

TRAVELING TUNES:
FRENCH COMIC OPERA AND THEATER IN LONDON, 1714–1745

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ABSTRACT

Driven from their native theaters in 1718 by heightened censorship, French actors, musicians, and dancers quickly became showstoppers in a London already crowded with international theatrical attractions. These performers brought a unique type of entertainment to England—one steeped in social commentary and subversive humor, communicated in part by the intertextual connotations of French tunes, known as *vaudevilles*. The French performers commanded the stage for an entire evening's entertainment and performed several times weekly; between 1718 and 1735, they produced over 175 musical comedies from the repertoire of the Théâtres de la foire, the Théâtre Italien, and the Comédie-Française.

This dissertation unearths the flourishing circulation of French popular theater in London during the first half of the eighteenth century. Long overshadowed by later Enlightenment internationalism and musical cosmopolitanism, these performances reveal the transnational circuits traveled by French performers and music. To investigate the pathways by which French and English theatrical worlds collided, I compare London publications of French plays to their original versions; trace French tunes disseminated in a diverse range of English sources, including grammar books and music notebooks; and examine English ballad opera adaptations of French sources.

In an era when the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 ended a twenty-five year period of war between France and England, the flow of French performing arts and cultural goods to London

increased ten-fold. However, England's political relationship with France remained characterized by general suspicion and faltering alliances. Signs of this ambivalence also surface in the seemingly peaceful interactions between French and English artists, as well as in the texts they produced. I argue that the dual forces of comic theater and song provided an arena for dramatizing contacts between French and English identities that mirrored, but also deflected, these larger political anxieties. When viewed against the shifting political contexts of their time, these foreign theatrical encounters offered a playful space for commentary on Anglo-French relations and emerging notions of national identity.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Erica Levenson completed a Bachelor of Arts at the University of California, Berkeley in 2009 and began studies in the Department of Music at Cornell University in 2010. While at Cornell, her research has been supported by Cornell's Society for the Humanities, the Einaudi Center, and Graduate School, as well as the American Musicological Society's Jan LaRue Travel Fund, which allowed her to conduct archival research in France and the UK. Besides her work on eighteenth-century opera and theater, Erica also focuses on musical borrowing in contemporary American music and was awarded a Don M. Randel Fellowship to teach a course on this topic.

To Mom, Dad, and Nate –
For their unwavering support

To my Aunt Carrie (1950–2012) –
For her love of Paris, laughter, and music

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
F-Pa	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris
Gb-Lbl	The British Library, London
Gb-Ob	The Bodleian Library, Oxford
US-Sy	Bird Library Special Collections, Syracuse

A NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. I am indebted to Rebecca Harris-Warrick, Andrew Zhou, Matthew Hall, Dietmar Friesenegger, and Mathieu Romary for their help with the French translations. In transcribing source documents in French and English, I have maintained the original orthography and capitalizations; however, I have modified some of the original punctuation in my translations for purposes of legibility.

Prologue

Great Britain has a long history of contentious relations with its European neighbors. From persistent wars during the eighteenth century to the vote to leave the European Union in the June 2016 referendum, Britain has been historicized as an insular, island nation separate both geographically and culturally from the rest of Europe.¹ In particular, historians since the nineteenth century have portrayed the emergence of Britain's national identity as forged through its rivalry with France. Linda Colley has traced the "invention" of the British nation to a series of wars with France during the eighteenth century, echoing long-standing views that this period represented "a kind of second Hundred Years' War."² Yet, the continued retelling of Anglo-French history as an unrelenting conflict has underplayed periods of extensive cultural exchange. While several studies have focused on the seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries in this regard, scholarship to date has not sufficiently examined numerous musical and theatrical encounters between Britain and France during the first half of the eighteenth century.³ These encounters were integral to articulating an emerging sense of British identity, and navigating a tense, yet ambivalent moment in Anglo-French relations.

In musicology, studies of foreign musical arts in early eighteenth-century London have focused on the importation of Italian *opera seria*, most prominently surrounding George Frideric

¹ For a detailed account of this historiography, see Renaud Morieux, *The Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

² Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); See John R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan, 1883), as cited in Morieux, *The Channel*, 1.

³ For an overview of seventeenth-century Anglo-French cultural exchange, see Gesa Stedman, *Cultural Exchange in Seventeenth-Century France and England* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013). For an overview of late eighteenth-century Anglo-French cultural exchange, see Josephine Greider, *Anglomania in France, 1740–1789: Fact, Fiction, and Political Discourse* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1985); Frédéric Ogée, "Better in France?": *The Circulation of Ideas across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2005); Christophe Charle, Julien Vincent, and Jay M. Winter, *Anglo-French Attitudes: Comparisons and Transfers between English and French Intellectuals since the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

Handel. Yet scholars have overlooked an equally vibrant French musical presence in London, with repertoire performed for the same audiences as Handel's Italian operas and plays in English. This French repertoire consisted of various genres of spoken comedies with music that laid the foundation for the genre of French *opéra comique*. Although scholarly interest in these plays in relation to their native French context has grown in recent years, there has still been little research on its cross-Channel manifestations.⁴ As a result, certain musico-dramatic traditions—especially ballad opera and pantomime in Britain—are still understood today as distinctly British when, in fact, they were formed through recurring contact with France. Without further exploration of these interactions across the Channel, our understanding of Britain's longer history of defining itself, both culturally and politically, against France will remain limited.

Scholars from diverse disciplines have mentioned the necessity for research on this topic. For instance, Linda Colley describes one of the limitations to her project on eighteenth-century Anglo-French political history as such: "And although I have drawn heavily on visual evidence as well as on written sources in reconstructing what Britishness involved, I have not discussed in detail what fine art, or the theatre, or literature, or music can tell us about this subject. I hope that in the future others will."⁵ Likewise, Robert Hume has remarked on the lack of substantive discussions about music within theater history: "Theatre music remains an underworked area . . . Music was a conspicuous and important part of the theatrical experience and huge amounts of material have yet to be explored and analysed." Roger Fiske provides a broad overview of

⁴ For recent studies on the French repertoire as performed in Paris, see Judith Le Blanc, *Avatars d'opéras: parodies et circulation des airs chantés sur les scènes Parisiennes, 1672–1745* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2014); Isabelle Martin, *Le Théâtre de la foire: des tréteaux aux boulevards* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002); Françoise Rubellin, *Atys Burlesque: Parodies de l'opéra de Quinault et Lully à la foire et à la Comédie-italienne, 1726–1738*. (Saint-Gély-du-Fesc: Éditions Espaces 34, 2011).

⁵ Colley, *Britons*, 8.

eighteenth-century theater music, but “beyond that sketch the area remains almost unstudied.”⁶ Musicologist Rebekah Ahrendt has also observed that, “the obvious Frenchness of London theatrical practices in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century is a topic that deserves much further investigation.”⁷

This study addresses this gap in the literature, by drawing upon a neglected body of over one hundred and seventy-five French musical plays that were performed by French acting troupes in England between 1718 and 1735. Their performances brought a unique type of foreign culture to England—one steeped in social commentary and subversive humor, communicated in part by the intertextual connotations of popular French tunes, known as *vaudevilles*. In an era when the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 ended a twenty-five year period of war between France and England, the flow of French performing arts and cultural goods to London increased ten-fold. However, England’s political relationship with France remained characterized by general suspicion and faltering alliances. Signs of this ambivalence also surface in the seemingly peaceful interactions between French and English artists, as well as in the texts they produced. I argue that the dual forces of French comic theater and song provided an arena for dramatizing contacts between French and British identities that mirrored, but also deflected, larger political anxieties. When viewed against the shifting social contexts of the time, these theatrical encounters offered a playful space for commentary on Anglo-French relations and emerging notions of national identity.

⁶ Robert Hume, “Theatre History, 1660–1800: Aims, Materials, Methodology,” in *Players, Playwrights, Playhouses: Investigating Performance, 1660–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 36. Hume cites Roger Fiske’s *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973).

⁷ See Rebekah Ahrendt, “A Second Refuge: French Opera and the Huguenot Migration c. 1680–1710” (Ph.D. diss., UC Berkeley, 2011), 23–24. Ahrendt focuses on the dissemination of French *tragédie lyrique* to German and Dutch-speaking lands.

The repertoire in question challenges conventional artistic categories. It includes spoken theater, music, dancing, acrobatics, and visual spectacle; moreover, it demonstrates a marked engagement with the socio-political worlds of France and England through its extensive use of literary and musical references. It therefore demands an interdisciplinary approach, which has so far been lacking. Musicological discussions that treat theater and literature tend to focus on recuperating music's presence, either through tracing origins, performance practices, or the notes themselves. Furthermore, literature and theater scholars rarely analyze this theatrical music, even though music, and especially popular song, was an essential part of this repertoire and crucial to the way it functioned as social dialogue. The cross-cultural reception of these works must be viewed from the standpoint of an era where the disciplinary divisions of today did not apply. To recuperate the multi-medial nature of these plays, I employ methodologies from musicology, performance studies, and historical literary studies. More specifically, I investigate not only how music contributed to the theatrical event as a whole, but also how it helped audiences notice similarities in the French and English popular imaginations, and over time, helped create a sense of mutual cultural distinctiveness.

Drawing from performance studies, I extend Joseph Roach's insight that the performed encounter between actor and audience member "concentrates the complex values of a culture" to studies of sonic performance.⁸ I argue that performances provide crucial sites for cultural analysis, allowing access to the flexibility of inherently dynamic value systems. The music of the French popular theaters was often reworked, revised, and adapted to the needs of a given performance. These tunes, once contained in the aural memories of Paris and London audiences, are today preserved only in scattered traces in archives. Yet despite the flexibility inherent to this

⁸ Joseph Roach, *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1993), 11.

musical repertoire, it has been primarily examined through the anachronistic paradigm of the fixed musical work.⁹ I instead treat music as part of a larger performative apparatus, one that often extends beyond the stage or theater. I demonstrate how music was a significant part of French comic theater's mobility and highlight this repertoire's flexibility across time and place. An analysis of this repertoire's multiple performance sites over time can ultimately help us gain access to tensions between performer and spectator, text and performance, as well as French and English cultures that were continually in flux.

Through its interdisciplinary approach and attention to intersections with social and political history, this dissertation builds on initial studies of French theatrical music's influence on English popular theater and opera by Clive Chapman, Daniel Hartz, Antoni Nicholas Zalewski Sadlak, and Vanessa Rogers.¹⁰ In addition, it shows how music was crucial to the political implications of French performers in London—an approach that lends a musical and hermeneutical focus to broad surveys of the topic by theater historians Sybil Rosenfeld and Emmett Avery.¹¹ However, this study does not attempt to delve into the rich area of dance history, despite the integral role of dance to the French and English productions alike. Dance historians, including Moira Goff and Jennifer Thorp, have treated the French theatrical

⁹ I draw here upon Lydia Goehr's conception of the musical "work" in *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹⁰ Clive Chapman, "English Pantomime and its Music 1700–1730" (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1981); Daniel Hartz, "The Beggar's Opera and Opéra-Comique en Vaudevilles," *Early Music* 27, no. 1 (1999): 42–53; Antoni Nicholas Zalewski Sadlak, "Harlequin Comes to England: The Early Evidence of the Commedia dell'arte in England and the Formulation of English Harlequinades and Pantomimes" (Ph.D. diss., Tufts University, 1999); Vanessa Rogers, "John Gay, Ballad Opera and the Théâtres de La Foire," *Eighteenth-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (September 2014): 173–213.

¹¹ Sybil Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies in Great Britain in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1955); Emmett Avery, "Foreign Performers in the London Theatres in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Philological Quarterly* 16 (1937): 105–23. Avery attributes the passing fad for French entertainments in London to the type of repertoire that was performed ("farce and the lesser forms of entertainment" instead of "the best that French dramatists had to offer") rather than to fluctuating political dynamics between England and France (Avery, 122–123).

connection with England during the early eighteenth century as part of larger studies on specific French dancers and dance tunes on London stages.¹²

Because of the transience of the source material, as well as the eclectic range of genres characteristic of early eighteenth-century stage works, each chapter has required a different methodological approach. In Chapter One, “Socio-Political Contexts and Reception History,” I engage with secondary literature on Anglo-French history as well as eighteenth-century periodicals, in order to understand the specific circumstances undergirding French theatrical imports to England. The second chapter, “‘Mischievous Plays’: The Performance of French Musical Theater in London, 1718–1735,” is based predominantly on archival research: I examine the performance history of the one hundred and seventy-five French plays with music performed by French troupes in London and analyze how their performances were adapted for a foreign audience. The third chapter, “From a Tune’s-Eye View: French Theater Music’s Dissemination in England,” is for lack of a better word, a tune-hunt: I explore a variety of sources by which French *vaudeville* tunes were disseminated in England, showing how their prevalence in different print media could have affected the English public’s experience of the live French productions. In Chapter Four, “‘French Turn’d English’: Ballad Opera Adaptations of French Comedies,” I offer close, comparative readings of the extant English ballad operas from 1728 to 1745 that adapted French sources. My conclusion points to areas for future study, by acknowledging that the flow of French to English was accompanied by a reciprocal current of English to French.

¹² See Moira Goff, “John Rich, French Dancing, and English Pantomimes,” and “Pierrot Strikes Back: François Nivelon at Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Covent Garden, 1723–1738,” in *The Stage’s Glory: John Rich 1692–1761*, ed. Jeremy Barlow and Berta Joncus (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011). See also, Goff, “Actions, Manners, and Passions: Entr’acte Dancing on the London Stage, 1700–1737,” in *Early Music* 26, no. 2 (May 1998), 213–28, and Jennifer Thorp, “Dance in the London Theaters c. 1700–1750,” in *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick 1250–1750*, ed. Jennifer Neville (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 136–152.

In terms of content, Chapter One describes the socio-political context for French cultural interactions with Britain between 1714 and 1745. This historical framework derives from two significant events that held an array of implications for Anglo-French relations: 1714 saw the beginning of the Hanoverian reign in Great Britain, and 1745 marked the last of several rebellions spurred by the exiled Jacobite court in France. Because George I and the Hanoverian royal family played a substantial role in the continuity of the French performances in London, their history as British monarchs is closely intertwined with the specific theatrical history I will tell. Nevertheless, the starting point of this period also encompasses other decisive events that altered the course of Anglo-French relations, including the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715. The second half of this chapter examines the reception of the French performers in England through contemporary opinions found in periodicals, diaries, and letters. British views of the French actors and plays are predominantly couched in terms of the dichotomy between “natural” and “unnatural”; these views help reveal the formation of English and French national identities through the sustained contact of theatrical exchange.

Chapter Two details the performance history of the French productions in London. Driven from their native fairground theaters in 1718 by heightened competition and strict censorship, French actors, musicians, and dancers quickly became showstoppers in a London already crowded with international theatrical attractions. Their performances continued on an intermittent, yet fairly regular, basis for nearly two decades, ending suddenly in 1738 when a riot broke out at the Little Haymarket Theater. (This riot is discussed in more detail in Chapter One, because of its extensive coverage in the English press.) Throughout this chapter, I address key factual details about this as yet untold history: who were the performers comprising the different French troupes? What factors influenced their initial visit and continual return to London? What

kind of repertoire were they performing abroad and how was it adapted for London audiences? French plays performed on London stages are well documented in contemporaneous accounts as well as in published sources.¹³ In most cases, however, the historical records in English sources have preserved only the titles for French plays and not the plays themselves. Yet these titles reveal more than one might suspect: by looking back across the Channel to France, where many theatrical texts with music were published, I match titles from London advertisements with hundreds of French plays found in large anthologies published during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹⁴

In the final section of Chapter Two, I survey four London publications of individual French plays with music that constitute the only extant English translations of these works I have been able to locate from the 1718 to 1738 period. I compare the London and Paris editions of Regnard and Dufresny's *La Foire Saint Germain* (the first French play performed in London for the 1718–19 season) and provide an overview of the bilingual word play in *Arlequin Balourd*—a London publication that maintains the original French. With these examples, I show how the self-conscious removal of musical jokes—which depended on localized knowledge of *vaudeville* tunes—along with the addition of new prologues and multilingual puns, dramatized the moment of encounter between French and English societies.

¹³ See especially *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces*, vol. 2: 1700–1729 and vol. 3: 1729–1747 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960); William Burling, *A Checklist of New Plays and Entertainments on the London Stage, 1700–1737* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1993).

¹⁴ The anthologies pertinent to this study include: Evaristo Gherardi, *Le Théâtre Italien: ou Le Recueil General de toutes les Comédies & Scènes Françaises jouées par les Comédiens Italiens du Roy, pendant tout le temps qu'ils ont été au Service. Enrichi d'Estampes en Taille-douce à la tête de chaque Comédie, à la fin de laquelle tous les Airs qu'on y a chantez se trouvent gravez notez, avec leur Basse-continue chiffrée* (Paris: Cusson et Witte, 1700); Le Sage et al., *Le Théâtre de la Foire, ou L'Opéra Comique: Contenant les meilleures pièces qui ont été représentées aux Foires de S. Germain & de S. Laurent* (Paris: Ganeau, 1721); *Les Parodies du Nouveau Théâtre Italien ou recueil des parodies représentées sur le Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, par les Comédiens Italiens Ordinaires du Roy: avec les airs gravés* (Paris: Chez Briasson, 1731).

Chapter Three examines the social life of French theatrical music in London: in other words, how was this music disseminated and consumed? Despite this music's widespread circulation throughout unexpected corners of London culture, scholarship on this topic has focused predominantly on issues of authorship and national origins rather than on music's social and cultural consumption.¹⁵ By tracing unassuming French tunes through diverse London-based print and manuscript sources, such as French grammar books and amateur music notebooks, this chapter unearths the quotidian networks by which French theatrical music entered the everyday lives of Londoners. Although a London socialite might encounter these tunes through learning the French language, dancing a French minuet, or singing drinking songs with friends, he or she could also witness the French acting troupes sing and dance these same tunes on London stages. I describe how these multi-sensorial modes of musical dissemination created a symbiotic relationship between published sources, theatrical productions, and their consumers. Because Londoners absorbed French music through activities outside the playhouse that involved memory and repetition, they became better equipped to understand the pervasive satirical commentary in the French plays, which often hinged on the recognition of specific tunes.

The presence of French performers, comic plays, and music in England also sheds light on the development and legacy of ballad opera—the central focus of Chapter Four. Ballad opera has long been assumed to appear out of thin air with the premiere of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* in 1728.¹⁶ However, musicologists, including Daniel Heartz and Vanessa Rogers, have

¹⁵ See, for instance, in Daniel Heartz, "'The Beggar's Opera' and 'Opéra-Comique en Vaudevilles,'" and Richard Semmens, "'La Furstemberg' and 'St Martin's Lane': Purcell's French Odyssey," *Music & Letters* 78, no. 3 (1997): 337-48.

¹⁶ The *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* entry on *The Beggar's Opera* states, "the ballad opera form that he [John Gay] created virtually out of nothing . . ." See Robert Hume, "The Beggar's Opera," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O002751> (accessed July 12, 2017).

observed that Gay incorporated French *vaudeville* tunes in his ballad operas, indicating his familiarity with French theatrical genres.¹⁷ Although Rogers concentrates on Gay's ballad operas and the French genre of *comédies en vaudevilles*, she mentions ballad operas from 1729 to 1749 written by other authors who also adapted French source materials.¹⁸ With the exception of *The Mock Doctor* by Henry Fielding—a well-known adaptation of Molière's *Le Médecin malgré lui*—these ballad operas have yet to be explored in relation to their French sources.¹⁹

In Chapter Four, I compare these ballad operas with their French versions, several of which had been imported during the intervening decades, in order to show the impact of French musical theater on not only the content, but also the social, cultural, and political function of ballad opera. Through dissecting the process by which French musical comedies became ballad operas, I demonstrate how English playwrights drew upon French plays that highlighted shared social and political circumstances, while also trying to distinguish their adaptations from the French templates in terms of genre and national identity. By drawing upon the ballad operas *Momus Turn'd Fabulist, or Vulcan's Wedding* (1729) and *The Wanton Jesuit, or Innocence Seduced* (1731) as case studies, I show how French sources were employed allegorically to articulate protests against such injustices in English society as censorship and corrupt politics, which affected life both within and outside the playhouse.

My conclusion takes a single play, titled *Arlequin magicien: comédie en 3 actes, tiré de l'anglois par Monsieur le ****, as a starting point for thinking about the reverse movement of English performers and plays coming to France and, in some cases, *returning* to France after

¹⁷ Daniel Heartz, "'The Beggar's Opera' and 'Opéra-Comique en Vaudevilles,'" Vanessa Rogers, "John Gay."

¹⁸ See Rogers, "John Gay," Table 3, 195-96.

¹⁹ Vanessa Rogers and Berta Joncus, "Ballad Opera and British *double entendre*: Henry Fielding's *The Mock Doctor*" in *Pratiques du timbre et de la parodie d'opéra en Europe (XVI^e–XIX^e Siècles)*, ed. Judith Le Blanc and Herbert Schneider (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2014), 101-140.

becoming Anglicized. Tracing the performance history of its sources, I view this play as evidence that musical theater went in both directions across the Channel.²⁰ I also use this source to discuss how the play *Arlequin magicien* demonstrates, most of all, that tracing origins is a complicated task, but one that allows us to challenge the national historiographies to which musicological studies have been beholden. Theatrical adaptations, such as *Arlequin magicien* and the others examined throughout this dissertation, help foreground the international circulation of texts and performances, revealing how eighteenth-century musico-dramatic culture foreshadowed the global markets of later epochs.

The source material in question has presented several challenges. Among them has been the ephemeral nature of the music, which was not as judiciously documented and preserved as that by Lully or Handel. If written down, the music typically circulated separately from the play's main text, and is dispersed throughout European libraries. Moreover, because the song texts were in continual flux, the task of following a single tune throughout many sources and across two languages remains a dizzying challenge; titles and refrains were often changed and are difficult to locate comprehensively. The repertoire's status as popular entertainments unattached to a canonic musical figure has also meant that scholars and musicians have neglected to create editorial editions, recordings, and productions, though this is starting to change. As a result, much of the groundwork for this dissertation has consisted of locating the music for English and French plays, and comparing all available versions where possible.

After collecting extensive sources from both sides of the Channel, I have discovered that the repertoire at hand reveals considerable information about English and French cultural

²⁰ For a broad overview of this phenomenon, see Victor Leathers, *British Entertainers in France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959). Leathers does not go into depth regarding the music or the works themselves. He focuses primarily on the biographies of the British performers who came to France during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

histories, especially when viewed from a comparative approach. I have chosen to highlight representative findings here, but the plays and music are vast and go beyond the scope of a single study; moreover, their engagement with the social and political issues of a particular moment in history is especially rich and could occupy many more pages. Although I have focused on comparative analyses of a few select plays and music, a multitude of interpretations can be gleaned from tracing even a single French tune. The adaptable, memorable character of popular tunes allowed this music to travel far and wide, and the journeys of many more melodies remain to be explored. Gathering new implications throughout a multiplicity of foreign voices and experiences, the travels of these tunes underscore the potency of music's symbolic affordances at the moment when cultures collide.

Chapter One

Socio-Political Contexts and Reception History

Despite Britain and France's reputation as national adversaries during the long eighteenth century, French culture flourished in Britain during many episodes of this time period. From King Charles II's importation of French musicians during the 1660s through the 1680s, to the exchange of philosophical ideas during the Enlightenment, these political enemies were surprisingly proficient at cross-Channel dialogue. With this broader history in mind, England's contact with French culture between 1714 and 1745 exemplifies a phenomenon that had occurred before and would occur again. Nevertheless, this period is noteworthy for the abundance of French musical comedies performed in London during a time when Anglo-French relations were in a moment of upheaval and transition.

The theatrical encounters in question provide a new framework for understanding the shifting socio-political landscapes of France and Britain during the early eighteenth century. In this chapter, I summarize these broader historical changes in order to show how they affected the theatrical interactions that took place across the Channel. In addition, I describe how the performing arts in these countries were entangled in institutional politics and socio-economic transformations. Although the relationship between art and politics was much different in France than in Britain, political changes influenced what was staged at the theater in both countries. The socio-economic shifts in Britain, such as a growing urban middle class, the increasing proliferation of periodicals, and the emergence of a "public sphere," also help contextualize the theatrical exchanges with France.¹ In the second half of this chapter, I analyze the reception of the French performers in London, documented most frequently in London's burgeoning

¹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991). Habermas's research initiated much of subsequent scholarship on this topic.

periodical press. Perceptions of French culture in England were tied to social class, religious affiliation, and political positioning; these perceptions were made all the more powerful by the articulation of these dynamics in newspapers and playhouses alike.²

ANGLO-FRENCH CONFLICT IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The foremost point of contention between Britain and France during the early eighteenth century was who should be the rightful heir to the English throne. The Jacobites promoted the restoration of the Catholic King James II (of the Stuart line), who during the Glorious Revolution of 1688 was overthrown by the Dutch Stadtholder William of Orange. James II and the royal Stuart family fled to France and lived as guests of Louis XIV at the Château de St-Germain-en-Laye for the next twenty years.³ The banished Stuart King's amicable relationship with the French court provoked suspicion among the English. Even after the War of Spanish Succession had ended in 1713, during a time of supposed peace, doubt permeated any attempts at reconciliation with France when there were Jacobite dissenters who wanted to overthrow the British government.⁴ Indeed, the fear of a Jacobite rebellion was not unfounded: two rebellions occurred in 1715 and 1745, after the Hanoverians came to power.

Religious differences were at the heart of the political tensions between France and England. The wars fought during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were in

² For the relationship between politics, society, and culture in early eighteenth-century London, see William Weber, "Handel's London—Social, Political, and Intellectual Contexts," in *The Cambridge Companion to Handel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). See also, Jeremy Black, *A Subject for Taste: Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

³ Edward Corp, "The Exiled Court of James II and James III: A Centre of Italian Music in France, 1689–1712," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 120 (1995): 216.

⁴ According to Paul Monod, "the threat of Restoration remained real as long as a viable Stuart candidate breathed, and a foreign power was prepared to advance his claims." See Paul Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People, 1688–1788* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

large part religious wars: the Nine Years War (1688–97) and the War of Spanish Succession (1702–14) were both attempts to maintain the Protestant succession of Britain and prevent French commercial, political, and religious domination of Europe.⁵ Because the exiled James II, his son, James Edward Stuart, and his grandson, Charles Edward Stuart were all Roman Catholic, the rebellions fought in their name represented a direct threat to Protestant rule in Great Britain.⁶ As a result, Protestantism—but specifically Protestantism under threat from Catholic France—became the unifying feature of Britain as a nation during the long eighteenth century. In Linda Colley’s words, “[Britons] defined themselves as Protestants struggling for survival against the world’s foremost Catholic power.”⁷

The French Huguenot diaspora from France at the end of the seventeenth century added another layer to these religious tensions. The 1685 Edict of Nantes dictated that Protestantism, specifically the Calvinism practiced by the Huguenots, would no longer be protected in France.⁸ Although religious tensions between Protestants and Catholics had long plagued the country, this formal decree marked a peak in the hostile, systematic persecution of the Huguenots who fled France and resettled in other European countries, including the Netherlands, Germany, and England, in areas with large Protestant populations.⁹ London became the largest single European center for the Huguenot population, with over 20,000 members in Huguenot churches between

⁵ Frank O’Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Social and Political History: 1688–1832* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997), 51-54.

⁶ Colley, 3-4.

⁷ Ibid., 5.

⁸ D. J. B. Trim (ed.), *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt* (Boston: Brill, 2011), 1.

⁹ See “map 1” in Robin Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 31.

1690 and 1710. England also surpassed the Netherlands in its number of Huguenot refugees by 1700.¹⁰

The British reception of the Huguenot refugees at the turn of the eighteenth century was complex and varied.¹¹ However, British Protestants tended to sympathize with the Huguenots, and frequently voiced outrage over the crimes this displaced religious community had suffered. Essayist Joseph Addison, for one, felt an ethical responsibility to help the Huguenots, because of the injustices they had suffered under French rule:

I had with great pains and application got together a list of all the French protestants; and by the best accounts I could come at, had calculated the value of all those estates and effects which every one of them had left in his own country for the sake of his religion, being fully determined to make it up to him, and return some of them the double of what they had lost.¹²

Support for the Huguenot community in England was, in many ways, an earnest demonstration of religious tolerance.¹³ However, descriptions of Huguenot oppression in the British press also served a rhetorical function, helping to spread anti-Catholic (or anti-French) sentiment.¹⁴ As will be discussed in Chapter Three, exiled Huguenots also participated in the dissemination of this rhetoric, by including anti-Catholic propaganda in French grammar instruction books with music, written for the English reading public.

¹⁰ Robin Gwynn, "Conformity, non-conformity, and Huguenot settlement in England in the later seventeenth century," in *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660–1750*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 25-26, 39-41.

¹¹ For an overview of British sentiments towards the Huguenot refugees, see Lisa Clark Diller, "'How Dangerous, the Protestant Stranger?' Huguenots and the Formation of British Identity c. 1685–1715" in *The Huguenots: History and Memory*, 103-120.

¹² Joseph Addison, Article No. 166 in *The Guardian*, Monday, September 21, 1713 (Tonson: London, 1714), 510.

¹³ Andrew C. Thompson, "The Huguenots in External Relations," in *The Huguenots: History and Memory*, 239. Thompson argues that the Huguenots were an international catalyst for discussions of religious toleration that became integral to Enlightenment thought in the mid-eighteenth century.

¹⁴ Diller, 106-110.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGES DURING THE 1710s

Several key events of the 1710s transformed the course of Anglo-French politics. Most significantly, new rulers came to power in both nations. In 1714, Queen Anne died without living descendants, resulting in the accession of King George I— a foreigner from Hanover—to the throne. One year later, in September 1715, France also saw the death of its monarch, King Louis XIV. The old King's nephew, Phillip II Duc d'Orléans, served as regent from 1715 until Louis XV was old enough to become King of France in 1723.

Both countries were in transition, not only in terms of their own political histories, but also in terms of how these histories intersected with one another. In addition to new rulers on both sides of the Channel, France and Great Britain were no longer at war for the first time in twenty-five years. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed in 1713, officially ended the War of Spanish Succession. Yet tensions between Britain and France persisted: instead of dissipating religious tensions, the Treaty of Utrecht only exacerbated them, since Protestantism was still prohibited in France. Many Huguenots, who had envisioned returning to their homeland after the wars ended, discovered that they would still be excluded from French society on the basis of their religion.¹⁵

Lingering apprehensions after the Treaty of Utrecht set the precedent for a diplomatic undertaking known as the Anglo-French Alliance. Historically speaking, this alliance, which spanned the years 1716 to 1731, has been noted as the longest period of harmonious relations between Britain and France from the early seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁶ But this alliance proved difficult to negotiate and maintain; rather than a period of peace, suspicions on either side of the Channel still infiltrated the political landscape as France and Britain vied for

¹⁵ On the ramifications of the Treaty of Utrecht for the French Protestant *émigrés*, see Laurence Boles, "Epilogue," in *The Huguenots, the Protestant Interest, and the War of Spanish Succession, 1702–1714* (New York: Peter Lang, 1997), 249-256.

¹⁶ Jeremy Black, *Natural & Necessary Enemies: Anglo-French Relations in the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), vii.

power and as religious frictions persisted.¹⁷ Jeremy Black summarizes the tensions of this period as “usually a question of France seeking to accommodate matters between Britain and a third power [Spain, Sweden, Russia, and Austria] and Britain insisting on French support and fearing French betrayal.”¹⁸

In terms of social change, by the 1710s, new areas of sociability were forming in England where public opinion could be freely expressed, even if it was oppositional to the governing body. This new social arena, identified by Jürgen Habermas as “the bourgeois public sphere” (from the German *bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit*), had a central function—to be politically engaged with manners of the state.¹⁹ According to Habermas, a public sphere developed first in Great Britain, where it formed interdependently with the establishment of the periodical press and public institutions, such as coffeehouses, theaters, and salons; a public sphere also materialized in France, but not, he argues, until the mid-to-late eighteenth century.²⁰ Britain’s emerging public sphere during the early part of the century reveals that, compared to other European nations at the time, a wider demographic of the British population was engaged in dialogue about the political tensions outlined above. It meant, moreover, that individuals could express their opinions about British relations with France, or with Europe at large, and did so openly in the press, in the coffeehouse, and, most relevant to this study, in the theater.

¹⁷ Jeremy Black, *Natural & Necessary Enemies*, 10-22.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

¹⁹ “Through the vehicle of public opinion, it [the public sphere] put the state in touch with the needs of society” (Habermas, 30-31).

²⁰ Habermas, 57, 67. Musicologists and theater historians have suggested that the French public sphere materialized much earlier than 1750 if one also takes into consideration the non-text based interactions of musical and theatrical performance. See Jeffrey Ravel, *The Contested Parterre: Public Theater and French Political Culture, 1680–1791* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), and Kate van Orden, *Music and the Cultures of Print* (New York: Garland Publishing, 2000).

THE LONDON THEATERS

These broader social changes were affected by the opening to the general London public of theaters that had previously been attached to the royal court. As Habermas and many others have noted, this shift allowed the theater to become an important component of the public sphere.²¹

The opening of London's theaters to the public also intersected with the internationalization and commercialization of the productions performed there. I will briefly describe these intersections, followed by a comparison with the Paris theaters in order to demonstrate the distinctive nature of London's theatrical scene during the early eighteenth century.

Upon his restoration to the British throne, Charles II granted two theatrical patents to Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant in 1662 to form two public theater companies that would remain under royal patents.²² The former founded the King's Company at Drury Lane and the latter established the Duke's Company at Dorset Garden Theater.²³ In 1682, the two companies merged as the "United Company," using both Dorset Garden and Drury Lane theaters. It was during the 1680s that the United Company, at the request of Charles II, staged a *tragédie lyrique* by the French composer Louis Grabu, who had been brought to England by

²¹ Habermas, 38-39. See also Judith Fischer, "Audience Participation in the Eighteenth-Century London Theatre," in *Audience Participation: Essays on Inclusion in Performance*, ed. Susan Kattwinkel (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003): "By the beginning of, and increasingly throughout, the eighteenth century, more 'middling sort' of people attended the theatre, along with a vociferous servant class" (55). Recent scholarship has challenged Habermas's categories of court and public theater, by arguing that music's circulation between court and public realms blurred these lines. See Amanda Eubanks Winkler, "Courtly Connections: Queen Anne, Music, and the Public Stage," in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, eds. Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 187-206.

²² Edward Langhans, "The Theatre," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 1. Langhans explains that the patents were not rescinded until 1843, yet even today Drury Lane Theatre and the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, "derive their rights from the royal grants of the 1660s."

²³ Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 12.

Thomas Betterton, the United Company's temporary manager.²⁴ By the mid-1690s, the United Company grew dissatisfied with the new management under Christopher Rich and established a different company with Betterton at Lincoln's Inn Fields.²⁵ The dissolution of the United Company created heightened competition between Drury Lane and the new company: Betterton had taken several star singers and the composer John Eccles with him to Lincoln's Inn Fields, while Drury Lane relied on Henry Purcell's music to attract audiences.

After the death of Purcell in 1695, Drury Lane began importing foreign performers; the company at Lincoln's Inn Fields followed suit.²⁶ Foreign talent—dancers, tightrope walkers, and even a pair of dancing dogs from Germany—proved irresistible attractions for London audiences.²⁷ They would perform between the acts of plays (or at the end as “afterpieces”), providing an added entertainment to the main show. Among the novelty entertainments from France introduced to London stages around the turn of the century were dancers and acrobats who performed as *commedia dell'arte* characters. For the 1695–96 and 1696–97 seasons, Betterton employed Joseph Sorin, a French dancer, at Lincoln's Inn Fields to compete with the singing and dancing acts that Christopher Rich had introduced at Drury Lane. Sorin became popular for his “ladder dances,” in which he mimicked a monkey climbing up and down a ladder, among other *lazzi*-inspired acts.²⁸ In 1702, the Foire St. Laurent of Paris was closed, giving

²⁴ Price, 13-14.

²⁵ This event was known as the actor's rebellion of 1695 (Price, 16).

²⁶ Shirley Strum Kenny, “Theatre, Related Arts, and the Profit Motive: An Overview,” in *British Theatre and the Other Arts: 1660–1800*, ed. Shirley Strum Kenny (Washington: Associated University Presses), 1984, 25.

²⁷ “A German animal trainer named Swartz brought two dancing dogs to London. He was engaged by Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre at £10 nightly and brought 20 full houses.” See Philip Highfill, Kalman Burnim, and Edward Langhans (eds.), *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, vol. 14 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 345.

²⁸ Zalewski Sadlak, 281.

incentive for several *forains* (or fair theater actors), including the Alard brothers, Louis Nivellon, Joseph Sorin, and Richard Baxter, to come to London for the 1702–03 season.²⁹ These actors popularized dramatic dances from France, known as “scènes de nuit” (“night scenes”), in which the actors pretended it was completely dark on stage.³⁰ Sorin and Baxter performed in the next few London seasons until 1706, but eventually returned to Paris for almost a decade to perform with the fair theaters. They did not grace London stages again until 1716—a visit that will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

Trying to out-do one another with fantastical oddities from abroad became a means of survival for Drury Lane and Lincoln’s Inn Fields, or as Alexander Pope sarcastically wrote in *The Dunciad*, “Contending Theatres, our empire raise, / Alike their labours, and alike their praise.”³¹ Indeed, foreign novelty acts appeared in greatest number when both Drury Lane and Lincoln’s Inn Fields were in operation; if only one company was performing, these entertainments tended to be non-existent, demonstrating a sense of commercial pragmatism underlying the use of afterpieces and entr’acte entertainments.³² Thus, while helping to popularize the *commedia dell’arte* characters in England, these earlier appearances of French performers in London also reveal how theatrical culture, and culture in general, was becoming a commodity to be consumed.³³

²⁹ Virginia Scott, “The Infancy of English Pantomime, 1716–1723,” *Education Theatre Journal* 24, no. 2 (May, 1972): 125-134.

³⁰ Chapman, 44-45. Scott argues that the “night scenes” performed by these French actors influenced the development of English pantomime (See Scott, “The Infance of English Pantomime”).

³¹ Alexander Pope, *The Dunciad*, book III, lines 271-272.

³² Zalewski Sadlak, 298.

³³ Especially in the sense described by Shirley Strum Kenny: “The theatre did not differ, in the profit motive, from the theatre now, or, for that matter from today’s television fare—in order to survive, the management had to sell what the audience would buy” (Kenny, 15). In Habermas’s analysis, the emergence of capitalism was intimately linked to the emergence of the public sphere. For scholarship on the rise of cultural consumerism in England during

The consumption of French cultural goods in England was also on the rise during the early eighteenth century. An excerpt from the *London Magazine* in November 1738 summarizes this phenomenon:

This is the Case of a present prevailing Extravagancy; I mean the ridiculous Imitation of the *French*, which is now become the epidemical Distemper of this Kingdom: I behold, with Indignation, the sturdy Conquerors of *France* dwindled into the perfect Mimicks, or ridiculous *Caracaturas* of all its Levity. The Travesty is universal; poor *England* produces nothing fit to eat, or drink, or wear: Our Cloaths, our Furniture, nay our Food too, all is to come from France; and I am credibly inform'd, that a Poulterer at *Calais* now actually supplies our polite Tables with half their Provisions.³⁴

The general emulation of French culture in England revealed an aspirational urge among the middle and upper classes to climb from one rung on the social ladder to the next.³⁵ A low-class good in France could suddenly have higher class appeal in England.

These social changes set the scene for the French troupe's arrival in 1718. Lincoln's Inn Fields Theater had re-opened under the new management of John Rich on November 18, 1714. Rich was a clever entrepreneur who catered to the public's changing tastes for French fashions. Though unstable financially at first, Lincoln's Inn Fields still maintained fierce competition with the company at Drury Lane—a rivalry that reached its peak in the 1720s and 30s. As I will explain further in Chapter Two, Rich capitalized on the initial financial success French dancers brought to his theater beginning in 1714, and employed a troupe of French actors for the 1718–19 season. They arrived, not as individual performers for afterpiece and entr'acte entertainments, but as a fully established company, producing entire plays in their native French and commanding the stage for a whole evening's entertainment.

the first half of the eighteenth century, see especially, *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995) and *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation*.

³⁴ “Extravagancy of Following the French Fashions,” *The London Magazine* no. 93 (Nov. 11, 1738): 552.

³⁵ See Ronald Paulson, “Emulative Consumption and Literacy,” in *The Consumption of Culture*, 385.

Although French performers had been popular at the court of Charles II during the Restoration, they had been brought over to England for different reasons—to help emulate the court of Louis XIV.³⁶ By contrast, the French troupes that came to London in 1718 became part of a competitive entertainment industry. Their plays were viewed by a new generation and demographic of London theatergoers who were already familiar with French dancers and Franco-Italian *commedia* traditions from the theatrical imports of the 1690s and 1700s. Yet, royalty still played a central role in the patronage of and demand for these entertainments. While French farces on Parisian stages provided entertainment for diverse social classes, the English nobility and emerging bourgeoisie became French popular theater's primary consumers in London; for them, French culture symbolized social prestige. These raunchy, satirical plays performed in the streets and as fairground spectacles in Paris, ultimately helped cultivate an English elite.

THE PARISIAN THEATERS

The theatrical world in Paris at the beginning of the eighteenth century was much different than in London, but the element of competition pervaded the theatrical institutions of both cities. Instead of commercial competition, however, the Parisian theaters saw competition between the three licensed theaters and the unlicensed theaters—or, les Théâtres de la Foire (“The Fair Theaters”). By the time the French troupes began their visits to London in 1718, there were four primary theatrical establishments in Paris: l’Opéra (or l’Académie Royale de Musique), la Comédie-Italienne (or le Théâtre Italien), la Comédie Française, and les Théâtres de la Foire. The first three of these institutions were officially established by royal decree during the second

³⁶ For more on the seventeenth-century period of French theatrical imports, see Andrew Walkling, *Masque and Opera in England, 1656–1688* (New York: Routledge, 2017), especially chapter 7, “French Musicians at Court, 1675–89,” 264–90. On Charles II’s failed attempt to emulate the cultural propaganda machine of Louis XIV see Rebecca Herissone, “Playford, Purcell, and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 243–89.

half of the seventeenth century. The fair theaters had existed since the Middle Ages, yet, unlike the other three theaters, were not royally subsidized. These four theatrical entities became rivals, particularly during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The plays produced at the fairs and Comédie-Italienne often parodied the works put on by rival companies; some playwrights, who wrote for these establishments, would even personify the four Parisian theaters as different characters in order to make their satires more pointed. The competitive atmosphere and the sarcastic nature of the repertoire heightened tensions between the theaters and eventually resulted in the closing of the Comédie-Italienne in 1697. After the fair theaters started incorporating the expelled Comédie-Italienne's repertoire, they became even more of a threat to the official theaters, and eventually faced strict limitations on what they could perform.³⁷ Soon, all fair theater spectacles were banned from 1718 to 1721.³⁸

L'Opéra (Académie Royale de Musique)

The 1670s marked the attempts of Louis XIV to institutionalize the theaters in Paris. The King granted a privilege to the Académie Royale de Musique, giving Jean Baptiste Lully a monopoly over the musical and dramatic arts in Paris beginning in 1672. Lully composed approximately one opera per year for this establishment, which became known as the Paris Opéra. In contrast to the various types of popular entertainments (comedies, farces, puppet shows) produced at the Théâtres de la foire and Théâtre Italien, the Opéra produced *tragédies en musique*—serious

³⁷ Gordon A. Anderson, et al. "Paris." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40089> (accessed April 6, 2017): "By 1680 Paris had only three regular theatre companies: the Opéra, the Comédie-Française, and the Comédie-Italienne. Each competed for public favour and jealously guarded its monopolies. Nowhere may the arrogance of power be better observed than in the attempts of the Opéra and the Comédie-Française to suppress the popular entertainments at the Théâtres de la Foire."

³⁸ The circumstances of these events will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

musical dramas in the high style that served in part to augment the King's image of absolute power. Until his death in 1687, Lully's operas were the only ones performed at the Opéra, and his productions were revived long after his death, both in Paris and abroad. While the Opéra possessed a permanent and professional group of singers, dancers, musicians, and other performers, Lully used his musical monopoly to restrict the number of instrumentalists and singers available to the other theatrical companies.³⁹ It therefore becomes difficult to discuss the dramatic arts during the *ancien régime* without confronting Lully's legacy in some capacity, as it reached all corners of Parisian cultural life. The repertoire at the other Parisian theaters even consisted of numerous parodies of Lully's operas and music.⁴⁰

Comédie-Italienne (or Théâtre Italien)

The Comédie-Italienne derived from Italian *commedia dell'arte* theatrical traditions brought by Italian actors to France during the mid-seventeenth century. Extending over one hundred years, the history of the Comédie-Italienne began in the mid-seventeenth century and ended in 1762 when it merged with the Opéra Comique.⁴¹ This history can be grouped according to three periods: the first from 1662, when the Comédie-Italienne was officially established in Paris under King Louis XIV's patronage (known as the *Ancien Théâtre Italien*) to 1697 when it was expelled; the second from 1697 to 1715 when many of the performers who were expelled moved

³⁹ Rebecca Harris-Warrick and Carol Marsh, *Musical Theatre at the Court of Louis XIV* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3.

⁴⁰ For analyses of these Lullian parodies see Donald Jay Grout, *The Music of the Italian Theatre at Paris, 1682–97*; Judith Le Blanc, *Avatars d'opéras: parodies et circulation des airs chantés sur les scènes parisiennes, 1672–1745*; and Françoise Rubellin, *Atys burlesque: parodies de l'opéra de Quinault et Lully à la Foire et à la Comédie-Italienne, 1726–1738*.

⁴¹ For the most detailed coverage of this history to date, see Virginia Scott, *The Commedia dell'Arte in Paris, 1644–1697* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990).

to the fair theaters or returned to Italy;⁴² and the third, from 1716 to 1762, when the Duc d'Orléans brought over a new troupe of Italian comedians (known as the *Nouveau Théâtre Italien*) to the Hôtel de Bourgogne, in order to replace the one that had disbanded in 1697.⁴³ This later company, though an undisputable rival of the other theaters, did not face the same restrictions imposed upon the fair theaters in 1718, because it was granted royal privilege.⁴⁴ Although this was the “Italian” theater of Paris, its repertoire and personnel became naturalized throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed, by 1685, the Italian company was beginning to perform plays in the French language—a practice that increased until 1697 when the institution was shutdown. With the establishment of the *Nouveau Théâtre Italien* in 1716, the plays were again first presented in Italian, but soon began to be performed in French to compete with the rival Parisian theaters.⁴⁵ Thus, by the time the repertoire of the *Théâtre Italien* was performed in London, it had been mediated and reformulated in a French context over a period of several decades, though still with many residual Italianate characteristics.

Comédie-Française

The roots of what came to be called the *Comédie-Française* originated during the 1650s and 1660s with performances for the King by Molière's troupe at the Palais-Royal. When Molière

⁴² For an overview of the fair theaters' adoption of the Italian theater repertoire after 1697, see Anastassia Sakhnovskaia, “Sur les traces des Italiens à la foire pendant les années de disgrâce (1697–1716),” *Colloque CÉSAR*, Juin 2004, http://cesar.org.uk/cesar2/conferences/cesar_conference_june_2004/sakhnov_paper.html (accessed March 6, 2017).

⁴³ For a detailed study of this new Italian troupe's repertoire, see Ola Forsans, *Le théâtre de Lelio: étude du répertoire du Nouveau théâtre italien de 1716 à 1729* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2006).

⁴⁴ Rebecca Harris-Warrick, et al. “Paris.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O005519> (accessed June 5, 2015).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

died in 1673, the use of the Palais-Royal was granted to Lully, while the remaining players of Molière's company merged with the Théâtre du Marais and performed at the Théâtre Guénégaud.⁴⁶ In 1680, this company combined forces with the French players from the Hôtel de Bourgogne and established the official Comédie-Française. Until this point, there had been an extensive period when the Italian and French companies shared the Hôtel de Bourgogne while competing for the King's favor. This theatrical merger thus marked a turning point for the Italian company who, as a result, were granted exclusive use of the Hôtel de Bourgogne.⁴⁷ The Comédie-Française continued their performances at the Théâtre Guénégaud, producing both tragedies and comedies by seventeenth-century playwrights well known to us today, including Molière, Racine, and Corneille, in addition to works by a later generation of dramatists, such as Jean-François Regnard and Louis Fuzelier. The Comédie-Française was the primary rival of the Théâtre Italien and the Théâtres de la Foire, and initiated the periodic closures of all fair theater performances in the 1710s and 1720s, to be discussed further in Chapter Two.

Théâtres de la foire

The Théâtres de la Foire had been a part of French culture since the Middle Ages. Besides the people-watching, the gambling, and the stalls selling a variety of goods, the fairs also presented a variety of entertainments from tightrope walking to teeth-extraction.⁴⁸ There were two seasonal fairs: the Foire St. Germain (winter-spring) and the Foire St. Laurent (summer) that became sites for temporary theaters and acting troupes. In 1678, a patent was granted to the Alard brothers to

⁴⁶ Gordon A. Anderson, et al. "Paris." *Grove Music Online*.

⁴⁷ Scott, *The Commedia dell'Arte in Paris*, 223.

⁴⁸ For a more detailed description of these motley entertainments see Robert Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy: Popular Entertainment in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

produce plays at the Foire St. Germain under the condition that there be no singing or dancing.⁴⁹ This stamp of official support marked the beginning of the fair theaters' popularity among all echelons of French society, though they were continually restricted in what they could perform. Ironically, their performances became even more appealing because of the creative means by which they managed to evade these restrictions. For instance, when the fair theater performers were forbidden to produce entire plays, they performed only fragments; when dialogues were banned, they turned to monologues; and when they were forbidden to sing, they made the audience sing instead, by holding up large placards with the title of a familiar tune.⁵⁰

The fair theaters' reputation also expanded when they appropriated the Théâtre Italien's repertoire and personnel in 1697 as a result of the King's expulsion of the Italian company. Though the exact reason for the King's decision remains unclear, he had likely reached the end of his patience for the Italian company's satirical commentary. But this was precisely the kind of entertainment that made its way into the fair theater repertoire. Because of their subversive commentary, the *forains*' resources continued to be limited during the first decades of the eighteenth century. In 1716, after financial negotiations with the Opéra, the fair theaters were granted permission to produce spectacles with music and dance under the title "Opéra Comique." The popularity of this repertoire attracted audiences away from the other theaters, provoking the ban in 1718 of all fair theater spectacles. Throughout this series of events from 1678 to 1718, the Théâtres de la Foire went from being an informal establishment for amateur spectacles into a serious rival of the Opéra and Comédie-Française.

⁴⁹ James Anthony, "Théâtres de la Foire." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27779> (accessed April 6, 2017).

⁵⁰ For an overview of the *forains*' creative use of limited resources, see Robert Isherwood, "Chapter 4, The Politics of Culture: the Struggle Against Privilege," in *Farce and Fantasy*, 81-97.

