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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

"Invitation pour la danse": Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770-1860

Volume 1 of 1

by

Katrina Lee Faulds

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 2015

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

"INVITATION POUR LA DANSE": SOCIAL DANCE, DANCE MUSIC AND FEMININE IDENTITY IN THE ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSE c.1770-1860

Katrina Lee Faulds

The engagement of landed elite women with dance music in the early nineteenth century and the contribution that such music made to the formation of female identity has received limited scholarly attention. While research on social dance has brought to life the cultural complexities of the ballroom, and investigations into the influence of dance on principally canonical repertoire have enriched our understanding of the intersections that occurred between music and dance, the actual collection and domestic performance of dance music itself has largely lain forgotten.

The English country house provides a locus through which elite women's participation in dance and domestic music-making can be conceptualised and reconstructed. Tatton Park, the Cheshire estate of the Egerton family, contains a significant body of music ranging across several generations of women. The dance music belonging to Elizabeth Egerton (1777-1853), her daughter-in-law, Lady Charlotte Egerton (1811-1878), and Elizabeth's daughter, Charlotte Egerton (1824-1845), provides the basis for a series of case studies that examine links between the music they collected and the social dance activities with which they were engaged. The conception of elite women's participation in dance as expressed by contemporary authors, and the performance of dance in other country houses as documented in newspaper and archival sources, proffer a framework through which the case studies can be interpreted and thus how concepts of elite femininity were negotiated through dance music.

This study forms part of a burgeoning scholarly interest in domestic music-making in the English country house and complements two recent theses on the Tatton Park collection. What emerges is a sense of the myriad ways in which early nineteenth-century dance music was embedded in the fabric of cultural life for elite women, and how it both affirmed and negated contemporary discourses on appropriate feminine comportment.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Katrina Lee Faulds

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

“Invitation pour la danse”: Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770-1860

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission.

Signed:.....

Date:.....

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Introduction

Lady Emily was a splendid performer, and, after delighting her audience by playing and singing, she called on Lady Edith to replace her at the instrument. This Lady Edith declared her readiness to do; and added, "that after her friend's beautiful playing, she dared not attempt any thing more difficult than a set of quadrilles, to which, she hoped, they would not object to dance." Her proposition was gaily seconded, and two quadrilles speedily formed. The Marquis of Ellesmere deemed it necessary to remain by the side of the fair musician, for the purpose of turning her leaves. On the first set being finished, he requested Lady Edith to give up her seat to some one else, and to honour him by dancing the next quadrille with him...Lady Lucy took Lady Edith Clavering's place at the piano, and dancing was continued till long after midnight.'

This portrait of feminine entertainment at the fictional country seat of Deerhurst Castle, from the novel *The Governess; or, Politics in Private Life*, reveals several cultural assumptions regarding the performance of dance and dance music by elite women in the early nineteenth century. Central to this representation of dance is that it was not just a recognised leisure activity, but that upper-class women were intimately involved in its cultivation and performance. Women's participation took place on two levels: as dancers, and as musicians. The beautiful Lady Edith Clavering, daughter of the Duke of Belmont and a guest at Deerhurst Castle, facilitated the dancing of others through her performance of dance music on the piano, and in turn contributed to the entertainment of the evening by dancing herself. Implicit in this extract is that women were the natural providers of music for dance and possessed the appropriate skills to do so; more explicitly enunciated are the notions that dance music was less technically and musically demanding than solo repertoire, that it offered women an acceptable means to perform at the keyboard accompanied by less visual and aural scrutiny, and that dance music was perhaps not considered as sufficiently engaging or important to be performed without its concomitant activity.

¹ *The Governess; or, Politics in Private Life*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1836), 161-162.

The spaces in which the evening's entertainment took place are important in framing the performance of leisure activities within the English country house and the association of such spaces with the enactment of feminine domesticity. The scene prior to the one quoted above depicted several women engaged in various activities in the saloon: "Groups of ladies were seen in different parts of the saloon: - one round the piano-forte, on which the little girls were performing; - one around a table, on which were scattered exquisite engravings", while Lady Edith herself took up a game of chess after returning from inspecting the picture gallery.² However, it was to the music room that the ladies were "summoned" and in which the houseguests were delighted as auditors and dancers.³ The succession of three aristocratic women presiding at the piano, governing the evening's entertainment, meant that the music room functioned as a repository of feminine music-making; as dance also formed part of the night's amusement, the space served equally to facilitate the display of dancing female bodies.⁴ At Deerhurst Castle, the music room was also a witness to the interplay and performance of courtship, as the unavowed and unrequited love of the Marquis of Ellesmere for Lady Edith hung thickly in the air during this portion of the narrative.⁵ The impromptu ball was a stage for him to continue his attentions and the medium of dance proffered two opportunities for him to press his claims: firstly, as an assistant while his beloved performed dance music at the piano, and secondly, as her partner in the dance itself. The music room therefore stood in the novel as a symbol of elite female leisure and sociability within the country house, but it was also a space that tingled with feminine agency.

Whilst the scenario is a work of fiction, it raises some very real questions about the role of dance and dance music in the lives of actual elite landed women. These questions can be voiced from both a practical and an ideological standpoint: In what ways did upper class women engage with dance and dance music? How was their participation in dance conceptualised within

² Ibid., 160.

³ Ibid., 161. The novel doesn't specify that dancing took place in the music room, but this is clearly where the piano stood and where the music was performed.

⁴ On the music room as a feminine space, see Jeanice Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park," *Music and Letters* 91, no. 4 (2010): 530-533.

⁵ For an exploration of music in the courtship narrative of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fiction, see Regula Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-Making* (New York: Rodopi, 2008), 80-92, 121-126.

contemporary culture? How did their performance of social dance and dance music contribute to the formation of elite female identity? What were the relationships that existed between the dance music they played and the social dances they performed? And how did the English country house facilitate and cultivate the performance of dance, and promote the enactment of elite bodily and behavioural virtues? The assurance and ease with which the ladies at Deerhurst Castle danced and performed dance music belied the physical and emotional training that was required to achieve proficiency in both mediums, and skimmed over the cultural complexity of dance as something more than just a leisure activity. Despite the omnipresence of dance in early nineteenth-century society and the abundance of dance music that appeared from the printing presses, the engagement of elite women with dance on a multifaceted level, and their collection and performance of dance music, has to date been little studied and remains poorly articulated.

The presence of extant domestic music collections within English country houses provides an avenue for conceptualising elite women's participation in music-making and dance, and for exploring possible answers to the questions raised above. Tatton Park, the Cheshire estate of the Egerton family, contains a significant body of music that was associated with several generations of women. The dance music belonging to Elizabeth Egerton (1777-1853), her daughter-in-law, Lady Charlotte Egerton (1811-1878), and Elizabeth's daughter, Charlotte Egerton (1824-1845), forms the foundation of a series of case studies that examine links between the music they collected and the social dance activities with which they were engaged. While the position of dance and female music-making sat on uncertain ground in contemporary literature – both activities were couched in terms of grace, elegance and restraint, yet dance music was presented as trifling and unworthy of particular notice – the experiences of the Egerton women illustrate the cultural depth that sustained participation in both disciplines could bring. This thesis aims to show how dance and dance music were in fact integral to the formation of elite female identity, offering genteel women a rich and diverse means of negotiating and challenging prescribed notions of feminine conduct. Before directly appraising existing research and the reasons behind the neglect of this area from a scholarly standpoint, it is useful to review the broader context in which social dance and dance music were situated.

Dance and Dance Music in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

Dance and its music were tightly interwoven into the fabric of everyday life for the aristocratic and gentry classes. A myriad of social occasions afforded interaction with dance on a number of levels that highlighted its pervasiveness in the cultural consciousness of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁶ Balls, assemblies, *ridottos*, routs and masquerades all included dance to varying extents in their structure, while the theatre offered spectators the opportunity to observe and critique performances of a variety of styles of stage dancing.⁷ The larger pleasure gardens showcased theatrical dance in addition to providing space for public social dance, while even those conceived on a more intimate scale often incorporated venues for dancing.⁸ The juxtaposition of dance and music in the *ridotto* was borne out across many social occasions, emphasising not only their coexistence but also flexibility across their boundaries.⁹ Music festivals titillated the ears and tingled the toes of patrons as balls were regularly scheduled on programs.¹⁰ Dance, whether planned or spontaneous, also provided an enlivening conclusion to musical

⁶ See Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England" (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2002), 1.

⁷ For distinctions between these different social occasions, see Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 191-193 and Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 239-244. On the different styles of ballet employed in the eighteenth century, see Edmund Fairfax, *The Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet* (Lanham and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2003), chapter 3.

⁸ See David Coke and Alan Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens, a History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 43, 46, 55, 172, 230, 232-233, 242-245, 261-262, 302-304 (the latter showing Illustration 217), 306, 314, 332 (Illustration 242), 336, 339-340, 343, 346-350, 353, 407-408, 419 (numbers 48, 59 and 70), 434 (note 51); Jonathan Conlin, "Vauxhall Revisited: The Afterlife of a London Pleasure Garden, 1770-1859," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 4 (2006): 729, 733-734, 736-739; Trevor Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," *Bath History Journal* 2 (1988): 33; and Warwick Wroth and Arthur Edgar Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1979).

⁹ See Jane Bellingham, "Ridotto," *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e5650>, accessed July 24 2014.

¹⁰ See Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 1, 13, 16, 30, 32, 51, 54, 79, 81-82. For further discussion of balls within the context of music festivals, see chapter 3, pp. 222-223.

concerts and formed an additional activity amidst other social events.¹¹ The pleasure garden performances and promenade concerts conducted by Philippe Musard (1793-1859) and Louis Jullien (1812-1860) frequently placed dance music in close proximity with symphonic repertoire, while provincial resort orchestras integrated dance music in their programmes.¹² For those unable to attend due to distance or infirmity, accounts of the most fashionable balls sprang from the pages of the London press and provincial newspapers carried reports of county balls, while a more nuanced and personal depiction of dance emerged through private correspondence.

*...we go to these assemblies to sell our daughters, or corrupt our neighbours' wives. A ball-room is nothing more or less than a great market-place of beauty.*¹³

Balls and assemblies formed part of the increase in leisured pursuits that facilitated polite sociability during the course of the eighteenth century, with assembly rooms functioning as a locus for fashionable display.¹⁴ As

¹¹ Elizabeth Harris (1722-1781) described a concert and ball held at the Salisbury Assembly Room in 1771, while on the preceding and following years two of her children wrote of balls that concluded with the singing of catches. See letters from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris Jr., dated January 5, 1771; Louisa Harris to James Harris Jr., dated December 9, 1770; and James Harris Jr. to Elizabeth Harris, dated January 2, 1772, quoted in Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 613, 616, 656. A breakfast held as part of the Horticultural Society's Fete in 1831 included the recurrent dancing of quadrilles composed by Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Tolbecque (1797-1869), while impromptu quadrille dancing, accompanied by singing and whistling in the absence of musical instruments, took place at the conclusion of a bazaar in Manchester. See advertisements in *Morning Post*, June 11 and July 4, 1831; and "THE ALLIANCE BAZAAR," *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, May 3, 1856, respectively.

¹² See Coke and Borg, *Vauxhall Gardens, a History*, 334, 450 (note 111) and Nicholas Temperley, "Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music," in *The Romantic Age 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley, The Athlone History of Music in Britain, vol. 5 (London: Athlone Press, 1981), 113-115. Johann Strauss (1804-1849) successfully toured England presiding over concerts given by his dance orchestra, again highlighting close associations between concert life and dance music. See Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 132.

¹³ Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer Lytton, *Godolphin. A Novel*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1833), 178.

¹⁴ See Peter Clark and R.A. Houston, "Culture and Leisure 1700-1840," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Peter Clark, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 577, 582; Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 28; Katharine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, ed. Roger Mason, St Andrews Studies in Scottish History (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 3-4, 6-7, 80, 89-91, 95-97; Doreen Helme, "The Role of the Assembly Rooms in the Social Education of the Middle-Class in England, 1750-1840" (M.Ed, University of Manchester, 1985), 86; and Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, 226, 239-240.

deportment was a tangible indicator of gentility, assemblies provided “a kind of public education” in the practise of decorum, as attendees navigated the intricacies of dancing, card playing and tea drinking. Assembly rooms, “part of the urban fabric of sociability”, promoted acquaintance amongst families, furthered political interests and potentially engendered marriages.¹⁵ As somewhat fluid entities, assemblies and their venues varied in their level of exclusivity and proportions; provincial gatherings, especially those in small country towns, drew a relatively modest company and often took place in local inns, while in the metropolis and larger county towns, purpose-built rooms flaunted opulence to hundreds of gentry and aristocratic dancers.¹⁶ Nevertheless, assemblies and balls remained important fixtures on provincial social calendars.¹⁷ Under the stewardship of a Master of Ceremonies or “Queen”, dancers were obliged to abide by rules of conduct encompassing

¹⁵ For the quotations, see letter from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to the Countess of Bute, May 19, 1760, quoted in Lord Wharnccliffe, ed. *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, second, revised ed., 3 vols., vol. 3 (London: Richard Bentley, 1837), 195, and Jeremy Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2005, 2007), 204. See additionally Mark Girouard, *The English Town* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 131-133; Moira Goff, "Dancing and Assemblies," in *Georgians Revealed: Life, Style and the Making of Modern Britain* (London: The British Library, 2013), 124-125; Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), 87-88, 91-92; "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 3 (2002): 136, 141, 143; and Desmond F. Strobel, "Assemblies," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 189-190.

¹⁶ The level of exclusivity was not necessarily proportionate to the size or location of the venue, as different provincial centres maintained different levels of access, although an entrance fee usually guaranteed a certain selectivity. Assemblies could be split into distinctive groups, catering separately for the gentry classes and tradespeople. See, for example, Anne Bloomfield and Ruth Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," *History of Education* 37, no. 4 (2008): 615, 617; Peter Borsay, "Health and Leisure Resorts 1700-1840," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Peter Clark, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 795; John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997, 2013), 437-438; Girouard, *The English Town*, 129-130, 133-134, 138-142; Helme, "The Role of the Assembly Rooms in the Social Education of the Middle-Class in England, 1750-1840," 76-77, 105, 126, 129-131, 139; Patricia Mitchinson, "Regional Evidence for Social Dance with Particular Reference to a Yorkshire Spa Town, Harrogate, UK," in *Dance History: An Introduction*, ed. Janet Adshead-Lansdale and June Layson (London: Routledge, 1994), 87, 89-91, 95; Philip J.S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960), 29, 32-33; Strobel, "Assemblies," 189-190; and Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, 240-241.

¹⁷ See Peter Clark, "Small Towns 1700-1840," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. Peter Clark, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 763-766 and Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 436.

dress and comportment to ensure harmony within the ballroom.¹⁸ Women were unable to refuse a gentleman's offer to dance without offending the individual concerned and limiting their own prospects for the evening.¹⁹ As a highly visual activity, assembly rooms also promoted spectatorship, supplying seating on benches for those wishing to enjoy the performance of others.²⁰ However, given that venues could be tightly crowded and subject to extremes of temperature, the display may not have been particularly elegant or enjoyable.²¹ The contrast between metropolitan and provincial balls provided different degrees of visibility for the dancers and it was the extended network

¹⁸ See Girouard, *The English Town*, 129-130; Helme, "The Role of the Assembly Rooms in the Social Education of the Middle-Class in England, 1750-1840," 138 and chapter 10; Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727-1783*, The New Oxford History of England (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 101; Mitchinson, "Regional Evidence for Social Dance with Particular Reference to a Yorkshire Spa Town, Harrogate, UK," 89-90; Barbara Peel, *Dancing and Social Assemblies in York in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Guildford: National Resource Centre for Dance, 1986), 15; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), 278-279; and Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, 240-241. Harmony was not always apparent – see Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 438.

¹⁹ This was a common theme in rules for the ballroom published in dance and conduct manuals in the nineteenth century, although there was some discrepancy as to the actual result of such an action. See, for example, *Etiquette for the Ladies; Eighty Maxims on Dress, Manners, and Accomplishments*, fourth ed. (London: Charles Tilt, 1837), 8-9; G.M.S. Chivers, *The Modern Dancing Master; Containing Interesting Information on the Origin and Antiquity of Dancing; Likewise Observations on Deportment; Shewing the Defects and Bad Habits Persons Are Liable to; Also the Utility of the Polite Art, and Its Power on Man and Animals; Together with the Complete Etiquette of the Ball Room; and Every Explanation Requisite for Performing La Grande Polonoise, Les Ecossoises, Mescolanzes, Swedish Dances, Quadrilles, Spanish Dances, Contre Danses, L'Union Danses, and Various Other Departments, Containing All the Fashionable Figures, with an Explanation of the Technical Terms to Each of the Different Styles of Dancing, and Nearly One Hundred of the Most Popular Airs, Arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp, Violin, or Flute* (London: Published at the Author's Salle de Danse, 1822), 34; Mrs. Nicholas Henderson, *Etiquette of the Ball-Room, and Guide to the New and Fashionable Dances; Containing the Steps and Figures of Quadrilles, Valses, Polkas, Galops, Mazourkas, Country Dances, Etc.; with Hints and Instructions Respecting Toilet and Deportment* (London: George Biggs, 1850?), 21; James Pitt, *Instructions in Etiquette, Intended for the Use of Schools and Young Persons* (Manchester: Printed for the Author, 1828), 50-52; and W.H. Woakes, *An Essay on the Attitudes Derived from Gesture to Be Attended to in Dancing, with Observations of the Art: Also, the Etiquette of the English Ball Room* (Hereford: W.H. and J. Parkes, 1825), 35.

²⁰ Helme, "The Role of the Assembly Rooms in the Social Education of the Middle-Class in England, 1750-1840," 100-101. On dance as a visual activity, especially for women, see Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 97, 99; "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 144; Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 74, 76-77, 132, 166-167, 187; and Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England*, 241-242. In his chapter on assembly rooms, Mark Girouard included a drawing of the Upper Rooms at Bath, which detailed three to four rows of tiered seating around the circumference of the room. See Girouard, *The English Town*, 137, Illustration 173.

²¹ See Girouard, *The English Town*, 128-129, 133; Helme, "The Role of the Assembly Rooms in the Social Education of the Middle-Class in England, 1750-1840," 104, 116-117, 119 and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 205-207.

of people that the London ballroom offered that increased its potency as a space for social negotiations.²²

Catering for this widespread participation in dance was the dancing master, a symbol of the wealth and leisure of his employers, yet a problematic figure in contemporary representations.²³ Dancing masters provided lessons for children and adults, teaching in private residences, at boarding schools and in their own academies, in addition to hosting balls designed to showcase their students' achievements (which also advertised their own business) and acting as master of ceremonies for local balls.²⁴ Provincial dancing masters frequently travelled to nearby towns, utilising local halls or inns as their teaching spaces, and journeying to London or the continent when they could, to learn the latest dances.²⁵ They also provided additional instruction in the arts of fencing, calisthenics and Indian sceptre exercises as a means of developing both health

²² See Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 91 and "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 141.

²³ While dancing masters were predominantly male, several scholars have drawn attention to the existence of female teachers during this time period, either as assistants or as instructors in their own academies. See Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 34-45; "Provincial Dancing Masters," *Norfolk Archaeology: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to the Antiquities of the County of Norfolk Published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society XXXV* (1970): 137, 140; Madeleine Inglehearn, "Dancing-Masters: Professionals or Business Men? A Study of the Status of Dancing-Masters in Eighteenth Century England" (paper presented at the Dancing Master or Hop Merchant? The Role of the Dance Teacher through the Ages conference, St. Bride Institute, London, 23 February 2008), 54-55; and Peel, *Dancing and Social Assemblies in York in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 44-45. For an overview of the history and skills required of dancing masters, see Ingrid Brainard, "Dancing Master," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 2 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 336-341 and for a summary of their activities, see Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 21-22.

²⁴ Such balls were seemingly popular with spectators. See Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 44; "Provincial Dancing Masters," 138; and Peel, *Dancing and Social Assemblies in York in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 16-18. On dance education, see Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 46, 81-82.

²⁵ For descriptions of the activities and practices of various dancing masters in the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, see Bloomfield and Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," 606, 614-615; Trevor Fawcett, "Provincial Dancing Masters: A Postscript," *Norfolk Archaeology: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to the Antiquities of the County of Norfolk Published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society XXXV* (1971): 193-198; "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 33-46; "Provincial Dancing Masters," 135-141; Inglehearn, "Dancing-Masters: Professionals or Business Men? A Study of the Status of Dancing-Masters in Eighteenth Century England," 49-60; Mitchinson, "Regional Evidence for Social Dance with Particular Reference to a Yorkshire Spa Town, Harrogate, UK," 87-88; Peel, *Dancing and Social Assemblies in York in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 42; Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006), 70-71, and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 46.

and coordination.²⁶ While the acquisition of technique and repertoire by pupils was essential for a polished performance in the ballroom, "the fundamental importance of a dancing master lay in the coaching he provided in etiquette, in deportment, and in the cultivation of that air of relaxed assurance so much admired by contemporaries."²⁷ Given the importance of deportment in aristocratic social life, the choice of a dancing master was significant, with some families choosing highly reputable masters for their daughters, precisely for their skill in this area.²⁸ Dancing masters also needed to possess at least a rudimentary musical knowledge, often accompanying their classes on the *pochette*, a small unfretted fiddle (see Figure 1); many additionally advertised their ability to provide tuition in both disciplines, and were actively involved in organising concerts and balls, and publishing dance music.²⁹ As "leisure entrepreneurs", dancing masters facilitated the enjoyment of those who could afford to hire them and rendered themselves necessary to the performance of gentility.³⁰

²⁶ See Brainard, "Dancing Master," 336; Peel, *Dancing and Social Assemblies in York in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 42, 44; and Allan Thomas, ed. *A New Most Excellent Dancing Master: The Journal of Joseph Lowe's Visits to Balmoral and Windsor (1852-1860) to Teach Dance to the Family of Queen Victoria*, Dance & Music Series No. 5 (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1992), 5, 24-25, 33-34, 38, 44-45, 51, 60, 64, 70, 91, 93, 101, 103, 107.

²⁷ Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 27. On aspects of deportment taught by dancing masters, see Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 436; Cheryl A. Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 26-27, and particularly Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 56-60.

²⁸ See "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 25, 33.

²⁹ On the *pochette*, see Mary Remnant, "Kit," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/15075>, accessed July 27 2014. On the musical skills and activities of dancing masters, see Bloomfield and Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," 615; Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 436, 438-439, 444, 448; Fawcett, "Provincial Dancing Masters," 136-137; "Provincial Dancing Masters: A Postscript," 193; "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 34, 44; Inglehearn, "Dancing-Masters: Professionals or Business Men? A Study of the Status of Dancing-Masters in Eighteenth Century England," 51; Peel, *Dancing and Social Assemblies in York in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 26-27, 43-45; Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century*, 67, 71; Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 20-21; and Thomas, *A New Most Excellent Dancing Master: The Journal of Joseph Lowe's Visits to Balmoral and Windsor (1852-1860) to Teach Dance to the Family of Queen Victoria*, 2-4, with Peel highlighting the example of a female dancing mistress and composer.

³⁰ Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 22.



FIGURE 1. *GROWN LADIES TAUGHT TO DANCE*, PRINT BY MARTIN RENNOLDSON AFTER JOHN COLLET, CA. 1768 © TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The figure of the dancing master was also the subject of considerable eighteenth-century disquietude and paradox with respect to class and gender roles, and national pride.³¹ Although not of genteel birth themselves, dancing masters were nevertheless required to impart the skills of gentility necessary for the daily comportment of elite men and women, a situation which suggested that gentility was not innate as a consequence of birth, but rather a competence that could be learned.³² Not only did they lack intrinsic gentility,

³¹ See *ibid.*, 215-216.

³² See Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 27; Barbara Segal, "Introduction" (paper presented at the Dancing Master or Hop Merchant? The Role of the Dance Teacher through the Ages conference, St. Bride Institute, London, 23 February 2008), 1, 3 (note 2); and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 219. On dancing masters "helping bodies to lie", see Raymond Julian Ricketts, "Dance as Social Practice in Eighteenth-Century British Discourse and Culture" (PhD, Rutgers University, 2006), 21-22.

dancing masters also had to contend with the profession's association with a variety of other fashionable trades and the "commercializ[ation] of polite culture" in which they themselves transacted.³³ As many dancing masters were French *émigrés*, this created an uncomfortable situation whereby the English aristocracy became at least partially dependent upon French skill to mould their fashionable bodies. Although they were highly sought after as symbols of urban status, French dancing masters also represented a "pollution of cultural purity", threatening English masculinity through perceived stereotypes of effeminacy and foppery, challenging established notions of class through the teacher-pupil relationship, and purportedly harbouring less than honourable intentions towards English women.³⁴ Despite these tangled and complex associations, however, dancing masters clearly provided a valuable service in "play[ing] a pivotal educational role in the social and cultural desires of the long eighteenth century."³⁵

The dances prevalent in the first half of the nineteenth century included the country dance, quadrille, waltz and polka, each of which can be understood in terms of the different forms of sociability they fostered and the patterns they traced across the ballroom. Anne Bloomfield and Ruth Watts suggested that the quadrille and country dance "were choreographically constructed to encourage both social interaction and social cohesion":

The linking of arms, or holding of hands, and the leading and following of couples developed an air of social nicety. Circle formations, long-ways sets and quadrilles, where a group of four couples danced out an infinitesimal number of choreographic formations, ensured that social

³³ Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 34-35, 219-220.

³⁴ See Richard Leppert, *Music and Image* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 75-78, 82-88 and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," chapter 5. John Brewer and Roz Southey have both drawn attention to the possible Frenchification of dancing masters' names and manners. See Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century*, 436, 438 and Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England During the Eighteenth Century*, 70. For fictional portrayals of these aspects in nineteenth-century literature, see Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 20-24.

³⁵ Bloomfield and Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," 605. On dancing masters and their contribution to the ideals of the Enlightenment, see *ibid.*, 605, 617 and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 64.

mingling took place. Progressive dances meant that the whole company could share and celebrate in each other.³⁶

Both dances were strongly characterised by the formation of figures that were shared between dancers and both were confined by the geometrical structures – the country dance by parallel lines, the quadrille by squares – that were vital to maintaining the external integrity of each dance. By contrast, “new and fast and threateningly disruptive” couple dances, such as the waltz and polka, with their endless circumnavigations and almost centripetal focus between partners, eschewed communal interaction and variety in their focus on “individual bodies” and the couple as an egocentric unit.³⁷ Despite the seemingly exclusive characteristics of these dances, there was much cross-fertilisation between the various dance forms. As an understanding of such choreographic interplay and the cultural contexts in which nineteenth-century dance developed is important for interpreting elite women’s engagement with dance, a summary of the principal genres that appear in subsequent chapters is given below.³⁸

³⁶ Bloomfield and Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," 613-614. Cheryl Wilson pointed out that the formation of sets in the quadrille effectively limited sociability to interactions between the dancers in a given set, rather than across sets. See Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 107.

³⁷ For the quotations, see Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 3 and Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 132, 137-138. Other sources that address the social implications of the waltz include Joyce Simpson-Candelaria, "The Waltz: Its Pervasiveness in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century, and Its Transformation into a Symbol of the *Biedermeierzeit* in the Works of Joseph Lanner, Johann Strauss, and Franz Schubert" (MA, University of British Columbia, 1982), 10 and Sevin Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2002), 5-6.

³⁸ Of necessity, this list is incomplete. Dances that play no part in the following discussions, such as the ecossaise, have been excluded.

Country Dance

*Imagine yourself in the midst of a Country Dance; there all are partakers of the pleasure, there are no silent envious gazers, no sullen critics to mar the amusement or intimidate its votaries, joy and gaiety animates every countenance, while pleasure beams in every eye; the young and old are equally employed in forming the mazy circlets of the figure.*³⁹

Characterised as the “national Dance of the English” and known from at least the sixteenth century, the country dance is best understood in terms of its inherent flexibility.⁴⁰ Comprising two parallel lines of an undefined number of couples, though generally not less than three, the nineteenth-century country dance strongly exemplified variety and encouraged sociability.⁴¹ Within these lines, couples were subdivided into minor sets (subsets), which allowed many people to dance simultaneously. The diverse composition of the dance was dependent not only on the varying number of partakers, but also on the seemingly infinite combination of figures that delineated different patterns on the dance floor.⁴² Thomas Wilson (fl. 1800–1839), perhaps the most prolifically published author on social dance in early nineteenth-century England, categorised these figures according to whether they produced

³⁹ Thomas Wilson, *An Analysis of Country Dancing: Wherein Are Displayed All the Figures Ever Used in Country Dances...to Which Are Added, Instructions for Dancing Some Entire New Reels; Together with the Rules, Regulations, and Complete Etiquette of the Ball Room* (London: W. Calvert, 1808), xviii.

⁴⁰ See Thomas Wilson, *The Complete System of English Country Dancing, Containing All the Figures Ever Used in English Country Dancing, with a Variety of New Figures, and New Reels...* (London: Printed for Sherwood, Neeley and Jones, 1820), vi, quoted in Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 69. See also Patri J. Pugliese, “Country Dance,” in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 2 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 254 and Frances Rust, *Dance in Society: An Analysis of the Relationship between the Social Dance and Society in England from the Middle Ages to the Present Day* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), 47–48, 51–52. On the country dance’s associations with Englishness and hierarchy, see Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, chapter 3.

⁴¹ See Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 46 and Curt Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, trans. Bessie Schönberg (New York: The Norton Library, W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1937, 1963), 415. For contemporary sources see, for example, *Country-Dancing Made Plain and Easy to Every Capacity*, (London: Printed for T. Durham, 1764), viii, 19, 22–23; Wilson, *An Analysis of Country Dancing*, 3; *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*, 2, 152–153; and *The Art of Dancing, Comprising Its Theory and Practice, in Connexion with the Ball Room, by Which Young Persons May Easily Instruct Themselves So as to Enable Them to Partake of That Healthy, Elegant, and Polite Amusement* (London: William Mason, 1852), 9. On sociability in the country dance, see Leppert, *Music and Image*, 94–95, 97–99 and Tardif, “A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England,” 193.

⁴² See Pugliese, “Country Dance,” 257 and Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 415.

circular, serpentine, angular or straight lines, the combination of which evoked varying degrees of beauty and grace.⁴³ This suppleness of form and focus on figures rather than steps enabled the country dance to incorporate elements from other dances.⁴⁴ The relationship between country dance figures and the music to which they were performed was particularly fluid: the same combination of figures could be applied to countless country dance melodies, yet a single country dance tune could furnish the music for numerous combinations of figures.⁴⁵ Emphasis was laid on ensuring that the figures correlated exactly with the music to avoid disrupting the order of the dance, while dancers were advised to desist from “noisy conversation” which would impede perception of the music.⁴⁶ The country dance was characterised as comprising “simplicity, ease, freedom, and liveliness”, rather tending towards “the mirthful than the graceful, and to cheerfulness than elegance...”⁴⁷

⁴³ See Thomas Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room, Containing a Choice Collection of the Most Original and Admired Country Dance, Reel, Hornpipe, & Waltz Tunes, with a Variety of Appropriate Figures, the Etiquette and a Dissertation on the State of the Ball Room* (London, Edinburgh and Dublin: Button, Whittaker & Co. [London]; Muir, Wood & Co. [Edinburgh]; W. Power [Dublin] and the Author, 1816), x; *The Complete System of English Country Dancing, 1-2; The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing* (London: Published by the Author, 1821), 10-16; and *The Art of Dancing*, 9. For further discussion of this concept, see chapter 1, pp. 86-87.

⁴⁴ On the minuet country dance, see A.H. Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), 121. M.J. Seaton referred to polka country dances, Edward Payne and Thomas Wilson listed several country dances that were performed to waltz tunes and incorporated waltz figures, while the author of *The Fashionable Quadrille Preceptor* listed quadrille country dances. See *The Fashionable Quadrille Preceptor, Containing the Most Popular Quadrilles & Other Dances of the Present Season*, seventeenth ed. (London: Myers, Sparrow & Compy., n.d.), 37-40; Edward Payne, *A New Companion to the Ball Room, Containing Remarks on the Deportment of the Person, and the Defects and Bad Habits Persons Are Liable to in the Ball Room; Likewise Upwards of One Hundred and Twenty Different Popular Country Dance Figures, with the Like Number of the Most Fashionable and Favorite Tunes, on an Entire New Method; So That Any Person of the Slightest Conception, Can Make Choice of a Tune and Adapt a Proper Figure to It, with an Explanation How to Adapt Any Tune to a Figure: To Which Are Added the Regulations of the Ball Room, with Many Other Observations* (London: n.p., 1814), 31-37; M.J. Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, miniature ed. (London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1848), 71; and Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 143-155.

⁴⁵ See *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*, 5-6. Wilson included in the latter part of this publication an extensive series of tables outlining the different lengths of figures that could be applied to different lengths of country dance tunes, in addition to furnishing a section devoted to musical considerations in country dancing (see pp. 270-303). See also Chivers, *The Modern Dancing Master*, 41; Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, x-xx; and *The Art of Dancing*, 11-13.

⁴⁶ See *Country-Dancing Made Plain and Easy to Every Capacity*, 53; Wilson, *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*, 173; and *The Art of Dancing*, 10, 13, in addition to Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 47.

⁴⁷ *Analysis of the London Ball-Room: In Which Is Comprised the History of the Polite Art, from the Earliest Period, Interspersed with Characteristic Observations on Each of Its Popular Divisions of Country Dances, Which Contain a Selection of the Most Fashionable and Popular Quadrilles, Including Paine's First Set, and a Selection from the Operas of La Gazza Ladra, Il Don Giovanni, Der Freischutz, Pietro L'Eremita, and*

However, by mid century the perceived jollity of the dance clashed with at least one writer's sense of decorum: "Country dances...belong to a ruder age than the present, and to a blither and merrier style of manner than that which prevails in the fashionable world [see Figure 2]. They are more characteristic of "Merrie Englande" than of Almack's, and therefore...they hold a very inferior place in the programme of a modern festivity."⁴⁸



FIGURE 2. EXTRACT FROM *LUMPS OF PUDDING*, PRINT BY WILLIAM HEATH AFTER HENRY WILLIAM BUNBURY, 1811 © TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Il Tancredi; and Waltzes: The Whole, with the Figures Annexed to Each, Calculated for the Use of Domestic Assemblies, and Arranged for the Piano-Forte, (London and Glasgow: Thomas Tegg and R. Griffin and Co., 1825), 67. See also *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, (London: B. Crosby and Co., 1811), 183-184.

⁴⁸ Henderson, *Etiquette of the Ball-Room, and Guide to the New and Fashionable Dances*, 84.

Quadrille

*Quadrille Dancing affords a most interesting and animating amusement to a family party of four or more persons, in a winter's evening: a piano forte and a performer on it are now found in most families – no expence [sic] is then created for music; and to parents and other friends the sight must afford a considerable gratification.*⁴⁹

Along with the waltz, the quadrille was one of the most prominent dances in the nineteenth-century ballroom. Its genesis lay in the *cotillon*, a French square dance for four couples that alternated a number of different verses (changes) with a more elaborate chorus (figure). With the reduction and eventual elimination of the changes in the late eighteenth century, *cotillon* figures were connected together to form the quadrille.⁵⁰ Performed by up to eight or more couples in square formation, the quadrille combined the figural intricacy of the country dance with an emphasis on couple and solo dancing (see Figure 3).⁵¹ Although known in England from at least the first few years of

⁴⁹ R. Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room, Containing a Selection of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles, Waltzes, Country Dances, and Gallopades; with Observations on the Art of Dancing, Selected from Various Authors of Distinguished Character; and an Explanation of Terms Used in Dancing* (Lincoln: W. Brooke and Sons, 1830), 32.

⁵⁰ Etymologically, there was some interchangeability between the use of the terms *cotillon*, *contredanse* and quadrille. The *contredanse française* (contracted to *contredanse*) was used to distinguish the French country dance from the English country dance (*contredanse anglaise*), the former of which by the mid-eighteenth century had predominantly taken a square formation, and which was also termed a *cotillon*. The term 'quadrille' was sometimes used to indicate a *cotillon* in the mid-to-late eighteenth century while 'cotillon' was also indicative of a quadrille in the nineteenth century, especially during the period when both dances remained in the repertoire. See Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 88; Pugliese, "Country Dance," 256; Ellis A. Rogers, *The Quadrille. A Practical Guide to Its Origin, Development and Performance*, fourth ed. (Orpington: C & E Rogers, 2008), 7-10, 13; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 47-49; Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 424; Desmond F. Strobel, "Cotillon," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 2 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 252-253; "Quadrille," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 5 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 285-286; and Freda Burford and Anne Daye, "Contredanse," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06376>, accessed August 8 2014. French musical criticism and some nineteenth-century musical publications of quadrilles continued to use the term 'contredanse' to denote the quadrille. See Maribeth Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 3 (2002): 507-508, 510, 512, 515-519 and Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 57-58.

⁵¹ Many dance manual authors stipulated the quadrille could be performed by eight, twelve or sixteen dancers (four, six or eight couples). See, for example, *Le Maître À Danser, or the Art of Dancing Quadrilles*, (London: Printed for the Author, 1818), 10; *Analysis of the London Ball-Room*, 92; *The Fashionable Quadrille Preceptor, Containing the Most Popular Quadrilles & Other Dances of the Present Season*, ii; Chivers, *The Modern Dancing Master*, 109; Edward Payne, *The Quadrille Dancer, Explaining Every Requisite to the Attainment of the Steps and Figures, Including All the Fashionable Figures, in*

the nineteenth century, the quadrille was only introduced at the fashionable Almack's assembly rooms in London in 1815.⁵² Typically performed in sets of four or five with the addition of a finale, the most popular set of quadrilles was Paine's First Set, comprising *Le Pantalon*, *L'Été*, *La Poule*, *La Trenis* and/or *La Pastourelle*. Each of these quadrilles comprised a specific combination of figures set to a particular length of music, although the names themselves continued to be applied to countless quadrilles.⁵³ Quadrille music was subject to much repetition, the whole of each individual quadrille repeated several times according to the nature of the dance, but perhaps the most astonishing feature is the degree to which it pillaged from existing compositions, such as opera, ballet and songs.⁵⁴ As a dance, the quadrille was characterised by "freedom, chasteness, and graceful ease"; *Rock's Ball-Room Hand Book* cautioned against the involvement of too many couples, as "tearing from one side of the figure to the other is not dancing; nor can elegance be gained where both ladies and gentlemen have to make large spreading steps."⁵⁵ Similarly to the country dance, the quadrille employed a variety of serpentine,

French and English, to Which Is Added Instructions for Spanish Dancing (London: Birchall, 1818), 26; and Thomas Wilson, *The Quadrille and Cotillion Panorama.*, second ed. (London: R. & E. Williamson, 1822), 91-92. However, contemporary accounts of quadrilles suggest that much larger numbers were sometimes employed.

⁵² See Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 58-59 and Rogers, *The Quadrille. A Practical Guide to Its Origin, Development and Performance*, 13-14. For conflicting dates on when the quadrille was introduced at Almack's, see Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 140-141; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 183, note 99; and "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 148, note 99.

⁵³ See Andrew Lamb, "Quadrille," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22622>, accessed August 8 2014 and Strobel, "Quadrille," 285-286. For an explanation of the derivation of the names for these particular quadrilles, see Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 142 and Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 60-61. For a detailed description of the steps for Paine's First Set, see Rogers, *The Quadrille. A Practical Guide to Its Origin, Development and Performance*, 79-86.

⁵⁴ See Lamb, "Quadrille"; Paul Nettl, *The Story of Dance Music* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1947), 214, 219; Strobel, "Quadrille," 286; and Thomas Wilson, *The Quadrille Instructor. Containing Directions for Dancing a Variety of New Quadrilles, as Introduced at the Assemblies of the Nobility and Also at the Author's Balls & Assemblies...Adapted to Original Music, and Arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp, or Violin*, second ed. (London: Button, Whitaker & Comp, n.d.), 1. At least one newspaper critic was left aghast at the prospect that "[t]he agony of the Virgin Mother at the crucifixion [was] made the theme of music for a ball room" in a set of quadrilles based on the Stabat Mater. See *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser*, October 29, 1842.

⁵⁵ See *Analysis of the London Ball-Room*, 92 and George Lemore Saunders, ed. *Rock's Ball-Room Hand Book, Quadrille Preceptor, Cellarius Instructor, Mazurka and Polka Companion, and Valses À Deux Terns Danseur, Together with All the Most General and Fashionable Figures as Danced at State Balls and at Almack's*, third ed. (London: Rock, Brothers and Payne, 1845), 15.

circular, angular and straight lines, and the basic combination of steps lent it well to the incorporation of other dance genres.⁵⁶

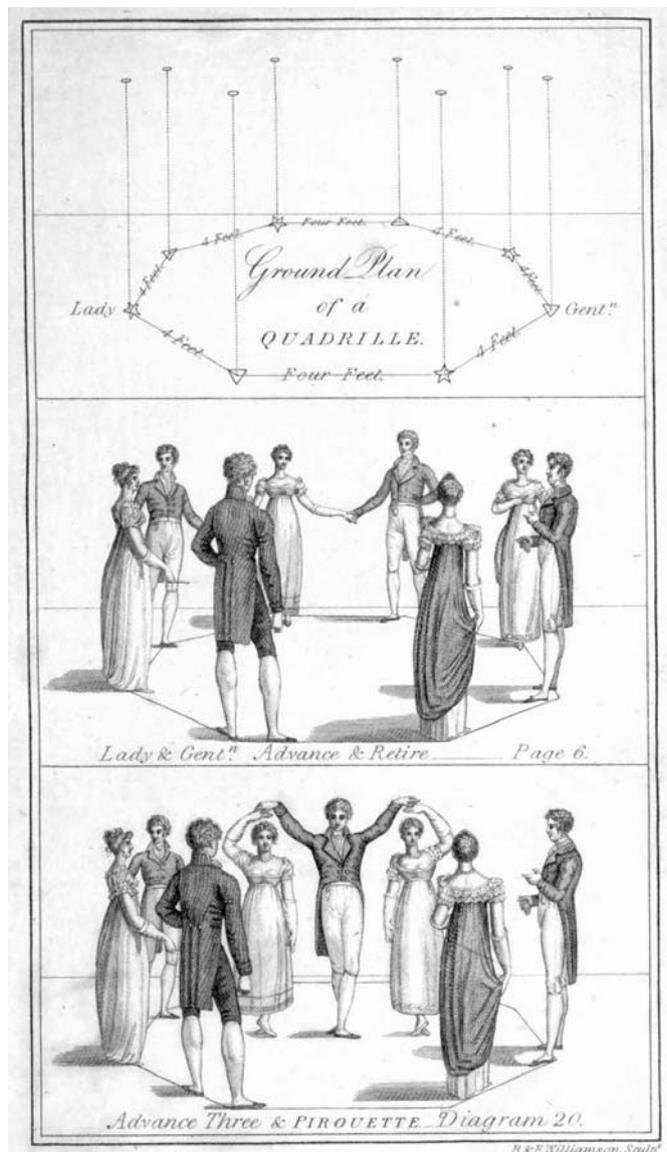


FIGURE 3. GRAND PLAN OF A QUADRILLE, ADVANCE & RETIRE, AND ADVANCE THREE & PIRQUETTE, FROM THOMAS WILSON'S *QUADRILLE AND COTILLION PANORAMA*, 2ND EDITION, 1822. SOURCE: memory.loc.gov.

⁵⁶ See Wilson, *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing*, 10-13 and *The Quadrille and Cotillion Panorama.*, 42. Other dance figures that were integrated into the quadrille included the polka, galop, waltz, gavotte and mazurka. See *How to Dance the Polka and All the Quadrilles, German Waltzes, Highland Reels, &c&c.* "Der Polka" after the Method of M. Coulon. The Music by MM. Jullien, Pugni, Lanner, Labitzki, Strauss, &c., (London: Hugh Cunningham, 1845), 40-42; Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 144-145; Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room*, 5-6; Saunders, *Rock's Ball-Room Hand Book*, 30-31, 34; Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, 52-57; Strobel, "Quadrille," 287; and Wilson, *The Art of Dancing*, 24.

Minuet

*THE minuet is allowed, by every professor of the art, to be the perfection of all dancing, but the difficulty of acquiring a knowledge of the true beauties of it, has discouraged many from attempting it.*⁵⁷

As the epitome of courtly dancing in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, the minuet retained a presence in the milieu of nineteenth-century English dance. Deceptively modest of step and flexible in form, it was rendered treacherously difficult by its very simplicity, its performance cast as the embodiment of genteel refinement, elegance and grace.⁵⁸ Characterised by an undulating rising and sinking motion, the *pas de menuet* was danced across two bars of music in 3/4 time, giving rise to potential cross-rhythms between musical accentuation and weight changes in the step.⁵⁹ The basic choreography traversed by a couple across the floor followed an S or Z shape, intersecting with William Hogarth's (1697-1764) lines of beauty and grace, and possessed an inherent flexibility, with the figures and steps subject to varied repetition and embellishment.⁶⁰ This flexibility additionally assisted its interpolation with other dance forms.⁶¹ The procession of minuets that commenced aristocratic balls formed an exhibition of rank for spectators, one that by turn could be ridiculed or esteemed, yet it was potentially also a source

⁵⁷ James P. Cassidy, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Dancing, with an Appropriate Poem, in Two Cantos, and Plates Illustrative of the Art* (Dublin: William Folds, 1810), 66, derived in part from William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London: J. Reeves, 1753), 146.

⁵⁸ See Wendy Hilton, "Minuet," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 4 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 431 and Leppert, *Music and Image*, 89.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Wye Jamison Allanbrook, *Rhythmic Gesture in Mozart: Le Nozze Di Figaro & Don Giovanni* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 34; Hilton, "Minuet," 432; Meredith Ellis Little, "Minuet," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/18751>, accessed August 2 2014; Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach*, expanded ed. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991, 2001), 64-72; Kimiko Okamoto, "Metrical Structure of the Minuet: Relationships between Dance and Music in the Eighteenth Century" (paper presented at the On Common Ground 6: The Minuet in Time and Space conference, St Albans, 10-11 March 2007), 42-51; Sarah Bennett Reichart, "The Influence of Eighteenth-Century Social Dance on the Viennese Classical Style" (PhD, City University of New York, 1984), 134-137; and Tilden A. Russell and Dominique Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms, 2007), 3-5.

⁶⁰ This applies to the *menuet ordinaire*. See Hilton, "Minuet," 431-433; Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste*, 38-39, 147-148; Little, "Minuet"; Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 3-4; and Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 406-407.

⁶¹ See Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 121; Little, "Minuet"; Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 87; and Melusine Wood, *Historical Dances (Twelfth to Nineteenth Century): Their Manner of Performance and Their Place in the Social Life of the Time*, student's ed. (London: Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing Incorporated, 1964), 121.

of anxiety for debutantes for whom the dance was a display of skill.⁶² The minuet continued to be performed as the opening dance at court balls at St. James's Palace throughout the 1790s and was danced at prominent balls in London and Bath, while contemporary evidence points towards its performance in the provinces into the early years of the nineteenth century.⁶³ While it is difficult to ascertain what links the choreography of this period retained with the earlier minuet, at least one dance treatise from 1786 suggests that a similar pattern was followed.⁶⁴ Although considered "a refined expression of ritualistic courtship" between a man and a woman, the minuet was also consciously employed as a dance of display at elite girls' schools, either in solo, couple or group format (see Figure 4).⁶⁵ Francis Peacock (1723-1807),

⁶² See Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 29-30; Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 122, 127; Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 2-3; Rust, *Dance in Society*, 60, 62; and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 92, 103, 106.

⁶³ See Fawcett, "Provincial Dancing Masters," 135-138; "Provincial Dancing Masters: A Postscript," 194; "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 30; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 35, 39-41; Rogers, *The Quadrille. A Practical Guide to Its Origin, Development and Performance*, 13; Rust, *Dance in Society*, 60-61; and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 93-94, 98. Sophia Baker (1781-1858), daughter of William Baker M.P. (1743-1824), of Bayfordbury in Hertfordshire, mentioned the minuet, including a performance by herself, in diary entries for September 9 and October 20, 1804. See diaries of Sophia Trower (née Baker), Add Mss 7472, West Sussex Record Office and Archives.

⁶⁴ See Madeleine Inglehearn, *The Minuet in the Late Eighteenth Century, with a Reprint of S.J. Gardiner's A Dancing Master's Instruction Book 1786* (London: Madeleine Inglehearn, 1998), 10-22. Francis Peacock's 1805 publication indicates that at least the rising and sinking feature of the minuet was still retained. See Francis Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing; as a Necessary Accomplishment to the Youth of Both Sexes; Together with Remarks on the Defects and Bad Habits They Are Liable to in Early Life; and the Best Means of Correcting or Preventing Them. Intended as Hints to the Young Teachers of the Art of Dancing* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co., 1805), 126-128. However, A.H. Franks submitted that the minuet in the nineteenth century was a "far more artificial and mincing" dance than its eighteenth-century forebear. See Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 81, 126 and also Hilton, "Minuet," 433. For a discussion of some nineteenth-century minuet choreographies and their departure from the earlier eighteenth-century form, see Elizabeth Aldrich, Sandra Noll Hammond, and Armand Russell, *The Extraordinary Dance Book T.B. 1826: An Anonymous Manuscript in Facsimile*, Dance & Music Series No. 11 (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 2000), 13-18.

⁶⁵ For the quotation, see Hilton, "Minuet," 432. On the different forms of the minuet, see Elizabeth Aldrich, "Social Dancing in Schubert's World," in *Schubert's Vienna*, ed. Raymond Erickson (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 125-127; Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," 41-42; Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 121-122, 125-126; Hilton, "Minuet," 432-433; and Wood, *Historical Dances (Twelfth to Nineteenth Century): Their Manner of Performance and Their Place in the Social Life of the Time*, 121. For further discussion of the minuet in the context of elite girls' education, see chapter 3, pp. 181-184. For an eighteenth-century precursor to the nineteenth-century solo minuet, see Moira Goff, "Seductive Decorum: The Solo Minuet for a Girl!" (paper presented at the On Common Ground 6: The Minuet in Time and Space conference, St Albans, 10-11 March 2007), 5-13. For a description of the courtship ritual of the minuet, see Tardif, "A Cultural

writing in 1805, still regarded learning the minuet as important in forming “a foundation for the superstructure of those graces which distinguish people of fashion, and good breeding” and explicitly associated the dance with performance by young ladies on the cusp of womanhood, while the author of *The Mirror of the Graces* observed “that there is something in the harmonious and undulating movements of the minuet particularly pleasing to my idea of female grace and dignity...”⁶⁶



FIGURE 4. *THE MINUET*, PRINT BY SAMUEL COUSINS AFTER JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, 1868
© TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 89; Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 150; and Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 398-399, 405.

⁶⁶ See *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 185 and Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 74, 82-83, the latter quoted in Elizabeth Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 137. George Ware, writing at the same time as Peacock, referred to the “almost neglected and despised *minuet*”, and affirmed its use only at court, although he lamented its demise. See George Ware, *Sketches & Observations on the Necessity and Importance of Early Tuition in the Art of Dancing, Recommended to the Attention of Parents and Guardians* (London: Printed by A. Macpherson, 1805), 18-19.

Overlapping with the wane of the generic minuet (*menuet ordinaire*) in the late eighteenth century was the *menuet de la cour*, a figured dance that reigned for approximately 150 years. Unlike the *menuet ordinaire*, the *menuet de la cour* comprised “a specific choreography danced to a specific tune” and while it retained some structural elements of the former, the typical Z shapes were replaced by “symmetrical figures” that increased the variety and technical challenges of the dance.⁶⁷ It additionally employed an irregular bar structure that was historically subject to some alteration, although Tilden Russell and Dominique Bourassa have argued that such metrical intricacies enhanced the aesthetic value of the dance for performers and spectators.⁶⁸ The *menuet de la cour* originated in the theatre, with the music composed by André Ernest Modeste Grétry (1741-1813) for his ballet-héroïque, *Céphale et Procris* (1773), before being subsequently utilised in Maximilien Gardel’s (1741-1787) ballet-pantomime, *Ninette à la Cour* (1777), where the minuet served as a piquant display of status within the plot. Throughout the nineteenth century, the *menuet de la cour* was linked with the *Gavotte de Vestris*, which also had theatrical origins.⁶⁹ Described as “one of the finest dances in the world”, the *menuet de la cour* quickly transferred to the ballroom, placing heavy demands on the performer:

The steps should be done in perfect time, and the *contours* of the whole must be consistent with the graces; the movement of the arms must be particularly studied, being continually in motion, and describe either gracefulness, or intolerable awkwardness; there is no medium in this dance, it must be danced with elegance and ease, or not attempted.

Holding a poor opinion of the state of the dance in England, however, the same author lambasted the “distortion” and “ridiculous attitudes” brought to it by teachers, and the “murder” wrought on it by foreign dancers.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 1, 5, 144.

⁶⁸ See Tilden A. Russell, “Minuet Form and Phraseology in Recueils and Manuscript Tunebooks,” *Journal of Musicology* 17, no. 3 (1999): 410-413, 419 and Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 21-24.

⁶⁹ For the theatrical history of the *menuet de la cour*, see *The Menuet De La Cour*, 5-15. The *Gavotte de Vestris* appeared in Grétry’s 1785 comédie lyrique, *Panurge dans l’île des lanternes*, while both the *menuet de la cour* and *Gavotte de Vestris* were included in Etienne Nicholas Méhul’s (1763-1817) ballet-pantomime, *La Dansomanie* (1800).

⁷⁰ “A New Treatise on the Art of Dancing,” *The Lady’s Magazine*, February 1785, 99 and June 1785, 311, partially quoted in *The Menuet De La Cour*, 7-8 and Tardif, “A Cultural History of Social Dance among the

Waltz

*The waltz, when well danced to a gentle measure, is one of the most graceful of dances – as interesting, or nearly so, as the Allemande dance; but the fashionable scamper that has now usurped the name, is neither Waltz, Sautuse [sic], Polonaise, nor any thing that can be legitimately styled a dance. It is nothing in short, but an outright romp – as destitute of figure or variety as the motion of a horse in a mill.*⁷¹

The waltz was one of the most provocative and yet abiding dances of the nineteenth century, the relative simplicity of its form belying the gendered moral discourse that sprang up on account of the physical proximity it encouraged between partners and concerns about its deleterious effects on health.⁷² The ancestry of the waltz is tied to the rise in the mid eighteenth century of triple-meter turning dances located in Germany, Austria and Bohemia, generically denominated *deutsche* or *allemande*, performed by couples employing entwining movements of the hands and a physical clasp.⁷³ Although the waltz was popular on the continent at the turn of the nineteenth century, and elements of the waltz step and *allemande* arm movements were incorporated into country dance and cotillion repertoire, it was not until

Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 91.

⁷¹ G. Yates, *The Ball; or, a Glance at Almack's in 1829* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 55, quoted in Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 65.

⁷² On gendered aspects of the waltz, see Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, chapter 5 and Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound*, viii, chapters 3 and 6.

⁷³ This history is recounted across many sources. Recent encyclopaedia entries include Cliff Eisen, "German Dance," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10937>, accessed July 31 2014; Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "Allemande," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 45-47; Andrew Lamb, "Waltz (i)," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29881>, accessed July 31 2014; and Desmond F. Strobel, "Waltz," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 6 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 359-360. Older dance histories that discuss the waltz's roots include Mosco Carner, *The Waltz* (London: Max Parrish & Co., 1948), 10-12, 16, 22; Eduard Reeser, *The History of the Waltz*, trans. W.A.G. Doyle-Davidson (Stockholm: The Continental Book Company, 1949); and Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 427-429. A modern summary of its derivation is provided by Mark Knowles while Derek B. Scott addressed stylistic differences between the waltz and the Ländler. See Mark Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances: Outrage at Couple Dancing in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries* (Jefferson and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 17-23 and Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, 118-120. For a description of the early waltz and its precursors, see Aldrich, "Social Dancing in Schubert's World," 132-135 and Reichart, "The Influence of Eighteenth-Century Social Dance on the Viennese Classical Style," 286-365.

approximately 1812 that the waltz appeared at Almack's assembly rooms as a so-called close-hold dance.⁷⁴ In 1816 it appeared to receive royal sanction, being performed at a ball hosted by the Prince Regent at Carlton House; however, the *London Times* launched a crushing attack as a consequence, objecting vociferously to the dance on behalf of English female modesty:

We remarked with pain that the indecent foreign dance, called the *Waltz*, was introduced (we believe for the first time) at the English Court on Friday week...National morals depend on national habits; and it is quite sufficient to cast one's eyes on the voluptuous intertwining of the limbs, and close compressure of the bodies, in this dance, to see that it is far indeed removed from the modest reserve which has hitherto been considered distinctive of English females. So long as this obscene display was confined to prostitutes and adultresses [sic], we did not think it deserving of notice; but now that it is attempted to be forced on the *respectable* classes of society by the evil example of their superiors, we feel it a duty to warn every parent against exposing his daughter to so fatal a contagion.⁷⁵

The same year, Thomas Wilson published *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, in which he carefully distanced the English style of waltzing from that (presumably more disreputable form) practised in other countries, emphasising the dance as "a spectacle of graceful beauty" (see Figure 5).⁷⁶ Despite Wilson's intervention – and he was not the only author to praise the waltz – it was still subject to cautiousness and opprobrium through until at least mid-century, with Donald Walker advising it could cause "syncofes,

⁷⁴ See Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 18-19; Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 130; Harris-Warrick, "Allemande," 47; Lamb, "Waltz (I)"; Reeser, *The History of the Waltz*, 29; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 42, 63-64; and Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 431-432. Moira Goff has drawn attention to the presence of the waltz in newspaper correspondence in 1811. See Goff, "Dancing and Assemblies," 133.

⁷⁵ "Dance Called the Waltz," *London Times*, July 16, 1816, printed in "COURT AND FASHIONABLES. GRAND ENTERTAINMENT AT CARLTON-HOUSE," *Examiner*, July 21, 1816 and quoted in Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 129; Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances*, 32; Rust, *Dance in Society*, 69; and Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 136-137.

⁷⁶ Thomas Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing* (London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1816), 52, see also 29-32. See additionally Carner, *The Waltz*, 21; Lamb, "Waltz (i)"; and Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound*, 10.

spasms and other accidents" in delicate women and Mary Fitz George labelling the *valse à deux temps* as "graceless and vulgar."⁷⁷

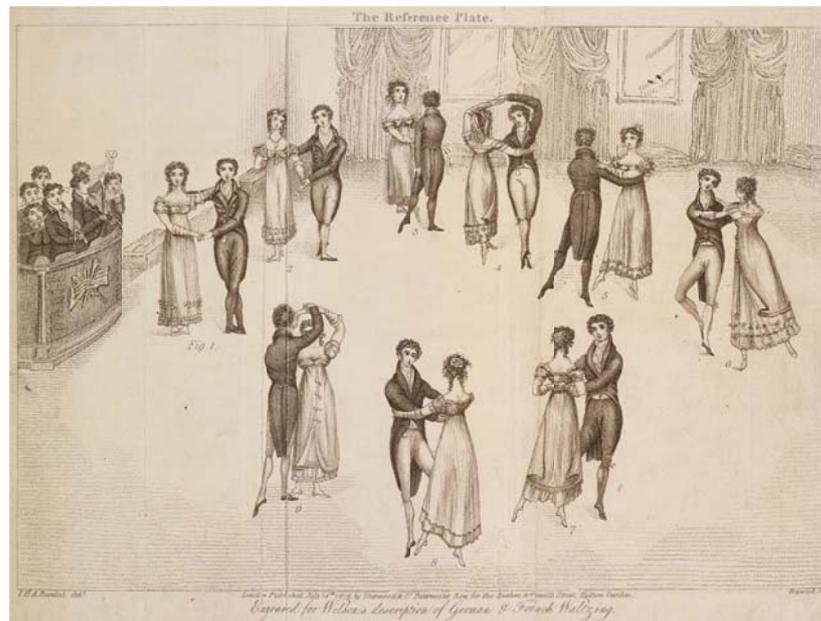


FIGURE 5. *DESCRIPTION OF THE ATTITUDES AND MOVEMENTS IN GERMAN AND FRENCH WALTZING* FROM THOMAS WILSON'S *A DESCRIPTION OF THE CORRECT METHOD OF WALTZING*, 1816. SOURCE: <http://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-ball-in-the-novels-of-jane-austen>.

Both the waltz and its music were predicated on a basic simplicity that enabled the dance to flexibly incorporate variety. While Thomas Wilson articulated four different types of waltzes that afforded diversity in step and tempo, in the 1840s the *valse à deux temps* reigned supreme, the simplification of footwork giving dancers greater freedom to adjust the motion

⁷⁷ See Donald Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles* (London: Thomas Hurst, 1836), 149 and Mary Fitz George, *Ball Room Refinement: An Essay on the Style of Dancing in 1850* (London: D. Lewis and Kent & Co., 1851), 17. For the former quoted in full, see Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 19-20. For further negative reactions to the waltz, including that proffered by Lord Byron, which predated the ball at Carlton House, see *ibid.*, 154-156; Carner, *The Waltz*, 20-21; Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, 14-16; Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 128-129, 156; Knowles, *The Wicked Waltz and Other Scandalous Dances*, 51-58; Lamb, "Waltz (i)"; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 63-64; Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 430-433; Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 174-175; and Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound*, 5-10, the latter of whom focused on how the discourse was skewed towards women.

and direction of the dance.⁷⁸ With the exception of the Cellarius waltz, which sought to combine the mazurka and waltz across five steps, the full waltz turn was executed over six beats (i.e. two bars of music), although with differing divisions of steps.⁷⁹ Despite the contemporary abhorrence expressed over the closeness of the waltz hold, a certain degree of intimacy was required for dancers to maintain their position as they circled around the room, particularly given the increase in tempo as the century progressed.⁸⁰ Wilson recommended that waltzes be played “tenderly and distinctly”, requesting that the beginning of each bar be emphasised, “which more clearly marks the time for the DANCERS, and enables them, in performing the several MOVEMENTS, to keep a REGULAR PACE with the MUSIC”, without which “the beauty and effect altogether will be completely destroyed...”⁸¹ The music that Wilson included in his manual bears some resemblance to the earlier *deutsche* forms, which comprised two eight-bar repeated phrases in 3/8 or 3/4 time, although Wilson indicated that dances composed in 3/8 were “much MORE LIVELY” and therefore desired.⁸² He attested to the popularity of the musical form,

⁷⁸ Wilson described the Slow French Waltz, Sauteuse Waltz, Quick Sauteuse Waltz and German Waltz, the first of which became known as the *valse à trois temps*. See Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*; Carner, *The Waltz*, 24; and Strobel, “Waltz,” 360. Henri Cellarius espoused the benefits of the *valse à deux temps* over the *valse à trois temps*. See Henri Cellarius, *Fashionable Dancing* (London: David Bogue, 1847), 33; *The Drawing-Room Dances* (London: E. Churton, 1847), 33; and Strobel, “Waltz,” 361-362.

⁷⁹ The *valse à deux temps* consisted of two steps across three beats of music, hence the characterisation of the name. See Strobel, “Waltz,” 361 and Andrew Lamb, “Valse À Deux Temps,” *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28957>, accessed 31 July 2014. For a pictorial illustration of the circles circumscribed by the dancers, see Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound*, 18-19.

⁸⁰ Sevin Yaraman described a “firm embrace” as “an absolute physical necessity” for the couple to maintain their integrity as a unit during the dance. There would appear to be some ambiguity regarding the tightness of the hold. See *Reform Your Waltzing. The True Theory of the Rhenish or Spanish Waltz, and of the German Waltz À Deux Temps, Analysed and Explained for the First Time*, (London: Printed for Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1843), 18-19, 37; Cellarius, *Fashionable Dancing*, 36; *The Drawing-Room Dances*, 35; Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 131; Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, 51; and Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound*, 6, 9-10.

⁸¹ Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, 56, quoted in Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 129.

⁸² Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, 54. See additionally Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 18; Carner, *The Waltz*, 25-26; Eisen, “German Dance”; Andrew Lamb, “Waltz (i),”; Harris-Warrick, “Allemande,” 46; Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 433-434; and Strobel, “Waltz,” 361. Derek Carew has drawn attention to the freedom that the simplicity of waltz-type music gave for improvisation. See Derek Carew, *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760-1850* (Burlington and Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 550-551.

complaining "that Waltzing having become so FASHIONABLE, has afforded a stimulus to composers, to employ their talent in the COMPOSITION of WALTZES; and, though VERY FEW musical composers have a sufficient knowledge of DANCING, to enable them to understand the nature or composition of Waltzing; yet, their productions, if composed in three-eight or three-four, whether adapted to Waltzing or not, are almost invariably without hesitation denominated WALTZES."⁸³ In this separation of function, the genre of the waltz as music, ingeniously illustrated by Carl Maria von Weber's (1786-1826) *Aufforderung zum Tanz* (Invitation to the Dance), composed just three years after Wilson's publication, potentially blurred the boundaries between the ballroom and the drawing room, through compositions that maintained musical integrity and yet retained a danceable structure.⁸⁴

Polka

*It is only a few weeks since the Polka was heard of, for the first time, in London, as a novelty which had suddenly turned the heads, as well as the heels, of the whole Parisian population...Already it is nightly exhibited at all our theatres, from the Opera-house to the smallest of the minors; the newspapers teem with advertisements from teachers of dancing, announcing that they teach the Polka in true Parisian style, and by-and-by, in every soirée dansante, from Almack's to the slightest carpet-dance to the pianoforte, there will be nothing but the Polka.*⁸⁵

Reputedly of Bohemian origin, although its exact inception is unclear, the polka bounced into London via Paris in 1844, appearing in ballrooms and on the stage.⁸⁶ A jaunty couple dance, it was described as comprising a

⁸³ Wilson, *A Description of the Correct Method of Waltzing*, 55.

⁸⁴ See Carner, *The Waltz*, 28-31; Lamb, "Waltz (i)"; Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, 140-142; and Lawrence M. Zbikowski, "Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Musicological Research*, no. 31 (2012): 150. On the interconnections between the waltz as dance and the waltz as music, see Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound*, chapter 2.

⁸⁵ "MUSIC. *The Royal Polkas, for the Pianoforte*, composed by LABITZKY, LANNER, and STRAUSS. - Cocks and Co.," *John Bull*, June 1 1844, 344.

⁸⁶ For various histories of the polka, see Gracian Černušák, Andrew Lamb, and John Tyrrell, "Polka," *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22020>, accessed July 29 2014; Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*, 134-139; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 81-89; Rust, *Dance in Society*, 72-75; Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 434-436; and Desmond F. Stobel, "Polka," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 5

combination of “the intimacy of the waltz with the vivacity of the Irish jig” (see Figure 6).⁸⁷ Originally encompassing ten separate figures, five of which were incorporated into genteel society dancing, it was eventually reduced to a simple rotatory movement whereby couples turned on their own axis whilst circling around the room.⁸⁸ Henri Cellarius advocated a holding position comparable to that of the waltz, the gentleman embracing his partner’s waist with “a certain degree of vigour”, ensuring that she was “neither too near nor too distant from him” as “too great a proximity would be contrary to the laws of propriety and grace; while too great a distance would render very difficult, if not impossible, the turns and evolutions which form part of this dance.”⁸⁹ Performed to music in 2/4 time at a moderate tempo, the steps were divided across four beats characterised by groupings of quavers and semiquavers:

The gentleman begins with a slight spring on his right foot, at the same time sliding the left foot forward. This is the first movement (the toe of the left foot being pointed outward, and the heel pointed towards the right foot). The right foot is then brought up to where the left is, at the same time raising the left foot. This is the second movement. Then fall on the left foot, raising the right foot behind. This is the third movement. After a rest of one quaver, spring with the left foot, and slide the right

(New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 221-223. On the impact of the polka’s arrival in London and its cultural context, see Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, 1-8 and 187 (note 14) and Libby Smigel, "Minds Mad for Dancing: Polkomania on the London Stage," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 30, no. 3 (1996): 197-207.

⁸⁷ See *Times*, March 14, 1844, quoted in Rust, *Dance in Society*, 73. The citation is also included in “THE POLKA DANCE,” *Illustrated London News*, March 23, 1844. The following month, the *Illustrated London News* was more critical, calling the polka “a hybrid confusion of Scotch Lilt, Irish Jig and Bohemian Waltz...only to be seen once to be avoided for ever”. See *ibid.*, 74 and Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 87-88.

⁸⁸ See Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 434-435; Smigel, "Minds Mad for Dancing: Polkomania on the London Stage," 198; and Strobel, "Polka," 222. For descriptions of the ten figures, see *A Guide to the Ball Room, and Illustrated Polka Lesson Book: Being a Complete Compendium of the Etiquette of Dancing, with the Figures of All the Quadrilles, Gallopades, Mazourkas, Polonaises, Waltzes, Valse a Deux Temps, Polkas, etc. etc.*, (London: C. Mitchell, 1845?), 79-91 and "The Polka Taught without the Aid of a Master," *The World of Fashion, and Monthly Magazine of the Courts of London and Paris; Fashions and Literature, Music, Fine Arts, the Opera and the Theatres*, July 1 1844, 159-161, the latter of which is quoted in Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 172, 178.

⁸⁹ Cellarius, *Fashionable Dancing*, 21-22. See also *The Drawing-Room Dances*, 21, for a similar description.

forward, thus reversing the movement, and do as before with the opposite feet.⁹⁰

The basis of the polka step was already in the repertoire, bearing some resemblance to Scottish dancing, while the revolutions were of course familiar from the waltz.⁹¹ While authors of dance manuals propounded the polka as an “elegant, graceful, and fascinating” dance, and advised dancers “not to indulge in those steps which border on theatrical dancing”, Charles Knox painted a picture that suggested wild physical exuberance: “Every ball room was like a whirlpool; dancing more resembled the driving home from the Derby than any thing else; the collisions rivalled in frequency and severity, those of the railways before the iron infants had learned how to behave themselves. The price of fans rose frightfully, partly from the pressing necessity for them, and partly from the enormous destruction of them in the melee.”⁹² As with other dances, the polka step was adaptable to form hybrid genres, such as the polka-quadrille, polka-mazurka and polka-cotillion.⁹³

⁹⁰ Henderson, *Etiquette of the Ball-Room, and Guide to the New and Fashionable Dances*, 41-42. The completion of four beats of music coincided with the couple turning 180°, with the woman performing the same steps on the reverse feet. While Curt Sachs gave a tempo of crotchet = 88, Henri Cellarius indicated a faster speed of crotchet = 104. The author of *The Book of Fashionable Life* considered that the polka was “played more slowly than the Galop.” See Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 434; Cellarius, *Fashionable Dancing*, 23; *The Drawing-Room Dances*, 22; *The Book of Fashionable Life Comprising the Etiquette of the Drawing Room, Dining Room, and Ball Room, by a Member of the Royal Household*, (London: H. Cunningham, 1845), 111, and additionally Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, 171, note 8, who suggested that a slow tempo would increase the physical movement required. On the musical characteristics of the polka, including phrase structure, see Černušák, Lamb, and Tyrrell, “Polka”; Nettl, *The Story of Dance Music*, 281; and Strobel, “Polka,” 221.

⁹¹ See Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 435 and Strobel, “Polka,” 222.

⁹² See *A Guide to the Ball Room, and Illustrated Polka Lesson Book*, 91, quoted in Rust, *Dance in Society*, 74; *The Ball-Room Polka, Polka Cotillon, and Valse À Deux Temps; as Taught by Mons. E. Coulon...with the Most Esteemed Quadrilles, Galopades, Mazourkas, and Other Fashionable Dances*, (London: David Bogue, 1844), 15 and Charles Henry Knox, *The Spirit of the Polka; Being an Historical and Analytical Disquisition on the Prevailing Epidemic, Its Origin and Mission* (London: John Ollivier, 1845), 35, the latter of which is quoted in Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 156-157.

⁹³ See *The Ball-Room Polka, Polka Cotillon, and Valse À Deux Temps; as Taught by Mons. E. Coulon*, 19-23; *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 162, 170, 182-183; Cellarius, *Fashionable Dancing*, 25; *The Drawing-Room Dances*, 24-25; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 100; Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, 436; Saunders, *Rock's Ball-Room Hand Book*, 39-42; Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, 71-73; and Strobel, “Polka,” 222.

THE POLKA DANCE.



THE BOHEMIAN POLKA.



THE PARTHIAN POLKA.

P O L K A D A N C E .

COMPOSED BY JACQUES OFFENBACH.

FIGURE 6. *POLKA DANCE* BY JACQUES OFFENBACH, PRINTED IN THE *ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS*, MARCH 23, 1844 (ORIGINAL IN THE AUTHOR'S POSSESSION).⁹⁴

⁹⁴ I am very grateful to Dr Penelope Cave for the use of this item.

Galop (Galopade)

...some of the more spirited of the dancers, especially among the male sex, often dash against the ropes in the midst of the gallopade, and sometimes, by the rebound, are thrown prostrate on the floor. There would be no harm in this, if they were themselves the only parties who suffered from their "rushing,"... but the evil is, that others, and ladies too, suffer as well as themselves. When they are thrown down on the floor, it not unfrequently happens that they prove a stumbling-block to some "charming young lady," who, before she is aware, falls over them, and is stretched in the same horizontal posture as themselves.⁹⁵

Described as "possibly the simplest dance ever introduced into the ballroom", the galop arrived in London in the late 1820s as a "wild romp" that found its way into both ballets and balls.⁹⁶ A physically exacting dance, the galop was quick, with accentuation at the beginning of each bar driving it forward.⁹⁷ It owed a small debt to the waltz in the way a couple embraced, but although it could involve turning movements, it was principally performed by employing *chassés* to "gallop-hard" across the floor, a circumstance that potentially rendered staying upright something of a challenge (see Figure 7).⁹⁸ The galop was utilised as a concluding dance in balls, and was also incorporated into country dances and quadrilles.⁹⁹ Dancers were advised to "assume a sprightly attitude" and no more than sixteen couples were

⁹⁵ James Grant, *The Great Metropolis*, second series, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837), 35.

⁹⁶ For the quotations, see Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 69 and Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 116, respectively. For an overview of the galop and its musical incorporation, see Andrew Lamb, "Galop," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10589>, accessed July 31 2014.

⁹⁷ See Lamb, "Galop" and Pauline Norton and Elizabeth Aldrich, "Galop," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/A2249615>, accessed July 31 2014.

⁹⁸ See Andrew Lamb, "Galop"; Pauline Norton and Elizabeth Aldrich, "Galop"; and Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 69. For the quotation, see "REFINEMENT," *Bristol Mercury*, December 24, 1836.

⁹⁹ For some contemporary sources, see *The Fashionable Quadrille Preceptor, Containing the Most Popular Quadrilles & Other Dances of the Present Season*, 33-36; *The Ball-Room Polka, Polka Cotillon, and Valse À Deux Temps; as Taught by Mons. E. Coulon*, 51-54; Henderson, *Etiquette of the Ball-Room, and Guide to the New and Fashionable Dances*, 83; Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room*, 5-8 of additional material; Saunders, *Rock's Ball-Room Hand Book*, 30-32; and Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, 54-56. See additionally Lamb, "Galop" and Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 61, 70, 77.

recommended for these combined dances, as a greater number was "apt to occasion confusion."¹⁰⁰

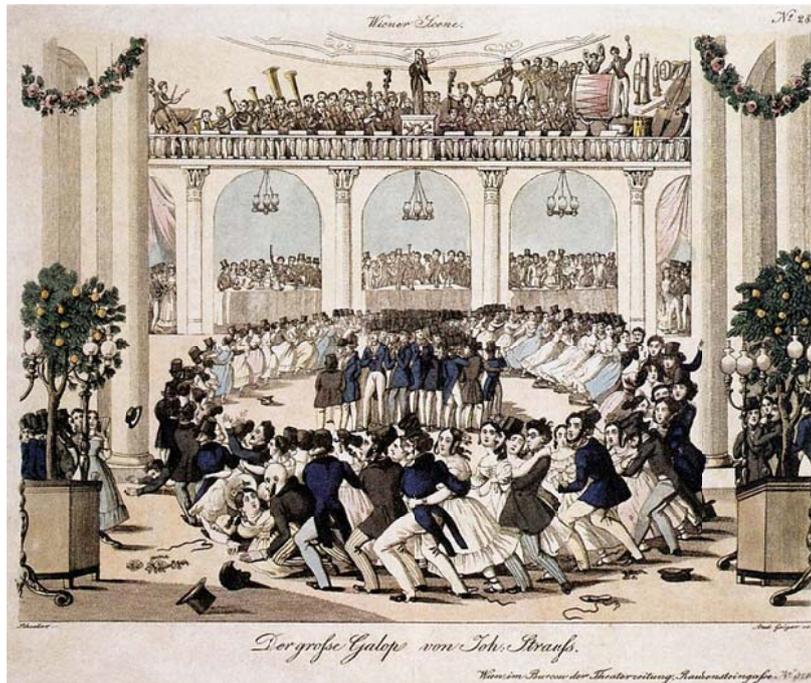


FIGURE 7. *DER GROSSE GALOPP VON JOH. STRAUSS*, ENGRAVING BY ANDREAS GEIGER AFTER JOHANN CHRISTIAN SCHOELLER, 1839. SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

Women and the Consumption of Dance Music

The production of dance music for domestic consumption enabled women to engage with dances they knew from the ballroom as auditors and performers. The accessibility of dance music in a variety of visual and aural formats meant that, as a genre, it had the potential to infiltrate daily life through a range of mediums. A plethora of dance music passed through the hands of music publishers, while consumers could also avail themselves of printed music that appeared in newspapers and popular magazines.¹⁰¹ Dance

¹⁰⁰ Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, 54.

¹⁰¹ For example, *The Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror* published simple, concise quadrilles and waltzes in the mid 1820s, but also incorporated arrangements from works such as Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz* (see "THE ECHO WALTZ, FROM WEBER'S OPERA OF "DER FREYSCHUTZ," Arranged for the Piano-Forte," *The Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror*, October 5 1824, 118-119, accessed via <http://search.proquest.com/docview/2751075/fulltext/1?accountid=13963>, August 10 2014) and reprints of dances that appeared in popular collections (see "MISS PATON'S WALTZ," *The Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror*, January 31 1826, accessed via <http://search.proquest.com/docview/2756613/fulltext/1?accountid=13963>, August 10 2014,

fans, in addition to containing figures, sometimes also included the tunes in musical notation, acting as both a summary of fashionable dances and a quick prompt.¹⁰² For those who couldn't afford to hire a dance band for private functions or who were limited by space but wished for a fuller sound, several musical instruments were available for the purpose: the Royal Orchestrina and the Choremusicon were both advertised as offering the timbral possibilities of a quadrille band under the hands of a single performer.¹⁰³ Dancing master Edward Payne advertised his invention of a "Quadrille Organ", which performed "with the greatest precision a complete set of Quadrilles, without shifting the Barrel, having the effect of a Band..."¹⁰⁴ In addition to such instruments, which potentially served distinct practical purposes, dance music was also included in the repertoire of more figurative devices like musical clocks, although these too could be put to functional use.¹⁰⁵

Periodical publications often furnished reviews of recently issued dance music and while these literary snippets were incisive in their criticism, they also painted a vivid picture of the cultural assumptions surrounding the genre. The leitmotif of compositions of limited musical scope and performers of restricted technical ability occurred often, within which women were sometimes directly

purportedly derived from *Wheatstone's Annual Selection of Popular Dances*). Similar examples can be seen in *The Lady's Monthly Museum, or Polite Repository of Amusement and Instruction* and *The Musical World*.

¹⁰² See Lionel Cust, *Catalogue of the Collection of Fans and Fan-Leaves Presented to the Trustees of the British Museum by the Lady Charlotte Schreiber* (London: Longmans & Co.; B. Quaritch; Asher & Co.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.; and Henry Frowde, 1893), 4, 10, 11, 13, 35, 86.

¹⁰³ See, for example, "QUADRILLE PARTIES, BALLS, &c. – The ROYAL ORCHESTRINA," *Morning Post*, April 25, 1845; "THE CHOREMUSICON," *Morning Post*, May 5, 1840; and "SOIREES DANSANTES. – The ROYAL CHOREMUSICON," *Morning Post*, May 10, 1845.

¹⁰⁴ Payne, *The Quadrille Dancer, Explaining Every Requisite to the Attainment of the Steps and Figures, Including All the Fashionable Figures, in French and English, to Which Is Added Instructions for Spanish Dancing*, [136]. Payne's invention contained a curiously mixed repertoire: "Barrels may be set which have an excellent effect; containing Spanish Dances, Waltzes, Country Dances, Sacred Music or the most difficult pieces, from the extent of scale, requisite to perform Quadrilles." The barrel organ that accompanied Sir William Edward Parry (1790-1855) on his explorations in the Arctic contains several dance tunes (*Parry's Barrel Organ. John Longman's New Invented Patent Barrel Organ with bells, drum and triangle. The historic instrument which entertained the crew and eskimos on Sir William Edward Parry's Arctic expeditions in the early 19th Century*. 1972. Compact disc. Saydisc. CD-SDL 234), as does an extant barrel organ at Calke Abbey.

¹⁰⁵ See Gary R. Sullivan and Kate Van Winkle Keller, "Eighteenth-Century Hit Parade," *Magazine Antiques* 180, no. 5 (2013): 132-139 and *Keeping Time: Musical Clocks of Early America 1730-1830, Exhibit Catalog* (North Grafton: The Willard House & Clock Museum, 2013), 12, 16-19, 23-26, 28-29, 31, 33, 41, 44, 46, 48.

implicated.¹⁰⁶ But these reviews also illuminated the extent to which such music was intended for dancing, and the degree to which dance was omnipresent in the lives of women. A playful and somewhat tongue-in-cheek preface to the review of a series of quadrilles in *The Musical World* offered "our fair dancing friends" a selection of quadrilles designed to dispel the tedium of a cold winter's day. The reviewers teasingly deferred to the fair sex in a lightly cloaked but damning critique of both dance music and girlish taste: "It will be sufficient to indicate which of the following are most fitting for the purpose for which they were concocted, for if they be not "trifles light as air," they are not legitimate, and if they be trifles they should be safe from stern criticism. Young ladies, are we not right?" The review of the subsequent compositions was no heavier than the trifles alluded to.¹⁰⁷ A more serious appraisal of a set of quadrilles by Joseph Binns Hart (1794-1844), arranged for piano duet and harp by Neville Butler Challoner (1784-after 1835), succinctly depicted practical music-making by women for the purposes of dancing:

THIS arrangement of Hart's popular Quadrilles must be singularly useful and acceptable; - for in large evening parties, where more ladies are assembled than can be formed into sets for dancing, and as all our accomplished countrywomen can play upon the harp or piano-forte, (or both,) *all* may be employed to the advantage of *all*, a convenience and pleasure we have satisfactorily experienced.¹⁰⁸

Both of these reviews highlight, in differing ways, the close connections that existed between women's music-making and dance, and touch on the uncomfortable contradiction that despite the trivial nature of the music and its association with feminine frippery, women were rendering through such music a service of great social value. Indeed, that some women depended on this

¹⁰⁶ See, for example, ""The Birthday Waltz," for the Pianoforte, Composed by J.L. MOMBACH," *The Musical World*, December 4 1847, 776, via <http://search.proquest.com/docview/7469817/fulltext/1?accountid=13963>, accessed August 11 2014, in which the reviewer observed: "As this waltz is dedicated to a lady, it is to be supposed that Mr. Mombach wrote it as simply as possible. The set is capitally adapted for dancing."

¹⁰⁷ "REVIEW. QUADRILLES," *The Musical World*, February 23 1843, 78, via <http://search.proquest.com/docview/7819045/fulltext/1?accountid=13963>, accessed 11 August 2014.

¹⁰⁸ "Hart's Thirteenth Set of Quadrilles, Selected from Matthew Locke's Original Music in Macbeth, Including the Favourite Isabel Waltz, Arranged as Duets for Two Performers on the Piano-Forte, with an Accompaniment for the Harp (Ad Lib.), by N.B. Challoner," *The Athenaeum and Literary Chronicle*, April 15 1829, 232, via <http://search.proquest.com/docview/8718997/fulltext/1?accountid=13963>, accessed August 11 2014.

form of music-making for income is suggested in newspaper advertisements publicising their ability to perform at parties.¹⁰⁹

Music-Making and Dance in the English Country House

As a physical and metaphorical representation of the economic and cultural power of the landed elite, the English country house acted as a living repository for a multitude of art forms.¹¹⁰ While the aristocracy's devotion to cultural expression included the collection and display of fine and decorative arts, and the architectural design of the country house itself, elite landowners also invested in more ephemeral art forms, such as music, dance and theatre.¹¹¹ Dana Arnold has suggested that the English country house is "a text that can be read and which is in turn a cultural artefact."¹¹² In order to read the text of such houses more fully and to understand the extent to which they functioned as "cultural artefact[s]", it is necessary to consider the role that these transient arts played in shaping the social identity of the upper classes.¹¹³ The concept of the elite practice of leisure provides a key for unlocking the value that stands behind such objects as musical scores, for although the country house was a site for material display, it also fostered the pursuit of

¹⁰⁹ See an advertisement in *Morning Post*, April 18, 1840: "EVENING PARTIES ATTENDED by a Lady, who is fully qualified for playing Quadrilles, &c., on the most reasonable terms; likewise Lessons in Singing, Music, and Dancing, exceedingly moderate, by lesson or quarterly."

¹¹⁰ See Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House. Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 16-17, 101; Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 2, 4, 26, 28-30, 48, 179, 181; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 3, 12, 180; Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 3-4, 7-8; and Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2000), xvii, 1, 54-55, 240.

¹¹¹ See Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 283, 285-289; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 191, 199, 201, 203, 218, 236; M.H. Port, "Town House and Country House: Their Interaction," in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. Dana Arnold (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 137; and Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 55-56. On the notion of the country house as a stage for the performance of elite culture, see Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 16 and Leena Asha Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2012), 12.

¹¹² Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, xiii.

¹¹³ Arnold argued that to develop an understanding of the significance of the country house, "it is necessary to relate it to the specific social, political, economic and cultural milieu within which it existed and functioned." The cultural milieu, of course, included art forms such as music-making and dance. See *ibid.*

pleasure.¹¹⁴ Mimi Hellman described the cooperative relationship that existed between luxury furniture and aristocratic bodies as the “work of leisure”, a phrase that encapsulated how “the leisure acts of privileged society” served to create elite identity:

...although leisured conduct was meant to appear natural and easy, it was in fact constructed, learned, and very much worked at...The work of leisure...mobilized objects made and distributed by others as materials for...the apparently effortless fabrication of elite identity itself, an ephemeral product that was as highly crafted as any artful object.¹¹⁵

By locating the construction of gentility not just in the ownership of decorative objects that facilitated leisured occupations, but also through the bodily performances crafted by such objects, Hellman gave the inanimate agency in fashioning cultural and social behaviour. As such, her “work of leisure” as a concept can be extended beyond eighteenth-century France, to encompass less tangible art forms in nineteenth-century Britain.

The performance of leisured activities not only moulded the design and function of country house interiors, it also enabled elite women to contribute significantly to the expression of aristocratic taste and culture. The advent of entertaining comprising a range of simultaneous activities, such as dancing, card playing and drinking tea, coincided with a number of changes in country house design: the development of a circuit of rooms through which guests could wander and engage in a range of visual and kinematic experiences; the transformation of the library into a communal living space that accommodated multiple leisured pursuits, including music; and the emergence of the music room as an architectural entity in its own right.¹¹⁶ Dana Arnold argued that if “the country house represents a distinct set of social and cultural values in which women played an important part there must be ways in which its form

¹¹⁴ See Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 274-275; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 5; and Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 56, 63. On music’s place amongst leisure pursuits, see Brooks, “Musical Monuments for the Country House,” 526, 531.

¹¹⁵ Mimi Hellman, “Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32, no. 4 (1999): 416.

¹¹⁶ See Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 83-84; Brooks, “Musical Monuments for the Country House,” 514, 528, 531, 534; Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 281, 288; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 179-180, 191, 193-195; Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985), 204; and Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 54-56, 62.

and function embody the feminine."¹¹⁷ While the specific contribution of women to country house interiors has been recognised through leisured crafts such as embroidery and print work, in addition to the general labour of choosing fabrics and collaborating on house design, their influence on the social spaces of the country house can also be seen in a broader light.¹¹⁸

Through their engagement with less tangible art forms such as music and dance, elite women contributed to the internal fabric of the country house via objects such as musical scores, and sound and bodily performance. Jeanice Brooks has identified how the collection and performance of music by women 'furnished' the country house in a number of ways, and in the process assisted to cultivate a distinctive musical heritage: the visual attractiveness of women's sheet music bindings enabled music to take its place on library shelves as a form of feminine artistic display; the compilation of such music into albums intersected with the collection of books devoted to engravings and illustrations, which themselves acted as prompts for conversation, making music a subject of social knowledge; and the acquisition and performance by women of Italian and "ancient music" repertoire provided a musical correlate to the exhibition of luxury Italian goods and aristocratic interest in antiquarianism.¹¹⁹ The infiltration of music into other areas such as the library, and the inclusion of the music room in the circuit of reception rooms, meant that music was highly visible to country house guests, both aurally and visually; likewise, the adoption of various rooms for the performance of dance collapsed distinctions in architectural utility, allowing women's bodily performance to be felt across various spaces.¹²⁰ Brooks suggested that music "requires sounding performance to bring it fully into play as a manifestation of

¹¹⁷ Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 85.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, *ibid.*, 85, 90-94, 99; Rosemary Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830* (London: Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), 3-4, 42-64; and Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), chapter 9.

¹¹⁹ Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 513-535. For a broader discussion of music collecting by women, see Brooks, "Les Collections Féminines d'Albums de Partitions dans l'Angleterre du Début du XIX^e Siècle," in *'La La La...Maistre Henri': Mélanges de Musicologie Offerts à Henri Vanhulst*, ed. Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 371-385. On music as one of many Italian imports to be collected at Tatton Park, see Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840," 99-137.

¹²⁰ On the library and music rooms, see Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 516, 525, 528-530, 534-535 and Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 246, 281, 288. On the diversity of interior spaces appropriated for dance, see chapter 2, pp. 145-146.

status and taste."¹²¹ As such, the performance of music, and indeed dance, by women, "cultivated a repertoire of visual, corporeal, and social practices and values," the enactment of which not only represented the "status and taste" of country house interiors, but also embodied elite femininity in their gestural vocabulary.¹²²

Contextualisation of Previous Scholarship

The very ephemerality of music and dance left little tangible evidence of their contribution towards country house cultural life, a situation that is reflected not just in their generalised absence from historical scholarship on the lives of the landed elite, but also in the relative dearth of research into the performance and contextualisation of dance music. Such apparent neglect perhaps stems from the marginality of social dance and its music across several disciplines. As a genre, music for early nineteenth-century social dance has lurked on the fringes of musicological scholarship. Eric McKee noted that "research in dance-music relations of the eighteenth century [is] still a relatively young field with many unexplored areas", but highlighted "a precipitous drop...concerning dance-music relations in the first half of the nineteenth century."¹²³ Indeed, given the proliferation of published domestic dance music during this period, its presence in general musical historiography is rather meagre.¹²⁴ McKee and Lawrence Zbikowski have both stressed a shift

¹²¹ Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 526.

¹²² Hellman, "Sociability, and the Work of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century France," 416.

¹²³ Eric McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz: A Study of Dance-Music Relations in 3/4 Time* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), 10.

¹²⁴ Nicholas Temperley covered approximately one hundred years of dance music, including music whose purpose was aural rather than physical, in seven and a half pages, of which two contained musical examples. Derek Carew briefly discussed dance music in Vienna through the *oeuvre* of canonic composers, although said little about the music itself. Richard Taruskin's sole reference to nineteenth-century dance music for the purpose of dancing was in relation to Schubert, although he included dance as an expression of nationalism. J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout and Claude V. Palisca mentioned dance in relation to the compositional output of Schubert and Chopin, as well as concerts given by Louis Jullien and Johann Strauss, Jr. (1825-1899), although social dance was specifically addressed in relation to Renaissance music. See Temperley, "Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music," 109-116; Derek Carew, "The Consumption of Music," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 251-256; Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 3, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 83-84, 242, 245, 357-360; and J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, eighth, international student ed. (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 269-271, 616, 623-624, 636, 660, 727.

in aesthetic thought that occurred during the nineteenth century that could account for such lack of interest; whereas an understanding of dance music was considered critical to the development of late eighteenth-century compositional technique and performance, little value was placed on such music that was essentially regarded as functional in purpose and bourgeois in nature as the nineteenth century progressed.¹²⁵ Zbikowski additionally argued that the physicality of nineteenth-century social dance contributed to its location "outside the pantheon of musical works deemed worthy of sustained attention" and that the "embodied knowledge" which formed the foundation of dance music effectively relegated it "to a subhuman status."¹²⁶ The legacy of such thinking is illustrated by Derek Carew's opinion regarding published collections of dance music: "These sets of dance-music are entirely functional, their whole *raison d'être* is to accompany the thud of pump on parquet; the music is, consequently, of little value outside of this."¹²⁷

Such dismissal of social dance music fails to acknowledge the rich cultural fabric within which it was conceived and performed, nor does it allow space for consideration of the interrelationships that existed between music and dance, musicians and dancers. Eric McKee observed that social dance was "[d]eeply rooted in the creative imagination of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" and as such "provided a rich and diverse language of musical devices, conventions, and gestures that composers drew upon for all genres of music..."¹²⁸ Despite perceiving dance music "as a component within a multimedia art form" and acknowledging that dance was experienced from multiple viewpoints (i.e. spectator, musician and dancer), McKee's focus, and that of dance-music scholarship in general, has overwhelmingly been on the

¹²⁵ See McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, 3-7, 10-11; Zbikowski, "Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century," 162-163; and "Music and Dance in the Ancien Régime," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 143-144. See additionally Leonard G. Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980), 9.

¹²⁶ Zbikowski, "Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century," 162-163.

¹²⁷ Carew, *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760-1850*. In her appeal for recognition of the body's importance within musicology, Susan McClary quoted a similar instance of the dismissal of dance music by Roman Ingarden, who questioned whether music for dance was, in fact, music. See Susan McClary, "Unruly Passions and Courtly Dances: Technologies of the Body in Baroque Music," in *From the Royal to the Republican Body: Incorporating the Political in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century France*, ed. Sara E. Melzer and Kathryn Norberg (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1998), 86-87, see also 95.

¹²⁸ McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz*, 7.

adoption and mediation of dance forms by recognised composers in theatrical and instrumental works.¹²⁹ This approach, whilst of integral importance to understanding the penetration of dance into instrumental forms, lacks the reflexivity to look back on itself and examine the contexts within which music for the ballroom was performed and understood, particularly in relation to its domestic use.¹³⁰ An exception to this is the work of Maribeth Clark, who examined quadrille music in the context of female music-making and operatic arrangement.¹³¹ It is from the field of dance studies that some other tentative steps have been made in this area. In her valuable collation of extracts from nineteenth-century source materials on dance, Elizabeth Aldrich included a section on music, comprising literature on its domestic performance by women and instructions for the provision of music at balls, although there is little overlap between the two contexts.¹³² Kate van Winkle Keller, in her survey of social dance in America prior to the establishment of the first presidency, drew on contemporary material to highlight the musicians and instruments used in

¹²⁹ Ibid., 1. McKee provided a concise generalised overview of musical research relating to dance in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pp. 7-11), the majority of which hinged on the incorporation or representation of dance by established composers, with less emphasis on how such music was performed, and by whom. Works cited by McKee that are most pertinent to this study include: Maribeth Clark, "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance" (PhD, University of Pennsylvania, 1998); "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris"; Reichart, "The Influence of Eighteenth-Century Social Dance on the Viennese Classical Style"; Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna*, 44-48 and chapter 5; Sevin Huriye Yaraman, "The Waltz: A Musical Interpretation through the Steps" (PhD, City University of New York, 1998); Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound*; and Lawrence M. Zbikowski, "Dance Topoi, Sonic Analogues and Musical Grammar: Communicating with Music in the Eighteenth Century," ed. Danuta Mirka and Kofi Agawu, *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 283-309. Additional material from Zbikowski since McKee's book was published includes "Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century" and "Music and Dance in the Ancien Régime". Paul Nettl touched on published dance music collections but his focus remained on elaborating the history of dance forms and how their characteristics manifested in works across the 'Classical' spectrum. See Nettl, *The Story of Dance Music and The Dance in Classical Music* (London: Peter Owen, 1964). An exception to this are the works of Tilden Russell on the minuet, who delved into published collections and manuscript sources of music for dancing, in addition to surviving choreographies. See Russell, "Minuet Form and Phraseology in Recueils and Manuscript Tunebooks"; Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*; and Tilden A. Russell, "The Unconventional Dance Minuet: Choreographies of the Menuet d'Exaudet," *Acta Musicologica* 64, no. 2 (1992): 118-138.

¹³⁰ Although relating to the late nineteenth century, Theresa Jill Buckland's point that domestic music publications are difficult to realise in terms of actual contemporary practice is still valid. See Theresa Jill Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 19.

¹³¹ See Clark, "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance," chapter 4 and "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris."

¹³² Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 123-133.

the performance of dance music, connecting named dances from balls with published and manuscript dance manuals.¹³³ While the information both works provide is significant, the sources are largely of American extraction, and Aldrich's material leans towards the second half of the nineteenth century, making the need for an English evaluation of the earlier time period more pressing.

Within dance historiography, detailed analysis of the cultural contexts surrounding nineteenth century social dance has, until relatively recently, remained shadowy. As a young discipline in the realm of academia, historical dance studies have tended to focus upon the development and interpretation of genres and choreographies, or upon the dancers and artists who played a significant role in its history, within the relatively narrow framework of dance as art.¹³⁴ Theresa Jill Buckland referred to the "sphere of the social" as "the Cinderella of dance studies" and outlined the conceptual thinking that kept social dance scholarship under subjugation:

...those dance practices that were regarded as communal and popular, supposedly requiring little specialist knowledge to perform, have been discounted as subjects too familiar, ephemeral, and lacking in complexity to merit attention.¹³⁵

Key histories encompassing nineteenth-century social dance inevitably focussed on the genesis, rise and decline of the most popular dance forms, and while social and cultural context is built into these narratives, the ideological environment surrounding the dancers whose toes twinkled in English ballrooms remained necessarily under-represented.¹³⁶ More recent scholarship has sought to redress this balance: Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, drawing

¹³³ Kate Van Winkle Keller, *Dance and Its Music in America, 1528-1789* (Hillsdale: Pendragon Press, 2007).

¹³⁴ See Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 13-14; "Dance, History, and Ethnography: Frameworks, Sources, and Identities of Past and Present," in *Dancing from Past to Present: Nation, Culture, Identities*, ed. Theresa Jill Buckland (Madison and London: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 4-6; June Layson, "Historical Perspectives in the Study of Dance," in *Dance History: An Introduction*, ed. Janet Adshead-Lansdale and June Layson, second revised ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 7, 11, 15; and Meredith Little, "Recent Research in European Dance, 1400-1800," *Early Music* 14, no. 1 (1986): 4.

