

# JOHN GAY, BALLAD OPERA AND THE THÉÂTRES DE LA FOIRE

VANESSA L. ROGERS



## ABSTRACT

*Daniel Hertz was the first musicologist to link John Gay's The Beggar's Opera (1728) with opéras comiques en vaudevilles, light musical theatre entertainments popular at the annual Paris fairs. Other scholars such as Edmond Gagey and Calhoun Winton had also suggested that French comédies en vaudevilles might have been models for Gay's 'original' new genre of the ballad opera, but were unable to find compelling evidence for their suspicions. This article shows that the music of Polly (1729), Gay's sequel to The Beggar's Opera, can finally provide a link between ballad operas and the comédies en vaudevilles, as four of the unidentified French airs in the opera can now be identified as popular French vaudevilles. I investigate the fruitful exchange between Paris and London in the early eighteenth century (despite prevailing anti-French sentiment in Britain), focusing on musical borrowings, translations and the performers who worked in both cities. We shall see that ballad opera and the comédies en vaudevilles share common ground, including vaudevilles finals, common tunes sung by actor-singers and the use of musical parody and double entendre. A closer examination of Gay's (and his contemporaries') knowledge of the comédies en vaudevilles illuminates previously unknown French contributions to eighteenth-century English popular musical theatre, and demonstrates the unique way in which French practices were appropriated in early eighteenth-century England.*

Thus my warm Zeal had drawn the Muse along,  
Yet knew no Method to conduct her Song:  
I then resolv'd some Model to pursue,  
Perus'd *French Criticks*, and began anew.

(John Gay, *A Poem: In a Letter to a Lady* (1714))

For nearly a century scholars have suggested that dramatic precedents for English ballad opera might be found in the French theatre. In 1937 Edmond Gagey was the first modern theatrical historian to speculate that French musical theatre works of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were models for John Gay's supposedly 'original' new genre:

The indebtedness of Augustan drama to French comedy has never fully been analyzed. In all probability it is far wider than ordinarily supposed, and it is not surprising to find that ideas and situations in English ballad opera have been anticipated in the *Comédie-Italienne*, the *Comédie-Française*, and the *Théâtre de la Foire*.<sup>1</sup>

The players in France's *Théâtres de la Foire* performed what they termed *comédies en vaudevilles* (or *opéras comiques en vaudevilles*), light entertainments featuring *vaudeville* tunes (simple, strophic topical songs)

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<rogersv@rhodes.edu>

I would like to thank Moira Goff for helping me with information on French dancers in London, and Christine Lee Gengaro for reading an earlier draft of this text. I also wish to thank Dean Sutcliffe and my anonymous readers for their many valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Edmond McAdoo Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 33.



with new words that punctuated the action of the farces.<sup>2</sup> Gagey suspected that these popular fair entertainments might have influenced Gay, writing: 'How convenient it would be at this point to discover a neat little passage ... proving beyond question that Gay was familiar with the French *comédies en vaudevilles*!'.<sup>3</sup> Despite Gagey's hunch, however, he could not find any compelling evidence that credibly linked the *comédies en vaudevilles* with Gay.

Gay probably saw the *comédies en vaudevilles* performed during his trips to France in 1717 and 1719. Calhoun Winton, in his 1993 book *John Gay and the London Theatre*, hypothesized that Gay might also have observed the Parisian troupes while they were in London and heard them sing their *vaudevilles* live.<sup>4</sup> In 1999 Daniel Hartz outlined some dramatic similarities between Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* and certain *opéras comiques en vaudevilles* by Alain-René Lesage, touching briefly on parallel musical features.<sup>5</sup> However, Hartz stopped short of making an overt connection between these two genres of popular musical theatre; furthermore, he made no attempt to tackle the seven unidentified French tunes which make an appearance in Gay's penultimate ballad opera *Polly* (1729). These seven airs have greatly puzzled musicologists and theatre historians, especially since they are found in a genre in which the musical content is generally made up of common English tunes. Though Gay had previously used four French tunes in *The Beggar's Opera*, the sources were all available to him in contemporary English publications, and these English sources had been identified by Jack Westrup in 1928.<sup>6</sup> However, the provenance of the French music in *Polly*, Gay's sequel to *The Beggar's Opera*, remained obscure.