Given that analogous fair theaters existed in London, it is worth mentioning that the French fair theater troupes did not end up performing at those same theaters.⁵¹ Rather, this “unofficial” repertoire from Paris was produced at the official theaters in London—both Lincoln’s Inn Fields and the King’s Theater in the Haymarket (the royal theater devoted to the performance of opera). Eventually, the French players became so popular among Londoners that a new theater, known as the Little Haymarket Theater, was built to accommodate the regular performance of French musical comedies. These events will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

“AN INUNDATION OF NEWSPAPERS”

In London, periodical culture constituted another significant aspect of the public sphere.⁵² The increasing accessibility and regularity of the news characterized the socio-political milieu in which the French theatrical imports of the 1710s through 1730s took place. Eighteenth-century periodicals provide the most extensive accounts of the French performers and their plays, revealing how they were received in England by various demographics. (Although they are not as central to my focus, coffeehouses, as Habermas describes, are also related to this development.) Because of these social changes, French theater in London became both publically discussed and politically contentious; it was at once a topic and a mode of public dialogue.

The birth of periodical culture began when printed news became regularly available to the general public. In Great Britain, both of these factors were in place by the end of the

⁵¹ For an overview of the London fair theaters, such as Bartholomew Fair, see Sybil Marion Rosenfeld, *The Theatre of the London Fairs in the 18th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

⁵² Habermas, 58-64.

seventeenth century.⁵³ The lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695 was a critical moment in the development of periodical culture, because it eliminated censorship, allowing for a free press for the next several decades. Although Queen Anne attempted to restore regulation of the press, her early death interfered, and the Licensing Act wasn't officially re-established until 1737.⁵⁴ In March 1702, *The Daily Courant* became the first successful daily paper in London, not to mention the first regular newspaper in which theatrical events were advertised.⁵⁵ Soon, newspapers were flooding the printing presses. By the late 1710s and early 1720s, writers began commenting on the over-abundance of newspapers in England: "At present, both city, town, and country, are over-flow'd every day with an inundation of news-papers."⁵⁶ In the 1720s, newspapers delivered predominantly political content: contributors debated party politics through letters published in periodicals that were often anonymous (or under a pseudonym), satirical, and impersonal.⁵⁷ Political views opposing the government could even be found in London's commercial periodicals.⁵⁸ The political content of British newspapers also increasingly

⁵³ Habermas, 16.

⁵⁴ Habermas, 59. On the lapsing of the licensing act in 1695, see Jeremy Black, *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2011), 1-12. On the re-establishment of the Licensing Act in 1737 see especially, Matthew Kinservik, *Disciplining Satire: The Censorship of Satiric Comedy on the Eighteenth-Century London Stage* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2002); Eric Walter White, *A History of English Opera* (London: Faber & Faber, 1983), 168.

⁵⁵ Black, *The English Press*, 8; William Burling, *Summer Theatre in London, 1661–1820, and the Rise of the Haymarket Theater* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000), 30.

⁵⁶ *St. James Weekly Journal*, October 31, 1719, quoted in Black, *The English Press*, 8-9.

⁵⁷ Black, 14. Due to the influence of the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* (essay-periodicals), editors wrote under colorful pseudonyms and almost all early eighteenth-century British journalism was published anonymously. This was done in part to protect the writers. See Iona Italia, *The Rise of Literary Journalism in the Eighteenth Century: Anxious Employment*, (New York: Routledge, 2005), 16.

⁵⁸ See Paul Monod, 28-38: "the Jacobite press was certainly in the vanguard of commercial journalism, and reached a large audience, including persons of influence" (30). Habermas marks *The Craftsman*—a Tory publication that expressed opposition to the Whig Government—as the moment when "a genuinely critical organ of a public engaged in critical political debate" (60).

focused on foreign affairs: news from all corners of the world, and from France in particular, became available to the public.⁵⁹

The circumstances of Great Britain's burgeoning periodical culture during the early decades of the eighteenth century made it unique among European nations. The public sphere could not have emerged in Britain by the 1710s—earlier than other countries—without the abundance of newspapers and freedom of speech made possible by the lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695.⁶⁰ These conditions meant that periodicals could disseminate public opinion, even when politically contentious. Furthermore, discussions in the coffeehouse and the theater could be preserved and read about in the paper the next day, such as this letter published in the *Grub Street Journal* from March 13, 1735 that recalls a dialogue between the letter's author and one of the visiting French actors in a London coffeehouse:

The morning after this extraordinary benefit, I went to a coffeehouse, resorted to by a great number of French. The last night's play at Lincoln's-inn fields was the topic of conversation: and understanding that one of the company belonged to the French troop, I asked him 'How long the play in question had been in esteem?' 'It is,' says he 'a very old piece, well known, and frequently shewn at Turin in Savoy, and in several parts of Italy, by the *Charlatans* or *Mountebanks* of those countreys: but it never has been printed.' —With just reason, I'm sure: for the forced witticisms are as unaffecting as the *Catalonian sword* is pointless, or the prattle of *Harlequin Enfant* is unentertaining; or as his *salad of granados* is a dish suitable to a refined taste: . . . the whole being a compound of puns, ribaldry, and the most groveling *double entendres*. The previous account of this so much applauded piece, encouraged me to ask *Monsieur* what success his troop had met with here. 'Oh, Sir, wonderful; we act pieces here with the greatest applause, which, if we attempted at home, we should be stoned off the stage. But the

⁵⁹ Black, "Chapter 7: The Press and Europe," in *The English Press in the Eighteenth Century*, 197-243.

⁶⁰ Habermas notes that although there were "numerous setbacks" to the press's liberties, including the Law of Libel and the 1712 Stamp Tax, the British press "enjoyed unique liberties" . . . "compared to the press in other European states" (59). William Weber has also described Britain as "the first Western nation in which political dispute became public, uncensored, and driven by parties" ("Handel's London," 45). Such observations were common in the eighteenth century, as when the French Huguenot François Misson declared: "*England* is a Country abounding in printed Papers, which they call *Pamphlets*, wherein every Author makes bold to talk very freely upon Affairs of State, and to publish all manner of News. I do not say that every one does with Impunity speak his own Thoughts, but I say, they take great Liberties..." (M. Misson, *Memoirs and Observations in his Travels over England, written originally in French, and translated by Mr. Ozell* (London: Printed for D. Browne [etc.], 1719), 203-204).

English are indulgent; they must be amused: Francisque can do what he will with them; he can suit their palates with *drollery* and buffoonery; so that it may be justly sayed, with them *Every rank fool goes down*. If, continues he, ‘Some of the most elevated rank command a play, they always conclude their commands with an order, that it be *very short* and to add *a very long farce*.’ –As to this last particular, I’m a little dubious of his French veracity: for sure ‘tis impossible, that any *English-man* who has been transported with the passionately-expressive images of Shakespeare, or the melting softness of Otway, or has been delighted with the fine humour of Ben Johnson, the elegant thoughts and diction of Mr. Dryden, or the genteel wit of Mr. Congreve, could ever give immediate sanction to the low conceits and groveling invention of Farce, either *French* or *English*; or to the monkey tricks or grotesque postures of a Merry-Andrew, tho’ disguised under the name of *Monsieur Francisque*, or *Monsieur Lun* senior or Junior.⁶¹

The *Grub Street Journal* satirized hack journalism and so-called “Grub Street” culture, or lowbrow culture; it constitutes one example of how the news took on a polemical role by using satire. This particular journal critiqued what many viewed as frivolous theatrical entertainments (and analogous trends in other arts) that held no high artistic merit or aspirations, but served merely to entertain.⁶² In the views of this and other contributors to this journal, including Alexander Pope, the degradation of culture was directly correlated with the flow of foreign cultural imports to London. These writers disparaged, in particular, pretensions towards high culture that became associated with the French performers, as indicated by the author’s sarcastic emphasis on *Monsieur Francisque* and *Monsieur Lun*.⁶³

On a more general level, though, this excerpt demonstrates how French culture, and the politics of French culture in England, became a central component of public discussion. Whether written dialogues printed in newspapers accurately reflected what was said in the coffeehouse, or whether they were re-imagined for the sake of argument, is difficult to establish. Nevertheless,

⁶¹ *The Grub Street Journal*, March 13, 1735, Issue 272.

⁶² On this tension between art and entertainment see especially John O’Brien, *Harlequin Britain: Pantomime and Entertainment, 1690–1760* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

⁶³ Francisque Moylin was the leader of the French troupe that came to London in 1718 and again in 1735; he is an important figure in this study and will be discussed further in Chapter Two. *Monsieur Lun* refers to John Rich, manager of Lincoln’s Inn Fields, who went by that nickname. Both actors played the role of Harlequin.

they provide a glimpse into public discourse of the period and reveal how opinions about politics, the theater, and national identity—among other interwoven themes—circulated through both aural and printed mediums. Coffeehouse chats became echoed in print, available for all to hear.

THE RECEPTION OF FRENCH THEATRICAL CULTURE IN ENGLAND

The comparison of French and English theater did not begin in 1718 with the appearance of French plays on the London stage, nor was it limited to discussion in periodicals. Such comparisons can also be seen in the theoretical writings of John Dryden, Richard Flecknoe, and William D'Avenant of mid-seventeenth-century England, who formulated dramatic theories about the relative merits of French and English dramatic styles. Though recorded in the private essays of “men of letters” rather than in periodicals, these writers were attempting to legitimize English drama during a time when the genre was being re-established in England, by pitting their own theatrical innovations against the French.⁶⁴ The reactions to the French performers and plays in England from 1718 to 1735 can in some sense be seen as an extension of earlier theories from the 1660s, though the changing political and literary landscape during this later period also brought about significant changes to English views about French theatrical culture.

Audience reactions to the French performers and plays in England from 1718 to 1738 were mixed, largely depending on social class and political affiliation. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 created “two Englands”: that of an intellectual aristocracy, whose cosmopolitan ideals led it to support both classical and foreign cultures; and another “England” that was lower-

⁶⁴ Marvin Carlson, *Theories of the Theatre* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 112-115.

middle class, patriotic, and which promoted English culture in reaction to foreign imports.⁶⁵ French culture, and foreign culture more generally, appealed to an upper class sensibility as demonstrated by its Hanoverian patronage; on the other hand, it was condemned, belittled, and often parodied by English playwrights and critics who wrote for the general public. For instance, Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, in their periodicals *The Spectator* and *The Guardian*, argued for the superiority of English culture by critiquing its foreign others (especially Italian opera).⁶⁶ The rise of periodical print culture in early eighteenth-century England enabled these divergent discourses regarding foreign culture to spread on a regular basis.

Other early eighteenth-century English journals, including *The Spectator*, *The Grub Street Journal*, *The Weekly Journal, or Saturday's Post*, and *The Prompter*, provide the main supply of surviving first-hand accounts of French performers and plays in London from the years 1718 to 1738, although published letters and diaries also contain further evidence about their reception. Despite their often polemical nature, these accounts not only enrich our understanding of the ideologically charged debates surrounding foreign performers in England, but they also provide clues as to the performance practice of French plays in an English context, including the style of acting, costumes, extemporization, language, and other significant details.

English writers with patriotic leanings constructed a sense of English identity through a display of cultural difference with France.⁶⁷ In particular, they employed the rhetoric of *natural* against *unnatural* to delimit distinctions between French and English. Literary theorist Seamus

⁶⁵ Frédéric Ogée (ed.), “*Better in France?*”: *The Circulation of Ideas Across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century*, 28.

⁶⁶ See Claire Boulard, “The Spectator’s Curtailed Legacy,” in “*Better in France?*”, 150. Boulard writes, “*The Spectator’s* reformist platform showed that Steele and Addison wished to open culture to a larger part of the population. Its low price made it affordable for many middle-class families and an efficient instrument for spreading politeness.”

⁶⁷ See Linda Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*.

Deane has noted that one way of understanding the power of nationalism is, “by acknowledging how effectively it naturalizes its own history, how it claims precedence for its own culture by identifying that culture with nature.”⁶⁸ With this in mind, we can better understand why English theater was portrayed in terms of nature, sense, wit, taste, and politeness, while French theater was deemed unnatural, lewd, sensory, and ordinary.⁶⁹ This language is prominent in an anonymous letter to the editor of *The Weekly Journal or Saturday’s Post* from October 5, 1717—one year before the French troupes actually arrived in London. The author opens his letter with a rhetorical question: “but now our nation is famous throughout the world for wit and sense, as well as for polite and solid learning; what will be said of us, if we prefer the French plays and actors to our own?”⁷⁰ He continues by equating the English actors to “Nature”: “Rome nor Athens never could boast a sett of actors so just to Nature, as at present adorn our English Theatres.”⁷¹ He concludes by creating a mock-epilogue, wherein an imaginary Frenchman speaks in French-accented English and mocks his own culture: “We hope ye now be all convinced from hence, / ve’rre vers’d in ev’ry ting, but vit and sense.”⁷²

This notion that “wit and sense” and “nature” were distinctly English traits (and their opposites were innately French) permeated the discourse about foreign culture in London. These attitudes were not only present in public forums; they can be gleaned from private

⁶⁸ Seamus Deane, “Nationalism/Imperialism,” in *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 357.

⁶⁹ The same language can be detected in the debates comparing French and Italian music during the eighteenth century.

⁷⁰ *Weekly Journal or Saturday’s Post*, October 5, 1717.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

correspondence as well. In his letters to a Miss Sandys, the English clergyman Thomas Rundle describes his recent visit to London in 1720 and what he witnessed at the theaters there:

Our playhouse is put under the greatest discouragement that can possibly be, to encourage the facetious lewdness of a company of *French* strolling mountebanks, who are in high reputation at the theatre in the *Haymarket*, among all people who are above being entertained by nature and art, or in other words, old Shakespeare at Drury-lane.... It is said a most excellent comedy of Sir Richard Steele's is to be prohibited acting, least it should draw away good company, and spoil the relish for operas, by seducing them with sense, wit, and humour.⁷³

By invoking Shakespeare and Steele, Rundle grounds his ideal of English culture in a literary past and present that he portrays as under threat by the popularity of French performers. He too invokes "nature" in relation to English culture, by implying that theatergoers would certainly not find it at a French play.

As demonstrated by the previous example, this rhetoric was not Rundle's invention; in fact, his allusion to Richard Steele is notable because Steele himself discussed the concept of unnaturalness with regard to French theatrics. In a *Spectator* essay from April 20, 1711, Steele describes how French theater critics are appalled by the bloodshed in English plays, because in French plays, all killing must take place offstage and out of sight.⁷⁴ Steele is responding in this regard to the French traveler Misson, who remarked upon the visible violence of English plays in his published memoirs: "there is a violent conflict between the French and English about the composition of plays; for here they laugh at the unity of time, place, and action, and at all the laws of Aristotle's stage and ours. They make no scruple also to stab four or five persons in the same play, before the Eyes of all the Spectators."⁷⁵ Steele believes that this convention of killing

⁷³ See *Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, L.L.D. Lord Bishop of Derry in Ireland, to Mrs. Barbara Sandys*, with Introduction by James Dallaway, two volumes (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1789), volume 1, 18-20.

⁷⁴ Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, April 20, 1711.

⁷⁵ M. Misson, *Memoirs and Observations*, 219-220.

off-stage is more polite, but less natural: “I must confess, had he murder’d her before the audience, the indecency might have been greater; but as it is, it appears very *unnatural*, and looks like killing in cold Blood.”⁷⁶

Other points by which the English found the French performers unnatural or unrealistic concerned their makeup, costumes, and acting style. A satirical piece in *The Grub Street Journal* from November 7, 1734, signed by an author with the pseudonym “Patriophilus,” comments on the grotesque amount of makeup the French performers used: “What their natural faces were, I cannot tell: for they were so daubed with paint, that they seemed to act [in] masques.”⁷⁷

Likewise, the same author is confused by the incongruous costumes in a London production of Molière’s *L’Avare* where the lover (who is supposed to be disguised as a servant) puts on a disguise more aristocratic than his master:

I expected therefore to see this disguised lover make his appearance in a very shabby livery, or at least a very mean habit. Instead of which to my great surprise, he comes upon the stage with his hair finely curled, and powdered, a black bag, and solitaire, a sword, red velvet coat, a brocaded waste-coat trimmed with gold fringe, &c. in short, so complete a *beau*, that one would imagine he had thrown off the disguise of a domestic, and appeared in his proper person of a gentleman of family and fortune.⁷⁸

Patriophilus does not consider the idea that such incongruity between class and costume could have been for humorous effect. Or, perhaps, this description represents the discrepancy between French and English notions of class as symbolically displayed through clothing. Steele also mentions this dressing “up” of French actors in *The Guardian*: “I cannot better illustrate what I would say of the French than by the dress in which they make their shepherds appear in their pastoral interludes upon the stage, as I find it described by a celebrated author, ‘The Shepherds,’

⁷⁶ Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, April 20, 1711.

⁷⁷ *The Grub Street Journal*, November 7, 1734, Issue 254.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

saith he, ‘are all embroidered, and acquit themselves in a ball better than our English dancing-masters.’”⁷⁹

The same author who commented upon the unnatural costuming and makeup of the French performers in *The Grub Street Journal* makes similar remarks about their acting style:

As this first scene is a conversation betwixt two young lovers, who had just given each other a promise of marriage, one would expect to hear and see the warmest and tenderest expressions of their mutual satisfaction, in their words and actions. Instead of which, we saw two persons standing the greatest part of this scene at a distance; looking now and then at one another, in as cold a manner as if they had been married seven years and repeating alternately, not to each other, but to the spectators, the poet's fine speeches, in two different tones perpetually recurring, with very little action, and that very improper, and altogether unaffecting.⁸⁰

This description matches the style of French baroque acting through rhetorical gesture, which, due to its foundation in oration, required the actor to face the audience more than the other performers on stage.⁸¹

The most “unnatural” element of all, however, especially for an English-speaking audience, would have been the performance of plays entirely in French. This language barrier was not an obstacle for the royal Hanoverian family and nobility who were well versed in the *lingua franca* of the time; however, it would have been more of a problem for the general public and less educated classes who were not as fluent.⁸² A second satirical article, signed “Arlequin Chef d'oeuvre,” from the February 20, 1735 issue of *The Grub Street Journal* addresses this very

⁷⁹ Richard Steele, *The Guardian*, April 13, 1713, 184.

⁸⁰ *The Grub Street Journal*, November 7, 1734, Issue 254.

⁸¹ For an overview of French acting gesture in the Baroque era, see Jed Wentz, “The Relationship between Gesture, Affect and Rhythmic Freedom in the Performance of French Tragic Opera from Lully to Rameau” (PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2010), 126-127. Wentz draws on Michel Le Faucheur’s *Traité de l’action de l’orateur ou de la prononciation et du geste* (1657) for the information cited above.

⁸² Ample evidence for the importance of the French language to the British nobility and royalty can be found in *The Diary of Mary Countess Cowper, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess of Wales, 1714–1720* (London: J. Murray, 1864), see especially, ix, 12, 38, 89. See also Marc Fumaroli, *When the World Spoke French*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: New York Review of Books, 2011).

dilemma. The author parodies the conglomeration of foreign languages spoken on London stages by introducing a five-step plan to create a mock-entertainment titled *The History of the Fall of the Tower of Babel*. The third step of this plan burlesques the use of foreign languages in the theater where only an elite few could understand:

3rdly, I shall perform in high Dutch, and this for these reasons: 1st my actors speak no other; 2ndly, as the learned *Goripius Becanus* informs us, this was the original language, and therefore probably that which the builders of Babel spoke; and lastly, it will be in no danger of being understood by any of my audience.

The author's parody highlights a central anxiety regarding foreign performances in London: how much of a play or opera in another language might an English audience be able to understand? One antidote to the language barrier was to translate Italian opera libretti and French plays into English. As Aaron Hill, author of *The Prompter*, suggests, "Translators are not wanting, if invention flags, among the dependents of the managers, [then] *Le Théâtre Italien*, as well as other foreign magazines, opens a large field for plunder. For my part, I do not see why Harlequin should not speak English as well as French."⁸³ This statement implies that Hill did not see a problem with the French entertainments per se, otherwise he would not have advocated for their dissemination in print (he even admits to liking the plays at one point in his writings). He employs an extended metaphor of battle, conquest, and plunder showing, instead, that his concern was less for the aesthetic quality of the French plays, and more for the French (cultural) conquest of England. He thus proposes translation as a method to "fight this assuming foreigner with his own weapons."⁸⁴

⁸³ Aaron Hill, *The Prompter; a Theatrical Paper, 1734-1736*, December 24, 1734 (New York: B. Blom, 1966), 19-20.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

The same author who created the parody *The History of the Fall of the Tower of Babel* held a different view about the translation of French plays, and responded directly to Aaron Hill's statement. He argues against translating the French plays into English, because it would only make the dissemination of the French plays more widespread:

Before I close this letter, I must observe to you Mr. Bavius, that among other new productions, a paper called the Prompter fell into my hands; the author of which seems to me to stand in need of a Prompter himself, where he recommends the translating of the plays acted by the French company into English. This proposal, instead of an antidote, is an additional poison.⁸⁵

Not only do the above statements expose a crucial argument about whether or not to translate the French plays into English, they reveal that some French plays were indeed being performed entirely in French. Moreover, they show how the *Théâtre Italien* collection by Gherardi, a published multi-volume anthology of plays from France, was well known in England by name by 1735. Yet the *Théâtre Italien* was never translated into English as was done with Molière's works; only a few English translations of individual plays from this collection survive (to be discussed in Chapter Two). Regardless, it is important to realize that translation, whether or not it was realized, represented part of the larger debate surrounding attitudes towards the French performers.

Adverse reactions toward the French performers during the 1710s through 30s reached a peak in 1738 when the French performers attempted a new season at the Little Haymarket Theater, only to be "cat-called" off the stage.⁸⁶ The riot was partially instigated by the Licensing Act of 1737, which prohibited the performance of English plays before passing through a censor. The Act also resulted in the closure of several London theaters, including the Little Haymarket

⁸⁵ *The Grub Street Journal*, February 20, 1735.

⁸⁶ Most of the scholarship on the French theatrical presence in London revolves around this single incident. See Thomas Lockwood, "Cross-Channel Dramatics in the Little Haymarket Theatre Riot of 1738," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 25, no. 1 (1996): 63-74; Sybil Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies in Great Britain in the 17th and 18th Centuries*, 22-24.

Theater and the Theater at Goodman's-Fields. When a new troupe of French actors was suddenly slated for another full season at the Little Haymarket Theater in 1738, English playwrights and actors became enraged that the French troupe could perform with utmost liberty, without being subjected to the same regulations. London audiences therefore rioted at the playhouse on the evening of the French troupe's first performance—October 9, 1738.

The incident was extensively described in the press the next day, but the most detailed account can be found in Benjamin Victor's *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin, from the year 1730 to the present time*, published over twenty years after the incident in 1761:

By this unpopular act of Parliament the new theatre in Goodman's-Fields was effectually destroyed; the little Theatre in the *Haymarket* was also shut up. But be it observed, that by shutting up these two Theatres, many of our itinerant Heroes were deprived of bread. And—will it be believed—at this distance of two and twenty years?—that, during the Murmuring at these recited Acts of Power, a Company of French Strollers should be licensed to act, in that theatre, in the *Haymarket*. The French Advertisement appeared with these Words at the Top, By AUTHORITY! But they soon found, by the Public Clamours, that something more than the Sound of Authority would be necessary to support them. . . .⁸⁷

Victor had been present in the audience the night of the 1738 riot and recalls, in vivid detail, what happened inside the playhouse:

Then [The French Actors] began the Serenade; not only Catcalls, but all the various portable Instruments, that could make a disagreeable Noise, were brought up on this Occasion, which were continually tuning in all Parts of the House; and as an Attempt to speaking was ridiculous, the Actors retired, and they opened with a grand Dance of twelve Men and twelve Women; but even that was prepared for, and they were directly saluted with a Bushel or two of Peas, which made their Capering very unsafe. After this they attempted to open the Comedy; but had the Actor the Voice of Thunder, it would have been lost in the confused Sounds from a thousand various instruments. . . .⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Benjamin Victor, *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin* (London: Printed for T. Davies, 1761), 53.

⁸⁸ Victor, 57-58.

After the riot, the French troupe's performances were halted at the Little Haymarket Theater that season, even though they had previously been granted the King's permission.⁸⁹ Francisque Moylin and John Baptiste le Sage, the leaders of the French troupe in 1738, tried appealing to the London public in *The Daily Post*, by mentioning their accruing debts:

Notwithstanding we the said Undertakers, by the Contracts we made, have been obliged to pay to each Performer the same Monies hitherto, and liable to the same Obligations for the Remainder of this whole Season, as if the Company had performed the whole Time, and have besides expended large Sums of Money, and contracted several Debts here, which we are not in Circumstances to pay: so that we are obliged to lay our case before the Publick, in hopes that they will be so indulgent as to permit us to perform three Nights only in one of the Patent Theatres, so as to enable us to discharge those Debts we have contracted here, and we will then humbly take our Leaves, and return to France, with grateful Acknowledgement for the Favour done to us.⁹⁰

This request to perform at the patented theaters was not granted by the public nor John Rich, who had employed the French troupes at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the past; however, the *London Evening Post* of November 18, 1738 mentions that a sum of 600*l* was granted to the French comedians to help absolve their financial debt.⁹¹

The possibility of French performers returning to London for further seasons was decisively foreclosed by the next war with France—the War of Austrian Succession—that spanned from 1743 to 1748. After the war, in 1749, another troupe of French performers, led by the director of the Opéra Comique in Paris, Jean Louis Monnet, attempted to perform on London stages. That season, too, was aborted by riots—this time violent. The brawl was reported in the *Daily Advertiser* on November 16, 1749: “On Tuesday night there was a great disturbance at the

⁸⁹ Historian Jeremy Black has employed this same incident at the Haymarket Theater as an example of how early eighteenth-century England “was not a culture dominated by the royal court, but one in which the volatile world of public opinions played a crucial role.” See Black, *A Subject for Taste: Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*, xv.

⁹⁰ “The Case of the French Comedians,” *The Daily Post*, November 7, 1738.

⁹¹ “We hear that about 600*l*. was collected for the French Strollers; above 300*l*. came from the Court” (quoted in *The London Stage*, part 3, vol. 2., 743-744).

New Theater in the Haymarket, at the French play, it being the Night of the Opening; the first act was very much disturbed and some persons wounded.”⁹² This riot was motivated by the discovery that a member of Parliament, Lord Trentham, was “on the side of the French” and had ordered “several persons to protect the French Strollers from any Attempt that might be made to prevent their Acting.”⁹³ For the English loyalists in the audience, a British government official’s protection of the French actors was a serious charge during a time of political unrest with France.⁹⁴

Despite inciting two of the most discussed London theater riots during the first half of the eighteenth century, the French performers gained a more positive reception among certain demographics of London society. I have already mentioned their patronage by the Hanoverian royalty, and will discuss this further in Chapter Two. The Huguenots were another prominent population who may have supported the French plays. Whether or not the Huguenots or their descendants attended the French plays in the 1710s to 1730s remains unknown, but it is difficult to imagine that such a substantial French-speaking immigrant community would have missed the chance to attend entertainments in their native tongue. One piece of evidence suggesting that French immigrant communities did attend the French plays derives from an anonymous letter, written in response to the 1749 riot described previously:

Shall [English] strollers presume to mix their little, dirty concerns with those of the nation? and set up an alarm, because a few gentlemen, who understand the French language, and *the foreigners who abound in this large and populous town* [emphasis mine], have a mind to be diverted in it, and that in a most innocent, inoffensive manner.⁹⁵

⁹² *The Daily Advertiser*, November 16, 1749.

⁹³ *The General Advertiser*, November 17-24, 1749. Also quoted in *The London Stage*, part 4 vol. 1, 153.

⁹⁴ *The London Stage*, part 4 vol.1, cxciv.

⁹⁵ Gentleman in town, *An Impartial State of the Case of the French Comedians, Actors, Players, or Strollers, Who Lately Opened a Theatre at the Hay-Market . . . In a Letter from a Gentleman in Town, to His Friend in the Country*

“Foreigners,” in this context, suggests a French-speaking immigrant community. The author is here speaking of the French Huguenot refugees who, in the same letter of 1749, are used as an example to demonstrate previous instances of discrimination against foreigners:

This let the French refugee, and their descendants attest; whom even the cause of religion could not defend at first against the popular jealousy, and aversion to strangers; yet, who is not sensible, that, not only in *England*, but wherever they went, destitute and dependent as numbers of them were on the charity of the nations they were dispersed into, they richly repaid the refuge granted them, by the discoveries of their arts and the spirit of commerce and industry they brought with them? . . . This, I own, seems, at first, no manner of argument in favour of admitting foreign actors, or strollers: nor is it here used, but only to those who have a real, or affect, from design, a pretended aversion to them, not as *actors*, or *strollers*, but as *foreigners* coming to eat the bread out of our countrymen’s mouths; which was specifically the very clamour urged against the admission of the *French* refugees, by the mob indeed only, and very wisely over-ruled by the better judges of the national good.⁹⁶

The author emphasizes the positive outcomes of providing refuge to the Huguenots during the late seventeenth century, by indicating that their cultural differences had only served to enrich English society across the past half century. He further warns of judging the French actors on the basis of their nationality rather than on their skill as performers. On another level, though, the author of this letter wants to argue for the separation of popular entertainment from national affairs. That he argues this in the first place implies that such a phenomenon—the merging of popular theater and politics —was happening on a large enough scale by the 1740s to provoke the writing of this letter.

(London: R. Spavan; W. Myer; G. Woodfall: Printed for M. Shepey, 1750), 7. In the Early Modern era, “stroller” referred to an itinerant actor, but also had negative associations with vagabond and beggar. “Stroller, n.”. OED Online. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/191769?redirectedFrom=stroller> (accessed July 24, 2017).

⁹⁶ A Gentleman in Town, *An Impartial State*, 9-10.

Chapter Two

“Mischievous Plays”: The Performance of French Musical Theater in London, 1718–1735

Columbine: You are stepping onto a stage where famous singers
Have a hundred times put on a spectacle filled with pomp—
The opera, the opera that high society admires,
But, alas! My dear Harlequin!
I tremble for you, I sigh,
Not knowing what fate awaits you here.

Harlequin: . . . I see here a thousand beautiful women rushing to hear me;
I will, therefore, polish up my mischievous plays,
Which, [I say] without vanity, are worth more,
Than all operas put together,
Dazzling spectacles, yet so boring.

—From *Arlequin Balourd* (London, 1719)¹

Little did Columbine know, when she expressed her fears to Harlequin about competing with Handel’s Italian operas at the King’s Theater, that French musical comedies would soon be in high demand on London stages. In fact, these plays became so popular, especially among the ruling Hanoverian monarchs, that French acting troupes returned to London stages for seven full seasons between 1718 and 1735, performing no fewer than 175 distinct French plays with music and dance. Harlequin’s blustery braggadocio and his ensuing mockery of the Italian vocal style (“Yes, what pleasure can one take from hearing for a long time braying on the ‘hi hi’s’ and the

¹ *Colombine*: Tu viens sur un théâtre, où des chantres fameux
Ont étalé cent fois un spectacle pompeux,
L’Opéra, l’Opéra, que le beau monde admire.
Mais hélas! Mon cher Arlequin!
Je tremble pour toi, je soupire,
Ne sachant, dans ces lieux quel sera ton destin.

Arlequin: ... J’y vois mille beautés accourir pour m’entendre;
J’y ferai donc briller mes jeux facétieux,
Qui, sans vanité, valent mieux,
Que les opéras tous ensemble,
Spectacles éclatants, mais pourtant ennuyeux.

Michel Procope-Couteaux, *Arlequin Balourd, Comédie italienne, en cinq actes, comme elle a été représentée sur le Théâtre Royale de Haymarket, devant sa majesté* (London: chez Henry Ribotteau, 1719).

‘ha ha’s’?”²) provide more than mere comic relief; they bring us closer to understanding how the French performers used their specific brand of self-reflexive humor to establish cultural legitimacy while overseas. By commenting on rival productions associated with high culture, this prologue derives from the practice within French comic theater and opera of parodying French *tragédie en musique*. In a London context, however, the author Procope-Couteaux adapts Harlequin and Columbine’s dialogue to parody Italian *opera seria*.

While *Arlequin Balourd* was one of the first French plays performed at the King’s Theater, it was not the first to be performed in London. The French performances began as early as November 7, 1718 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theater, but moved to the King’s Theater the following February.³ After this lively first season, which came to an end on March 19, 1719, French troupes returned to London for another six seasons until 1735.⁴ The French performers, who were as adept at acrobatics, dancing, and singing, as they were at acting, produced plays that derived predominantly from the Parisian repertoire of the Théâtre Italien, the Comédie-Française, and the Théâtres de la Foire. Their performances were not sporadic, but were produced on a consistent basis for many months of a given theatrical season. Performing anywhere from two to four nights per week, the troupes put on a total of forty-two evenings devoted exclusively to French entertainments during the first season alone.⁵

² “Oui, quel plaisir prend-on d’entendre longtemps braire sur des hi---hi---sur des ha—ha--?” (Procope-Couteaux, *Arlequin Balourd*).

³ I return to a discussion of why the French players moved to the King’s Theater later in this chapter.

⁴ The French productions spanned seven theatrical seasons: 1718–1719, 1719–1720, 1720–1721, 1721–1722, 1724–1725, 1725–1726, 1734–1735. The absence of productions from 1722–1724 and 1726–1734 is addressed in this chapter. The French players were invited for another full season in 1738, but the premiere provoked a riot and caused the French troupe’s expulsion from London stages until 1749.

⁵ These numbers derive from *The London Stage, 1660–1800*. See also William Burling, *Checklist of New Plays and Entertainments on the London Stage, 1700–1737* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1993); Rogers, “John Gay,” 201–213 (Appendix); Chapman, “English Pantomime and its Music,” vol. 1, 34–48 (Appendix D).

When the French troupes began coming to London in 1718, it had been well over thirty years since French actors had performed their native repertoire in England. In 1660, Charles II returned to England from France where he had spent the Cromwellian interregnum; upon his return, he employed a number of French actors, composers, and musicians at the English court and chapel.⁶ During the ensuing years that France and England were at war (1689–1713), the performances of French plays in London declined in number, though French dancers continued to be featured; however, they only performed between the acts of plays in English productions. When John Rich began his term as manager of Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theater in 1714, he was particularly welcoming of French dancers, in part out of a need to compete with Drury Lane, the rival playhouse.⁷ But the French performances that began at Lincoln’s Inn Fields in 1718 marked the first time since 1685 that entire plays in French made regular appearances in London. These productions consisted of new repertoire that had since developed in Paris, and were experienced by a new generation of London theatergoers.

SOURCES

The scholarly neglect under which this later period of French performances has languished can be attributed to two phenomena: first, the historiographical dominance accorded to Handel and operas in Italian, for which a good deal of evidence survives; and, second, the dispersal and incomplete nature of the sources for many of the French productions. *Arlequin Balourd* was published in London in 1719, but this publication marks a rare exception; to date, only four

⁶ See Andrew Walkling, “The French Musicians at Court, 1675–1689” in *Masque and Opera in England, 1656–1688*, 264–290; Madeleine Horn-Moval, “French Troupes in England During the Restoration,” in *Theater Notebook* 7 (1952/53); Antoni Zalewski Sadlak, “Harlequin comes to England.” Virginia Scott also discusses this earlier period from the French perspective. See Virginia Scott, *The Commedia Dell’arte in Paris, 1644–1697*.

⁷ For an in-depth discussion of this phenomenon, see Moira Goff “John Rich, French Dancing, and English Pantomimes,” in *The Stage’s Glory: John Rich (1692–1761)*, 85–98.

London publications of individual French plays have come to light. More often, historical accounts preserve hundreds of titles for French plays, but neither the plays themselves nor their music. It seems Columbine's concern for the legacy of the French performers in England was indeed a legitimate one.

As it turns out, ample evidence exists to demonstrate the prevalence of these eighteenth-century French connections, but it is scattered; one must work with sources from both sides of the Channel in order to put together a more complete picture. In France, where many more theatrical texts were printed and preserved, one can see that titles from London advertisements and theatrical calendars match with hundreds of French plays from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that were published in large anthologies. Moreover, at least one of these anthologies, *Le Théâtre Italien de Gherardi*—containing works from the stage of Paris's royally subsidized Italian theater—was republished in London in 1714 after having appeared first in Paris (1700) and then in Amsterdam (1701).⁸ Thus, even before the French players became established in London, many of the plays they would perform were readily available to those among the English who could read French. Although the plays were adapted when they were performed for London audiences—a process that will be discussed in this chapter—the Gherardi collection remains a crucial source for identifying the plays and songs that were already household names for select London theatergoers.

The four surviving London publications of individual French plays from the 1718 to 1735 period have yet to be discussed by theater and music historians in any detail. Though their number may be small, they all supply vital information about the way these plays were reconstructed and received in a foreign context. Evidence from theatrical advertisements, newspapers, letters, and diaries can supplement the study of individual plays, by providing

⁸ Evaristo Gherardi, *Le Théâtre Italien* (Paris: Cusson et Witte, 1700).

answers to some fundamental questions: why were the French players brought across the Channel to perform their native theatrical repertoire in London? What did these plays consist of, both musically and dramatically, and how were they adapted for London audiences? I will address these questions throughout the course of this chapter, in order to more thoroughly portray how French people, plays, and music became integral to English theatrical life.

THE FRENCH PERFORMERS

On the evening of November 7, 1718, the audience attending Lincoln's Inn Fields Theater witnessed "a Farce of three acts" entitled *La Foire Saint Germain*, with "the parts to be performed by the French company of comedians lately arrived from the Theater Royal [in] Paris."⁹ Who were these French comedians and why did they begin regularly crossing the Channel to perform their plays?

This advert, as it turns out, contains deceptive information: the first troupe of French actors was not employed by the "Theater Royale" or any of the three royally subsidized theaters in Paris; they were instead involved with the unofficial, fairground theaters—the Foire Saint Germain and Foire Saint Laurent—that operated seasonally in Paris. Francisque Moylin, who was known internationally by his first name and famous for playing Harlequin, led this initial company, which consisted primarily of his own family members, including his wife, Mademoiselle Francisque (an actress), his brother-in-law, Monsieur Sallé (an actor), and his niece and nephew, Marie and François Sallé (dancers).¹⁰ Other members of this initial company included the fair theater actors Antoine Hyacinthe and Michel Cochois, the actress Mademoiselle

⁹ *The Daily Courant*, November 7, 1718, Issue 5319.

¹⁰ John Rich, who also played Harlequin on many occasions, may have taken his stage name "Lun" from Francisque Moylin, which would indicate that he met Francisque as early as 1717 when this stage name first appears in print. See Chapman, "English Pantomime and its Music," 147.

Cochois, and the singer Mademoiselle Aubert.¹¹ Francisque continued to return to London for most of the following seasons, though with a varied group of performers every year.

The continual restrictions imposed on the *forains* by the court-sanctioned theaters, namely the Opéra and the Comédie-Française, may have been one impetus for Francisque and his family members to come to England.¹² In September 1718, after having been faced with repeated obstacles to their use of music, musicians, and performers, the *forains* were banned from performing any spectacles for over a year:

At the end of this fair, all *forain* spectacles were completely suppressed by order of the court: this suppression lasted throughout the entire following year of 1719. In 1720, the troupes at the fairs made a few attempts at performances that were tolerated, but without daring to mix singing into their plays. It was only at the Foire St. Laurent of 1721 that a new Opéra Comique was reborn.¹³

It seems more than plausible that Francisque's company went to London in part because restrictions against their productions in Paris had reached a new peak. Francisque was directly involved with these theatrical controversies in Paris; he may have even been put in prison "for infringing the regulations which still governed the performances of *forains* in Paris."¹⁴ His troupe was also the first to brave performing new plays at the fair theaters once the ban had been lifted in 1720. In general, French sources do not account for the gap between 1718 and 1720 when Francisque's name (as well as those in his troupe) suddenly disappears from French theatrical

¹¹ Parfaict, *L'Histoire des spectacles*, vol. 1, 207-208.

¹² The different restrictions were motivated by a fear of competition, as the fair theaters became increasingly successful. To read a detailed account of these restrictions and how the *forains* got around them, see Isherwood, *Farce and Fantasy*, 41-43 and 81-97.

¹³ Parfaict, "1718 Foire Saint Laurent," *l'Histoire des spectacles*, 218-219: "A la fin de cette Foire, tous les spectacles Forains furent totalement supprimés par ordre de la Cour: cette suppression subsista pendant tout le cours de l'année suivante 1719. En 1720 les Troupes Foraines firent quelques tentatives, & jouèrent par tolérance, sans oser mêler des chants à leurs jeux. Ce ne fut qu'à la Foire St. Laurent 1721, qu'on vit renaître un nouvel Opéra Comique . . ."

¹⁴ See Chapman, 212.

advertisements and general histories. English sources, by contrast, document the vibrant presence of his troupe in London during that period.¹⁵

While restrictions at the French fair theaters may have influenced these performers' decision to look abroad for employment, connections made with the London theater manager John Rich during the years leading up to 1718 also helped facilitate their visit. So far, no correspondence records or other first-hand accounts between Rich and the French performers have surfaced, though there are several valid reasons why Rich, as a clever theatrical entrepreneur, would have wanted to employ a French company at Lincoln's Inn Fields. For one, he was already importing French dancers; he may have also realized that he could capitalize on the 1714 London publication of the Gherardi collection by gathering more of their friends and family from Paris to perform this repertoire in full.

Indeed, the French dancers in London prior to 1718, and the arrival of the French troupe in November of that year, were directly linked either by familial relations or by having performed together in Paris. For instance, the actors Joseph Sorin and Richard Baxter were already famous on both London and Parisian stages and had performed in Paris with several members of Francisque's company, including Francisque himself. Sorin and Baxter first performed in London in 1702, but soon afterwards were part of various fair theater troupes in Paris, where they starred as Scaramouch and Harlequin. Most notably, Sorin, Baxter, and Francisque were all part of the same troupe under the direction of *la dame* Baron (Catherine Vonder Beck) from 1712 to 1716. Antoine Hyacinthe, a member of the French company in London, was also a member of the Baron troupe in Paris, as were several of the French performers who

¹⁵ I draw this conclusion from examining Parfaict, *l'Histoire des Spectacles* (Paris, 1743), the *Mercure de France* (1718–1720), and *The London Stage*. A search for “Francisque Moylin” in the CÉSAR database <cesar.org.uk> yields similar results.

came to London in later seasons.¹⁶ In 1716, the Baron troupe disbanded and Sorin and Baxter returned to London for the spring season, receiving great applause for their productions at Drury Lane.¹⁷ When Sorin returned to Paris, he performed with Francisque in *Le Pharaon* on March 15, 1718 at the Jeu de paume du Bel-Air, just before Francisque left for London later that year.¹⁸ Given his collaborations with the French *forains* in Paris, it is probable that Sorin (especially since he had so recently experienced a successful season abroad with Baxter) connected Francisque and his troupe to new opportunities at the London theaters.

But Sorin was not the French troupe's only concrete link to the London theatrical world; Francisque's own niece and nephew, the Sallé children, had already performed as dancers at Lincoln's Inn Fields for almost the entire 1716–17 season. They soon became a clear favorite among English audiences.¹⁹ Marie and Francis Sallé made their debut in London on October 18, 1716 as little Harlequins:

Dancing: serious and comic, by two children, scholars of M. Ballon, lately arriv'd from the Opéra at Paris (M. and Mlle Sallé) particularly two Punchanellos, two Harlequins and a *dame* Ragonde, the Harlequins to be perform'd by the two children.²⁰

¹⁶ The actors who came to London in 1719–20 and were also part of Mme Baron's troupe in Paris included: Jean-Baptiste Joseph Duhautlonde (Dulonde), Mlle d'Aigremont (Mlle Camuson), and Mlle Delisle (Columbine, Olivette).

¹⁷ "Joseph Sorin," *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 14, 197. For a brief account of Sorin and Baxter's performances in London, see Richard Semmens, *Studies in the English Pantomime, 1712–1733* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2016), 4, 132–33, and Chapman, "English Pantomime and its Music," 187–90.

¹⁸ Campardon, *Les Spectacles de la Foire*, vol. 2, 403–404. Baxter had, meanwhile, gone to perform in the provinces and did not return to Paris until 1721 (Campardon, *Les Spectacles de la Foire*, vol. 1, 100).

¹⁹ For more on the Sallé children during 1716–17 season, see Chapman, "English Pantomime and its Music," 191–193, and Sarah McCleave, *Dance in Handel's London Operas* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013), 42–43.

²⁰ *The London Stage*, part 2, vol.1, 417.

By December 5, 1716 it was announced that the Sallé children would only stay nine days more in England.²¹ However, their unprecedented popularity encouraged John Rich to extend their contract at Lincoln's Inn Fields: "In consideration of the diversion the French children have given the town, Mr. Rich has engag'd their stay in England for some time longer, and on Thursday next they will perform again."²² As it transpired, the Sallé children performed in London until late in the 1717 season, totaling a remarkable number of 114 performances throughout the course of their visit. On June 5, 1717 they even appeared for the first time at the King's Theater in "entertainments of Dancing" performed with Handel's *Rinaldo*.²³

In October of the 1717–18 season, the manager of the King's Theater, J.J. Heidegger, "[sent] to France for a sett of Comedians to act French plays at the [King's] Theatre in the Haymarket."²⁴ Perhaps he had been struck by the performances of the Sallé children and decided to bring over more performers from France. Who better than the rest of the Sallé family? As London sources indicate, however, the French company did not come to England for the 1717–18 season under Heidegger's employment.²⁵ While it is not clear whether Heidegger sent for the same French company as Rich, no French performances are recorded in London until the 1718–19 season. Even then, the French company performed first at Lincoln's Inn Fields for three months (from November to January) *before* moving to the King's Theater on February 12, 1719. This chronology suggests that Rich was responsible for the French players' initial appearance in

²¹ *The London Stage*, part 2, vol.1, 425: "Sallé and Mlle Sallé, who stay but nine days longer."

²² *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 1, 427.

²³ McCleave, 42.

²⁴ From *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, October 5, 1717, Issue 43.

²⁵ Scholars had not noted Heidegger's attempts to import French actors in 1717 until recently: Vanessa Rogers discusses the English public's reactions to rumors of French actors coming to London; however, she does not describe the outcome of Heidegger's attempts ("John Gay," 184). I posit that Heidegger was not successful in bringing over the French company, at least not until 1719 when they performed at the King's theater.

London, while Heidegger may have been responsible for prolonging their stay. In any case, the combination of interdictions in Paris with previous successes abroad must have made London seem an attractive temporary alternative to the Parisian stage for Francisque and his family members. Meanwhile, John Rich was able to further cater to the increasing demand not only for French repertoire with dancing, but also for the child prodigies Marie and Francis Sallé. The Sallé children did indeed become an integral part of the 1718 troupe led by Francisque and even put on special performances, as on December 19, 1718 at Lincoln's Inn Fields: "Benefit M. and Mlle. Sallé, the two children who dance in the Company of the French Comedians."²⁶

LONDON PLAYHOUSES AND AUDIENCES

Before discussing the French repertoire that was performed in London, I will examine the various London theaters where the French troupes performed, in order to understand who was actually attending these plays. The audience demographic played an important role in the way the French repertoire was performed, adapted, and received.

The advertisement for the performance of *La Foire Saint Germain* on November 12, 1718 suggests that the French company's initial contract in London was only short term: "This Company will perform every Wednesday and Friday during the short stay they shall continue in England."²⁷ This information implies that the company had only committed to those first few months at Lincoln's Inn Fields. However, after their initial contract there had ended, the company not only continued their performances at the King's Theater, but also returned almost every season to London for the next eight years. How did the French players attain such unforeseeable popularity with English audiences during this time?

²⁶ *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 520.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 514.

Royal patronage provides one possible answer. With the start of the Hanoverian regime in 1714 and the end of war with France, the flow of French performing arts and cultural goods to England increased ten-fold. However, it was not until four years later, in 1718, that French plays performed by French actors became regular entertainment fare on London stages. King George I, reigning monarch of Great Britain from 1714 to 1727, frequently attended the French plays and even financially supported the French players. At the very first French play he attended on November 26, 1718, he presented them with 100 guineas for their performance of *Le Maître étourdi*.²⁸ He continued to request performances by them in years to come, with at least six French plays “by his majesty’s command” during the first season alone.²⁹ As a German who spoke better French than English, it is not surprising that he often chose French plays for his evening’s entertainment. But George I was not the only Francophile in London; in fact, as Harlequin and Columbine’s opening dialogue for *Arlequin Balourd* implies, the English *beau monde*, or high society, also attended these productions. The theatrical bill for the French company’s debut at the King’s Theater on February 12, 1719 provides a sense for the type of crowd that evening: “The King, the three young princesses, and a great number of nobility and gentry also there.” The advertisement further states that this premiere was “By command. For the entertainment of the Princesses.”³⁰ To have “commanded” the opening night of the French company’s performances at the King’s Theater suggests not only that the Hanoverians were fond

²⁸ 100 guineas was a large sum at the time and twice the average amount that the King gave to principle opera singers for benefit concerts. To give a modern day comparison, 5 guineas would be the equivalent of ten top-price tickets to the Royal Opera House today (£1,750). See Robert D. Hume, “The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 69, no. 4 (2006): 522-523.

²⁹ *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 527.

of the French entertainments, but partially responsible for the French company's continued employment in London.³¹

After such a prosperous first season, the French players were welcomed back to London to produce plays at the King's Theater from March 5, 1720 to June 21, 1720. This season has been discussed extensively in Handel scholarship, but not for its frequent performances of French musical plays; rather, it marked the beginning of the Royal Academy of Music's subscription series of Italian opera productions. The French actors and Italian opera singers actually shared the King's Theater for this season; farcical plays and serious, high-style operas were produced in alternation, from the evening the opera company made its debut on April 2, 1720, until the date of the last performance by the French comedians for that season on June 21.³² During this period of overlap, the French company produced fourteen different entertainments across nineteen evenings, while the opera company produced only three Italian operas, but for a long run each totaling twenty-two evenings. The proportion of French to Italian productions was, therefore, quite significant: in fact, the competing companies each performed two nights per week at the King's Theater that season. On another level, this information reveals how the French company fulfilled a demand for novelty when competing with Italian *opera seria* in London, which had already achieved a canonic status. The opera company could maintain an audience over the span of many nights for only three different Italian operas; however, the French company had to be innovative and current with each new show.

Though he mentions the French actors only in passing in his article on Handel, J. Merrill Knapp speculates that they were a source of competition for the opera company at the King's

³¹ The performances "by Royal command" continued throughout the French troupe's later seasons in London (See Appendixes A.1 – A.7, especially the 1734–1735 season).

³² *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 575-587.

Theater; their popularity had allegedly delayed the premiere dates of both Giovanni Porta's *Numitore* and Handel's *Radamisto*, because the audience wanted to see more performances by the French comedians.³³ Though he does not provide evidence for this claim, Knapp's speculation seems supported by the following detail: On March 29, 1720, the advertisement for the performance of "Harlequin a Merry Sprit" (*Arlequin esprit follet*) states that this was to be the French performers' "last time of acting at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket."³⁴ But instead of returning to Paris, the French actors temporarily continued their performances back at Lincoln's Inn Fields, only to return again to the King's Theater on April 26th, even though they had supposedly finished their season there. This performance was "at the particular desire of several ladies of quality," demonstrating that the nobility specifically requested the French company's return to the King's Theater at the very same moment when Handel's *Radamisto* was to premiere.³⁵

The French company's third season began on December 29, 1720—a date that marked a foundational moment for the careers of the French players in London. It was the opening night of a new playhouse built by John Potter—the "The Little Haymarket Theater" (also known as the "French Theater")—where the French players would perform regularly over the next two years, and again from 1724–26 and 1734–35. The French were, remarkably, the only company to use this playhouse during the first two years of its existence.³⁶ Scholars have debated about who initially invested in the Little Haymarket Theater and for what purpose. William Burling

³³ See J. Merrill Knapp, "Handel, the Royal Academy of Music, and its First Opera Season in London," in *The Musical Quarterly* 45, no.2 (April, 1959), 153-154.