¹³⁵ Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 14.

¹³⁶ Principal mid-twentieth-century texts on the history of nineteenth-century social dance include Franks, *Social Dance: A Short History*; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*; and Rust, *Dance in Society*.

on letters and diary entries, contemporary sources on dance, fiction and iconography, situated social dance as integral to the social and class ideals of the English elite; Raymond Julian Ricketts examined how discourses on dance in the eighteenth century intersected with ideas on politeness, morality, social order and gender, as seen through the individual and cultural body; while Buckland appraised the “fashioning” of gendered bodies and the manner in which social dance was performed in the late nineteenth-century.¹³⁷

Despite the growing volume of research into many aspects of country house life, social dance and its music have received scant consideration from historians. While much attention has necessarily been focussed on the architecture of country houses and their collections of fine and decorative art, music and dance have traditionally floundered, even amongst research into the lesser material arts practised by women.¹³⁸ Indeed, works that explicitly focussed on the contribution made by women to the development and functioning of the country house give relatively little regard to their involvement in music and dance.¹³⁹ There are, however, some notable exceptions. Mark Girouard, in his seminal publication *Life in the English Country House*, addressed on a broad scale how music-making and dancing slotted into changing expressions of sociability for landed elite families, while Christopher Christie included music and dance in a chapter on country house entertainment.¹⁴⁰ A small National Trust publication by Oliver Garnett likewise centred on country house leisure activities, providing glimpses of balls and musical performances, while Joanna Martin’s overview of the lives of the Fox Strangways women, as an example of family biography, documented the

¹³⁷ See Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*; Ricketts, "Dance as Social Practice in Eighteenth-Century British Discourse and Culture"; and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England."

¹³⁸ For example, Dana Arnold considered women’s contributions to country house interiors through their needlework, paper hanging, print collecting and shellwork, in addition to their involvement in architectural planning, when delineating representations of femininity in the country house, but included no mention of music or dance. See Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 79-99.

¹³⁹ The following sources essentially focus on specific women and their contributions to country house life; in all of them, music and dance are mentioned sporadically, but rarely receive any sustained scrutiny. See Baird, *Mistress of the House: Great Ladies and Grand Houses 1670-1830*; Ruth M. Larsen, ed. *Maids & Mistresses: Celebrating 300 Years of Women and the Yorkshire Country House* (York: The Yorkshire Country House Partnership, 2004); Trevor Lummis and Jan Marsh, *The Woman's Domain: Women and the English Country House* (London: Penguin Books, 1993); and Pamela Horn, *Ladies of the Manor: Wives and Daughters in Country-House Society 1830-1918* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991).

¹⁴⁰ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 148, 189, 191-194, 199, 204, 232-241 and Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 274-306, in addition to 37, 53, 117.

inevitable music and dancing lessons given to daughters by visiting masters.¹⁴¹ Robin Langley's survey of the music collection at Boughton House in Northamptonshire, which includes dance music, is a welcome but agonisingly concise foray specifically into country house musical activity.¹⁴² Finally, Karol Mullaney-Dignam's research into the musical and dance activities of the Conolly family, of Castletown in Ireland, is a rare publication in this field, which thus far appears to have no real English counterpart. Drawing on documentary sources, she provided invaluable details of music and dancing masters, and dance musicians hired by the family, along with balls given at Castletown, although the information is limited by the nature of the sources, and reference to actual dance music is slight.¹⁴³

This study forms part of burgeoning research into domestic music-making in the English country house, and additionally draws upon the cultural and social investigations of numerous scholars who have explored portrayals of social dance and women's participation in music through contemporary sources, fiction and iconography. Direct precursors include the work of Jeanice Brooks, Leena Rana and Penelope Cave, who have all researched various aspects of the music collection at Tatton Park, and whose findings and insights have been invaluable adjuncts to my own endeavours.¹⁴⁴ Caroline Wood has provided a preliminary overview of the music collection (including dance music), instrument acquisition and musical activities of the Clifford Constable family at Burton Constable, while Jane Troughton has extended the picture of country house music-making in Yorkshire through her recent examination of musical life at Castle Howard, Harewood House, Nostell Priory and Temple

¹⁴¹ Oliver Garnett, *Country House Pastimes* (London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd, 1998), 3-15, 18 and Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters. Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2004), 233-234.

¹⁴² Robin Langley, "The Music," in *Boughton House: The English Versailles*, ed. Tessa Murdoch (London: Faber and Faber/Christie's, 1992), 174-177.

¹⁴³ Karol Mullaney-Dignam, *Music and Dancing at Castletown, County Kildare, 1759-1821*, ed. Raymond Gillespie, *Maynooth Studies in Local History* (Dublin and Portland: Four Courts Press, 2011). Mullaney-Dignam also noted the lack of historical research into domestic entertainment at Castletown, precisely because by nature its documentation is less obvious (see p. 12).

¹⁴⁴ See Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House"; Penelope Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013); and Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840."

Newsam.¹⁴⁵ Samantha Carrasco has surveyed the music books belonging to the women of the Austen family, which includes both theatrical and social dance music, and placed their collecting in the context of provincial concert culture in Hampshire at the turn of the nineteenth century.¹⁴⁶ Current on-going research includes Martin Perkins's (Birmingham City University) exploration of music-making in the Midlands through the families of The Wodehouse, Wombourne (Staffordshire), Weston Park (Staffordshire) and Calke Abbey (Derbyshire); Wendy Stafford's (University of Southampton) investigation into the music collection at Uppark (West Sussex) and issues of class mobility; and Wendy Hancock's long-standing interest in the music-making of the Curzon family at Kedleston Hall (Derbyshire). A multi-institutional research project is underway on the music collection at Boughton House under the auspices of Paul Boucher, while more broadly, Sheila Thomas (University of Southampton) is working on the domestic musical activities of aristocratic men in the eighteenth-century.

Supplementing knowledge gleaned through analysis of actual domestic music collections is a growing oeuvre of scholarly works addressing the cultural and social contexts within which domestic music-making was conceived and performed, particularly in relation to women's consumption of music at the keyboard. Richard Leppert, and subsequently Regula Hohl Trillini, have produced wide-ranging texts that engage with the complex entanglements that occurred between domestic music-making and concepts of class, gender, morality and sexuality. By drawing on musical iconography and fictional depictions of music-making respectively, both Leppert and Trillini were concerned with the visibility of performance and the notion of female containment that was enacted therein.¹⁴⁷ Ruth A. Solie has explored the

¹⁴⁵ See Caroline Wood, "Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House," in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain, vol. 1 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 209-224 and Jane Troughton, "The Role of Music in Yorkshire Country Houses 1770-1850" (PhD, University of York, 2014).

¹⁴⁶ Samantha Carrasco, "The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013). Kathryn L. Libin has also recently written on the Austen family's music collection, situating familial music-making amongst the prescribed role of musical education for women, on the one hand, and Jane Austen's depiction of music-making in her novels, on the other. See Kathryn L. Libin, "Daily Practice, Musical Accomplishment, and the Example of Jane Austen," in *Jane Austen and the Arts: Elegance, Propriety, and Harmony*, ed. Natasha Duquette and Elisabeth Lenckos (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2014), 3-20.

¹⁴⁷ See Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*; Leppert, *Music and Image*; and *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993).

multiple meanings attached to girls at the piano across nineteenth-century Europe and America. Using both contemporary commentary and diary entries from a number of teenage girls, Solie outlined how women's engagement with piano playing intersected with notions of familial responsibility, domestic entertainment and the fulfilment of emotional needs.¹⁴⁸ Leslie Ritchie, Matthew Head and Elizabeth Morgan have examined repertoire specifically linked to women, and crucially, have sought alternative viewpoints to the idea of female containment. Whilst acknowledging intersections between music written "for the fair sex" and prevailing ideals concerning commercial fashion, luxury and aestheticism, Head pointed towards the role of performance in moderating or negating expressions of musical femininity. Morgan challenged prevailing ideas expressed in conduct literature about feminine ease and delicacy in performance through her investigation of the difficulties posed by battle music and piano etudes. Although Ritchie's primary focus was on women's interaction with song, through the underlying concept of musical and social harmony, she argued for a broader understanding of women's participation in music-making that nudged accepted definitions of femininity.¹⁴⁹ Although dance music is only peripherally addressed within these texts, despite clear associations with women's domestic musical practice, the concepts with which they engaged contribute substantially to providing a framework for understanding dance as musical and social praxis.¹⁵⁰

Additional insights into the role of social dance have been provided by scholarship into its representation in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature, which has yielded much valuable cultural commentary. Karen Woods examined the multifarious meanings that dance held for authors as diverse as Daniel Defoe, Soame Jenyns, Laurence Sterne, and Frances Burney, illuminating how their depictions of dance and ballrooms tapped into eighteenth-century

¹⁴⁸ Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004), chapter 3.

¹⁴⁹ See Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2013), chapter 2; Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820" (PhD, University of California, 2009) and Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England. Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008).

¹⁵⁰ Although Richard Leppert provided a chapter on dance in *Music and Image*, dance music as such is marginal to his argument.

anxieties about class, gender, morality, courtship and etiquette.¹⁵¹ Cheryl Wilson explored how dance as “a multivoiced art” articulated critiques of gender, sexuality, nationalism, and geographical and social mobility across nineteenth-century literature. By seeking structural associations between the format of the country dance, quadrille and waltz, and the construction of literary narratives, Wilson argued for an extended reading of dance that enabled dancing bodies and the spaces they occupied to be embodied in text.¹⁵² Molly Engelhardt drew on Victorian culture and fictional depictions of dance scenes to probe how “the conjoined movement of dance lines, disciplinary lines of social demarcation, and literary lines provides us with bodies (both physical and textual) for studying the ambiguities and complexities of the nineteenth century.”¹⁵³ Dance, of course, was also heavily associated with the rites of courtship in fiction; publications by Françoise Carter, and Daniel A. Segal and Richard Handler, are two such examples that interrogated the social intricacies that occurred in ballroom scenes in the works of Jane Austen.¹⁵⁴

Sources and Methodology

Cheryl Wilson observed that “dances and literary texts are the producers of culture as well as cultural products” and the same could be argued for music-making and musical scores.¹⁵⁵ As co-existing cultural practices during the nineteenth century that held a regular role in the lives of many women, music and dance can be considered as intertwining and interrelating art forms; therefore, instead of attempting to disentangle one from the other, it may be more fruitful to ask: how can we read music to tell us more about dance, and how can we read dance to tell us more about music?¹⁵⁶ As a token of “lived

¹⁵¹ Karen Sue Radford Woods, "Dance in England through a Study of Selected Eighteenth-Century Texts" (PhD, University of Georgia, 1995).

¹⁵² Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 19.

¹⁵³ Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, 6.

¹⁵⁴ Daniel A. Segal and Richard Handler, "Serious Play: Creative Dance and Dramatic Sensibility in Jane Austen, Ethnographer," *Man* 24, no. 2, new series (June, 1989): 322-339 and Françoise Carter, "Jane Austen, Dancing, and the Marriage Market" (paper presented at Terpsichore 1450-1900, International Dance Conference, Ghent, Belgium, 11-18 April 2000), 161-168.

¹⁵⁵ Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 172.

¹⁵⁶ Wilson argued that dance should not be separated from contemporary reading and writing practices, and that the inclusion of dance and dance references in literature “often signal additional textual investment in dance.” See *ibid.*

experience”, albeit in a manner different to dance manuals and conduct books, sheet music stands as a tangible reminder of the physical and emotional investment made by women, not just at their instruments, but also at the many locales from whence this music was drawn.¹⁵⁷ Dance music, therefore, is not just music for dancing, but is also intrinsically linked to broader cultural concerns and social consumption, the richness of its manifestation and tentacle-like reach becoming increasingly layered when viewed through the lens of individual experiences.

This study examines a particular slice of musical and social history to prise apart the issues and concepts at play. The principal source is the domestic music collection held at Tatton Park in Cheshire, owned by the National Trust and administered by Cheshire East Council. Comprising approximately one hundred bound volumes of printed and manuscript music, in addition to assorted items that remain unbound, the collection is primarily the work of a few generations of Egerton women, who grew up in or married into the family (see Figure 8).

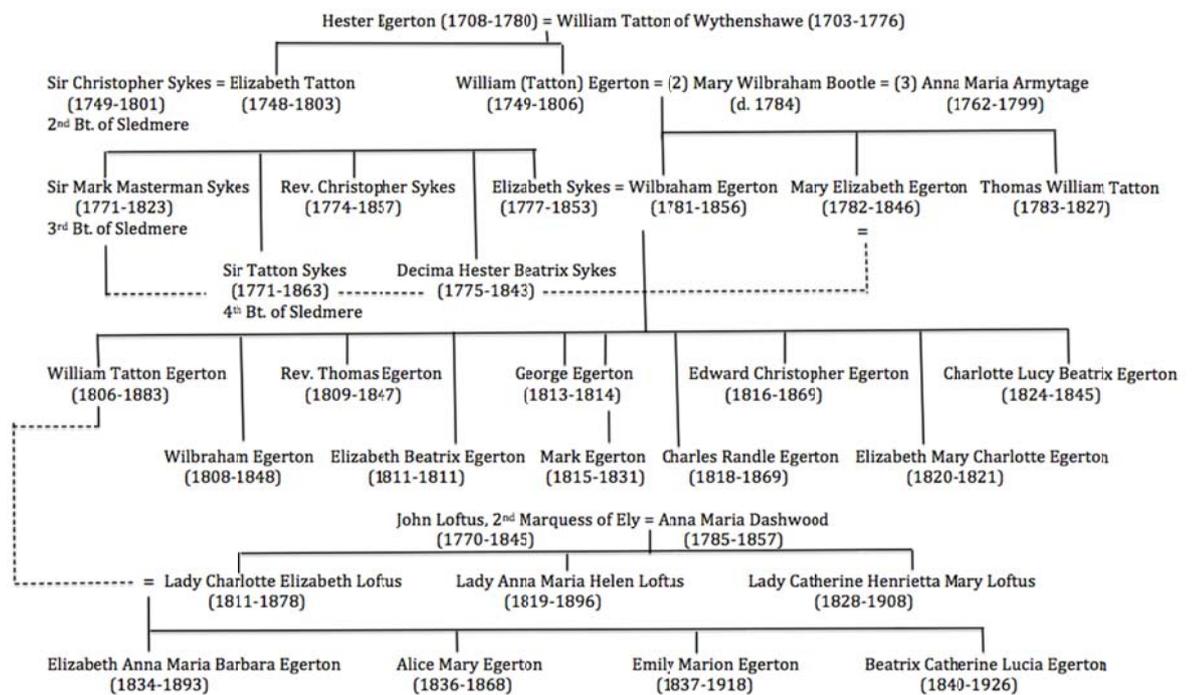


FIGURE 8. MODIFIED TREE OF THE EGERTON FAMILY.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 173.

¹⁵⁸ The sons descended from John Loftus and William Tatton Egerton have not been included in this

The majority of the music resides in a gilded *bouffe* rosewood bookcase, situated in an alcove in the music room that was originally designed to house a chamber organ (see Figure 9), with the remaining items located in the Tatton Park archive.¹⁵⁹



FIGURE 9. MUSIC ROOM AND *BOUFFE* BOOKCASE AT TATTON PARK © TATTON PARK/CHESHIRE EAST COUNCIL/GEORGE LITTLER & PETER SPOONER.

The dance music belonging to Elizabeth, Lady Charlotte and Charlotte Egerton provides the primary focal point and inspiration for this research. By aligning the music they owned with their experiences of social dance, the multifaceted role that both played in the lives of elite women comes to light, illuminating

schemata, by and large as they feature little in this study. The music of some of the daughters of William Tatton Egerton and Lady Charlotte Loftus remains at Tatton Park. The family tree is based on that given in the Tatton Park guidebook, *Tatton Park*, (Knutsford: Cheshire East Council, 2010), 7 and George Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, second, revised and enlarged ed., by Thomas Helsby, vol. 1 (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1882), 446.

¹⁵⁹ On the Tatton Park music room, see the mansion guidebook *Tatton Park*, 21-24 and Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 527-535. The volumes of music in the music room are labelled according to their shelf position and are designated by MR numbers. This system has been used throughout this thesis whenever individual works have been referred to. Items located in the Tatton Park archive remain unlabelled, although at the time of perusal they were separated into distinct stacks. For a catalogue of the music at Tatton Park, see Shirley Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire, the Property of the National Trust* (Wallasey: Cheshire Libraries and Museums, 1977), although this is not entirely complete. While some music survives belonging to men in the family, its proportion is marginal compared to that of the women.

the greater cultural complexities that dance music supported beyond its supposed frippery and flimsiness.

In addition to the music itself, this study employed a range of supplementary sources to provide further information and to enhance understanding of the primary materials. Account books belonging to Elizabeth's husband, Wilbraham Egerton (1781-1856), furnished concise details about payments made to dancing masters and expenses for balls, but the near total absence of related personal correspondence has limited extrapolation of and sustained investigation into these entries.¹⁶⁰ Contemporary newspaper articles and advertisements have been invaluable in filling this breach, while letters, diaries, accounts and receipts associated with other gentry families have provided vital sources for comparison. Contextualisation of this material was afforded by contemporary manuals on dance, music and aesthetics, in addition to conduct literature, which, despite its problems as a definitive font of social practice, nevertheless yielded a valuable framework through which the Egerton women's activities could be interpreted.¹⁶¹ Many of these publications touched on concepts relating to the performance of femininity, and have been brought to bear specifically on how expression of that femininity was mediated by dance and dance music.

The overwhelming proportion of music in the collection belonged to Elizabeth Egerton (née Sykes) and predominantly dates from her girlhood and early adult years, spent between London and Sledmere House in Yorkshire, the

¹⁶⁰ Five account books containing details of personal and estate-related expenditure belonging to Wilbraham Egerton survive for the years 1830-1856 and are held at Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office (Chester), DET/3229/11-15, although the entries for 1830 are incomplete. Archival documents relating to the Egerton family are split between the Cheshire Record Office and the John Rylands University Library at the University of Manchester (GB 133 EGT).

¹⁶¹ For some reflections on conduct literature as expressive of contemporary ideology, and alternative receptions of the genre, see Mary Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 15-35; Vivien Jones, "The Seductions of Conduct: Pleasure and Conduct Literature," in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), 108-132; Amanda Vickery, "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History," in *Gender and History in Western Europe*, ed. Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent (London, New York, Sydney and Auckland: Arnold, 1998), 197-225; and Marilyn Francus, "'Tis Better to Give: The Conduct Manual as Gift," in *The Culture of the Gift in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Linda Zionkowski and Cynthia Klekar (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 79-106. On the potential difficulties of interpreting archival material, see Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, 17-19, and on the pitfalls of dance manuals, see Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 18.

country estate of the Sykes family (see Figure 10). The presence of bound and signed works bearing her married name suggests, however, that she continued to collect music, albeit at a slower rate.¹⁶² Her collection comprises mainly printed music that covers a wide range of genres, including popular songs and operatic extracts, solo keyboard music and chamber music, as well as sacred works. Part of the collection demonstrates a distinct interest in earlier music, both in terms of musical performance and bibliophile collecting.¹⁶³ Elizabeth also compiled a small number of personal manuscript books, shared with her sister, Decima Hester Beatrix Sykes (1775-1843), and her cousin, Mary Elizabeth Egerton (1782-1846). The manuscript books contain transcriptions of some substantial vocal and instrumental works, showing a distinct dedication to the process of copying.¹⁶⁴ Taken as a whole, Elizabeth's scores suggest an interest across a wide range of musical styles, while the inclusion of fingering and ornamentation reveals that they were put to practical purposes.



FIGURE 10. ELIZABETH SYKES, MRS WILBRAHAM EGERTON, BY SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, CA. 1805-1806 © TATTON PARK/CHESHIRE EAST COUNCIL/GEORGE LITTLER & PETER SPOONER.

¹⁶² See Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 527.

¹⁶³ See *ibid.*, 513, 515, 519-521, 523, 525.

¹⁶⁴ See *ibid.*, 516-520.

Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Egerton's (née Loftus) collection consists of an amalgamation of music that belonged to herself and her mother, and as such, represents the collecting habits of two generations of women (see Figure 11). Just four volumes of music survive from what was undoubtedly a larger assemblage, and while three of the albums are labelled "Lady Charlotte Egerton" on the front cover, indicating binding or re-binding after her marriage to Wilbraham and Elizabeth's eldest son, William Tatton Egerton (1806-1883) in 1830, the insides tell a different story.¹⁶⁵



FIGURE 11. LADY CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH LOFTUS, LADY EGERTON, CA. 1850 © TATTON PARK/CHESHIRE EAST COUNCIL/GEORGE LITTLER & PETER SPOONER.

¹⁶⁵ The four volumes are MR 2-5-33, MR 2-5-36, MR 2-5-39 and MR 2-5-45. All except MR 2-5-36 contain Lady Charlotte's name prominently engraved in gold tooling on the cover, and MR 2-5-39 and MR 2-5-45 share very similar bindings. On Lady Charlotte's marriage to William Tatton Egerton, see "MARRIAGE IN HIGH LIFE," *Morning Post*, December 20, 1830.

Lady Charlotte was the eldest child of John Loftus, 2nd Marquess of Ely [Co. Wicklow] (1770-1845) and Anna-Maria Dashwood (1785-1857), whose father inherited Kirtlington Park in Oxfordshire (see Figure 12).¹⁶⁶ The Loftuses divided their time between their Irish estates, Ely Lodge (near Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh) and Loftus Hall (Co. Wexford), and London, with this mixed heritage revealing itself in the music collection.¹⁶⁷



FIGURE 12. ANNA MARIA DASHWOOD, LATER MARCHIONESS OF ELY, BY SIR THOMAS LAWRENCE, CA. 1805. SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

¹⁶⁶ John Loftus inherited his title, which also included Baron Loftus of Loftus Hall and of Long Loftus in Yorkshire, upon the death of his father in 1806. He married Anna-Maria Dashwood, daughter of Sir Henry Watkin Dashwood (1745-1828), 3rd Baronet and Member of Parliament, in 1810. See *Debrett's Peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain & Ireland*, fifteenth ed., 2 vols., vol. 2 (Scotland and Ireland) (London: J. Moyes, 1825), 867-869 and R.G. Thorne, "DASHWOOD, Sir Henry Watkin, 3rd Bt. (1745-1828), of Kirtlington Park, Oxon," ed. R. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820* (Boydell and Brewer, 1986), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/dashwood-sir-henry-watkin-1745-1828>, accessed 7 September 2014. The Ely Papers are on deposit at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI) and cover the time period 1630-1928, although PRONI's introductory document to the archives (available at http://www.proni.gov.uk/introduction__ely.pdf) gives little indication that much personal correspondence has survived. Some limited Loftus correspondence is also listed through The National Archives.

¹⁶⁷ See, for example, "ARRIVALS," *Morning Post*, August 15, 1822; and *Belfast News Letter*, July 22, 1828 and December 1, 1829.

The only volume of the four that doesn't contain Lady Charlotte's name bears the signature of "AM Ely" on several pieces, likely to be that of her mother, while a few works contain publishers' stamps from Dublin.¹⁶⁸ Two other volumes comprise both the Ely signature and that of Lady Charlotte from before and after her marriage, with a couple of handwritten annotations indicating that certain publications were purchased in London, while the fourth album clearly dates from Lady Charlotte's married life.¹⁶⁹ Although fingerings appear across her collection, it has not been possible to determine ownership on this basis in the absence of signatures or other means of identification. The repertoire consists of a high proportion of operatic arrangements in addition to stand-alone items, but most importantly, one of the shared volumes is dedicated almost entirely to dance music.¹⁷⁰

Charlotte Lucy Beatrix Egerton was the only surviving daughter of Wilbraham and Elizabeth, and her untimely death at the age of just twenty-one confined her music collecting to her girlhood. As such, it is through her music and dance lessons that the educational aspect of both these activities can be most clearly seen. Charlotte's music is represented by five collated volumes, three of which are very thickly bound, making performance of the music a near impracticability, while some miscellaneous unbound pieces remain in the Tatton Park archive.¹⁷¹ Her musical progress was overseen by a Miss Pitman, whose influence was charted in two albums containing pedagogical works that bore her signature and initials, while further handwritten annotations specify that Charlotte's learning took place in London and at Tatton Park.¹⁷² The majority of Charlotte's music contains her signature, which, although it underwent several transformations, makes identification of her music

¹⁶⁸ MR 2-5-36. No other ownership marks are evident on the front cover of the volume. Although Lady Charlotte had a younger sister by the name of Anna Maria Helen Loftus (1819-1896), references to her in newspaper accounts always gave her last name as Loftus, not Ely. Dating of the music in the album also suggests it would be too early for her sister, but not for her mother.

¹⁶⁹ See MR 2-5-39 and MR 2-5-45 for joint ownership. Signatures by Lady Charlotte include "Charlotte", "Lady C Loftus" and "Charlotte Egerton", although in the latter album many signatures have been almost entirely removed during the cutting and binding process, making owner identification difficult. Those works that are signed in MR 2-5-33 are all expressed in the form "Charlotte Egerton", with a couple including handwritten dates of 1834.

¹⁷⁰ MR 2-5-45. The final work in the volume is the only one that appears not to have any connection with dance.

¹⁷¹ The five volumes are MR 2-5-17, MR 2-5-19, MR 2-5-21, MR 2-5-44 and MR 3-8-13.

¹⁷² See MR 2-5-19 and MR 2-5-44. For further discussion on the role Miss Pitman played in Charlotte's musical life, and her musical training in general, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 166-188.

straightforward in the absence of other markers. Charlotte's music also contains the names or signatures of other family members and acquaintances, highlighting the social usage to which sheet music was put. While many works were clearly designed to facilitate technical and early-stage musical development, Charlotte's collection also comprises a number of operatic and sacred works, the former often arranged as piano duets. Like her sister-in-law, one of Charlotte's volumes contains music dedicated to dance, although as a whole, dance music is spread throughout her collection.

Tatton Park and the Egerton Family

*...a magnificent house in the midst of a most beautiful park and gardens, in short, one of the finest country seats that I ever saw - and the interior of the house, the whole style, and particularly ... the goodness of the dinner all corresponding with the external appearance. There was nobody but the family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. E. and a female relation and three Eton boys and two lesser ones.*¹⁷³

Tatton Park, lying to the north of the town of Knutsford in eastern Cheshire, belonged to the Egerton family across three centuries. The Tatton estate entered the Egerton lineage in 1598 when Sir Thomas Egerton (c.1540-1617), who subsequently became Lord Chancellor of England, acquired the property. Upon his death, the estate devolved to his son, John Egerton (1579-1649), who attained the title of Earl of Bridgewater in 1617.¹⁷⁴ By the late eighteenth century, Tatton Park had passed to William Tatton (1749-1806), a Member of Parliament who represented the Hindon, Newcastle under Lyme and Cheshire constituencies, and who adopted the name of Egerton upon the death

¹⁷³ Letter from George Canning to his wife, September 6, 1822, quoted in Margaret Escott, "EGERTON, Wilbraham (1781-1856), of Tatton Park, Cheshire," ed. D.R. Fisher, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/egerton-wilbraham-1781-1856>, accessed September 8 2014.

¹⁷⁴ Both J.H. Hanshall, *The History of the County Palatine of Chester* (Chester: John Fletcher, 1817/1823), 400-401 and Samuel Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester* (Sheffield: George Ridge, 1850), 570-571, give a brief and similar history of the acquisition of the Tatton estate. The Tatton Park website suggests that the estate was purchased rather than inherited (http://www.tattonpark.org.uk/what_to_see_at_tatton_park/mansion/the_egertons.aspx) which is somewhat implied in the other accounts. For the descent of the property and for information on Sir Thomas Egerton, see *Tatton Park*, 10-11 and 114 respectively, in addition to Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1, 439-446.

of his mother, Hester Egerton (1708-1780).¹⁷⁵ By his second wife, Mary Wilbraham Bootle (d. 1784), he bore two surviving sons and a daughter: Wilbraham Egerton, Thomas William Egerton (1783-1827) and Mary Elizabeth Egerton. Upon William's death in 1806, Wilbraham Egerton assumed ownership of Tatton Park, while his brother, Thomas, inherited the Wythenshawe estate that had descended through Hester Egerton's marriage to William Tatton (1703-1776).¹⁷⁶

Just a few months before his father's death, Wilbraham Egerton married his first cousin, Elizabeth Sykes.¹⁷⁷ This was not the first alliance between the families, and nor was it to be the last. William (Tatton) Egerton's sister, Elizabeth Tatton (1748-1803), married Sir Christopher Sykes, 2nd Baronet (1749-1801), of Sledmere in 1770. The Sykes baronetcy had been conferred on Sir Christopher's father, the Reverend Mark Sykes (1711-1783), in 1783 and Sir Christopher inherited both the estate and the title when Mark died several months later.¹⁷⁸ The following year, he stood and was elected as a Member of Parliament for Beverley, a position that he held until 1790, and he was instrumental not only in turning Sledmere into a fine estate, but also redeveloping the house into a resplendent gentleman's seat.¹⁷⁹ Elizabeth and Sir Christopher's marriage produced three sons and two daughters. The eldest of the two girls, Decima, was just two years older than her sister and married into a local Yorkshire family in 1795.¹⁸⁰ Sir Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823), the oldest of the three sons, became the possessor of Sledmere in 1801

¹⁷⁵ Hester Egerton married William Tatton of Wythenshawe (1703-1776) in 1747 but reverted to her maiden name when she inherited the estate from her brother, Samuel Egerton (1711-1780), shortly before her death. See *Tatton Park*, 11, 43. For a very brief outline of William (Tatton) Egerton's parliamentary career, see Mary M. Drummond, "EGERTON (Formerly TATTON), William (1749-1806), of Tatton Park, Cheshire," ed. L. Namier and J. Brooke, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754-1790* (Boydell and Brewer, 1964), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/egerton-%28formerly-tatton-%29-william-1749-1806>, accessed September 8 2014.

¹⁷⁶ William subsequently married a further two times, and with the death of Mary Bootle, his third wife, Anna Maria Armytage (1762-1799), would essentially have acted as mother to his children. Thomas Egerton assumed the name of Tatton when he acquired the Wythenshawe estate. See *Tatton Park*, 7.

¹⁷⁷ See *York Herald*, January 25, 1806.

¹⁷⁸ For background to the baronetcy, and a history in general of the Sykes family of Sledmere, see Christopher Simon Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family* (London, New York, Toronto and Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2004), 56-57.

¹⁷⁹ See *ibid.*, 60-61, 69-70 and John Brooke, "Sykes, Sir Christopher, 2nd Bt. (1749-1801), of Sledmere, Yorks.," ed. L. Namier and J. Brooke, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754-1790* (Boydell and Brewer, 1964), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/sykes-sir-christopher-1749-1801>, accessed September 8 2014.

¹⁸⁰ Decima married John Robinson Foulis (d. 1826) of Ingleby Manor in 1795. See Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family*, 98.

upon his father's death. He had assumed the additional name of Masterman after his marriage to Henrietta Masterman (d. 1813) of Settrington Hall in 1795, but it was his second marriage to Mary Elizabeth Egerton in 1814 that entwined the two families closer together.¹⁸¹

Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton created a large family, although only three of their offspring survived to outlive them.¹⁸² Their eldest son, William Tatton Egerton, was a Member of Parliament for Lymington and Cheshire North for a combined period of nearly thirty years. He acceded to the peerage to become the 1st Baron Egerton of Tatton in 1859 and served as Lord Lieutenant for Cheshire from 1868 until his death.¹⁸³ Two of his younger brothers served in the forces: Wilbraham Egerton (1808-1848) attained the rank of major in the 43rd Light Infantry while Charles Randle Egerton (1818-1869) was a captain with the Royal Navy.¹⁸⁴ The Reverend Thomas Egerton (1809-1847) was rector of Middle in Shropshire and became prebendary of Dunnington in Yorkshire.¹⁸⁵ He married Charlotte Catharine Milner (1812/1813-1894), a descendent of the

¹⁸¹ The other two sons were Tatton Sykes (1772-1863), who assumed the baronetcy upon Mark's death, and Rev. Christopher Sykes (1774-1857), making the two girls the youngest in the family. Mark's marriage took place less than a week before that of Decima's, and both are recorded in Sir Christopher Sykes's diary for that year. See entries for 11 and 16 November respectively in U DDSY/102/25, Hull History Centre and additionally Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family*, 98-99, 112-113. For further information on Mark Masterman Sykes and his parliamentary career, see J.M. Collinge, "MASTERMAN SYKES, Sir Mark, 3rd Bt. (1771-1823), of Sledmere and Settrington, Yorks.," ed. R. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820* (Boydell and Brewer, 1986), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/masterman-sykes-sir-mark-1771-1823>, accessed September 8 2014.

¹⁸² For an overview of the Egerton children, which comprised seven sons and three daughters, see J. Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland, for 1852*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Colburn and Co., 1852), 374 and Sylvanus Urban, "OBITUARY. - Wilbraham Egerton, Esq.," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, vol. XLV, January to June (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Sons, 1856), 646.

¹⁸³ See *Tatton Park*, 111 and Howard Spencer and Philip Salmon, "EGERTON, William Tatton (1806-1883), of Tatton Park, Cheshire," ed. D.R. Fisher (Cambridge University Press, 2009), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/egerton-william-1806-1883>, accessed September 8 2014.

¹⁸⁴ For a brief description of Charles's naval career, see "Eminent Persons Recently Deceased," *The Register and Magazine of Biography, a Record of Births, Marriages, Deaths, and other Genealogical and Personal Occurrences*, March 1869, 218. For Wilbraham's service and a list of progressive promotions, see Captain H.G. Hart, *The New Annual Army List for 1848. Containing the Dates of Commissions, and a Statement of the War Services and Wounds of Nearly Every Officer in the Army, Ordnance, and Marines*, ninth annual vol. (London: John Murray, 1848), 194. An article in the *Manchester Courier* recorded the presentation of plate by Wilbraham Egerton Snr. to the regiment, in recognition of their tribute to his son in the form of a monument located in Rostherne Church. See "SPLENDID PRESENTATION PLATE," *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 29, 1849.

¹⁸⁵ See Urban, "Obituary. - Wilbraham Egerton, Esq.," 646 and "Clergy Deceased," *The Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. XXVIII, December (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Son, 1847), 662.

Dukes of Portland, in 1836 and died at Tatton Park reportedly from the effects of scarlet fever, contracted "in the discharge of the duties of his sacred calling."¹⁸⁶ His memory was preserved in a poem composed by Julia Tilt, which also immortalised the soul of Charlotte Lucy Beatrix Egerton, who had passed away a couple of years earlier after a short illness (see Figures 13 and 14).



FIGURE 13. MONUMENT TO CHARLOTTE LUCY BEATRIX EGERTON BY RICHARD WESTMACOTT JNR. AT ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ROSTHERNE (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR).

The author wrote with great sweetness of Charlotte, and despite the poem bearing Thomas's name, it stands firmly as a eulogy to his sister. Wilbraham Egerton's account books duly recorded the aching details of payments made in relation to the deaths of his children, and they stand as a small testament to the love in which they were held.

¹⁸⁶ See "DEATH OF THE REV. THOMAS EGERTON," *Standard*, September 23, 1847. For information on the Milner family, see "OBITUARY. SIR WILLIAM M.S. MILNER, BART.," *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Review*, vol. XLIII, January to June (London: John Bowyer Nichols and Sons, 1855), 639.

Lines to the Memory of the Rev. Thomas Egerton, third son of Wilbraham Egerton, Esq., of Tatton Park, Cheshire; who passed from this world to rejoin his ever-to-be lamented sister, September 17, 1847.

WEEP not, that his spirit has faded away
In the midst of his glory and fame;
Weep not, that his soul like the sun's parting ray,
Has returned to the God, whence it came.

Weep not, that he yearned to his Saviour to fly,
That he felt that his home was not here,
That he longed to inhabit the mansions on high,
For the reason is simple and clear –

He had seen to the grave but a few months before –
The fairest, the sweetest, the best,
And he prayed to his God, to rejoin her once more,
And share in her heavenly rest.

For that flower was lovely and flourished awhile,
And shed its sweet blossoms around,
And those who enjoyed but a glance or a smile,
In the bonds of affection were bound.

The rich and the lowly, the simple and wise,
Alike owned her beauty and grace,
And e'en when recalled to her home in the skies
Time cannot her image efface.

For her memory dwells in the depths of the heart,
Enclosed like a saint in its shrine;
And there it shall rest, till we're called to depart,
And behold her in heaven's bright clime.

FIGURE 14. *LINES TO THE MEMORY OF THE REV. THOMAS EGERTON* BY JULIA TILT, IN *POEMS AND BALLADS*, 3RD EDITION, 1848.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Julia Tilt, *Poems and Ballads*, third ed. (London: E. Churton, 1848), 58-59. Subscribers to the publication included Queen Victoria, the Duchess of Gloucester (to whom the work was dedicated), the Dowager Marchioness of Ely, the Marchioness of Ely, Lady Anna Loftus and Mrs Egerton, of Tatton Park.

Both Wilbraham and Elizabeth were well respected by their contemporaries for their gentility and kindness towards others. Lady Elizabeth Grosvenor (1797-1891), a distant Cheshire neighbour at Eaton Hall, described the warm welcome she received from the Egertons: "I always like being at Tatton, the Egertons are always so very kind and fond of us and the house is so pleasant and handsome and gentlemanlike with every comfort, bodily and mental, of chairs, sofas, books etc. The Egertons are the best and most good-natured and sensible people alive and always the same."¹⁸⁸ Wilbraham's obituary was equally glowing and offered a portrait of a man who was munificent and who bore his responsibilities as a landowner sincerely:

Mr. Egerton was a fine specimen of a Christian gentleman, warm-hearted, humble-minded, generous from inclination and from duty, tender in a remarkable degree of the feelings of others, but possessed with a stern sense of right and wrong, courteous and hospitable. He has left behind him in the hearts of his family, his numerous dependants, and many friends, an endeared memory which will long survive him, and an example worthy of imitation by all who may be placed in a like influential position.¹⁸⁹

Wilbraham held several positions of national and local importance across his lifetime. He was Sheriff of Cheshire in 1808, represented Cheshire in parliament between 1812 and 1831, assumed high ranking positions in county militia and yeomanry regiments, and was additionally Lord of the Manor of Knutsford.¹⁹⁰ Nevertheless, he and Elizabeth contributed charitably to their local and wider community on a regular basis; Wilbraham's account books show frequent donations to people in distress or in support of benevolent

¹⁸⁸ Gervas Huxley, *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors. Life in a Whig Family, 1822-1839* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), 44.

¹⁸⁹ Urban, "Obituary. - Wilbraham Egerton, Esq.," 645. For an additional and equally warm-hearted obituary, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 10.

¹⁹⁰ For offices and appointments held by Wilbraham, see, for example, Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland, for 1852*, 1, 374; Escott, "EGERTON, Wilbraham (1781-1856), of Tatton Park, Cheshire"; M.H. Port, "EGERTON, Wilbraham (1781-1856), of Tatton Park, Cheshire," ed. R. Thorne, *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1790-1820* (Boydell and Brewer, 1986), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1790-1820/member/egerton-wilbraham-1781-1856>, accessed September 8 2014; and Urban, "Obituary. - Wilbraham Egerton, Esq.," 645. On his position as lord of the manor, see Hanshall, *The History of the County Palatine of Chester*, 389; John Corry, *The History of Macclesfield* (London: J. Ferguson, 1817), 228; and Joan Leach, *Knutsford: A History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), 31, 70. Wilbraham also owned the townships of Tatton and Rostherne. See Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester*, 563, 571.

institutions, and he was often cited in local newspapers for his generosity towards the poor at Christmas. In different ways, Elizabeth and Wilbraham also supported local churches, and each was involved in the establishment of schools for disadvantaged children, demonstrating not only their financial philanthropy, but also their personal benevolence.¹⁹¹

In the later eighteenth century, the Tatton Park mansion began to undergo extensive alterations, which took place in two distinct stages. William (Tatton) Egerton had engaged the architect, Samuel Wyatt (1737-1807), to draw up plans for the house, which were later modified and implemented by Wyatt's nephew, Lewis William Wyatt (1777-1853) under Wilbraham Egerton's superintendence.¹⁹² A description of the house by John Corry in 1817 points towards the simplicity of its neo-classical exterior and the comfortable family home within (see Figure 15):

Tatton Hall is situated on a gentle eminence in the middle of the park. The front is of beautiful freestone, and built in the Corinthian order, from a design by that skilful architect, Wyatt. The structure consists of the main body and two wings; the entrance is by a few steps through a handsome portico of four Corinthian columns, which support an elegant pediment. The wall is adorned with four pilasters in the same order of architecture, and the appearance altogether is simple and beautiful. The commodious and comfortable interior, harmonizes with the superb exterior of this mansion, and the whole building is calculated for the accommodation of the proprietor, his family, and numerous dependants.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ See Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 70 and Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840," 31-32 (especially footnotes 36 and 37), 178. Wilbraham was one of four patrons who subsidised the living of Knutsford church and he was patron of the vicar at Rostherne, while Elizabeth embroidered an altar cloth and provided a carpet for the church at Rostherne. See Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 230; Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1, 438-439 and "ROSTHERNE CHURCH," *Morning Post*, January 8, 1850 (derived from *Manchester Courier*), respectively. On the Egerton schools, see Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester*, 551, 564; Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 232-233; Hanshall, *The History of the County Palatine of Chester*, 389-390; and Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 57-58.

¹⁹² See *Tatton Park*, 4-5; Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 527; and *Tatton Park: A Family Portrait*, (Leamington Spa: English Counties Periodicals Limited, n.d.), 13-19, the latter of which is an earlier guidebook to the house and family. Samuel Wyatt was also involved in the reconstruction of Sledmere House. See "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 515-516.

¹⁹³ Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 233-234.

The parklands on the Tatton estate were placed under the care of landscape designer, Humphry Repton (1752-1818), who fashioned a “Red Book” in 1791 illustrating potential improvements.¹⁹⁴

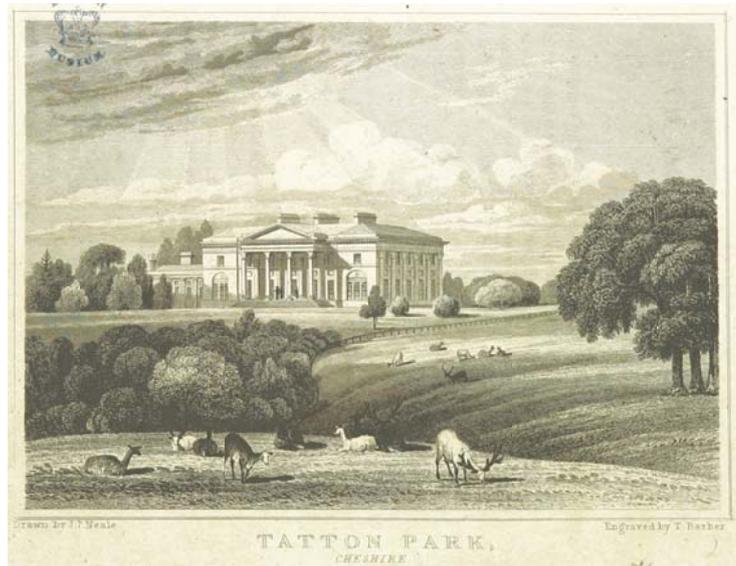


FIGURE 15. TATTON PARK, TAKEN FROM JOHN PRESTON NEALE'S *VIEWS OF THE SEATS OF NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN IN ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND*, 1818.

SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

A few years later, he gave the following appraisal of Tatton Park in his *Sketches and Hints on Landscape Gardening*: “The situation of Tatton may be justly described as too splendid to be called interesting, and too vast to be deemed picturesque; yet it is altogether beautiful, in spite of that greatness which is rather the attribute of sublimity than of beauty...It is not from the *situation* only that the *character* of Tatton derives its greatness. The command of adjoining property, the style and magnitude of the mansion...and all its appendages, contribute to confer that degree of importance which ought here to be the leading object in every plan of improvement.”¹⁹⁵ Elizabeth and Wilbraham certainly contributed to the interior beauty and greatness of the house through their purchase and display of fine furniture, art and books.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ See *Tatton Park*, 5, 8, 81; *Tatton Park: A Family Portrait*, 13-14, 16; and Brooks, “Musical Monuments for the Country House,” 527.

¹⁹⁵ J.C. Loudon, ed. *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton, Esq. Being His Entire Works on These Subjects*, new ed. (London: Printed for the Editor, 1840), 47, which contains the *Sketches and Hints*.

¹⁹⁶ See, for example, *Tatton Park*, 15-40; Brooks, “Musical Monuments for the Country House,” 527, 529, 531, 534; Ed Potten, “‘Bound in Vellum and Lettered’: The Tatton Park Library,” *Apollo: The International*

Knutsford

Described as “a handsome well built town”, Knutsford was one of the primary localities in the hundred of Bucklow within the county palatinate of Chester.¹⁹⁷ Lying westward of the manufacturing towns of Macclesfield and Stockport, and 15 miles south-west of Manchester, the parish of Knutsford comprised a population of more than 2000 inhabitants at the turn of the nineteenth century, a figure which changed comparatively little over the course of the following hundred years.¹⁹⁸ It became a market town in the thirteenth century and despite being on the coach route from London to Liverpool in the mid eighteenth century, it essentially relied on “the different handicraft trades” and “the public spirit and liberality of the opulent gentry who reside in its neighbourhood” for its prosperity.¹⁹⁹ The town was indeed liberally served by the presence of several country houses within close quarters:

The vicinity of Knutsford is remarkable for the number of gentlemen’s seats with which it is adorned. No less than ten elegant villas are to be seen within a few miles of the town, and as several of the proprietors are residents, they very materially contribute to the prosperity of Knutsford, by the patronage which they afford to the industrious part of the inhabitants.²⁰⁰

Within a three mile compass of Knutsford lay the seats of the Leicesters of Tabley House, Leycesters of Toft Hall, Leghs of Norbury Booths Hall, and

Magazine of the Arts. National Trust Historic Houses & Collections Annual 2013 (Supplement) (2013): 4-11; and Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840," 103-109, 127-137.

¹⁹⁷ Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 228. Knutsford was traditionally split into two townships, Nether Knutsford and Over Knutsford (also called Knutsford Booths), which remained separate until 1895. See Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 6 and Ormerod, *The History of the County Palatine and City of Chester*, 1, 488-498.

¹⁹⁸ See Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester*, 549-550, 553; Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 228-229; Henry Green, *Knutsford, Its Traditions and History: With Reminiscences, Anecdotes, and Notices of the Neighbourhood* (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1859), 5; and Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 49. In the late eighteenth century Knutsford maintained a small manufacturing industry, but this was not sustained. See Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 229; Hanshall, *The History of the County Palatine of Chester*, 389; Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 43; and Sue Wilkes, *Regency Cheshire* (London: Robert Hale, 2009), 29.

¹⁹⁹ For the quotations, see Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 229. On Knutsford as a market town and thoroughfare on the London to Liverpool line, see Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 5, 25, 61.

²⁰⁰ Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 233. See additionally Wilkes, *Regency Cheshire*, 54-61. It should be noted that Corry’s publication was dedicated to Wilbraham Egerton, and that he and Elizabeth, along with several other prominent local gentry families, were subscribers.

Mainwarings of Over Peover, while the boundary of Tatton Park itself nudged the northern side of the town. These families served important administrative functions within Knutsford and Cheshire, in addition to contributing to the financial and cultural wealth of the area.²⁰¹

As with many other small towns during the late eighteenth century, Knutsford hosted regular assemblies and an annual race meeting.²⁰² Races had been held on Knutsford Heath since at least the late seventeenth century and served to promote "the amusement and emolument of the inhabitants", the town being "much enlivened by the presence of a great number of persons of rank and opulence."²⁰³ The races were clearly dependent on the patronage of the genteel classes; in 1791, the Knutsford meeting was described as "remarkable for being honoured with a more brilliant assemblage of nobility and gentry, than any other in the country; not excepting even Chester", while Henry Green, who was minister at Brook Street Chapel, referred to the "dashing equipages with six fine spirited horses" that could be seen in the earlier part of the nineteenth century as "the *beau ideal* of aristocratic magnificence...".²⁰⁴ The Egertons regularly ran horses in the Knutsford stakes and Wilbraham's account books show that the family patronised the races on a recurring basis, including the race ball.²⁰⁵ It was the withdrawal of generalised patronage, however, that threatened the races in 1849 and they were discontinued in 1873 when William Tatton Egerton declined the use of the heath.²⁰⁶

²⁰¹ See Green, *Knutsford, Its Traditions and History*, 73-76; Leo H. Grindon, *Summer Rambles in Cheshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire* (Manchester and London: Palmer & Howe, and Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1866), 102; and Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 8-9, 43-45, 70. The remaining patrons of the Knutsford Church living, in addition to Wilbraham Egerton, were Sir John Fleming Leicester (1762-1827) of Tabley, who was a patron of British artists, Ralph Leycester (1763-1835) of Toft, and Willoughby Legh (1749-1824) of Norbury Booths (see footnote 191, p. 60 above). For an example of the public-spirited nature of the Knutsford gentry, see *Macclesfield Courier, and Stockport Express; or, Cheshire General Advertiser*, November 16, 1816, which outlined donations given to a subscription for the poor, of which Wilbraham Egerton was listed as the principal contributor.

²⁰² On small town leisure activities, see Clark, "Small Towns 1700-1840," 763-768. On assemblies and horse-racing across Knutsford and other Cheshire county towns, see George A. Payne, *Knutsford: A Bygone Era*, ed. Peter Riley (Cheshire: P&D Riley, 2000), 17-18, 28 and Wilkes, *Regency Cheshire*, 67-68, 70-74.

²⁰³ Corry, *The History of Macclesfield*, 229. On the earlier history of the Knutsford Races, see Green, *Knutsford, Its Traditions and History*, 71 and Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 27, 48.

²⁰⁴ See Green, *Knutsford, Its Traditions and History*, 71 and Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 48.

²⁰⁵ For example, Wilbraham Egerton recorded the following expenses on July 26, 1831 (see DET/3229/11, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies): "Knutsford race Stakes - £20; Subscription at the Ordinary - £3; Lotteries - £4; Dinner - 13s. Stand, & ball &c - £2 10s".

²⁰⁶ See Bagshaw, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of the County Palatine of Chester*, 550 and Leach,

Knutsford assemblies were regular, though possibly infrequent affairs, which took place at the Angel and George inns. The Hon. John Byng (1743–1813), who stayed at the George in June 1790, described “assembly, and tea rooms of spacious grandeur, where are held monthly assemblies; at which the maid brag’d that none but gentility were admitted: but *on no account*, any tradesman.”²⁰⁷ An anonymous diarist for 1778 recorded four visits to assemblies at Knutsford over the course of the year, including one where twenty-three couples attended. The author clearly enjoyed both the dancing and his amiable partners: “Went to Knutsford Assembly. Danced & Sang [?] with the pretty Miss Emma Warburton – 6 with ye agreeable Miss Warburton & 2 with M^{rs}. Davenport”.²⁰⁸ The timing of these assemblies corresponds well with entries in Wilbraham Egerton’s account books; recurring reference to assemblies appeared across the months October to January, suggesting either a distinct provincial winter series of amusements or that genteel county families dipped into a longer series when they were not otherwise engaged in London.²⁰⁹ Punctuating these events were Christmas balls held at the Angel, which accommodated fifty to sixty people who danced “with much spirit till a

Knutsford: A History, 77.

²⁰⁷ C. Bruyn Andrews, ed. *The Torrington Diaries. A Selection from the Tours of the Hon. John Byng (Later Fifth Viscount Torrington) between the Years 1781 and 1794* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1954), 244. The Egertons would have known the George in its late-eighteenth-century incarnation, which contained a ballroom (or assembly room) and a circular card room, both in the style of Robert Adam (1728-1792). For some historical background on the George, see *Historic Knutsford*, (n.p., n.d.) [this publication was previously available free-of-charge for download online, but now seems to have been reprinted by Hardpress Publishing]; Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 35-37, 40, 44, 47, 51-52, 61-62; and Pam Savage, *Knutsford. A Cheshire Market Town, c. 1650-1750: Its Life and People* [cover title *17th Century Knutsford*] (Goostrey: Intec Publishing, 2003), 176-178. For descriptions of the building, see English Heritage’s listing of the George on the British Listed Buildings website (<http://www.britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/en-476400-the-royal-george-hotel-knutsford->) and “List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest. Urban District of Knutsford, Cheshire,” (Department of the Environment, 1974), 11, CP/720/D, located at Cheshire Archives and Local Studies.

²⁰⁸ The diary forms part of the Leicester-Warren of Tabley deposit at the Chester Record Office although there is no identification of the owner. Entries are written on January 14, October 7, November 11 (which included the 23 couples) and December 30 (the above quotation). See DLT/4996/55/11, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, the catalogue of which records it as a child’s journal. Emma Warburton may have been the daughter of Sir Peter Warburton, 4th Baronet (1708-1774) of Arley Hall, who married James Croxton (1751-1792) in 1781. Her name featured in three out of the four diary entries.

²⁰⁹ For example, on January 25 and November 22, 1837, Wilbraham recorded paying £1 4s and £1 2s 6d respectively for the Knutsford assembly. See DET/3229/12, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies. In 1829 the final assembly of the season took place in January, while two years later the second assembly in the series was held in November. See *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, “KNUTSFORD,” January 17, 1829 and December 3, 1831, respectively.

late hour.²¹⁰ In November 1831, Wilbraham recorded a payment of 12s for an assembly at the George, where “upwards of one hundred and eighty persons, members of the most distinguished families in this and the adjoining counties” gathered.²¹¹ Getting to an assembly was not always an easy task – Katharine (Kate) Stanley (1842-1874), of Alderley Park, described engaging “an omnibus & 4 horses from Chelford to go in but as it was very dark we had to go very slowly & so only arrived at Knutsford at ½ 10 and stayed till 12.” Kate quickly made up for the delay, dancing “incessantly 14 times”, although she expressed her dismay at the social circumstances: “I had got out of the way of talking & felt it a trouble & a bore & there was no one interesting there; very few indeed but nearly all London people.”²¹²

The George also hosted annual balls for the local yeomanry regiment, in addition to celebratory balls that were held in the town on occasions of national importance. Advertisements for the yeomanry balls regularly appeared in the *Macclesfield Courier* across many years and due to Wilbraham Egerton’s position as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant with the regiment, the family had strong ties to these events.²¹³ In 1813, a ball was given in celebration of an allied military victory, in which the Knutsford assembly room was decorated with patriotic fervour, while the George was also the location for balls held for the coronations of George IV, William IV and Queen Victoria, in addition to the latter’s marriage.²¹⁴ Indeed, the George welcomed at least two

²¹⁰ See *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, “CHRISTMAS BALL, KNUTSFORD,” December 29, 1838 and “KNUTSFORD,” December 28, 1839. The same quotation occurs in both accounts.

²¹¹ See *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, December 3, 1831. The newspaper account reported that the assembly was held on November 22, corroborating Wilbraham’s account entry from November 23. See DET/3229/11, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies.

²¹² Letter from Katharine Stanley to Edward Lyulph Stanley (1839-1925), the future 4th Baron Stanley of Alderley, dated 16 November 1860, quoted in Bertrand and Patricia Russell, ed. *The Amberley Papers: The Letters and Diaries of Lord and Lady Amberley*, vol. 1 (London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1937), 99.

²¹³ See Beatrix Tollemache, *Cranford Souvenirs and Other Sketches* (London: Rivingtons, 1900), 6 and chapter 5, pp. 284-286 for further details. Wilbraham Egerton was appointed captain of the Dunham Massey troop in 1819 of what became The King’s Regiment of Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry, before taking on the position of Lieutenant Colonel in 1831 and Lieutenant Colonel Commandant in 1835. See Frederick Leary, *The Earl of Chester’s Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry: Its Formation and Services 1797-1897* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, 1898), 85, 113-114.

²¹⁴ See *Macclesfield Courier, and Stockport Express; or, Cheshire General Advertiser*, December 18, 1813, and also December 4, 1813, for a similar account of a ball held at Macclesfield, in relation to the military-inspired ball. See Leach, *Knutsford: A History*, 51; *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, August 20, 1831 (advertisement); June 23,

royal visitors through its doors. The inn was renamed the Royal George in honour of a visit by Princess Victoria in 1832, where she lunched with a Mr Egerton, while in 1848, Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte (1808-1873) was also reportedly a guest, attending a ball in the town.²¹⁵ The George was thus clearly integral to the social life of many genteel families based in Knutsford and its surrounds, providing a stable locale not only for numerous balls, but also for events that were important to the town's history.

Chapter Outline

The gathering of "London people" at the Knutsford assembly is indicative of the manner in which dance and dance music migrated between fashionable London balls and provincial events, with the English country house standing between them as a potential intermediary. Elite women interacted with each of these locations and while generalisations can be made about their experiences as a whole, it is necessary to look at the lives of individual women to discover the nuances that lay behind their engagement with dance and dance music, and thus how these activities contributed to a sense of feminine identity. The first two chapters of this thesis provide a contextual foundation upon which the dance music at Tatton Park can be interpreted. Chapter one gives an historical overview of how women's participation in dance and domestic music-making was conceived from approximately 1770-1850, drawing on a range of contemporary sources in addition to existing work by dance history scholars, social and cultural historians and musicologists.²¹⁶ Chapter two interrogates the role of dance in the English country house, the different

1838 and "KNUTSFORD," June 30, 1838; February 8, 1840 (advertisement) and "THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE. – KNUTSFORD," February 22, 1840, respectively for the royal balls, in addition to chapter 3, pp. 221.

²¹⁵ It is not clear whether Victoria was referring to Wilbraham or William Tatton Egerton. On her visit to Knutsford, see "THE ROYAL VISITORS," *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, October 20 and 27, 1832 and Victoria's journal entry of the visit, RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 19 October 1832 (Queen Victoria's handwriting), vol. 2 pp. 41-42, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 12 September 2014. On Louis-Napoléon's visit, see *Historic Knutsford*, 1 and W.H. Bidwell, ed. "The Emperor Napoleon III. At Knutsford," *The Eclectic Magazine of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art*, September to December 1859, 293.

²¹⁶ The date range of the first chapter was chosen to extend from just before Elizabeth Egerton's birth to just after Charlotte Egerton's death, in order to try and encapsulate as much as possible the prevailing aesthetic, educational and philosophical thought that occurred during the scholastic and music collecting years of each of the three protagonists. Although Lady Charlotte Egerton lived into the 1870s, her music collection predominantly dates from the 1820s and 1830s.

contributions that men and women made to its performance, and the manner in which the ideals of femininity espoused in sources considered in chapter one operated. As no comprehensive history of social dance on country estates currently exists, this chapter is largely dependent on archival sources and published documents to construct a portrait of its manifestation.

The final three chapters are devoted, respectively, to the dance music and dance activities of Elizabeth, Lady Charlotte, and Charlotte Egerton, to explore in detail how the concepts outlined earlier in the thesis were specifically brought to bear in individual lives. These chapters don't attempt to provide a comprehensive overview of the dance music at Tatton Park; rather, specific works and genres have been selectively used to illustrate broader concepts and to delineate intersections between lived dance experience and dance music publications. Additionally, the definition of what constitutes "dance music" has been taken at its most liberal, comprising compositions that were not just functional, but also those that drew on the notion of dance for their inspiration. What each of these case studies demonstrates is the multiplicity of ways in which dance and dance music permeated the experiences of elite women, and how prescribed notions of femininity were both adhered to and contradicted through the dance music they collected.

Chapter 1: The Conceptualisation of Genteel Femininity through Social Dance and Dance Music

[Dancing] is one of the most genteel and polite accomplishments which a young lady can possess. It will give a natural, easy, and graceful air to all the motions of your body, and enable you to behave in company with a modest assurance and address. Besides, it is an art, in which you will frequently be obliged to shew your skill, in the fashionable balls and assemblies, to which your birth and connexions will intitle [sic] you to be introduced; and to appear ignorant or awkward on these occasions, could not fail to put you to the blush. It will likewise contribute greatly to your health, as it is a kind of exercise, which you may take when the badness of the weather, or other circumstances, hinder you from going abroad.¹

In this fictional letter between a mother and daughter, Charles Allen deftly encapsulated the ideology that informed the discourse on social dance in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The dual advantages of improved health and graceful deportment were the pillars upon which dance was promoted in a range of contemporary literature. The interest displayed in corporeal presentation, where the body became a symbol not just of physical and moral health, but also a site for the layered expression of concepts relating to the codification of genteel behaviour, enabled authors to draw on prevailing aesthetic thought in defining privileged bodies. The language they employed, as in Allen's example above, centred on notions of moderation, ease and modesty in conduct, hearkening back to earlier courtly ideals. While many of these precepts also applied to men, the significant role that dance played in the lives of women made it fertile ground for delineating prescribed feminine behaviour. The construction of femininity in this context was highly visual: not only did texts stipulating desired qualities of movement seek to mould elite women into quintessential mobile expressions of class and gentility, the importance of dance as an almost indispensable social tool placed

¹ Charles Allen, *The Polite Lady: Or a Course of Female Education. In a Series of Letters, from a Mother to Her Daughter*, second, corrected ed. (London: Newbery and Carnan, 1769), 14.

them firmly in the gaze of spectators in a manner that approached commodification. By depicting ideal modes of feminine physicality through the lens of grace, elegance and beauty, publications on dance proffer a means of theorising how female identity was expressed in the performance of dance music. As deportment was an enduring daily affair, and as music treatises and historical commentary remained fairly silent on the performance practice of domestic dance music, investigating how these qualities of movement were applied to musical activity opens the door towards understanding how these broader concepts were applied. Given that dance and music were tightly interconnected, and that the provision of dance music fell within the scope of genteel women's activities, looking at the interactions between both disciplines can help to understand more fully how femininity was fashioned through dance.²

1.1 Dance and the Sculpting of Bodies

Dance was promoted as a pleasurable and healthy activity that contributed towards physical, emotional and mental wellbeing, yet it was carefully crafted in terms of binary opposites that spoke much of bodily regulation and control.³ Employing principles of regularity, moderation,

² The dancer and choreographer, Carlo Blasis (1795-1878), effectively opened his 1830 treatise on dance with a brief panegyric on the links between the two art forms. See Carlo Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore. The Art of Dancing: Comprising Its Theory and Practice, and a History of Its Rise and Progress, from the Earliest Times*, trans. R. Barton (London: Edward Bull, 1830), 6-9.

³ On dance and physical health, see Anne Bloomfield and Ruth Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," *History of Education* 37, no. 4 (2008): 606-608, 616 and Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England" (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2002), 47-50, 180-184. On the salutary effect of dance on mental and emotional health, see, for example, *Analysis of the London Ball-Room: In Which Is Comprised the History of the Polite Art, from the Earliest Period, Interspersed with Characteristic Observations on Each of Its Popular Divisions of Country Dances, Which Contain a Selection of the Most Fashionable and Popular Quadrilles, Including Paine's First Set, and a Selection from the Operas of La Gazza Ladra, Il Don Giovanni, Der Freischutz, Pietro L'Eremita, and Il Tancredi; and Waltzes: The Whole, with the Figures Annexed to Each, Calculated for the Use of Domestic Assemblies, and Arranged for the Piano-Forte*, (London and Glasgow: Thomas Tegg and R. Griffin and Co., 1825), 54; *Light Reading at Leisure Hours; or, an Attempt to Unite the Proper Objects of Gaiety and Taste, in Exploring the Various Sources of Rational Pleasure, the Fine Arts, Poetry, Sculpture, Painting, Music, Dancing, Fashionable Pastimes, Lives, Memoirs, Characters, Anecdotes, &c. &c.*, (London: Printed for James Ridgway, 1805), 42-43; Mrs. Alfred Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure* (London and Bath: David Bogue, and Simms and Son, 1851), 1-2, 53-54; Thomas Wilson, *An Analysis of Country Dancing: Wherein Are Displayed All the Figures Ever Used in Country Dances...to Which Are Added, Instructions for Dancing Some Entire New Reels; Together with the Rules, Regulations, and Complete Etiquette of the*

naturalness and their inverse qualities, authors on dance textually sculpted ideal bodies and cautioned against deviation from this norm. Whilst acknowledging the effervescence that the sociability of dance could bring, and the “imaginative intent” that elevated it over other activities, dance publications also stressed the need for appropriate bodily management within a spectrum of movement that ranged “from the gentlest degree of motion, up to that of the most violent activity.”⁴ The search for equilibrium along this spectrum informed much terpsichorean prose, as writers lamented the extremes of excessive dancing and poorly developed figures. The notion of balance was particularly pertinent in relation to women, as it tied into prevailing opinions concerning their ability to perform sustained physical activity and the qualities of femininity that were linked with the supposed “sensibility” of their nervous systems.

The pedagogical discourse prevalent in dance treatises focused on concepts of bodily regularity and deformity, behind which lay the image of an ideal body.⁵ The notion of corporeal improvement was accompanied by the discipline of physical intervention to reshape the body into its desired form.⁶ Dance was praised for its utility in “improving a bad figure or perfecting a good one”, capable of correcting “round backs, high shoulders, knocked knees, [and] flat feet...”⁷ Even children were not exempt from the proposition that they

Ball Room (London: W. Calvert, 1808), vi-vii; *The Art of Dancing, Comprising Its Theory and Practice, in Connexion with the Ball Room, by Which Young Persons May Easily Instruct Themselves So as to Enable Them to Partake of That Healthy, Elegant, and Polite Amusement* (London: William Mason, 1852), 7; and W.H. Woakes, *An Essay on the Attitudes Derived from Gesture to Be Attended to in Dancing, with Observations of the Art: Also, the Etiquette of the English Ball Room* (Hereford: W.H. and J. Parkes, 1825), 8.

⁴ See Francis Mason, *A Treatise on the Use and Peculiar Advantages of Dancing and Exercises, Considered as a Means of Refinement and Physical Development* (London: Sharp and Hale, 1854), 4 and Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (London: Printed for the Author, 1762), 152.

⁵ On the implications of regularity and deformity from an earlier period, see Georges Vigarello, “The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility,” in *Fragments for a History of the Human Body: Part Two*, ed. Michel Feher, Ramona Naddaff, and Nadia Tazi (New York: Zone Books, 1989), 152-155.

⁶ Audrée-Isabelle Tardif argued that the desire for improved physical health, which would aid the bodily expression of gentility, was the basis upon which this body shaping took place. See Tardif, “A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England,” 50-51.

⁷ George Lemore Saunders, ed. *Rock's Ball-Room Hand Book, Quadrille Preceptor, Cellarius Instructor, Mazurka and Polka Companion, and Valses À Deux Tems Danseur, Together with All the Most General and Fashionable Figures as Danced at State Balls and at Almack's*, third ed. (London: Rock, Brothers and Payne, 1845), 7-8. Similar points were made by G.M.S. Chivers, *The Modern Dancing Master; Containing Interesting Information on the Origin and Antiquity of Dancing; Likewise Observations on Deportment; Shewing the Defects and Bad Habits Persons Are Liable to; Also the Utility of the Polite Art, and Its Power*

required dance instruction to remedy some physical deficiencies.⁸ Implicit in this picture is the ideological and corporal battle waged against the human figure as produced by nature; considered in need of enhancement, the body was a canvas for the artificial construction of a superior quality of movement. Dance was explicitly upheld as a tool to rectify deviant bodies, supporting “nature in perfecting its work” and mitigating, if not concealing, her unfortunate defects.⁹ As such, dance had considerable power in achieving and maintaining ideals of physical acceptability.

The creation of the ideal body drew strongly on ideas of moderation and equilibrium as authors sought both to improve on nature and to naturalise the artificial. Malleability of the body was important in constructing corporeal ideals, but its very plasticity opened up potentially detrimental pathways.¹⁰ Several writers protested against the lure of specious or ill-informed dancing masters who had little knowledge of the art, and who subsequently inculcated “bad, awkward habits, that are not afterwards easily curable” into their pupils,

on Man and Animals; Together with the Complete Etiquette of the Ball Room; and Every Explanation Requisite for Performing La Grande Polonoise, Les Ecossoises, Mescolanzes, Swedish Dances, Quadrilles, Spanish Dances, Contre Danses, L'Union Danses, and Various Other Departments, Containing All the Fashionable Figures, with an Explanation of the Technical Terms to Each of the Different Styles of Dancing, and Nearly One Hundred of the Most Popular Airs, Arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp, Violin, or Flute (London: Published at the Author's Salle de Danse, 1822), 28 and R. Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room, Containing a Selection of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles, Waltzes, Country Dances, and Gallopades; with Observations on the Art of Dancing, Selected from Various Authors of Distinguished Character; and an Explanation of Terms Used in Dancing* (Lincoln: W. Brooke and Sons, 1830), v.

⁸ See Francis Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing; as a Necessary Accomplishment to the Youth of Both Sexes; Together with Remarks on the Defects and Bad Habits They Are Liable to in Early Life; and the Best Means of Correcting or Preventing Them. Intended as Hints to the Young Teachers of the Art of Dancing* (Aberdeen: J. Chalmers & Co., 1805), 16-17 and George Ware, *Sketches & Observations on the Necessity and Importance of Early Tuition in the Art of Dancing, Recommended to the Attention of Parents and Guardians* (London: Printed by A. Macpherson, 1805), 7.

⁹ E.A. Théleur, *Letters on Dancing, Reducing This Elegant and Healthful Exercise to Easy Scientific Principles*, second ed. (London: Sherwood & Co., 1832), 86. See additionally Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 157; Richard Leppert, *Music and Image* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 71-72; and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 52.

¹⁰ I am very grateful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for pointing out malleability as a more hidden value in the discourse around deformity and body creation. For further discussion on the concept of malleability and deportment, especially in relation to the moulding of children's figures, see Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," 168-176. Donald Walker considered “pliability” to be amongst some of the most prized attributes of ideal dance. See Donald Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles* (London: Thomas Hurst, 1836), 142-143.

creating the very defects they sought to avoid.¹¹ Malleability also formed one end of the physical spectrum upon which the ideal body sat, with dance playing the mediator in bringing it towards the middle ground: “[Dance] is as great an enemy to stiffness, as it is to looseness of carriage, and air. It equally reprobates an ungainly rusticity, and a mincing, tripping, over-soft manner.”¹² The point at which the body, disciplined into a “natural” bearing, veered towards a contrived comportment, was necessarily subjective:

...who ever witnesses two or three couple of little masters and misses, set up by their friends like so many animated nine-pins, to dance a quadrille, with their chins perked out, and their arms pinioned to their sides like a trussed chicken, without a feeling of disgust...¹³

If dance was required to shape the body into an ideological stereotype, when carried to excess, it merely succeeded in creating caricature.

Moderation was also an important feature in the debate about exercise for girls, wherein dance was recommended as an activity peculiarly suited to ideas of feminine constitution and decorum. While boys and men could keep themselves active through sports such as cricket, hunting and fencing, women were potentially disadvantaged by a lack of socially sanctioned pursuits that provided enough physical stimulation without breaching notions of propriety.¹⁴

¹¹ See Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 159; Théleur, *Letters on Dancing, Reducing This Elegant and Healthful Exercise to Easy Scientific Principles*, 86; and Thomas Wilson, *The Complete System of English Country Dancing, Containing All the Figures Ever Used in English Country Dancing, with a Variety of New Figures, and New Reels...* (London: Printed for Sherwood, Neeley and Jones, 1820), 318.

¹² Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 145.

¹³ Sir George Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess* (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1844), 155.

¹⁴ See Theresa Jill Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 104-106. Jean-Paul Desai postulated that dance, in fact, was a medium through which women could achieve some equality with men in terms of physical movement. See Jean-Paul Desai, "The Ambiguities of Literature," trans. Arthur Goldhammer, in *A History of Women in the West: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, vol. 3 (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), 291. For some contemporary comment on appropriate exercise for girls, see Erasmus Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools* (Derby: Printed by J. Drewry for J. Johnson, 1797), 68-70; Catharine Macaulay Graham, *Letters on Education. With Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects* (Dublin: Printed for H. Chamberlaine and Rice, L. White, W. McKenzie, J. Moore, Grueber and McAllister, W. Jones, and R. White, 1790), 89; Priscilla Wakefield, *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex; with Suggestions for Its Improvement* (London: Printed for J. Johnson, and Darton and Harvey, 1798), 19-22; and Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 26. On dance as a suitable physical activity for women, see Mary Fitz George, *Ball Room Refinement: An Essay on the Style of Dancing in 1850* (London: D. Lewis and Kent & Co., 1851), 14-15; Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 155-156; and Wilson, *An Analysis of Country*

In part, women were hampered by a perception that they were naturally composed of a softer and weaker disposition than men; not only was equivalent physical exertion considered unsuitable, it was also threatening to qualities regarded as quintessentially feminine. Donald Walker, in his 1836 treatise on exercise for women, referred to a familiar trope in his depiction of female sensitivity:

The weakness of woman arises from the extreme tenderness of the fibres of which the muscles are composed...This delicacy seems to be naturally accompanied by an openness to impressions, and a sensibility which is lively and easily excited...The constitution of women, indeed, bears only moderate exercise. Their feeble arms cannot support severe and long-continued labour. It renders them meagre, and deforms the organs, by compressing and destroying that cellular substance which contributes to the beauty of their outlines and of their complexion. The graces accommodate themselves little to labour, perspiration and sun-burning.¹⁵

In this light, Walker considered dance to be, "of all exercises, the most suitable to females", partly on account of its tendency to promote grace and agility over physical brawn, and partly as a tonic against sedentariness, brought on by excessive mental focus or fashionable indolence.¹⁶

Dancing, xi. For some secondary sources outlining women's limited participation in physical exercise in the later nineteenth century, see Paul Atkinson, "Fitness, Feminism and Schooling," in *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Cultural and Physical World*, ed. Sara Delamont and Lorna Duffin (London and New York: Croom Helm and Barnes & Noble Books, 1978), 92-133 and Pamela Horn, *Pleasures & Pastimes in Victorian Britain* (Stroud: Amberley, 2011), 207-208.

¹⁵ Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 50 and 54. For some sources on nineteenth-century medical conceptions of women relating to their nervous systems and "sensibility", see G.J. Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), chapter 1; Anne Digby, "Women's Biological Straitjacket," in *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 192-220; Ludmilla Jordanova, *Nature Displayed: Gender, Science and Medicine 1760-1820* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), 168-169; Ornella Moscucci, *The Science of Woman: Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800-1929*, ed. Charles Webster and Charles Rosenberg, Cambridge History of Medicine (Cambridge, New York and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 104-105; Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), 18-20; and Kevin Siena, "Pliable Bodies: The Moral Biology of Health and Disease," in *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Enlightenment*, ed. Carole Reeves (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2010), 40.

¹⁶ Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*,

As a counterpart to this argument, dance was additionally conceived as a substitute for more rowdy activities, blurring the boundary between when moderation became excess. Not all authors subscribed to the view of languishing ladies; certainly before reaching their teenage years, young girls were encouraged in some cases to be as active as their brothers. Boisterousness was not necessarily contradictory to femininity, although older girls were obliged to adopt a more decorous approach.¹⁷ One author ambitiously suggested that the combined performance of music and dance provided girls with an appropriate indoor activity that circumvented restrictions placed on noisy behaviour:

As those "shoutings, and rompings," which are so strongly recommended for young ladies, cannot often be enjoyed in this country in the open air, on account of the variableness of our climate...and as those "outbursts of animal pleasure," are not considered altogether decorous within doors; might not some advantage be derived by young females during a course of education, if they were to practice dancing *every day to the music of their own voices?*...If then easy melodies adapted to dancing were harmonized, and each pupil at the time of dancing were to take a part, according to the quality of her voice, would not a double benefit accrue from this plan?¹⁸

Despite the impracticability of the scenario, it suggests that dance held some equivalency with "shoutings, and rompings", yet simultaneously acted as a moderating influence.¹⁹ The dancing in the above example, at least, would have needed to be rather sedate to avoid injury to the vocal harmony.

132 and 148-149. Several authors on dance, in addition to Walker, were broadly critical of contemporary schooling for young ladies, arguing that it led to the development of poor posture and mental strain. See, for example, *An Essay on the Art of Dancing, Viewed in Connection with Physical Education*, (London: Calkin and Budd, 1838), 15-16, 28; Saunders, *Rock's Ball-Room Hand Book*, 6; and Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 8-12. On dance and indolence see, for example, Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 151-154.

¹⁷ See, for example, Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess*, 253, 255, who recommended that girls take part in exercise as vigorous as that undertaken by boys, provided that the activity was decorous for both.

¹⁸ *An Essay on the Art of Dancing, Viewed in Connection with Physical Education*, 31-32.

¹⁹ Sir George Stephen also suggested that dance was "a good substitute for running and jumping". See Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess*, 255.

Excess in dancing was considered deleterious to physical and moral health, as well as harmful to the expression of refined femininity. Particularly vivacious dancing was apt to cause “an immoral tendency” in women, whilst “[f]evers [and] inflammations” were apprehended as the probable consequences of over-indulgence in the ballroom.²⁰ The transition into overt signs of bodily exertion and fatigue was finely pointed, for it was accompanied by the loss of qualities considered quintessential to the performance of genteel dance:

Every lady should desist from dancing the moment she feels any difficulty of breathing; for oppression, overheating and perspiration render the most beautiful dancer an object of ridicule or of pity for the time...When [fatigue's] gradual approach is felt, dancing should be left off...The steps and attitudes lose that easy elegance, that natural grace which bestow upon dancers the most enchanting appearance.²¹

Grace, elegance and beauty were some of the most fundamental aesthetic concepts linked to critiques of dancing, their presence evidently dependent upon the maintenance of moderation in activity. Donald Walker was incisive in his assessment of the value of grace and its connection with excess dancing: “The dance is nothing without grace: leave off before gracefulness leaves you.”²²

²⁰ See Honoria, *The Female Mentor: Or, Select Conversations*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: Printed for T. Cadell, 1793), 103-104 and *Light Reading at Leisure Hours*, 43-45.

²¹ Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 144-145, quoted in Elizabeth Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 42-43.

²² Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 145.

1.2 Dance as the Quintessence of Grace and Elegance

...Dancing is not a phantom, a mere term...it is the embodiment, if the expression may be allowed, of grace and elegance...²³

Dance was inextricably entwined with the development of graceful deportment and elegant conduct.²⁴ A marker of a polite education, dance was deemed an important tool in the performance of gentility, facilitating the basic language of social intercourse: "A Gentleman or Lady cannot even enter a Room, make a genteel Bow or Courtesy, or walk graceful and polite, without being instructed in this part of Education."²⁵ The connection between dance and the pursuance of a decorous mien was not, of course, new – many nineteenth-century texts on dance quoted from the works of Quintilian (b.c. AD 35), Edward Herbert, 1st Baron Herbert of Cherbury (1582?-1648), Andrew Michael Ramsay (1686-1743) and John Locke (1632-1704) to justify its importance amidst a little suppressed anxiety about its ethical rigour.²⁶ These extracts spoke not of the importance of dance as an activity in itself, but of the bodily fashioning and behavioural refinement it provided, the "art of controlled, developed and privileged performance."²⁷ Locke, for instance, regarded dancing as "that which gives *graceful Motions*...and above all things, Manliness...For as for the jigging Part, and the Figures of Dancing, I count that

²³ Mason, *A Treatise on the Use and Peculiar Advantages of Dancing and Exercises, Considered as a Means of Refinement and Physical Development*, 34.

²⁴ Thomas Wilson neatly encapsulated this relationship when he remarked, "A genteel air, graceful manners, and elegant and easy action, is always expected from those who have been instructed in the art of Dancing". See Wilson, *The Art of Dancing*, 5.

²⁵ Madeleine Inglehearn, *The Minuet in the Late Eighteenth Century, with a Reprint of S.J. Gardiner's a Dancing Master's Instruction Book 1786* (London: Madeleine Inglehearn, 1998), 1. This was a view shared by many authors: see, for example, James P. Cassidy, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Dancing, with an Appropriate Poem, in Two Cantos, and Plates Illustrative of the Art* (Dublin: William Folds, 1810), 5-6; Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing; to Which Is Added, a Collection of Cotillons or French Dances* (London: Printed for the Author, n.d.), 119-120; Mr. Jenkins, *The Art of Dancing. A Poem. Preceded by a Historical and Descriptive Account of National Dances, and Followed by Directions for the Acquisition of a Graceful Air and Deportment; and for the Remedy of Natural and of Acquired Defects* (London: J.J. Stockdale, 1822), 59; Alexander Strathy, *Elements of the Art of Dancing; with a Description of the Principal Figures in the Quadrille* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1822), 10-11; and Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 1-2.

²⁶ For contextualisation of dance in this regard from earlier sources, see Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," 156, 179, 184. On the association of dance with negative aspects of morality, see Leppert, *Music and Image*, 72-75 and Ann Wagner, *Adversaries of Dance: From the Puritans to the Present* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

²⁷ Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," 179.

little or nothing, farther than as it tends to perfect *graceful Carriage*."²⁸ Dance was also more broadly associated with the ethos of civilisation, and for its admirers, represented protection against a descent into savagery:

So long as dancing is cultivated, civilisation progresses; but no sooner is the interdict sent forth against this elegant accomplishment and social amusement, than the people who were once refined and polished by its inspiration relapse into barbarism...²⁹

Dance was thus projected as a progenitor and preserver of genteel conduct, at once an indicator of class and an artificial means of its transmission.

Graceful deportment retained considerable cultural value in the commerce of polite society as a signifier of good breeding, refinement and cultivation. As a visual expression of social status and wealth, bodily conduct had immediacy in the currency of the civil world, an immediacy that was closely connected to dance: "In the common intercourse of life, nothing tends more than general deportment to impress a sense of superiority and refinement on society, and it is impossible to disconnect its cultivation from dancing, with which it is so intimately associated..."³⁰ A becoming deportment helped to ease social transactions and smooth the way to preferment:

²⁸ John Locke, *Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, ninth ed. (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, J. Pemberton, and E. Symon, 1732), 307.

²⁹ Mrs. Nicholas Henderson, *Etiquette of the Ball-Room, and Guide to the New and Fashionable Dances; Containing the Steps and Figures of Quadrilles, Valses, Polkas, Galops, Mazourkas, Country Dances, Etc.; with Hints and Instructions Respecting Toilet and Deportment* (London: George Biggs, 1850?), viii. On the progression from *civilité* to civilisation, see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, ed. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom, and Stephen Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott, revised ed. (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1994, 2000), 88-89. The notions of savagery and civility, were, of course, wittily explored by Jane Austen in *Pride and Prejudice*, where Mr Darcy dryly noted that "Every savage can dance". See Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 22.

³⁰ Mason, *A Treatise on the Use and Peculiar Advantages of Dancing and Exercises, Considered as a Means of Refinement and Physical Development*, 5-6. James Cassidy referred to dance as "very effectual in bringing about the *business* of graceful deportment" [my emphasis]. See Cassidy, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Dancing*, 70. Paul Langford argued for politeness as "a logical consequence of commerce" and linked the latter with ideas of consumption and luxury. If politeness was indeed "as much a question of material acquisitions" as it was about the development of genteel sociability, then deportment could be considered as essential to politeness on both accounts – the forms of deportment that were adopted were inevitably part of the performance of social interaction, yet their very acquisition was expressive of the leisure and income necessary to learn and maintain those skills. Deportment could therefore be regarded as a commodity that was purchased and traded on a daily basis. See Paul Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727-1783*, *The New Oxford History of England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 4 (see Introduction for connections with commerce and

It has very often happened, that men with a pleasing exterior, an easy, smooth, at the same time confident address, have succeeded in making their way in the world with scarcely any other requisite to recommend or introduce them. This in a moral sense is to be lamented and deplored; but when it is viewed as one of the results of a graceful person and carriage, attained by a knowledge of dancing, I do not think it either impertinent or improper to allude to these facts...³¹

This scenario is expressive of the tensions that appeared in the earlier eighteenth-century discourse on politeness, where increasing uneasiness arose about the perceived disjunction between inner intent and outward appearance, when politeness became "the creation of an image, not the manifestation of the soul."³² To some extent texts on dance and deportment also grappled with this distinction, although inevitably the focus was on the physical expression of exterior actions. This manifested primarily through rules of etiquette for conduct within and without the ballroom, including the performance of simple social gestures and recommendations for interactions between men and women.³³ In adopting such forms of polite comportment, however, a distinction was made between conduct that was truly graceful, and that which was

p. 71 for politeness and its association with goods, values and etiquette). For additional secondary sources on politeness, see Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 24, 27; Susan Fitzmaurice, "Changes in the Meanings of *politeness* in Eighteenth-Century England: Discourse Analysis and Historical Evidence," in *Historical (Im)Politeness*, ed. Jonathan Culpeper and Dániel Z. Kádár, Linguistic Insights, vol. 65 (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2010), 92, 110; and Lawrence Klein, "The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 18, no. 2 (Winter, 1984-1985): 186-188.

³¹ Ware, *Sketches & Observations on the Necessity and Importance of Early Tuition in the Art of Dancing*, 14. See also Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 54-55, 70.

³² Klein, "The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness," 191. For a discussion of definitions of politeness and the changes it underwent during the eighteenth century, see Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, Introduction and chapter 1; Fitzmaurice, "Changes in the Meanings of *Politeness* in Eighteenth-Century England: Discourse Analysis and Historical Evidence," 87-115; and Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 1-14. See additionally Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 40-48, 58-60, who contextualised discussions of politeness in relation to dance and deportment.

³³ See Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 56. Many dance manuals included lists of etiquette for the ballroom. Examples of those that devoted more space to the subject include Matthew Towle, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Private Tutor* (London: Printed for the Author, 1770), 176-199 and Thomas Wilson, *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing* (London: Published by the Author, 1821).

superficial, avoiding “a merely mechanical imitation of what is elegant and refined.”³⁴

Despite the concern evinced at the prospect of an exterior application of grace and politeness, the descriptive and prescriptive nature of literature on the subject meant it was open to purchase, and as such could be construed as an act of theatricality.³⁵ As in the discourse around deformity, nature was subjected to artifice in the name of improvement, but the craft that lay behind a “natural” or graceful demeanour remained hidden:

Neither must that air, the acquisition of which I am recommending, ever appear to be the effect of study; the beauty, the energy of it, is to seem something innate, and not acquired. The whole grace of it vanishes, when it is perceived to be an art.³⁶

That it *was* a form of enactment was explicitly articulated by dancing master Barclay Dun, who advocated simplicity “as the only medium through which we can display *the art of concealing art*.”³⁷ Behind such a performance lay a distinct physical effort to wrench the body into its desired form:

...to dance elegantly, walk gracefully, or address ourselves with ease...we must absolutely reverse the nature of things, and force our limbs, by

³⁴ Mason, *A Treatise on the Use and Peculiar Advantages of Dancing and Exercises, Considered as a Means of Refinement and Physical Development*, 6.

³⁵ On the dissemination of conduct or politeness through literature, see Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, 33-36 and Fitzmaurice, "Changes in the Meanings of *Politeness* in Eighteenth-Century England: Discourse Analysis and Historical Evidence," 110. On the theatrical and learned nature of politeness and deportment, see, for example Jorge Ardit, *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 86-91; Klein, "The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness," 191-192, 196-197, 199; and Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," 156-157, 177-179, 184, 186-189.

³⁶ Gallini, *Critical Observations on the Art of Dancing*, 143, see also 136-138. The concept of ease owes its lineage to Baldassare Castiglione's (1485-1554) description of *sprezzatura* in *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528), in which he suggested that the language of grace could not only be imitated, but must become “*habitu corporis*”. See Ardit, *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, 101-108 and Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," 156.

³⁷ Barclay Dun, *A Translation of Nine of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles, Consisting of Fifty French Country Dances, as Performed in England and Scotland...to Which Are Prefixed, a Few Observations on the Style, &c. of the Quadrille, the English Country Dance, and the Scotch Reel* (Edinburgh: Printed for the Author, 1818), 16.

artificial application, equally tedious and painful, to assume a very different situation from what they originally received."³⁸

Grace was thus essentially bodily sculpture, implicated in the conscious application of an assumed negligence and the result of intentional (and perhaps laboured) corporeal adjustment.³⁹

The perception of grace, elegance and harmoniousness of form was created through the judicious deployment of different parts of the body. The ability to walk well required "a graceful dignity in the management of the body" and formed a template for the display of corporeal elegance.⁴⁰ Yet again, the qualities of moderation, equilibrium and naturalness were fundamental in creating a genteel, graceful body. The limbs were to be handled with a confined sense of poise and were to merge agreeably in their actions to create a vision of overall unity:

...the body ought to be carried erect, without either stiffness or restraint; the head upright; a gentle, well contrasted, and graceful motion of the arms...without deviating from the rules nature has set, are all prominent elegancies, and ought to be deemed and practised as distinct units of one harmonious and entire whole.⁴¹

The proper use of the arms was equally important to the expression of grace as the performance of steps; they were to be gently curved "so that the elbows and wrists make the least appearance possible", employing "no extravagant movement", with the fingers "grouped and presenting a slight turn to

³⁸ Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 147, which is a paraphrase of Jean-Georges Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, trans. Cyril W. Beaumont, revised ed. (Alton: Dance Books, orig. 1803, trans. 1930, facs. ed. 2004), Letter XII, p. 117.

³⁹ See Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 58-60, on the fashioning of the self through dance and deportment.

⁴⁰ Quoted in Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 139-140 and Ware, *Sketches & Observations on the Necessity and Importance of Early Tuition in the Art of Dancing*, 25. For further descriptions of the role of different body parts in cultivating correct deportment and grace, see Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 93-101.

⁴¹ Ware, *Sketches & Observations on the Necessity and Importance of Early Tuition in the Art of Dancing*, 25, which is similarly expressed in Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 140.

correspond with the contour of the arms."⁴² Conversely, incorrect positioning or utilisation of the hands and feet led to inelegance, affectation and vulgarity, the body betraying immediately a lack of refinement and practice.⁴³

Amongst descriptions of dances practised at the turn of the nineteenth century, the minuet was highly esteemed for its ability to display graceful and elegant movement.⁴⁴ Authors on dance unhesitatingly praised the minuet for its ability to impart grace and considered it fundamental in learning not only how to dance, but also how to exhibit the "graces" of gentility.⁴⁵ The minuet required "aesthetic virtuosity and technical excellence", as the entire body was involved in the synchronous performance of ease and grace:

...there is a certain *je ne sais quoi* in the management of the body, and expression of the countenance...there are some pointed traits in a just and elegant performance of the Minuet...which ought to be attended to with precision: such as a well set Head, an expressive modesty in the Eye, and a diversity of Countenance; the inflexions of the Neck, which should be free and easy; the Shoulders well drawn back, and a full Chest; a graceful and dignified carriage of the Body, a gentle commanding flexibility of the Joints in sinking and rising; the good position, and proportionate distance of the Feet, in all their motions; a free, yet

⁴² See Strathy, *Elements of the Art of Dancing; with a Description of the Principal Figures in the Quadrille*, 14 and Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 137.

⁴³ See, for example, Edward Payne, *A New Companion to the Ball Room, Containing Remarks on the Deportment of the Person, and the Defects and Bad Habits Persons Are Liable to in the Ball Room; Likewise Upwards of One Hundred and Twenty Different Popular Country Dance Figures, with the Like Number of the Most Fashionable and Favorite Tunes, on an Entire New Method; So That Any Person of the Slightest Conception, Can Make Choice of a Tune and Adapt a Proper Figure to It, with an Explanation How to Adapt Any Tune to a Figure: To Which Are Added the Regulations of the Ball Room, with Many Other Observations* (London: n.p., 1814), 18; M.J. Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, miniature ed. (London: H.G. Clarke & Co., 1848), 23-24; Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 138-139; and Woakes, *An Essay on the Attitudes Derived from Gesture to Be Attended to in Dancing, with Observations of the Art: Also, the Etiquette of the English Ball Room*, 16-17, 20.

⁴⁴ See Introduction pp. 19-22.

⁴⁵ Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 73-74. See also Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 172; Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room*, 31; and Ware, *Sketches & Observations on the Necessity and Importance of Early Tuition in the Art of Dancing*, 18-19, in addition to Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 79, 84, 87-88, 91.

nervous, play of the Instep. These, together with a graceful management of the Arms, and manner of giving the Hands, are the outlines of a portrait...⁴⁶

As a highly visual dance, the minuet put grace and elegance boldly on display, providing a sumptuous feast for spectators in terms of rhythmic complexity, horizontal and vertical variation, and interplay between dancers.⁴⁷

Characterised by "its gentle and gracefully rising and sinking movements", the minuet was "deemed a model of graceful beauty in Dancing, when well performed" but created only distaste when poorly attempted.⁴⁸

The language of proportion, balance and harmony that permeates these extracts alludes to definitions of grace proposed by Edmund Burke (1729/30-1797), the antecedents of which were visible in sixteenth-century publications on conduct.⁴⁹ Burke's extract is worth reprinting at length, given the intersections with later conceptions of grace expressed by authors on dance:

Gracefulness is an idea not very different from beauty; it consists in much the same things. Gracefulness is an idea belonging to *posture* and *motion*. In both these, to be graceful, it is requisite that there be no appearance of difficulty; there is required a small inflexion of the body; and a composure of the parts, in such a manner, as not to incumber [sic] each other, nor to appear divided by sharp and sudden angles. In this ease, this roundness, this delicacy of attitude and motion, it is that all the magic of grace consists, and what is called its *je ne sçai quoi*...⁵⁰

Despite the ubiquitousness of grace and elegance in contemporary literature on dance and conduct, relatively few authors chose to define these terms as clearly as Burke. Indeed, in the history of politeness, grace and elegance were associated characteristics, but like the term 'politeness' itself, were somewhat

⁴⁶ For the first quotation, see Ardit, *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, 55, who employed these terms to describe Castiglione's conception of manners. For the quotation on the minuet, see Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 74-75.

⁴⁷ See Introduction p. 18.

⁴⁸ See Wilson, *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing*, 15 and Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 162.

⁴⁹ See Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," 156.

⁵⁰ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757), 107.

slippery to grasp.⁵¹ Francis Peacock was one of the few to attempt it, naming grace as one of six attributes of dance and defining it as a “fitness of parts, and good attitude...”⁵² Peacock’s definition characteristically linked grace with dance, but provided few practical guidelines for its achievement.

Many authors described grace in relation to elegance, ease and simplicity, although the resultant linguistic and conceptual tangle did little to elucidate the fundamental physical qualities of grace. A range of definitions from dance and conduct literature illustrates the interdependence of the terminology: John Bennett stipulated, “Without ease, there can be no grace. Without grace, there cannot be politeness”; W.H. Woakes defined “elegance in dancing, as...the result of ease”; while John Gregory (1724-1773) conceived of elegance as “the high polish of every other [quality]. It is what diffuses an ineffable grace over every look, every motion...it is the perfection of taste in life and manners; every virtue and every excellency in their most graceful and amiable forms.”⁵³ For women, the visual aspect of elegance was intimately tied to bodily appearance and the manifestation of propriety. Elegance in dress was equated with elegance of person, such that “The result of the finest toilet should be an *elegant woman*, not an elegantly-dressed woman.”⁵⁴ The same author lambasted the excess and lack of taste shown by those who chose to profusely decorate the body, by implication associating elegance with moderation and simplicity:

All nations are ransacked to equip a modern fine lady; and, after all, she may perhaps strike a contemporary *beau* as *a fine lady*, but no son of

⁵¹ See Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, 20-23 and Klein, “The Third Earl of Shaftesbury and the Progress of Politeness,” 207. Georges Vigarello expressed a similar lack of definition with regards to grace in his work on the historical uprightness of the body. See Vigarello, “The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility,” 156-157, 177.

⁵² Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 69.

⁵³ Rev. John Bennett, *Strictures on Female Education; Chiefly as It Relates to the Culture of the Heart. In Four Essays* (Dublin: Printed by Pat. Wogan, 1798), 149; Woakes, *An Essay on the Attitudes Derived from Gesture to Be Attended to in Dancing, with Observations of the Art: Also, the Etiquette of the English Ball Room*, 24; and Dr. John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, new ed. (London: Printed for G. Robertson, 1792), 78-79. Gregory’s definition of elegance bears some parallels with that of Burke, who regarded elegance as “composed of parts smooth and polished”. See Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, 107.

⁵⁴ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume* (London: B. Crosby and Co., 1811), 61.

nature could, at a glance, possibly find out that she meant to represent an *elegant woman*.⁵⁵

What these examples indicate is an overriding concern for physical, behavioural and perhaps moral superiority, in which grace, elegance and ease acted as the currency and manifestation of social distinction.

1.3 Beauty is in the Eye of the Beholder

*As dancing is the accomplishment most calculated to display a fine form, elegant taste, and graceful carriage to advantage; so towards it, our regards must be particularly turned: and we shall find that when Beauty, in all her power, is to be set forth, she cannot chuse a more effective exhibition.*⁵⁶

The concept of beauty was integral to definitions of femininity and the aesthetic interpretation of women's involvement in dance.⁵⁷ Dance was considered "the best and surest way of preserving, or even giving" beauty to women.⁵⁸ In discussing the quality of beauty within dance itself, and in the dancing female figure, nineteenth-century authors frequently drew upon William Hogarth's (1697-1764) "line of beauty" as its highest expression.⁵⁹ In *The Analysis of Beauty*, first published in 1753, Hogarth set forth the waving line as the "line of beauty" and the serpentine line as the "line of grace", the latter distinguished from the former by its three dimensional winding form and

⁵⁵ Ibid., 24-25. In the same paragraph, the author also deplored immodesty, deformity and affectation in appearance.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 174.

⁵⁷ On the close relationship between beauty and theories of womanly characteristics and behaviour, see Robert W. Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), particularly 1-2, 5-7 and chapter 2; Moscucci, *The Science of Woman: Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800-1929*, 35; and David M. Turner, "The Body Beautiful," in *A Cultural History of the Human Body in the Enlightenment*, ed. Carole Reeves (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2010), 116. On dance as a particularly apt vehicle for the display of beauty, see Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 164-165.

⁵⁸ Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 147-148. Beauty was also closely associated with deportment. See Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 161-163 and Turner, "The Body Beautiful," 114-115.