As it turns out, at least four of the tunes Gay employed in *Polly* are popular French *vaudevilles* from the repertory of the Parisian Théâtres de la Foire. This raises some new questions about the relationship between French and English musical theatre in the early eighteenth century. Why did Gay choose these particular French tunes? How might he have come to know this foreign repertory? And what are the implications of learning that Gay, the inventor of ballad opera, was familiar with the music of the Théâtres de la Foire?

Despite the unsuccessful early twentieth-century attempts to link Gay and the French fair theatres in the music of *The Beggar's Opera*,<sup>7</sup> the most striking connection has been available all along in the music of *Polly*, its sequel. As we shall see, it is the musical (rather than dramatic) features which tie ballad opera to the *comédies en vaudevilles*. These musical similarities hint at a closer relationship than has yet been acknowledged between French musical practices and the development of English ballad opera.

## THE INFLUENCE OF FRENCH MUSIC AND DRAMA IN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

French music, dance and opera had long influenced cultural production in England, and they quickly seeped into the popular dramatic sphere.<sup>8</sup> Charles II, an admitted Francophile, encouraged French music and musicians at his court; Roger North confided that during the first years of Charles II's reign 'all music

2 The Théâtres de la Foire have been studied recently by Isabelle Martin, in *Le Théâtre de la Foire: des tréteaux aux boulevards* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002). Ola Forsans discusses the importance of the Italian repertory in *Le Théâtre de Lélío: étude du répertoire du Nouveau Théâtre Italien de 1716 à 1729* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2006).

3 Gagey, *Ballad Opera*, 31.

4 Calhoun Winton, *John Gay and the London Theatre* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 110.

5 Daniel Hartz, 'The Beggar's Opera and opéra-comique en vaudevilles', *Early Music* 27/1 (1999), 42–53. He notes the interspersed popular tunes, and Gay's use of French airs and musical parody.

6 J. A. Westrup, 'French Tunes in *The Beggar's Opera* and *Polly*', *The Musical Times* 69 (April 1928), 320–323.

7 See also Frank Kidson, *The Beggar's Opera: Its Predecessors and Successors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), 66: 'As there are several French tunes interspersed, Gay had no doubt access to a French collection, which I have not yet been able to identify, or else they have been noted down from songs sung by some of his friends.'

8 It is difficult to recognize the so-called 'French' style in the music of Purcell and his later English counterparts. The exportation of French forms (overtures and suites), dance rhythms and ornamentation during the late seventeenth



affected by the *beau-mond* tended to 'run into the French way'.<sup>9</sup> The Chapel Royal added a band of twenty-four strings in the French style; English music (and especially opera), as North complained, 'brought up the 'rere'.<sup>10</sup> John Dryden and Thomas Shadwell worked with French composer Louis Grabu on operas, most notably Dryden's *Albion and Albanus* (1685), French-style allegorical prologues graced English 'Dramatick Operas' like Dryden and Purcell's *King Arthur* (1691), and others used French sources for their adaptations.<sup>11</sup> Purcell's music tutor, Pelham Humfrey, had reportedly studied secular French music with Lully in France, and Purcell was not immune to the hegemony of French music at court, incorporating French dance styles and overtures into his stage music.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the French overture (often spelled 'ouverture' in the French manner) remained ubiquitous into the first third of the eighteenth century in Britain, from the Italian operas that were all the rage in London (Ariosti, Giovanni Bononcini, Handel) to the English musical comedies that traversed the country and its colonies (Pepusch, Boyce, Arne). Lighting effects (sconces and footlights), scenerailers and the theatrical *tambour* (drum) were additional imports from French theatres.<sup>13</sup>

