The Cotillon: its origins, development and demise

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Tracing change and development in dance is generally frustrated by the ephemeral nature of the art form. We may know that the courante was a lively energetic dance in compound duple metre in the sixteenth century, but we cannot explain how it became the dignified and grounded dance in triple metre of c.1700. The history of the gavotte poses the same difficulty: first recorded as a branle then found as a theatre and social dance with a distinctive metre with little to explain the transition.[1] The rationale for and nature of change across time and space are also elusive. Both theatre dance and social dancing are shaped by the social conditions of the time but identifying the key factors may be difficult. For some eras of dance, fuller records allow for analysis of change. This is the case with the cotillon, which was enjoyed widely across Europe between 1760 and 1815 when the publication of dances in notation and in words, with their associated music, sources for the public theatres, a developing newspaper industry and the availability of diaries and correspondence have all left extensive records.

This account focuses on the origins and development of the cotillon in France and its adoption in England.[2] Discussion of alterations in the practice of the cotillon in France reveals its metamorphosis into a distinct new genre of quadrille, also adopted in England, leading to the demise of the cotillon *per se* in most countries. This analysis draws on the study by Jean-Michel Guilcher of the cotillon in France within the social conditions of the time, first published in 1969, while integrating other sources now available. While Guilcher traced the contribution of the English country dance to the figures of the cotillon, a more radical investigation demonstrates the model of the country dance on the fundamental structure of the cotillon. The English perspective of this discussion stems from practical reconstruction of English cotillons, and appreciation of a beautiful and inventive social genre. An important section of this essay is an initial historical analysis of this important dance of the late eighteenth century.

Country dance to contredanse française

The cotillon became a popular dance genre in the ballrooms of France and England during the 1760s, enjoyed alongside the country dance. In England the cotillon danced by four couples in a square formation was viewed as distinctly French. It was known on both sides of the Channel as the contredanse française, to distinguish it from the contredanse anglaise, in other words the longways form of the country dance. The term 'contredanse' for the cotillon records its origins in the country dance of England

French society took to the English country dance with enthusiasm during the late seventeenth century, as a welcome contrast to the refined couple dances of the court and the outdated branle, by offering a more sociable and accessible genre to the ballroom repertoire. The key documents in understanding the change are the manuscripts of André Lorin, following his visit to England in the train of Le Maréchal d'Humières in 1685 to congratulate James II on the suppression of the Monmouth rebellion.[3] Lorin provides an overview of the nature and practice of country dancing in England and notations for several longways country dances for the French court. Guilcher confirms that no such dance genre had existed previously in France, and that the diversity of figures found in the country dance stimulated invention by French masters.[4] Guilcher notes the adoption of the contredanse anglaise in the livelier court circles by the 1690s, such as that of Louise, Duchesse de Maine at Sceaux, during the final dull years of the reign of Louis XIV. A major development in French dance culture has been unambiguously attributed to the English model.

Emerging in the same era as the contredanse anglaise at the French court, the contredanse française or cotillon is also acknowledged as being shaped by the inventive figuring of the English country dance, whereas its square formation is seen as originating in the French branle. This had been stated by Raoul-Auger Feuillet, the first to publish a cotillon in 1705: 'Le Cotillon…c'est une manière de branle à quatre…' and labels the tune 'Branle'.[5] Charles Pauli 1756 also stated that the cotillon had resulted from combining English figures with the branle but was reiterating Feuillet's comment of fifty years earlier.[6] Guilcher refutes the assertion of Cecil Sharp that the English square for four or eight was the prototype for the cotillon, but his discussion makes clear that there is a paucity of evidence for the French branle being danced in a square formation rather than the line or circle recorded by Arbeau, Rameau and La Vigne.[7] Guilcher notes the emergence of a variety of small dances for four c.1700, although none are branles per se. As Lorin's manuscripts only feature the longways country dance, as do subsequent French collections, Guilcher assumes that the square formation of the English country dance was not current in France, supporting the argument that the cotillon is a figured branle. Nevertheless, an important feature of the cotillon from its earliest record must be brought into consideration.

The cotillon is characterised not only by being in a square formation of either two or four couples but also by a bi-partite structure of changes and a figure. The changes are danced to the four or eight bars and their repeat of the first strain of the tune, followed by the figure to the remaining strains.[8] In the repeats of a specific cotillon and its music, the figure remains unaltered and characteristic of that dance with its tune, but the changes are varied according to a conventional sequence understood by the participants. The dance with its changes and a figure is commonly repeated up to nine times. This structure of change and figure was typical of many country dances published by Playford in 1651, and in subsequent editions up to the sixth edition of 1679.[9] It is not found in any extant French source prior to the establishment of the cotillon. The first dance in *The English Dancing Master* 1651 provides the relevant example. Upon a Summer's Day has three parts, each one starting with a change followed by the same figure. This structure is not identified by a label in Playford, the terms 'change' and 'figure' only became current in the vocabulary of the English

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cotillon from the 1760s; however, they are a useful tool for discussion of early seventeenth century country dances. The first change is leading forward and back twice to the Presence (or in and out of the square or clockwise then anti-clockwise round the circle in other dances); the second change is leading forward and back twice to greet the partner called 'sides'; the third change is turning with right and left linked arms with partner called 'arms'. Eleven dances in *The English Dancing Master* have this structure. The bi-partite structure is found in 54 more dances published in 1651, comprising the same three changes but followed each time by variants on the figure, in longways, rounds and squares for four or eight. Le Cotillon of 1705 has a bi-partite structure, called by Feuillet 'couplet' and 'refrain'. The refrain remains the same throughout the six repeats of the dance and its tune, as in the figure of the English model. The couplet operates like the change in the English model. The dance commences with the first couplet in which the two couples dance forward and back twice as in 'lead', followed by the refrain. For the second couplet the dancers go forward and back twice to their own partner, as in 'sides'. For the third couplet they turn partners by the right hand and then the left, similar to 'arms'. The remaining three couplets are: two-hand turns each way; all four dancers join right hands across then left to turn together (moulinet); all four dancers take hands to circle clockwise and then anticlockwise. The dance finishes with the refrain. The English model of changes and a figure is clear. I suggest that Feuillet identified the new form as a kind of branle to establish that this dance was as sociable and accessible as the familiar branle, in contrast to the demanding solo couple dances. The music for Feuillet's Cotillon is in the gavotte metre. Richard Semmens has noted a tendency to link the gavotte metre with the branle which may also explain Feuillet's comment.[10] Feuillet adds that although the cotillon is an ancient dance, it is very fashionable at court: another strategy for making a new dance acceptable.

In *Recueil de Contredances* of 1706, dedicated to the Duchesse de Maine, Feuillet demonstrates understanding of the bipartite structure of the English country dance in La Chaîne, a longways for eight.[11] The dancers commence by leading up and back to a Presence twice. Starting with the first, each couple in turn executes the figure of crossing the set and casting into the next place, repeating this four times to reach the bottom. The dance continues with four further figures, each preceded by all leading up and back twice, and finishing with it. Feuillet reiterates the instruction for the succession of figures so clearly as to leave no doubt as to the structure of the dance. There is no exact concordance in Playford 1651 for this particular set of figures, but the repetition of a leading figure between other figures is found, for example, in The Chirping of the Lark (longways for eight) and Peppers Black (round for as many as will). In his preface, Feuillet states that the English are the inventors of the country dance, and all the English dances in this collection are presented as danced in that country. Although he names French authors for eight of them, this does not include La Chaîne. The implication is that Feuillet derived the concept of changes followed by different figures from the English model.

Discussion of the introduction of the country dance to the French court has been dominated by the valuable record of Lorin following his visit to England of 1685, leading to the assumption that this marked the start of French acquaintance with the country dance. It is worth noting earlier contacts between the French elite and the country dance of England prior to this. As stated by de Lauze 1623, the French recognised the country dance ('contredanse') as the vernacular dance of England, just as the English knew that the branle was French.[12] While Queen Elizabeth had enjoyed them in her privy chamber, country dances did not feature in the more public sphere of court balls and masques. Following the accession of James I from Scotland, the country dance continued to be absent from court dancing. Court and elite revels opened with the measures (an English form of French almains and courantes) followed by a succession of the galliards, lavoltas and courantes by couples in turn.[13] It seems that the country dance remained a vernacular dance of the English gentry and their households outside the court.