⁵⁹ See Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 165.

exemplified by the various movements of the minuet (see Figure 16).⁶⁰ The close relationship between the two lines was mirrored in descriptions of female dancing; curved arms were recommended in the performance of sundry motions that formed part of the language of dance, as “angles in the female form are destructive of grace” and were ameliorated only by the “line of beauty.”⁶¹

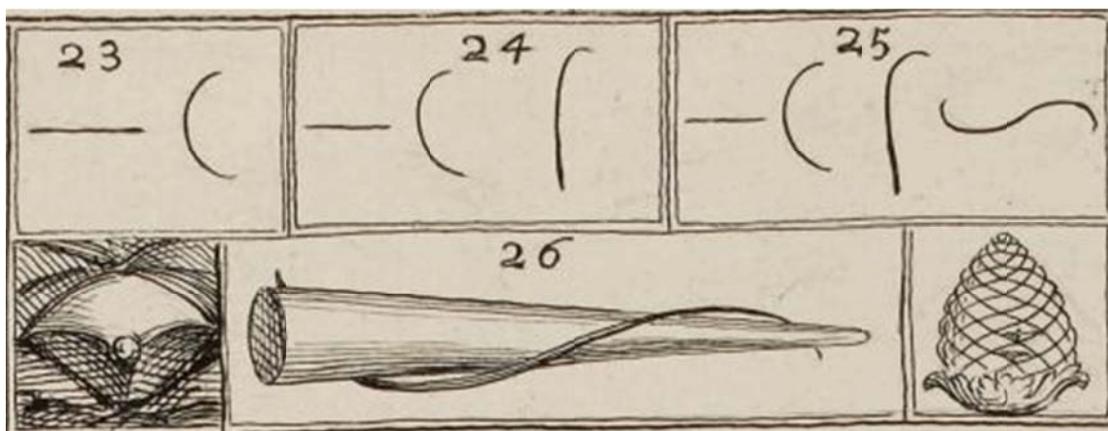


FIGURE 16. EXTRACT FROM PLATE 1 OF WILLIAM HOGARTH'S *THE ANALYSIS OF BEAUTY*, OUTLINING STRAIGHT AND CIRCULAR LINES [NO. 23], A COMBINATION OF STRAIGHT AND CIRCULAR LINES [NO. 24], THE WAVING LINE, DESIGNATED THE “LINE OF BEAUTY” [NO. 25] AND THE SERPENTINE LINE, TERMED THE “LINE OF GRACE” [NO. 26], 1753 © TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The application of Hogarth’s theory of lines found a direct expression in Thomas Wilson’s (fl. 1800-1839) work on dance and deportment, *The Address*, in which he categorised common figures in country dances and quadrilles according to the class of lines they produced in performance. Hogarth himself conceived of country dancing as “a delightful play upon the eye”, an art form whose beauty was determined by “moving in a composed variety of lines...”⁶² It was precisely this “variety of lines” that Wilson drew upon in his analysis of

⁶⁰ William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London: J. Reeves, 1753), 38-39, 147-148. For a discussion of Hogarth’s work in connection with ideals of dance, see Annie Richardson, “An Aesthetics of Performance: Dance in Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty*,” *Dance Research* XX, no. 2 (2002): 38-87 and Raymond Julian Ricketts, “Dance as Social Practice in Eighteenth-Century British Discourse and Culture” (PhD, Rutgers University, 2006), 142-150.

⁶¹ Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 24. Hogarth himself regarded the female body as the most precise bodily reproduction of the s-shaped line. See Richardson, “An Aesthetics of Performance: Dance in Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty*,” 44.

⁶² Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, 150.

dance figures and the movements they created. He regarded curved and serpentine lines as “the *acme* of grace” in addition to being the “most beautiful”, and like Hogarth, highly esteemed the figure of the ‘hey’, which consisted of interweaving serpentine lines, for its “flowing graces and beauty...”⁶³ Circular and half circular lines were “not so beautiful and elegant in their formation or effect”, but nonetheless were “of such a pleasing nature, as to claim the attention, and attract the particular notice of the spectators.”⁶⁴ Straight and angular lines were the least productive of beauty; Wilson deemed them “useful, but not elegant” and considered that figures based on these lines merely created variation through contrast.⁶⁵ Leading figures in country dances, which invariably contained straight lines, were “very useful in assisting to form the dance” but could “produce nothing pleasing either to the performer or spectator”, while angular movements were “the very reverse of graceful and beautiful forms.”⁶⁶ What is significant about Wilson’s explanation of these precepts is that he specifically referred to them to enable dancers to choose and combine figures according to taste. By so doing, he empowered those who created the dance to choreograph according to ideas of grace, elegance and beauty, and those who performed the dance to endow those figures with appropriate representations of the same.⁶⁷

Wilson’s explicit inclusion of the spectator in his analysis of lines, and contemporary written portrayals of women dancing, attest strongly to the presence of an unseen observer drawing on an active aesthetic knowledge.⁶⁸ A description of a female dancer in *The Mirror of the Graces* not only illustrated feminine plasticity, and as such alluded to the “line of beauty”, it also pointedly offered the dancer’s body for visual consumption to the viewer:

⁶³ Wilson, *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing*, 11, 14. For Hogarth’s description of the ‘hey’, see Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty*, 150-151.

⁶⁴ Wilson, *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing*, 15.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁷ See *ibid.*, 10. For an example of women choosing figures in a dance, see letter from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris Jr., dated 7 November 1773, in Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 745.

⁶⁸ On the judgement of beauty and its place within philosophical thought, see Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty*, 3, 8-9.

The body should always be poised with such ease, as to command a power of graceful undulation, in harmony with the motion of the limbs of the dance...The general carriage should be elevated and light; the chest thrown out, the head easily erect, but flexible to move with every turn of the figure; and the limbs should be all braced and animated with the spirit of motion...By this elasticity pervading the whole person, when the dancer moves off, her flexile shape will gracefully sway with the varied steps of her feet; and her arms, instead of hanging loosely by her side, or rising abruptly and squarely up, to take hands with her partner, will be raised in beautiful and harmonious unison and time with the music and the figure; and her whole person will thus exhibit, to the delighted eye, perfection in beauty, grace and motion.⁶⁹

This invocation to beauty and grace for the “delighted eye” presupposed a certain acquaintance with these concepts on the part of the observer, and an ability to cast judgement on them as qualities embodied in the physical form.⁷⁰ Dance became, in effect, a silent conversation between dancers and spectators, where acts of beauty, grace and elegance were performed, received, understood and critiqued.⁷¹

⁶⁹ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 182-183. James Usher (1720-1771) similarly portrayed beauty in the context of the entire dancing body in his 1767 treatise, *Clio: Or, a Discourse on Taste. Addressed to a Young Lady*. See *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty*, 108. The uprightness of body in the above example could in itself also be construed as an element of beauty. See Turner, "The Body Beautiful," 120. Not only was feminine flexibility implicated in the performance of beauty, but the outcomes of beauty itself were construed as “plastic and malleable”. See Véronique Nahoum-Grappe, "The Beautiful Woman," in *A History of Women in the West: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, ed. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, vol. 3 (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), 94.

⁷⁰ On close connections between beauty and grace in eighteenth-century philosophical discourse, particularly in relation to women, see Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty*, 92, 98.

⁷¹ Although the gendering of such spectatorship is not clear from these examples, it is perhaps worthwhile bearing in mind the principle of beauty as a source of power for women over men. See Turner, "The Body Beautiful," 116. Audrée-Isabelle Tardif pointed out that spectators would note beautiful female dancers in their personal correspondence. See Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 163. On the gaze of the spectator in relation to dance, see *ibid.*, 165-167, 184 and Cheryl A. Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 14-15.

1.4 Portrait of a Lady

Dance was intimately connected with constructions of femininity and the female form.⁷² The visual qualities of the dancing body, heavily emphasised in dance discourse, acted as a mirror for illuminating the inner virtues of women, virtues that were indelibly tied to broader characterisations of femininity. While the depiction of women in dance manuals, and to some extent in conduct literature, was biased towards a portrayal of external qualities, such that the building blocks of a lady appeared largely through her movements and actions, the notions of grace, elegance and beauty described above were connected to idealised behavioural values of feminised comportment. The ballroom not only facilitated female rites of passage, it was also the locus of considerable cultural anxiety regarding the performance and maintenance of quintessential feminine qualities. Women were advised to adopt a style of dancing that complemented these qualities, with authors specifically demarcating a boundary between dance for the ballroom and dancing on the stage. The performance of dance by women, therefore was, at least prescriptively, the performance of femininity, for while different spaces for dancing were considered to be equally dangerous or advantageous to feminine propriety, and different modes of dancing were stipulated as apposite or objectionable to the expression of feminine decorum, dance itself remained as the vehicle through which the female figure was construed.

Dance and deportment were proposed as conduits between the charms of the physical body and the rarefied principles of the mind. The appearance and conduct of a woman was deemed reflective of her inner probity, such that the genteel performance of physical movements such as sitting, walking and dancing were also aligned with proper modes of politeness and archetypal qualities of femininity, such as modesty.⁷³ The tripartite principles of elegance,

⁷² For a discussion of the application of many of the concepts outlined below at the end of the nineteenth century, see Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, chapters 9 and 10.

⁷³ See *The Polite Academy; or School of Behaviour for Young Gentlemen and Ladies, Intended as a Foundation for Good Manners and Polite Address, in Masters and Misses*, tenth ed. (London: Printed for Darton and Harvey, B. Crosby and B.C. Collins, ca. 1800), 5; Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 39; and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 64-65. The connection between deportment, beauty and morality can also be traced back to at least the sixteenth century. See Ardit, *A Genealogy of Manners: Transformations of Social Relations*

grace and beauty were brought to bear on this reflective paradigm by *The Mirror of the Graces* in a eulogy to idealised womanhood:

...beauty, elegance, and grace, should be the only pleaders for the empire of morals and religion. On these principles, as I am aware that the most estimable and amiable qualities adorn the wives and daughters of our isle, I cannot but be the more solicitous that their outward deportment and appearance should exhibit a fair specimen of their inward worth.⁷⁴

Dance was a vital element in this picture, as it was crucial to the construction of ladyhood. By promoting "the cultivation of the gentler feelings and...the amelioration of the harsher ones", dance enabled "the pupil to feel like a lady, and will, as a necessary consequence, ensure her acting like one."⁷⁵ The moderation of physical motion stressed by writers on dance was thus implicated in the acquisition of another emblematic feminine quality, that of gentleness.⁷⁶ Finally, the influence of dance on inner rectitude was not confined to the individual: "A young lady, with a well-regulated mind and a proper degree of self-respect, will not only dance with propriety herself, but be the cause of propriety in others."⁷⁷ Dance was thus a medium through which ideals of femininity could be propagated to the wider community.

in France and England from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century, 108 and Vigarello, "The Upward Training of the Body from the Age of Chivalry to Courtly Civility," 150-152, 176-177. On modesty as a feminine trait, see Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 378-381, 386, 390, 392-393; Paul Langford, *Englishness Identified: Manners and Character 1650-1850* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 163-173; Mary Poovey, *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 21-25, 29; and Ingrid H. Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760* (Woodbridge and Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2002), 30-35. On the uncomfortable duality that existed between dance as a performance of both feminine modesty and physical beauty, see Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 168-178.

⁷⁴ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 165. On links between feminine beauty and inner probity, see Jones, *Gender and the Formation of Taste in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Analysis of Beauty*, 1-2, 7, 79-81 and Turner, "The Body Beautiful," 118-119.

⁷⁵ Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 45.

⁷⁶ See, for example, Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500-1800*, 389-392, 396-397.

⁷⁷ Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 25.

Descriptions of the ideal dancing lady tapped into the notions of grace, elegance, moderation and harmony that pervaded the general discourse on dance, as well as drawing on wider concepts of femininity and politeness. Ladies were expected “to dance with amiable circumspection and becoming grace”, employing “[s]moothness and softness” in their motions and avoiding any attempt at brilliance or excessive activity.⁷⁸ Donald Walker delineated a style of dancing for women distinct from that of men, which drew on modesty of both step and posture, and which was again suggestive of performance for visual ingestion: “[Ladies] must delight by neat and pretty terre-à-terre steps, by lithesome and graceful motions, and by a modest and gentle *abandon* in all their attitudes.”⁷⁹ Furthermore, he advised the adoption of different qualities of movement according to body type:

The manner peculiar to each individual should be in harmony with the style of her beauty. If the features of a lady breathe gaiety and vivacity, if her shape be pretty, her dancing may be more animated, and she need not be afraid of using a style *almost* brilliant...If, on the contrary, a lady is of elevated stature and noble appearance, she must dance with calm elegance, or graceful dignity: slow steps and the softest movements will suit the style of her dancing.⁸⁰

A woman’s entire body was involved in the demarcation of moderation and corporeal grace, qualities that epitomised elite female dancing and which promoted a unified whole.⁸¹ These descriptions speak much of poise, understatement and containment, attributes that slotted into existing notions

⁷⁸ See Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore*, 491 and Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 143. For injunctions against liveliness and virtuosity, see *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, (London: Vizetelly, Branston, and Co., 1829), 396; Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, 93-94; and Honoria, *The Female Mentor: Or, Select Conversations*, 2, 103-104.

⁷⁹ See Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 143, and additionally *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, 396 and Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 49.

⁸⁰ Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 143-144.

⁸¹ This sense was effortlessly captured by *The Mirror of the Graces*, when the author declared that, “The utmost in dancing to which a gentlewoman ought to aspire, is an agile and graceful movement of her feet, an harmonious motion with her arms, and a corresponding easy carriage of her whole body”. See *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 180.

of femininity espoused in conduct literature.⁸² However, they also bear some resemblance to earlier definitions of politeness, which emphasised neatness, smoothness, elegance and modesty.⁸³ Michèle Cohen argued that politeness continued as a valid social ideal for women beyond 1800, taking on feminine characteristics through the art of pleasing and the quality of “self-effacement”.⁸⁴ Through their enactment of such characteristics in dance, expressed perhaps particularly through modesty and softness, female dancers were thus engaged in a distinctly kinetic form of politeness.

The advocacy of modesty, moderation and grace concomitantly ensured that vulgarity and inelegance in dance were abhorred. Modes of dancing that were frowned upon included “tossing the feet, lifting them high from the ground, or stamping noisily.”⁸⁵ Affectation was a particular source of antipathy. Regarded as an evil that “poisons and dries” the graces, it constituted a threat to true grace and elegance:

Affectation...is so far incompatible with true grace, that, wherever it exists, instead of adding air and improvement to the carriage of the body, by aiming at too great refinement, it totally defeats its own purpose. It is a noxious weed that generally thrives best in a shallow, or uncultivated soil; on that account, it ought not to be suffered to sprout up spontaneously in an elegant parterre.⁸⁶

Affectation not only caused disgust on an individual level, it also disrupted the harmony of the dance as a whole. Thomas Wilson castigated dancers who disturbed the performance of figures in country dances and quadrilles by “affectedly omit[ting] what is correct” on account of their own perceived excellence.⁸⁷ This lack of inner grace, as evidenced through *dis*-graceful

⁸² For an overview of some of these qualities, see Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?*, 23-24.

⁸³ See Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*, 20-23.

⁸⁴ Michèle Cohen, ““Manners” Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750-1830,” *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April, 2005): 314-315, 319-321.

⁸⁵ Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 136.

⁸⁶ See Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 167 and Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 141.

⁸⁷ Wilson, *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing*, 27.

deportment, effectively overturned the equilibrium that was sought in the dancing body.

Although the qualities that defined the ideal manner of feminine dancing were relatively uniform, each genre of dance retained its own character, requiring particular attributes of movement and demeanour, and thus lending themselves unequally to the expression of beauty, grace and elegance. The English country dance was characterised by a “gay simplicity” that required ease of step, the “graceful management of the arms and hands”, and the expression of “unaffected elegance...negligent grace...[and] decorous gaiety.”⁸⁸ The application of complicated and brilliant steps was “inconsistent with the character of the dance, and, consequently, so destroys the effect, that no pleasure is produced to the eye of the judicious spectator by so discordant an exhibition.”⁸⁹ Not only was such juxtaposition aesthetically incongruous, it compromised the beauty of the dance, while the element of display was equally offensive to notions of decorum.⁹⁰ The Scottish reel required more exuberance than the country dance, necessitating “a frankness of deportment [and] an undisguised jocularly”, while the music had the ability to “set a whole company on their feet in a moment, and to dance with all their might till it ceases...”⁹¹ By contrast, the quadrille epitomised softness, smoothness and elegance, with dancers expected to “*glide* through the figures in a waving, flowing, and graceful manner...”⁹²

⁸⁸ See *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 181, 184 and Payne, *A New Companion to the Ball Room*, 15. W.H. Woakes evidently disapproved of the levity exhibited in the country dance, referring to the “hurried step and awkward confusion” and “jigging” that took place in the performance of the dance. See Woakes, *An Essay on the Attitudes Derived from Gesture to Be Attended to in Dancing, with Observations of the Art: Also, the Etiquette of the English Ball Room*, 7.

⁸⁹ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 180. See additionally Dun, *A Translation of Nine of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles*, 19-20.

⁹⁰ See Payne, *A New Companion to the Ball Room*, 19 and Thomas Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room, Containing a Choice Collection of the Most Original and Admired Country Dance, Reel, Hornpipe, & Waltz Tunes, with a Variety of Appropriate Figures, the Etiquette and a Dissertation on the State of the Ball Room* (London, Edinburgh and Dublin: Button, Whittaker & Co. [London]; Muir, Wood & Co. [Edinburgh]; W. Power [Dublin], and the Author, 1816), 205.

⁹¹ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 184-185.

⁹² Dun, *A Translation of Nine of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles*, 3. See also Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 22.

While elite social dance entailed significant labour to mould the body into an effortless display of refinement, it was vigorously detached from any semblance to theatrical dance.⁹³ This division was articulated along the lines of grace, moderation and taste, with descriptions of stage dancing sometimes descending to near caricature.⁹⁴ On a physical level, many authors objected to the size and athleticism of the motions employed by professional dancers, the “largeness of the movements, the unceasing pirouetting, the ungracefulness of many of the attitudes, the unnatural turning out of the legs” characterising theatrical performance considered unsuitable for the genteel ballroom.⁹⁵ The objections raised against such dancing developed out of concern for moderation and taste, both of which were violated by the intrusion of theatrical elements into the ballroom:

...public and private dancing are so exceedingly different from each other, that what may be deemed a beauty in the one, would justly be considered a defect in the other: it is the ambition of the *artiste* to astonish and delight; the lady who joins in a quadrille, aspires only to glide through the figure with easy and unobtrusive grace...it would be in the extreme of bad taste for the ball-room dancer to attempt the least brilliant of those embellishments to “the poetry of motion,” which are displayed by the dancer on the stage.⁹⁶

Not only were such “flourishes, flings, and capers” contrary to established notions of decorum, any allusion to the opera girl would have elicited substantial disquietude in relation to matters of class and morality.⁹⁷

⁹³ For an explication of the differences in style between dance in the ballroom and on the stage, see Edmund Fairfax, *The Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet* (Lanham and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2003), chapter 2.

⁹⁴ See Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room*, vi, who described theatrical dancing as “consist[ing] of distortion, grimace, [and] activity of the body to amaze and astonish the spectators.” He was probably referring to the comic or grotesque style of dancing. See Fairfax, *The Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet*, 84-86, 109, 119, 124-125.

⁹⁵ Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 5, quoted in Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 44.

⁹⁶ *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, 395-396.

⁹⁷ For the quotation, see Elizabeth Appleton, *Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies* (London: Printed for Henry Colburn, 1815), 233. On the controversial character associated with ballet dancers, see Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 114-115 and Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and*

That cross-over between the two genres in fact occurred in practice is suggested by intermittent recurrence of the topic in dance manuals.⁹⁸ Barclay Dun, quoting unacknowledged from *The Mirror of the Graces*, complained bitterly about the impropriety of young ladies imitating the attitudes of theatrical dance and incorporating ballet dances into their repertoire, the offence lying chiefly against English chasteness and grace.⁹⁹ Thirty years later, another author indicated that “extreme positions” from the stage were still being taught by dancing masters who were previously attached to the theatre.¹⁰⁰ Not everyone, however, considered the chasm between theatrical and ballroom dance to be impossibly wide. E.A. Théleur regarded “room-dancing” to be “nothing more or less than that which is used for the stage, but executed in a more quiet style, avoiding all extravagances, or large steps...employing all the grace, &c. but in miniature”, while Carlo Blasis (1795-1878) listed aspects common to both mediums, crucially including “*the gracefulness, the lightness, the liveliness, the elegance*, which are qualifications almost indispensable to every genteel person.”¹⁰¹ If the dichotomy seemed stable, then by mid-century at least one author had swung it around. Mary Fitz George, in her admonishment of the *valse à deux temps*, directed her criticism not at the ballet, but at social dance in a private context:

...it is not to the corps de ballet I would level my indignation...If purity of style is preserved on the stage, and decorum in a casino, where shall I have to introduce my readers to contemplate and blush at *that* which I am deprecating, and which is too frequently, though partially, adopted by my lovely, young, and heretofore modest country-women? *Where indeed!!!*

Culture (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 21. See also chapter 3, pp. 195-196. Audrée-Isabelle Tardif suggested that deportment acted as a visual signifier of difference in status between the genteel classes and stage dancers. See Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 97.

⁹⁸ Edmund Fairfax, however, maintained that ballroom and theatrical dancing were two “entirely distinct” styles, at least in the eighteenth century. See Fairfax, *The Styles of Eighteenth-Century Ballet*, 17.

⁹⁹ See Dun, *A Translation of Nine of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles*, 11-12 and *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 151-152, 178-180.

¹⁰⁰ Webster, *Dancing, Its Uses and Abuses. Dancing as a Means of Physical Education: With Remarks on Deformities, and Their Prevention and Cure*, 5.

¹⁰¹ Théleur, *Letters on Dancing, Reducing This Elegant and Healthful Exercise to Easy Scientific Principles*, 100-101 and Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore*, 489. See also Wilson, *The Art of Dancing*, 6-7. Blasis later qualified his statement, however, insisting that the line between ballroom and theatrical dance should not be blurred. See p. 491 and also 492-493 for a full description of how the body should be held in ballroom dancing.

but in their own private houses, private balls, and quadrille parties...Propriety is lost sight of in the rapid whirl of the *deux temps*, it is the maelstrom of the ball-room, it sends modesty to the lowest depth...¹⁰²

While the displacement of virtue from the ballroom was linked to a particularly controversial dance, Fitz George's diatribe was at least indicative of the fluidity and tension surrounding both styles of dancing.

As a social space, the ballroom constituted a blend of opposing values for women. On the one hand, it was a source of healthy amusement for young ladies and an arena for practising politeness and grace; on the other, it was depicted as a parade ground for marriage and a potential source of moral and physical corruption.¹⁰³ Dancing masters and authors on dance, of course, had a vested interest in espousing its benefits – one publication blithely proclaimed that “[t]he Ball-Room should be an assemblage of elegance, beauty, good-humour, and vivacity, united with the utmost purity and propriety of conduct” – yet writers of conduct literature were cautious about the negative effects that public dance could produce on young women.¹⁰⁴ The ballroom was liable to “easily excite vanity and envy in the female breast” by acting as a platform for the exhibition of personal charms, leading to the arousal of strong passions and enmity in competition. As a space that promoted interaction between the sexes, the ballroom also potentially facilitated “undesirable and improper acquaintance”, with women being tempted “into an indiscreet freedom of manners and conversation with men of whom they perhaps know but little...”¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Fitz George, *Ball Room Refinement: An Essay on the Style of Dancing in 1850*, 10-11.

¹⁰³ On the ballroom and the development of politeness and grace, see Maria Edgeworth and Richard Lovell Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for J. Johnson, 1798), 532; Katharine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, ed. Roger Mason, St Andrews Studies in Scottish History (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 3-4, 6-8; and Henderson, *Etiquette of the Ball-Room, and Guide to the New and Fashionable Dances*, x, although the Edgeworths cast doubt on whether the politeness learned from a dancing master would be applicable in other situations. On connections between the ballroom and marriage, see, for example, Françoise Carter, “Jane Austen, Dancing, and the Marriage Market” (paper presented at Terpsichore 1450-1900, International Dance Conference, Ghent, Belgium, 11-18 April 2000), 161-168; Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), 89-91, 95-96; and “Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure,” *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 3 (2002): 138-143.

¹⁰⁴ Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (London: printed for T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies, 1797), 181-184. See additionally John Burton, *Lectures on Female Education and Manners*, vol. 1 (Rochester: Printed for the Author, 1793), 138 and James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*,

Masquerades and midnight routs were especially objectionable on account of the "licentiousness of behaviour", "rude and indecent language", "assignations and intrigues" and "improper freedoms" to which women might be exposed, and were associated with class displacement, promiscuity, female liberation and potential violence.¹⁰⁶ The extremes represented by these depictions signified considerable anxiety about the maintenance of women's purity and virtue, with the public ballroom implicated both in their display and in their potential disintegration.

This melange of civility, marriage and corruption was evident in that prototypical connection between dance and femininity, the process of "coming out". While juvenile balls provided girls with "a slow initiation" into the forms of politeness and sociability that would govern their future public lives, the first season of balls and presentation at court for debutantes marked their fully-fledged transition into adult society.¹⁰⁷ "Coming out" was a peculiarly female practice often involving two generations of women, the debutante requiring a chaperone, usually a female family member, to act as protector and social negotiator. While it encompassed an exhibition of physical and social skills, its purported aim was marriage.¹⁰⁸ The prospect could be both alluring and dangerous – emerging "from the chrysalis, transformed, accomplished, and ready for adult life", young women were placed at the heart of temptations

eighth ed. (Dublin: Printed by Campbell and Shea for W. Gilbert, P. Byrne, P. Wogan, W. Jones and J. Milliken, 1796), 107.

¹⁰⁶ For the quotations, see Burton, *Lectures on Female Education and Manners*, 1, 138, 232-233. For additional discussion of the masquerade, see Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex*, 143-152; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 100-103; "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 143-146; Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 3; and Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760*, 58.

¹⁰⁷ On children's balls, see Tague, *Women of Quality: Accepting and Contesting Ideals of Femininity in England, 1690-1760*, 170 and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 103 for the quotation, and more broadly, 101-108.

¹⁰⁸ For descriptions of the "coming out" process and the cultural expectations embedded therein, see Françoise Carter, "Attitudes Towards Dance through the Ages: An Overview" (paper presented at the Dancing Master or Hop Merchant? The Role of the Dance Teacher through the Ages conference, St Bride Institute, London, 23 February 2008), 14; Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), 49-53; Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, chapter 2; Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 358-368 and chapter 17, which deals more broadly with preparing girls for social initiation; "Polite Accomplishments," *History Today* 58, no. 4 (2008): 46-49; Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, "Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Social Debut in England and Its Relation to Dancing" (paper presented at Terpsichore 1450-1900, International Dance Conference, Ghent, Belgium, 11-18 April 2000), 151-160; and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 109-133.

as they performed their role “on the public stage of life.”¹⁰⁹ Writers such as Hannah More (1745-1833) and Thomas Gisborne (1758-1846) expressed concern about the potential for moral corruption through the pursuit of “showy accomplishments” that enticed vanity and dissipation, exhorting the maintenance of religious values in the midst of the “glare of polite amusements...”¹¹⁰ The first season could also be exhausting – Lady Dorothy Nevill (1826-1913) recalled her debut as a time of “a great many gaieties”, attending “fifty balls, sixty parties, about thirty dinners, and twenty-five breakfasts” – with an early introduction to the delights of society risking both health and polish.¹¹¹

As an antidote to the potential vices of the public ballroom, domestic dancing was positioned as a vehicle for nurturing propriety, protecting virtue and encouraging female sociability. Parents were urged “to treat [children] with a ball once a week; for whilst employed in dancing, they can enjoy the society of their young friends, without that intercourse which might infect them with the errors of their neighbour’s education...”¹¹² Joseph Robertson (1726-1802) proposed that “dancing in a chaste, social, and elegant circle” at girls’ boarding schools gave young ladies “ease and freedom in their carriage, by which they are enabled to appear in company, or, even at court, with grace

¹⁰⁹ Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, 52 and Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex*, 92. As the age of menarche could be as late as 15-17, during their “coming out”, young women were also literally emerging into their bodies, a process that was a source of “unfolding beauty”, although girls’ participation in dance at this time was also questioned. See Edward Shorter, *A History of Women’s Bodies* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1982), 18-19; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), 185-187; Robert Hunt Sprinkle, “The Missing Politics and Unsettled Science of the Trend toward Earlier Puberty,” *Politics and the Life Sciences* 20, no. 1 (March, 2001): 47; and J.M. Tanner, “Earlier Maturation in Man,” *Scientific American* 218, no. 1 (January, 1968): 26-27.

¹¹⁰ Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex*, 96 and Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. With a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent among Women of Rank and Fortune*, fifth ed., vol. 1 (London: Printed for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1799), 166.

¹¹¹ See Ralph Nevill, ed. *The Reminiscences of Lady Dorothy Nevill* (London: Edward Arnold, 1906), 52, mentioned in Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*, 279. See additionally Mrs. William Parkes, *Domestic Duties; or, Instructions to Young Married Ladies, on the Management of Their Households, and the Regulation of Their Conduct in the Various Relations and Duties of Married Life* (London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1825), 387.

¹¹² Macaulay Graham, *Letters on Education. With Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects*, 38.

and dignity.”¹¹³ Crucially, the private ballroom enabled the evaluation and selection of guests, eliminating disagreeable visitors and promoting greater intimacy amongst the company, bypassing the noxious effects of uncontrolled gender and class mingling.¹¹⁴ Women played a prominent role in constructing a private ball, and advice was proffered in matters such as issuing cards of invitation, arranging the décor, distributing refreshments and choosing a dance band.¹¹⁵ As hostess, the “lady of the house” was responsible for opening the dancing and ensuring that the evening flowed smoothly by arranging dancers in advance to follow on from those already engaged on the dance floor.¹¹⁶ Jennifer Hall-Witt postulated that women’s capacity as hostesses to choose invitees for balls and associated social occasions gave them agency in determining their sphere of acquaintance and how modes of sociability were enacted.¹¹⁷ Domestic dance thus offered women the opportunity to actively display graciousness, politeness and status through their hospitality, potentially negating imputations of immodesty and impropriety.

1.5 Negotiating the Ballroom

If the ideal dancing woman was the consummate enactment of femininity, then the experience of real women in the ballroom demonstrated greater depth, colour and complexity. Actual dancing was inevitably at times uncomfortable, inelegant and high-spirited, the very opposite of that

¹¹³ Joseph Robertson, *An Essay on the Education of Young Ladies* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, Junior, and W. Davies, 1798), 7.

¹¹⁴ See Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season*, 49; Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, 108; James Pitt, *Instructions in Etiquette, Intended for the Use of Schools and Young Persons* (Manchester: Printed for the Author, 1828), 52; and Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, 13.

¹¹⁵ See *Etiquette for the Ladies; Eighty Maxims on Dress, Manners, and Accomplishments*, fourth ed. (London: Charles Tilt, 1837), 16, 40; Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 116-121; Parkes, *Domestic Duties; or, Instructions to Young Married Ladies*, 81-86; and Seaton, *The Ball-Room Manual and Etiquette of Dancing*, 13-14.

¹¹⁶ See *Etiquette for the Ladies; Eighty Maxims on Dress, Manners, and Accomplishments*, 36; Parkes, *Domestic Duties; or, Instructions to Young Married Ladies*, 85, and additionally Walker, *Exercises for Ladies, Calculated to Preserve & Improve Beauty, and to Prevent and Correct Personal Defects, Inseparable from Constrained or Careless Habits: Founded on Physiological Principles*, 205, who felt that, in consequence of her duties, the hostess “should dance but little.”

¹¹⁷ Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, Hanover and London: University of New Hampshire Press, University Press of New England, 2007), 71, 73.

demanding by written texts on dance (see Figure 17).¹¹⁸ Anne Sturges Bourne (1809-1891), daughter of the politician William Sturges Bourne (1769-1845), perhaps voiced the experience of many:

How do you like the feel of finding yourself alone in a crowd on the arm of a creature you never saw before, any more than all the faces that surround you, exchanging complaints of the heat & the crowd & the impossibility of finding a vis-a-vis, & the prospect before you of waiting through a quadrille & a waltz & exhausting all your subjects of conversation long before you begin dancing.¹¹⁹

Hester Thrale (1741-1821) despaired at the dancing of her daughter Queeney (1764-1857), who "at every Ball...exposed herself; it is amazing that She should dance so vilely with such a Figure & so good Instructions; but whether it is /from/ bashfulness or naughtiness I know not, or a Mixture of both – but She does dance most incomparably ill to be sure."¹²⁰ Some women approached dance with an excess of energy and exuberance: Elizabeth Harris (1722-1781) "danc'd away most violently" at a water party where she was in charge of twenty-three girls; The Hon. Frances Calvert (1767-1859) described Lady Mary Pomfret (1769-1839) "dancing away with all her fat loosely shaking like blanc mange" at a ball in Brighton; while Anne Sturges Bourne described how she had "been kicking & leaping; & we go to the academy, and dance some quadrilles...every body goes wrong, but it is very amusing."¹²¹ While not

¹¹⁸ On the unpredictable, transgressive and potentially disastrous aspects of social dance, see Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, 1-23 and Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 199-207.

¹¹⁹ Letter from Anne Sturges Bourne to Marianne Dyson (1809-1878), dated 21 January 1828, 9M55/F6/3, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office.

¹²⁰ Quoted from *The Children's Book/Family Book*, 30 October 1776, in Mary Hyde, *The Thrales of Streatham Park* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1977), 170. Despite her apparently appalling dancing, Queeney [Hester Maria Elphinstone, Viscountess Keith] became one of the founding patronesses at Almack's. See Jennett Humphreys, rev. K.D. Reynolds, "Elphinstone, Hester Maria, Viscountess Keith (1764-1857)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8743>, accessed 10 October 2014.

¹²¹ For Elizabeth Harris, see Rosemary Dunhill, "Dancing 'Bad Beyond All Description', 'Most Amazingly Fine': Observations on Dance in the Harris Papers," 14, Last Thursday Lecture given at the Hampshire Record Office on 26 April 2001, accessed via email correspondence on 3 February 2011. I am most grateful to Rosemary for sharing a written copy of the lecture with me. The water party is referred to in a letter from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris Jr., dated 9-10 July 1766, in Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780*, 473. For Lady Pomfret, see Mrs. Warrenne Blake, *An Irish Beauty of the Regency Compiled from "Mes Souvenirs," the Unpublished Journals of the Hon. Mrs. Calvert 1789-1822* (London and New York: John Lane, 1911), 85,

necessarily “failed instances of girling”, as Ruth Solie described young women who unsuccessfully attempted to master the piano, these examples indicate that the translation from dance manual to ballroom was far from direct.¹²²



FIGURE 17. *WRONG CONTRE OR VIS A VIS. NATURAL ACCIDENTS IN PRACTISING QUADRILLE DANCING*, PRINT BY CHARLES WILLIAMS, 1817 © TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

In negotiating public balls, women were sometimes faced with navigating either side of a cultural ideal. While the spectacle of “coming out” potentially engendered excitement and enchantment, debutantes who were reduced to being “wallflowers” had any dream they harboured of a successful debut shattered.¹²³ Anne Sturges Bourne was left feeling deflated after attending a fancy dress ball as part of her “coming out”: “I believe I was very happy, only it seemed a small matter to have troubled & thought about for 5 weeks, & this morn^g. I feel stupid, & it is all over...”¹²⁴ Despite vehement injunctions in conduct literature about the dangers of masquerades, elite girls nonetheless partook of the entertainment. Three months after her presentation at court,

quoted in Tardif, “A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England,” 206. For Anne Sturges Bourne, see letter to Marianne Dyson, dated 29 May 1824, 9M55/F2/7, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office.

¹²² Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004).

¹²³ See Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 106-108.

¹²⁴ Letter from Anne Sturges Bourne to Marianne Dyson, dated 29 December 1826, 9M55/F4/24, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office.

Sophia Baker (1781-1858) attended her first masquerade as a nun dressed in white, where she saw "some admirable figures" and declared herself "much amused."¹²⁵ Women were also obliged to adapt when circumstances rendered it necessary. Gertrude (1750-1834) and Louisa Harris (1753-1826) applied a little creative improvisation when partners were scarce by alternatively developing a toothache to "cut down the competition", while Jane Austen (1775-1817) encountered a similar lack of partners at an assembly in Basingstoke, compelling her to take up arms with another woman for part of the evening:

There was a scarcity of Men in general, & a still greater scarcity of any that were good for much. – I danced nine dances out of ten, five with Stephen Terry, T. Chute & James Digweed & four with Catherine. – There was commonly a couple of ladies standing up together, but not often any so amiable as ourselves.¹²⁶

Although not deliberate breaches of feminine prescription, the experiences of these women illustrate the complexities that surrounded their participation in the ballroom, as they enjoyed and struggled with dance that at times was unexpected and deviant from the ideal.

Dance was thus an ideologically rich concept for women, which incorporated a number of paradoxes. It was an activity that was deemed acceptable for the development of female physical health, yet was also considered threatening to moral wellbeing and virtue. Treatises on dance and deportment prescribed ideal qualities for female dancing, yet the actual experience of women could be far more varied and far less impeccable than these written portrayals. Dance demanded bodily discipline to adjust the work of nature into a regular and aesthetically pleasing form, yet that very discipline was required to appear natural in the performance of the genteel body. Associated with quintessential notions of feminine comportment and the

¹²⁵ See Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*, 361 and diaries of Sophia Trower (née Baker), entry for May 1, 1800, Add Mss 7468, West Sussex Record Office and Archives.

¹²⁶ On the Harris sisters, see Dunhill, "Dancing 'Bad Beyond All Description', 'Most Amazingly Fine': Observations on Dance in the Harris Papers," 14. For Jane Austen, see letter to Cassandra Austen, dated 1 November 1800, in Deirdre Le Faye, ed. *Jane Austen's Letters*, fourth ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 55. Ballroom etiquette made provision for two ladies to dance together. For one example, see Payne, *A New Companion to the Ball Room*, 55.

culture of polite sociability, the terminology utilised by authors on dance contrasted rigidity with malleability, and moderation with excess. Returning again and again to the concepts of grace, elegance and beauty, their manifestation almost unquestionable in the construction of genteel femininity, these same authors argued for a mode of performance that was modest, flowing, balanced and harmonious. If this was the context surrounding women's participation in dance, the social and cultural backbone of why and how they danced, what can it tell us about their performance of dance music? If the application of grace, elegance and moderation infused a variety of incidental gestures associated with polite intercourse, and indeed, permeated a woman's entire way of being, how were these qualities brought to bear when she sat down at a keyboard to play a quadrille? And how was dance music conceptualised as an integral, yet often mute (in terms of critical commentary), component in women's experience of and engagement in dance?

1.6 Music, Dance and Domestic Performance

...in regard to Music and Dancing, in particular, it cannot be denied that, in other respects, they are so intimately connected, that, without the aid of the former, the latter, however well performed, would be totally devoid of effect. For what is it but the pleasing combination of agreeable sounds, that stimulates and gives energy to all the dancers [sic] motions?¹²⁷

Genteel amateur music-making and dance shared a common heritage in cultural ideology at the turn of the nineteenth century. Both were configured as "elegant accomplishments", a term that bristled with angst for those who considered them as promoting vanity over morality, display over modesty, and frivolousness at the expense of knowledge:

...when they are of age to discriminate, and lay in a stock of ideas, we send them to a boarding-school to learn what? Musick, dancing, accomplishments, dissipation and intrigue – every thing but solid

¹²⁷ Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 133.

knowledge – every thing but humility – every thing but piety – every thing but virtue?¹²⁸

Both were highly implicated in the performance of social acts that helped to define femininity and both were to be realised with due deference to moderation and decorum:

It is perhaps more desirable, that young ladies should play, sing, and dance, only so well as to amuse themselves and their friends, than to practise those arts in so eminent a degree as to astonish the public; because a great apparent attention to trivial accomplishments is liable to give a suspicion, that more valuable acquisitions have been neglected. And, as they consist in an exhibition of the person, they are liable to be attended with vanity, and to extinguish the blush of youthful timidity; which is in young ladies the most powerful of their exterior charms.¹²⁹

However, music was not always treated equitably with dance in prescriptive literature. Joseph Robertson enumerated dance amongst his “indispensable qualifications”, relegating music and drawing to a secondary tier in the hierarchy, while *The Female Mentor* described music as “not so necessary as

¹²⁸ For the quotations, see Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, 82 and Bennett, *Strictures on Female Education*, 44-45, respectively. The topic of accomplishments is, of course, a vast one. Some of the more pertinent scholarly works that address music (and sometimes dance) include Ann Bermingham, "The Aesthetics of Ignorance: The Accomplished Woman in the Culture of Connoisseurship," *The Oxford Art Journal* 16, no. 2 (1993): 3-20; "Elegant Females and Gentlemen Connoisseurs: The Commerce in Culture and Self-Image in Eighteenth-Century England," in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 489-513; Regula Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-Making* (New York: Rodopi, 2008), especially chapter 3; Leppert, *Music and Image*, particularly chapters 3-5 and 7-8, which relate to women's musical practice; *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993), chapters 4-5; and Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820" (PhD, University of California, 2009).

¹²⁹ Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools*, 12, quoted in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 39. As with dance, female music-making was inextricably tied to acts of courtship and demonstrated a similar degree of discipline in its practice. Ruth Solie has shown how women's performance at the piano filled a variety of social and emotional needs which, while distinct from those addressed by dance, equally contributed to the cultural formation of femininity. See Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, chapter 3. For a brief overview of how dance was conceived within eighteenth-century conduct literature as an accomplishment, see Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 135-148.

dancing”, reflecting “that as a part of female education, it is by *no means* necessary...”¹³⁰

If the value of music was sometimes questioned, then dance music itself was held in relatively low regard, despite clear associations with female musical practice. Several contemporary sources were derisive of its quality and bemoaned its presence. Dance music was associated with the role of the governess, highlighting its use as educational material. In developing a pupil’s acquaintance with appropriate repertoire, “flimsy extracts from operas, ballets, &c.” were to be ignored.¹³¹ Blame was laid at the fingertips of the inexperienced governess, “who, with little ear [or] knowledge of time...suffers her pupil to practise waltzes, dances, and other little tunes; satisfied of the progress made, if the notes be expeditiously read and played.”¹³² Dance music was implicated in the formation of children’s taste, it being “spoilt in innumerable instances, by beginning with jingling dances, and whining ballads, which...are easy, and therefore soon acquired by very moderate performers.”¹³³ It was precisely this ease that characterised the music in *A Companion to the Reticule*, which contained an assemblage of Scottish dance tunes. In the Address, it emphasised the role that music and dance played in genteel entertainment, specifically gendering the performance of dance music as feminine:

It cannot have escaped observation at convivial family parties, that young Ladies have been often found so deficient in the execution of Dancing Music, that, out of a dozen, there are seldom above two or three qualified to give their companions a Reel on the Piano Forte, (to which this Collection is especially adapted,) by way of interlude to the musical or other entertainments of a winters [sic] evening.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ See Honoria, *The Female Mentor: Or, Select Conversations*, 2, 150 and Robertson, *An Essay on the Education of Young Ladies*, 41.

¹³¹ *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, 368.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 386.

¹³³ Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess*, 152. The issue of poor musical taste was, of course, not just confined to dance music. Elizabeth Appleton complained of “trifling tunes” as being “ill calculated, to form the taste to good music”. See Appleton, *Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies*, 147.

¹³⁴ *A Companion to the Reticule. Arranged for the Piano Forte*, p.1. Accessed through the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, <http://www.vwml.org/record/Reticule/3962/p1>, on 10 October 2014. The work appears to bear no publisher or year of publication, although it possibly dates from 1815.

The publishers were presumably hoping that the ease of musical performance promised by the volume would encourage more girls to practise. This, however, was not always a congenial prospect, for while “[a] certain stock of small ware in the shape of quadrilles, waltzes, and country dances” was recommended for “evening amusement”, such music had the potential to be “the greatest nuisance to which the decorum of good-breeding compels a visitor to submit.”¹³⁵

The consumption and performance of dance music, not only by upper class girls as part of their educational curriculum, but also by elite married women, is evident through surviving archival material from aristocratic and gentry families. Accounts belonging to the Leicester family of Tabley House in Cheshire record payments for piano and harp lessons, and the purchase of sheet music. Included amongst the latter were several waltzes, while a further account from the publisher, Robert Birchall, showed the purchase of two sets of waltzes in addition to music for a shawl dance.¹³⁶ A selection of Mozart waltzes, amongst other dance music, formed part of the music collection belonging to Maria Egerton (d. c.1830) of Oulton Park in Cheshire, while dance music appeared to be a popular choice for the Bankes sisters at Kingston Lacy in Dorset and the Montagu women at Boughton House in Northamptonshire.¹³⁷ The performance of dance and dance music formed part of the busy social life of Sophia Baker. In January 1798, she recorded in her diary that some visitors “came to see us dance & we made up Country Dances afterwards” while in

¹³⁵ Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess*, 228-229.

¹³⁶ See DLT 4996/79/13, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office, which details piano lessons from December 1819-August 1820 for a Miss Charlotte (Bath Waltz, Matilda’s Waltz, One Fingered Waltz) and a Miss Susan (Military Waltz & Rondo, Harpsburg [sic] Waltz). The relationship of these two women to the family is not clear. DLT 4996/77/7 contains an account from Robert Birchall, dating from April 1812-June 14 1814, which includes the Shawl Dance, Biggs’s 6 Waltzes and Mozart’s 3 Waltzes. As the account also includes the purchase of harp strings, it is likely that the music belonged to Lady de Tabley (Georgiana Maria Leicester [1793-1859]), payments for her harp lessons being included in the DLT 4996/79/13 accounts.

¹³⁷ See British Library Shelfmark H.2819. Maria Scott Jackson married Sir John Grey Egerton (1766-1825) in 1795. The volume is signed with her married name, as are the Mozart waltzes. Several volumes of music belonging to Maria Wynne Bankes (1791-1823) and presumably her sister, Anne Frances Bankes (1789-1864), remain at Kingston Lacy and show a distinct interest in ballet music, amongst other dance forms. The collection at Boughton House, belonging to Lady Elizabeth Montagu (1743-1827) and her daughter, Lady Caroline Scott (1774-1854), amongst others, contains a substantial amount of ballet music, in addition to incidental pieces such as country dances and waltzes. My most grateful thanks go to Mark Purcell and Paul Boucher respectively, who facilitated viewing of the music at Kingston Lacy and Boughton House.

September of the same year a Miss Burton dined with the family and “danced in the evening to the P. Forte with us at a great rate.”¹³⁸ Finally, a portrait by Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859) of the Grosvenor family sitting in the gallery at Grosvenor House in London depicts feminine music-making and dance in action (see Figure 18). Lady Eleanor Egerton (1770-1846), Marchioness of Westminster, is seated at the piano while her daughter-in-law, Lady Mary Egerton (1801-1858), is plucking a harp. The family’s gaze is centred on two of the Marchioness’s granddaughters, who are performing a dance.¹³⁹ Although clearly a stylised representation, it is significant that the family chose to be portrayed while engaged in such domestic entertainment.



FIGURE 18. PRINT OF THE GROSVENOR FAMILY AFTER CHARLES ROBERT LESLIE © THE NATIONAL TRUST.

Women’s actual interactions with dance music show that they operated as facilitators of dance and that they were attuned to the bodily effects it created. A letter to Mary Berry (1763-1852) described dancing at Devonshire House for

¹³⁸ See diaries of Sophia Trower (née Baker), entries for January 19 and September 12, 1798, Add Mss 7466, West Sussex Record Office and Archives. The first of these is quoted in Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*, 360.

¹³⁹ The two dancers are Lady Mary Frances Grosvenor (1821-1912) and Lady Eleanor Grosvenor (1820-1911). My thanks go to Louise Martin, archivist at Eaton estate, for providing information and a schematic diagram of the painting.

the purpose of rehearsing quadrilles, in which both the music and dance bore a feminine imprint:

...three or four balls at Devonshire House have kept the young people in motion; there have been, also, there several morning dances, followed by a breakfast, by way of practising quadrilles. Lady Elizth Foster brought some pretty music from Paris, and some of the young ladies just come forth proved themselves excellent dancers.¹⁴⁰

Anne Sturges Bourne described going to a ball at the exclusive venue of Almack's, in which dance music played an integral part in her enjoyment of the evening. For Anne, listening was not just an aural activity, for it also comprised a physical and emotional dimension:

I had a very nice Almacks, my second time, & came to the conclusion that a ball in such perfection, with room to dance pleasantly, cool air, & the most beautiful & enlivening music, is almost a rational amusement, not requiring that over excitement which makes one like a thing that is not really pleasant. Do you know what I mean? but you do not know what the effect is of the music this year, nor what it is to sit & hear the Galoppa, & be fanned by each couple going round.¹⁴¹

If Anne's experience of dance music approached the sensual, then Georgiana Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire's (1757-1806) performance of the *menuet de la cour* almost literally embodied the music in her dancing. Sensitive to the nuances of Felice Giardini's (1716-1796) playing, she detailed how "every tone encourages me to dance gracefully and to make one's steps imitate the softness of his music."¹⁴² Inspired by sound, Georgiana's minuet was transformed into the epitome of feminine performance.

¹⁴⁰ Letter from a Mrs Howe to Mary Berry, dated July 11, 1803, in Lady Theresa Lewis, ed. *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783 to 1852*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1865), 271, quoted in Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 81 and in Sir George Leveson Gower and Iris Palmer, eds., *Harriet: The Letters of Lady Harriet Cavendish, 1796-1809* (London: John Murray, 1940), 55.

¹⁴¹ Letter from Anne Sturges Bourne to Marianne Dyson, dated 14 July 1829, 9M55/F7/20, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office.

¹⁴² Hugh Stokes, *The Devonshire House Circle* (London: Herbert Jenkins Limited, 1917), 106, quoted in Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England," 194.

A few dance publications supported domestic performance by providing music specifically tailored to accompany dance at the piano. The *Analysis of the London Ball-Room* supplied the most explicit link, stating on the title page that it is “calculated for the use of domestic assemblies” and further affirming its intent in furnishing “the necessary materials for the practice of a rational and elegant amusement, in that situation, of all others without impeachment, the paternal roof.”¹⁴³ Incorporated within the publication is music arranged for solo piano for more than thirty dances, including several that utilise themes from popular operas and ballets. E.A. Théleur included a small sample of piano music in his *Letters on Dancing*, which appeared in conjunction with his discussion on “La Danse de Société”. One of these, a set of quadrilles, was dedicated to his students, Lady Frances and Lady Alexandrina Vane, daughters of the Marchioness of Londonderry, to whom the overall work was dedicated. Each girl’s name appeared as the title of one quadrille within the set, while a third was again derived from a popular ballet.¹⁴⁴ Likewise, Carlo Blasis published music for several quadrilles and two waltzes at the conclusion of his treatise, *The Code of Terpsichore*, all of which are scored for solo piano, with the quadrilles partially corresponding to those outlined in a section entitled “Private Dancing”.¹⁴⁵ Thomas Wilson provided original music for several sets of quadrilles in his publication, *The Quadrille Instructor*, which, although arranged for solo piano, were additionally conceived for performance on the harp or violin.¹⁴⁶ The quadrilles contained not only dance instructions in English and French, but also the number of bars that each figure took to perform, and the section of music to which they corresponded. As Wilson also included explanations and diagrams of figures, the work was clearly accessible to those who had a slight knowledge of quadrille dancing, and was well calculated for use in the domestic environment. The general simplicity of the musical arrangements across these publications ensured that they could be

¹⁴³ *Analysis of the London Ball-Room*, iii-iv.

¹⁴⁴ Théleur, *Letters on Dancing, Reducing This Elegant and Healthful Exercise to Easy Scientific Principles*. The music lies between pp. 100 and 101. The fourth quadrille in the set draws on music from Ferdinand Hérold’s (1791-1833) 1827 ballet, *La Somnambule*.

¹⁴⁵ Blasis, *The Code of Terpsichore*. For the quadrille figures, see pp. 506-510, while the music is located after the formal conclusion.

¹⁴⁶ Thomas Wilson, *The Quadrille Instructor. Containing Directions for Dancing a Variety of New Quadrilles, as Introduced at the Assemblies of the Nobility and Also at the Author's Balls & Assemblies...Adapted to Original Music, and Arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp, or Violin*, second ed. (London: Button, Whitaker & Compny, n.d.).

performed with a minimum level of pianistic ability, with the exception of some of the quadrilles and the two waltzes in *The Code of Terpsichore*, which required a more sophisticated piano technique.¹⁴⁷

*The intimate connexion between Music and Dancing renders some knowledge of the former necessary to the full enjoyment of the latter...*¹⁴⁸

Despite the indispensability of music in the ballroom, the interplay between dance and music was, with notable exceptions, seldom interrogated in any depth in dance manuals, and advice on the performance of dance music was rare. Occasional metronome markings were given for different dance genres and broad tempo indications were sometimes discussed, but the focus was more particularly placed on understanding the construction of dances in relation to the structure of the music.¹⁴⁹ Thomas Wilson, especially, was meticulous in outlining the correlation between different dance figures and the number of bars of music required for their performance, in addition to considering the use of time signatures and denoting musical repetitions within a dance. His discussion of these elements is necessary for understanding how the dances were performed, as familiarity with dance structure and figures is often implicit in publications of dance music.¹⁵⁰ A careful relationship was thus necessary between dancers and musicians, as errors on either side could result

¹⁴⁷ The more difficult elements incorporated in *The Code of Terpsichore* included double thirds, sixths and octaves, broken octaves, tremolos and rapid passagework, which would have required some practice to perform. Their inclusion elevated dance music beyond the purely facile and alluded perhaps to a basic level of technique expected from the performer.

¹⁴⁸ *Analysis of the London Ball-Room*, 56.

¹⁴⁹ For some sources that addressed the issue of dance music, see Chivers, *The Modern Dancing Master*, 8, 30, 109; Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room*, 67, 72; Edward Payne, *The Quadrille Dancer, Explaining Every Requisite to the Attainment of the Steps and Figures, Including All the Fashionable Figures, in French and English, to Which Is Added Instructions for Spanish Dancing* (London: Birchall, 1818), 59-63; Peacock, *Sketches Relative to the History and Theory, but More Especially to the Practice of Dancing*, 89-91, 126-128; Strathy, *Elements of the Art of Dancing; with a Description of the Principal Figures in the Quadrille*, 81-82; Wilson, *An Analysis of Country Dancing*, 128-130; *A Companion to the Ball Room*, iv-vii, ix-xx, 211-218; *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*, 3-8, 138, 151, 160-163, 177-232, 270-303; and *The Quadrille and Cotillion Panorama*, second ed. (London: R. & E. Williamson, 1822), 4-5, 42, 61-78, 86-90. Several of these, in addition to later nineteenth-century sources, are quoted in Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 128-133.

¹⁵⁰ Wilson's focus is most evident in works such as *An Analysis of Country Dancing*; *A Companion to the Ball Room*; and *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*. Although dance music often (though not always) contains instructions for the figures to be performed, it is rare that any indication is given with regards to the number of musical repetitions required. This would have been assumed knowledge for anyone familiar with the repertoire.

in confusion. Dancers who possessed little musical ability were destined to create disruption in the ballroom:

... it is very common to see many Persons in their performance of the Figure, without any attention to the Music, run through them with such Rapidity, as generally to finish them before the Music allowed to their Performance...the Figure of the Dance is consequently generally finished before the Musician has little more than *half* finished the Music, and so the Dance is begun again in the middle of the Tune...¹⁵¹

Equally, musicians were required to perform dance music "in the Time it is marked" and to observe the appropriate repetitions, "otherwise the Figures, however correctly they may be set, will not answer the Music..."¹⁵²

A symbiosis thus existed between dancers and musicians, although it was a relationship that was perhaps unequally weighted. Through his publications, Thomas Wilson gave dancers considerable creative agency in how they constructed dances. By giving guidelines on how to combine figures of different lengths to suit varying musical melodies, and by imparting to these figures a hierarchy of aesthetic qualities related to beauty, Wilson suggested that dancers had the flexibility to adapt country dance and quadrille steps to a wide range of musical compositions and choreographically select those most apposite to the performance of grace and elegance.¹⁵³ But in reality, it was the musician who wielded the power, for "the Music must always guide the Dancer."¹⁵⁴ Here, the issue of tempo was crucial, as the music ultimately determined in what manner the dancer performed the steps: "if very slow, they would appear heavy and tiresome; and, if very quick, would prevent the Dancer from applying the Steps with ease and effect."¹⁵⁵ Of course, dancers could jeopardise their own performance by "calling out for [the musicians] to play faster", such that they ended up "*running* through [the steps], instead of

¹⁵¹ *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 193-194. Similar concerns were voiced in *An Essay on the Art of Dancing, Viewed in Connection with Physical Education*, 13-14 and Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 134-135.

¹⁵² Wilson, *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*, 303. See additionally Chivers, *The Modern Dancing Master*, 109 and Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, ix, xix-xx.

¹⁵³ On choosing the aesthetic qualities of a dance, see *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing*, 10-16.

¹⁵⁴ *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 214. See also Cassidy, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Dancing*, 42.

¹⁵⁵ Wilson, *The Quadrille and Cotillion Panorama*, 5. Tempo would also have had an impact on the style of articulation adopted by the performer.

Dancing..."¹⁵⁶ In the domestic environment, therefore, the woman at the piano was influential in determining the calibre of performance – not only was she responsible for the beauty and grace of her own figure at the keyboard, she was also responsible for the grace and elegance of those who were dancing to the sound of her fingertips.

If texts devoted to dance were limited in their purview of cultural expectations regarding the performance of dance music, contemporary literature on conduct aimed at young women explicitly linked music-making with social dance, focussing on the qualities of moderation and excess. *The Mirror of the Graces* tapped into the passion for show that both music and dance could foster, providing an ugly portrayal of unrefined exhibition and vanity:

...she takes her lessons of the *corps de ballet*, that she may present herself in the ball-room or on a stage; and while the motions of her limbs and the exposure of her person scandalize every discreet matron present, she believes herself the object of general admiration, the very *ne plus ultra* of the art. In like manner her musical talents are cultivated. She does not learn to compose with her sweet lullaby the unquiet hours of old age, or of sickness, to rest and sleep: enough for her relations, father, brothers, husband, that she practises all day the crude and disagreeable parts of her lessons. It is for the guest, the gay assembly, the concert of *amateurs* that she reserves her harmonies, and to them she sings and plays till she believes *herself* the tenth muse, and *them* her adorers.¹⁵⁷

The excessive movement of theatrical dance was thus implicated in the inappropriate and public display of musical immodesty, whilst the exhibitionism demonstrated in both art forms was the exact opposite of the moderation and domesticity advocated by conduct writers. While still maintaining a sharp distinction in style between ballroom and theatrical dance, *The Young Lady's Book* presented a schism in how women negotiated the public and private performance of dance and music. Whereas "it would be in the extreme of bad taste for the ball-room dancer to attempt the least brilliant of those embellishments to "the poetry of motion," which are displayed...on

¹⁵⁶ See Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room*, 72 and Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 199, respectively.

¹⁵⁷ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 151-152.

the stage", the performer at the piano was "expected to play with equal spirit at a private party as in the concert-room..."¹⁵⁸ Such a distinction suggests that musical pyrotechnics, or at least musical vigour, was more acceptable in a domestic context than the technical excellence and flamboyance of a stage dancer.

True affectation in music-making, however, was despised as much as it was in dance. Again, specifically coupling ideal qualities in dance with those in music, *The Mirror of the Graces* launched an attack against unnecessary bodily distortion and exaggeration:

What has been said in behalf of simple and appropriate dancing, may also be whispered in the ear of the fair practitioner in music; and, by analogy, she may, not unbeneficially, apply the suggestions to her own case.

There are many young women, who, when they sit down to the piano or the harp, or to sing, twist themselves into so many contortions, and writhe their bodies and faces about into such actions and grimaces, as would almost incline one to believe that they are suffering under the torture of the tooth ach [sic] or the gout. Their bosoms heave, their shoulders shrug, their heads swing to the right and the left, their lips quiver, their eyes roll; they sigh, they pant, they seem ready to expire! And what is all this about? They are merely playing a favourite concerto, or singing a new Italian song."¹⁵⁹

If the performer's ability at the instrument was somewhat dubious, then such a display would have been a double discordance. Not only was it musically unsatisfying, but, as "a false attitude or motion in dancing...offends the judicious eye", then such behaviour would have been equally visually displeasing.¹⁶⁰ Drawing thus on a shared vocabulary, *The Mirror of the Graces* clearly expected that readers would not only understand the principles behind

¹⁵⁸ *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, 395-396.

¹⁵⁹ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 191-192. See also *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, 385. For other sources which address etiquette in music-making, see Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth-Century Dance*, 125-126; Appleton, *Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies*, 136-137, 149-152, 160; Pitt, *Instructions in Etiquette, Intended for the Use of Schools and Young Persons*, 43-44; and Sarah Stickney Ellis, *The Daughters of England, Their Position in Society, Character, and Responsibilities* (London and Paris: Fisher, Son, & Co., 1842), 134-138.

¹⁶⁰ Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 109.

the concepts of tasteful movement, but that they would possess the knowledge to transfer skills from the ballroom to the piano stool.

The same notion of bodily transferability between dance and music was at play with regards to elegance and grace. In advocating simplicity and smoothness of movement, *The Mirror of the Graces* drew upon the ease and roundness evident in Edmund Burke's description of gracefulness:

...my dear readers will perceive that I mean *simplicity* to be the principle and the decoration of all their actions, as it should pervade them in the dance, so it should imbue their voice and action in playing and in singing. Let their attitude at the piano, or the harp, be easy and graceful. I strongly exhort them to avoid a stiff, awkward, elbowing position at either; but they must observe an elegant flow of figure at both.¹⁶¹

The author regarded the harp as an instrument capable of abundantly displaying feminine grace and elegance, while the harpsichord or piano was less "happily adapted to grace", for, "[f]rom the shape of the instrument, the performer must sit directly in front of a straight line of keys; and her own posture being correspondingly effect and square, it is hardly possible that it should not appear rather inelegant."¹⁶² To negate this lack of visual attractiveness, the fair player could "prevent an air of stiffness...move her hands easily on the keys, and bear her head with that elegance of carriage which cannot fail to impart its own character to the whole of her figure."¹⁶³

What these sources do not reveal are the finer minutiae of movements necessary for keyboard performance. Given that transferability was acknowledged between bodily movements employed in dance and music-making, sources on etiquette provide an extra layer of detail in reconstructing women's performance at the keyboard. As writers on dance provided advice on the performance of everyday movements in social settings, such prescriptions could be applicable to bodily positioning during music-making. Indeed, Carl Czerny (1791-1857) was acutely aware of the link, explicitly

¹⁶¹ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 194.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 194-195. Elizabeth Appleton also depicted ease, roundedness and "elegant propriety" in playing the harp. See Appleton, *Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies*, 163.

¹⁶³ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 195-196.

declaring that “the elegant deportment of polished life must always be transferred to the art...”¹⁶⁴ The act of gracefully rising and sitting was “of the first importance in the accomplishments of persons *dans la bonne société*.”¹⁶⁵ Ladies were advised “not to turn [their] feet too much out, nor sit in an uneasy or awkward position”, while the correct placement of the head rendered all other movements effortless:

A Person whose Head is rightly placed is capable of standing, walking, dancing, or performing any genteel Exercise, in a graceful, easy, and becoming Manner; the Person whose head is wrong placed is wholly incapable of standing, walking, dancing, or performing any Exercise, but with Difficulty, and in a Manner very aukward and ungenteel.¹⁶⁶

As highly important body parts in piano playing, the “easy management” of hands and arms contributed significantly “to an elegant and graceful deportment...”¹⁶⁷ In presenting an object, the arms were to be raised “in an easy curved form”, paying particular attention to prevent “any angular bend at the elbow” and maintaining an even level with the wrist.¹⁶⁸ James Pitt advocated a graceful use of the hands when in company and considered it improper for a lady to “raise [her] arms above [her] head, or indulge in any of the other awkward practices which are common amongst the vulgar.”¹⁶⁹ Although these examples are slight, the tenor of the movements prescribed conforms to the qualities of lightness, moderation and equanimity recommended in genteel dance. Their general use suggests that the same qualities would have been applied in negotiating musical performance.

¹⁶⁴ Charles Czerny, *Letters to a Young Lady on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte, from the Earliest Rudiments to the Highest Stage of Cultivation*, trans. James Alexander Hamilton (London: R. Cocks and Co., 1839), 32.

¹⁶⁵ Théleur, *Letters on Dancing, Reducing This Elegant and Healthful Exercise to Easy Scientific Principles*, 102.

¹⁶⁶ See *ibid.*, 103 and Towle, *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Private Tutor*, 190.

¹⁶⁷ Chivers, *The Modern Dancing Master*, 26.

¹⁶⁸ See Wilson, *The Address; or an Essay on Deportment; as Chiefly Relating to the Person in Dancing*, 20 and Inglehearn, *The Minuet in the Late Eighteenth Century, with a Reprint of S.J. Gardiner's a Dancing Master's Instruction Book 1786*, 27. James Cassidy advised that the hand, when presenting an object, “must be waved in a serpentine line”. See Cassidy, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Dancing*, 72. Although impractical for piano playing, Cassidy’s comment indicates the penetration of Hogarth’s ideas into forms of daily movement.

¹⁶⁹ Pitt, *Instructions in Etiquette, Intended for the Use of Schools and Young Persons*, 45.

Two treatises on piano playing written specifically for young ladies showed an equal concern for graceful posture and equilibrium in bodily movement. Carl Czerny referred to piano playing as “one of the most charming and honourable accomplishments for young ladies” and urged his imaginary pupil “to acquire a graceful and appropriate position, when sitting at the piano-forte.”¹⁷⁰ The assets Czerny considered “so necessary for playing the pianoforte – flexibility, quickness of movement, and lightness”, mirrored those desired for dancing young ladies in the ballroom.¹⁷¹ Czerny’s work, and the anonymous *A Letter to a Young Pianoforte Player*, described in detail how the body was to be positioned at the keyboard, invoking balance, moderation, containment and grace in their portrayals of musical femininity. The player was to adjust her position to keep her arms more or less level with the keyboard, for if “seated too high, it will occasion an unpleasant stoop” or if seated “too low, your shoulders will be shrugged up...”¹⁷² Maintaining “a graceful position and carriage of the head and upper part of the chest” was important as “an awkward position...impedes, if not prevents, the development of a free and elegant style of playing.”¹⁷³ The elbows were to be proportionally placed, as keeping “them closely pinioned to your sides is a still more ungraceful attitude” while the arm was to “be gently rounded, so that in the most animated movement it may neither rub against your dress, nor stick out as if it did not belong to you.”¹⁷⁴ The forearm was to “form a perfectly straight horizontal line”, the wrist kept level with the hand, while the fingers were to be placed “as nearly in the middle of the white keys as you conveniently can.”¹⁷⁵ The knuckles themselves almost disappeared, as “you must never let it be perceived that you have any...or at least they must be rounded off as much as possible.”¹⁷⁶ Although this advice was merely sensible in terms of acquiring the desired degree of execution and proficiency, it strongly tapped into notions that characterised the graceful performance of femininity in the ballroom.

¹⁷⁰ Czerny, *Letters to a Young Lady*, 2-3.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁷² *A Letter to a Young Pianoforte Player. In Which Are Given Instructions for Practising, and Hints for Avoiding or Correcting Errors and Inelegancies to Which Pupils Are Liable*, second ed. (London: N. Hailes, 1830), 14.

¹⁷³ *Letters to a Young Lady*, 4.

¹⁷⁴ *A Letter to a Young Pianoforte Player*, 15.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 16-17 and *Letters to a Young Lady*, 4.

¹⁷⁶ *A Letter to a Young Pianoforte Player*, 20.

As in the discourse on bodily regularity in dance, malleability and excessive motion were also important concepts in piano playing. Czerny employed a dance metaphor when he outlined the need for flexibility in the fingers: "In fact, it is as impossible to play the pianoforte well with stiff and untractable fingers, as to dance well with stiff and untractable feet. *Volubility of finger is one of the chief requisites in pianoforte-playing.*"¹⁷⁷ If "volubility" was sanctioned in the fingers, then its presence in other parts of the body was kept within bounds. Moderation and constraint was essential, so "that no sudden or unnecessary movement may offend the ear, nor the awkward straggling of the fingers impede the execution."¹⁷⁸ The connection between movement and sound is pertinent, for it was upon this basis that femininity in performance was defined. Excess movement was equated with thumping, which was frowned upon as unladylike:

If you are careful to avoid all unnecessary movement of the arms, you will seldom be in danger of playing in this hard and violent manner. It is truly unfeminine and disagreeable, and causes the instrument to emit a tone as different from that which a good performer would produce, as the hoarse cries of London are from the modulations of a scientific singer.¹⁷⁹

Czerny advised avoiding "any jumping, chopping, or oscillating movement" as "you will find, Miss, that the fingers cannot possibly play pleasantly and tranquilly when the hands and arms are unsteady."¹⁸⁰ He was alive to the need for finding the middle ground between malleability and rigidity, cautioning the player not "to sit at the piano as stiff and cold as a wooden doll", but merely to eschew "excess" in motion.¹⁸¹

Contemporary keyboard tutors employed the same vocabulary when discussing physical movement at the keyboard, although when considering modes of articulation, moderation and ease were tempered by the need to create variety of touch. The fingers were the driving force behind the sound, with the hand, arm and ultimately the body, remaining as little involved as

¹⁷⁷ *Letters to a Young Lady*, 9.

¹⁷⁸ *A Letter to a Young Pianoforte Player*, 19.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁸⁰ *Letters to a Young Lady*, 12.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

possible.¹⁸² A legato sound required the keys to “be pressed by the fingers in a smooth and gliding manner”, the player ensuring that the notes were released just at the right moment so that the fingers weren’t “left sprawling indolently on several Keys at once...”¹⁸³ Conversely, a staccato sound required more energy and *brio*, the fingers employing “a very springy short stroke” to touch the keys “in the manner of springing, or pouncing...”¹⁸⁴ However, with the increased finger activity this brought, pupils were cautioned against “thumping” and “playing with violence.”¹⁸⁵ The injunctions against forcefulness, paralleling the advice given in *A Letter to a Young Pianoforte Player* above, also had an aural correlate:

A hint, against a noisy performance, will not be thrown away here: too forcible percussion, even in forte passages, is not elegant; and, it is better, to reserve a power of giving accent, emphasis and crescendo effect, by a delicate style; than it is to expend all the rage and violence of the instrument upon every occasion: but extremes must be avoided. Light and shade, with all their various and appropriate gradations, are as essential to a fine performance, as to a highly finished picture; and, continued noise, would be as painful to an educated ear, as the vapid playing of an automaton.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸² See, for example, A.S. Moxley, *Elementary Instructions for the Piano-Forte...Part the First* (London: Printed for the Author, 1822), 3; John Monro, *A New & Complete Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte, Wherein the First Principles of Music, Are Fully Considered in a Series of Observations and Examples...* (London: Monro & May, WM 1823), 46; and William Parkinson, *A New Book of Instruction for Beginners on the Piano Forte or Harpsichord. Containing General Rules on the Art of Fingering, & Manner of Playing...Op. 2d* (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., 1810?), 12.

¹⁸³ A. Auber, *Auber's Complete Family Piano Forte Tutor, in Which the First Rudiments of Music Are Clearly Simplified with Appropriate Examples & Exercises* (London: Printed by W. Wybrow, 1835?), 17.

¹⁸⁴ See John Parsons, *The Elements of Music with Progressive Practical Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte* (London: Published by the Author, 1794), 29 and Auber, *Auber's Complete Family Piano Forte Tutor, in Which the First Rudiments of Music Are Clearly Simplified with Appropriate Examples & Exercises*, 18.

¹⁸⁵ See John Freckleton Burrowes, *A Companion to the Piano Forte Primer, Containing the Rudiments of Fingering, Exemplified in a Series of Exercises with Explanations of the Manner in Which They Are to Be Played & Remarks on the Mode of Practising in General, Intended to Assist the Student in the Absence of the Master. Op. 14* (London: Published for the Author, 1826), 5 and Parkinson, *A New Book of Instruction for Beginners on the Piano Forte or Harpsichord. Containing General Rules on the Art of Fingering, & Manner of Playing...Op. 2d*, 12.

¹⁸⁶ I.H.R. Mott, *I.H.R. Mott's Advice and Instructions, for Playing the Piano Forte, with Expression, and Brilliant Execution, Containing Numerous Examples and Interesting Pieces, Fingered for Practice & Accompanied by Careful Directions, for Performing Them with Delicacy and Feeling, Together with Much Useful Information, on the Nature & Principles, of Music* (London: Published by the Author, 1824), 27.

These descriptions bear some resemblance to the extroverted movements condemned in theatrical dancing, and the noisy and careless actions displayed by 'affected' dancers. In this case, the pianist's fingers acted like the dancer's feet, with lightness and terre-à-terre motion valued in both.¹⁸⁷

The articulation of musical grace was not just confined to quality of movement, it was also connected to ideas of ornament and embellishment. Isaac Henry Robert Mott hinted at this association in his discussion of the "Musical Graces":

WITH RESPECT TO THE TASTEFUL, ORNAMENTAL, AND GRACEFUL STYLE OF PERFORMANCE I observe, that...it is highly injudicious, and even ridiculous, to be continually flourishing, shaking, and gracing every note and passage...that graces badly introduced, heavily or awkwardly performed, or so managed as to subvert and obscure the expression and the effect of the principal melody, cannot fail to be DISGRACEFUL...¹⁸⁸

The performance of ornamentation was, of course, strongly correlated with the concepts of musical taste and expression during the eighteenth century, and such complaints about its over-use were by no means uncommon.¹⁸⁹ Robert Broderip (c.1758-1808) delineated a number of features that combined to produce 'expression', in which ornamentation and quality of sound were important components:

Expression is produced by regulating the *time*, to the *Style* of the Music – by an attention to the Graces or Embellishments – by the *Touch* – and by a judicious management of the Tone of the Instrument, in its different Gradations from soft to loud.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ I am grateful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for pointing out the parallels between the quality of movement employed by the fingers in piano playing and the overall bodily movement recommended for dancers.

¹⁸⁸ Mott, *I.H.R. Mott's Advice and Instructions, for Playing the Piano Forte*, 58. Mott's description had a dance parallel, with Jean-Georges Noverre (1727-1809) declaring that "Nothing is so difficult to achieve as what is termed a pleasing grace; it is good taste to make use of it and a fault to pursue and diffuse it everywhere alike". See Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, Letter X, p. 100 and chapter 3, p. 188.

¹⁸⁹ See David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 188.

¹⁹⁰ Robert Broderip, *Plain & Easy Instructions for Young Performers on the Piano Forte or Harpsichord to Which Are Added Twelve Progressive Lessons Calculated to Form the Hand & Finger'd According to the Practice of the Most Eminent Masters* (London: Longman & Broderip, 1794), 12.

Regulation of touch and tone, as outlined above, was physically associated at either end of the spectrum with grace and affectation; the addition of the graceful performance of embellishments through neat execution and moderation of usage strongly linked expression with the performance of grace in this context. As expression “gave life and energy to a musical composition”, grace was implicated as a vital factor in making music come alive.¹⁹¹ In this, too, there was a link with dance and deportment – if grace embellished music, then “a graceful deportment, or genteel carriage” embellished the “ornaments of the body...”¹⁹² Grace was thus the approved apparatus to achieve both greater bodily and musical refinement.

The notion of taste filtered into the education of young ladies and was linked with the interpretation of embellishment and beauty. Erasmus Darwin (1731-1802) connected taste with the essence of elite youthful femininity, suggesting that it permeated “into [girls’] dress, their motions, their manners, as well as into all the fine arts, which they have leisure to cultivate...and into almost every circumstance of life.”¹⁹³ Although Darwin excluded music from his list of “fine arts”, Elizabeth Hamilton (1756?-1816) engaged with the notion of the “emotion of taste” from a musical perspective. She deplored the idea of excelling at accomplishments for the sole purpose of exhibition, observing “that a taste for the fine arts can only be cultivated by the same means which must be employed to lay the foundation of taste in general, viz. a careful improvement of all the intellectual faculties.”¹⁹⁴ Darwin provided a list of reading material through which young ladies could become acquainted with the concept of taste, including works by Joseph Addison (1672-1719), Edmund Burke, William Gilpin (1724-1804) and William Hogarth; as such, taste encompassed theories relating to sublimity, the picturesque and beauty.¹⁹⁵ By defining grace as “Beauty in action”, Darwin provided a hook through which

¹⁹¹ Mott, I.H.R. *Mott's Advice and Instructions, for Playing the Piano Forte*, no page number given.

¹⁹² *The Polite Academy; or School of Behaviour for Young Gentlemen and Ladies, Intended as a Foundation for Good Manners and Polite Address, in Masters and Misses*, 9.

¹⁹³ Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools*, 25.

¹⁹⁴ Like Darwin, Hamilton linked taste with femininity. See Elizabeth Hamilton, *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education*, vol. 2 (Bath and London: R. Cruttwell, and G. and J. Robinson, 1802), 322, 328.

¹⁹⁵ Darwin included Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, and Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* in his list of works. See Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools*, 25-26.

these concepts could be interpreted at the keyboard.¹⁹⁶ If one component of the expression of taste was the expression of beauty, then by definition it was also the expression of grace. The “beauty of position” enacted during music-making through the “elegant flow of figure”, and the grace that was inherent in such a performance, along with that which was constructed through moderation of tone and touch, were consequently causata of good taste.¹⁹⁷ In a manner resembling the exterior acquirement of the *accoutrements* of gentility, the appearance of grace could be purchased through the application of embellishments, as the “use of graces” served as a substitute for the absence of taste. For Hamilton, musical taste thus lay not in unremitting practice of such graces, but in the development first of the “basis of taste”, upon which the attainment of skill could sit.¹⁹⁸

If the choice of interior colours and patterns in the home was an expression of female creativity, then the choice of musical embellishment, and indeed improvisation in music and dance, could be seen as an expression not only of the same, but also of feminine grace.¹⁹⁹ Contemporary piano tutors addressed the issue of ornamentation and sometimes provided preludes through which pupils could study the art of extemporisation. Upper class women certainly learned how to devise preludes and how to embellish musical lines, whether through vocal or instrumental repertoire; in doing so, they were exemplifying their ability to execute expression, grace and taste.²⁰⁰ It is unknown to what degree ornamentation would have been applied to the performance of domestic dance music. Given the musical simplicity of a large proportion of functional dance music and the number of repetitions of musical material required during the performance of a single dance, the application of ornamentation to enliven what “would otherwise not be interesting enough and

¹⁹⁶ “But Grace may be defined Beauty in action; for a sleeping beauty can not be called graceful, in whatever attitude she may recline; the muscles must be in action to produce a graceful attitude, and the limbs to produce a graceful motion.” See *ibid.*, 26.

¹⁹⁷ *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady's Costume*, 194-195.

¹⁹⁸ Hamilton, *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education*, 2, for the quotation see p. 329 and for this discussion see pp. 324-329.

¹⁹⁹ See Amanda Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 182, 253-254, 256.

²⁰⁰ For instances of both ornamentation and the practice of preluding in the Tatton Park collection, see Jeanice Brooks, “Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park,” *Music and Letters* 91, no. 4 (2010): 518-519, 521-522 and Penelope Cave, “Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845” (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013), 133-146, 150-163.

consequently become tedious" is a possibility.²⁰¹ That dance music was held in little esteem by some contemporary authors presents something of a conundrum – would the performance of such music have been considered in poor taste, even though it was heavily associated with feminine musical practice, in which case could the application of embellishment have rescued it from the depths of triviality? Or would such "little, easy, but tasteful pieces" have provided the perfect forum for the display of musical knowledge, eloquence and taste, given that "*every thing does credit to the player which is well played*"?²⁰² Regardless of how dance music was actually conceived in this context, through the application of embellishment and combining of dance figures, women were potentially providing their homes with transient aural and visual furnishings, adornments that were both graceful and creative.

1.7 Conclusion

The depiction of elite women's participation in dance in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was intimately entwined with discourses on femininity, politeness and aesthetics. Dance was viewed as a form of exercise eminently suitable for girls, promoting physical, emotional and mental health without the need for inappropriate vigour. During the transition from girlhood to adulthood, dance provided a vehicle through which genteel young women emerged onto society's stage, thrust into the temptations of the ballroom and steered towards marriage. Bodily deportment played a significant role in the creation of gentility, with dance one of the primary tools for developing an aristocratic mien. The qualities of elegance, grace and beauty were conspicuous in discussions of dance and ideal femininity, such that they were strongly interwoven into the conception of the archetypal dancing lady. Conduct literature and dance manuals employed a

²⁰¹ Daniel Gottlob Türk, *School of Clavier Playing, or Instructions in Playing the Clavier for Teachers & Students*, trans. Raymond H. Hagg (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 311, quoted in David Rowland, *Early Keyboard Instruments: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 76. Ellis Rogers has suggested that, even in the case of a very long dance, the musicians wouldn't change the actual tune they were playing for fear of "annoying the lady who had called for a particular air", thus creating incredible monotony unless ornamentation was employed. See Ellis A. Rogers, *The Quadrille. A Practical Guide to Its Origin, Development and Performance*, fourth ed. (Orpington: C & E Rogers, 2008), 12.

²⁰² Czerny, *Letters to a Young Lady*, 41. Czerny specifically included "dance-tunes, waltzes, [and] quadrilles" in his categorisation of "easy, but tasteful" works.

recurring vocabulary that sought to shape and refine the genteel body, exhorting women to apply moderation, lightness, ease and elegance in their movements and avoid the pitfalls of affectation and excess.

Contemporary sources addressed women's music-making in similar terms, leading to a common lexicon between dance and music in terms of bodily and aesthetic understanding. By prescribing modes of movement that hovered around a subjective equilibrium and that fostered smoothness of approach, playing the piano became an expression of refined elegance. The performance of dance music presented something of a dichotomy – while as a genre for display it was despised, elite women's role in the provision of music for domestic dance was implicitly recognised, and dance music would have formed a broad aural background across many aspects of genteel life. The sheer abundance of printed dance music suggests its popularity and raises a point of tension: how well did the ideal description of feminine music-making correspond with the practicalities of performing such music? And how did the performance of dance music and domestic dance by aristocratic women help to propagate the values of grace, elegance and beauty? The following chapters seek to prise apart these questions, firstly through examining how dance in the country house invoked notions of masculinity and femininity, and secondly through an appraisal of the dance activities and dance music of the women from Tatton Park.

Chapter 2: Dance in the English Country House c. 1770-1860 – Representations of Gender, Class and Display

Dance in the country house was significantly associated with the expression of elite values concerning patriarchy, hospitality, benevolence and luxury display, acting as a tool through which country house owners could sustain and promote patterns of gender and class performance. From the circumstances under which dancing took place to the provision of dance music for domestic gatherings, dance offered those who chose to engage in it great flexibility in its enactment and representation. Dance undoubtedly provided familial amusement, yet it was also a key activity in celebrations that promoted patriarchy and collective display. As a scaffold for articulations of status and wealth, dance in the country house stood strongly as a metaphor for harmonious relations between classes, yet at times also blurred the same boundary it was safeguarding. While balls were often overtly associated with masculine power and taste, women played crucial roles as organisers and hostesses, and on smaller occasions, were the principal providers of dance music. However, the interpretation of dance in the country house has suffered from a lack of surviving choreographies and from the ephemerality of its performance. As little tangible evidence remains of precisely how dance was executed, how dance music was played, and how dancers felt about their performances, this chapter relies heavily on newspaper descriptions and archival material to reconstruct the outlines of how dance was conceived and expressed.

Limited evidence survives for dance activity at Tatton Park prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Wilbraham Egerton's (1781-1856) father "gave a ball and supper to the principal part of his tenants, and a few upper servants of the neighbouring gentry" upon Wilbraham's marriage to Elizabeth Sykes (1777-1853) in 1806, which remains as the only early nineteenth-century proof that dance occurred at the house.¹ There is then a gap of more than fifty years until the next known occasion, with a cellar book indicating that a servants'

¹ See *Chester Chronicle*, January 24, 1806 and "VARIETIES," *York Herald*, February 1, 1806.

dance took place in January 1858.² Correspondence from the Stanley family at Alderley Park in Cheshire has provided valuable information pertaining to balls held by Lady Charlotte Egerton (1811-1878) during the 1860s, while the grounds of the estate were opened for the Manchester Conservative Working Men's Picnic in 1869, during which a number of the picnickers danced upon the lawn.³ This shadowy picture presents a significant problem, for the interval during which evidence of dance appears to have evaporated from Tatton Park coincides with the music collecting activities of the three Egerton women. It is therefore impossible to directly compare the dance music they accumulated with any balls they may have hosted on the Tatton estate. To compensate for this lacuna, this chapter presents a survey of dance that took place in other country houses during this period, with a particular (though not exclusive) emphasis on gentry families in Cheshire, as representative of how the Egertons may have engaged with dance at Tatton Park.

2.1 Contexts for Dance in the English Country House

Dance was performed in country houses across England for a variety of reasons and drew upon dancers from different social classes as befitted the occasion. Ranging from spontaneous dancing for the amusement of family and friends through to highly planned and lavish celebrations in honour of important family or national events, dance was an activity through which enjoyment was combined with demonstrations of patriarchy, patronage and wealth. Country house owners commemorated christenings, weddings and birthdays by hosting a range of festivities that often included dance, with such occasions frequently extending to incorporate hospitality towards servants and the local tenantry. Opulent entertainments held at country estates for

² See the entry for 20 January 1858, DET/3229/74, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office.

³ See, for example, letter from Katharine Stanley (1842-1874) to Edward Lyulph Stanley (1839-1925), dated 16 November 1860, in Bertrand and Patricia Russell, ed. *The Amberley Papers: The Letters and Diaries of Lord and Lady Amberley*, vol. 1 (London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1937), 99 and letter from Henrietta Maria Stanley (1807-1895) to Edward Stanley (1802-1869), dated 13 November 1862, in Nancy Mitford, ed. *The Stanleys of Alderley: Their Letters between the Years 1851-1865* (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1939), 337. On the Conservative Working Men's Picnic, see "THE GREAT CONSERVATIVE PICNIC TO TATTON PARK," *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, August 26, 1869; "THE CONSERVATIVE WORKING MEN'S PICNIC AT TATTON PARK," *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, August 30, 1869; and "THE CONSERVATIVE WORKING MEN'S PICNIC AT TATTON PARK," *Belfast News Letter*, September 1, 1869.

members of the gentry and aristocracy comprised balls, masquerades and domestic theatricals, which placed both the country house and its guests on display. Each of these scenarios put differing emphases on expressions of masculinity and femininity in relation to dance, with country house owners partaking in rituals of politeness in their roles as hosts and acting as patrons in their dispensation of generosity towards the lower classes. Dance was, of course, also a vital component in country house amusements, with both women and men using dance to actively engage in merriment to enliven a weary hour. As such, dance in the country house was not just about dance; rather, it connected strongly to notions of status and taste, and to the performance of gender roles.

2.1.1 Dance and the Celebration of Patriarchy

While dance was configured as a particularly feminine activity through social rituals such as “coming out”, in country house entertainment, dance was utilised to promote and maintain notions of patriarchy and primogeniture.⁴ Large-scale celebrations for the christening of heirs to country estates and their subsequent coming-of-age included dance as an integral component in bringing together landowners, farmers, tenants and inhabitants of local villages, in a display that was often marked by conspicuous generosity.⁵ At Norton Priory in Cheshire, the christening of Sir Richard Brooke’s (1785-1865) son in 1815 prompted a ball and supper for residents in the region, the latter including a toast to the heir, along with a dance for the tenants. The Brookes opened up “nearly the whole of the splendid suits [sic] of apartments” for the tenantry and, accompanied by a number of guests, “led off the first dance; and continued during the whole of the evening, by familiar converse with the various persons present, and by unremitting attention to the comforts of all assembled [sic], to infuse into every mind the greatest cheerfulness and good

⁴ Dana Arnold pointed to the country house “as a stage for the performance of highly visible paternalistic displays” which “were used to exact deference from the lower orders and reinforce the social system.” See Dana Arnold, *The Georgian Country House. Architecture, Landscape and Society* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 16-17.

⁵ On such country house festivities in general, see Christopher Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2000), 280, 297-299; Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 148-149, 189, 240-241, 290; and Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1985), 44.

humour.”⁶ In the guise of benevolent patrons, the Brookes’s participation in the dance and kindness towards their tenants was couched as necessary to the promotion of the latter’s enjoyment.

Festivities celebrating the majority of the eldest son often included dance in what constituted an almost patriotic display of familial pride, supplemented by the general dispensation of charity. Consisting of a series of revelries, sometimes held across many days, dinners and balls for both gentry and tenantry were combined with the provision of hospitality for the labouring classes and generosity towards the poor.⁷ A typical example was the coming-of-age of William Henry Leigh (1824-1905) of Stoneleigh Abbey in Warwickshire, where a ball for the gentry and aristocracy followed a “sumptuous banquet” for almost fifty guests. Children from the local charity school and seven hundred tenants “were regaled with roast beef, plum pudding, and other substantial fare” while the wives and progeny of the tenantry experienced “the pleasures of the dance.”⁸ Holding a series of balls as part of such entertainments was not uncommon. Celebrations at Alderley Park for the coming-of-age of twins, Edward John Stanley (1802-1869) and William Owen Stanley (1802-1884), spanned across ten days, beginning with “the firing of cannon, ringing of all the bells in the neighbouring parishes, bonfires, fireworks, and all the other works of public rejoicing”, before continuing with a

⁶ “Festivities at Norton Priory, IN THIS COUNTY,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, September 29, 1815. The Brookes also provided victuals for the “grooms, coachmen, and other attendants” whose services were not directly required, a dinner for the estate labourers and their families, and an afternoon of rural sports purportedly witnessed by three to four thousand people.

⁷ See Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 298 and Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 189, 240-241, 290. For the coming-of-age of Charles Henry Gordon-Lennox, 6th Duke of Richmond (1818-1903) at Goodwood House in West Sussex in 1839, labourers were given a holiday and a week’s worth of wages, while the women in the Alms houses also benefitted from financial generosity. See “Sussex. SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1839,” *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, January 28, 1839 and “FESTIVITIES AT GOODWOOD, THE SEAT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,” *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian, with which is incorporated the Portsmouth, Portsea, & Gosport Herald*, March 2, 1839. Sir Stephen Richard Glynnne (1807-1874), of Hawarden Castle in Flintshire, was very conscious “that the poor should enjoy the festivities of the day as well as the opulent...” Besides providing them with food, the material used on the walls of the temporary structure that hosted the tenantry ball was to be disseminated amidst the poor as clothing. See “HEIR OF HAWARDEN CASTLE. COMING OF AGE OF SIR STEPHEN R. GLYNNNE,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, September 26, 1828.

⁸ “FESTIVITIES AT STONELEIGH ABBEY,” *Morning Post*, January 20, 1845. A large amount of clothing was also provided to more than five hundred people in need across the neighbouring villages. For a similar, though much earlier example, see the coming-of-age of John Smith Barry (1793-1837) of Marbury Hall in Cheshire in *Macclesfield Courier, and Stockport Express; or, Cheshire General Advertiser*, March 12, 1814.

supper and ball held for the women and children of the tenantry, with whom “[t]he young people of the family, together with their visitors, joined in the dance...” A fancy dress ball and a masquerade for local titled and gentry families subsequently concluded the merrymaking.⁹

In a broader sense, country house dance formed not only part of representations of patriarchy (and in its widest denotation, monarchy) but also of quintessential Englishness. The birth of a grandson to Thomas Langford Brooke (1794-1848) of Mere Hall in Cheshire saw “the whole of the numerous tenantry of Mr. Brooke, with their wives, and many of the tradesmen of the adjoining town of Knutsford” merrily consuming “true old English fare – roast beef and plum pudding, with an ample supply of John Barleycorn.” The Brooke family joined in the repast, which was “enlivened by several songs and glees” before the celebrations concluded with “old English rural sports on the lawn” and “a dance upon the green...”¹⁰ For the coronation of King George IV in 1821, William Charles Booth (1793-1830) of Twemlow Manor in Cheshire provided a dinner for tenants and cottagers, incorporating music and dancing, in the gardens outside the house.¹¹ The anniversary of King George’s accession to the throne was celebrated three years later by a magnificent fete held by George O’Brien Wyndham, 3rd Earl of Egremont (1751-1837) at

⁹ A dinner was also given to tenants and/or tradesmen, with a separate dinner for “the principal Gentlemen in the county”, which included Wilbraham Egerton. See “FESTIVITIES AT ALDERLEY PARK, CHESHIRE,” *Morning Post*, January 21, 1824 and also “FESTIVITIES AT ALDERLEY PARK, ON SIR J.T. STANLEY’S TWIN SONS COMING OF AGE,” *Macclesfield Courier, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 17, 1824. For a list of attendees and costumes for both the fancy dress ball and the masquerade, see “GAJETIES AT ALDERLEY PARK,” *Macclesfield Courier, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 24, 1824. For other occasions on which a number of balls were held, see “FESTIVITIES AT ADLINGTON, THE SEAT OF RICHARD LEGH, ESQ.,” *Macclesfield Courier, and Stockport Express; or, Cheshire General Advertiser*, September 18, 1813 for the coming-of-age of Thomas Crosse Legh (1792-1829) of Adlington Hall in Cheshire, and Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 290, for the majority of John Elliot Boileau (1827-1861) of Ketteringham Hall in Norfolk in 1848.

¹⁰ “FESTIVITIES AT MERE,” *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser*, July 22, 1843. Music was performed during the evening, which was provided by the Knutsford band. John Barrell has suggested that “it was an item of faith among the polite classes, at least, that in Merry England the relations between landlord and tenant, farmer and worker, were believed to be more harmonious, and to approach more nearly to equality, than anywhere else in the world”, which would seem peculiarly apt to the celebrations held by the Brooke family. See John Barrell, “Sportive Labour: The Farmworker in Eighteenth-Century Poetry and Painting,” in *The English Rural Community*, ed. Brian Short (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 108, and also 110.

¹¹ “TWEMLow,” *Macclesfield Courier, Stockport Express; and Cheshire General Advertiser*, July 28, 1821. Similar scenes occurred when George III recovered from a bout of insanity in 1789. The Marquess of Buckingham “immediately celebrated by illuminating the front of the house, roasting an ox whole and distributing it to two thousand people, and entertaining the quality of Buckingham to supper in the hall, followed by a dance.” See Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 240.

Petworth House in West Sussex. The house was lit with “twenty-four of the most stupendous and superb chandeliers the eye ever beheld” in addition to “Roman, Etruscan, Grecian, Egyptian lamps, and Chinese lanterns” for the large number of guests who attended a ball and supper. The Earl’s servants, dressed in full livery, stood “in double line through the Great Hall” while on display in the banqueting room were the spoils of racing victories.¹²

Dance was thus clearly an integral component in country house displays designed to simultaneously showcase the wealth of landowners and their magnanimity towards their dependents, and firmly perpetuate the social importance of the male heir to landed estates. The significance that dance held in this context is revealed not only through the inclusion of multiple balls but also through the care that was given to preparations prior to the event. To ensure that the coming-of-age of Charles Henry Gordon-Lennox, Earl of March (1818-1903), of Goodwood House in West Sussex was “celebrate[d] with becoming splendour”, not only were “an entire new suite of rooms...fitted up” but the ballroom, which had remained unfinished after the death of the third Duke, was completed in advance of the impending occasion. The subsequent ball was evidently crucial to the appearance of “splendour”, and as “half the aristocracy of the kingdom” were reputed to be present, it must have stood as a potent symbol of political and familial power.¹³ With the bold confluence of magnificence and generosity towards the less fortunate, such celebrations bore some resemblance to provincial charity balls, events that would have been familiar to many gentry families. The key difference was, that whilst charitable institutions were the beneficiaries of pecuniary gains through the purchase of tickets and additional donations, the poor and the tenantry were the direct recipients of country house magnanimity.¹⁴ Given the regularity with which dance was included in coming-of-age festivities, it was perhaps unusual that

¹² “THE FETE AT PETWORTH,” *Morning Post*, February 2, 1824.

¹³ For the quotations, see “FESTIVITIES AT GOODWOOD, THE SEAT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,” *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian, with which is incorporated the Portsmouth, Portsea, & Gosport Herald*, March 2, 1839 and “THE MODE IN WHICH THE CLERGY OBSERVE LENT,” *Morning Chronicle*, March 6, 1839, respectively. The latter included a list of fifty-nine clergyman and their families who attended the ball. See additionally Rosemary Baird, *Goodwood House* (Chichester: The Goodwood Estate Company Limited, 2004), 30.

¹⁴ On charity balls, see Theresa Jill Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 35-36; F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 58-59; and additionally chapter 3, pp. 220-223 and chapter 4, p. 263, footnote 122.

the Egertons, in spite of their considerable and liberal preparations for the coming-of-age of William Tatton Egerton (1806-1883) in 1828, appear not to have included a ball amongst the celebrations.¹⁵

2.1.2 Dance and Themes of Benevolence

*At its best, entertaining the lower orders expressed a genuine concern for the poor and a desire to improve the relations between classes; at its worst it showed a rather odious condescension.*¹⁶

Country house festivities provided a context through which the ideal of the munificent landowner and the expression of “ancient English hospitality” could be brought to bear.¹⁷ Newspaper accounts in particular subscribed to a discourse which promulgated the beneficence of country house owners and the consequent happiness and gratitude of those towards whom their charity was directed.¹⁸ Celebrations for the birthday and christening of Thomas Cholmondeley, 1st Baron Delamere’s (1767-1855) sons at Vale Royal in Cheshire included a dance for families of the nobility and gentry classes. The Cholmondeleys’ “tenants sung their accustomed songs” after a supper that punctuated the ball, and “nothing could equal the emulation displayed to shew themselves worthy of so good a landlord.”¹⁹ At Thomas Crosse Legh’s (1792-1829) coming-of-age at Adlington Hall in Cheshire in 1813, the tenantry were

¹⁵ For the most comprehensive coverage of William Tatton Egerton’s coming-of-age celebrations, see “REJOICINGS AT TATTON & KNUTSFORD – COMING-OF-AGE OF WILLIAM TATTON EGERTON, ESQ.,” *Stockport Advertiser*, January 4, 1828 and “REJOICINGS AT TATTON & KNUTSFORD. COMING-OF-AGE OF WILLIAM TATTON EGERTON, ESQ.,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, January 11, 1828. See additionally Leena Asha Rana, “Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840” (PhD, University of Southampton, 2012), 178.

¹⁶ Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 241-242.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 241. See additionally Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 23, and Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House 1660-1880* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2000), 45, 51-52.

¹⁸ Aled Jones has highlighted the “socially powerful agency” of newspapers in shaping the reception of knowledge and public opinion, in particular the ability of the press to act as a vehicle “whereby élites might communicate a one-way stream of messages to a wider audience”. See Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England* (Aldershot and Vermont: Scolar Press, 1996), 180 and 90 for the quotations, and also 2-4, 6-7 and chapter 4. Maura Henry argued that such gatherings, in fact, “tended to emphasize, rather than downplay, the elite’s social distinctions and local authority”, instead “reminding the local community of their inferior position and the deference they owed to the elite”. See Maura A. Henry, “The Making of Elite Culture,” in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. H.T. Dickinson (Malden, Oxford, Carlton and Berlin: Blackwell Publishing, 2002), 320.