These Restoration-era appropriations indicate that England was highly attentive to French musical and dramatic practices, and such borrowings persisted into the mid-eighteenth century. Most significantly, the comedies of Molière, Dancourt and Regnard held sway on the English stage for many decades, influencing the most important playwrights of the Restoration and Augustan eras, including Centlivre, Vanbrugh, Fielding and a score of others.<sup>14</sup> (See Table 1, which lists premieres of French-influenced pieces in English given on the London stage between 1700 and 1728.)

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century has been documented by musicologists in the music of Eccles, Clarke, Galliard, John Stanley and others. In addition, 'French-style' scoring practices and the Opéra's influential use of orchestral subdivision have been noted in English works of the same era (Mary Térey-Smith, 'Orchestral Practice in the Paris Opéra (1690–1764), and the Spread of French Influence in Europe', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 31/1–4 (1989), 81–159), along with the inclusion of French dance movements. Since native composers frequently adopted the prevailing international styles, determining an exclusively 'French' or 'English' national style is quite a difficult undertaking and should keep musicologists busy for many more years.

9 John Wilson, *Roger North on Music* (London: Novello, 1959), 350.

10 Wilson, *Roger North*, 300. North also states: 'And after the manner of France, he [Charles II] set up a band of 24 violins to play at his dinners, which disbanded all the old English musick at once.'

11 For example, Dryden/Purcell's 1690 *Amphitryon*, which was adapted from Molière's version of Plautus's play. Richard Luckett discusses the attraction of Italian and French offerings in 'Exotick but Rational Entertainments: The English Dramatick Operas', in *English Drama: Forms and Development*, ed. Marie Axton and Raymond Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 123–141. French operas were performed frequently in the 1670s. See John Buttrey, 'New Light on Robert Cambert in London, and His *Ballet et Musique*', *Early Music* 23/2 (1995), 199–220; Pierre Danchin, 'The Foundation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1674 and Pierre Perrin's *Ariane*', *Theatre Survey* 25 (1984), 55–66; and Colin Visser, 'French Opera and the Making of the Dorset Garden Theatre', *Theatre Research International* 6/3 (1981), 163–171. On the performance of French operas see Todd S. Gilman, 'Augustan Criticism and Changing Conceptions of English Opera', in *Theatre Survey* 36/2 (November 1995), 31, note 12.

12 Purcell reported that English music was 'studying a little bit of the *French Air*, to give it somewhat more of Gayety and Fashion' in his Preface to *The prophetess, or, The history of Dioclesian* (1691). Several of Purcell's tunes were commonplace in ballad opera; I have found eighteen which were used more than once. The most popular was 'Your Hay it is Mow'd' from *King Arthur* (1691), which is found in at least seventeen ballad operas under its later title 'We've Cheated the Parson'.

13 Allardyce Nicoll and Sybil Rosenfeld, *The Garrick Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 117, 122. See also Émile Campardon, *Les spectacles de la foire*, two volumes (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1877), for descriptions of lights, scenes and machines in the Théâtres de la Foire, especially the entries for Alard, Bertrand, Maurice and St Edmé.

14 Leo Hughes, in *A Century of English Farce* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), discusses the 'persistent popularity of Molière, who was himself no stranger to farce and whose plays were much closer in spirit to English comedy than to that of the Italians' (141). Of course Molière worked with Italians, and translated their influence to his successors as well.