The first indication of a move from the gentry sphere into the courtly and international sphere is found in the Christmas season of 1619-20 when the French diplomatic community participated in the country dance. A series of performances of a single short masque performed in a succession of London houses, dubbed 'the running masque', was arranged by the Marquess of Buckingham in response to hospitality by the French ambassador. This was linked to diplomacy relating to the threat to international peace caused by the Palatinate crisis, which did indeed trigger the Thirty Years War. Both the French and English adopted the diplomatic strategy of sharing domestic pleasures, summarised by John Chamberlain as '*dimestichezza*'. The masque text states that the English masquers, led by Buckingham, danced only country dances with the French and English ladies. As Buckingham had grown up outside court circles, he would have been more familiar with the country dance than the Scottish king.[14] French visitors began to participate in English country dancing at the English court from 1620. At the masque *Time Vindicated* of January 1623, the revels concluded as follows: 'the Masquers with the ladyes did daunce 2 countrey dances, namely The Soldiers March and Huff Hannikin, where the French ambassadors wife and Mademoysala St. Luke did [daunce]'.[15] Le Maréchal de Bassompierre, the French ambassador to London for 1626, readily joined in country dancing at York House following a ballet: 'and afterwards we set to and danced country dances till four in the morning'.[16]

The diaspora of the royal family and members of the English nobility to France and Europe from 1640 to 1660 during the Civil War and Commonwealth provided opportunities for the exchange of dance culture among French and English noble households.[17] While Charles II had been preoccupied with raising support and mounting campaigns to reclaim the throne, during 1652–1655 his brother James Duke of York had spent the summer months campaigning for Louis XIV and winter months in Paris at the court of his mother Henrietta Maria and that of Louis XIV, while dancing several roles in the king's ballets.[18] If, as Lorin states, gentlemen can compose country dances, then they can share their inventions. It does not seem unlikely that émigrés from England, including their households, would enjoy country dancing, drawing their French hosts into a novel sociable genre. It follows that the gentry, musicians, dancing masters

and household servants connected to noble and diplomatic households would exchange dances and music. Following the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, balls at Whitehall started with the French branle, followed by solo couple dances such as the courante, then the country dances. With public access, Samuel Pepys was able to witness the dancing on December 31st1662. Fortunately for dance historians he noted that the king called for 'Cuckolds all a awry'.[19] Pepys's diary entry confirms that dances with a bi-partite structure were still in use: Cuckolds all a row (recorded in Playford 1651) being a square dance for two couples comprising the changes of leading, sides and arms followed by three different figures. The French interest in the English country dance led Mr Isaac, the English dancing master, to Fontainebleau in 1684 to teach country dances to the ladies of Louis XIV court, a year before Lorin's visit to England.[20] This span of at least seven decades during which the French court and nobility were knowledgeable to some degree of the English country dance suggests that understanding of the rounds and squares, as well as the longways form, alongside the structure of changes and figures could have been circulating among the French elite well before the 1700s.

The contredanse française in France 1705–1760.

Although Feuillet calls it an ancient form already popular at court, his Cotillon of 1705 is the first recorded example of the cotillon genre, the tune a popular song of the time: 'Ma commere, quand je danse,/Mon cotillon va-t-il bien?' Guilcher finds no earlier record of the cotillon as a dance. The word 'cotillon' soon became the label of a genre of dance: the term 'contredanse française' being more common amongst authors and publishers of dance collections, but interchangeable with 'cotillon'. The cotillon was enjoyed as a social dance and as a theatrical form during the first half of the eighteenth century. Louis XV, for example, led the cotillons towards the end of a ball in March 1722.[21] Tunes entitled 'cotillon' without figures circulated, but there are only a few choreographic records before the 1760s. While the bi-partite structure characterised the genre of cotillon, other aspects could vary. The notation of Le Cotillon des Fêtes de Thalie by Dezais has completely different changes including two danced first by the head couples followed by the refrain then by the side couples followed by the refrain. The tune is listed in the score of the ballet as Deuxième Air Paysan for a divertissement in the second entrée. Did the ballet choreographer elaborate the changes for theatrical variety? We cannot be sure, as the relationship between the Dezais choreography and the theatre dance is unknown.[22] The numbers of dancers might vary as Pauli (1756) advertised cotillons for six and three, as well as four and eight, and also cotillons danced in lines.[23]

Two records throw some light on the cotillon of the first half of the eighteenth century: the music-only publication *Contre-dances et branles qui se dancent aux bals de l'opéra* by Michel Montéclair and the two manuscripts of dances in notation with their music by La Vigne: *Ms.Durlach 209* and *Ms.Durlach 210*.[24] The two sources have many dance tunes in common. As Montéclair presents dances current at the popular bals publics, was employed by the Opéra and published a collection of minuets, alongside other works, we have some confidence that the cotillons here were also current. It is very difficult to establish the date of the Durlach manuscripts but on the basis of the contents I am making a best guess at it being broadly contemporary to the Montéclair collection c. 1730–50.[25] La Vigne uses the country dance adaptation of Feuillet notation for each dance with new symbols for circles, moulinets and allemande turns. He notates steps where they are significant. *Ms.Durlach 209* comprises 16 cotillons for two couples and one cotillon for four couples and four longways country dances. *Ms.Durlach 210* comprises 9 cotillons for two couples and one cotillon for four couples, 10 longways country dances, four dances (not cotillons) for two couples and Les Petites Danses of four dances, clearly to be danced in a line. He is very thorough in notating the sequence of figure alternating with changes for the cotillons, calling the figure 'le refrain' but does not use any term for the changes. Twelve cotillons have concordances with the tunes in Montéclair. Les Petites Danses have a concordance with Montéclair's Branles, presented as a suite of four. The tunes and names are the same in both: La Sissonne, Les Tricotets, Branle de Bourge and La Cassandre: information confirming that the branle was still danced in a line. Malpied gives four tunes for Les Tricotets, the second of which is the same as the one given by Montéclair and La Vigne.[26]

The first cotillon of La Vigne's collection is Le Cotillon with the same choreography as Feuillet but with a different tune. The majority of the cotillons share the same characteristics, being for two couples with a short figure and changes of four bars. They commence with leading forward and back twice. Of the two cotillons for four couples, one commences with leading forward and back by the head couples, then the side couples, while the other commences with circling one way and then the other. The changes follow the conventional sequence established by Feuillet. There are a few interesting variants. Le Jeu d'Amour (*Ms. Durlach 210*) for two couples commences with leading forward and backward once, then each dancer turns single followed by a pas de rigaudon. A very simple figure follows, interspersed with seven changes, the first three of which are new but ending with the moulinet, the circle and the allemande. La Tetar demonstrates similar invention. Of the two cotillons for four couples, Le Poivre (*Ms. Durlach 209*) has a short figure in which first the women move into the centre to dance a moulinet, then the men. The changes follow the conventional sequence, although the allemande is omitted. The figure of La Naturelle for four couples (*Ms. Durlach 210*) uses the corner partner: all dance balancé and rigaudon to partner, then go back-to-back with corner (e.g. first man dances to his partner, then dances back-to-back with the woman on his left; dances balancé and rigaudon with her, then goes back-to-back with partner).

The few publications by Dezais and the manuscripts of La Vigne provide some understanding of the French cotillon in the first half of the eighteenth century, indicating that the cotillon already had the key bi-partite structure of the later form but that other aspects were not firmly fixed.

The French cotillon from the 1760s to 1800

Guilcher notes that widespread enjoyment of the cotillon from the 1760s was signalled by an explosion of publishing, by which time the manner of dancing the cotillon had become settled. Commencing with *Le Répertoire des bals*

ou Theorie-Practique des contredanses 1762, De la Cuisse employed musical scores, verbal descriptions and diagrammatic plans in a new effective notation to teach the general form of the dance and to publish a succession of dances.[27] His pedagogical mission makes clear the figures and structure of the dance with its usual steps. The bipartite structure had been well established in which a succession of changing figures was interspersed between the single main figure repeated several times. De la Cuisse used the term 'tour' or 'reprise' for the changing section; Pauli (1756) had used 'l'entrée', then later Malpied (1770) used 'couplet'.[28] With this changeability in French vocabulary, this article will continue to use the English terms of 'change' and 'figure' for clarity. The nine changes stated by De la Cuisse are le rond (also called le grand rond and le rond ordinaire), la main droite et gauche, les deux mains, dames moulinet, cavaliers moulinet, dames rond, cavaliers rond, l'allemande droite et gauche, le grand rond; each change followed by the figure of the specific cotillon. The changes are usually danced in the first strain of eight bars and its repeat, commencing with balancé and rigaudon. The same nine changes are found in Malpied (1770). Malpied advised that a cotillon for four, rather than eight, will need only seven changes as all four will dance the moulinet and the rond, a feature of Feuillet's original Cotillon. Landrin published a variant on the regular cotillon with his series of mixed sets starting with *Potpourri François des Contre Danse Ancienne* Paris (1775), claiming the dance as ancient, also danced by the queen.[29] Instead of dancing the same figure after each change, a succession of different ones was enjoyed: the sequence of changes being still the same as that established by De la Cuisse. It is unclear whether Landrin invented this adaptation or had published a form of the cotillon already practised in France, originating from the English country dance.

Following the theoretical section of *Le Répertoire*, De la Cuisse published 100 cotillons in a second part entitled *Suite du Répertoire des Bals*, which could also be bought as a bound collection for 24 francs or as feuilles (leaflets) of separate dances at 4 sols. Each feuille was folded to make four pages: one each for the tune, the description of the figures in words, the plan of the figures in notation and verses. The composer of the tune and the author of the dance, whether a dancing master or an amateur, are often recorded. The information might include the date of the first performance of the cotillon or an origin outside Paris. Cotillons from bals publics are noted as well as those from the stage, such as La Bionni from the ballet-pantomime of 28th November 1762 composed by the mâitre de ballet of that name, employed at the Théatre Italien.

