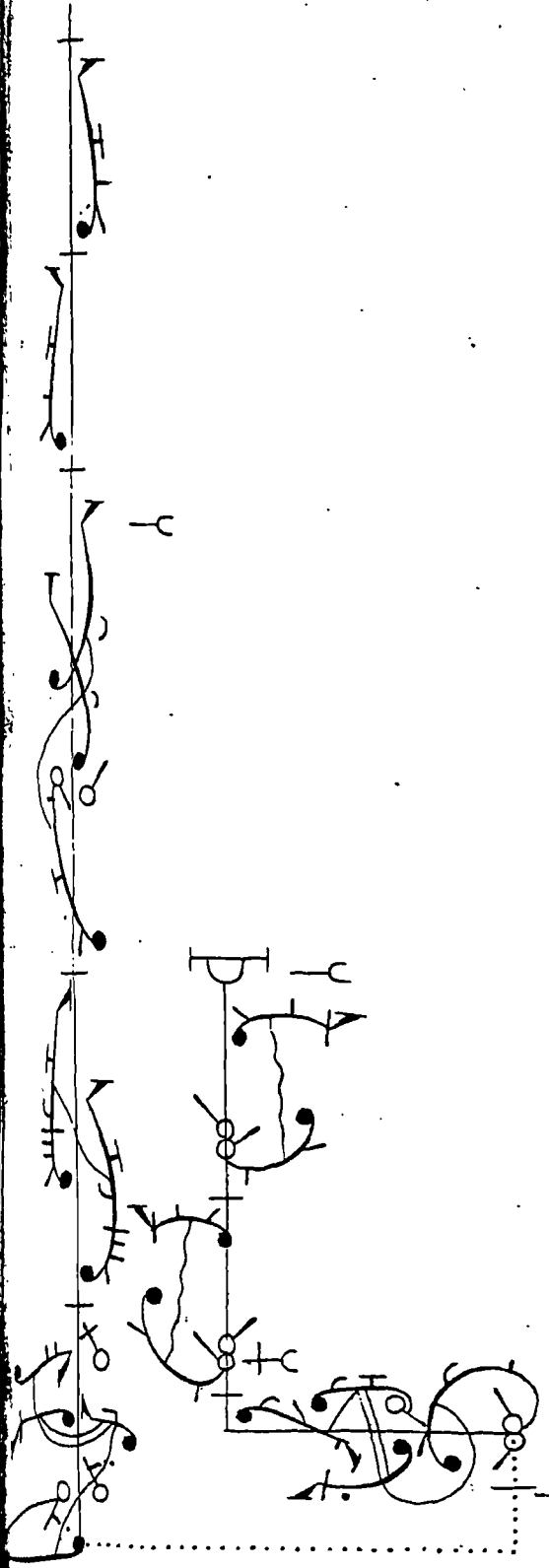
1708

The Tune by Mr. Paisible

*Engraven in Characters and
Figures for the use of Masters*

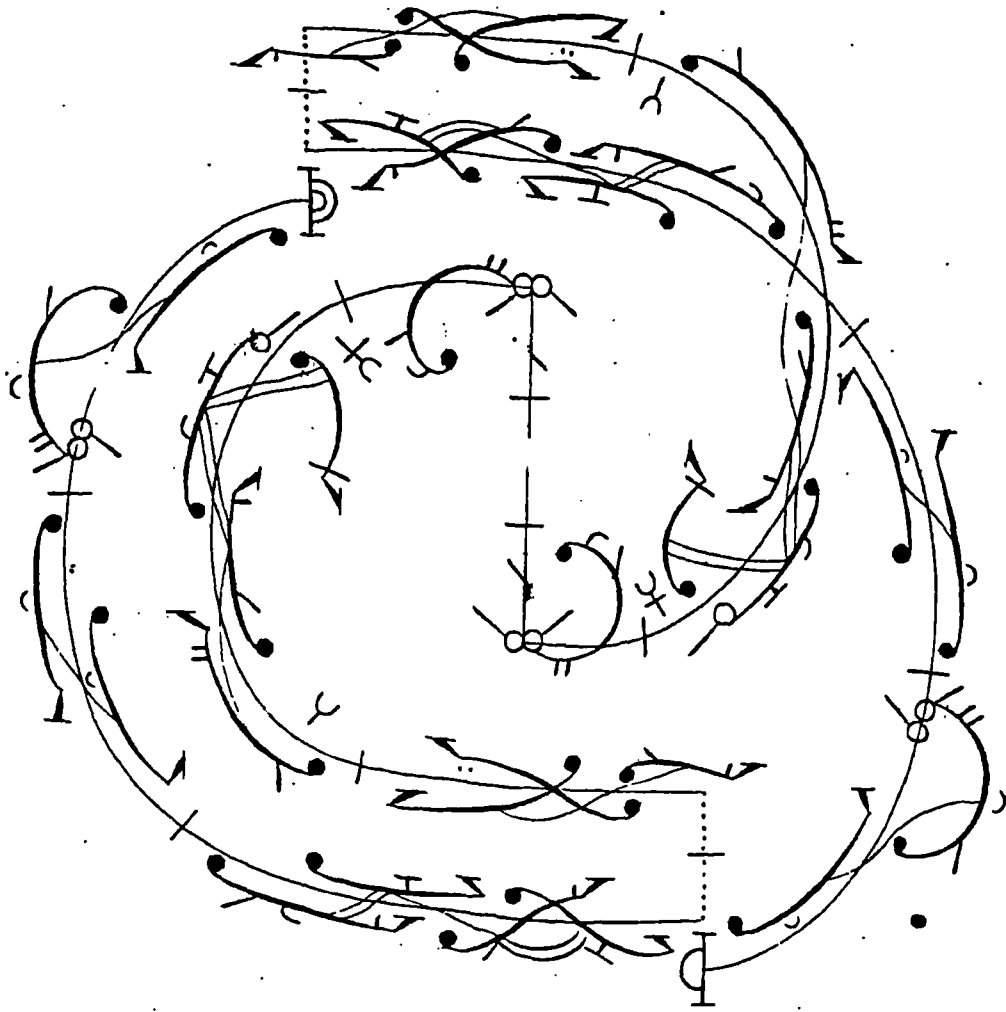
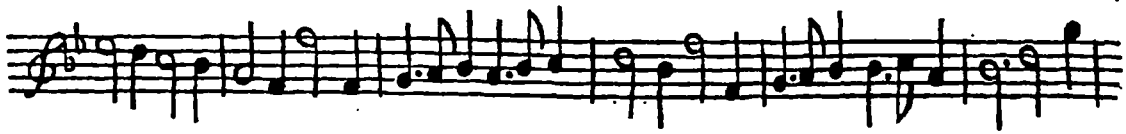
*The Characters writ by Mr. de la Garde
Dancing Master belonging to y^e Operas at y^e
Queens Theatre, and Revis'd by y^e Author*

Sold by I. Walsh Serv^t to Her Ma^{ty} at y^e Harp & Hoboy in Katherine Street near Somerset House in
y^e Strand. I. Hare Instrument maker at y^e Golden Viol and Flute in Cornhill near y^e Royal Exchange



2^d Couplet

4



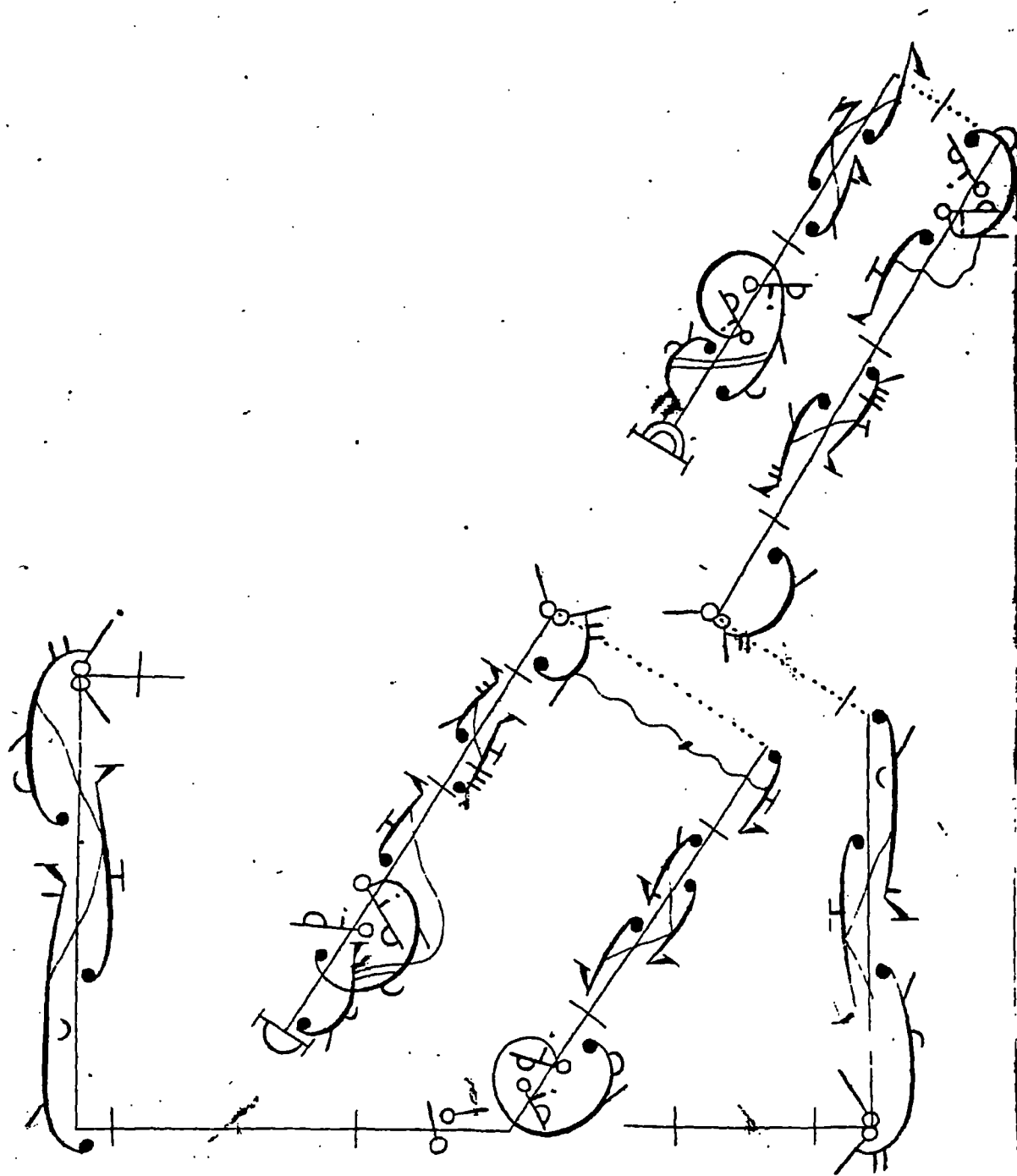
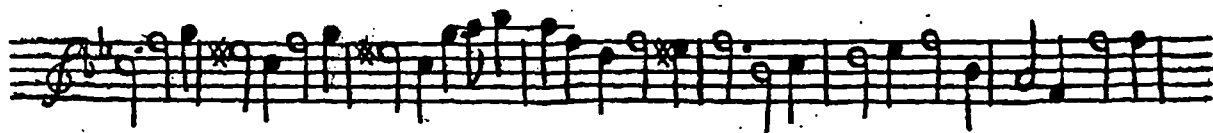
4 Couplet