Table 1 Premieres of French-influenced pieces in English on the London stage, 1700–1728<sup>a</sup>

Title	Author	First performance and venue	Source	Notes <sup>b</sup>
<i>The Perjur'd Husband; or, The Adventures of Venice</i>	Susanna Centlivre	October 1700 Drury Lane	Based in part on Jean François Regnard's <i>Le divorce</i> (1688).	LS II.i.4. Served as a partial basis for John Hewitt's <i>Fatal Falsehood</i> (Drury Lane, 11 February 1734). Probably performed before 13 October, which is the date that the full troupe began performing.
<i>The False Friend</i>	John Vanbrugh	January 1702 Drury Lane	Translation of Alain-René Lesage's <i>Le traître puni</i> (1700), itself derived from Francisco de Rojas Zorilla's <i>Le traición busca el castigo</i> .	LS (II.i.18–19) dates the play February 1702, while the date presented here is suggested by Robert D. Hume, <i>The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 442.
<i>The Fair Example; or, The Modish Citizens</i>	Richard Estcourt	10 April 1703 Drury Lane	Adaptation of Florent Carton Dancourt's <i>Les bourgeoises à la mode</i> (1692).	LS II.i.34.
<i>Loves Contrivances; or, Le Medecin malgre lui</i>	Centlivre	4 June 1703 Drury Lane	Adapted from three Molière plays: <i>Sganarelle, ou, Le cocu imaginaire</i> (1660), <i>Le mariage forcé</i> (1664) and <i>Le médecin malgré lui</i> (1666).	LS II.i.37. The play is also based in part on John Lacy's <i>The Dumb Lady</i> (1672).
<i>The Lying Lover; or, The Ladies Friendship</i>	Richard Steele	2 December 1703 Drury Lane	Adaptation of Pierre Corneille's <i>Le menteur</i> (1643).	LS II.i.50.
<i>Squire Trelooby</i>	Vanbrugh, William Congreve and William Walsh	30 March 1704 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Adaptation of Molière's <i>Monsieur de Pourceaugnac</i> (1669).	LS II.i.62. Later altered by James Ralph as <i>The Cornish Squire</i> (3 January 1734, Drury Lane).
<i>The Gamester</i>	Centlivre	January 1705 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Based on Regnard's <i>Le joueur</i> (1696)	LS (II.i.88) assigns the play to February 1705, the month of the first known performance. Evidence exists, however, which indicates a slightly earlier premiere: the prologue and epilogue were published in the <i>Diverting Post</i> for 27 January–3 February 1705, and the music was advertised in the <i>Post-Man</i> for 30 January–1 February 1705. See William J. Burling, 'British Plays, 1697–1737: Premieres, Datings, Attributions, and Publication Information', <i>Studies in Bibliography</i> 43 (1990), 174. It served as a partial basis for John O'Keeffe's <i>The Pharo Table</i> (4 April 1789, Covent Garden).