Now that more of these collections for the French cotillon are available in digital form, scholars are beginning to discover many variations from the model stated by De La Cuisse. For example, a recent search has shown that the opening of a cotillon was not always le rond but could be lines advancing and retiring, le carré de Mahoni (the grand square) or small circles. Even le rond might commence to the right (then return to the left) or commence to the left (then return to the right).[30] The question of which way to turn is further complicated by variations in vocabulary. Words and notation by De la Cuisse show that for him 'a droite' meant anticlockwise, whereas to Malpied 1770 'a droite' meant clockwise. Even the square formation is not sacrosanct as the 1762 collection includes cotillons danced in two lines, such as La Fontaine and La Suisse-Angloise. We continue to find cotillons for numbers other than four couples, such as La Rose for six couples by Alexis Bacquoy-Guédon.[31] The inventiveness of dancing masters and amateurs in figuring is very striking, yet however varied the formations or number of dancers, the cotillon or contredanse française retained the bi-partite structure of change and figure.

The Cotillon in England 1717 to 1760

Charles Pauli (Leipzig 1756) asserted that the cotillon was not known or appreciated in England.[32] This was not entirely true, as traces of the cotillon can be found from early in the eighteenth century. 'A new Cotilian' was danced on stage at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 11th December 1717 and 'Les Cotillons' were danced at Drury Lane theatre on 16th May 1723, each time as a duet. On 9th May 1726, the Haymarket audience were entertained 'With a new Dance call'd Le Cotillon, perform'd by 12 Dancers'. Meanwhile, the original tune of Feuillet's Cotillon was used for two country dances: Toney's Rant in *The Dancing Master* Vol. 3 1728 and Le Cotillon in Walsh *Twenty-four Country Dances for the year 1732*.[33] Without a choreographic record, we cannot identify how the stage dances related to the French cotillon, but I suggest that the tune alone may link the duets and the country dances.

The London theatre-going public became familiar with the cotillon through its inclusion in that phenomenal success *The Beggar's Opera* during Act 2, scene 4, first performed in 1728 at the Theatre Royal, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Set in a tavern, Macheath is consorting with eight ladies of the town, inviting them to dance for him: 'Ere you seat yourselves, Ladies, what think you of a Dance? Come in. (Enter harper) Play the *French* Tune, that Mrs. *Slammekin* was so fond of'. The stage direction is for 'A dance a la ronde in the French manner' implying the presentation of a cotillon by the eight women: 'a la ronde' referring to both the square set circling in the first round and the rondeau form of the tune. As for the two country dances of 1728 and 1732, the tune is Le Cotillon as in Feuillet 1705 but with the bar-line shifted back to eliminate the half-bar upbeat in accordance with English musicality.[34]

It is not until 6th April 1768 that the cotillon is on record again as being danced on the London stage, when it appeared as an entr'acte item at Drury Lane by four male and four female dancers as 'a French dance call'd the Cotillion', and the dance was repeated on the 26th and 30th of April. With four couples rostered, this sounds like the contredanse française in a square set. Cotillons were performed again at Drury Lane on 22nd April 1771: 'A Dance call'd The Ball, in which will be introduced some New Minuets, Allemandes, a Rigadoon, and Cotillions, by Children of Seven Years of Age, and have been scholars of Daigville only five months'. The performance was a benefit for the dancer and ballet master Peter D'Egville, who also taught privately from his house in Dean St, Soho, listing cotillons in his repertoire. Probably representing a social dance scene on stage, a similar item was performed at Covent Garden on five occasions between 17th May 1771 and 1775, with at least four couples dancing. The ballet master Robert Aldridge arranged a similar item at Covent Garden performed on 2nd and 27th April 1782 called: 'A new Grand Divertissement, The Gala'

comprising minuets, allemandes and quadrilles and cotillons. Naming four couples as performers each time indicates the performance of the social square dance. The cotillon was also used to represent a ball scene in *The Belle's Stratagem* 1780 by Hanna Cowley in Act 4 indicated by the stage direction in the 1781 edition: 'A Mask'd Ball: Three Sets of Cotillons'. The edition of 1787 extends the information a little: 'Scene – A Masquerade: A Party dancing Cotillons in front – a variety of Characters pass and repass'.[35] These records of stage performances of cotillons as part of ball scenes from 1768 are concurrent with the enjoyment of the cotillon in the ballroom.

The Cotillon in the English Ballroom 1760–1815

The first citation of 'cotillon' as a social dance in England is Anstey's satirical verse of 1766 *The New Bath Guide*, with no implication that the dance is new. It is mentioned as part of the outdoor breakfast gatherings in the Spring Gardens. The cotillons were first enjoyed there before becoming part of the assembly room balls. The French master Deneuville working in Bath announced his visit to Paris in September 1767 to study new dances, including the cotillon.[36] Monsieur Gherardi used the *Gentleman's Magazine* of July 1768 to provide 'Instructions for the more ready and perfect attainment of the Cotillons or French country Dances' in the form of five Rules. He did not stress the novelty of the genre, suggesting that cotillons were already part of English ballroom repertoire.[37] After all, publishers need to be confident of a ready market for their products. Paul Cooper notes the first newspaper advertisements concerning cotillons appearing in spring 1768.[38] The first publications of cotillons in England came out in 1768, only six years after the first by De la Cuisse. Publishers C. & S. Thompson, Randall & Abell and Straight & Skillern brought out collections identified as 'cotillons or French dances', while Randall and Abell advertised their product in *The Public Advertiser* on 23rd December 1767 'as performed at Court and all polite Assemblies', a further indication that cotillons were already enjoyed in England.[39] These publishers did not identify authors for their dances, but dancing masters were also bringing out their own collections. Gherardi, late of the Paris Opéra, published three books in quick succession (1768–1770), soon followed by Villeneuve Jr and Thomas Hurst in 1769 and Gallini soon after [probably 1770]. Cotillon collections or cotillons as part of country dance publications continued to be issued throughout the succeeding decades until 1815.

The English cotillon followed the French model set by De La Cuisse closely. It was characterised by the bi-partite structure of change and figure, commencing with the circle for all eight, called variously the grand round, le grand rond, large ring, great ring. It used French steps (balancé, rigaudon, contretemps), French names for many figures (poussette, moulinet, queue de chat), titles in French and, frequently, the French gavotte rhythm of a half-bar upbeat in both duple and compound duple tunes. The sequence of changes was commonly those of De la Cuisse. The step vocabulary was not new to England, being that of the serious French ballroom style and widely taught by English dancing masters. It seems that Landrin's potpourri form of dancing different figures between each change did not catch on in England. Gherardi (1770) announced that he taught 'several French country dances or Cotillons, in one, without lengthening the time of the Dance' and included them in his recent Ball, adding that his noble clients had dubbed this form 'Gherardi's whims'. This is a rare reference to the potpourri form of Landrin; no published sequences have been found for England. Published English cotillons were danced in squares of four couples with a few exceptions and always start with the circle.[40]

The publications of Gherardi and Hurst were devised as tutors for the cotillon. In his three publications between 1768 and 1770, Gherardi advised on the steps and figures of the cotillon and listed the changes as in De la Cuisse; in his second book he made plain that they are the same as followed 'in Paris and other polite places'.[41] His general guidance was assisted by diagrams using De la Cuisse notation. For each cotillon with its music, he gave a detailed verbal description only, not always easy to follow perhaps because his English was not fluent.[42] In the Preface to his book *Cotillons made Easy* Hurst suggested that cotillons were already common with a 'great number of Cotillon Books already published'.[43] His aim was to make the cotillon more English, dropping what he calls 'Stage Steps' and adopting 'sprightly English, Irish, and Scotch Airs now in Vogue' rather than French tunes. These included O'er the Water to Charly for the cotillon Le Diable Boiteux or Haymaker's Jig for Le Moulinet.[44] His list of fourteen changes added a few variants to the common French ones. His cotillons, each with its tune, are all clearly described in English only, but he gives French titles to each dance, with an English translation 'to give them more the Air of a Cotillon'.[45]

Hurst's Englishing of the cotillon did not spread, as the majority of publications up to 1815 used French steps and French terms for figures, with French titles for the dances. An exception to this is *A Set of Cotillons, or French-Dances…by Corographical Lines drawn on a Plan entirely new & far superior to those which have been before Published. The Figures and Tunes Compos'd by Mr Siret*, London [1770]. The 'corography' or 'Plan' is that of De la Cuisse, explained very clearly in the four pages of his Introduction. Each cotillon takes up four pages, with a treble and bass score, an explanation of the Plan, followed by the Plan of the figures. The explanation is clearly laid out to link to the score and the diagrams. This three-stage explanation matches that of De la Cuisse in a verbal account, a diagrammatic plan and the tune. However, the text is in robust English, generally using the term 'foot it' where you might expect a French step such as rigaudon, while giving few instructions for steps. The British Library's copy has also been annotated. A previous owner has translated the titles into English, and in some cases added a pronunciation guide: for example, the cotillon Le Tableau parlant is translated as 'the picture that speaks' and given a phonetic guide as 'Le tablo parlong'. Reminders of the changes have been written in, and on the back page four changes for the first cotillon Les Quatre Saisons are listed as all round, chain, ladies round [then] the gentlemen and all round to finish.[46] A later tutor for the cotillon was issued by James Fishar. His General Rules for Dancing Cotillons are an invaluable guide, while each cotillon has additional guidance for dancing the figures.[47]