5

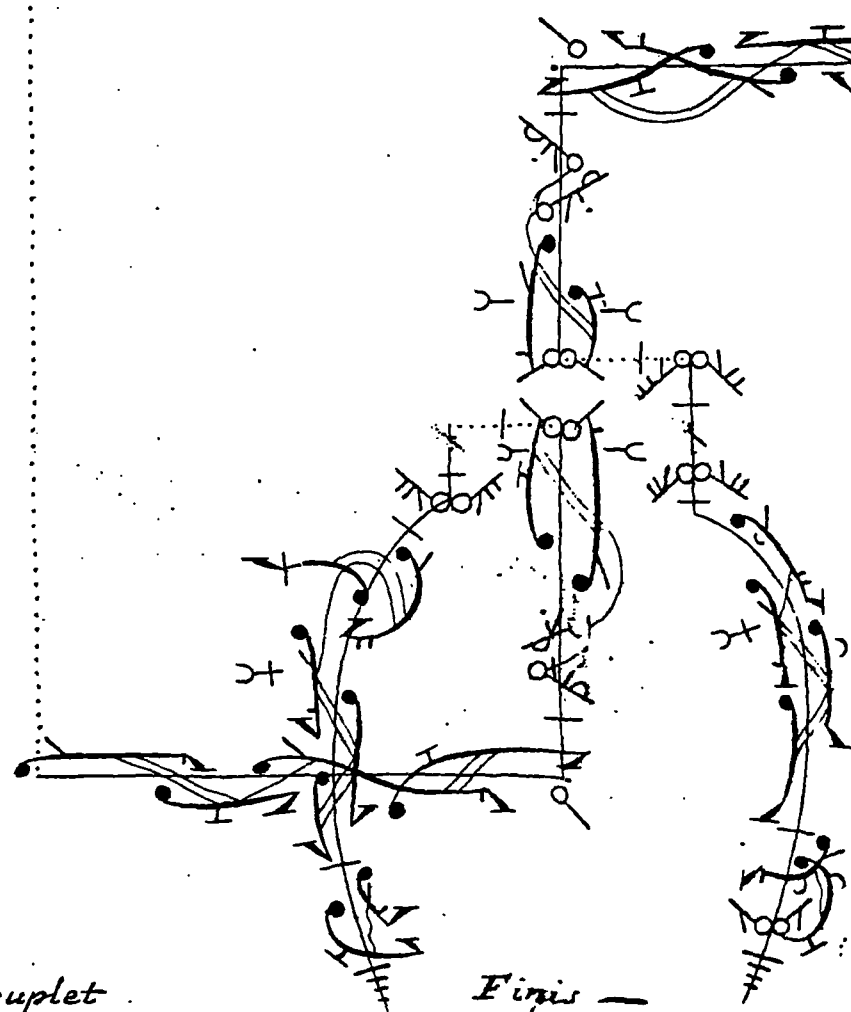
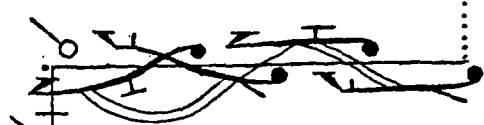
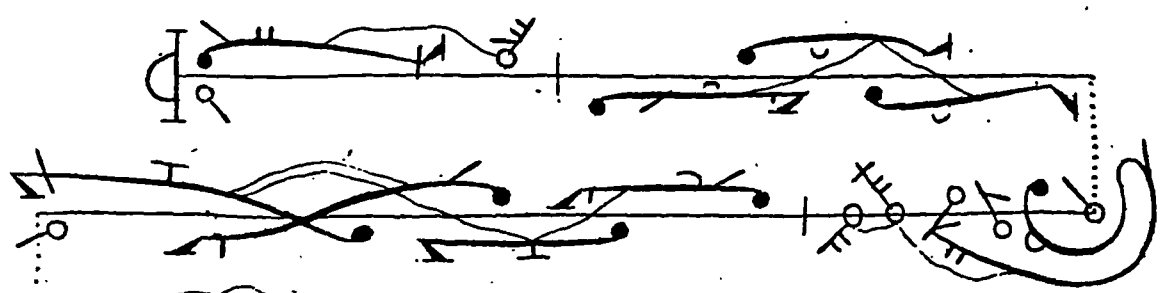
5 Couplet

The image displays a handwritten musical score. At the top, there is a single staff of music with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. Below this staff, the score is organized into several staves. A large, intricate graphic element, resembling a stylized letter 'C' or a circular motif, is drawn across the middle of the page. This graphic is composed of overlapping musical staves and notes, with some notes marked with 'X' and 'I'. Below the graphic, there are three vertical staves of music, each containing several measures of notation. The overall style is that of a personal manuscript or a composer's sketch.

Couplet



7 Couplet



8 Couplet

Finis

ANTHONY L'ABBÉ. 'PASSACAÏLLE OF ARMIDE'

Publication History

The 'Passacaille of Armide' was published in Anthony L'Abbé's *A New Collection of Dances* (London: Barreau and Roussau, [c1725]). The collection was issued at least twice, for this dance is one with variant readings in some of the plates.

LMC 6520, Belle Dance FL/1725.1/02

Source of Copy

British Library, Music Library, K.11.c.5.

Date and Place of First Performance

Unknown (the dance was probably performed in 1706)

Music

Dance type: passacaille

Length: 149 measures

Time signature: 3

Structure: 18 variations over a ground bass³

Plate 7

Measures: 1-20

Music section: Variations 1, 2, 3 (measures 1-4)

Plate 8

Measures: 21-45

Music section: Variations 3 (measures 4-8), 4, 5, 6 (measure 1)

Plate 9

Measures: 46-53

Music section: Variations 6 (measures 2-8), 7 (measure 1)

Plate 10

Measures: 54-61

Music section: Variations 7 (measures 2-8), 8 (measure 1)

Dance notation errors: Measure 59 (right hand woman), sink and rise omitted from final *pas*; Measure 60 (left hand woman), sink omitted from final *pas*.

Plate 11

Measures: 62-73

Music section: Variations 8 (measures 2-8), 9 (measures 1-5)

Dance notation errors: Measure 66, has fourth position after *pas assemblé* for the right hand woman and third position for the left hand woman; Measure 68, the right hand woman has a composite step which begins with a *coupé avec ouverture de jambe* while the left hand woman has a *jetté avec ouverture de jambe*; Measure 69 (right hand woman), *glissé* omitted from *pas plié*; Measure 73 (both sides), quarter-turn sign omitted from *demi-coupé*.

Plate 12

Measures: 74-85

Music section: Variations 9 (measures 6-8), 10, 11 (measure 1)

Dance notation errors: Measure 84 (left hand woman), *sauté* sign added to *ouverture de jambe* following the *jetté*.

Plate 13

Measures: 86-101

Music section: Variations 11 (measures 2-8), 12, 13 (measure 1)

³ For an analysis of the music of the 'Passacaille of Armide', see Judith Schwartz, 'The Passacaille in Lully's *Armide*: Phrase Structure in the Choreography and the Music', *Early Music*, 26.2 (May 1998), 300-320.

Dance notation errors: Measure 98 (left hand woman), *plié* sign after *pas assemblé* omitted from right foot; in another issue this *pas assemblé* is shown closing in front instead of behind, corrected in this issue by re-engraving the foot symbols.