¹⁹ *Macclesfield Courier, and Stockport Express; or, Cheshire General Advertiser*, October 10, 1818.

regaled “in the true old stile of English hospitality.” With several ladies in the galleries of the hall intermittently looking on, each tenant “seemed to vie with his neighbour in testifying his attachment to this ancient & highly respected family” before the evening concluded with an outdoor dance.²⁰ Such expressions of regard were at times addressed in both directions. During celebrations at Mere Hall for the birth of his grandson, Thomas Langford Brooke declared to his tenants and tradesmen, “that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see them happy and comfortable; he rejoiced to see that his farms were occupied by a class of men who prided themselves...on their good management; and he should always have the greatest pleasure in meeting the views of his tenants in any improved system of agriculture.”²¹ Of course, such sentiments were also highly politic, and masked the landowner’s dependency on the tenantry in matters of economics, politics and security.²²

Dance was directly implicated in acts of benevolence and kindness towards the lower classes. At Combermere Abbey in Cheshire, an annual Christmas ball was given to domestic staff and tenantry, while a yearly dance for servants at Ketteringham Hall in Norfolk was “attended by family, servants, gardeners, the estate carpenter and the village schoolmistress.”²³ Several stately homes ensured that, after the splendour of the gentrified ball, an additional ball was held for servants and their friends. At Vale Royal, following

²⁰ “FESTIVITIES AT ADLINGTON, THE SEAT OF RICHARD LEGH, ESQ.,” *Macclesfield Courier, and Stockport Express; or, Cheshire General Advertiser*, September 18, 1813. See also Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 290, for another occasion upon which women watched from the galleries.

²¹ “FESTIVITIES AT MERE,” *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser*, July 22, 1843.

²² On tenant-landowner relations, see J.V. Beckett, “Landownership and Estate Management,” in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: 1750-1850*, ed. G.E. Mingay, vol. 6 (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 545, 597, 610, 613-617; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 2, 7, 184, 189, 217, 242; and Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 8-9, 50, 354. On the use of balls as a tool to swing the preferences of voters, see Gervas Huxley, *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors. Life in a Whig Family, 1822-1839* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), 104.

²³ See *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 23, 1830 and Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 285, 290, respectively. Other examples included a day of entertainment hosted by William Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858) at Chatsworth House in Derbyshire for his employees, which comprised cricket, dinner and a dance, and John Smith Barry’s honouring of the completion of twenty years of service of his cook at his Irish seat, Fota House (Fota Island, Cork), by allowing him “to celebrate the event by entertaining his fellow-servants and friends at a ball and supper.” See “CHATSWORTH,” *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, November 17, 1832 and “MR. SMITH BARRY,” *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, May 16, 1835, respectively.

entertainments consisting of a performance of "Saint George and the Dragon" and a masquerade ball, Thomas Cholmondeley and his wife, Henrietta Elizabeth Williams-Wynn (d. 1852), "not forgetting their numerous servants, gave a ball and supper to them and their friends, which went off to the entire satisfaction of all parties."²⁴ Across the border in neighbouring Wales, the coming-of-age of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne (1807-1874) of Hawarden Castle in Flintshire included a ball and dinner for the tenantry.²⁵ The latter, which was attended by William Tatton Egerton and Thomas Egerton (1809-1847), was representative of "the true old English style of baronial splendour" while the accompanying band played "O the roast beef of Old England", in a staunch display of English-centric-ness. During the subsequent ball, the mixing of gentry and tenantry was again evident, to the apparent enjoyment of all and (condescending) edification of the latter:

During the whole of the evening some member of the noble house was in the ball-room, as also some of the honourable visitors, who appeared to vie with each other in promoting the hilarity of the company. They all danced in turn, and, during the time of supper, entertained those who are unaccustomed to the elegant pleasures of high life, by dancing a quadrille, with which "the plain and simple" seemed highly delighted.

The main events were followed by a ball and supper for the servants, who were treated by the family with "the same condescension and desire to administer to the comfort and gaiety of the guests" as had been shown during the regular festivities.²⁶

²⁴ "FESTIVITIES AT VALE ROYAL, NORTHWICH," *Chester Chronicle*, February 2, 1850.

²⁵ There are some discrepancies in the accounts of the ball given by the *Chester Chronicle* and the *Morning Post*. The latter made no mention of the tenantry and gave a different location and altered timings for the ball. The former clearly indicated that there was a ball for tenants, but it is less obvious how many of the visiting gentry families also joined in the dance. See "HEIR OF HAWARDEN CASTLE. COMING OF AGE OF SIR STEPHEN R. GLYNNE," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, September 26, 1828 and "REJOICINGS AT HAWARDEN CASTLE," *Morning Post*, October 6, 1828.

²⁶ See "HEIR OF HAWARDEN CASTLE. COMING OF AGE OF SIR STEPHEN R. GLYNNE," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, September 26, 1828. It is unclear whether William Tatton Egerton and Thomas Egerton also attended the tenantry ball, but a Mr Egerton was listed in the account given by the *Morning Post* (see "REJOICINGS AT HAWARDEN CASTLE," *Morning Post*, October 6, 1828, which also provided a brief description of the servants' ball).

Beyond its status as a gesture of goodwill, dance was also used as an instrument in the moral inculcation of provincial inhabitants. Caroline Wiggett (1799-1881) tried to tempt local children to attend Sunday school by "spending her own money on a dinner at the Vyne [Hampshire] of roast beef, plum pudding and goose-berry pies" along with "games and dancing with a band."²⁷ Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, 10th Baronet (1787-1871) and his wife, Lydia Hoare (1786-1856), opened the grounds of Killerton House in Devon in 1848 for the use of the Teetotal Society, which enticed five hundred "pleasure seekers" to a fete. Accompanied by the sounds of the "Temperance Band", the occasion produced "hearty and jocund laughter from groups of merry dancers", who evidently enjoyed the festivities.²⁸ Leena Rana argued that the Acland family, whilst absent from the fete itself, not only "demonstrated proverbial kindness" by supplying the use of the grounds at Killerton, but effectively showed their support for the values behind teetotalism and temperance by doing so. As a group of orphaned children educated at Lydia's school were amongst the crowd, there was potential for the event to act as a lesson in abstinence. Rana additionally suggested that the fete represented "the Aclands' concern with promoting and creating social harmony" not just through their provision of land for the fete but also through the avoidance of alcohol consumption.²⁹ Dance, therefore, as a propagator of social joy, hypothetically functioned as a happy alternative to the degradation brought about by the excessive intake of liquor.

If balls provided country house owners with the opportunity to display generosity towards their dependents, then they also held the potential to act as conduits in maintaining tenant-landowner relationships. The Grosvenor family gave annual balls to the tenantry at their country estate of Eaton Hall in Cheshire (see Figure 19) on the occasion of Richard Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave's (1795-1869) birthday.³⁰ In describing these events across at least four successive years, the *Chester Chronicle* strongly subscribed to rhetoric

²⁷ See Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 117 and Trevor Lummis and Jan Marsh, *The Woman's Domain: Women and the English Country House* (London: Penguin Books, 1993), 107.

²⁸ See Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840," 175, who cited from the *Western Times*, September 9, 1848.

²⁹ See *ibid.*, 175-176.

³⁰ For a brief mention of these balls, see Huxley, *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors. Life in a Whig Family, 1822-1839*, 34.

that emphasised the largesse of the family and the gratitude of the tenants, in a depiction that aligned the ball as a facilitator in maintaining the idyllic status quo.³¹ The balls were “considered of no small importance by the surrounding district”, with the *Chronicle* declaring “nor can we conceive any method of friendly intercourse better calculated to cement the important relations of landlord and tenant.”³² Indeed, the newspaper zealously promoted the relationship and anything that encouraged its cultivation:

The interchange of reverence and condescension, - of feeling sympathy on the one hand, and gratitude on the other, is an object of the greatest moment, when considered in reference to the natural connexion between landlord and tenant; and every incident that has a tendency to cement the union, should be hailed as a circumstance of reciprocal advantage.³³

Members of the family visited the ballroom during the festivities, “delighting their tenantry by their marked condescension and kindness, and receiving in their turn those sensations of pleasure arising from a view of the happiness and comfort of their delighted guests.”³⁴ The “orchestral harmony” of the dance band was suspended upon their entrance, replaced “by the more heartfelt harmony of the soul, in the recognition of those blessings which a grateful tenantry experience from the beneficence and generosity of a liberal and considerate Land-Lord.”³⁵ The family showed no reluctance in joining in the dance, with Viscount Belgrave and the Hon. Robert Grosvenor, future 1st Baron Ebury (1801 - 1893) choosing partners from amidst the guests. As such, “their urbane, affable, and graceful attentions to the company...called forth expressions of those feelings of regard and attachment which it is so desirable should ever subsist between the landlord and the tenant...”³⁶

³¹ See Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 17.

³² “EATON TENANTS’ BALL,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, January 26, 1827.

³³ “ANNUAL TENANTS’ BALL AT EATON,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, February 3, 1826.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ “GRAND BALL GIVEN BY The Earl Grosvenor to his Tenantry, AT EATON HOUSE,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, February 4, 1825.

³⁶ “LORD GROSVENOR’S TENANTS’ BALL,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, February 1, 1828.



FIGURE 19. EATON HALL, TAKEN FROM JOHN PRESTON NEALE'S *VIEWS OF THE SEATS OF NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN IN ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND*, 1818.

SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

The presence of the tenantry at such balls was clearly vital to the choreography of beneficence and patriarchy. Their participation in country house dance in celebrations that focussed on patrilinear descent effectively promoted the continuance of a system of patronage that relied on dependency for its survival.³⁷ Placed at the behest of the estate owner and somewhat vulnerable in their position, tenants were in a sense obliged to conform to the performance of genteel benevolence. Whilst there was, no doubt, genuine feeling demonstrated by landowners towards their tenantry and vice versa, balls for tenants represented a choreographed interaction between both parties. The press played a pivotal role in composing the reception of such balls. As descriptions of the dinners and dances that constituted country house festivities regularly appeared in the newspapers, the conduct of elite landed families and their relationship with their tenants was promulgated in print at county and national level. The extensive depictions testified not only to a voyeuristic interest in the details of such occasions, but also presented reporters and editors with an opportunity to shape the discourse surrounding country house hospitality, ultimately serving to propagate the image of the

³⁷ See Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 17 and additionally Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 188-189.

generous and affable landowner.³⁸ As such, perhaps in spite of the sensations produced by the balls, press coverage of these events ensured that dance facilitated the harmonious mingling of gentry and tenantry whilst still maintaining the distinctions between classes.³⁹

However, the relationship between landowners and the lower classes was not always as cordial as depicted in newspaper descriptions. An endearing letter from John Hopper, butler to Sir Christopher Sykes, 2nd Baronet (1749-1801) of Sledmere House in Yorkshire and his wife Elizabeth Tatton (1748-1803), illustrated the tensions that occurred and highlighted how certain privileges were expected from country house owners. Hopper provided a minute account of a ball held by Sir James Pennyman, 6th Baronet (1736-1808) of Ormesby Hall in Yorkshire, during which the host imparted only a semblance of the cordiality remarked upon in press coverage of similar events:

Sir James and his sone [sic] went Round the Room to Welcome their Friends to the Ball before the Minuets begune [sic], but never took no notice of them after, they Both & Miss Pennyman Danced the Whole Evening without Inquiring after their Friends whether they was Entertained or not, that is till 20 minnet [sic] past 12 when the Ball broke up.⁴⁰

In a noteworthy nod towards the emulation that must have taken place between country house families, Hopper wrote with pride that Sir James had sent his "Buttler" to him, in order "to Inform his man in what manner I conducted Sir Christopher's Ball which gave Univasal [sic] satisfaction to Every Person, and he wished his Ball might be conducted the same as Sir

³⁸ See Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England*, 90, for the role of newspapers in potentially propagating the interests of the upper classes. The degree to which some of these reports were influenced or written by members of the gentry classes themselves is unknown, but for such a situation, see Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 141-142. I am very grateful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for raising the role that newspapers played in the "circulation of credit" between landowners and their dependents.

³⁹ For a fictional representation of such mingling, although with a lesser degree of harmony than that postulated by the newspapers, see Mrs. Ross, *The Balance of Comfort; or the Old Maid and the Married Woman*, fourth ed., 3 vols., vol. 2 (London: A.K. Newman and Co., 1818), 161-177. The first two dances of the ball were to be performed by both tenantry and gentry mixed together.

⁴⁰ Letter from John Hopper to Lady Elizabeth Sykes (1784), U DDSY3/5/2, Hull History Centre. All further quotations are derived from this letter. It is unclear exactly where the ball was held, as Hopper was writing from Beverley.

Christopher's was..."⁴¹ While Hopper's advice was partially adhered to, the Pennymans "would not follow my Directions in regards to the Rabble, which was very outrageous." Hopper had provided "the Rabble" with ale and negus at Sir Christopher's ball, but Sir James's butler "would not give them neither Ale nor negus, which Inraged [sic] them so much" that Hopper was obliged to intervene to try and keep the peace. Likewise, the "Trades People was [sic] very much Displeased" at Sir James's lack of attention to their company and the short supply of negus.

Hopper's account not only delineated the importance of the butler's position in ensuring the ball ran smoothly, it also emphasised the ball's function in maintaining social and political relations between titled families and the masses they effectively governed. In a depiction of the Sykeses warm-heartedness at their own ball (as they were unavoidably absent from Sir James's ball due to Sir Christopher's illness), Hopper reported that "the Tradespeople all apploded [sic] Sir Christopher and your Ladyship to the Highest degree to me in the Room for going amongst them all the night and making so Free with them to take negus & cake or any thing they Liked, and giveing [sic] them such a Harty [sic] Welcome it made them all very Happy [sic]."⁴² Hopper's negotiations with "the Rabble" was tinged with the smell of politics, for when the latter demanded to see him they declared "that Sir Christopher need only send Poor Hopper to canvas the Town at any time and they would to a man give me their votes..." The geniality with which the Sykeses evidently conducted their ball demonstrated their concern for the comfort of their guests, which may have stemmed both from an unaffected courtesy and an astute political insight. As the parents of Elizabeth Egerton, the manner in which they conducted their balls is significant in conceptualising how she may have approached similar events at Tatton Park. Such knowledge would inevitably have informed her upbringing, if not directly then through observation, and it is possible she may have overheard discussion pertaining to

⁴¹ I have not come across any other reference to Sir Christopher's ball, as mentioned by John Hopper, nor of any other balls that the family may have held at Sledmere House. However, Christopher Simon Sykes recorded at least two instances of dancing that took place while the Sykeses were living at Wheldrake Hall. See Christopher Simon Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family* (London, New York, Toronto and Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2004), 52.

⁴² Letter from John Hopper to Lady Elizabeth Sykes (1784), U DDSY3/5/2, Hull History Centre.

Hopper's letter.⁴³ The magnanimity demonstrated by the Sykeses, therefore, potentially served as a template for Elizabeth's own future conduct.

2.1.3 Dance and Country House Display

If the country house was conceived as a "site of display", then balls were an ideal medium through which the splendour and richness of country house design could be exhibited.⁴⁴ Such occasions effected a kind of voyeurism, in which the house was subject to observation and scrutiny. Whilst the ballroom was the locus for temporary grandeur, many other rooms were accessible to guests, where opulent collectibles, classically inspired objects and familial pride were all visible for consumption.⁴⁵ At Newby Hall in Yorkshire, supper for a portion of guests during a ball was served in the statue gallery, where "the Gold Plate arranged on the large Sarcophagus at the end looked very singular & striking..."⁴⁶ The statuary, "shewn to advantage by the lustre of the Grecian Lamps" was given "a classical effect that can only be conceived by those who have seen these almost matchless specimens of sculpture."⁴⁷ Such displays were important in declaring (or exposing) unreservedly the taste and wealth of country house owners.⁴⁸ The Constable family of Burton Constable in Yorkshire entertained guests with a dinner, ball and supper. The entrance hall was "hung round with banners, on which were emblazoned the quarterings of the illustrious family" while several rooms were open to guests, "many of whom spent great [sic] part of the night in examining the valuable paintings, -

⁴³ I am thankful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for pointing out that Elizabeth Egerton (née Sykes) may have been privy to the (partial) contents of the letter.

⁴⁴ Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 19, 101. On the role of the country house as a "site of display", see additionally Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 30, 48; Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 8-9; Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 240, and Introduction pp. 34-35.

⁴⁵ On the purchase of objects for consumption and their cultural role in display for others to view, see, for example, Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 101-102, 108-109; Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, chapter 5; Henry, "The Making of Elite Culture," 321-323; and Adrian Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: A History of Country House Visiting* (London: The National Trust, 1989, 1998), chapters 2 and 3.

⁴⁶ Letter from Thomas Philip Robinson, 3rd Baron Grantham, Earl de Grey (1781-1859) to Mary Jemima Robinson, Baroness Grantham (1756-1830), dated 18 October 1818, L30/13/22/13, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service.

⁴⁷ "GRAND FETE AT NEWBY HALL," *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 19, 1818. See additionally "Fete at Newby Hall," *York Herald and General Advertiser*, October 24, 1818.

⁴⁸ For a brief summation of the importance of taste to the upper classes, and the relationship between objects and taste, see Arnold, *The Georgian Country House*, 115.

the curious and unique articles of furniture, - the elegant and *recherche* ornaments, - which the taste and munificence of Sir Clifford Constable and his amiable and talented lady have collected under their family roof."⁴⁹ The opening up of multiple rooms also served a distinct practical purpose, by providing guests who chose not to dance with a rich variety of alternative stimulation.⁵⁰

A ball offered an alluring means through which refurbishments to country houses could be paraded before guests.⁵¹ Following alterations to Kingston Lacy in Dorset by Robert Furze Brettingham (1750-1820) in the late eighteenth century, Frances Bankes (1760-1823) held a ball, which she described in precise detail to her mother-in-law.⁵² Entering through the "new Ionic Porch" and proceeding up the "new Stone Stairs", guests were escorted through the library, the drawing room ("the most gay and indeed the prettiest room I ever saw") and into Frances's bedroom, where a "constant supply" of refreshments were available.⁵³ On display in "the Apartment the most seen" was a "red Damask Bed with...Satin wood Bedposts" while Frances was careful to preserve the furniture, carpets and china from damage.⁵⁴ The ballroom itself "looked like the Palace of Alladin" while the entire floor was lit with candles, creating "infinitely more show than if you spend the same sum in any other way..."⁵⁵ Frances was clearly exacting in fashioning how the house and its inhabitants

⁴⁹ "GRAND ENTERTAINMENT AT BURTON CONSTABLE," *Hull Packet*, October 9, 1840. For additional descriptions of the occasion, see "HULL GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL," *York Herald, and General Advertiser*, October 10, 1840 and "HULL MUSICAL FESTIVAL," *Yorkshire Gazette*, October 10, 1840. The ball is also briefly mentioned in Caroline Wood, "Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House," in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. Bennett Zon, Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 218.

⁵⁰ For further examples of this, see "THE FESTIVITIES AT WENTWORTH HOUSE," *York Herald, and General Advertiser*, October 4, 1834; "FESTIVITIES AT GOODWOOD, THE SEAT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND," *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian, with which is incorporated the Portsmouth, Portsea, & Gosport Herald*, March 2, 1839 and "THE FESTIVITIES AT STOWE," *Morning Chronicle*, September 13, 1844.

⁵¹ George Lyttelton, 1st Baron Lyttelton (1709-1773), of Hagley Hall in Worcestershire, held a ball in celebration of the house's completion, for which he classified guests into different categories as befitted their rank. See Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 37.

⁵² Part of the letter is transcribed in the Kingston Lacy guidebook, which also mentions the conversion of the ballroom. See *Kingston Lacy*, (Swindon: The National Trust, 1994), 22, 57. Prefaced by information concerning the alterations undertaken at Kingston Lacy, Frances Bankes's letter is reprinted in Antony Cleminson, "Christmas at Kingston Lacy. Frances Bankes's Ball of 1791," *Apollo: The International Magazine of the Arts* (1991).

⁵³ Cleminson, "Christmas at Kingston Lacy. Frances Bankes's Ball of 1791," 405-406.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 406, 408.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 406-407.

were displayed. She arranged to have her “five Children all ranged in a row with Mrs. Hills and Nurse to attend them in the great Room [the ballroom] so that every body saw them as they came in” and especially tasked “Mrs. Hills to come down on purpose to prevent their being rude, or doing anything wrong...”⁵⁶ After the concluding breakfast, which finished at half past eight in the morning, Frances exhibited no pity for her servants, but instead “desired they would not go to bed but immediately set about cleaning the House and putting it in order...”⁵⁷ Frances’s concern for the minutiae of how the ball was conducted extended well beyond the dance and the ballroom, to encompass the appearance of the house as a whole and the conduct of the family and domestic staff. As such, the evening took on the character of a performance, in which the ball itself played just one part.

The initial reception of guests at a ball was in itself a form of display, in which the conduct of the host and hostess in greeting their visitors was integral to the presentation of country house hospitality. As with Frances Bankes’s ball at Kingston Lacy, guests were often taken on a processional route through part of the house upon their arrival.⁵⁸ At Wentworth House (see Figure 20), under the gaze of the tenantry who occupied the front lawn, visitors encountered a visual and aural spectacle when they stepped into the house:

The company entered at the door of the Pillared Hall, which was handsomely lighted up, and where a full Military Band was playing; from thence they were conducted through a double row of well-dressed attendants to the top of the Grand Staircase into the Saloon, where Lord and Lady FITZWILLIAM and Lord and Lady MILTON stood to receive them.⁵⁹

As the culminating point of their journey to the ballroom, the host and hostess set the stage for the experience of dance, and as the description from John Hopper above made clear, the comportment of country house owners during a ball had a significant impact on the satisfaction that guests derived from the event. The *York Herald* crucially expanded upon this point, declaring that

⁵⁶ Ibid., 408.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 407.

⁵⁸ See, for example, “GRAND FETE AT NEWBY HALL,” *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 19, 1818; “Fete at Newby Hall,” *York Herald and General Advertiser*, October 24, 1818; and “THE FESTIVITIES AT STOWE,” *Morning Chronicle*, September 13, 1844.

⁵⁹ “WENTWORTH HOUSE,” *York Herald and County Advertiser*, October 31, 1807.

a still greater charm [than the *coup d'œil* of the Saloon] was the hospitable reception of each individual at the Noble House of Wentworth, where the graceful dignity and unaffected urbanity of Lady FITZWILLIAM was contrasted with the easy and fascinating grace of the beautiful and interesting Lady MILTON. The ineffable smile of pleasure was reflected from the Noble Hosts to every one around, while each seemed to vie with the other to render complete the *delices* of the evening.

Comparing the deportment of mother and daughter in terms of grace, which itself was a consequence of an education in dance, the attentions of the two women were depicted as highly desirable in the performance of country house display.⁶⁰



FIGURE 20. WENTWORTH WOODHOUSE, TAKEN FROM THOMAS ALLEN'S *A COMPLETE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF YORK*, CA. 1828-1830. SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

⁶⁰ See chapter 1, pp. 80, 90, 99.

Not only were the jewels of the country house on display during a ball, but guests themselves also became dazzling ornaments to be viewed within the country house crown.⁶¹ In celebration of the coming-of-age of William Charles Fitzwilliam, Viscount Milton (1812-1835), the recesses of the saloon at Wentworth House “were filled with raised couches, forming a sort of Turkish divan, running round the walls” from which guests could view “the many graceful forms, attired in the most splendid and tasteful manner, beaming with beauty, and blazing with jewels...”⁶² The gallery encircling the saloon “was constantly filled with from four to five hundred persons, who were admitted at one door, and, after remaining half an hour, descended by another, in order to admit of another succession”, creating an elevated merry-go-round through which the dancing could be viewed.⁶³ At Stowe in Buckinghamshire, during coming-of-age festivities for Richard Temple-Grenville, Marquess of Chandos (1823-1889), “a platform about two feet high, on which a throne, with ottomans on either side” was created in the dancing pavilion “for the more distinguished visitors to recline upon” and survey the scene.⁶⁴ Perhaps the most palpable evidence of voyeurism comes from a ball held at Newby Hall, where Thomas Philip Robinson, 3rd Baron Grantham (1781-1859) “had erected a scaffold outside the Dancing room windows to enable the Ladies maids to have a peep at their mistresses.” The scaffold “was crowded to excess” and at the moment the spectators “were agreeing...that certainly My Lord & Miss Ester were opening the Ball in great style the whole gave way & down they went”, injuring the children’s French maid and Lord Grantham’s bailiff.⁶⁵

⁶¹ On the visuality of dance, see Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, “A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England” (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2002), 76-77, 132, 165-166, 171, 187, the latter of which includes an example of guests standing on chairs to witness dance.

⁶² See “THE FESTIVITIES AT WENTWORTH HOUSE,” *York Herald, and General Advertiser*, October 4, 1834 and “Grand Fete at Wentworth House,” *Derby Mercury*, October 8, 1834, respectively.

⁶³ “THE FESTIVITIES AT WENTWORTH PARK,” *Morning Post*, October 4, 1834. The newspaper reported that “more than twelve or fifteen thousand” members of the public were “admitted into the park and [able] to witness the entire of the internal arrangements”, suggesting that those watching from the gallery were not part of the regular company.

⁶⁴ “THE FESTIVITIES AT STOWE,” *Morning Chronicle*, September 13, 1844.

⁶⁵ Letter from Thomas Philip Robinson, 3rd Baron Grantham, Earl de Grey to Mary Jemima Robinson, Baroness Grantham, dated 18 October 1818, L30/13/22/13, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service.

If the display of objects in the country house was outwardly associated with masculine knowledge and taste, then the exhibition of female bodies at balls acted as a canvas for the perusal of wealth, grace and beauty.⁶⁶ The most splendid of the country house ballrooms were often extremely well lit, and with the assistance of mirrors, created an environment that encouraged the visual appraisal of women.⁶⁷ On the occasion of Charles William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam's (1786-1857) birthday in 1807, the saloon at Wentworth House was "brilliantly illuminated by above 4000 coloured lamps." The ball furnished "a great number of beautiful females [with] an opportunity of displaying their personal charms to advantage; and if fashion can decorate the female form, it was fully exerted, as there never was a more uniformly well-dressed assemblage, and the display of diamonds was immense."⁶⁸ Individual women were sometimes singled out for approbation – the Duchess of Richmond, "whose elegance of person, dress, and splendid jewels were universally admired" was "[t]he brilliant star of the room" during a ball given at Petworth House, while at the conclusion of a quadrille at Stowe, the Marquess of Chandos led a Miss Johnson "round the pavilion, the singularity of her costume exciting universal admiration."⁶⁹ Of course, as in the depiction of tenant-landowner relations, the women at these balls were subject to the male journalist's gaze and the flights of fancy taken by his pen. An animated reporter at Eaton Hall for a ball for the Royal British Bow-Men was somewhat overcome by the ladies' "dazzling beauty and graceful movements in the dance", which "excited those gratifying emotions which naturally arise from a view of a combination of high rank, personal charms, and virtue."⁷⁰ The

⁶⁶ While there were exceptions, many of the great country house collections were accumulated by men. See, for example, Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, chapter 5.

⁶⁷ The ballroom at Goodwood House, upon the coming-of-age of Charles Henry Gordon-Lennox, future 6th Duke of Richmond, contained "three very large pier glasses – one over each of the fire-places and the third at the upper end of the room, extending nearly from top to bottom, a height of some twenty feet". See "FESTIVITIES AT GOODWOOD, THE SEAT OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND," *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian, with which is incorporated the Portsmouth, Portsea, & Gosport Herald*, March 2, 1839.

⁶⁸ "WENTWORTH HOUSE," *York Herald and County Advertiser*, October 31, 1807.

⁶⁹ See "SUSSEX, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1822. The Fete at Petworth House," *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, and General Advertiser for Hants, Sussex, Surrey, Dorset, and Wilts*, February 11, 1822 and "THE FESTIVITIES AT STOWE," *Morning Chronicle*, September 13, 1844, respectively.

⁷⁰ "BOW-MEETING – GRAND BALL and SUPPER AT EATON HALL," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, October 13, 1826.

broader promulgation of female beauty and grace, therefore, was dependent upon masculine appreciation, with men turning women into jewels in print.

Country house balls and their concomitant activities made demands on how the spaces of stately homes were utilised and how guests negotiated their passage through them. A ball occasioned the use of multiple rooms for different purposes, often requiring the adaptation of existing rooms and sometimes the use of temporary structures. Although some houses contained a purpose-built ballroom, another room was usually converted for the purpose.⁷¹ At Eaton Hall, different rooms were used on different occasions: the dining room was appropriated for dancing for the Royal British Bow-Men's meeting, but the tenants' hall, "a superb apartment on the basement floor" acted as a ballroom for the annual tenantry balls and the christening of Hugh Lupus Grosvenor (1825-1899) in 1825.⁷² Mary Jemima Robinson, Baroness Grantham (1756-1830) described "a very handsome ball" held at Park Place in Oxfordshire in 1799, in which "the ball room was the Library near fifty feet long, but from its length [sic], height, & a very fine lustre to light it, was just as well calculated for its temporary purpose." The addition of "a drawing room, an anteroom [sic], & an eating room" equated to "a very handsome suite of rooms for such an entertainment..."⁷³ At Newby Hall, guests were received in the library, out of which a "large Tent" housing a military band adjoined the building, creating "an object of attraction at that end of the House after the dancing began at the other." Guests were served supper in the statue gallery, as well as in Lord Grantham's sitting room and the school room.⁷⁴ Temporary structures were employed at Hawarden Castle, Jayes Park in Surrey and at

⁷¹ The ballroom at Goodwood House was one such example.

⁷² See "BOW-MEETING – GRAND BALL and SUPPER AT EATON HALL," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, October 13, 1826; "GRAND BALL GIVEN BY The Earl Grosvenor to his Tenantry, AT EATON HOUSE," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, February 4, 1825; "ANNUAL TENANTS' BALL AT EATON," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, February 3, 1826; and "CHRISTENING OF HUGH LUPUS GROSVENOR," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, November 25, 1825.

⁷³ Letter from Mary Jemima Robinson, Baroness Grantham to Amabel, Lady Lucas, Countess de Grey (1751-1833), dated 4 January 1799, L30/11/240/84, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service.

⁷⁴ L30/13/22/13, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service. However, newspaper accounts reported that "the company supped in three other splendid apartments" apart from the statue gallery while no mention was made of the temporary structure. See "GRAND FETE AT NEWBY HALL," *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 19, 1818 and "Fete at Newby Hall," *York Herald and General Advertiser*, October 24, 1818.

Stowe, the latter of which was erected for a visit by the Queen Dowager.⁷⁵ Such juggling of spaces highlighted the flexibility of the country house in accommodating genteel entertainment and the liberal-mindedness of owners in devising alternative uses for rooms.

2.1.4 Dance and Country House Amusements

Domestic dance provided an important form of entertainment for country house families and their guests.⁷⁶ Unlike grand country house celebrations, which were widely reported in the press, the more intimate occasions on which dance was performed appear primarily through archival letters, diary entries and published memoirs. As such, these descriptions are highly personal, yet often tantalisingly vague, making the task of penetrating the heart of private dance in the country house more elusive. Writing from Wimpole Hall in Cambridgeshire in 1798, Mary Jemima Robinson observed how music and dance were useful in whiling away tedium: "a little Piano forte musick, & a Reel, & two or three country dances, in which the Gentlemen were pressed into the service, have helped pass over the evenings..."⁷⁷ John Thornton of Brockhall Hall in Northamptonshire recorded having "a little dance between dinner and tea" in his journal in July 1821, with subsequent entries indicating that quadrilles were practised or danced regularly over the course of nearly a month.⁷⁸ Charlotte Howard (1809-1855) provided a delightful account of domestic entertainment at Corby Castle in Cumbria, which included music, games and dance:

...we were no less than 12 ladies to 5 gents: it really was too absurd to see the immense phalanx of petticoats assembled after dinner, it quite

⁷⁵ See "HEIR OF HAWARDEN CASTLE. COMING OF AGE OF SIR STEPHEN R. GLYNNE," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, September 26, 1828; Letter from William Michell, London, to his mother in Gloucester, dated 29 June 1824, 4189/1, Surrey History Centre; and "THE FESTIVITIES AT STOWE," *Morning Chronicle*, September 13, 1844, respectively.

⁷⁶ See Henry, "The Making of Elite Culture," 322 and J.H. Porter, "The Development of Rural Society," in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: 1750-1850*, ed. G.E. Mingay, vol. 6 (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne and Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 914.

⁷⁷ Letter from Mary Jemima Robinson, Baroness Grantham to Amabel, Lady Lucas, Countess de Grey, dated 12 January 1798, L30/11/240/72, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service. For another instance of impromptu dancing, see Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 210.

⁷⁸ See Journal of John Thornton, entry for Tuesday 24 July 1821, Th 3184, Northamptonshire Archive Service. Other dates where dancing was mentioned include 31 July, and 2, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 August.

destroyed one's courage, for we felt to set such a stupendous body in motion, must be a most difficult task. – however we succeeded & the romping games & round Games were very merry & pleasant thanks chiefly to the Comte, who introduced some very nice ones and played delightfully when we were quiet...I never in my life felt any thing like the delight of a gallope or valse with him, & last night he danced the Mazourka w^h I had never seen before.⁷⁹

Charlotte's description is especially insightful, for not only does it bring to life the joy these activities induced, it also contains an uncommon reference to the emotion stimulated by dance and dance music.

Domestic dance was also combined with the performance of country house theatricals, both as a separate event and in the context of the drama itself.⁸⁰ Lord and Lady Delamere regularly hosted a series of entertainments at Vale Royal in the first week of January, which included theatrical performances, concerts, dress balls and masquerades.⁸¹ In a rare account of dance at Tatton Park, William Tatton Egerton and Lady Charlotte Egerton "entertain[ed] a distinguished circle for private theatricals" in 1867. Performances of "*Little Toddlekins* and *Short and Sweet* were admirably got up by a powerful corps

⁷⁹ Letter from Charlotte Howard to her sister, Isabella Howard (1806-1891), October-December 1827, 75M91/N7/1B, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office. The Comte de Blome was visiting at Corby Castle and had composed two vales, teaching Charlotte "his way of playing them".

⁸⁰ See Wilhelmina Q. Ramas, "Private Theatricals of the Upper Classes in Eighteenth-Century England" (PhD, Fordham University, 1969), 15, 27-28, 143-145, 148. For further information on private theatricals in the country house, see Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 283, 285; Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 236; M.H. Port, "Town House and Country House: Their Interaction," in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. Dana Arnold (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 137; and Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 56. For sources directly devoted to private theatricals, see Alan Bird, "The Theatre at Wynnstay: Some Further Observations," *Theatre Notebook* 59, no. 1 (2005): 53-55; Elisabeth J. Heard, "The Theatre at Wynnstay: Eighteenth-Century Private Theatricals at Their Finest," *ibid.* 58, no. 1 (2004): 18-34; Sybil Rosenfeld, *Temples of Thespis: Some Private Theatres and Theatricals in England and Wales, 1700-1820* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1978); and Gillian Russell, "Private Theatricals," in *The Cambridge Companion to British Theatre, 1730-1830*, ed. Jane Moody and Daniel O'Quinn (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 192-199. C.J. Apperley (1779-1843) described how the "ready access...of the neighbouring gentry and others" to performances at Wynnstay "had the best effect in refining their manners and their taste", indicating that they served a role beyond that of pure amusement (quoted in Bird, "The Theatre at Wynnstay: Some Further Observations," 53).

⁸¹ See "VALE ROYAL," *Macclesfield Courier and Herald*, December 29, 1838; "VALE ROYAL," *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 19, 1839; "FESTIVITIES AT VALE ROYAL," *Chester Chronicle*, January 15, 1841; "VALE ROYAL," *Chester Chronicle*, January 21, 1842; and "FESTIVITIES AT VALE ROYAL, NORTHWICH," *Chester Chronicle*, February 2, 1850.

dramatique", while the gaieties again concluded with a ball.⁸² The concurrence of dance and drama at close quarters points towards the performative nature of both mediums, and suggests that techniques from one may have been applied to the other, particularly in the case of masquerades. Indeed, theatrical performances that incorporated dance conflated the distinction between both art forms. At Corby Castle, theatricals followed an evening of games and dancing, which in itself included the performance of a waltz:

We acted two proverbs on Friday nigh[t], the everlasting M^r Deville & Forfeit, the forfeit itself was that Henry should begin a valse, w^h made a very good finale to our acting, & we just performed long enough for the audience to applaud & express regrets at our not prolonging the entertainment.⁸³

Sir Thomas Clifford Constable (1807-1870) hosted theatrical performances at Burton Constable in 1843 for guests and neighbouring gentry families. The evening's entertainment included tableaux, a scene from *Romeo and Juliet*, and performances of *Weak Points* and *Simpson and Co.*, with members of the family taking to the stage. Intermingled between the performances was "appropriate music by Mr. Giles's band; and the whole concluded with a Quadrille by the characters."⁸⁴ As women comprised half the characters in the final theatrical representation, sufficient to form a quadrille with their partners, their

⁸² *Cheshire Observer and Chester, Birkenhead, Crewe and North Wales Times*, December 21, 1867. Although the newspaper extract doesn't specify that the theatricals took place at Tatton Park, it is implied given the time of year and the event's reportage in a provincial newspaper. For further reference to theatricals held at Tatton Park, see, for example, "THE BALLS AT KNUTSFORD," *Cheshire Observer and General Advertiser for Cheshire and North Wales*, December 29, 1860; letter from Henrietta Maria Stanley to Edward Stanley, dated August 30 1859, in which the former described the acting of Alice (1836-1868) and Emily Egerton (1837-1918), daughters of Lady Charlotte Egerton, as "disgusting", quoted in Mitford, *The Stanleys of Alderley*, 262; and letter from Katharine Stanley to Edward Lyulph Stanley, dated November 13 1859, in which she mentioned that the Egertons staged a performance of "Little Toddlekings", quoted in Russell, *The Amberley Papers*, 66-67.

⁸³ 75M91/N7/1B, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office.

⁸⁴ "HOSPITALITIES AND GAIETIES AT BURON CONSTABLE," *Hull Packet; and East Riding Times*, February 17, 1843. See additionally Wood, "Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House," 215-16, who quoted from the *Hull Advertiser's* description of the event. For further instances of dance being included in theatrical performances, see Rosenfeld, *Temples of Thespis: Some Private Theatres and Theatricals in England and Wales, 1700-1820*, 23, 26, 28, 69-70, and especially 114, which points towards dancing by all the performers.

participation in a form of stage dance must have tugged at precepts in contemporary literature that proscribed any semblance to theatrical dancing.⁸⁵

The performance of dance in the country house was thus multifarious in nature and aligned with specific gender roles. As a component in grand festivities celebrating the ritual of male inheritance of the country estate, dance was symbolically associated with the preservation of class and gender distinctions. Balls held for tenants and servants provided occasions upon which the magnanimity of elite families could be actively displayed, while glittering balls staged for gentry and aristocratic families acted as conduits for exhibiting the taste, connoisseurship and affluence of (male) country house owners. If dance was coupled with celebrations that declaimed the values of privileged masculinity, then women played a crucial role in situating balls as acts of display. As Frances Bankes's letter makes clear, although she intimated her husband's participation in arrangements for the ball at Kingston Lacy, she was unmistakably involved in how the house and its contents were exhibited. Likewise, women performed as hostesses and guests, their appearance and deportment central not only to the experience of invitees, but also critical to their portrayal to the broader newspaper readership.⁸⁶ Country house balls offered an ideal vehicle for promoting propriety through domestic dance and for counteracting anxieties pertaining to women's participation in public ballrooms. By controlling who was invited and how the proceedings were conducted, elite families shaped their own social space, potentially encouraging appropriate deportment and regulating collective intercourse.⁸⁷ As such, dance was not just an enjoyable pastime, but was intricately bound up with expressions of gentility and status.

⁸⁵ See chapter 1, p. 94.

⁸⁶ On women as hostesses of balls, see chapter 1, p. 99.

⁸⁷ See chapter 1, pp. 98-99 and additionally "ANNUAL TENANTS' BALL AT EATON," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, February 3, 1826.

2.2 Dancing and Dance Music in the English Country House

While the contexts in which dance in the country house occurred broadly depicted how dance intersected with notions of class and gender, the actual performance of dance and dance music mirrored these interactions on a subtler level. Country house dance had the potential to include a wide range of participants, from elite men and women through to their children and members of the professional and serving classes. Such juxtapositions promoted much good humour but at times also provoked class tensions. Gendered roles were mutable, as contemporary descriptions of dance nudged against prescribed ideals of feminine comportment, while men sometimes took on female roles in the ballroom. If such incidences destabilised concepts of appropriate male and female performance, then the provision of dance music was sharply separated along gender lines. Local quadrille and militia bands often accompanied formal balls, although some country house owners chose to employ dance bands from London. On more spontaneous and intimate occasions, however, women were involved in providing dance music, often, although not exclusively, on keyboard instruments. This separation of dance accompaniment placed women's musical skills squarely in the domestic environment, where they fulfilled a valuable role in promoting country house entertainment.

2.2.1 Articulations of Class and Gender through Dance

While the performance of dance in the country house clearly drew upon notions of class difference and display, the boundary between classes was also open to breach in a manner that negotiated gender roles and social spaces. In 1838, Lord and Lady Delamere hosted a dress ball and masquerade as part of their annual festivities at Vale Royal. The range of dances performed on the latter occasion included not only the quadrille, waltz, gallopade and the ever-popular country dance, *Sir Roger de Coverley*, but also comprised a rendition

of "Duverney's Cachoucha" [sic].⁸⁸ The cachucha was drawn from Pauline Duvernay's (1812/13-1894) performance of the dance as Florinda in the Drury Lane production of *The Devil on Two Sticks*, which premiered in December 1836.⁸⁹ At the masquerade, the cachucha was executed by Mr St. Albin, a dancing master from Chester, who "elicited considerable applause" from his performance, but before he could repeat it "a couple of *bears*, in character, had taken possession of the arena, and were *gracefully* burlesquing this fine Spanish new dance, amidst roars of laughter."⁹⁰ Mr St. Albin's presence at the masquerade represented a double transgression: as a member of the professional classes, he traversed the social and financial divide that separated the elite from those who toiled for their income, while in performing a dance from the theatre, he brought the stage into the domestic arena. He also effected a gendered swap through his performance of what in the ballet was a female role. That such a dance was not executed by any of the women at the masquerade pointed not only to their potential ignorance of the steps, but also to the spectre of the ballet dancer and her unfeminine style of movement.⁹¹ At Dunham Massey in Cheshire, a servants' dance in celebration of the wedding of Lady Jane Grey (1803-1877) started in the steward's room before relocating to the Great Hall when members of the family joined in. While the housekeeper refused to dance with George Harry Grey, 6th Earl of Stamford (1765-1845), who subsequently danced with the maids, his footman appeared "dressed up

⁸⁸ See "FESTIVITIES AT VALE ROYAL," *Macclesfield Courier and Herald*, January 13, 1838. Sir Roger de Coverley was traditionally performed as a finishing country dance in the nineteenth century. See, for example, Thomas Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room, Containing a Choice Collection of the Most Original and Admired Country Dance, Reel, Hornpipe, & Waltz Tunes, with a Variety of Appropriate Figures, the Etiquette and a Dissertation on the State of the Ball Room* (London, Edinburgh and Dublin: Button, Whittaker & Co. [London]; Muir, Wood & Co. [Edinburgh]; W. Power [Dublin] and the Author, 1816), 183-185.

⁸⁹ The Drury Lane production was a revival of the Parisian ballet *Le Diable Boiteux*, which was choreographed by Jean Coralli. See Susan Au, "Diable Boiteux, Le," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 2 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 405-406.

⁹⁰ See "FESTIVITIES AT VALE ROYAL," *Macclesfield Courier and Herald*, January 13, 1838. Mr St. Albin placed an advertisement in the *Chester Chronicle* in 1827, outlining his availability as a dancing master in Chester. Included in his teaching repertoire were "CALISTHENIC EXERCISES for the arms, so much patronized by the nobility in London, and as he deems these Exercises so essential to graceful deportment, he intends to include them in his Lessons in Dancing." See "DANCING," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, July 27, 1827.

⁹¹ See chapter 1, p. 94 and chapter 3, pp. 195-196.

as an old woman 'with great effect'.⁹² Not only did the servants traverse across spaces of the house that generally demarcated segregation, their mixing with the family, and the footman's cross-dressing, complicated class and gender boundaries.

If balls for the tenantry were particularly important in demonstrating patriarchal munificence, the mixing of classes that this occasioned also brought about some tension. The differences in bodily education between the gentry and nobility on the one hand, and the lower classes on the other, inevitably resulted in disparities in deportment, a point which the *Chester Chronicle* remarked upon with some perspicacity:

If all that ease of motion, that grace of attitude, that elegance of manner, which are part and parcel of those who are *permitted* the privilege of attending Almack's, were absent, still there was that in possession, to which perhaps very few of the latter can lay claim – a hearty enjoyment of the amusement – none here moved upon stilts – they were strangers to that degree of refinement which substitutes cold formality, to give it no harsher term, for "the heart's warm dictates:" all here enjoyed the mirth-inspiring festivity.⁹³

The *Chronicle's* critique of elite dance was subtly damning in its suggestion that grace and elegance precluded genteel dancers from taking a natural pleasure in its performance. The implication that the tenantry, who lacked the personal advantages that wealth imparted, experienced a more genuine enjoyment of dance than the elite classes, prodded at the degree to which gentility was a contrived art in motion.⁹⁴ Harriet Wynne (1786-1860), who was a guest at a tenants' ball held at Stowe in celebration of Mary Nugent-Temple-Grenville, Marchioness of Buckingham's (1758-1812) birthday, "laughed a great deal to see the different mixture of people", her comment snidely intimating that the clash of deportment styles may have contributed to her mirth. Harriet's experience was not a pleasant one, however, as she declared

⁹² Quoted in Pamela Sambrook, *A Country House at Work: Three Centuries of Dunham Massey* (London: The National Trust, 2003), 173. In addition to balls, domestic staff also took part in country house theatrical productions; see Ramas, "Private Theatricals of the Upper Classes in Eighteenth-Century England," 17.

⁹³ "LORD GROSVENOR'S TENANTS' BALL," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, February 1, 1828.

⁹⁴ See chapter 1, pp. 80-81.

that she "could hardly breathe it was so hot and the smell was beyond anything."⁹⁵

The *Chester Chronicle's* reference to genteel dancers moving "upon stilts" implied that the negotiation of elite bodily status was subject to error, with individuals failing to reconcile class superiority with the performance of "natural" ease.⁹⁶ Women's performance and management of dance, in fact, demonstrated how prescriptive advice was ignored or overlooked, with both beneficial and detrimental consequences. Despite the *Chronicle's* assertion that genteel deportment impeded the enjoyment of dance, a sparkling portrayal given by Lady Elizabeth Grosvenor (1797-1891) of a ball held at Eaton Hall to celebrate the christening of her eldest son shows that gentility was in fact compatible with both emotional enjoyment and physical vigour:

The Ball began with a country dance with about 20 couples headed by Lord Grosvenor and Lady Gower, followed by Lord Stanley and Lady Grosvenor and Lord Morpeth and me. We danced up and down 'sans relache'. You cannot imagine Lady Gower's activity and lightness, dancing away so fast and alertly and not sparing herself a step and enjoying it, I believe, more than any girl in the room. Then there were quadrilles and more country dances and waltzes...[after supper] everybody set to dancing again and Lady Grosvenor insisted on their going on till 4 in the morning. You cannot imagine a merrier and more satisfactory Ball in every respect.⁹⁷

While the ball at Eaton Hall was agreeable "in every respect", balls that lacked the careful planning exhibited by the likes of Lady Grosvenor and Frances Banks led to confusion and disorder. Anne Sturges Bourne (1809-1891) described a ball that was possibly held at North Stoneham House in Hampshire, during which chaos reigned:

⁹⁵ Anne Fremantle, ed. *The Wynne Diaries 1789-1820*, The World's Classics (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1952), entry for 19 December 1804, 373, quoted in Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 241.

⁹⁶ See chapter 1, pp. 80-81.

⁹⁷ Huxley, *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors. Life in a Whig Family, 1822-1839*, 27. See additionally "CHRISTENING OF HUGH LUPUS GROSVENOR," *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, November 25, 1825, which lists Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton as guests at Eaton Hall during this time, although their actual participation in the ball is unknown.

I met the Newbolts at M^{rs} Fleming's ball, & had a little talk with them. I do not know whether they liked it better than I did, but there was a sad want of management, nobody told the quadrilles when to begin, or where to stand up, or what figures to dance, so there was usually one quadrille in each room, consisting of 28 or 32; Marianne seemed quite frightened by it, & certainly the darting or striding from one end of the room to the other in *Eté & Poule* before the rows of stationary dancers, was somewhat tremendous.⁹⁸

As the role of a good hostess comprised managing the department of dancers on a broad scale and facilitating the flow of dance, the lack of discipline exhibited at the ball reflected poorly on Mrs Fleming's capabilities. Moreover, Anne's description of physical vigour and movement taken to excess is reminiscent of the injunction in *Rock's Ball-Room Handbook* to avoid such actions, thus alluding to the possibility of inelegant and unfeminine performance.⁹⁹

In the midst of country house terpsichorean revelry, children were not forgotten. Peter Clavering-Cowper, 5th Earl Cowper (1778-1837) gave a juvenile ball in the picture gallery at Panshanger in Hertfordshire (see Figure 21) in 1824, where the dancers were surrounded by "the finest paintings by the old Masters" and "illuminated by three magnificent buhl chandeliers..." The ball was opened "by the younger branches of the GRIMSTON, BURRELL, and COWPER families" who performed "[t]he intricacies of "the mazy round"" followed by waltzes and country dances.¹⁰⁰ While juvenile balls were specifically directed at children, country house families also allowed their offspring to participate in adult balls.¹⁰¹ During a ball at Woburn Abbey, Georgiana Gordon, Duchess of Bedford (1781-1853), "permitted all the domestics to join in a country dance, and for the amusement of...the juvenile

⁹⁸ Letter from Anne Sturges Bourne to Marianne Dyson (1809-1878), dated 24 January 1826, 9M55/F4/2, Hampshire Archives and Local Studies, Hampshire Record Office. *L'Été* and *La Poule* were usually the second and third quadrilles performed in a given set; see Introduction p. 17. It is not clear where the ball was held, but the Hampshire seat of the Sturges Bourne family was Testwood House, near Southampton, which would have made North Stoneham House very accessible. John Willis Fleming (1781-1844) rebuilt North Stoneham House in the early-mid nineteenth century. For an overview of the estate's history, see <http://www.northstoneham.org.uk/park/chronology.html>.

⁹⁹ See Introduction p. 17 and chapter 1, p. 99.

¹⁰⁰ "FETE AT PANSANGER [sic]," *Morning Post*, January 22, 1824.

¹⁰¹ See chapter 1, p. 97.

branches, the old English figure of the cushion dance was introduced."¹⁰² At Newby Hall, Lord Grantham's children "danced & were delighted – Anne & Mary were very much admired & indeed both looked & danced very prettily indeed – Mary & Freddy staid up till 1 [?], & Anne...till all was over."¹⁰³

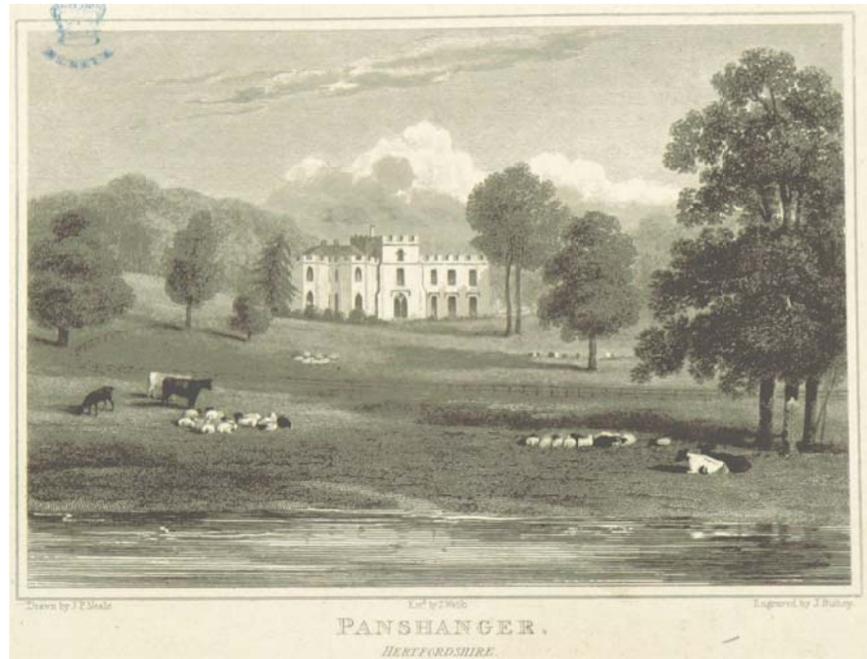


FIGURE 21. PANSHANGER, TAKEN FROM JOHN PRESTON NEALE'S *VIEWS OF THE SEATS OF NOBLEMEN AND GENTLEMEN IN ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND*, 1818.

SOURCE: WIKIMEDIA COMMONS.

Frances Bankes's children exhibited a range of reactions once they entered the ballroom at Kingston Lacy: "Wm. and George were rather tired towards the latter end of the evening, Maria was alarmed at so many people and did not stay more than half an hour, but when I came to Anne to propose at twelve o'clock that she should go to bed, she appeared in violent spirits and begged she might sit up as long as *the other Ladies...*" While Frances's solution for Anne and George was to provide them with "a great deal of bread and milk and

¹⁰² "WOBURN ABBEY," *Caledonian Mercury*, April 6, 1837. For a brief history of the cushion dance, see Maud Karpeles, "Cushion Dance," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06979>, accessed 12 November 2014.

¹⁰³ L30/13/22/13, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service. As supper was served at one o'clock, that would have been an appropriate moment for Mary and Freddy to depart. See "GRAND FETE AT NEWBY HALL," *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 19, 1818 and "Fete at Newby Hall," *York Herald and General Advertiser*, October 24, 1818. Anne, the eldest daughter, would have been about 12 years old at the time of the ball, with Mary three years younger, and Frederick the youngest at about 8 years old.

water and put them to Bed", William and Henry were allowed to stay up until close to one o'clock and "all slept till near ten the next day, and did not even *look* the worse for it."¹⁰⁴

2.2.2 Music for Dancing: Dance Bands and Women at the Keyboard

Music was inseparable from the performance of country house dance and formed a backdrop to many festive occasions held on country estates. While very little contemporary reference was made to the actual music performed during this time period, clear distinctions emerge in the roles that men and women played in the provision of music for dance. While the latter were principally concerned with more informal occasions, country house owners would often employ bands, comprising male musicians, to play music when entertaining on a large scale. These were frequently provincial quadrille bands that also performed music for local assemblies, which were regularly joined by militia bands for country house festivities.¹⁰⁵ Lord Grantham engaged the services of a Mr W. Hardman to direct the music, which was derived "from the York assemblies", for a ball at Newby Hall.¹⁰⁶ Despite inviting officers from the Northern Regiment of West Riding Yeomanry Cavalry and the 5th Dragoons to the ball, the regimental band employed for the evening was confined to performing in a tent connected to the house.¹⁰⁷ For the coming-of-age of George Cornwall Legh (1804-1877), of High Leigh in Cheshire, "the votaries of Terpsichore were enlivened by the Band of the Royal Cheshire Militia, and the celebrated Manchester Quadrille Band", the former of which had played during

¹⁰⁴ Cleminson, "Christmas at Kingston Lacy. Frances Bankes's Ball of 1791," 408. As Frances Bankes's letter is reprinted in italicised text, the portions that appear in italics above have been reproduced in plain text in the article. All of the Bankes children were very young at the time of the ball – Henry, the eldest, would have been about 6 years old, William was a year younger, George would have been approximately 4, while Anne was just 2 and Maria was still a baby.

¹⁰⁵ On the role of militia bands in provincial musical life, including their performance of dance music, see Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 113-119.

¹⁰⁶ See "Fete at Newby Hall," *York Herald and General Advertiser*, October 24, 1818.

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.* and additionally "GRAND FETE AT NEWBY HALL," *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 19, 1818 and L30/13/22/13, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service.

a dinner given two days earlier for nobility and gentry families.¹⁰⁸ During a *fête champêtre* given by the Fox-Lane family at Bramham Park in Yorkshire, “the band of the 17th Lancers, which Lieut. Col. St. Quintin kindly allowed to be present on the occasion” accompanied the guests as they “paraded the grounds...” In a direct link between the host and the music performed, “[a]nother band was in attendance, one formed by Mr. Lane Fox in the village of Bramham, and which bids fair to rival the first bands in the county”, although it is unclear whether the band played while the dancers performed quadrilles in the garden.¹⁰⁹

Quadrille bands were, on occasion, hired from London, bringing with them not only a significant number of performers to ensure audibility above the sound of dancing feet, but also the prestige associated with metropolitan dance. The 3rd Earl of Egremont employed James Paine’s band on several occasions in the early 1820s to provide music for balls at Petworth House. At a ball held in 1822 to celebrate the Earl’s fifty years in the peerage, both Paine’s band and the band of the Sussex militia were hired; tellingly, while Paine was paid £50 for his band’s attendance, the leader of the Sussex militia band, John Hatcher, was only paid £10.¹¹⁰ Two years later, Paine’s band was again requisitioned for a ball to celebrate the anniversary of the coronation of King George IV. While the band was stationed “in a fanciful temporary orchestra”, the Sussex militia band and possibly an additional military band were positioned in the banqueting room, from whence the former “struck up a peal of martial music.”¹¹¹ For the coming-of-age festivities for Viscount Milton at Wentworth House in 1834, “the grand military band attached to Lord

¹⁰⁸ For the quotation, see “FESTIVITIES AT HIGH LEIGH,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, September 9, 1825. For the band’s performance at the dinner, see “FETE AT HIGH LEIGH,” *Macclesfield Courier, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, September 10, 1825. Both articles mention that a Mr and Mrs Egerton were present, but it is impossible to tell if this refers to Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton or another Egerton family.

¹⁰⁹ See “BRAMHAM,” *Yorkshire Gazette*, July 30, 1842. The “Mr. Lane Fox” is likely to be George Lane Fox (1793-1848), who was a Member of Parliament for Beverley.

¹¹⁰ See letter from William Tyler to George O’Brien Wyndham, dated 23 January 1822, PHA 12019 and bills paid by William Tyler’s office, dated 5 February and 6 March 1822, PHA 10732, Petworth House Archives and West Sussex Record Office. I am extremely grateful to Alison McCann, archivist at Petworth House, for very kindly sharing her notes with me on the archival material relating to the Petworth balls. Besides the balls mentioned in this paragraph, Paine was also employed to play during a ball in 1821. See “GRAND BALL AT PETWORTH,” *Morning Post*, February 8, 1821.

¹¹¹ See “THE FETE AT PETWORTH,” *Morning Post*, February 2, 1824. Paine was again paid £50 for his services, £42 for the band in addition to an £8 gratuity. See bill from 1824, PHA 9910, Petworth House Archives and West Sussex Record Office.

Wharnccliffe's cavalry" was placed in the "Pillared Hall", where it "performed various favourite airs as the guests passed through to the Grand Staircase."¹¹² The band of John Thomas Louis Weippert (1798-1843), consisting of between twenty-one and thirty performers, was "placed upon a stage elevated about eighteen inches from the floor" in the saloon, performing "a new set of quadrilles expressly composed for the occasion."¹¹³ Both Paine's and Weippert's bands came with impeccable pedigrees – the former was employed to play at the exclusive Almack's assembly rooms in west London, while the latter was patronised by the royal court.¹¹⁴ Their presence at extravagant country house celebrations could thus be considered in the same light as the purchase of luxury goods for decoration and consumption.

The employment of local militia and dance bands, and metropolitan quadrille bands, for country house balls suggests that a fusion of provincial and urban soundscapes took place. The use of militia bands was far from accidental; many male landowners held senior positions in local yeomanry and militia regiments and funded the purchase of musical instruments, thus maintaining proprietorship over the bands.¹¹⁵ The contribution of such bands

¹¹² See "THE FESTIVITIES AT WENTWORTH PARK," *Morning Post*, October 4, 1834 and *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, October 11, 1834; and "Grand Fete at Wentworth House," *Derby Mercury*, October 8, 1834 and *Hull Packet*, October 10, 1834.

¹¹³ For the quotations, see "Grand Fete at Wentworth House," *Derby Mercury*, October 8, 1834 and *Hull Packet*, October 10, 1834; and "THE FESTIVITIES AT WENTWORTH PARK," *Morning Post*, October 4, 1834 and *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, October 11, 1834, respectively. The *Morning Post* suggested that the band comprised twenty-one performers, while the *York Herald* reported that the band "consisted of near thirty performers". See "THE FESTIVITIES AT WENTWORTH HOUSE," *York Herald*, and *General Advertiser*, October 4, 1834.

¹¹⁴ On John Thomas Louis Weippert, see John A. Parkinson, "A Knot of Weipperts," in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections. Presented to O.W. Neighbour on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle, and Malcolm Turner (London: The British Library, 1993), 278-279. James Paine was the "original Leader of the Orchestra at Almack's", with many newspaper advertisements for his quadrille publications in the earlier nineteenth century referring to his position with Almack's (for the quotation, see "NEW QUADRILLES,--JAMES PAINE," *Morning Post*, May 4, 1826). Paine's First Set of quadrilles, published in 1815, became one of the most popular of such publications. See Ellis A. Rogers, *The Quadrille. A Practical Guide to Its Origin, Development and Performance*, fourth ed. (Orpington: C & E Rogers, 2008), 79. For further discussion of Almack's, and Weippert's band and music, see chapter 4, pp. 226-236.

¹¹⁵ See Christie, *The British Country House in the Eighteenth Century*, 103; Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 57, 108-111; and Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, 45. Wilbraham Egerton, William Tatton Egerton and Sir Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823) were all involved in purchasing instruments for their respective regiments. See Frederick Leary, *The Earl of Chester's Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry: Its Formation and Services 1797-1897* (Edinburgh:

was not solely confined to the aural sphere – Lord Grantham commented that the wearing of regimentals by his officers “contributed much to the appearance of the scene” while at Petworth House the “brilliant uniforms” of the additional military band sparkled opposite a sideboard full of “golden salvers, and antique flaggons...”¹¹⁶ While the militia bands represented local music-making, the engagement of London bands by country house owners ensured that the sounds, and potentially the repertoire, they knew from the capital were imported to the provinces.¹¹⁷ Metropolitan quadrille bands were surprisingly mobile – despite being based in London, John Pratt’s band, which performed at Stowe in 1844, travelled to Guildford, Newmarket, Bicester, Andover and York over a seven-year period, while Hubert Collinet’s (1797–1867) band journeyed to Wynnstay, the seat of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, 6th Baronet (1820–1885), in Wales for a week.¹¹⁸ Equally, the repertoire that Pratt’s band performed at Stowe was rather cosmopolitan in its scope. Despite opening the ball “with a country dance to a medley of national airs”, the remainder of the program comprised the *Dalkeith Palace Waltz* and *The Dublin Waltz* by Joseph Labitzky (1802–1881); the *La Festival Quadrille* by Bosisio; and the *Cerito Polka* by Cesare Pugni (1802–1870), in addition to Pratt’s own composition of the *Prince Albert Quadrille*.¹¹⁹ Such merging and fluidity of resources meant that the country house was not so much straddling a cultural divide but, at least in entertainments of magnitude, rather shifting the sounds of the nation into its ballroom.

Ballantyne Press, 1898), 145; “MULTUM IN PARVO,” *Liverpool Mercury, and Lancashire, Cheshire and General Advertiser*, March 8, 1850; and “LENT CIRCUITS,” *Hull Packet*, February 21, 1804. Wilbraham included the purchase of banners and kettle drums (recorded in the 1850 article in the *Liverpool Mercury*) in his account book. See entries for 12 June 1850, DET/3229/14, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office.

¹¹⁶ See L30/13/22/13, Bedfordshire & Luton Archives Service and “THE FETE AT PETWORTH,” *Morning Post*, February 2, 1824.

¹¹⁷ For examples of the Earl of Egremont, Viscount Milton and Sir Clifford Constable having previously heard the bands of Paine and Weippert respectively, see “THE REGENT’S GRAND FANCY BALL,” *Morning Post*, July 17, 1819; “HER MAJESTY’S STATE BALL,” *Morning Post*, June 23, 1834; and “The GRAND FETE in the REGENT’S PARK,” *Morning Post*, July 19, 1832.

¹¹⁸ See “THE FESTIVITIES AT STOWE,” *Morning Chronicle*, September 13, 1844. For examples of the travelling undertaken by Pratt’s and Weippert’s bands, see “GUILDFORD,” *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian, with which is incorporated the Portsmouth, Portsea, & Gosport Herald*, February 27, 1841; *Bury and Norwich Post, and East Anglian*, November 13, 1844; “HUNT BALL AT BICESTER,” *Era*, March 16, 1845; “THE ANNUAL ANDOVER COUNTY BALL,” *Hampshire Advertiser and Salisbury Guardian, with which is incorporated the Portsmouth, Portsea & Gosport Herald & the Hampshire & West Sussex Standard*, January 22, 1848; “YORKSHIRE UNION HUNT BALL,” *York Herald, and General Advertiser*, October 7, 1848; and “FESTIVITIES AT WYNNSTAY,” *Chester Chronicle*, September 10, 1841.

¹¹⁹ See “THE FESTIVITIES AT STOWE,” *Morning Chronicle*, September 13, 1844.

The provision of music for dance in the country house varied with regards to the number of musicians and diversity of instruments employed. The most basic of accompaniments necessitated only a few players, usually comprising a small group of fiddlers. At Rufford, Francis Ferrand Foljambe (1750–1814) noted, “We got the Fiddlers [sic] last night & had an exceeding good dance” while at Dunham Massey fiddlers were employed to perform for servants’ dances.¹²⁰ The Duke and Duchess of Queensberry were specific in their requirements for musicians for a ball given at their Amesbury estate in Wiltshire. Regarding the music as “a very essential point”, they stipulated that only four musicians should attend: “two fiddles[,] a hautboy, and a grubling [sic] bass.”¹²¹ At Hawarden Castle for the coming-of-age of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, the music was provided by a Mr. Cunnah from Rhuabon, who “touched the strings of his “golden harp” with exquisite taste and ability”, although he was “assisted occasionally by the band.”¹²² For the annual tenants’ ball at Eaton Hall, a band of nine to twelve musicians was hired across a period of at least four consecutive years. Led by Charles Harding on “first fiddle” and consisting of violins, cellos, double bass, bassoon, horn, and tabor and pipe, the band became a regular part of the aural atmosphere at Eaton Hall for the tenantry, domestic staff, and members of the family who joined in the festivities.¹²³ The duties of such musicians could be particularly onerous – while at Eaton Hall the

¹²⁰ See letter from Francis Ferrand Foljambe, dated 4 January 1778, DD/FJ/11/1/3/140-141, Nottinghamshire Archives and Sambrook, *A Country House at Work: Three Centuries of Dunham Massey*, 172. It is likely that Francis Ferrand Foljambe was referring to Rufford Abbey, the seat of Sir George Savile (1678-1743), whose two daughters were the respective mothers of both of Francis’s wives.

¹²¹ Letter from the Duke and Duchess of Queensbury to James Harris, dated c. 11 September 1776, quoted in Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 907.

¹²² “HEIR OF HAWARDEN CASTLE. COMING OF AGE OF SIR STEPHEN R. GLYNNE,” *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, September 26, 1828. The *Morning Post* reported that a band from Liverpool had been employed. See “REJOICINGS AT HAWARDEN CASTLE,” *Morning Post*, October 6, 1828. Elizabeth Egerton owned a copy of *New Welch Music Consisting of Three Sonatas. Chase, Minuets, Siciliano, Rondos, Marches, Airs with Variations &c. for the Harp or Piano Forte, Composed & Humbly Dedicated (by Permission) to Sir Watkin W^{ms}. Wynn, Bar^t.* by B. Cunnah, of Rhuabon, Op. 1, printed for the author by Goulding & Co., which dates from c. 1805 [MR 2-5-16]. The three waltzes in the third sonata could conceivably have been extracted for dancing, but the remainder are more suited to purely instrumental performance. Elizabeth’s copy contains a list of subscribers at the rear – no Egertons appear on the list, but given that the families seem to have been known to each other, she may have received it via the Williams Wynns.

¹²³ For the quotation, see “EATON TENANT’S BALL,” *Macclesfield Courier, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, February 3, 1827. For listings of the band, see *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, “GRAND BALL GIVEN BY The Earl Grosvenor to his Tenantry, AT EATON HOUSE,” February 4, 1825; “ANNUAL TENANTRY BALL AT EATON,” February 3, 1826; “EATON TENANTS’ BALL,” January 26, 1827; and “LORD GROSVENOR’S TENANTS’ BALL,” February 1, 1828.

dancers sat down to supper, as only a hundred were served at any one time, the band was obliged to provide music over an eight to ten hour period.¹²⁴

On more intimate occasions, women were directly involved in providing music for dance, creating a sonority that was less rich than that provided by quadrille and militia bands.¹²⁵ While references to instruments could be oblique, by and large women accompanied dance on a keyboard instrument.¹²⁶ Early nineteenth-century English iconography shows women and children playing for dance on square pianos, and whilst none of these specifically relate to country house entertainment, they nonetheless point towards the prevalence of the practice (see Figure 22).¹²⁷ The piano was the instrument of choice for Jane Austen's cousin, Eliza de Feuillide (1761-1813), who in 1786 visited the Austen home in Steventon in Hampshire. The family had "borrowed a Piano-Forte" which Eliza played upon daily, her role as accompanist to dance implied by the "very snug little dance in our parlour, just our own children, nephew &

¹²⁴ See *Chester Chronicle, Cheshire & North Wales General Advertiser*, "ANNUAL TENANTRY BALL AT EATON," February 3, 1826 and "EATON TENANTS' BALL," January 26, 1827.

¹²⁵ Of course, women were not the sole providers of dance music. Thomas Lewin (1753-1843), of Ridgeway Heath, Pear Tree Green, in Hampshire, noted on Christmas Day 1815 that he "played country dances for the children till tea-time." See Thomas Herbert Lewin, ed. *The Lewin Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence & Diaries of an English Family 1756-1884*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Archibald Constable & Co Ltd, 1909), 144, quoted in Samantha Carrasco, "The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013), 29.

¹²⁶ Mary Berry (1763-1852) described in her journal a servants' dance held while she was visiting Bothwell Castle in Scotland, during which "everyone danced except myself and Caroline, who played upon the tambourine or the triangle all the evening." See journal entry for 19 September 1808, in Lady Theresa Lewis, ed. *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the Year 1783 to 1852*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1865), 371. Mary Williams (1803-1889), who later married into the Lucy family, described dancing at the family home, Bodelwyddan, in northern Wales, which was potentially accompanied by the harp. See Mary Elizabeth Lucy, *Mistress of Charlcote: The Memoirs of Mary Elizabeth Lucy* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1983), 27.

¹²⁷ George Cruikshank's (1792-1878) caricature *Les Graces – Inconveniences in quadrille dancing* (1817) shows a woman in the far left-hand corner playing a square piano. Diana Sperling's (1791-1862) delightful watercolour of *Newport Pagnell. Mrs Hurst Dancing*, dated September 17 1816, shows a young lady playing on a square piano while other people are dancing behind her [see Diana Sperling and Gordon Mingay, *Mrs Hurst Dancing and Other Scenes from Regency Life 1812-1823* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1981), 33]. Finally, a page from *The Infant's Library*, published by John Marshall ca. 1800, depicts a young girl sitting at what could be a square piano, accompanied by the text, "I will practise a minuet, and when Harriet and Matilda come in the evening, they will dance to it." [reprinted in Moira Goff, "Entertaining at Home," in *Georgians Revealed: Life, Style and the Making of Modern Britain* (London: The British Library, 2013), 47].

nieces" forecast by Jane Austen's mother.¹²⁸ Although Eliza was well equipped to perform such a duty, the Austens' modest means placed them outside the sphere of the land-owning elite.



FIGURE 22. *LES GRACES - INCONVENIENCES IN QUADRILLE DANCING*, PRINT BY GEORGE CRUIKSHANK, 1817 © TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

The diaries of Sophia Baker (1781 - 1858), of Bayfordbury in Hertfordshire, provide a glimpse of how domestic dance was performed at the Baker's country seat. Although her diary entries are brief and rarely list actual performers, her extracts are nevertheless informative in occasionally recounting the instruments used. Across several years, Sophia chronicled domestic dance to the accompaniment of the organ or piano, which frequently took place early in the New Year, in all likelihood often relating to celebrations for Twelfth Night.¹²⁹ Although it is not possible to draw any conclusions from her accounts about how often such dancing occurred, how many dancers were involved, how the dances were performed and what musical repertoire was

¹²⁸ Letter to Phylly Walter, dated 31 December 1786, in Deirdre Le Faye, *Jane Austen's 'Outlandish Cousin': The Life and Letters of Eliza De Feuillide* (London: The British Library, 2002), 75, quoted in Carrasco, "The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820," 13.

¹²⁹ On the domestic use of the organ within country houses of this time period, see Penelope Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013), 40-53. For an example of dance occurring as part of Twelfth Night celebrations, see Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters. Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2004), 111.

played, they offer a much-needed insight into the more private performance of dance and music in the country house.

Sophia's references to dance and dance music present a picture of conviviality in which the act of dancing and the instruments played were more important details than the actual dances or the music that was performed. In January 1796, she noted "a dance to the organ" while a year later she wrote that "all Clitherows came to tea play'd on y^e: Piano danc'd to the Organ."¹³⁰ Sophia gave no reason as to why the organ was given preference over the piano, but it was a popular choice, as in January 1798 she again "danced to y^e. organ."¹³¹ In December 1800, she recorded an occasion when the harpist, Frédéric-Charles Meyer (1780?-1840), who was known to the family, united with other visitors in an evening of music-making and dance:

M^r. C Meyer came – to tea came the Chapmans, Miss Kirby (?) & Lloyds & Hadsleys a good deal of music &c a Supper after which we danced till ½ past 12 all playing by turns on y^e. Piano – M^r. Meyer joined in dancing.¹³²

Interestingly, there was no indication that either Charles Meyer or the Baker sisters, who had been learning the harp for nearly three years by this point, plucked the strings as an accompaniment for the dancing. An exception to this was a summer musical entertainment that presumably took place on the Bayfordbury estate, in which the harp was implicated in the provision of dance music:

¹³⁰ The former is written on a blank page, headed "New Years day 1796" before listing subsequent dates, at the rear of her diary for 1795 while the latter is recorded under Monday January 16 for the year 1797. See Diaries of Sophia Trower (née Baker), Add Mss 7464 and 7465 respectively, West Sussex Record Office and Archives. On 26 April 1797, Sophia noted an evening gathering at which "all play'd at Commerce afterwards danced – dear Miss Strachey playing", but this took place in London.

¹³¹ It is possible that the room in which the organ was located was more convenient for dancing, or that it offered a greater level or variety of sound if a larger group were involved. On this occasion, the reference to Twelfth Night was clear: "We had 12th Cake & the Strachy's & Wightwickes (?) came...we danced to y^e. organ till ½ past 12". See diary entry for January 8, 1798, Add Mss 7466.

¹³² Diary entry for December 3, 1800, Add Mss 7468, quoted in Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 238. Frédéric-Charles Meyer was the son of Philippe-Jacques Meyer (1737-1819), the latter of whom Cave suggested taught harp to Sophia and her sister, Harriet, who started lessons in February 1798. See *ibid.*, 65-66, 91, 243. On Frédéric-Charles Meyer, see Highfill Jr., Philip H., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, "Meyer, Frederic Charles," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. 10 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 208.

The Lloyds dined here – drank tea at the Greenhouse – where the Harp was brought – Four wind instruments played in Lime Kiln Grove by moon-light – quite a fête champêtre, The Blairs, Chapmans & Clitherows, the latter took away their lovely daughters ended with dancing in the Greenhouse then walked home.¹³³

Finally, in 1803 Sophia recorded a genial evening where “we had a famous Snap dragon, then music, & danced to the Piano till 11 O’clock.”¹³⁴ As a keen dancer and member of a family that used music in an intensely social manner, dancing to the organ or the piano was a natural extension of Sophia’s skills as a musician and a dancer.

Sophia’s accounts of dance at Bayfordbury highlight two important points concerning the way in which dance music was performed. Firstly, the musical rotation around the piano that occurred when Charles Meyer visited was also described by Jane Austen (1775-1817) four years earlier in a letter to her sister Cassandra, suggesting that such a practice was not unusual. Dining at Goodnestone Park in Kent, home to the Bridges family, Austen detailed how the company “danced two Country Dances & the Boulangeries” in which “Eliz:th played one Country dance, Lady Bridges the other, and Miss Finch played the Boulangeries...”¹³⁵ This clearly had some advantages on a practical level, allowing everyone to participate in the dancing and taking the pressure off any one performer to provide music for the evening. However, it also required a certain proficiency and skill to potentially perform different genres of dance music on an ad hoc basis. Jane Austen pointedly referred to the need to practise country dances, “that we may have some amusement for our nephews and neices [sic], when we have the pleasure of their company”, in reference to

¹³³ Diary entry for August 18, 1801, Add Mss 7469.

¹³⁴ Diary entry for January 1, 1803, Add Mss 7471. On August 27 of the same year, Sophia recorded that she “dined at the Casamajors, & had a very pleasant day there a party of 22 (?) at dinner – in the Evening we danced to the Piano.”

¹³⁵ Letter to Cassandra Austen, dated 5 September 1796, in Deirdre Le Faye, ed. *Jane Austen's Letters*, fourth ed. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8. *La Boulangère* was a round dance in which the gentleman alternately danced with his partner and every other woman in the circle, or vice versa. The dance was mentioned by Caroline Guille Le Marchant, who wrote from Guernsey on September 20, 1797 (see <http://www.priaulxlibrary.co.uk/priaulx-library-new-details2.asp?ItemID=124>) while Sophia Baker wrote of the *Boulangier* in 1801 (see diary entries for January 8 and November 5, respectively, Add Mss 7469, West Sussex Record Office and Archives, the former of which again appears to have been associated with Twelfth Night).

the future purchase of a piano.¹³⁶ The second point that arises from Sophia's diary entries is that she clearly separated music-making from dancing, the former constituting a distinct segment that preceded the latter.¹³⁷ This suggests that the activities were to some degree mutually exclusive, requiring a different mode of engagement for instrumental or vocal music-making compared to that required when playing music for dance.

The necessity for women to be able to play dance music on the piano or organ to satisfy their own domestic requirements clearly legitimates the presence of dance music within country house collections, but does little to explain how they conceived of such music in relation to public and semi-private balls they attended. Caroline Wood has pointed to the considerable quantity of published and manuscript dance music that exists at Burton Constable, in addition to some publications bearing the stamp of J.B. Acey, who may have led "Mr. Acey's quadrille band" during several balls at the house in the late 1850s and early 1860s.¹³⁸ Although Wood made no mention of music by the Weippert family, John Thomas Louis Weippert would have conducted the quadrille band that played during a ball at Burton Constable in 1840, and it would have been highly unusual for his or his father's publications not to have penetrated the collection.¹³⁹ Wood speculated that "[m]usical members of the family may have played for dancing on informal occasions", recognising that the family hired quadrille bands for large-scale balls, and certainly the presence of manuscript dance music suggests that it may have had a functional purpose.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, there is a sense that some of the dance music scores may have been infused with knowledge of the quadrille bands that played at the house. The performance of dance music may also have had an educational value for children who, whether they danced to a piano (like

¹³⁶ Letter to Cassandra Austen, dated 27-28 December, 1808, in Le Faye, *Jane Austen's Letters*, 168.

¹³⁷ The same kind of separation was described by Mary Lucy at Bodelyyddan, where "harp, piano and singing" followed dinner, after which quadrilles were danced. See Lucy, *Mistress of Charlcombe: The Memoirs of Mary Elizabeth Lucy*, 27. Thomas Lewin noted a reverse procedure, in which dancing took place between dinner and tea, after which music was performed. See Lewin, *The Lewin Letters: A Selection from the Correspondence & Diaries of an English Family 1756-1884*, 144.

¹³⁸ See Wood, "Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House," 218, in addition to *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, "BURTON CONSTABLE," January 18, 1856; "HOSPITALITIES AT BURTON CONSTABLE," March 28, 1856; and "SERVANTS' BALL AT BURTON CONSTABLE," January 14, 1859.

¹³⁹ For the ball, see "THE MUSICAL FESTIVALS," *Morning Post*, October 9, 1840; "GRAND ENTERTAINMENT AT BURTON CONSTABLE," *Hull Packet*, October 9, 1840; and "HULL GRAND MUSICAL FESTIVAL," *York Herald, and General Advertiser*, October 10, 1840.

¹⁴⁰ Wood, "Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House," 218.

Austen's nephews and nieces) or attended balls at a very young age (like Frances Bankes's children), would have absorbed via incidental listening basic information regarding rhythmic and tempo structures. As such, women were partially responsible for the dissemination of dance knowledge through their musical performances.

Finally, how can understanding the role that dance and dance music played in other country houses assist in speculating how these activities were performed at Tatton Park, and how can they help to interpret the dance music owned by the Egerton women? Given the social importance of dance for the upper classes, it is nearly inconceivable that dance didn't occur at Tatton Park during the first few decades of the nineteenth century, if only on an informal basis. Elizabeth and Wilbraham Egerton engaged in a range of charitable activities across their lives, and as such, it is possible that they held dances involving their tenants and servants.¹⁴¹ While Tatton Park lacked a gallery or saloon, which were traditionally appropriated for dance, the design of the music room and drawing room offered an engaging solution that also displayed the family's Gillows furniture and Italian art-works.¹⁴² Lewis Wyatt (1777-1853), who took over alterations to the house after the death of his uncle, Samuel Wyatt (1737-1807), constructed a folding door between the two rooms to enable them to work together as a continuous space (see Figure 23); that such a relationship was conceived is borne out through the similarities of decoration employed in both rooms.¹⁴³ For Lady Charlotte's combined theatricals and balls, the ability to constrict and enlarge the space according to need would have provided extra flexibility in staging such entertainments. Had the chamber organ that was originally intended for the alcove in the music room, which now houses the music collection, been installed, this would have

¹⁴¹ On the Egertons' charitable activities, see Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840," 31-32. A contraindication to this is the lack of any reference in Wilbraham Egerton's account books regarding payment to musicians for such hypothetical occasions, at least from 1830 onwards. Given that he noted payments for singers hired for concerts at their London house (see *ibid.*, 225-227), it would seem likely that such records should have existed for any balls given at Tatton Park, unless they fell under the remit of his butler or agent.

¹⁴² For examples of the use of galleries and saloons for dancing, see Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 191, 201, 203, 234, 329, 331 and Jackson-Stops and Pipkin, *The English Country House: A Grand Tour*, 84. For reference to the drawing room being potentially used for dance, Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 210, 293. On the furnishings and collectables in the music room and drawing room at Tatton Park, see *Tatton Park*, (Knutsford: Cheshire East Council, 2010), 21-28.

¹⁴³ See *Tatton Park*, 4, 25 and Jeanice Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park," *Music and Letters* 91, no. 4 (2010): 527-531.

provided an ideal instrument for the informal provision of dance music, for it is highly likely that a local quadrille band would have been hired on more formal occasions.¹⁴⁴ Given that elite women actively accompanied dance at the keyboard, dance music within the Tatton Park collection could have reflected not just acts of public social dance, but also the functionality of more private entertainment.



FIGURE 23. VIEW FROM THE MUSIC ROOM AT TATTON PARK THROUGH TO THE DRAWING ROOM VIA THE FOLDING DOORS © TATTON PARK/CHESHIRE EAST COUNCIL/GEORGE LITTLER & PETER SPOONER.

2.3 Conclusion

Dance in the English country house in the early nineteenth century thus embraced a complexity of social nuances that had much to do with defining the country house as a physical entity and a social institution. As a medium for choreographed social commentary, balls held on country estates firmly reinforced the patriarchal descent of property and power. Celebrations for the birth, coming-of-age and marriage of the male heir frequently included dance in a pronounced series of festivities that showcased the wealth and generosity

¹⁴⁴ See *Tatton Park*, 23 and "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 529, 532-533.

of the family. Balls specifically held for tenants and servants likewise outwardly staged a performance of benevolence and equality, with members of the household and guests sometimes joining in the dance. Despite the idealism with which such events were reported in contemporary newspapers, the underlying dependence of the lower classes on the munificence of the landed elite was still sharply in view. As country house balls potentially encompassed several other activities besides dance, these events opened up the house and its contents for consumption by guests. With a variety of rooms being adapted for the purposes of dancing and refreshments, luxury goods and valuable collections were displayed amongst opulent decorations, exhibiting the purchasing power and taste of the landowner. Elite women also became the focus of attention during such balls – their glittering dresses and gracefulness in the ballroom rendered them an object of visual admiration, whilst their performance as hostesses placed their skill in comportment and etiquette on display. While country house dance was intimately tied to ideas of class structure and status, it also facilitated a great deal of amusement. Women at times whole-heartedly participated in dance, both as dancers and as musicians, providing musical accompaniment on less formal occasions. As such, dance in the country house offered a rich cultural experience that drew on both their musical and terpsichorean skills, with dance music playing a vital, if largely unacknowledged role, in moulding the performance of domestic dance.

Chapter 3: Elizabeth Egerton (1777-1853) – Practising Gentility and Developing Aural-Kinaesthetic Knowledge through Ballet, Country Dances and the Waltz

Elizabeth Egerton's engagement with dance and dance music reflected her bodily and intellectual training in gentility, with her music collection establishing joint aural and corporeal understandings of a range of musical works. Elizabeth's connections with dance reflected the arc of her life as she moved from schoolgirl to genteel womanhood. Dance was an avenue through which the business of learning elite womanhood could be expressed, and it remained a vehicle through which the qualities of grace, elegance and benevolence continued to be articulated. Elizabeth's dance music provided a concomitant, although not parallel, pathway to this arc. Many of the dance compositions in her collection cross musical and disciplinary boundaries, highlighting the intersections between music, literature and dance, and the conflation of the theatre, music room and ballroom. More broadly, they indicate the expansive cultural links that were at play within nineteenth-century genteel society, and with it, a willingness to embrace both music and dance as conceptually flexible mediums. In the transference of theatrical music and gestures into the home, in the permeation of the country dance into different musical genres, and in the musical and physical interpretation of the waltz, feminine comportment could be redefined and the boundary between music and dance merged. As such, Elizabeth's dance music offered different ways of knowing and ascribing meaning, which supported or nudged against her instruction in deportment.

3.1 An Education

Elizabeth's formal education as a young woman highlights the importance that was placed on developing the moral, behavioural and postural qualities considered requisite for leisured girls.¹ The concepts of politeness, grace, elegance and beauty that were so pivotal to constructions of genteel femininity, as discussed in chapter one, were prevalent in her reading material and underpinned lessons in physical deportment. Dance in particular was strongly aligned with grace and beauty in key texts that Elizabeth owned or had access to during her school years. Contemporary descriptions of dance lessons and balls held by schools for elite young women underscored dance as a form of feminine sociability that harboured more serious implications: dance was a very public display of learned deportment and decorum that reflected on the quality of education provided by schools, requiring girls to physically demonstrate their grasp of gracefulness and elegance inculcated through their general education. Elizabeth's music echoes some of the dance forms that were taught and performed by genteel schoolgirls. These works not only reveal the popularity of the dances themselves, but also hint at broader bodily and cultural understandings of both art forms.

3.1.1 Becoming a Lady

In the mid 1790s, Elizabeth attended a fashionable boarding school in London owned by Ellin Devis (1746-1820), a highly successful and well-regarded author of several educational treatises.² A number of these

¹ For some sources on the education of elite girls in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, see Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008); Mary Cathcart Borer, *Willingly to School. A History of Women's Education* (Guildford and London: Lutterworth Press, 1976); Deborah Simonton, "Women and Education," in *Women's History: Britain, 1700-1850*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); and Susan Skedd, "The Education of Women in Hanoverian Britain c. 1760-1820" (PhD, University of Oxford, 1997).

² Elizabeth attended Ellin Devis's school between at least 1793 and 1796. Sir Christopher Sykes recorded her arrival at the school in his diary in September 1793, which was followed by biannual payments in subsequent years, presumably for tuition fees and board. See U DDSY/102/23-26a, Hull History Centre, for the diaries relevant to these years. On Elizabeth's education at the Devis establishment and its connection with her music collection, see Jeanice Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park," *Music and Letters* 91, no. 4 (2010): 517-518; Penelope Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013), 110-113, 157-162, 263; and Leena Asha Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country

publications were specifically written for young women, including *The Accidence; or First Rudiments of English Grammar* and *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies*, with many excerpts from the latter also appearing in the similarly titled *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors*.³ These texts show a deep concern for the development of righteous behaviour and religious virtue.⁴ Through the use of maxims, fables and grammatical examples often drawn from a range of authors, these texts sought to establish the deleterious effects of undesirable behaviour and promote the necessity of employing appropriate conduct. Topics covered included compassion, industriousness, virtue, affectation, modesty, beauty, modes of politeness and greatness of soul. Devis was not alone in combining intellectual learning with advice on moral and social development; indeed, such a balancing act was common as female teacher-grammarians sought to harmonise academic thinking with future domestic duties and virtuous conduct.⁵ In endeavouring to nurture the qualities of humanity, industry and generosity in her scholars whilst instructing them in the forms of polite society, Devis was simply “teach[ing] girls to be proper young women.”⁶

House, c. 1790-1840" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2012), 125-126. For information on Ellin Devis and her publications, see Karen Cajka, "Eighteenth-Century Teacher-Grammarians and the Education of "Proper" Women," ed. Ingrid Tiekens-Boon van Ostade, *Grammars, Grammarians and Grammar-Writing in Eighteenth-Century England* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008) and Carol Percy, "Paradigms for Their Sex? Women's Grammars in Late Eighteenth-Century England," *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* 16, no. 2 (1994): 123-126; "The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility: *The Accidence* [...] for [...] Young Ladies (1775)," in *Insights into Late Modern English*, ed. Marina Dossena and Charles Jones, *Linguistic Insights: Studies in Language and Communication* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003); "Learning and Virtue: English Grammar and the Eighteenth-Century Girls' School," in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2009).

³ *The Accidence* [1775] was the first English grammar specifically published “for the Use of Young Ladies” and its contemporary importance was signified both by its extensive reissue and the value it was accorded by other authors. See Percy, “The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility,” 45-46, 49, 51 and “Learning and Virtue,” 90-92. Devis also published *The Infant's Miscellany: Or Easy Lessons, Extracted from Different Authors. On a New Plan* (London: Printed for the Author, 1778), which exhibits some cross-over in content with both sets of *Miscellaneous Lessons*.

⁴ See Percy, “Paradigms for Their Sex? Women's Grammars in Late Eighteenth-Century England,” 125-126.

⁵ See Cajka, "Eighteenth-Century Teacher-Grammarians and the Education of "Proper" Women," 192, 200, 203; Percy, "The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility," 64, 67, 74; and "Learning and Virtue," 77, 82, 86-87, 94-95.

⁶ Cajka, "Eighteenth-Century Teacher-Grammarians and the Education of "Proper" Women," 192.

Many of the precepts Ellin Devis cited in her publications were concerned with the development of inner beauty, modesty and elegance as fundamental qualities of genteel femininity. Her readers were counselled to “assume no borrowed airs” and employ “simple elegance without affectation”, the latter having the potential to “not only destroy beauty, but even change it into deformity.”⁷ Beauty and modesty were linked metaphorically with the concepts of ornamentation and adornment, coupling exterior grace with inner integrity to produce a shining example of young womanhood.⁸ The emphasis placed on the mirroring relationship between external appearance and internal virtue suggests that the application of appropriate ‘clothing’, in a literal and behavioural sense, was important in establishing an ideal concept of femininity.⁹ As such, women were by implication both transparent and skilful in constructing their personae. Devis showed she was aware of this dichotomy by advocating naturalness, stressing that genuine courtesy should emerge “not so much from studied politeness, as from a mild and gentle heart”, yet she recommended individual agency in comportment, recognising the efficacy of applied genteel behaviour in smoothing social interactions.¹⁰ Although Devis’s works were largely derivative, her conscious use of many citations in effect signified her approval of their content and belief in their value.¹¹

⁷ Devis, *The Infant's Miscellany: Or Easy Lessons, Extracted from Different Authors. On a New Plan*, 22, 41; *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan* (London: Printed for the Author, 1782), 32, 33, 35-36; and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms* (London: Printed for B. Law and Son, 1794), 30, 31, 33.

⁸ Devis used several instances of this kind of linkage. See, for example, “As the elegance of dress adds grace to beauty itself, so delicacy in behaviour is the ornament of the most beautiful mind” in *The Accidence; or First Rudiments of English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Young Ladies*, eighth ed. (London: Printed for B. Law and C Law, 1795), 127. For other similar examples, see *The Infant's Miscellany: Or Easy Lessons, Extracted from Different Authors. On a New Plan*, 39; *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 31, 33, 99; and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 29, 31, 92, 101.

⁹ See chapter 1, pp. 89-90.

¹⁰ Devis, *The Accidence; or First Rudiments of English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Young Ladies*, seventh ed. (London: Printed for B. Law and Son, 1793), 129. The quotation is derived from Hugh Blair, *Sermons*, 5 vols., vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Printed for William Creech [Edinburgh], and W. Strahan and T. Cadell [London], 1777), 328.

¹¹ For further discussion of the texts from which Devis drew her maxims, see Cajka, “Eighteenth-Century Teacher-Grammarians and the Education of “Proper” Women,” 201-203 and Percy, “The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility,” 57-58, 65, 69-71.

The studied naturalness of feminine gentility that filtered through Ellin Devis's texts was given a very real physical correlate. Grace was pivotal in developing appropriate comportment; amongst the many maxims in *The Accidence* was a pithy reminder "that the graces of the person give favourable impressions of the mind" and as such "should be a monitor to correct all aukward habits and gestures."¹² Not content with merely providing written advice on the subject, Devis ensured her pupils were well trained in polite and graceful deportment:

"Decorum"...was the imperative law of a lady's inner life as well as of her outward habits; and...nothing that was not decorous was for a moment admitted. Every movement of the body in entering and quitting a room, in taking a seat and rising from it, was duly criticised. There was kept, in the back premises, a carriage taken off the wheels, and propped up *en permanence*, for the purpose of enabling the young ladies to practise ascending and descending with calmness and grace, and without any unnecessary display of their ankles.¹³

The "labour-intensive and expensive discipline" that the young ladies submitted to also included exercises to improve their physical posture. Maria Edgeworth (1768-1849), who attended the school in the early 1780s, was reportedly subjected to "all the usual tortures of backboards, iron collars, and dumb-bells, with the unusual one of being swung by the neck to draw out the muscles and increase the growth..."¹⁴ Sir Christopher Sykes must have considered such training in deportment to be of advantage to Elizabeth, given her mother's reported lack of "polish", and he was rewarded only a few months

¹² Devis, *The Accidence; or First Rudiments of English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Young Ladies*, seventh ed., 135.

¹³ Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe by Herself*, 2 vols., vol. I (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 51. See pp. 50-52 for a delightful discussion of the broader education afforded by Ellin Devis's school, including training in "the great Art of Society".

¹⁴ See Percy, "The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility," 74-75 and Frances Anne Beaufort Edgeworth, *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, with a Selection from Her Letters* vol. I (London: Printed by Joseph Masters and Son, 1867), 9, quoted in Marilyn Butler, *Maria Edgeworth. A Literary Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 72. My thanks go to Dr Penelope Cave for drawing my attention to Butler's work.

after she began by hearing that she was “much improv’d”.¹⁵ Not all of Devis’s pupils managed to attain perfection in comportment, however – the Hon. Frances Calvert (1767–1859) remarked that when her daughter Isabella (1793–1862) was presented at court, “her manners were very good and very composed, but she did not hold herself well.”¹⁶

The performance of accomplishments was significantly juxtaposed with concepts of politeness and grace in Ellin Devis’s publications, the former acting as a canvas for the bodily display of the latter. The most palpable example of this juxtaposition occurs in relation to dance. In discussing adverbs “of Manner” in *The Accidence*, Devis placed grace and politeness side by side: “...she dances *gracefully*; she behaves *politely*, *i.e.* in a graceful, or in a polite manner.”¹⁷ The discussion of accomplishments also brought into play ideas concerning beauty, elegance, ornament and moderation. Towards the end of both sets of *Miscellaneous Lessons*, Devis provided a lengthy series of “Synonymous Expressions” which listed alternative renderings of selected fragments of text. Within this section, she defined politeness as “*elegance of manners*”, elegance as “*beauty acquired, or grace*” and accomplishments as “*embellishments, or ornaments of mind and body*.”¹⁸ Extracts on different accomplishments employed the same terminology; reading aloud required “a just and elegant pronunciation” that avoided “every appearance of study, peculiar habit, or affectation” while the art of writing entailed the performance

¹⁵ See Brooks, “Musical Monuments for the Country House,” 518. Brooks referred to two letters located in the Sykes archives at the Hull History Centre: firstly, from a Miss JC to her sister Nancy, dated 8 September 1784, in which she described Lady Sykes’s education as not being commensurate with her newly acquired status [U DDSY/101/21], and secondly, from the plasterer Joseph Rose, dated 16 November 1793, who was closely connected with the Sykes family during the rebuilding of Sledmere [U DDSY3/5/1]. Carol Percy outlined the stereotypical scenario surrounding the education of girls to symbolize the advancement of paternal status. See Percy, “The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility,” 47.

¹⁶ Isabella Calvert first attended Ellin Devis’s school in 1803 while her presentation at court took place on January 19 1810. See Mrs. Warrenne Blake, *An Irish Beauty of the Regency Compiled from “Mes Souvenirs,” the Unpublished Journals of the Hon. Mrs. Calvert 1789–1822* (London and New York: John Lane, 1911), 152. My thanks go to Dr Penelope Cave for directing me to this source.

¹⁷ Devis, *The Accidence; or First Rudiments of English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Young Ladies*, seventh ed., 73.