Table 1 *continued*

Title	Author	First performance and venue	Source	Notes <sup>b</sup>
<i>The Quacks; or, Love's the Physician</i>	Owen Swiney	29 March 1705 Drury Lane	Based on Molière's <i>L'amour médecin</i> (1665), and temporarily banned.	LS II.i.90. Revised and shortened to one act for performance on 30 April 1745, Drury Lane.
<i>The Tender Husband; or, The Accomplished Fools</i>	Steele	23 April 1705 Drury Lane	Based on Molière's <i>Le sicilien</i> (1667).	LS II.i.92.
<i>The Confederacy</i>	Vanbrugh	30 October 1705 Queen's	Based on Dancourt's <i>Les bourgeois à la mode</i> .	LS II.i.105.
<i>The Bassett-Table</i>	Centlivre	20 November 1705 Drury Lane	Based, in part, on Regnard's <i>Le divorce</i> .	LS II.i.107.
<i>The Mistake</i>	Vanbrugh	27 December 1705 Queen's	Taken from Molière's <i>Le dépit amoureux</i> (1659).	LS II.i.111.
<i>The Platonic Lady</i>	Centlivre	25 November 1706 Queen's	Based in part on Regnard's <i>Attendez-moi sous l'orme</i> (1694).	LS II.i.132.
<i>The Cuckold in Conceit</i>	Vanbrugh	22 March 1707 Queen's	Based on Molière's <i>Sganarelle, ou, le cocu imaginaire</i> .	LS II.i.143. Unpublished. Lost.
<i>The Double Gallant; or, The Sick Lady's Cure</i>	Colley Cibber	1 November 1707 Queen's	Adapted from Thomas Corneille's <i>Le galand doublé</i> (1660), Centlivre's <i>Love at a Venture</i> (Bath, 1706), and William Burnaby's <i>The Reform'd Wife</i> (1700) and <i>The Ladies Visiting Day</i> (1701).	LS II.i.156. For a detailed source study see F. W. Bateson, 'The Double Gallant of Colley Cibber', <i>Review of English Studies</i> 1 (1925), 343–346.
<i>Calypso and Telemachus</i> (English opera)	John Hughes (librettist) and John Ernest Galliard (composer)	17 May 1712 Queen's	Based on Fénelon's <i>Les aventures de Télémaque</i> (1699).	LS II.i.276. Later adapted by Richard Cumberland as <i>Calypso</i> (20 March 1779, Covent Garden). Republished in 1781 and adapted into a pantomime by Dauberval in 1791.
<i>Ximena; or, The Heroick Daughter</i>	Cibber	28 November 1712 Drury Lane	Based on Corneille's <i>Le Cid</i> (1637).	LS II.i.289. Another <i>Le Cid</i> adaptation, <i>The Cid; or, The Heroick Daughter</i> , is not by Cibber, as advertised in the <i>Daily Courant</i> of 1 March 1714, but rather is a translation of Corneille's play by John Ozell.

Table 1 *continued*

Title	Author	First performance and venue	Source	Notes <sup>b</sup>
<i>The Humours of the Army</i>	Charles Shadwell	29 January 1713 Drury Lane	Based on Dancourt's <i>Les curieux de Compiègne</i> (1698)	LS II.i.294. Redone by Kemble (1763) as <i>The Female Officer</i> .
<i>Cinna's Conspiracy</i>	Cibber	19 February 1713 Drury Lane	Adaptation of Corneille's <i>Cinna, ou la clémence d'Auguste</i> (1701).	LS II.i.295.
<i>The Victim</i>	Charles Johnson	5 January 1714 Drury Lane	Adaptation of Racine's <i>Iphigénie</i> (1674).	LS II.i.314.
<i>The Sultanness</i>	Johnson	25 February 1717 Drury Lane	Alteration of Racine's <i>Bajazet</i> (1672).	LS II.i.438.
<i>The Non-Juror</i>	Cibber	6 December 1717 Drury Lane	Based on Molière's <i>Tartuffe</i> (1664).	LS II.ii.472. Isaac Bickerstaffe's <i>The Hypocrite</i> (17 November 1768, Drury Lane) is partially based on Cibber's play.
<i>Amadis; or, The Loves of Harlequin and Colombine</i>	John Rich	24 January 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Probably based on Lully's opera <i>Amadis</i> (1684).	LS II.ii.480. See Moira Goff, 'John Rich, French Dancing, and English Pantomimes', in <i>The Stage's Glory: John Rich (1692–1761)</i> , ed. Jeremy Barlow and Berta Joncus (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 91. <i>Amadis</i> had been brought to the London stage in an adaptation by George Granville entitled <i>The British Enchanters</i> , given at the Queen's Theatre on 21 February 1706.
<i>Tartuffe; or, The Hypocrite</i>	Christopher Bullock?	20 June 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Based on Molière's <i>Tartuffe</i> .	LS II.ii.497–498. This adaptation, attributed to Bullock by Burling, was meant to compete with Cibber's <i>The Non-Juror</i> . The first known performance in French of Molière's play is 13 January 1719, also at Lincoln's Inn Fields.
<i>The Fair of St. Germain</i>	Adapted by Evaristo Gherardi, translated by John Ozell	7 November 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Play originally by Regnard and Dufresny.	LS II.ii.513. A newspaper notice states that the play 'is preparing to be Acted in English'. Unclear relationship to <i>Les aventures de la Foire St. Germain de Paris</i> (22 April 1726, Little Haymarket).