Plate 14

Measures: 102-117

Music section: 13 (measures 2-10), 14, 15 (measure 1)

Plate 15

Measures: 118-135

Music section: Variations 15 (measures 2-8), 16, 17 (measures 1-3)

Dance notation errors: Measure 122 (left hand woman), dot omitted from second *pas*; Measure 126 (left hand woman), *tombé* sign omitted from second *pas*; Measure 132 (left hand woman), the *élevé* sign is replaced by a *plié* sign in the *demi-coupé*.

Plate 16

Measures: 136-149

Music section: Variations 17 (measures 4-8), 18

Passacaille by M^{rs} Elford & of Armide M^{rs} Santlow

This page contains a musical score for two pieces. At the top, there are two staves of music. Below them, the title "Passacaille by M^{rs} Elford & of Armide M^{rs} Santlow" is written in a decorative, calligraphic font. The main body of the page is filled with musical notation, including staves and decorative flourishes that form a large, ornate frame around the central text. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and clefs, all rendered in a highly stylized, hand-drawn manner.

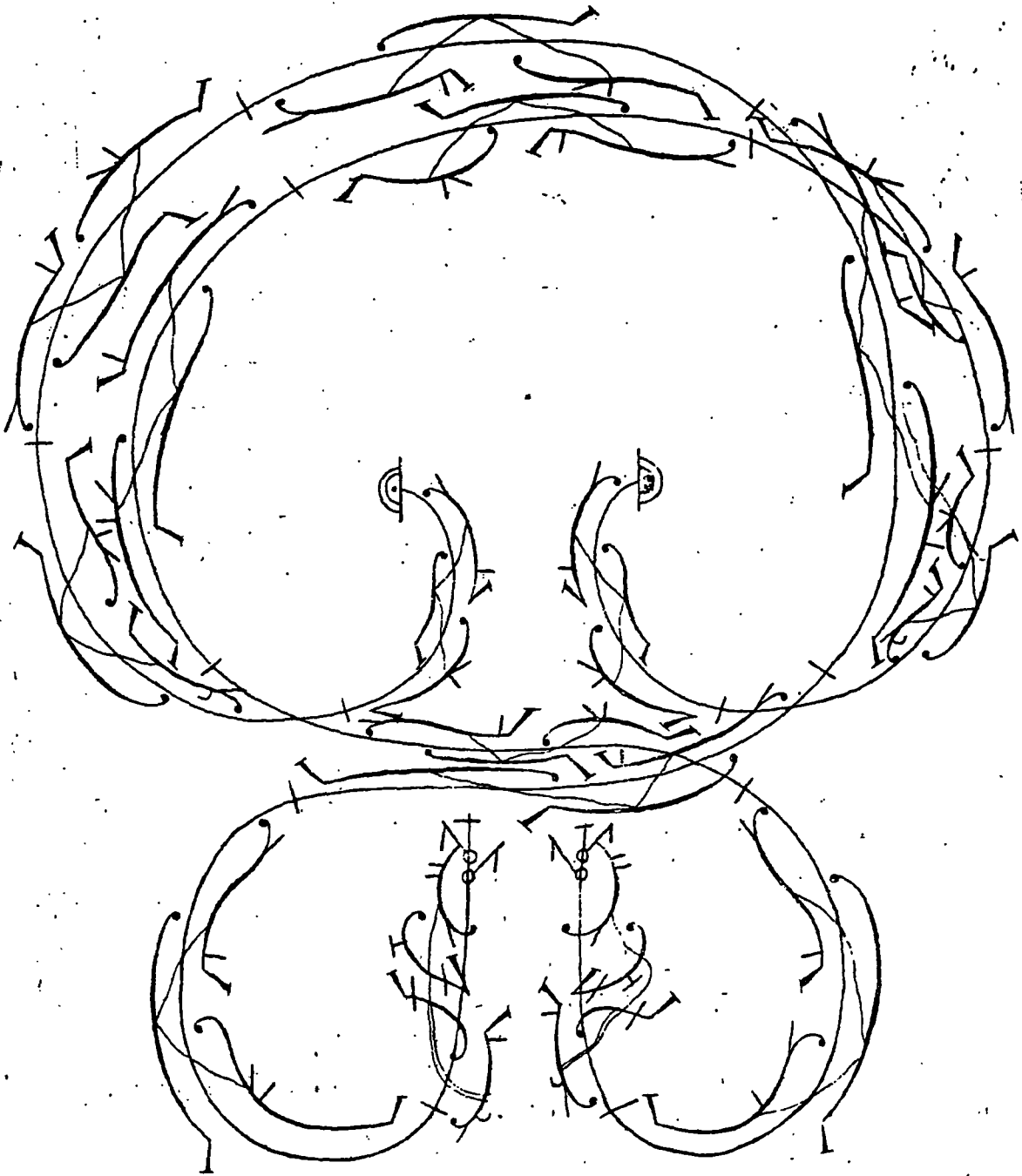
armide

The musical score for 'armide' is presented in a unique, circular format. At the top, a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat) contains a melodic line. Below this, the score is organized into a circular pattern of staves. The outer edges of this circle are defined by staves containing musical notation, while the interior is filled with a dense, overlapping arrangement of staves. Some of these inner staves contain clear musical notation, including notes, rests, and clefs, while others appear to be filled with abstract, scribbled lines, possibly representing a complex or experimental musical structure. The bottom of the page features two staves with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat, containing a melodic line. The entire score is enclosed in a rectangular border.

Armide

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Armide". At the top, there is a vocal line on a five-line staff, consisting of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, ending with a fermata and a circled number "9". Below this, the main body of the score is a single, highly complex and winding musical staff. This staff is filled with dense, overlapping musical notation, including various note heads, stems, and beams, creating a continuous, serpentine path across the page. The notation is dense and appears to be a highly technical or experimental composition. The entire score is enclosed within a rectangular border.

Jo *armide* Jo



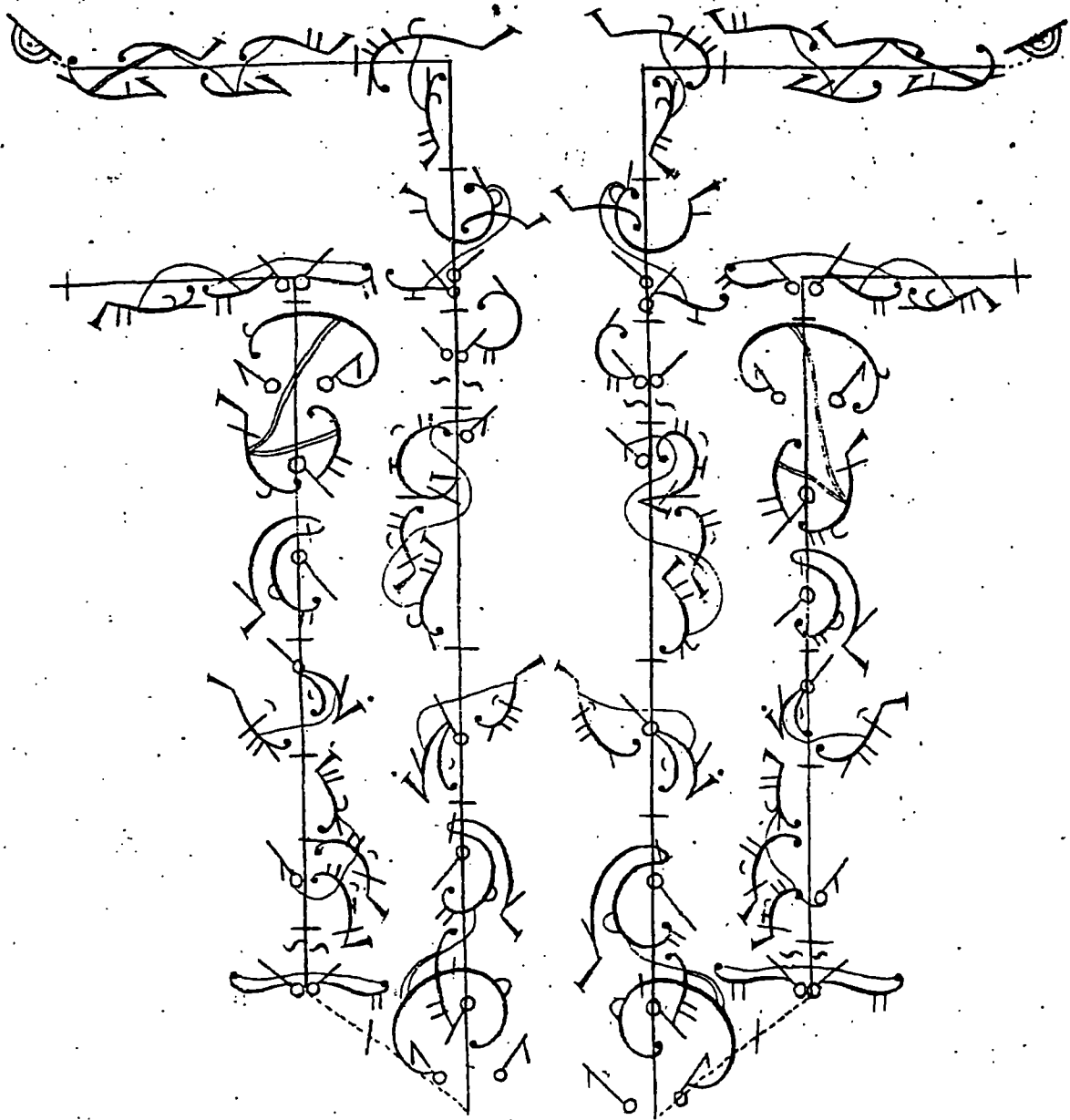
Armide

This image displays a handwritten musical score for the piece "Armide". The score is contained within a rectangular border and is divided into two main sections. The upper section consists of three staves of music, each beginning with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals. The lower section is dominated by a large, highly decorative initial letter "A", which is filled with intricate musical notation, including complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines. The overall style is that of a handwritten manuscript, with clear but slightly irregular ink and a focus on musical structure and ornamentation.