¹⁸ *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 127, 167 and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 162, 201. In the latter text, elegance is defined purely as grace, without the additional qualifier of beauty.

of quintessential attributes of genteel femininity.¹⁹ Given Devis's relative conflation of politeness, elegance, grace and beauty, the implementation of bodily elegance in any accomplishment could have been tantamount to the enactment of grace.

Ellin Devis's appraisal of dance in the *Miscellaneous Lessons* combined physical discipline with the qualities of grace and beauty. Her extracts included three citations from Hester Chapone (1727-1801), John Gregory (1724-1773) and Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Alban (1561-1626), although she only acknowledged the authorship of the first. Through Chapone's writings, Devis immediately positioned dance as an indispensable part of a genteel woman's education; balancing the utility of dance against its "ornamental" value, Chapone argued for dance's importance in "forming and strengthening the body and improving the carriage."²⁰ Gregory advocated "ease and grace" as the "principal points" to be observed in dancing and this is the extent of the quotation that appears in the *Miscellaneous Lessons*. However, his original text gave young ladies license "to dance with spirit" providing they refrained from being "so far transported with mirth, as to forget the delicacy of [their] sex."²¹ Devis's appropriation of Bacon is more complex and in all likelihood derived from James Fordyce's (1720-1796) *Sermons to Young Women*. Fordyce drew on the notion of dance as an activity that promoted an "easy graceful carriage", producing "very pleasing perceptions in the beholders." As a visual phenomenon, he defined dance as a tangible representation of "harmony in

¹⁹ *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 87, 89 and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 79-80, 83-84.

²⁰ Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 90 and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 84. See Hester Chapone, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind, Addressed to a Young Lady*, new ed. (London: Printed for J. Walter and C. Dilly, 1786), 172. The Tatton Park library contains three editions of Chapone's seminal text: one from 1773 which apparently contains the inscription of Anna Maria Armytage (1762-1799), Wilbraham Egerton's first and presumably most influential stepmother [Library A2]; another from 1786 with no obvious indication of ownership [YDR 4-3]; and a third from 1822 belonging to Lady Mary Sarah Percy Amherst (1837-1892), Elizabeth's future granddaughter-in-law [YDR 2-1]. See Shirley Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire, the Property of the National Trust* (Wallasey: Cheshire Libraries and Museums, 1977), 79.

²¹ Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 90 and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 85. See John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters*, new ed. (London: Printed for G. Robertson, 1792), 93-94.

motion" and it was through this ocular aspect that he incorporated Bacon's ideas on beauty. Combining two different portions of Bacon's text, Fordyce depicted "the principal part of beauty" as consisting of "decent 'and gracious motion.'" Extending this definition to comprise "the virtue of the body", he lamented that as "the sole design of dancing" seemed but "to supply the amusement of the hour", such bodily virtue was disregarded.²² Devis's exclusions and lack of specified authorship presented her pupils with a literary puzzle. Karen Cajka suggested that Devis may have expected her readers to recognise the sources for her unattributed quotations, or at the very least to discover these connections through their own reading.²³ Certainly the richness of detail that lay behind these extracts presented a more nuanced picture of dance than Devis allowed to emerge through her publications.

Elizabeth's engagement with many of these concepts can be measured by two texts that suggest the conscious absorption of such material: a commonplace book she compiled during the years she attended Ellin Devis's school, and her signed copy of *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors*.²⁴ The commonplace book closely resembles the prescriptive advice penned and collated by her preceptress. Opening with an extract from Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696-1782), on the value of compiling such a book, other attributed excerpts include quotations from the works of Charles Rollin (1661-1741), Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and Hugh

²² See *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 90; *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 85; James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, eighth ed. (Dublin: Printed by Campbell and Shea for W. Gilbert, P. Byrne, P. Wogan, W. Jones and J. Milliken, 1796), 107; and Francis Bacon, *The Essaies of Sr Francis Bacon Knight, the Kings Atturney Genderall. His Religious Meditations. Places of Perswasion and Disswasion. Seene and Allowed* (London: Printed for John Jaggard, 1613), Essay 24 'Of Beauty' (no page number).

²³ Cajka, "Eighteenth-Century Teacher-Grammarians and the Education of "Proper" Women," 201-202. On Devis's use of exclusion in *The Accidence*, see Percy, "The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility," 70.

²⁴ Elizabeth's commonplace book is located at Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/77. The inside leaves of the front and back covers bear her name and are dated September 28 1793, while internal evidence suggests the book was still in use in late 1797. *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors* is located in the Tatton Park library and bears Elizabeth's signature on the inside of the front cover [Library 184]; see Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park*, 111. I am very grateful to Karan Knowles and the staff and volunteers at Tatton Park for providing digital images of samples of the text for me.

Blair (1718-1800).²⁵ The book predominantly contains citations of an edifying and religious nature, encompassing topics such as pride, self knowledge, justice, temper, truth and friendship, although it also includes passages on conduct, such as true elegance and artificial courtesy. It is likely that it was prepared under Ellin Devis's guidance, the inclusion of occasional corrections to the text in red ink attesting to the work's perusal by another pair of eyes.²⁶ Significantly, there is a direct link between Elizabeth's commonplace book and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors*. The latter contains a lengthy extract devoted to a discussion on the importance of reading, which is largely derived from Mary Wollstonecraft's (1759-1797) unacknowledged 1789 publication, *The Female Reader*.²⁷ Copied into Elizabeth's commonplace book, just ten pages apart, are both the original segment that appears in *The Female Reader*, and the entire extract from *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors*.²⁸ Such direct correspondence between the works of teacher and pupil suggests that Devis used her own material in her lessons, with the broad similarity of content between the two books pointing towards a very real concern for developing appropriate moral and behavioural conduct.

²⁵ Examples from these authors include sections entitled "Simonides the Poet" [DET/3229/77 pp. 138-139] from Charles Rollin, *The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Carthaginians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians, and Grecians*. Translated from the French, sixth ed., 8 vols., vol. 2 (London: Printed for J. and F. Rivington, R. Baldwin, Hawes, Clarke and Collins, R. Horsfield, W. Johnston, W. Owen, T. Caslon, S. Crowder, C. Rivington, B. Law, G. Robinson, Carnan and Newbery, Z. Stuart and J. Knox, 1774), 335; "Horror of the Last" [DET/3229/77 pp. 93-99] from Samuel Johnson, "The Idler," *The Universal Chronicle and Westminster Journal*, 29 March 1760, 105, available through ProQuest British Periodicals <http://search.proquest.com/britishperiodicals/index>, accessed 23 March 2014, although Elizabeth's extract more closely resembles that printed in *Selected Essays from the Rambler, Adventurer, and Idler*, ed. W.J. Bate (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1968), 354-357; "On Superstition" [DET/3229/77 pp. 144-145] that appears as part of a larger article in Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Spectator*, 8 March 1711, 14, available through ProQuest British Periodicals <http://search.proquest.com/britishperiodicals/index>, accessed 23 March 2014; and "On Charity" [DET/3229/77 pp. 41-43] excerpted from Hugh Blair, *Sermons*, fourth ed., 4 vols., vol. 4 (London: Printed for A. Strahan and T Cadell [London] and W. Creech [Edinburgh], 1795), 24-26.

²⁶ For an example of such corrections, see DET/3229/77, p.10.

²⁷ Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 80-82. The extract in question is titled "Use of Reading" and comprises three separate citations. It predominantly draws on Wollstonecraft's section "The Advantages Arising from Reading", which appears at the end of Book II of *The Female Reader*, although it is not an exact quotation. The book was originally published designating a Mr Cresswick as the author. See Janet Todd and Marilyn Butler, eds., *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*, vol. 4 (London: William Pickering, 1989), 54, 156.

²⁸ See DET/3229/77 "The advantages arising from Reading" pp.21-22 and "Use of Reading" pp. 31-33.

Both Elizabeth's commonplace book and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors* reveal themselves as markers of feminine performance, assisting the learning of precepts pertaining to genteel behaviour and embodying the enactment of these precepts. Elizabeth's commonplace book was clearly an exercise in developing "fine hand-writing" and "elegance in the formation of the letters" – the extracts have been carefully copied and ruled lines to keep the writing straight are sometimes in evidence.²⁹ Her copy of *Miscellaneous Lessons* contains significant underlining of words and occasional hand-writing on the blank spaces of the page, including dates (see Figure 24).³⁰ The underlining relates directly to the words listed in the "Synonymous [sic] Expressions" at the rear of the book, the preface directing pupils to copy the published underlining on the first page.³¹ While these elements suggest that certain extracts were worked through in a methodical fashion, Jeanice Brooks has speculated that the text may also have been read aloud.³² John Rice placed particular emphasis on the importance of reading and writing skills for women in a manner that drew directly on ideals of femininity: the ability to execute both "with Propriety and Elegance" he regarded as "an important accomplishment in the Education of the Fair Sex", while reading he linked with "natural eloquence", considering "[a]n harmonious well managed voice" to be an "ornament" which "strongly characterizes the *gentlewoman*..."³³

²⁹ Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 89 and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 83.

³⁰ Page 1 contains a lengthy handwritten annotation in addition to published underlining; p. 74 lists the date "16th Feb^{ry}" under an extract from Hester Chapone on "Emulation"; p. 93 contains "August 2^d" under another Chapone entry on the "Use of Learning"; p. 95 shows "Sep^r 10th" either under a section on "Ethics" or preceding an excerpt on "Prudence"; while p. 212 includes "August 27" written in the middle of a list of the "Synonymous Expressions". It is unclear whom the hand belongs to, but it doesn't match Elizabeth's carefully produced writing in her commonplace book.

³¹ The handwritten underlining in Hester Chapone's extract on music follows precisely the words listed in the "Synonymous Expressions". See Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, iii-iv, 87, 210. The excerpt on dance appears not to have been underlined.

³² Email correspondence dated 4 December 2013. Carol Percy noted that memorisation of material continued to be a commonly used method in the education of girls, and both Elizabeth's commonplace book and her copy of the *Miscellaneous Lessons* suggest that memorisation may have been involved. See Percy, "Learning and Virtue," 95.

³³ John Rice, *A Plan of Female Education* (London: Printed for the Author, by I. Moore, 1779), 5 and *A Lecture on the Importance and Necessity of Rendering the English Language a Peculiar Branch of Female Education* (London: Printed for G. Kearsly, 1773), 15, 21. The extract concerning the depiction of a "harmonious well managed voice" as "ornament" appears in Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for*

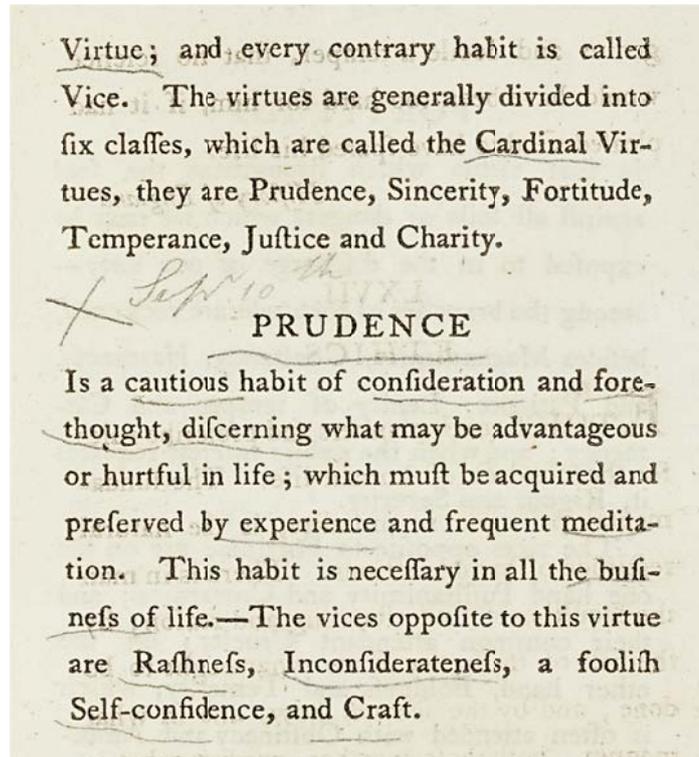


FIGURE 24. EXTRACT FROM ELIZABETH EGERTON'S COPY OF *MISCELLANEOUS LESSONS EXTRACTED FROM DIFFERENT AUTHORS*, BY ELLIN DEVIS [P. 95] © TATTON PARK/CHESHIRE EAST COUNCIL/GEORGE LITTLER & PETER SPOONER.

Although it is impossible to know the extent to which Elizabeth understood the broader implications behind the extracts she copied and read, and the manner in which she applied their contents, the suggestion of vocal and visual performance of texts that strongly exhorted desired conduct paints a picture of the deliberate exercising of femininity on a functional and intellectual level.³⁴

the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan, 88 and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 80.

³⁴ Resistant readings of the material presented in conduct literature were, of course, possible. A copy of Hester Chapone's *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* belonging to Lady Mary Sarah Percy Amherst shows a handwritten note in the margin of "not always" in response to Chapone's assertion that "we strive against nature to alter ourselves by ridiculous contortions of the body, or by feigned sentiments and unnatural manners." Although the "not always" appears next to "feigned sentiments", both the "ridiculous contortions of the body" and "unnatural manners" are underlined, suggesting that the resistance applied equally to bodily movement and behavioural conduct. See Hester Chapone, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind. Addressed to a Lady* (London: Printed for John Sharpe, 1822), 48 and p. 175, footnote 20 above.

3.1.2 Dancing at School

Little evidence has come to light regarding the dances Elizabeth learned at Ellin Devis's school. A somewhat sentimental account of Maria Edgeworth's experience, more than a decade earlier, survives through her memoirs:

...at Mrs. Davis's [sic] she learned to dance well, and liked it. She delighted to remember the pleasure she felt in the perfect time in which her companions executed a favourite dance of that day, Slingsby's Allemand. She remembered her sense of gratified admiration at the graceful movements of a circle of the taller girls, hand in hand, raising their arms for the little children to dance under them, and many years afterwards recognised the beautiful air when played for her.³⁵

Simon Slingsby (d. 1811) was a dancer with both the Drury Lane and King's Theatres, and from at least 1781 he was situated in Upper Seymour St, Portman Square, within striking distance of Ellin Devis's establishments.³⁶ Elizabeth Harris (1722-1781) described his athletic abilities in a letter to her son in 1764: "We have a most extraordinary dancer or jumper at Drury Lane[:] I never saw his equal in agility[.] His name is Slingsby & appears to be a good genteel well made man[,] but he is in general so high that I will not be responsible for him on terra firma."³⁷ *Slingsby's Allemand* appears in a collection of cotillions and country dances published by Thompson around 1780. Despite the appellation, the work is clearly identifiable as a country dance and in fact has theatrical origins, the tune appearing in a compilation of allemandes danced by Slingsby and Signora Radicati at the King's Theatre.³⁸

³⁵ Edgeworth, *A Memoir of Maria Edgeworth, with a Selection from Her Letters* I, 9. A letter from Maria Edgeworth to Fanny Robinson conflicts with this account of her dancing ability and suggests that she had not fully acquired a high degree of polish and assurance from her time with Ellin Devis. See Butler, *Maria Edgeworth. A Literary Biography*, 74.

³⁶ For biographical information on Slingsby, see Highfill Jr., Philip H., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, "Slingsby, Simon," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. 14 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 112-113. Ellin Devis's school was situated in Upper Wimpole Street at the time that Maria Edgeworth was a pupil there, and from 1791/1792 was located at 20 Devonshire Place. See Butler, *Maria Edgeworth. A Literary Biography*, 71 and Percy, "The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility," 73.

³⁷ Letter from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris, Jr., dated 21 November 1764, quoted in Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 434.

³⁸ The work is listed in the index of *Thompsons Complete Collection of Country Dances and Cotillions, for the Harpsichord, with proper directions*, published in London by C. & S. Thompson, British Library

Notwithstanding the dance's previous performance history, it was current at least in terms of publication when Maria Edgeworth attended Devis's school, suggesting that the latter kept her pupils engaged with the most fashionable dances.

Descriptions of dancing at contemporary girls' schools provide an indication of what might have occurred at the Devis establishment. Spanning nearly twenty years, the writings of Sophie von la Roche (1730-1807), Susan Sibbald (1783-1866) and Johanna Schopenhauer (1766-1838) present a remarkably uniform picture of dancing lessons at girls' boarding schools, and the role that dance played in personal and institutional display. Sophie von la Roche visited a school in Queen's Square in 1786 run by the Stephenson sisters, where the dancing lesson provided a nexus for outside contact and a visual appraisal of the pupils.³⁹ After being ushered into an amphitheatre, she observed girls "ranging from six to sixteen years of age" being "exercised six couples at a time for minuets, and the same number for folk-dancing."⁴⁰ At Belvedere House in Bath in the late 1790s, Susan Sibbald had dancing lessons once a week; a Miss Fleming "taught the Minuetts [sic], and figure dances"

shelfmark a.223.i, however, the designated page is missing from the book. The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Dance and Tune Index identifies a number of sources that contain a work of the same name, several of which are in manuscript form, and one of which dates from 1788. Robert M. Keller has tabulated the dances from Thompson's collection, including short-hand code for the figures from *Slingsby's Allemand*, which are standard country dance figures. See Robert M. Keller, "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650-1833," The Colonial Music Institute, <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/Index.htm>, accessed 24 March 2014. The music to *Slingsby's Allemand* appears on p. 3 of *The Allemands Danced at the King's Theatre in the Hay Market by M^r. Slingsby and Sig^{ro}. Radicate* [sic], composed by Guiseppo Agus and arranged for German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord, published by Welcker in London, 1768, British Library shelfmark a.26.a.(1.) or b.57.a.(1.). The tune matches that given in the Anne Geddes Gilchrist Collection manuscript book, AGG/2/150/56A, which lists it as coming from "Thompsons Harpsichord Dances 63", corresponding to the missing page number from the Thompson publication in the British Library. See

<http://www.vwml.org/record/AGG/2/150/56A> in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library Dance and Tune Index, accessed 24 March 2014. Slingsby danced an allemande with Radicati in May 1768 during a benefit at the King's Theatre; see Highfill Jr., Burnim, and Langhans, "Slingsby, Simon," 112.

³⁹ Sophie noted, "Even for the parents and closest relations the only day reserved for seeing the young ladies is that of the main dancing-class, as they are not allowed too many diversions." Marie Sophie von la Roche, *Sophie in London, 1786, Being the Diary of Sophie V. La Roche. A Translation of the Portion Referring to England of "Tagebuch Einer Reise Durch Holland und England"*, trans. Clare Williams (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), 246. My thanks go to Dr Penelope Cave for pointing out this resource to me.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 247. See also Richard Leppert, *Music and Image* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 80. It is possible that by "folk-dancing" Sophie was referring to country dancing.

while Mademoiselle Le Mercier “had the teaching of positions and steps...”⁴¹ As at Queen’s Square, dance provided an opportunity for female family members and friends to observe the girls perform.⁴² Johanna Schopenhauer, visiting London between 1803 and 1805, rather caustically noted the emphasis placed on the exhibition of skills by young ladies during annual festivities at the end of the school term, the epitome of which was a ball.⁴³ No doubt there were financial incentives for schoolmistresses to present their pupils in the best possible light, dance being an apt instrument for eliciting parental approval. Given Ellin Devis’s distinct focus on decorum, it is likely that dance within her school was equally focussed on the display of feminine achievement.

Accounts of balls hosted by elite schools highlight the dual function of dance for display and enjoyment, and the shaping of such occasions along repertoire and participatory lines. Johanna Schopenhauer observed a school ball in Southwark where fifty girls, aged between eight and sixteen, were directed by their dancing master. Her description makes clear the distinction between formalised dancing for exhibition, and dancing that elicited youthful vigour:

The girls had to dance with each other, all quite modest dances, no waltz, no shawl-dance, no extravagant movements, rather a kind of minuet for six or eight couples which the master had composed specially for them, and which is possibly danced nowhere in the world but in establishments such as this one. The more skilful dancers each had a little solo to show off how well she could perform and at the end she was praised and embraced by her loving family...After the display dances, which proved a little long and boring, a few English and Scottish country dances followed. Now happily free from constraint, the children jumped around in a lively fashion and a few young cousins and brothers were even allowed a turn on the floor with them.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Francis Paget Hett, ed. *The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald (1783-1812)* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head Limited, 1926), 44-45. My thanks go to Dr Penelope Cave for directing me to this publication.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴³ Ruth Michaelis-Jena and Willy Merson, eds., *A Lady Travels: Journeys in England and Scotland from the Diaries of Johanna Schopenhauer. Translated from the German* (London: Routledge, 1988), 196.

⁴⁴ Michaelis-Jena and Merson, *A Lady Travels*, 197. Sophie von la Roche expressed similar sentiments regarding the children dancing in the class she observed. See von la Roche, *Sophie in London*, 247. For further reference to shawl dancing, see chapter 4, p. 230, footnote 19.

Notably, the display dances were associated with moderation of movement, and particularly with the minuet. Susan Sibbald vividly recollected the public ball held triennially at the assembly rooms in Bath for the pupils at Belvedere House. Knowing that she “was to dance a Minuet...standing up with seven others of my own size, in one set” she recalled practising on the terrace with her companions “curtseying and sliding about, frocks held out, and going through all the movements as gracefully and as slowly as our shivering limbs would allow us, so anxious were we to “do credit to Bath.”” The structure of Susan’s ball likewise emphasised the dichotomy between demonstration and participation: the first half of the ball was dedicated to the pupils, the *minuet de la cour* forming the opening dance, followed by “cotillions, figure dances of different kinds and Minuets, every now and then”, while the spectators enjoyed dancing after tea.⁴⁵

Such spectacles were clearly attractive for onlookers and provided an avenue, at least in print, for engaging with discourses on grace and femininity. The description of Maria Edgeworth’s experience of dance at Ellin Devis’s school hinged not on her participation, but on her observation of her fellow dancers. Her appreciation of the “perfect time” with which the dancers moved and the gracefulness of their actions painted a picture of feminine communality and accord.⁴⁶ Sophie von la Roche also remarked on the lightness and gracefulness of the girls she surveyed at the Stephenson school, using this as a departure point for a brief panegyric on female purity, virtue and influence.⁴⁷ Although these qualities could be applied to dancing in general, they were particularly apt in relation to the minuet as the pre-eminent dance for feminine display. It is difficult to speculate on the prominence of the “line of beauty” in minuet choreography of the late eighteenth century, particularly for group performances.⁴⁸ However, in the same year that Sophie von la Roche observed the dance class in London, S.J. Gardiner, a Shropshire dancing master, published *A Definition of Minuet-Dancing*, in which he explained the

⁴⁵ For the quotations, see Paget Hett, *The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald (1783-1812)*, 58, 60 and 62 respectively. On the structure of such balls, see Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, “A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England” (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2002), 102-103.

⁴⁶ See p. 180 above.

⁴⁷ von la Roche, *Sophie in London*, 248.

⁴⁸ See Introduction pp. 19-22 and chapter 1, pp. 82-83 on the minuet as a display dance for grace and its association with the line of beauty.

steps and figures of the minuet.⁴⁹ The outlines he delineated for the movement of each couple across the floor included a Z and a variant S shape, which corresponded with the “line of beauty” proposed by William Hogarth (1697-1764).⁵⁰ If London dancing masters were still utilising these figures in their choreography for elite schoolgirls, their performance in open lessons and balls potentially enacted a prescribed formation of beauty.

What these descriptions offer is an insight into how dance was situated within the school curriculum for elite girls, providing a scenario for interpreting Elizabeth’s possible engagement with dance with Ellin Devis and the repertoire she might have learned. Given the predominance of the minuet as a display dance in school dancing lessons and balls in the late eighteenth century, it is highly likely that she was acquainted with the dance, whether in solo, couple or group format. The Sykes family had a close relationship with the minuet as a genre. John Hopper, butler to Sir Christopher Sykes, 2nd Baronet (1749-1801), recounted a ball given in Yorkshire by Sir James Pennyman (1736-1808) in the 1780s, where “Lady Sykes [sic] Minuet was Danced 6 times, which the company apploded [sic] much...”⁵¹ Hopper gave no further particulars of the dance, except to note that it was executed by two couples to open the ball. However, his account implies that this was not the first occasion on which Lady Sykes’s minuet was performed, given its evident popularity amongst the dancers and the Sykeses absence from the ball. Although Elizabeth was still a child at the time, she may have had some peripheral knowledge of the dance, if not through her own observation then through familial storytelling. Such family connections with dance were not unusual – a perusal of annual collections of minuets from the late eighteenth century shows that many bear individual names in their titles – however, personal involvement with a dance must have

⁴⁹ Madeleine Inglehearn, *The Minuet in the Late Eighteenth Century, with a Reprint of S.J. Gardiner's a Dancing Master's Instruction Book 1786* (London: Madeleine Inglehearn, 1998), 10-21.

⁵⁰ Hogarth regarded the minuet as “a fine composition of movements”, comprising “a composed variety of as many movements in the serpentine lines [i.e. the ‘line of beauty’] as can well be put together in distinct quantities...” He specifically included the floor pattern as an example of such a serpentine line. See William Hogarth, *The Analysis of Beauty. Written with a View of Fixing the Fluctuating Ideas of Taste* (London: J. Reeves, 1753), 147-148.

⁵¹ Letter from John Hopper to Lady Elizabeth Sykes (1784), U DDSY3/5/2, Hull History Centre. For further reference to this ball, see chapter 2, pp. 137-139.

given it a greater sense of ownership and meaning.⁵² Elizabeth's acquaintance with the minuet, therefore, extended from her childhood into her school years; as such the focus changed from understanding the dance as a genre intimately associated with her mother, to a display dance that she potentially performed herself.

The repertoire danced by the girls at the Southwark school and by Susan Sibbald at Belvedere House has clear connections with Elizabeth's music collection. Susan identified a number of dances that she learned whilst at school and her description bears some weight as being the most contemporaneous with Elizabeth's tenure at Ellin Devis's establishment. In addition to minuets, she recollected learning allemandes and cotillions, as well as the country dance Sir Roger de Coverley, the Boulanger and Scotch steps.⁵³ With the exception of cotillions and the Boulanger, Elizabeth's collection intersects with English country dances, Scotch reels, minuets and allemandes in ways that paid direct or indirect homage to the dances. Country dance and reel tunes appeared, either acknowledged or unacknowledged, in sonata movements and rondos, and these kinds of interpolations will be discussed below. Scottish connections are evident through a small number of works suggesting Scotch dancing, in addition to two publications of dances by George Jenkins, who specifically advertised his ability to teach Scotch steps.⁵⁴

⁵² An example of personal connections to particular minuets comes from the Harris family in Salisbury. In December 1773, they hosted a dance which included "many cottillions [sic], minuets and country dances..." James Harris (1709-1780) composed the music for two of the minuets, while another two were named after his daughters Gertrude (1750-1834) and Louisa (1753-1826). See letter from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris, Jr., dated 5 December 1773, quoted in Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780*, 749. See additionally Rosemary Dunhill, "Dancing 'Bad Beyond All Description', 'Most Amazingly Fine': Observations on Dance in the Harris Papers," Last Thursday lecture given at the Hampshire Record Office on 26 April 2001, 13-14, accessed via email correspondence on 3 February 2011.

⁵³ See Paget Hett, *The Memoirs of Susan Sibbald (1783-1812)*, 248-249 and also 89-90 for mention of Scottish dancing upon Susan's coming out. On the allemande and cotillion, see Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "Allemande," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 45-47 and Desmond F. Strobel, "Cotillon," *ibid.*, vol. 2, 251-253. For information on Sir Roger de Coverley and the *Boulanger*, see chapter 2, p. 164, footnote 135 and p. 151, footnote 88, respectively.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Sonatas II and III from *Three Grand Sonatas, for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord. In which are introduced for the Subjects of The Adagios & Last movements, Select Scotch [sic] Airs, With Accompanymts [sic] for a Violin and Violoncello*, First Set, by Igance Joseph Pleyel (1757-1831), published by Preston & Son, in which the third movement in each is styled "Rondo Danse Ecossoise" [MR 2-5-26] and *Three Sonatas, for the Piano Forte With an Accompanymt [sic] for a Violin or Flute*, Op. 9 by Joseph Mazzinghi, published by G. Goulding, where an allusion is made in the first movement of

The minuet is alluded to across many works in Elizabeth's collection, appearing as a designated movement in larger compositions and identified either as a minuet or a *tempo di minuetto*.⁵⁵ The allemande likewise appeared sporadically across several instrumental pieces, but more importantly, also materialised within a collection of dances that date from Elizabeth's girlhood.⁵⁶

Sonata I to an assembly in Haddington [MR 2-5-9]. Sophia Baker (1781-1858), of Bayfordbury in Hertfordshire, wrote in her diary of learning scotch steps in the 1790s, one of her teachers being a Mr Jenkins. Neither of his compositions in Elizabeth's collection exhibit any particular Scottish traits, although they continued to advertise Jenkins's speciality in Scotch dance. See *The Royal Wedding, or The Princess of Wales's Welcome to England, The Words by a Gentleman of the Temple, The Music Composed by George Jenkins, Teacher of Scotch Dances, And Author of a Collection of Scotch Music, lately Published, and Dedicated by Permission to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales* [MR 2-5-11] and *A New Dance for the Pianoforte, Harp, Violin or German Flute. Dedicated by Permission To the Right Hon^{ble}. Lady Georgina Cavendish, Composed by George Jenkins, Teacher of Scotch Dances &c.* [MR 2-5-29]. For Sophia Baker's diaries, see Diaries of Sophia Trower (née Baker), Add Mss 7463 (19 February, 1 March, 8 March, 15 March, 19 March, 22 March, 3 May (annual ball at Mr Jenkins's), 13 May, 1794) and 7464 (24 March, 1795), West Sussex Record Office and Archives, and Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*, 285, 359. On the popularity of Scottish dancing in England, see Philip J.S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960), 52.

⁵⁵ Examples include *The Surprize* [sic] *a Duett for the Piano Forte Composed by Joseph Haydn*, published by Broderip and Wilkinson, where the third movement is designated "Menuetto" [MR 2-5-32]; *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, with Accompanymts* [sic] *for Two Violins, a Tenor and Bass*, Op. 5, by Johann Samuel Schroeter (c.1752-1788), published by Joseph Dale, with "Tempo di Menuetto/Minuetto" movements appearing in the second and third concertos [MR 2-5-30]; *A Second Set of Glees and Airs, adapted for a Violin & Violoncello or Piano-Forte*, by J. F. Agus [possibly Joseph Agus (1749-1798)], published by L. Lavenu, which oddly incorporates a "Minuetto con Variazioni" [MR 2-5-16]; and *New Welch Music Consisting of Three Sonatas. Chase, Minuets, Siciliano, Rondos, Marches, Airs with Variations &c. for the Harp or Piano Forte*, Op. 1, by B. Cunnah, of Rhuaben, published by Goulding & Co., which includes both a "Tempo Minuetto" and a minuet ("Slow & Pathetic") amongst many other genres in the third sonata [MR 2-5-16].

⁵⁶ *Eighteen Waltzes, one Quadrille & One Allemande, Composed for Her Imperial Majesty The Empress of Russia*, by Henry Baron de Bode, published by Lavenu & Mitchell [MR 2-5-23]. See also p. 211-212 for further discussion of this work. Other compositions that utilise the term "allemande" include *A Favorite Sonata for the Piano Forte, in which is introduced an Allemande, A La Swiss*, by Thomas Haigh (1769-?1808), published by L. Lavenu, the third movement of which is titled "Allemande 1 la Swiss" [MR 2-5-29]; *A Divertimento for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Flute, Violin and Violoncello*, Op. 14, by Louis von Esch, (d. 1829) published by Robert Birchall, which incorporates a "Tempo di Allemand" [MR 2-5-32]; *A Divertimento for the Piano Forte, With an Accompaniment, For a Flute and Two French Horns, ad Libitum*, by Haigh, published by Monzani and Cimador, which also includes a "Tempo di Allemande" [MR 2-5-32]; *Three Sonatas with Scotch and German Airs and Three Preludes for the Piano Forte with or without Additional Keys Being the Continuation of Op. 25. With Accompaniments for a Violin or Flute & Bass Ad Libitum*, Op. 31, by Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812), where the third movement of Sonata I is titled "Allemande" [MR 2-5-27]; and *Trois Sonates pour le Piano Forte Avec Accompagnement d'un Violon (ad Libitum)*, by Dussek, published by Preston & Son, where the third movement is subtitled "Allemande" [MR 2-5-40]. With the exception of Dussek's Op. 31, all of the remaining allemandes are in 3/8 or 6/8 time and match reasonably well the style described for the late eighteenth-century version of the dance. See Cliff Eisen, "German Dance," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10937> and Meredith Ellis Little and Suzanne G. Cusick, "Allemande," *ibid.*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/00613>.

While very few of these works are intended for dancing, the cross correlation that occurred between the dances Elizabeth potentially knew and performed, and the music she played during these years, is significant and points towards an integrated understanding of both styles. Her music collection therefore lends validity to the dance forms she probably learned, and a cultural and bodily authenticity that came from knowing both the dance and the music. Such interrelationships are broadly characteristic of her collection as a whole and form an important component in understanding the degree of integration that took place between musical and terpsichorean genres.

3.2 Crossing Boundaries: Terpsichorean Transfer and Cross-Disciplinary Borrowings

Elizabeth's dance music encompasses a multiplicity of knowledge that draws on physical, aesthetic and musical conceptions for its broader interpretation. Music from ballet and the ballroom figures prominently in compositions published during Elizabeth's transition from schoolgirl into motherhood, and the boundary between the theatre and the assembly room was permeable in both directions. Arrangements of ballet music transferred the visual nature and performativity of the theatre into the domestic space, creating direct links with learned bodily knowledge. Conversely, small-scale compositions for piano that were based, consciously or surreptitiously, on popular country dance tunes had tentacles that extended into the realms of theatrical and vocal repertoire. This blending of dance and music pushed the identity of each and blurred the edges of distinction, enriching the peripheral content and enabling the player-dancer to employ corporeal expertise from both idioms. The application of such insight would inevitably have led to a deeper understanding of performance and a more integrated comprehension of a given publication.

3.2.1 A Night at the Ballet

The language of grace and decorum that genteel young women learned through their moral, social and physical education potentially equipped them with an aesthetic vocabulary with which to critically judge the dancing of others. Jean-Georges Noverre (1727-1810), who served as *maître de ballet* at the King's Theatre towards the end of the eighteenth century, defined dance as "the Art of steps, of graceful movements and of lovely positions" upon which ballet as a specific genre drew.⁵⁷ Dance was considered in the earlier part of the eighteenth century as one of the "fine or elegant arts" through which taste could be exercised and it was in relation to taste that Noverre discussed the application of grace in his influential publication, *Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets*:

Nothing is so difficult to achieve as what is termed a pleasing grace; it is good taste to make use of it and a fault to pursue and diffuse it everywhere alike. The fewer the pretensions with which it is displayed, a studied negligence to conceal it, only renders it more piquant...Taste is the arbiter, it is that which affords graces their value and makes them pleasing; if they be used without it they lose their names, charms and effect; they become nothing more than affectation...⁵⁸

Noverre's assertion bore a distinct resemblance to the discourse on gracefulness, affectation and contrived naturalness that appeared in dance and conduct manuals across the turn of the nineteenth century, and also in the codes of comportment prescribed by Ellen Devis.⁵⁹ Such similarity in the

⁵⁷ Quoted in Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, "Noverre, Jean-Georges," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 4 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 698. For a brief summary of Noverre's life and career, see Judith Chazin-Bennahum, "Jean-Georges Noverre: Dance and Reform," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, ed. Marion Kant (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 87-92.

⁵⁸ Jean-Georges Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, trans. Cyril W. Beaumont, revised ed. (Alton: Dance Books, orig. 1803, trans. 1930, facs. ed. 2004), 100-101, see also 3, 19 and 29. Noverre's treatise was published in 1759/1760, with the first English translation appearing in 1783. The cited work is based on a revised edition published in St. Petersburg in 1803. For the first quotation, see John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997, 2013), 81.

⁵⁹ See chapter 1 pp. 77-85 and 92-93.

conceptual use of language suggests the feasibility of elite girls interpreting bodily movement based on their own experiences.⁶⁰

Contemporary writers on dance clearly expected audience members to possess sufficient aesthetic discrimination to navigate the concepts of grace, affectation and beauty, and to critically appraise the quality of the dancing they observed. Giovanni-Andrea Gallini (1728-1805), director of dances at Covent Garden and the King's Theatre in the latter half of the eighteenth century, advocated bodily motion in dance that gave due weight to these concepts, again demonstrating similarities with prescriptive ideals for social dance:

All the movements should be conformable to the expression required, and in harmony with one another. The steps regular, and properly varied, with a graceful suppleness in the limbs, a certain strength, address, and agility; just positions exhibited with ease, delicacy, and above all, with propriety, characterise [sic] the masterly dancer, and in their union, give to his execution its due beauty.⁶¹

Gallini argued for clarity on behalf of the spectator by encouraging simplicity of style, tending towards the expression of greater beauty and creating room

⁶⁰ Adam Smith's (1723-1790) theory of sympathy and imitation closely aligned the physical experience of the performer and the spectator. In order to interpret whether dance was truly dance (i.e. that the action of dance was accompanied by its proper intention), the spectator was required to register and judge the meaning that lay behind the steps. The similarities between artistic and moral spectatorship in Smith's work suggests that this was a skill which elite girls may have possessed through their theoretical learning, which could equally have been brought to bear in their appraisal of ethical actions or of dance. See Raf Geenens, "'Dance, Like Morality, Is in the Eye of the Beholder': Adam Smith on the Role of the Spectator," presented at the 16th Annual Oxford Dance Symposium, *"The dancer in celebrity culture in the long 18th-century: reputations, images, portraits"* at Wolfson College, Oxford, 15-16 April, 2014. Raymond Ricketts proposed that the act of corporeal imagination "link[s] the bodily sensations of performer and spectator in a chain of imaginings spurred by the physicality of both"; as such, viewing dance was not so much a question of interpretation as of physically embodying the movements of another person's body. See Raymond Julian Ricketts, "Dance as Social Practice in Eighteenth-Century British Discourse and Culture" (PhD, Rutgers University, 2006), 127-128, 139-140.

⁶¹ Giovanni-Andrea Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing* (London: Printed for the Author, 1762), 58. On connections between social and theatrical dance in France and England, see Elizabeth Aldrich, Sandra Noll Hammond, and Armand Russell, *The Extraordinary Dance Book T B. 1826: An Anonymous Manuscript in Facsimile*, Dance & Music Series No. 11 (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 2000), 31-32; Sandra Noll Hammond, "The Rise of Ballet Technique and Training: The Professionalism of an Art Form," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, ed. Marion Kant (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 70-71; Marian Smith, "Dance and Dancers," in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 103-104, 107; and Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 3-4. For an outline of Gallini's career, see Richard Ralph, "Gallini, Giovanni," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 3 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 111-112.

for lucidity of observation.⁶² The symbiotic relationship between dancer and spectator in theatrical dance, and the expectation of discerning judgement from the latter, was highlighted in the preface to E.A. Théleur's publication *Letters on Dancing*. Quoting a disquisition on dance from *The Spectator*, Théleur gave apparent validity to the author's assertion that the establishment of basic principles for dance would not only develop the skills of practitioners, but would also promote the edification of audience members, such that they were "more capable of judging what is (if there be any thing) valuable in this art."⁶³

Newspaper critics and genteel women spectators alike, when writing of theatrical dance, employed a vocabulary that focussed on grace and eschewed the empty performance of technical agility.⁶⁴ Henry Robertson, reviewing James Harvey D'Egville's ballet *Les Amours de Glauque et Circé; ou la Vengeance de Vénus* in 1809, described the dancing of Monsieur Vestris as "very deficient" in grace, noting, "his chief attention appears to have been directed to execution..."⁶⁵ Some ten years later, Leigh Hunt launched a veritable diatribe against the style of French dancing currently being performed at the King's Theatre:

⁶² See Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 58-60, 64-66, 119.

⁶³ E.A. Théleur, *Letters on Dancing, Reducing This Elegant and Healthful Exercise to Easy Scientific Principles*, second ed. (London: Sherwood & Co., 1832), v-vi. For the original article from which this extract is taken, see Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, *The Spectator*, 24 March 1712, 669-670, available through ProQuest British Periodicals <http://search.proquest.com/britishperiodicals/index>, accessed 4 April 2014.

⁶⁴ Maribeth Clark has drawn attention to the gaze of both audience members and critics in assessing female dancers at the Paris Opéra in the mid nineteenth century. Théophile Gautier employed William Hogarth's 'line of beauty' and classical Grecian figural aesthetics to depict what Clark described as "a sense of the indescribably ideal quality of...beauty" in female dancers. Gautier's own description of dance highlighted a similarly just concern with grace and elegance, leading Clark to speculate, "dance during this time might be understood – or even defined – as a performance of feminine beauty and power." She posited that audience members could appraise the skills of dancers at the Opéra for their own benefit: the dancer, Marie Taglioni, "became an appropriate model for young girls, and her performances were anecdotally described as "lessons of grace..." while spectators could borrow skills from Opéra dancers to use in their own performances. See Maribeth Clark, "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance" (PhD, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 15-31, 48-51, 66-67.

⁶⁵ Quoted in William C. Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London, 1789-1820: A Record of Performances and Players, with Reports from the Journals of the Time* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1955), 99 and Theodore Fenner, "Ballet in Early Nineteenth-Century London as Seen by Leigh Hunt and Henry Robertson," *Dance Chronicle: Studies in Dance and the Related Arts* 1, no. 2 (1977): 80. The review was printed in the *Examiner*, January 15, 1809.

But where is grace? Where is an ease truly elegant? Where is the likeness of any thing pleasing and natural? In short, where is the *meaning*? ...Now what has this vaulting, and twirling, and above all, this insipidity of countenance and rapidity of leg to do with love? ...To us, it appears only a substitution of activity for feeling, of physical strength for intellectual elegance, nay, even of pain for pleasure.⁶⁶

Hunt later claimed that English audiences possessed the discrimination to see beyond mere execution and argued for the increased presence of true grace and spirit in dance, "for grace is the link between body and soul; and a sprinkle of that attic salt on the public mind is not without its use."⁶⁷ Echoes of this public language appear in the private correspondence of genteel women, and show a similar preoccupation with the visual quality of dance. Miss C Gilbert, writing to Elizabeth Harris in Salisbury about a performance at the King's Theatre, noted that two of the newer dancers "attempt to jump about & touch the moon, but while I am upon this earth I shall ever think that grace & gentility of motion are far more pleasing than such attempts."⁶⁸

This language of visuality helps to problematise the performative function of ballet music within the home. Arrangements of theatrical works constitute a significant component of nineteenth-century domestic music collections, yet such works also harbour a multiplicity of meanings.⁶⁹ Ballet music comprises an important sub-section within Elizabeth's collection. Many of the works consist of large-scale piano reductions of entire ballets or significant proportions thereof, and nearly all of the performances received their premiere at the King's Theatre (see Appendix 1). Sustained publications of theatrical excerpts seldom appear within Elizabeth's collection, making her ballet scores

⁶⁶ Quoted in Fenner, "Ballet in Early Nineteenth-Century London " 87 and printed in the *Examiner*, May 9, 1819.

⁶⁷ Fenner, "Ballet in Early Nineteenth-Century London " 92. The extract is derived from Hunt's essay, "Remarks on French Opera-Dancing Resumed. - Dancing in General, with a Word on Our English Balls," *The Companion*, 5 March 1828, 97-104, especially 99-100.

⁶⁸ Letter from C. Gilbert to Elizabeth Harris, dated 19 November 1754, quoted in Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780*, 298. Susan Burney detailed a visit to the King's Theatre in a letter to her sister, Frances, in 1796, which also referred to grace and the visual nature of dance. See Philip Olleson, *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in Late Eighteenth-Century England* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 265-266.

⁶⁹ The music collection belonging to the Bankes sisters at Kingston Lacy contains a significant proportion of ballet music dating from a similar time period to that in Elizabeth's collection, while the music of the Montagu family at Boughton House also includes a highly important and sizeable section of ballet music.

unique in the extent of their scope. These arrangements were often substantial in length and of somewhat questionable musical quality, requiring no small amount of dedication on behalf of the pianist to learn and perform them in their entirety.⁷⁰ There is little evidence on the scores themselves to indicate that Elizabeth played this music, so apart from representing a general interest in ballet as a medium, these compositions are problematic with regards to alternative interpretative possibilities. This question is best approached through the notion of transference: the physical gestures of the stage were transported and integrated via the score into the music room; the visibility of theatre attendance and the awkward status of ballet could be modified through musical arrangements; the performativity of ballet was, on occasion, brought into the home; and connections between theatrical music and other genres facilitated multiple degrees of knowledge.

The close connection between music and physical gesture in ballet potentially enabled elite women to employ visual discrimination in rendering the musical score an intermediary between theatrical experience and domestic consumption. Jean-Georges Noverre sought a tight harmony between musical and bodily expression in ballet, theorising that music should inspire the dancer to appropriate degrees of expression:

...dance music corresponds, or should do, to the written poem and thus fixes and determines the dancer's movements and actions. He must therefore recite it and render it intelligible by the force and vivacity of his gestures, by the lively and animated expression of his features; consequently dancing with action is the instrument, or organ, by which

⁷⁰ On the quality of musical composition, see the review that appeared in the *Examiner* for *Don Quichotte, ou Les Noces de Gamache*, reprinted in Appendix 1. However, Michael Burden has pointed to the discrepancy between the "rather uninspiring music" produced by François-Hippolyte Barthélemon as "leader of the dances" at the King's Theatre and the vivacity, and technical and emotional complexity that informed his performances. This suggests that the publications as they stand may not be representative of actual performance practice, leaving the door open for amateur musicians to also apply their skill in ornamentation and dramatic effect. See Michael Burden, "Visions of Dance at the King's Theatre: Reconsidering London's "Opera House", " *Music in Art: International Journal for Music Iconography* 36/1-2 (2011): 104. While a work such as *The Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love* comprised only thirteen pages of music, other compositions such as *Le Siege de Troye* reached a total of fifty-eight pages. As the scores consisted of multiple individual sections, performing selections would have been an easier task.

the thoughts expressed in the music are rendered appropriately and intelligibly.⁷¹

Yet if music generated gesture on the stage, physical action was also capable of permeating the music. Lady Elizabeth Montagu, 3rd Duchess of Buccleuch (1743-1827) and her daughters collected many extracts from ballets performed at the King's Theatre, including works by the choreographer Charles Louis Didelot (1767-1837). In an act that transferred the visual knowledge of the stage to the page, some of their scores were annotated with handwritten indications of dancers' names against specific dances, while one work included manuscript stage directions relating to the narrative actions of various characters at corresponding points in the music. The score therefore acted in a dual capacity as an *aide memoire* to physical expression and as a record of the work's performance history.⁷² While Elizabeth's ballet music contains no such manuscript annotations, several of her scores mention some of the most prominent dancers from the King's and Drury Lane theatres, their printed names appearing above sections of music that correspond with solo, *pas de deux* and ensemble dances (see Figure 25).⁷³ It is likely that Elizabeth would have been familiar with these performers, if not from her own experience then

⁷¹ Noverre, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, 60; see also 3-5, 36-37 and 66. Carlo Blasis expressed a similar ideal in his *Notes upon Dancing, Historical and Practical*, published nearly ninety years after the first edition of Noverre's work. See Noll Hammond, "The Rise of Ballet Technique and Training: The Professionalism of an Art Form," 77. However, Gasparo Angiolini, who preceded Noverre as ballet master in Vienna, viewed music and dance as distinct entities. See Dorion Weickmann, "Choreography and Narrative: The *Ballet D'action* of the Eighteenth Century," trans. Marion Kant, in *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, ed. Marion Kant (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 60.

⁷² Jennifer Thorp, "Celebrity Patrons: The Montagu Family and Dance Throughout the Eighteenth-Century," presented at the 16th Annual Oxford Dance Symposium, "*The dancer in celebrity culture in the long 18th-century: reputations, images, portraits*" at Wolfson College, Oxford, 15-16 April, 2014. The ballet that contains significant annotations is *Little Peggy's Love* (see Appendix 1 for further details about its performance history). Given that no specific choreography or scenario has survived, Thorp has speculated that the music might suggest the appropriate actions to be performed, with the score essentially being responsible for regenerated lost gestures. She also suggested that such annotations could have been used to create a domestic performance of the ballet or to assist in imagining physical performance. I am very grateful to Paul Boucher, curator and research director of the music collection at Boughton House (Northamptonshire), home to the Dukes of Buccleuch, for access to the score of *Little Peggy's Love*.

⁷³ Examples include "Pas Seul danced by Mad.^{le} Parisot before the Glass" and "Pas de Trois as danced by M.^{le} Parisot, M.^{rs} and M^f. Deshayes" in *La Fille Sauvage* [p. 41, 44], "Pas deux M^f Vestris & M.^{le} Angiolini" from *The favourite Scotch Divertisement* (sic) [p. 16] and several references to "Madam Bossi and Signor Gentilli" (sic) in *The Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love* [pp. 3, 7, 12].

through contemporary press accounts or personal correspondence.⁷⁴ The music, therefore, could have inspired (through recollection) and realised the visuality of the theatre in the home, and extended the process of spectatorship to one of personal imagination and reflection.



FIGURE 25. EXTRACT FROM *THE FAVORITE BALLET OF LA FILLE SAUVAGE, OU LE POUVOIR DE LA MUSIQUE*, COMPOSED BY MICHELE C. MORTELLARI [MR 2-5-15].

Arrangements of ballet music connected to social acts of seeing and being seen, and could thus represent and modify access to theatrical works that were unapproachable due to logistical or moral reasons. Visiting the theatre formed a distinct act of sociability for elite women, and ballet, as an adjunct to opera, was an important part of that experience.⁷⁵ At the King's Theatre women were the principal box subscribers, and when the theatre was rebuilt in the late eighteenth century, the new design ensured maximum visibility of the boxes, thus becoming "a more conducive venue in which to

⁷⁴ Wilbraham Egerton's account books show that the Egerton family regularly patronised opera performances across at least twenty years during the London season. Although he was careful to specify when purchases were made for Covent Garden, Drury Lane and other theatre venues, the King's Theatre is implied simply through the appellation "Opera box". See DET/3229/11-15, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office. No accounts survive for either the Sykes or Egerton families across most of the years represented by Elizabeth's ballet music, and extant subscription lists for the King's Theatre suggest that neither family subscribed to a box across the turn of the nineteenth century.

⁷⁵ On the importance of opera as a vehicle through which elite women could create and maintain social networks, see Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, Hanover and London: University of New Hampshire Press, University Press of New England, 2007). On the sociability of theatre-going in general, see Venetia Murray, *High Society in the Regency Period 1788-1830* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 220 and Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 121. On female patronage of ballet and the role that ballet played within elite society, see Caitlyn Lehmann, "Fashionable Society, Ballet and the King's Theatre, 1770-1800" (PhD, University of Melbourne, 2012).

put...women on display" (see Figure 26).⁷⁶ That this visibility was also important for ballet is indicated by an extract from the *Times*, which observed, "The total want of variety at this once elegant Theatre, the wretched dancers, and the insipidity of the dances, have driven away those who used to make it a point to see and be seen."⁷⁷ Elizabeth's ballet music is perhaps indicative of a flowering of sociable pursuits after her release from boarding school, and as some of the ballets date from her time with Ellin Devis, they may well represent performances she was unable to see.⁷⁸ Yet the question of whether Elizabeth actually attended any of the ballets for which she possessed music is, in a sense, irrelevant: her scores can simply be perceived as part of a longer connectivity surrounding acts of seeing and being seen, an expression of the social visibility of the theatre through print, thus providing an alternative manner through which ballet could be "seen".⁷⁹ This ability of the score to create a visual correlate was especially significant when ballet was effectively rendered invisible. Thomas Gisborne regarded opera dances and the attire of performers to be "not unfrequently such as ought not to be tolerated by modest spectators."⁸⁰ George William Lyttelton, 4th Baron Lyttelton (1817-

⁷⁶ See Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880*, 62, 64, 68, 104-105, 108-109, 111, 139. For an overview of the circumstances surrounding the rebuilding of the King's Theatre, see Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press 1785-1830* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 72-74 and Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 4-6, 10-12, 16-17. For a discussion of the various ways in which the King's Theatre encouraged visibility of both performers and audience members, see Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), chapter 5. Michael Burden has illustrated how successive architectural alterations at the theatre in the late eighteenth century enhanced the visibility of dancers, provided increased space for dance and even facilitated changes in the quality of movements performed. See Burden, "Visions of Dance at the King's Theatre," 92-116.

⁷⁷ "OPERA," *Times*, February 23, 1798, in a review that mentioned Cherubini's opera *Ifigenia in Aulide*. Quoted in Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880*, 41.

⁷⁸ Sir Christopher Sykes's daybook [Hull History Centre, U DDSY/98/142] records an apparent increase in social activities in 1799, listing a concert, plays and balls, though not opera, a rare account of cultural pursuits within this context. See Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 518.

⁷⁹ The idea of sociability being visible through print could be extended to items such as theatre subscription lists and Wilbraham Egerton's records in his account books of theatre attendance.

⁸⁰ Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (London: printed for T. Cadell jun. and W. Davies, 1797), 175-176. Of course, not all writers agreed with Gisborne's point of view; see John Moir, *Female Tuition: Or an Address to Mothers, on the Education of Daughters*, new ed. (London: Printed for the Author, 1800), 194. For discussions of the prevailing discourse pertaining to nineteenth century female dancers and concepts of gender, class, perceived sexuality and morality, see Clark, "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance," 31-67; Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture*, 21, 81-111; Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880*, 65-68, 89, 95, 205-206, 215-216, 221, 262; Judith Hatcher, "Victorian Ballet Girls - Trials, Troubles and Temptations in a Dangerous Era (Nineteenth Century Letters and

1876), evidently shared Gisborne's concerns, for he forbade his daughters from attending the opera when ballet was included.⁸¹ In this case, ballet music perhaps provided a safer engagement with the performance by negotiating the moral boundary and standing in for actual attendance.



FIGURE 26. INTERIOR VIEW OF THE KING'S THEATRE BY AUGUSTUS CHARLES PUGIN, ENGRAVED BY THOMAS ROWLANDSON AND AQUATINTED BY J. BLUCK, PUBLISHED BY RUDOLF ACKERMANN IN *THE MICROCOSM OF LONDON*, 1809 © VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, NO: S.2445-2009.⁸²

Documents Reveal the Hard Reality Behind Those Ethereal Visions on the Victorian Ballet Stage)," *Dance Magazine* 73, no. 1 (1999): 84-87; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London*, 120-125; and Smith, "Dance and Dancers," 104-106.

⁸¹ Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*, 363 and "Polite Accomplishments," *History Today* 58, no. 4 (2008): 48.

⁸² Michael Burden has suggested that the ballet being performed was that of *L'Amour et Psyché*, starring Charles-Louis Didelot as L'Amor, Madame Hilligsberg as Psyché and Filippo Giacomo Gentili as Adonis. See "Visions of Dance at the King's Theatre," 92-94.

The potential for theatrical interpretations of ballet music extended the notion of sociability and blurred the boundary between the theatre and domestic space. The inclusion of parts for accompanying instruments, such as violin, flute or tambourine, in some of Elizabeth's ballet arrangements rendered such music appropriate for sociable performance.⁸³ Furthermore, select ballets contain programmatic elements in the score, suggesting that a theatrical application of the work as a domestic drama was possible.⁸⁴ In 1770, Gertrude and Louisa Harris staged a performance of the pastoral *Daphnis and Amaryllis* at their home in Salisbury, converting the "chapel room" into a theatre. The dancing was "infinitely better than it was performed [sic] at Drury Lane" while "The dancing chorus [was] delightfull [sic] & the dance...all their own composing[.]"⁸⁵ Lady Barbara Ashley-Cooper (1788-1844), daughter of the 5th Earl of Shaftesbury, held an entertainment at her home in Portland Place in 1799, which included a performance of the ballet *Little Peggy's Love*. Under the guidance of Madame Hilligsberg, who oversaw the coaching and rehearsal of the dancers, a "little fairy groupe" of young ladies "rivalled the Opera House and Drury-lane in the correctness and spirit, the characteristic gestures and deportment of their performance." Lady Barbara, playing the part of Jamie, was "instructed...to turn in her toes, and adopt aukward gestures and attitudes, in which she was so successful, that a stranger could scarcely have believed her

⁸³ The score for *Le Siege de Troye* indicates the option for ad libitum violin or flute accompaniment, although these parts seem not to be extant within Elizabeth's collection; *Le Retour du Zephir* is scored for violin and tambourine accompaniments, of which the tambourine part survives; *La Fille Sauvage* includes an ad libitum flute part which also survives; while *Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogine* contains a printed violin part above the piano score for the overture and section VIII in the third act. The tambourine and flute parts for *Le Retour du Zephir* and *La Fille Sauvage* respectively remain unbound and are located in the Tatton Park archive.

⁸⁴ The beginning of Act I of *Don Quichotte* includes brief descriptions of entries/exits made by different characters and the specific actions they employed. *Le Siege de Troye* effectively masquerades as a large-scale battle, with short descriptive sentences depicting the on-stage action appearing above many of the different sections in the ballet. For conceptualisations of how elite women approached the performance of battle music, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 252-258 and Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820" (PhD, University of California, 2009), 77-116.

⁸⁵ Letter from Elizabeth Harris to James Harris Jr., dated 6 January 1770, and see additionally letters dated 13-14 and 20 January 1770, quoted in Burrows and Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World. The Family Papers of James Harris 1732-1780*, 575-577. The libretto for *Daphnis and Amaryllis* was written by James Harris (1709-1780), who also concocted the score from a number of existing works.

to be so graceful and accomplished as she really is in her own character."⁸⁶ The production therefore encouraged a direct application of bodily language performed on the stage, even if such language was explicitly opposed to generalised polite ideals of decorum. While both of these entertainments employed bands to provide music, it is conceivable that families in less affluent circumstances or who lived in remoter localities could employ a piano reduction of such works, particularly if the occasion was spontaneously devised and informally performed.

Elizabeth's ballet music also illuminates a broader connectivity between genres that promoted cross-disciplinary understanding. An arrangement of music from the ballet of *Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogine*, derived from a poem of the same name in Matthew Gregory Lewis's contentious romance, *The Monk* (1796), intersects with vocal repertoire in Elizabeth's collection, through works that either connected directly to *The Monk* or drew more broadly on Lewis's authorship.⁸⁷ The title of the poem also appears in Elizabeth's commonplace book, thus linking the work to her education with Ellin Devis.⁸⁸ The ballet of *Alonzo the Brave* could thus be interpreted as one cog in a larger wheel that represented Elizabeth's interaction with and understanding of Lewis's writings, an understanding that was moderated and extended through

⁸⁶ "LADY SHAFTSBURY'S FETE," *Courier and Evening Gazette*, January 11, 1799. See also *General Evening Post*, January 10, 1799; "LADY SHAFTESBURY'S FETE", *Courier and Evening Gazette*, January 10, 1799; and *Times*, January 11, 1799. The ages of the children were not mentioned but it seems that Lady Barbara was not yet thirteen years old.

⁸⁷ See Appendix 1 for the performance history and reviews of *Alonzo the Brave* as danced at the King's Theatre. 'Alonzo the Brave' was perhaps the most popular of the poems from *The Monk* and was widely published in newspapers and magazines over at least a two-year period following its initial release. On the publication history and reception of *The Monk*, including theatrical adaptations, see E.J. Clery, *The Rise of Supernatural Fiction, 1762-1800* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 142-146; Louis F. Peck, *A Life of Matthew G. Lewis* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), chapter 2; and André Parreaux, *The Publication of the Monk. A Literary Event, 1796-1798*, *Études De Littérature Étrangère Et Comparée* (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1960). For connections with Elizabeth's collection, see *The Favorite Overture Songs & Glee's, in the Entertainment of Raymond & Agnes, as performed with the utmost applause at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden*, composed by William Reeve [MR 2-5-10], from the ballet of *Raymond and Agnes; or, The Castle of Lindenberg* by Charles Farley, which was based on a subplot from *The Monk*; *Durandarte and Belerma A Pathetic Scotch Ballad with an Accompanyment [sic] for the Harp* by François-Hippolyte Barthélemon [MR 2-5-22] and *The Water King* by John Wall Callcott, dated 26 January 1799 on the score [MR 2-4-38], both based on poems from *The Monk*; as well as *William and Susan, The Felon, Nanine, or the Emigrant*, and *The Goaler* by Harriett Abrams [MR 2-4-38], set to poems penned by Lewis.

⁸⁸ 'Alonzo the brave, and the fair Imogine' exists as a solitary line towards the end of the commonplace book, with a half page below that remains agonisingly unfilled. See DET/3229/77 p.166, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies.

musical and theatrical knowledge. While *Alonzo the Brave* was one of multiple progenies descending from Lewis's literary work, the sanitisation of the ballet production and the rendering of the wordless score provided the possibility to access the potentially inaccessible (due to concerns over the immoral and conceivably blasphemous nature of *The Monk*) and alleviate the potentially disturbing.⁸⁹ Whether or not Elizabeth read the poem or the novel, her ballet music stood as a tantalising symbol of the links between her education, her music-making and the broader performance of culture.

3.2.2 Cross-Dressing Country Dances

The multifarious presence of the English country dance in Elizabeth's collection highlights the considerable flexibility that existed in the transfer of works between the ballroom, theatre, and music room. Mirroring the manner in which concerts and balls happily co-existed within a single evening's entertainment, dance music from the ballroom and theatre became integrated into traditional musical forms. Country dances and reel tunes provided the basis for rondos and sonata movements, although the distinction between these two dance forms in this context became blurred at the edges.⁹⁰ Likewise, theatrical dances were appropriated for solo and chamber compositions, being hauled off the stage to emerge stripped of their finery. The fluidity of this transfer is revealed on many levels: the publication history of dance figures and dance tunes divulges the flexibility of the country dance itself; the concept of a given dance form becomes destabilised through the complexities of its transference; and the displacement of dance from its traditional territories

⁸⁹ On public criticism of the *The Monk* as obscene, immoral and blasphemous, see, for example, Parreaux, *The Publication of the Monk. A Literary Event, 1796-1798*, 87-97.

⁹⁰ The reel was a popular dance in the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries in Britain, consisting of stepping or setting movements that alternated with a figure-of-eight pattern. Terminological confusion occurs through the denomination of a musical tune as a reel, which was characterised by a simple duple meter and often included running quavers. Reel tunes could be used for performing reels, as well as country dances and quadrilles; conversely, reels could be danced to other tunes such as the jig, strathspey, and country dance music. A number of dances in Elizabeth's collection are designated as reels when they in fact refer to country dances. James E. Morrison has indicated that such an appellation refers to the music and not the dance. See Francis Collinson, "Reel," *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23050>; James E. Morrison, "Reel," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 5 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 333-334; and also Anne Bloomfield and Ruth Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," *History of Education* 37, no. 4 (2008): 616.

leads to the transfer of bodily knowledge. The mutability inherent in such exchanges loosens the boundaries between dance and music, and begs the question, where does dance end, and music begin?

The publication history of the country dance at the turn of the nineteenth century revealed its pervasiveness across print mediums and popularity as a genre. Publishing houses issued a multitude of annual country dance compilations, forming a compendium of the most fashionable dances for a given year.⁹¹ Ladies' pocket books, which acted as combined diaries, account books and repositories of information, also often contained lists of country dances.⁹² A diary belonging to Sophia Baker (1781-1858), dating from 1798, included instructions for *Madame Hillisberg's* [sic] *Reel* amongst the country dances, the figures corresponding to those given in a compilation produced by Cahusac & Sons, whose music the pocket book was advertising.⁹³ However, these books were not necessarily used by their intended audience – in a gendered swap, Elizabeth's father, Sir Christopher Sykes, utilised women's pocket books to detail his expenditure and engagements, although none of the surviving country dances listed in his diaries match the music in his daughter's collection.⁹⁴ Dance fans also acted as miniaturised versions of annual country dance collections, although not all contained musical extracts. *The New Dance Fan for 1797* contains figures and musical notation for sixteen country dances, including not only *Madame Hillisberg's Reel* (under the guise of *Little Peggy's Love*) but also the *Countess of Sutherland's Reel*, both of which are in

⁹¹ These collections were often published in the autumn prior to the beginning of a new season to enable consumers to acquaint themselves with the newest dances. See Ingrid Brainard, "New Dances for the Ball: The Annual Collections of France and England in the 18th Century," *Early Music* 14, no. 2 (1986): 164-173 and "Annual Collections," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 1 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 91-92.

⁹² See Trevor Fawcett, "Dance and Teachers of Dance in Eighteenth-Century Bath," *Bath History Journal* 2 (1988): 30-31. On pocket books for women and their cultural connotations, see Jennie Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 97-108.

⁹³ See *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1798. With proper Directions to each Dance as they are Perform'd at Court, Bath, & all Public Assemblies*, published by Cahusac & Sons [British Library shelfmark a.248.(4.)] and Diaries of Sophia Trower (née Baker), Add Mss 7466, West Sussex Record Office and Archives.

⁹⁴ Sir Christopher Sykes used the *Ladies' Own Memorandum-Book* between 1782 and 1796 to list his accounts and record events. See Hull History Centre, U DDSY/102/13-26A and Christopher Simon Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family* (London, New York, Toronto and Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2004), 51. Jennie Batchelor also noted the use of ladies' pocket books by men. See Batchelor, *Dress, Distress and Desire: Clothing and the Female Body in Eighteenth-Century Literature*, 106.

Elizabeth's collection (see Appendix 2 for the latter).⁹⁵ Similarly, an unmounted fan leaf dating from 1798 contains dance figures for *Lord Macdonald's Reel*, *New German Waltz*, *The Royal Quick Step* and *Del Caro's Hornpipe*, which again appear in Elizabeth's music.⁹⁶ Finally, many of the dances mentioned above appear in *The Treasures of Terpsichore* and *A Companion to the Ball Room* by Thomas Wilson, perhaps one of the most prolific authors of dance treatises in the early nineteenth century.⁹⁷ They bear testament to the popularity and longevity of the dances (or at least Wilson's determination that they remain in the repertoire) as they were published ten to twenty years after the annual collections in which they appear.

The concept of the country dance as embodied in print illustrates a distinct suppleness of form. The characteristic interchangeability of figures and tunes remarked upon by Wilson is evident in several of the dances from Elizabeth's collection.⁹⁸ *The Royal Quick Step*, from Thomas Cahusac's 1794 assemblage of dances, contains different figures to Preston's 1795 compilation and Longman and Broderip's collection from 1796.⁹⁹ Wilson gave two

⁹⁵ See Mad^{lle} Hilligsbergs [sic] *Favorite Scotch Dance, in Little Peggy's Love. Arranged with Variations for the Piano Forte*, by Karl Kambra, published by Preston & Son [MR 2-5-32] and Add Mss 16923, West Sussex Record Office and Archives. The fan was published in November 1796.

⁹⁶ British Museum No. 1891,0713.526, published by Sarah Ashton. The fan can be viewed via http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx. See Appendix 2 for all these titles, with the exception of *Del Caro's Hornpipe* (see Appendix 1 and pp. 203-205 below).

⁹⁷ See Thomas Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room, Containing a Choice Collection of the Most Original and Admired Country Dance, Reel, Hornpipe, & Waltz Tunes, with a Variety of Appropriate Figures, the Etiquette and a Dissertation on the State of the Ball Room* (London, Edinburgh and Dublin: Button, Whittaker & Co. [London]; Muir, Wood & Co. [Edinburgh]; W. Power [Dublin] and the Author, 1816): *Lord Macdonald's Reel* p.61; *Del Caro's Hornpipe* p.134; and *Peggy's Love* p.54, although the tune doesn't match that in Elizabeth's collection; and *The Treasures of Terpsichore; or, a Companion for the Ball-Room. Being a Collection of All the Most Popular English Country Dances, Arranged Alphabetically, with Proper Figures to Each Dance*, second ed. (London: Printed for the Author, 1816): *Lord Macdonald's Reel* p.68; *The German Waltz* p.34; *Royal Quick Step* p.107; and *Del Caro's Hornpipe* p. 20. For Wilson's publication history, see Gail Ford, "Wilson, Thomas (fl. 1800-1839)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68264>, accessed 1 July 2013.

⁹⁸ See Thomas Wilson, *The Complete System of English Country Dancing, Containing All the Figures Ever Used in English Country Dancing, with a Variety of New Figures, and New Reels...* (London: Printed for Sherwood, Neeley and Jones, 1820), 6 and Introduction pp. 13-14.

⁹⁹ *Twelve Country Dances. With their Basses for the Year 1794 with proper Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, Bath & all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by Thomas Cahusac, p.9 [British Library shelfmark a.248.(9.)]; *Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1795, with proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance as they are performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by Preston & Son, p.112 [British Library shelfmark a.9.i.(6.)]; and *Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1796 with proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance, as they are performed at Court, Bath, &*

alternative figures in *The Treasures of Terpsichore*, the first of which accords with that published by Cahusac, whilst the second has a close affiliation with the figures given for another dance in Cahusac's collection, *Lady Baird's Fancy*.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Cahusac's instructions for *The Fife Hunt* from 1792 differ significantly from those given by Skillern in his 1791 and 1796 publications, the latter bearing similarities with Preston's 1797 edition of the *Countess of Sutherland's Reel*.¹⁰¹ *The Fife Hunt* appears in both *The Treasures of Terpsichore* and *A Companion to the Ball Room*, where Wilson gives a total of five alternative sets of figures for the dance, depending on how many musical repeats are performed; all of these vary to a greater or lesser degree from those given by Cahusac and Skillern.¹⁰² This suggests that those performing the dances adhered not to a specific set of figures that were associated with a particular tune, but rather worked with a common cluster of figures that could be applied to several different melodies.¹⁰³

all Public Assemblys [sic], published by Longman and Broderip, p.1 [British Library shelfmark a.9.i.(3.)]. The figures for the Preston and Longman and Broderip publications are the same.

¹⁰⁰ See Wilson, *The Treasures of Terpsichore*, 107 and *Twelve Country Dances. With their Basses for the Year 1794 with proper Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, Bath & all Public Assemblys* [sic], p. 11. *Lady Baird's Fancy* also appears in Preston's *Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1792 with proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance as they are performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by Preston & Son, p. 77 [British Library shelfmark a.252.(4.)], and as *Madam Bossi's Fancy* in Thompson's *Twenty four Country Dances (for the Year 1799.) With Figures to each as they are Performed at Court, Bath & all Publick* [sic] *Assemblys* [sic], p. 30 [British Library shelfmark a.223.f.(16.)] but the dance figures differ from those given by Cahusac. The tune for *Lady Baird's Fancy* matches that denominated as *Lady Baird's Reel* in the last movement of Sonata XI of *Twelve Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello, In which are Introduced a Variety of Scotch Airs And favorite Pieces*, Op. 14, by Ignace Pleyel, [MR 2-5-27] (see Appendix 2).

¹⁰¹ *Twelve Country Dances. With their Basses for the Year 1792 with proper Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, Bath & all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by Thomas Cahusac, p. 5 [British Library shelfmark a.248.(11.)]; *Twenty Four new Country Dances for the Year 1791 With proper Directions to each Dance as they are Performed at Court, Almacks, Bath, Pantheon, and all Publick* [sic] *Assemblies*, published by T. Skillern, p. 6 [British Library shelfmark a.253.(4.)]; *Twenty Four new Country Dances for the Year 1796 With proper Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, Almacks, Bath, Pantheon, and all Publick* [sic] *Assemblies*, published by T. Skillern, p. 7 [British Library shelfmark a.9.i.(5.)]; and Preston's *Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1797 with proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance as they are performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by Preston & Son, p. 141 [British Library shelfmark a.252.(6.)].

¹⁰² Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 50 and *The Treasures of Terpsichore*, 28.

¹⁰³ Not all country dances had such a variety of figures – publications by Longman and Broderip, Smart and Preston all show unanimity of dance instructions for *The New German Waltz*, for example. See *Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1796 with proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance, as they are performed at Court, Bath, & all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by Longman and Broderip, p. 3; *Smart's Annual Collection of Twenty-four Country Dances, for the Year 1796. With their Proper Figures For the Violin and German Flute, Performed at Court, Bath, & all Public Assemblys* [sic], Smart's Music

Whilst the transfer of the dances discussed above into musical arrangements was relatively straightforward – the material is usually presented at the outset, retaining close links with the music published in annual dance collections, before being subjected to compositional variation – the relationship between theatrical dance and country dance was more complex.¹⁰⁴ An intricate web was spun around a hornpipe danced by Madame Del Caro at the King's Theatre in 1794. In celebration of the 'Glorious First of June', a musical extravaganza was produced for the occasion, including a performance of the cantata *La Vittoria*. Seemingly adapted for British purposes, it was accompanied by an allegorical ballet choreographed by Jean-Georges Noverre, and was followed by a ball which included Scotch reels and country dances.¹⁰⁵ The divertissement portrayed "a Country Dance of Sailors and their Lasses" during which "Madame DEL CARO danced a Hornpipe with inimitable grace."¹⁰⁶ The hornpipe was speedily appropriated and published as a rondo for piano by Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812), the music additionally incorporating separate parts for flute or violin and bass, which appears in Elizabeth's collection (see Figure 27).¹⁰⁷ Additionally, the hornpipe formed the basis of the third movement of an accompanied sonata by Matthew Camidge (bap. 1764-1844), which Elizabeth also possessed, and it materialised in at least three

Warehouse, p. 1 [British Library shelfmark a.9.i.(7.)]; and *Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1797 with proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance as they are performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblies* [sic], published by Preston & Son, p. 136.

¹⁰⁴ Ingrid Brainard has briefly discussed the transfer of theatrical works into the country dance repertoire. See "New Dances for the Ball," 167, 169-170.

¹⁰⁵ The 'Glorious First of June' refers to the somewhat dubious British victory by Lord Howe's fleet over the French near Brest in 1794. For a brief account of the battle, see Roger Knight, "Howe, Richard, Earl Howe (1726-1799)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition 2009), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13963>, accessed 16 April 2014. For a discussion of artwork and theatrical performances stimulated by the victory, see Pieter van der Merwe, "The Glorious First of June: A Battle of Art and Theatre," in *The Glorious First of June 1794: A Naval Battle and Its Aftermath*, ed. Michael Duffy and Roger Morriss, Exeter Maritime Studies (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2001), 132-158, particularly 152-154. For accounts of the performance, see *St. James's Chronicle; or, British Evening-Post*, June 21-24, 1794; "OPERA HOUSE," *London Chronicle*, June 24-26, 1794; and "OPERA. GALA AND RIDOTTO," *Morning Chronicle*, June 24, 1794. While *St. James's Chronicle* specifies only the performance of Scotch reels during the ball, an advertisement from *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, June 17, 1794 indicates that country dances were expected. See Appendix 1 for further publication and performance details.

¹⁰⁶ "OPERA. GALA AND RIDOTTO," *Morning Chronicle*, June 24, 1794.

¹⁰⁷ An advertisement in *Oracle and Public Advertiser* indicates that Dussek's work was published at least by 2 August 1794, if not earlier.

separate country dance publications from 1796.¹⁰⁸ The malleability that existed between theatrical works and the country dance can also be seen in the ballet *The Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love*. Staged at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1796, it featured Signora Bossi Del Caro as Fanny, whose role included a hornpipe.¹⁰⁹ A dance by Del Caro and Filippo Gentili was performed to the tune of *Lady Baird's Reel*, which appears in several country dance publications throughout the 1790s, as well as in Wilson's *A Companion to the Ball Room*.¹¹⁰ The dance following *Lady Baird's Reel* in the ballet score appears as a country dance in Bland and Weller's collection for 1798, but it is the ensuing solo performed by "Mad.^m Bossi" that is worthy of notice, as it is none other than the hornpipe from *La Vittoria* (see Figure 28).¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Sonata II from *Three Sonatas (With Favorite Airs) for the Piano Forte. with Accompaniments for a Violin & Violoncello. Composed & Dedicated to Miss Blands* by Matthew Camidge, Op. 5, published by Preston & Son [MR 2-5-41]. On connections between the Sykes and Camidge families, see Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 521, footnote 32 and Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 127, 275. *Del Caro's Hornpipe* appears in *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1796. With proper Directions to each dance as they are perform'd at Court, Bath, & all Public Assemblies*, published by Cahusac, p.1 [British Library shelfmark a.9.ee.(4.)]; *Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1796 with proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance, as they are performed at Court, Bath, & all Public Assemblys* [sic], denominated as *Madam Del Caro's Reel*, published by Longman and Broderip, p. 3; and *Twenty Four new Country Dances for the Year 1796 With proper Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, Almacks, Bath, Pantheon, and all Publick* [sic] *Assemblys*, titled *Del Caro's Reel*, published by T. Skillern, p. 4. *Del Caro's Hornpipe* additionally appears in Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 134; *The Treasures of Terpsichore*, 20, and in a manuscript dance manual dating from 1805 held at Cambridge University Library [MS.Add.9004].

¹⁰⁹ See an advertisement for the ballet in the *Times*, November 8, 1796. Madam Bossi was married to the composer Cesare Bossi and was the younger of two sisters dancing under the name of Del Caro at the King's Theatre. See Highfill Jr., Philip H., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, "Del Caro, Mlle," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. 4 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975), 291-292.

¹¹⁰ See *The Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love* as performed at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, p. 12 for the dance by Gentili and Del Caro. See Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 73 and p. 202, footnote 100 above for appearances of the tune in country dance compilations and its connection with Elizabeth's collection. *Smart's Annual Collection of Twenty-four Country Dances, for the Year 1796. With their Proper Figures For the Violin and German Flute, Performed at Court, Bath, & All Public Assemblys* [sic], p. 5 includes *Lady Baird's Reel* but the tune is not the same as that for *Lady Baird's Fancy*. Robert M. Keller additionally lists *Little Fanny's Love, or Lady Baird's Reel* in a 1799 publication by Preston; see <http://www.danceandmusicindexes.org/DFIE/index.htm>.

¹¹¹ See *Scotch Ghost* in Bland and Weller's *Annual Collection of Twenty-four Country Dances for the Year 1798 with their proper Figures for the Violin and German Flute. Performed at Court, Bath, & all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by A. Bland & Weller, p. 3 [British Library shelfmark b.55.o(2.)] and *The Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love as performed at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane*, p. 12-13.



FIGURE 27. ELIZABETH EGERTON'S SIGNED COPY OF *THE FAVORITE HORNPIPE, DANCED BY MADAME DEL CARO...IN THE CANTATA OF LA VITTORIA*, ARRANGED AS A RONDO BY JAN LADISLAV DUSSEK [MR 2-5-11].



FIGURE 28. DANCE PERFORMED BY MADAME BOSSI (DEL CARO) IN *THE SCOTCH GHOST, OR LITTLE FANNY'S LOVE*, COMPOSED BY GIUSEPPE CAPELLETTI, AND CORRESPONDING TO THE HORNPIPE FROM *LA VITTORIA* [MR 2-5-27].

The connections between country dances and Elizabeth's music stretch beyond the stage to include compositions where no terpsichorean allusion is apparent. In a nod to the transferability of the idiom, vocal and instrumental works crossed over to the dance floor, a manoeuvre that was apparent only from knowledge of both music and dance sources. A Miss Leary sang James Hook's song 'Bonny Charley' at Vauxhall Gardens in the early 1790s, which appears in Elizabeth's collection to be sung with guitar or keyboard accompaniment, but the music also materialised as a country dance published by Preston in 1800.¹¹² Matthew Camidge included *What a Beau my Granny was* in the third sonata of his Op. 5 collection, which was based on popular melodies; texts bearing the same name appeared in several late eighteenth century miscellanies and at least two publications of the song existed around the turn of the nineteenth century.¹¹³ In a further reference to the song's fashionable currency, the melody was also included in contemporary tune books and country dance collections.¹¹⁴ Such transferability also encompassed

¹¹² David Coke referred to Anna Maria Leary as "The Siren of Vauxhall" and she appeared under her maiden name at the gardens from 1785 until her marriage in 1792/1793. See David Coke, "Vauxhall Gardens 1661-1859," http://www.vauxhallgardens.com/vauxhall_gardens_singers_page.html, accessed 17 April 2014. The British Library catalogue suggests 1790 as a possible publication date for the song, which appears as *BONNY CHARLEY A favorite Scotch Song Sung at Vauxhall by Miss Leary with universal applause The Words by M^r. Upton Set to Music by M^r. Hook*, published by Longman and Broderip in Elizabeth's collection [MR 2-5-22]. For the country dance, see *Preston's Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1800 with proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance as they are performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblies*, published by Thomas Preston, p. 171. This dance collection is available online via the Gallery of Historic Dance and Tune Books, run through the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library and the English Folk Dance and Song Society; see <http://library.efds.org/cgi-bin/dancebooks.cgi>, accessed 17 April 2014.

¹¹³ Sonata III from *Three Sonatas (With Favorite Airs) for the Piano Forte. with Accompaniments for a Violin & Violoncello. Composed & Dedicated to Miss Blands* by Matthew Camidge, Op. 5, published by Preston & Son [MR 2-5-41]. The melody forms the basis of the final movement where it is subjected to numerous variation-style embellishments. There appear to be at least two different texts for songs with very similar titles; see *Lake of Killarney, to Which Is Added, Newcastle Harbour, Jolly Bacchus, the Despairing Damsel, You Know My Trade Is War, What a Beau Your Granny Was, Women and Wine*, (Limerick: W. Goggin, 1790), 3-4; *The Songster's Companion: A Select Collection of More Than Two Hundred Songs, Including the Modern*, second, enlarged and improved ed. (Coventry: M. Luckman, 1788), 146-47 and *The New Vocal Enchantress Containing an Elegant Selection of All the Newest Songs Lately Sung at the Theatres Royal Drury Lane, Covent Garden, Haymarket, Royalty Theatre, Vaux Hall, &c. &c. &c.*, new ed. (London: Printed for C. Stalker, A. Cleugh & C. Couch, 1789), 54-55. The British Library catalogue lists the song *The Ladys can not but approve. O what a Beau my Granny was* with an estimated publication date of 1800 [G.805.m.(26.)], while the Bodleian Library catalogue includes *O what a beau my granny was: a favourite song sung by Mr. Moss with universal applause in the Theatre, Glasgow*, published by James Aird between 1779 and 1795 [Vet. Mus. 2013 c.59 (31)].

¹¹⁴ See *A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs. Adapted for the Fife, Violin, or German Flute*. Vol. IV, printed and sold by J. McFadyen, Glasgow, n.d. p. 6 and *Dale's Selection of the most favorite Country Dances Reels &c. With their Proper Figures, for the Harp, Harpsichord & Violin, as performed at*

military music. *The Essex Quick Step, or The Fall of Paris* appears in Elizabeth's collection as a solo work for harp or piano. Known under several names, it bears a close (if erroneous) relationship with the revolutionary song, 'Ah! Ça Ira', which in turn appears to derive from a late eighteenth century quadrille or contredanse, *Le Carillon National*.¹¹⁵ Thomas Wilson included *Downfall of Paris* as a country dance in *The Treasures of Terpsichore* and *A Companion to the Ball Room*, remarking in the latter, "To account for the unusual length of this tune – it was originally composed for a Quick March, in opposition & partly taken from the French National Air of Ça Ira, it has since become a favorite dance particularly with good dancers, as it requires a very long figure not easily performed by the Tyros in the Art..."¹¹⁶ A work that thus embodied a dance, song and march in its history cyclically returned to take on a dance form once again.

the Prince of Wales, Bath, & other Grand Balls, & Assemblies, published by Joseph Dale, ca. 1800, p. 17, under the title of *What a Beau your Granny was*, both available via <http://imslp.org>, accessed 17 April 2014. The National Library of Ireland catalogue lists *What a beau my granny was a favourite country dance*, published by J. Hill in Dublin (n.d.) [JM 3459, part of the Joly collection]. Sale information from Christie's indicates that a fan entitled *Eighteen of the most Favorite Country Dances...as Performed at Court, Bath &c.*, published by L. Sudlow, Strand, Dec. 13 1789, purportedly containing music and dance figures, included the dance *What a Beau your Granny Was*; see <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/LotDetailsPrintable.aspx?intObjectID=3388307>. For further listings of sources for both the tune and dance, see Keller, "Dance Figures Index: English Country Dances, 1650-1833" and Andrew Kuntz, "The Fiddler's Companion," http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/WH_WHE.htm, accessed 17 April 2014.

¹¹⁵ *The Essex Quick Step, or The Fall of Paris. Arranged for the Harp, or Piano Forte*, published by J. & W. Lintern, Bath [MR 2-5-22]. The work also contains parts for guitar and German flute. For an outline of sources and confusion in the publication history of 'Ah! Ça Ira', *Le Carillon National* and *The Fall of Paris*, see Robin Engelman, "Le Carillon National, Ah! Ça Ira and the Downfall of Paris," <http://robinengelman.com/2011/10/28/le-carillon-national-ah-ca-ira-and-the-downfall-of-paris/>. A brief account of 'Ah! Ça Ira' is given in *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*. See "Ça Ira!", *The Oxford Dictionary of Music*, 2nd ed. rev., *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t237/e1699>, accessed 17 April 2014.

¹¹⁶ Wilson, *A Companion to the Ball Room*, 124 and *The Treasures of Terpsichore*, 24. Wilson included a separate dance entry for *Ça Ira* on p. 108 of *A Companion to the Ball Room*. The tune to 'Ah! Ça Ira' also appears in *Twenty-Four Country Dances for the Year 1792 with proper Tunes & Directions to each Dance, as they are performed at Court, Bath, & all Public Assemblys* [sic], published by Longman and Broderip, p. 24 [British Library shelfmark a.9.nn.(2.)] and in *Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1792. With proper Tunes and Directions to each Dance, as they are Perform'd at Court, Bath, & all Publick* [sic] *Assemblys* [sic], published by Samuel, Ann & Peter Thompson, p. 41 [British Library shelfmark a.9.nn.(3.)].

The flexibility of the country dance as an art form and the multiplicity of genres upon which it drew point to the need for manifold levels of understanding. Conceptually, the works discussed above existed as both music and dance and each had their own performance history. The pervasiveness of the country dance suggests that it was highly likely Elizabeth was familiar with both versions of a given composition, or at the very least, was conversant with such adaptability. The country dance demanded a working knowledge of a small library of figures, and the ability to apply different combinations of figures to the same musical work. Hence, the dance itself and the music it was associated with retained no fixed sense of bodily identity. This is particularly apparent in the conversion of theatrical works as they implicitly engendered corporeal knowledge; not only was theatrical choreography associated with the music, but also the bodies of particular dancers. The transfer of stage compositions into country dances therefore created multiple layers of bodily knowledge. The issue therefore was one of identity – the availability of a variety of steps and an infinite repertoire to set them to destabilised the dance form as a genre and blurred the boundary of where dance became music and music became dance.

The physical knowledge lurking in the background of Elizabeth's dance music would inevitably have created a broader cultural conception of a work and led to a bimodal (i.e. aural and kinaesthetic) understanding of its enactment. Many of the country dance arrangements in Elizabeth's collection could equally be used for country dance performance, by virtue of the statement of the dance material at the beginning of the piece. In the absence of notated figures or unfamiliarity with a specific dance, knowledge of the length of country dance figures would have been required to choreograph a dance to a given tune. The disregard for maintaining a fixed set of figures with a fixed musical work suggests that the music itself was of no particular consequence, a view prompted also by the publication of country dance steps in pocket books without musical notation. Terpsichorean corporeal knowledge was therefore perhaps privileged over musical corporeal knowledge, but one still influenced the other. It is almost certain that Elizabeth would have known the country dances she owned the music for – many of them date from her time at Ellin Devis's school, where she may have learned them as part of her dancing lessons – and that knowledge would have played a role in choice of

tempo and articulation when performing the music. Her knowledge of a given work, therefore, would have combined an awareness of the physical movements required in the dance, and the physical gestures created in musical performance, either as a singer or as an instrumentalist. One form of bodily knowledge was thus informing and being transformed into another.

3.3 The Performance of Genteel Womanhood

The expression of gentility and grace through dance encompassed intimate domestic performances that tugged at established notions of femininity, through to county level balls that juxtaposed charitable giving with elite affluence. The publication of waltzes for keyboard, triangle and tambourine unambiguously promoted genteel feminine music-making, yet the tambourine's association with the theatre and the somewhat flamboyant nature of its gestures clashed with more traditional ideals of female grace. Provincial balls held in aid of charitable institutions facilitated the performance of gentility on a broader scale. Dance patronage was not only an active way of dispensing benevolence, it also enabled women to contribute towards the potentially graceful conduct of others by promoting dance as an elite activity. However, as with the tambourine, there was an unsettling cohabitation, between charity and the obvious destitution associated with its existence, and the abundance that accompanied the aristocratic performance it inspired. Both of these scenarios elucidate different aspects of the performance of genteel womanhood across Elizabeth's life, connecting her schoolgirl dance education with her role as a promoter of dance as a mature woman.

3.3.1 The Waltz: Domestic Female Sociability and the Dancing Tambourine

The waltz as dance music facilitated the performance of elite female musical sociability, yet presented a dichotomy between the expression of feminine grace and theatrical vigour. The physical and emotional bonds encapsulated in the waltz as a couple dance were active on subtler levels through its dissemination and performance as dance music. It became a metaphor for the sharing of female experience that connected personal bodily expression with feminine music-making, and drew together the publicly

communal and domestic domains. The publication of sets of waltzes at the turn of the nineteenth century, particularly those scored for piano, tambourine and triangle, provide a locus for the collision between female sociability as expressed through attendance at balls and the theatre, and domestic sociability that was kindled through chamber performance. The tambourine leapt from the stage into the music room and, in its very theatricality, threatened established notions of genteel female comportment. When performed in purely instrumental form, this incarnation of the waltz abandoned the established movements of the dance to create a new choreography around the tambourine player. As such, this gave women increased agency to use their bodies expressively in a way that lay outside the norms dictated by conduct literature. Such liberation was doubly powerful given that the waltz as a dance was considered immoral and inappropriate for genteel female performance.¹¹⁷

A number of waltzes in Elizabeth's collection serve to illustrate how the genre facilitated feminine musical sociability, redefining the boundaries of the waltz as a partnership in the process. Published and manuscript waltzes highlight the close musical relationship Elizabeth shared with her cousin and future sister-in-law, Mary Elizabeth Egerton (1782-1846). A series of six waltzes for solo piano, two of which were attributed to Mozart, appear in an incomplete manuscript book located at Tatton Park (see Figure 29).¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ See Introduction pp. 23-25 and p. 182 above.

¹¹⁸ The manuscript book remains in the Tatton Park archive and is missing both front and back covers, although there is evidence that it was once bound. I am very grateful to Dr Penelope Cave, whose discovery and subsequent reconstitution of the book has yielded much valuable information. For further discussion of this particular manuscript book, see Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 520. Despite the numerous publications of "waltzes" by Mozart that appeared at the turn of the nineteenth century, I have not yet been able to find a match to the two works attributed to him in the manuscript book, and it is not clear whether the attribution is correct. The fifth of the manuscript waltzes appears as the third waltz in *A Favorite Collection of Waltzes, as Performed at the Nobility's Fetes, Composed & Arranged for the Pianoforte & Harp*, by J. or T. Marsano, published by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co., p. 3, which is found in the music collection at Kingston Lacy. It has so far not been possible to identify any of the other waltzes in the manuscript book.



FIGURE 29. THE FIFTH MANUSCRIPT WALTZ, POSSIBLY COPIED BY ELIZABETH EGERTON, IN AN INCOMPLETE MANUSCRIPT BOOK SHARED WITH MARY EGERTON [TATTON PARK ARCHIVE].

While the majority of the pieces seem to be in Mary Egerton's hand, it is possible that Elizabeth copied out the waltzes; if so, this was not the only instance in which the two women compiled music together, for another manuscript book identifies both Elizabeth and Mary as the contributors.¹¹⁹ Their joint imprint can also possibly be seen on *Eighteen Waltzes, One Quadrille & One Allemande* by Henry Baron de Bode, which appears in a book of predominantly vocal music in Elizabeth's collection. Bearing Elizabeth's signature on the title page and the inscription 'Miss Egerton Tatton Park' on a blank page following the work, it consists of a series of short waltzes that are

¹¹⁹ Mary Egerton's name appears on two pieces copied into a bound manuscript book with the inscription "Elizabeth Sykes St James' Square May 18th 1801" [MR 2-4-33]: "Part of a Mass composed by Sarti" which has been signed M. E. Egerton and dated August 21st 1801 [p. 17] and "Blest were the Hours", signed M. E. Egerton [p. 12]. Other works within the book show evidence of two hands being used in the copying process. Elizabeth's musical orthography underwent some changes as she grew older, but there are distinct similarities between the hand that copied the waltzes and that which appears in the 1801 manuscript book, which doesn't belong to Mary Egerton. An example of the two different styles on the same page occurs in the incomplete manuscript book, where Elizabeth's hand appears to have copied *Lady Caroline Bertie* while Mary has notated *I'll gang no more to yon Town*. For further discussion of this and the remaining manuscript books at Tatton Park, see Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 516-520.

not unlike those that appear in the manuscript book.¹²⁰ Despite the paucity of evidence that any of these works were actually played, the very act of sharing ownership of both sets of waltzes placed the dance at the heart of a mutual feminine musical exchange.¹²¹

The publication of sets of waltzes with accompaniments for tambourine and triangle highlight how the genre was adapted for the performance of femininity. Muzio Clementi's (1752-1832) *Twelve Waltzes for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Tamburino & Triangle* Op. 38, one of many such publications to appear at the turn of the nineteenth century and one that forms part of Elizabeth's collection, clearly promotes female chamber music.¹²² The title page of all three parts contains an image of two women, standing outdoors in flowing dresses, playing the tambourine and triangle, and this style of iconography appears in other publications – *Cahusac's Annual Collection of Twelve favorite Country Dances* published in 1800 and 1801 depicts three women out-of-doors playing the tambourine, harp and triangle respectively, while the cover page of the incomplete manuscript book discussed above depicts women in rather more revealing dress playing the

¹²⁰ *Eighteen Waltzes, one Quadrille & One Allemande, Composed for Her Imperial Majesty The Empress of Russia, by Henry Baron de Bode*, published by Lavenu & Mitchell [MR 2-5-23], with "E Sykes" written on the title page. The front flyleaf of the volume bears a watermark dating from 1803. The writing of "Miss Egerton Tatton Park" does not match that of Elizabeth's daughter, Charlotte Egerton, nor does it directly correspond to Mary's name from either the manuscript book or surviving correspondence. I am grateful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for suggesting that the name of "Miss Egerton" may have been written by a book/music seller, a music teacher, or simply an acquaintance.

¹²¹ The exchange of manuscript music continued after Mary's death. Wilbraham Egerton's account book records the payment of £1 1s on 28 March 1848 "For manuscript music of Lady Sykes..." [DET/3229/14, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies]. An advertisement for the sale of Mary's music collection in 1847 still referred to her as "the late Lady Mark M. Sykes" despite her subsequent marriage to Dugdale Stratford Dugdale in 1834 [*Morning Chronicle*, May 18, 1847]. The catalogue for the sale of Mary's music collection mentions ten oblong ruled music books, which could be similar to the manuscript books that survive at Tatton Park. See "Catalogue of the Musical Library of the late Lady Mark M. Sykes", May 22 1847, lot numbers 28 and 29, sold by Puttick and Simpson, available through the Grolier Club in New York.

¹²² *Twelve Waltzes for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Tamburino & Triangle* Op. 38, published by Longman, Clementi & Co. [MR 2-5-32]. The tambourine and triangle parts are extant and are located in the Tatton Park archive. The Austen family collection also included waltzes by Clementi and Daniel Steibelt (1765-1823) that contain tambourine accompaniment. See Samantha Carrasco, "The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013), 288, 340 and Kathryn L. Libin, "Daily Practice, Musical Accomplishment, and the Example of Jane Austen," in *Jane Austen and the Arts: Elegance, Propriety, and Harmony*, ed. Natasha Duquette and Elisabeth Lenckos (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2014), 12-13.

cymbals and tambourine, while a putto stands atop a pedestal holding a triangle (see Figures 30 and 31).¹²³



FIGURE 30. TITLE PAGE OF MUZIO CLEMENTI'S *TWELVE WALTZES FOR THE PIANO FORTE WITH AN ACCOMPANIMENT FOR A TAMBURINO & TRIANGLE*, OP. 38 [MR 2-5-32].

Music publishers emphasised the suitability of such instruments for women: Broderip and Wilkinson advertised "A large Assortment of Elegant Tambourines, Triangles, Cymbals &c made particularly neat & Light, for the Ladies" while T. Bolton recommended that "Ladies, who wish to excel; and where opportunity offers, experienced Masters, and Lady professors [sic] are particularly recommended."¹²⁴ Indeed, tambourine lessons also formed part of

¹²³ See Cahusac's *Annual Collection of Twelve favorite Country Dances, with their Basses, For the Year 1800. with proper Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblies* [sic] [British Library shelfmark a.248.(10.)] and Cahusac's *Annual Collection of Twelve favorite Country Dances, with their Basses, For the Year 1801. with proper Directions to each Dance, as they are Performed at Court, Bath, and all Public Assemblies* [sic], published by William Cahusac [British Library shelfmark b.55.o.(1.)]. A more risqué picture is found on the title page of *Wheatstone's Elegant & Fashionable collection of 24 Country dances for the Violin or German Flute with proper figures as they are Danced at Court, Bath and all public assemblies for the Year, 1810*, published by Charles Wheatstone [British Library shelfmark a.9.jj.(9.)], where two women are playing the tambourine and cymbals with partially exposed breasts. The title page of Clementi's *Twelve Waltzes, for the Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for a Tamburino & Triangle, Composed & Dedicated to Mrs Mayhew*, Op. 39, also contains a picture of three girls, with one sitting at a kind of cabinet piano, another playing the tambourine and a third the triangle. [British Library shelfmark g.270.t.(9.)].

¹²⁴ The quotation from Broderip and Wilkinson appears on the title page of *Twelve Waltzes, for the Piano Forte or Harp, with an Accompaniment for the Tambourine & Triangle*, by Daniel Steibelt (1765-1823) [British Library shelfmark g.231.(9.)]. See also *Instructions for the Tambourine*, p. 32, by Thomas Bolton, which appears to be included with Joseph Mazzinghi's (1765-1844) *Twelve Airs for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Flute & Tambourine. Composed & Inscribed to Mrs Henderson*, Op. 38, published by Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine [British Library shelfmark g.443.mm.(11.)]. No separate publisher is listed for Bolton's work and the page numbers are contiguous, despite the work being given a separate plate number.

a genteel education for girls. On 16 May 1797, Sophia Baker recorded in her diary “Our first lesson with Mr Foreman Black with the Tambourine” although the lessons were apparently very short lived.¹²⁵



FIGURE 31. TITLE PAGE FROM THE INCOMPLETE MANUSCRIPT BOOK SHARED BY ELIZABETH AND MARY EGERTON [TATTON PARK ARCHIVE].