If the cotillon in England followed the French model, how direct was the transmission from France to England? Keeping up with French fashion was always important for English masters. Clearly the news of new developments in the 1760s had alerted those working in England to the fashionable cotillons and allemandes. Soon after Deneuville's visit to France, Francis Fleming and his daughter Anna Teresa made two trips to Paris from Bath in 1768 and 1769 for the same purpose.[48] French masters may have brought up-to-date experience of the cotillon. Gherardi emphasised his French training, whereas Villeneuve, Siret and Nicholas Lemaire did not, although they may have been related to French dancers or musicians. Gallini had been trained in Paris before dancing on the London stage for a dozen years at the time of publishing his cotillon collections in a second book on the history of dancing.[49] Augustin Noverre had an impeccable French dance background, having been in his brother's ballet company, the illustrious Jean-Georges Noverre, but did not use this as a selling point.[50] With a tendency to xenophobia towards the French in London following the Seven Years War (1756–1763), French masters may have been circumspect about their origins. However, even during the Napoleonic Wars such anti-French feeling did not suppress the desire to adopt French culture and fashion. The development by De la Cuisse of an effective notation for the cotillon should have aided transmission through print, as Feuillet notation had encouraged the acquisition of new French couple dances in the first half of the eighteenth century. We can see from Gherardi and Siret that this had reached England. French publishers also issued a single cotillon for sale in one leaflet, only later to be gathered into a collection. However, these practices were not adopted by publishers in England, who stuck to the longstanding model of country dance publication by issuing the tune with a brief verbal account of the figures, using one or two pages per cotillon rather than the four of Siret's book.

French choreographies may have been copied for collections issued by publishers, such as those who credit no author. No full analysis of concordances between French and English cotillons has yet been undertaken. However, a few can be identified. C. and S. Thompson in *16 Cotillons or French Dances* [1768] included La Nouvelle Carel, first published by De la Cuisse in 1762. The 6/8 tune in Thompson is the same tune but with interesting alterations. The bar-line has been moved to eliminate the half-bar upbeat, to accord with English musicality. The four strains have been re-arranged into three strains in Thompson. The figures are different. Francis Werner, musician author of several books of cotillons and country dances, has had use of Landrin's *Potpourri* publications. In Werner's collection of 1780 two short cotillon figures are printed on pages 12–14. La Visite (p.13) is an English translation of Les Visites in *Potpourri 1*, with the minor change of having the men do the figure first instead of the women. Les Drapeaux (pp.12–13) is an unaltered translation into English of the original French in *Potpourri 5*. Lison Dormoit is probably adapted from La Ségure ou Lison, first round of *Potpourri 10*.[51] Landrin's *Potpourri 1* includes Le Ballet Hollandois which has the same sequence of figures, apart from the final eight bars, used later by Mrs Elliston in La Fete de Regent [1811].[52] These examples suggest that Landrin's publications were circulating in England.

Another example of copying from the French is La Mignonette Francoise published by Gallini in his collection of 44 cotillons [1770].[53] La Mignonnette, contredanse Françoise sur deux lignes was first published by M. La Hante in 1769, later re-issued in a large collection of cotillon pamphlets, the dance called La Mignonnette Contredanse Nouvelle/La Mignonnette Françoise attributed to La Hante and Landrin, with the same figures and diagrams.[54] The tunes are identical in all three sources. The French original starts with the dancers in two lines rather than a square to dance an advance and retire instead of circling and continues with figures playing on groups of four: chassé la Marquise (changing places sideways as a couple), moulinets, circles, also a moulinet and chain for all eight. The English cotillon starts with the dancers in the usual square to circle right and left, who then fall into two lines. Similar figures are used in a different sequence, with no moulinet or chain for all eight.[55] It seems that this cotillon had widespread popularity with the tune also found in McGlashan *A Collection of Scots Measures…Cotillons and the fashionable Country Dances* (Edinburgh 1781) and *Neil Stewart's Select Collection* (Edinburgh 1788) while Wilson prints the tune only in *A Companion to the Ballroom* (London, Button & Whittaker 1816) as La Mignonnette (Old French) p. 161 with the tunes for a number of old-fashioned dances such as minuets and gavottes.[56] In Gallini, the French original has been adapted into a particularly beautiful dance with its lively tune. These few examples indicate creative copying of French dances and tunes into English versions.

Unlike the widespread plagiarism in the country dance publications, there is little evidence of this for cotillons, but I have identified one. All the figures of the cotillons published by Charles Dibdin composed for the Shakespeare Jubilee are reproduced word for word in a publication by Longman [1770] although to different tunes and titles.[57] The figures for Dibdin's Alls Well that Ends Well are given for Cotillon VI in Longman; The Taming of the Shrew for Cotillon XXII; The Merry Wives of Windsor for Cotillons XIV and XVI; Much Ado about Nothing for Cotillons X and XII; As You Like It for Cotillon VI; Twelfth Night for Cotillons VIII and XVII.[58] As the dates for publication are within a year of each other and also approximate, it is hard to say who was copying whom. The texts and figures of the remaining sixteen cotillons in Longman are in the same idiom, so perhaps an intermediary was involved, such as a dancing master selling his compositions to both parties.

Dancing the Cotillon in England

English dancers clearly welcomed a fresh new genre in the 1760s to add to the ballroom repertoire of couple minuets and country dances. The English country dance of the last half of the eighteenth century had become formulaic and simpler in figuring, so the cotillon offered a refreshing variety of inventive figures. The format of a square for eight would have had appeal in contrast to the longways country dance, being more intimate and more active, as all four couples participated throughout. Several sets could be organised in one room, a more companionable arrangement, in contrast to the minuets. The couple allemande was also

introduced to England at that time. While there are few records of its currency in the ballroom, a few of the allemande turns were used in the cotillons, for example in Les Folies a la Mode by Gherardi.[59] As discussed above, the cotillon square set of four or eight was an attractive grouping on the stage. No choreography for stage cotillons is extant but the varied patterning of most cotillons provides interest and beauty to the onlooker through squares, lines, diagonals, large and small circles, crosses and interlacings, often with head and side couples in contrasting figures. Augustin Noverre, for example, surely drew on his theatrical background to create figures that would suit being viewed by onlookers on the ballroom floor or from a balcony above.[60]

The changes as used in Paris according to Gherardi remained the mainstream sequence throughout, though variations in practice are indicated in publications, and noted by Mr Siret: 'As for the changes of the Cotillons, tho' they depend much upon fancy, it will not be improper to set down the most fashionable ones', adding the conventional list. The annotations to Siret indicate some alteration in practice, who also advises that the dancers can call for the great Ring, if they wish to curtail the cotillon. Apart from those designed as tutors, most publications indicate the changes by 'All round' (or similar) for the first strain of eight bars and its repeat. This brief instruction guides the dancer to the performance of the balancé and rigaudon in bars 1–4 followed by chassées to the right in bars 5–8; all repeated to the left. However, in some cotillons, the figure is completed by using the first time through of the first strain: a feature of the later quadrille. This leaves only eight bars for the following changes, which are therefore done without the balancé and rigaudon. The procedure is very clear where the author of a cotillon identifies how many bars for each part of the figure.[61] Both Hurst and Gallini make oblique reference to this. The first strains of some cotillons are kept short to eight bars rather than sixteen, for example in Les plaisirs des Anglois by Hurst.

A variety of charming and lively tunes added to the enjoyment of the cotillon. As with figures, there has been no analysis exploring any origins in France. The frequent use of the half-bar upbeat in English scores is notable: dancing masters must have coached their pupils in this counter-intuitive feature for non-French dancers. The most common metres were 2/4 allemande and 6/8, but the minuet metre was still in use: only Hurst made a feature of using British metres. A cotillon may have strains in both a major and a minor key, and a few employ different dance metres in a single cotillon. Gherardi's Les Folies a la Mode (1768) has a minuet strain for the grand round and the changes, then two strains in 2/4 allemande metre, and a final strain in 3/8 metre marked 'allemande all[egr]o' during which each couple dances in place with the entwining manoeuvres of the couple allemande. Budd's Les Ombre Chinois [1780] has a common time strain for the grand round and changes, then a strain in 6/8 followed by two further 6/8 strains in a minor key. Such features of the tunes support choreography with a narrative flavour. The minor key is often used for a flirtation figure danced with an opposite partner as in Les Ombres Chinois.[62]

Evidence for the inclusion of cotillons in ball programmes date from 1769 with more frequent notices in newspapers in the 1770s, including balls run by Gallini, Gherardi and Noverre.[63] The publishers are also a guide to ballroom repertoire, frequently selling books including minuets, country dances and cotillons (e.g. *Six New Cottillons and Six Country Dances with three Favourite Minuets…composed by Nicholas Lemaire* [1773]). The cotillon posed a particular problem for the dancer. The ballroom minuet had a widely understood conventional sequence danced by one couple at a time. The figures of a longways country dance were established by the first couple, so dancers further down the set watched and noted the figures ready to participate in their turn. For the cotillon, all four couples had to know the figure of each one, before starting. Dancing masters were essential therefore, in ensuring their pupils knew the current favourites as well as coaching the steps. Gherardi's advertisement of July 1768 stated the necessity to learn the steps as Rule 5, but in Rule 2 stated: 'Ladies and gentlemen, before they begin to dance a cotillon, should always hear the tune played once over, which would greatly conduce to their just performance of the dance…' Timely practice was also advised by James King, Master of Ceremonies at Bath: 'Ladies and Gentlemen who wish to walk over the Figure of the Cotillons previous to the Ball, are respectfully informed, that a Room shall be prepared, and Musick attend, every Tuesday morning, from half past eleven until one o'clock.[64] A printed programme with the figures for each cotillon could be bought for Cotillon balls. Such a one for a ball held in Bristol 1799 was reproduced in the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* of 11th September 1890 listing four cotillons before tea and six after tea, with the figures for each one. Cooper has identified one as Budd's Le Jupon Rouge 1781, incidentally showing that a cotillon could circulate for eighteen years.[65] Cotillon instructions could be bought from booksellers in advance for upcoming balls. Musicians advertised the provision of instruction in cotillon figures at balls. For example, Werner in his fifth book [1785] announced that he 'plays the Cotillions upon the Harp and directs the proper figures'. Presumably, the dancers had a walk-through, before starting the dance. Without amplification, 'calling', in the modern sense, during a dance was not practical, and many cotillon figures are too complicated to be guided by a simple command.