12

Armi e

12



Armide

13

This page contains a musical score for the piece "Armide", numbered 13. At the top, there are three staves of musical notation. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The main feature of the page is a large, ornate initial letter 'A' that is filled with intricate musical notation, including various note values, stems, and clefs, creating a complex and decorative graphic element.

Armide

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Armide". At the top, the title "Armide" is written in a cursive font. The score is contained within a rectangular frame. At the top of the frame, there is a musical staff with a treble clef, containing a sequence of notes. At the bottom of the frame, there is another musical staff with a bass clef, also containing a sequence of notes. The central area of the frame is filled with a complex arrangement of musical notation, including several circular diagrams. Each circular diagram contains musical notes and stems, arranged in a way that suggests a circular or spiral pattern. The notation is highly stylized and appears to be a form of musical shorthand or a specific notation system. The overall layout is symmetrical and visually intricate.

armide

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "armide". At the top, there are two staves of standard musical notation. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a time signature of 3/4. The word "armide" is written in a cursive hand above the first staff. The second staff continues the notation. Below these are two large, vertically oriented staves of highly decorative, calligraphic notation. These staves feature intricate, swirling lines and stylized notes, resembling a form of musical shorthand or a highly artistic interpretation of the score. The entire composition is enclosed within a rectangular border.

16 *Armide* 16

Finis

This image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Armide". The score is enclosed in a rectangular border. At the top, the number "16" is written on the left and right sides, and the title "Armide" is centered. The main body of the score consists of several staves of music. The top staff is a single melodic line. Below it, there are two staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. These two staves are connected by a dashed line, suggesting a continuation of the melody. The bottom two staves are also connected by a dashed line. The word "Finis" is written in the center of the page, below the main body of the score. The handwriting is fluid and appears to be a personal or working draft.

ANTHONY L'ABBÉ. 'MENUET'

Publication History

The 'Menuet' was published in Anthony L'Abbé's *A New Collection of Dances* (London: Barreau and Roussau, [c1725]). The collection was issued at least twice, for this dance is one with variant readings in some of the plates.

LMC 5780, Belle Dance FL/1725.1/03

Source of Copy

British Library, Music Library, K.11.c.5.

Date and Place of First Performance

Unknown (the dance may date to around 1708)

Music

Dance type: Minuet

Length: 120 measures⁴

Time signature: 3

Structure: AABBAABB (A=12, B=18)

Plate 17

Measures: 1-24

Music section: AA (repeat)

Plate 18

Measures: 25-42

Music section: B

Dance notation errors: Measures 28-29, bar line between measures omitted.

⁴ Each *pas composé* in the minuet takes two measures of music.

Plate 19

Measures: 43-60

Music section: B (repeat)

Dance notation errors: Measures 57-58, second *pas* has a badly engraved *glissé* sign.

Plate 20

Measures: 61-84

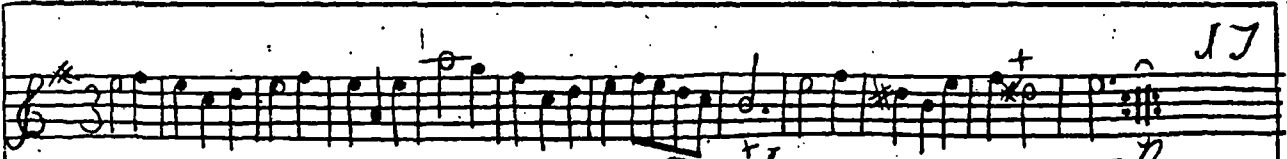
Music section: AA (repeat)

Dance notation errors: Measures 65-66, in another issue the *demi-coupé* has a quarter-turn sign and not a half-turn sign.

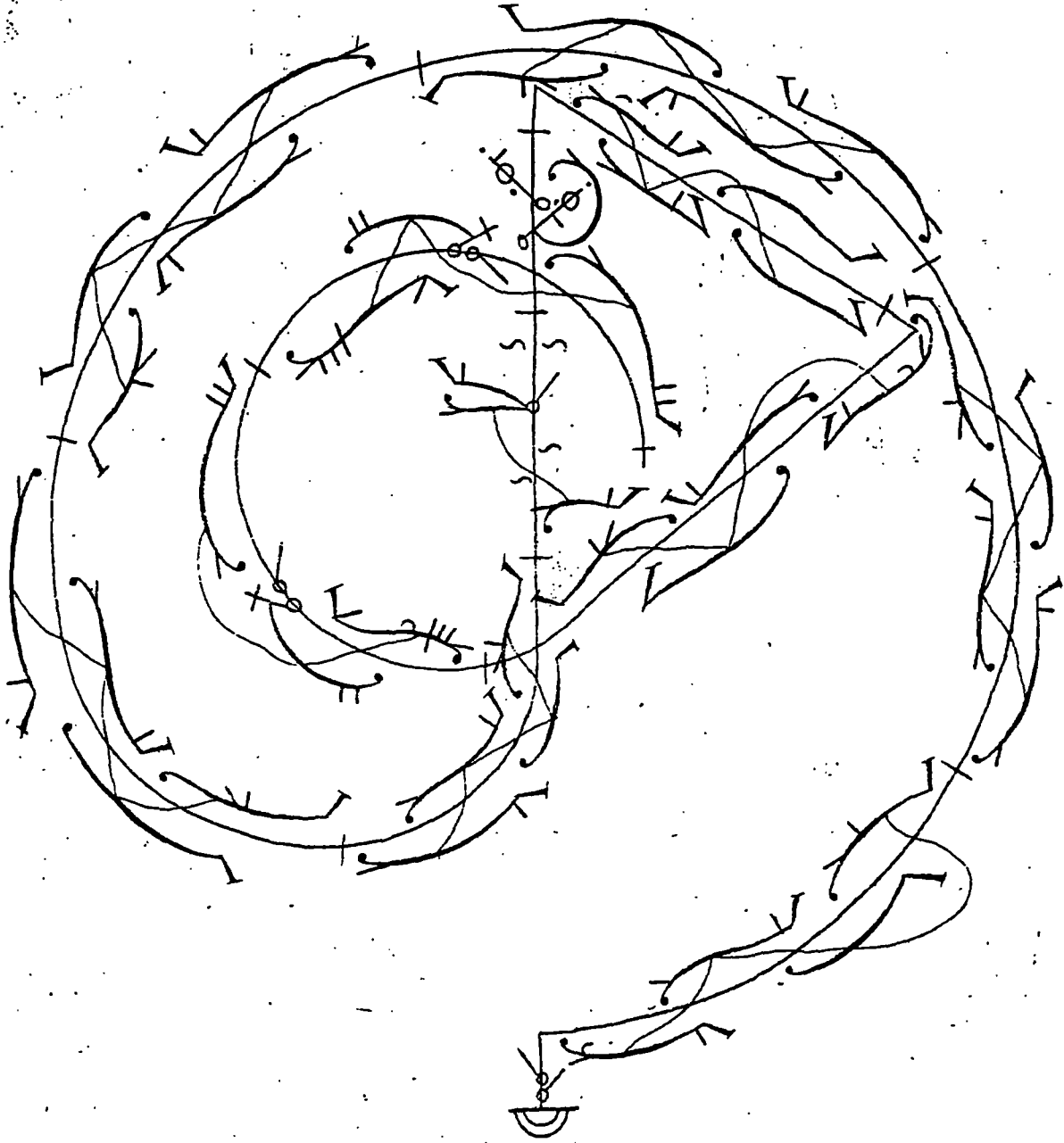
Plate 21

Measures: 85-120

Music section: BB (repeat)



Mennuet performed by Mrs Santlow



18

Mennet

18

Two staves of musical notation. The top staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The melody consists of eighth and sixteenth notes with various accidentals. The bottom staff continues the melody with similar rhythmic values and accidentals.

A large, stylized graphic element composed of musical notation. It features a vertical staff on the left with a treble clef, containing a series of notes and rests. A horizontal staff at the top contains a melodic line. A large, curved shape in the center-right contains musical notation, resembling a stylized 'C' or a large note. A small staff at the bottom right also contains musical notation. Dotted lines connect the bottom of the vertical staff to the bottom staff, and the top of the vertical staff to the top horizontal staff.

menuet 19

This image shows a handwritten musical score for a minuet, numbered 19. The score is enclosed in a rectangular border. At the top, the word "menuet" is written in a cursive hand, followed by the number "19". The notation is organized into several horizontal staves at the top, with a central vertical staff running through the middle. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and accidentals. The handwriting is fluid and somewhat decorative, characteristic of a personal manuscript. The paper shows signs of age, with some staining and wear.