Harriot (1778-1844) and Charlotte (1784-1826) Fox Strangways also learned to play the “tamboureen”, and their stepmother anticipated “a charming concert” when once a triangle had been bought for their sister, Louisa (1785-1851).¹²⁶ As the Clementi waltzes date from the same period when Elizabeth and Mary were compiling their manuscript books together, it is possible that they too also performed such music in feminine conviviality.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Diaries of Sophia Trower (née Baker), Add Mss 7465, West Sussex Record Office and Archives. See also Cave, “Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845,” 108 and Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914*, 360.

¹²⁶ Joanna Martin, *Wives and Daughters. Women and Children in the Georgian Country House* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2004), 233.

¹²⁷ Op. 38 dates from 1798 and Op. 39 from 1800. Both the 1801 and an earlier 1799 manuscript book are inscribed with reference to London, the former clearly indicating that Elizabeth had been staying at

The tambourine was posited as an instrument capable of expressing elegance, grace and taste. An instruction manual published by Preston suggested it was immensely popular amongst the elite classes and was an ideal accompanying instrument through which taste could be communicated:

The TAMBOURINE is an Instrument at this time extremely fashionable: indeed none more so, and from its being sanction'd and perform'd on, by Persons of the first distinction, there remains little doubt, but it will continue so. – add to this, its beauties have been discovered by the first Composers of the day, as their works can testify; and it is now agreed on, that no Instrument is better calculated to accompany a piece of music, with taste, and expression, than the TAMBOURINE.¹²⁸

At the conclusion of Daniel Steibelt's (1765-1823) *Twelve Divertissements* [sic] *Consisting of Marches, Waltzes, & Rondos, for the Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for a Tambourine*, found in the music collection at Kingston Lacy, he praised the tambourine as "an Instrument well known, to stand unrivalled in the displaying of Elegance and Taste. – for instance the Accompanying a piece of Music, observing well, the Piano's, the Forte's, the Crescendo's, and the Diminuendo's, all of which are performed standing, in the most graceful attitudes, besides the advantage of flourishing the Hand, and turning the Tambourine...".¹²⁹ Tutor books delineated a range of movements required to produce varied effects on the tambourine, each illustrated by a different form of notation; the bass was performed "by sliding the Second Finger (which is strengthend [sic] with the thumb, keeping the third and fourth Fingers gracefully display'd) over the Vellum", while the turn was executed "by

the Egertons' town address. With both families in the city, this would have provided an ideal opportunity for the performance of such works. See Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House," 519.

¹²⁸ *Instructions for the Tambourine, With a Selection of the most Admired Airs, Waltzes, and Marches, Arranged for the Piano Forte, With an Accompaniment for the Tambourine*, published by Preston, p. 2 [British Library shelfmark h.3878.m.(4.)]. The British Library copy of the work contains a watermark of 1813.

¹²⁹ *Twelve Divertissements* [sic] *Consisting of Marches, Waltzes, & Rondos, for the Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for a Tambourine. Composed by D. Steibelt, Op. 38*, published by Robert Birchall, incorporating "INSTRUCTIONS for the TAMBOURINE" at the end of the work, p. 30. The British Library catalogue suggests a publication date of ca. 1800 for this work.

spining [sic] the Tambourine round on the thumb, with the most careless elegance and ease."¹³⁰

However, descriptions of other manoeuvres employed in tambourine playing present a mismatch with the requirements for expressing grace and elegance in dance and musical performance. While authors on dance stressed the need for moderation in demeanour and piano tutor books emphasised the maintenance of equilibrium, the language of tambourine playing suggested vigour, vitality and a certain visual extroversion. Flamps were "performed by striking upon the Vellum...with the Nails" and semi flamps by "beating on the Vellum, with the inner part of the knuckle of the second Finger" to create "a fine effect in the Immitation [sic] of the double Drum."¹³¹ Preston combined notions of elegance with forthright activity by suggesting that "many other little elegancies used in performing on the Tambourine" included "beating it in various directions [and] flourishing with the hand", the employment of which he left to "the ear and taste of the Performer."¹³² While Joseph Dale advocated keeping the arm still and the elbow level with the hand when performing simple beats, other movements he proposed included "turn[ing] the Tambourine round upon the Thumb to the right as many times as you can & as the time will admit" and "Hold[ing] the Tambourine above your Head horizontally with its Head downwards and Turn it round..."¹³³ Such descriptions imply a distinct theatricality in performance, which is also borne out in iconography: the women on the title pages of the Cahusac and Wheatstone country dance publications and the Clementi waltzes are all holding a large tambourine at head height, while on Elizabeth's manuscript book the lounging tambourine player is holding the instrument upside-down above her head, as per Dale's instruction.

¹³⁰ *Instructions for the Tambourine*, Thomas Bolton, p. 32.

¹³¹ *Instructions for the Tambourine*, Thomas Bolton, p. 30-31. Steibelt suggested that flamps should "produce a good full tone", while semi flamps were to be performed "with the fleshy part of the first or second Finger so as to produce a fine mellow tone". See *Twelve Divertiments [sic] Consisting of Marches, Waltzes, & Rondos, for the Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for a Tambourine. Composed by D. Steibelt*, Op. 38, published by Robert Birchall, p. 30.

¹³² *Instructions for the Tambourine, With a Selection of the most Admired Airs, Waltzes, and Marches, Arranged for the Piano Forte, With an Accompaniment for the Tambourine*, published by Preston, p. 5.

¹³³ *Dale's Instructions for the Tambourine*, published by Joseph Dale, 1800, p. 4 and 5 [British Library shelfmark h.1178].

The tambourine thus provided a forum for the display of the female figure in a manner that drew on existing associations with theatrical and social dance. It formed a popular *accoutrement* for female dancers on the stage; Madame Hilligsberg performed an “exquisitely graceful” tambourine dance in the ballet of *Télémacque*, while Mademoiselle Parisot explicitly embodied the connection between dance and the tambourine in her performance as Terpsichore in *Terpsichore’s Return*.¹³⁴ The tambourine also had close bodily connections with the ballroom – Thomas Bolton recommended the feet be placed in “the First, and Fourth [positions] in Dancing” as among “the most used” while playing the tambourine and Thomas Wilson included tambourine lessons and a “Tambourine [sic] Hornpipe” in his advertisement for dances at the conclusion of *An Analysis of Country Dancing*.¹³⁵ Despite Richard Leppert’s contention that the tambourine was a virtually silent and immobile metaphor for dance in eighteenth-century art, newspaper accounts at the turn of the nineteenth century suggest it was promoted as an active form of music-making, serving to demonstrate women’s figures and their musical skill.¹³⁶ The *Morning Post and Gazetteer* reported in 1798 that the Duchess of York was “learning the fashionable exercise of the *tambourine*, which is not merely pleasant as a musical accompaniment, but promotes health by the agility it requires, and throws the body into the most graceful attitudes.”¹³⁷ Women

¹³⁴ For the quotation, see “KINGS’S THEATRE, HAYMARKET,” *Morning Herald*, March 27, 1799. The advertisement “THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE,” *Morning Post and Morning Chronicle*, November 1, 1805, referred to Parisot’s role as Terpsichore while an advertisement in *Morning Post*, January 30, 1806, promoted “The favourite Tambourine Dance, as danced by Mad. Parisot...in the grand Ballet of Terpsichore’s Return, the Music composed by J. Woelfl.” Joseph Woelfl’s (1773-1812) involvement, and in particular the tambourine dance which was “so much admired”, is further alluded to in *Morning Post*, November 5, 1805.

¹³⁵ See *Instructions for the Tambourine*, Thomas Bolton, p. 30 and Thomas Wilson, *An Analysis of Country Dancing: Wherein Are Displayed All the Figures Ever Used in Country Dances...to Which Are Added, Instructions for Dancing Some Entire New Reels; Together with the Rules, Regulations, and Complete Etiquette of the Ball Room* (London: W. Calvert, 1808), no page number given.

¹³⁶ Leppert, *Music and Image*, 152-153.

¹³⁷ *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, November 20, 1798. Of course, the ideal didn’t always correspond to reality. Warm weather rendered the vivacity required in performance too much for “corpulent beauties.” See *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, April 10, 1798 and *Express and Evening Chronicle*, April 7-10, 1798. Tambourine playing was also depicted as unladylike: a critique of a portrait by William Beechey of *Miss Lushington as a Bacchante* called the tambourine “a fashionable, but unfeminine instrument, that we hope will soon give place to something more appropriate to the sex whose office is not to stun, but to soften” [“ROYAL ACADEMY,” *True Briton*, May 7, 1799] while *The Mirror of the Graces* deplored the tambourine “and all other noisy accompaniments, in the hands of a lady-dancer” as the performance would render them contemptuous to potential husbands. See *The Mirror of the Graces; or, the English Lady’s Costume*, 188-189.

were accused not only of a “desire to display their figures” but also a “wish...to *make a great noise in the world!*”, suggesting they undertook the activity with relish.¹³⁸ Finally, the tambourine merged with the world of theatre and social dance when Lady Fitzgerald, dressed as a Savoyard, performed on the instrument during a masquerade at Preston.¹³⁹

Instrumental music that incorporated the tambourine was therefore part of a larger continuum of bodily connotations and performance traditions that extended beyond the boundary of pure musical presentation. The tambourine was an instrument that appeared in the theatre, which took on elements of theatricality, and demanded a degree of theatrical performance from women who chose to play it. Returning to the waltz as a specific form of dance music, it left one set of physical movements behind and took on another in the act of playing the tambourine. Not only did the “graceful attitudes” and somewhat flamboyant movements involved in its performance resemble a dance on its own, it would be unwise to disassociate domestic tambourine performance from its correlate in the theatre and on the dance floor. Elizabeth’s score of the ballet *Don Quichotte* contains reference to a tambourine dance, and her copy of *Le Retour du Zephir* includes a surviving tambourine part.¹⁴⁰ The tambourine was therefore literally embodied in musical ballet performance, acting not just as a reference point but also as a potential source of inspiration: by drawing on bodily knowledge associated with various theatrical tambourine dances, the performance of instrumental tambourine works, such as the waltzes, could be infused with the gestures and motions employed by female ballet dancers, effectively integrating and re-enacting ballet in the home through the tambourine, and redefining its instrumental performance.

¹³⁸ *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, March 2, 1799.

¹³⁹ “PRESTON, SEPT. 11,” *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, September 15, 1802. Lady Fitzgerald reportedly played “extremely well” and was accompanied by two other characters bearing a hurdy-gurdy and a triangle, although it is not clear if either of these were played.

¹⁴⁰ “Tamborine [sic] Dance. Mr. Vestris. & M^{lle}. Angiolini,” *Don Quichotte, ou Les Noces de Gamache*, p. 35. See also p. 197, footnote 83 for *Le Retour du Zephir*.

3.3.2 Acting Gentility and Bestowing Charity

If Elizabeth's tambourine waltzes facilitated the performance of femininity in a domestic context, her contribution to provincial balls as patroness and benefactor promoted the broader performance of femininity in the public domain. While the act of playing the tambourine brought the theatre into the home in a manner that enabled a personal, if heightened, expression of grace, dance patronage essentially created its own theatre by providing a stage for the enactment of communal grace. Elizabeth's involvement in terpsichorean philanthropy not only formed part of a wider ethos of benevolent giving undertaken by the Egertons on a cultural and compassionate level, it brought together two strands of gentility that were integral components of her education with Ellin Devis: charitable offerings and gracious comportment. By combining these elements in her adult life, not as educational principles but as practical skills, Elizabeth participated in a larger framework of women facilitating the bodily formation of elite girls through dance that stretched across scholastic and social contexts.

The concept of charity in Elizabeth's educational literature was strongly associated with benevolence and generosity in action, and as such was an operating principle in moulding gentility of manner and fostering elegance of mind.¹⁴¹ Ellin Devis drew on the discourse of ethics to introduce charity as the primary "cardinal virtue"; as a discipline, ethics was responsible for "teach[ing] manners and prescrib[ing] rules for the conduct of human life", therefore the enactment of charity as a virtue constituted the performance of ethical comportment.¹⁴² Elizabeth's commonplace book contains a lengthy extract on

¹⁴¹ For a contextualisation of charity in the late eighteenth century and in particular how it related to both Elizabeth's education and her music collection, see Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840," 23-97.

¹⁴² See Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies. On a New Plan*, 101, 104 and *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms*, 94, 97. Devis's extract as a whole draws on Francis Hutcheson's (1694-1746) writings on moral philosophy, in which he outlined the four cardinal virtues of justice, temperance, fortitude and prudence. See Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy, in Three Books*, vol. I (Glasgow and London: R. and A. Foulis 1755), 222-224 and *A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy, in Three Books; Containing the Elements of Ethicks and the Law of Nature. Translated from the Latin* (Glasgow: Robert Foulis, 1747), 61-68. However, the excerpt bears a much greater resemblance to Benjamin Martin's section "Of ETHICS or MORALITY" in Benjamin Martin, *An Introduction to the English Language and Learning. In Three Parts*, third ed. (London: Printed for W.

charity from Hugh Blair's *Sermons*, in which he regarded it as "an active principle" comprising the qualities of "benignity, candour, forbearance, generosity, compassion, & liberality..." Blair conceived of charity as a social phenomenon, both in terms of its reach and its impact on interpersonal relations; as an action of influence, charitable behaviour extended to different levels of community involvement, "spread[ing] itself over the whole circle of social & domestic life", while as an individual attribute it encouraged "liberality of sentiment...& dictate[d] affability of manners."¹⁴³ The construction of charity as a virtue and generosity as one of its constituent values additionally enabled charity to connect to the concept of elegance. James Usher's (1720-1771) depiction of a virtuous mind as naturally productive of elegance, and Ellin Devis's definition of generosity as an "essential virtue", potentially rendered beneficent behaviour important in the development of interior elegance.¹⁴⁴

Elizabeth's position as a patroness and benefactor for numerous local and county charity balls intersected neatly with Blair's perception of charity as a dynamic precept, and shows a sustained interest not only in the causes that the balls supported, but also in the ball itself as a means through which charity could be dispensed. In 1827, Elizabeth was listed as a patroness for a ball held in Macclesfield, the proceeds of which were "to be devoted to the Purpose of ameliorating the Distresses of the SUFFERING MANUFACTURERS of Macclesfield..."¹⁴⁵ She made an additional contribution towards the fund of £20 and supported other Macclesfield causes across her lifetime, donating £5 to the Macclesfield Dispensary in 1829 and £10 as a joint payment with Wilbraham Egerton in 1849 and 1850 towards the Baths and Washhouses

Owen, 1757), 137-140, the derivation of which I haven't yet been able to ascertain, where the section on charity is quoted almost verbatim.

¹⁴³ See DET/3229/77, pp. 41-43; Blair, *Sermons*, 4 (1795), 24-25; Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840," 36-37 and p. 177, footnote 25 above.

¹⁴⁴ For Usher, see DET/3229/77 p.19 and Usher, *Clio: Or, a Discourse on Taste. Addressed to a Young Lady*, 65, referred to in chapter 1, p. 88, footnote 69 above. For Devis, see *The Accidence; or First Rudiments of English Grammar. Designed for the Use of Young Ladies*, seventh ed., 126, which is derived from *Advice from a Lady of Quality to Her Children, in the Last Stage of a Lingered Illness, in a Series of Evening-Conferences on the Most Interesting Subjects. Translated from the French*, vol. I (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1778), 178-179.

¹⁴⁵ "Macclesfield Charity Ball," *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, January 19, 1827. For accounts of the ball, see "Macclesfield Ball, &c.," *Macclesfield Courier, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 27, 1827 and "MACCLESFIELD CHARITY BALL," *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, February 2, 1827.

ball.¹⁴⁶ Elizabeth also served as a patroness for balls in aid of Spanish and Italian refugees in Chester, the Ladies Female Charity School in Manchester, and the Stockport Dispensary and House of Recovery.¹⁴⁷ In addition to her support of charitable balls at county level, Elizabeth also exerted her patronage within Knutsford itself. The town held a ball in 1831 as part of county celebrations for the coronation of King William IV. Elizabeth and her daughter-in-law, Lady Charlotte Egerton, were amongst the six lady patronesses whose “politeness and attentions” were praised as contributing much to the enjoyment of the evening.¹⁴⁸ Three years later, Elizabeth was the sole patroness of a ball held for the Knutsford Charity School, where approximately one hundred guests assisted in raising £56 for the cause.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ For Elizabeth’s donation to the Macclesfield Dispensary, see “MACCLESFIELD DISPENSARY BALL,” *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 10, 1829. Wilbraham Egerton’s account book records payments on 29 October 1849 (“Ball at Macclesfield for the Baths & Washhouses sent for Mrs E & self to the Mayor”) and 5 November 1850 (“Donation towards the Macclesfield Baths & washhouses ball for Mrs E & self...”) [see DET/3229/14, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies].

¹⁴⁷ On the Spanish and Italian refugees, see *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, January 2, 1829; “CHESTER FANCY DRESS BALL,” *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, January 16, 1829 and “CHESTER FANCY BALL,” *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 17, 1829. On the Ladies Female Charity School, see *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 15, 1827, which contains an advertisement listing the patronesses for the ball. Elizabeth maintained a long association with charitable balls in Stockport. In 1828 she was patroness for a fancy dress ball to raise funds for the Stockport Dispensary and House of Recovery, where Wilbraham and William Tatton Egerton also served as stewards (see advertisements in *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, February 2, 1828 and *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, March 7, 1828). All three made donations to the charity (see “STOCKPORT FANCY BALL,” *Macclesfield Courier and Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, March 29, 1828) and an extensive account of the ball can be found in the same newspaper, dated April 12, 1828. See additionally *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 23, 1843; January 13, 1849; December 15, 1849; and December 21, 1850, for further occasions on which she was a patroness for the Stockport infirmary. Wilbraham’s account books also contain details of donations made for the Stockport balls – see entries for 27 December 1843; 25 January 1845 and 19 November 1850 [DET/3229/13-14, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies].

¹⁴⁸ “KNUTSFORD CORONATION BALL,” *Chester Courant, and Anglo-Welsh Gazette*, September 20, 1831. See an advertisement for the ball in *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, August 20, 1831, for the listing of patronesses. For general celebrations in Knutsford for the coronation, see “CELEBRATION AT KNUTSFORD,” *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, September 10, 1831.

¹⁴⁹ See *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser* for an advertisement for the ball (October 4, 1834) and a brief description of the event (“CHARITY BALL AT KNUTSFORD,” November 1, 1834). The *Liverpool Mercury, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, October 17, 1834, reported that the ball was in aid of the Knutsford Parochial School, therefore it is unclear whether it was supporting Elizabeth’s or Wilbraham’s charity school. See Introduction, p. 60 for an outline of the different schools the Egertons were involved in maintaining.

The atmosphere of elite luxury that pervaded the more resplendent balls juxtaposed the generosity, and hence elegance, of charitable intent, with the theatre of wealthy display. While the *Chester Chronicle* posited that dancers at the Macclesfield charity ball would have been “impressed with an inward satisfaction at having combined the heavenly attribute, Charity, with their enjoyment”, descriptions of larger balls at provincial music festivals (which supported charitable institutions) illustrate how dancers became performers on their own stage.¹⁵⁰ A description of the dress ball for the 1829 Chester music festival depicted a scene of collective grace and lavish sensuality:

The Ball-room exhibited a scene rivalling or surpassing the most extended conceptions of visionary grandeur, recorded in “Fairy Tales,” or “Arabian Knight’s Entertainments.” In every part of the thronged group, grace, elegance, and splendid attire shone conspicuously; the rich and innumerable variety of the dresses, bespangled with costly jewels, and the *coëffures* of the ladies, richly studded with diamonds, and in numerous instances surmounted with waving ostrich plumes, gave to the moving mass, the appearance of a host of celestial beings.¹⁵¹

Two years earlier, a Grand Fancy Dress Ball concluded the music festival in Liverpool, which an exuberance of regional puffery declared rivalled events in London and on the continent.¹⁵² A local newspaper account explicitly couched the ball in terms of drama – “at a Fancy Ball the public are, at the same time, both audience and actors” – giving the dancers agency in executing and

¹⁵⁰ “MACCLESFIELD CHARITY BALL,” *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, February 2, 1827. For a history of provincial music festivals, their charitable contributions and programming, see Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011).

¹⁵¹ “Chester Musical Festival,” *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, September 11, 1829. The Egerton family was listed as attending the festival, although it is unclear whether they were at the dress ball. Wilbraham and Elizabeth were certainly present at the subsequent fancy dress ball, with Wilbraham appearing “in a rich court dress” and Elizabeth “in an elegant fancy dress and suite of diamonds”. See “Chester Musical Festival,” *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, September 18, 1829, for an account of the fancy dress ball and extensive list of costumes. Further comment on both balls appeared in *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 31 and September 12, 1829. On the Egerton family’s connection to provincial music festivals via male stewardship, see Rana, “Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790-1840,” 166-174.

¹⁵² “LIVERPOOL MUSICAL FESTIVAL,” *Leeds Intelligencer*, October 11, 1827. The Egertons were again listed as attending the festival but their presence at the fancy dress ball is uncertain. For additional accounts of the festival, see “LIVERPOOL MUSICAL FESTIVAL,” *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, October 5, 1827 and *Leeds Mercury*, October 6, 1827.

observing their own spectacle.¹⁵³ As the fancy dress ball was the pinnacle of each respective festival, charitable dance was a conspicuous performance of elite opulence and theatre.¹⁵⁴

Elizabeth's engagement with terpsichorean-based charity reveals how the intersection of dance and liberality facilitated the performance of elite identity on different levels. Charitable giving through the purchase of tickets for balls paradoxically contributed to the enactment of aristocratic behaviour in a manner that was highly stylised. The visible profusion of splendour that encompassed both the décor of the venue and the dancers created an artificial "scene of enchantment" that framed the interior acting of gentility, yet presented a stark contrast to the poor and downtrodden which their enjoyment would help support.¹⁵⁵ Dance patronage, as expressed through the active role of patronesses, sustained individual and collective articulations of elite decorum. Elizabeth's contribution to balls where she undertook patroness duties included not only her own politeness and gracious conduct in overseeing proceedings, but also her additional mediation of the performance of graceful comportment in others through her support of dance as a genteel activity. As such, she tapped into a larger continuum that extended back to her education with Ellin Devis: while her schooling ensured that she was bodily and behaviourally equipped to practise propriety, dance patronage enabled her to take on a similar, although broader, function in enabling the development and maintenance of comparable skills amongst a community of genteel women.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ "LIVERPOOL MUSICAL FESTIVAL," *Macclesfield Courier, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, October 13, 1827.

¹⁵⁴ The fancy dress ball at the 1829 Chester music festival was declared "the great magnet of attraction". See "Chester Musical Festival," *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, September 11, 1829.

¹⁵⁵ See "MANCHESTER MUSICAL FESTIVAL," *Chester Chronicle, and Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, October 10, 1828, in reference to the fancy dress ball. For an extensive description of the event, see "MANCHESTER MUSICAL FESTIVAL," *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, October 4, 1828. The Egertons attended the festival, where Elizabeth was one of several ladies responsible for collecting donations at the church service on the first day of the festival.

¹⁵⁶ I am most grateful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for pointing out the wider role that women played across a range of social contexts in developing the bodily comportment of young women through dance.

3.4 Conclusion

Two distinct threads run through Elizabeth's engagement with dance and dance music: the omnipresence of grace as a physical ideal and aesthetic concept that could be actively employed or challenged; and the flexibility of exchange that existed between musical and dance genres, leading to multi-layered conceptions that enriched each art form. While the links between these two threads are not immediately apparent, each can be approached through the idea of transfer. The grace and elegance that Elizabeth learned at Ellin Devis's school was not only immediately developed through deportment exercises and dances such as the minuet, but continued to find utterance through the aesthetics of theatrical dance, the performance of waltzes incorporating the tambourine, and in her patronage of county balls devoted to charitable causes. Likewise, the musical and terpsichorean transfers that Elizabeth's dance music enacted illustrated not only a diversity of form but also a broad cultural knowledge that was continually in flux. Country dances, ballet music and tambourine waltzes all pushed the borders between theatrical and ballroom dance, and in the process raised questions about what constituted feminine performance. These works also formed an arc across Elizabeth's life, representing her transition from girlhood into burgeoning womanhood, and in so doing, embodied her interests and responsibilities as a member of the genteel classes. Dance therefore remained an active vehicle through which the qualities of genteel womanhood could be learned and applied, with dance music providing an integral link to diverse expressions of genteel femininity.

Chapter 4: Lady Charlotte Egerton (1811-1878) – The Quadrille as an Expression of Elite Status and Modifier of Feminine Ideals

Dance was pervasive across Lady Charlotte Egerton's life for more than thirty years, mediating the construction of a fashionable persona and delving into the heart of what it meant to be a 'lady'. Her experiences at Almack's assembly rooms and the royal palaces illustrate how dance was simultaneously a conduit for the expression of elite status, and a vehicle for the display of female creativity and authority. Lady Charlotte's participation as dancer, chaperone and patroness highlight how the meaning of dance changed for women as they matured, altering the way in which they negotiated expressions of feminine behaviour through dance. The quadrille, in particular, played a significant role in the creation of aristocratic womanhood, intersecting with notions of female patronage, monarchical ritual and ideals of feminine performance. As a musical document, the quadrille exemplified connections between fashion, luxury, female sociability and empowerment, allowing elite women to circumvent prescribed bodily conduct. Lady Charlotte's quadrille music, as the most functional dance genre in her collection, potentially bore strong links with her own experience, uniting the legacy of bodily display in the ballroom, with pianistic performance that promoted display in others. However, it also reflected the interests of her mother, Anna Maria Dashwood, Marchioness of Ely (1785-1857), whose presence was embodied in her daughter's music. Their combined engagement with dance and quadrille music provides a snapshot of how both contributed to their navigation of ladyhood.

4.1 The Quadrille in the Ballroom: Almack's and the Fashioning of Elite Bodies through Cultural Exchange

Almack's assembly rooms loomed as a potent symbol of exclusivity in the early nineteenth century. As a "highly desirable" social space, it was intimately associated with a cultural discourse that featured women in varying acts of transfer.¹ Located in King Street, within striking distance of Pall Mall and the King's Theatre, Almack's was one of the fashionable hearts of west London, synonymous with elite sociability:

You belonged to society, or you did not; there was no over-lapping, there were no circles which intersected. And if you were in society you went to Almack's. If you did not go to Almack's you might be a very interesting, praiseworthy, well-bred creature; but you could not claim to be in society. Nothing could be more simple. Therefore, everybody ardently desired to be seen at Almack's.²

As a locale, Almack's facilitated the performance of different feminine roles through dance, which were articulated through processes of exchange and bodily identity. Indeed, Cheryl Wilson defined Almack's "as a site of personal, political, and economic transactions and exchanges" that grappled with prevailing concerns about class and gender.³ As debutantes, women entered Almack's on the cusp of womanhood; as chaperones, they promoted the social and matrimonial prospects of their daughters; and as patronesses, a select few shaped the enactment of (female) exclusivity. The quadrille was an apt vehicle through which concepts of exclusivity, femininity and transfer could be explored, with fancy quadrilles exhibiting female bodies and directorship, and

¹ Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London* (London: The Athlone Press, 2002), 86.

² Walter Besant, *Fifty Years Ago* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1888), 114, quoted in Stephen Turner, "Almack's and Society, 1765-1863," *History Today* 26, no. 4 (1976): 241. Besant's reminiscences approximately date this portrayal of Almack's to Lady Charlotte's first decade of involvement with the assembly rooms. On the location of Almack's and its association with elite culture, see E. Beresford Chancellor, *Memorials of St James's Street Together with the Annals of Almack's* (London: Grant Richards Ltd., 1922), 197; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 87-88, 94; and "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," *Journal of Architectural Education* 55, no. 3 (2002): 136, 142.

³ Cheryl A. Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 46.

quadrille music taking on fashionable status. Aristocratic women were therefore actively creating themes of genteel femininity that hinged on transitions and cultural display, with the quadrille providing a visual and aural medium for its expression.

As an urban locus for elite leisure, Almack's fostered the "consumption, exchange, and display" of personal assets that occupied women in performances of societal transfer.⁴ Jane Rendell positioned Almack's as "a gendered space in which women were exchanged between men both as property (reproductive bodies) and as conduits for property (land and money)", but transference also existed within and between women in the ballroom.⁵ Accompanied by the Marchioness of Ely, Lady Charlotte attended Almack's on at least six occasions prior to her marriage to William Tatton Egerton in 1830.⁶ Although her public "coming out" had taken place two years earlier at an Irish regatta ball, Lady Charlotte's portrayal as "one of the most pleasing debutantes" of the London season suggests her attendance at Almack's comprised part of her metropolitan debut.⁷ No evidence has survived to indicate that William appeared at Almack's that year, hence theirs was a marriage transacted elsewhere. Instead, Lady Charlotte's appearances can be couched in terms of feminine transition, from late girlhood into womanhood, and from the home to the societal stage. Although Lady Charlotte attended other balls during the season, the persistence with which she appeared at Almack's denoted its importance as an institution trading in visual consumption and display.⁸ If she was unable to transfer her rank to William upon marriage, she was certainly able to confer status; by appearing at Almack's – "the seventh heaven of the fashionable world" – she was transacting

⁴ Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 87 and "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 138.

⁵ "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 141. The theme of Almack's as a marriage market is pervasive in contemporary and secondary literature. See Chancellor, *Memorials of St James's Street Together with the Annals of Almack's*, 216; Venetia Murray, *High Society in the Regency Period 1788-1830* (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 51; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 89-92; "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 136, 138-141; Turner, "Almack's and Society, 1765-1863," 242, 246; and Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 42, 47-48.

⁶ See "ALMACK'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, April 30, May 7, and June 4, 11, 18, 25, 1830. The Marquis of Ely was also present at some of the Almack's balls that Lady Charlotte attended.

⁷ See "LOUGH ERNE REGATTA," *Belfast News Letter*, August 26, 1828 and *Standard*, August 28, 1830.

⁸ For society balls that Lady Charlotte attended in 1830, see "LADY COCKERELL'S BALL," "LADY LANGFORD'S SECOND GRAND BALL," and "LADY MARGARET WALPOLE'S BALL," *Morning Post*, May 3, 12, and June 2 respectively.

in exclusivity and fashionability.⁹ Stepping into the shoes of the Marchioness of Ely, Lady Charlotte subsequently accompanied her own daughters to Almack's in the late 1850s.¹⁰ By doing so, she completed overlapping circles that cycled between maidenhood and mature womanhood, and across two generations of mothers.

Female agency was pivotal to the cultivation of Almack's as an exclusive venue, for its management under a coterie of lady patronesses governed collective bodily expression and exchange.¹¹ As the "[a]rbiters of fashion and guardians of admission", the patronesses were responsible for accepting or rejecting applications for entrance, determining the transferability of tickets, and defining the code of dress, thereby fabricating not only who was fashionable, but how fashionable bodies were managed.¹² Through their architecture of "ballroom narratives", they also maintained an influence over the performance of dance at Almack's.¹³ Lady Charlotte was a patroness for several years in the mid-nineteenth century, a period late in the history of Almack's that nonetheless appeared to be vibrant and which still embraced

⁹ For the quotation, see Captain Rees Howell Gronow, *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow, Formerly of the Grenadier Guards, and M.P. for Stafford: Being Anecdotes of the Camp, the Court, and the Clubs, at the Close of the Last War with France*, second revised ed. (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1862), 43, quoted in Chancellor, *Memorials of St James's Street Together with the Annals of Almack's*, 209. Adam Badeau explained the particularities of rank specifically in relation to Lady Charlotte's marriage to William Tatton Egerton. See Adam Badeau, *Aristocracy in England* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1885, 1886), 40.

¹⁰ See "ALMACK'S," *Morning Post*, June 19, 1858 and May 28, 1859. The earlier article specifies two Miss Egertons, who were presumably Lady Charlotte's eldest daughters, Elizabeth (1834-1893) and Alice (1836-1868) Egerton.

¹¹ For descriptions of the lady patronesses and their management of Almack's, see Besant, *Fifty Years Ago*, 114-117; Chancellor, *Memorials of St James's Street Together with the Annals of Almack's*, 198-199, 202-203, 205, 208-211, 217-218, 220, 222-234, 262; Gronow, *Reminiscences of Captain Gronow*, 43-45; Murray, *High Society in the Regency Period 1788-1830*, 48-49, 52-57; Hermann von Pückler-Muskau, *A Regency Visitor: The English Tour of Prince Pückler-Muskau Described in His Letters, 1826-1828*, trans. Sarah Austin (London: Collins, 1957), 162-163; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 93-95; "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 142; Turner, "Almack's and Society, 1765-1863," 242-247; and Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, chapter 2. On Almack's and political power and exchange, see Peter Mandler, "From Almack's to Willis's: Aristocratic Women and Politics, 1815-1867," in *Women, Privilege, and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the Present* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 159-160, 166-167 and Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65-68.

¹² Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 41. Notably, while men's tickets were deemed non-transferable, women's tickets could be passed on through maternal or along sibling lines. Cheryl Wilson suggested that, by employing such a practice, the patronesses acted in the interests of female guests by inviting men who were qualified as prospective marriage partners.

¹³ See *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 40-42, 48, 54, 68.

selectivity.¹⁴ In 1858, she had at her disposal, along with the other lady patronesses, just 24 subscription vouchers with which to supply demand. The number of applicants was so large that the patronesses “determined to give vouchers to those only who were on the visiting lists of the respective ladies.”¹⁵ Such nepotism not only ensured an acceptably exclusive assemblage, it also gave the patronesses considerable power in defining and controlling elite culture.¹⁶ Lady Charlotte’s exchange of vouchers for tickets effectively served to create a subdivision of fashionable society and essentially regulated who could dance at Almack’s. While as a debutante she was bodily fashioned, as it were, by those around her, as a patroness she constructed a social environment through which other bodies could be fashioned.

If Almack’s functioned as a locus of feminine display, then the quadrille provided an ideal conduit for its expression. Fancy quadrilles, particularly those danced only by women, offered spectators the chance to delight not only in “the ease, freedom, and elegance of [the dancers’] movements” but also in the collective display of feminine beauty, enhanced by ornamented costumes.¹⁷ Harriett Arbutnot (1793–1834) described a quadrille at Almack’s in 1823 that featured “the prettiest girls in London” wearing “caps & flowers with a chip Swiss hat”, while Thomas Moore (1779–1852) chronicled a quadrille three years later comprising twelve women dancing with headdresses of “gold baskets full of fruit, flowers, &c.”¹⁸ Venturing to alleviate the perceived tedium

¹⁴ Lady Charlotte’s name appeared in newspaper articles listing the lady patronesses at Almack’s for the years 1858–1859 and 1862–1863. It is unclear whether she also served in this capacity in the intervening years. See, for example, “ALMACK’S,” *Morning Post*, July 2, 1858; July 9, 1859; and May 29, 1862; and “ALMACK’S BALLS,” *Morning Post*, June 6, 1863. As the first few decades of the nineteenth century saw Almack’s reach its pinnacle as an exclusive dancing venue, Lady Charlotte’s involvement was thus framed by her debut during its golden era and her role as lady patroness at its termination. On the decline of Almack’s, see Chancellor, *Memorials of St James’s Street Together with the Annals of Almack’s*, 221, 261; Turner, “Almack’s and Society, 1765–1863,” 242, 246, 249; and Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 41, 177–178 (note 3).

¹⁵ See “ALMACK’S FIRST BALL,” *Morning Post*, May 19, 1858 and “ALMACKS’ [sic] BALLS,” *Morning Post*, May 27, 1858.

¹⁶ Cheryl Wilson averred that by regulating who gained admission to Almack’s, the lady patronesses were in fact “construct[ing] and reproduc[ing] their own version of influential and fashionable society.” See Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 47.

¹⁷ G. Yates, *The Ball; or, a Glance at Almack’s in 1829* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 53.

¹⁸ Journal entry dated June 22, 1823 in Francis Bamford and The Duke of Wellington, eds., *The Journal of Mrs. Arbutnot 1820–1832*, vol. I (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1950), 242, quoted in Turner, “Almack’s and Society, 1765–1863,” 247; and journal entry dated May 31, 1826 in The Right Honourable Lord John Russell, ed. *Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, vol. 5 (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1854), 81, quoted in Chancellor, *Memorials of St James’s Street Together with the*

of the oft-performed dances at Almack's, G. Yates proposed introducing the Grecian quadrille, an all-female dance that yielded an attractive exhibition for spectators:

It possesses a decided superiority in graceful movements over many dances, having also a very pleasing combination of steps; and as it is for ladies only, and those uniformly dressed, it has the same interesting effect which is produced by the Shawl Quadrille, as danced at Paris in the ballet of *Cendrillon*, but has not its difficulties... it is to be observed that there appears occasionally at this assembly...a number of young ladies in a *costume* of their own, with the object apparently of forming a distinct set in the dance – a very interesting picture of symmetry and conformity being thus presented to the eye of the spectator."¹⁹

Seemingly unperturbed by linking the dancers of the Paris Opéra with the refinement of Almack's, Yates instead focussed on the visual appeal that was provided by groups of women dancing quadrilles in contrasting dress.²⁰

Annals of Almack's, 220; Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 99; and "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 144.

¹⁹ Yates, *The Ball; or, a Glance at Almack's in 1829*, 57-58. The Grecian quadrille appears in Jane Porter and Anna Maria Porter, *Coming Out; and the Field of the Forty Footsteps*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828), 36, where it is described as comprising "slow and rapid waltzing..." The ballet of *Cendrillon* [Cinderella], choreographed by François Decombe Albert (1787-1865), was performed at the King's Theatre in 1822 and subsequently produced at the Paris Opéra in 1823. Although Charles-Louis Didelot (1767-1837) staged his own rendition of the story in 1824, it is likely that Yates was referring to the Albert production. See Susan Au, "Albert, Monsieur," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 1 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 36 and Molly McQuade, "Cinderella," *ibid.*, vol. 2, 173. A restaging of the ballet under the name of *The Fairy Slipper* at Covent Garden in 1834 included "A QUADRILLE of Twelve Ladies, with Shawls and Bouquets" ("Theatre Royal, Covent Garden," *Theatrical Observer; and Daily Bills of the Play*, May 6, 1834), which was one of several "graceful figure dances" that formed part of a magnificent ballroom scene (see "COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE," *Standard*, May 7, 1834). For contextualisation of the performative use of shawls in the early nineteenth century and their diverse associations with coquetry, grace and visual consumption, see Rachel Cowgill, "'Attitudes with a Shawl': Performance, Femininity, and Spectatorship at the Italian Opera in Early Nineteenth-Century London," in *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Hilary Poriss (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 217-251.

²⁰ Yates was quite insistent on the point of visual symmetry, complaining that dancers who intruded into the dance wearing different attire "not only discompose[d] the set, but destroy[ed] the otherwise unique appearance." See Yates, *The Ball; or, a Glance at Almack's in 1829*, 59.

These performances, as a whole, unequivocally offered women's bodies to the viewer's gaze, with the quadrille furnishing a framework for the commodification of femininity.²¹

The manner in which Almack's defined fashionable female bodies through processes of transfer and exchange was mirrored in the performance of quadrilles under its roof. In 1862, one of the "unique attractions" of the Almack's season was the proposed performance of fancy quadrilles from the Caledonian Fancy Dress Ball.²² Held in aid of Scottish charitable institutions, the ball featured two fancy quadrilles assembled by Lady Charlotte's fellow patronesses: an unnamed quadrille by Lady Aveland, who was additionally a patroness of the Caledonian ball, and the "Highland Quadrille" by the Countess of Kinnoull.²³ Invitations were issued to dancers participating in the fancy quadrilles to attend one of the Almack's subscription evenings, with a view to reassembling the performance.²⁴ The patronesses of Almack's were therefore responsible not just for creating exhibition quadrilles, but for importing the dancing bodies who performed them into the Almack's ballroom. In their "exercise of female agency" through the quadrille, the patronesses were intimately concerned with the composition of dance at Almack's; the exchange that occurred as fancy quadrilles completed a circle from conception, to their first performance and subsequent introduction at Almack's, bears a resemblance to the cycles of femininity that women enacted in the Almack's ballroom.²⁵

Given the exclusive terms on which Almack's operated, the quadrille music performed therein could be construed as some of the most fashionable in England, exhibiting mechanisms of transfer and exchange that played on cultural sensibilities. Piqued by the suggestion that music performed at the first Almack's ball in 1830 was subsequently played at a society ball by a rival

²¹ See Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 97, 99 and "Almack's Assembly Rooms - a Site of Sexual Pleasure," 141, 143-144.

²² "ALMACK'S," *Morning Post*, May 29, 1862.

²³ "THE CALEDONIAN FANCY DRESS BALL," *Morning Post*, June 24, 1862.

²⁴ "ALMACK'S," *Morning Post*, May 29, 1862. A similar situation took place the following year, where the "Four Seasons" quadrille from the Caledonian ball, in which each group of women dressed in a different colour to represent the changing seasons, was to be presented at the first Almack's ball the following week. See "THE CALEDONIAN BALL," *Morning Post*, June 11, 1863 and "ALMACK'S," *Morning Post*, June 17, 1863.

²⁵ See Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 42, 47, 54, 61 (for the quotation), 68.

quadrille band, Hubert Collinet (1797-1867) launched a polite but stinging attack that established the selectiveness of both the band and the music:

The Band at ALMACK'S, conducted by Messrs. MICHAU, MUSARD, and COLLINET, has no connection with any other. It has but just arrived from Paris, purposely for ALMACK'S Balls, with a collection of new Quadrilles, Waltzes, &c., as arranged and composed by them; and...it is totally out of the power of any other persons to procure and perform such new Quadrilles as played at the first ALMACK'S Assembly...²⁶

The music itself derived from an assortment of French operas and included Gioachino Rossini's (1792-1868) *Guillaume Tell*.²⁷ Quadrille arrangements played an integral role in the dissemination of this work, for although the opera premiered in Paris in 1829, dancers at Almack's would only have known the music through ballet or concert performances of extracts.²⁸ Goulding and D'Almaine, who purchased the British copyright for the opera, produced a *Musical Bijou* containing quadrilles arranged from the music just two months

²⁶ "TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING POST," *Morning Post*, April 27, 1830. For descriptions of the Almack's ball and the society ball, see "ALMACK'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, April 23, 1830 and "LADY COCKERELL'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, April 26, 1830, respectively. Collinet was a noted flageolet player and dance band musician. See François-Joseph Fétis, "Collinet," in *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens et Bibliographie Générale de la Musique*, deuxième ed., vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1861), 337, for a brief overview of his work.

²⁷ "ALMACK'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, April 23, 1830. The other operas mentioned in the description of the ball are *Fra Diavolo, ou L'hôtellerie de Terracine* by Daniel Auber (1782-1871); *Le dilettante d'Avignon* by Fromental Halévy (1799-1862); and *Les Deux Nuits* by Adrien Boieldieu (1775-1834).

²⁸ The French production of *Guillaume Tell* did not appear in London until 1845, and although there was an English adaptation under the name of *Hofer, the Tell of the Tyrol*, which appeared at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1830, this was not staged until after the Almack's ball. See Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press 1785-1830* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), 157, 491-492; Christina Elizabeth Fuhrmann, "'Adapted and Arranged for the English Stage': Continental Operas Transformed for the London Theater, 1814-33" (PhD, Washington University, 2001), 176-180; Sarah Hibberd, "Grand Opera in Britain and the Americas," in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 406-407; and Richard Osborne, "Guillaume Tell (ii)," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O002744>, accessed 23 May 2014. For examples of concert and ballet productions, see "CITY AMATEUR CONCERT," *Morning Post*, January 23, 1830; "MR. ELLA'S SOIREES MUSICALES," *Morning Post*, February 13, 1830 and Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and Chamber Music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 59-61; "PHILHARMONIC CONCERT," *Morning Post*, March 3, 1830; and "THEATRE. KING'S THEATRE," *Morning Post*, March 8, 1830. For a parallel situation in France, where dancers "may have heard opera feet first", see Maribeth Clark, "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance" (PhD, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 180-181 and "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 3 (2002): 503-504.

after its Parisian premiere, but prior to this, John Michael Weippert (1776-1831), whose band performed at the ball that gave Collinet offence, was playing his own quadrille adaptations at provincial balls.²⁹ In this tussle for cosmopolitan musical exclusivity, it is noteworthy that Almack's employed a French band, to perform French music for a French dance, to underpin its construction of elite Englishness.³⁰

Quadrille arrangements from *Guillaume Tell* played a significant role in Lady Charlotte's first season in London. It is likely that she made her debut, accompanied by the Marquis and Marchioness of Ely, on the evening when the *Guillaume Tell* quadrilles were performed at Almack's.³¹ The Ely family was present on at least one other occasion when quadrilles from the opera were played at Almack's, and given the work's popularity, it may well have provided

²⁹ On Goulding and D'Almaine, see advertisements in *Morning Post*, September 3, 1829 and *Examiner*, September 27, 1829, in addition to "THE ANNUALS. THE MUSICAL BIJOU," *Morning Post*, October 31, 1829 and James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 287, 289. Johann Michael Weippert's *Guillaume Tell* quadrilles were published by Goulding and D'Almaine, such that "the right of publishing "Guillaume Tell" being vested, no other Quadrilles contains the Air from that celebrated Opera", thus potentially rendering the publication in England of quadrilles based on the opera by other arrangers problematic (see advertisement in *Morning Post*, June 21, 1830). The range of locations in which Weippert's band performed gives an indication of the importance of such occasions for the work's dissemination: see *Morning Post* "SHREWSBURY, SEPT. 18," September 21, 1829; "BERKHAMPSTEAD, OCT. 16," October 17, 1829; "DEVIZES, Nov. 14," November 16, 1829; "HUNTINGDON, DEC. 9," December 10, 1829; "ENFIELD, DEC. 15," December 16, 1829; "BEDFORD," December 17, 1829; "CHELMSFORD, DEC. 19," December 21, 1829; "GUILDFORD, DEC. 31," January 1, 1830; "NEWBURY BALL," January 9, 1830; and "BLANDFORD, DORSET, JAN. 8," January 11, 1830. For a brief history of the remarkable musical lineage of the Weippert family, see John A. Parkinson, "A Knot of Weipperts," in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections. Presented to O.W. Neighbour on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle, and Malcolm Turner (London: The British Library, 1993), 274-281.

³⁰ On Almack's and the importation of French culture in relation to English identity, see Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 43, 53, 61. For a slightly earlier discussion on the cultural interchange between France and England, see Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748-1815* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

³¹ The list of attendees for the Almack's ball included a Lady Elizabeth Loftus. As Lady Charlotte's second name was Elizabeth, the newspaper may have used it interchangeably with her first name or recorded it as a misprint. Although she attended a drawing room in March, Almack's appears to have been her first ball for the season. See "ALMACK'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, April 23, 1830; "DRAWING ROOM AT THE CASTLE," *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, March 12, 1830; and Edmund Lodge, *The Peerage of the British Empire as at Present Existing Arranged and Printed from the Personal Communications of the Nobility...to Which Is Added the Baronetage*, twelfth ed. (London: Saunders and Otley, 1843), 213.

an enduring backdrop to the season.³² While Lady Charlotte was familiar with the quadrilles played by Collinet's band, she possibly also heard quadrilles based on *Guillaume Tell* performed by John Michael Weippert's band at a ball given by Lady Cockerell just two days after her debut.³³ Certainly Weippert's music found a place within her collection, for she owned a copy of his 50th set of quadrilles, arranged from *Guillaume Tell*, which bears her mother's signature (see Appendix 3 for a full list of quadrilles belonging to Lady Charlotte and the Marchioness of Ely). As the quadrilles were advertised in the *Harmonicon* in early 1830, the music may have been purchased before either the Marchioness of Ely or Lady Charlotte experienced them in dance form.³⁴ Lady Charlotte's transference onto the social stage of the English elite was thus facilitated and mirrored by the movement of the opera from the Parisian theatre into exclusive English ballrooms.

The musical displacement evident in the *Guillaume Tell* quadrilles is characteristic of the genre and juxtaposes Almack's as a tightly controlled bodily space with the quadrille as a highly flexible musical form (see Figure 32).³⁵ If performances of the waltz and quadrille at Almack's "embodied the very essence of cultural exchange", then opera quadrille scores which combined the two dances destabilised both the concept of a unified musical

³² See advertisement in *Morning Post*, June 22, 1830, indicating that the "William Tell Quadrilles" were performed at Almack's on June 2. A description of the Almack's ball for that date indicates that the Marquis and Marchioness of Ely, and Lady C. Loftus, attended the ball; see "ALMACK'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, June 4, 1830. It is noteworthy that the advertisement attributed the music to the ballet of *Guillaume Tell*, rather than the opera, adding an implied extra level of musical transference.

³³ "LADY COCKERELL'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, April 26, 1830. Again, a Lady E. Loftus was listed amongst the guests. Although the music performed at the ball is not listed in the newspaper account, given that quadrilles from *Guillaume Tell* were consistently included in Weippert's repertoire and that the band played quadrilles from the opera at the beginning of April that year (see "GRAND FANCY DRESS BALL," *Morning Post*, April 5, 1830), it is reasonable to speculate that they may have been incorporated for Lady Cockerell's ball.

³⁴ "NEW MUSICAL WORKS PUBLISHED DURING THE LAST MONTH," *The Harmonicon. Part the First, Containing a Collection of Vocal and Instrumental Music; and Essays, Criticisms, Biography, &c. &c.*, (London: Samuel Leigh, 1830), 44. As the following page is dated February 1830 and the article preceding the advertisement relates to late 1829, it would seem that the quadrilles were published early in the year. My thanks go to Dr Penelope Cave for pointing me towards this source.

³⁵ Not only were fashionable bodies controlled by restrictions on entrance into Almack's and the application of a dress code, the use of ropes to demarcate the dance floor literally separated spectators from dancers. See Besant, *Fifty Years Ago*, 117; James Grant, *The Great Metropolis*, second series ed., 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Saunders and Otley, 1837), 35; Pückler-Muskau, *A Regency Visitor: The English Tour of Prince Pückler-Muskau Described in His Letters, 1826-1828*, 199; and Ellis A. Rogers, *The Quadrille. A Practical Guide to Its Origin, Development and Performance*, fourth ed. (Orpington: C & E Rogers, 2008), 29.

work and the discreteness of dance genres.³⁶ Musical criticism of opera quadrilles in France in the early 1830s expressed considerable discomfiture at the perceived disintegration of opera and degradation of taste wrought by such arrangements, and the crossing of class boundaries that the simplicity of the adaptations purportedly enabled.³⁷



FIGURE 32. EXTRACT FROM *ALMACK'S ASSEMBLY ROOMS*, WATERCOLOUR BY CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA SNEYD, 1819-1820, THE SNEYD PAPERS, KEELE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY © KEELE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY. THE RED ROPE THAT SEPARATES THE DANCERS FROM ONLOOKERS CAN BE SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND.

Like other opera quadrilles in Lady Charlotte's collection, the *Guillaume Tell* set utilised melodies plucked from across the opera, with no specific reference to the libretto or adherence to strict musical order.³⁸ This supreme suppleness in

³⁶ Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 61. G. Yates commented on the practice of following each quadrille with a waltz in the ballroom while Maribeth Clark noted the ability of the quadrille to assimilate rhythms from other dances. See Yates, *The Ball; or, a Glance at Almack's in 1829*, 55 and Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 505.

³⁷ See "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance," 182-183, 225-226 and "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 504, 506, 514-515, 518, 525-526.

³⁸ *La Pantalon* ("Devonshire House") is based on the chorus "Quelle sauvage harmonie" from Act II, Scene 1; *L'Etè* ("Chatsworth House") is taken from the minor middle section of the *Allegro Vivace* that concludes the overture [see Gioachino Rossini, *Guillaume Tell*, ed. Philip Gossett, 2 vols., vol. 1, Early Romantic Opera (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980), 34-35]; *La Poule* ("Chiswick House") is derived from the chorus "Enfants de la nature" from Act I, Scene 8; *La Trenise* ("Bolton Abbey") draws on the duet "Oui vous l'arrachez à mon âme" from Act II, Scene 3; the Finale ("Lismore Castle") utilises the main theme from the *Allegro Vivace* that concludes the overture; and the *Guillaume Tell Waltz* is extracted from the a cappella chorus "Toi que l'oiseau ne suivrait pas" from Act III, Scene 2. While the quadrilles employ some alterations, truncations, additions and reversals of material, as a

appropriation of musical sources rendered void any specific understanding of the quadrille as a musical form, for apart from the need to maintain a certain compositional length, appropriate meter and constancy of tempo, there were no defining rhythmic or stylistic features that were characteristic of the genre.³⁹ While the waltz that concluded the set would invariably have been recognised as such, the quadrille music lacked a full “sonic analogue”, for although it provided a framework upon which the dance could be strung, it contained no inherent “sonic image” to stimulate imagination of the steps.⁴⁰ The lack of recognisable dance prompts in the music therefore precluded bodily recognition of the dance through audition alone; however, the wide range of music that could potentially be adapted for quadrilles enabled seemingly infinite possibilities for understanding music as (latent) embodied dance.⁴¹

4.2 The Quadrille at the Keyboard: Discourses on Beauty, Virtuosity and Display

While music contained the hidden germ of the quadrille through the potential for existing genres to be arranged into dance music, quadrille music demonstrably embodied concepts of fashionable leisure, beauty and virtuosity in a manner that pulled at established signifiers of femininity. As a physical document and as prospective performance, quadrille music invoked a number of bodily dichotomies: the tension between the requisite “ease” of the amateur

whole it is perhaps the least fractured set of those in Lady Charlotte’s collection. For a discussion of similar displacements, see Clark, “Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance,” 197-213; “The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris,” 520, 522-523; and Mark Everist, *Mozart’s Ghosts: Haunting the Halls of Musical Culture* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 112-115.

³⁹ See Clark, “Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance,” 190, 202-203 and “The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris,” 504-505.

⁴⁰ Lawrence M. Zbikowski, “Dance Topoi, Sonic Analogues and Musical Grammar: Communicating with Music in the Eighteenth Century,” ed. Danuta Mirka and Kofi Agawu, *Communication in Eighteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 286, 288. On dance topics and sonic analogues, see *ibid.*, 286-292; “Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Musicological Research*, no. 31 (2012): 152-155, 159-163; and “Music and Dance in the *Ancien Régime*,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 144-145, 156-161.

⁴¹ This, of course, was an early nineteenth century manifestation of the kinds of exchanges that were being performed in Elizabeth Egerton’s country dances; see chapter 3 pp. 201-208. On music as embodied knowledge and the quadrille as an embodied dance form, see Zbikowski, “Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century,” 161 and Clark, “The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris,” 525-526, respectively.

and the virtuosity of the professional musician; the prescribed need for moderation of movement in the face of physical overtness; the discipline required to learn music that was quintessentially associated with leisure; and the space that such music provided for adopting personae that challenged ideals of femininity. As a form of music-making that was richly contextualised, yet which maintained a utilitarian purpose, quadrille music placed women at an intersection that drew together past experiences of the ballroom with the potential for future bodily display. The cultural and social frameworks surrounding women's participation in music at the turn of the nineteenth century provide a stimulus for rustling the pages of quadrille music in search of multiple layers of meaning. Two separate subsections of quadrilles within Lady Charlotte's collection – those based on operatic works, and original compositions by the Parisian-based pianist, Henri Herz (1803-1888) – neatly portray the chameleonic qualities that quadrille music encapsulated. By interrogating the physical demands these works placed on the pianist, it is possible to see how elements of these compositions contradicted established ideals of femininity.

In both its physical appearance and the connotations it evoked, printed quadrille music was intensely fashionable. In profiling a mid-eighteenth century collection of keyboard music for women that incorporated numerous dances, Matthew Head noted "the discursive alignment of fashion, luxury, and the feminine", in which women and luxury held a level of equivalency.⁴² Although well removed in time from Head's sample collection, nineteenth-century quadrille music illustrates a similar convergence of values. The title pages of many of the quadrilles in Lady Charlotte's collection capture the elite nature of their genesis, from the emphasis placed on the exclusive venues where the music was performed, to the aristocratic dedicatees and, on occasion, the title of the quadrille itself, while reference to operas from which the music was derived situated the work as an offspring of wealth and luxury (see Figure 33).⁴³ As a social document, quadrille music pointed distinctly

⁴² Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2013), 58.

⁴³ The mention of elite venues was common practice for dance music and was not confined to English locations. Quadrilles in Charlotte Egerton's (1824-1845) and Princess Victoria's music collections, for example, refer to the "Court of the Tuilleries". See MR 2-5-17 and British Library shelfmark R.M.25.k.3.(11.) respectively.

towards the commercialisation of fashionability and the active consumption of music and dance, at the core of which lay a potentially uncomfortable dichotomy.⁴⁴

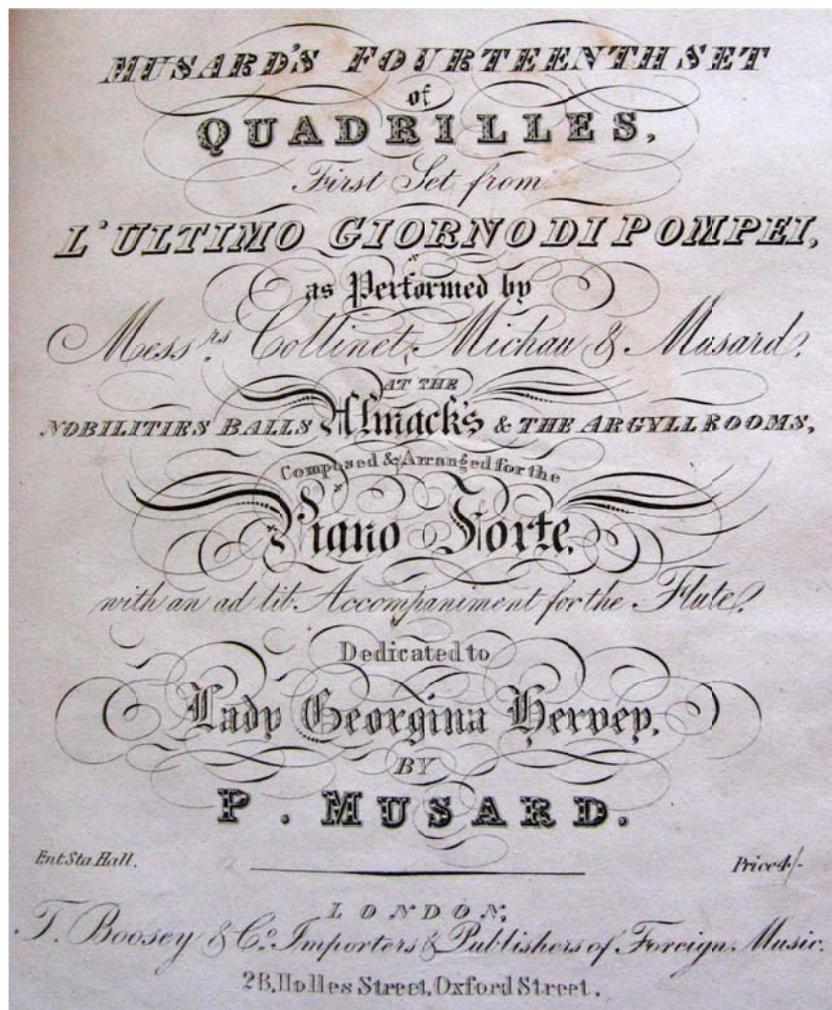


FIGURE 33. TITLE PAGE FROM PHILIPPE MUSARD'S FIRST SET OF QUADRILLES FROM GIOVANNI PACINI'S OPERA *L'ULTIMO GIORNO DI POMPEI* [MR 2-5-45].

The inclusion of dance figures in English and French, combined with the apparent simplicity of the arrangements for piano, simultaneously catered for the aristocracy and bourgeois classes.⁴⁵ As such, quadrille scores were a silent

⁴⁴ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 73, for a discussion of how “music for the fair sex” was a commodity that traded in creating ideals of femininity.

⁴⁵ I am very grateful to Professor Theresa Buckland for pointing out the class implications associated with the bilingual instructions, with the English version making the work more accessible to a broader public. The relative “easiness” of the arrangements fell appropriately into the ideal of accomplished leisure for the aristocracy, and yet also catered for members of the middling classes who had less time and money to spend on learning music. On the social performance of quadrille music, see Clark,

manifestation of fashionableness, reanimated in performance by those who attended the original society balls from which the music was derived, or recreated by proxy by those whose lower rank and wealth excluded them from such entertainments. Although women were not explicitly designated as the intended performers of these works, given the close association between keyboard instruments and female music-making, such a designation was perhaps implicitly understood.⁴⁶ Quadrille music, although not luxurious in monetary value, nevertheless represented the union between fashionable bodily performance, as displayed through balls which at their most exclusive enshrined a high degree of luxury, and the fashionable consuming woman.⁴⁷

While quadrille scores outwardly exhibited tokens of elite status, the actual performance of quadrille music by women was intimately associated with musical education, accomplishment and display. The French pianist and pedagogue, Charles Chaulieu (1788-1849), who taught in London during the 1840s, recommended learning quadrilles in order to instil an understanding of rhythm and phrasing, but it is his remarks on the performance of music by women in the preface to his 1831/1832 publication, *Les Plaisirs de la Pension, Six Quadrilles de Contredanses Variées, Faciles & Brillantes Composées pour les jeunes Personnes Anglaises, pour le Piano forte*, that is worthy of attention:

Oh you, young persons destined to be society's ornaments, listen to the advice given of one with long experience: Believe me well that those long and difficult pieces that you play in a salon sometimes surprise (when they are played perfectly – a rare occurrence!), but almost never seduce. You must consider them as a means of learning how to play, with grace,

"Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance," 182-183 and "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 506, 515.

⁴⁶ For the cultural contextualisation of women at the piano in the late eighteenth and early to mid nineteenth centuries, see Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, chapter 2; Regula Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener: English Representations of Domestic Music-Making* (New York: Rodopi, 2008), chapter 3 and 126-163; Richard Leppert, *Music and Image* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 147, 154-156, 161-162; *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993), 134-151; Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820" (PhD, University of California, 2009); and Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004), chapter 3.

⁴⁷ On the conjunction between music and fashionable female consumption, see Leppert, *Music and Image*, 31-32; *The Sight of Sound*, 71; and Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England. Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 43.

aplomb, expression and clarity, those brilliant second-rate pieces, which are, above all, of a more moderate length. You disdain them, and you are wrong. For with them, you will charm...⁴⁸

In his encapsulation of women as ornamental beings and desire that they perform with grace and ease, Chaulieu's comments go right to the heart of constructions of femininity that prevailed in contemporary literature. In particular, his advocacy of musical poise, achieved through more modest compositions with less demanding technical requirements, conformed to ideal notions of feminine music-making.⁴⁹ By situating his remarks in the context of quadrilles, he essentially endorsed the genre as a vehicle for the practise and expression of archetypal femininity.

Chaulieu's supplication that women perform less difficult music is part of a literary continuum that sought to demarcate the boundaries of genteel feminine musical practice. Variouslly interpreted as signifying containment, instilling discipline, maintaining social harmony or encouraging transgression, the discourse surrounding amateur women's music-making invited a potential schism between theory and practice.⁵⁰ In general, women were urged to pursue musical proficiency provided their choice of repertoire and degree of attainment remained within prescribed bounds. An inappropriate level of attention bestowed on music-making suggested not only that more important duties were being neglected, but risked cultivation of "vain exhibitionism" and

⁴⁸ "O vous, jeunes personnes destinées à faire l'ornement de la société, écoutez un conseil dicté par une vieille expérience: Croyez bien que ces difficiles et longs morceaux que vous exécutez dans un salon, étonnent quelquefois (lorsqu'ils sont parfaitement joués, chose rare!) mais ne séduisent presque jamais. Il faut les considérer comme un moyen d'étude pour arriver à jouer, avec grâce, aplomb, expression et netteté, des morceaux brillans de seconde force, surtout d'une longueur modérée; vous les dédaignez, vous avez tort; car alors vous plairez, vous charmerez, et l'on ne dira plus autour de vous: HÉLAS, ENCORE DU PIANO!!!" Quoted in L.P., "Variétés. De La Contre-Danse," *Le Pianiste* 2 (March 5, 1835): 72. Translated into English and quoted in Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 516-517. See *Les Plaisirs de la Pension, Six Quadrilles de Contredanses Variées, Faciles & Brillantes Composées pour les jeunes Personnes Anglaises, pour le Piano forte*, par Charles Chaulieu. Op. 140, published in London by R. Cocks & Co. and in Paris by H. Lemoine. The work also appeared as *Les Plaisirs de la Pension Or Boarding School Recreations, Six Brilliant Sets of Quadrilles, for the Piano Forte, Composed and Dedicated to English Ladies*, again published by R. Cocks & Co. [see British Library shelfmark h.661.(9.)]. On music-making as an activity that contributed towards women's ornamental status, see Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 51; Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 149; Leppert, *Music and Image*, 31; *The Sight of Sound*, 70, 74; and Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 12.

⁴⁹ See chapter 1, pp. 113, 116-119.

⁵⁰ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 49, 52, 59, 62-81; Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 4, 137-138; Leppert, *Music and Image*, 40, 45, 147, 159; *The Sight of Sound*, 69-70; Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 11-12; and Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, 2-3, 5-6, 11.

the arousal of undesirable passions.⁵¹ Matthew Head argued that music-making acted as “a metaphor through which femininity was produced as a discursive ideal”, a concept borne out through the qualities ascribed to musical compositions and performance styles thought suitable for women to adopt.⁵² Recurring themes included the need for simplicity and ease, both in execution and musical complexity, in addition to gracefulness, elegance, smoothness and lightness.⁵³ The eschewal of outward virtuosity and vehemence of gesture played into notions of female delicacy and musical taste, but the ensuing paradox that arose between written ideals and the potential actualities of musical performance set up a series of disjunctions that complicated the interpretation of women’s musicking.⁵⁴

The quadrilles in Lady Charlotte’s collection offer an avenue for interrogating how virtuosity, ease, simplicity and grace operated in dance music. As Elizabeth Morgan and Matthew Head have noted, virtuosity and ease were fluid concepts whose meaning was largely dependent on the act of performance.⁵⁵ Lady Charlotte’s quadrilles fall easily into two categories: those by Herz, which utilise pianistic techniques associated with virtuosic display, and opera quadrilles, which disguise virtuosity under the mask of simplicity.⁵⁶ As these works date from a similar period, they simultaneously placed conflicting demands on the performer. By virtue of their status as arrangements, opera quadrilles were not intrinsically pianistic in conception, hence they demanded certain techniques that were potentially inelegant and

⁵¹ Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 16. See also Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 4-5, 66, 73, 75, 92, 126, 135-136, 139, 141; Leppert, *Music and Image*, 30, 39-40; *The Sight of Sound*, 64-65, 67-69; and Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, 33, 53.

⁵² Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 52.

⁵³ See *ibid.*, 50-51, 54, 57, 60-62, 68, 82; Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 69; and Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 18-19. An example of this in relation to dance music was the publication by Johann Strauss (1804-1849) and Tobias Haslinger of waltzes and quadrilles for girls that were “in easy style and easy keys”. See Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis: The 19th-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 134.

⁵⁴ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 61, 81, 83; Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 70, 93, 133-134; and Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 40-41, 64, 66, 72-74. A fictional representation of unfeminine playing appears in Gustave Flaubert’s novel *L’Éducation sentimentale* (1869), in which “Mademoiselle Vatnaz...launched into a frenzied quadrille, striking the keys like a prancing horse, and swaying from side to side in time to the music”, quoted in Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 512.

⁵⁵ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 57 and Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 24-26, 165-168.

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the masking of virtuosity in nineteenth-century piano music, see "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 63-74, 177-190.

difficult to execute. Common figurations included the use of octaves, full chords and broken chord accompaniment to compensate for orchestral richness and power, which provided a sharp and at times ungainly contrast to adjoining sections that were simple in their lady-like ease. The opening quadrille in Joseph Binns Hart's (1794-1844) set arranged from Saverio Mercadante's (1795-1870) comic opera *Elisa e Claudio*, creates one such juxtaposition: an unwieldy octave passage in the right hand, which challenges the performer's ability to maintain elegance of movement, immediately precedes a single-line melody that lies easily under the hands (see Figure 34).⁵⁷



FIGURE 34. EXCERPT FROM *COUNTRESS OF ERROL*, THE FIRST QUADRILLE IN JOSEPH BINNS HART'S SET DERIVED FROM SAVERIO MERCADANTE'S OPERA *ELISA E CLAUDIO*, BARS 11-20 [MR 2-5-45].

As maintaining a steady rhythm is necessary to ensure integrity in the dance, the capacity of the performer to negotiate such awkward passages is compromised by the inability to employ subtle rubato.⁵⁸ Similarly, a sudden shift combined with a change in figuration had potential to cause the pianist

⁵⁷ In fact, the passage might have been rendered less clumsy had the first two bars been written entirely in octaves, a figuration that visually is associated with more overt pianistic virtuosity. From the performer's perspective, the last eight bars of the excerpt at least offered her the chance to metaphorically breathe before the inevitable repeat of the entire first section of the quadrille.

⁵⁸ The French publication *Le Ménestrel* vehemently declared its disapprobation of young girls playing quadrilles, not only on account of taste, but also due to their technical execution: "Machines in petticoats, strangers to rhythm, deprived of musical sense, they speed up or slow down the movement of the quadrille depending on whether the passage is easy or complicated...Their performance would have the music and those who invented it damned." ["Machines enjuponnées, étrangères au rythme, privées du sens musical, elles pressent ou ralentissent le mouvement du quadrille, selon que le passage est facile ou compliqué...Leur jeu ferait maudire la musique et ceux qui l'ont inventée."] "Des petites virtuoses et de la Musique facile," *Le Ménestrel* 3, December 14, 1834, translated by and quoted in Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 517.

some discomposure. The first quadrille from Philippe Musard's (1792-1859) second set derived from Daniel Auber's (1782-1871) opera *La Muette de Portici*, utilises the omnipresent broken chord figure. However, the transplantation of the hand on the keyboard combined with a change in the weighting of the break augured ill for a seamless transition and could easily lead to unwanted accentuation of the weaker beats (see Figure 35, third bar in the excerpt). The assiduous fingering of the treble line by either Lady Charlotte or the Marchioness of Ely suggests that at least one of them took up the challenge.⁵⁹



FIGURE 35. EXCERPT FROM *LA MASANIELLO*, THE FIRST QUADRILLE IN PHILIPPE MUSARD'S SECOND SET BASED ON DANIEL AUBER'S OPERA *LA MUETTE DE PORTICI*, BARS 21-26 [MR 2-5-45].

While overall these quadrilles aimed at a modest degree of playability, they also incorporated genuinely difficult technical elements that challenged ideals of simplicity and physical moderation. The fifth quadrille in Hart's set contains a passage in double thirds, preceded by a characteristically awkward octave leap, while the second and fifth quadrilles from the *Guillaume Tell* set by John Michael Weippert employ repeated notes and octaves. Although the Weippert quadrilles are derived from the same section of the opera's overture, they offer contrasting scenarios: the fifth quadrille, which forms the finale of the set, utilises what has arguably become one of Rossini's most rousing and beloved melodies, instantly recognisable from the opening trumpet call (see Figure 36) while the second quadrille draws on an underlying *pianissimo* violin line from the brief interlude that separates statements of the main theme (see Figure 37). Given the latter's derivation, not only would its place in the opera

⁵⁹ The bass-line is fingered at the concomitant place on the following page, which involves the hand moving downwards rather than upwards, with the weight of the chord this time remaining on the first and third beats. No bass-line fingering is evident for the example given above.

have been difficult to perceive, but the figuration also provided some tricky moments for the pianist to surmount.



FIGURE 36. EXCERPT FROM *LISMORE CASTLE*, THE FIFTH QUADRILLE IN JOHN MICHAEL WEIPPERT'S SET DERIVED FROM GIOACHINO ROSSINI'S OPERA *GUILLAUME TELL*, BARS 1 - 27 [MR 2-5-45].



FIGURE 37. EXCERPT FROM *CHATSWORTH HOUSE*, THE SECOND QUADRILLE IN JOHN MICHAEL WEIPPERT'S SET DERIVED FROM GIOACHINO ROSSINI'S OPERA *GUILLAUME TELL*, BARS 10-24 [MR 2-5-45].

Whilst the difficulty (and hence virtuosity) lay in a delicate negotiation of the running semiquavers, the fifth quadrille demanded power and vehemence in the execution of repeated octaves and chords. As with the opening of the fourth quadrille (see Figure 38), it must have been hard to resist thumping through such a full *fortissimo* passage.

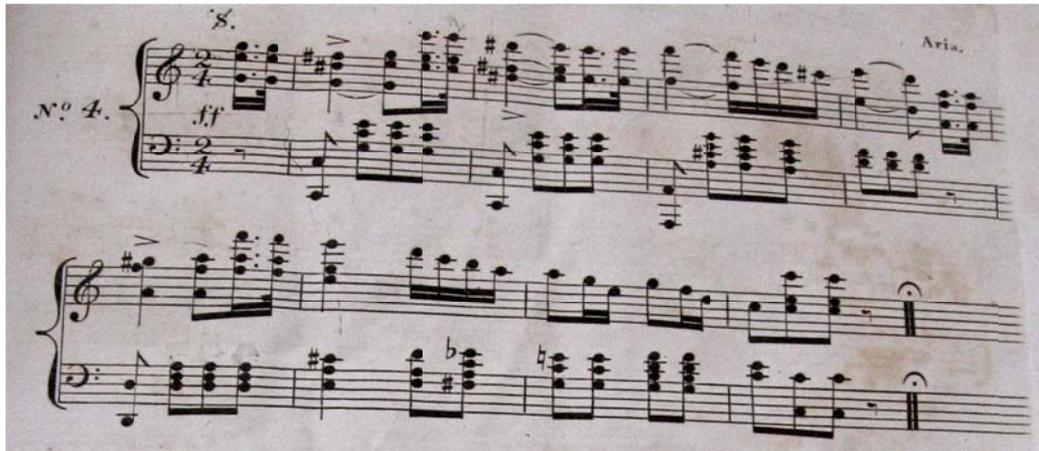


FIGURE 38. EXCERPT FROM *BOLTON ABBEY*, THE FOURTH QUADRILLE IN JOHN MICHAEL WEIPPERT'S SET DERIVED FROM GIOACHINO ROSSINI'S OPERA *GUILLAUME TELL*, BARS 1-8 [MR 2-5-45].

The virtuosic demand on the performer was increased with the incessant need for repetition, as each of these quadrilles required quadruple performance to accommodate the rotation of figures amongst the dancers. Additionally, the issue of tempo came into play: whilst performing the finale of the *Guillaume Tell* quadrilles at the speed indicated in the orchestral score would have created almost unimaginable chaos, it is easy to imagine that the music could incite increasing fervour in performance.⁶⁰ The challenge for the pianist, therefore, was to maintain equanimity, grace and elegance in a quagmire of awkwardness, technical complication and sonorous intensity, and therein lay the virtuosity.⁶¹

⁶⁰ The 1829 Parisian edition of the full score gives a tempo of crotchet = 152 for the music corresponding to this quadrille. In performance with the Hampshire-based regency dance group, *La Belle Assemblée*, the optimal tempo was approximately crotchet = 120. See Rossini, *Guillaume Tell*, 1, 25, in addition to Clark, "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance," 203 and "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 520.

⁶¹ See Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 180-181, 187-190.

By contrast, the Herz quadrilles employed a gamut of bravura pianistic techniques that relied on an assured display of skill, intersecting with concepts of discipline, elegance and leisure. Comprising combinations of broken and double octaves, double thirds, rapid passagework, repeated notes, extended trills and crossing of hands, these works represented a compendium of difficulty. The *Harmonicon* encapsulated both the technical requirements and the aesthetic milieu in which these quadrilles sat:

The QUADRILLES of M. Herz, if really meant as dance-tunes, are infinitely too good for the purpose: they ought rather to be viewed as a collection of elegant, attractive rondos, the subjects original, and these diversified in not only a tasteful but a very superior manner. This work is not intended for indifferent performers, it will require a neat, expert player, with a hand of some power, to do the compositions justice. But the pieces are short...therefore not likely to put the practitioner's patience to any severe test...⁶²

The review connects several ideas that have implications for female performance: firstly, that dance music was considered unworthy of interesting or complex composition, playing into notions that women's music-making embodied simplicity and triviality, and emphasising the disjunction between bodily movement and mental stimulation; secondly, that the concept of elegance was exclusive of technical virtuosity; and thirdly, that performance of Herz's quadrilles required a high degree of proficiency coupled with "a strong capacious hand", bearing distinctly masculine connotations.⁶³ To attain the requisite degree of expertise demanded a diligence that only discipline and leisure could bestow. The *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* suggested that Herz's *Les Coquettes* quadrilles necessitated "some practice to acquire the neatness, delicacy, and precision necessary to their performance", arguing that

⁶² "Review of Music. PIANO-FORTE," *The Harmonicon. Part the First, Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, Foreign Reports, and Miscellaneous Correspondence*, (London: Samuel Leigh, 1829), 81. Although the contents of the review are generalised, it is written in relation to Herz's *Les Coquettes*, Op. 49, a copy of which is in Lady Charlotte's collection (see Appendix 3).

⁶³ On triviality and the adaptation of music to suit the supposedly delicate hands of amateur female pianists, see Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 49, 62, 81. For the quotation, see a review of Herz's *Les Élégantes, ou, CONTRE-DANSES VARIÉES*, Op. 35 in "Les Élégantes, ou, CONTRE-DANSES VARIÉES, suivrés d'un VALCE, composées par HENRI HERZ. Op. 35," *The Harmonicon. Part the First, Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, Foreign Reports, and Miscellaneous Correspondence*, (London: Samuel Leigh, 1828), 203. I am thankful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for pointing out the separation between body and mind that this excerpt engages with.

the pianist was liable to "*play as distinguished a part as the dancer.*"⁶⁴ Each quadrille employed a rondo-variation format, where the figuration becomes increasingly complex as the piece develops. If the quadrilles were played for dancing (which, despite the reviewer's comments, is possible), then the effects of the technical difficulty would have been cumulative.⁶⁵ The quadrilles rival the digital athleticism of the earlier battle genre, and while the latter included moments of repose, the dance inevitably went on.⁶⁶ These works therefore represented the luxuriousness of elite dance and the indulgence of leisure through the discipline inherent in mastering such virtuosity, thus neatly combining opposing threads in the ideology of femininity.

The compositional simplicity of the opera quadrilles and the constant embellishment employed in the Herz quadrilles formed opposing boundaries through which feminine creativity and grace could be expressed. The *Harmonicon* approvingly noted Herz's melodic modifications for the diversity they produced:

They exhibit more variety than we are accustomed to find in dance-tunes, and being written at full length, with few repetitions, are devoid of that monotony which to many people...renders the amusement of the ball sometimes very unentertaining.⁶⁷

Although the description implies that musical performance in the ballroom remained tightly bound to basic melodic structure and tedious repetition,

⁶⁴ See "Arrangements," *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 10, no. 38 (1828): 260. Elizabeth Morgan highlighted how some conduct book authors strove to inculcate dedicated practice habits in their readers in search of technical perfection. See Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 12.

⁶⁵ Herz marked in the score where each figure should start, so although he included no specific dance instructions, the number of bars in each quadrille matches those required to perform Paine's First Set. Maribeth Clark proposed that quadrille music was essentially functional in purpose, in that it was inherently designed to accompany dancing. See Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 504 and "Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance," 184, 202, in particular footnotes 3 and 27 respectively, which address virtuosity in dance music.

⁶⁶ See "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 108-109. While battle music was construed as a social nuisance, quadrille music at least had the value of being utilitarian. See Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 65. A reviewer of Herz's *Les Favorites* quadrilles for piano duet complained that they were "rendered, unnecessarily, too difficult for the generality of those who amuse themselves by playing dance tunes", creating a contrast between acceptable virtuosity in solo quadrille music and unacceptable virtuosity in duet quadrille music. See "DUETS, PIANO-FORTE," *The Harmonicon. Part the First, Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, Foreign Reports and Miscellaneous Correspondence*, (London: Samuel Leigh, 1829), 46.

⁶⁷ "Les Élégantes, ou, CONTRE-DANSES VARIEES, suivrés d'un VALCE, composées par HENRI HERZ. Op. 35," *The Harmonicon*, 203-204.

quadrille music held the potential for performers to incorporate “a high degree of virtuosity, complexity, and musical interest...”⁶⁸ While the Herz quadrilles effectively negated this possibility due to the existing level of intricacy they contained, the opera quadrilles opened up space for genteel women to elaborate upon a relatively uncomplicated framework. However, the approbation accorded to Herz’s quadrilles hints at the prospect that they may have acted as exemplars for improvisation, thus exhibiting the performer’s virtuosity of mind as well as digital flair.⁶⁹ As the art of embellishment was intimately associated with the expression of taste and gracefulness, the application of ornamentation or melodic manipulation in opera quadrilles theoretically situated taste as a flexible modifier: tasteful embellishment had the potential to smooth awkward passages, hence making them more graceful, whilst the application of musical invention to a quadrille may have elevated the composition above banality.⁷⁰ Therefore, women hypothetically possessed the power to assert their own creativity through quadrilles and in the process promote feminine grace.

Quadrille music also furnished opportunities for women to engage with the concept of beauty. As a form of music-making that was visually orientated and embodied, the act of playing music to accompany dance intrinsically proffered the body to the consuming eye.⁷¹ Definitions that equated beauty with curvilinear lines and the conflation of ideals of beauty with qualities of femininity, as expressed in the eighteenth-century works of William Hogarth (1697-1764), Edmund Burke (1729-1797) and Archibald Alison (1757-1839), continued to be promulgated, albeit with modifications, in the early years of the nineteenth century.⁷² Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck proposed that sentimental beauty constituted ease, gentleness, compliance, leisure and sweetness, qualities she associated with curved lines and movements, whilst

⁶⁸ “The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris,” 504-505, footnote 4.

⁶⁹ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 68. Not everyone agreed on the value of Herz’s compositional skill – a reviewer for the *Examiner* remarked, “except as musical gymnastic exercises, we would not give a fig for Mr HERZ’s variations...” See “BIRMINGHAM FESTIVAL,” *Examiner*, October 25, 1829.

⁷⁰ See chapter 1 pp. 121-122. On the specific association between quadrilles and poor musical taste, see Clark, “The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris,” 515-518 and “Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance,” 182-183.

⁷¹ On music’s embodied status, see Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 64-66, 68, 87, 89.

⁷² See Hogarth’s *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), Burke’s *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) and Alison’s *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste* (1790).

Alexander Walker correlated “the bending form” with womanly virtues.⁷³ Schimmelpenninck, echoing Burke, additionally applied the notions of sentimental beauty to sound, which comprised softness, sweetness, and lightness of tone.⁷⁴ The explicit association of these aspects of beauty with ideals of femininity created a specific aesthetic framework through which the physical qualities of the female body in music and dance could be overlaid.⁷⁵

The idea of beauty in quadrille music was complicated by the same corporeality that frustrated notions of femininity in relation to virtuosity. Seeking an elevation in musical skill that rose above mere execution, *The Young Lady's Book* recommended “round[ing] off what may, by too great abruptness, seem sharp and angular...and...add[ing] whatever is required of the tasteful or ornamental [which] is, by some, termed beautiful performance...”⁷⁶ In essence, the author described two aspects of beauty, the former alluding to the softness and smoothness advocated by Burke, the latter to the “exquisite refinement of taste and of imagination” that Schimmelpenninck associated with the sentimental, which embellishment could portray.⁷⁷ However, due to the need for regularity of rhythm and for the music to be clearly audible above the sound of dancing feet, quadrille music held little potential to display the gentleness, sweetness and gliding qualities associated with sentimental beauty. All of Lady Charlotte's opera quadrilles contain sudden contrasts between *forte* and *piano* sections and many utilise thick chordal accompaniment patterns in the left hand that are neither gentle nor light. Equally, the figurations employed bear little resemblance to Hogarth's serpentine line as the epitome of beauty. While the Herz quadrilles

⁷³ See Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck, *Theory on the Classification of Beauty and Deformity, and Their Correspondence with Physiognomonic Expression, Exemplified in Various Works of Art, and Natural Objects* (London: Printed for John and Arthur Arch, 1815), 31-33, 235, 238, 249, 376 and Alexander Walker, *Beauty; Illustrated Chiefly by an Analysis and Classification of Beauty in Woman* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1836), 42, 95, 255-256. Walker characterised minor beauty as comprising “prettiness, delicacy...smallness, subordination or subjection” and the “ornamental arts” (which included dress) as encompassing “delicacy, bending, variety [and] contrast...”, which bear strong comparisons with definitions of femininity. See pp. 106, 115 and 126 of the above.

⁷⁴ Schimmelpenninck, *Theory on the Classification of Beauty and Deformity*, 360-363, 376. On the connection between Burke's definition of musical beauty and eighteenth-century music for women, see Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 82.

⁷⁵ For a less saccharine association between curved lines and femininity, see Leppert, *Music and Image*, 42.

⁷⁶ *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, (London: Vizetelly, Branston, and Co., 1829), 382.

⁷⁷ Schimmelpenninck, *Theory on the Classification of Beauty and Deformity*, 32.

intermittently incorporated various techniques that utilised circular motion, with crossing of hands motifs simulating at a subtle level the “line of beauty”, curved motion in the opera quadrilles was largely the result of leaping patterns that otherwise held little relation to the concept of beauty. As with femininity in virtuosity, therefore, the expression of beauty in these works was largely tied to the concept of ease, where beauty was communicated through physical effortlessness. Ironically, it was perhaps the most virtuosic works that were theoretically the most beautiful, as they contained not only greater instances of rounded movement, but required considerably more ease to negate their difficulty.

As the recognition of beauty relied largely on visual appraisal, the quadrille pianist not only enacted beauty through her own performance, but also facilitated the manifestation of beauty in others. Matthew Head drew attention to the manner in which eighteenth-century music for women placed “the female body rather than the music “itself” [as] the locus and subject of aesthetic valuation” while Regula Hohl Trillini demonstrated how the amateur female musician was culturally subjected to the spectatorial gaze.⁷⁸ Whilst seemingly contradictory to defined notions of beauty, virtuosic quadrille music, by placing the pianist in competition with the dancer, potentially invited more of the listener’s attention, thus the body’s beauty was displayed as a site (sight) for consumption. Women’s hands and arms were situated in contemporary literature as objects of beauty and elegance that symbolised class and accomplishment.⁷⁹ While the virtuosity they produced may have been applauded or deplored, the sheer volume of notes and pianistic territory traversed put the hands very much on display in a genre where the musician

⁷⁸ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 83 and Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 2, 8-9, 71-75, 85-86, 149-153. On the sight of the body giving pleasure or displeasure to listeners, see Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, 42, 60.

⁷⁹ See, for example, *The Book of Health & Beauty, or the Toilette of Rank and Fashion*, second, corrected ed. (London: Joseph Thomas, 1837), 121-122; Mrs. A. Walker, *Female Beauty, as Preserved and Improved by Regimen, Cleanliness and Dress* (London: Thomas Hurst, 1837), 226; and Walker, *Beauty; Illustrated Chiefly by an Analysis and Classification of Beauty in Woman*, 211-212, 214-215. Alexander Walker also referred to the neck and shoulders of women as anatomical locations that were demarcated by “delicate, bending, varied and contrasted lines”, elements that would also be on display at the piano, while Matthew Head linked descriptions of physical beauty in the face and hands with grace and ease. See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 62 and Walker, *Beauty; Illustrated Chiefly by an Analysis and Classification of Beauty in Woman*, 96.

was not the primary focus.⁸⁰ Additionally, the pianist was partially responsible for the performance of grace and beauty in the dancers. As the choice of tempo and rhythmic emphasis was at her discretion, she effectively dictated in what manner the dancers moved their bodies, thus determining whether they were capable of executing the figures with the required ease and lightness.⁸¹ The beautiful hands, therefore, also carried the beauty of the dance.

While Lady Charlotte's quadrilles complicate ideals of femininity and beauty, two of the Herz quadrilles outwardly reference contentious womanly figures that were anathema to genteel behaviour: the coquette and the professional female pianist. Representing a catalogue of dubious virtues – voracious desire, excessive consumerism, questionable morality, triviality, vanity, disingenuousness and capacious sexuality – the coquette was the opposite of the exemplary woman espoused in conduct literature. In her resistance to discipline and constraint, her association with the exorbitance of fashion, and her power in manipulating or disobeying patriarchal conventions, she became by the early nineteenth century a decadent and tragic symbol of feminine misconduct.⁸² In the light of cautionary prose against physical and musical exhibitionism, the direct yoking of fashionable dancing with coquetry in Herz's *Les Coquettes* quadrilles was at least potentially problematic.⁸³ Lady

⁸⁰ Fictional portrayals of women playing music for dance indicate that they were objects of admiration, despite their somewhat secondary role in proceedings. On this and the visual appeal of virtuosity, see Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 74-75.

⁸¹ On co-dependency between the amateur pianist and social dancers, see *ibid.*, 5 and chapter 1, pp. 110-112.

⁸² For etymological and cultural shifts in defining the coquette, see the introductions to Theresa Braunschneider, *Our Coquettes: Capacious Desire in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2009) and Shelley King and Yaël Schlick, eds., *Refiguring the Coquette: Essays on Culture and Coquetry* (Lewisburg and Cranbury: Bucknell University Press, Associated University Presses, 2008). For an early nineteenth-century viewpoint see Braunschneider, *Our Coquettes*, chapter 5; Richard A. Kaye, *The Flirt's Tragedy: Desire without End in Victorian and Edwardian Fiction* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2002), chapter 1; and Tamara Wagner, "The Decaying Coquette: Refashioning Highlife in Early Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing, 1801-1831," in *Refiguring the Coquette: Essays on Culture and Coquetry*, ed. Shelley King and Yaël Schlick (Lewisburg and Cranbury: Bucknell University Press, Associated University Presses, 2008), 83-102.

⁸³ Both Elizabeth Appleton and Hannah More deplored the potential coquetry associated with musical performance and dance respectively, whilst Erasmus Darwin cautioned against both as liable to produce vanity and forwardness. See Elizabeth Appleton, *Private Education; or a Practical Plan for the Studies of Young Ladies* (London: Printed for Henry Colburn, 1815), 152; Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education. With a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent among Women of Rank and Fortune*, fifth ed., vol. 1 (London: Printed for T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1799), 99; and Erasmus Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools* (Derby: Printed by J. Drewry for J. Johnson, 1797), 12, the latter quoted in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 39. An article in the

Charlotte's copy of the music is doubly troubling in this respect, as it bears her signature from prior to her marriage, thus placing the character of the coquette alongside her status as a titled, unmarried woman. Of course, it is tempting to view such music as potentially liberating for women if they chose to adopt aspects of the coquette's character in performance, revelling in the suggestivity of moral corruption and working against the "ideologically correct species of woman" that was prevalent in conduct literature.⁸⁴ A hint of this appeared in Chaulieu's description above when he referred to women's music-making as potentially seductive and charming, although as he proposed that virtuosic repertoire rarely engendered either, perhaps *Les Coquettes* was less provocative on account of the flurry of notes.⁸⁵

The spectre of professionalisation lurked behind such virtuosic achievement as a symbol of deep-seated anxiety about class and gender roles. The act of public performance seemingly destabilised notions of leisure, domesticity and femininity, by questioning women's devotion to their households, their subordination to their husbands, and their genteel status through association with pecuniary gain.⁸⁶ Herz's *La Mode* quadrilles were dedicated to Lucy Anderson (1797-1878), who maintained a very public career as a pianist in England and who was closely associated with the royal family

Gazette Musicale de Paris from 1835 linked the musical performance of quadrilles with vanity and selfishness in the context of amusement. See Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," 515-516 (see footnote 33 for the original text).

⁸⁴ Leppert, *Music and Image*, 29 and *The Sight of Sound*, 70. Matthew Head probed the role that performance played in negotiating and resisting ideologies of femininity, suggesting, in language that is very apt for the coquette, that "An ironic, playful, or flirtatious performance...would wrinkle ideals of female sincerity, modesty and naturalness..." See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 68.

⁸⁵ See pp. 239-240 above.

⁸⁶ See Head, *Sovereign Feminine*, 50, 52, 57, 62; Hohl Trillini, *The Gaze of the Listener*, 3, 76-77, 92, 139; Leppert, *Music and Image*, 39-40, 61, 149; *The Sight of Sound*, 66-70; Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 5-7, 10, 15-16; and Nancy B. Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth A. Solie (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993), 126, 129-130, 132-134, 137-138. However, Elizabeth Morgan and Leslie Ritchie have challenged the apparent dichotomy between professional, public spaces and private, domestic spaces with regards to women's music-making, arguing instead that there was much more fluidity and interconnection between these seemingly disparate realms, and therefore that women's participation in music-making was concomitantly more varied and influential than would appear through conduct literature. See Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 20-26, 109-111, 156-164 and Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, 19-20, 57.

across several generations.⁸⁷ Anderson straddled a social and cultural divide – she was a professional female musician who played a significant role in English musical life, yet through her position as teacher to Princess Victoria and Victoria’s children, she was considered a desirable mentor to oversee the musical development of royalty.⁸⁸ This contradiction was reconciled by the *Illustrated London News*, which praised her “domestic and social virtues” as embellishments of her artistry, presenting her as quintessentially feminine despite her occupation.⁸⁹ Lady Charlotte’s copy of the work dates from the time that Anderson was pianist to Queen Adelaide, and also likely instructress to Princess Victoria, therefore it carried connotations of fashionability not just in its title, but also through Anderson’s status as a prominent employee of the House of Hanover.⁹⁰ The work also signified the transfer of cultural commodities between France and England via monarchical exchange, as Herz was appointed pianist to the French court five years prior to Anderson’s own engagement.⁹¹ *La Mode*, therefore, was simultaneously a tribute to public performance from one virtuoso to another; a homage to fashion and elitism through Anderson’s popularity with the English public and her association with the royal family; and a symbol of the royal patronage that the quadrille was later to receive at Queen Victoria’s court.

⁸⁷ *La Mode. The 3rd. Set of Contredanses Variées for the Piano Forte. Composed & Dedicated to M^{rs}. Anderson, (Pianiste to her Majesty) by Henri Herz. Op. 63, published by Goulding & D’Almaine [MR 2-5-45].*

⁸⁸ For biographical information on Anderson and her role with the royal family, see W.B. Squire, rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, "Anderson, Lucy (1797-1878)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/493>, accessed 26 June 2014 and Michael Joe Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and Her Participation in the Musical Life of Her Time", vol. 1 (PhD, University of Iowa, 1987), 95-111. For contextualization of the contribution made to English musical life by Anderson and her contemporaries, see Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," 125-146 and Therese Ellsworth, "Women Soloists and the Piano Concerto in Nineteenth-Century London," *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music* II, no. 1 (October, 2003): 21-49, particularly 22 and 29-31.

⁸⁹ "Mrs. Anderson," *Illustrated London News*, July 19, 1862, quoted in Reich, "Women as Musicians: A Question of Class," 138.

⁹⁰ Anderson was appointed pianist to Queen Adelaide in 1832 and possibly started her lessons with Princess Victoria in the same year. See "Mrs. Anderson," *Illustrated London News*, July 19, 1862. Her name regularly occurred in Victoria’s journals from November 1833 until the late 1830s, although Victoria offered little comment on her performing skills. See www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 26 June, 2014. For dating of the work, see Appendix 3.

⁹¹ See "Paris," in *The Harmonicon, A Journal of Music. Part I - Containing Essays, Criticisms, Biography, and Miscellanies* (London: Samuel Leigh, July 1827), 143.

4.3 Queen of the Quadrille: Choreographing Monarchy and Themes of Nationalism

Court balls provided a locus for the choreography of monarchy and the display of aristocratic Englishness through dance. As exclusive events that pulsed with luxury, state balls afforded a physical structure and conceptual scaffold for the performance of elite identity. Within this royal theatre, women were subject to the gaze of both the monarch and the press, the sumptuous details of their dresses appearing in daily newspapers for dissemination beyond the palace.⁹² Such visibility ensured that attendance at state balls functioned as an exercise in fashionable ladyship that was played out through the dancing body; indeed, elite women helped to construct and maintain notions of monarchy every time they stepped onto the royal dance floor. However, the performance of monarchy was mutable – not only was it historicised through the staging of costume balls that paid homage to previous reigns, it was also displaced through the adoption of regal dancing outside the royal palace. The quadrille provides an apposite framework through which to explore constructions of monarchy and nationalism: as a dance, it held the privileged opening place at state balls and formed a backdrop to Queen Victoria’s reign; as music, it exhibited similar displacements as the concept of monarchy itself.⁹³

The creation of different modes of monarchy and the expression of Englishness via dance is illuminated through Lady Charlotte’s quadrille music and her participation in royal balls. The Loftus family maintained a degree of intimacy with the English court; the Marchioness of Ely held official positions in the households of Queen Charlotte and Queen Adelaide, and along with her husband, accompanied and dined with the royal family on a number of

⁹² This was particularly the case for royal Drawing Rooms, where lists of ladies’ dresses inevitably formed part of the description, but details of dress were also often given in accounts of costume balls. Hannah Greig pointed to the performative nature of participation in the ceremonies of court, defining the latter “as a venue and a physical location of fashionable display”, where court dress was available for public visual consumption. See Hannah Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 101-103.