At the exclusive London assemblies, rooms were set aside for dancing cotillons. At Almack's in January 1768 the company were dancing 'cotillons in the blue damask room, which by the way was intended for cards'. The dancing master Mr Yates advertised his ball at Almack's with 'music in a different room for those who choose to make sets of Cotillions, etc., before the scholars have finished'. At Mrs Cornelys' Carlisle Rooms, a new gallery was opened in January 1769 for cotillons and allemandes, for which subscribers paid a guinea extra. In 1776 'the circular space under the pavilion is to be appropriated for dancing Cotillons' then another time 'the Chinese Room intended mainly for cotillions'. Separate bands were employed for the different dance rooms.[66]

In Bath, cotillon balls were a regular feature of the weekly programme 1780–1792, then were renamed as Fancy balls with one country dance and one cotillon before tea, and the same after, finishing with further country dances and the Long Minuet.[67] In *Northanger Abbey* Jane Austen indicates that cotillons were danced before country dances. Balls featuring cotillons were still being organised as late as 1800:

Cotillons and Waltzes selected for the Cotillon Balls published 1810 and 1811.

The publication of cotillon collections by dancing masters, musicians and publishers attests to the popularity of the cotillon from the 1760s to 1815: after all, they were in touch with the market and ballroom practice. While the cotillon in France became formulaic in the closing years of the eighteenth century, from publications we can see that the English cotillon remained a constantly inventive and attractive dance up to the point of its extinction by the quadrille, see, for example La Victoire published by Mrs Elliston [1811], a busy teacher of dancing in Bath and London.[68]

Cotillon or quadrille?

In England and Scotland, the narrative of transition from cotillon to quadrille claims that sets of quadrilles were introduced to society from France in or possibly before 1815.[69] While both the cotillon and the quadrille, in their most common form, were danced in a square formation, the cotillon had a characteristic figure choreographed to its own tune and specific repeats of the strains, alternating with a sequence of changes. However, the quadrilles were organised into sets. Each quadrille in the set started with honours in one repeat of the first strain, then completed the figure with the second repeat of the first and successive strains, but always finishing with the first repeat of the first strain. A set comprised five or six quadrilles, danced in succession with a short pause between, each of which resembled a cotillon figure but without the changes. The alterations resulted in the quadrille becoming a distinct genre of dance from its precursor the cotillon.

As the new quadrille emerged by changes of practice in the cotillon around 1800, it is apparent that the word 'quadrille' had several meanings relating to dance, causing confusion as to when sets of quadrilles began to be danced in France and England. The component 'quad' means 'four' and 'square' in both English and French. 'Quadrille' could denote the cotillon/contredanse française. For example, a bound collection of cotillon leaflets includes four entitled 'cadrille' or 'quadrille' but still structured like the cotillon as a figure interspersed with changes. A fifth leaflet is Le Bataillon Carré 3e contredanse du Cadrille de M. Deshayes. Prosper-Didier Deshayes was a composer, dancer and teacher active c. 1762–1815 who also devised Les Quadrilles ou contredanses for the ball in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. Here 'cadrille' probably refers to a set of dances, an early example of publishing terminology in use in 1800. Productions of Molière's play were on offer in Paris in the 1780s as advertised in the Journal de Paris. An edition of 1786 also announced the opening of the Pantheon with a fête of several quadrilles of different characters.[70] In the ballet theatre a set of dancers had been called a 'quadrille' since at least the 1740s, meaning an entry by the corps de ballet in an ensemble dance. Pauli (1756) stated: 'Quadrille: Certain nombre des danseurs qui font une Entrée'.[71] The entry of fairy tale characters celebrating the wedding of Aurora and Desiré in the last act of the ballet *Sleeping Beauty* is an example of this, originally called 'a quadrille'. As a synonym for the ballet chorus, the lowest entry rank of the Paris Opéra Ballet even today is called the 'quadrille'.[72]

'Quadrille' was a synonym for 'cotillon' in England before 1815. The Oxford English Dictionary gives the first example of 'quadrille' as a dance in England with a quotation from March 2nd 1773.[73] A letter describes a party of friends rehearsing 'quadrilles', during which the fiddler, the famous stage-dancer Simon Slingsby, was accidentally injured. The date suggests that this was a cotillon rehearsal. The dancing master S. J. Gardiner (1786) states that quadrilles are the same as cotillons but danced by only two couples.[74] As late as 1822, Wilson notes that the quadrille only needs four people to dance it, although it is common for eight to stand up to do so; he also states that the finale of a set of quadrilles is in effect a cotillon.[75] Two English publications use the term 'quadrille' for what are clearly individual cotillons, with no indication that they form a set.[76] Cooper notes several examples of the use of the term 'quadrille' between 1780 and 1790 but there is no evidence to confirm that these relate to the new sets of quadrilles.[77]

Developments in France: Incremental Alterations to the Cotillon

It was in France that the cotillon underwent mutation to become the quadrille, a new genre of square dance. The following summary traces the shifts in society that triggered changes in dance practice based on the analysis of Guilcher.[78] The French Revolution and subsequent changes in government caused dramatic upheavals in French society, but throughout, even during the Terror, dancing remained a popular, indeed obsessive, activity. New dances were rapidly adopted: the bourgeois waltz became more respectable, alongside dances from the regions of France, Italy and Spain such as the béarnaise, bolero and montférine. Dances of the Ancien Régime went out of fashion and came back in again as the political climate changed. Social dancers began to emulate the technique of theatre dancers: stereotypical and easier cotillon figures were favoured in order to show off clever steps, with a ballroom audience in mind. For this reason, there was an increasing use of figures which alternated head couples with side couples, and a man's solo was considered essential. The pot-pourri form shortened and evolved into a conventional sequence of five familiar figures: Pantalon, L'Été, Poule, Pastourelle and a variant for the fifth figure or finale, such as the novel one Trénis. None of the first four were new, having existed since before the Revolution. For example, Guilcher traces L'Été back to 1781, with small variations before it settled into the conventional figure of the quadrille sets. The last mutation from cotillon to quadrille concerned the loss of the changes between the cotillon figures. Dancers began to stand still instead of dancing the over-familiar changes, so that the first time through of the first strain of the music served as an introduction to the tune for the following figure, during which the dancers made their honours. A conventional sequence of cotillons had become a set of quadrilles, with a formula that appealed to the onlookers as much as the dancers themselves.

Quadrilles of Cotillons

Hullin's collections reveal the paucity of invention as the same sequences appear in many of the dances, as noted by Guilcher. Hullin's *2éme Recueil des Nouvelles contredanses* (Paris 1798) has the figure later called Le Pantalon for cotillon no. 31 L'Elise and the figure later called L'Été for cotillon no. 32 La Polimnie. For his *3éme Recueil* of 1799 La Trenis (p. 26) is the La Trenis figure of the later quadrille

sets, so named for the professional dancer M. Trenis who admired this figure from a favourite ballet. According to an English publication of 1829, Hullin introduced these figures at a fête in Paris on 16th August 1797, but the anonymous author does not identify them as a set of quadrilles, just figures.[79]

Cotillons had been published in France in loose-leaf sheets, but around 1800 they began to be issued in collections called 'quadrilles de contre-dances'. Jean-Baptiste Hullin published *Recueil de Terpsichore* with a secondary title *Trois Quadrilles de Nouvelles Contredances* [1800] also adding a *Recueil de Walses Anglaises* (Paris). The tunes and figures for 23 cotillons were given with no further explanation. I propose that they divide into three cotillon potpourris. The first eight form one 'quadrille' of eight cotillons, the first being a form of Le Pantalon, the second being a version of L'Été and the eighth resembling a finale with a promenade for all eight dancers. This is an early example of Le Pantalon and L'Été as the first dances in the first quadrille set. The eight probably should be danced continuously in sequence with the standard changes in between each cotillon. The figure for the ninth cotillon (called La Sincope) is Le Pantalon marking the start of the second 'quadrille' group. I suggest that Hullin had begun to identify a conventional sequence of cotillons by using the term 'quadrille' for a set of dances (in line with 'quadrille' meaning a set of dancers). This publication reveals the process of change in France.