³⁴ *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 574.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 578.

³⁶ The first use of the Haymarket Theater for a performance other than the French plays was on May 11, 1722 for "a vocal and instrumental concert" (*The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 677).

suggests that the Duke of Montagu had been involved with financing the construction of the theater.³⁷ The French performers were indeed advertised as “The Duke of Montagu’s Company” from December 4, 1721 to April 10, 1722, and correspondence between theater manager Aaron Hill and the Duke of Montagu states as much: “I should not have given your Grace any trouble on this subject, but that the Frenchmen take the liberty of using your name as their chief encourager and patron.”³⁸ Burling surmises that the Haymarket Theater was built at the request of Montagu for the purpose of providing a specific venue for the French productions.

When examined in further detail, however, one of Hill’s letters to Montagu is revelatory for a reason not mentioned by Burling. In the first of three letters, Hill explains that he had also formed an agreement with Potter to have his English company perform at the new Haymarket Theater:

Before the Frenchmen came over, I made an absolute agreement with Mr. Potter for the House, and undertook to pay him 540 l for two seasons. And when he first talked with me of the French Actor’s design to come over, I consented, on condition they should act there but ten nights and take all those nights within the month of November. Now they came not only much later than they agreed, but have greatly exceeded their number of nights already. And the English company being now ready for opening, I have warned them that they can have liberty to act that House no longer than Tuesday next. But they may certainly get permission to act two or three times a week at the Opera House; and, if the rent must be greater, the House will hold more company in proportion.

. . . Your Grace can only tell ‘em, that the landlord had let the House to me before their arrival in England; and a word of yours to recommend ‘em to the Opera House will undoubtedly procure ‘em admission in a Theater where they may be every way more advantageously posted.³⁹

³⁷ William J. Burling, *Summer Theater in London*, 79.

³⁸ *Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, preserved at Montagu House, Whitehall* (London: Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1899–1926), 369–371.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Hill clearly has an agenda in this letter, so it remains uncertain to what extent we can trust this information. However, this letter and the two that follow reveal that plans to open the Haymarket Theater may not have been expressly for the performance of French plays; the story seems to have been more complicated, with Hill having made prior arrangements with Potter to use the theater as a venue for his English company. He seems to have been under the impression that once his English company was ready to perform, the French company would make way for them. But this was not the case. Besides providing valuable information about the establishment of the Little Haymarket Theater, Hill's letter to Montagu also shows how the French company's unprecedented popularity on London theatrical turf created heightened competition between English actors and foreign performers.

If the French company had made such an impression on the London theatrical world, why then, did the production of French plays in London come to a sudden halt from 1722 to 1724? It is possible that the absence of the French performers was related to the controversy between Aaron Hill, John Potter, and the Duke of Montagu. Yet, more concrete evidence suggests that this gap was due to restrictions by the authorities back in Paris. Vanessa Rogers mentions that Louis XV denied permission to a Comédie-Italienne troupe in 1723 wanting to travel to London upon an invitation from the Princess of Wales. In French comedic fashion, the entire incident was put on the stage as a satire in 1723 entitled *Le Départ des Comédiens Italiens pour l'Angleterre*, by Marc-Antoine Legrand and Biancolelli (Dominique).⁴⁰ This play tells all: it depicts a French troupe's intended departure from Paris to London, with the Parisian theaters personified as characters in the play. The Foire, Opéra, and Comédie-Française express their joy through sung *vaudevilles* that the Comédie-Italienne will be leaving Paris for good. Meanwhile,

⁴⁰ Rogers, "John Gay," 184. For more on the event itself, see Origny, "24 Octobre 1723," *les Annales du Théâtre Italien*, 77; see also the summary in *Gueullette* (1938), 102.

Harlequin (of the Comédie-Italienne) is worried about crossing the Channel for fear of being shipwrecked. The play's *dénouement* portrays Harlequin ironically rejoicing: since their permission to go to England had been revoked, he need not worry about being shipwrecked after all! The play concludes with the Parisian theaters lamenting that the Comédie-Italienne will remain in Paris as yet another source of theatrical competition.⁴¹

In spite of this setback, so sarcastically dramatized in this play, the French performers soon returned to England. A new French company, consisting of a mixed group of performers from Lyon and the Comédie Française, leased the Haymarket Theater from December 17, 1724 until May 13, 1725 and performed approximately fifty evenings of French entertainments.⁴² Another French company, consisting yet again of different members, returned for a few months in the spring of 1726, from March 24 until May 11.⁴³ These two latter seasons are noteworthy for the first use of the term “Opéra Comique” in a London advertisement, in addition to “Comédie de Guerardy,” indicating that the London theatrical world was now familiar with this imported repertoire.⁴⁴ The French entertainments came to an extended halt after 1726 and did not appear in London again until the 1734–35 season. The corresponding timing of George I's death in 1727 and this long interruption of French performances further suggests that his patronage was tied to the French troupe's continued reappearances from 1718 to 1726. During these years, the French company had gone from one commitment and one London playhouse to the next, continually

⁴¹ My summary derives from excerpts of this play that were printed in Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des théâtres*, 276-279 in addition to the *Mercure* (November, 1723), 962-967. To my knowledge, the play in its entirety was not published.

⁴² The French actors were Defonpre, Durac, Lanieri, Phillips, Pinart, Roger, and Soullart. The actresses were Dumont, Jacobs, and Lagarrune (See *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 785).

⁴³ One actor in this company was probably Marc-Antoine Lalauze, a Paris actor who performed in a fair theater troupe along with Sorin and Baxter from July to September in 1721. The actresses included Mademoiselle Le Brun and Mademoiselle Violante (*The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 832).

⁴⁴ There are several variations in the spelling of “Gherardi” (See *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 802-803, 853).

surpassing initial contracts due to the high demand for their performances. But what was it about these performances that was so appealing to English audiences?

THE FRENCH PLAYS

The French theatrical entertainments performed in London, encompassed a wide variety of works, from Molière's comedies to tightrope walking. Most of these performances involved music in some capacity, whether in the form of Italian and French operatic excerpts, music to accompany dancers, or popular French tunes known as *vaudevilles*. An astonishing number of French works graced the London stages, with thirty-three different plays over a total of forty-two evenings during the first season alone. (Appendix A.1–A.7 details the French plays performed in each season the troupes appeared in London, including the dates and theaters of their London productions.) These works clearly originated on French stages, as the titles match more or less exactly with those plays produced in France during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Although English sources generally only preserved the titles and not the plays themselves, many plays were originally published in multi-volume French anthologies. The three anthologies pertinent to this study are: *Le Théâtre Italien de Gherardi* (6 volumes), *Le Théâtre de la foire* (10 volumes), and *Le Nouveau Théâtre Italien* (9 volumes). As mentioned previously, the Gherardi collection was re-published in London in 1714, which helps establish a basis for the dissemination of many of the French plays. About half, or eighteen, of the thirty-three French works that appeared in London during the first season have titles that match ones from the Gherardi collection (see Table 1). Evaristo Gherardi was an actor who played the role of Harlequin for the Théâtre Italien in Paris; he also edited and compiled their repertoire into a multi-volume collection. Gherardi heavily revised the plays for polite French society, so they

cannot be understood directly as performance scripts even in their native Paris.⁴⁵ Many of the plays are in both French and Italian, though the later repertoire was composed exclusively in French.

Table 1. Repertoire from the Gherardi collection performed in London, 1718–1719

Title/author ⁴⁶	Date of Premiere at l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, Paris	Date of London Premiere:	Gherardi (Paris, 1700)	Gherardi (London, 1714)
<i>La Foire St. Germain</i> , by Regnard & Dufresny	26 December 1695	7 November 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 6	Vol. 8
<i>La Fausse Coquette</i> , by Louis Biancolelli	18 December 1694	14 November 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 5	Vol. 7
<i>Le Tombeau de maître André</i> , by Biancolelli	29 January 1695	21 November 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 5	Vol. 7
<i>La Baguette de Vulcain</i> , by Regnard and Dufresny	10 January 1693	28 November 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 4	Vol. 5
<i>Colombine avocat pour et contre</i> , by Fatouville	18 June 1685	10 December 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 1	Vol. 1
<i>Les Deux Arlequins</i> , by Eustache Le Noble	26 September 1691	12 December 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 3	Vol. 4
<i>[Colombine] Fille savante; ou, [la Fille capitaine]-M. D***</i>	18 November 1690	17 December 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 3	Vol. 3
<i>Les Chinois; [ou Arlequin major ridicule]</i> , by Regnard and Dufresny	13 December 1692	19 December 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 4	Vol. 5
<i>La Retour de la foire de Bezons</i> , by Gherardi	1 October 1695	19 December 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 6	Vol. 7
<i>Arlequin homme à bonne fortune</i> , by Regnard	10 January 1690	26 December 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 2	Vol. 3
<i>Le Divorce, [ou Arlequin fourbe et demi]</i> , by Regnard	17 March 1688	30 December 1718 (LIF)	Vol. 2	Vol. 2
<i>[Les Pasquinades italiennes] Pasquin et Marfario; ou Arlequin médecin des mœurs</i> , by Dufresny and Biancolelli	3 February 1697	6 January 1719	Vol. 6	Vol. 8

⁴⁵ See Evaristo Gherardi, "Avertissement," *Le Théâtre Italien*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1700).

⁴⁶ The brackets indicate additions to the titles found in *The London Stage* that are not in the French originals. I have used the original French for the titles.

<i>Les Filles errantes</i> , by Regnard	24 August 1690	8 January 1719 (LIF)	Vol. 3	Vol. 3
<i>Les Bains de la Porte St. Bernard [Arlequin poisson]</i> , by Germain Bois-Franc	12 July 1696	22 January 1719 (LIF)	Vol. 6	Vol. 8
<i>L'Opéra de campagne; [ou le critique de l'Opéra de Paris]</i> , by Dufresny	4 February 1692	29 January 1719 (LIF)	Vol. 4	Vol. 5
<i>La Précaution inutile</i> , by Fatouville	5 March 1692	14 February 1719 (King's)	Vol. 1	Vol. 2
<i>Arlequin misanthrope</i> , by Biancolelli	22 December 1696	2 March 1719 (King's)	Vol. 6	Vol. 8
<i>Arlequin empereur dans la lune</i> , by Fatouville	5 March 1684	7 March 1719 (King's)	Vol. 1	Vol. 1

The Gherardi collection was first published in Paris in 1700, but achieved rapid international dissemination: it was subsequently published in Amsterdam in 1701, London in 1714, and again in Paris in 1717. The London edition is almost identical to the Amsterdam and Paris editions in terms of the text, except that the plays are spread (in the same order) over eight volumes instead of six. Some copies exclude the appended table of airs, though in at least one case, the London edition has been altered to include music.⁴⁷ While the French players undoubtedly had their own sources for their scripts, the 1714 London editions would have provided easier access to the Gherardi repertoire for English audiences and playwrights alike.

In order to understand this repertoire's content, it is first necessary to understand that the Théâtre Italien—a company known for the performance of Italian *commedia dell'arte* plays at the Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne in Paris—was itself a product of hybrid theatrical traditions.

⁴⁷ These observations are based on the 1714 London copy held in Bird Library Special Collections at Syracuse University, NY (US-Sy 842.08 G415t). The London 1714 edition held in the British Library, however, contains some copies of appended airs from the printed French edition cut and then sewn, seemingly by hand, into the binding for some of the plays (GB-Lbl C.194.a.295). I discuss this peculiar case further in Chapter Three. I have located nineteen total copies of the London 1714 Gherardi collection.

This company was established under the French King's patronage in 1661 and subsidized Italian actors who had been performing in Paris since at least 1644.⁴⁸ Although Italian in origin, the repertoire of the Théâtre Italien became gradually more French, in terms of both the language used and the personnel involved. The original Italian plays included slapstick, pantomimed routines known as *lazzi*, musical interludes, stock *commedia dell'arte* characters, and improvised dialogue on various formulaic scenarios. These characteristics persisted even once the plays began to be performed in French; however, many new features, such as *vaudeville* tunes and parodies of French opera, were also introduced in order to cater to French audiences.⁴⁹

In the later part of the seventeenth century, French composers began writing music specifically for this repertoire. Jean-Claude Gillier (1667–1737), for instance, who later composed music for the Théâtres de la Foire and the London theaters, began his career with the Théâtre Italien and authored some of the music in the Gherardi collection, including that of the first French play performed in London—*La Foire Saint Germain*.⁵⁰

After the Italian company was closed in 1697 for one too many satirical stabs at the authorities, much of their repertoire and personnel moved to the fair theaters.⁵¹ The play *La Précaution inutile*, for example, belonged to the Gherardi collection, yet was revived at the Foire Saint Germain in 1713. This information implies that the first French troupe to visit London already had experience acting some of the Gherardi repertoire at the Paris fair theaters before they brought it to London stages. In sum, a large portion of the repertoire that reached London in

⁴⁸ See Virginia Scott, *The Commedia dell'arte in Paris: 1644–1697*.

⁴⁹ Donald Jay Grout, *The Music of the Italian Theater at Paris, 1682–97*, 159–161.

⁵⁰ For more on the composer Gillier, see Frances Claire Hardy Harris, “Jean-Claude Gillier, Theatre Musician of the Early Eighteenth Century” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1975).

⁵¹ See Anastasia Sakhnovskaia-Pankeeva, “La Naissance des théâtres de la Foire: influence des Italiens et constitution d'un répertoire” (Ph.D. diss., Université de Nantes, 2013).

1718 was plays from the Italian Theater that had been filtered through several decades of French culture.⁵²

The remaining fifteen French plays performed during the 1718–19 London season were not included in the Gherardi collection (see Table 2), though some were associated with the Théâtre Italien and performed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne.⁵³ *Arlequin larron, prévôt et juge*, for one, was first performed as early as 1667 at the Palais-Royal.⁵⁴ It was then adapted for the Foire Saint-Germain (February 3, 1713) and Foire Saint-Laurent (August, 1713) then revived at the Nouveau Théâtre Italien in 1716.⁵⁵ At least three of the plays made their debut at the Théâtres de la foire during the 1710s, two of them by Louis Fuzelier—a French playwright who wrote extensively for the fair theaters. Two or more plays were probably adaptations of several French comedies merged together.⁵⁶ For instance, *Le Parisien dupe dans Londres; ou la Fille à la mode* combines two French titles: *Le Parisien* (1682) by Charles Chevillet and *La Fille à la mode* by Nicholas Barbier. (Likewise, *Le Maître étourdi; ou les Fourberies d'Arlequin* joins two distinct French titles.) The specific title, “The Parisian in London,” is not recorded among the repertoire performed in France; it may represent a new adaptation that commented on or parodied the occasion of a French acting company visiting London. Two of the remaining plays are by

⁵² In some cases, the players and plays of the Théâtre Italien came to London during the reign of Charles II, thus entering the English repertoire long before the French company arrived in 1718. For instance, the English playwright Aphra Behn translated the French play *Arlequin empereur dans la lune*, by Fatouville (Gherardi, vol. 1, 1684) into English in 1687. This play eventually became part of the Gherardi collection. In London, this same play was revived on March 7, 1719 at the King’s Theater by the visiting French company and on many other occasions throughout the eighteenth century.

⁵³ Such as *Arlequin jouet de la fortune*, *Arlequin Balourd*, *Le Dragon de Moscovie*, and *Arlequin prince par magie*.

⁵⁴ Both *Le Dragon de Moscovie* and *Arlequin larron* belong to yet another collection titled, *Collection de pièces de théâtre formée par M. De Soleinne*: “Ce manuscrit autographe de Gueulette, provenant de la bibliothèque de Pont-de-Vesle, contient les scènes suivantes non imprimées dans le recueil de Gherardi” (F-Pn MS 9329).

⁵⁵ Parfaict, *L'Histoire de l'ancien théâtre italien*, 293.

⁵⁶ I have marked these with an (*) in Table 2.

Molière—*Tartuffe; ou l'Imposteur* and *George Dandin*.⁵⁷ The London performances of these works at Lincoln's Inn Fields in January 1719 notably mark the first instance when Molière's plays were performed entirely in French across the Channel.⁵⁸ His plays had been published in London and translated into English during the Restoration, but not yet performed in French.⁵⁹ Poisson's *Le Baron de la crasse* from 1661 was performed as an afterpiece to Molière's *George Dandin* in London. In this play, Poisson ridicules the head of a troupe of travelling actors—alluding specifically to Molière.⁶⁰ Pairing this play with one by Molière in London was no coincidence; it would have helped contextualize the history of theatrical rivalries in Paris.

Table 2. Other French plays that were performed in London, 1718–1719

Title/Author	Date/Place of France premiere	Date/Place of London premiere
<i>Le Maître Etourdi; [ou les fourberies d'Arlequin]*</i>	Combination of Molière's <i>L'Étourdi</i> (1658) and La Font's <i>Les Fourberies d'Arlequin</i> (1722)	21 November 1718 (LIF)
<i>Arlequin larron; [juge et grand prévôt] prévôt et juge</i> , by Louis Fuzelier	Earlier version based on Italian <i>canevas</i> (Palais Royal, 1667); Fuzelier's version: Foire Saint Germain (1713) and Foire Saint Laurent (1713)	28 November 1718 (LIF)
<i>[Le Parisien dupe dans Londres]; ou La Fille à la mode*</i>	Combination of Barbier's <i>La Fille à la mode</i> (Lyon, 1707) and Chevillet's <i>Le Parisien</i> (1682)	1 January 1719 (LIF)
<i>Arlequin Esprit Follet</i> , by Romagnesi	Théâtre de Palais-Royale, 1670?	8 January 1719 (LIF)
<i>Tartuffe; ou l'imposteur</i> , by Molière	Versailles, 12 May 1664	13 January 1719 (LIF)

⁵⁷ *L'Étourdi* was also a production by Molière, though the addition of the second bracketed title suggests a London adaptation combining two French works.

⁵⁸ Zalewski Sadlak notes that, "[Francisque] Moylin also is credited with being the first producer to bring the plays of Molière to the patent theaters in the original French, playing (among others) the role of Tartuffe on 13 January 1719" (326).

⁵⁹ At least sixteen different plays by Molière were performed in London during the 1718–26 period and became some of the favorite borrowed sources for ballad opera adaptations after 1728. I discuss this phenomenon further in Chapter Four.

⁶⁰ For a more detailed explanation of this incident see John Powell, *Music and Theatre in France, 1600-1680* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 33-34.

<i>Arlequin jouet de la fortune</i> , by Viviers de Saint Bon	L'Hôtel de Bourgogne, 1717 and 1723	20 January 1719 (LIF)
<i>[Arlequin the French lawyer]; ou, Grapignant *</i> (Afterpiece)	unknown	20 January, 1719 (LIF)
<i>George Dandin; [or the Wanton Wife]</i> , by Molière	(Troupe du Roy) Versailles, 18 July 1668	27 January 1719 (LIF)
<i>Le Baron de la Crasse</i> , by Raymond Poisson (afterpiece)	(Troupe Royale), L'Hôtel de Bourgogne, 1661	27 January 1719 (LIF)
<i>Arlequin Balourd</i> , by Michael Cotelli (Procopé-Couteaux)	L'Hôtel de Bourgogne, 19 July, 1719	16 February 1719 (KING'S)
<i>Scaramouch pedant scrupuleux; ou, L'Escalier</i> , by Fuzelier	La Foire Saint Laurent, 12 September, 1711	14 March 1719 (KING'S)
<i>Les Folies amoureuses</i> , by Regnard	Théâtre de la rue des Fossés Saint-Germain Paris (Comédie Française),	14 March 1719 (KING'S)
<i>Le Dragon de Moscovie</i> (Anon.)	1660 and 1716, L'Hôtel de Bourgogne	16 March 1719 (KING'S)
<i>Arlequin prince par magie</i> (Anon.)	1716, L'Hôtel de Bourgogne	17 March 1719 (KING'S)
<i>L'Enfant prodigue</i> , by Jean-Antoine de Cerceau	Collège of Louis le Grand (1707 and 1712); Foire Saint Germain (1714)	19 March 1719 (KING'S)

There were also at least nine *comédies en vaudevilles* performed in London, but not until later seasons (see Table 3). These plays did not belong to the Gherardi collection, but were certainly influenced by that repertoire in the way they integrated spoken dialogue with familiar tunes.⁶¹ They were compiled in a separate, yet similar collection, by playwrights Lesage and d'Orneval, known as *Le Théâtre de la foire, ou l'opéra-comique* (Paris, 1721–37), which continued the practice from the Gherardi collection of appending engraved, notated airs at the end of each volume of plays.⁶²

⁶¹ Grout introduces an important concept in this respect: “the comedies with music [from the Gherardi collection] that were given by it constitute, in fact, the transition between Molière’s comédie-ballets (1661–73) and the so-called “fair” theaters at the beginning of the 18th century, from which in turn the first “Théâtre de l’opéra-comique” was organized in 1715” (*The Music of the Italian Theater at Paris*, 158).

⁶² Le Sage, *Le Théâtre de La Foire, ou L’Opéra Comique: Contenant Les Meilleures Pièces qui ont été représentées aux Foires de S. Germain & de S. Laurent; Enrichies d’Estampes en Taille douce, avec une Table de tous les Vaudevilles & autres Airs gravez-notez à la fin de chaque Volume; Recueillies, revûës, & corrigées* (Paris: Ganeau, 1721).

Table 3. Plays from the *Théâtre de la foire* collection performed in London, 1720–1734

Title/Author	Date of Paris premiere:	Date of London premiere	Volume # in <i>TDLF</i>:
<i>Les Animaux raisonnables</i> , by M.A. Le Grand and Fuzelier	Foire St. Germain (25 February 1718)	17 March 1720 (King's)	Vol. 3
<i>L'École des amans</i> , by Lesage and d'Orneval	Foire St. Germain (1716)	4 April 1720 (LIF)	Vol. 2
<i>Arlequin invisible [Chez le roy de le chine]</i> , by Lesage	Foire St. Laurent (1713); publication of the divertissements (1720)	4 December 1721 (HAY)	Vol. 1
<i>Les Eaux de Merlin</i> , by Lesage	Foire St. Laurent (1715)	12 December 1721 (HAY)	Vol. 2
<i>Les Funerailles de la foire & son rapel a la vie</i> , by Lesage and d'Orneval	Theâtre du Palais Royal (6 October 1718)	8 January 1722 (HAY)	Vol. 3
<i>Arlequin Hulla; ou La femme repudiée</i> , by Lesage and d'Orneval	Foire St. Laurent (1716)	5 March 1722 (HAY)	Vol. 2
<i>L'Isle des amazones</i> , by Lesage and d'Orneval	Foire Saint Laurent (1718)	17 December 1724 (HAY)	Vol. 3
<i>Le Tableau du mariage</i> , by Lesage and Fuzelier	Foire Saint Germain (1716)	15 February 1725 (HAY)	Vol. 2
<i>Les Amours de Nanterre</i> , by Lesage and d'Orneval	Foire Saint Laurent (1718)	14 November, 1734 (HAY)	Vol. 3

As far as is known, this collection was not published in London, but its plays and music may have found their way across the Channel in the hands of the French company, even before it was published in Paris.⁶³ For one, it is noteworthy that only the plays from volumes one through three of this collection (dating from 1713 to 1718) were performed in London.⁶⁴ Also notable is the temporal gap between the Paris and London debuts. The first performance of a play from the Lesage/d'Orneval collection in London was actually not until March 17, 1720 with *Les Animaux raisonnables*, followed by *L'École des amants* on April 4; however, these had both been performed in Paris at least two years earlier in 1718 and 1716. Hypothetically, these plays would have been fresh in the repertoire of the first French company as of 1718, yet this was not the

⁶³ As I will discuss in Chapter Three, this anthology's musical contents were disseminated to London through a variety of different sources.

⁶⁴ The playwright Henry Fielding owned copies of significant early collections of French fair theater repertoire and *vaudevilles* in his library. See Rogers, "John Gay," 193.

repertoire they performed upon their immediate arrival in London or even throughout their entire first season abroad. The reasons for this postponement must have had to do with the French plays that were popular in London as of 1718—primarily, those from the Gherardi collection.

Overall, the repertoire from the Gherardi collection was performed in London the most frequently during the first two months (November and December, 1718) after the French company's arrival, though these performances did not come to a halt thereafter. Beginning in January 1719, the company then reproduced various comedies by seventeenth-century playwrights, such as Molière, in addition to comedies originally performed by both the Ancien and Nouveau Théâtre Italien that were not included in the Gherardi collection. The repertoire of Lesage and d'Orneval's *Théâtres de la foire* was then introduced to London audiences beginning in March, 1720.

By and large, the types of French entertainments witnessed by London audiences overlapped in both musical content and dramatic style and, most importantly, formed the basis for opéra comique in Paris. The question remains, however, how the London performances compared to their Parisian counterparts. In other words, how were the French plays changed to suit the diverse tastes of the English public? I will explore answers to this question by surveying the four extant French plays that were published in London in conjunction with their London premieres: *La Foire Saint Germain* (London, 1718); *Les Deux Arlequins* (London, 1718); *Arlequin Balourd* (London, 1719); *L'Embaras des richesses; or The Plague of Riches: In French and English as it is acted in French at both London and Paris, to crowded audiences* (London, 1735), with particular emphasis on *Arlequin Balourd* and *La Foire Saint Germain*.

LONDON PUBLICATIONS OF FRENCH PLAYS

Though the 1714 London publication of the Gherardi collection enabled access to fifty- five different plays from the Théâtre Italien in Paris, it is difficult to know to what extent the actual performances resembled what was on the printed page in either city. The four French works that were republished in London, while also not accurate representations of what occurred in performance, help provide an idea of the kinds of changes that would have been made for a foreign audience. Generally speaking, three out of the four publications were translated into English, two out of the four publications include newly composed paratexts, and at least one of the publications (*La Foire Saint Germain*) made significant changes to the play's incidental music.

First, it is important to note that three out of the four plays were published within the first year that the French company produced plays in London, and two of these (*La Foire* and *Les Deux Arlequins*) had already been published in the 1714 London Gherardi edition. That three French plays were published during the first season alone reveals some need to preserve a new theatrical trend in a printed format, whether as a translation aid, supplement, or souvenir from the French company's actual performances. These three plays were also revived on numerous later occasions, especially during the 1734–35 season, which saw the publication of *L'Embaras des Richesses* (see Appendix A.7) In light of their frequent revivals, the plays published individually may have been particular favorites among English audiences, especially members of the English royalty. Indeed, the King, Prince, and Princesses of Hanover attended all of these plays at some point; *Arlequin Balourd* was even dedicated to Princess Anne, the granddaughter of George I.⁶⁵

The publications represent four contrasting types of adaptation and thus served different

⁶⁵ The dedication states in French: “A son altesse royale, la Princesse Anne” (“To her Royal Highness, the Princess Anne”).

functions for English readers and audiences. John Ozell translated *La Foire Saint Germain*, by Regnard and Dufresny, into English with several significant changes to the text and music. By contrast, *Les Deux Arlequins*, by Eustache Le Noble and *L'Embarras des Richesses*, by D'Allainval were more strictly translated.⁶⁶ As was the practice with Italian opera libretti in London, these two plays were printed with the original language on the left and the English translation on the right, presumably to help those among the English public who could not understand French. *La Foire Saint Germain* and *Arlequin Balourd* both included new prologues, expressly written and performed for their London debuts; the playwrights use these prologues as a space for commenting on the meeting of two different cultures in the theater.

These plays all revolve around the timelessly endearing character of Harlequin who is at once a trickster and prophet (*La Foire Saint Germain*), a Frenchman and an Italian (*Les Deux Arlequins*), a clumsy, yet loyal oaf (*Arlequin Balourd*), and a simple gardener seduced by gold (*L'Embarras des Richesses*). The plots are all variations upon a familiar scenario where a young girl is kept away from her lover, because of an older, typically wealthy, yet undesirable man. In some plays, Harlequin himself is the lover (*Les Deux Arlequins*, *L'Embarras des Richesses*), while in other cases he acts the servant of the lover (*Arlequin Balourd*). *Lazzi* can also be found in these works, especially in *Arlequin Balourd* and *Les Deux Arlequins*, which are both based on earlier Italian plays. In *Arlequin Balourd*, a classic Harlequin routine ensues when he must steal the key to the Doctor's house, so that Leandre (Harlequin's master) can get inside to see his lover Isabelle. Instead of stealing a key, however, Harlequin steals the Doctor's coin purse, because he believes money to be the "key" to everything. He thus comically tries to open the Doctor's door with a coin purse ("there is here a *lazzi*: he puts his coin purse up to the door") having mistaken

⁶⁶ Though the translator for *Les Deux Arlequins* is unknown, John Ozell also translated *L'Embarras des Richesses*.

the literal and figurative meanings of “key.”⁶⁷

Music was an important feature in all of the original French plays, though most substantially and consistently in *La Foire Saint Germain*, in which there were at least eight sung airs and three operatic parodies. The other plays also contain music, but only once or twice in the middle and once at the end in a final *divertissement*. It is tempting to believe that the French company used the same music in London as they had in Paris, but it is also possible that music might have been added, changed, or left out altogether. Because *La Foire Saint Germain* contains the most music, was the first French play to be performed in London, and because the London edition departs the most significantly from the French version in terms of the text, it serves as the best example for understanding how music, in particular, was adapted for the London performances.

LA FOIRE SAINT GERMAIN

La Foire Saint Germain, by Dufresny and Regnard, was originally performed at the Hôtel de Bourgogne on December 26, 1695 and was one of the greatest successes of the decade.⁶⁸ It is not surprising then, that this was the first play to be produced by the French company in London and that it saw a subsequent English translation by John Ozell—an avid translator in the same literary circle as Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope. The play itself can be considered a portrait of Parisian fair theater life and was, in some sense, a means by which the French company could illustrate their native theatrical milieu. Jean-Claude Gillier composed the majority of the music

⁶⁷ “Il y a ici un lazzi: il présente sa bourse à la porte” (Procopé-Couteaux, *Arlequin Balourd*).

⁶⁸ Virginia Scott, *The Commedia dell’arte in Paris*, 376.

for the 1695 play, which was published separately by Ballard.⁶⁹ The fact that the music was by a composer already known to London audiences may have contributed to the selection for the London debut.⁷⁰

On the opening night, November 7, 1718, the audience attending Lincoln's Inn Fields Theater witnessed *La Foire Saint Germain*. A few nights later, on November 12, the play was revived with the advertisement mentioning, "a prologue to the town written and spoken by Harlequin." Francisque Moylin would have played Harlequin, as this was his role in Paris. In this prologue, Harlequin confesses to Columbine that he longs to return to France, expressing worry that the play will not be well received in England on account of its being French (a reversal from Harlequin's attitude in *Arlequin Balourd*):

Harlequin: I prognosticate that the public will never accommodate themselves to our way of playing. The *Doctor* says that his figure and above all his nose, will fright them most terribly . . . *Pierrot* has not had time enough to let the niceness of his wit be known, and *Octavio*, is afraid he shall appear too sluggish in his declarations of love. Timorous *Isabella* is dying with apprehensions of appearing before so illustrious an assembly and there's the devil to do with *Marinetta* who will certainly run stark mad, if her singing should be hiss'd.⁷¹

The character Colombine, however, remains determined to please her English patrons. She replies: "No matter, we'll conform ourselves to the custom[s] of the country."⁷² The tension between Harlequin's and Columbine's comments—should the French adapt their play for the

⁶⁹ See *Airs pour la comédie de la Foire Saint Germain* (Paris, 1696). Gillier even wrote different music for a second version of this play, by Florent Carton Dancourt, produced the following year by the Comédie Française. This latter version wasn't nearly as successful.

⁷⁰ Gillier's music in London is discussed further in Chapter Three.

⁷¹ Jean François Regnard, *The Fair of St. Germain As It Is Acted at the Theater in Little Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, by the French Company of Comedians, . . . Done into English by Mr. Ozell* (London: printed for W. Chetwood, and sold by J. Roberts, 1718), 5.

⁷² There is a double meaning within the context of the prologue: Columbine is also talking about conforming to the "custom" of prostitution, which was done for a lower wage in England than in France (J. Ozell, *The Fair of St. Germain*, 3).

English or should the English accommodate a foreign style of acting—encapsulates one of the primary issues at stake surrounding the performance of French plays in England and the process of adaptation more generally. The characters, but more specifically the humans behind the masks, have very real concerns about whether their distinctly French appearances, sense of humor, language, and style of singing will be readily received by an English audience. Yet, to compromise those very elements to an extreme degree would be to compromise their own identities as French performers. Moreover, this passage provides important clues as to how the play was adapted in a London context. We can deduce that the London production of *La Foire Saint Germain* involved singing (accompanied by “hissing” if it should go poorly). We also learn that wit, acting-style, and even physical appearance were some of the main obstacles in adapting French plays for an English audience, or at least that these were theatrical elements the English theatergoing public valued.

In addition to the prologue, John Ozell’s preface, or the thoughts he addresses specifically to the reader at the start of his English translation, elaborates on *La Foire Saint Germain*’s theatrical provenance:

The Fair St. Germain is a piece in the Italian Theater. Like the rest of that Collection its plot is indeed thin, but that defect is supply’d by wit and humour. ‘Tis notorious the Court of France suppress’d those plays for being too sarcastick. Most of the scenes are satyres upon some character in Life; which, by a few masterly strokes is describ’d and its vice expos’d more fully, than by some more elaborate long-winded performances of this kind.⁷³

By omitting the name of the “collection,” Ozell assumes his reader is familiar with the publication in question (*Le Théâtre italien de Gherardi*). Furthermore, he deems the collection’s scandal at the Court of France “notorious”—referring to the closing of the Théâtre Italien in 1697—indicating that the Théâtre Italien already had an international reputation, if only for its

⁷³ John Ozell, *The Fair of St. Germain*, 3.

sarcastic bravado. Ozell's comments confirm that English readers were already familiar with and even admired the Théâtre Italien repertoire by the time the French players arrived in London; they likewise suggest that the allure of this repertoire in England was linked to its subversive reputation, of having been "suppress'd" in France.

But most importantly, Ozell's preface reveals information about the performance decisions made by the French company in their London adaptation:

Nothing, in my poor Opinion, can equal the portrait of a (Nigaudinet) Ninnyhammer in the second Act, unless it be that of a Petit Maitre (or Fop) in the third. How many Writers have labour'd in the painting out of what the French call a Distract, a man whose mind is absent. Even the great Bruyere's Character of a Distract, notwithstanding 'tis one of his fullest, and cloath'd with infinite Variety of Circumstances, falls short of what we see done here at a Dash, in the scene of the Petite Maitre and the Swiss Officer. I can't forgive the French players for leaving it out.

Ozell was so disappointed to have missed out on this scene in the live rendition that he made a point of including it in his translation. However, the French company may have had good reason for leaving it out, especially in a debut performance for a foreign audience. The short scene revolves around a specific French *vaudeville* tune: "Tout comme il vous plaira, la rira" ("as it pleases you"). The character of the *petit maître*, played by Mezzetin, does not speak in the entire scene, but merely hums this tune in response to anything that is said to him. He ends up provoking the wrath of Scaramouch, the inebriated Swiss officer, whom he then stabs and kills, all the while humming this tune with its dismissive refrain. Here, another layer of humor depends on the audience's aural recognition of Mezzetin's hummed melody, which would have recalled the tune's refrain "tout comme il vous plaira." Because Ozell was likely working with a printed copy of this play, he had access to the French text of the tune. He, therefore, could have more easily understood the musical joke than those hearing the melody alone in performance.

Perhaps sensing the challenges to translating French aural culture, Ozell completely rewrote the tune's text to, "So it be but a woman, what care I?" Because this text doesn't fit syllabically with the French tune, nor does it make sense as a translation, it suggests the use of an English tune equivalent. Sure enough, the English song "Take not a woman's anger ill" contains the line "and if 'tis but a woman, what care I?" The text was written by Restoration poet Robert Gould and was set to music by none other than Henry Purcell. Gould wrote the song for a tragedy, titled *The Rival Sisters; or, The Violence of Love*, in which a comic servant similar to Mezzetin sings the following text in act four of the play:

Take not a Woman's anger ill;
But let this be your Comfort still,
That if one won't, another will:
Though she that's foolish does deny,
She that is Wiser will comply;
And if 'tis but a Woman, what care I?

Then who'd be damn'd to swear untrue?
And sigh and weep, and whine and woo,
As all our supple Coxcombs do?
All Women love it, and tho' this
Does sullenly forbid the Bliss,
Try but the next, and you cannot miss.⁷⁴

The song evokes the same flippant tone as the French original, though here applied to a misogynistic statement. Purcell's established legacy in England by this time would have made this tune far more familiar to London audiences.⁷⁵

Ozell made the most substantial changes, however, to the play's musical parody scenes. The original French publication contains eight sung airs and three musical parody scenes that were performed as plays-within-a play, including an Italian operatic air, a scene from Lully's

⁷⁴ Gould, *The Rival Sisters; or, The Violence of Love* (London, 1696).

⁷⁵ For an overview of this play and its music, see Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, 74-77.

Acis et Galatée, and the rape scene from the tragedy *Lucrèce*. Ozell cuts the first two parodies entirely, but includes the third parody of *Lucrèce*.⁷⁶ He provides an ambiguous explanation for this decision in his preface:

The tragedy of Tarquin and Lucretia is a pleasant Mock-Heroick. Take the whole together, tho' there may be more regular pieces in the Italian theater, this is none of the least entertaining, I mean in the original whatever it may prove in the translation.

It is not clear from this statement whether the French company still performed the other two parodies in their live production, even though they were omitted in Ozell's translation. In any case, these scenes are worth discussing in order to understand, as in the previous example, why they may have been left out—whether for aesthetic, cultural, or political reasons.

Arlequin announces the performance of the three parodies in the French version and even plays some of the characters in them. In the first parody, a singer performs an Italian aria titled, “Bellezze voi siete tiranne”:

Beauties, you are
The tyrants of hearts;
You ensnare with your hair,
You wound with your glance:
And too harshly
You move the passions.⁷⁷

This aria was composed by Innocenzo Fede, who was notably the master of music for the exiled English court in France from 1689 to 1718.⁷⁸ Fede had first established a musical career in

⁷⁶ This *Lucrèce* was probably the version by Pierre du Ryer (Paris, 1638).

⁷⁷ Bellezze, voi siete
Tiranne de' cuori;
Col crine legate,
Col guardo ferite:
Ma troppo spietate,
Vibrate gli ardori.

⁷⁸ See Edward T Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Nicholas Field, “Outlandish Authors: Innocenzo Fede and Musical Patronage at the Stuart Court in London and in Exile” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2013).

London from 1686 to 1689 at the Catholic court of James II. When his reign collapsed after the Glorious Revolution, James II went into exile in France, bringing Fede and other musicians with him. Nicholas Field has speculated that this exact aria was actually composed and performed while Fede was still in London, even though its written traces have only survived in French sources.⁷⁹ Given Fede's ties with the exiled Catholic court and the aria's likely origin in London, it may have been an aural reminder of unseemly associations with James II's regime. Could removing this aria in the English translation have thus been an act of political precaution? It is certainly plausible, especially given the popularity of these plays among Britain's new Protestant rulers.

One must further wonder why the entire parody of Lully's *Acis et Galatée* is also cut in Ozell's translation. In Lully's opera, the parodied scene depicts the climactic moment when the Cyclops Polipheme brutally murders Acis with a rock, singing a cruel vengeance air to celebrate. The parody alters the text of Polipheme's air: the first line, "Il est mort," remains the same, but Arlequin (playing Polipheme) closes the stanza by exclaiming, "that clown thought he could steal her away from me right under my nose."⁸⁰ And, with that, the fourth wall is broken: "clown" refers back to the *commedia dell'arte* plot, recalling that it is Scaramouch the clown portraying Acis, and that he has been trying to dupe Arlequin throughout the play. This comical amalgamation of Lullian and *commedia dell'arte* narratives might have been lost on Londoners, prompting Ozell's cut. Though Lully's *Acis* was published in Amsterdam, Stuttgart, and

⁷⁹ Field, "Outlandish Authors," 150.

⁸⁰ "Le drôle ici croyait me l'enlever jusques dessous la moustache." *Le Théâtre Italien de Gherardi*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1700), 274.

Brussels, it was not performed widely outside of France, with the exception of productions in Hamburg and Darmstadt.⁸¹

Yet wouldn't Ozell have wanted to capitalize on the recent debut of Handel's own operatic rendition of this same story? It seems unlikely, as Handel's version was only performed privately in 1718, and did not see a public performance until the 1730s. A London audience of 1718 would have been more familiar, however, with an earlier masque version of *Acis and Galatea*, by the English composer John Eccles and French librettist Peter Motteux, which was revived on several occasions in the early eighteenth century.⁸² Through this version's documented popularity, the English would have become acquainted with a different rendition of the Acis and Galatea story—one in which Acis does not get crushed under a rock, but lives and marries Galatea.⁸³ In the end, we cannot know from Ozell's translation alone whether the Lully parody was excluded from the French production in London. However, we can speculate as to why Ozell himself—as the mediator between French and English tastes—left out a parody of a scene that had a substantially different story line in a well-known English rendition.

Besides the fact that Ozell found the parody of *Tarquin and Lucretia* the most entertaining, this parodied scene may have been included in his translation, simply because it is based on a historical legend that was as well known in England as in France. This story, about the rape of Lucretia by the tyrant Tarquin, had symbolic meaning in political dramas of the eighteenth century, which “consistently used the rape of a woman by a ruler as a figure for the

⁸¹ Ahrendt, “A Second Refuge,” 75-76.

⁸² John Eccles and Peter Anthony Motteux, *The Masque of Acis and Galatea: With the Rest of the Musical Entertainments in a New Opera Call'd The Mad Lover* (London: Printed for R. Parker, 1701).

⁸³ Margaret Ross Griffel, *Operas in English: A Dictionary* (Scarecrow Press, 2012), 3.

state's unjust taking of private property, a common political grievance."⁸⁴ The legend had not only become the source material for several French plays during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but was also a popular theme in English literature and poetry. It is alluded to in Shakespeare's plays, not to mention his own depiction of the legend, in the poem *The Rape of Lucrece*.⁸⁵ The legend was also written as a "history" by English pamphleteer Roger L'Estrange, and makes an appearance in Bernard Mandeville's famous *Fable of the Bees* from 1714.⁸⁶ These represent only a few examples among many. The story's inclusion in the London version of *La Foire Saint Germain* confirms its status as a common trope for English audiences and readers. Indeed, in a *Daily Journal* advertisement, "the scene of Tarquin and Lucrece, performed by Harlequin and Colombine" became the primary marketing asset for *La Foire Saint Germain*'s 1734 London revival.⁸⁷

The French troupe's exclusion of the hummed tune in performance indicates that its members were sensitive to musical differences, particularly with their first production abroad. John Ozell's "translation" of this tune to a Purcell favorite in addition to his omission of two substantial parody scenes suggests an attempt to make the play conform to (in the words of Columbine) the customs of his country. Yet these omissions reveal more than what Ozell found "the least entertaining"; they imply, more importantly, what English audiences would find amusing, or even offensive, based on the reaches of their knowledge of French and English opera, politics, and music. Ozell's preface and the London adaptation's new prologue also

⁸⁴ Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn ed., *The Cambridge Companion to British Theater, 1730-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 100.

⁸⁵ William Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece. By Mr. William Shakespeare* (London, 1616).

⁸⁶ Roger L'Estrange, *The History of Tarquin and Lucretia: Licensed December 26, 1668* (London, 1669); Bernard Mandeville, *The Fable of the Bees, Or, Private Vices, Public Benefits . . .* (London, 1714), 232.

⁸⁷ *The Daily Journal*, November 13 1734, Issue 4313.

provide valuable insight into the French troupe's debut on November 7, 1718, which precipitated a flood of interest in French musical theater in England.

Given the intertextual nature of this theatrical repertoire, a single play text serves only as a mere starting point for analysis. But to follow where the written and musical traces lead in translation, illuminates an intricate web of connections between high and low social spheres, French and English identities, and staged versus read texts. Through these connections, and through the purposeful dramatization of cultural encounters in adapted versions, one can glimpse, not only the theatrical, musical, humorous, or even political differences between England and France, but also how these plays forged common ground between seemingly separate artistic traditions.

ARLEQUIN BALOURD

These London publications not only helped reveal the common ground in long-established traditions, they also depicted the real-time encounters between the French performers and the English public. Because the comic repertoire from France often mirrored social reality, it is plausible that the French company adapted its plays to relate the daily experiences of performing abroad in London, using the meeting of people from two nations as material for its comic routines. While scenes such as these are only found in the new prologue in Ozell's translation of *La Foire Saint Germain*, the play *Arlequin Balourd* shows how the theme of France meets England could also be extended to a play's content. *Arlequin Balourd* is based on a typical *commedia dell'arte* plotline, but contains several scenes dramatizing the misunderstandings that arise in communication between French and English individuals, mistakes that are as much cultural as they are linguistic.

The French company performed *Arlequin Balourd* on Monday, February 16, 1719—the third of sixteen evenings of French entertainments at the King’s Theater that season. This play was presented again for the next three evenings of French entertainments at the King’s Theater (February 19, 24, and 26), with the final performance “by his Royal Highness’s Command” (see Appendix A.1). It was unusual that a French play would be performed four evenings in a row, indicating that *Arlequin Balourd* was a success. During the same year, 1719, the play was printed and sold at a French bookstore in London (chez Henry Ribotteau), providing further evidence of its success. The publication included a prologue, which was also performed with *Arlequin esprit follet*—the first French play presented at the King’s Theater.⁸⁸ In this prologue, Arlequin and Colombine discuss the fate of the French repertoire at the King’s Theater just as they had done for *La Foire Saint Germain* at Lincoln’s Inn Fields. This content would have been especially applicable to an opening night performance at a new theater, but still relevant during the next several evenings of the French company’s performances there; it could have served, in part, as an advertisement for the individual play, but also for the French company’s upcoming season at the King’s Theater.

Procopé-Couteaux, the author of *Arlequin Balourd*, was a Parisian doctor (“Docteur Régent en Médecine de la Faculté de Paris”) who wrote plays as a hobby. He drafted *Arlequin Balourd* in a fit of inspiration, while he had fallen seriously ill and could not sleep; the process of writing a comedy gave him something to do during his insomnia, but also miraculously cured his

⁸⁸ The performance of *Arlequin esprit follet* on Thursday, February 12, 1719 was advertised with “a new prologue between Harlequin and Colombine.” Five days later, on February 16, *Arlequin Balourd* was performed and advertised with “the last new prologue spoken on Thursday last between Harlequin and Colombine,” indicating a clear link between the prologues for these two performances (*The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 528-529; see also Appendix A.1).

disease in only six days.⁸⁹ Procope-Couteaux used a *canevas* from an Italian play he had seen at the Comédie-Italienne in Paris as the basis for the plot of *Arlequin Balourd*, hence turning an Italian play into a French comedy in prose with five acts. The French version was performed and printed in London while he was visiting there in 1719, and the plot even takes place in London.⁹⁰

Even though the play is set in England, the characters derive from the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, creating an interesting blend of French, Italian, and English references. This play is unique among the four known publications in that it was not translated into English, but written in French for a multi-lingual, educated audience with the expectation that they would understand complex linguistic crossovers, such as bilingual puns. Indeed, Procope-Couteaux writes in his preface that *Arlequin Balourd* “had pleased the connoisseurs” (“[Elle] a plû aux connoisseurs”). Harlequin’s apostrophe to “L’Opéra” in the prologue (“L’Opéra, l’Opéra, que le beau monde admire”)—quoted at the beginning of this chapter—likewise demonstrates the acknowledged social prestige of the audience at the King’s Theater.

In the play, Procope-Couteaux uses the character of Arlequin to deliver commentary about England from the French perspective. This commentary is not biting satire; rather, it presents a view of England through a French clown’s mishaps. Unsurprisingly, the first thing Arlequin remarks upon when visiting London is the weather:

⁸⁹ Procope-Couteaux, “Preface,” *Arlequin Balourd*. The author writes, “Je n’ai jamais beaucoup ambitionné le titre d’Auteur, j’ai composé cette Pièce en qualité de Medecin, dans la seule vûë de me guerir d’une maladie très dangereuse dont j’étois attaqué . . . je passois les nuits sans dormir, & par consequent je m’ennuiois fort, les heures alors semblent des siècles . . . insensiblement au bout de dix jours la Comedie fût achevée, & ma maladie fût détruite.”

⁹⁰ According to Parfaict, the Italian *canevas* belonged to the play *Les Amans brouillés par Arlequin messenger balourd*. “M. Procope-Couteaux, Docteur Régent en Médecine de la Faculté de Paris, étant à Londres en 1719, employa le canevas de cette pièce, & composa une Comédie François en prose & en cinq actes, qui fut représentée & imprimée” (Parfaict, I, *Dictionnaire*, 62-64). While an excerpt of the play is printed in Parfaict, the London publication is the only published version I could locate.

LEANDRE. Veux tu donc t'éveiller, paresseux? Le Soleil est levé il y a long-tems.

ARLEQUIN. Le Soleil? Le voiez-vous?

LEANDRE. Oui.

ARLEQUIN. Tant mieux pour vous, faites lui mes compliments, je ne l'ai pas encore vû depuis que je suis en ce païs.⁹¹

LEANDRE. Won't you wake up, lazy bones? The sun came up a long time ago.

ARLEQUIN. The sun? You have seen it?

LEANDRE. Yes.

ARLEQUIN. Good for you, give it my compliments, I have not seen it since I have been in this country.

When Arlequin finally arises, he must help Leandre, his master, deliver a letter to Isabelle, who is kept captive by her uncle, the Doctor. Much of the play revolves around Arlequin's attempts to get inside the Doctor's house. In one scene, Arlequin meets an English newspaper seller ("Le Gazetier") and is amazed that the latter's profession allows him to enter peoples' houses.

Arlequin decides to buy all the newspapers from the Gazetier in order to enter the Doctor's home:

GAZETIER: Half-penny-post, Half-penny post,
On l'appelle de plusieurs endroits, il y entre Arlequin.

ARLEQUIN. Diable voila un drole qui entre par toutes les maisons, a t-il la Clef, il faut un peu que je sache quel est son privilege, parlés donc, oh Mr. la poste.

Gazetier, répond en Anglois. Who calls.

ARLEQUIN. Que diable dit-il. Half a Penny post.

GAZETIER. *Do you desire any Thing.*

ARLEQUIN. Thing? Tope & Thing? Epenny Post.

GAZETIER. *Will you buy the Half-penny-post.*

ARLEQUIN. Je n'entends rien à ce qu'il dit, il ne parle pas la meme Langue que moi aparamment. Parlez vous François mon ami?

GAZETIER. Un pieu.

ARLEQUIN. Comme un pieu, mais vraiment vous parlez bien.

GAZETIER. Que desirés vous de moi?

ARLEQUIN. Je voudrais savoir pourquoi vous entrez dans les maisons comme cela?

GAZETIER. C'est pour y porter ces papiers.

ARLEQUIN. Qu'est-ce que c'est que ces papiers?

GAZETIER. Ce sont les nouvelles.

ARLEQUIN. Et à qui les portez vous?

GAZETIER. A tout le monde.

ARLEQUIN. A tout le monde? Vous faites donc bien du chemin par jour.