20 *menuet* 20

The image shows a musical score for a minuet, titled "menuet". The score is written on a single staff with a treble clef, a 3/4 time signature, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The piece is 20 measures long, as indicated by the number "20" at both the beginning and the end of the staff. The music is composed of a single melodic line with various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The score is enclosed in a rectangular frame. At the top, the word "menuet" is written in a cursive font. The music is divided into two systems by a large, stylized graphic element that resembles a large, ornate letter 'P' or a similar symbol. This graphic is composed of multiple overlapping lines, some of which are musical staves with notes, and others that are purely decorative. The overall style is that of a handwritten musical manuscript.

menuet 21

Finis

ANTHONY L'ABBÉ. 'CHACONE OF GALATHEE'

Publication History

The 'Chaconne of Galathee' was published in Anthony L'Abbé's *A New Collection of Dances* (London: Barreau and Roussau, [c1725]). The collection was issued at least twice.

LMC 1860, Belle Dance FL/1725.1/04

Source of Copy

British Library, Music Library, K.11.c.5.

Date and Place of First Performance

Unknown (the dance probably dates to between 1708 and 1712)

Music

Dance type: Chaconne

Length: 80 measures

Time signature: 3

Structure: AA, each A has 5 variations over a ground bass⁵

Plate 22

Measures: 1-8

Music section: A (variation 1)

Plate 23

Measures: 9-18

Music section: A (variations 2, 3 (measures 1-2))

Dance notation errors: Measures 13-14 (woman's side), third *pas* has *élevé* sign placed in the centre instead of at the end as on the man's side.

Plate 24

Measures: 19-32

Music section: A (variations 3 (measures 3-8), 4)

Plate 25

Measures: 33-41

Music section: A (variation 5), A (repeat, variation 1 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measure 33 (man's side), *plié* sign omitted from first *pas*.

Plate 26

Measures: 42-48

Music section: A (repeat, variation 1 (measures 2-8))

Plate 27

Measures: 49-56

Music section: A (repeat, variation 2)

Plate 28

Measures: 57-64

Music section: A (repeat, variation 3)

Dance notation errors: Measures 59-60 (both sides), bar line between the measures omitted.

Plate 29

Measures: 65-72

Music section: A (repeat, variation 4)

Dance notation errors: Measure 72 (woman's side), full turn sign may have been omitted from *pas sauté*.

Plate 30

Measures: 73-80

Music section: A (repeat, variation 5)

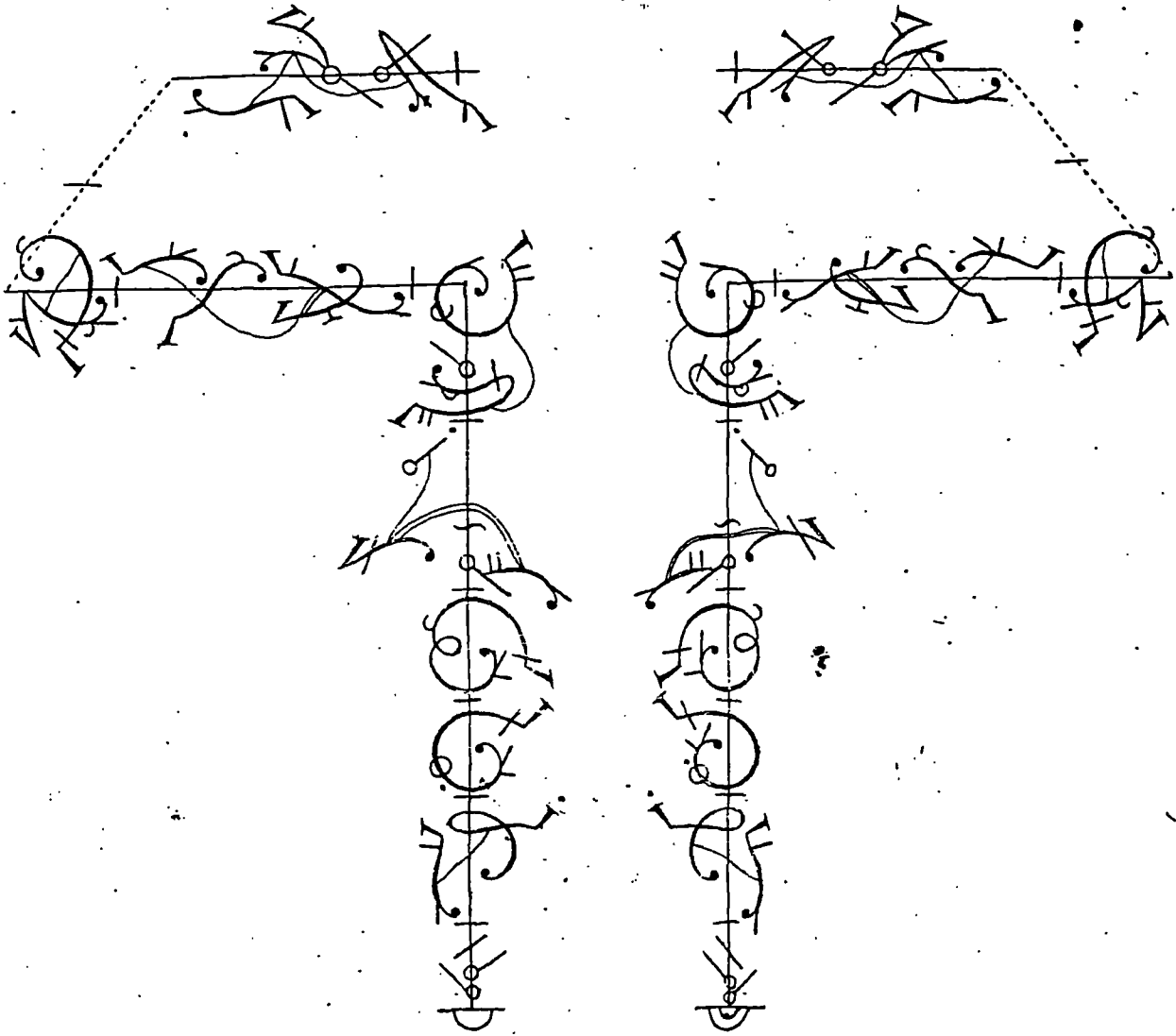
⁵ Each variation has four measures repeated.

22

22

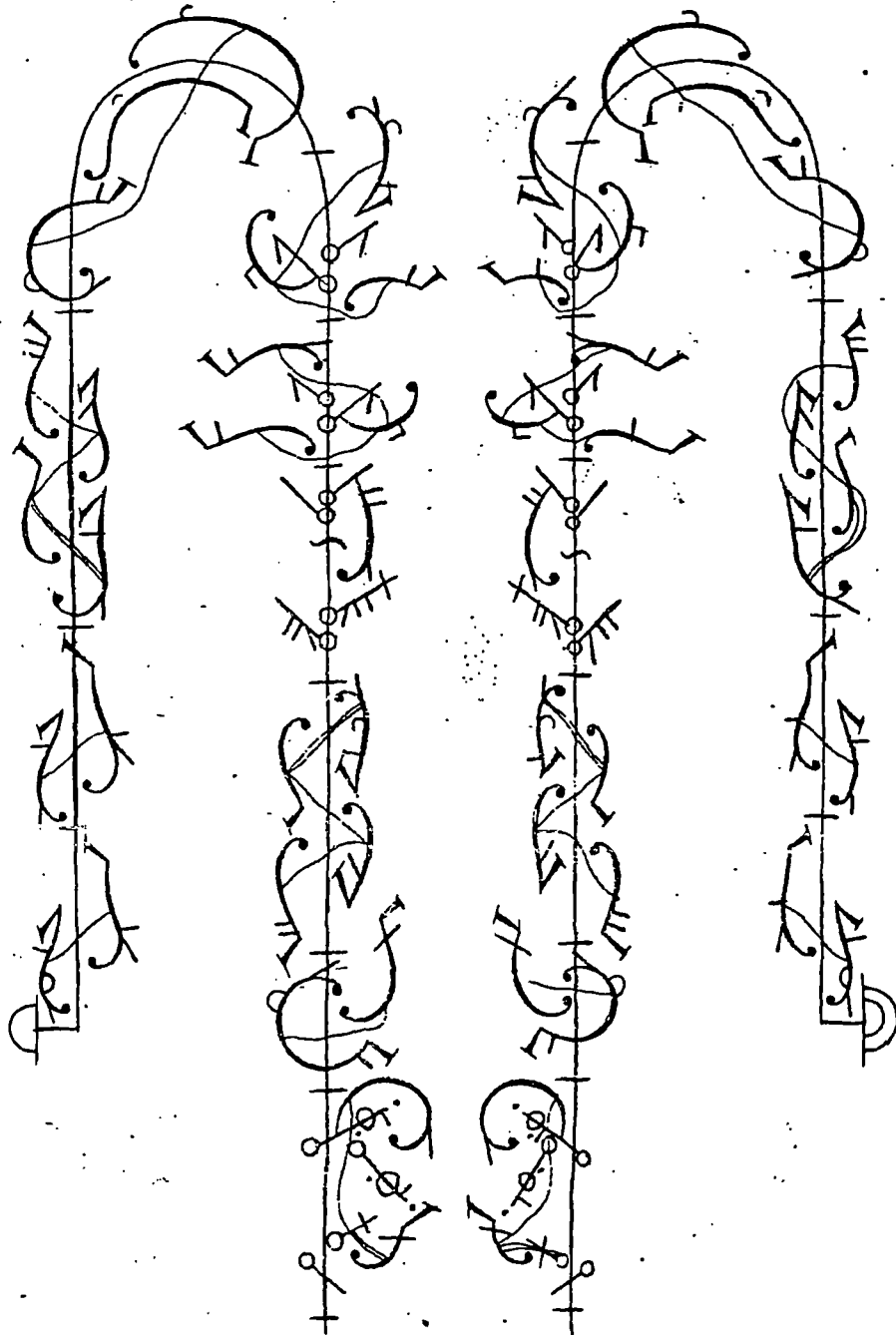
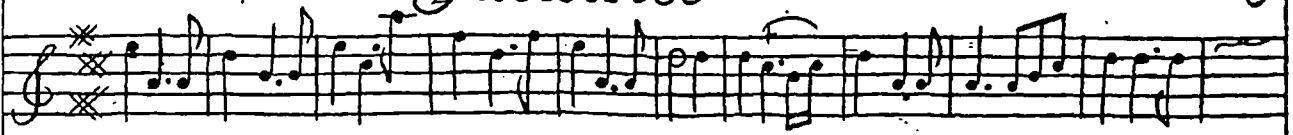