Three extant publications of the music of Louis Julien Clarchies provide evidence for the resolution of a changing situation. Clarchies was an admired violinist and dancing master, born in America but working in Paris from c.1810 to his death in 1815. *27e Recueil de Contre-Dances et Waltzes de Julien* (taken from his 23rd Collection) [1799] provided eight tunes, each with figures; although un-labelled, the first two are the figures of Le Pantalon and L'Été. *20e Recueil des Contre-danses et Waltzes* has music for twelve dances, each with figures. Although not labelled as such, the text for the figures for the first five tunes follows the sequence of Le Pantalon, L'Été, Trenis, La Poule and a fifth in the manner of a Finale. Handwritten annotations, probably added soon after, also confirm this sequence. However, there is no indication of a grouping into sets in these two publications. With *28e Recueil des Contre-danses et Waltzes* the tunes are now grouped in sets. The 1e Quadrille comprises five tunes and figures; figures 1–4 labelled as Pantalon, L'Été, La Poule, Trénis and the fifth is clearly a Finale (commencing with Le Grand Rond, then L'Été followed by a changing partner figure). It is given a probable date of 1815; as Clarchies died in December 1815 the publication is unlikely to be later than that. The collection continues with a number of quadrilles comprising five dances in the same vein, interspersed with music only for waltzes, sauteuses and anglaises. Here the notion of a quadrille comprising a set of dances is established.[80] With the frequent use of stereotypical figures, such as L'Été, dancers became used to dancing them to a variety of tunes. This severed the association of one tune with a particular sequence of figures which had been a key characteristic of the cotillon.

The quadrille as a new dance had evolved as a result of small changes across several decades. As the majority of French contredanse collections are undated, it is impossible to settle on a precise date for the emergence of the true quadrille in France, as Guilcher notes.[81] The Clarchies *28e Recueil des Contre-danses et Waltzes* at least indicates that by 1815 the single cotillon comprising one figure alternating with a sequence of changes had been superseded by the new practice of several quadrilles to be danced in a set. The publication probably lags behind ballroom practice, as the new dance called 'quadrilles' was of interest to British dancing masters from 1814.

From France to Britain

Publications in England 1810 to 1815 reveal awareness of the transitional changes in French cotillons, in the occurrence of the standard figures. Clementi issued a collection of seven dances for cotillon balls. The one called L'Été has the stereotypical French figure; the dance Maurice comprises the L'Été figure; his Le Pantalon is also the stereotypical French figure; the instructions for his La Trénice are sketchy but appear to feature the La Trénis figure. The publication includes two Polonaises with the same figure featuring a man's solo and a woman's solo. According to Guilcher, the Polonaise was one of the conventional figures that soon lost popularity. Walker's publication provides the figure of La Poule for two cotillons, one called Pantaloon and the other La Nouvelle Julie; the Pantalon figure is given for La Adraste and L'Été for La Chastide.[82] The dances of both publications appear to be cotillons rather than quadrilles in sets.[83]

With the confusion of terms between quadrille and cotillon, it is not possible to be definite about an earlier date than 1815 for dancing sets of quadrilles in England. It seems likely that the quadrille was enjoyed in London very soon after its emergence in Paris. The anonymous Scottish dancing master of *Contredanses à Paris 1818* states that when Napoleon was exiled on Elba in April 1814 teachers of dancing went to Paris and brought back waltzes and quadrilles. He adds that the true French style was only gained in 1815, and it took several more years before the quadrille was used in private parties.[84] This account is supported by other records. Following the freeing of Brussels by the allies in February 1814, Napoleon abdicated in April, allowing English travellers to resume journeys to Paris and mainland Europe.[85] Aristocratic English families, such as the Duke and Duchess of Richmond, returned to Brussels where the living was cheap, so a vibrant ex-patriate social life developed, including many balls, enlivened by eligible young officers from the English garrison. The apogee of this busy ball season was the Duchess of Richmond's Ball held on the eve of the Battle of Waterloo July 1815. According to *Morning Chronicle* 24th June 1815, officers departed 'after their quadrilles'. As Napoleon had escaped from Elba in February, then rapidly raised an army to enter Paris in March 1815, English dancing masters had scarcely a year to travel to Paris in safety.[86] While dancing masters might have been ready to introduce the new quadrille in England, the fashionable and international socialites moving between England and Europe in 1814 and 1815 were also alert to the new genre. In his *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow*, this guards officer records that Lady Jersey introduced the quadrille at Almack's in 1815, the most exclusive and fashionable assembly rooms of the day. I suggest this must remain the best guess at the date for the introduction of the quadrille to London.[87]

With the elite leading the way, the quadrille became a certainty for widening participation. The first publication for quadrilles in the new form was that of Edward Payne as *Payne's Quadrilles viz. Le Pantalon, L'Été, La Poulle, La Trenise et La Finale…to which is added The Stop Waltz* [1815]. Payne included a note on the steps to be used and indicated clearly on each figure how it should fit the tune. This was closely followed by James Paine with *Paine of Almacks Quadrilles…to which is added Prince Frederick of Prussia's Waltz* [1816]. Each tune has figures as follows: La Pantalon, L'Ete, La Poule, La Trénise, Promenade [i.e Finale].[88] Apart from spelling, the only difference in the figures of these two publications is in the final fifth figure, although both repeat the figure of L'Été within it. These first publications are entitled 'Quadrilles' but have since been commonly referred to as 'First Set', identifying that particular sequence of quadrilles, once the second and subsequent sets entered the market. Payne also called the quadrilles 'French Country Dances'. He noted that the figure must always finish with the first part of the tune: a feature of some English cotillons. Paine's full title notes that the quadrilles were as performed at Almack's (as remembered by Gronow) and at the Carlton House Fete. Hosted by the Prince Regent, this fete took place on 12th July 1816, prompting several reports in the newspapers. 'Waltzing and cotillons' took place and the evening finished with a graceful 'French country dance': terms that might imply the new quadrilles.[89]

Edward Payne must have been confident that his quadrille publication would sell, which implies that the fashionable world had a familiarity with the new quadrille dance already. As noted above, in the renewed access to France in 1814 and 1815, sections of the upper classes had engaged directly with French dance fashions, while dancing masters had an opportunity to study the new techniques and arrangements and purchase new music and dances to take home. As a successful and fashionable teacher and musician, Payne responded very promptly to a new ballroom vogue.

The quadrille supersedes the cotillon

Records of the quadrille dance in British newspapers are almost non-existent before 1816 but arrive in an avalanche in 1817. We can trace how one Scottish master kept up to date. In the *Aberdeen Journal and General Advertiser for the North of Scotland 1817*, among several announcements and advertisements by masters for private classes and public practisings, Mr. Corbyn 5th February 1817 announced one day a week for instruction in cotillons and opera dance leading to a greater degree of perfection. Mr Corbyn changed his advertisement to quadrilles by the 23rd June 1817, announcing that he was teaching quadrilles so frequently that he will take no vacation.

Both dancing masters and publishers fuelled the interest in quadrilles. Thomas Wilson jumped on the bandwagon with his *Quadrille Instructor* [1817], and *The Quadrille and Cotillion Panorama* 1819 with a second edition in 1822, with further profitable variations.[90] He soon found that the market had become crowded. His guidance to dancers in *The Complete System* of 1820 (pp. 323–324) is heartfelt but hypocritical:

> Quadrille Dancing has been, and still is, a source of great profit to Teachers. These Dances, suddenly becoming universally fashionable, obliged all persons to obtain at least a slight knowledge of Quadrilles. Those persons acquainted with Cotillions, require but little instructions to enable them to perform Quadrilles well. But Teachers for the mere purpose of increasing their gain, conceal the similarity which exists between Cotillions and Quadrilles, and commence teaching them in the same manner as they would the most distinct Species of Dancing…Many Teachers, also, in order to render Quadrille Dancing of still more profit, are continually presenting their Pupils with what they are pleased to call "New Sets of Quadrilles", which, when examined, furnish a Dance with little (if any) variety, as they consist generally of the old or original sets, differently arranged, according to the ingenuity of the publisher.