⁹¹ Procopé-Couteaux, 9.

GAZETIER. Quand je dis à tout le monde, c'est à dire à tous ceux qui en demandent.

ARLEQUIN. Et qui est ce qui en demande?

GAZETIER. Les homes, les femmes, les filles, le maître, la maitresse, les valets, les servantes, car tout le monde ici veut savoir les nouvelles jusqu'aux cuisiniers & aux palefreniers.⁹²

GAZETIER. Half-penny post, Half-penny post,
He calls it from several places, Arlequin enters.

ARLEQUIN. What the Devil, here is a funny man, who enters into all the houses. Does he have a key? I need to learn a little about his system. Oh Mr. Postman, speak to me. *Gazetier, responds in English.* Who calls?

ARLEQUIN. What the devil is he saying? Half a Penny post.

GAZETIER. *Do you desire any thing?*

ARLEQUIN. Thing? Tope and Thing? Epenny Post.

GAZETIER. Will you buy the Half-penny post?

ARLEQUIN. I do not understand anything he is saying; he doesn't speak the same language as me, apparently. Do you speak French, my friend?

GAZETIER. A liddle.

ARLEQUIN. He means "a little," but truly you speak very well.

GAZETIER. What do you want from me?

ARLEQUIN. I would like to know how you enter the houses like that?

GAZETIER. It is to bring these papers.

ARLEQUIN. What are these papers?

GAZETIER. They are the news.

ARLEQUIN. And to whom do you bring them?

GAZETIER. To everyone.

ARLEQUIN. To everyone? So you make quite a long journey each day.

GAZETIER. When I say everyone, it is to say all those who request it

ARLEQUIN. And who requests it?

GAZETIER. Men, women, children, masters, mistresses, valets, servants, for everyone here wants to know the news, from the cooks to the horse groomers.

This scene highlights what would have been seen as unique to English culture at the time from the perspective of a foreigner—namely, the widespread accessibility of newspapers. Arlequin's naivety, while adding to the humor of the moment, also forces the Gazetier to elaborate on the specific service in England of delivering newspapers to people of any gender or social class who

⁹² Procopé-Couteaux, 38-40.

had requested their delivery.⁹³ As newspapers in France were geared toward a literate aristocracy, their distribution to “everyone” would have indeed been astonishing to a French traveller.⁹⁴ Arlequin’s far too literal interpretation of “tout le monde” becomes amusing commentary on how foreigners perceived the vastness of English periodical circulation.

Arlequin’s blunders continue in the same scene with the Gazetier, when he confuses the English word “all” for the French word “Halle” (a public market):

ARLEQUIN. Ça mon ami, voulez vous me vendre toutes vos nouvelles.

GAZETIER. All.

ARLEQUIN. Halle, halle, non je ne veux pas acheter la Halle.

GAZETIER. *All*, signifie tout en Anglois.

ARLEQUIN. *Halle*, signifie tout en Anglois. Voila une plaisante Langue, quel raport entre *halle* & tout. ——— Oui, ma foi, il y en a. A la Halle on trouve de tout; *halle*, tout, cette Langue là a raison. Combien voulez vous vendre toute la Halle?⁹⁵

ARLEQUIN. Amazing, my friend. Will you sell me all your news?

GAZETIER. All.

ARLEQUIN. *Halle, halle*, no I don’t want to buy *la Halle*.

GAZETIER. *All*, means *tout* in English.

ARLEQUIN. *Halle*, means *tout* in English. This is a pleasant language, what is the relation between *halle* & *tout*? ——— Yes, by gosh, there is one. At the market, one finds everything; *halle, tout*, this language has some sense. For how much would you sell the whole market?

Arlequin is baffled by how different English and French words sound from one another (“tout” and “all”), but he rationalizes their connection in terms of content (you can buy “all” at “La Halle”); while seemingly illogical, this reasoning creates a new form of linguistic logic—a clever, bilingual pun. In a later scene, when Arlequin pretends to be a newspaper courier in order

⁹³ In eighteenth-century England, couriers would deliver newspapers, for a small extra cost, to readers who had sent in their name and address for a subscription. Readers could also easily purchase from local coffee houses, or from “hawkers” in the London streets. See Black, *The English Press*, 100.

⁹⁴ See Stephen Botein, Jack R. Censer, and Harriet Ritvo, “The Periodical Press in Eighteenth-Century English and French Society: A Cross-Cultural Approach,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 23, no. 3 (1981): 464–90.

⁹⁵ Procope-Couteaux, 41.

to enter the Doctor's house, he makes similar mistakes:

ARLEQUIN. EPenny post, Epenny post.

DOCTEUR. Ah, Ah, Epenny post, il faut que je le lise, hier you, hier [*here you, here*]

ARLEQUIN. Hier, nous sommes à aujourd'hui. Epenny post.

DOCTEUR. Come hier [*Come here*]

ARLEQUIN. Comme hier, & non vraiment c'est comme aujourd'hui: est-ce que vous croiez qu'on vous donne des vieilles nouvelles, ce sont les plus fraîches, tatez plutôt.

DOCTEUR. Oh, c'est un François, donne mon ami, voions, y a-t-il de bonnes nouvelles?

ARLEQUIN. D'Excellentes.⁹⁶

ARLEQUIN. EPenny post, Epenny post.

DOCTEUR. Ah, Ah, Epenny post, I have to read it, hier you, hier [*here you, here*]

ARLEQUIN. Hier, we are at today. Epenny post.

DOCTEUR. Come hier [*Come here*]

ARLEQUIN. Comme hier, & no, truly it is today: do you think that I am giving you old news? These are the most recent, judge for yourself.

DOCTEUR. Oh he is French, give me a paper, my friend. Let's see, is there good news?

ARLEQUIN. Excellent.

Arlequin's confusion of "here" and "hier" ("yesterday") results in yet another pun, which requires some knowledge of French and English to comprehend. Indeed, part of the irony of this play is that Arlequin the buffoon can best be appreciated by a linguistically versatile and educated audience; his blunders are in fact opportunities for wit and word play that stretch across two languages. In a similar vein, Arlequin's stock character as the "oaf" offers a mouthpiece for cultural commentary, one that playfully observes, rather than critiques or offends, the distinctions between nations.

This role of Arlequin as a kind of comic ambassador is echoed by the speeches he makes in the prologue and epilogue to *Arlequin Balourd* that are addressed directly to the audience. He mentions in the epilogue that "balourds" are common to all countries, and that for as much as

⁹⁶ Procope-Couteaux, 44-45.

they entertain, they also serve a pedagogical function—to help society recognize its own blunders:

Les Balourds fourmillent par tout.
Profitez seulement du Portrait agreable,
Que l'Auteur de la Piece a voulu vous montrer;
Quoi qu'à certains égards il soit peu vraisemblable,
Bien des gens cependant peuvent s'y rencontrer,
Et trouver dans cette Peinture
Leur Caractere & leur figure,
Arlequin vous en avertit.
Croiez-le, faites en usage,
souvent d'un simple badinage
On peut tirer un grand profit.⁹⁷

Oafs sure abound everywhere.
May you profit from the pleasing portrait,
That the author of this play has aimed to show you;
Although in some respects, it is not lifelike,
Many people still can encounter themselves there,
And discover in this depiction
Their character, and their appearance,
Just as Arlequin informs you.
Believe him, make use of what he offers;
From a simple joke
One can often draw great returns.

It is noteworthy that Francisque Moylin, the leader of the French troupe, played the role of Harlequin for this season and even gave Procopé-Couteaux suggestions in writing *Arlequin Balourd*. (It is difficult to discern from the preface alone how much Moylin participated in writing this play, but it seems probably that he assisted in creating Arlequin's character.)⁹⁸ Because the Italian *commedia dell'arte* had spread to both England and France, Arlequin had become internationally recognizable and could help speak across national borders.

⁹⁷ Procopé-Couteaux, 120.

⁹⁸ Procopé-Couteaux writes in his preface, "Je vois souvent Mr. Francisque, qui a infiniment de l'esprit & du goût; je puis dire sans le flater, que sa moindre qualité est d'être excellent Arlequin. Je lui parlai de ma Piece, il m'inspira l'envie de la faire représenter, & il me donna même plusieurs idées qui n'ont pas peu contribué à la réussite."

Even beyond the character of Arlequin, though, the plays *Arlequin Balourd* and *La Foire Saint Germain* are testament to the French company's and an English translator's attempts to find common ground within the space of the theater. Through exploring the London publications of these French plays in detail, one can see how the possibilities afforded by comic theater—whether bilingual puns, self-reflexive prologues, or operatic parodies—created a forum for discussing cross-cultural encounters. For as much as it helped distinguish between French and English tastes, theatrical styles, and musical traditions, this repertoire also contains remarks about the universal implications of comedy, such as those written by Procope-Couteaux in the preface to *Arlequin Balourd*: “Comedy is a critique of morals, which I have said may suit all countries.”⁹⁹ It is largely because of comedy's adaptability then, that French popular theater was so effective abroad.

⁹⁹ “La comédie est une critique des mœurs . . . ce que j’ai dit peut convenir à tous les païs” (Procope-Couteaux, “Preface”).

Chapter Three

From a Tune's-Eye View: French Theater Music's Dissemination in England

From 1734 to 1736, the British dramatist and impresario Aaron Hill published a short-lived periodical, titled *The Prompter*, in an attempt to reform current theatrical practices in England. Among his primary concerns was the invasion of foreign performers on London stages. In an article released on Christmas Eve 1734, Hill warns that the craze for French comedies in London—plays that often featured the character Harlequin—will drive English actors, plays, and theaters out of business:

People of Quality already study *French*, for the sake of understanding what Harlequin says. If the *Middling Gentry* and *Trades-Folks* should follow their Example, and take it in their Heads to look upon the *French Theatre* as a *Nursery* of language, to breed their children in, by making them *improve by Diversion*, I am not a little apprehensive of a Success very detrimental to our *English theatres*.¹

While the ideological underpinnings of this statement resonate with the diatribes against Italian opera found in similar journalistic writing from the preceding decades, the French plays and actors Hill lambasts in *The Prompter* represented a new threat. As Hill reveals, French theater found a niche market among “people of quality” in London. As French performances incited Francophilia to spread beyond its confines in the elite, Hill feared that England’s native dramatic culture would soon be wiped out.

Yet Hill seems strangely preoccupied with language and, moreover, with language pedagogy. Why is he so concerned with French theater’s ability to penetrate into other areas of English life? And why did French theater seem capable of so quickly infiltrating English society in the first place? One agent for this dissemination was the music, or rather the *vaudeville* tunes that were a distinctive feature of these French productions. With origins as Parisian street songs,

¹ Aaron Hill, *The Prompter*, December 24, 1734, 20.

vaudevilles accrued layers of symbolic connotations as they were set to new texts and sung by different characters. In addition to their place in the theater, these tunes also circulated throughout a diverse range of contexts, moving fluidly between oral and print cultures. As a result, the English public encountered French theater music well beyond the walls of London playhouses: from learning French, to dancing a minuet, to reading the daily news, Londoners were equipped to make connections between tunes on both stage and page.

This chapter examines French theatrical music's distribution in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Though French tunes surfaced in unexpected places, such as cookbooks and decks of playing cards, this research focuses especially on their presence in French language textbooks (known as "grammars") and amateur musicians' notebooks. The dissemination of French tunes in British social life and print culture contemporaneous to the French theatrical residency in London had the potential to inform a theatergoer's understanding of their plays. Likewise, the tunes heard on stage could graft new meanings onto those encountered in printed sources.

FRENCH TUNES IN GRAMMAR BOOKS

Hill's complaint that French theater triggered widespread interest in learning French (and was even used for learning the language) might at first seem like biased evidence to support his polemical claims. However, numerous French grammar books were printed in London during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Table 4). These grammars contain French theatrical songs and excerpts from French plays among other "back matter," such as poetry, fables, or familiar dialogues. While operatic airs by Lully, Campra, and Desmarets are well represented, French *vaudeville* tunes constitute the majority of their musical selections. Many of

these same tunes were also sung in the French plays performed on London stages, revealing a tangible link between theatergoing and language learning in English society.

Table 4. French “grammars” printed in London, 1694–1750

Author	Title	Date of 1st London Publication	Last Edition	Music
Abel Boyer²	<i>The Compleat French Master for Ladies and Gentleman</i>	London: 1694	London: 1797 (27 th ed.)	Yes
François Cheneau	<i>The Perfect French Master</i>	London: 1716	1 edition only	No
Michel Malard	<i>The True French Grammar</i>	London: 1716	1 edition only	Yes
John Henley	<i>The Compleat Linguist. Or, an Universal Grammar. Being a Grammar of the French Tongue (v. 3)</i>	London: 1719	London: 1726	No
Jean Palairt	<i>A New Royal French Grammar</i>	London: 1730	London: 1811 (20 th ed.)	Yes (until 12 th ed.)
J.E. Tandon	<i>A New French Grammar</i>	London: 1733	London: 1815 (7 th ed.)	Yes (until 3 rd ed.)
Alexandre de Rogissart	<i>Nouvelle method, pour apprendre facilement les langues Françoisise et Anglaise</i>	London: 1734 (first published in Amsterdam, 1718)	London: 1772	Yes
Claude Buffier	<i>A French Grammar on a New Plan</i>	London: 1734 (first published in Paris, 1709)	London: 1756	No
Soloman Lowe	<i>French Rudiments: Consisting of a Grammar of the Language</i>	London: 1736	London: 1740	Yes
Thomas Blair	<i>A Compleat and Easy French Grammar</i>	London: 1736	1 edition only	No
Professeur Claude Arnoux	<i>New and Familiar Phrases and Dialogues in French and English</i>	London: 1736	London: 1799	No
Joseph Gautier	<i>The True Practical French Grammar</i>	London: 1743	London: 1750	No
Lewis Chambaud	<i>A Grammar of the French Tongue, with a Prefatory Discourse</i>	London: 1750	London: 1790 (10 th ed.)	No

² Names in bold indicate those discussed in this chapter.

With a royal family from Hanover that spoke French more fluently than English, and with French as the language of diplomacy, the advantages of honing one's French skills had reached a certain height in England by the early eighteenth century. The lexicographer Michel Malard's dedication to King George I in his grammar book confirms this need:

To presume to say to your majesty, that a treatise of this kind will be useful to your subjects is needless, when you yourself speak this tongue in a perfection, that is sufficient to lead the whole world to follow your example: Besides, your majesty too well knows how much it has and doth mix itself in all the important Councils of Europe to be a Stranger to the Necessity of it.³

Many lexicographers capitalized on French's status as the *lingua franca*, by producing grammar books that claimed to serve as comprehensive guides for learning French.⁴ While offering a wealth of information about the shifting philosophical, pedagogical, and stylistic attitudes about the French language throughout the course of the eighteenth century, these grammar books also show that popular entertainment was used to learn French, or as one grammarian put it, "to laugh our readers into some knowledge of the French tongue."⁵

Most of the grammar book authors were French by birth; some were Huguenot refugees who found work as French tutors to the children of British royalty. Abel Boyer, who wrote a foundational French grammar in 1694, was tutor to Queen Anne's son—Prince William, Duke of Gloucester.⁶ During the Hanoverian regime, Michel (Michael) Malard served as French tutor to the daughters of the Prince of Wales (George II). In addition, Jean Palairret served as "writing-

³ Michel Malard, *The True French Grammar* (London: Printed for J. Brown, 1716).

⁴ On French as the *lingua franca* during the eighteenth century, see especially, Marc Fumaroli, *When the World Spoke French*.

⁵ Abel Boyer, *Foreign Tales: Witty & Merry Sayings, Repartees, &c. from the Best Authors. In French and English* (London, 1719).

⁶ See Abel Boyer, *The Compleat French Master for Ladies and Gentleman* (London, 1694). Although there are earlier grammar tutors, Boyer's grammar was instrumental in defining the genre as it developed throughout the eighteenth century, and therefore is the earliest I examine in detail.

master to their Royal Highnesses the Duke, Princess Mary, and Princess Louisa.”⁷ Both Malard and Palairret published French grammars in 1716 and 1733 that saw subsequent editions throughout the eighteenth century.⁸ As the Hanoverian children were frequent attendees of the French troupe’s productions in London from a young age, their understanding of what happened on stage was undoubtedly shaped by direct contact with these grammarians’ tutelage and publications.

Though dedicated to the British royalty for the sake of securing patronage and employment, the grammar books were also geared toward a broader readership; references to their titles in English letters and diaries demonstrate their widespread use among literate society.⁹ Multiple new editions of each grammar were regularly published throughout the eighteenth century, and even into the early nineteenth century. Their use was thus both far-reaching and long-lived. As I will demonstrate, these grammar books help reveal the precise French music that English readers could have absorbed through the study of language, which in turn could have contributed to their understanding of what Harlequin said—or, more specifically, what he sang.

“ADIEU PANIERS VENDANGES SONT FAITES”

Abel Boyer’s *Compleat French Grammar* (see the first listed on Table 4) contains sixteen French songs, including French *vaudevilles*, airs from Lully’s operas, and even an air by Henry Purcell with the text translated into French. In the fourth edition of his grammar from 1706, Boyer added new songs to reflect those that were currently in vogue. Among the new songs was an “air

⁷ These are the names of George I’s grandchildren.

⁸ Michel Malard, *The True French Grammar* (London: Printed for J. Brown, 1716); Jean Palairret, *A New French Grammar* (London, 1733).

⁹ See references to Boyer quoted in Raymond Hickey, *Eighteenth-Century English: Ideology and Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 70.

nouveau” with the refrain “Adieu paniers vendanges sont faites” (or “goodbye, baskets, the harvest is done”). This popular French tune was included in not only the fourth edition of Boyer’s grammar, but also in the twenty-three subsequent editions published until 1797.

The tune “Adieu paniers vendanges sont faites” entered the Parisian soundscape in 1695, eleven years before its publication in Boyer’s grammar book. Composed by Jean Claude Gillier, it was first heard in the final *divertissement* of a popular comedy by Florent Dancourt, titled *Les Vendanges de Suresnes*.¹⁰ This play was one of Dancourt’s most frequently performed comedies in Paris, with a total of five hundred and fifty-five performances during the eighteenth century.¹¹ Long before this play, the phrase “adieu paniers vendanges sont faites” became a well-known French proverb; it implied something rendered useless due to circumstances beyond control, such as harvesting baskets after storm damage.¹²

In Dancourt’s play, this saying is used for the song’s refrain in all eight verses. But Dancourt and Gillier adopt this maxim to insinuate something less innocent than harvesting baskets. Sung by Madame Desmartins, a stock aunt character with loose morals, and two young female “grape harvesters” (“vendangeurs”), the saying here becomes infused with innuendo, where even the most naïve of theatergoers should recognize what “basket” implies by the last verse:

¹⁰ Florent Carton Dancourt, *Les Vendanges de Suresnes: comédie de Mr. Dancourt* (Paris: Chez T. Guillain, 1696).

¹¹ André Blanc, *F.C. Dancourt, 1661-1725: la Comédie Française à l’heure du soleil couchant* (Tübingen; Paris: Editions Jean-Michel Place, 1984), 67-68.

¹² As Philibert-Joseph Le Roux states in the *Dictionnaire comique, satyrique, critique, burlesque, libre et proverbial* (Amsterdam, 1750), “Manière de parler, qui s’applique différemment. Dit autant que nous sommes ruinés, perdus, il n’y a plus rien à faire: l’affaire est échouée, le dessein est avorté, il n’y a plus d’espoir, plus de ressource. Nous pouvons bien dire, adieu paniers vendanges sont faites” (315-316). The same Abel Boyer, who included the song “Adieu paniers” in his grammar book, also defines the proverb in a dictionary he compiled that was later edited by two Frenchmen: “This proverb is applied to things for which we have no more occasion, nor do we care.” See *Nouveau dictionnaire françoise-anglois et anglois-françois de M.A. Boyer, corrigé et considérablement augmenté par MM. Louis Chambaud et J.B. Robinet*, Tome I, (Paris, 1785).

Profitez bien, jeunes fillettes,
Des moments faits pour les amours;
Quand on a passé ses beaux jours,
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Cachez bien les faveurs secrètes,
Amants, dont vous êtes comblés;
Sitôt que vous les révélez,
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Faites bien vos marchés, grisettes,
Avant qu'aimer de grands seigneurs;
Sitôt qu'ils ont eu vos faveurs,
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Il faut savoir en amourettes
Se saisir des tendres moments;
Pour les trop timides amants
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Défiez vous de ces coquettes
Qui n'en veulent qu'à vos écus;
Sitôt que vous n'en avez plus
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Veuves, restez comme vous êtes,
Vos amants sont doux & soumis;
Dés qu'ils sont maîtres du logis
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Quoi qu'un soupirant à lunettes
Paye cher les faveurs qu'il a;
Tôt ou tard on lui chantera
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Amants d'été faites retraites
Nous touchons à la Saint Martin,
Pour vous jusqu'au Printemps prochain
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

Profit well, young lasses,
Of the moments made for love;
When you have passed your prime,
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

Hide well the secret favors,
Lovers, that have brought you pleasure;
The instant that you reveal them,
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

Bargain well, coquettes,
Before loving some great seigneurs;
The instant that they have had your favors,
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

You should know how, in flirtations,
To profit from the tender moments;
For lovers who are too timid,
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

Beware these coquettes,
Who only want your *écus* [money];
The instant that you don't have any more
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

Widows, remain as you are,
Your lovers are sweet and submissive;
As soon as they are masters of the house
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

Even though a bespectacled [old] suitor
Pays dearly for the favors he receives;
Sooner or later he will hear the song
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

Summer lovers, retreat!
We're coming up on the Feast of Saint Martin
For you, until next spring,
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

Thanks to Abel Boyer's inclusion of "adieu paniers" in the *Compleat French Master*, Londoners had access to—as soon as 1706—the same version of the tune's text from Dancourt's play.

Divorced from its theatrical context, the dramatic implications of this tune may have seemed

vague to a Boyer reader, even if the innuendos were still palpable. However, between December 26, 1721 and February 19, 1722, French acting troupes performed Dancourt's *Les Vendanges de Suresnes* at the Little Haymarket Theater in London on four occasions:

- 1) December 26, 1721 as an afterpiece to *L'Homme à bonne fortune*
- 2) January 1, 1722 as an afterpiece to Molière's *L'Avare*
- 3) February 2, 1722 with a slightly altered title (*L'Usurier gentilhomme et les Vendanges de Suresnes*) as an afterpiece to *Arlequin Cartouche*¹³
- 4) February 19, 1722 as an afterpiece to *Arlequin Cartouche*, again with an altered title (*L'Été des coquettes et les Vendanges de Suresnes*).

The original context of “Adieu paniers” would have therefore reached London audiences, but fifteen years after the dispersal of this tune as an “air nouveau” in London's most popular grammar book of the time. An aspiring French learner's understanding of this tune could have been enhanced by the theatrical event, while prior acquaintance with the tune in print might have enhanced their experience of this play's ending.

Though originating in Dancourt's play, “Adieu paniers,” like many tunes of its kind, circulated widely outside of its initial context. In particular, it was extensively parodied in the Parisian fairground theater plays anthologized by French playwrights Lesage and D'Orneval.¹⁴ As mentioned in Chapter Two, many of these plays were performed across the Channel during the 1720s and 1730s. I will discuss the fair theater repertoire as it was printed in these anthologies; though by no means representative of the live events in London, let alone Paris, it is

¹³ A play titled only *L'Usurier gentilhomme* was performed on January 15, 1722. Its relationship to the play performed a few weeks later on February 2 remains unclear, but it is possible that it merged with *Les Vendanges de Suresnes* to form one entertainment given that the latter does the same with *l'Été des Coquettes* on February 19. Of note, the performances in February were “by royal command.”

¹⁴ Le Sage et al., *Le Théâtre de la Foire, ou L'Opéra Comique* (Paris: Ganeau, 1721). The tune “Adieu paniers vendanges sont faites” appears in almost every volume of this anthology in addition to the later *Les Parodies du Nouveau Théâtre Italien* anthology.

the most complete source material we have for representing what might have been performed. Moreover, the *vaudevilles* were such an essential driving force of both plot and satire in this repertoire that it is difficult to imagine them having been left out completely in performance.

Among the plays that use the tune “Adieu paniers” in the Lesage/d’Orneval anthology, the plays *Les Animaux raisonnables*, *L’École des amants*, *L’Isle de amazones*, and *Les Funerailles de la foire* were all performed in London. In each of these productions, London audiences would have become acquainted with more than one text setting of “Adieu paniers,” making them more capable of understanding this tune’s satirical inferences. In the case of *Les Animaux Raisonnables* (or *The Reasonable Animals*), initially performed at the Parisian fairground theaters in 1718, the proverbial implication of the phrase “Adieu paniers” is still highlighted in the parodied song text. This play is a parody of Homer’s *Odyssey*, and in a scene where Circe and Ulysses bid a literal *adieu* to one another, they sing to the tune of “Adieu paniers”:

CIRCE
I saw myself in these retreats
Alone with you at every moment:
You can leave, dear lover,
Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.

ULYSSES
Yes, egad. And so thoroughly done, that there is
nothing left to pick.¹⁵

¹⁵ CIRCE
Je me voyais dans ces retraites
Seule avec vous à tout moment :
Vous pouvez partir, cher Amant,
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

ULYSSES
Oui, parbleu. Et si bien faites, qu’il n’y
a pas seulement de quoi grappiller.

Here, knowledge of this tune's connotations from Boyer's grammar helps reveal the dialogue's subtext. By responding to Circe's refrain with the verb "grappiller," meaning "to pick up what is left after the harvest," Ulysses undermines Circe's pledge to think only of him; rather, she will have so many suitors, that he can say goodbye to his basket, so to speak. The tune's prior association of sexual dalliance with harvesting, further emphasized by Ulysses' pun on "grappiller," taints any semblance of sincere parting with doubt as to whether the lovers will remain faithful.

Les Animaux raisonnables became a hit in London, and was performed at least nine times at both the King's Theater and the Little Haymarket Theater between 1720 and 1734. Five of these nine productions were presented in London *before* Dancourt's *Les Vendanges de Suresnes* was performed there, so theatergoers may have encountered the parodied version of the tune first, at least in terms of its live rendition. The play remained popular in London, and was even adapted as an English ballad opera, titled *The Reasonable Animals; a Satirical Sketch*, in the later eighteenth century.¹⁶ While "Adieu paniers" is absent from this ballad opera, it appears in another English comic opera from the late eighteenth century, entitled *The Lord of the Manor* by John Burgoyne. In this opera, one encounters a vague mention in the libretto for "a short French song." With no trace in the musical score, it remains ambiguous as to what was actually sung here. However, the preceding dialogue reveals a potential musical source. In the middle of a discussion with Sofia about the pleasures of infidelity over fidelity, the character Annette alludes to a French proverb:

I wish you saw a girl in Provence as she trips down the mountain with a basket of grapes upon her head, and all her swains about her, with a glance at one and a nod at another, and a tap to a third—'till up rises the moon, and up strikes the tabor and pipe—away go the baskets—"Adieu panniens, vendange est faite"—her heart

¹⁶ *The Reasonable Animals; a Satirical Sketch. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal in the Haymarket* (G. Kearsly: London, 1780).

dances faster than her feet, and she makes ten lads happy instead of one, by each thinking himself the favourite.

Shortly after this statement, Annette sings the French song and Sophia replies:

I admire your vivacity, Annette; but I dislike your maxims. For my part, I scorn even the shadow of deceit towards the man I love, and would sooner die than give him pain.¹⁷

Could “Adieu paniers” be the match for the French song sung years later in *The Lord of the Manor*? It seems plausible, especially seeing that both this version of the tune and the one in *Les Animaux Raisonnable* highlight similar subtexts: they portray female infidelity by painting the character of a woman known for her many suitors. Given *Les Animaux Raisonnables*’ long performance life in London, it is possible that its parodied version of the tune became as well known as the original text in Dancourt’s play or Boyer’s grammar.

The plays *L’École des amants* and *L’Isle des amazons*, though only performed once each in London, also highlight the sexual innuendo of “Adieu paniers.” Whether to say goodbye to sexual freedom at the dawn of a marriage, as in *L’École des amants*; or, the reverse, saying goodbye to marital sex after a newfound enjoyment of “amourettes” later in life, as in *L’Isle des Amazons*, both plays draw upon the original’s *double entendre*, confirming that this meaning circulated in London in both the parodied versions and the original:

Text for “Adieu paniers” in *L’École des amants*:

ISABELLE, *to Leandre who is laughing*
What, you laugh at this nonsense!
You support this inconstant man!

HARLEQUIN, *aside*
Beauty, it guards you as much
*Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.*¹⁸

¹⁷ Burgoyne, 35.

¹⁸ ISABELLE, *à Leandre qui rit*
Quoi, vous riez de ces sornettes!

Text for “Adieu paniers” in *l’Isle des Amazones*:

MARPHISE

The time is up, gone are the days of lovers,
Of pleasures, of games, of laughter;
And we say to our spouses:
*Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.*¹⁹

Les Funérailles de la Foire also uses “Adieu paniers,” though it favors a more literal representation of the idiomatic phrase. It premiered on October 6, 1718 in Paris, just when the fair theater productions were running into trouble with authorities and were to be shut down for an entire year; the title “The Funeral of the Fair” therefore alludes to the closing, or “death” of the fairground theaters, specifically the troupes of la Dame de Baron and les Sieur & Dame de Saint Edme.²⁰ In this play, a doctor (M. Craquet) sings the tune “Adieu paniers” when he discovers that there is no cure for “La Foire’s” illness. Instead of Dancourt’s text, however, he sings the following:

M. CRAQUET

I would offer in vain my remedies,
All my efforts would be superfluous.
We’ll no longer laugh at your plays:
*Goodbye baskets, the harvest is done.*²¹

Vous soutenez cet inconstant!

ARLEQUIN, *à part*:

La belle, il vous en garde autant:
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

¹⁹ MARPHISE

Ce temps fini, plus d’amourettes,
Plus de plaisirs, de jeux, de ris;
Et nous disons à nos Maris:
Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites.

²⁰ “C’est effectivement par cette pièce que furent terminées l’Opéra Comique, & l’entreprise de la Dame de Baron, & des sieur & Dame de Saint Edme.” See Parfaict, *Foire* Tome I, 214-215. This date also marks (almost exactly) one month before the French troupes premiered their first play on London stages.

²¹ M. CRAQUET

J’offrirais en vain mes recettes,
Tous mes soins seraient superflus.

Rather than highlighting the tune's sexual connotations, the authors here employ the tune "Adieu paniers" as a darkly humorous eulogy—a literal bidding "adieu" to the life of La Foire. The tune's proverbial implications, of saying goodbye to something due to external forces beyond one's control, resonates with the powerless position of the fair theater troupes in ensuring their own survival. Though they had tried many methods, or cures (like the doctor) to evade mandates imposed by the official theaters, once it had been decided that the fair theater productions were to be banned, there was nothing more they could do. This play allegorically dramatizes this historic incident, while the tune "Adieu paniers" sarcastically emphasizes La Foire's inevitable death.

This example of "Adieu paniers" demonstrates that certain Londoners were acquainted with the original French texts of tunes because of their circulation in the French grammars. Aspiring French learners could even have come to know a range of textual variants when they heard the same tunes parodied in different French productions on London stages. From the more literal interpretations to those that played upon Dancourt's ribald connotations, such meanings were still associated with "Adieu paniers" in England as late as the 1780s when the phrase appeared in the comic opera *Lord of the Manor* to suggest sexual promiscuity. Boyer's *Compleat French Master*, which reprinted the same text for "Adieu paniers" throughout the eighteenth century, undoubtedly helped maintain this meaning in English culture over time.

Besides "Adieu paniers vendanges sont faites," at least four other tunes used in the Parisian fair theater repertoire were both printed in the French grammar treatises and performed in London by the French troupes: "Suivons l'amour, c'est lui qui nous mène" (in Boyer); "L'autre jour ma Cloris" (in Rogissard); "Charmante Gabrielle" (in Palairret); "Tes beaux yeux,

Dans vos Jeux on ne rira plus:
Adieu, paniers, vendanges sont faites.

ma Nicole” (in Tandon). A Lully connoisseur might recognize “Suivons l’amour, c’est lui que nous mène” as the closing air of the prologue in *Amadis*—a tune that was subsequently parodied in the fair theater productions. The other three tunes were printed in Ballard’s 1717 *Clef des chansonniers; ou Recueil des vaudevilles depuis cent ans*.²² “Charmante Gabrielle” was even printed in a London publication of a French *chansonnier*.²³ The following discussion focuses on “Tes beaux yeux, ma Nicole” and “Suivons l’amour,” because they appear in multiple French fair theater plays that were performed in London.

“TES BEAUX YEUX, MA NICOLE”

The grammar authors did not always preserve the original texts for French tunes as Boyer did with “Adieu paniers”; in some cases, they altered the song texts completely. In a grammar written by another Huguenot, J.E. Tandon rewrites the text of the tune “Tes beaux yeux, ma Nicole” in *A New French Grammar* (London, 1733) to support his own political agenda. This tune was one of the most popular *vaudeville* tunes in circulation in France, demonstrated by its use in twelve *Théâtre de la foire* plays published in the first three volumes alone.²⁴ Instead of including the original text from the *Clef des chansonniers* (see Table 5), however, Tandon writes a new text “set to the melody of tes beaux yeux” (“sur l’air, tes beaux yeux ma Nicole”) (see Table 6).

²² *Le Clef des chansonniers: ou, Recueil des vaudevilles depuis cent ans & plus* (Paris: Ballard, 1717).

²³ *Recueil de Trois Cent Chansons Françaises: Parfaitement Choiesies, Sur Toutes Sortes de Sujets*. (London, 1737).

²⁴ See Robert Darnton, *Poetry and the Police: Communication Networks in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 108, 204. Darnton provides an example of a popular parodied text for this tune, which pokes fun at Madame de Pompadour by punning on “Poisson”—her maiden name.

Table 5. Text for “Tes beaux yeux” in *Clef des Chansonniers*, vol. II (Paris: Ballard, 1717)

Original Text in <i>Clef des Chansonniers</i>, (Paris: Ballard, 1717), 32-33.	Original Text in <i>Clef des Chansonniers</i> (Paris: Ballard, 1717), 32-33.
Tes beaux yeux, ma Nicole, Me boutent tout en feu ; Je sens que je rissole, Cela passe le jeu : Dans l’ardeur qui me frappe, Mon corps semble un chaudron, Et mon cœur une carpe Qui cuit au cour-boüillon.	Your beautiful eyes, my Nicole, Set me all afire; Making me feel as if I am baking, But that is beyond a joke: As the passion which strikes me, Makes my body seem a cauldron, And my heart a carp That cooks in its own broth.
Tes beaux yeux, ma Lisette, Sont comme qui diroit, Grands comme une cuvette A fair’ boüillir du lait : Ton nez est en sa place, Ta bouche est au dessous ; Tout ça fait une face Qui nous enchante tous.	Your beautiful eyes, my Lisette, Are, as might be said, As large as a bowl To boil some milk: Your nose is in its place, Your mouth is underneath; All of which makes for a face Which enchants everyone.

Table 6. Text for “Tes beaux yeux, ma Nicole” in J.E. Tandon’s *A New French Grammar* (London, 1733)

Text in J.E. Tandon, <i>A New French Grammar</i> (London: 1733) : “La France aux pieds des Parlemens” sur l’air “Tes beaux yeux ma Nicole”	Text in J.E. Tandon, <i>A New French Grammar</i> (London: 1733) : “La France aux pieds des Parlemens” sur l’air “Tes beaux yeux ma Nicole”
La France abimée, Sous un Roy pas trop doux, Vient toute Eplorée, Embrasser vos genoux: Vous Parlemens de France, Il la faut relever, Reprendre vos puissances, Dont on vous a privé.	France destroyed, During the reign of a none too benevolent King, Comes tearful, To kneel before you: You Parlements of France, She needs to be lifted up, Reclaim the powers That were taken from you.
Dans cette conjoncture, Il ne faut point plier Ou bien, je vous assure : Vous n’aurez point de quartier, Dans le dur Esclavage ; Ou vos enfants vous verrez Et la France au pillage, D’un Clergé forcené.	Under the present circumstances, One must not yield Or else, I assure you: You will no longer have any place to call home, During this time of servitude; Where your children and France Will see you looted, By a fanatic Clergy.

Dans votre Voisinage, Vous pouvez imiter Un Gouvernement sage ; Qui se fait admirer : Faites en donc de même, Et ne permettez pas, Que le seul Diademe Fasse comme il voudra.	So look to your neighbor [England], You can imitate A wise government; Which is admired: So do the same, And do not allow, That the only Crown Does what it pleases.
S'il se trouvoit (de même) en France, Un Nouveau grand Codé, Pour prendre la défense ; du pays oppressé Il n'auroit qu'a paroître, Nos cœurs sont tous unis ; Faisant sans le connoître Des vœux ardents pour lui.	If there could be found again in France, A new Grand Condé, ²⁵ For coming to the defense; Of the oppressed country If he would only appear Our hearts would be united; Creating, without knowing it, Ardent wishes for him.

Under Tandon's pen, a French air that uses cooking metaphors to express desire for the "beautiful eyes" of women, becomes a pre-Revolutionary plea for France to adopt a government based on the same principles as Britain's. Instead of feeling desire for a woman, the speaker expresses "vœux ardents" ("ardent wishes") for a new leader to help unite France after years of absolute rule. The mocking tone of the original text becomes sincere in its parody.

As discussed in Chapter One, the proliferation of French performances during a time when England and France had just been at war would have been viewed as anything but neutral. To write, or even to purchase, a French grammar book would have signified political allegiances, religious affiliation, and social class. It is no wonder, then, that J.E. Tandon and others felt the need to make it clear that their grammar books were not a pro-French (in the sense of pro-Catholic) project, despite surface appearances. Grammarian Michel Malard also made his political leanings apparent by flagrant statements in *The True French Grammar*, such as "wherein children by learning French shall learn at the same time their Religion; that they may

²⁵ Louis de Bourbon ("le Grand Condé") (1621-1686): A French general known for his military prowess and for leading the French to victory during the Thirty Years war.

never be seduced by the papists.”²⁶ With the moral education of children at stake, Tandon’s grammar was perhaps also written with his French pupil Lady Mary Godolphin in mind. She was the dedicatee of his grammar book, but also the granddaughter of Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough. The latter, as sole heiress of the Marlborough estate, was adamant that the next Marlborough heir must not be a Jacobite or suspected of Jacobitism.²⁷ She was also responsible for hiring private tutors for her grandchildren who were specifically *not* clergymen, revealing how her own strong political views influenced both her family’s legacy and education.²⁸

Tandon’s version of “Tes beaux yeux” would have provided a politically charged counterpoint to actual performances of this tune on London stages. Yet seven years before Tandon’s grammar was even published, audiences might have come to know “Tes beaux yeux” in a French play titled *L’Isle des Amazones*, which premiered in London on December 17, 1724. In this play, Arlequin and Pierrot become captives on an island governed by Amazonian women. These women force their captives to marry them only to exile them from the island after three months of marriage, ensuring the survival of their population and female control of the government. As Marcie Ray has argued, this play (among others of the early Opéra Comique repertoire) uses dystopian worlds to critique marital conventions.²⁹ The parody of “Tes beaux yeux” can be viewed as further evidence to support her reading of this play (see Table 4). Sung by four characters, “Tes beaux yeux” here depicts two Amazons (Marphise and Bradamante) presenting Arlequin and Pierrot with their new wives (Hypolite and Zenobie). Although the

²⁶ Michel Malard, *The True French Grammar* (London: Printed for J. Brown, 1716).

²⁷ Frances Harris, *A Passion for Government: The Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 259.

²⁸ Harris, 246.

²⁹ Marcie Ray provides historical and political contexts for this play’s plot in “Dystopic Marital Narratives at the Opéra-Comique during the Regency,” *Musica Perspectiva* vol. 6 no. 2, (November 2013): 49-83.

women are the objects of desire in both versions of the tune, the male clowns are foregrounded as ridiculous in the parody. For one, Arlequin's "je grille d'entamer" ("I'm burning to begin") recalls the original text's use of cooking as a metaphor for sexual appetite. It also alludes to the fear of being literally cooked and eaten alive by the Amazons, indicated by another character (Scaramouch's) repeated confusion of the verbs "mariner" ("to marinate") and "marier" ("to marry") throughout the play. In sum, "Tes beaux yeux"—a burlesque of a traditional love song—forms part of the aural representation of a dystopian world and helps depict the inversion of eighteenth-century gender norms within politics and marriage.

Marphise, *présentant Hypolite à Arlequin*
Air 35 (« Tes beaux yeux, ma Nicole »)

Prenez cette Amazone,
Vous êtes son époux.
C'est le sort qui l'ordonne.

Bradamante, *présentant Zenobie à Pierrot*

Cette Brune est à vous.

Pierrot

Jarni! Qu'elle est gentille!

Arlequin

Ah! Le joli minois!
Ma foi, déjà je grille
d'entamer les trois mois.³⁰

Marphise, *presenting Hypolite to Harlequin*
Air 35 ("Your beautiful eyes, my Nicole")

Take this Amazon [woman],
You are her husband.
It is fate that commands this.

Bradamante, *presenting Zenobie to Pierrot*

This brunette is for you.

Pierrot

Zounds! She's charming!

Arlequin

Ah! Such a sweet little face!
Frankly, I already burn
To begin the three months.

Following the first edition of Tandon's grammar, published in 1733, "Tes beaux yeux" could also be heard in the play *Les Amours de Nanterre*, performed in London on November 14th and 21st in 1734. Like *The Island of the Amazons*, "Tes beaux yeux" is also used in this play to portray a marital arrangement. The plot revolves around an older woman named Madame Thomas, who thwarts her daughter Colette's marriage to Valère due to a financial quarrel with

³⁰ *L'Isle des Amazones*, Scene 3, 349.

his father—a tax collector. A plan is devised whereby Madame Thomas’ own lover (her valet Lucas) will be sent off to war if she should stop the youngsters’ engagement. In the end, Madame Thomas discovers that her own daughter is at the root of this plan; this *dénouement* is set to the tune of none other than “tes beaux yeux”:

MADAME THOMAS, *looking at Colette*
Air 35 (“Your beautiful eyes, my Nicole”)

I see the entire mystery.
Ah! Coquette, it is you . . .

COLETTE
Mama, don’t be angry.
Give me this husband.
That way, you will
Kill two birds with one stone;
In granting me Valère,
Lucas will be for you.³¹

In both theatrical renditions of the tune “Tes beaux yeux”, the women transcend their initial status as objects of desire into agents of diplomacy who approach marriage as a rational transaction that will ensure either their own happiness or continued governance. The tune is used at pivotal moments in these marital transactions where politics and desire are most noticeably intertwined. Could Lady Mary Godolphin, Tandon’s French pupil and granddaughter of a passionate political leader, have remembered such a tune from the playhouse for its exemplification of female political cunning? Might Tandon have tried to draw a connection

³¹ MADAME THOMAS, *regardant Colette*
Air 35 (« Tes beaux yeux, ma Nicole »)
Je vois tout le mystère.
Ah! Coquine, c’est vous....

COLETTE
Maman, point de colère.
Donnez-moi cet Epoux.
Par là, vous allez faire
D’une pierre deux coups;
En m’accordant Valère
Lucas sera pour vous.

between a progressive island government and that of the Amazonian isle where a colony of women ruled the roost and where more than one ruler shared “the crown” (“le diadème”)? With Tandon’s new text considered in conjunction with its London theatrical manifestations, “Tes beaux yeux” becomes more than an anti-French rant; it is also a call for an innovative form of government, however radical it may seem. Although this represents only one possible interpretation, in putting these song texts side by side one can see how Londoners might have formulated new associations about French tunes through the combined activities of French language instruction and theatergoing.

“SUIVONS L’AMOUR”

In both Boyer’s and Malard’s grammar treatises, there is a tune entitled, “Suivons l’amour, c’est lui qui nous mène.” This tune was an “air parodié”—a frequently parodied operatic air that became a *vaudeville* tune in its own right. The tune originated in the prologue of Lully and Quinault’s *Amadis*, first performed at the Théâtre du Palais-Royal in 1684, with the following text:

Let us follow Love, it is he who leads us;
Everyone must feel his pleasant ardor.
A little love makes us feel less sorrow
Than the difficulty of guarding our heart.

Despite our cares, love binds us;
One cannot escape this charming conqueror.
A little love makes us feel less sorrow
Than the difficulty of guarding our heart.³²

³² *Recueil général*, 435.

Suivons l’amour, c’est lui qui nous mène;
Tout doit sentir son aimable ardeur.
Un peu d’amour nous fait moins de peine
Que l’embarras de garder notre cœur.

Malgré nos soins, l’amour nous enchaîne;
On ne peut fuir ce charmant vainqueur.

Sung by followers of the sorceress Urgande to celebrate love for their new hero (Louis XIV), this strophic air personifies love (“l’Amour”) as a sovereign protector. Boyer and Malard maintain the same text in both of their treatises; however, unlike “Les Plaisirs ont choisi,” which they indicate was “taken from *Armide*” (“*Tirée de l’Opera d’Armide*”), they leave no indication that “Suivons l’amour” derived from Lully’s *Amadis*.

“Suivons l’amour” was parodied in at least nine of the fair theater and Italian Theater plays originating in Paris.³³ Out of these productions, at least two were performed in London by the French troupes: *Arlequin favori de la fortune* (also known as *Arlequin jouet de la fortune*), by Vivier de St-Bon, and *Les Eaux de Merlin*, by Lesage. *Arlequin favori* premiered on January 20, 1719 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields and on February 16, 1721 at the Little Haymarket Theater; *Les Eaux de Merlin* was performed on December 12, 1721 at the Little Haymarket Theater. In addition to the grammar treatises, Londoners had access to “Suivons l’amour” through another printed format: it appears in a play from the Gherardi collection titled *Le Naissance d’Amadis*, by Regnard.³⁴ I have found no evidence that this play was actually performed in London, but printed

Un peu d’amour nous fait moins de peine
Que l’embarras de garder notre cœur.

³³ Judith Le Blanc, “Annexes à l’ouvrage,” *Parodies d’opéras*, 138.

³⁴ In the British Library copy of the Gherardi collection (London: Tonson, 1714) [GB-Lbl C.194.a.295], the music for *Le Naissance d’Amadis* has been cut and sewn into the binding. The music seems to have derived from elsewhere, because the pages with music on them are slightly bigger than the bound volume, and the music has volume 5 written on the bottom, despite being contained in volume 6 of the London edition. Furthermore, in the Paris editions of Gherardi, the music is appended at the end of each volume of plays, but in the British Library copy of the London edition, the music appears directly after select, individual plays, including *Le Naissance d’Amadis*. Despite finding this parody, I have not been able to locate a London publication of Lully’s *Amadis*. I surmise, however, that one of the many editions of the *Recueil général* published by Ballard in Paris would have made it across the Channel and that Quinault’s libretto circulated widely.

versions would only have made it easier for readers to compare the air in their grammar tutors with its dramatic renditions.³⁵

In *Le Naissance d'Amadis*, “Suivons l’amour” is sung by Galaor, who is the confidante of Perion—an errant knight. Perion is in love with the King’s daughter, Elisene. In an attempt to seduce Elisene, Perion and Galaor (played by Arlequin and Mezzetin) rattle off, one after the other, parodied love airs and duets from Lully’s *Amadis*, including “Suivons l’amour”:

GALAOR *chante*
Let us follow hymen, this god prepares for you
An assortment of new pleasures.
While you will be *tête à tête*,
I promise to guard your coats.³⁶

In Lully’s opera, Perion is the father of Amadis; in this parody, a kind of “prequel,” Amadis has not yet been born. In fact, this seduction scene leads to the illegitimate birth of Amadis, with the sequence of parodied love airs from that opera foreshadowing his inevitable conception.

In *Les Eaux de Merlin*, the parody of “Suivons l’amour” occurs when Pierrot is trying to convince Arlequin and Mezzetin that he needs the “water of Merlin” to make him rich. The new text, sung by Mezzetin in response to Pierrot, explains that possession of a “coquette” is itself a

³⁵ Although *Le Naissance d'Amadis* was not performed in London, its circulation in print makes it another viable model for the first pantomime entertainment staged at Lincoln’s Inn Fields by John Rich: *Amadis; or, the Loves of Harlequin and Colombine*. There was also *Les Amours de Colombine et d'Arlequin* (1712) which, if it made it over to London, seems a direct link to Rich’s pantomime (see *Collection de pieces de théâtre, formée par M. de Soleinne. Théâtre inédit de la Foire*). For a discussion of other potential influences, including Lully’s *Amadis*, see Moira Goff, “John Rich, French Dancing, and English Pantomimes,” 91. On performances of Lully’s *Amadis* in the Netherlands, see Ahrendt, “A Second Refuge,” 54, 127.

³⁶ Gherardi, vol. 5 (Paris, 1700), 93.
Suivez l’hymen, ce dieu vous apprête
Un ambigu de plaisirs nouveaux.
Pendant que vous serez tête à tête,
Je vous promets de garder les manteaux.

form of wealth. His message about love is far from the wholesome message of the original tune's text:

MEZZETIN (You haven't need for our water)
Air 150 (*Suivons l'amour, c'est lui qui nous mène*)

Go, my friend, your fortune is made;
Yes, you will see it rain riches in your home;
A young and charming coquette,
For a thousand husbands in France, is a treasure.³⁷

From these few examples of “Suivons l'amour” that were made available to Londoners through both print and performance, one can see how the parodies subverted the relationship between love and sovereignty emphasized in the original libretto. A new kind of love is emphasized: a ribald love, an economic love or, at least, a form of love far less noble but no less political. The ways in which the low—heralded by sexual promiscuity—musically and textually undermines the high in these examples became a staple of the English ballad opera repertoire at the end of the decade. That the dynamic between French operatic airs and their parodies was accessible to the English public in the 1710s strengthens the argument that ballad opera may have been inspired by a French model in its inception.

“Suivons l'amour” was incorporated into English productions, such as Colley Cibber's *Love Makes Man; or, the Fop's Fortune*, first performed at Drury Lane in 1700, which had many subsequent editions and performances.³⁸ In this case, a new text for “Suivons l'amour” is not given; the author merely indicates for the character Cloris to “sing” following the words

³⁷ MEZZETIN (Tu n'as pas besoin de nos eaux)
Va, mon ami, ta fortune est faite;
Oui, tu verras chez toi pleuvoir l'or:
Une jeune & charmante coquette
Pour mille époux en France est un trésor.

³⁸ “As the play's long stage history attests, audiences found the drama entertaining for decades, and thus it may be considered as one of the more important markers of popular tastes in London during the eighteenth century.” See *The Plays of Colley Cibber*, ed. Timothy Viator and William Burling, vol. 1 (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001), 478.

“Suivons l’amour.” This direction with no included song text implies some level of familiarity on the part of readers with the title of the tune alone. The tune appears to have stayed in the English comic repertoire until the later eighteenth century. In a play titled *The Clandestine Marriage* by George Coleman from 1777, a similar indication to that in Cibber’s play is given where a character sings “Suivons l’amour.” Both characters in each of these English plays also call out in French “Allons” before singing, indicating a further connection with the original French tune. In both English dramatic renditions, “Suivons l’amour” is used to end a scene, which explains the characters’ exhortation, “allons.” Perhaps it became known as a kind of exit air, which was how it was originally used in the prologue to Lully’s *Amadis* and also in *Les Eaux de Merlin*.