Chaconne
of Galathee perform'd by Mr La Garde
and M^{rs} Santlow



Gatahee

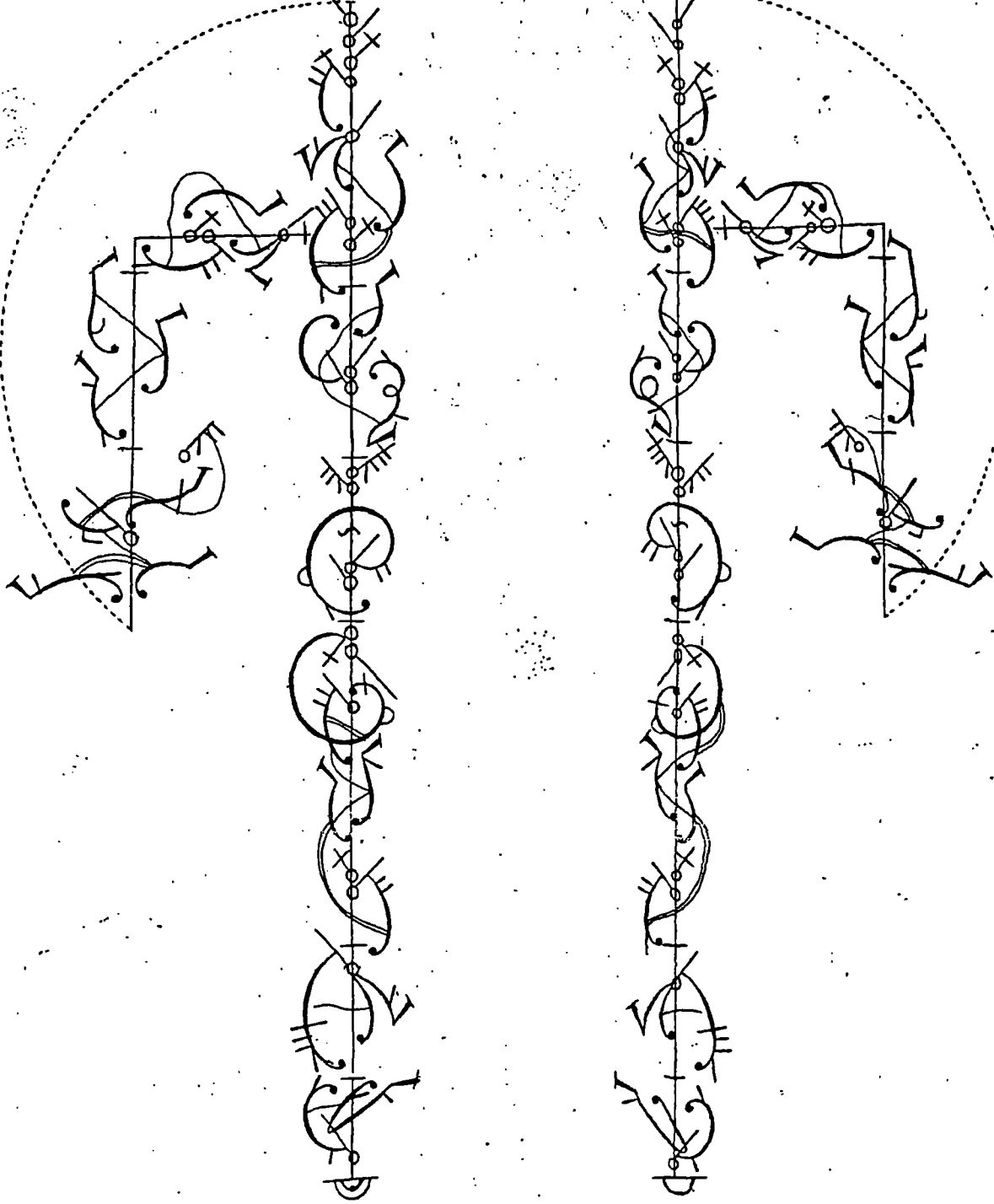
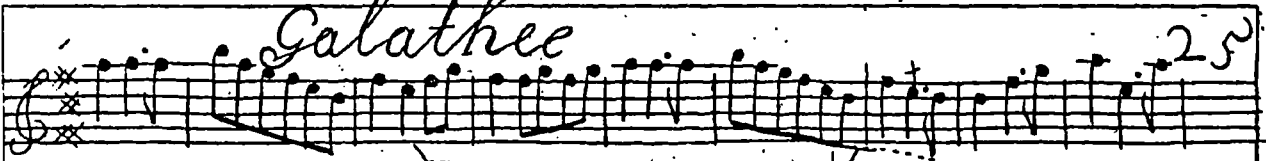
23



24 *Galathee* 24

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Galathee". At the top, the number "24" is written on the left and right sides of the page. The title "Galathee" is centered at the top in a cursive font. Below the title, there is a single staff of music with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation consists of a series of eighth and sixteenth notes, some with beams, and rests. Below this staff, the page is dominated by a large, intricate graphic design. This design is composed of several vertical staves of music, each with its own clef and key signature. The notation is highly stylized and abstract, featuring large, sweeping curves, loops, and dense clusters of notes. The overall appearance is that of a complex, possibly experimental or avant-garde, musical composition. At the bottom of the page, there is another single staff of music, similar in notation to the top staff, with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The entire page is enclosed in a rectangular border.