Table 1 *continued*

Title	Author	First performance and venue	Source	Notes <sup>b</sup>
<i>No Fools like Wits; or, The Female Virtuoso</i>	John Breval?	10 January 1721 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Based on Thomas Wright's <i>The Female Virtuoso</i> 's (1693), itself derived from Molière's <i>Les femmes savantes</i> (1672).	LS II.ii.608. A misleading attribution to John Gay came from Whincop (185); the problem is discussed in David Nokes, <i>John Gay: A Profession of Friendship</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 317–319. John Breval is known to have published under Gay's name.
<i>The Refusal; or, The Ladies Philosophy</i>	Cibber	14 February 1721 Little Haymarket	Derived from Molière's <i>Les femmes savantes</i> .	LS II.ii.615.
<i>Mariamne</i>	Elijah Fenton	22 February 1723 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Based on Voltaire's <i>Mariamne</i> (1724).	LS II.ii.711. Served as a partial source for Richard Cumberland's <i>The Duke of Milan</i> (10 November 1779, Covent Garden).
<i>The Fatal Legacy</i>	Mrs. J. Robe?	23 April 1723 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Based on Racine's <i>La thébaïde</i> (1664).	LS II.ii.720.
<i>Diana's Madness; or, Fatime, a Favourite Slave in the Seraglio</i>	Anonymous	5 November 1726 King's	Based on Pierre de Morand's <i>Diane et l'Amour</i> (no date known)?	LS II.ii.889.
'A French Farce . . . in Mock Imitation of Lucretia'	Anonymous	31 December 1726 King's	Unknown.	LS II.ii.900. The newspaper notices state that this farce is 'in Mock Imitation of Lucretia', in other words of Giovanni Boncelli's <i>Lucrezia Romana Violata</i> , on the same evening's bill.

<sup>a</sup> Information taken from William J. Burling, *New Plays on the London Stage, 1700–1810* database (2006), archived at: <<http://es.convdocs.org/docs/index-18448.html>> (14 August 2013). This table represents only a sample; there are likely to be many more English pieces that I have missed or whose provenance is unknown.

<sup>b</sup> Each entry includes a citation from *The London Stage* calendar [LS] (part, volume and page number). See *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces*, part 2: 1700–1729, two volumes, ed. with a critical introduction by Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), and the revision of part 2 by Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous, archived online at Hume's personal website: <[www.personal.psu.edu/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/preface.pdf](http://www.personal.psu.edu/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/preface.pdf)> (26 March 2013).



When the afterpiece regularly began to make up a full evening's entertainment in London's theatres (especially after 1714), authors had to look further afield for comic scenes to adapt.<sup>15</sup> Many of the French farces and comedies were published, making it easy for French-speaking playwrights in London to lift scenes and make translations.

The greatest contribution of France to the English popular theatre in this era was undoubtedly in the arena of dance. Many French dancers went back and forth between London and the Continent; several chose to stay and make their fortunes in Britain, especially in the theatres.<sup>16</sup> Anthony Abbé (c1666–c1753), who had come to dance in the London theatres in the 1690s, taught many of the era's leading young theatrical dancers, and was by 1720 the dancing-master to George I's granddaughters; Anthony Francis Roger (probably Rogier) was a French dancer and choreographer who alternated between the Opéra-Comique in Paris and playing Pierrot in *commedia dell'arte* scenes in London.<sup>17</sup> He became the leading master for theatrical dancers in London after Abbé, and might even have brought his English dancers back to Paris to dance at the Opéra-Comique.<sup>18</sup>