The practice of writing “to the tune of . . .” followed by a French title, can be found in many sources published in England during the early eighteenth century and deserves a detailed study of its own. Even if we cannot locate the tune in French sources, or if the directions to sing “a French tune” remain vague, this kind of tune-detective work can help reveal the extent of an English audience’s auditory knowledge of French popular songs by the time the French troupes performed this repertoire in London. Thanks to sources such as the French grammar books, which were printed all over Europe—not just in London—we can also know that audiences heard tunes in a different order than the one experienced in their country of origin, and often divorced from their original theatrical context. This chronological jumbling could have generated new understandings of the dynamic between drama and music in this repertoire, informing the way it was perceived and remembered abroad.

FRENCH MUSIC NOTEBOOKS

A different kind of source—one more personal and less commercial—further demonstrates the circulation of French tunes in England: the music notebooks of individuals whose names are now lost to historical memory.³⁹ The vast collection of amateur music notebooks held in the manuscript collections of the Bodleian library represents a microcosm of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century aural culture where one discovers the everyday “playlists” of French and English amateur musicians. A surprising range of tunes is represented in the approximately eighty notebooks I examined from between 1600 and 1750: tunes not only from France, but also England, Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands; tunes from psalms to operatic airs to popular tunes that, in their collective proximity, complicate modern-day categories of high and low, sacred and secular, professional and amateur.

Despite the scant biographical information about their owners, these notebooks can still demonstrate the function of French tunes both at home and abroad. In fact, much can be gleaned about their owners based on the music they chose to copy and preserve. Whether for pedagogical, practical, or sentimental reasons, these melodies were selected by various individuals—from amateur composers to Huguenot refugees—transcribed and, on one occasion, even sold at an English bookstore. Like the grammar treatises, these notebooks reveal an *active* rather than passive engagement with French music. Because several of the tunes found within their well-worn pages overlap with those in the grammar books and Parisian fair theater repertoire, these notebooks present further evidence for the extent to which French tunes were known, in their many textual guises, both within and outside London playhouses.

³⁹ My research has focused on the music notebooks held in the MS Music School, MS Douce, and MS Rawlins Poet collections (Special Collections) at the Bodleian Library, but amateur music notebooks are dispersed throughout many libraries in Europe and require an in-depth study of their own.

WHO DID THE NOTEBOOKS BELONG TO?

Among the names hidden within these notebooks—sketched on inside covers or in the margins—one finds a “Monsieur Fonronce,” “Hannah Pearson,” “Master Colin,” and “Paschal Lardeaux.” Little information is available about these individuals in biographical sources of the period. However, at least two of the individuals were most likely Huguenots: the names “Paschal Lardeaux” and “Mr. Fonronce” appear in records of refugees who fled from their native France to England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴⁰ The abundance of French Protestant psalms contained in their notebooks further solidifies their Huguenot identities.⁴¹ A “Mr. Fonronce” (“Font Ronce”) served as a lieutenant in the English army, fighting—as was not uncommon—against his native Frenchmen during the Nine Year’s war (1688-1697).⁴² Whether this same Mr. Fonronce was also the owner of several music notebooks remains to be determined.

Though little is known about her otherwise,⁴³ it can be deduced that Hannah Pearson was an amateur lute player, because her notebook contains French vocal airs transcribed for lute and guitar that she (or perhaps her teacher) notated using French tablature. She also evidently knew an “Elizabeth Vanhu,”—a friend or teacher?—whose name appears, faintly sketched underneath

⁴⁰ See David Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV, Or, The Huguenot Refugees and Their Descendants in Great Britain and Ireland*, 2nd ed. (London: Reeves & Turner, 1871); Also, “Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland,” vol. 28, issue 5 (2007); and, “Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London” vol. 6. (1902).

⁴¹ On the importance of communally singing psalms in Huguenot religious traditions, see Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches and Industries in England and Ireland* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1867), 43.

⁴² For evidence of Mr. Fonronce’s involvement in the English army, see David Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, 86.

⁴³ I have found only one piece of biographical evidence for a “Hannah Pearson” that roughly corresponds with her notebooks’ dates (c. 1690 – 1700). See *An Examination of a Book, Lately Printed by the Quakers* (London, 1736).

a French song text.⁴⁴ We know little more about Master Colin, except that he was a “Musick Master living in Plum Tree Street, Stockings shop, London.”⁴⁵ He had some interaction with an “André Roner,” whose address is scribbled in one of his two notebooks.⁴⁶ Though most of the music he compiled consists of pre-existing French operatic airs, psalms, and Italian arias, some were written by master Colin himself, including “a new tune” and a “minuet.”⁴⁷ Colin’s notebooks were sold “by Mickepher Rawlins next door to the half moon and grey hound tavern in the strand, near Charing Cross, London,” indicating that they were ultimately prepared for public consumption. The “December 1732” scribbled inside suggests a possible date for when they were sold. Because Mickepher Rawlins was known for publishing the music for John Rich’s pantomimes throughout the 1720s, Colin’s notebooks could have catered to a similar crowd—namely, those who were looking to purchase music for the entertainments they had seen performed at the theater.⁴⁸

FUNCTION

In some cases, it is clear that the music notebooks belonged to and were used by the above-mentioned individuals. In others, the music is written in more than one hand (such as in the notebooks belonging to Mr. Fonronce), raising questions about the relationship between the known name and the different handwritings: were these notebooks modes of musical

⁴⁴ Gb-Ob MS Mus. Sch.f. 579 (26602), Fol. 27.

⁴⁵ Gb-Ob MS Mus. Sch.e.425-6 (26561), Fol. 40.

⁴⁶ A composer by the name of “Andrew Roner” lived in London during the early eighteenth century, and even corresponded with Handel in French in 1711, despite being known as a German composer (see Burrows, *Handel: Volume 1 (1609 – 1725) Collected Documents*).

⁴⁷ Gb-Ob MS Mus. Sch.e.425-6 (26561), Fols. 11 and 13.

⁴⁸ Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, “Singers and John Rich’s Pantomimes at Lincoln’s Inn Fields,” in *The Stage’s Glory*, 163-166.

communication between a student and teacher? Patron and employee? Fellow composers? For the several cases where a name has been written down, there are many other notebooks that remain anonymous, their owners having left few clues as to who compiled or copied the music inside.

With this scarcity of knowledge about the notebooks' owners, it is helpful to examine their contents in order to better comprehend how they might have functioned. Some notebooks contain only texts without musical notation, such as Paschal Lardeaux's collection of "songs and short poems in French, religious, amatory, and bacchanalian."⁴⁹ Given the range of songs represented, Lardeaux's notebook seems to be an attempt to categorize and represent a compendium of genres for different tastes and moods. This purpose becomes clear when he labels each song according to its type ("chanson a boire," "air d'opéra," "chanson pastorale," "chanson bacchique," etc.). Furthermore, from a poem written as a preface to this collection, in which Lardeaux invokes "le lecture" or, "the reader," it becomes clear that he also viewed song texts as poetry that could be read.⁵⁰

Pearson's and Fonronce's notebooks, by contrast, served a more practical end. Both contain transcriptions of French tunes that alter the original version in some way, either for pedagogical or practical reasons. For instance, Pearson transcribes the tunes using lute tablature, while Fonronce transposes melodies in different clefs, predominantly for bass vocal range. By adapting melodies to suit their instrument (voice or lute), Fonronce and Pearson created a more convenient format from which to play or sing. The act of copying a tune using a different form of notation or a different clef could also have served a pedagogical function. In fact, Mr. Fonronce

⁴⁹ Description found in the *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian library* (vol. 3) for Gb-Ob MS Rawl. poet 245 (14735) (Lardeaux's notebook).

⁵⁰ Gb-Ob MS Rawl. poet 245 (14735), fol. 2.

makes it clear that learning music theory was one of his goals, as he includes notes about the “principes de musique” on page four of his notebook.⁵¹ He doesn’t stop here, but includes charts laying out the different “gammes pour la musique” on the next page, followed by exercises writing and naming different intervals. Fonronce’s transcription of French tunes thus shows how he was trying to put these more theoretical concepts into practice, by writing melodies using different scales and clefs.

The content in these notebooks is not always musical. Mr. Fonronce’s notebook records his daily expenses (“l’état de l’argent que j’ai reçu depuis le 27 Juin”) and calculations of “l’épacte” (age of the moon at the beginning of the year), among other quotidian data.⁵² There are also many endearing, personal touches in the notebooks, such as Hannah Pearson practicing her penmanship, by writing the “P” of her last name several times in a row, or master Colin crossing out measures of music that didn’t satisfy him.⁵³ Finally, if they indeed belonged to Huguenot refugees, these notebooks may have also held symbolic value—an expression of their owners’ French identities through the musical memory of a homeland they no longer belonged to.⁵⁴

TUNES FOR ALL OCCASIONS

What might strike a modern-day observer about these notebooks is their mixture of both sacred and secular, popular and elite: airs from Lully’s *tragédies en musique* juxtaposed with Parisian street songs; a notebook split between psalms by Godeau and tunes set to raunchy texts.

⁵¹ Gb-Ob MS Mus.Sch.G08 (26605).

⁵² MS Mus.Sch.G08 (26605).

⁵³ MS Mus. Sch.f. 579 (26602). Hannah Pearson’s name appears on the inside front cover.

⁵⁴ For a thorough understanding of how French (operatic) identity became expressed through the Huguenot diaspora at the turn of the century, see Ahrendt, “A Second Refuge.”

While acknowledging the variety of music they contain, what follows will focus specifically on the French songs that were part of the Parisian popular theatrical repertoire. Table 7 shows tunes from the music notebooks that can also be found in the repertoire of the Théâtres de la foires and Théâtre Italien. Airs by Lully and Campra and others are also implicated, because they were parodied and appropriated by the popular theaters.

Table 7. Vaudeville Tunes in Amateur Music Notebooks from Bodleian Library

Tune	MSS Music Notebook(s)	In Parisian repertoire	Performed in London?
“Comme l’hirondelle au printemps”	Mr. Fonronce’s notebook (pg. 23); Pascal Lardeaux’s notebook (pg. 26)	<i>Les Animaux raisonnables</i> (TFLO, v. 3)	Yes; 9 performances
“Dans nos vaisseaux, que de beautés”	Mr. Fonronce’s notebook (pgs. 24-26)	<i>Alceste, Parodie</i> (PNTI, v. 4)	No
“Les plaisirs nous suivrons désormais”	Mr. Fonronce’s notebook (pg. 27-30)	<i>Amadis</i> (Lully); <i>Le Réveil de l’opéra-comique</i> (TFLO v. 9)	No
Air de “Folies d’Espagne”	Hannah Pearson’s notebook (pg. 76 and 95); “deux variantes”	In many TFLO/PNTI plays	Yes (<i>L’École des Amants</i> ; <i>Parodie de l’opéra de Telemaque</i> ; <i>l’Isle des Amazones</i> ; <i>Les Funérailles de la Foire</i>)
“L’autre jour sur [dessous/sous] cet [un] ormeau”	Pascal Landreaux’s notebook	<i>La Reine du Barostan</i> (TFLO, v. 7) <i>Hesione</i> (PNTI, v. 4)	No
“Aux armes, camarades, aux armes”	Pascal Lardeaux’s notebook (pg. 10)	At least 7 TFLO plays	No, but published in both Malard’s and Boyer’s grammar books
“Attendez moi sous l’orme”	Pascal Lardeaux’s notebook (pg. 30)	<i>Attendez mois sous l’orme</i> (Gherardi v. 6); <i>Le Pharaon</i> (TFLO, v. 2); <i>Arlequin Endymion</i> (TFLO v. 4); <i>Momus Exile</i> (PNTI, v. 3)	Yes – <i>Attendez moi</i> Others - no
“Air de la comédie <i>Pasquin et Marforio</i> ” [“Avec du vin de Mante”]	Pascal Lardeaux’s notebook (pg. 36)	<i>Pasquin et Marforio</i> (Gherardi v. 6)	Yes
“Air de la comédie <i>Les Souffleurs</i> “Réveillez vous, belle endormie”	Pascal Lardeaux’s notebook	<i>Les Souffleurs</i> ; [<i>ou la Pierre philosophale d’Arlequin</i>] (Soleinne); also in many TFLO/Gher/PNTI plays;	<i>Souffleurs</i> – no, but published in Amsterdam in 1695; Others - yes
“Aimable Vainqueur”	Master Colin’s Notebook (pg. 4)	<i>Hésione</i> (Campra); <i>Hésione</i> (parodie) [PNTI (v. 4)]	No, but Pécour’s choreography to this tune was danced on London stages.
“Sommeil d’Isse”	Master Colin’s Notebook (pg. 14)	<i>Issé</i> (Destouche); Parodied in <i>Momus Fabuliste</i> (Fuzelier)	No – but <i>Momus Fabuliste</i> adapted as ballad opera (see CH 4)

This table demonstrates that at least five tunes in these notebooks could also have been heard on London stages. “Comme l’hirondelle au printemps,” the first tune listed in the above table, appears in the Théâtre de la Foire play that was performed more than any of the other French plays in London—*Les Animaux raisonnables*. (The tune “Adieu paniers, vendanges sont faites” from the grammar books was in this very same play.) As discussed previously, this play received nine performances on two different London stages between 1720 and 1734. Could Mr. Fonronce or Pascal Lardeaux, who transcribed this tune in their notebooks, have attended one of these performances and heard this tune sung on stage? Fonronce’s notebooks date from 1695 and 1696, while Lardeaux began his in 1699 (“commencé le 11 Novembre 1699”) and was still adding to it in 1738. Lardeaux was most likely in England by 1738, because his collection contains a tune commemorating the birth of King George III (“chanson sur la naissance de sa majesté, Guillaume 3: sur l’air *Voici le temp de retour*.”) It is plausible then, that both men would have been alive to see *Les Animaux raisonnables* performed in London during the 1720s and 1730s. If they hadn’t, it would have been equally plausible for their fellow Huguenot refugees to attend the theater during the years the French troupes frequented London stages.

The tune “Comme l’hirondelle au printemps” (“Like a swallow in the springtime”) would have served as a fitting metaphor for the Huguenot experience, in that it represented loss of faith in something that has failed to fulfill its own symbolic purpose. In a word, the tune evoked feelings of disillusionment. The original text (found in Ballard’s *Clef des chansonniers*) is preserved in Fonronce’s and Lardeaux’s notebooks, and details the story of betrayal in love. The speaker is betrayed by a “hirondelle” (“a swallow”), the absent lover, who is supposed to return every spring season, but one day finds another lover, or “vins nouveaux” and never returns:

Like a sparrow in springtime,
My shepherd returns every year,

Swearing to me a faithful love:
But how false are his promises!
As soon as in autumn he senses the new wines
He flees like a swallow.⁵⁵

Recalling the new text setting to “Tes beaux yeux” in J.E. Tandon’s grammar book, similar sentiments of betrayal were expressed amongst the exiled Huguenots about their former French monarch.⁵⁶ The tune “Comme l’hirondelle” could also have been included in Fonronce’s notebook for its poignant illustration of symbolic disloyalty.

In the parody of “Comme l’hirondelle” in *Les Animaux raisonnables*, sung on London stages, the new text also reinforces the meaning of the original. The tune is used to notify Ulysses about his lover’s dubious “virtue.” A bull asks Ulysses, “do you know what I compare to virtue, Mr. Ulysses?” (“Savez-vous, seigneur Ulisse, à quoi je compare la vertu?”). The bull gives his explanation to the tune of “Comme l’hirondelle”:

Like a candle which illuminates
In a lantern the night
[So] shines the virtue of a Beauty.
The lovers, like the wind,
Huff and puff, and virtue often
Extinguishes itself like a candle.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Both notebooks contain this first stanza of the two-stanza original; Fonronce includes one less verse, while Lardeaux includes one more:

Comme une hirondelle au printemps,
Mon berger revient tous les ans,
Me jurer un amour fidèle:
Mais que ses serments sont faux!
Dès qu’en automne, il sent les vins nouveaux,
Il fuit comme une hirondelle.

⁵⁶ For more on the attitudes of exiled Huguenots towards Louis XIV and the French monarchy, see especially Trim (ed.), *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context*; and James Foster Flagg, “Abel Boyer: A Huguenot Intermediary” (PhD diss., Boston University, 1973).

⁵⁷ Comme une chandelle qui luit
Dans une lanterne la nuit,
Brille la vertu d’une Belle,
Les amants, comme le vent,
Soufflent dessus & la vertu souvent
S’éteint comme une chandelle.

Here, a woman's virtue ("la vertu d'une Belle") is called into question and, as a result, the intended simile—the comparison of virtue to a candle—disintegrates. As with most of the parodied tunes, the earnest sentiment of the original becomes a bawdy joke; however, the failure of the analogy remains characteristic of both versions of the text.

The tune "Reveillez vous belle endormie" appears in the largest quantity of plays performed in London. This tune was so frequently used in the popular theater repertoire, appearing in nearly every play in the d'Orneval/Lesage anthology, that its presence in many different London performances might simply have to do with sheer volume of usage. It is curious, then, that Lardeaux singled out the version of "Reveillez vous belle endormie," specifically from "la comédie des *Souffleurs*," when there were so many other versions he could have written down:

Wake up, beautiful sleeper
Wake up, beautiful sleeper
Put your head to the window
You will hear talk of love.⁵⁸

No evidence has surfaced to show that *Les Souffleurs* was performed in London, which indicates that Lardeaux might have owned the copy that was published in Amsterdam in 1695. Given that he was in the Netherlands (and perhaps France earlier on) until at least 1700, he could have purchased a copy there, or even seen a performance of this play. Whichever the case, he preserved a rendition of the text that is very close to the meaning of the original: namely, a coy invitation to eavesdrop on a lover's amorous affectations.

⁵⁸ Réveillez vous belle endormie,
Réveillez vous, belle endormie,
Mettez la tête à la fenêtre
Vous entendez parler d'amour.

Though supplying a good number of French operatic airs in general, these notebooks contain at least three operatic airs that were frequently parodied in the popular theater repertoire, including “Les plaisirs nous suivrons désormais,” by Lully; “Aimable Vainqueur,” from Campra’s *Hésione*; and the “Sommeil d’Issé,” by Destouches. While I will discuss the “sommeil d’Issé” at length in Chapter Four, it is important to note that “Aimable Vainqueur” was also disseminated in London through the public availability of master Colin’s music notebook. Although neither Campra’s *Hésione* or its parody were performed in London, Moira Goff speculates that two notable French dancers in London—Desnoyer and Mlle Chateauneuf—danced to “Aimable Vainqueur” (advertised as a “Loure”) at Drury Lane in 1740.⁵⁹ The dual experience of collecting this tune in print and seeing it performed on stage was thus still a possibility.

In the end, these private music notebooks seem to have done little to circulate French culture to a broader English public. In the case of M. Fonronce and M. Lardeaux, these artifacts offer, instead, a more intimate look at the music an exiled French community remembered from their homeland and felt important enough to bring with them to England. However, since we know that Huguenots attended the French productions in London, these notebooks still account for a range of music that would have existed in the audience’s memories while witnessing a French comedy. As outlined in this chapter, this music held varied symbolic associations for different communities—whether Huguenot refugee or aspiring French speaker—and the presentation of the same tune on a foreign stage could have reinforced or altered those meanings over time.

⁵⁹ Moira Goff, “The Celebrated Desnoyer, Part 2: 1734-1742,” *Dance Research* 31, no. 1 (2013): 86, 92. Mlle Chateauneuf first came to London with the troupe of French players for the 1734–1735 season (see Appendix A.7).

FRENCH TUNES ABOUND

The French grammar books and amateur music notebooks represent only two examples of the wide-ranging sources, both musical and non-musical, that helped bring French popular song to England. Due to their unique social functions and surprisingly dense quantity of *vaudevilles* from the French popular theaters, the grammar books and music notebooks have formed the core of my analysis. Deserving of further mention, however, are the hundreds of French tunes that appear in a diverse range of English sources—so diverse, in fact, that my quest for French tunes led to as many non-musical sources as musical ones. Hundreds of French songs appear in the British Library’s collections of single sheet songs; large collections of French songs purchased by London subscribers; French tunes in non-musical sources such as cookbooks, political manifestos, playing cards and other games; French dances on London stages; and, finally, French tunes in English ballad operas. These sources supply ample material for a sustained study in their own right, so I will give only a brief introduction to them here.

The British Library possesses an especially rich supply of single sheet English songs—many engraved by Thomas Cross and sold very cheaply in London during the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ Despite texts that suggest an English heritage, many of these songs in fact came from France or Italy. For example, the famous French tune “Aimable vainqueur” from Campra’s *Hesione* becomes “A song to Celia who was forc’d to marry another, her lover being absent.” The text for this version of the tune was penned by Mr. D’Urfey, an Englishman who commonly arranged English texts to fit French tunes.⁶¹ Although the words and names have been Anglicized, the song still employs a similar plot device as that of Campra’s opera—an arranged

⁶⁰ For this information, I am indebted to Rebecca Herissone and Sandra Tuppen who presented their research on Thomas Cross at the British Library Study Day, “Musicians, Publishers, and Pirates, of the Mid-Baroque” (June 29, 2016).

⁶¹ See Rogers, “John Gay,” 181.

marriage. French tunes with English versions such as this could have served to disseminate general conceptions of French operatic and theatrical works abroad; such conceptions would have only been reinforced by the appearance of “Aimable vainqueur’s” original French text in Jean Palairet’s grammar book of 1730 and Mr. Colin’s music notebook, among many other London sources.

Several French composers’ names appear frequently in these single song sheets. The names Mr. Dieupart and Mr. Gillier are especially well represented. While writing French songs for the theaters in their native Paris, they also composed songs with English text and character names. This cross-Channel song writing can be attributed to the fact that both composers had careers in the London theaters during the first decade of the eighteenth century. While scholars have shown direct links between Charles Dieupart in London and the French composer Dieupart, Gillier’s London identity remains contentious.⁶² As far as is known, Jean-Claude Gillier composed music for the Comédie Française and the Théâtre de la Foire in Paris; whether this is the same “Mr. Gillier” composing in London at the turn of the century is uncertain. Nevertheless, a London publication of French drinking songs composed by “Jean Claude Gillier” in 1723–24 demonstrates that the French Gillier’s music was known by Londoners in a printed source on at least one occasion.⁶³

As mentioned previously, Jean-Claude Gillier’s music was a staple of the French plays performed in London. Even if he did not have a sustained London career like his colleague Dieupart, his music was brought to life in London by the traveling French troupes’

⁶² For short overviews of Dieupart’s and Gillier’s careers in London see Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage: 1695-1705* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2009). For notes about the identity of the London Gillier during the first decade of the eighteenth century, see Lowerre, 284, 347.

⁶³ Jean-Claude Gillier, *Recueil d’airs François, Sérieux & à Boire. A Une, Deux, & Trois Parties. Composé en Angleterre, Par Mr. Jean Claude Gillier* (London, 1723).

entertainments. His collection of French drinking songs reveals not only which songs Londoners knew, but also who knew them. The volume lists the subscribers, which included members of the English nobility (most notably the Duke of Montagu—patron of the French players at the Little Haymarket Theater); several famous French dancers in London (Monsieur Dupré, Monsieur Dumont); even a Monsieur Procope—the same author of the play *Arlequin Balourd* discussed in Chapter Two. At least one of the tunes in his drinking song collection—“L’Amant dans ses vœux”—was used in the play *L’École des Amants* (“The School of Lovers”) though set to a different text. As *L’École des Amants* was performed in London on April 4, 1720 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Gillier’s volume would have supplied a different version of the song for Londoners, although a few years later. Gillier’s collection represented one of several such collections of songs entirely in French, printed and sold in London, that served as musical material for the theater, but also for private collections and domestic music-making.⁶⁴

French tunes in non-musical sources, such as playing cards, periodicals, and cookbooks, can also demonstrate how they were consumed throughout a range of social activities in everyday life. *The Daily Post* advertisement for December 28, 1724 announces the sale of “New musical cards, a compleat song on each card. Compos’d by the most eminent masters, the words being engraved to music, and the songs entirely new.”⁶⁵ A card deck could have offered a more portable form for disseminating French tunes; they could fit in one’s pocket and be brought out after dinner at the theater, tavern, or coffeehouse, without the need to lug around a heavy, fragile

⁶⁴ See, for instance, *One Hundred French Songs* (London: John Walsh, 1749) and *Recueil de Trois Cent Chansons Françaises: Parfaitement Choies, Sur Toutes Sortes de Sujets*. (London, 1737).

⁶⁵ Quoted in David Hunter, *Opera and Song Books Published in England, 1703-1726: A Descriptive Bibliography* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1997), xii.

volume.⁶⁶ French tunes in *The Country Magazine*, which also contains a plethora of French food recipes translated for an English readership, demonstrates how a specific demographic of readers in the 1730s might have come into contact with French tunes—namely, interspersed between recipes for ragout and soufflé.⁶⁷ On a more serious note, a Londoner might also find a French tune in a political statement titled, “His Catholic Majesty’s most Christian Manifesto... faithfully rendered into English metre to the heroical French tune of ‘Je chante les combats’ (by Boileau)... to be read at this juncture to revive true old English courage and curb the insolence of Spain.”⁶⁸ French tunes set to English texts to stir up patriotic (and anti-French) sentiments would become popular especially in the mid to late eighteenth century; however, such practices were not uncommon earlier on.

Perhaps most difficult to locate are the French tunes used in English ballad operas. As Vanessa Rogers has argued, John Gay’s use of French *vaudeville* tunes in *The Beggar’s Opera* and *Polly* indicates his familiarity with the Parisian fair theater repertoire.⁶⁹ Similar French tunes are likely to be found in the flood of English ballad operas that followed the lead of *The Beggar’s Opera*. While it is difficult to identify these tunes comprehensively, due to their new English texts and titles, I have located some of the original *refrains* that are marked in some way

⁶⁶ I am grateful to Bethany Cencer (SUNY Potsdam) for elaborating on this topic in a paper titled, “Dealing with Capitalism: Card Decks and the Circulation of Portable Music in Georgian England,” presented at The American Musicological Society, Vancouver (November, 2016).

⁶⁷ *The Country Magazine, Or, Gentleman and Lady’s Pocket Companion Containing the Cook’s Calendar, Being Rules and Directions in Every Part of Cookery, Taken from the Best Authors Both English and French, ... ; to Which Are Added Receipts in Pastry, Pickling, Preserving, Distilling All Sorts of Cordials for the Closet . . .* (London: Printed and sold by J. Read, 1736).

⁶⁸ *His Catholic Majesty’s Most Christian Manifesto and Reasons for Not Paying the Ninety-Five Thousand Pounds: Faithfully Rendered into English Metre: To the Heroical French Tune of Je Chante Les Combats, & Ce Prince Terrible . . .* (London: Printed for C. Corbett, 1739).

⁶⁹ See Rogers, “John Gay.”

as French in the ballad operas. For instance, the air titled, “Si vous vous moquez de nous” in John Gay’s *Achilles* (London, 1733) is, in fact, the popular French *vaudeville* “Robin turelure.”⁷⁰

When a Woman sullen sits,
And wants Breath to conquer Reason,
Always these affected fits
Are in Season:
Since ‘tis in her Disposition,
Make her be her own Physician.

Perhaps Gay heard this tune performed in its many French renditions on London stages, found it a compelling portrayal of love’s power to make one irrational, and used it to depict this trait in one of his characters. Or perhaps, on a more symbolic scale, irrationality, femininity and French culture here become linked; indeed, French tunes were often used in ballad operas to mock French characteristics and reinforce stereotypes. Other tunes, however, became Anglicized in the ballad repertoire over time; later audiences might never have known that a melody began as a street song in Paris with a long-standing dramatic history of its own.

⁷⁰ The source for “Si vous vous moquez” had not been previously identified: see Rogers, “John Gay,” Table 2, 187.

Chapter Four

“French Turn’d English”: Ballad Opera Adaptations of French Comedies

The evidence for French performers, tunes, and comic plays in England during the early eighteenth century, discussed in Chapters Two and Three, can help shed light on the development and historical legacy of ballad opera, which (like pantomime) is now perceived as a characteristically English genre. According to Edmund Gagey, who wrote one of the first sustained studies on this genre, ballad opera can be defined as a spoken play of three acts or fewer, interspersed with popular tunes that are both specified and numbered in the printed play.¹ Today, ballad opera is commonly assumed to have appeared mysteriously and suddenly with John Gay’s famous *Beggar’s Opera* in 1728, and then to have disappeared just as quickly as it came.² Gagey, however, speculated that it possessed a French antecedent in the *comédies en vaudevilles* from the Théâtre de la Foire and the Théâtre Italien, which had already appeared in print and performance in London. Despite his keen insights, Gagey was unable to provide tangible evidence to support his argument, exclaiming “how convenient it would be at this point to discover a neat little passage in the correspondence or the annals of the eighteenth century proving beyond question that Gay was familiar with the French *comédies en vaudevilles*!”³

Even though Gagey made these conjectures in 1937, it has only been recently that musicologists have followed his lead. Research by Vanessa Rogers and Daniel Hartz has since pointed to several concrete links between John Gay and the French *comédies en vaudevilles* that

¹ Edmund McAdoo Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937).

² In the *Grove* article on ballad opera, Curtis Price and Robert Hume state: “the sudden appearance of ballad opera in 1728 remains one of the mysteries of 18th-century theatre history.” See “Ballad opera,” *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01887> (accessed July 7, 2017).

³ Gagey, 31.

indicate their potential influence on his invention of ballad opera.⁴ For instance, Gay used at least twelve French *vaudeville* tunes in his ballad operas, which he probably knew not only from the 1714 London printed edition of the *Théâtre Italien*, but also from hearing them performed live in London and perhaps even in Paris when he visited there in 1717 and 1719.⁵ There is additional evidence that later ballad opera authors were also familiar with French theatrical traditions, because at least sixteen ballad operas from 1729 to 1749 adapt French comic plays from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁶ These plays did not only include the *comédies en vaudevilles* that Gagey, Rogers, and Heartz emphasize; they also include works by Molière to other musical comedies produced for the Comédie-Française and Théâtre Italien. The ballad operas that draw upon or adapt these French theatrical sources will form the primary focus of this chapter.

While the links between ballad opera and the French *comédies en vaudevilles* are now much more concrete, the cultural, political, and historiographical implications of these adaptations have yet to be fully explored: why and how did the genre of ballad opera come to be promoted as distinctly English when it drew so frequently upon foreign texts, music, and culture? What can the process of adaptation and translation tell us about the specific relationship between French and English culture and society during the heyday of ballad opera? By comparing English ballad opera adaptations to their original French sources, I will demonstrate how English playwrights, although seeking to distinguish their adaptations from the French originals in terms of genre and national identity, ultimately drew upon French plays that highlighted shared social and political circumstances. The tendency to differentiate rather than uphold similarities between

⁴ Rogers, "John Gay," 173–213; Heartz, "The Beggar's Opera and Opéra-comique en Vaudevilles," 42–53.

⁵ Rogers, "John Gay," 174.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Table 3, 195–196.

the two cultures can in some sense be seen as an expression of the anxieties about foreign performers and music in London that were being articulated during this period, although, instead of being hidden or denied, these apprehensions were performed openly as part of the theatrical work. With its self-referential, satirical, and remarkably intertextual design, ballad opera created a space for addressing some of the public's fears about an increasingly cosmopolitan London, all the while still branding itself as English.

OVERVIEW OF ENGLISH BALLAD OPERA ADAPTATIONS

While English translations of French plays became increasingly popular among London booksellers in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, ballad operas that adapted French sources were a new phenomenon, because they added a musical component to spoken dialogue. Their structure was nearly identical to the *comédies en vaudevilles*, where popular airs set to new text were inserted into an otherwise spoken comedy. This form somewhat purposefully contrasted with the high operatic styles of *tragédie en musique* in France and *opera seria* in London, where the music was continuous and newly composed.⁷ Even earlier English operas—*Calypso and Telemachus* (1712), and *The British Enchanters* (1705–6), although antecedents of ballad opera in terms of their nationalistic agendas, were different stylistically from the genre John Gay introduced in 1728. The popular tunes, in particular, became an important aspect of the genre, providing a vehicle for cultural commentary, gossip, and even subversive political ideas. The layering of a different text with a melody that held prior associations created opportunities

⁷ These French and Italian styles were themselves much different from one another, but I have linked them here to show how they contrasted with English ballad opera and *comédies en vaudevilles*. When I say, “newly composed,” I mean it relatively, in comparison to ballad opera. There is extensive literature on Handel and borrowing which complicates the definition of “new.”

for veiled critiques and allusions that one could only understand if familiar with a tune and its symbolic references.

Out of the ballad operas produced between 1728 and 1760, there are at least sixteen that adapt French sources.⁸ While three of these works have been lost or were never published, thirteen sources are extant. The majority of the adaptations were anonymously authored (though the original French authors are known in almost all cases). Two of them are by Henry Fielding—author of the famous novel *Tom Jones*—while the remainder are by Augustan poets and playwrights who are little known today, including Charles Johnson, James Ralph, Charles Coffey, James Miller, and James Wilder. Written primarily between 1729 and 1734 during the peak of ballad opera's popularity,⁹ these adaptations were performed at a variety of London theaters: eight were performed at Drury Lane, two at Goodman's Fields, two at Bartholomew Fair, one at Lincoln's Inns Fields, one at Covent Garden, one at the Little Haymarket Theater, and one was printed but not performed. The fact that significantly more of these ballad operas were produced at Drury Lane than at any other theater is curious, but it may have had to do with the history of performing French opera there, or simply that Drury Lane produced the most ballad operas between 1731 and 1735.¹⁰

Given the source material's anonymous or little studied authors, and the ephemeral, aurally transmitted music (which, if printed, often circulated independently of the published

⁸ This number does not include ballad operas that employed French *vaudeville* tunes, or others which were based on or influenced by French sources, but do not explicitly state this on the title page or in the preface.

⁹ After 1734, there is a strange gap of eleven years until the remaining three ballad operas were produced or printed in 1745 and 1749. (This most likely had to do with the Licensing Act of 1737.)

¹⁰ When Drury Lane opened in 1674, there were efforts made to model it after the l'Academie royale de musique in Paris. In fact, a French opera—*Ariadne, ou le mariage de Bacchus*—was staged there when it opened. See Eric White, *A History of English Opera*, 94. For a comparison of the number of ballad operas produced at each theater from 1728 and 1736 see Berta Joncus and Vanessa Rogers, "Beyond the *Beggar's Opera*: John Rich and English Ballad Opera, 1728-1736," in *The Stage's Glory: John Rich 1692-1761*, 184-185. Rogers and Joncus mention that Drury Lane far outstripped Lincoln's Inn Fields in ballad opera production, nearly doubling the output of manager John Rich.

plays), it may come as no surprise that these ballad operas are rarely discussed in the history of music, let alone compared to their original French sources.¹¹ Scholars instead tend to focus on *The Beggar's Opera* (as the first of its kind) and ballad opera's relationship to Italian *opera seria* in London.¹² Much insight can be gained, however, about both English and French cultures by understanding the context and content of the French originals in relation to their new life in the ballad opera medium. How the adaptors and translators account for the "Frenchness" of their source material provides a point of entry into understanding the complicated identity politics associated with this repertoire.

OVERVIEW OF FRENCH SOURCES

Before I discuss two different case studies of these English adaptations, I will first describe, in somewhat general terms, the French sources that were borrowed and translated. The first important feature to highlight is that the original plays are all comedies. French tragedies by authors such as Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire were also produced in London and translated into English during this time, but it was strictly comedies that were adapted for English ballad opera. Out of the many French comedies that the English borrowed, those by Molière were the clear favorite. Six of the sixteen ballad opera adaptations are based on Molière's comedies, including *Le Médecin malgré lui* (1666), *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (1671), *Le Cocu imaginaire* (1660), not to mention multiple prose translations earlier in the century, and at the end of the seventeenth century.

¹¹ Only *The Mock Doctor* by Fielding gets a brief mention in Eric White's *A History of English Opera*. More recently, Vanessa Rogers and Berta Joncus have compared Fielding's version to the Molière original. See "Ballad Opera and British double entendre: Henry Fielding's *The Mock Doctor*," 101-140.

¹² There are exceptions, including Berta Joncus' research on gender and female celebrity in ballad opera. See, for example, "'The Assemblage of Female Folly': Lavinia Fenton, Kitty Clive, and the Genesis of Ballad Opera," in *Women, Popular Culture, and the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Tiffany Potter (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 25-51.

While the history of Molière in England deserves its own detailed study, there were a few key reasons as to why he may have attained posthumous popularity among ballad opera authors.¹³ For one, Molière's reputation in England was that of a French Shakespeare by the 1720s. His name was so highly praised that, on some level, he may have been used to promote the sales of these ballad operas and boost the reputation of the translators.¹⁴ Indeed, theater historian Paulina Kewes has argued (in regard to Restoration playwrights) that, "the adaptation of a classic, whether native, foreign, or ancient, was a cause for pride and, if properly executed and advertised, could enhance the reputation and professional stature of the adapter."¹⁵ Another key reason that Molière's works became popular source material for ballad operas is that they were translated into English and published as multivolume collections both in 1714, and again in 1732.¹⁶ In terms of formatting, these volumes alternated the French original with the English translation on the adjacent page, much like the pedagogical editions of Molière that exist today. These publications were meant to assist eighteenth-century readers with learning the French language, though they likely also made Molière's works more accessible to English dramatists who needed a commercially attractive story for their next play. It seems no coincidence that the Molière ballad opera productions are clustered around the 1732 publication of his collected works in English.

¹³ There is only the charming, but outdated Dudley Howe Miles, *The Influence of Molière on Restoration Comedy* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), which stops the discussion at 1700.

¹⁴ See Shirley Strum Kenny, "Theatre, Related Arts, and the Profit Motive: an Overview," in *British Theatre, and the Other Arts: 1660–1800*.

¹⁵ Paulina Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation: Writing for the Stage in England, 1660–1710* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 6.

¹⁶ *The Works of Monsieur de Molière: in six volumes*, trans. John Ozell (London: Bernard Lintott, 1714); *Select comedies of Mr. de Molière: French and English. In eight volumes, with a frontispiece to each comedy, to which is prefix'd a curious print of the author, with his life in French and English*, trans. John Watts (London: the Printing-Office in Wild-Court near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, 1732).

The remaining French authors whose works were adapted as English ballad operas are Dancourt, Lesage, Fuzelier, Bougeant, Delisle de la Drevètiere, Regnard, and Jean de la Chapelle. Out of these authors, Lesage and Fuzelier both wrote countless plays for the Théâtre de la Foire (Fuzelier wrote for all the theaters in Paris) and Delisle de la Drevètiere wrote for the Théâtre Italien. Dancourt and Regnard also wrote several works for the fair theaters (Regnard also wrote for the Théâtre Italien) and were two of the most successful comedic writers after Molière for the Comédie-Française. Their works especially influenced English Restoration and Augustan playwrights, such as Susannah Centlivre (born “Susanna Freeman”). Jean de La Chapelle never achieved renown as a playwright, perhaps because he was busy working as a diplomat for Louis XIV and as chairman for the Académie Française.¹⁷ However, his prose comedy *Les Carosses d’Orléans* from 1680 was a huge hit in Paris, and was soon translated into both Dutch and English and performed in Amsterdam and London.¹⁸ Bougeant—a Jesuit priest and professor of classics who only wrote a few plays—remains a bit of an outlier among these authors in that the ballad operas *The Wanton Jesuit* and *Father Girard the Sorcerer* are only dubiously based on the play *Arlequin esprit follet*.¹⁹

The playwrights of this period, both English and French, wore many hats, so to speak; they worked for various theaters under changing political conditions and experimented with a

¹⁷ See Lérès, *Dictionnaire portatif* (Paris, 1763); Beauchamps, *Recherches sur les théâtres* (Paris, 1735).

¹⁸ George Farquhar’s version, *The Stage-Coach: a Comedy* (London: printed and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1704[?]) later became the source material for the ballad opera, *The Stage-Coach Opera* (Dublin: Printed by S. Powell, 1730). Circulating in Dutch was Jacob van Rijndorp’s translation, *De geschaakte bruid, of de verliefde reizigers*, which was performed in Amsterdam in 1690.

¹⁹ Thomas Lockwood suspects that *The Wanton Jesuit* only pretends to have been taken from a French play. See Lockwood, *Henry Fielding: Plays*, vol. 2, 292. Brenner cites Abbé Rembeche as the author to *Arlequin esprit follet* (117).

variety of genres.²⁰ As a result, it remains difficult to classify their works (using modern labels and genres) due to their subtle formalistic and stylistic differences. That being said, early eighteenth-century playwrights became increasingly invested in how genre was defined, so it should not be ignored altogether; rather, genre should be contemplated in relation to each play on a case-by-case basis.

In the case of ballad opera, it was therefore not only the genre of *comédies en vaudevilles* that may have sparked John Gay's imagination, even though the similarities in function and structure are significant. In fact, short prose comedies that contain an assortment of *divertissements* and *vaudeville* tunes were the most commonly adapted by ballad opera authors. Although some of the tunes from these works are also found in the *comédies en vaudevilles*, the French plays adapted as ballad operas represent a variety of comic genres rather than strictly *comédies en vaudevilles*. For one, they do not employ *vaudevilles* consistently throughout the play, as was the practice for the *comédies en vaudevilles* of the Théâtre de la foire. Moreover, unlike the *comédies en vaudevilles*, which were performed at the fair theaters, the French plays turned ballad operas had originally been performed in Paris at the two primary theaters for the Comédie-Française during this time—the Théâtre de la rue des Fossés Saint-Germain and the Théâtre de l'Hôtel Guénégaud.

At least five of the sixteen French plays that were adapted as ballad operas had been produced in London during the 1720s in the original French language and could have been experienced as live performances by English ballad opera authors. Among those performed in London were Lesage's *Crispin rival de son maître* (December 5, 1721 at the Little Haymarket

²⁰ Delisle's *Timon le misanthrope* was said to create a new genre of comedy that had not yet been seen before: "[il] fait voir un genre nouveau de comédie qui a été inconnu aux anciens & modernes & qui ne ressemble à rien de ce qu'on avoit vû jusqu'à present . . ." (Maupoint, *Bibliothèque des théâtres*, 301-302).

Theater); Bougeant's *Arlequin esprit follet* (January 8, 1719 at Lincoln's Inn Fields and May 17, 1720 at the King's Theater); Delisle's *Timon le misanthrope* (May 11, 1726 at the Little Haymarket Theatre); Regnard's *Le Retour imprévu* (April 5, 1722 at the Little Haymarket Theater); and Dancourt's/Lesage's *Le Diable boiteux* (March 29, 1725 at the Little Haymarket theater).²¹ Whether English authors came to know the French sources in print, in performance, or not at all, can sometimes be deduced from a close comparison of the different versions.

In the two case studies that follow, I consider two English ballad operas—*Momus Turn'd Fabulist; or Vulcan's Wedding* and *The Wanton Jesuit; or Innocence Seduced*—in relation to their original French sources. While I have no record of the French versions being performed in London, the French source for *Momus* was a huge success in Paris despite its controversial subject matter, while the source for *The Wanton Jesuit* was either banned or never existed. In both cases, however, the French plays are used allegorically to articulate contentions with the visible injustices of English society, including censorship and religious hypocrisy. More broadly speaking, this repertoire can reveal how British playwrights drew upon both translation and the medium of musical comedies for political satire.

MOMUS FABULIST(E)

After *the Beggar's Opera's* immediate success in 1728, London theater managers seized upon the lucrative possibilities of this new genre and produced numerous ballad operas in imitation of John Gay's. One such ballad opera, *Momus Turn'd Fabulist, or, Vulcan's Wedding*, provides a telling example of how English operatic identity was constructed through and against French theatrical culture. It premiered on December 3, 1729 at Lincoln's Inn Fields under the management of John Rich and was printed the same year by John Watts. The title page even

²¹ Information compiled from *the London Stage, 1660-1800*; see also Appendices A.1–A.7.

aligns itself with Gay's popular ballad opera, most likely as a form of self-promotion: "An opera after the manner of *the Beggar's Opera*, as it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal at Lincoln's Inn Fields."²² However, nowhere on the title page or front matter of the printed edition is there any indication that this work was a translation of a French comedy by Louis Fuzelier, of the same title, produced by the Comédie Française in 1719.²³ The English translation has been attributed to an attorney named Ebenezer Forrest, who was friends with John Rich and William Hogarth and who only translated this one ballad opera.²⁴

We do not discover the play's French origins until the introduction of *Momus Turn'd Fabulist*. Performed as a dialogue between a "gentleman" and a "player," the introduction explains the genesis of Forrest's ballad opera:

Gent.: Sir, I was my self an Eye-witness of it, being in *France* when this Piece first appear'd on the Stage, and saw it represented several Nights with a considerable share of Pleasure, which put me upon rendering it into *English*. In this Performance I have taken the Liberty of turning the *Fables*, which were spoken in *France*, into *Ballads* to be Sung, and have heighten'd several of the Scenes by the Addition of other *Ballads*, suitable to the present taste of the Town. In short, I have made that an *English Opera*, which was but a *French Farce*.²⁵

Forrest's rhetoric possesses a complex interplay of admiration and condescension common to many of the prefaces and prologues of English plays and ballad operas during this period that used borrowed foreign source material. He advertises the changes he has made to the French play, stressing the potential of genre and nationality to make his version different. The added

²² One of John Rich's marketing strategies for the ballad operas he produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields from 1728 to 1736 was to build on Gay's acclaim. See Joncus and Rogers, "Beyond the Beggar's Opera," 184.

²³ Fuzelier is cited as collaborating with Marc-Antoine Le Grand on this work, but his name is curiously not mentioned on the title page. I will thus refer to the author as Fuzelier.

²⁴ "Ebenezer Forrest," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 2.

²⁵ Ebenezer Forrest, *Momus Turn'd Fabulist; or, Vulcan's Wedding* (London, Printed for J. Watts, 1729).

elitist cachet of “opera” shows him trying to elevate his version above the French original, which he deems merely a farce.

That the gentleman of this introduction (representing Forrest himself) could have been an eye-witness to Fuzelier’s play in Paris is entirely possible: it was a great success and was performed thirty eight times in 1719 alone.²⁶ If he had not seen it in France, it remains plausible that he witnessed at least one of the eight Fuzelier plays performed on the London stage between 1718 and 1726, when the French comedians appeared there regularly.²⁷ In any case, Forrest must have had access to the printed version, or at least a pirated copy, since he managed to create such a strict translation.

Given Forrest’s emphasis on its non-musical characteristics, an English audience might not realize that the French original did in fact include music. It contains a diegetic song sung by the character Momus in addition to a final divertissement with music by Jean-Baptiste Maurice Quinault. Although the French play contains only two known musical events, whereas the English version contains a new song for every fable (forty-two airs in all) these help reveal the work’s satirical underpinnings at the time of its production. In fact, I will suggest that the music’s function in the French play is identical to its use in Forrest’s ballad opera. In both cases, music helps delineate the audience’s shared cultural experiences. The music’s alignment with fables in both versions becomes a way of layering symbolic associations that then doubly reveals their targets of critique.

²⁶ Alexandre Auguste Donat Magloire Coupé de Saint-Donat, *Fables* (Rousselon, 1825), 210.

²⁷ *Arlequin laron, juge et grand prevost* (November 28, 1718 Lincoln’s Inn Fields); *Scaramouch pedant scrupuleux; ou L’Escalier* (March 14, 1719 King’s Theater); *Harlequin and Scaramouch déserteurs [Arlequin et Scaramouch soldats déserteurs]* (March 8, 1720 King’s Theater); *Les Animaux raisonnables* (March 17, 1720 King’s Theater, written with M.A. Le Grand); *The School of Lovers [L’École des amants]* (April 4, 1720 Lincoln’s Inn Fields, written with Lesage). *Les Funérailles de la foire & son rappel a la vie* (January 8, 1722 Little Haymarket); *Pierrot le Furieux [Fuzelier?]*, (March 15, 1722 Little Haymarket); *Le Tableau du mariage* (February 15, 1725 Little Haymarket); *La Matrone d’ephèse, ou Arlequin diane* (April 16, 1725 Little Haymarket).

MOMUS IN FRANCE

Louis Fuzelier was a French librettist and playwright, and one of the primary authors of plays produced at the Théâtre de la foire in Paris, even though this particular play was composed for the Comédie-Française. *Momus Fabuliste, ou les nœces de Vulcain* draws upon the fable tradition made famous by Aesop, and in France by La Fontaine. But more specifically, it parodies a collection of fables, titled *Fables nouvelles*, which was published in the same year (1719) by Antoine Houdar de la Motte.²⁸ This collection, dedicated to Louis XV (who was only nine years old at the time), was meant to provide a form of moral education in the guise of entertaining tales. La Motte makes this purpose apparent in his dedication when he declares that, while fables in appearance, these tales are in essence representative of the greatest truths.²⁹ One of the etchings included in the collection, by Claude Gillot, further demonstrates this same idea (see Figure 1).

Fuzelier's play parodies La Motte's *Fables Nouvelles* on the level of both text and music. For one, it is Momus—the infamous god of ridicule and star of many a French comedy—who relates the majority of the fables, twisting La Motte's philosophical tales for the young king into portraits of infidelity and corruption. The central plot revolves around the goddess Venus, whose beauty has stolen the heart of Jupiter even though he is already married to Juno. When Momus ridicules Jupiter for his adulterous intentions, Jupiter, as the god in command, forbids Momus from speaking satirically, threatening to banish him from the heavens. And so, Momus invents fables to convey his thoughts “sans parler.” His fables, which employ animals in the same allegorical fashion as La Motte's, become a disguise for underlying satirical commentary

²⁸ Antoine Houdar de La Motte, *Fables nouvelles, dédiées au Roy* (Paris: Chez G. Dupuis, 1719). Contemporary sources describe *Momus fabuliste* as a “fine critique des fables de M. La Motte.” See Maupont, “Momus Fabuliste,” *Bibliothèque des Théâtres*, 215.

²⁹ “Fables en apparence, en effet vérité” (La Motte, iii).

whenever he encounters various gods or goddesses throughout the play. The primary comic moments hinge on whether or not the various characters will recognize themselves as the targeted subjects of ridicule in the fables, and likewise, whether the audience will recognize the parodies of La Motte's fables.



Figure 1. Engraving from La Motte's *Fables Nouvelles* (Paris: G. Dupuis, 1719)

For instance, in a scene where Mars and Apollo are fighting about who is more worthy of Venus, Apollo brags about his musical abilities, while Mars touts his military prowess. Momus responds to their quarrel by telling a fable about a nightingale ("le rossignol amoureux") who thinks he

can win any bird's love with his song. After Momus has recited only one line of this fable, Mars interrupts, exclaiming that the nightingale must represent Apollo. Momus responds by saying, "Ahem! Pray, hold! Have you ever seen the commentary precede the text? What impropriety!"³⁰ Momus is here parodying La Motte's lengthy "Discourse" at the beginning of the *Fables Nouvelles*, which discusses the history of fables, how to write them, and the function they should serve. La Motte espouses several key stylistic features of a successful fable, one being that a fable's "truth" should arrive "neither at the beginning or the end" lest it should disrupt the entire allegory.³¹ By immediately interrupting the fable and announcing who the allegory represents, Mars reveals the fable's so-called "truth" before it has even begun.