Galathee



Galathee

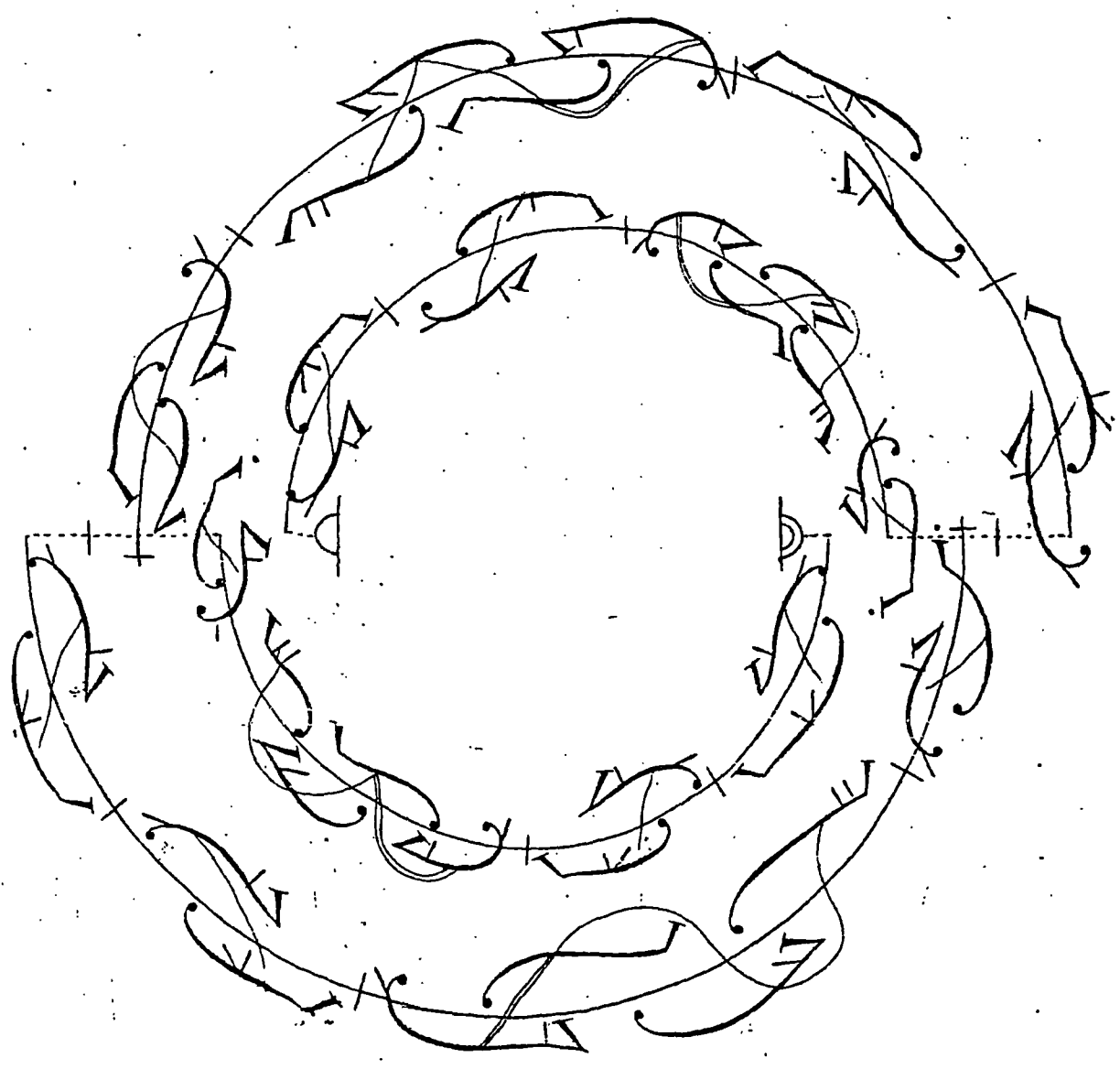
27

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Galathee" on page 27. The score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is highly complex and dense, featuring a variety of note values including eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes, as well as rests and dynamic markings. The music is characterized by intricate melodic lines and a high density of notes, creating a rich and detailed texture. The score is enclosed in a rectangular border, and the page number "27" is located in the upper right corner.

28 *Galathee* 28



A musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The staff contains a sequence of notes, including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The number '28' is written at both the beginning and the end of the staff.



Galathee 29

The musical score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is highly decorative, featuring intricate flourishes and complex rhythmic patterns. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The piece is numbered 29 in the top right corner.

Galathee 30

finis

The image shows a page of a musical score. At the top, there is a single staff of music with a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), and a time signature of 3/4. The title "Galathee" is written in a cursive font above the staff, and the number "30" is in the top right corner. The rest of the page is enclosed in a decorative border made of musical staves. The word "finis" is written in the center of the page in a cursive font. The border consists of several staves with various musical notes, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and some staves with only vertical lines and beams, suggesting a rhythmic accompaniment or a specific instrumental part.

ANTHONY L'ABBÉ. 'PASSAGALIA OF VENÜS & ADONIS'

Publication History

The 'Passagalia of Venüs & Adonis' was published in Anthony L'Abbé's *A New Collection of Dances* (London: Barreau and Roussau, [c1725]). The collection was issued at least twice, for this dance is one with variant readings in some of the plates.

LMC 6580, Belle Dance FL/1725.1/08

Source of Copy

British Library, Music Library, K.11.c.5.

Date and Place of First Performance

Unknown (the dance may date to between 1715 and 1718)

Music

Dance type: Passacaille

Length: 209 measures

Time signature: 3 (measures 1-64) / 2 (measures 65-144) / 3 (measures 145-209)

Structure: ABC, 25 variations over a ground bass⁶

Plate 46

Measures: 1-17

Music section: A (variations 1, 2, 3 (measure 1))

Plate 47

Measures: 18-33

Music section: A (variations 3 (measures 2-8), 4, 5 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measures 30-31, bar line between the measures omitted.

⁶ Each variation has four measures repeated, except for variation twenty-three which has eight measures repeated.

Plate 48

Measures: 34-49

Music section: A (variations 5 (measures 2-8), 6, 7 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measure 36, single instead of double liaison line between *demi-coupé* and following *pas*. Measure 40, in another issue the first two *pas* are notated as a *chassé battu de côté*.

Plate 49

Measures: 50-65

Music section: A (variations 7 (measures 2-8), 8), B (variation 9 (measure 1))

Plate 50

Measures: 66-89

Music section: B (variations 9 (measures 2-8), 10, 11, 12 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measure 85, in another issue the foot and *pied en l'air* symbols are omitted.

Plate 51

Measures: 90-105

Music section: B (variations 12 (measures 2-8), 13, 14 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measures 95-96, bar line between the measures omitted.

Plate 52

Measures: 106-129

Music section: B (variations 14 (measures 2-8), 15, 16, 17 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measures 121-122, bar line between the measures omitted.

Plate 53

Measures: 130-145

Music section: B (variations 17 (measures 2-8), 18), C (variation 19 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measure 140, *tombé* sign may have been omitted from final *pas*.

Plate 54

Measures: 146-177

Music section: C (variations 19 (measures 2-8), 20, 21, 22, 23 (measure 1))

Dance notation errors: Measure 151, *plié* sign omitted from beginning of final *jetté*. Measure 177, in another issue the *ouverture de jambe* symbol is the same as that in measure 175, i.e. without the additional sign taking the foot to third position behind in the air.

Plate 55

Measures: 178-189

Music section: C (variation 23 (measures 2-13))

Dance notation errors: Measure 178, in another issue the first *pas* is a *pas assemblé* without the preceding *pas glissé battu*.

Plate 56

Measures: 190-209

Music section: C (variations 23 (measures 14-16), 24, 25)

Passaglia of Venus & Adonis
performed by M^{rs} Santlow

Venus & Adonis.

47

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Venus & Adonis," page 47. At the top, two staves of music are shown in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. Below the staves is a large, complex musical diagram. This diagram consists of a central vertical staff with a treble clef, from which several horizontal and curved lines extend outwards. These lines are decorated with musical notes and symbols, forming a large, roughly rectangular shape. The diagram appears to be a visual representation of musical relationships or a specific compositional technique, possibly related to the "Venus & Adonis" section of a larger work.

venüs & Adonis

48

Venus & Adonis

49

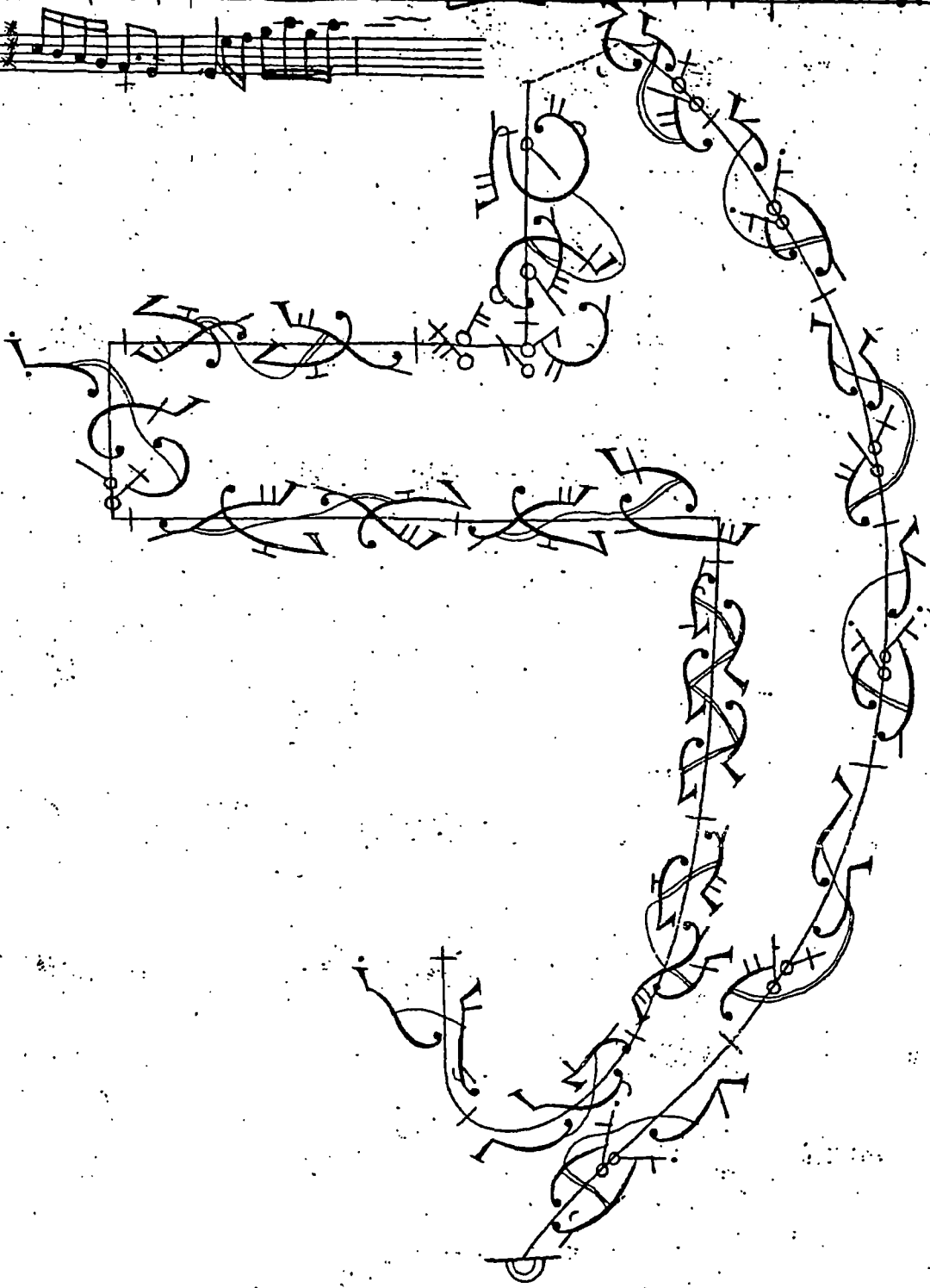
Veniis & Adonis

50

This page contains a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Veniis & Adonis". The score is written on a page numbered 50. At the top, there are four horizontal staves of music. The main body of the score is a large, circular arrangement of musical staves. The notation is highly decorative and includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The circular arrangement consists of several staves that curve around each other, creating a spiral-like pattern. The handwriting is fluid and expressive, characteristic of a composer's sketch or a personal manuscript. The overall layout is framed by a simple rectangular border.