From the numerous publications of quadrille sets and their music during the nineteenth century, it is apparent to us today that the quadrille formula was remarkably successful in the ballroom and in commercial publishing.[91]

Survival of the cotillon in Ireland

As we see from Wilson, memories of the cotillon persisted, but not apparently its practice, as the quadrille swept all before it and the cotillon per se disappeared in France, England and Scotland. In Ireland, however, the cotillon structure of changes and figure continued alongside the sets of quadrilles, recorded by the dance revival movement led by the Gaelic League c.1900. O' Keefe & O'Brian, the authors of the seminal *A Handbook of Irish Dancing* noted that the 'round' dances resembled quadrilles but belonged to an earlier period, up to about a hundred years earlier, using this as an argument for these being Irish in origin. Meanwhile, the dancing master J. J. Sheehan acknowledged the likely influence of French fashion: 'All dancing has at one time or another had to bow to the fashions of the day, and we need not be put about should it be proved (which, up to the present, has not been done) that our Irish dancing has been similarly influenced'.[92] The analysis by these authors of the 'round' dances (squares of two, four or eight dancers) reveals the bi-partite structure of the late eighteenth century cotillon: lead round (replacing the grand round), body (called 'figure' in 18th century England), figures (equivalent to 'changes') plus a finishing section. They observe that the figures (changes) are varied and used in any order, which should be agreed between the dancers before starting, while O'Keefe notes that he has regularised the choice of figures. These dances of cotillon form are included in the ceilidh dance repertoire promoted by the Irish Dancing Commission (An Coimisiún Le Rincí Gaelacha). They are still danced today, recorded in the Commission's official guide, now called *Thirty Popular Céilí Dances*, first published in 1939.[93] To take one example of such continuity, The Four-Hand Reel follows the same structure of Lead around, a Body which is repeated and interspersed with Figures and a Finish, with the Body comprising the same sequences described in O'Keefe & O'Brien, Sheehan and *Thirty Popular Figure Dances.*[94] Danced to Irish tunes in reel or jig metre, with alterations and vocabulary stemming from oral transmission, the once-fashionable cotillon has become a dance of the Irish people while its French and fashionable origins are long forgotten.

Conclusion

From c.1700 to c.1800, the longways country dance or contredanse anglaise was enjoyed alongside the square cotillon or contredanse française. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, the cotillon was superseded in France and England by the sets of quadrilles. The implication is that dancers preferred a familiar set of dances, albeit enlivened by a constant variety of tunes, to the greater demand of mastering the choreography and music of different cotillons. By then, dancers had also given up on the exposure of solo couple dances such as the minuet in favour of dancing in groups, with waltzing in couples around the room adding to the opportunity to dance in a crowd. Emulation of French fashion by the English in adoption of the cotillon in the 1760s and the sets of quadrilles from 1815 followed a pattern of cultural transmission dating back to the middle of the sixteenth century. The adoption of the English country dance in France in the late seventeenth century is a notable exception to that trend. These changes reflect transitions in society at large, which social historians may find telling.

We can trace the role of professionals in the development from country dance to cotillon to quadrille. Dancing masters were agents of change: Mr Isaac going to the French court to teach English country dances then Lorin to England to gain further knowledge; Francis Fleming and his daughter travelling to Paris to study cotillons; British dancing masters taking the opportunity of peace to learn quadrilles in 1814. As professionals, they leave a trail of advertisements and publications to promote their profiles as up-to-date masters or mistresses. Musicians also stimulated change. It seems that the first tune of Le Cotillon had become known in England before the dance form itself. In service to the fashionable ballroom, new tunes assist the adoption of new forms, while publishing tunes with dances is both a useful source of income and a means of self-promotion. Ballroom band leaders and instrument suppliers responded to new trends promptly, as exemplified by Payne and Paine in 1815-16. It is also apparent that the theatre could influence ballroom practice, as well as reflecting it in dramatized ball scenes. The publishing industry was also a key agent of change in circulating new dances and music. Dancers might learn a dance from a text rather than from a master.

All this professional activity has left a trail of records. The role of the amateur dancer is more elusive but probably more significant. The readiness of the aristocracy and the moneyed middle classes to employ dancing masters and musicians or to purchase publications fostered the spread of novel forms of dancing. The Duchess de Maine and her circle wished to learn English country dances c.1700, leading to the emergence of a new French dance in the cotillon or contredanse française. Lady Jersey and her circle were ready for the new adaptation of the cotillon in the sets of quadrilles c.1815. According to the social mores of the 18th and 19th centuries, they established a fashionable taste which others copied. In tracing the origins, development and demise of the cotillon, we can note the interplay in the ballroom of that time between elite social dancers and the professionals in their service.

Notes

1 See entries on Courante and Gavotte in Cohen, S. J. & Dance Perspectives Foundation (editors) *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*. Oxford University Press, New York & Oxford, 1998, Volume 2, pp. 259–261, Volume 3 pp. 123–125.

2 Both the cotillon and quadrille were fashionable across Europe, North America and European colonies. This article covers the history of the cotillon and quadrille as they moved between France and England only, with a few references to Scotland and Ireland. There are no extant cotillon dance publications for Scotland, although cotillon tunes are present in music collections. To my knowledge, there are no 18th century dance or music sources for cotillons in Ireland, but evidence suggests the cotillons were widely known.

3 Lorin, André. *Livre de Contredance presenté au Roy*. Bibliothéque Nationale, MSfr., 1697; *Livre de la Contredance du Roy.* Bibliothéque Nationale, MSfr.,1698.
Sutton, J. & Tsachor, R.P. (editors) *Dances for the Sun King: André Lorin's Livre de Contredance*. The Colonial Music Institute, Annapolis, Maryland, 2008.

4 Guilcher, J.-M. *La Contredanse: un tournant dans l'histoire française de la danse*. Editions Complexe, Centre Nationale de la Danse, Pantin, 2003.

5 Feuillet, Raoul-Auger. *IIIIe Recueil de danses de bal pour l'année de 1706*. Paris, 1705.

6 Pauli, Charles. *Elemens de la Danse*. U. C. Saalback, Leipzig, 1756.

7 Sharp, C.J. *The Country Dance Book: Part 2*. Novello & Co., London, 1927, p. 15.
Arbeau, Thoinot. *Orchesographie*. Jehan des Preyz, Lengres, 1596.
Rameau, Pierre. *Le Maître á Danser*. Jean Villette, Paris, 1725, pp. 49–51.
La Vigne *Chorégraphie*. Mss Durlach 209 & 210, Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, n.d.

8 Country dance and cotillon dance tunes are commonly divided by a double bar into sections, in English referred to as "strains". A cotillon tune may comprise two, three or four strains. "strain" (noun, 3), *OED Online*. March 2022. Oxford University Press. https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/191173?rskey=rB0KEA&result=3 (accessed 27/04/2022)

9 Playford, John. *The English Dancing Master*. John Playford, London, 1651.
Daye, A. Taking the measure of dance steps 1650–1700. In: Parsons, D. (editor) *On Common Ground 3: John Playford and* The English Dancing Master *1651*, Proceedings of the third DHDS Conference, 24–25 March 2001, London. Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society, 2001, pp 13–20. https://historicaldance.org.uk/playford-conference

10 Semmens, R. Branles, Gavottes and Contredanses in the later Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries. *Dance Research*, 1997, **15** (2), 35–62. https://doi.org/10.2307/1290887

11 Feuillet, Raoul-Auger. *Recueil de Contredances*. Paris, 1706, pp. 177–183.

12 de Lauze, François. *Apologie de la Danse*. 1623, p. 9. (Facsimile reprint: Minkoff , Genéve, 1977.)

13 For example, measures, galliards and corantos noted by Samuel Daniel in the revels of *The Vision of the*

Twelve Goddesses and information from the records of dancing at the Inns of Court.
Rees, J. The Vision of the Twelve Goddesses by Samuel Daniel. In: Spencer, T. J. B. & Wells, S. (editors) *A Book of Masques in honour of Allardyce Nicoll*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970.
Daye, A. & Thorp, J. English Measures Old and New: Dulwich College MS XCIV/f.28. *Historical Dance*, 2018, **4** (3), 27–40.

14 Knowles, J. The Running Masque Recovered: A Masque for the Marquess of Buckingham (c. 1619–20). In: Beal, P. (editor) *English Manuscript Studies Volume. 8: Seventeenth-Century Poetry, Music and Drama.* The British Library, London, 2000. The text and context for the running masque has been thoroughly discussed by Knowles but without noting the significance of the country dance as a domestic or vernacular form.

15 Time Vindicated 2. An extract from the office book of Sir John Astley, Master of the Revels [1623]. In: *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/masque/447TimeVind_Boswell_printed (accessed 29/04/2022)

16 Croker, J. W. (editor) *Memoirs of the Embassy of the Marshall de Bassompierre to the Court of England in 1626.* John Murray, London, 1819, pp. 95–96.

17 Jennifer Thorp notes that Mr Isaac's father, Isaack Thorpe possibly taught in Henrietta Stuart's household in exile (personal communication).
Marsh, C. in Sutton & Tsachor, 2008, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–49 also discusses the likelihood of earlier knowledge of the country dance in France prior to Lorin.

18 Speck, W. A. James II and VII (1633–1701), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14593 (accessed 28/04/2022)
Burden, M. & Thorp, J. (editors) *Le Ballet de la Nuit*. Pendragon Press, Hillsdale, NY, 2009, p. 28.
Christout, M.-F. *Le Ballet de Cour de Louis XIV 1643–1672*. Picard, Paris 1967, pp 208, 78, 94 note 89.

19 Gyford, P. (editor) *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Tuesday 30 December 1662). https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1662/12 (accessed 26/07/2021)

20 According to a diary record by Dangeau 1684, cited in Sutton & Tsachor, 2008, *op. cit.*, p.48; also confirmed by Jennifer Thorp (personal communication).

21 Semmens, R. *The Bals Publics at the Paris Opéra in the Eighteenth century*. Pendragon Press, Hillsdale NY, 2004, p. 90, citing *Le Journal de Barbier* of Sunday 8th March 1722.

22 Mouret, Jean-Joseph. *Les Festes ou Le Triomphe de Thalie, ballet en musique.* Ballard, Paris, 1714, p. 231.
Dezais *XIIIIe Recueil de Danses pour l'Année 1716*. Dezais, Paris.