Fuzelier also parodies La Motte through the use of specific musical allusions during this same scene. Aping Apollo, Momus sings this air taken directly from a *sommeil*, or sleep scene, of Andre Cardinal Destouches' *Issé*—an opera first performed at court in 1697 and expanded for the Paris Opéra only a few weeks prior to the premiere of *Momus Fabuliste*. It is no coincidence that the libretto for Destouche's *Issé* was also written by La Motte:

Que d'éclat! Que d'attraits!	What radiance! What beauties!
Contentez-vous, mes yeux;	Be contented, my eyes;
Parcourez tous ses charmes;	Look upon her charms;
Payez-vous, s'il se peut, des larmes	Pay, if possible, with the tears
Qu'on vous a vu verser pour eux.	Which you shed for them.

As the music for this scene would have been fresh in the ears of the theatergoing public, it would have evoked associations with the opera's plot, which is also about a love triangle involving Apollo. Destouches' music, by adding a second layer of allegorical associations, provides another clue about the fable's target of ridicule—Apollo himself. The comic implications are

³⁰ "Momus à Mars: Eh! de grâce, arrêtez: a-t-on jamais vu le commentaire marcher devant le texte? Quel dérèglement!" (*Momus Fabuliste*, 33).

³¹ "La vérité une fois choisie, il faut la cacher sous l'allégorie, & à la rigueur, on ne devrait l'exprimer ni à la fin ni au commencement de la Fable" (La Motte, *Fables Nouvelles*, XV).

heightened by the song's original position in Issé's *sommeil*; for in this new context, it would imply that the female bird is sleeping or being lulled to sleep while the nightingale serenades her. In this sense, by invoking La Motte through music, Fuzelier portrays Apollo's serenade as little more than a cure for insomnia; perhaps conversely, he implies the same of La Motte's libretto.

The final *vaudeville* of the play contains music as well, although the tune employed, “Ma fable est-elle obscure? lure lure,” has no evidence of an earlier source, and in fact, likely originated in the ending divertissement of *Momus Fabuliste* (see figure 2).

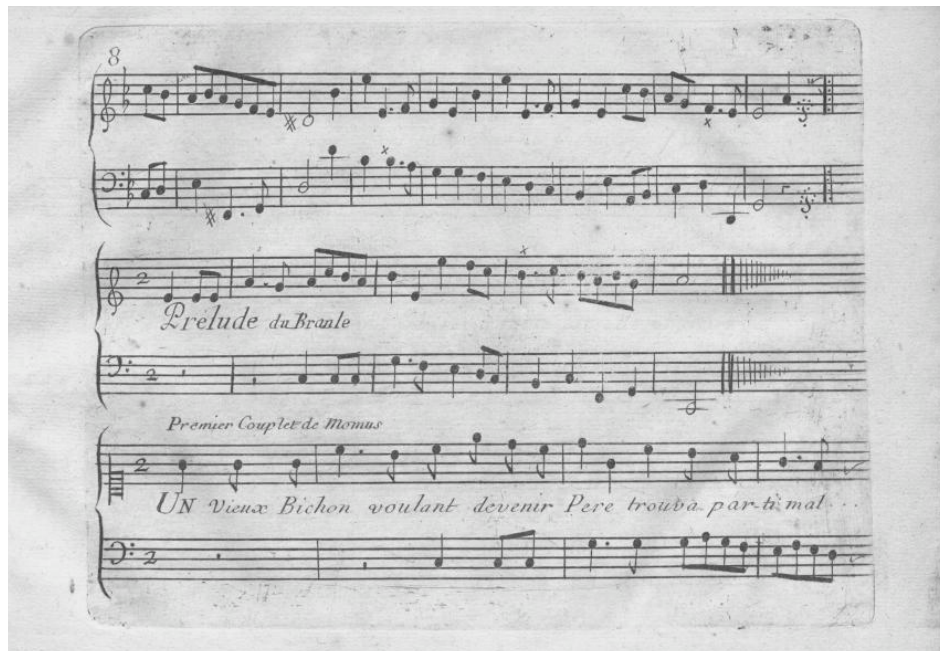


Figure 2. Final *Vaudeville* in Jean-Baptiste Maurice Quinault's Divertissement for *Momus Fabuliste* (Paris, Veuve Ribou, 1719) [excerpt]

The main characters take turns singing this tune to a different text, with each of the strophes representing a different fable that depicts infidelity in some capacity. For instance, Momus sings the first verse to the following text:

Un vieux bichon voulant devenir pere
 Trouva parti malgré son poil crasseux
 Dix jours après sa bichone fut mere,
 Et lui donna trois Braques vigoureux
 Mari barbon, ma fable est-elle obscure,
 Lure lure,
 Quelque Cadet l'expliquera
 Lare larela

An old pet dog wanting to become a father
 Found a match despite his dirty fur.
 Ten days later his wife was a mother
 And gave him three vigorous pups.
 Married old fogey, is my fable obscure?
 Lure Lure
 Some youngster will explain it.
 Lare Larela

This fable allegorically implies that a woman has been unfaithful to two different men—one older and one younger—and her pregnancy is testament to her infidelity. The tune “ma fable est-elle obscure?” became quite popular; not only in the Parisian theaters, but also became part of a manuscript collection of *vaudeville* tunes that related historical anecdotes from the years 1697 to 1731 (see figure 3). The tune is reworked with new text in this manuscript, which even contains descriptions in the margins to explain any references the reader or singer might not understand.³²

Une fauvette aimait, malgré son père,
 Avec ardeur un jeune canari;
 Delà les monts son père trop sévère
 Lui a donné un hiboux pour mary
 Belle Valois ma fable est elle obscure?
 Lure lure lure
 Richelieu vous l'expliquera
 Lalala la

A warbler loved ardently, despite her father,
 a young canary.
 Beyond the mountains, her strict father married
 her to an owl.
 Beautiful Valois, is my fable unclear?
 Lure lure
 Richelieu will explain it to you
 Lalala la

Marginalia: “Mademoiselle Valois was married against her will to the prince of Modena. She had an intrigue with the Duc de Richelieu who was put in the Bastille under the pretext of having wanted to fight the kingdom of the King of Spain . . .”³³

³² The marginal comments of this document also have an important function: they allow us to understand a historical reference that may no longer be immediately recognizable. In this sense, this source represents the writing of history through tunes, and demonstrates one reason why tunes may have been notated and preserved despite their aural transmission.

³³ “Mlle de Vallois mariée contre son gré au prince de Modene. Elle avoit été en intrigue avec le Duc de Richelieu qui fut mis a la Bastille pour cela on pris le pretexte qu’il vouloit lutté royaume au Roy d’Espagne . . .”

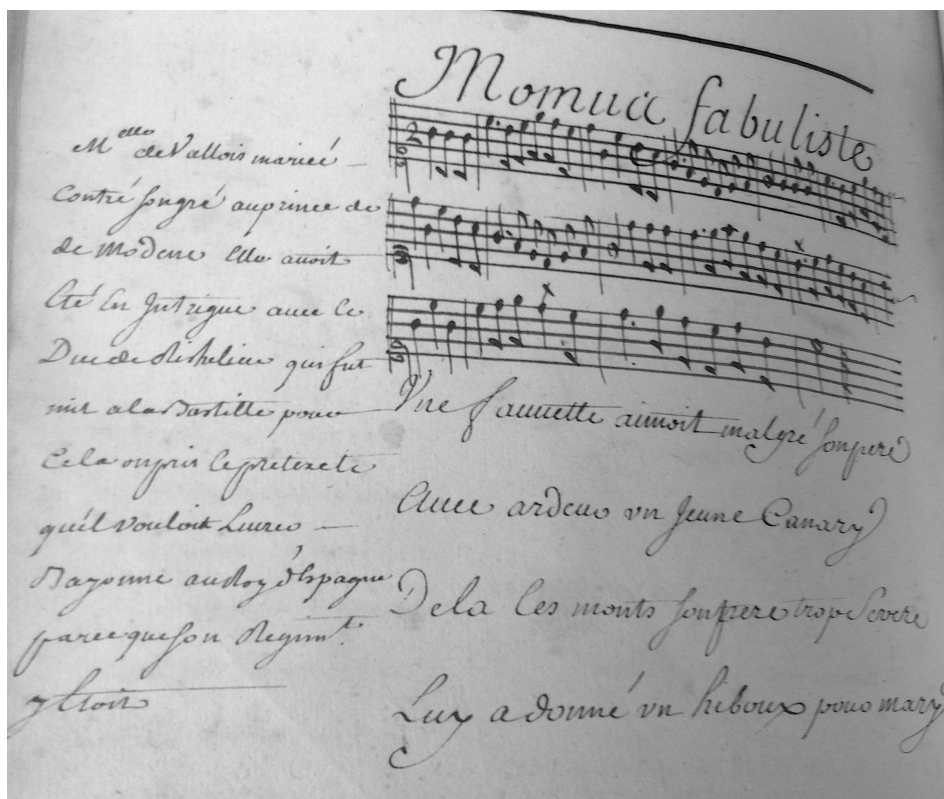


Figure 3. “Momus Fabuliste” in *Recueil de chansons choisies en vaudevilles. Pour servir à l’histoire, anecdotes depuis 1697 jusques à 1731* [F-Pn Res VMA MS – 7(2)], 640.

The new text is also a fable, which harkens back to the tune’s origin in Fuzelier’s play. If the allegory of the warbler and the canary is not at first understood, the clever refrain suggests that the name Richelieu would trigger the correct association. As the marginal comments reveal, the Regent’s daughter (Mlle Vallois, here symbolized by the warbler) had an affair with the Duc de Richelieu before her marriage to the prince of Modena (represented by the owl) in 1718, only a year prior to *Momus Fabuliste*’s production. The tune’s main question—“is my fable unclear?”—in both the original and new texts, not only urges the reader or listener to recognize the embedded allusion in the fable, but also to recognize a tune that symbolizes infidelity in its original context.

On a larger scale, Fuzelier's parody of La Motte in *Momus Fabuliste* also generated a lasting debate about the role of parody in art, in which La Motte and Fuzelier were the primary participants. In his *Discours à l'occasion d'un discours de Monseigneur de la Motte sur les parodies* (1731), Fuzelier argued in response to La Motte's notion of parody as an attack on virtue, by claiming that parody helps illuminate true virtue:

We come to the point. M. de La Motte tries, by some reasons more artificial than substantial, to insinuate to his readers, that "parodies turn virtue into paradox, and often try to render it ridiculous." If that were to be shown, then parodies would certainly be very condemnable; but if parodies, far from trying to render virtue ridiculous, only address virtue when it is truly ridiculous, then these works no longer should be regarded as a type of buffoonery, but as a sensible critique and even useful for morals: they no longer should be regarded as the enemies of virtue, but as its defenders; is it not a form of defense to attack that which is counterfeit?³⁴

This idea that parody, in fact, defends virtue is used in Fuzelier's play where, as we have seen, moral and immoral behavior become discernible through the use of parody. For instance, by parodying the similarly flawed Apollo of Destouche's *Issé*, Momus' song about the amorous nightingale critiques Apollo's hubris. Indeed the many characters Momus meets and tells "fables" to—many of which are parodies of La Motte—show the characters their own vices. The audience, too, could have recognized their own vices in some of these characters, and such occasions were quite frequent when plays parodied the actual intrigues of court society. Parody thus functioned for Fuzelier in the same way fables did for La Motte—to teach virtue and truth. However, in this parody of fables that is *Momus Fabuliste*, the two modes of critique overlap and

³⁴ Fuzelier, *Discours à l'occasion d'un discours de Monseigneur de la Motte* (Paris, Briasson, 1731):

"Venons au fait. M.D.L.M. s'efforce par des raisonnements plus artificieux, que solides, d'insinuer à ses lectures, que les *Parodies tournent la vertu en paradoxe, & essayent souvient de la rendre ridicule*. Si cela était démontré, les parodies seraient certainement très condamnables; mais si les parodies, bien-loin d'essayer de rendre la vertu ridicule, elles n'apostrophent que la vertu véritablement ridicule, alors ces ouvrages ne doivent plus être regardés comme une espèce de bouffonnerie, mais comme une critique sensée & même utile pour les mœurs: ils ne doivent plus être regardés comme les ennemis de la vertu, mais comme ses défenseurs; n'est-ce pas la défendre que d'attaquer ce qui la contrefait?"

create multiple satires on several different planes—one of the characters in the play, one of La Motte, and one of society itself.

MOMUS IN ENGLAND

With such distinct cultural references in the French production of *Momus Fabuliste*, it becomes difficult to imagine how the English version's quite literal translation could have rendered this play relevant for an English audience. The French play must have been at least thematically relevant because of a number of shared cultural and political circumstances in both England and France. For instance, La Motte's fables, having been translated into English in 1721, were important to English literary culture as well, and so was French fable culture more generally.³⁵ John Gay even published his own set of fables in 1727, which were largely influenced by La Motte.³⁶ While the English translation of La Motte made his fables accessible to the English public, Forrest's ballad opera cannot be read as a parody of La Motte to the same extent as the French original. For one, Forrest's translation removes from the French original specific allusions to La Motte's *Fables Nouvelles*, such as the interruption of the fables before their completion, discussed previously. One could instead read Forrest's version as being in dialogue with Gay's 1727 fables and, consequently, aligning the opera with Gay's political views and satiric mode.

In order to understand how the political undertones of this work resonated with both an English and French audience, I must return briefly to the French version. Fuzelier's play as a whole can be interpreted as a fable, which allegorically told the story of censorship during the

³⁵ *One Hundred New Court Fables Written for the Instruction of Princes, and a True Knowledge of the World...by the Sieur de la Motte. Made English from the Paris Edition, by Mr. Samber* (London: printed for E. Curll and T. Jauncy, 1721).

³⁶ John Gay, *Fables* (London: Printed for J. Tonson and J. Watts, 1727).

year 1719 in Paris, when all performances of fair theater spectacles were prohibited by the official theaters.³⁷ Although *Momus* was written for the fair theater's rival—the Comédie Française—Fuzelier was one of the primary authors of the plays produced at the fair theaters, so was well acquainted with the happenings there. He may even have written the play in reaction to the restrictions being placed on the fair theaters, and this might explain why he initially produced his play anonymously.

Although it was produced twelve years later, the English *Momus* would have been experienced in a similar political atmosphere. For, after *The Beggar's Opera* criticized the Walpole administration in 1728, the censorship of plays was strictly enforced. In fact, Walpole had the Lord Chamberlain forbid the production of Gay's *Polly* (sequel to the *Beggar's Opera*) after having been publically slandered in the latter.³⁸ It is noteworthy that Forrest's version should directly affiliate itself with Gay and the *Beggar's Opera* not only on the title page, but also in the introduction, when the gentleman declares to the player, "And I with you may get as much by the *Gods* as you did with the *Beggars*." It seems that the "player" represents John Gay himself. Literary scholar Mark Loveridge, in *A History of Augustan Fable*, suggests that the references to the *The Beggar's Opera* in *Momus Turn'd Fabulist* signify a political move, aligning the play with the "Tory Wits," such as Gay and Swift, who spoke out against the Whig government using satire. Thus, the central plot, or the charge that Momus must refrain from speaking satirically against his superiors, could have been symbolically relevant to those in the audience who were familiar with the political tensions in England at this time, the newly

³⁷ For more details about this history, refer to Chapter Two. See also Ravel, *The Contested Parterre*, 125.

³⁸ Loveridge, *A History of Augustan Fable*, 228. See also Winton, "Polly and the Censors," in *John Gay and the London Theatre*.

implemented censorship laws, and the innovative means with which playwrights found ways around them.

While the English *Momus* transforms the spoken French fables into sung ballads, as Forrest claims in the introduction, the distinctly English music may still relate to the French version in practice through the way it communicates layers of intertextual, humorous associations that are grounded in a shared cultural heritage. The English production also relies on popular tunes—either from song collections (such as John Playford’s *The Dancing Master*) or from previous ballad operas or other popular entertainments. Likewise, several of the original tunes created for *Momus Turn’d Fabulist* were recycled in future ballad operas set to different texts. The final ballad even garnered so much popularity that it became its own entity, titled “the Grand Dance of Momus,” and was often performed either independently, or as a finale to various pantomime entertainments.³⁹ This is not unlike the musical examples shown in the French version where the nightingale song was a parody of an aria from an existing French opera and where the final *vaudeville* tune circulated elsewhere with new text, yet not without its former set of associations.

The music used for the nightingale fable in the English version is not the music from Destouche’s *Issé*—a reference that might have been lost on an English crowd.⁴⁰ In its place is “an old and favourite ditty known in many parts of England,” commonly called the “The Merry Haymakers.” The song’s text depicts the same dramatic moment as in the French version, where Momus’ nightingale fable satirizes Apollo. The tune (also known as “In the Merry Month of

³⁹ “With nearly 250 performances advertised between 1730 and 1745, this dance ranks among the most popular of the London stage.” See Joncus and Rogers, “Beyond the Beggar’s Opera,” 194-195.

⁴⁰ That said, the Bodleian Library contains a copy of the *sommeil* scene (see Table 7, Chapter 3), which was copied by an anonymous author and sold in London. It is difficult to discern from this one source, however, how well it would have been known.

June”) evokes different connotations, however, as its original text celebrates the activity of “hay-making”.⁴¹

In the merry month of June,
In the prime time of the year,
Down in yonder meadow
There runs a rivulet clear.
Where many a little fish
Doth in that river play,
And many a lad and many a lass,
Go abroad a-making hay.

In come the scytheman,
To mow the meadow down,
With budget and with bottle,
Of ale that was so brown.
All laboring men of courage bold,
Come here their strength to try,
They sweat and blow, and wet the mow
For the grass cuts very dry.

Here’s nimble Ben and Tom,
With pitchfork, and with rake,
Here’s Molly, Bet, and Susan,
Come here the hay to make.
Sweet jug, jug, jug, jug, sweet,
The nightingale doth sing,
From morning unto evening
As they are hay-making.

And when that bright Phebus,
The sun was going down,
A merry disposed piper,
Approached from the town;
He pulled out his pipe and tabor,
Proposing for to play,
Which made them all lay down their rakes
And to leave off making hay.

Then joining in a dance,
They jig’d it o’er the green,
Tho’ tir’d with their labour,
No one less was seen.

⁴¹ Version of the text found in the 1718 edition of John Playford’s *The English Dancing Master*.

But sporting like to fairies,
Their dance they did pursue,
And leading up and casting off,
'Till morning was in view.

But when as bright Phebus
The morning being come,
They lay down in the hay-cocks,
'Till the rising of the sun.
And sporting all the time,
While charming birds do sing,
Each lad did rise and take his lass,
And away to hay-making.

This seemingly innocent pastoral scene abounds with sexual innuendos, especially in the last verse, and was typically used as a drinking song in the ballad opera repertoire.⁴² In the third verse, the mention of a nightingale—a bird that held long-standing associations with sexual activity—provides a link to the tune's new context. With these associations in mind, the nightingale's serenade, where Momus is mimicking Apollo, has now been reduced to background music for bacchanal activity in the countryside. Although the respective French and English tunes evoke different connotations, the effect—or, the ridicule of Apollo—remains equally biting in both versions.

The conclusion of *Momus Turn'd Fabulist* maintains the French format, with each main character singing a different verse of a *vaudeville*, with each verse being a new fable on the theme of infidelity. This tune—titled “Parson upon Dorothy”—was one of the most frequently used instrumental airs in the ballad operas produced by theater manager John Rich.⁴³ It first appeared in John Playford's *The Dancing Master* in 1653, and was included in the many

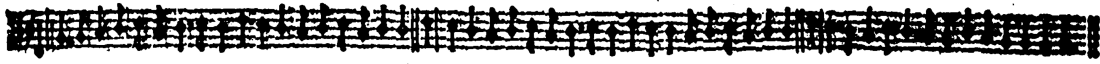
⁴² See, for example, Charles Coffey, *The Beggar's Wedding* (1729).

⁴³ See Berta Joncus and Vanessa Rogers, “Beyond *The Beggar's Opera*,” Table 11.4, 195.

publications and versions of this collection up until 1728 (see figure 4).⁴⁴ Because this tune accompanied instructions for learning a specific country-dance, it is unsurprising that the final number contains dancing, effectively becoming a French divertissement dressed in the garb of English country-dance music.

(83)

Parson upon Dorothy Longways for eight ♪ ♪ ♪ ♪



Lead up forwards and back gain ♪	That a- First two men and last two men hands, and lead to each wall. We. doing the same, change hands and meet all ♪ First and 3. men lead up, the other lead- ing down. change hands, and lead the Co. way ♪	Turne each others We. ♪ Turn your own ♪
Sides all ♪ That again ♪	As before ♪	As before ♪
Arms all ♪ That again ♪	As before ♪	As before ♪

Figure 4. “Parson Upon Dorothy” printed in John Playford’s *The Dancing Master* (London, 1653)

Although this tune evokes associations with movement more so than a specific text, it may have suggested a further connection with John Gay. Gay’s ballad opera *Polly*, though banned from public performance, was printed and sold in April 1729 and contained this tune.⁴⁵ Merely subscribing to this purchase was considered a political act—a means of protesting court and government politics that enforced the censorship of plays.⁴⁶ This was partially because the opera found ways to critique censorship in its content. For instance, the character Morano in *Polly*

⁴⁴ See John Playford, *The Dancing Master, or Plain and easie rules for the dancing of country dances* (London: printed for John Playford at his shop, 1653), 83.

⁴⁵ *Polly* “brought significant profits in print” and there were many pirated copies. See Kenny, *British Theatre and Other Arts*, 16.

⁴⁶ Calhoun Winton, *John Gay and the London Theatre*, 134.

sings the following words to “Parson upon Dorothy” after stating, “Ambition must take its chance. If I die, I die in my vocation”:

The soldiers, who by trade must dare
The deadly cannon’s sounds;
You may be sure, betimes prepare
For fatal blood and wounds.
The men who with adventurous dance,
Bound from the cord on high,
Must own they have the frequent chance
By broken bones to die.
Since rarely then
Ambitious men
Like others lose their breath;
Like these I hope,
They know a rope
Is but their natural death.⁴⁷

Although it evokes a scene of war and tightrope walkers, this text can be interpreted metaphorically to describe the risk of ambition in one’s vocation. On one level, “a rope” alludes to the famous highwayman Macheath’s near-death by hanging at the end of *The Beggar’s Opera*. On another level, though, Gay was risking not only his own career as a writer, but also his life, to speak out against censorship and corrupt politics in the playhouse. Given that *Momus Turn’d Fabulist* was performed at the same theater as *The Beggar’s Opera* and under the same management, it may have even been intended as a kind of substitute for *Polly*. Likewise, the use of “Parson upon Dorothy”—a tune that could only be seen and not heard in *Polly*—for the finale of *Momus Turn’d Fabulist*, could have been meant as a tribute to Gay, whose *Polly* was never produced in his lifetime or, perhaps, as a means of celebrating freedom of expression in a restrictive environment.

In terms of content, then, the two versions of *Momus Fabulist* worked in a similar way, on a socio-political level, in both the London and Paris theatrical scenes. They resonate with

⁴⁷ John Gay, *Polly* (London: 1729), 54.

common political tensions and literary traditions, and in that sense, Forrest's adaptation paradoxically brings the two cultures into close alignment even as he tries to differentiate the French and English versions on musical, generic, and national grounds. Other ballad opera adaptations of French sources further bring to light the circumstances that the two countries had in common in spite of their need to establish distinctive cultural identities. In the ballad opera the *Wanton Jesuit, or Innocence Seduced*, the plot is based on a current event in France—the case of Father Girard and Catherine Cadière—where historical figures are represented as characters in the play. Because the event was known throughout Europe in 1731 and 1732, the English author used the ballad opera to espouse a certain viewpoint about the scandal, while simultaneously commenting on similar conditions more locally.

THE WANTON JESUIT, OR INNOCENCE SEDUCED

Toulon, France, 1731: the Jesuit priest Father Jean-Baptiste Girard was accused of the seduction and sexual abuse of a young woman named Marie-Catherine Cadière. Despite ample evidence that he was guilty and that he did the same to other young women, Girard was ultimately acquitted. The preface to the London publication of the “Trial of Father Jean-Baptiste Girard,” explains the controversial outcome of the trial and articulates a sense of disillusionment with the judicial system:

After a tedious expectation of the event of this affair, and when all the world imagined some very extraordinary punishment would have been inflicted on whomever should be found guilty, at last the oddest period was put to the prosecution, and Girard, by the clemency of the Gallick constitution, acquitted, against the declared opinion of the majority of his judges. The sentiments this has occasioned in France, and elsewhere, are various: some are inclined to believe the judges acted according to their consciences; others, that it was adjusted to the state things were in, as to the general Notions of the people, who were fully convinced of Girard's guilt; and the judges would not, most of them, hazard their reputation so far as to decree the contrary. This medium was therefore found to

acquit him of punishment, and yet to acknowledge him, in their private judgments, to have deserved it. A MARVELLOUS WAY of doing Justice, indeed!⁴⁸

The case was not only of interest in France, but also throughout all of Europe, and especially England, with its long history of anti-Catholicism. The proceedings of the trial, which included first-hand accounts of the incident from both Cadière and Girard, were immediately translated from French into English and published in London.⁴⁹ This was accompanied by a wave of pamphlets, poems, songs, and plays, especially in the year following the proceedings.

At least two English ballad operas were created on the topic in 1732: *Father Girard the Sorcerer*, and *The Wanton Jesuit, or Innocence Seduced*.⁵⁰ They were both anonymously authored and only the latter was published despite having been performed only once.⁵¹ As we have already seen, ballad opera had the potential to simultaneously comment on its own representation of a person or event using music and satire. Cadière's story becomes, on one level, a dramatization of Father Girard's actions, undoubtedly for the purpose of anti-Catholic or anti-French propaganda. On another level, though, Cadière's sung ballads comment more generally on the inequalities of gender, wealth, and power in England at the time.

⁴⁸ *The trial of Father John-Baptist Girard, on an accusation of quietism, sorcery, incest abortion and subornation*, with a preface by Monsieur C ---, a learned refugee at the Hague (London: Printed for J. Isted, 1732), vi.

⁴⁹ See *A Compleat translation of the sequel of the proceedings of Mary Catherine Cadière, against the Jesuit Father John Baptist Girard* (London: J. Millan, 1732); *The Case of Mrs. Catherine Cadière: against the Jesuit Father John Baptist Girard. In memorial presented to the Parliament of Aix* (London: J. Roberts, 1732). They were also immediately published into German. See *Factum oder Vertheidigungsschrift Marien Catharinen Cadiere, wider den Pater Johann Baptist Girard* (Cöln an Rhein, 1731) and *Die von dem Jesuiten Joh. Bapt. Girard verführte Cadiere ex actis in gegenwärtigem Gedicht mitgetheilt* (Gedruckt im rothen Meer, 1732).

⁵⁰ Henry Fielding also wrote a comedy based on the case, titled *The Old Debauchees*.

⁵¹ Thomas Lockwood surmises that the Huguenot publisher John Millan was "cornering the market for this subject," because his "pamphlet translations of the Cadière material the *Wanton Jesuit* play seems now and then to be dramatizing." See Lockwood, *Henry Fielding: Plays*, vol. 2, 292.

Considering the widespread interest in the subject in the 1730s, *The Wanton Jesuit, or Innocence Seduced* fell into obscurity rather quickly, and it remains untouched in the literature with the exception of brief mentions in Thomas Lockwood's edition of Henry Fielding's *Plays* and Mita Choudhury's book, *The Wanton Jesuit and the Wayward Saint*.⁵² It was produced as an afterpiece to *The Beggar's Opera* in 1732 at the Little Haymarket Theater for the benefit of Mr. and Mrs. Pullen.⁵³ It is important to note that a husband and wife played the roles of Father Girard and Catherine Cadière; at the time, this casting decision may have contributed to both the dark humor of the work, and to the ambiguity surrounding the question of whether Cadière's involvement in the affair was at all consensual.

The ballad opera contains further peculiarities, due to the uncertainties surrounding its French source. In contrast to the introduction of *Momus Turn'd Fabulist*, the preface advertises the translation not as one that is unique or different, but as one that remains as close as possible to the original source:

The following Ballad-Opera is a faithful translation of the French Original; nor is there one Word added to the Title, or any Character omitted in the Dramatis Personae; and I have been so very careful (as it is mentioned in the Introductory scene between Poet and Player) in the Preservation of the Idiom, as the Allowance, usually made in Translations would admit.

Although the English author emphasizes the translation's fidelity to the French source, the title or author of the original is never revealed. Even the translator seems uncertain about the French source's identity, speculating the following:

There is a strong Presumption that it was wrote by a Hugunot to please the Jansenists, who abhor Jesuits and detest Jesuitism, and very strenuous Arguments might be produced to support that Presumption. But it is not very material who

⁵² Thomas Lockwood, *Henry Fielding*, 292. Mita Choudhury, *The Wanton Jesuit and the Wayward Saint: A Tale of Sex, Religion, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century France* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015), 131.

⁵³ *The Daily Post*, March 17, 1732, quoted in *The London Stage*, part 3 vol. 1, 198.

was the Author of it: It was Acted with Success before an Audience of Friends in private by Persons of great Rank and Figure, but taking Air at last, the Jesuits had such Interest, that upon their first Application they obtained an Order not only to suppress the Opera, as highly reflecting on their Society in general, and also upon the Proceedings of the Parliament of Aix for not condemning Father Girard, but also to secure the Actors.

I have yet to find a source that matches this description, let alone a source that *The Wanton Jesuit* clearly derives from. Vanessa Rogers has suggested that Bougeant's *Arlequin esprit follet* may be a possible source.⁵⁴ Although it possesses vague topical similarities, this play does not come close to being a match for the "faithful translation" announced in the preface. In fact, it has been proposed that *The Wanton Jesuit* may only have pretended to be taken from a French source.⁵⁵ The author's words quoted above, "but it is not very material who was the author of it," seem to point in that direction.

Why would the English translator go to such lengths to fabricate this elaborate story, or to pretend his ballad opera was based on a French source if it was not? His anecdote about the Jesuits suppressing the original French opera in Paris suggests that religious politics were operating behind the scenes. More clues are intimated in the introduction that follows the preface. Like *The Beggar's Opera* and *Momus Turn'd Fabulist*, the introduction consists of a dialogue between a "poet" and a "player"—the poet being the author of the ballad opera who is trying to convince the player (but really the audience) of his opera's merit:

Player: Well, sir, I wish you good success; but to be ingenuous, give me leave to tell you, that, in my opinion, the Town will not relish your *French* opera: And for my own part, I hate everything that comes from France, except their Wine and Brandy.

Poet: Truly, sir, you have produced one of the strongest arguments in the world to induce me to believe that the town will approve it; for our quality are zealous bigots to everything that comes from the Gallic shore. And as our gentry follow

⁵⁴ Rogers, "John Gay," 195.

⁵⁵ Lockwood, *Henry Fielding*, 292. Such a practice was not unusual for the time; in fact, it was a common literary trope of the satirists like Swift and Fielding.

the example of the nobility, so people of inferior rank imitate the gentry. Witness French fashions, and ____ something else that shall be nameless.

Player: I agree with you in these particulars; but French comedies at the best cannot stand in competition with English Farce, and if it be so, then, consequently, a French Opera must needs be as insipid as a droll in *Bartholomew Fair*.

Poet: My sentiments differ very widely from yours in that respect, for their dramatic writings are so far from being flat, that they carry with them too much levity, which is the genius of the country; and I will be so bold to say, without a breach of modesty, that in my translation I have preserved the French idiom to a nicety. ____ Have you any other objection?

The poet here claims that even though his ballad opera is of French origin, his audience will approve of it, because it does not portray the French (especially the Jesuits) in a positive light. If the French origin of the play allows the English author to condemn the French Jesuits without the critique seeming like his own invention, this may have been one reason for fabricating a foreign source. The French source also allows the poet and the player to enter into a popular debate over which country—France or England—possesses the superior dramatic arts. (The genres of farce and opera are again distinguished from one another.) The dialogue format permits both opinions to be presented without promoting one view over the other. Finally, because this ballad opera was performed at the Haymarket Theater (nicknamed the “French Theater”), the audience would have been well acquainted with French theatrical traditions; it was here that the nobility sponsored visiting troupes of French comedians since the theater opened in 1720.⁵⁶ The author may have thus been trying to appeal to the variety of viewpoints represented by his audience. Indeed, the player aptly calls the author a “politician” at the end of the introduction.

The remainder of the dialogue is devoted to the poet justifying his use of the Cadière/Girard case as the subject matter for his ballad opera, because, as the player contends, “the story, methinks, of Father Girard and Miss Cadière is worn thread-bare; the world is

⁵⁶ See William Burling, *Summer Theatre in London*; Sybil Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies in Great Britain*.

surfeited with it, and I do not apprehend that any thing new can be spoke upon the same subject.”

The poet retorts with a rationalization not uncommon to scholars today: “If twenty men undertook to write upon the same subject, the sentiments of each of them would be different.”

Highlighting originality when having borrowed external source material was a common rhetorical trick among Restoration and Augustan playwrights. Anxieties about copyright and plagiarism were starting to be expressed in this period, especially in prefaces and prologues, as a result of the Copyrights statute of 1710 and the increasing proliferation of print culture.⁵⁷

Translators began to demonstrate how their versions were unique and not merely copying other sources. Yet, this introduction is slightly anomalous: in the entirety of the preface and introduction, the author makes contradictory claims about his ballad opera. At one moment, it is a strict copy, faithful to the text of a French play that he purports to admire, and in the next, the play is something original that takes a new spin on a well-worn story.

The ambiguities surrounding the authorship of this ballad opera and its potential French source, in addition to the confusion as to whether the author is pro- or anti-French, or to whether it is an original or a copy become dramatized throughout the prefatory and introductory material. This preface mirrors the general skepticism about the reliability of authorship at the time of the trial: for one, even though the confessions of both Cadière and Girard were published in astonishing detail and in the intimate first-person, it is still unclear who actually wrote them. Cadière was only “semi-educated,” so it is unlikely that she wrote the account on her own, while Girard’s account is typically couched in terms of anti-Jesuit rhetoric.⁵⁸ Furthermore, once the trial and confessions were translated into English and published in London, the anti-Catholic

⁵⁷ Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, 9.

⁵⁸ Mita Choudhury, “Carnal Quietism”: Embodying Anti-Jesuit Polemics in the Catherine Cadière Affair, 1731,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 39, no. 2 (Winter, 2006): 177, 186.

predisposition of Huguenot refugees leaked through in the English translations and front matter. J. Millan, a Huguenot refugee living in London, was the primary publisher of pamphlets detailing the case that had been translated into English, not to mention this particular ballad opera; he therefore held power over what was published and how it was marketed and perceived.⁵⁹

Thus, a multiplicity of viewpoints and voices became mapped onto the “bodies” of Cadière and Girard in the 1730s. As historian Mita Choudhury has argued, “authors shaped Cadière into a powerful symbol of Jesuit immorality and invasive influence. Cadière’s status as a passive female and therefore, malleable figure enabled these authors to attach multiple meanings to her body: erotic, theological, and political.”⁶⁰ The ballads sung by Cadière in *The Wanton Jesuit* opera serve as striking examples of this theory. In the opera, she sings nine airs (two are duets with Girard), of which only one was newly composed for this opera. The majority of her airs were some of the most popular tunes in early eighteenth-century England (indicated by their prevalent re-use in the ballad opera repertoire), and five of them were also sung in *The Beggar’s Opera*. Because *The Wanton Jesuit* was performed as an afterpiece to *The Beggar’s Opera* on the evening of March 17, 1732, the tunes they shared in common could have been heard twice by the same audience; the lines between characters, plots, and tunes could have been blurred by the consecutive rendition of the two operas, not to mention the many other ballad operas produced around the same time.

Cadière’s songs had already accumulated various connotations by the time they were performed in *The Wanton Jesuit*, and they acquired new meanings thereafter. The old Scot’s

⁵⁹ There was even a public controversy between the London printers Millan and Rogers over who could publish more material on the case. See Lockwood, *Henry Fielding*, 291.

⁶⁰ Choudhury, “Carnal Quietism,” 174.

ballad “Moggy Lawder,” from around 1642, is one of the tunes sung by Cadière that had become a popular hit during the early eighteenth century, because it was used extensively in the ballad opera repertoire.⁶¹ The original ballad told the story of a woman who was seduced and impregnated, and the association of the tune with a destitute and betrayed woman became further solidified in the ballad opera repertoire.⁶² When Cadière sings this tune, it is arranged as a duet with Girard at the moment when he is seducing her; the voices of past female ballad opera characters are ventriloquized through her own, warning her of the inevitable trouble that lies ahead:

Gir. O take a woman in the mind,
 If you design to win her.
 Cad. I hope, good sir, you will be kind,
 But make me not a sinner.
 Gir. Can I forbear when your bright Charms,
 Like Angels, do befriend me.
 Cad. O now from thy bewitching Arms,
 The saints above defend me.

Cadière’s fate also becomes symbolized by the rendition of this tune in a ballad opera titled *The Wanton Countess, or Ten thousand Pounds for a Pregnancy*, which was produced one year after *The Wanton Jesuit* and had deliberate parallels.⁶³ In this opera, the character Clara has chosen to join a convent and Count Wriggle (who wants her for himself) warns her against this decision, using Cadière’s story sung to the tune of “Moggy Lawder” as a warning:

A nunnery is but a square,
 To catch priest-ridden widgeon;
 A trap laid to trepan the fair,
 And baited with religion:
 Lost liberty they soon deplore,

⁶¹ Versions of this song were published in various English song collections, including Ambrose Phillips, *A Collection of Old Ballads* (London: J. Roberts, 1723).

⁶² See, for example, its use in *The Footman* (London: Henry Lintot, 1732).

⁶³ The ballad opera *The Fox Uncas’d; or Robin’s Art of Money-Catching* (1733) also employed “Moggy Lawder” to symbolize the seduction of nuns by priests. It uses the same text as *The Wanton Countess*.

And in confinement languish;
With tears they view the fatal door,
And give away in Anguish.

After its use in *The Wanton Jesuit*, this tune began to carry some of the language and imagery of the anti-Jesuit propaganda surrounding the Cadière trial, especially this notion that the walls of the convent were not strong enough to keep out licentious priests.⁶⁴ These lyrics summarize Cadière's personal narrative almost exactly, as she was supposedly treated like a prisoner in confinement during the trial: Cadière wrote, "In changing my prison, I did not fare a jot the better. The same Spirit animated my new Gaolers; they even put me in a Chamber where there was not so much as a Quilt to lie on, insomuch that my Mother was obliged to send for one next day from *Toulon* . . ."⁶⁵

The trope of a woman in distress is further emphasized when Cadière sings the ballad "Twas when the seas were roaring," which originally appeared in John Gay's "tragi-comi-pastoral farce" from 1715 titled *The What d'ye Call it*, with music by Handel (see figure 5).⁶⁶ The song tells a conventional ballad story, in which a woman awaits the return of her lover from a sailing expedition, only to find his "floating corpse" washed upon the shore. In the context of Gay's tragi-comedy, which mixed high and low styles, this song represented the sentimental

⁶⁴ Cadière mentions in her confessions that, "he took care to get leave for himself to enter the convent, and when he made use thereof, the scenes that passed in my chamber at *Ollioules*, were not different from those that passed in my chamber at *Toulon*... he was seen kissing me at the Grate of the Choir, as well as taking all the liberties in the parlour which that place will permit." *A Compleat translation of the sequel of the proceedings of Mary Catherine*, 13.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 24.

⁶⁶ This was one of several musical collaborations between the satiric poet and the famous composer. Their song was an immediate success: it circulated in various song collections, as single broadside song sheets, and in numerous ballad operas, and even joined the ranks of an early twentieth-century song collection titled, *The world's best music: famous songs and those who made them*, vol. 2 (New York: The University Society, 1904), 468-469.

expression of loss by a tragic heroine, but in the context of a play that parodied this character type and musical style.⁶⁷

79

Words by M^r Gay, set by M^r Handel.

Germ
Flute

Thus when the Sea was roaring with hollow Blasts of Wind, A Damsel lay de-
ploring, all on a Rock reclined: Wide o'er the rolling Billows She cast a wishful
Look: Her Head was crown'd with Willows, That trembled o'er the Brook.

Twelve Months were gon and over,
With nine long tedious Days:
Why did you trust the Seas?
Could you then cruel Ocean,
And let my Lover rot,
As what's your treacherous Motion
To that within my Breast.

The Merchant robb'd of Pleasure
Views Tempests in Despair,
But what's the Loss of Treasure
To losing of my Dear.
Shoud you some Coast be laid on
Where Gold and Diamonds grow,
You'd find a richer Maiden,
But none that loves you so.

How can they say that Nature
Has nothing made in vain:
Why then beneath the Water
Do dangerous Rocks remain?
No! byas the Rocks do cover
Which lurk when the Deep,
To wreck the wandering Lover
And leave the Maid to weep.

All melancholy lying
Thus would she for her Dear:
Repaid each Blast with sighing,
Each Billow with a Tear.
When o'er the white Waves sleeping
As floating down she lay,
Then like a Lilly drooping
She bow'd her head and dy'd.

Flute

Figure 5. Handel's "Twas when the sea was roaring" with text by John Gay. From Special Collections of Printed Music, National Library of Scotland, digital.nls.uk/special_collections.

⁶⁷ Diane Dugaw interprets this ballad as "the crux of the play's balance of laughter and sentiment." See Diane Dugaw, "Deep Play": John Gay and the Invention of Modernity (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2001), 131. Furthermore, the ballad is described as "an entirely new style of piece, in which the action was apparently tragic, but the language absurd. Part of the audience, catching the latter but faintly, were ready to dissolve into tears, while the rest were so convulsed with laughter, that the drift of the piece was forgotten in the enjoyment." See *The World's Best Music: Famous Songs and Those Who Made Them*, 468.

While humorous in the context of the farce, it could be argued that the ballad, as an individual song, is a sincere portrait of grief—one that almost signifies itself as such. In other words, it was the incongruous placement within the *What d’ye call it* farce, and not the song itself, that made it laughable. Indeed, Handel’s music delivers all of the stock musical tropes of a melancholy pastoral aria from one of his operas—including compound meter, continuous eighth notes to imitate the movement of ocean waves, and chromatic neighbor notes during the melody’s climax (see especially the second to last measure). Literary scholar Diane Dugaw argues that, even though it was used to mock the over-sentimentalizing style of balladry, Gay’s and Handel’s ballad evokes “genuine pathos and sympathy”; likewise, she describes the heroine and other tragic characters within the comedy as “real people . . . their concerns are sympathetic, artful, kindred.”⁶⁸

Cadière’s performance of this ballad set to a new text in *The Wanton Jesuit* reinforces Dugaw’s reading of the original ballad. But instead of despairing about her own mistreatment by Girard, Cadière here laments the fact that he has done the same to many other “young maids” as well:

How many, brought to ruin
By this deluding man,
Do now lament his cooing,
Undone, do what they can?
The Devil sure posses’d him,
Or how could he beguile,
And, when young maids caress’d him,
Betray them with a smile.

Her connection and alliance to these other women is again strengthened by this tune’s association with the original female ballad character and her expression of anguish. (One could also mention the character Lucy in *The Beggar’s Opera*, who exclaims, “Tis the pleasure of all

⁶⁸ Dugaw, 133.

you fine men to insult the women you have ruined,” just before launching into this same ballad.) By singing this air, Cadière is placed in the tragic heroine lineage from the sentimental dramas that are parodied in *What D’ye Call it*. Nevertheless, in the context of *The Wanton Jesuit*, she is not being mocked. Instead, Handel’s song, which came to symbolize the “ruined” woman, lends pathos to the already provocative image of the feminine body in distress. Cadière’s musical moments, in fact, seem starkly serious in contrast to Girard’s ballads, which reveal the hypocrisy of his character through their humorous intertextual references with drinking songs. The author instead points to Cadière, musically, as the one character the audience should take in earnest.

So far, I have demonstrated two examples where the meanings implied by Cadière’s ballads were reinforced by their previous or future use in other ballad operas, where they express similar sentiments and were sung by similarly ill-fated female characters. However, not every ballad necessarily functioned in this way. Indeed, a given tune’s many associations and contexts often contradicted one another, producing irony or ambiguity.⁶⁹ This is the case with the last ballad Cadière sings in *The Wanton Jesuit*, “The Lass of Patie’s Mill,” which is also the last ballad of the opera. Like “Moggy Lawder,” this tune was an old Scottish ballad (probably from the sixteenth century), with words set by the Scottish poet Allan Ramsay in 1725 (see figure 6).⁷⁰ Ramsay’s lyrics are from the point of view of a young man who falls in love with the lass of

⁶⁹ “...From the boundaries of the page through performance, ballads are revealed as highly unstable texts, inspiring unexpected reactions (such as irrepressible laughter at a lugubrious murder ballad) and endlessly subject to ironic readings...” See Fumerton, et al. *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain: 1500–1800* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 209.

⁷⁰ William Thompson published it in the collection *Orpheus Caledonius; or, a Collection of the best Scotch Songs set to Musick* (London, 1725).

Patie's mill. The text paints a picture of innocent love, though not without an element of erotic desire, especially in the second verse:⁷¹

The Lass of Patie's Mill 73

The Lass of Patie's Mill, so bonny blythe and Gay; In spite of all my skill, she stole my Heart a-way; When twading o'er the Hay, here headed on the Green, Love midst her Locks did play, and wanton'd in her Ben.

(2)
*Her Arms white, round and smooth,
 Breasts rising in their down,
 To age it would give youth,
 To press them with his hand,
 Thro' all my spirits ran,
 An Extacy of Bliss,
 When I such sweetness's found,
 Wrapt in a balmy kiss.*

(3)
*Without the help of art,
 Like flowers that grace the Wild,
 She did her sweets impart,
 When e'er she spoke or smil'd,
 Her looks they were so mild,
 Free from affected pride,
 She me to Love beguil'd,
 I wish'd her for my Bride.*

(4)
*O had I all the wealth,
 Hopson's high mountains fill,
 Inward long life and health,
 And pleasure at my will,
 I'd promise and fulfill,
 That none but bonny she,
 The Lass of Patie's Mill,
 Should share the same with me.*

for the
 FLUTE

Figure 6. "The Lass of Patie's Mill," (London, 1730?)

⁷¹ This second verse is, notably, the only one excluded from a 1957 recording of this tune. See Rory and Alex McEwen, *Scottish Songs and Ballads* (New York: Folkways Records, 1957).

The lass of Patie's Mill,
so bonny blythe and Gay;
In spite of all my skill,
she stole my heart away;
When treading o'er the Hay,
bare headed on the Green,
Love midst her locks did play,
and wanton'd in her Een.

Her arms white round and smooth,
breasts rising in their dawn,
To age it would give youth,
to press them with his hand;
Thro' all my spirits ran,
An ecstasy of bliss;
When I such sweetness found,
wrapt in a balmy kiss.

Without the help of art,
Like flowers that grace the wild;
She did her sweets impart,
when e'er she spoke or smil'd;
Her looks they were so mild,
free from affected pride;
She me to love beguiled,
I wished her for my bride.

O had I all the wealth,
Hoptons high mountains fill;
Insured long life and health,
and pleasure at my will;
I'd promise and fulfill,
that none but bonny she,
The lass of Patie's Mill,
should share the same with me.

This tune's associations with innocent, young love first became warped in *The Beggar's Opera* where it instead implies a man's infidelity (Macheath's) and is sung from the woman's point of view by the character Lucy:

I like the Fox shall grieve,
Whose Mate hath left her Side,
Whom Hounds from Morn to Eve,
Chase o'er the Country wide.

Where can my Lover hide?
Where cheat the wary Pack?
If Love be not his Guide,
He never will come back!⁷²

These associations with infidelity must have carried over into *The Wanton Jesuit*, since it was performed directly after *The Beggar's Opera*. (It is unclear to what extent the audience might have been familiar with Ramsay's original lyrics to Patie's Mill; however, since they were published only a few years prior in 1725, it is likely they would have been known by some, especially those who owned Thompson's collection.) When Cadière sings "Patie's Mill" to the following text, it becomes clear that deception is the main theme:

Since I a Victim fall
To Love's unhappy Flame;
Be warn'd ye Virgins all,
In time to value Fame:
For if your name's secure,
Virtue's not worth a Pin,
They only stand most sure,
Who under cover sin.

Tho' Knaves wear formal Face,
And looks demurely strong;
They who pretend most Grace,
Oft do the greatest wrong:
Then this just Maxim learn,
That of Religious Art,
Thro' mists none can discern,
Conceals a Villain's Heart.

While the text is directed on one level at Father Girard, this ballad has now become a moralizing one: fame, wealth, and religious power are not to be trusted. The notion of sexual infidelity from *The Beggar's Opera* has here become expanded to represent the infidelity of powerful institutions, such as religious ones, that make insincere claims about promoting and protecting all that is sacred. This position is further espoused in the ballad opera's *Epilogue*:

⁷² The tune is slightly different in Gay's version than the one that was sold as a broadside ballad. It has such a recognizable opening melodic thrust, however, that it is still recognizable.

Many like Father Girard, do I see
Pious and equally devout as he,
Who here in England strut like mighty Giants,
And to the Inquisition bid defiance:
Nay, ev'n Doctor's Commons, I assure ye,
(Mercy upon us!) can't assuage their Fury,
So eager are they in pursuit of Sport,
One would imagine they were bread at Court.
Such sinners know they can with ease commute,
Money, not penance, is the grand dispute;
And let me tell you, that a smooth-chin beau
In a white-sheet would make an awkward show.
The difference then twixt Rich and Poor is this,
The rich may riot in unlawful bliss,
But the unhappy wretch, devoid of Pence,
Must be debar'd from pleasure, most intense,
Or suffer for each natural Offence.

Here the author attacks several realms of power at once: the legal system ("Doctor Commons"); Religion ("the inquisition"); nobility ("Court"). But money, the true corrupting force that these all share, is the kernel of the problem, because it enables hypocrisy and dishonesty in the establishments that society had been taught to respect. Thus, the French trial of Cadière/Girard functions in some sense as an allegory, where a safely foreign setting, helps express dissatisfaction with corrupt politics in England.

If experienced in chronological order, the three different textual renditions of "the Lass of Patie's Mill" quoted here, though merely a small sample, represent a fall from innocence. The new text-settings of this ballad overlay the pastoral scene of Ramsay's original lyrics with feelings of skepticism. Upon returning to it, the last stanza's conditional tense stands out: the young man's happiness can only be fulfilled on the condition that he acquires wealth. Given the moral of this tune in *The Wanton Jesuit*, if he were to become wealthy, his innocent love would somehow become corrupted or dishonest. The new ballad texts ultimately complicate the tune's

initial portrait of seeming innocence and simplicity by opening up other modes of interpretation that make it difficult to hear it as such again.

The interpretations of *The Wanton Jesuit* and *Momus Turn'd Fabulist* discussed above represent only a small sample of the kinds of issues that are raised in the process of comparing ballad operas with their French sources. Both authors struggled with how to create a national operatic brand through the act of translating French sources. Yet how they reconcile the competing forces of ideology and pragmatism is unexpected. The authors never try to hide their plagiarism of the French sources; rather, they openly enact the borrowing process in the encounters between poet and player, gentleman and actor whose witty dialogues—found in the mediating, reflexive space of the preface or prologue—dramatize the challenges of translation and of maintaining originality in a fast-paced theatrical environment.