Venus & Adonis

51

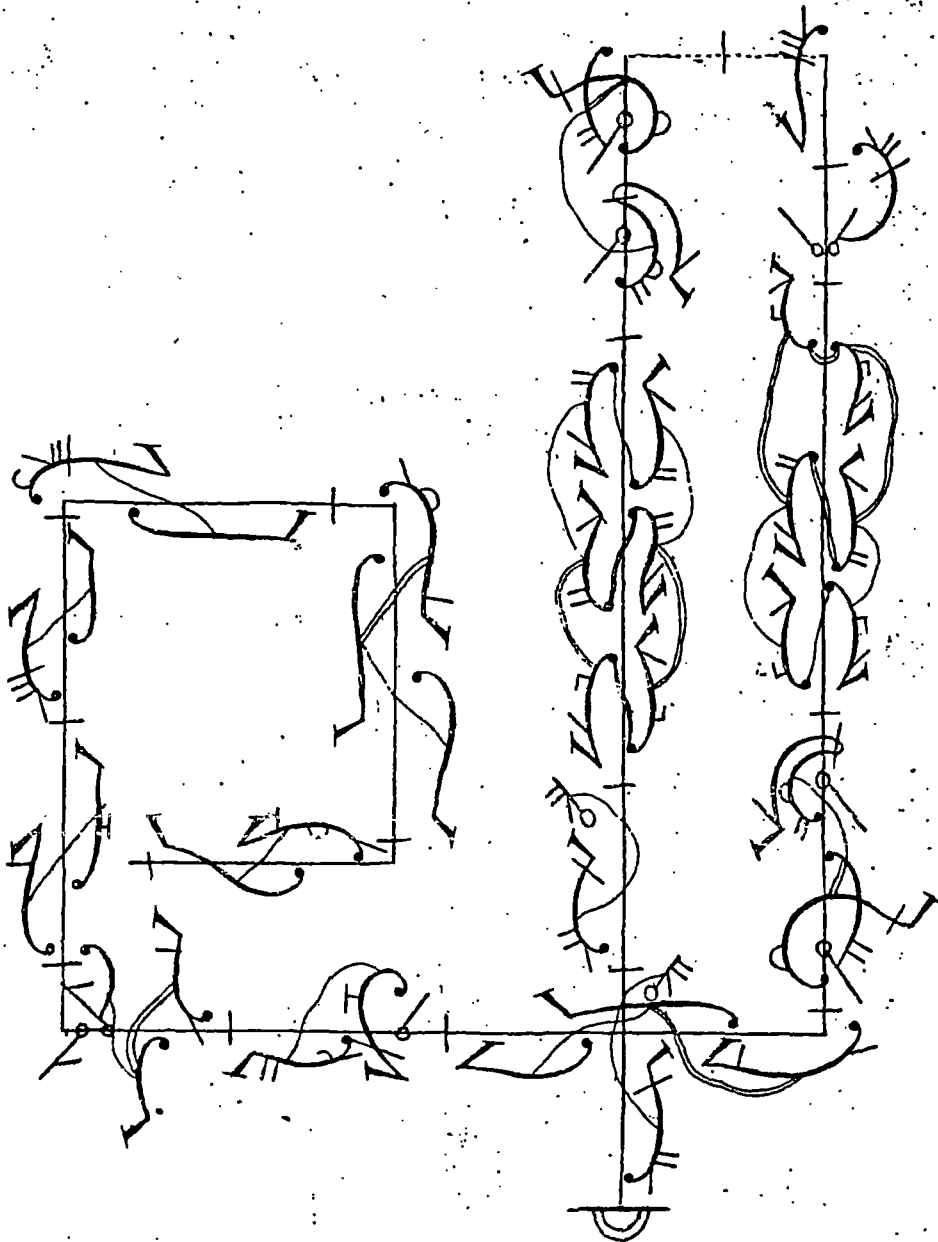


Venus & Adonis 32

The image shows a handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Venus & Adonis" on page 32. The score is arranged in four staves. The top two staves contain relatively straight musical notation with notes and rests. The bottom two staves are highly decorative and curved, with a central vertical staff connecting them. The notation includes notes, rests, and various musical symbols. The overall style is that of a handwritten manuscript.

Venus & Adonis

53



Venus & Adonis

34

The first part of the score consists of seven staves of handwritten musical notation. The notation is written in a cursive, historical style. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The music is primarily composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests and accidentals. The subsequent staves continue the melodic and harmonic development, with some staves showing more complex rhythmic patterns and some staves ending with a double bar line and repeat signs.

The second part of the score consists of four staves of handwritten musical notation, arranged vertically. The notation is highly decorative and complex, featuring many ornaments, flourishes, and intricate rhythmic patterns. The staves are connected by dashed lines, suggesting a continuous melodic line. The notation is written in a cursive, historical style, similar to the first part of the score. The first staff of this section begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The music is characterized by its ornate and somewhat chaotic appearance, with many notes and rests that are heavily embellished.

Venus & *Adonis*

This page contains a handwritten musical score for the characters Venus and Adonis. At the top, the names "Venus" and "Adonis" are written in a decorative, cursive script, separated by an ampersand. Below the names, there are two staves of musical notation. The first staff is a single melodic line with various note values and rests. The second staff is a shorter melodic line, possibly representing a different instrument or voice part. The most prominent feature of the score is a large, rectangular border composed of intricate, flowing musical notation. This border follows the perimeter of the page, with a central section where the notation is more densely packed and appears to be a complex, possibly polyphonic or contrapuntal, passage. The notation is highly decorative, with many slurs, ornaments, and complex rhythmic patterns. The overall style is that of a historical manuscript, possibly from the 17th or 18th century.

Venus & *Adonis* 36

The image shows a page of musical notation. At the top, two staves of music are written in a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The first staff begins with the word "Venus" and the second with "Adonis". The number "36" is written at the end of the second staff. Below the staves is a large rectangular frame containing a decorative arrangement of musical notation. The word "Finis" is written in a large, ornate script in the center of the frame. The notation within the frame is highly stylized and appears to be a continuation or a decorative representation of the music above.

ANTHONY L'ABBÉ. *THE PRINCE OF WALES'S SARABAND* (1731)**Publication History**

The Prince of Wales's Saraband was published in 1731. All the surviving copies are printed from the same engraved plates, with no corrections or alterations.

LMC [1731]-Prw, *Belle Dance* FL/1731.1

Source of Copy

British Library, Music Library, h.801.(3).

Date and Place of First Performance

22 March 1731, Drury Lane (the dance may have been performed at court on 1 March 1731)

Music

Dance type: Sarabande

Length: 48 measures

Time signature: 3

Structure: AABB (A=10, B=14)

Plate 1

Measures: 1-20

Music section: AA (repeat)

Plate 2

Measures: 21-34

Music section: B

Plate 3

Measures: 35-42

Music section: B (repeat, measures 1-8)

Plate 4

Measures: 43-48

Music section: B (repeat, measures 9-14)

THE
Prince of Wales's
Saraband
A New Dance

For Her Majesty's Birth day

1731

By M^r Lalle'

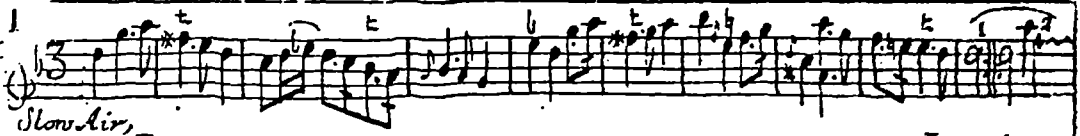
Writt by

M^r Lemberton

And sold by Him, at the Iron Rails
the lower End of Oxindon-Street near y^e

HAY MARKET

1



Slow Air,



THE
Prince of Wales.
Saraband.

This image shows a handwritten musical score. At the top, there is a single staff of music with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a time signature of 2/4. The notation includes various notes, rests, and accidentals. Below this staff, the score is organized into two systems, each consisting of two staves. The notation in these systems is highly decorative and complex, featuring many ornaments, slurs, and intricate rhythmic patterns. The handwriting is clear and consistent throughout the piece.

3

The image displays a musical score within a rectangular frame. At the top, a standard five-line staff is shown with a treble clef. The staff begins with a '3' in the left margin, followed by a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The notation on the staff includes several notes with stems, some marked with an asterisk (*), and various accidentals (sharps and flats). Below the staff, the musical notation is transformed into a large, intricate graphic. This graphic consists of a single, continuous, winding line that loops and curves, creating a shape reminiscent of a stylized 'S' or a calligraphic flourish. The notation within this graphic includes notes, stems, and various symbols such as asterisks and accidentals, mirroring the elements found in the standard staff above. The entire composition is enclosed in a simple rectangular border.

4

Finis.

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