Moira Goff has explained how young manager John Rich, opening the new Lincoln's Inn Fields theatre in 1714 and facing competition from the bigger house (Drury Lane), turned to entr'acte dancing to draw in audiences. Trained in French styles and techniques, imported dancers put Rich's theatre on the map. Many of the dancers were poached by Drury Lane in the next season, beginning a long-running rivalry with Rich's company. The most popular dances were set to tunes that are found frequently in ballad operas, such as 'Sir Roger de Coverley' and the 'Black Joke'; advertisements tout that the ballad operas are 'Intermix'd with Country-Dances', naming the specific dances and dancers, who appear on the bills with the theatre's leading actor-singers. Nearly all of the leading male dancers in London in this era were French; Louis Dupré, Charles Delagarde, Louis Nivelon and Francis Sallé were among those billed most often.<sup>19</sup> Goff has found that 'about a third of Rich's male dancers and about a fifth of his female dancers may have been French in origin'.<sup>20</sup> Many of the dancers also performed at the Paris fairs during the same decades; for instance, Marie Sallé's father was a fairground performer in France, and she probably grew

15 See Leo Hughes, 'Afterpieces: Or, That's Entertainment', in *The Stage and the Page: London's 'Whole Show' in the Eighteenth-Century Theatre*, ed. George Winchester Stone, Jr (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 55–70, and Kevin Pry, 'Theatrical Competition and the Rise of the Afterpiece Tradition 1700–1724', *Theatre Notebook* 36/1 (1982), 21–27.

16 See Moira Goff, 'John Rich, French Dancing, and English Pantomimes' and Jennifer Thorp, 'Pierrot Strikes Back: François Nivelon at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Covent Garden, 1723–1738', both in *The Stage's Glory: John Rich (1692–1761)*, ed. Jeremy Barlow and Berta Joncus (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011), 85–98 and 138–146 respectively. Goff defines 'French dancing' on pages 85–86. See also Thorp, 'À la mode de France?: La danza en Londres y París entre 1680 y 1730 / Dancing in London and Paris between 1680 and 1730', *Goldberg: Early Music Magazine / Revista de musica antigua* 35 (2005), 46–55. Different styles of dancing in London are also discussed in Thorp, 'Dance in the London Theaters c. 1700–1750', in *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick (1250–1750)*, ed. Jennifer Nevile (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 136–152.

17 See the Introduction by Carol G. Marsh to the edition of Anthony L'Abbé, *A New Collection of Dances, Music for London Entertainment 1660–1800* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1991), and Jennifer Thorp's entry 'L'Abbé Anthony', in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <www.oxforddnb.com> (3 July 2013). Roger played Pierrot with Moylin's troupe, and later with De Grimbergue. He worked for the Théâtres de la Foire in Paris in between his trips to England. See Phillip H. Highfill, Jr, Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, volume 13 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 61–62.

18 Edward Nye, *Mime, Music and Drama on the Eighteenth-Century Stage: The Ballet d'Action* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 45–46.

19 Goff, 'John Rich', 86. There were three Delagarde male dancers in London during this period; it is most probably Charles who is the headliner. He was celebrated for dancing 'The French Peasant'.

20 Goff, 'John Rich', 86–87.





up performing in the fair theatres before starting her career in England. After dancing in London for some years, she returned to the French fair theatres in the early 1720s.<sup>21</sup> All of the top dancers hired by Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields appeared in the theatres' popular musical entertainments, whether in pantomime or between the acts or before the afterpiece; occasionally they were dancer-actors who also had speaking parts in plays or ballad operas.<sup>22</sup> Goff has posited that Rich himself was trained as a harlequin in the Paris fairs.<sup>23</sup>

Singing in French was not as fashionable as singing in Italian in the early decades of the eighteenth century, but the number of English publications incorporating new French songs attests to a market for music in this language. There are French airs in Henry Playford and John Young's collection of popular songs *Wit and Mirth, or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719–1720). John Walsh – who would later have the monopoly on printing Handel's music – also published Nicolas Cloes's *One Hundred French Songs* (1703, reprinted 1749), dedicated to their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales. French tunes – or airs translated from the French – were also published by English song composers in the 1720s, including Henry Carey, John Abell, Thomas D'Urfey and John Wilford.<sup>24</sup>