Epilogue

When seen from the perspective not of warring armies, but rather of itinerant tunes, a new picture of eighteenth-century Anglo-French history emerges. There was conflict, to be sure. As discussed in Chapter One, negative reactions to the French acting troupes abound in London's daily newspapers. Yet, equally strong was the desire to absorb new theatrical models and music, plunder inspiration for English adaptations, and delimit distinctions—even commonalities—between French and English cultures. For London audiences ever more aware of the incursion of foreign performers onto their stages, and more generally sensing the transformation of London into a cosmopolitan capitol, musical comedy offered a unique public space. Self-referential, satirical, and intertextual, these plays openly addressed the English public's apprehensions. Humor, while at times *provocateur*, at times remedy, served as the common thread between these manifold theatrical interactions across the Channel.

The aim of this dissertation has been to show why and how popular French theatrical culture made its way to England during the early eighteenth century, and in particular, what happened to it once it had arrived. However, I present only one side of the story; in fact, many French plays that had “turn’d” English, subsequently returned to France. Take, for instance, the trend of translating English ballad operas into French and adapting them for Parisian audiences during the mid-eighteenth century.⁷³ With the fourth chapter of this study in mind, this demonstrates that ballad operas deriving from French source material were sometimes

⁷³ See Bruce Alan Brown's commentary in the 1992 Bärenreiter edition of Gluck's *Le diable à quatre, ou la double métamorphose* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1992). This work used a French-language libretto based on a translation of the 1731 ballad opera by Charles Coffey, entitled *the Devil to Pay, or the Wives Metamorphos'd*. For more evidence of English ballad operas translated into French, see Robert Dodsley, Claude-Pierre Patu, and Laurent-François Prault, *Choix de petites pièces du théâtre anglais: traduites des originaux. Tome I* (Printed in London, and sold to Paris, chez Prault fils, 1756); Charles Rochedieu, *Bibliography of French Translations of English Works, 1700-1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).

repurposed in the French idiom once again. The same trend occurred with the genre of pantomime. Already influenced by the French productions performed in London from 1718 to 1735 in terms of content and performers, a series of “English” pantomimes (“*pantomimes anglaises*”) were performed in Paris during the 1730s through 1740s. Scholars have interpreted the above materials as English plays being performed in France or translated into French; however, I hypothesize that these works were already in some way “French” based on the influences outlined in this study.⁷⁴ (It remains true, too, that the French performances in London that I have detailed were not wholly French, but also partly Italian, English, Spanish, and so forth.) In other words, what is “French” and what is “English” becomes both lost and re-articulated *ad infinitum* over time.

A final example serves to illustrate the complicated circuits these theatrical materials and personnel traveled. Among the many plays examined for this project, one tiny, pocket-sized play in French from 1739, titled *Arlequin magicien: comédie en 3 actes, tiré de l’anglais par Monsieur le ******, best subverts the notion that we can ascribe national origins to this mobile, adaptable repertoire.⁷⁵ Although the author is unknown (and asterisks have replaced the French translator’s name), a play by the same title was performed by the French acting troupes in London during the 1734–35 season, only five years prior to this publication.⁷⁶ Sure enough, in the preface, the translator explains that his play, which he deliberately labels a “pantomime,” is a

⁷⁴ Apparently the “pantomimes anglaises” by Mainbray were so popular in Paris that they became competition to the Opéra Comique. See Leathers, *British Entertainers in France*; Rizzoni, “Voyages à travers l’impossible: les pantomimes anglaises de Mainbray à Paris autour de 1740, *Revue d’histoire du théâtre* 62, no. 3 (2010): 333-358”; Albert, *Les Théâtres de La Foire (1660-1789)*.

⁷⁵ *Arlequin Magicien: Comédie en trois actes; et un prologue, avec ses agréments de chants, de danses, & de tout son spectacle, sujet tiré de L’Anglais par Monsieur Le ****** (A la Haye: Chez Antoine van dole, 1739).

⁷⁶ The French troupes performed a play by the title *La Fausse Coquette, ou Arlequin Magicien* on November 18, 1734 at the Little Haymarket Theatre in London (See *The London Stage*, part 3, vol. 1, p. 433). The play *La Fausse Coquette*, by Louis Biancolelli in the Gherardi collection was also performed on London stages on multiple occasions between 1718 and 1735. The relationship of this play to the one with the subtitle “Arlequin Magicien” is unknown.

patchwork of various sources: his prologue and third act derive from an English pantomime, while his first and second acts belong to a *commedia dell'arte* play he saw performed by an Italian troupe in Genoa, Italy.⁷⁷ To complicate matters further, the play was published “In the Hague” and possibly performed there by a French troupe. The author also suspects that the play he witnessed in Genoa was not originally Italian: based on the troupe’s treatment of the Harlequin character, he surmises that it belonged to the repertoire of the Théâtre Italien in Paris.⁷⁸

This play not only provides evidence indicating a reciprocal movement of English entertainments performed in France, but it also demonstrates that these theatrical troupes were travelling to Italy and the Netherlands and beyond, and were part of an international network of performance opportunities abroad. The boundaries of this study could therefore be expanded to investigating the travels of these same French troupes to other countries in Europe, including the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, Spain, and Sweden, where traces of French popular theater, including published adaptations of plays, can be found throughout the eighteenth century.⁷⁹ I will conclude this study by letting several London theatrical adverts spark our imaginations about where these French performers came from before their London visits and where they might have travelled next. . . .

⁷⁷ “Je commencerai donc par leur dire, que ma Pièce n’est pas bonne, que le sujet n’est pas de moi; ce qui est vrai, puisque j’ai tiré mon premier & second Acte d’une Troupe de Comédiens Italiens que je vis à Gênes, qui donnaient leurs Représentations en public . . . Le Prologue, ou Première Acte, & le dernier, je les ai pris d’une Pantomime Anglaise; qui dit Pantomime, dit une Comédie à la muette, qui s’exprime par les gestes des Acteurs” (*Arlequin Magicien*, F-Pa THN-12).

⁷⁸ “Ces Comédiens [Italiens], ou Charlatans, avoient un Arlequin, rempli de feu & de mérite; & je jugeai par-là, que si ce sujet était francisé, il ne pourrait pas manquer de réussir sur notre Théâtre, en y mettant toute la délicatesse qu’exige ce même Théâtre Française” (*Arlequin Magicien*, F-Pa THN-12).

⁷⁹ For an overview of the Comédie Française troupe’s European travels, see Rahul Markovits, *Civiliser l’Europe: politiques du théâtre français au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2014). Further research is still needed on the travels of the Parisian popular theater troupes outside of France in countries that included Belgium, Poland, Sweden, and Russia, as well as in other cities in Great Britain outside of London.

Some mimical Entertainments by a Famous Scaramouch and Harlequin, who lately perform'd before the Court of Hanover and their Prussian Majesties, now arriv'd in England.⁸⁰

In which a new Arlequin will perform that Part, who has had the Honour of representing in several Foreign Courts with Applause: The late Arlequin, Monsieur Francisque, being gone.⁸¹

Wherein an Actress belonging to the King of Sweden's French Company of Comedians will act a part, the First in England.⁸²

Dancing. Serious and Comic, by Monsieur Denoyer, the first time of his performance since his arrival from Poland.⁸³

⁸⁰ *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 1, 40. Advert for the performance on Tuesday, July 27, 1703 at the York Buildings.

⁸¹ *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 624. Advert for the performance on Tuesday, April 18, 1721 at the Little Haymarket Theater.

⁸² *The London Stage*, part 2, vol. 2, 580. Advert for the performance on Friday, May 6, 1720 at the King's Theater.

⁸³ *The London Stage*, part 3, vol. 1, 428. Advert for the performance on Monday, November 4, 1734 at Drury Lane Theater.

APPENDICES

The information in Appendices A.1–A.7 derives from *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces*, vol. 2: 1700–1729 and vol. 3: 1729–1747; William Burling’s *A Checklist of New Plays and Entertainments on the London Stage, 1700–1737*; and the CÉSAR database <cesar.org.uk>—an electronic calendar of performances in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France. I have maintained the original spelling of the French titles and names from *The London Stage* in the “Title” column and the “Notes” column; for reference, I have provided the standardized, modern French spellings in the “Author” column. In some seasons, the French plays were advertised in English instead of French, and for those instances, I have provided the original French titles in brackets. The bolded titles indicate repetitions of plays that had already been performed for that season; thus, each non-bolded title indicates the first performance of a play in London within a given season. Finally, I only list the author’s name for the first time a French play was performed in each London season.

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Appendix A.1: French Comedies Performed in London (1718–1719)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PERFORMANCE VENUE & DATE	LONDON STAGE NOTES	AUDIENCE
La Foire de St Germain	Jean-François Regnard and Charles Dufresny	Friday, November 7, 1718 (LIF)	<i>Cast not listed</i> , but the parts to be perform'd by the French Company of Comedians lately arriv'd from the Theatre Royal in Paris. COMMENT. "Benefit J. and Ch. Rich. A Farce of Three Acts. All in the Characters of the Italian Theatre."	The Prince Present
La Foire de St Germain		Wednesday, November 12 (LIF)	As 7 Nov. With the Prologue to the Town, written and spoken by Harlequin. ENTERTAINMENTS: All the Entertainments on Friday last. COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich. This Company will perform every Wednesday and Friday during the short stay they shall continue in England."	
La Fausse coquette	Louis Biancolelli	Friday, November 14, (LIF)	Cast not listed. DANCING. COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich."	
La Fausse coquette		Wednesday, November 19 (LIF)	Cast not listed. DANCING. COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich."	
Le Maitre etourdi; ou Les Fourberies d'Arlequin. Also, Le Tombeau de maitre Andre	Molière + La Font (Mainpiece); Louis Biancolelli (Afterpiece)	Friday, November 21 (LIF)	DANCING: Proper to the plays. Likewise the last New Entertainment in Imitation of the Elards COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich."	

Le Maitre etourdi. Also, Le Tombeau de maitre Andre		Wednesday, November 26 (LIF)	Entertainments: Several New Entertainments which were never perform'd in England before. COMMENT. "Benefit of the French Comedians [40lb. Paid to Bullock presumably the House Charges]. By His Majesty's Command. Tickets given out for Pasquin and Marforio taken at this play."	His Majesty Present
Arlequin Laron, juge et grand prevost. Also, La Baguette de Vulcain	Louis Fuzelier (Mainpiece); Regnard and Dufresny (Afterpiece)	Friday, November 28 (LIF)	COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich."	
Colombine avocat, pour et contre	Nolant de Fatouville	Wednesday, December 3 (LIF)	Entertainments: Proper to the play. COMMENT. "Benefit J. and Ch. Rich."	
Colombine avocat, pour et contre		Friday, December 5 (LIF)	Entertainments: As 3 Dec. Drunken Dance, Les Postures. COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich."	
Les Deux Arlequins	Eustache le Noble	Wednesday, December 10 (LIF)	COMMENT. "Benefit the French Comedians [Bullock paid 40lb]. Written by Mons. Le Noble."	
Les Deux Arlequins		Friday, December 12 (LIF)	DANCING. <i>Drunken Dance</i> . Proper Entertainments. COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich. By his Royal Highness's Command. Written by Mons. Le Noble."	
Colombine fille scavante, ou La Fille capitaine.	Anonymous (relationship of this play to Montfleury's <i>La Fille capitaine</i> unknown).	Wednesday, December 17 (LIF)	Entertainments: Arlequin performs a scene unmask'd. COMMENT. "Benefit J. Rich and Ch. Rich."	

Les Chinois; ou, Arlequin major ridicule. Also, La Retour de la foire	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Gherardi (Afterpiece)	Friday, December 19 (LIF)	COMMENT. "Benefit M and Mlle Sallé, the two children who dance in the Company of the French comedians. By his Royal Highness's Command. Tickets to l'Homme a bonne fortune taken this day. [40 lb paid to Bullock]"	The Prince Present.
Harlequin l'homme a bonne fortune	Regnard	Friday, December 26 (LIF)	DANCING. <i>Dutch Burgher Master and his Frow</i> by Delagarde and Mrs. Bullock. Moreau's <i>Grand Comic Wedding Dance</i> . Tumbling by Harlequin, Scaramouch, Mezetin, Pierrot. Scene in imitation of Elard and his two sons. <i>Les Postures</i> . COMMENT. "Benefit J. and Ch. Rich."	
Le Divorce; ou, Arlequin fourbe et demi	Regnard	Tuesday, December 30 (LIF)	Entertainments. <i>Carillon</i> by Harlequin and others. Vaulting and Tumbling as usual. COMMENT. "Benefit Bullock. The Company to act Tuesday and Thursday."	
Le Parisien dupe dans Londres; ou, La Fille a la mode	Anonymous (relationship of this play to Barbier's <i>La Fille a la mode</i> unknown).	Thursday, January 1, 1719 (LIF)	Entertainments: Vaulting and Tumbling. COMMENT. "Benefit Ch. Bullock."	
Les Pasquinades Italiennes; ou, Arlequin medecin de moeurs	Anonymous; relationship to <i>Pasquin et Marforio medecin des moeurs</i> in Gherardi unknown.	Tuesday, January 6 (LIF)	Entertainments: Vaulting and Tumbling. Pierrot performs a particular entertainment of throwing a somerset thro' a dozen hoops all rais'd 12 foot high. COMMENT. "Benefit Ch. Bullock."	
Arlequin esprit follet. Also Les Filles errantes	Bougeant? (Mainpiece); Gherardi/Regnard (Afterpiece)	Thursday, January 8 (LIF)	Entertainments: vaulting and tumbling. COMMENT. "Benefit Arlequin (Francisque, according to Rich's Register)."	

Le Tartuffe; ou L'imposteur	Molière	Tuesday, January 13 (LIF)	Tartuffe – Francisque; Pernelle – Antonie; Orgon – Tellier; Cleanthes – Sallé; Valere – Moylin Sr.; Damis – Moylin Jr.; Loyal – Cochoy; Elmira – Madm. Francisque; Mariana – Madm. Moylin; Porina – Madm. Cochoy. DANCING: Moreau, Mrs. Moreau, Miss Schooling, Delagarde's two sons. COMMENT. "Written by the Famous Monsieur Moliere."	
Le Divorce; ou, Arlequin fourbe et demi		Thursday, January 15 (LIF)	Entertainments: Vaulting and Tumbling. A comick entertainment of singing and dancing call'd <i>Le Carillon</i> .	
Arlequin jouet de la fortune. Also Arlequin the French Lawyer; ou, [G]raipignant	Vivières de Saint Bon (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, January 20 (LIF)	Entertainments: As 6 Jan.	
Les Bains de la Porte St. Bernard; ou, Arlequin Poisson.	Germain Bois-Franc	Thursday, January 22 (LIF)	Entertainments: Vaulting and Tumbling. A lesson on the Harp Organnisee [single- action harp] to be performed by a person lately arriv'd from Germany, who never appear'd on the stage before. Dancing: As 13 Jan. COMMENT. "Benefit Ch. Bullock."	The Prince Present
George Dandin; or, The Wanton Wife. Also Le Baron de la Crasse	Molière (Mainpiece); Raymond Poisson (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, January 27 (LIF)	Baron – Francisque. DANCING: As 31 Oct. 1718. COMMENT. "Benefit Ch. Bullock. Mainpiece: written by Mr. Moliere. After-piece: written by Mons. [P]oisson."	

Pierrot Maitre Valet et l'Opera de Campagne; ou, La Critique de l'opera de Paris.	Anonymous (Relationship of this play to Fuzelier's <i>L'Opera de Campagne</i> is unknown).	Thursday, January 29 (LIF)	The person who plays Pierrot at Paris is just arriv'd from thence, and will perform this night. Entertainments: Vaulting and Tumbling	
Pierrot Maitre Valet et l'Opera de Campagne; ou, La Critique de l'opera de Paris.		Tuesday, February 3 (LIF)	As 29 Jan. Entertainments: Vaulting and Tumbling	
Le Maitre etourdi. Also [G]rapignant; or, the French Lawyer.		Thursday, February 5 (LIF)	Octave – By Pierrot. Entertainments: The person who performs Octave in the Farce will Leap over a man upon a large Coach-Horse. And Pierrot performs the scene of the Monkey, which has never been perform'd in England before. COMMENT. "By his Royal Highness's Command."	The Prince Present
Arlequin esprit follet. A New prologue between Harlequin and Colombine. Also, Le Divorce	Bougeant (Mainpiece); Regnard (Afterpiece)	Thursday, February 12 (KINGS)	Entertainments: Dancing and Tumbling; particularly dancing by Mr. Glover, being the first time of his performance in publick since his return from the Court of Paris. By Sallé and Mlle Sallé. COMMENT. "By command. For the Entertainment of the Princesses."	The King, the Three Young Princesses, and a great number of nobility and gentry also there.
La Precaution inutile	Fatouville?	Saturday, February 14 (KINGS)	Entertainments: as 12 FEB.	

Arlequin Balourd; or, Harlequin a Blunderer.	Procopé-Couteaux	Monday, February 16, (KINGS)	And the last new prologue spoken on Thursday last between Harlequin and Colombine. The London edition of 1719 gives no cast but contains Prologue and epilogue by Vezian. COMMENT. "Tickets will be deliver'd out at the Treasury Office at the Theatre, and no where else in the Theatre, at usual Prices."	
Arlequin Balourd.	"D.M.P.: in other words, Michael Coltell (known as Procopé-Couteaux)"	Thursday, February 19 (KINGS)	Entertainments: Several new ones. COMMENT. "Written at London by D.M.P."	
Arlequin Balourd + A New Epilogue		Tuesday, February 24 (KINGS)	Entertainments: Several particular new ones. COMMENT. "Benefit the Author. With the addition of a new Scene."	The King Present
Arlequin Balourd		Thursday, February 26 (KINGS)	SINGING: By Mrs. Aubert, being the first time of her appearance on this Stage this season. COMMENT. "By his Royal Highness's Command."	The Prince Present
Le Precaution inutile		Monday, March 2 (KINGS)	SINGING: By Mrs. Aubert. MUSIC: The band of musick will perform all French Musick that Night, compos'd by the famous Mr. Baptist Lully. DANCING: By Glover, Sallé, Mlle Sallé, with the leap over 12 hoops by Antoni and Octave. COMMENT: At the desire of several persons of Quality	

Arlequin Misanthrope; or, Harlequin a Man-Hater	De Barante/ Biancolelli	Tuesday, March 3 (KINGS)	SINGING: As March 2. DANCING: Several new entertainments, viz. a new dance by 8 persons: <i>Arlequin</i> , <i>Punchanello</i> , <i>Spanish Man</i> <i>and Woman</i> , <i>Country Man</i> <i>and Woman</i> , <i>Arlequin</i> <i>Woman</i> , <i>Dame Ragonde</i> . COMMENT. "With all scenes and decorations proper to the play."	
Arlequin Laron, grand provost, et juge.		Thursday, March 5 (KINGS)	Entertainments: Tumbling. A leap over a man on a large coach-horse. Italian Postures. COMMENT. "For the entertainment of the Princesses."	The young princesses present
Arlequin Empereur dans la lune; or, Harlequin Emperor in the Moon.	Fatouville	Saturday, March 7 (KINGS)	Entertainments: A new leap over 14 men by the Tumblers.COMMENT. "Performed after the French manner. With New Scenes and decorations proper to the play. In which will be seen a battle on horseback between the knight of the sun and the emperour of the moon, call'd in French La Cavalcade Espagnol, a performance never yet seen in Engalnd."	
Arlequin Empereur dans la lune; or, Harlequin Emperor in the Moon.		Tuesday, March 10 (KINGS)	As 7 March	
Arlequin Empereur dans la lune; or, Harlequin Emperor in the Moon.		Thursday, March 12 (KINGS)	Entertainments: the Tumblers leap over 16 naked swords. COMMENT. "as 7 March"	

Scaramouch pedant scrupuleux; ou, L'Escolier. Also les Folies Amoureuses.	Fuzelier (Mainpiece); Regnard (Afterpiece)	Saturday, March 14 (KINGS)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: perform'd after the Italian Manner. Afterpiece: written by the famous Monsieur Regnard, the best writer of comedy after Moliere." SINGING. DANCING. TUMBLING.	
Le Dragon de Moscovie	Anonymous	Monday, March 16 (KINGS)	Entertainments: Singing, Dancing, Tumbling. <i>Le Carillon. Scene of the Monkey.</i>	
Arlequin prince par magie	Anonymous	Tuesday, March 17 (KINGS)	Entertainments: <i>Drunken Dance.</i> Tumbling by Arlequin	
l'Enfant prodigue; or, The Prodigal Son	Jean-Antoine du Cerceau?	Thursday, March 19 (KINGS)	Entertainments: singing, dancing, tumbling. <i>Scene of the Monkey. Italian Postures.</i> Mar. Antonie performs...the challenge by Mr. Octave of leaping thro' a cask stopp'd at both ends. COMMENT."After the Italian manner. It being the best Italian dramatick piece. This is the last time of the company's acting during their stay in England."	

Total Evenings of French entertainment: 26 (LIF) + 16 (KINGS) = 42 Total

Total London Premieres (including afterpieces): 33

Appendix A.2: French Comedies Performed in London (1719–1720)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PERFORMANCE VENUE & DATE	LONDON STAGE NOTES	AUDIENCE
Initial Announcement in the press		Thursday, February 4, 1720 (KINGS)	<i>Daily Post</i> , 4 Feb.: "There is upon the road from Paris, thither, a company of French comedians, which, 'tis said, are to perform at the Theatre in the Hay-market twice every week the remainder of this season; and we hear that 1000 <i>l</i> . Is already subscribed towards their encouragement."	
Harlequin Dead and Revived	Anonymous	Saturday, March 5, 1720 (KINGS)	COMMENT. "By the company of French comedians, just arrived from France. A Comedy after the Italian manner."	
Harlequin and Scaramouch Deserters [Arlequin et Scaramouch soldats deserteurs]	Fuzelier	Tuesday, March 8 (KINGS)	Entertainments: <i>The Day after the Wedding</i> .	The King Present
The Cheats of Harlequin [Les Fourberies d'Arlequin]	La Font	Thursday, March 10 (KINGS)	DANCING.	
Harlequin in Constantinople	Anonymous	Saturday, March 12 (KINGS)	DANCING. After the Italian manner betwixt Pantaloon and his wife. COMMENT. "N.B. The Noble and honorable subscribers to the French comedians, are humbly intreated to pardon the omission of sending them tickets on Thursday last, it having proceeded merely from a mistake, which shall be prevented for the future, and each one shall have perpetual ticket sent to him on Tuesday next."	

The Cheats of Harlequin [Les Fourberies d'Arlequin]		Tuesday, March 15 (KINGS)	COMMENT. "Benefit the author. By his majesty's command." DANCING.	
The Maiden Captain [La Fille capitaine]. Also, the Reasonable Animals [les Animaux raisonnables]	Montfleury (Mainpiece); Le Grand & Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Thursday, March 17 (KINGS)	DANCING.	
Harlequin a Blunderer [Arlequin Balourd]. Also The Reasonable Animals [les animaux raisonnables]	Procope-Couteaux (Mainpiece)	Saturday, March 19 (KINGS)	DANCING.	
The Amorous Follies [Les Folies Amoureuses]. Also, Harlequin a Man of Good Fortune [Arlequin, L'homme a bonne fortune]	Delisle (Mainpiece); Gherardi/Regnard (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, March 22 (KINGS)	In which Mlle de Lile will perform a part. COMMENT: By his royal Highness's command	
Harlequin a sham Astrologer, a parrot, a child, a statue, and a chimney sweeper [Arlequin feint astrologer, statue, enfant, ramoneur, negre]	de L'Isle	Thursday, March 24 (KINGS)	DANCING. By Dangeville. COMMENT. "For the entertainment of their Royal Highnesses the Young Princesses."	The Princesses present

Harlequin a sham Astrologer, a parrot, a child, a statue, and a chimney sweeper [Arlequin feint astrologer, statue, enfant, ramoneur, negre]. Also, The Reasonable Animals		Saturday, March 26 (KINGS)	DANCING: A singular new entertainment by Dangeville, at the request of several persons of quality.	
Harlequin a merry spirit [Arlequin esprit follet]. Also Pantomime	Bougeant?	Tuesday, March 29 (KINGS)	By four persons just arrived from Paris, who never were in England before. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: an extraordinary entertainment. For the last time of acting at the King's Theater in the Hay-Market."	
The Gamester [Le Joueur]. Also, the School of Lovers [L'Ecole des amants]	Regnard? (Mainpiece); Lesage and Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Monday, April 4 (LIF)	Principal part by Mlle Delisle. DANCING: <i>Entry</i> by Dangeville, tumbling. COMMENT. "By the French Comedians."	
Harlequin the mock astrologer, a statue, a chimney sweeper, a child and a parrot. Also Harlequin a Merry Spirit		Tuesday, April 5 (LIF)	TUMBLING: By the famous tumblers just arriv'd from Paris.	

La Fille Capitaine. Also, Arlequin Galerien; ou, le port de Mer	Nicolas Boindin (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, April 26 (KINGS)	In it Signora Violenta will perform several extraordinary things, with a pair of colours (Capitaine). A part by Mlle Delisle (Mer). Entertainments: dancing by D'angeville, Mlle Deschaliers, and others. And several new performances by the tumblers; particularly, the extraordinary tumbling, call'd <i>Le Saut de la Panche</i> , to be perform'd by Mr. Debroc, who with links in his hands will run up to the top of a board 16 foot high, and with a most surprising Activity will tumble from thence. COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several Ladies of Quality."	"At night at the French Play with the Duchess of Shrewsbury. Everybody took notice of the scene of the Drawing-room" (<i>The Diary of Mary Countess Cowper</i> , 153).
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	Molière	Friday, April 29 (KINGS)	Entertainments: <i>The Great Turkish Ceremony</i> . Dancing by Danjeville. Tumbling, particularly by a lame tumbler who never performed before in England. <i>The Flourishing of the Colours</i> by Signora Violenta. COMMENT. "At the desire of several persons of quality. Written by the famous Moliere."	
Harlequin laron, provost, et juge. Als Le Port de Mer	Fuzelier (Mainpiece)	Tuesday, May 3 (KINGS)	DANCING: <i>Mad Men and Mad Women</i> by Mrs. Dechaliers and Roger, who plays the part of Pierrot. <i>The Flourishing of the Colors</i> by Signora Violenta. COMMENT: "At the desire of several persons of quality"	

Le Joueur. Also Attendez Moy sous l'orme	Regnard (Mainpiece & Afterpiece)	Friday, May 6 (KINGS)	Wherein an actress belonging to the King of Sweden's French Company of Comedians will act a part, the First in England. Entertainments: tumbling. Dancing by Danjeville. COMMENT. "At the desire of several people of quality."	
Le tourdy [l'Etourdi]. Also Attendez Moy sous l'orme	Molière (Mainpiece)	Monday, May 9 (KINGS)	Wherein the famous monsieur Francisque, who had the honour to be so much applauded last year, will act the part of Harlequin. DANCING: by Dangeville and Mlle des Chaliez. TUMBLING.	
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme.	Molière	Tuesday, May 10 (KINGS)	Entertainments: <i>The Great Turkish Ceremony</i> . Tumbling. Dancing by Dangeville and Mlle Descheliez. COMMENT. "Benefit Mlle de Lisle."	
La Fausse Coquette	Louis Biancolelli	Thursday, May 12 (KINGS)	Harlequin – Francisque. DANCING: As 9 May.	
La Foire St. Germain	Jean- François Regnard and Charles Dufresny	Monday, May 16 (KINGS)	Harlequin - Francisque	
l'Esprit Folet. Also Les Folies Amoreuses		Tuesday, May 17 (KINGS)	Dancing. As 9 May	
Le Dragon de Moscovy. Also, La Serenade.	Regnard (Afterpiece)	Friday, May 20 (KINGS)	Harlequin – Francisque. DANCING As 9 May	
Les Bains de la porte de St. Bernard	Germain Bois-Franc	Friday, May 27 (KINGS)	Colombine – Mlle de Lisle; Harlequin – Francisque; DANCING: By Dangeville and Mlle des Chaliez. Tumbling. COMMENT. "Benefit Dangeville. At the desire of several persons of quality."	

Les Deux Arlequins. Also La Baron de la Crasse	Le Noble (Mainpiece); Raymond Poisson (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, May 31 (KINGS)	DANCING: By Dangeville; TUMBLING: By Francisque. COMMENT: Benefit Francisque. By their Royal Highness's Command.	"In the afternoon, the prince and princess went to the French play. A most dismal performance. No wonder people are slaves who can entertain themselves with such stuff" (<i>The Diary of Mary Countess Cowper</i> , 172).
Les Bains de la porte de St. Bernard		Wednesday, June 1 (KINGS)	DANCING. Comment: at the desire of several persons of quality	
CONCERT: Vocal and Instrumental.	unknown	Wednesday, June 1 (YB)	COMMENT: Benefit Mrs. Aubert AT 7PM.	
Arlequin Docteur Chinois. Also, Letourdy . Also, the Reasonable Animals [Les Animaux raisonnables] .	Anonymous (Mainpiece)	Thursday, June 9 (KINGS)	DANCING: As 31 May. COMMENT. "Benefit Roger, who acted the part of Pierrot. By their Royal Highness's command."	The prince present
Le Malade imaginere.	Molière	Monday, June 13 (KINGS)	Dancing: as 31 May. Tumbling: especially a Scaramouch who runs up a board sixteen feet high and throws himself backward upon stage. COMMENT. "Benefit Grimberg, Master of the French Company. Mainpiece: written by the famous Molliere."	
Le Divorce. Also, Le Carlillon.	Regnard (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Thursday, June 16 (KINGS)	Dancing: As 9 May. Tumbling. COMMENT. "Benefit the Tumblers."	

Le Malade imaginere.		Friday, June 17 (KINGS)	Dancing: As 9 May. Tumbling. COMMENT: Benefit Mlle des Chalez. Written by the famous Mons Molliere.	
Les [H]auberges d'Arlequin. Also Le Tombeau de maitre Andre	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Biancolelli (Afterpiece)	Monday, June 20 (KINGS)	As 31 May. COMMENT. "Benefit Dulondel, Mlle de Gremont, Mlle de Liury"	
Les Bains de la porte de St. Bernard. Also, Les Adieux d'Arlequin, Pierrot, et Colombine.	Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, June 21 (KINGS)	DANCING: As 31 May. COMMENT. "For the last time of acting."	

Total Evenings: 30 (KINGS) + 2 (LIF) = 32 Total

Total London Premieres: 22

Appendix A.3: French Comedies at the London Theaters (1720–1721)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PERFORMANCE VENUE & DATE	LONDON STAGE NOTES	ADMISSION
La Fille a la mode; ou, le Badeaut de Paris	Nicholas Barbier? (Mainpiece)	Thursday, December 29, 1720 (HAY)	With a new prologue; COMMENT. "By the company of French Comedians. [This is the opening night of the New Theatre in the Haymarket]."	Pit and Boxes together by tickets only at 5s. Gallery 2s. At 6 PM
La Fausse Coquette	Louis Biancolelli	Friday, December 30 (HAY)	DANCING.	Boxes 4s. Pit 2s. 6d. Gallery 1s. 6d. At 6 P.M.
La Foire de St. Germaine; Also the scene of The Hatt	Jean-François Regnard and Charles Dufresny (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, January 2 1721 (HAY)	Dancing. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: at the request of several persons of quality."	
Arlequin Prince par magie precede du Grondeur	Brueys and Jean de Palaprat	Tuesday, January 3 (HAY)		
Colombine Avocat pour et contre. Also le Mariage forcé.	Nolant de Fatouville (Mainpiece). Molière (Afterpiece)	Thursday, January 5 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Pasquin et Marforio. Also Le Cocu battu & content	Dufresny and de Barante (Mainpiece); Poisson (Afterpiece).	Friday, January 6 (HAY)	DANCING.	
George Dandin. Also La Baguette de Vulcan.	Molière (Mainpiece); Regnard and Dufresny (Afterpiece)	Monday, January 9 (HAY)	DANCING.	
La Fille Capitaine. Also La Serenade.	Montfleury (Mainpiece); Regnard/Gillier (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, January 10 (HAY)	DANCING.	
L'Ecole des jaloux; or, The Fausse Turquoise. Also La Retour de la foire de Bezons.	Montfleury (Mainpiece); Gherardi (Afterpiece)	Thursday, January 12 (HAY)	DANCING.	

Arlequin Larron, Prevost, & Juge; ou, les Epouvantes de Scaramouche. Also Le Mary retrouve	Fuzelier? (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 13 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Le Joueur. Also, L'Esprit Follet	Regnard (Mainpiece); Bougeant? (Afterpiece)	Monday, January 16 (HAY)	Gamester – by an Actor newly arriv'd from the King's Theatre in Paris. And a new actress that never acted yet in England will also perform a Part.	
Le Divorce. Also Le Deuils.	Regnard (Mainpiece); either Hauteroche or Pierre Corneille (Afterpiece).	Tuesday, January 17 (HAY)		
Arlequin major ridicule. Also Le Medecin Malgre luy.	Anonymous (Mainpiece) [relationship to play on Dec. 19, 1718 unknown] Molière (Afterpiece)	Thursday, January 19 (HAY)	Dancing. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Comedie de Monsieur de Moliere."	
Le Dragon de Moscovie. Also l'Attendez Moy sous l'orme.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Regnard (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 20 (HAY)	DANCING.	
L'Heureux Naufrage	Nicolas Barbier (Mainpiece)	Monday, January 23 (HAY)	COMMENT." With original decorations."	
Le Tartuffe. Also Le Tombeau de maitre Andre	Molière (Mainpiece); Biancolelli (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, January 24 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Le Precaution inutile; ou, Arlequin Gentilhomme Normand. Also Les Vacances	Attribution unclear -could be Fatouville or Dorimand (Mainpiece) [Relationship to play on Feb. 14, 1719 unknown]; Dancourt? (Afterpiece)	Thursday, January 26 (HAY)	DANCING.	

Les Bains de la Porte St. Bernard; ou, Arlequin Triton. Also Le Carillon.	Germain Bois-Franc (Mainpiece); Afterpiece: "A comick entertainment of singing and dancing call'd <i>Le Carillon</i> " (also presented on Jan. 15 1719)	Friday, January 27 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Le Tartuffe. Also, Le Tombeau de Maitre Andre		Tuesday, January 31 (HAY)	In which Arlequin will act a part. COMMENT. "At the desire of several ladies of quality NB: Whereas it has been reported that several of the best French Comedians would soon return to Paris: This is to certify, that the said Report is totally groundless, for they will remain here all the winter season." DANCING.	
Les Deux Arlequins & Les Enchantemens d'Arlequin & d'Arlequine danse comique. Also la Baron de la Grasse. Also The Hat. By Arlequin	Le Noble (Mainpiece); Poisson (1st Afterpiece); (2nd Afterpiece - same same as Jan. 2, 1721)	Thursday, February 2, 1721 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Second Afterpiece: At the Desire of several persons of quality."	
L'Avare. Also L'Arlequin Dame Alison; ou, Le Carillon.	Molière (Mainpiece); (Afterpiece - relationship to <i>Le Carillon</i> on Jan. 27, 1721 unknown)	Friday, February 3 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Comedie de Monsieur Moliere." DANCING.	
Arlequin Cabratier; ou Les Aubergs d'Arlequin. Also Les Follies Amoureuses.	Anonymous (Mainpiece) [Relationship to play on Jan. 20, 1720 unknown]; Regnard (2 nd Afterpiece)	Monday, February 6 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Le Legatoire Universal. Also L'Arlequin Chevalier Errant; ou, La	Regnard (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, February 7 (HAY)	DANCING.	

Baguette de Vulcan				
Le Joueur. Also, L'Arlequin Nouvelliste; ou, le Retour de la Bezons. .	Gherardi (Afterpiece)	Thursday, February 9 (HAY)	Wherein Mademoiselle de Lisle, lately arriv'd from France, will act a part. DANCING.	
Arlequin Homme a bonne Fortune. Also Medecin malgre luy.	Regnard (Mainpiece) [relationship to play on March 22, 1720 unknown]	Friday, February 10 (HAY)	In which Mademoiselle de Lisle will act a part. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Comedie de Monsieur Moliere."	
Arlequin Lawyer; ou, Grapignan. Also La Fausse Turque; ou, L'Ecole des Jaloux.	Anonymous (mainpiece) [relationship to play on Jan. 20, 1719 unknown] Molière (Afterpiece).	Monday, February 13 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Les Fourberies d'Arlequin; ou, L'Etourdye. Also le George Dandin	Anonymous (Mainpiece) [relationship to play on Nov. 21, 1718 unknown]	Tuesday, February 14 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the desire of several persons of quality. Wherein Arlequin will make a speech to the Audience on a matter of consequence. Afterpiece: comedie de monsieur Moliere."	
Arlequin Jouet de la Fortune. Also Le Scaramouche Pedant Scrupuleux.	Vivières de Saint Bon (Mainpiece); Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Thursday, February 16 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Arlequin major Ridicule. Le Mariage forcé.		Friday, February 17 (HAY)	Advertised but Dismissed. <i>Daily Post</i> , 18 FEB: "The French Company of Comedians do hereby give Notice; that Monsieur Francisque, alias Harlequin, did refuse to perform last Night, which obliged the master to dismiss the audience."	

Arlequin & Scaramouch Deserteurs. Also Arlequin major ridicule. Scene of the Hat.	Fuzelier (Mainpiece) [Relationship to play on March 8, 1720 is unknown]	Monday, February 20 (HAY)	Dancing. COMMENT. "At the desire of several persons of quality."	
L'Opera de compagne precede du Grondeur.	Fuzelier? (relationship to play on Jan. 29 and Feb. 3, 1719 is unknown)	Tuesday, February 21 (HAY)	Dancing. A new Dance by Monseieur Roger and Mademoiselle des Chaliez.	
Le Precaution inutile. Also Les Vacances.		Thursday, February 23 (HAY)	Dancing.	
Arlequin Cru Colombine & Colombine Cru Arlequin; ou, L'heureux Naufrage. Also Les Folies Amoureuses.	Nicolas Barbier (Mainpiece) [relationship to play on Jan. 23, 1721 is unknown]	Saturday, February 25 (HAY)	Joues par mademoiselle de Lisle. COMMENT. "At the desire of several persons of quality."	
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	Molière	Monday, February 27 (HAY)	ENTERTAINMENTS. With the Turkish Ceremony, and all its Decorations. DANCING. Monsieur Roger, alias Pierot, and Mademoiselle de Schallier will perform a Dance at the End of the Entertainment. COMMENT. "Comedie de Monsieur de Moliere."	
Arlequin Cru Colombine & Colombine Cru Arlequin. Also Le Cocu imaginaire	Molière (afterpiece)	Thursday, March 2 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Comedie de Monsieur de Moliere." DANCING.	
Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	Molière	Saturday, March 4 (HAY)	Entertainment and Dancing. As 27 Feb.	
Le Festin de Pierre; ou l'Athee Foudraye; ou Arlequin fait la Valet de Don Juan	Adaptation by Letelier.	Monday, March 6 (HAY)	DANCING. "By Roger, Mlle Vaurentille, and Mlle des Challiers."	

La Fille a la mode; ou Arlequin Badaut de Paris. Also Monsieur Grimaudin	Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Thursday, March 9 (HAY)	DANCING.	
De L'Ecole des Femmes. Also Arlequin esprit folet	Molière (Mainpiece)	Monday, March 13 (HAY)	COMMENT." Mainpiece: Comedie de Mons de Moliere."	
Le Phoenix; ou Arlequin Ambassadeur de Colombine Becha. Also le Mariage forcé	de Castera? (Mainpiece)	Thursday, March 16 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Les Deux Pierrots. Also Les Quatres Arlequins	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, March 20 (HAY)	COMMENT."Benefit Arlequin." DANCING.	Pit and Boxes by Tickets only at 5s
Arlequin Perout. Also Les Animaux Raisonables	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Le Grand and Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Thursday, March 23 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Roger, who acts the Part of Pierot."	
Arlequin Directeur	By "Three young ladies" [Related to "The Magicien; or Harlequin a Director" -- pantomime produced by John Rich at LIF on March 16, 1721?]	Monday, March 27 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Arlequin Directeur		Thursday, March 30 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit of Three young Ladies, Authors of the <i>Arlequin Directeur</i> ." <i>Daily Courant</i> , 30 March, 1721: "... A new Comedy, never Acted but once, call'd Arlequin Directeur, in 5 Acts. With variety of Entertainments of Dancing."	Tickets at 5s each. Gallery 2s. 6d.
La Foire de St. Germaine. Also La Mary retrouve.		Monday, April 10 (HAY)	DANCING.	

Le These des Dames. Also La Serenade	de Barante or Biancolelli (Mainpiece)	Wednesday, April 12 (HAY)	DANCING.	Boxes 4s. Pit 2s. 6d. Gallery 1s. 6d.
Les Disgraces D'Arlequin. Also Arlequin Limondier	Anonymous. " <i>Le Disgratie d'Arlechino</i> (viz.) Harlequin's Misfortunes; or, his marriage interrupted by Brighella's cunning" <i>LS</i> (II.ii.624). Anonymous (Afterpiece).	Tuesday, April 18 (HAY)	COMMENT. "In which a new Arlequin will perform that Part, who has had the Honour of representing in several Foreign Courts with Applause: The late Arlequin, Monsieur Francisque, being gone." <i>Daily Courant</i> 18 April, 1721: "N.B. The Benefit of Mademoiselle Vaurinville is defer'd till Thursday next, the 20th Instant."	Boxes 4s. Pit 2s. 6d. Gallery 1s. 6d. To begin exactly at Seven a Clock.
Monsieur de Pourceaugnac. Also Les Amans Trompes	Molière (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Thursday, April 20 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Mlle de Vaurinville." DANCING.	
La Dame Invisible. Also de Pourceaugnac	Mainpiece: This may be either Hauteroche or d'Ouille's <i>L'Esprit Folet</i> under a differing title (<i>LS</i> II.ii.625).	Monday, April 24 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Comedie de Monsieur Moliere." DANCING.	
De le Colle [L'Ecole] des Femmes. Also Arlequin Protée.	By "Guerardy" (Afterpiece)	Friday, April 28 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Mons. Claigney, who acts the Part of the Burgaway [Bourgeoise] Gentilhomme, and his Wife the little Actress."	
L'Empereur dans la Lune. Also De la Cavalcade Espagnolles	Mainpiece: Based on Aphra Behn's <i>Emperor of the Moon</i> (1687)? Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Thursday, May 4 (HAY)	DANCING.	

Total Evenings: 50

Total London Premieres: 36

Appendix A.4: French Comedies at the London Theaters (1721–1722)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PERFORMANCE VENUE & DATE	LONDON STAGE NOTES	ADMISSION
Tartuffe. Also, Arlequin invisible chez le roy de lu Chine	Molière (mainpiece); Lesage/D'Orneval (afterpiece)	Monday, December 4, 1721 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By the company of French comedians, just arrived. Mainpiece: Written by Mons. Moliere."	
Les Menechmes; ou Les Jumeaux. Also Crispin Rival de son maitre	Regnard (mainpiece); Lesage (afterpiece)	Tuesday, December 4, 1721 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by Monsieur Renard"	
Le Joueur. Also Les Amours de village	Regnard (mainpiece); Anon. (afterpiece)	Thursday, December 7 (HAY)	The Arlequin and Pierrot will act the principal parts.	Boxes 4s. Pit 2s. 6d. Gallery 1s. 6d. At 6 P.M.
Amphitryon; ou, Les Deux Sosies. Also le Mariage Forcé	Molière (mainpiece and afterpiece)	Monday, December 11 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Written by Monsieur Molière"	
Democrite Amoureux. Also Les Eaux de Merlin.	Regnard (mainpiece); Lesage/D'Orneval (afterpiece)	Tuesday, December 12 (HAY)	The principal parts to be perform'd by Harlequin and Pierrot	
L'Ecole des maris. Also George Dandin	Molière (mainpiece and afterpiece)	Thursday, December 14, (HAY)	COMMENT. "Written by Monsieur Molière"	
L'Avocat Patelin. Also Arlequin Invisible, a la cour du roy de la Chine.	Abbé David- Augustin de Brueys (mainpiece)	Friday, December 15 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By their Royal Highness's command."	
Le Legatoire Universel. Also Don Pasquin d'Avalos	Regnard (mainpiece); Anon. (afterpiece)	Monday, December 18 (HAY)		

La Femme Juge. Also La Bagette de Vulcain.	Montfleury (mainpiece); Regnard and Dufresny (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, December 19 (HAY)	The principal parts by Harlequin and Pierrot	
Don Japhet d'Armenie. Also le Deuil	Paul Scarron (mainpiece); Corneille (afterpiece)	Thursday, December 21 (HAY)		
Amphitryon; ou, Les Deux Sosies. Also le Cocu imaginaire.	Molière (mainpiece and afterpiece)	Friday, December 22 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several Ladies of Quality."	
L'Homme a bonne fortune. Also Les Vendanges de Suresne	Gherardi/Regnard (mainpiece); Dancourt (afterpiece)	Tuesday, December 26 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Rhadamysthe & Zenobie. Also Arlequin a la Guinguette; ou Les Amours de village	Crébillon (mainpiece)	Thursday, December 28 (HAY)	COMMENT. At the particular desire of several persons of quality. DANCING.	
Le Misanthrope. Also Attendez Moy sous l'orme	Molière (mainpiece); Regnard (afterpiece)	Friday, December 29 (HAY)	COMMENT. Mainpiece: "Written by Monsieur Moliere" DANCING.	
l'Avare. Also Les Vendanges de Suresne.	Molière (mainpiece); Dancourt (afterpiece)	Monday, January 1, 1722 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the desire of several persons of quality. Mainpiece: "Written by Monsieur de Moliere." DANCING	
La Femme Juge. Also Le Mariage Forcé		Tuesday, January 2 (HAY)	DANCING	
Andromaque. Also Le Cocu imaginaire	Molière (afterpiece)	Thursday, January 4 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several persons of quality. Afterpiece: written by M. de Molière"	

L'Homme a bonne fortune. Also Le Coche supposé.	Hauteroche (afterpiece)	Friday, January 5 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several Ladies of Quality"	
Rhadamysthe. Also Les Trois Freres riveaux.	Joseph de la Font (afterpiece)	Saturday, January 6 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several persons of quality."	
Phedra & Hippolite. Also les Funerailles de la foire & son rap[p]el a la vie	Racine (mainpiece); Fuzelier (afterpiece)	Monday, January 8 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By their Royal Highnesses' comman. Mainpiece: "Written by Monsieur de Racine."	
Les Menechmes; ou Les Jumeaux. Also Les Vacances.	Dancourt? (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, January 9 (HAY)	DANCING	
Le Festin de pierre avec tout son spectacles	Adaptation by Letelier (see 6 March, 1721)	Thursday, January 11 (HAY)	DANCING	
Arlequin Cartouche; ou, Les Voleurs. Also Les Folies amoureuses	Riccoboni (mainpiece); Regnard (afterpiece)	Friday, January 12 (HAY)		
Le Cid. Also L'Usurier gentilhomme.	Corneille (mainpiece); M.A. Le Grand (afterpiece)	Monday, January 15 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by M. Decorneaille"	
Arlequin Cartouche. Also l'Ecole des maris		Tuesday, January 16 (HAY)		
Astre and Thieste. Also L'Ete des coquettes.	Crébillon (mainpiece); Dancourt (afterpiece)	Thursday, January 18 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by M Crebillon, Author of Rhadamisthe"	
Grondeur. Also Arlequin Cartouche	Palaprat (mainpiece)	Friday, January 19 (HAY)		
Le menteur. Also l'Epreuve reciproque.	Corneille (mainpiece)	Monday, January 22 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by Mr. Corneille"	

Iphigenie. Also Crispin rival de son maitre	Racine (mainpiece)	Tuesday, January 23 (HAY)		
Grondeur . Also Arlequin Cartouche		Thursday, January 25 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several persons of quality. Afterpiece: "avec des scenes nouvelles"	
Mithridate. Also Le Port de mer.	Racine (mainpiece); Nicolas Boindin (Afterpiece)	Monday, January 29 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by M de Racine"	
Les Precieuses ridicules et de l'esprit de contradiction. Also Arlequin Cartouche .	Molière (mainpiece)	Thursday, February 1 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several Ladies of Quality"	
Arlequin Cartouche . Also l'Usurier gentilhomme et les Vendanges de Suresne	Dancourt? (afterpiece)	Friday, February 2 (HAY)	COMMENT. By their Royal Highnesses' Command	
Britannicus. Also La Serenade.	Racine (mainpiece); Regnard/Gillier (afterpiece)	Monday, February 5 (HAY)	COMMENT. Mainpiece: "Written by the M de Racine"	
L'Avare . Also l'Epreuve reciproque .	Molière (mainpiece)	Tuesday, February 6 (HAY)	DANCING. By Glover, being the first time of his appearing on this Stage. COMMENT. "Mainpiece: "written by M de Moliere"	
Le Traitant de France. Also Les Trois Freres riveaux et pierot chantera	Anonymous (mainpiece)	Thursday, February 8 (HAY)	COMMENT. Afterpiece: "un pot pouri"	
Rodogune. Also Les Precieuses ridicule .	Corneille (mainpiece)	Monday, February 12 (HAY)	COMMENT. Mainpiece: "Written by M de Corneille"	

l'Ingrat. Also le Port de mer.	Destouches (mainpiece)	Saturday, February 17 (HAY)	COMMENT. Mainpiece: "written by M Destouches." DANCING.	
Arlequin Cartouche. Also L'Ete des coquettes et les Vendangers de Suresne	Dancourt? (afterpiece)	Monday, February 19 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several persons of quality. DANCING. By Mademoiselle Voirinville."	
Cinna; ou, La Clemence d'Auguste. Also La Serenade.	Anonymous (mainpiece)	Thursday, February 22 (HAY)		
<i>The Unhappy Favourite</i> ; ou, Le Comte D'Essex. Also Le Cocher Suppose.	Romagnezi? (mainpiece)	Monday, February 26 (HAY)	COMMENT. Benefit Mrs. Hamoché, Mrs. Du Breuil, and Romagnezi.	Pit and Boxes at 5s. Gallery 2s. 6d.
Le Joueur. Also Attende[z]x Moy sous l'orme.	Regnard (mainpiece and afterpiece)	Thursday, March 1 (HAY)	COMMENT. At the particular desire of several persons of quality.	
Arlequin Hulla. Also L'Epreuve reciproque.	Romagnesi (mainpiece)	Monday, March 5 (HAY)	COMMENT. With new Musick. Mainpiece: "written by Mr. Romagnezi"	
Arlequin Hulla. Also Les Trois Freres riveaux		Thursday, March 8 (HAY)	COMMENT. Mainpiece: "written by M. Romagnezi." MUSIC AND DANCING	
Arlequin Hulla. Also Crispin rival de son maitre		Monday, March 12 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit the Author. Mainpiece: written by M Romagnezi" MUSIC AND DANCING	

Pierot le Furieux. Also Amphitryon ; or, the Two Sosias.	Fuzelier? (mainpiece); Molière (afterpiece)	Thursday, March 15 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Pierot and Arlequin, who hurt himself with a pistol. Afterpiece: written by M Molière"	
Le bourgeois gentilhomme. Also la Ceremonie Turque	Molière (mainpiece); Anonymous (afterpiece)	Monday, March 26 (HAY)	COMMENT. Mainpiece: "Written by M Moliere" DANCING.	
Arlequin Hulla . Also George Dandin .	Romagnesi (mainpiece)	Tuesday, March 27 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several persons of quality."	
Jaloux de Sabuse. Also Arlequin Cartouche .	Campistron (mainpiece)	Thursday, March 29 (HAY)	COMMENT. " At the particular desire of several persons of quality."	
Arlequin Hulla . Also Le Grondeur .		Friday, March 30 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular desire of several Ladies of Quality."	
Les Horaces. Also Le Cocu imaginaire .	Corneille (mainpiece)	Monday, April 2 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: written by M de Corneille. Afterpiece: written by M de Moliere"	
Le Chevalier a la mode. Also Le Retour Impreuevu	Dancourt (mainpiece); Regnard? (afterpiece)	Thursday, April 5 (HAY)		
Alcibiade. Also Colin maillard.	Campistron (mainpiece); Dancourt (afterpiece)	Monday, April 9 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Oedipe. Also Le Cocher suppose .	Voltaire (mainpiece)	Tuesday, April 10 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By his majesty's command. Mainpiece: written by M Voltaire"	

Total Evenings: 54

Total London Premieres: 48

Appendix A.5: French Comedies at the London Theaters (1724-1725)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PERFORMANCE VENUE & DATE	LONDON STAGE NOTES	ADMISSION
Les Metamorphoses d'Arlequin. Also L'Isle des Amazones.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Lesage and d'Orneval (Afterpiece)	Thursday, December 17, 1724 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By the Company of Italian Comedians, just arriv'd. Mainpiece: an Italian Comedy. Afterpiece: Opera Comique."	At 6 P.M. Boxes by printed tickets only at 5s. Pit 2s. 6d. Gallery 1s. 6d.
Les Metamorphoses d'Arlequin. Also La Baguette enchantee.	Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Friday, December 18 (HAY)		Admission as 17 Dec., but Boxes 4s.
Arlequin prevost. Also Le Tombeau de maitre Andre & La Parodie du Cid	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Biancolelli (Afterpiece)	Monday, December 21 (HAY)		
Arlequin feint astrologue, statue, enfant & perroquet.	de L'Isle	Monday, December 28 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Avec tous ces Spectacles & Dances."	
Arlequin & Scaramouch soldats deserteurs. Also Le Mariage forcé.	Fuzelier (Mainpiece); Molière (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, December 30 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Piece Risible. Afterpiece. Comedie de Moliere."	
Arlequin petit maitre a bonne fortune. Also Arlequin esprit follet.	Gherardi (Mainpiece); Bougeant? (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 1, 1725 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Comedie de Guerardy."	