⁹³ On the ceremonial place of the quadrille at Victoria’s court, see Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 130-131 and Philip J.S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960), 61, 105-106. On the quadrille in the discourse of nationalism, see Wilson, *Literature and Dance in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 38-39, 43, 73-74, 104-107, 111.

occasions.⁹⁴ Both Lady Charlotte and the Marchioness appeared at multiple drawing rooms, where they were presented to their respective queens upon their marriages, in addition to attending numerous state balls.⁹⁵ Some intertwining lines fruitfully indicate the manner in which the Loftus and Egerton women contributed to the choreography of monarchy and the manifestation of nationalism: the position of spectatorship they adopted enabled them to witness the creation of current and emerging ladyship, and current and future monarchies, though dance, while their involvement crossed family lines as three generations of women observed the literal and metaphorical changing of successive monarchies on the dance floor.⁹⁶

The carefully crafted pageantry of state balls reveals how England's fashionable bodies were engaged in creating royal spectacles and how the performance of monarchy shifted through the gaze of spectatorship. Attendance at state balls was by invitation only, thus the royal court actively selected an aristocratic cast to witness and participate in the composition of

⁹⁴ Anna Maria Dashwood served as a Maid of Honour to Queen Charlotte from December 1805 until her marriage in May 1810, and as a Lady of the Bedchamber and Extra Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Adelaide from July 1830 to 1834, and from 1834 until 1837 respectively. See "Household of Queen Charlotte 1761-1818," <http://www.history.ac.uk/publications/office/queencharlotte> and "Household of Queen Adelaide 1830-37," <http://www.history.ac.uk/content/736>, both produced by the Institute of Historical Research, University of London, accessed 13 July 2014, and Anna Maria's obituary published in the *Morning Post*, September 8, 1857. Queen Charlotte, Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Cambridge acted as sponsors for Lady Charlotte, and a letter survives from Queen Charlotte to Anna Maria Dashwood accepting the proposal that she would stand as godmother. See DET/3229/40, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office, and William Courthope, ed. *Debrett's Complete Peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, twenty-second ed. (London: Printed for J.G. & F. Rivington, 1838), 516. The Marquis and Marchioness of Ely dined at St. James's Palace with King William IV and Queen Adelaide in 1836, while they themselves gave a banquet to the Duchess of Gloucester in Belgrave Square in 1842. See *Morning Post*, February 23, 1836 and June 15, 1842, respectively.

⁹⁵ The Marchioness was presented to Queen Charlotte upon her marriage in 1810, while Lady Charlotte was presented to Queen Adelaide by Elizabeth Egerton after her marriage to William Tatton Egerton in 1831. On the latter occasion, the Marchioness of Ely acted in the capacity of Lady in Waiting to the queen. See "THE KING'S BIRTHDAY," *Morning Post*, June 5, 1810; "HER MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY," *Morning Chronicle*, February 25, 1831; and "THE QUEEN'S DRAWING-ROOM, IN CELEBRATION OF HER MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY," *Morning Post*, February 25, 1831, respectively.

⁹⁶ Newspaper accounts of state balls from the 1850s suggest that one or more of Lady Charlotte's daughters may have accompanied her, although as they are listed only by their surname, it is difficult to prove. See, for example, "THE QUEEN'S STATE BALL," *Morning Post and Standard*, June 16, 1853; "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, June 16, 1853; and "STATE BALL AT THE PALACE," *Daily News*, June 16, 1853; "The Court," *Daily News*, May 10, 1855; "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Morning Chronicle and Standard*, May 10, 1855; and "THE QUEEN'S STATE BALL," *Morning Post*, May 10, 1855. At each of these balls, the Dowager Marchioness of Ely (Anna Maria Dashwood), Lady Charlotte's sisters, Ladies Anna (1819-1896) and Catherine Loftus (1828-1908), and William Tatton Egerton were also present.

monarchical display in the ballroom.⁹⁷ This display can be examined through the capacity in which individuals acted, the degree of visibility they maintained, and the direction of onlooker observation. The monarch and members of the royal family were often seated on a raised platform that was usually erected in the principal ballroom.⁹⁸ Besides providing a focal point of visual splendour, the platform acted like a two-way mirror: the monarch had a panoramic view of England's elite dancing bodies, while the platform ensured that monarchy was literally on display to those observing from the dance floor.⁹⁹ The Marchioness of Ely was a Lady in Waiting to Queen Adelaide for a state ball in 1833, proceeding through the state rooms with the royal family accompanied by the strains of *God Save the King* performed simultaneously by two quadrille bands.¹⁰⁰ As an integral part of the ceremonial performance that brought the monarchy into the ballroom, the Marchioness held a significant degree of visibility; by contrast, Lady Charlotte's contribution across many state balls was confined to her role as one of numerous ancillaries who, as a collective body, were primarily responsible for the enactment of monarchy through dance.¹⁰¹ The perception of how monarchy was created in the ballroom was thus

⁹⁷ See Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and Her Participation in the Musical Life of Her Time," vol. 2, 480-481. Queen Victoria's journals attest to the politics involved in selection. See RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 15 April 1839 (Lord Esher's Typescripts), vol. 10, p. 66, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 12 July 2014. On the visual nature of court balls from the standpoint of the spectator, see Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, "A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England" (PhD, University of Cambridge, 2002), 132.

⁹⁸ At the first state ball held after Queen Victoria's accession to the throne, she "sat with my Aunts, M^a. &c. on a seat raised one step above the floor." See RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 10 May 1838 (Lord Esher's Typescripts), vol. 5, p. 177, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 12 July 2014. See also Elizabeth Longford, *Queen Victoria* (London: The Folio Society, 2007), 65.

⁹⁹ For a discussion of Queen Victoria's role as spectacle, including at balls, see Margaret Homans, *Royal Representations: Queen Victoria and British Culture, 1837-1876* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 60-62.

¹⁰⁰ See "THE QUEEN'S STATE BALL," *Morning Post*, June 24, 1833 and "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, June 24, 1833. An "elevated platform" was arranged in the ballroom for the accommodation of members of the royal family and entourage, and the wives of the attending foreign ministers, although it is not clear whether the Marchioness of Ely also took a place on the platform.

¹⁰¹ How many people actually danced at state balls is unclear. Lucy Lyttelton (1841-1925), second daughter of George William Lyttelton, 4th Baron Lyttelton (1817-1876), recorded in her diary her first adult Queen's Ball, where she observed, "Of course we never dreamt of dancing, nor had we one chance...". Lucy briefly became a Maid of Honour to Queen Victoria in 1863. See John Bailey, ed. *The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1927), 95 (diary entry for 29 June 1859) and 165; and G.C. Boase, rev. H.C.G. Matthew, "Cavendish, Lord Frederick Charles (1836-1882)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition 2005), accessed via <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4932>, 10 July 2014.

contingent upon how dancing bodies were engaged and by whom they were observed.

If state balls were important in presenting contemporary images of ladyship and monarchy, they also served to fashion emerging ladyship and the monarchy of the future. Lady Charlotte attended a juvenile ball at St. James's Palace in 1832 to celebrate the birthday of Princess Victoria. The arrangement of the rooms was designed to replicate a state ball held several days earlier, including the royal designs chalked on the floors of the ballrooms.¹⁰² While the royal family was positioned on their platform, additional lighting and elevated seating were employed "to afford the company a better view of the youthful dancers."¹⁰³ The juvenile ball focussed the aristocratic gaze on dancing bodies in transition; the provision of raised seating placed the young dancers in the role of entertainers, and ensured they were not only exposed to the scrutiny of the monarch, but also of their elders. The quadrille was the principal dance of the evening and served as a vehicle for both the behavioural and terpsichorean development of the younger gentry, and as a conduit for the display of Princess Victoria's dancing. As a dance that required "the most elegant and graceful movements" yet one that promoted sociable interaction, the quadrille was ideally suited for the practise of young ladyship and princess-ship.¹⁰⁴ Due to the nature of the figures, it also enabled those watching to appraise individual dancers in turn, and thus closely observe womanhood and monarchy in the making. Such observation was not necessarily one-way, for although it is unclear whether the juvenile performers saw the adults dance that evening, the possibility remains that emulation took place on a general level. As Lady Charlotte had no child of her own to watch, she was a witness to budding elite femininity and a participant in the performance of copyable ladyship.

¹⁰² See "THEIR MAJESTIES' BALL IN HONOUR OF THE BIRTH-DAY OF THE PRINCESS VICTORIA," *Morning Post*, May 26, 1832 and "THEIR MAJESTIES' JUVENILE BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, May 26, 1832. For a description of the state ball that preceded it, see "THE QUEEN'S STATE BALL," *Morning Post*, May 21, 1832. The "Lady C. Egerton" listed as attending the juvenile ball is likely to have been Lady Charlotte.

¹⁰³ "THEIR MAJESTIES' BALL IN HONOUR OF THE BIRTH-DAY OF THE PRINCESS VICTORIA," *Morning Post*, May 26, 1832 and "THEIR MAJESTIES' JUVENILE BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, May 26, 1832.

¹⁰⁴ *Le Maître À Danser, or the Art of Dancing Quadrilles*, (London: Printed for the Author, 1818), 1. See also Mrs. Nicholas Henderson, *Etiquette of the Ball-Room, and Guide to the New and Fashionable Dances; Containing the Steps and Figures of Quadrilles, Valses, Polkas, Galops, Mazourkas, Country Dances, Etc.; with Hints and Instructions Respecting Toilet and Deportment* (London: George Biggs, 1850?), 28-29.

Queen Victoria's reign provides an ideal stage for examining shifting monarchical representations in the ballroom, which depended heavily upon feminine authority and the quadrille as a vehicle for display. Victoria hosted three costume balls between 1842 and 1851 that interwove themes of historicism, nationalism, pageantry and patronage, where dance functioned simultaneously as an enactment of previous monarchies and as a consolidator of present monarchy.¹⁰⁵ While the second of these balls, which depicted the reign of George II (1683-1760), featured the minuet, the quadrille played a pivotal role in the adjoining balls in establishing narratives of national identity and in symbolising monarchical strength.¹⁰⁶ The 1842 *masque* was a colossal act of theatre, flaunting the literal and metaphorical display of the nation's jewels, while all three balls supported to a degree the British manufacturing industry.¹⁰⁷ The quadrille was the medium through which the *masque*

¹⁰⁵ See Theresa Jill Buckland, "Dance and Cultural Memory: Interpreting *Fin De Siècle* Performances of 'Olde England'," *Dance Research* 31, no. 1 (2013): 34-36, 44; Adrienne Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 24; and Nanette Thrush, "Clio's Dressmakers: Women and the Uses of Historical Costume," in *Clio's Daughters: British Women Making History, 1790-1899*, ed. Lynette Felber (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 258. Nanette Thrush argued that fancy dress balls were predominantly a "feminine occupation" that played with "specific constructions of queenliness" while Adrienne Munich speculated that the costume balls, in particular the Plantagenet ball from 1842, enabled Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to create "nationalistic mythologies" through their dress and to enact "a selective royal genealogy as a way of declaring their sovereignty over the "races" of Britain." All three balls were given extensive coverage in the *London Illustrated News*; see issues for May 14, 1842; May 24, June 7 and June 14, 1845; and June 14 and June 21, 1851. For secondary descriptions of the costume balls, see Alicia Finkel, "Le Bal Costumé: History and Spectacle in the Court of Queen Victoria," *Dress* 10, no. 1 (1984): 64-72; Delia Millar, "'Quadrilles & All Kinds of Surprises': Queen Victoria's Costume Balls - I," *Country Life* CLXXVIII, no. 4599 (1985): 1024-1026; "'The Prettiest Effect Possible': Queen Victoria's Costume Balls - II," *Country Life* CLXXVIII, no. 4600 (1985): 1092-1093; Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, 27; Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, 107-108; and Robert Wilson, *The Life and Times of Queen Victoria*, vol. 1 (London, Paris, New York and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, 1900), 107-110, 485.

¹⁰⁶ See chapter 5, p. 291, 293-294 for discussion of the *bal costumé* from 1845.

¹⁰⁷ Up to 2000 invitations were purportedly issued for the *masque*. The beauty of English women and the exquisiteness of English diamonds were acclaimed in the press over their French counterparts, and no small amount of space was allotted to descriptions of the costliness of the jewellery on display and the sumptuousness of the costumes. See particularly "HER MAJESTY'S MASQUE," *Morning Post*, May 10, 11 and 13, 1842. Victoria's beneficence to industry in devising and hosting the *masque* was also praised, in a narrative that connected the wellbeing of the working classes with the continued consumption of luxury by the elite. On Victoria's and Prince Albert's costumes as products of British manufacture, see "THE ROYAL MASQUE," *Morning Post*, May 7, 1842; "HER MAJESTY'S MASQUE," *Morning Post*, May 13, 1842; "HER MAJESTY'S FANCY DRESS BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, May 14, 1842; "HER MAJESTY'S BAL COSTUME," *Morning Post*, June 7, 1845; and "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Standard*, June 16, 1851, in addition to Victoria's journal entry on the ball, RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 13 June 1851 (Princess Beatrice's copies), vol. 31, pp. 295-299, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 12 July 2014. For a discussion of how the 1842 *masque* intersected with tensions in the British manufacturing industry, see Munich, *Queen Victoria's Secrets*, 28-31.

celebrated national diversity and yet subsumed foreign courts under the English gaze; it also facilitated the recreation of historical monarchies as it simultaneously promoted the performance of current monarchy.¹⁰⁸ Opening with a string of quadrilles representing different nationalities, some of which were performed by dancers impersonating historical monarchs and foreign aristocrats, each was supervised by elite women and performed under Victoria's eye.¹⁰⁹ Prior to the commencement of dancing, each of the quadrille sets were required to display their deference to the queen, an act which the German quadrille practised at rehearsal as they paid homage to an "image of royalty", and which potentially symbolised submissiveness on behalf of the other nations to the English sovereign.¹¹⁰ To a lesser extent the scenario was repeated at the 1851 costume ball (see Figure 39), which was attended by Lady Charlotte and several members of the Loftus family; encompassing the epoch of Charles II (1630-1685), only four national quadrilles were performed, but they were again led by women of distinguished rank.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Adrienne Munich suggested that the "rituals" of the *masque*, including the performance of the quadrilles, "introduced Plantagenet Victoria and Albert representing England as the pinnacle of Western civilization." See *ibid.*, 32.

¹⁰⁹ The dances included German, Spanish, French, Scottish, Greek, Russian and Italian quadrilles, in addition to the Quadrille of the Crusaders and the Waverley Quadrille, the latter of which represented different characters from Walter Scott's works, including Richard Coeur de Lion. The time periods that these quadrilles embodied as a whole were not entirely homogeneous. This melange was depicted in the press as symbolic of national resurrection and unity – the *Morning Post* praised the use of national costumes in the quadrilles as a means of preserving national identity, and suggested at the conclusion of the last quadrille that there would be a "grand medley, in which all ages, all countries, will be mixed" – yet to a degree it was also representative of the different national strands that historically infused the English monarchy, and its performance, of course, spoke much of Englishness and England's economic power. See "HER MAJESTY'S MASQUE," *Morning Post*, May 9, 10, 11 and 13, 1842; Buckland, "Dance and Cultural Memory: Interpreting *Fin De Siècle* Performances of 'Olde England'," 35; and Finkel, "Le Bal Costumé: History and Spectacle in the Court of Queen Victoria," 66.

¹¹⁰ For the quotation, see "HER MAJESTY'S MASQUE," *Morning Post*, May 11, 1842. In a display of pageantry, each of the quadrille sets entered the Throne Room, preceded by a herald with a truncheon, and paid their respects to Victoria and Albert, representing Queen Philippa (1314-1369) and King Edward III (1312-1377) respectively, before proceeding into the Ballroom. The quadrille in this case facilitated the performance of royal obeisance by all represented nationalities to the English queen, in a routine that in itself functioned as an enactment of contemporary monarchy. See additionally, "HER MAJESTY'S FANCY DRESS BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, May 14, 1842.

¹¹¹ The ball was attended by Anna and Catherine Loftus, the Dowager Marchioness of Ely, Lady Charlotte's sister-in-law and the current Marchioness of Ely, Jane Loftus, and her brother John-Henry Loftus (1814-1857), the current Marquis of Ely. The quadrilles performed were the English, Scottish, French and Spanish. The quadrilles were led by the Marchioness of Ailesbury, the Marchioness of Stafford, the Comtesse de Flahault and Countess Granville respectively. For descriptions of the ball, see "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Standard*, June 14, 1851 and "HER MAJESTY'S COSTUME BALL," *Morning Post*, June 13 and 14, 1851.



FIGURE 39. *THE STUART BALL AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE, 13 JUNE 1851* BY EUGÈNE LOUIS LAMI (1800-1890), RCIN 919904, ROYAL COLLECTION TRUST/© HER MAJESTY QUEEN ELIZABETH II 2014.

If the quadrille played an important role in choreographing monarchy at the English court, it also functioned as a vehicle of displacement that shifted monarchical representation outside the royal ballroom. In 1848, a ball held in aid of the Spitalfields School of Design took place at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, under the patronage of Queen Victoria, members of the royal family and a host of Lady Patronesses, including Lady Charlotte.¹¹² The defining feature of the ball was the performance of three fancy quadrilles: the “Kings and Queens of England” quadrille, comprising forty couples, overseen by the Marchioness of Londonderry, in which Lady Charlotte’s brother, Lord Henry Loftus (1822-1880), danced; the “Houses of York and Lancaster” quadrille, superintended by the Duchess of Beaufort, in which the ladies wore red and white roses respectively to indicate the different houses; and the “Lace” quadrille, directed

¹¹² For a full list of patronesses, see an advertisement for the ball in *Morning Post*, July 1, 1848. For an overview of the descent of the Spitalfields weavers into increasing poverty and the political and economic context in which this occurred, see Marc W. Steinberg, “Toward a More Dialogic Analysis of Social Movement Culture,” in *Social Movements: Identity, Culture, and the State*, ed. David S. Meyer, Nancy Whittier, and Belinda Robnett (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 214-225 and David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 185-189.

by Lady Charlotte, in which the female dancers were attired in Nottingham lace, amongst whom were her sisters, Lady Catherine Loftus (1828-1908) and Lady Anna Loftus (1819-1896).¹¹³ With all the boxes in the theatre let and several members of royalty present, including Queen Adelaide, the quadrilles became a theatrical representation of the English monarchy, shifted outside its usual locus, and performed under the benefaction and gaze of the royal family.¹¹⁴ In a further leap away from the palace, the “Kings and Queens of England” quadrille was recreated several days later for a fancy dress ball given by the Marchioness of Londonderry at Holderness House, which was paired with a quadrille representing French royalty.¹¹⁵

Lady Charlotte’s quadrille music reveals how the creation of monarchy could be played out in the music room, as the sounds and personalities of royalty were transferred via the score. Her copy of Joseph Binns Hart’s set of quadrilles based on *Elisa e Claudio* named three of the individual quadrilles after Princess Victoria, Prince George of Cumberland and Prince George of Cambridge, whom she would have observed during the juvenile ball in 1832.¹¹⁶ The bands of Weippert and Musard, mentioned on the title pages of other quadrilles in her collection, performed regularly at royal balls, forming an enduring soundscape to her dancing life. In seemingly inexhaustible adaptations of pre-existing material, royal quadrilles also demonstrated the same flexibility inherent in Lady Charlotte’s opera quadrilles. Opera, in fact, played a significant role in the music performed in the royal ballroom, with many of the quadrilles drawing on popular works in a cosmopolitan cultural

¹¹³ See “THE SPITALFIELDS BALL,” *Morning Post*, July 8, 1848 for a listing of all the dancers in the fancy quadrilles. Many of the costumes worn by the company in general were of British manufacture. For additional articles relating to the ball, see “THE SPITALFIELDS BALL,” *Morning Chronicle*, July 8, 1848 and “THE SPITALFIELDS BALL,” *Morning Post*, July 6, 1848.

¹¹⁴ It appears that Victoria herself wasn’t present at the ball but members from foreign royal families in attendance included the Duchess Bernhard of Saxe Weimar, Prince Frederick William of Hesse and Prince Leopold of Naples. See “THE SPITALFIELDS BALL,” *Morning Post*, July 7 and 8, 1848; and *Examiner*, July 8, 1848.

¹¹⁵ See “FASHIONABLE ENTERTAINMENTS. FESTIVITIES AT HOLDERNESSE HOUSE,” *Morning Post*, July 13, 1848 and “THE MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY’S BAL COSTUME,” *Standard*, July 13, 1848, the latter of which doesn’t mention the performance of the “Kings and Queens of England” quadrille but suggests that the “Houses of York and Lancaster” quadrille was danced after the French quadrille. Amongst the attendees were Anna and Catherine Loftus and the current Marchioness of Ely, Jane Loftus.

¹¹⁶ For the juvenile ball, see p. 257 above.

crush.¹¹⁷ The Scottish quadrille, performed at the 1851 costume ball, additionally illuminated the easy transfer of vocal repertoire into quadrille music, incorporating a tightly packed array of historical airs and songs.¹¹⁸ This penchant for employing disparate musical resources emphasizes how the construction of monarchy and Englishness in the royal ballroom was, to a large degree, dependent on continental music, often performed under the command of European maestros. As monarchy was displaced into the musical score, opera was displaced into the quadrille, and quintessential Englishness was moulded by foreignness.¹¹⁹

4.4 Fashioning Ladyship

Dance played an indelible part in the construction and contemporary interpretation of Lady Charlotte's persona as a fashionable woman. Extending beyond her multifarious participation in the social discourse of Almack's and the royal ballroom, it is through her personal involvement with dance in the metropolis and the provinces that fashionableness emerged in a tussle with individual identity. Viewed as a form of "cultural performance", and one that was firmly a woman's prerogative, the organisation and patronage of balls stood visibly as a medium through which fashionable status could be negotiated and enacted.¹²⁰ If "fashioning" demanded a continuous narrative, balls provided an opportune stage upon which the accoutrements of fashionable identity could be constantly (re)created and defined.¹²¹ Lady Charlotte's engagement with dance, as a patroness of charity balls or hostess

¹¹⁷ For example, at the 1833 state ball in which the Marchioness of Ely acted as Lady in Waiting to Queen Adelaide, quadrilles were performed based on Vincenzo Bellini's (1801-1835) *Norma*, Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* (both performed by John Thomas Louis Weippert's band), Ferdinand Hérold's (1791-1833) *Le Pré aux Clercs*, and Fromental Halévy's (1799-1862) opera-ballet, *La Tentation* (the latter two performed by Collinet's band, in addition to another set of quadrilles based on *Norma*). See "THE QUEEN'S STATE BALL," *Morning Post*, June 24, 1833 and "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, June 24, 1833.

¹¹⁸ See "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Standard*, June 14 and 16, 1851.

¹¹⁹ A similar bias is seen in the state concerts during this period, which overwhelmingly featured operatic or vocal compositions by foreign composers, performed by foreign artists. See Budds, "Music at the Court of Queen Victoria: A Study of Music in the Life of the Queen and Her Participation in the Musical Life of Her Time," vol. 2, 481-522.

¹²⁰ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, tenth anniversary ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 1999), xxviii.

¹²¹ Cheryl Buckley and Hilary Fawcett, *Fashioning the Feminine: Representation and Women's Fashion from the Fin De Siècle to the Present* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 7.

of family balls, saw her actively absorbed in the business of facilitating “fashionable acts”, where the practicalities of event organisation and selection became a “locus of interpretation” for characterising fashionability.¹²² It is in this process that a schism arose between her ability to produce exclusive entertainment and her adoption of so-called fashionable behaviour, some elements of which stood in conflict with the values that prescriptive literature clung to as the epitome of femininity.

Surviving evidence of Lady Charlotte’s balls in London points towards her skill as a fashionable hostess and her keen eye for social engineering. Over a period of twenty years, Lady Charlotte kept lists of guests she invited to dinners, parties and balls, in addition to a visiting book of acquaintances.¹²³ These lists provide rich information about the social milieu in which Lady Charlotte moved – guests included the Duke of Devonshire, the Duchess of St. Albans, members of the diplomatic corps, and many of her fellow lady patronesses at Almack’s – and her fashioning of elite sociability. Of particular interest was her distinct concern for balancing the gender proportions and marital status of her guests. Lady Charlotte’s lists were often divided into young ladies/girls, couples, and dancing men, with the latter appreciably outnumbering the former, and the quantity of couples relatively small by

¹²² I draw here on the title of Jennifer Hall-Witt’s work on Italian opera as the location for the performance of various acts of exclusivity. See Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Durham, Hanover and London: University of New Hampshire Press, University Press of New England, 2007). For the second quotation, see Helena Michie, *The Flesh Made Word: Female Figures and Women’s Bodies* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 4. Like her mother-in-law, Lady Charlotte was a lady patroness of several charity balls in Cheshire, and this was an activity that they shared on occasion. See, for example, *Manchester Courier, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, January 13, 1849, where Lady Charlotte and Elizabeth Egerton were patronesses for the annual ball on behalf of the Stockport Infirmary; *Chester Chronicle*, December 8, 1843, where Lady Charlotte was patroness for a ball held in aid of the Chester General Infirmary; and *Chester Chronicle*, November 8, 1851, where Lady Charlotte was one of four patronesses for the annual ball held to benefit the Warrington Dispensary. See chapter 3, pp. 220-223 for a discussion of Elizabeth Egerton’s involvement with charity balls.

¹²³ There are at least three books which contain such lists, two of which were located at Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office, at the time of research (DET/3229/71, dated on the front cover 1855-1875, and DET/3229/73), with the third situated at Tatton Park (DET/3229/72, dated 1860 on the front cover). The first of these is devoted to lists for entertainments and includes occasional addresses; the second is purely a visiting book; and the third begins as a visiting book but the predominant part of the content again consists of lists. See additionally the Tatton Park guidebook, *Tatton Park*, (Knutsford: Cheshire East Council, 2010), 86. None of the books specify that the entertainments took place in London; however, given the depth of names included on the lists and the number of invitees, it is likely that they were held in the metropolis. The single corroboration of this within the books themselves is the date of June 28 1859 following a list of men asked to a ball (DET/3229/72), but newspaper entries for Lady Charlotte’s balls all take place during the London season.

comparison.¹²⁴ Such weighting lay significantly in the favour of unmarried women by allowing them a greater range of partners to choose from, yet at the same time, such selection created a fashionable circle through which acts of elite behaviour could be transacted.

Contemporary descriptions of Lady Charlotte's balls underlined her proficiency in organising exclusive entertainment, in a way that was expressive of her fashionable status yet hinted at potentially problematic fashionable behaviour. One of the sixty-six girls who attended Lady Charlotte's ball on 28 June 1859 was Lucy Lyttelton (1841-1925) of Hagley Hall in Worcestershire. Participating in her first London season and having already endured a couple of dull and crowded balls, Lucy wrote frankly but ardently about her experience:

We went to the most beautiful ball conceivable at Ly. Egerton of Tatton's, a horrid woman; but such a room, such lighting, and such delightful space. I had ever so many chances of dancing, but only did 3 times, what with the waltzes, galops, and being jilted twice...Home, walking!! from St. James' Square at 3¼.¹²⁵

Two years later, Lucy described another of Lady Charlotte's balls as "first-rate", noting that she "danced plentifully."¹²⁶ At a glittering ball for the debut of one of the daughters of Lady Mary-Anne Sykes (d. 1861), sister-in-law to Elizabeth Egerton, Lady Charlotte oversaw the issue of invitations to "the *élite* of the fashionable world" and joined Lady Sykes in receiving guests in the saloon.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ For example, following an undated list of men, Lady Charlotte noted "92 girls, 70 Chaperons [?], 50 couple, 26 Diplomats/Diplomatists, 150 Men" (DET/3229/71), while following a list of men invited to a ball in 1859, Lady Charlotte wrote "66 Girls came 126 dancing Men came...", although this entry has been crossed out (DET/3229/72). Where lists of couples are given, they are noticeably smaller than individual lists of men or women invited. Those lists that refer to dinners or parties are never segmented into these categories of girls, couples and men. As several of the lists are undated and unspecified with regard to event, it is likely that such a breakdown refers to balls.

¹²⁵ Bailey, *The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish*, 94. Lucy's diary entries record her inability to waltz; see, for example, *ibid.*, 96 (diary entry for 4 July, 1859) and Anthony Fletcher, *Growing up in England. The Experience of Childhood, 1600-1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), 363.

¹²⁶ Diary entry, April 23, 1861, quoted in Bailey, *The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish*, 114.

¹²⁷ See *Morning Post*, April 20, 1849 and "LADY SYKES'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, May 3, 1849. The opening dance of the ball was a quadrille, performed by the Sykes daughters. Lady Charlotte was due to hold a ball in 1853 for the debut of presumably her eldest daughter, Elizabeth (1834-1893), and the coming-of-age of her son, Wilbraham (1832-1909), the future 2nd Baron Egerton of Tatton, but the ball was postponed and no further account of it has yet come to light. See *Standard*, April 19, 1853 and "THE EGERTON FAMILY," *Chester Chronicle*, April 30, 1853. Mary-Anne Foulis married Elizabeth Egerton's brother, Sir Tatton Sykes, 4th Baronet (1772-1863) in 1822. See Christopher Simon Sykes, *The*

The interior of the house was beautifully and elegantly decorated in a scene that exuded leisured luxury, providing an earlier parallel to Lucy Lyttelton's depiction. Lady Charlotte's patronage of the ball speaks much of her fashionable status and her expertise in arranging social space, particularly for a ball that enacted an important female ritual. Yet, while she gathered fashionable society together and played the part of a fashionable hostess, as Lucy Lyttelton bluntly observed, there could be tension between providing stylish amusements and maintaining a "proper" persona.

The delineation of Lady Charlotte's character by her contemporaries depicted a woman deeply concerned with rank and the performance of aristocracy, yet this portrayal was also contradictory. Christopher Sykes (1831-1898), nephew to Elizabeth Egerton, wrote of Lady Charlotte in his diary, regarding her as a social barometer and alluding to her acute sense of hierarchy: "Sat by Lady Charlotte Egerton in the evening, who was very gracious...She is a good indication to one's position in London. Her civility is a sign that I am getting on in the world..."¹²⁸ Lady Mary St. Helier (1849-1931), who by virtue of a connection via marriage was in frequent contact with the Egertons, described Lady Charlotte as being "extremely severe on the manners and deportment of young men", holding "most rigidly to the small conventional rules of society."¹²⁹ While Lady Charlotte's concern with comportment and etiquette saw her influence the formation of society around her, in her personal interactions she demonstrated a potential disregard for polished behaviour:

She was an extraordinary woman in her way, and said out loud everything she thought, and as she had a sharp tongue and a vivid manner of expressing herself, she was one of the most entertaining people I ever new. She always uttered whatever came into her head – I am bound to admit it was not always agreeable. She had many feminine weaknesses, and she recognized the principle of reciprocity in all social questions. There were endless stories of the things she said, quite irrespective of

Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family (London, New York, Toronto and Sydney: Harper Perennial, 2004), 118, 120.

¹²⁸ Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and Its Family*, 169. Christopher Sykes was the younger son of Sir Tatton Sykes, 4th Baronet (1772-1863) of Sledmere and brother to Elizabeth Egerton.

¹²⁹ Lady (Susan Elizabeth) Mary St. Helier, *Memories of Fifty Years* (London: Edward Arnold, 1910), 79.

whether it pleased people or not, and she certainly was no respecter of persons...if there were any good story, a sharp saying, or a malicious criticism going, Lady Egerton was the person on whom everything was fathered.¹³⁰

Perhaps such forthrightness didn't sit well with Lady Elizabeth Grosvenor (1797-1891), who was a regular visitor to Tatton Park from her Cheshire estate, Eaton Hall. Suggesting the fabrication of personal attributes, Lady Grosvenor was distinctly unimpressed by Lady Charlotte's demeanour, pointing towards the artifice involved in forming a fashionable façade: "The young are very well-meaning...but far inferior to their Parent Stock. Young Egerton [William Tatton Egerton] himself is a very complacent, prosy bore and Lady Charlotte excessively silly and pretentious with absurd Lady of Quality airs – the elder Mr. and Mrs. E. are worth twenty of them."¹³¹ Playing the hostess on numerous occasions and at ease with her company, Lady Charlotte's "fashionable act"-ing demonstrated the concepts and demands associated with creating ladyship.¹³²

Lady Charlotte's involvement in provincial balls highlights the intersections that occurred between fashionable status and the fashioning of an elite persona. The disjunction between the performance of ladyhood and the enactment of propriety was recorded in two letters written by Katharine (Kate) Stanley (1842-1874) of Alderley Park in Cheshire.¹³³ Kate described a Knutsford ball in which Lady Charlotte's portrayal of the aristocratic lady influenced the behaviour of other families, yet was juxtaposed with distinct incivility:

¹³⁰ Ibid. Lady St. Helier considered that Lady Charlotte's "influence was salutary" on society. When the author, Augustus Hare (1834-1903), stayed at Tatton Park in 1876, he noted of Lady Charlotte, "On small subjects her conversation is frivolous, but on deeper subjects she has acute observation and a capital manner of hitting the right nail on the head, and she certainly gives her opinion without respect of persons." See Augustus J.C. Hare, *The Story of My Life*, vol. 4 (London: George Allen, 1900), 460, quoted in the Tatton Park guidebook, *Tatton Park*, 86.

¹³¹ See Gervas Huxley, *Lady Elizabeth and the Grosvenors. Life in a Whig Family, 1822-1839* (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1965), 44. For an example of visiting between the two families, see "Local and District News," *Cheshire Observer and General Advertiser for Cheshire and North Wales*, October 21, 1854.

¹³² Lady St. Helier noted that Lady Charlotte "received a good deal" in London and at Tatton Park. See St. Helier, *Memories of Fifty Years*, 80.

¹³³ Katharine Louisa Stanley was the fifth daughter of Edward John Stanley, 2nd Baron Stanley of Alderley and 1st Baron Eddisbury of Winnington (1802-1869).

Lady Egerton came into the room looking fineness itself...[the Egertons] made themselves very unpopular at the ball as they left at 1 (much too early) & other people felt obliged to follow their example. They went into the cloak room with all their party & there played at games some one pulled off Lady Egerton's shoe to play at Hunt the Slipper so they seem to have been very riotous & vulgar – also Lady Egerton asked everyone to come to see their theatricals but without their parties as she said she could not have so many people.¹³⁴

The following year, Kate recorded a social spat between Lady Charlotte and Lady Catharina Barbara de Tabley (1814-1869), of Tabley House near Knutsford:

Lady de Tabley pressed us very much indeed to go over there to a dance this evening but Mama declined as we could not all go & it would have been dull to separate. Lady Egerton had a rival dance as Lady de T did not invite her party over as Nelly told us it was quite impossible, there were such horrid people & Lady de T said "Fancy Lady E has 9 men 6 of whom were black balled at every Club in London!"¹³⁵

Lady de Tabley's exception to the presumably objectionable reputations of Lady Charlotte's male guests effectively pitted fashionable society against refined taste, and serves as a counter image to Lady Charlotte's strict demand of propriety from men.¹³⁶ Of course, Kate Stanley's descriptions of the balls may have been tinged with neighbourly jealousy, but Lady de Tabley's abhorrence of the "horrid people" suggests a distaste for the act of being fashionable when disconnected from ideals of naturalness and propriety. Indeed, Lady Charlotte's character as gracious yet pretentious, forthright yet superficial, appeared to have lost the essence of feminine gentility as

¹³⁴ Letter from Kate Stanley to her brother, Edward Lyulph Stanley (1839-1925), the future 4th Baron Stanley of Alderley, dated 13 November 1859 and quoted in Bertrand and Patricia Russell, ed. *The Amberley Papers: The Letters and Diaries of Lord and Lady Amberley*, vol. 1 (London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1937), 66-67.

¹³⁵ Letter from Kate Stanley to Edward Lyulph Stanley, dated 16 November 1860, quoted in *ibid.*, 99. Catharina-Barbara de Salis married George Fleming Warren, 2nd Baron de Tabley (1811-1887) in 1832. See William Courthope, ed. *Debrett's Complete Peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, twenty-first ed. (London: Printed for J.G. & F. Rivington, 1837), 279. Blackballing was a system of voting whereby an application for admittance could be refused, signified by a black ball. See Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London*, 65.

¹³⁶ I am very grateful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for proposing this juxtaposition.

advocated by conduct literature; in attempting to be fashionable, she seemingly descended to a certain discourteousness and on occasion, vulgarity, the very opposite of modesty and grace recommended for young ladies.¹³⁷

4.5 Conclusion

Social dance as an expression of elite status was intimately concerned with the fashioning of ladyship and the creation of monarchy. The participation of Lady Charlotte and the Marchioness of Ely in balls at Almack's traversed the various roles that women assumed in their negotiation of elite culture, while their attendance at state balls formed part of the ritual of monarchical manufacture. The quadrille in particular gave aristocratic women agency in creating their own cultural sphere; through their organisation of fancy quadrilles, they were actively involved in shaping the performance of dance. Quadrille music, however, both confirmed and rejected established constructions of femininity, destabilising any fixed parameters of what constituted appropriate music for women. Lady Charlotte's quadrille music was both inadvertently difficult and unashamedly virtuosic in nature, providing a foil to discourses of ease, leisure, grace and beauty. Yet, containing decisive links with fashionable life, quadrille music could be seen as quintessentially belonging to the world of elite feminine display. As a highly mutable musical form that took on innumerable sources of pre-existing material, quadrille music reflected the kinds of womanly transfers that were taking place in the ballroom. As such, the quadrille could be considered as a nuanced metaphor for the development of ladyship – as the dancers moved through the different figures to an array of musical possibilities, the fashioning of elite womanhood saw the repetition of social acts, again and again, across a changing societal background.

¹³⁷ For a summary of feminine characteristics from conduct literature, see Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London: Longman, 1998), 23-25.

Chapter 5: Charlotte Egerton (1824-1845) – Corporeal Fashioning and the Promotion of Female Sociability through Dance Music

Charlotte Egerton's girlhood education in music and dance emphasised how both disciplines were connected in fashioning elite bodies and how dance music had the potential to foster female sociability outside the ballroom. Both dancing and music-making required physical control and constraint, concepts that were closely linked with notions of feminine deportment. As social dance was a vehicle through which elite young women were formally introduced into society, the ballroom demanded the display of appropriate cultural knowledge and comportment, which had its roots not just in social etiquette, but also in a strong understanding of music and dance. Charlotte's upbringing in both art forms, documented through her pedagogical music and surviving financial accounts of dance lessons, necessarily reflected Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton's influence on the development of her skills in dance and gentility. Such training was brought to bear as Charlotte participated in balls in Knutsford and London as part of her social debut, however, it also played a role in how she negotiated dance at the keyboard. Charlotte's performance of dance music in the domestic environment combined educational precepts with sociability, allowing her to develop important musical and terpsichorean skills whilst simultaneously facilitating relationships with female family members and acquaintances.

The dance music Charlotte owned represents a potpourri of musical and choreographic forms that demonstrates a widespread engagement with dance. Her collection bears a resemblance to that of her sister-in-law, Lady Charlotte Egerton, although Charlotte's music lacks the volume of functional repertoire contained in the former. Comprising a range of fashionable dances from the first half of the nineteenth century, including the quadrille, galop, mazurka and polka, Charlotte's dance music includes arrangements from popular theatrical productions as well as original compositions that drew on dance for their inspiration. While the quadrille offered an entrée for examining concepts of ladyhood and fashionable femininity in Lady Charlotte's collection, the waltz provides a metaphor for tracing Charlotte's development through music and

dance. Permeating her collection from her earliest years at the piano through to her appearance at a state ball just two years before she passed away, the waltz speaks to the wider social implications of accumulating and sharing dance music. Appearing in both solo compositions and arrangements for four hands, Charlotte's waltz music connected the ballroom to the music room, providing opportunities for reflection, imagination and feminine bonding.

5.1 Learning to Dance

Charlotte's dance and music lessons emphasised the value that Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton placed on both disciplines and underscored the potential for synthesis between them. Charlotte was six years old when she began piano lessons, and nearly seven when she took her first recorded dance lessons, continuing both into her late teenage years.¹ Due to her early death at the age of just twenty-one, music and dance were pedagogically interwoven into the fabric of approximately half her life. The continued commitment demonstrated by the Egertons to Charlotte's instruction in both art forms suggests that Wilbraham and Elizabeth considered them fundamental components of their daughter's education. In particular, their choice of dance teachers and Charlotte's experience of dance as a young child points towards an interest in corporeal fashioning at the highest levels. Given the common bodily language shared by music and dance, as discussed in chapter one, Charlotte's concurrent study of both fields increased the likelihood that bodily cross-fertilisation took place. Her musical education not only potentially facilitated her understanding of dance forms, but her dance education perhaps assisted her in developing a kinaesthetic knowledge that informed her interpretation and technique. Both dance and music, therefore, conceivably played an influential role in shaping Charlotte's physical gestures, and thus her visual representation of femininity, from childhood through to adulthood.

¹ Charlotte's pedagogical music suggests she commenced piano lessons in September 1830, while entries from Wilbraham Egerton's account books show that payments for her music lessons continued until at least 1843. See entry for 6 July 1843, DET/3229/13, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, Cheshire Record Office and Penelope Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845" (PhD, University of Southampton, 2013), 93-94, 167, 170.

5.1.1 Fashionable Dance Teachers and the Creation of Elite Bodies

Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton's employment of several London-based dance teachers for Charlotte illustrates the social importance they placed on her learning to dance. Wilbraham's account books show that they engaged the services of at least four teachers over a period of nine years: a Mr Lubley was paid £9 18s in June 1831; Mr Lucquet was engaged for £9 12s in June 1833; Mr Bourdin received £29 2s in July 1839 while his wife, Madame Bourdin, was paid £49 12s in July 1840.² The payments occurred towards the end of the family's annual stay in London. As the Egertons were only routinely in town for approximately four months of the year, it is plausible they took advantage of their access to superior dance instructors by providing Charlotte with an intensive series of lessons, particularly given the absence of documentation supporting dance tuition at Tatton Park.³ The timing and costs of the lessons are perhaps indicative of their selective and concentrated use. They are clustered around Charlotte's childhood and mid-adolescent years, suggesting they may have been employed initially to establish a secure foundation, and latterly to provide polish prior to her formal social debut. The significant sum remunerated to Madame Bourdin, in particular, attests to the value Wilbraham and Elizabeth placed on the purchase of her skills. While the total amount may have reflected a large number of lessons or her elevated standing as a teacher, the very fact they considered these worthy of procurement signalled a conscious investment in bodily fashioning.⁴

² See entries for 24 June 1831, 28 June 1833, 2 July 1839 and 7 July 1840, DET/3229/11-12, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies. The writing of Mr Lubley's name is not clear, as the entry has been corrected, so although Lubley is the most likely name based on the orthography, other variants are possible. This is the only dancing master not specifically linked to Charlotte in the account books; however, given her younger brothers' activities at the time, it is likely that the payment refers to her.

³ Wilbraham's account books provide a general indication of the family's movements each year through the payment of servants' travelling expenses, tradesmen's bills and their attendance at concerts, plays and operas. From 1833-1836, the Egertons arrived in London between mid-late February and early April, and departed again in mid June or early July. On the migration of the landed elite to London for the season, see Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973), 21 and Sue Wilkes, *Regency Cheshire* (London: Robert Hale, 2009), 14-15.

⁴ The National Archives estimated that £49 12s was equivalent to £2187.36 in 2005; see <http://apps.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>, accessed 23 October 2014.

Given Wilbraham and Elizabeth's concern for Charlotte's dance education, their choice of instructors was significant. While no information has come to light regarding Mr Lubley, the social pedigree of Charlotte's subsequent teachers was impeccable. John Baptist(e) Lucquet (d.1848), "Professeur de Danse" from Paris, taught in London from 1827 and had an early influential sponsor in Frances Anne Vane, Marchioness of Londonderry (1800-1865), who subsequently became a lady patroness at Almack's.⁵ It is possible that the Marchioness was involved in Monsieur Lucquet's engagement as a dancing master for Charlotte, as she may have been acquainted with Lady Charlotte Egerton, as well as Wilbraham and Elizabeth.⁶ Dominique François Bourdin (d. 1863) was a former dancer with the Paris Opéra, who made his debut on the London stage in 1809 and continued dancing before the English public for the following ten years.⁷ He and his wife, Sarah Matilda Harrison (d. 1868), established a dance academy that partially took place at Almack's, only a short distance from the Egertons' residence at St. James's Square.⁸ Both Monsieur Lucquet and the Bourdins unashamedly targeted patrons of the nobility and gentry classes, and attempted to position themselves in the vicinity of

⁵ For the quotation, see an advertisement placed by Monsieur Lucquet in *Morning Post*, March 26, 1827. For advertisements detailing his patronage by the Marchioness of Londonderry, see *Hampshire Advertiser*, *Royal Yacht Club Gazette*, *Southampton Town & County Herald*, *Isle of Wight Journal*, *Winchester Chronicle*, & *General Reporter*, October 9, 1830 and October 16, 1830. On the Marchioness's role at Almack's, see K.D. Reynolds, "Vane, Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry (1800-1865)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004, online edition 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/41159>, accessed 23 October 2014.

⁶ The Marchioness was present at several of the same Almack's balls as Lady Charlotte Egerton (see "ALMACK'S GRAND BALL," *Morning Post*, May 7, June 11, June 18 and June 25, 1830; March 25, April 22 and May 27, 1831; June 15, 1832; May 2 and May 16, 1834) while Wilbraham and Elizabeth may have had a passing acquaintance with her (see "THE MARCHIONESS OF BRISTOL'S DEJEUNE," *Morning Post*, July 5, 1831).

⁷ British naturalisation papers held at The National Archives (HO 1/72/2230), stamped March 20, 1856, indicate that Monsieur Bourdin was born in Paris and had been resident in London for the past 45 years. For reference to his role in the Paris Opéra, see *Morning Post*, June 21, 1809 and June 18, 1809. His debut in London was in a ballet called *Love in a Tub* at the Lyceum Theatre on 26 June 1809 (see *Morning Post*, June 27, 1809 and June 28, 1809) and he continued his career at the King's Theatre and the Pantheon. See William C. Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London, 1789-1820: A Record of Performances and Players, with Reports from the Journals of the Time* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1955), 105, 118, 122, 127, 131, 136, 157, 163 for listings of Monsieur Bourdin in the company for the King's Theatre.

⁸ From at least 1830, the Bourdins' dancing academy was split between their residence in Bryanston Street and Almack's, with classes transferring to the latter in January/February; see, for example, *Morning Post*, January 6, 1830.

fashionable Marylebone.⁹ It was Madame Bourdin, however, who rose to prominence as “Instructress in Dancing” to Princess Victoria. It was a position she was keen to publicly uphold: in a letter to the *Times* in 1837, she politely admonished the editor for erroneously reporting that Henry Kendon was the dancing master of the Princess, declaring, “that I alone have had the honour of instructing Her Royal Highness in dancing, and shall feel obliged by your inserting this contradiction of the statement above alluded to.”¹⁰ Just a year before Charlotte commenced her dancing lessons with the Bourdins, their academy gained the patronage of Queen Victoria in her own right, thus potentially ranking them amongst the most sought-after dancing teachers in England.¹¹

If Charlotte’s dancing teachers were amongst the upper echelons of their profession, then her early experience in the ballroom was equally illustrious. Just a year after her lessons with Monsieur Lucquet, Charlotte appeared at St. James’s Palace for a juvenile ball given by Queen Adelaide, accompanied by several members of her family.¹² Madame Bourdin was in attendance as Mistress of Ceremonies, as a series of galops, waltzes and quadrilles were danced across two ballrooms:

⁹ The earliest known London address of Monsieur Lucquet was 33 Gerrard Street, Soho (*Morning Post*, March 26, 1827). The following year he was based at 3 Newman Street (*Morning Post*, January 10, 1828) before moving to 45 Charlotte Street, Portland Place in 1834 (*Morning Post*, October 30, 1834) and 34 York Street, Portman Square in 1838 (*Morning Post*, November 13, 1838). In 1819, Monsieur and Madame Bourdin were resident at 212 Oxford Street (*Morning Post*, January 18, 1819) while in 1822 they had moved from Old Quebec Street to 36 Bryanston Street, Portman Square (*Morning Post*, March 23, 1822), where they remained until their deaths.

¹⁰ See “TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES,” *Times*, June 6, 1837. Madame Bourdin taught Princess Victoria from at least November 1827. I am very grateful to Miss Pamela Clark, Registrar at the Royal Archives, for her correspondence on April 18, 2012, confirming when Madame Bourdin started teaching Princess Victoria. Frequent references to Madame Bourdin’s lessons occur in Victoria’s journals from 1832-1835 (see www.queenvictoriasjournals.org). See also Elizabeth Longford, *Queen Victoria* (London: The Folio Society, 2007), 19.

¹¹ See *Morning Post*, March 3 and March 17, 1838. In 1840, Madame Bourdin was granted a Civil List Pension of £100 for her services teaching dancing to Victoria; see “Civil List Pensions,” *Morning Post*, February 28, 1842 and “The New Pension List,” *Bradford Observer*, March 10, 1842. In 1847, she was appointed “teacher of dancing to the Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales” (*The Standard*, April 7, 1847) and was employed in teaching the royal children until at least 1863 (*Liverpool Mercury, and Lancashire, Cheshire, and General Advertiser*, July 15, 1863).

¹² William Tatton Egerton, Lady Charlotte Egerton and Charlotte’s brother, Charles Egerton, were all listed by name, along with a Mr and Mrs Egerton, who were presumably Wilbraham and Elizabeth. The Miss Egerton who attended was likely to have been Charlotte. See “THE QUEEN’S BALL,” *Morning Chronicle*, June 2, 1834.

WEIPPERT's band, who were stationed in the rooms, played, in addition to all their new music, a beautiful set of gallopes, entitled *Le [sic] Gloire d'Angleterre*, which was repeated three times by desire. The new waltzes, *Le Guillaume Quatre*, were particularly admired. In the other ball room (Queen Anne's Room) was COLLINET's band. The quadrilles performed in this apartment were MUSARD's *La Brice du Matin*, *Venise*, *Les Echos*, *Les Espagnols*, with the castanets. The two latter were repeated several times by special desire. The new waltzes of the Court of Baden were also much admired.¹³

As a training ground for deportment and polite sociability, juvenile balls presented an opportunity for children to practise skills they would use in adulthood.¹⁴ Charlotte's presence at a royal ball, in what was a highly structured social display, represented a significant step in her tuition in genteel girlhood, in which dance and music played a pivotal role.¹⁵ Such tuition comprised not only how to dance, but also when dancing was precluded. As an adolescent, and later as an unmarried monarch, Princess Victoria was unable to perform galops and waltzes due to the need for a physical embrace.¹⁶ Dance therefore not only regulated female bodily movement through the steps themselves, but also through the absence of participation. Although Victoria only danced in the quadrilles, her "graceful and elegant manner" was much admired, in a bodily performance that "reflected the greatest credit on her

¹³ See "THE QUEEN'S BALL TO THE JUVENILE BRANCHES OF THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY," *Morning Post*, June 2, 1834; "THE QUEEN'S BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, June 2, 1834 and Longford, *Queen Victoria*, 33. For further biographical information on John Thomas Louis Weippert (1798-1843) and Philippe Musard (1792-1859), see John A. Parkinson, "A Knot of Weipperts," in *Sundry Sorts of Music Books: Essays on the British Library Collections. Presented to O.W. Neighbour on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Chris Banks, Arthur Searle, and Malcolm Turner (London: The British Library, 1993), 277-279 and Gérard Streletski, Gustave Chouquet, and David Charlton, "Musard, Philippe," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19390>, accessed 30 October 2014.

¹⁴ See chapter 1, p. 97.

¹⁵ I'm thankful to Dr Thomas Irvine for pointing out the regulation of female bodies within social spaces that the ball occasioned.

¹⁶ Victoria remarked on her predicament in 1837 on the occasion of a state ball held in honour of her eighteenth birthday, writing that she "wished to dance with Count Waldstein who is such an amiable man, but he replied that he could not dance quadrilles, and as in my station I unfortunately cannot valze and gallop, I could not dance with him." See RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 24 May 1837 (Lord Esher's typescripts), vol. 3, p. 24, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 23 October 2014, and quoted in Viscount Esher, ed. *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Diaries between the Years 1832 and 1840*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1912), 191.

accomplished instructress..."¹⁷ At the age of just nine, Charlotte may have seen the fifteen-year-old princess dance and thus imbibe the effects of Madame Bourdin's tuition before she formally commenced instruction with her.

That the Egertons were aware of Madame Bourdin's position at court this early in Charlotte's life and chose to employ her in the final stages of Charlotte's education raises the possibility that this was a carefully planned progression, illustrating their desire for Charlotte's dancing skills and comportment to be placed in the best possible hands. In providing dance lessons for Charlotte, Wilbraham and Elizabeth were actively influencing how, and with whom, she learned to move, ensuring she was prepared to enact the gestural and behavioural qualities requisite for elite womanhood. Furthermore, they also positioned themselves as connoisseurs of the fashionable and the exclusive. There were other dancing teachers in London who were equally well qualified of teaching Charlotte how to dance, but none perhaps who held the same social resonance as the Bourdins.¹⁸ Seemingly unperturbed by Monsieur Bourdin's association with the theatre and the French background shared by him and Monsieur Lucquet, the Egertons instead appear to have embraced them as valued pedagogues amongst fashionable society.¹⁹ Through their purchase of their daughter's dance education, therefore, Wilbraham and Elizabeth not only sanctioned dance as a necessary feminine pursuit, but also mobilised it as a tangible signifier of gentility and social acumen. In a parallel to the manner in which male connoisseurship and status were exhibited through country house balls organised by women, the moulding of feminine grace and elegance through dancing lessons was likewise connected to paternal prestige and investment.²⁰

¹⁷ See "THE QUEEN'S BALL TO THE JUVENILE BRANCHES OF THE NOBILITY AND GENTRY," *Morning Post*, June 2, 1834 and "THE QUEEN'S BALL," *Morning Chronicle*, June 2, 1834 for the first quotation, and "THEIR MAJESTY'S JUVENILE BALL," *Belfast News Letter*, June 6, 1834 for the second quotation.

¹⁸ For example, Mrs James Rae and Miss Prince were former pupils of Mr D'Egville (presumably the dancing master, James Harvey D'Egville) who were still teaching in 1839 and 1840 (see *Morning Post*, January 14, 1839 and April 27, 1840), while Madame Soutten learned from the highly regarded Eugène Coulon in Paris, holding her academy in the Argyll Rooms (see *Morning Post*, April 2, 1839).

¹⁹ The "Census Returns of England and Wales" (The National Archives, UK, 1851, HO107/1489, accessed 26 November 2011 via <http://www.ancestry.com>), lists Madame Bourdin's birthplace as France; however, Monsieur Bourdin's naturalisation papers state that she was born in England.

²⁰ See chapter 2, pp. 139-141, 149. I am very thankful to Professor Jeanice Brooks for raising the congruence between male sponsorship of balls in the country house and their financial outlay for dancing lessons for their daughters.

5.1.2 The Governess and Dancing at the Piano

The role of the governess as a tutor of female accomplishments and cultivator of feminine conduct takes on particular importance in considering how Charlotte's dance and music education was managed at Tatton Park. The governess held an integral position in elite female education throughout the nineteenth century for families who educated their daughters at home.²¹ By definition a lady, although obliged to seek employment in genteel households due to pecuniary distress, the governess's gentility of birth and "fashionable education" equipped her to oversee the intellectual, social, moral and spiritual progress of upper class girls.²² Required to possess a panoply of skills, dance and music formed part of the palette of feminine pursuits that a governess could offer.²³ Newspaper advertisements from the early 1830s suggest that some governesses felt competent to provide tuition in dance (see Figure 40), while others participated in their pupils' dance lessons when a master was present.²⁴ The ability to superintend practice or continue education in the absence of a master was vital for provincial families who could not easily access the required expertise and who only travelled to London intermittently.²⁵

²¹ For a discussion of the role of the governess and the social issues surrounding her status and employment in the Victorian era, see Trev Broughton and Ruth Symes, eds., *The Governess: An Anthology* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997) and Kathryn Hughes, *The Victorian Governess* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1993).

²² Eliza Cook, "Governesses," *Eliza Cook's Journal* 1, no. 20 (15 September, 1849): 305. On the governess's status and duties towards her pupils, see *Hints on Education; or Directions to Mothers in the Selection and Treatment of a Governess. With an Appendix Containing a Letter by Chancellor More, to the Tutor of His Family*, (London: Printed for the Author, 1821), 6-8; Broughton and Symes, *The Governess: An Anthology*, 42-43; Cook, "Governesses," 306; Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, 20-21, 40, 48, 88, 90, 180, 86; Anna Jameson, "On the Relative Social Position of Mothers and Governesses," in *Memoirs and Essays Illustrative of Art, Literature and Social Morals* (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 254; Mary Atkinson Maurice, *Mothers and Governesses* (London: John W. Parker, 1847), 93-94; Susan F Ridout, *Letters to a Young Governess: On the Principles of Education, and Other Subjects Connected with Her Duties* (London: Edmund Fry, 1840), 1-6, 12-13, 21-22 of part II and Sir George Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess* (London: Charles Knight and Co., 1844), 261.

²³ See *Hints on Education*, 7-8; Broughton and Symes, *The Governess: An Anthology*, 42; Cook, "Governesses," 306; and Ridout, *Letters to a Young Governess: On the Principles of Education, and Other Subjects Connected with Her Duties*, 5 of part II.

²⁴ See Anne Bloomfield and Ruth Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," *History of Education* 37, no. 4 (2008): 615.

²⁵ See *The Young Lady's Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, (London: Vizetelly, Branston, and Co., 1829), 367; Maurice, *Mothers and Governesses*, 10-11; and Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess*, 225. Agnes Porter supervised the practise of her pupils' accomplishments while in London in preparation for their lessons with visiting masters. See Joanna

TO PARENTS and GUARDIANS. – A Lady, 35 years of age, is desirous of obtaining a Situation as PREPARATORY GOVERNESS in a Gentleman or Nobleman’s family. In addition to the usual branches of education the Advertiser can undertake to prepare her Pupils in Music, Dancing, Italian, and French. She has spent some time in Paris, and can be strongly recommended by a Lady in whose family she has resided in the above capacity the last thirteen years. Terms 60 guineas per annum. Letters, post paid, addressed to A.Z., New Post Office, will be immediately attended to. – N.B. No agent need apply.

A YOUNG LADY, who has studied under some of the first Masters in Paris and London, is desirous of engaging herself as GOVERNESS in a Nobleman or Gentleman’s family. She professes to teach the Piano and Drawing without the aid of Masters, and the Harp, Singing, and Dancing, where Masters attend occasionally, or to give finishing lessons. Also Italian, French, and other acquirements forming the usual routine of female education. Address, post paid, to L.W., at Mr. Fellowes’s, Bookseller, 39, Ludgate-street.

DAILY or RESIDENT GOVERNESS. – A Lady who has had experience in tuition, and can be highly recommended by the family whom she has recently quitted, is desirous of a RE-ENGAGEMENT. She is competent to instruct in Music, French, Italian, Writing, Arithmetic, History, and Geography, with the use of the Globes. The Advertiser could also superintend both Drawing and Dancing during the absence of a master. Address, post paid, M. G. T., Mr. Hatchard’s, 187, Piccadilly.

FIGURE 40. ADVERTISEMENTS FROM THE *MORNING POST*, JUNE 4 AND JANUARY 27, 1831, AND MAY 15, 1833, OUTLINING THE ABILITY OF GOVERNESSES TO TEACH DANCE.

Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton employed two women during the 1830s and 1840s who potentially filled the role of governess to Charlotte, avoiding the necessity of hazarding tuition from a visiting Cheshire dance master.²⁶ A Miss Pitman was engaged from at least 1831 to 1834 and her initials and signature appear on some of Charlotte’s music from London and Tatton Park, while a Miss Bouclé appeared as a salaried member of the household on a biennial basis from 1835 to 1841, with one work in Charlotte’s collection also bearing her name.²⁷ The position of both women is not defined in Wilbraham’s account

Martin, ed. *A Governess in the Age of Jane Austen: The Journals and Letters of Agnes Porter* (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1998), 79-80, 155.

²⁶ Several options were available to the Egertons in the early 1830s in terms of procuring a more local dancing master for Charlotte: Mr J and G Pitt attended public academies in various towns, including Knutsford, to give instruction in dancing and fencing (*Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, July 18, 1835); Mr St. Albin was a dancing master resident in Chester who also taught in Liverpool (*Liverpool Mercury and Lancashire General Advertiser*, October 15, 1830); and a Mr Cooper travelled from Manchester to give dancing lessons in nearby Macclesfield (*Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, January 19, 1833).

²⁷ Wilbraham Egerton’s account books detail payments to Miss Pitman and Miss Bouclé - see DET/3229/11-14, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies. The former was paid a quarterly or half-yearly salary between 1831 and 1834. There is a sole reference to £10 being given to a Miss Pittman on March

books, but in the absence of any reference to Charlotte attending school, it is probable that Miss Pitman and Miss Bouclé played a significant role in Charlotte's education, including her training in music and dance.

The governess was expected to be a "model of genteel femininity" for her pupils, and as such, was a figure worthy of emulation.²⁸ Advice writers exhorted mothers to choose their governesses carefully, creating a set of ideal qualities epitomising the superior governess. Mary Atkinson Maurice placed particular importance on the governess's upbringing, such "that her tastes, feelings, and associations have been formed on good models, and her habits and mind, consequently, lady-like and elevated."²⁹ Responsible for the all-round care of her pupils, the governess was invested with a weighty obligation to ensure that they acquired the desired intellectual edification and developed appropriately genteel behaviour.³⁰ As children were particularly apt to imitate their elders, the governess needed to be watchful of her own behaviour in "the petty civilities of life" to ensure that her actions were not incongruous with her precepts.³¹ As the transition from childhood to womanhood came sharply into focus, the governess needed to ensure that girls were equipped to take their places in society as gentlewomen, wives and mothers:

We have to form...the probable mistress and mother of a family; the sensible companion and wife...the kind, the courteous member of polished society...we shall do well to reflect on the best means to be taken, *for moulding our interesting charge* into the being, that our serious judgment will hereafter approve. Something more is surely needful, than...the finishing instructions of the music, drawing, and dancing masters; and the formal recapitulation of exercises...The time is

30, 1845, but it is not clear whether it referred to the same person (see DET/3229/13). Miss Pitman's initials and/or name appear on several of Charlotte's works from MR 2-5-19 and MR 2-5-44. The Egertons paid Miss Bouclé an annuity between at least 1848 and 1850 (see DET/3229/13-14). Her signature appears on *No. 2. The Bolero. Three Airs de Ballet, from La Muette de Portici*, arranged for piano by Henri Herz, published by Goulding & D'Almaine in MR 2-5-17. For further information about Miss Pitman and Miss Bouclé, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 168, 172, 175-176.

²⁸ Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, 134.

²⁹ Maurice, *Mothers and Governesses*, 93.

³⁰ See, for example, Mary Atkinson Maurice, *Governess Life: Its Trials, Duties, and Encouragements* (London: John W. Parker, 1849), 70.

³¹ See Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess*, 157 for the quotation and more generally 156-158, in addition to Maurice, *Governess Life: Its Trials, Duties, and Encouragements*, 70.

critical; for the person who has most influence over the child just emerging into womanhood, will probably be instrumental in fixing, unalterably, her tastes, opinions, and character; nay, perhaps her destiny.³² [my emphasis]

As the sculptor of a young woman's behaviour and taste, the potential influence a governess wielded was vast.

In the fields of dance and music, the governess was pivotal in not only providing opportunities for emulation, but also in promoting assimilation of both disciplines. Susan Ridout recommended that the governess play music to her pupils as often as possible to assist in forming their taste, while she could also be called upon to furnish entertainment by playing duets with her pupils or supplying music for a dance.³³ As such, she instructed through her own comportment and performance as much as she did through her teaching. The advantage of having the same preceptress for both disciplines conceivably lay in the assimilation of knowledge and consistency of approach. In choosing pianistic and terpsichorean repertoire for her pupils, the governess could offer a complementary teaching regime, whereby a dance that was taught for the ballroom could simultaneously be explored through music at the keyboard. Such an integrative methodology would have facilitated a more nuanced understanding of how intimately the two disciplines were connected, and developed a deeper feeling for rhythm and phrasing from a musical and gestural perspective. As the governess was responsible for moulding the movement of her pupil's body in each discipline, in a sense, she was also accountable for developing deportment from its foundations. This has significant implications for the acquirement of elegance and grace – in creating the visible elements of gentility, the governess played a central role in forming her pupils' quality of movement. Through her lessons at the keyboard and on the dance floor, therefore, she was teaching them how to be ladies.

³² Ridout, *Letters to a Young Governess: On the Principles of Education, and Other Subjects Connected with Her Duties*, 4-5 of part II. See additionally Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, 80, 134-135 and Stephen, *The Guide to Service. The Governess*, 261, 319.

³³ See Ridout, *Letters to a Young Governess: On the Principles of Education, and Other Subjects Connected with Her Duties*, 86-87. For reference to the governess participating in musical entertainment, see Hughes, *The Victorian Governess*, 100-101 and Maurice, *Mothers and Governesses*, 33. On the governess's role in playing duets, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 261. For a fictional account of the governess providing music for dance, see *The Governess; or, Politics in Private Life*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1836), 2.

If the governess promoted the development of feminine comportment through an integrated blend of music and dance, then pedagogical repertoire that combined instruction in technique with dance music proffered a parallel means of negotiating femininity. Leslie Ritchie has drawn attention to music's regulatory influence on women's bodies, through the inculcation of self-discipline via repetition of musical lessons and through dance as a specific form of musical endeavour, thus situating dance music as an ideal nexus for developing kinaesthetic relationships.³⁴ The inclusion of dance music in many early nineteenth-century piano tutor books gave apparent sanction to the genre as a vehicle through which musical taste and technical proficiency could be developed.³⁵ Given the emphasis those same tutor books placed on gracefulness and elegance of posture, and the connection of these qualities to the visual and aural performance of femininity, the repetition involved in practising dance music helped to formulate the physical signifiers of feminine comportment.³⁶ As the governess had this repertoire at her disposal, it was potentially a means through which she could instil "the perceptible habits of a polite appearance."³⁷ Given that women's musical practice was also linked to ideas of social harmony, through the government of minds and bodies and as a form of familial amusement, the practice of dance music doubly equipped girls to perform this aspect of femininity, by providing music that functionally

³⁴ Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England. Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2008), 43, 52.

³⁵ See, for example, Muzio Clementi, *Clementi's Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte: Containing the Elements of Music, Preliminary Notions on Fingering with Examples, and Fifty Fingered Lessons, in the Major and Minor Keys Mostly in Use by Composers of the First Rank, Ancient and Modern: To Which Are Prefixed Short Preludes by the Author* (London: Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis, 1801); T. Howell, *Practical Instructions for the Piano Forte Dedicated to Miss Anna Howell, for Whom They Were Originally Composed by Her Father...First Part* (Bristol: Published by the Author, 1816); John Monro, *A New & Complete Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Piano Forte, Wherein the First Principles of Music, are Fully Considered in a Series of Observations and Examples...* (London: Monro & May, WM 1823); and John Parsons, *The Elements of Music with Progressive Practical Lessons for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte* (London: Published by the Author, 1794).

³⁶ See chapter 1, pp. 113-119. Elizabeth Morgan drew parallels between piano tutor books and conduct literature in their regulation of bodily motion, which, in the case of didactic keyboard repertoire, often strongly relied on repetition to govern small and precise movements. See Elizabeth Natalie Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa: Women at the Pianoforte in England, 1780-1820" (PhD, University of California, 2009), 55-56, 60, 62.

³⁷ Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*, 52.

supported social harmony through bodily interaction and polite sociability on the dance floor.³⁸

Johann Baptist Cramer's (1771-1858) *Instructions for the Piano Forte* provides a pedagogical example of how dance music at its broadest could be combined with the development of physical technique. Consisting of fifty-eight short pieces drawn from various sources, each preceded by a prelude designed to "form the hand and taste of the Pupil", it is a work conceived for the beginner, and as such, provided one of the foundations for Charlotte's musical and pianistic education.³⁹ Cramer prefaced the musical exercises with an introduction that offered clear advice regarding the development of technique, while his thoughts on bodily positioning bore an affinity with the elegance and equipose advocated by treatises on piano playing for girls. He recommended the player "sit in a graceful manner opposite the centre of the Key-board, neither too near, nor too far from the Instrument", keeping the arms at a moderate distance from the body and employing an almost imperceptible movement of the fingers.⁴⁰ Charlotte's educational progress through the *Instructions* is charted through hand-written dates at the conclusion of select pieces. As early as May 1831, a date uncannily close to Wilbraham Egerton's payment to Mr Lubley for dance lessons, Charlotte was working her way through the initial stages of Cramer's composition.⁴¹ Incorporated within the *Instructions* is a selection of dance-derived pieces,

³⁸ See *ibid.*, 31-32, 36-38, 55. On the development of sociability through dance, see Bloomfield and Watts, "Pedagogue of the Dance: The Dancing Master as Educator in the Long Eighteenth Century," 613-614.

³⁹ Johann Baptist Cramer, *The Fourth Edition with Additions & Improvements of J.B. Cramer's Instructions for the Piano Forte, in Which the First Rudiments of Music Are Clearly Explained and the Principal Rules on the Art of Fingering Illustrated, with Numerous and Appropriate Examples: To Which Are Added Lessons, in the Principal Major & Minor Keys with a Prelude to Each Key* (London: S. Chappell and Cramer, Addison & Beale, 1826), 18. This work is found in MR 2-5-19 of Charlotte's collection, bearing the hand-written date of 'Sepbr 1830' on the title page. For a discussion of the role of this work in relation to Charlotte's pianistic development, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 167, 170-172.

⁴⁰ Cramer, *The Fourth Edition with Additions & Improvements of J.B. Cramer's Instructions for the Piano Forte*, 10.

⁴¹ The date of May 31st 1830 has been inscribed at the top of page twenty, which contains numbers three and four of the fifty-eight short pieces.

comprising a Guaracha, Gavotta and two waltzes.⁴² Although there is no evidence that Charlotte specifically learned these pieces, they may have constituted her first experience of dance through music.⁴³ The *Instructions* therefore acted as a conduit not only for musical and terpsichorean knowledge, but also for the development of appropriate feminine conduct at the keyboard.

If Cramer's *Instructions* allowed Charlotte's governess to mould her physical movement through her teachings, then a manuscript waltz in Charlotte's collection potentially extended the governess's sphere of influence to performance (see Figure 41). Bearing the partial inscription 'from Miss Traffo[rd]' at the top of the page and a date of 1832 at the end of the work, the waltz contains clear hand-written fingerings and indications of rhythmic timing, suggesting it was well learned.⁴⁴ Just thirty-two bars long and alternating between tonic and dominant harmony, the waltz provided Charlotte with the opportunity to practise repeated figures, arpeggios, running passages and chords in a manner similar to the first of the two waltzes in Cramer's *Instructions*.⁴⁵ In following prescribed fingering, Charlotte was not only obliged to enact certain patterns according to her governess's direction; if the fingering was designed to facilitate ease at the keyboard, then Charlotte's performance was also a forum for demonstrating elegance and grace.⁴⁶ However, the waltz contains a gestural catch, as it appears to be the *primo* part of a piano duet.⁴⁷ The performance of this work, potentially alongside her governess or at least under her instruction, therefore gave Charlotte the opportunity to learn how to move alongside another performer at the keyboard, mirroring the partnership created by the waltz as a dance form.

⁴² See "THE GAURACHA (a Spanish Dance)" [No. 16, p. 26]; "GAVOTTA, in Achille and Deidamie"; an untitled "WALTZ" [No. 23 and 24, p. 30]; and "TYROLESE WALTZ" [No. 42, p. 39]. Cramer included a footnote to the latter, indicating that a waltz was "a German dance in Triple Time", thus encouraging the pupil's basic knowledge of the genre.

⁴³ Clear pencil markings extend only to number twelve of the fifty-eight pieces.

⁴⁴ "Jany 1832" appears after the double bar. Written underneath this stave is an additional date in light pencil, which appears to be "Feb'y" or "July 4th". The waltz is located in MR 2-5-19, the same volume that includes Cramer's *Instructions for the Piano Forte* and several other pedagogical works.

⁴⁵ Despite the fact that the manuscript waltz is dated one and a half years later than the Cramer, it is simpler in texture and figuration.

⁴⁶ See Morgan, "The Virtuous Virtuosa," 56, 62.

⁴⁷ I am very grateful for Emeritus Professor William Drabkin's observation on this point.



FIGURE 41. MANUSCRIPT WALTZ WITH THE NAME OF MISS TRAFFORD [MR 2-5-19].

In training her body to produce precise motions embodying the requisite qualities of femininity, whilst maintaining harmony in relation to the movements of others, Charlotte was learning the very fundamentals of bodily comportment necessary for gentility.

5.2 Metropolitan and Provincial Dancing

Charlotte's experience of social dance as she emerged into womanhood comprised a mixture of provincial and metropolitan balls, in a melange that melted the boundaries between city and country on a personal and musical level. Over a period of four years, Charlotte attended balls in Cheshire and London, although they were abruptly curtailed by her early death. These balls highlight the differing spaces in which she danced and the contrasting social circumstances in which she found herself, which held implications for a shifting notion of rank. While the scale of elite balls in London significantly outweighed that of provincial assemblies, neither the dancers nor the music were mutually exclusive. Many gentry families who would have been known to Charlotte from Cheshire also attended balls in London, simultaneously lending stability and fluidity to the performance of dance from the provinces to the metropolis. Similarly, while Charlotte's dance music clearly represented

London balls and offered a means of approaching metropolitan dance when actual attendance was denied, fashionable cosmopolitan music formed part of the repertoire of provincial dance orchestras, merging the soundscape between magnificent town houses and country assembly rooms.

Charlotte's dance engagements in Cheshire consisted primarily of annual balls held as part of the Knutsford races and by the King's Regiment of Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry.⁴⁸ Both balls took place in the assembly rooms at the Royal George Hotel in Knutsford and were relatively small occasions, numbering up to two hundred people and comprising principally neighbouring gentry families and members of the local militia.⁴⁹ Charlotte attended these balls between 1841 and 1844, as well as an additional ball held in Knutsford by the officers of the 12th Lancers, who were stationed in Manchester.⁵⁰ In November 1841, she had the honour of opening the cavalry ball with her near neighbour, George Fleming Warren, 2nd Baron de Tabley (1811-1887), of Tabley House:

The annual military ball under the distinguished patronage of Lieutenant Colonel Egerton, of Tatton Park, and the officers of the King's regiment of Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry, took place on Friday evening...The ball was opened by Lieutenant Colonel Lord de Tabley, and Miss Egerton, and dancing commenced with much spirit about nine o'clock. Throughout the evening the utmost harmony prevailed amongst the entire

⁴⁸ Wilbraham Egerton's account books regularly detailed expenditure pertaining to both sets of balls from the early 1830s through to the mid 1840s, although it is rare that he recorded details of who attended. The account books also contain frequent mention of assemblies in Knutsford, however, due to a lack of corroborative newspaper evidence, it is difficult to determine which members of the Egerton family attended these events (see Introduction pp. 63-65 for further discussion of these assemblies). Charlotte also went to an occasional ball in Chester - see account book entry for 31 December 1844, DET/3229/13, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies and *Morning Post*, January 9, 1845.

⁴⁹ See Theresa Jill Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 35, for a brief description of annual county balls which, despite the difference in time period, relates well to the Knutsford balls.

⁵⁰ See *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire Advertiser*, "KNUTSFORD MEETING, 1841," October 9, 1841; "KNUTSFORD RACE BALL," October 22, 1842; "THE YEOMANRY BALL - KNUTSFORD," December 3, 1842; "KNUTSFORD RACE BALL," October 12, 1844 and "CAVALRY BALL," December 14, 1844; "THE CHESHIRE YEOMANRY BALL," *Liverpool Mercury*, and *Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 17, 1841; "KNUTSFORD. MILITARY BALL," *Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, December 16, 1843; and "FASHIONABLE WORLD," *Morning Post*, December 19, 1843. For accounts of 12th Lancers' ball, see "BALL AT KNUTSFORD," *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire Advertiser*, February 3, 1844 and "KNUTSFORD. MILITARY BALL," *Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, February 3, 1844.

assemblage, and every thing passed off in the most satisfactory manner. Harabin's [sic] quadrille band was in attendance; and the ball did not terminate till a late hour.⁵¹

Due to Wilbraham Egerton's position as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the regiment, and thus patron of the ball, it was possibly an expected privilege, and a warm paternal gesture, that Charlotte would dance with his second-in-command to commence her first yeomanry ball.⁵² As such, Charlotte also stood as a visual reminder of her father's investment in her education and a palpable symbol of his genteel status.

An account of Charlotte's final cavalry ball three years later broadly outlined the dances performed, in a rare reference to dance genres in contemporary press reports of the balls she attended in Knutsford.⁵³ The newspaper reviewer possessed a rather ebullient pen that evening, for the description is buoyant and charming, if a little quixotic:

It was unusually numerous, and a most brilliant assemblage, including a large sprinkling of the *elite* of Cheshire. Upwards of two hundred participated in "the gay and festive scene," and bright eyes, and light and merry hearts joined with sylph-like devotion in the whirling polka, the unostentatious quadrille, and the more humble, but not less-exciting, contra dance... Horabin's quadrille band was in attendance, and played with their usual energy, correctness, and taste...the *coup d'œil* was imposing and beautiful, and the prurient imagination of a poet

⁵¹ "THE CHESHIRE YEOMANRY BALL," *Liverpool Mercury, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, December 17, 1841.

⁵² Wilbraham succeeded to the post of Lieutenant Colonel Commandant in December 1835, while George Fleming Warren took over Wilbraham's former post of Lieutenant Colonel in January 1836. See Frederick Leary, *The Earl of Chester's Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry: Its Formation and Services 1797-1897* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne Press, 1898), 114. Charlotte turned seventeen just two months prior to the yeomanry ball and appeared to make her debut at the Knutsford race ball in October 1841 (see "KNUTSFORD MEETING, 1841," *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser*, October 9, 1841).

⁵³ Charlotte attended neither the Knutsford race ball nor the cavalry ball in 1845. The Egertons were prevented from going to the races due to the recent death of John Loftus, 2nd Marquess of Ely (1770-1845), the father-in-law of William Tatton Egerton, while barely a month later they were placed in mourning for Charlotte herself. A week after her funeral, it was announced that the cavalry ball would be postponed until another year. See "KNUTSFORD RACES. THURSDAY EVENING," *Macclesfield, Stockport, & Congleton Chronicle, and Cheshire General Advertiser*, October 11, 1845; "KNUTSFORD RACE BALL," *Macclesfield Courier & Herald, Congleton Gazette, Stockport Express, and Cheshire Advertiser*, October 11, 1845 and "POSTPONEMENT OF THE MILITARY BALL," November 29, 1845.

would have been unconsciously, though not less irresistibly, led to picture the gambols of spirits in the realms and fancies of fairy-land.⁵⁴

The polka arrived in London in early 1844, sparking a “polka frenzy” that permeated beyond the realms of dance.⁵⁵ The depiction of the cavalry ball suggests that the polka was not only the most exhilarating dance performed that evening, but also that it was familiar to Knutsford dancers. While Charlotte’s personal engagement with the polka, quadrille and country dance remains undetermined, her familiarity with them as genres appears assured.

If Charlotte’s experience of provincial dance was relatively small of scale and rich in familial associations, the balls she attended in London represented an upsurge in splendour and corresponding diminution of intimacy. Charlotte frequented several balls in 1843 and 1844 that saw her enter some of the most exclusive addresses in London. Accompanied by her parents, she appeared at the Marquis of Salisbury’s ball in Arlington Street in May 1843, only a short distance from the Egerton’s house in St. James’s Square, joining “above six hundred members of the *beau monde*”, while ten days later she attended the Duchess of Northumberland’s ball at Northumberland House.⁵⁶ But by far the largest gathering was reserved for the Duke of Wellington’s ball at Apsley House, held in honour of Queen Victoria’s birthday, which was visually and aromatically arresting:

One thousand two hundred personages of rank and distinction participated in the festivities of the night. The officers of the household regiments, and the Grenadier and Coldstream Guards, were honoured with invitations...The gallery, on this occasion, was the ball room, and the five connecting saloons were all brilliantly lighted up for the reception of visitors...All the rooms were profusely ornamented with the

⁵⁴ *Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, “MILITARY BALL,” December 14, 1844. The dance repertoire listed in the description is consistent with that given by Theresa Buckland as typical of county balls. See Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 36.

⁵⁵ Molly Engelhardt, *Dancing out of Line: Ballrooms, Ballets, and Mobility in Victorian Fiction and Culture* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009), 1. Libby Smigel suggested that the polka arrived in London between February and April 1844. See Libby Smigel, “Minds Mad for Dancing: Polkomania on the London Stage,” *The Journal of Popular Culture* 30, no. 3 (1996): 197.

⁵⁶ See “THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY’S BALL,” *Morning Post*, May 17, 1843, the guest list for which included a Mr and Mrs W Egerton and a Miss Egerton, in addition to Lady Charlotte Egerton, the Marchioness of Ely and Lady Anna Loftus. For Northumberland House, see “THE BALL AT NORTHUMBERLAND HOUSE,” *Morning Post*, May 27, 1843. Wilbraham Egerton was specified by name, while a Mrs W Egerton and Miss Egerton were also present.

choicest flowers, and two *monstre* bouquets in the crimson ante-room and striped drawing-room, imparted a fragrance not to be imparted by any artificial art.

The sheer volume of guests, however, rendered potential dancers immobile, for “the gallery and saloons [being] literally crowded...the services of the quadrille band were, for a period, dispensed with in consequence, as it was impossible to form a quadrille.”⁵⁷ Such numbers were also employed for more altruistic purposes. Charlotte and her mother attended a ball held in aid of the Royal Academy of Music at the Hanover Square Rooms, where nine hundred ticket holders observed three fancy quadrilles, the first of which comprised no less than forty-five couples.⁵⁸

The most striking aspect of the balls Charlotte attended in London and Cheshire is the sheer contrast they offered in magnitude and the potential they held for negotiation of rank. Balls in London took place on a magnificent scale, with sumptuous décor, rich fragrances and luxuriant costumes engaging the senses. The guest lists for such balls were dazzling, comprising royalty from Britain and abroad, foreign dignitaries, high-profile political figures and the cream of London’s social elite. Combined *en masse*, they represented enormous political and social power.⁵⁹ By comparison, the Knutsford balls were confined in space and numbers, providing a familiar environment in which Charlotte was encircled by family and representatives of the local Cheshire elite. The dichotomy presented by these balls meant that Charlotte had, in effect, a shifting degree of status and change in role as she moved from one to the other. As the Egertons held considerable influence in Knutsford and were intimately connected with the yeomanry regiment, Charlotte was, in a sense, a hostess of these balls. Her deportment and skill as a dancer, therefore, may have been subject to particular scrutiny and was potentially worthy of emulation. However, Charlotte risked being “a star in a provincial ball-room, but only an exquisitely pretty woman in a London assembly”, for surrounded by many superbly dressed women of exalted rank in

⁵⁷ See “THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON’S BALL,” *Morning Post*, July 7, 1843. William Tatton Egerton and Lady Charlotte Egerton were present at the ball, along with a Mr W Egerton and Miss Egerton, and several members of the Loftus family.

⁵⁸ See “THE ACADEMY BALL,” *Morning Post*, June 3, 1844.

⁵⁹ See Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 22.

London, she could no longer maintain the same standing as she did at the Knutsford balls.⁶⁰ In moving from Cheshire to London ballrooms, therefore, Charlotte was no longer being looked up to, but needed to do some looking up herself.

Despite the disparity between provincial and metropolitan balls, Charlotte's experiences and music suggest they were not discrete entities. Amongst the crowds in London ballrooms were neighbouring Cheshire gentry families whom Charlotte would have known through balls in Knutsford or via general social intercourse.⁶¹ The annual migration of the landed gentry to London ensured that provincial families shared common cultural experiences, raising the possibility that they jointly participated in transferring aspects of metropolitan dance back to Cheshire.⁶² Provincial dancing masters were keen to absorb the latest fashionable dances to share with their rural pupils, and a similar case can be made for the distribution of dance music.⁶³ In 1842, Mr T. Horabin, "Conductor of the Orchestras at Liverpool and Manchester Assemblies" and presumably part of the band that played at the Knutsford balls, advertised that he had "just received from London, Paris, and Vienna, a beautiful selection of New Dance Music, including all the latest compositions of Strauss, Lanner, Labitzky, Tolbecque, Musard, and others."⁶⁴ Not only was he importing fashionable cosmopolitan music for performance in the north of England, the dedication of a set of quadrilles to "Mr. Horabin, de Manchester"

⁶⁰ *The Governess; or, Politics in Private Life*, 292.

⁶¹ Examples include the Cholmondeleys (Barons Delamere) of Vale Royal; the Grey-Egertons of Oulton Park; the Antrobus family of Eaton Hall; the Combermeres of Combermere Abbey; the Grosvenors (Marquessate of Westminster) of Eaton Hall; the Custs of Leasowe Castle; and the Williams-Wynns of Wynnstay in nearby Wales.

⁶² On the sense of community and belongingness exhibited by members of the aristocracy, see Davidoff, *The Best Circles: Society, Etiquette and the Season*, 29-32.

⁶³ See Buckland, *Society Dancing: Fashionable Bodies in England, 1870-1920*, 75-77, on the descent of dance repertoire through the ranks of dancing masters via Paris and London.

⁶⁴ "THE BALL ROOM," *Liverpool Mercury, and Lancashire General Advertiser*, November 25, 1842. Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow suggested that "music retailers outside London seem to have regarded it as their mission to convince their clientele that what they purveyed was not a mere reflection of current London tastes, but an authentic manifestation of them." See Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 121-122.

by the Musard family suggests that the musicians were known to each other.⁶⁵ The implication, therefore, is that music performed in London may have been played at provincial assemblies, and that Charlotte's dance music didn't just represent exclusivity in the metropolis, but was also generically affiliated with Knutsford balls. Compositions by Joseph Lanner (1801-1843), Johann Strauss (1804-1849) and Philippe Musard (1792-1859) all appear in Charlotte's collection, and most are suitable for accompanying dance.⁶⁶ In the absence of further details of the music performed at the Knutsford balls, it is possible that some of these compositions were emblematic of the aural landscape that Charlotte encountered.

While Charlotte's dance music reflected elite metropolitan dance, it also suggested personal connections between the music itself and her own dancing experience. In the same year that the polka was performed at the Royal Academy of Music ball in London and the cavalry ball in Knutsford, the cornetist Hermann Louis Koenig (1815-1870) published *The Pollington Polka*

⁶⁵ See à Mr. Horabin, de Manchester. *Trois Quadrilles, Pour le Forte Piano, Set 1 – Marie de Herold, 2 – D'Jonquillo, 3 – Halli Hallo*. Composés par Musard, published by Cocks & Co. [British Library shelfmark h.839.(18.)]. The first two quadrilles bear the name of A. Musard on the opening page of music, which suggests they were composed by Philippe Musard's (1792-1859) son, Alfred (1828-1881), who was also a musician, while the third quadrille simply bears the name of Musard. See Streletski, Chouquet, and Charlton, "Musard, Philippe", <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19390>, accessed 5 November 2014. The plate numbers for the set suggest that it was published in 1846. See O.W. Neighbour and Alan Tyson, *English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 25.

⁶⁶ For Joseph Lanner, see No. 17, *Lanner's Royal Waltzes, &c. as Piano Forte Duets, many of which are Constantly performed at the Palace, by Her Most Gracious Majesty's Private & Military Bands (Frohsinns-Scepter Walzer, Op. 131)* [Tatton Park archive]; No. 2, *Lanner's Royal Waltzes, &c. as Piano Forte Duets, many of which are Constantly performed at the Palace, by Her Most Gracious Majesty's Private & Military Bands (Die Petersburger, Russische National Walzer, Op. 132)* [Tatton Park archive] and No. 47, *La Mode À La Cour De La Grande Bretagne, A Collection of New Waltzes, Galops, Marches, &c. as Performed by Command, and in the Presence of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, for the Piano Forte (Liebes Träume, Brünner Walzer, Op. 150)* [MR 2-5-17]. For Johann Strauss, see *Souvenirs de Strauss. A Collection of New Waltzes and Galops, for the Piano Forte (No. 5 Venetianer Galopp)* [MR 2-5-17]; Set 4, *The Beauties of Johann Strauss, A Collection of Popular Waltzes for the Piano Forte (L'Iris, Op. 75)* [MR 2-5-17] and *Les Bouquet des Dames, or Musical Wreath* [MR 2-5-17]. For Philippe Musard, see *Musard's London Season Quadrilles & Galops for the Piano Forte (No. 12 Krakowiack, Quadrille)* [MR 2-5-17] and *Musard's 42nd Set of Quadrilles, entitled Le Postillon de Mad^e. Ablon, Performed at the Promenade Concerts, Quadrille de Carnaval, the Concerts D'Hiver T.R. Drury Lane, Performed at Her Majesty's Balls, Almack's, and the Court of the Tuilleries, By the Bands of the Author, Weippert, Adams, Hart, &c.* [MR 2-5-17]. For publication details and dating of these works, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 308, 330-331.

(see Figure 42).⁶⁷ Dedicated to the Viscountess Pollington, the music was composed for the Polish Ball, an annual event given in aid of distressed Poles.⁶⁸ The Viscountess was a Lady Patroness of the ball and was to direct the performance of the polka.

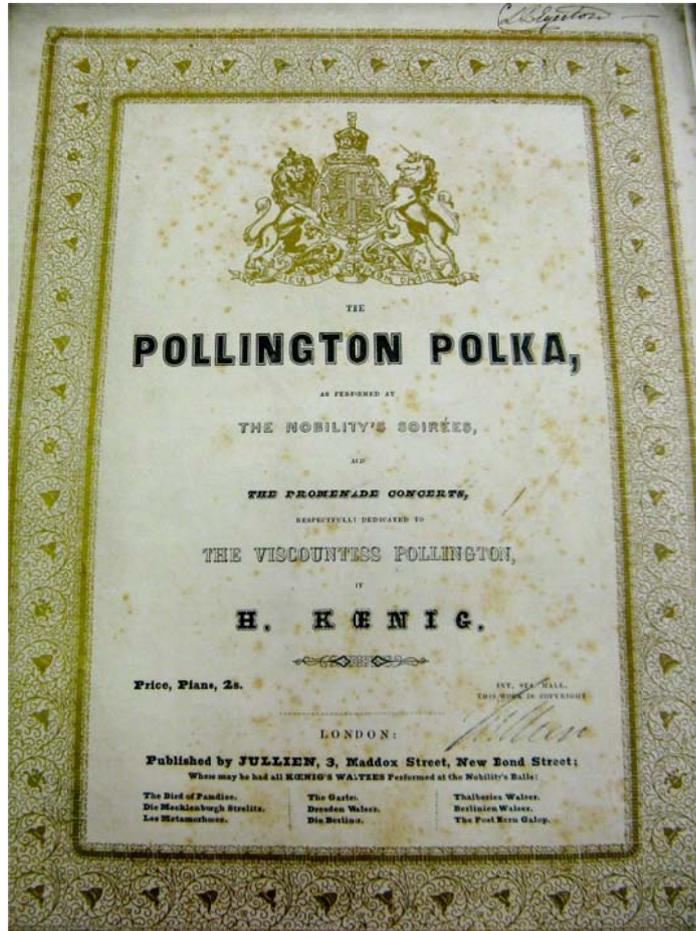


FIGURE 42. TITLE PAGE FROM *THE POLLINGTON POLKA* BY HERMANN KEONIG [TATTON PARK ARCHIVE].

⁶⁷ See footnotes 58 and 54 above respectively for the Royal Academy and Knutsford balls. *The Pollington Polka, as Performed at The Nobility's Soirées and The Promenade Concerts, Respectfully Dedicated to The Viscountess Pollington*, by H. Koenig, published by Jullien, is located unbound in the Tatton Park archive. The plate number suggests that the work was published in 1844; see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 330.

⁶⁸ An advertisement at the bottom of the first page of the publication suggests that the polka was composed for the Polish Ball. The Viscountess Pollington was likely to have been Lady Rachel Katherine Walpole (1824-1852), daughter of Horatio Walpole, 3rd Earl of Orford, who married Lord Viscount Pollington (John Charles George Savile, 4th Earl of Mexborough) in 1842. See Edmund Lodge, *The Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire as at Present Existing Arranged and Printed from the Personal Communications of the Nobility*, thirty-sixth ed. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1867), 387.

The dance was expected to be “the great attraction of the night” as the Viscountess performed “this new popular dance in a style which makes her the admiration of every ball-room.”⁶⁹ Two days after the Polish Ball, Charlotte and the Viscountess attended a *fête* given by the Earl and Countess of Wilton in Grosvenor Square.⁷⁰ Although the dances performed at the *fête* were not articulated in press descriptions of the event, it is tempting to speculate that the Viscountess may have danced a repeat rendition of the polka. At the very least, Charlotte would have been familiar with her figure. As her music included brief, though sufficiently vague, instructions on how to perform the polka (see Figure 43), as Charlotte read, played or danced her way through the steps, she potentially imagined herself in the other woman’s body. As such, the music functioned not just as a popular souvenir, but embodied the possibility of creative corporeal interpretation.

If *The Pollington Polka* paid homage to the dancing of a woman with whom Charlotte was only tenuously acquainted, another composition in her collection proffered a shadowy representation of the dancing of people she knew intimately. In 1845, Queen Victoria hosted “an elaborate historicist ball” at Buckingham Palace, personifying the era of George II.⁷¹ The dance repertoire reflected the desire for historicism, leaning heavily on the minuet: Queen Victoria danced in four minuets, while display dances included the Countess of Chesterfield’s minuet, and Lady Jersey’s *Minuet d’Exaudet* and *Minuet de la Cour*.⁷² Madame and Monsieur Bourdin superintended rehearsals of the *Minuet de la Cour* at Buckingham Palace prior to the event and purportedly taught the

⁶⁹ For the quotations, see “THE POLISH BALL,” *Standard*, May 24, 1844. For other accounts of the ball, see “THE POLISH BALL,” *Standard*, May 15 and June 11, 1844.

⁷⁰ See “The EARL and COUNTESS of WILTON’S FETE TO THE KING OF SAXONY,” *Morning Post*, June 14, 1844. A Mr Egerton, Mrs W Egerton and Miss Egerton were present. The Viscountess also attended the Marquis of Salisbury’s ball in 1843, although this would have predated the introduction of the polka to London; see footnote 56 above.

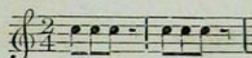
⁷¹ Tilden A. Russell and Dominique Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour* (Hildesheim, Zürich and New York: Georg Olms, 2007), 15. Guests were required to dress in period costume from 1740-1750, which extended to members of the orchestra; see “THE ROYAL BAL COSTUME,” *Morning Post*, May 5, 1845 and “THE BAL COSTUME AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE,” *Standard*, June 2, 1845. The ball was also covered by the *Illustrated London News*; see “HER MAJESTY’S COSTUME BALL,” May 24, June 7 and June 14, 1845. For a secondary account of the ball, see Delia Millar, ““Quadrilles & All Kinds of Surprises”: Queen Victoria’s Costume Balls - I,” *Country Life* CLXXVIII, no. 4599 (10 October, 1985): 1024-1026.

⁷² See “HER MAJESTY’S BAL COSTUME,” *Morning Post* and *Standard*, June 7, 1845 and *Morning Post*, *Morning Chronicle* and *Standard*, June 9, 1845. The display minuets were danced by between four and

JULLIEN'S CELEBRATED POLKAS.

THIS IS THE ONLY CORRECT DESCRIPTION OF JULLIEN'S POLKA.

The gentleman takes his partner's left hand with his right. Both advance in *Balancé* on the right, then on the left, alternatively, in such a manner as to find themselves, one measure, nearly *vis-à-vis*, and the other, nearly *dos-à-dos*. In this position they promenade as if it were round the circle once or twice, the gentleman holding always the lady's left hand as at the starting. After one or several rounds, the gentleman leaves the lady's hand to take hold of her by the waist, exactly as in the waltz. They perform thus, *FIGURES EN AVANT*, then, *FIGURES EN TOURNANT*, alternatively, observing always the characteristic cadence of the Polka, whose musical rhythm may be expressed as follows—



but for an exact *choregraphique* description of which, the assistance of a professor is indispensable.

It is during the execution of the *second movement*, that is, when performing the *figure en avant*, and *en arriere*, that they must both lightly touch the ground with the foot, on each measure, viz.—with the heel when the leg is forward, and with the tiptoe when backwards.

M. E. COULON, 47, Marlborough Street, Regent Street, having recently undertaken a journey to Paris for the express purpose of obtaining the original POLKA from its importers in France, M. M. Celarius and Coralli, is a professor whose teaching may warrant a complete mastery of this graceful dance.

In conclusion, four, or at the most five lessons, will enable any one acquainted with the general principles of the art of Dancing, to perform the POLKA with the gracefulness and the characteristic agility this national dance requires.

* * Many spurious imitations of M. JULLIEN'S works, having been sold to the public, under so many assumed forms, he has published the POLKA DANCE, at his own Office, 3, Maddox Street, Bond Street, and in order to secure the public against the possibility of purchasing incorrect copies, he has attached his signature to each; none can, therefore, be relied on which have not his autograph. Correct copies of JULLIEN'S Polkas to be had at all respectable Music Shops in the Kingdom. Also of the following Pieces:—

JULLIEN'S POLKAS.

1. The Original Polka
(The first introduced in England.)
2. The Royal Polka
3. The Drawing Room,
and the Nobility Balls Polka
4. The Rage of Vienna
5. The Imperial Polka,
and Les Folles de Paris
6. The Douro Polka
7. The Ducal Polka

QUADRILLES.

1. The English Quadrille
(A Companion of the Irish Quadrille.)
2. The Irish Echo Quadrille
(A Comic Quadrille.)
3. The Toy Quadrille
(For Young Pupils, very easy)
4. The Semiramide Quadrille
(On Rossini's Opera.)
5. Zampa Quadrille
(On Herold's Opera.)

WALTZES.

1. Le Bouquet Royal
2. La Valse à deux Temps
(New and made in all the Courts of Europe, with description by E. COULON)
3. The Butterfly Waltz
(The most Light and Waltzing Melodies ever adapted for the Piano Forte.)
4. The Royal Scotch Waltz.
(On Scotch Melodies—a Companion to the Irish & English Quadrilles.)

ALSO,

PUBLISHED BY JULLIEN

THE POLLINGTON POLKA,

Composed for THE POLISH BALL, and dedicated to the VISCOUNTESS POLLINGTON. Music Composed by Herr KOENIG

THE OPERA POLKA,

Danced by Madlle CARLOTTA GRISI, and Mons. PERROT. Music Composed by Signor FUGNI.

AND

THE DOUGLASS POLKA

BY MADAME GURY.