23 Pauli, 1756, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–95. He calls a cotillon for 3 'a triolet' (p. 30). Cotillons vis à vis are arranged like the contredanse anglaise but danced like the contredanse française (p. 30).

24 de Montéclair, Michel. *Contre-dances et branles qui se dancent aux bals de l'Opéra*. Paris, 1740.
La Vigne. *Chorégraphie*. Mss Durlach 209 & 210, Badische Landesbibliotek, Karlsruhe, n.d. Title given by the library. The last dance of the second book is incomplete. Perhaps the manuscripts were intended for publication. These two sources were not discussed by Guilcher.

25 The author of the manuscript gives his name on the last page of Durlach 210 as 'La Vigne Mtr de Danse demeurant a Paris Rue de Bourbon a la Ville de Londre, faubourg St Germain'. The Rue de Bourbon was renamed Rue de Lille in 1792. Some of the dances in the collection had been published by Dezais 1725. No further clues to La Vigne's identity or the date of the manuscripts have been found to date.

26 Malpied, François. *Danse de Ville [Les Tricotets]. Mis en coregraphie par Mr Malpied*. Mr Bouin, Paris [1786].

27 De la Cuisse. *Le Répertoire des bals, ou Theorie-Practique des contredanses*. Cailleau, Castagnery, Paris, 1762.

28 Pauli, 1756, *op. cit.*, p. 69 calls the figure 'le refrain' and the changes 'les entrées'.
Malpied, François. *Les caracteres des contre-danses*. Bouin, Paris, 1770.

29 Landrin, Pierre André. *Potpourri François des Contre Dance Ancienne* Paris, 1775.

30 de Guardiola, S. Les Ronds Extraordinaires: Unconventional Opening "Changes" in the Late 18th Century French Contredanse. Presented at *Retrieving & Reconstructing the Past through Dance*, Early Dance Circle Biennial Conference, 6–8 May 2022, Frieth, Buckinghamshire.

31 *La Rose Contredanse Française à Douze Figurans: Alexis Bacquoy-Guédon*, Paris n.d. 5em Feuille in bound collection *Contre-danse* held by Library of University of North Carolina Greensboro, Jackson Library Special Collections, Call number GV 1649.C658 NO. 15.

32 Pauli, 1756, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

33 Barlow, J. & Goff, M. Dancing in Early Productions of The Beggar's Opera. *Dance Research*, 2015, **33**, 143–158. https://doi.org/10.3366/drs.2015.0136

34 Loughrey, B. &Treadwell, T. O. (editors) *John Gay: The Beggar's Opera*. Penguin Books, London, 1986.
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36 Anstey, Christopher. *The New Bath Guide* (3rd edition) Part 2, Letter XIII. J. Dodsley, London, 1766.
Fawcett, T. Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath. *Bath History*, 1998, **2** (2), 27–48.

37 *The London Universal Magazine*, July 1768, p. 380.

[38] Cooper, P. *Cotillion Dancing in England, 1760s to 1810s.* Research paper 11, RegencyDances.org, 2015. https://www.regencydances.org/paper011.php *(accessed 18/05/2022)*
The South Carolina Gazette published in May 1768 noted the introduction of the cotillon from France into the fashionable world of London in a report of March 1768: cited in Van Winkle Keller, K. *Dance and its Music in America, 1528–1789*, Pendragon Press, Hillsdale, NY, 2007, p. 97, note 84.

[39] Cooper, 2015, *op. cit.*

[40] Les Belles Filles de Norwich is a rare example of a cotillon for 4 ladies and 8 gentlemen published by T. B. Bruckfield, *8 Cotillons, 8 Country Dances and 2 Favourite Minuets with directions to each dance.* Norwich [1780]. The original text, music and a reconstruction can be consulted in Daye, A. *Dances for Jane Austen.* Historical Dance Society, 2012.

[41] Gherardi, Giovanni Battista. *Fourteen Cotillons or French Dances; A Second Book of Cotillons; A Third Book of French or Country Dances*. Welcker, London [1767–1770].

[42] The original text, music and a reconstruction of Gherardi's cotillon Les Folies a la Mode can be consulted in Daye, A. *A New Collection of Dances by Jane Austen.* Historical Dance Society, 2021.

[43] Hurst, Thomas. *The Cotillons made Plain and Easy in an Accurate and Practical Manner*. London [1769].

[44] Thanks to Ian Cutts for the identification of the tunes.

[45] The original text, music and a reconstruction of Hurst's Les Plaisirs des Anglois, The British Amusements, with the tune in common time hornpipe metre, can be consulted in Daye, A. *More Dances for Jane Austen*. Historical Dance Society, 2015.

[46] The original text, music and a reconstruction of Siret's La Brunette can be consulted in Daye, 2015, *op. cit.*

[47] Fishar, James. *16 Cotillons, 16 Minuet, 12 Allemandes & 12 Hornpipes composed by J. Fishar*. J. Johnston, London, 1775.

[48] Fawcett, 1988, *op. cit.*

[49] Milhous, J. Gallini, Sir John Andrew [formerly Giovanni Andrea Battista Gallini] (1728–1805), dancer and theatre manager. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 2004. https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10308 (accessed 4/05/2021)

[50] Marsh, M. *Mr Noverre's Academy: a Georgian Dancing Master in Norwich*. Norwich Early Dance Group, Norwich, 2005.

[51] Landrin, 1775, *op. cit.*
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[52] The original text, music and a reconstruction of La Fete de Regent can be consulted in Daye, 2015, *op. cit.*

[53] Gallini, Giovanni Andrea. *A New Collection of Forty-four Cotillons* in *Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing*. London [1770].

[54] Recueil de Contredanses françoises Allemandes Angloises et Menuets les plus nouveaux par M. La Hante maitre de danse avec description des figures par M. Landrin. Part of *Almanach Dansant Paris, 1769. Contredanses; Descriptions des Figures, Plan des Figures*, Paris [1780].

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[57] Dibdin, Charles. *XII Country Dances and VI Cotilions…compos'd for Shakespears Jubilee at Stratford upon Avon*. Johnston, London [1769]. *XXIV New Cotillons or French Dances*. J. Longman, London [1770].

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[60] The original text, music and reconstruction of Augustin Noverre's Avrill and Les Delices de Windsor can be consulted in Daye, 2021, *op. cit.*

[61] For example, in Nicholas Lemaire's L'Entrée du Bal reconstructed in Daye, 2015, *op. cit.*

[62] The original text, music and reconstruction of Les Ombres Chinois can be consulted in Daye, 2012, *op. cit.*

[63] For several newspaper advertisements, see Cooper, 2015, *op. cit.*

[64] *Bath Chronicle*, November 1800 cited by Fawcett, 1988, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

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[67] Cooper, July 2020, *op. cit.* This rare reference to the Long Minuet as a dance is intriguing; I can only assume that it was a means of several couples dancing minuet figures simultaneously.

[68] The original text, music and reconstruction of Mrs Elliston's La Victoire can be consulted in Daye, 2021, *op. cit.*

[69] Richardson, 1960, *op. cit.*
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[70] Le Cadrille de la Puce, Quadrille Anglais, Quadrille Allemand, Le Nouveau quadrille anglaise in [*Contredanses; description des figures, plan des figures*], n.d. https://www.loc.gov/item/98160932 (accessed 1/05/2022). The leaflets in this collection are cotillons by several authors in the style of De la Cuisse of 1762.
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[71] Pauli, 1756, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[72] Cohen & Dance Perspectives Foundation, 1998, *op. cit*., Volume 5, p 285.

[73] *Letters of the Earl of Malmesbury, his family and friends* Volume 1. Spottiswoode & Co., London, 1870, pp. 268–9.

[74] Inglehearne, M. *The Minuet in the late eighteenth century, including a reprint of S. J. Gardiner's* A Dancing Master's Instruction Book *of 1786*. Inglehearne, London, 1986, p. 29.

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[76] *Mr Smart's Selection of Quadrilles & French Country Dances*. N. Corri, Edinburgh, [1810].
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[82] *Cotillions and Waltzes selected for the Cotillion Balls*. Clementi & Co., London, 1810–1811.
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[84] *Contre Danses à Paris 1818.* MS. 3860 National Library of Scotland.

[85] Thompson, V. E. An Alarming Lack of Feeling: Urban Travel, Emotions and British National Character in Post-Revolutionary Paris. *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbain*, 2014, **2** (2), 8–17. https://doi.org/10.3138/uhr.42.02.02

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Cooper, 2019, *op. cit.*

[87] Gronow, Rees Howell. *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow*. Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1862, p. 43

[88] Payne, Edward. *Payne's Quadrilles viz. Le Pantalon, L'Été, La Poulle, La Trenise et La Finale…to which is added The Stop Waltz*. C. Christmas, London [1815].
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[89] Cooper, P. *The Carlton House Balls, 1811–1816*. Research paper 43, RegencyDances.org, April 2020. https://www.regencydances.org/paper043.php (accessed 24/03/2021)

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[92] O'Keefe, J. G. & O'Brien, A. *A Handbook of Irish Dances*. O'Donaghue & Co., Dublin, 1902.
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