Arlequin protee: Avec La scene comique de Titus & Berenice, du plaidoyer de Colombine & d'Arlequin. Also Attendez moy sous L'Orme.	Gherardi (Mainpiece); Regnard (Afterpiece)	Monday, January 4 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Comedie de Guerardy."	
Arlequin valet etourdy. Also Le Cocu, batu, content.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, January 6 (HAY)		
Arlequin gentilhomme par hazard. Also le Medecin malgre lui.	Biancolelli? (Mainpiece); Molière (Afterpiece)	Thursday, January 7 (HAY)	COMMENT. <i>Daily Post</i> , 8 Jan., lists these, apparently by mistake, for Friday 8."	
La Foire de St. J[G]ermain de Paris.	Gherardi (Mainpiece)	Friday, January 8 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Comedie de Mr Gerardy"	
Le Joueur. Also Les Deux Octaves.	Regnard (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, January 11 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Comedie en Cinq Actes, de Renard. Afterpiece: Comedie Italienne."	
Arlequin gazetier comique d'Holandes. Also Don Pasquin D'Avalos.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Wednesday, January 13 (HAY)		
La Belle Esclave. Also La Serenade.	de L'Estoilie. Regnard/Gillier (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 15 (HAY)		
Les Facheux. Also George Dandin.	Molière (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Monday, January 18 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Comedie de Moliere"	
Le Joueur. Also La Guirlande enchantee.	Anonymous (afterpiece)	Wednesday, January 20 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: En 5 actes de Renard"	

Le Medecin malgre luy. Also Les Filles errantes: "avec la scene des moeurs de Francois."	Gherardi (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 22 (HAY)	DANCING. "Un ballet nouveau, part Mr. Roger the Pierrot." COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Comedie de Moliere. Afterpiece: Comedie Italienne et Guerardy."	
Arlequin & Octave persecutez par les dames inconues. Also le Mariage forcé.	Anonymous (Mainpiece)	Monday, January 25 (HAY)	DANCING. As 22 Jan.	
Les Folies amoureuses. Also Arlequin cuisinier de la guinquette.	Regnard (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, January 27 (HAY)		
Les Animaux raisonnables; ou Ulysses & Circe. Also La Fille scavante.	Le Grand and Fuzelier (Mainpiece); Fatouville (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 29 (HAY)		
Democritte. Also Arlequin esprit follet.	Regnard (Mainpiece)	Monday, February 1 (HAY)		
Arlequin Viconte de Bergamotte, Prince des Curieux. Also Colombine Docteur au droit.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Wednesday, February 3 (HAY)	DANCING. As 22 Jan.	
Arlequin & Scaramouche soldats deserteurs. Also La Cuirande [Guirlande] echantee.		Friday, February 5 (HAY)	DANCING. By Roger, the Pierrot. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	

Arlequin feint astrologue, statue, enfant & perroquet. Also Les Vacances des procureurs.	Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, February 8 (HAY)		
La Tartuffe.	Molière (Mainpiece)	Thursday, February 11 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Comedie de Moliere en 5 Actes."	
La Femme diablesse et les Epouvantes d'Arlequin. Also Le Tableau du mariage.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Fuzelier, LeSage, and d'Orneval (Afterpiece)	Monday, February 15 (HAY)		
Arlequin feint astrologue, statue, enfant & perroquet. Also Arlequin gentilhomme par hazard.		Thursday, February 18 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Ladies of Quality."	
Arlequin valet etourdy. Also, Les Animaux Raisonnables.	Le Grand and Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Monday, February 22 (HAY)		
Les Intrigues d'Arlequin. Also Protee avec la critique des comediens françois.	Bordelon? (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Tuesday, February 23 (HAY)		
Arlequin chasseur major ridicule & docteur chinois. Also le Deuil comique	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, March 1 (HAY)		
Les Metamorphoses d'Arlequin. Also Le Cocu, Battu, content.		Thursday, March 4 (HAY)		

Les Quatres Arlequin par magie. Also Arlequin docteur Faustus.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Monday, March 8 (HAY)	DANCING. Avec un Nouveau Ballet Comique & autres Danses par Mr Roger. COMMENT. "Benefit Defonpre, the Arlequin."	Pit and Boxes laid together at 5s.
Pasquin & Marforio; ou, Arlequin Genealogiste & les Folies de Colombine. Also Les Vacances des procureurs.	Dufresny and de Barante (Mainpiece) [Relationship to play on 6 Jan, 1721 is unknown]	Thursday, March 11 (HAY)		
L'Auberge d'Arlequin. Also Arlequin Docteur Faustus	Anonymous (Mainpiece)	Monday, March 15 (HAY)		
Arlequin cru prince par magie. Also Pierot grand vizier: With the Turkish Ceremony of the Bourgeois Gentilhomme.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Thursday, March 18 (HAY)	DANCING. MUSIC. "A new Sonata on the Violin of Mr Roger's Composing, by himself." COMMENT. "Benefit Roger, the Pierot. Afterpiece: The Characters all new Dressed."	
Les Amours de Colombine & de Scaramouche, Pedant scrupuleux, & Pierot escalier. Also l'Ombre d'Arlequin, & le Diable Boiteux.	Medley of plays by various authors	Monday, March 29 (HAY)	DANCING. Variety of New Dances by Mr Roger, the Pierrot, and also by a young Scaramouch lately arriv'd. COMMENT. "Benefit Mrs Dumont, the Colombine, and Mr Phillipe, the Scaramouch.	

Les Rendezvous interrompus; ou, Arlequin docteur domestique. Also Arlequin chasseur et docteur chinois.	Anonymous (Mainpiece)	Thursday, April 1 (HAY)		
Le Festin de Pierre. Also Arlequin ambassadeur d'amour.	Letelier (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, April 7 (HAY)	DANCING. COMMENT. "Benefit Mrs Lagarroune, the Izabelle, and Lanier, the Lover. Mainpiece: Orne de tout son Spectacle."	
Arlequin Empereur dans la Lune. Also Les Tombeau de mestre [maître] Andre.	Mainpiece: Based on Aphra Behn's Emperor of the Moon (1687)?	Friday, April 9 (HAY)	DANCING. Of Mr Roger's Composing. COMMENT. "Benefit Pinart."	
Les Epouvantes de Scaramouche et Arlequin juge comique. Also Arlequin Cartouche.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Riccoboni (Afterpiece)	Monday, April 12 (HAY)		
Le Dragon de Muscovie. Also Arlequin Docteur Faustus.	Anonymous (Mainpiece)	Wednesday, April 14 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Pierot</i> and <i>Country Dance</i> by Roger. A new <i>Punch</i> by the young Scaramouch lately arrived from France. COMMENT. "Benefit John Rudd, Boxkeeper."	At 7 P.M.
Arlequin statue, enfant, & peroquet. Also La Matrone d'Ephese; ou, Arlequin Diane.	Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Friday, April 16 (HAY)	DANCING. By Roger and the Little Scaramouch. COMMENT. "Benefit Dykes, Boxkeeper to the Opera."	

La Fille capitaine. Also Les Folles amoureuses.	Montfleury (Mainpiece)	Monday, April 19 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Durac, the Pantalon, and Soullart, the Doctor. N.B. An actress lately arrived from France will perform the part of Colombine in the Woman Cative, and in the Amoureuses Follies the Part of Agate."	
Le Divorce du Mariage. Also Arlequin Cartouche.	Anonymous (Mainpiece)	Wednesday, April 21 (HAY)	"In which a new Actress will perform, who never appeared but once on this Stage."	
Le Joueur. Also Arlequin Cartouche.		Friday, April 23 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Le Legatoire universal. Also La Baguette de Vulcan.	Regnard (Mainpiece); Regnard and Dufresny (Afterpiece)	Monday, April 26 (HAY)		
Arlequin Empereur dans la Lune. Also La Serenade.		Wednesday, April 28 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
La Tartuffe. Also Arlequin Gazettier Comique.	Molière (Mainpiece)	Friday, April 30 (HAY)		
Scaramouch persecute par Arlequin faux diable. Also Arlequin femme grosse.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Monday, May 3 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality."	

Les Metamorphoses d'Arlequin. Also Le Dragon du Moscovie.		Wednesday, May 5 (HAY)	DANCING. As 5 Feb. COMMENT. "Benefit a Gentleman in Distress. At the particular Desire of several Ladies of Quality.	The Pit and Boxes to be laid together at 5s.
Les Deux d'Arlequin [Les Deux Arlequin]. Also The Doctor Against his Will.	Le Noble (Mainpiece); Molière (Afterpiece)	Friday, May 7 (HAY)	Eldest Brother --Solard; 2d Arlequin --Roger. DANCING. By Roger and the new Colombine. COMMENT. "Benefit Mrs Jacobs, the new Colombine, lately arrived from France. Mainpiece: The only Master-Piece that the famous Mons d'Noble ever writ. Afterpiece: Written by M Moliere."	Pit and Boxes to be laid together at 5s.
Le Legatoire universal. Also Arlequin nouvelliste des Tuileries.	Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, May 10 (HAY)		
La Fille a la mode. Les Deux Arlequins.	Barbier (Mainpiece)	Thursday, May 13 (HAY)	As 7 May. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality. Being the last Time of performing by Subscription."	

Total Evenings: 52

Total London Premieres: 38

Appendix A.6: French Comedies at the London Theaters (1725–1726)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PERFORMANCE VENUE & DATE	LONDON STAGE NOTES
La Fille allamode; ou, La Parisien Duppe. Also L'Ombre d'Arlequin.	Barbier? (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Thursday, March 24, 1726 (HAY)	DANCING. By Mr Poitiers and others. COMMENT. "By the Company of Italian Comedians just arriv'd." Boxes 4s. Pit 2s. 6d. At 6 P.M.
La Femme veange [Vengée]; ou, le Triumphe d'Colombine & d'Arlequin Marquis Ridicule.	de Fatouville (Mainpiece)	Monday, March 28 (HAY)	Colombine – Mlle Violante Italiene. DANCING. By Poitier.
Arlequin feint astrologue, pagode, ramoneur. Petit Infant, statue, & perroquet.	de L'Isle	Thursday, March 31 (HAY)	DANCING. As 28 March. COMMENT. "The same as it was acted at the Theatre Royal Italien at Paris. <i>Daily Post</i> , 29 March: "A company of English actors had announced The Stratagem for this day at HAY, but they postponed it to 12 April."
l'Heureux Naufrage et la force de l'amour et de la magie.	Nicolas Barbier	Monday, April 11 (HAY)	With a new actor newly arrived from Paris, who never performed in England before. DANCING. As 28 March. COMMENT. "Composed by Monsieur Barbieri, French poet."
Les Metamorphoses d'Arlequin & Peintre par amour. Also le Deuil de maistre Andre.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Wednesday, April 13 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Pierrot and Pierrottess</i> by Mons and Mademoiselle Boudet. <i>Peasants</i> by Boudet and Mlle Boudet. <i>Harlequin</i> by Poitier.

Colombine fille scavante, et Marinete capitaine d'infanterie. Also Arlequin courier de Batavia.	Gherardi (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Thursday, April 14 (HAY)	SERIOUS AND COMIC DANCING. By Poitier, Boudet, Lalauze, Welman, Madam Boudet, Madam Violante. COMMENT: "Mainpiece: Due Theatre de Gherardie."
Octave etourdi. Also Le Mariage Forcé.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Molière (Afterpiece)	Friday, April 15 (HAY)	DANCING. As 24 March. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Par Monsieur Moliere."
Les Intrigues d'Arlequin & les Contre temps d'Octave. Also le Mariage Forcé.	Bordelon? (Mainpiece); Molière (Afterpiece)	Monday, April 18 (HAY)	DANCING. By Poitier, Boudet, Lalauze Jr, Welman, and others. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."
Arlequin homme a bonne fortune & Roy de Tripoli & Colombine docteur endroit	Regnard (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece - does not distinguish as separate play).	Wednesday, April 20 (HAY)	DANCING. After every Act. Joue par Mademoiselle Le Brun.
Le Mort de Lucesse. Also Les Aventures de la Foire St. Germain de Paris.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Afterpiece - (relationship to <i>La Foire St. Germain</i> , by Regnard and Dufresny, is unknown)	Friday, April 22 (HAY)	DANCING. By Poitier, Boudet, Welman, and others.
La Fausse coquette; ou, Les Apparences trompeuses. Also Pierot Arlequin.	Biancolelli? Mainpiece - (relationship to <i>La Fausse coquette</i> is unknown); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, April 25 (HAY)	DANCING. By Poitier, Boudet, Lalauze Jr, Welman, Mlle Boudet, Mlle Violante. COMMENT. "For the Entertainment of his Excellency Mahomet Ben Ali Abgali, Ambassadour from the Empererour of Morocco."

Arlequin de capite. Also Les Deux Pierrots.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Wednesday, April 27 (HAY)	In which Monsieur Lalauze the Arlequin will perform without a Mask. DANCING. <i>Gardiner's Dance</i> by Boudet, Welman, Mlle Boudet, Mlle Violante. Furies by Poitier, Boudet, Lalauze Jr, Wellman. A new Grand Dance called <i>La Triomphante</i> by Poitier, Boudett, Lalauze Jr, Wellman, Madame Boudett, Madame Violante. A new Turkish Dance. COMMENT. "Benefit Lalauze, the Arlequin."
Arlequin Prote: La Parodia de Titus & Berenice (Joue par Arlequin & Colombine.) Also Arlequin Scaramouche soldats deserteurs.	Gherardi (Mainpiece); Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Monday, May 2 (HAY)	DANCING. By Poitiers and others. COMMENT. "Mainpiece: en trois Actes du Theatre de Gherardy."
Arlequin major ridicule chasseur & docteur chinoix. Octave dragon.	Anonymous (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Tuesday, May 3 (HAY)	Advertised but not acted by illness of M Maillard, the Scaramouch.
l'Heureux Naufrage. With a Prologue.		Friday, May 6 (HAY)	DANCING. By Poitier, Boudett, Welman, Lalauze Jr, Madam Violante, Madam Boudett.

Les Quatres Arlequin par magie. Also Le Tableau du mariage.	Anonymous (Mainpiece); Lesage (Afterpiece)	Monday, May 9 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Four Harlequins</i> . 1st by Lalauze; 2d by Poitier; 3d by Maillard; 4th by Le Brun. End I: <i>The Rival Pierrots</i> by Boudett, Lalauze Jr, Mlle Violante. II: A new <i>Moor's Dance</i> by Lalauze Jr and Mlle Violante. II: A new <i>Chacoon of All Characters</i> by Poitier, Boudett, Lalauze, Welman, Mlle Boudett, Mlle Violante, Mlle Le Brun, Mlle L'Inconnue. With a new Dance call'd <i>Le Cotillon</i> , perform'd by 12 Dancers. French Peasant by Poitier. COMMENT. "Benefit Poitier, Dancing Master. Afterpiece: Composed by Monsieur Le Sage."
Timon [le] misanthrope.	de L'Isle	Wednesday, May 11 (HAY)	ENTERTAINMENTS. By the Company. COMMENT. "Being one of the best Comedies in the Italian Theatre."
General Entertainments		Wednesday, June 1 (HAY)	"On this day and on several following days Mrs Violante offered tumbling, dancing, and general entertainments, but no plays, at this theater."

Total Evenings: 18

Total London Premieres: 11

Appendix A.7: French Comedies at the London Theaters (1734–1735)

TITLE	AUTHOR	PERFORMANCE VENUE & DATE	LONDON STAGE NOTES	AUDIENCE
L'Embarras des Richesses. Also Arlequin hulla.	Dallainval (Mainpiece)	Saturday, October 26, 1734 (HAY);	COMMENT. "By the Company of French Comedians lately arrived." Harlequin – Francisque. Boxes 5s. Pit 3s. Gallery 2s. 6 P.M.	Princess of Orange and Princess Caroline present
Harlequin Sauvage. Also La Silphide [La Sylphide].	de L'Isle (Mainpiece); Biancolleli, with Romagnesi (Afterpiece)	Monday, October 28 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of their Royal Highnesses the Princess of Orange and the Princess Caroline." SINGING AND DANCING.	
Timon le Misanthrope. Also Le Portrait.	de L'Isle (Mainpiece); Saint Foix or Beauchamp? (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, October 30 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Les Caracteres de la Dance</i> by Mlle Chateauneuf.	
Le Jeu de l'amour & du hazard; ou, Arlequin maitre & valet. Also Arlequin poly par l'amour.	Pierre Marivaux (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Thursday, October 31 (HAY)	DANCING. As 30 Oct.	
L'Avare. Also La Reunion des amours.	Molière (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Friday, November 1 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by Moliere." See letter on this night's performance in <i>Grub St. Journal</i> , 7 Nov.	Princess of Orange and Princess Amelia and Caroline present.
La Fille capitaine; ou, La Fille scavante. Also Arlequin gardien du fleuve d'oubly.	Montfleury (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Monday, November 4 (HAY)	"With the scene of Le Professeur d'amour: In which Harlequin performs unmask'd." Harlequin – Francisque. DANCING.	

Timon le Misanthrope. Also Arlequin hulla.		Wednesday, November 6 (HAY)	Harlequin – Francisque. COMMENT. "By Command of their Royal Highnesses the Princess Amelia and Princess Caroline." SINGING AND DANCING.	King, Duke, and all the Princesses present.
Arlequin Astrologue, ramoneur, statue. Enfant et Perroquet; or, Harlequin astrologer, chimney-sweeper, statue, child, and Parrot.	de L'Isle	Thursday, November 7 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>The Double Face</i> by Mlle Chateaufort. <i>Wooden Shoe Dance</i> by Master Francis Cochoy.	
Le Divorce; ou, les Fourberies d'Arlequin. Also Arlequin esprit follet; or, Arlequin Mad Spright.	La Font + Regnard? (Mainpiece); Bougeant? (Afterpiece)	Friday, November 8 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness."	
La Double inconstance; ou, Arlequin a la cour malgre luy. Also Les Animaux raisonnables.	Marivaux (Mainpiece); Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Monday, November 11 (HAY)	DANCING.	
La Foire de St. Germain: "With the scene of Tarquin and Lucrece, perform'd by Harlequin and Colombine." Also la Baguette de Vulcain.	Regnard and Dufresny (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Wednesday, November 13 (HAY)	SINGING AND DANCING	

Arlequin Astrologue, statue, enfant, ramoneur, perroquet: "with the scene of the Moor." Also Les Amours de Nanterre.	Sutreau (Afterpiece - In TFLO collection)	Thursday, November 14 (HAY)	MUSIC. Mr Job Baker will perform a Preamble on the Kettle Drums, accompanied by other Instruments. COMMENT. "By command of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and the Princess Amelia and Caroline."	
Arlequin cru Colombine; et Colombine crue Arlequin; ou, l'Heureux Naufrage. Also Les Animaux raisonnables.	Barbier (Mainpiece)	Friday, November 15 (HAY)	With the prologue. DANCING AND SINGING.	
La Fausse coquette; ou Arlequin Magicien. Also Arlequin hulla.	Anonymous (Mainpiece)	Monday, November 18 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By his Royal Highness's Command." In <i>Daily Advertiser</i> and <i>Daily Journal</i> , 16 Nov., Tartuffe and Arlequin Poly par l'amour had been advertised for this night.	
La Tartuffe. Also Arlequin poly par l'amour.	Molière (Mainpiece)	Wednesday, November 20 (HAY)	Tartuffe – Francisque; Orgon – Dessesars; Valere – Le Sage Jr; Damis – Le Sage Sr; Cleanthe – de Verneuil; Loyal – Cochoy; L'Exempt – Malter; Elmire – Mrs Francisque; Madame Perenelle – Mrs Dessesars; Marianne – Mrs Fompre; Dorine – Mrs Verneuil. DANCING. <i>Harlequin Dance</i> by Miss Chateauneuf. COMMENT "Mainpiece: By Moliere."	
La Foire de St. Germain: "With the scene of Tarquin and Lucrece, perform'd by Harlequin and Colombine." Also Les Amours de Nanterre.		Thursday, November 21 (HAY)	SINGING AND DANCING. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	

Arlequin Misanthrope. Also Le Carillon de maitre Gervaise et Dame Alison.	De Berante? (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Friday, November 22 (HAY)	Dame Alison – Francisque, unmask'd. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Intermix'd with Songs and Dances."	The Duke and Princess Amelia, Mary, and Louisa present
Les Embarras des Richesses. Also Tombeau de maitre Andre: "In which Harlequin and Colombine will perform a Scene, in Imitation of the famous Tragedy call'd <i>Le Cid</i> , by Corneille."	Biancolelli (Afterpiece)	Monday, November 25 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Le Tartuffe. Also La Sylphide.		Wednesday, November 27 (HAY)	As 20 Nov. DANCING.	
Le Medecin malgre luy. Also Les Deux Arlequins.	Molière (Mainpiece); Le Noble (Afterpiece)	Thursday, November 28 (HAY)	DANCING. COMMENT. "Mainpiece: By Moliere. Afterpiece: A Comedy in Three Acts."	
Le Jeu de l'amour & du hazard; ou, Arlequin maitre & valet. Also Le Francois a Londres.	Louis de Boissy (Afterpiece)	Friday, November 29 (HAY)	DANCING. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Sampson Judge of Israel. Also Le Carillon de maitre Gervaise and Dame Alison (As 22 Nov).	Riccoboni? (Mainpiece)	Monday, December 2 (HAY)	Sampson – Le Sage Jr; Phanor – Verneuil; Acab – Le Sage Sr; Emanuel – Dessessars; Azael – De Lisle; Zamec – Dubuisson; Ascalon – Harlequin; Dalila – Mrs Malter; Armilla – Mrs Francisque. COMMENT. "With all New Scenes, Machines, and Decorations, as much as the Theatre will admit of."	

Harlequin Tiresias. Also Le Francois a Londres.	Anonymos (Mainpiece)	Wednesday, December 4 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Printed Books of the Argument of the Play will be given gratis."	
L'Embaras des Richesses. Also Le Francois a Londres.	Dallainval (Mainpiece)	Thursday, December 5 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of their Royal Highnesses the Princess Amelia and Princess Caroline." DANCING.	
Arlequin Astrologue, ramoneur, statue, enfant et Perroquet: "With a New Scene of Arlequin Skelleton." Also Arlequin Hulla.		Friday, December 6 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>The Caprice</i> by Miss Chateauneuf. COMMENT. "By Command of His Royal Highness."	
Sampson Judge of Israel. Also Le Francois a Londres.		Monday, December 9 (HAY)	As 2 Dec. Le Marquis de Polinville – Le Sage Sr; Le Baron de Polinville – Le Sage Jr; Lord Crass – Verneuil; Lord Houssay – Young Master Cochoy; Roast Beef – Dessessars; Eliante – Mrs. Mimi; Finette – Mrs. Verneuil. DANCING.	
Le Medecin malgre luy; or, The Mock Doctor. Also Les Deux Arlequins.		Wednesday, December 11 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by Moliere." DANCING.	
Arlequin sauvage. Also L'Etourdi; ou, Arlequin fourbe, fourbe et demy; or, Harlequin a Cheat and a Half.	Regnard? (Afterpiece)	Thursday, December 12 (HAY)	DANCING. COMMENT. "As 5 Dec."	

Le Joueur; or, The Gamester. Also Arlequin gardien de fleuve d'oubly.	Regnard (Mainpiece)	Friday, December 13 (HAY)	Valere – Le Sage Jr; Le Marquis du Hazard – Le Sage Sr; Dorante – Verneuil; Geronte – Dubuisson; Tout a bas or Count Cogdie – Cochoy; Gallomier – Malter; Hector – Dessessars; Angeligne – Miss Mimie; La Comtesse – Mrs Verneuil; Nerine – Mrs Le Sage; Madame La Ressource – Mrs Dessessars; Madame Adame – Mrs Malter. DANCING.	
Arlequin Astrologue, ramoneur, statue. Enfant et Negre: "With the scene of the Skelleton. And by way of Prologue: Le Baron de la crasse; or, My Lord Sloven.		Monday, December 16 (HAY)	Le Baron – Francisque, unmask'd. COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness." DANCING.	
Arlequin et sa troupe comediens esclaves; or, Harlequin and his Company of Comedians Slaves.	Combination of 3 plays	Wednesday, December 18 (HAY)	Compos'd of three different plays, representing an idiom of the French Stage, in General, beginning with a Prologue: The First piece call'd <i>Arcacambis</i> , a Tragedy. The Second <i>L'Ecole des Maris</i> , a comedy in Three Acts, written by Moliere. The Third <i>Harlequin Always Harlequin</i> , of the Italian Theatre. DANCING.	Duke and the young Princesses present.
Arlequin Sauvage. Also L'Etourdy.	Molière (Afterpiece)	Thursday, December 19 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality."	

Amphitryon; or, the Two Sosias. Also Isabelle Fille capitaine et Arlequin sergeant; ou, Colombine fille savante: "With the scene of the Professor of Love."	Molière (Mainpiece); Montfleury? (Afterpiece)	Friday, December 20 (HAY)	Amphitryon – Le Sage Sr; Jupiter – Le Sage Jr; Alcmena – Mrs Fompre; Cleanthis – Mrs Le Sage Jr; Mercury – Verneuil; Sosia – Dessessars. Also Professor – Alrequin, unmask'd. DANCING. COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by Moliere."	
Le Malade imaginaire; or, The Mother-In-Law. Also Arlequin poly par l'amour	Molière (Mainpiece)	Monday, December 23 (HAY)	DANCING. Argante – Dessessars; Cleanthe – Le Sage Jr; Beral – Verneuil; Diaphoirus 7/23/2017 Dubuisson; Thomas Diaphoirus – Le Sage Sr; Apothecary – Malter; Belina – Mrs Dessessars; Angelica – Mrs Fompre; Antoinette – Mrs Le Sage Jr; Louisa – Mrs Malter. COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by Moliere."	
L'Embarras des Richesses. Also Harlequin always Harlequin.		Thursday, December 26 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>The Frolick</i> by a Gentleman for his Diversion and Miss Chateauneuf. COMMENT. As 5 Dec.	

Arlequin Balourd; or, Harlequin Blunderer. Also Le Portrait.	Procope-Couteaux (Mainpiece)	Friday, December 27 (HAY)	Harlequin – Francisque; Leandre – Le Sage Sr; Doctor – Dessessars; Geronte – Verneuil; Pierot – Malter; Scaramouch – Cochoy; New Cryer – Dubuisson; Rare-Show Man – De Lisle; Marinette or Countess Leonora – Mrs Malter; Isabella – Mrs Mimie; Colombine – Mrs Francisque. DANCING. A new <i>Chacone</i> in several Characters. COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Not acted these sixteen years. Written by the late Dr Procope. Calculated for the Meridian of London."	Princesses Mary and Louisa present
Arlequin Balourd. Also Le Francois a Londres.		Saturday, December 28 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Tambourine</i> by Miss Chateauneuf.	
Ines de Castro; or, Royal Justice (Tragedy). Also La Fille capitain et Arlequin son sergeant: "With the scene of Le Professeur d'amour."	Houdart de la Motte (Mainpiece)	Monday, December 30 (HAY)	Don Pedro – Francisque; Alphonsus – Verneuil; Don Rodriques – Le Sage Jr; Don Henriquez – Dubuisson; Ambassador – Dessessars; Queen – Mrs Verneuil; Costantia – Mrs Malter; Ines de Castro – Mrs Fompre. DANCING. <i>Tambourine</i> by Miss Chateauneuf. COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness. Mainpiece: Written by the late Mr Houdart de la Motte."	

Amphitryon. Also Les Filles errantes; or, Arlequin Aubergiste; or, The Wandering Maids; or, Harlequin an Inn Keeper.	Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, January 1 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Arlequin Balourd. As 27 Dec. 1734. Also La Serenade.	Regnard/Gillier (Afterpiece)	Thursday, January 2 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>The Frolick</i> , as 26 Dec. 1734. <i>L'Allemande</i> by Miss Chateauf. COMMENT. "By Command of their Highnesses the Princess Amelia and Princess Caroline." <i>Daily Advertiser</i> lists Granier instead of the Gentleman in The Frolick.	
Belphegor; ou, Arlequin aux enfers. To which by way of Prologue: Le Baron de la Crasse. Also, being the Sequel of Belphegor, Arlequin gardien du fleuve d'oubly.	Louis Le Grand (Mainpiece); Poisson (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 3 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Arlequin astrologue, statue, enfant &c.: With scene of the Moor and the Skelleton. Also Les Filles errantes.		Monday, January 6 (HAY)	COMMENT. "As 2 Jan." DANCING.	

Le Festin de Pierre; ou, l'Atthee Foudroye; or, Don John; or, the Libertine Destroy'd. Also Le Francois a Londres.	Louis de Boissy (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, January 8 (HAY)	Don John – Le Sage Sr; Don Phillip – Le Sage Jr; Don Alvarez – Dubuisson; Ghost of Don Pedro – Verneuill; Grand Prevost – Cochoy; Le Pelerin – De Lisle; Don John's Servant – Harlequin; Amarille – Mrs Cochoy; Shepherdess – Mrs. Mimi; Bride and Bridegroom – Malter and Mrs Malter. DANCING.	Princesses Mary and Louisa present.
Zaire. Also Harlequin always Harlequin.	Voltaire (Mainpiece)	Thursday, January 9 (HAY)	Zaire – Mrs Fompre; Orosmane – Le Sage Sr; Lusignan – Verneuill; Nerestan – Le Sage Jr; Chatillon – Dessessars; Corasmin – Dubuisson; Meledor – De Lisle; Fatime – Mrs Mimi. COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness the Duke, their Highnesses the Princess Amelia, the Princess Caroline, the Princess Louisa, and the Princess Maria. Mainpiece: Written by Mr Voltaire."	
Tartuffe. Also Attendez moy sous l'orme; or, The Reform'd Officer.	Regnard (Afterpiece)	Friday, January 10 (HAY)	Dorante – Francisque. COMMENT. "At the particular request of several Persons of Distinction." DANCING.	

Le Bourgeois gentilhomme; or, The Citizen Turn'd Gentleman.	Molière (Mainpiece)	Monday, January 13 (HAY)	Jourdain – Dessessars; Cleontes – Le Sage Jr; Covielle – Verneuil; Dorante – Le Sage Sr; Singing Master – Dubuisson; Madame Jourdain – Mrs Dessessars; Lucille – Mrs Fompre; Nicole – Mrs Le Sage Jr; Dorimene – Mrs Mimi. ENTERTAINMENT. With the Ceremony of Reception, after the Turkish Manner. COMMENT. "By Command of her Royal Highness the Princess Caroline. Written by Moliere." DANCING.	
Le Bourgeois gentilhomme. Also Arlequin poly par l'amour.		Wednesday, January 15 (HAY)	ENTERTAINMENT. As 13 Jan. COMMENT. "Written by Moliere." DANCING.	
La Vie est un songe; ou, Arlequin Boufon a la Cour de Naples; or, Life is a Dream. Also Arlequin Cartouche, Grand provost & Judge.	Louis de Boissy (Mainpiece)	Thursday, January 16 (HAY)	DANCING. Sigismond – Le Sage Sr; King Basil – Verneuil; Duke of Muscovy – Le Sage Jr; Clotalde – Dessessars; Ulric – Dubuisson; Sophronia – Mrs Malter.	
Agnes de Challiot: Being a Critick and Paradox upon Ines de Castro. Also Arlequin Hulla. Also Arlequin and Scaramouch deserters.	Biancolelli with Le Grand (Mainpiece); Fuzelier (2 nd Afterpiece)	Friday, January 17 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness." DANCING.	

Les Amans reunies; or, The Lover's Happy Meeting; or, Harlequin in Love without knowing it. Also Arlequin sauvage.	Godart Beauchamp (Mainpiece)	Monday, January 20 (HAY)	DANCING.	
L'Embarras des Richesses. Also L'Etourdy.		Tuesday, January 21 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Shephard." DANCING.	
Timon le Misanthrope. With the usual Prologue. To which will be prefix'd La Feinte veritable; or, The Tender Return.	Fuzelier? (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, January 22 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality." DANCING.	
La Double inconstance. Also La Sylphide.		Thursday, January 23 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Arlequin Tiresias; or, The Lovers Metamorphosed. To which will be prefix'd in three Acts Les Amans reunies.		Friday, January 24 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Arlequin empereur dans la lune. To which will be prefix'd La Femme jalouse; or, the Jealous Wife.	Behn? (Mainpiece); Francois Antoine Jolly (Afterpiece)	Monday, January 27 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness. Not acted these Sixteen Years." DANCING.	
Arlequin empereur dans la lune. To which will be prefix'd La Femme jalouse.		Wednesday, January 29 (HAY)	DANCING.	

Arlequin conjurer, statue, enfant, moor & skeleton. Also Arlequin poly par l'amour.		Friday, January 31 (HAY)	MUSIC. Select Pieces between the Acts, particularly the Song of <i>Love would Invade me</i> , the Song-Part on the Hautboy by Mr Kytch, and the Trumpet by Mr Snow. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality." DANCING.	
La surprise de l'amour; or, Harlequin in Love against his will. Also Arlequin Empereur de la lune.	Marivaux (Mainpiece)	Saturday, February 1 (HAY)	DANCING	
Le Double Inconstance; or, Harlequin a Courtier against his Will. Also Arlequin Empereur dans la lune.	Marivaux (Mainpiece)	Monday, February 3 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Amelia and Caroline." DANCING.	
Gustave Vasa; or, Gustavus the Great, King of Sweden. Also Harlequin and Scaramouch deserters.	Alexis Piron (Mainpiece)	Wednesday, February 5 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Shepherd and Shepherdess</i> by Granier and Miss Chateaufort. Gustavus – Le Sage Jr; Christienne – Verneuil; Frederick – Le Sage Sr; Casimir – Dessessars; Rodophe – Dubuisson; Adelaide – Mrs Fompre; Leonor – Mrs Verneuil; Sophie – Mrs Le Sage Jr.	

La Fille capitaine. Also The French Cuckold. To be perform'd by Mr Cochoy's Lilliputians. Also Arlequin sauvage.	Molière (1st Afterpiece)	Thursday, February 6 (HAY)	Le Professeur – Francisque unmasked, but see 30 Dec. 1734. DANCING. A Lilliputian Dance call'd La <i>Polissone</i> . COMMENT. "Benefit Cochoy, Mrs Cochoy, and their Children. Second Piece: A Farce of one Act (written by Moliere)."	
Le Marriage Forcé. Also Le Malade imaginaire.	Molière (Mainpiece and Afterpiece)	Friday, February 7 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Both written by Moliere. At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality." DANCING.	
La Double inconstance. Also Arlequin sauvage		Monday, February 10 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness the Duke, their Royal Highnesses the Princess Amelia and Caroline." DANCING.	
Sampson Judge of Israel. Also Le Carillon de maitre Gervaise and Dame Alison (As 22 Nov).		Wednesday, February 12 (HAY)	DANCING. As 5 Feb.	
La Vie est un songe. Also Arlequin empereur de la lune. Also Le Francois a Londres.		Thursday, February 13 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Pierrot and Pierraitte</i> by Le Sage Jr and Miss Verneuil. COMMENT. "Benefit Le Sage Sr and Jr."	
Arlequin Balourd. Also The French Cuckolds (As 6 Feb).		Friday, February 14 (HAY)	DANCING. COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness."	
Le Prince travestie; ou, L'illustre avanturier; or, Harlequin an Innocent Traytor. Also Arlequin esprit folet.	Marivaux (Mainpiece)	Monday, February 17 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>The Characters of the Dance</i> by Miss Chateaufneuf.	

L'Heureux naufrage; or, Harlequin supposed Colombine, and Colombine supposed Harlequin. Also Le Mariage forcé.		Tuesday, February 18 (HAY)	Dr Panciasse – Francisque. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Written by Moliere." For a survey of the principal new pieces of the season, see Prompter, 18 Feb., and for a discussion of foreign companies, see <i>Grub St. Journal</i> , 20 Feb.	
La Fille capitaine et Arlequin serjeant. Also Arlequin Sauvage.		Thursday, February 20 (HAY)	DANCING. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Le Faucon; ou Les Oyes de Boccace; or, Harlequin an Anchoret. Also L'Isle des esclaves; or, Harlequin in the island of the slaves.	de L'isle (Mainpiece); Anonymous (Afterpiece)	Friday, February 21 (HAY)		
La Fausse coquette. Also Le Francois a Londres.		Monday, February 24 (HAY)	Le Francois – a new Actor, just arrived from Paris, who never appeared in England before; but see 9 Dec. 1734. DANCING.	"I went to the French play, where the farce that followed it . . . was very diverting and well acted" (Egmont Diary, II, 154).

La Double inconstance. Also Arlequin sauvage		Wednesday, February 26 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality." DANCING.	
Arlequin Astrologue, statue, enfant, ramoneur, negre & skelette: with two new scenes, viz, The Elbow-Chair and the Dog. Also Harlequin always Harlequin (see HAY, 18 Dec. 1734)		Thursday, February 27 (LIF)	COMMENT. "Benefit Francisque. By their Majesties' Command. N.B. Places may be taken next the Boxes build on the Stage for their Royal Highness the Princess Amelia and Princess Caroline."	King, Queen, and rest of the Royal Family present.
L'Embaras des Richesses. Also Arlequin hulla.		Friday, February 28 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality." DANCING.	
Le Jeu de l'amour & du hazard. Also The French Cuckolds. Also Les Deux Arlequins.		Monday, March 3 (HAY)	DANCING. A new <i>Lilliputian Scotch Dance</i> . COMMENT. "Benefit Malter, the Pierot."	
La Double inconstance. Also Arlequin sauvage		Wednesday, March 5 (HAY)	DANCING. COMMENT. "At the particular Desire of several Ladies of Quality."	
La Vie est un songe. Also Arlequin Cartouche.		Thursday, March 6 (HAY)	See 16 Jan. DANCING.	
L'Ecole des maris. Also Le Faucon	Molière (Mainpiece); de L'isle (Afterpiece)	Friday, March 7 (HAY)	DANCING.	

Tartuffe. Also <i>Les Precieuses ridicules</i> . Also Harlequin always Harlequin .		Monday, March 10 (HAY)	Tartuffe – Francisque, but see 20 Nov. 1734. Le Viconte Jodelet – Francisque; Le Marquis Mascarille – Dessessars. DANCING. The last new <i>Lilliputian Scotch Dance</i> . COMMENT. "Benefit Dessessars, the Pantalon, and Mrs Dessessars."	
L'Avare; or, The Miser. Also the Intrigues of Harlequin.	Bordelon? (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, March 12 (HAY)	DANCING.	
<i>Les Folies amoureuses</i> . Also Les Intrigues d'Arlequin .	Regnard (Mainpiece)	Thursday, March 14 (HAY)		
Le Festin de Pierre (as 8 Jan). Also Le Baron de la Crasse .		Monday, March 17 (HAY)	Le Baron – Francisque. DANCING.	
L'Embaras des Richesses. Also La Sylphide .		Tuesday, March 18 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Mons Salle's Widow. N.B. Whereas it has been reported that the Box-Keepers ... were to have their Benefit Night [Wednesday 19] ... it is false." DANCING.	
La Fausse coquette. Also Le Mariage Forcé (as 18 Feb.)		Wednesday, March 19 (HAY)	La Fausse Coquette – Francisque; La Prince Poloneux – Le Sage; Prudent Gouverneur – Dessessars; Arlequin Intrigant – Francisque; Scaramouch – Cochoy; Pierrot – Malter; Angelique – Mrs Cochoy. COMMENT. "Benefit John Liege, Boxkeeper. Afterpiece: Written by Moliere."	

L'Ecole des femmes. Also Harlequin always Harlequin (as 18 Dec. 1734)	Molière (Mainpiece)	Thursday, March 20 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Mrs Fompre." DANCING.	
Arlequin Sauvage. Also Les Deux Arlequins (as 28 Nov. 1734)		Friday, March 21 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>The Jealousy between Three Lilliputians.</i> <i>A Harlequin</i> by young Cochoy. COMMENT. "Benefit Davis and Bartlet. At the particular Desire of several Ladies of Quality." A puff in <i>Daily Advertiser</i> , 21 March, extols Davis as having been trained by Nicolini Haym	
L'Embaras des Richesses.		Saturday, March 22 (HAY)	SINGING. "In English and Italian by Topham." ENTERTAINMENTS. "After the Play [Topham] will shew surprising Activities of Strength: And further to oblige the Audience, will endeavor to accommodate them with several New Performances. COMMENT. "Benefit Topham, the English Sampson."	
Arlequin Astrologue, ramoneur, enfant, statue, skellete, negre. Also Arlequin Hulla.		Monday, March 24 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit Verneuil, Mrs Verneuil, Miss Mimi Verneuil. By Command of his Royal Highness." DANCING.	

I'Etourdy. Also Arlequin Sauvage.		Wednesday, March 26 (HAY)	MUSIC. Several Concertos, particularly a Grant Concerto with French Horns and Trumpets; and another with one French Horn, the French Horn part by Mr Charles. COMMENT. "Benefit De Fesch. At the Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
L'Heureux naufrage. Also Arlequin esprit folet.		Thursday, March 27 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit a family in distress. By Command of their Royal Highnesses the Duke, the Princesses Maria and Louisa." DANCING.	
Arlequin Balourd (see 27 Dec. 1734)		Friday, March 28 (HAY)	DANCING. I: Les Warriors. II: Les Transfigurations. III: The Prisoner IV: Comical Pantomime Dance. V: Pieot and Peraitte. Wooden Shoe Dance. Pantomime after the Venetian manner. All by Castiglione. COMMENT. "Benefit Castiglione."	
La Faucon. Also Les Filles errantes.		Saturday, March 29 (HAY)	DANCING. By Lilliputians. COMMENT. "Benefit La Fontaine, who has sustained great Losses by the Fire in Marybone Street."	

The French Cuckold (as 6 Feb.). Also The Intrigues of Harlequin . Also Don Pasquin d'Avalos. By <i>Lilliputians</i> . Also Le Carillon comique & Dame Alison & maitre Gervase (as 22 Nov).	Anonymous (1st Afterpiece)	Monday, April 7 (HAY)	DANCING. "The last <i>Lilliputian Scotch Dance</i> . A new Lilliputian Chacone of Characters: <i>Harlequin Man and Woman. Pierot and Pierraite. Punch and Dame Ragondy. Scaramouch</i> . COMMENT. "Benefit the Lilliputians. By Command of their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Mary and Louisa."	
Ines de Castro . Also Agnes de Challiot .		Thursday, April 10 (HAY)	Pedro – Francisque; Inis – Mrs Fompre (but see 30 Dec. 1734). Bailly de Challiot – Arlequin. COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness."	
Belphegor . Also Arlequin gardien du fleuve d'oubly (see 4 Nov. 1734).		Friday, April 11 (HAY)	DANCING I: <i>The Country Wedding</i> . II: <i>The Ghosts of the Elysian Fields</i> . III: <i>A Grand Dance</i> .	
Timon le Misanthrope (see 6 Nov. 1734). To which will be prefix'd, by Way of Prologue, Les Comediens esclaves .		Monday, April 14 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality." DANCING.	

Athalia. Also Harlequin and Scaramouch deserters.	Racine (Mainpiece); Fuzelier (Afterpiece)	Wednesday, April 16 (HAY)	Athalia – Mrs Verneuil; Joas – Master Cochoy; Joad – Verneuil; Josabet – Mrs Malter; Zacharias – Mrs Cochoy; Salomith – Mrs Mimi Fourcade; Abner – Deshayes; Ismael – Dubuisson; Mathan – Dessessars; Nabal – De Lisle; Azarias – Francisque. COMMENT. "Mainpiece: Written by Racine." DANCING.	
Arlequin Tiresias. Also Arlequin sauvage.		Friday, April 18 (HAY)	DANCING. By Lilliputians. COMMENT. "Benefit Liege, Boxkeeper. At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Tartuffe (as 10 March). Also Attendez moy sous l'orme (as 10 Jan).		Monday, April 21 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness the Duke, their Royal Highnesses the Princess Amelia, Caroline, Mary, and Louisa."	
La Double inconstance. Also Le Portrait.		Wednesday, April 23 (HAY)	Lisette – Mlle Villepierre, the first time of her appearance on that stage. COMMENT. "Benefit Mlle Villepierre. At the particular Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
La Fille capitaine (see 6 Feb.). Also Les Deux Arlequins (see 28 Nov. 1734)		Friday, April 25 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>Two Pierrots</i> by De Lisle and Badouin. <i>Harlequin and Wooden Shoe Dance</i> by Cochoy, the Lilliputian. COMMENT. "Benefit Mason, Cossins, Skinner, Evans, Boxkeepers."	

Harlequin Astrologuer, infant, chimney-sweeper, statue, parrot, & skeleton. But with the Scene of the Elbow-Chair. Also Harlequin Hulla.		Monday, April 28 (HAY)	MUSIC. Select Pieces. Solo on the German Flute by Burk Thumoth. COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Duke, their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Amelia, Caroline, Maria, and Louisa." DANCING.	
L'Embaras des Richesses (see 26 Oct. 1734). Also La Sylphide.		Thursday, May 1 (HAY)	DANCING. By Castiglion. <i>Scot's Dance by Lilliputians.</i> COMMENT. "Benefit Dubuisson and Delisle, Dancer."	
I'Ecole des femmes. Also Harlequin Hulla (see 26 Oct. 1734)		Friday, May 2 (HAY)	MUSIC. Select Pieces. DANCING. The first <i>Grand Dance</i> , by the Lilliputians, performed here in England. <i>Pierrot and Pierraitte</i> by De Lisle and Baudouin. COMMENT. "Benefit Seedo. At the Desire of several Persons of Quality. Mainpiece: Written by Moliere."	
Les Folies amoureuses. Also The French Cuckold (as 6 Feb.). Also Arlequin poly par l'Amour.		Monday, May 5 (HAY)	DANCING. By Mlle Grognet and others, particularly a Minuet and the Wedding (new) by Mlle Mimy Verneuil and Mlle Grognet in Man's Clothes. COMMENT. "Benefit Mlle Grognet. At the Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Le Jeu de l'amour & du hazard. Le Cocu imaginaire; or, the Cuckold in Imagination.	Molière (Afterpiece)	Thursday, May 8 (HAY)	COMMENT." Afterpiece: Never acted before in England. Written by Moliere."	

George Dandin; or, The Wanton Wife. Also Le Cocu imaginaire .	Molière (Mainpiece)	Friday, May 9 (HAY)	Dandin – Dessessars; De Sotenville – Verneuil; Clitendra – De Shayes; Lubin – Malter; Colin – Cochoy, the Lilliputian; Angelica – Mrs Malter; Claudine – Mrs Cochoy; Madam de Sotenville – Francisque. COMMENT. "Afterpiece: Written by Moliere." DANCING.	
L'Embaras des Richesses (see 26 Oct. 1734). Also Harlequin always Harlequin (see 18 Dec. 1734).		Monday, May 12 (HAY)	DANCING. By the Lilliputians. COMMENT. "Benefit Mrs Charpentier. At the Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Arlequin Balourd (see 27 Dec. 1734). Also Harlequin and scaramouch deserters .		Thursday, May 15 (HAY)	COMMENT. "By Command of his Royal Highness the Duke, their Royal Highnesses the Princesses Carolina, Amelia, Louisa, and Maria." DANCING.	
Tartuffe (as 10 March). Also Harlequin and scaramouch deserters .		Monday, May 19 (HAY)	COMMENT. "Benefit a Widow and her Children in Distress. Mainpiece: Written by Moliere."	
Timon le Misanthrope (see 6 Nov. 1734). Also Arlequin esprit folet .		Wednesday, May 21 (HAY)	COMMENT. "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality. Benefit a Gentleman." DANCING.	

L'Embaras des Richesses. Also Arlequin hulla.		Friday, May 23 (GF)	Harlequin a French Gardener – Francisque; Pamphile – Deshayes; Chrisanthe – Dessessars; Plutus – Verneuil; Midas – Dubuisson; Briareus – De Lisle; Pierrot – Malter; Taylor – Cochoy; Mlle Midas – Mrs Francisque; Floris – Mrs Cochoy; Chloe – Mrs Malter. DANCING. By Castiglione.	
Arlequin Astrologer, statue, infant, chimneysweeper, and parrot: With the Scene of the Negro and the Elbow Chair.		Monday, May 26 (HAY)	DANCING. <i>A Chacone of Characters</i> by the Lilliputians as <i>Harlequin Man and Woman, Pierrot and Pierraitte, Scaramouch and Scaramouchette, Punch and Dame Jigonde</i> . COMMENT. "At the Desire of several Persons of Quality."	
Le Faucon. Also The Intrigues of Harlequin.		Wednesday, May 28 (HAY)	DANCING.	
Harlequin a Savage. Also The French Cuckold (as 6 Feb.)		Monday, June 2 (HAY)	DANCING. I: <i>A Grand Dance</i> by the Lilliputians. III: <i>Scotch Dance</i> by the Lilliputians. V: <i>Grand Ballet</i> by De Lisle, Badouin, Mrs Fompre, Mrs Mimi Fourcade.	
Harlequin a Savage. Also The French Cuckold (as HAY 6 Feb.)		Wednesday, June 4 (GF)	DANCING. As at HAY, 2 June	

Total Evenings: 113 (HAY) + 2 (GF) + 1(LIF) = 116 Total

Total London Premieres: 31

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