FIGURE 43. INSTRUCTIONS FOR DANCING THE POLKA FROM *THE POLLINGTON POLKA* BY HERMANN KOENIG [TATTON PARK ARCHIVE].

fourteen couples, with Tilden A. Russell and Dominique Bourassa speculating that the *Minuet de la Cour*, at least, was probably danced as a kind of quadrille. See Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 15 and additionally Theresa Jill Buckland, "Dance and Cultural Memory: Interpreting *Fin De Siècle* Performances of 'Olde England'," *Dance Research* 31, no. 1 (2013): 34-36, 39, who situated the ball within the Victorian interest in historical dance and historicism in general.

dance to Victoria and Prince Albert, while the ball also generated a flurry of musical editions of the dance.⁷³ Charlotte could hardly have been ignorant of the ball, for although she was not present, it was given widespread coverage in the press. Additionally, as her sister-in-law, Lady Charlotte Egerton, attended the ball, Charlotte may have been privy to a personal narration of the proceedings.⁷⁴ The *Minuet de la Cour* appears in Charlotte's collection as a simple arrangement by Philip Klitz (1805-1854) for solo piano (see Figure 44).⁷⁵ Although the publication exhibited no overt identification with the costume ball, Klitz included the "Menuet de la Cour" in his "Grand Promenade Concerts" in Southampton in a set of compositions derived from the ball.⁷⁶ Charlotte's music broadly matches a manuscript arrangement of the *Minuet de la Cour* by Philippe Musard that was published after the ball, although there

⁷³ See "THE BAL COSTUME AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE," *Morning Post*, June 6, 1845 and Buckland, "Dance and Cultural Memory: Interpreting *Fin De Siècle* Performances of 'Olde England'," 39. There is some confusion as to whether Victoria actually danced the *Minuet de la Cour*. Initial newspaper descriptions of the ball suggest that she did (see "HER MAJESTY'S BAL COSTUME," *Morning Post* and *Standard*, 7 June 1845) while a review of an arrangement of the *Minuet de la Cour* and *Minuet d'Exaudet* stated that the Bourdins taught the minuets to Victoria and Prince Albert (see "Review. The Minuet De La Cour, and Minuet d'Exaudet. Arranged for the Pianoforte by Edward Clare. (Addison and Hodson)," *The Musical World*, 25 September 1845, 465). However, newspaper articles from June 9 did not include Victoria in the list of performers for the dance, and while Victoria's journal entry relating to the ball referred to two performances of the "Menuet de la Cour", there was no indication she participated in either. However, about a week before the *bal costumé* Victoria recorded practising a "Menuet" with Madame and Monsieur Bourdin (see RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 6 June 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies), vol. 19, pp. 220-221 and 28 May 1845 (Princess Beatrice's copies), vol. 19, p. 206, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 4 November 2014). On musical publications of the *Minuet de la Cour* in 1845, see Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 15, 174.

⁷⁴ As well as being reported in the main London newspapers, the *bal costumé* was mentioned in the Macclesfield newspapers both before and after the event; see "ROYAL FANCY DRESS BALL," *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire Advertiser*, May 24, 1845 and "RECOLLECTIONS OF THE STATE BALL," *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire Advertiser*, June 14, 1845. For a description of Lady Charlotte Egerton's costume, see "HER MAJESTY'S BALL COSTUME," *Morning Post* and *Standard*, June 9, 1845.

⁷⁵ See *The Celebrated Minuet de la Cour, & Gavotte de Vestris, Arranged for the Piano Forte*, by P. Klitz, published by J. Lawson, which remains unbound and is currently located in the Tatton Park archive. This particular work does not appear in Tilden A. Russell and Dominique Bourassa's list of publications of the dance prior to 1850 (see Russell and Bourassa, *The Menuet De La Cour*, 173-174). For biographical information on Klitz, see G.C. Boase, rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, "Klitz, Philip (1805-1854)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15695>, accessed 4 November 2014.

⁷⁶ See "KLITZ'S GRAND PROMENADE CONCERTS A LA JULLIEN," and the advertisement announcing "MR. P. KLITZ'S GRANDE PROMANDE CONCERTS, A LA JULLIEN!!" in *Hampshire Advertiser and Salisbury Guardian*, with which is incorporated the *Portsmouth, Portsea & Gosport Herald*, & the *Hampshire & West Sussex Standard*, December 20, 1845. Although Charlotte's music contains a plate number, it has not been possible to determine whether Klitz's arrangement was published earlier than 1845, as the publisher doesn't appear in Neighbour and Tyson, *English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*.

are some discrepancies in the finer details.⁷⁷ For Charlotte, therefore, the *Minuet de la Cour* potentially embodied the work of her former dance instructors, in a genre that was increasingly used as a tool for developing female grace and deportment in the nineteenth century.⁷⁸



FIGURE 44. THE *MINUET DE LA COUR* FROM *THE CELEBRATED MINUET DE LA COUR AND GAVOTTE DE VESTRIS* BY PHILIP KLITZ [TATTON PARK ARCHIVE].

⁷⁷ See *Premier Menuet de la Cour, Danse par La Majesté et Son Altesses Royale le Prince Albert, au Palais de Buckingham. Le 6 June 1845, Arrangé Pour Le Forte Piano et Exécuté par Commandement Par Musard*, published by R. Cocks & Co. [British Library shelfmark h.839.(9.)]. An arrangement of the *Minuet de la Cour* and *Minuet d'Exaudet* by J.T. Craven included the *Gavotte de Vestris* after the latter minuet, in a setting very similar to Charlotte's edition. Whilst the title page suggested that the gavotte was performed at the *bal costumé*, the dance doesn't appear in any contemporary accounts of the ball. See *Minuet de la Cour, and Gavot, Minuet D'Exaudet, and Gavot de Vestris, as Danced at Her Majesty's Bal Costumé, (6th. June 1845.)* Arranged for the Piano Forte, published by Addison & Hodson [British Library shelfmark h.939.(21.)].

⁷⁸ See Buckland, "Dance and Cultural Memory: Interpreting *Fin De Siècle* Performances of 'Olde England'," 38-39, 43.

If Charlotte's dance music personified the ghosts of balls past, it also enabled her to participate vicariously in events that were beyond her reach. Daniel Auber's (1782-1871) opera *Gustave III, ou Le bal masqué* premiered at the Paris Opéra in February 1833 and included a spectacular ball scene in Act V:

What richness can equal the vast decoration of the ball room, a thousand candles shed a magical clarity on a crowd of masques in magnificent, bizarre, original, and infinitely varied costumes, illuminating groups who pass without colliding who mark out, draw back, move together, spin, losing themselves in the midst of the most ravishing, intoxicating, graceful, unexpected dancing, in a deafening galop that will drive Paris wild.⁷⁹

With three hundred people on stage and more than one hundred performing the galop, the visual effect would have been stunning.⁸⁰ When the opera was produced in London at Covent Garden Theatre, the galop "was performed by forty or fifty couple ranging in all directions, and in every possible figure, yet with the most perfect order and regularity."⁸¹ What made this scene remarkable was its participatory nature – numerous members of the aristocracy, including the Duchess of Kent and Princess Victoria, attended the opera and many of them joined "in the Ball in masks."⁸² On 29 November 1833, the ball "boasted of no less than twenty noblemen, and amongst them were four foreign ambassadors."⁸³ The following year, the galop found its way under Charlotte's fingertips as one of the clearest examples of her educational progress, with fingerings written throughout and handwritten dates at the

⁷⁹ *Le Moniteur Universel*, March 2, 1833, quoted in Sarah Hibberd, "Auber's Gustave III. History as Opera," in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 169.

⁸⁰ See Herbert Schneider, "Gustave III," *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/O006961>, accessed 27 October 2014, and additionally Maribeth Clark, "The Role of *Gustave, Ou Le Bal Masqué* in Restraining the Bourgeois Body of the July Monarchy," *Musical Quarterly* 88, no. 2 (2005): 216.

⁸¹ See "THEATRES. COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE," *Morning Post*, November 14, 1833 and "COVENT-GARDEN THEATRE," *Standard*, November 14, 1833.

⁸² *Morning Post*, November 25, 1833.

⁸³ *Standard*, November 30, 1833.

beginning and conclusion of the work.⁸⁴ The Egertons were in London at the time Charlotte was learning the galop. On 28 April 1834, they paid for a box at the opera, and while neither the theatre nor the opera is specified in Wilbraham's account book, *Gustave III* was to be performed at Covent Garden Theatre that evening.⁸⁵ As Charlotte was too young to attend the theatre, playing the galop at the piano provided her with an opportunity to participate by proxy in the vivacity of a dance that blurred the footlights of the stage and rendered the audience integral to the spectacle.⁸⁶

5.3 Emulating Victoria

The symbolism of Victoria Regina, as a (future) monarch and model of femininity, permeated Charlotte's bodily experience and dance music. The portrayal of Victoria as an idealised girl whose comportment was open to emulation lends itself well to interpolation with Charlotte's own dancing history. While Charlotte shared the same dancing teacher as Victoria (and thus the same methodology behind the development of graceful deportment), she also observed Victoria dance as both a princess and a queen. Victoria's style of dancing, therefore, was not just available to Charlotte as a visual image, but it hypothetically encased a lesson in feminine dance. Charlotte's music likewise touched on Victoria's musical journey from princess to monarch. Arrangements of *Airs de Ballet* from Fromental Halévy's (1799-1862) opera *La Juive* and a solo piano version of Joseph Lanner's *Liebes Träume, Brünner Walzer* embodied the concept of feminine royal motion in different ways. From the minutiae of keyboard fingering to the recollection of dancing royal bodies,

⁸⁴ *Favorite Galop from Auber's Opera of Gustavus III, Arranged for the Piano Forte, and Inscribed to Miss Margaret Johnston*, by Charles W Glover, published by H. Falkner [MR 2-5-44]. Charlotte's name is written on the title page, while Miss Pitman's initials are located under the date on the final page. April 21^[st] 1834 is written on the title page, while May 3rd 1834 appears after the concluding double bar. Charlotte's edition is essentially a truncated version of what appears in the opera score, which was marked to be played at the very sprightly tempo of crotchet = 144. See Daniel Auber, *Gustave ou Le Bal Masqué*, ed. Philip Gossett and Charles Rosen, 2 vols., vol. 2, Early Romantic Opera (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1980), 706-732.

⁸⁵ See DET/3229/11, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies and "THEATRE ROYAL, COVENT-GARDEN," *Morning Post*, April 28, 1834.

⁸⁶ On the dissolution of the boundary between the audience and the stage, see Clark, "The Role of *Gustave, Ou Le Bal Masqué* in Restraining the Bourgeois Body of the July Monarchy," 208-210, 217 and Marian Smith, "Dance and Dancers," in *The Cambridge Companion to Grand Opera*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 104.

Charlotte's music conceivably provided an avenue for practising emulation of Victoria.

As a figure that came to represent an era in British social and cultural history, Victoria was idealised and iconised as an exemplar of virtue, propriety and womanliness. Victoria's status as a model for others was established while she was a princess, and no doubt had an impact on the bodily behaviours and conduct she adopted throughout her life as queen. Her mother, the Duchess of Kent, sought to create in Victoria an image of ideal femininity that was worthy of emulation. Expressing her desire to the Duchess of Northumberland, the Princess's official governess, she declared, "Victoria is not to be fashionable, but is to acquire that equality of *dignity* that will affect all classes [sic]: I wish my child to be a pattern of female decorum", while in a birthday letter to Victoria herself, she again articulated her aspiration that "my beloved Victoria [is] to become a *Pattern* to Others..."⁸⁷ That Victoria's bodily and behavioural education was successful in this regard is exemplified by contemporary comments regarding her manner and deportment. In 1828, Harriett Arbutnot (1793-1834) described the Princess as "the most charming child I ever saw", pronouncing her "a fine, beautifully made, handsome creature...civil and well bred & Princess like to the greatest degree."⁸⁸ Lady Wharncliffe (1778-1856) evinced similar approbation of Victoria, declaring "She is very much grown though short for her age, has a nice countenance and distingué figure, tho' not very good; and her manner the most perfect mixture of childishness and civility I ever saw. She is born a Princess without the *least* appearance of art or affectation."⁸⁹

The representation of Victoria as a cultural icon brought forth a number of discourses, with the image of what Victoria allegedly embodied forming a pathway for potential emulation. As a young, virtuous female, Victoria

⁸⁷ Quoted in Lynne Vallone, *Becoming Victoria* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 71-72, 68. Although the Duchess of Kent was referring to behavioural and moral qualities, it seems inconceivable that there was not a concomitant fashioning of Victoria's physical expression as a result of these precepts.

⁸⁸ Quoted in Alison Plowden, *The Young Victoria* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1981), 72 and Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Queen Victoria: Her Life and Times*, vol. 1 (London: Book Club Associates, 1972), 69.

⁸⁹ Quoted in Woodham-Smith, *Queen Victoria: Her Life and Times*, 1, 86. I am grateful to Dr Thomas Irvine for pointing out the link between Lady Wharncliffe's comment and the notion of ease as expressed by Baldassare Castiglione. See chapter 1, p. 80, footnote 36.

represented the antithesis of her immediate predecessors on the throne, but it was her very femininity and youth that made her position as sovereign an incongruous one.⁹⁰ Obligated to enact personal and political independence by virtue of her position, this contrasted starkly with the required norms of feminine behaviour.⁹¹ Perhaps by way of compensation, several strands of representation emerged that focussed on different aspects of Victoria's femininity. The most pertinent of these is the portrayal of Victoria as the "rose of England" and the "flower of English girlhood", which emphasised her "maiden sweetness, purity, and beauty..."⁹² Lynne Vallone and Susan P. Casteras have argued that the image of the young Victoria "constituted the essence of her sovereign power" and "defined not only the persona of the Queen but also the nation she served."⁹³ In the later years of the nineteenth century, the quality of Victoria's girlhood was appropriated and acknowledged as "the impetus for the Queen's simple, domestic and ordinary virtues", in a ploy that shifted her inharmonious exemplification of female authority towards the accessible realisation of idealised domesticity and womanliness.⁹⁴ By proffering the young Victoria as a model of proper daughterly (and hence, ultimately, queenly) behaviour, readers were encouraged to emulate quintessential attributes of feminine comportment and propriety.⁹⁵ As such, the symbolism of Victoria as girl was not only integral to building the concept of nation; it also acted on an individual level to stimulate personal emulation.

⁹⁰ See John Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 18-20; Agnes Strickland, *Queen Victoria from Her Birth to Her Bridal*, vol. I (London: Henry Colburn, 1840), 104; and Vallone, *Becoming Victoria*, xvi, 73.

⁹¹ See Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 36; Susan P. Casteras, "The Wise Child and Her 'Offspring': Some Changing Faces of Queen Victoria," in *Remaking Queen Victoria*, ed. Margaret Homans and Adrienne Munich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 192; Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, 30, 32-33, 88; and Vallone, *Becoming Victoria*, xvi.

⁹² Vallone, *Becoming Victoria*, 169-170, and 111, 168, 173-174. See additionally *Anecdotes, Personal Traits, and Characteristic Sketches of Victoria the First, from Her Birth, and Brought Down to the Period of Her Majesty's Marriage with His Royal Highness Prince Albert of Saxe-Gotha*, (London: William Bennett, 1840), 225; Casteras, "The Wise Child and Her 'Offspring': Some Changing Faces of Queen Victoria," 183-185; and Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, 83-84.

⁹³ Vallone, *Becoming Victoria*, 170 and Casteras, "The Wise Child and Her 'Offspring': Some Changing Faces of Queen Victoria," 199.

⁹⁴ See Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, 37, 98-99; Casteras, "The Wise Child and Her 'Offspring': Some Changing Faces of Queen Victoria," 183, 193-198; Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch*, 69, 122, 133; and Vallone, *Becoming Victoria*, xvi, 35-37 (the latter page for the quotation).

⁹⁵ See Casteras, "The Wise Child and Her 'Offspring': Some Changing Faces of Queen Victoria," 198 and Vallone, *Becoming Victoria*, xvi, 35-39, 200.

If Victoria was an exemplar of feminine behaviour, then her demeanour while dancing was potentially open for consumption and imitation. Descriptions of Victoria's physical appearance and deportment emphasised her gracefulness, dignity and self-possession.⁹⁶ The Duchess of Cleveland (1819-1901) remarked that the young Queen was "singularly graceful in all her movements", possessing "so much natural dignity, and such an air of distinction, that...she would always be recognized as a great personage when she came into the room."⁹⁷ Contemporary portrayals of Victoria's dancing suggest she combined grace and lightness with a vigorous approach. At a juvenile ball in 1829, Victoria "entered into the merry dance with great spirit and animation", while as a young queen she danced "a romping, country-dance", displaying "more than usual gaiety..."⁹⁸ Joseph Lowe (1796-1866), dancing master to Victoria's children at Windsor and Balmoral, described an occasion when "The Queen, the Princess Alice, Prince of Wales and my daughter danced the Reel of Tulloch with great spirit, swinging each other without ceremony sometimes rather too roughly", although he crucially noted that Victoria regarded dancing as "an excellent exercise for improving the figure and teaching graceful motion."⁹⁹ Victoria's grace was evident to Lucy Lyttelton (1841-1925), who attended a state ball in 1859 and endearingly described the queen's dancing as "majesty and grace in every movement of her

⁹⁶ See, for example, *Anecdotes, Personal Traits, and Characteristic Sketches*, 55, 86-87, 167, 273, 350, 536, 557, 591, 648, 684; Grace Greenwood, *Queen Victoria: Her Girlhood and Womanhood* (London: Samson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1883), 60; and Herbert Tingsten, *Victoria and the Victorians*, trans. David Grey and Eva Leckström Grey (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1972), 107-108. While Victoria and the Duchess of Kent were visiting Ramsgate in 1835, the *Morning Post* reported that Victoria "delighted her guests by the affability of her manners, and her graceful deportment to all around her"; see "RAMSGATE, Nov. 8.," *Morning Post*, November 12, 1835.

⁹⁷ Quoted in John Douglas Sutherland Campbell, Duke of Argyll, *V. R. I. Queen Victoria Her Life and Empire* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1901), 59. For similar encomiums on Victoria's deportment by Baroness Lehzen, Victoria's companion and childhood governess, and Princess Dorothea Lieven, see *ibid.*, 41; Esher, *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria: A Selection from Her Majesty's Diaries between the Years 1832 and 1840*, 1: 249; Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Queen Victoria: A Biography in Word and Picture* (London: Longmans, 1959), 4, 11; and Mrs Oliphant, "The Domestic Life of the Queen," in *The Life and Times of Queen Victoria with Which Is Incorporated "The Domestic Life of the Queen" by Mrs. Oliphant* (London, Paris, New York and Melbourne: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1900), 19-20.

⁹⁸ See *Anecdotes, Personal Traits, and Characteristic Sketches*, 122 and Greenwood, *Queen Victoria: Her Girlhood and Womanhood*, 129, respectively.

⁹⁹ See Allan Thomas, ed. *A New Most Excellent Dancing Master: The Journal of Joseph Lowe's Visits to Balmoral and Windsor (1852-1860) to Teach Dance to the Family of Queen Victoria*, Dance & Music Series No. 5 (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1992), 110 (journal entry dated 3 January 1860) and 87 (journal entry dated 5 January 1856). For further information on the Lowe family, see Allan Thomas, "The Lowe Family: Five Generations of Dance Teachers in New Zealand, Australia and Scotland," *Journal of New Zealand Studies* 3, no. 1 (1992): 5-7.

little form", while thirty years later, Sir Henry Ponsonby (1825–1895) remarked upon her "light airy steps in the old courtly fashion; no limp or stick but every figure carefully and prettily danced."¹⁰⁰ In watching Victoria dance at the juvenile ball in 1834, therefore, Charlotte participated in a kind of three-way bodily transfer, whereby she received the teachings of Madame Bourdin through the grace of Victoria's body.¹⁰¹ In taking Victoria as a paradigm of feminine conduct, albeit one that sometimes ignored advice regarding moderation in dance, Charlotte potentially modelled herself into a culturally-expressed ideal of womanhood.

Not only did Charlotte share the same dancing mistress as Princess Victoria, she also owned some of the same music. *Three Airs de Ballet*, arranged from Fromental Halévy's opera *La Juive*, appear in both Victoria's and Charlotte's music collections, although the set for the latter is incomplete.¹⁰² *La Juive* was Halévy's most successful opera, premiering at the Paris Opéra in February 1835.¹⁰³ The arrangement by J. Herz was considered "showy though not difficult, and gay without being trivial", thus "by no means unworthy the notice of the most adroit amateurs."¹⁰⁴ Both Charlotte's and Victoria's copies of the work are well fingered in places and Charlotte's includes the additional hand-written injunction to "mind this bit" over a tricky three bars in the *Valse* (see Figure 45).¹⁰⁵ Although there is no indication that Victoria found this section difficult, the passage contains fingering that is similar to that written in

¹⁰⁰ See Bailey, *The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish*, 95 (diary entry for 29 June, 1859) and Arthur Ponsonby, *Henry Ponsonby, Queen Victoria's Private Secretary: His Life from His Letters* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd, 1943), 122, respectively.

¹⁰¹ See pp. 273–275 above.

¹⁰² Music belonging to Princess and Queen Victoria forms part of the Royal Music Library housed at the British Library. The reference number for the work discussed is R.M.25.k.2.(9.). See *Three Airs de Ballet, No. 1, Valse, No. 2, Divertissement, No. 3, Marche des Chevaliers, from Halévy's celebrated Opera La Juive*. Arranged for the Piano Forte, by J. Herz, published by Mori & Lavenu, and Cramer, Addison & Beale. The *Valse* appears in MR 2-5-17 while the *Marche des Chevaliers* is found in MR 2-5-44, with the *Divertissement* seemingly absent from Charlotte's collection. The signature of "Miss Egerton" is present on the title page of the *Valse*. The plate numbers on the music indicate that a publication date of 1835 is likely; see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785–1845," 307, 324.

¹⁰³ See Hugh Macdonald, "Halévy, Fromental," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12213>, accessed 31 October 2014.

¹⁰⁴ See "Three Airs De Ballet from Halévy's Opera, La Juive, Arranged for the Piano-Forte, by J. Herz. (Mori and Lavenu; and Cramer and Co.)," *Supplement to the Musical Library*, March 1836, 59. J. Herz may refer to Jacques Herz (1794–1880), brother of Henri Herz (1803–1888). See Stephan D Lindeman, "Herz, Henri," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12915>, accessed 31 October 2014.

¹⁰⁵ See p. 9, second stave, final three bars of the stave.

Charlotte's copy. This is not an isolated incidence of resemblance, and although there are inevitable differences, more often than not the fingerings coincide. Although it is unlikely that Charlotte was aware of Victoria owning a copy of the work, nevertheless, she was unconsciously enacting a form of embodiment. By following the same fingerings, both girls were creating similar, though not identical, gestures at the keyboard, for as Victoria turned sixteen the year the work was published, she was probably a more proficient pianist than eleven-year-old Charlotte. As this was undoubtedly a pattern followed by many elite young women, the music acted as a vehicle through which the feminine ideal of Victoria could be approached *en masse*.



FIGURE 45. HANDWRITTEN ANNOTATION IN CHARLOTTE EGERTON'S COPY OF *THREE AIRS DE BALLET* (VALSE), ARRANGED FROM FROMENTAL HALÉVY'S OPERA, *LA JUIVE* [MR 2-5-17].

The most tangible connection, however, between Charlotte's dance music and Victoria's musical and terpsichorean patronage lies in a set of waltzes by Joseph Lanner. In July 1843, Wilbraham, Elizabeth and Charlotte Egerton attended a state ball at Buckingham Palace, where Lanner's "Liebes Traume" [sic] waltzes were played.¹⁰⁶ Composed in 1839, the waltzes appear in Charlotte's collection as part of *La Mode À La Cour De La Grande Bretagne*, a published assortment of fifty compositions comprising predominantly galops, waltzes and marches, which were "Performed by Command, and in the Presence of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria". Charlotte's edition

¹⁰⁶ See "HER MAJESTY'S BALL," *Morning Post*, August 1, 1843; "HER MAJESTY'S STATE BALL," *Standard*, August 1, 1843; and "COURT CIRCULAR," *Morning Chronicle*, August 1, 1843. Included on the guest list are a Mr W. Egerton, Mrs W. Egerton and a Miss Egerton.

was published in 1840 in an arrangement for solo piano, so it is possible she was familiar with the music for several years prior to attending the ball.¹⁰⁷ After witnessing Princess Victoria's performance at the juvenile ball in 1834, Charlotte was in a position nearly ten years later to observe the dancing of the queen. Although Victoria was married and thus eligible to waltz, it is unclear whether she participated in the *Liebes Träume* waltzes.¹⁰⁸ Given Charlotte's unmarried status, it is unlikely she performed in the dance; however, her music could have served as a tangible reminder of the occasion, and her prior acquaintance with the work may have eased the pressure on a significant social occasion. The confluence of a royal ball and music that conspicuously presented itself as fashionably royal placed Victoria at the heart of Charlotte's dancing experience and her subsequent reinterpretation of the waltzes.

5.4 Dance Music and Female Sociability

Charlotte's dance music offered her the opportunity to expand relationships with family members and acquaintances through the shared experience of music and dance. The social exchange of published and manuscript music amongst elite women pointed not just towards the dissemination of fashionable works, but also to music as a facilitator in developing female relationships.¹⁰⁹ Several works in Charlotte's collection contain the signatures of other people, indicating that the music was either given as a gift or borrowed and bound with the rest of her volumes. These compositions provide a nexus between dance music as music and dance music

¹⁰⁷ See No. 47, *La Mode À La Cour De La Grande Bretagne, A Collection of New Waltzes, Galops, Marches, &c. Liebes Träume, Brünner Walzer*, Op. 150, published by R. Cocks & Co. [MR 2-5-17]. The composition consists of five waltzes, framed by an Andante and a Finale, and the title page bears part of Charlotte's signature. For dating of the original composition, see Carner and Krenn, "Lanner, Joseph", <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16000>, accessed 31 October 2014. For dating of Charlotte's edition, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 308. The reference to Queen Victoria occurs on the title page.

¹⁰⁸ Queen Victoria's journal of the ball only indicated that she danced quadrilles. See RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 31 July 1843 (Princess Beatrice's copies), vol. 15, p. 268, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 5 November 2014.

¹⁰⁹ See Jeanice Brooks, "Les Collections Féminines d'Albums de Partitions dans l'Angleterre du Début du XIX^e Siècle," in *La La La...Maître Henri: Mélanges de Musicologie Offerts à Henri Vanhulst*, ed. Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 371-385; "Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park," *Music and Letters* 91, no. 4 (2010): 516-521; and James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores, c.1830," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 287-309, for several different viewpoints on how the exchange of music functioned in the lives of elite women.

as a metaphor for the communal experience of dance. In particular, dance music arranged for piano duet promoted a specific form of feminine sociability. Such arrangements not only encouraged the development of ensemble playing skills, but on occasion also allowed young women to negotiate problematic genres of dance by performing an alternative sanitised version. The performance of dance duets allowed different generations of women to play together which, when provided as an accompaniment for dancing, not only presented an archetypal image of domestic femininity, but also enabled the transfer of dance knowledge.

Charlotte's collection contains two compositions that exemplify different aspects of the sharing process, while simultaneously connecting to her broader engagement with dance in London and Cheshire. The manuscript waltz from Miss Trafford stands as a tantalising symbol of a now-vanished musical partnership that also reflected the participants' shared dance experiences in Knutsford. Only the *primo* part remains at Tatton Park, with the *secondo* part presumably originally lying in the hands of the owner. As such, the waltz could only be performed when both women met, the gift of music bringing with it the promise of sociability. Although the Egertons were acquainted with two Trafford families, the supplier of the waltz may have been Laura Anne de Trafford (1805-1877), eldest surviving daughter of Sir Thomas Joseph de Trafford, 1st Baronet (1778-1852) of Trafford Park in Lancashire.¹¹⁰ The de Traffords regularly appeared at the cavalry and race balls in Knutsford. As

¹¹⁰ Wilbraham Egerton's account books contain two mentions of the name of Trafford. On 26 December 1833, he recorded "Williams guest at Tarporley H. Trafford" (see DET/3229/11, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies), which may have referred to Sir Humphrey (de) Trafford, eldest son of Sir Thomas Joseph de Trafford, who was captain of the Mere troop of the King's Regiment of Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry in 1832, the same year that Charlotte was learning the waltz (see Leary, *The Earl of Chester's Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry: Its Formation and Services 1797-1897*, 114). The Traffords became the de Traffords when Thomas attained the baronetcy in 1841. As Laura Anne didn't marry until 1845, she would still have been "Miss Trafford" in 1832. See Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain & Ireland*, fifth ed., vol. 2 (London: Harrison, 1871), 1169. The other entry in Wilbraham's account book occurred on 23 September 1839, where he noted that he "Lent Mr Trafford of Oughtrington [£500] for which he is to give me his bond" (see DET/3229/12, Cheshire Archives and Local Studies). Oughtrington Hall lay to the north of Knutsford and was owned by Trafford Trafford (1770-1859). Other candidates for "Miss Trafford" were his daughters Augusta (1804-1876) and Henrietta (b. 1811), the latter marrying in 1836. See *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, fourth ed., vol. 2 (London: Harrison, 1863), 968. For a useful breakdown of the genealogies of both families, see Craig Thornber, "The Trafford Family, Lancashire and Cheshire Connections," <http://www.thornber.net/cheshire/htmlfiles/trafford.html> and "Trafford of Oughtrington," <http://www.thornber.net/cheshire/htmlfiles/trafford2.html>.

several of the daughters were present at many of the balls Charlotte attended, it is possible that she and Laura shared the same experiences.¹¹¹ Although the waltz pre-dated Charlotte's participation in the Knutsford balls by a number of years, as she grew older, the sentiment behind the waltz as a composition for piano was potentially transformed into a representation of both women's engagement with provincial dance.

If the waltz from Miss Trafford symbolised Charlotte's musical and terpsichorean sociability in Knutsford, then *The Post Waltz* by Frédéric Burgmüller signalled familial associations with dance. Dedicated to Lady Anna Loftus (1819-1896), sister to Lady Charlotte Egerton, the title page bears the partial hand-written inscription "Miss Egerton w^[th] L^[dy] Anna...kindest Regards" (see Figures 46 and 47).¹¹² As a work for solo piano, *The Post Waltz* engendered less sociability and required more virtuosity than that needed to play the waltz from Miss Trafford. Lady Anna's gift, therefore, was not one of communal music-making, but rather a souvenir of familial regard that demanded practice and imagination from the performer. Extending beyond the music itself to the relationship it signified between Lady Anna and Charlotte, *The Post Waltz* stood as a potential offering between two dancers. Its publication in 1836 fell between Charlotte's lessons with Monsieur Lucquet and Monsieur Bourdin, and post-dated by two years her appearance at the juvenile ball at St. James's Palace.¹¹³ Lady Anna was later present at several balls the Egertons attended during Charlotte's first season in London, and while not concurrent in time with the printing of the score, nevertheless represented their joint engagement in dance.¹¹⁴ As such, the gift of dance

¹¹¹ See, for example, *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire Advertiser*, "KNUTSFORD MEETING, 1841," October 9, 1841; "KNUTSFORD RACE BALL," October 22, 1842 and "BALL AT KNUTSFORD," February 3, 1844.

¹¹² *The Post Waltz, in form of a Rondo for the Piano Forte, Dedicated to the Right Hon.^{ble} The Lady Anna Loftus*, By Frédéric Burgmüller, published by R. Cocks & Co., [MR 2-5-44]. Frédéric Burgmüller may refer to Johann Friedrich Burgmüller (1806-1874). See Sarah Hibberd, "Burgmüller, (Johann) Friedrich," in *The Oxford Companion to Music*, ed. Alison Latham, *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e1028>, accessed 4 November 2014.

¹¹³ See pp. 273-275 above for the ball at St. James's Palace. For dating of the work, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 325.

¹¹⁴ See, for example, "THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY'S BALL," *Morning Post*, May 17, 1843; "LADY SONDES'S BALL," *Morning Post*, May 26, 1843; and "THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S BALL," *Morning Post*, July 7, 1843.

music metaphorically symbolised the later mutual experience of metropolitan dance.

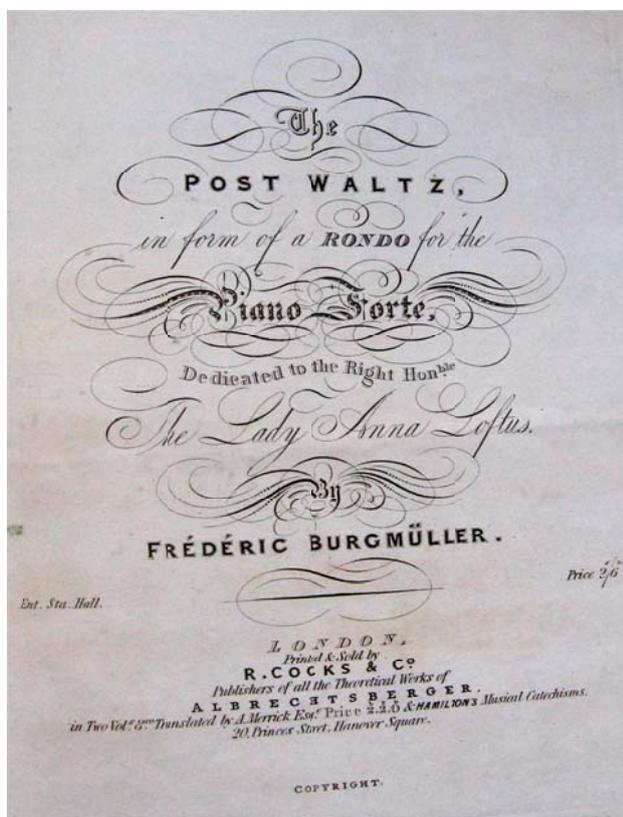


FIGURE 46. TITLE PAGE OF *THE POST WALTZ* BY FRÉDÉRIC BURGMÜLLER, DEDICATED TO LADY ANNA LOFTUS [MR 2-5-44].

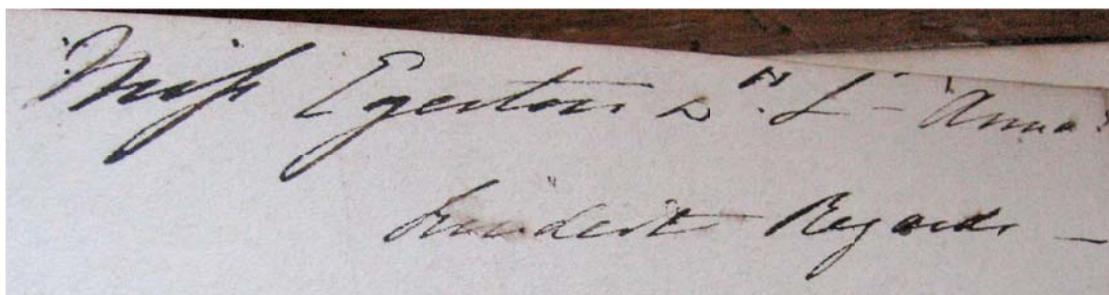


FIGURE 47. INSCRIPTION TO CHARLOTTE EGERTON BY LADY ANNA LOFTUS ON THE TITLE PAGE OF *THE POST WALTZ* BY FRÉDÉRIC BURGMÜLLER [MR 2-5-44].

Dance music arranged for piano duet played a significant role in providing a conduit for women to negotiate their participation in dance away from the ballroom. Approximately one-third of Charlotte's dance-related music was adapted for two players at the piano, and in the absence of any sisters, Charlotte's primary duet companions would have been her mother and

governess, in addition to friends and acquaintances.¹¹⁵ Two duets in Charlotte's collection highlight the differing roles that mothers and governesses played when performing dance works for *quatre mains*. The *Les Etoiles* quadrilles by D.J. Dos Santos, composed for and dedicated to sisters, was published when Charlotte was under the guidance of Miss Bouclé.¹¹⁶ Dos Santos's quadrille oeuvre was somewhat optimistically praised as an exemplar of the genre:

The whole of these compositions not only evince the mind of the master, but are calculated to excite universal admiration whenever played, for they are enriched with some of the most beautiful and novel combinations of harmony, together with some of the most exquisite and brilliant melodies, we have ever heard. Whether played by two or by four hands, we consider them pre-eminently rich, and are the most effective productions that have ever issued from the press under the name of quadrilles.¹¹⁷

While the governess could undoubtedly point out such delights of harmony and melody as part of her teaching practice, the performance of dance duets with her pupil held distinct practical advantages. *Les Etoiles* is clearly designed to accompany dance, and as such offered important lessons in maintaining tempo and rhythm, in addition to nurturing ensemble-playing skills and sharing responsibility for the dance.¹¹⁸ However, duet performance was fraught with anxiety for the governess, for as a form of public display in front of her employers, her pupil's technical and musical ability was a direct reflection of

¹¹⁵ On the prominent dedication of duet music to sisters, see Penelope Cave, "Four Hands and Five Octaves: English Piano Duet Repertoire in the Late 18th Century," *The Consort* 66 (2010): 93-113 and additionally "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 204. For reference to governesses playing with their pupils, see Maurice, *Mothers and Governesses*, 33.

¹¹⁶ *Les Etoiles, A Fifth Set of Original Quadrilles, for Two Performers on the Piano Forte, Composed & Dedicated to the Misses Lan* by D.J. Dos Santos, published by Keith, Prose & Co. [MR 2-5-21]. The title page bears Charlotte's signature and there is some occasional fingering on the primo part. For dating of the work, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 311.

¹¹⁷ See "DOS SANTOS' QUADRILLE DUETS," *Morning Post*, October 11, 1836, which was apparently quoted from the *Times*, August 20, 1836.

¹¹⁸ Charles Chaulieu (1788-1849) recommended the practice of quadrilles for learning how to develop a solid sense of rhythm and differentiation between strong and weak beats. See Maribeth Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 3 (2002): 516 and chapter 4, pp. 239-240 for further reference to Chaulieu's work. On the general benefits of duet playing for pupils, see Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 261-262.

her success.¹¹⁹ Dance music, with its functional aspect, potentially eased this situation, by offering an opportunity for performance that was subject to less direct aural scrutiny.

If for the governess, duet dances mingled musical edification with performance anxiety, then for mothers, playing quadrilles was a valuable tool in engaging both themselves and their daughters in dance. Mothers certainly provided music to accompany their daughters' dancing. The Duchess of Kent played the piano to enable Princess Victoria to dance a quadrille on at least two occasions, including on the deck of the *Emerald* as it sailed from West Cowes to Norris Castle.¹²⁰ An article in the French periodical *Le Pianiste* recommended four-hand quadrille arrangements by Henry Lemoine (1786-1854), not only potentially for their simplicity, but also for distinct practical purposes. The article praised their utility in assisting mothers to prepare their daughters for their social debut, and theoretically positioned them as a vehicle for non-dancing matrons to maintain their involvement with dance.¹²¹ Charlotte owned a copy of Lemoine's arrangement for piano duet of music from Ferdinand Hérold's (1791-1833) ballet *La Somnambule, ou L'Arrivée d'un Nouveau Seigneur*, which premiered in Paris in 1827 (see Figure 48).¹²² The work was a clever piece of social engineering. It offered Elizabeth Egerton an easy method for engaging in musical partnership with her daughter and an alternative to participating in dance herself. However, as a transmogrification of a ballet into a quadrille, it also translated theatre into the home, converting a problematic

¹¹⁹ Mary Cowden-Clarke "suffered an agony of nervousness" when playing with one of her pupils, on account of them both playing badly. See Mary Cowden-Clarke, *My Long Life: An Autobiographic Sketch*, second ed. (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1896), 33-34.

¹²⁰ See "COWES, AUGUST 29," *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, September 3, 1833 and "COWES, AUG. 29", *Morning Post*, August 31, 1833. Victoria also recorded in her journal dancing after dinner at Kensington Palace while the Duchess played the piano. See RA VIC/MAIN/QVJ (W) 28 November 1832 (Queen Victoria's handwriting), vol. 2, p. 158, www.queenvictoriasjournals.org, accessed 2 November 2014.

¹²¹ "Et enfin, tous ces quadrilles sont arrangés à 4 mains par H. Lemoine, le grand faiseur, afin que la maman, qui ne danse plus, puisse guider sa fille lorsqu'elle débute et qu'elle vient payer son tribut aux exigences de la société." See L.P., "Variétés. De La Contre-Danse," *Le Pianiste* 2 (1835): 72.

¹²² *Two Quadrilles, on Favorite Airs from the Ballet of La Somnambule*. Arranged for Two Performers on the Piano Forte, by Henry Lemoine, Set 2, published by T. Boosey & Co. [MR 2-5-21]. The work contains Charlotte's signature on the title page but there is little indication on the music to suggest that she played it. An advertisement for the quadrilles appeared in 1831; see "NEW MUSIC FOR THE PIANO-FORTE," *Examiner*, February 27, 1831. For an overview and synopsis of the ballet, see Susan Au, "Somnambule, La," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 5 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 640-641.

form of dance into an acceptable social entertainment.¹²³ The quadrilles thus not only facilitated female sociability at the keyboard, they also encouraged the chaste domestic performance of dance to music that bore connotations of female immodesty and immoderation.

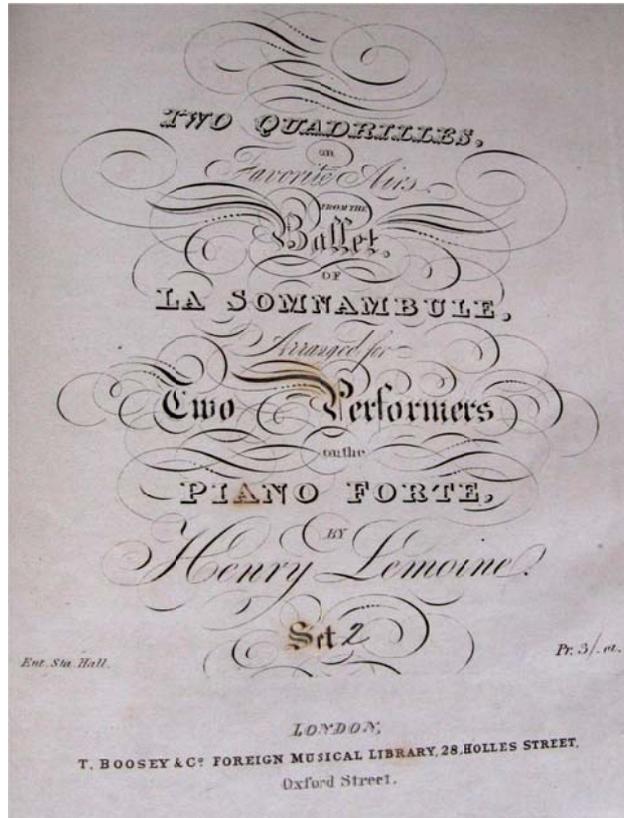


FIGURE 48. TITLE PAGE FROM HENRY LEMOINE'S ARRANGEMENT OF QUADRILLES FROM FERDINAND HÉROLD'S BALLET *LA SOMNAMBULE* [MR 2-5-21].

Transcending the functionality of the duet quadrilles were four-hand compositions that evoked the spirit of dance. Carl Maria von Weber's (1786-1826) enduring *Aufforderung zum Tanz*, published in an arrangement for piano duet as part of a series entitled "Hilarité", and Fryderyk Chopin's (1810-1849) *Grande Valse Brillante*, adapted for *quatre mains* under the overarching title of *Invitation Pour La Danse*, both represent the world of an imaginary waltz.¹²⁴ Lawrence Zbikowski suggested that Weber's composition facilitated "a

¹²³ See chapter 1 p. 94 and chapter 3 pp. 195-196 for further discussion of the difficult status of theatrical dance.

¹²⁴ See Wessel & C^o.^s New Edition of *Hilarité. Trois Grands Duos Brillans, en Trois Livraisons, pour le Piano Forte, à Quatre Mains. Liv. 1. Hilarité, Polonoise Brillante (in E Major) Liv. 2. Invitation pour la Valse (Aufforderung zum Tanze [sic]) Liv. 3. Grand Polonoise Op. 49 (in E Flat) Composés par C.M. von Weber.*

remembrance and imagining of waltzing as a crucial aspect of a signal social encounter" and certainly both publications drew on the allure of the promise of dance.¹²⁵ A newspaper review of the dance compositions of Joseph Labitzky (1802-1881) vibrantly captured the emotive experience of listening to dance music in the mid-nineteenth century, and offers an important insight into the value that dance music held for auditors when disconnected from actual dancing. Aside from pointing out that "many who do not dance love dance music", the reviewer referred to the kinaesthetic reaction of listeners, who demonstrated a "quiet enthusiasm, which moves, night after night, head, hands, and feet of a raptured audience."¹²⁶ In effect, listening to dance music elicited a form of bodily dancing through muscular response, without the need to perform dance itself.¹²⁷ While parts of Weber's composition are indeed dance-worthy, both works essentially tapped into physical and emotional reactions garnered by the representation of dance.¹²⁸ Playing these works in duet form offered some tangible benefits – not only was the overall pianistic difficulty lessened by splitting the material between four hands, the programmatic interaction between two dancers illustrated at the beginning of *Aufforderung zum Tanz* gained a visual correlate through the two performers seated at the keyboard.¹²⁹

No. 2, published by Wessel & Co. [MR 2-5-21] and Chopin's *Piano Forte Duets. No. 2. Invitation Pour La Danse, Grande Valse Brillante, pour le Piano à Quatre Mains. Dediée à Mademoiselle Laura Morsford*, par Frederic Chopin, Op. 18, also published by Wessel & Co. [Tatton Park archive]. Both works bear Charlotte's signature on the title page and contain some fingering in the primo part. It is the latter work from which this thesis has drawn its title.

¹²⁵ Lawrence M. Zbikowski, "Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Musicological Research*, no. 31 (2012): 151.

¹²⁶ "DANCE MUSIC," *Morning Post*, November 11, 1850.

¹²⁷ See Julia Sutton, et al., "Dance," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/45795>, accessed 5 November 2014, in the section on dance between 1730-1800 by Rebecca Harris-Warrick. Eric McKee constructed a series of correlates between the visual experience of dance and the way this experience is embodied in scores. While his analysis focused on the works of Joseph Lanner and Johann Strauss (1804-1849), such correlates could also be applicable to the above compositions. See Eric McKee, *Decorum of the Minuet, Delirium of the Waltz: A Study of Dance-Music Relations in 3/4 Time* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), 106-128, and 82-97 for McKee's analysis of Chopin's Op. 18 waltz.

¹²⁸ Lawrence Zbikowski has highlighted the appropriation of certain sections of Weber's composition by Joseph Lanner in his Op. 7 waltzes. See Zbikowski, "Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century," 150.

¹²⁹ For an elaboration of the social intercourse that occurred between a gentleman and a lady at the beginning of *Aufforderung zum Tanz*, see Eduard Reeser, *The History of the Waltz*, trans. W.A.G. Doyle-Davidson (Stockholm: The Continental Book Company, 1949), 44 and Zbikowski, "Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early Nineteenth Century," 150-151.

5.5 Conclusion

Charlotte's experiences of dancing and the dance music she collected highlight the diverse ways in which dance permeated elite culture and the roles it played in shaping genteel female bodies. Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton's investment in Charlotte's dance education, from her lessons with superior instructors to her appearance at a royal juvenile ball, emphasise the importance they placed on learning to dance as part of Charlotte's development. Simultaneously, her training with Miss Pitman and Miss Bouclé potentially enabled her to integrate musical and terpsichorean knowledge. Not only was Charlotte learning how to play dance music on the piano, through their possible supervision of her dance practice, she was also rehearsing the bodily qualities required for genteel femininity through both art forms. While Charlotte's dance music overtly reflected her experience of balls in London, it also subtly represented her engagement with dance in Cheshire. Dance music additionally offered Charlotte the possibility of privately interacting with dances she couldn't attend. The performance of dance duets with her governess or mother provided a vehicle for concurrently developing the musical skills required for chamber music (in a physical and aural parallel to learning how to dance with a partner) and the understanding necessary for the appropriate provision of functional dance music. These duets also facilitated female relationships at the piano, allowing Charlotte to approach dance from outside the ballroom and negotiate the moral boundary between the theatre and domestic dance. Returning to the waltz, it is possible to see its influence across many aspects of her pianistic and dance life – it was present amongst her earliest lessons and helped shape her keyboard technique; it represented her participation in magnificent balls in London and provided a tangible and tactile connection with Princess/Queen Victoria and the royal court; it formed part of the musical exchange between family and friends and it contributed to the deepening of female relationships. For a dance that was intimate in its expression, close in its physical hold and problematic for female performance, its presence in Charlotte's life was remarkably widespread.

Conclusion

To return, then, to Lady Edith Clavering, who sat in Deerhurst Castle playing quadrilles at the piano before being lured away to dance. It is necessary to re-examine the assumptions and questions posed by this extract in light of the experiences and music belonging to the Egerton women of Tatton Park. If Lady Edith's offer to play quadrilles categorised them as less challenging than the preceding solo repertoire, if they enabled her to play with less silent appraisal from her listeners, and if her invitation for guests to dance rendered quadrille music incapable of standing on its own, then each of these points were contradicted by music in the Tatton Park collection. Lady Edith's obvious real-life correlate was Lady Charlotte Egerton. The quadrilles by Henri Herz in her collection, which were roughly contemporaneous with the publication of the novel, illustrate how a single genre of dance could place entirely different demands on the performer. Herz's quadrilles drew heavily on the pianist's virtuosity, the acrobatics they required capable of attracting more attention than the dancing itself. Although possessing the potential to fulfil a utilitarian purpose, they also functioned as purely instrumental music. This style of quadrille music demanded a significant investment from the female performer, not only in terms of the dedication required to master a variety of techniques, but also the necessary assurance that such a performance exacted. Not only were Herz's quadrilles by definition unfeminine, they also undermined the concept of dance music as a light genre. As such, attempting a set of quadrilles as Lady Edith did with modesty and the expectation of ease was not always the scenario for every young woman who approached the piano.

Elite women's engagement with dance and dance music demonstrated considerable diversity. Although it is impossible to realise how the Egerton women performed and conceived of dance music, their collections and dance activities, supported by contemporary sources contextualising women's participation in both disciplines, have shed light on the multifarious nature of dance in their lives. Chapter one illustrated how social dance and domestic music-making shared a common vocabulary in terms of bodily and aesthetic understanding. Elite dance was inextricably tied to the expression of status through graceful deportment. If the body was a canvas for the codification of genteel behaviour, dance provided a highly visual vehicle for its display. Dance

was configured in terms of opposing values, where regularity and deformity, moderation and excess, and naturalness and affectation were yoked in constructing the ideal dancing body. As an activity particularly suited to female performance and propriety, dance nevertheless remained within circumscribed bounds. The concepts of grace, elegance and beauty were heavily invoked in defining archetypal feminine movement. Women were advised to employ smooth, soft, neat and modest motions that stressed proportion and balance, eschewing brilliance, excessive movement and vulgarity. The same language was employed by texts produced for young ladies in their discussion of musical performance. Exaggerated and distorted motions were frowned upon, while women were counselled to adopt graceful and elegant figures at their instruments. Publications on piano playing advocated moderation, equilibrium, lightness and ease in a direct appeal to feminine qualities. Given the fundamental transference of everyday deportment to the arts, as acknowledged by Carl Czerny, the performance of music and dance was indivisibly entwined with the performance of genteel femininity.

Despite the prescriptive ideals of dance promulgated in conduct literature and dance manuals, the actual experience of women demonstrated greater richness and variety. Dance was sometimes vigorous, uncomfortable and ungraceful, and despite clear injunctions to avoid imitating theatrical dance, contemporary comment suggests that girls on occasion adopted attitudes from the stage. Likewise, women actually had considerable agency in facilitating the performance of music-making and dance. Notwithstanding its supposed flimsiness, dance music was firmly connected with female musical practice. Contemporaneous descriptions of domestic dance show that women were integral to the provision of both dance and dance music, by supplying scores and playing instrumental accompaniments, as well as affording opportunities for dance practice. Thomas Wilson's application of William Hogarth's "line of beauty" to different figures in country dances and quadrilles potentially gave women significant creative power in constructing dances, by providing them with resources to choreograph differing expressions of beauty, grace and elegance. Moreover, the quality of a given dance performance was highly dependent on the skills of the musician. Therefore, women were not only accountable for their own enactment of grace and elegance at the keyboard,

they were additionally responsible for the same qualities in those who danced. As the articulation of musical grace was also connected with ideas of embellishment and taste, elite women's application of ornamentation or improvisation to dance music had the potential to enhance the expression of feminine grace. Through their choice of musical embellishments and arrangement of dance figures, therefore, women could creatively adorn their homes with transient sights and sounds.

While dance was clearly associated with female rituals such as "coming out", the performance of dance in the country house was strongly linked with notions of patriarchy and primogeniture. As chapter two has shown, balls were frequently held to celebrate the birth, coming-of-age and marriage of the eldest son, in a visible display of wealth and familial pride. Such festivities often incorporated the dispensation of charity towards the less fortunate, combining benevolence with significant material consumption. Newspaper accounts of country house balls positioned dance as a conduit in maintaining harmonious relationships between landowners and their tenants, in a stylised depiction of upper class magnanimity and lower class gratitude. Balls also opened up the country house for visual ingestion, with the architecture and interior collections showcasing the taste and connoisseurship of (male) owners. Women, however, played a crucial role in such displays, crafting the minutiae of how the house and its inhabitants were presented, and demonstrating their skills as polite hostesses. Given the anxiety surrounding girls' participation in public balls, country house dance potentially provided a safe mechanism for cultivating propriety and encouraging appropriate sociability. However, dance in the country house also pushed against class and gender boundaries: the mixture of upper and lower classes at tenantry balls sometimes provoked tensions; men sometimes transcended gender roles by dressing as women or performing female dances; and women who danced in domestic theatricals nudged against accepted ideals of femininity. The provision of music for balls was also separated along gender lines. While local quadrille and militia bands were employed for large-scale balls, women often accompanied dance on the keyboard for more private occasions. Dance in the country house therefore drew on women's musical and terpsichorean skills, lending validity to the presence of dance music within domestic collections.

Each of the three case studies highlight the multiple ways in which elite women engaged with dance and the diverse cultural associations that dance music held. Elizabeth Egerton's education with Ellin Devis showed how the concepts of politeness, grace, elegance and beauty that were prevalent in conduct literature were given an intellectual and practical application. Through carriage exercises and dance lessons, deportment became a public exhibition of bodily learning, with the minuet prized as a demonstration of grace and beauty. Many of the dance genres Elizabeth potentially learned at school appear in her music collection, and while few of the works were overtly designed to accompany dance, they nevertheless pointed to a cultural and corporeal authenticity. Indeed, much of Elizabeth's dance music exhibited a high degree of genre crossover, blurring the boundary between music and dance, and encouraging aural and kinaesthetic understandings of repertoire. The transference that occurred between theatrical music, country dance tunes, and instrumental and vocal compositions portended the additional transmission of bodily knowledge from one medium to another. The physical grace and elegance that Elizabeth imbibed at Ellin Devis's school continued to be employed or actively challenged through her music. While her education in dance and deportment furnished her with an aesthetic vocabulary with which to interpret theatrical dance, her ballet scores held the potential for the direct application of theatrical body language in the domestic environment. Likewise, while waltzes for the piano, tambourine and triangle were positioned as musically apposite for feminine performance, the tambourine's status as a graceful instrument was compromised through its association with the theatre and the overt nature of some of its gestures. Finally, Elizabeth's patronage of charity balls involved not only a functional application of the principles of benevolence and grace, it also enabled her to contribute towards the graceful conduct of others through her promotion of dance as an elite activity. Dance, therefore, was crucial to the development of genteel womanhood, with dance music mediating the expression of genteel femininity.

For Lady Charlotte Egerton, dance was intimately connected with the expression of fashionable status and acted as a conduit for the display of female authority. Her attendance at Almack's as debutante, chaperone and patroness highlighted the differing roles that women performed in the ballroom as they matured, and how dance was significantly linked to constructions of exclusivity. As a patroness, Lady Charlotte possessed the ability to define and control elite culture through dance. The quadrille was an important genre in facilitating feminine display at Almack's and as such, quadrille music performed there could be regarded as intensely fashionable. While Elizabeth Egerton's country dances exhibited fluid intersections with other musical genres, Lady Charlotte's quadrilles widely appropriated opera with a suppleness that negated any fixed concept of the dance as a musical composition. The actual performance of quadrille music by women was associated with feminine accomplishment and display, yet invoked a number of bodily dichotomies that contradicted established ideals of femininity. While Lady Charlotte's opera quadrilles aimed at a modest degree of execution, they also (unintentionally) incorporated difficult elements that challenged simplicity, moderation and grace. Quadrilles by Henri Herz employed overt virtuosity that demanded discipline, leisure and the appearance of ease, in a musical correlate to the exhibition of extravagant dance steps. Two of the Herz quadrilles additionally clearly referenced contentious female figures, providing a further complication to ideals of femininity. The quadrille was also an important genre in the construction of monarchy and nationalism. The carefully fabricated ceremony of court balls engaged fashionable bodies in creating royal spectacles, with exhibition quadrilles directed by ladies of rank an important feature in these performances. Lady Charlotte's own leadership of the "Lace" quadrille at the Spitalfields ball and her organisation of London balls additionally demonstrated how dance provided a stage upon which elite female identity could be continually (re)created and defined.

Charlotte Egerton's education in music and dance signified the value that her parents placed on both disciplines and highlighted the integration that occurred between them. Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton's commitment to Charlotte's instruction in both art forms, and in particular their choice of dance teachers, signalled a conscious investment in bodily fashioning. Wilbraham's purchase of his daughter's dance education acted as a parallel to the

performance of dance in the country house, in which masculine taste and power of acquisition were displayed through balls prepared by their wives. Thus, the investment in feminine grace and deportment contributed not just to visual demonstrations of status for women, but equally defined elite status for men. Charlotte's governesses potentially played an important role in synthesising her experience of music and dance. As a figure worthy of emulation and as the sculptor of young ladies' taste, the governess wielded considerable influence in the formation of elite girlhood. Through her instruction in both disciplines, the governess not only had the ability to foster a nuanced understanding of how music and dance were connected, she also had the power to mould the visible elements of female gentility. Charlotte's engagement with provincial and metropolitan balls underlined the degree to which personnel and musical soundscapes merged across locations. While her dance music clearly represented London balls, the importation of fashionable music by provincial dance bands suggests that such repertoire didn't remain in the metropolis. Charlotte's dance music was also diverse in its integration of public occasions and domestic performance. Compositions such as *The Pollington Polka* connected her to fashionable women she may have seen dance, while other works enabled her to participate vicariously in dance that was inaccessible. Charlotte's experience of royal balls and her instruction with Princess Victoria's dancing mistress found musical correlates in the *Liebes Träume Brünner Walzer* and the *Minuet de la Cour*, while her copy of the *Three Airs de Ballet* from *La Juive* enabled her to parallel Victoria's own music-making. Finally, the sharing of dance music amongst women, through gifts and piano duets, fostered feminine sociability, with the latter developing ensemble-playing skills and promoting women's continued engagement in dance outside the ballroom.

The dance experiences and music collections of the Egerton women represent just a tiny sample of the multitude who participated in similar activities, whose narratives remain untold and for whom existing evidence may be lacking. A fundamental omission from this study is the absence of individualised commentary pertaining to how elite women thought and felt about the dances they danced and the dance music they played. To begin approaching this question would have necessitated an extensive survey of published and unpublished memoirs, letters and diaries, which fell beyond the

time constraints of this thesis. Likewise, further analysis of domestic music collections, many of which are just coming to light, is required in order to substantiate or repudiate the conclusions and contradictions listed above. Many more questions remain about how women engaged with dance and dance music, not least with regards to how domestic dance music was actually performed. The issue of performance practice in this context is hazy as none of these women were professional musicians, and as dance music was concomitant to an intrinsically social activity, critical commentary on music-making itself may not be present to a high degree.

This study has also highlighted additional, and sometimes less obvious, questions that could serve as a starting point for further research. While chapter two provided an overview of how dance functioned in the English country house, the details of its precise history still largely remain to be written. The issue of how dance music was played applies not just to women's performance at the keyboard, but also to the quadrille and militia bands that were employed by country house owners. The dearth of surviving instrumental parts presents a problem in reconstructing the history of how dance music was performed, both in the country house and in public venues, for in many cases the only remaining source material consists of domestic publications for piano. These publications give no hint as to instrumentation and in general provide little or no information regarding tempo, articulation and ornamentation, all of which are vital elements in piecing together the performance history of dance music. Further items of interest include the role of the governess in teaching dance to elite girls; the conception and usage of the tambourine in musical and dance performances; children's participation in adult balls; and how dance and music were shared amongst gentry families at county and cross-county level.

Dance and its music were culturally rich and semantically laden occupations for elite women in the nineteenth century. The importance of social dance in the lives of gentry and aristocratic families cannot be underestimated. As a primary tool in the development of a genteel deportment, dance facilitated the graceful performance of a myriad of physical actions that were indelibly part of polite social intercourse, while balls were integral to provincial and metropolitan sociability. Behind every ball, of course, was dance music, forming an aural milieu to the bodily expression of grace and elegance. Given the crossover in corporeal and aesthetic language

between dance and music-making, the two activities were intimately linked beyond the functional accompaniment that one provided for the other. The qualities of movement women were advised to employ in both disciplines, such as moderation, lightness, neatness and elegance, contained parallels with definitions of femininity itself. Thus dance and dance music had the potential, in a multivalent manner, to embody many aspects of elite female identity.

Overarching across the dance activities and dance music of the Egerton women were themes of adherence to and transgression against the ideals of femininity perpetuated in contemporary literature. Their experiences of dance and their acquisition of dance music illustrated a fertile web of interactions between culturally sanctioned expressions of female comportment and the validation or rejection of those expressions. While their practical involvement in dance on the whole reinforced notions of feminine behaviour, their dance music had the capacity to complicate definitions of archetypal female conduct. This took place on a physical and symbolic level, with the musical demands placed on the body grating against advice on corporeal management and the association of musical scores with dubious female figures pressing against notions of class disruption and immorality. Independently, the dance music collections of Elizabeth, Lady Charlotte and Charlotte Egerton provide insights into repertoire choice and the potential for functional performance; collectively, they illuminate the breadth of women's possible engagement with dance and the multiplicity of ways in which it could be experienced.

Dance music was, therefore, deeply symbolic of a multitude of processes that mediated elite femininity. Despite contemporary objections to its triviality, dance music could be construed as crucial to the formation of elite bodily carriage due to the interconnections between dance, music and polite comportment. As dance was a medium through which the prized qualities of grace, elegance and beauty could be developed, dance music stood as a not-so-silent accompaniment to female bodily fashioning. Changes in dance music repertoire would have complemented the dance life cycle that women moved through, as they transitioned from pupil to debutante to chaperone to patroness, while dance music was also indelibly associated with the activities of the royal court and the fashionable venues of London society. Dance music spread its tentacles to reach into other genres of music and other domains of social life with which genteel women were engaged, such as the theatre, while

music from these realms penetrated into dance music repertoire. Due to this extended exchange, a considerable proportion of dance music, the full extent of which remains to be seen, had the potential to contradict prescribed notions of femininity. Whether through association or in actual performance, dance music could be linked to troublesome figures and unfeminine movement, complicating prescriptions of genteel womanhood, yet undeniably adding depth and vibrancy to the experience of real women.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Elizabeth Egerton’s Ballet Music

Title	The celebrated March in the grand Pantomime Ballet of Iphigenia in Aulide As performed at the King’s Theatre in the Haymarket Composed for a full Band, and adapted for the Piano Forte
Composer	Ernest Louis Müller. An advertisement for the ballet in <i>Diary or Woodfall’s Register</i> , April 22, 1793, states “The Music of the Ballet entirely new, composed by Monsieur MILLERD, composer for the Ballets at the Opera at Paris.” On Elizabeth’s score the composer and arranger is listed as M. Miller. ¹
Choreographer	Jean-Georges Noverre
Publisher	Longman and Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket The music is written in full score, with a cembalo part at the bottom. The publishers also advertised Books I and II of the ballet (where the composer was designated as M. Millard) for sale in <i>Morning Post</i> , January 25, 1794.
Date	1795? ²
Watermark	-
Music Book	MR 2-5-22. Label on the front of the book: “SONGS DUETTS & MARCHES MISS E. SYKES.” Label on the spine: “SONGS”.
Performances	17 performances were given at the King’s Theatre in 1793. ³
Reviews	“After the very pleasant Comic Opera of LE NOZZE DI DORINA, which never went off with more spirit than last night, a new grand <i>ballet</i> composed by NOVERRE was exhibited under the title of IPHIGENIA IN AULIDE, and a more shewy striking and interesting spectacle we never saw upon the Italian stage. Even the memorable <i>ballet</i> of MEDEA et JASON was inferior in point of effect to this new proof of NOVERRE’s brilliant imagination. The story of IPHIGENIA is so well known to our classic readers, and indeed has been so often the theme of poetical celebration that we are under no necessity of being particular on the subject. It is sufficient to say that NOVERRE has not suffered one striking or affecting incident connected with the story to escape his attention, and has brought forward all the heroic characters that were likely to possess the imagination of his spectators. The spectacle is altogether the most splendid that the English people have ever seen, and we were glad to see so

¹ For the variants on Müller’s name and a brief history of his work with ballet, see Roger J.V. Cotte, “Müller, Ernest Louis,” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/19315>, accessed 27 November 2014.

² See Cave, “Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845,” 312.

³ The production was apparently a successful one. See Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 26 and Kuzmick Hansell, “Noverre, Jean-Georges,” 698.

large an audience present, because the Managers must necessarily have been at a vast expence [sic] to prepare this magnificent exhibition and because the applause it drew from all parts justifies the hope that public patronage will fully recompence [sic] their adventurous liberality."

["THE OPERA. King's Theatre," *Diary or Woodfall's Register*, April 24, 1793]

"A *Grand Ballet* was last night given at this Theatre, and the epithet was in truth never better applied. The story of *Iphigenia in Aulis* is known to every classical reader. The circumstances...are all admirably told in action. But of the splendors which decorate the scene, and aid the illusion, we should, if space permitted, be prodigal of praise. The *Procession* in the first part, with the entry of *Iphigenia* in a triumphal Car, and the *descent* of *Diana*, with the appearance of the *Chariot* of the *Sun*, in the second, have every thing that is tasteful in splendor, and all that is impressive in surprise. The Dancers acquitted themselves extremely well. Better acting than that of *Degville* [sic] and *Millerd*, *Nivelon* and *Hilligsberg*, the Italian stage has never presented."

["KING'S THEATRE, HAY-MARKET," *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, April 24, 1793]

"Last night a new heroical Pantomime Ballet, composed by Mr. *Noverre*, entitled "IPHIGENIA IN AULIS; or, The Sacrifice of Iphigenia," was performed at this Theatre, for the first time, to a brilliant and crowded house; and received with that warmth of applause which the beauty of the scenes, the splendour of its pageantry, and the excellence of its performance justly merited.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

IPHIGENIA – Mademoiselle Hilligsberg

CLYTEMNESTRA – Mademoiselle Millerd

AGAMEMNON – Mons. D'Egville

ACHILLES – Mons. Nivelon

EGISTHUS – Mons. Favre Gardel

THE YOUNG ORESTO – Miss Menage.

...The second scene is a large square, containing a throne, in which a grand procession of soldiers, young virgins with flowers, slaves, and Lesbian women enter, preceding and attending the car of Clytemnestra, in which Iphigenia is seated at her side, and young Orestes [?] is sleeping at their feet. This magnificent car was drawn by three white horses; and the whole scene formed a spectacle, the beauty of which we never saw equalled on the stage. The Princesses then descended from the car, and danced an excellent *Pas de Deux*, in the midst of which Achilles appears, and falls in love with Iphigenia, whose hand is given him by the Queen...The

	descent of Diana is followed by that of the God of Light, in a brilliant car, who presages a favourable wind, and the ballet concluded with a grand heroic dance. On the whole, we cannot doubt but this ballet, which is by far the most magnificent that has appeared for many years, will amply reward the Manager for his liberality and taste." ["OPERA. KING'S THEATRE, HAY-MARKET," <i>Times</i> , April 24, 1793]
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Title	The Favorite Hornpipe, Danced by Madame Del Caro, At the King's Theatre, Haymarket in the Cantata of La Vittoria, In commemoration of Lord Howe's Victory on the 1st of June 1794. Arranged as a RONDO for the Piano-Forte, & For the Violin & Flute
Composer	Giovanni Paisiello [?], arranged by Jan Ladislav Dussek. The attribution to Paisiello is unclear – no cantata of this name appears in his list of works, although he wrote the opera <i>La Locanda</i> for London in 1791. ⁴ It has not been possible to thus far identify a comparable cantata in Paisiello's output that might be the original source.
Choreographer	Jean-Georges Noverre ⁵
Publisher	Corri, Dussek & Co., 67 Dean Street, Soho and Bridge Street, Edinburgh An advertisement for the work appears in <i>Oracle and Public Advertiser</i> , August 2, 1794. The violin and flute parts are included on the final page of the publication, with an additional basso part to accompany the violin.
Date	See advertisement above. Penelope Cave suggested 1795. ⁶
Watermark	-
Music Book	MR 2-5-11. Label on the front of the book: "PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS. MISS E. SYKES." Label on the spine: "PIANO FORTE MUSIC". The music is signed "Miss E Sykes" in the top right-hand corner of the first page.
Performances	5 performances of <i>La Vittoria</i> were given in conjunction with <i>La Serva Padrona</i> at the King's Theatre in 1794. ⁷ The first performance of the cantata appears to have taken place on 23 June (see the review below).

⁴ See Michael F. Robinson, "Paisiello, Giovanni," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20718>, accessed 27 November 2014. My thanks go to Dr Wiebke Thormählen for her assistance in trying to solve this problem.

⁵ Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell lists *La Vittoria* as Noverre's final ballet. See Kuzmick Hansell, "Noverre, Jean-Georges," 698.

⁶ See Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 301-302.

⁷ Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 30.

Reviews

"On the occasion of the glorious victory obtained by our Grand Fleet over the French, the King's Theatre gave last night one of the most tasteful and elegant entertainments we ever witnessed. – The incomparable BANTI, whose vocal talents have endeared her to every country, and who adds to her merits such charms of temper, condescension, and benignity, as are rarely to be found united with professional claims so uncommon, furnished the Managers of the Opera with the beautiful piece of music composed by PAESIELLO, for an occasion of triumph in Naples. It filled the immense Theatre of San Carlos for fifteen nights successively. At her suggestion it was adapted by the Poet of the Theatre to the brilliant occasion of our naval triumph, and Madame BANTI has superintended with unceasing care the whole of the preparation...After the fatiguing Opera of *La Serva Padrona*, Madame BANTI had to dress in a superb style for the character of the Goddess of Victory. The interval was filled up by the classical and impressive GIORNOVICH, who introduced into his Concerto, the simple but heroic air of "Hearts of Oak," and was crowned with universal applause. The Cantata of *La Vittoria* is a most elegant performance. The Goddess descends in her Temple, surrounded by her Attributes, and accompanied by *Fame*. The Theatre never exhibited a more splendid piece of machinery than this Temple...The Goddess of Victory announces to the Chorus, that not to her but to the Sovereign is their homage to be paid, whose virtues give courage to every heart, and ensure the glories of triumph to his brave and loyal people. She sings a most beautiful song, in a manner that touched every soul; and the trophies separating, discover a medallion of the KING; when BANTI sings, "God save Great George our King," with that enchanting taste which makes it altogether a new song. The whole of this is accompanied with Chorusses and Allegorical Dances; in the progress of which M. NOVERRE converts the Theatre into a sea view, where the two grand fleets of England and France are seen after the action, with a moveable illumination, and a medallion of the Conqueror, Earl HOWE. The whole is managed with admirable skill, and produces a most brilliant effect. It concludes with *Rule Britannia*, which BANTI also sings in a style so peculiarly her own, as to enchant every heart. It is impossible to conceive the rapture with which this elegant compliment to the KING and the British Navy was received by the Theatre, which was most splendid...In the Divertissement, which is a Country Dance of Sailors and their Lasses, Madame DEL CARO danced a Hornpipe with inimitable grace. It was M. NOVERRE's design to conclude the Allegory with an *illumination portative*; but from the hurry of getting it up, this could not be brought out for last night."

["OPERA. GALA AND RIDOTTO," *Morning Chronicle*, June 24, 1794]

Title	The Scotch Ghost, or Little Fanny's Love as performed at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane
Composer	Giuseppe Capelletti
Choreographer	Filippo Giacomo Gentili
Publisher	Longman and Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket
Date	1796 ⁸
Watermark	-
Music Book	MR 2-5-27. Label on the front of the book: "DUSSEK'S OP. 31. 34. &c, PLEYEL'S OP. 31. 2. SET, PLEYEL BY DALE 4. SET, LITTLE FANNY'S LOVE. MISS SYKES".
Performances	Newspaper advertisements suggest that the ballet ran for two distinct seasons at Drury Lane, firstly from October 1796 into early 1797, and secondly in mid 1801. A lesser number of performances appear to have taken place in 1802, 1804 and 1805, particularly as part of benefit evenings.

Title	Mad^{lle}. Hilligsbergs [sic] Favorite Scotch Dance in Little Peggys [sic] Love
Composer	Cesare Bossi. Arranged with Variations for the Piano Forte by Karl Kambra
Choreographer	Charles-Louis Didelot
Publisher	Preston & Son, 97 Strand
Date	ca. 1800 ⁹
Watermark	-
Music Book	MR 2-5-32. Label on the front of the book: "CAMIDGE OP. 7. HAYDN SURPRIZE DUETT D ^o . SONATA OP. 78. ALONZO THE BRAVE MOZART 9 th . BOOK PLEYEL'S 3 ^d . CONCERTANTE VIOTTI'S CONCERTO CLEMENTI'S WALTZ OP. 38. HUMMEL VON ESCH HAIGH HANDEL &c. MISS SYKES".

⁸ While Gentili took on the role of Jamie in 1796, it appears that Mr Byrne (possibly James Byrne) danced the part in 1801. As Elizabeth's score frequently mentions Gentili but not Byrne, this lends weight to the publication dating from the original production in 1796. See Highfill Jr., Philip H., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, "Gentili, Filippo Giacomo," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. 6 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 137 and an advertisement for the ballet in *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, May 6, 1801, which announced Mr Byrne's debut in the role.

⁹ See Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 318.

Performances	<p>A total of 66 performances were given at the King's Theatre between 1796 and 1799, including under the name of <i>Peggy's Love</i> (some of which were partial performances), in addition to 3 performances in 1802 and 8 in 1812.¹⁰ Several of these performances were for benefits, including for Madame Hilligsberg [see <i>Oracle and Public Advertiser</i>, April 8, 1796 and <i>Morning Chronicle</i>, April 2, 1802, for example]. The ballet appears also to have been staged for charitable purposes, both at the King's Theatre and Drury Lane: it was performed at the latter as part of a joint commemoration service for Stephen Storace (who died earlier in 1796) and a benefit for his widow and family [see <i>Oracle and Public Advertiser</i>, May 25, 1796] and at the former in aid of funds for the Scottish Hospital [<i>Morning Chronicle</i>, June 16, 1812, which intimated that the <i>minuet de la cour</i> was danced as part of the performance]. References to <i>Peggy's Love</i> as a pantomimic ballet also appear in advertisements for the Sans Pareil [<i>Morning Chronicle</i>, June 27, 1810] and German Theatres [see, for example, <i>Morning Post</i>, December 4, 1805 and <i>Morning Chronicle</i>, March 22, 1806]. Didelot's production seems to have been very popular.¹¹</p>
Reviews	<p>"A new Comic Opera, entitled <i>Amour Fra le Vandemmie</i>, was brought forward last night for the first time: the music by the celebrated GUGLIELMI, is scientific and beautiful. The finales are good likewise, and two pretty duets. VIGANONI introduced a song composed by DUSSEK, which was a charming composition, and admirably sung by him...<i>Little Peggy's Love</i>, aided by HILLISBERG, [sic] DIDELOT, and ROSE, went off with applause. The House was elegantly attended. There were in the gallery a numerous assemblage of beautiful women, as well as in the boxes." ["KING's THEATRE," <i>Oracle and Public Advertiser</i>, December 7, 1796]</p> <p>"DIDELOT's Benefit last night, though attended by a very elegant Audience, had by no means so numerous a one as his merits deserve. The Opera was <i>Elfrida</i>, in which BANTI, VIGANONI and BENELLI distinguished themselves very highly. The first Dance was <i>Little Peggy's Love</i>, and the second was that once popular and still very interesting Ballet <i>Le Deserteur</i>. DIDELOT and Madame L'ABORIE, in the <i>Deserter</i> [sic] and <i>Louisa</i>, excited a strong interest. The <i>Ballet</i> in the detail was somewhat negligently managed, but as far as it depended on the Dancers, there was no cause of complaint." ["THE OPERA," <i>True Briton</i>, June 15, 1798]</p>

¹⁰ See Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 39, 44, 49, 53, 66, 118.

¹¹ Mary Grace Swift, "Didelot, Charles-Louis," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 2 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 413.

Title	Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogine, a Grand Ballet, as performed at the Kings [sic] Theatre Haymarket...The Music Entirely New, Composed by Mr. Bossi & Mr. Federici, Adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte
Composer	Vincenzo Federici and Cesare Bossi
Choreographer	Charles-Louis Didelot
Publisher	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street The score includes a violin line printed above the piano part in the overture and in section No. VIII of the third act.
Date	Unknown
Watermark	1800 and 1801
Music Book	MR 2-5-32. Label on the front of the book: "CAMIDGE OP. 7. HAYDN SURPRIZE DUETT D ^o . SONATA OP. 78. ALONZO THE BRAVE MOZART 9 th . BOOK PLEYEL'S 3 ^d . CONCERTANTE VIOTTI'S CONCERTO CLEMENTI'S WALTZ OP. 38. HUMMEL VON ESCH HAIGH HANDEL &c. MISS SYKES".
Performances	11 performances were given at the King's Theatre in 1801. ¹² At least two of these appear to have been benefit performances, while the ballet was also staged at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane for Michael Kelly's benefit. ¹³ See <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , March 19, 1801, <i>Morning Post and Gazetteer</i> , April 29, 1801 and <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , May 6, 1801.
Reviews	"It is the composition of Mr. Didelot, and is founded on Mr. Lewis's interesting tale of that name. The leading features of the original, such as the departure of <i>Alonzo</i> for the wars; the previous vow of <i>Imogine</i> , and other incidents, are preserved, except the catastrophe, which it would be impossible to adapt with effect to scenic exhibition. – A more pleasing and more happy conclusion is therefore substituted, and the story dilated with magnificent processions and other appropriate embellishments. The general character of the dances is rather simplicity than difficulty of execution; they were gracefully executed by Didelot and the other principal performers of the <i>Corps du Ballet</i> [sic]. The decorations are most magnificent, and the ballet is got up in a stile that merits the uniform applause that attended its performance. It is, however, rather too long in its present state, to follow a previous entertainment of much length." ["KING'S THEATRE," <i>Morning Post and Gazetteer</i> , April

¹² See Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 62.

¹³ See Peck, *A Life of Matthew G. Lewis*, 32.

	8, 1801] "After the Opera was performed the new Ballet of <i>Alonzo the Brave, and the Fair Imogine</i> , taken from the popular poem of Mr. LEWIS. It was dramatized by Mr. DIDELOT, who, with the licence which an artist of his superior powers has a right to exercise, has materially altered the plan of the fable, and given it new incidents, and a moral, though a most striking end. It is not easy for the mind to conceive any thing more sublime and impressive than the <i>denouement</i> as he has managed it. The music, and particularly the thorough bass of DRAGONETTI, speaks to the soul on the appearance of the Spectre, - and the whole scene is full of magical art. It will justly add to the fame of DIDELOT." ["OPERA," <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , April 8, 1801]
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Title	Le Retour du Zephir [sic] a favorite Ballet for the Piano Forte with or without additional Keys also an Accompaniment for Violin & Tambourine [Op. 52]
Composer	Daniel Steibelt Ivor Guest noted that Steibelt didn't include music from other composers in his score, but the list of Steibelt's works in his entry in <i>Grove Music Online</i> suggests that the ballet incorporated music by T. Winter. ¹⁴
Choreographer	Pierre Gardel
Publisher	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street An advertisement in <i>Morning Post</i> , February 17, 1803, suggests that Clementi and Co. also published an edition of the work. Elizabeth's copy includes a surviving separate tambourine part.
Date	1802 ¹⁵
Watermark	-
Music Book	MR 2-5-15. Label on the front of the book: "MRS. EGERTON". Label on the spine: "PIANO FORTE DUETTS & BALLETS".

¹⁴ See Frank Dawes, Karen A. Hagberg, and Stephan D Lindeman, "Steibelt, Daniel," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26624>, accessed 27 November 2014 and Ivor Forbes Guest, *Ballet under Napoleon* (London: Dance Books, 2001), 114.

¹⁵ See Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 305.

Performances	The ballet was premiered at the Paris Opéra on 3 March 1802 and received 108 performances over the next ten years. Also known as <i>La Vallée de Tempé</i> , the production marked the literal and metaphorical return of dancer André Deshayes to the stage. ¹⁶
Reviews	"What is totally delightful is the performance, the design of the dances, the aspect of the various groups, and the combination of talents that Citizen Gardel has succeeded in bringing into play with such artistry and taste. If <i>Le Retour de Zéphire</i> [sic] has nothing to say to the intellect, one's eyes are enchanted by the sight of proud Diana, played by Clotilde, giving an archery lesson to two nymphs, of Terpsichore whom one could not fail to recognize in the form of Mme Gardel, of laughing Flora whose light and lively graces are brought to life by the dancing of Chevigny, of benevolent Ceres whose gentle majesty is drawn to perfection by Saulnier, etc. And among those goddesses of the first order can be espied a host of lesser divinities of the countryside who, while they do not raise their legs quite so high, are no less supple, charming and sensual. And let us not forget Zephyr [Deshayes] himself, the god of the festivity, whose slender figure, interesting features and graceful movements delight the audience, and who, through the elegance of his attitudes and the delicacy and smoothness of his dancing, seems to make up for what he lacks perhaps in strength." [<i>Journal des débats</i> , 24 Ventôse, Year X, March 15, 1802] ¹⁷

Title	The favorite Ballet of La Fille Sauvage, ou le Pouvoir de la Musique, performed at the King's Theatre Haymarket. The Music Composed & arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute, ad libitum
Composer	Michele C. Mortellari
Choreographer	James Harvey D'Egville
Publisher	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street and Michael Kelly, Pall Mall An advertisement in <i>Morning Post</i> , July 29, 1805, announces the publication of the arrangement as it appears in Elizabeth's collection, which includes a surviving flute part.
Date	1805 ¹⁸

¹⁶ See Dawes, Hagberg, and Lindeman, "Steibelt, Daniel" and Guest, *Ballet under Napoleon*, 114, 485.

¹⁷ Cited in *Ballet under Napoleon*, 115.

¹⁸ See Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 305.

Watermark	1804
Music Book	MR 2-5-15. Label on the front of the book: "MRS. EGERTON". Label on the spine: "PIANO FORTE DUETTS & BALLETS".
Performances	23 performances were given at the King's Theatre across 1805 and 1806, and 4 performances in 1808, of which at least two were benefit performances. The ballet seems also to have been known by the title <i>L'Élève de la Nature; ou La Fille Sauvage</i> , and was apparently very successful. ¹⁹

Title	Le Siege de Troye, A Grand Heroic Ballet. Performed at the King's Theatre with unbounded applause...The Overture & Music, Composed & Arranged for the Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute, Ad Libitum
Composer	Federigo Fiorillo
Choreographer	Joseph [?] Rossi ²⁰
Publisher	Michael Kelly, Pall Mall Neither a violin or flute part for this work are extant in Elizabeth's collection.
Date	British Library catalogue suggests a date of 1807.
Watermark	1806
Music Book	MR 2-5-15. Label on the front of the book: "MRS. EGERTON". Label on the spine: "PIANO FORTE DUETTS & BALLETS".

¹⁹ See Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 78, 81, 95; John V. Chapman, "D'Egville, James Harvey," in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, vol. 2 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 364; *Morning Chronicle*, June 6, 1805 and May 30, 1808, and *Morning Post*, June 8, 1805 and June 16, 1808.

²⁰ Joseph Rossi was a pyrotechnist and dancer who appeared at Marylebone Gardens, Ranelagh, the Royal Circus, Drury Lane and the King's Theatre. He was responsible for staging *The Siege of Gibraltar* at Bermondsey Spa Gardens. See Highfill Jr., Philip H., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, "Rossi, Joseph," in *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. 13 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 112-113.

Performances	17 performances given in 1807 at the King's Theatre. The ballet was also performed as part of Michael Kelly's benefit at Drury Lane on 20 May of the same year. ²¹
Reviews	<p>"The new grand Ballet of <i>Le Siege de Troye</i>, which united splendid scenery with much excellent dancing, was repeated with the applause of an elegant audience." ["KING'S THEATRE," <i>Morning Post</i>, May 6, 1807]</p> <p>"The Ballet of <i>Le Siege de Troye</i> still retains its full force of attraction, from the splendour of scenery and dresses which it unites with a most fascinating display of action." ["THE OPERA," <i>Morning Post</i>, July 15, 1807]</p>

Title	The much admired Ballet of Don Quichotte, ou Les Noces de Gamache, Performed with Universal applause at the Kings [sic] Theatre. Op. 10
Composer	Frédéric-Marc A. Venua
Choreographer	James Harvey D'Egville
Publisher	Wilkinson & Co. (Late Broderip & Wilkinson), 13 Haymarket
Date	1808-1810 ²²
Watermark	1807
Music Book	MR 2-5-15. Label on the front of the book: "MRS. EGERTON". Label on the spine: "PIANO FORTE DUETTS & BALLETS".
Performances	20 performances were given at the King's Theatre in 1809 while 4 performances also took place in collaboration with the company from Drury Lane. ²³
Reviews	"Since I last wrote to you a new Ballet has been produced at this Theatre, under the title of <i>Don Quichotte ou les Noces de Gamache</i> ; the subject of which is taken from the story of Basilius and Quitoria, in CERVANTES' admirable novel. Mr. D'EGVILLE has acted judiciously in borrowing his subject from the invention of another, as in doing so he has avoided any gross violation of rationality: it is only when he indulges his own fancy that he sends Turks on a voyage of discoveries, converts the Chinese into a nation of dancers, or makes young ladies

²¹ Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 87.

²² See Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, second ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 334.

²³ See Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 100.

fall in love with flower-pots. Yet even in borrowing from CERVANTES he has so mangled the original, and so wretchedly contrived the action, that a person unacquainted with the novel would find the plot incomprehensible: this is the more remarkable, as the wedding of *Camacha* is described so minutely and dramatically in *Don Quixote*, that if the story had been strictly abided by, an amusing Ballet must inevitably have been produced. The interest of the plot consists in the protraction of the *denouement*, yet Mr. D'EGVILLE has hurried it on so rapidly, that in the course of an hour and a half which is occupied by the representation, not more than a minute is devoted to the story which gives title to it. The only recommendation which the Ballet possesses is the astonishing dancing of VESTRIS, ANGIOLINI, and the DESHAYES; the *Fandango* by the two former dancers is uncommonly lively and pleasing, and has the merit of novelty, which is a rare thing in an art that admits but of little variety. M. DESHAYES seems to be reanimated by the arrival of VESTRIS; for some years, contented with being the first dancer, he has exerted himself but little to increase his celebrity, but now that a rival has appeared he has gained an acceleration of vigour and activity, and endeavours as ardently to surpass VESTRIS as VESTRIS does to surpass him.

The music of the ballet is very indifferent, and as usual, the production of M. VENUA, whose plagiarisms are beyond all precedent; not contented with borrowing openly and confessedly from the works of composers, he contrives to compile a patch-work composition, by pilfering in small quantities from the works of HAYDN, BEETHOVEN, and the other great composers, and hopes by this means to escape detection. In such a theatre as this, it is disgraceful that a person of such mean talents should be employed; for as it is on account of music chiefly that the Opera deserves encouragement, the orchestra should be in every respect as complete as possible, and no composers employed but such as are of very superior ability.

In this ballet, as in all the late productions of Mr. D'EGVILLE, the eyes of the audience are assaulted with the sight of his six unfortunate pupils, whose health and morals are sacrificed to the unfeeling brutality of a ballet-master, and to the more astonishing depravity of their parents. These victims to parental avarice and vanity are the very bane of places of public amusement, where one can scarcely go without their being intruded to disgust us with their unnatural distortions. I am at a loss to conceive what pleasure can be derived from the sight of so many painted skeletons, apparently exhausted with incessant fatigue, yet endeavouring with ogles and leers to look divine, while they remind one rather of a church-yard than of heaven. In addition to these shadows, Mr. D'EGVILLE has a numerous troop of infants that are brought forward in the ballet, for no purpose that I can

	imagine, unless it is to shew that children can be kept awake till twelve or one o'clock, and that rouge will artificially supply the colour of which want of rest has deprived them. H[enry]. R[obertson].” [“THE OPERA,” <i>Examiner</i> , February 26, 1809]. ²⁴
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Title	The favorite Scotch Divertisement [sic], Performed at the King's Theatre Haymarket. The Music Composed & Arranged for the Piano Forte
Composer	Pietro Carlo Guglielmi
Choreographer	Unknown
Publisher	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street
Date	1810 ²⁵
Watermark	-
Music Book	MR 2-5-15. Label on the front of the book: “MRS. EGERTON”. Label on the spine: “PIANO FORTE DUETTS & BALLETS”.
Performances	The performance history of this work is unclear. The advertisement on the title page by Birchall of two ballets by Venua that appeared at the King's Theatre at the end of 1809 (<i>Pietro il Grande</i>) and beginning of 1810 (<i>I Contadini Tirolesi</i>) suggest that the score was published in 1810. A performance of Guglielmi's opera <i>La Scommessa</i> was scheduled to take place on January 6, 1810, which included “a favourite DIVERTISEMENT” [sic], and which was followed by <i>Pietro il Grande</i> . On January 13, Guglielmi's opera <i>Sidagero</i> was again followed by “a favourite Divertisement” [sic] while on April 23 “an entire new Divertisement” [sic] was scheduled to follow Guglielmi's opera <i>Atalida</i> . A “Scotch Divertisement” [sic] appears in advertisements for the King's Theatre in May 1810, following Vincenzo Pucitta's opera <i>La Vestale</i> , but there is no mention of Guglielmi. The lists of dancers that appear in the advertisements for this season match well with the names of dancers who appear in the score. See <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 5 January 1810; and <i>Morning Post</i> , 13 January, 21 April, 8 and 10 May, 1810.

²⁴ Partially quoted in Fenner, “Ballet in Early Nineteenth-Century London” 80 and Smith, *The Italian Opera and Contemporary Ballet in London*, 100.

²⁵ Michael Kassler, *Music Enrires at Stationers' Hall, 1780-1818* (Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 653.

Appendix 2 – Elizabeth Egerton’s Country Dance Music

Title	Composer	Publisher	Date ¹	Music Book
The New German Waltz, adapted as a Rondo for the Harp or Piano Forte	Sophia Dussek (1775-1847)	Corri, Dussek & Co.	Before 1801	MR 2-5-7
The Countess of Sutherland, a Scotch Reel. Arranged as a Rondo	Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760-1812)	No publisher given	1792?	MR 2-5-11
Three Sonatas with Scotch and German Airs and Three Preludes for the Piano Forte with or without Additional Keys Being the Continuation of Op. 25. With Accompaniments for a Violin or Flute & Bass Ad Libitum. Dedicated to Miss Wheler and Miss Penelope Wheler. Op. 31 [Sonata II, final movement – Could be the Rebels cast Oppressors Base and Bloody A Scotch Reel] ²	Jan Ladislav Dussek	Corri, Dussek & Co.	1795	MR 2-5-27
Twelve Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello. In which are Introduced a Variety of Scotch Airs And favorite Pieces. Op. 14 [Sonata XI, final movement – Lady Baird’s Reel]	Ignace Pleyel (1757-1831)	Joseph Dale	Before 1798	MR 2-5-27

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¹ All dates have been taken from Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," Handlist of Keyboard Music at Tatton Park.

² I have as yet been unable to ascertain whether this reel actually existed in dance form.

Three Sonatas for the Piano-Forte; and also arranged For the Piano Forte with Additional Keys, in which are introduced The Fife Hunt a Scotch Reel, and the National Air of Rule Britannia; as Rondos, with an Accompaniment for a Violin or Flute; Dedicated to the Right Honorable Lady Elizabeth Montagu. Op. 25	Jan Ladislav Dussek	Corri, Dussek & Co.	1795	MR 2-5-29
The Royal Quick Step. A Favorite Country Dance Arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte	Jan Ladislav Dussek	Corri, Dussek & Co.	1796	MR 2-5-29
Lord Macdonald's Reel Arranged as a Rondo, for the Piano-Forte	Johann Baptist Cramer (1771-1858)	Corri, Dussek & Co.	c. 1795	MR 2-5-29

Appendix 3 – Lady Charlotte Egerton’s Quadrille Music

Title	Composer	Publisher	Date	Signature	Music Book
Contre Danses Variées [sic] Quadrilles for the Piano Forte. New & Superior Edition	Henri Herz (1803-1888)	Metzler & Son	c. 1830 ¹	Undecipherable as most of it is missing	MR 2-5-36
Weippert’s 50 th Set of Quadrilles, Selected from Rossini’s celebrated Grand Opera Guillaume Tell, as Performed by the Author’s Band at Almack’s and all the Nobilities’ Balls, To which is added An Admired Waltz, Composed & Arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp, and most respectfully Dedicated (by permission) To His Grace The Duke of Devonshire	John [Michael] Weippert (1776-1831)	Goulding & D’Almaine	1829/1830	AM Ely	MR 2-5-45
Hart’s Thirty-fifth Set of Quadrilles, Selected from Mercadante’s Opera Elisa e Claudio, Including The Eliza Waltz, as Danced at Almacks and the Nobilities Balls, Composed	Joseph Binns Hart (1794-1844)	Leoni Lee	1832? ²	Charlotte Egerton	MR 2-5-45

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¹ Cave, "Piano Forte Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845," 320.

² Advertisements for "Hart’s Claudio ed [sic] Elisa Quadrilles" appeared in 1832; see, for example, *Morning Post*, September 26. The advertisement lists Leoni Lee as the publisher and the address corresponds with that given on the music.

and Arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp, & Respectfully Dedicated to The Countess of Errol					
New Series. Musard's Seventh Set, of Quadrilles, or Second Set from Masaniello ou la Muette de Portici as Performed by Mess ^{rs} . Collinet Michau & Musard, at the Nobilities Balls, Almack's & The Argyll Rooms. Composed & Arranged for the Piano Forte, with an ad lib Accompaniment for the Flute, Dedicated to Lady C. Dundas	Philippe Musard (1792-1859)	T. Boosey & Co.	1830 (1829 watermark) ³	Partially missing but readable as AM Ely	MR 2-5-45
New Series. Musard's Fourteenth Set of Quadrilles, First Set from L'Ultimo Giorno di Pompei, as Performed by Mess ^{rs} . Collinet Michau & Musard, at the Nobilities Balls, Almack's & The Argyll Rooms, Composed & Arranged for the Piano Forte, with an ad lib Accompaniment	Philippe Musard	T. Boosey & Co.	1830 (1829 watermark) ⁴	Undecipherable as most of it is missing	MR 2-5-45

³ See an advertisement for the work in "MUSARD'S NEW QUADRILLES, WALTZES, GALOPPEs, and MAZURKAS...", *Morning Post*, October 20, 1830.

⁴ See *ibid.*

for the Flute, Dedicated to Lady Georgina Hervey					
New Series. Musard's Sixth Set, of Quadrilles, Entitled Le Clic Clac des Omnibus, as Performed by Mess ^{rs} . Collinet Michau & Musard, at the Nobilities Balls, Almack's & The Argyll Rooms, Composed & Arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib Accompaniment for the Flute, Dedicated to Lady Janet S ^t . Clair	Philippe Musard	T. Boosey & Co.	1831? (1829 watermark) ⁵	Undecipherable as most of it is missing	MR 2-5-45
New Series. Musard's Thirteenth Set of Quadrilles, Entitled "La Tarantelle," as Performed by Mess ^{rs} . Collinet Michau & Musard, at the Nobilities Balls, Almack's & The Argyll Rooms, Composed & Arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib Accompaniment for the Flute, Dedicated to Lady Augusta Hervey [flute part extant]	Philippe Musard	T. Boosey & Co.	1830 (1829 watermark) ⁶	Undecipherable as most of it is missing	MR 2-5-45

⁵ A newspaper advertisement from 1831 referred to the sixth set of "Les Omnibus" quadrilles by Musard; see "MUSARD'S NEW QUADRILLES," *Morning Post*, April 9, 1831.

⁶ See "MUSARD'S NEW QUADRILLES, WALTZES, GALOPPES, and MAZURKAS...", *Morning Post*, October 20, 1830.

Les Coquettes Quadrilles de Contredanses brillantes et variées with a Grand Waltz for the Piano Forte Composed & Dedicated to Mademoiselle Fanny Girard Op. 49	Henri Herz	Goulding & D'Almaine (in Paris by Heu and Bonn by N. Simrock)	1828? ⁷	In ink it is inscribed 'Charlotte' but underneath this in pencil is Lady C. Loftus	MR 2-5-45
La Mode. The 3 rd . Set of Contredanses Variées for the Piano Forte. Composed & Dedicated to M ^{rs} . Anderson, (Pianiste to her Majesty) Op. 63	Henri Herz	Goulding & D'Almaine (in Paris by Meissonnier and Bonn by Simrock)	1831/1833? ⁸	No signature evident	Mr 2-5-45

⁷ The earliest review of the work I have been able to find appears in "Arrangements," *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 10, no. 38 (1828): 260.

⁸ An advertisement for *La Mode* appeared in the *Morning Post* on June 14, 1831, published by Goulding and D'Almaine, and a French edition by Meissonnier was advertised in *Bibliographie De La France* in the same year, although it included no opus number and did not specify it as the third set; see *Bibliographie De La France, ou Journal Général De L'imprimerie et de la Librairie, et des Cartes Géographiques, Gravures, - Lithographies, - Oeuvres de Musique*, 34, no. 32, 6 August 1831, 464. *La Mode* was listed in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* the following year where it was given as Op. 64, although again no reference was made to it being the third set. As the same publication attributed Op. 63 to Herz's *Marche et Rondo pour le Pianoforte, sur al Clochette de Paganini*, and as subsequent later contemporary sources referred to *La Mode* as Op. 64, it is possible that the Goulding and D'Almaine listing of the work as Op. 63 is a misprint; see Louis Spohr, ed. *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, vol. 34 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1832), 16-17. However, as Lucy Anderson was only appointed pianist to Queen Adelaide in 1832, this is the earliest date that would match Lady Charlotte's copy of the work given Anderson's designation on the title page, while the British Library dates a similar publication to 1833 [see British Library shelfmark h.462.(23.)].

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