Carey and D'Urfey, two of the composers whose melodies were most often borrowed for use in ballad opera, also had experience writing songs in French. Carey's cantata *The Precaution* was published in both French and English in 1724. Carey also published a French song, 'Sortez des vos retraites', which was used by Gay in *Polly* (see Table 2), and D'Urfey arranged 'The Moderate Man' ('ye words by Mr. D'urfey to a pretty French tune') in 1710. D'Urfey transformed 'N'oubliez pas votre houlette' into 'Fill Ev'ry Glass' for the celebrated *Pills to Purge Melancholy* collection. These songs morphed into 'English' ballad tunes after they were published with English words, reappearing for decades in ballad operas and later English song collections.<sup>25</sup>

Few scholars have taken much notice of the vast network of French musicians working in Britain in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Many contributed to the development of English theatrical music, though here I shall mention only two. James (born Jacques) Paisible (c1656–1721) was a virtuoso recorder player who also made a career as a theatre composer in London. Paisible, who was sometimes called 'Peasable', wrote act-tunes (incidental music) for Dorset Garden Theatre in the 1690s, and later played cello and recorder in the Drury Lane orchestra, the Queen's Theatre at the Haymarket and then Lincoln's Inn Fields (where he played the flute). He was house composer for Christopher Rich at Drury Lane, and wrote overtures and act-tunes for enduring comedies by Colley Cibber (*Love's Last Shift*, 1696, and *She Wou'd and She Wou'd Not*, 1702) and others (Betterton's *The Humours of Sir John Falstaff*, 1700). He published French dances dedicated to members of the Royal family, and D'Urfey set words to his airs; several of Paisible's songs appear later in ballad operas, including 'Room, room for a rover' and 'Woe is me!'. His music was

21 Sarah McCleave, 'Sallé, Marie', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (17 April 2014).

22 The dancer-actors were usually their English-born pupils, for example Hester Booth, who was a scholar of René Cherrier. See Moira Goff, *The Incomparable Hester Santlow: A Dancer-Actress on the Georgian Stage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007). Lebrun or Le Brun is one of the French dancer-actors; he appeared as the 'English Harlequin' in John Kelly's pantomimic ballad opera *The Plot*. A later dancer-turned-actor/singer was Jane Poitier, whose career was outlined by Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson in their paper "'The Liveliest Baggage on the Modern Stage": Jane Poitier, French Dancer and English Singer' given at the fifteenth annual Oxford Dance Symposium in April 2013.

23 Goff, 'John Rich', 94.

24 Purcell had also written French-style tunes: see Richard Semmens, "'La Furstemberg" and "St Martin's Lane": Purcell's French *Odyssey*', *Music & Letters* 78/3 (1997), 337–348. Graham Cummings has also noticed French influences in Handel's *Porò* (1731); see 'Handel and the Confus'd Shepherdess: A Case Study of Stylistic Eclecticism', *Early Music* 33/4 (2005), 575–589.

25 'Fill Ev'ry Glass' is Air 19 in *The Beggar's Opera*. Many seventeenth-century operatic airs and dances (such as those composed by Purcell), tunes swiped from contemporary composers such as Handel and other 'art' songs entered the eighteenth-century repertory in the guise of 'traditional' songs when publishers and authors gave them new titles and new words in English. Operatic arias, foreign airs and other types of 'art' songs thereby become new forms of British national culture.



reportedly good enough to have been mistaken for that of Henry Purcell.<sup>26</sup> Charles Dieupart (c1667–c1740) was a French keyboardist and violinist who also composed music for plays and masques. At the keyboard in the Drury Lane orchestra (and later the Haymarket orchestra), he was involved with the production of *Arsinoe* (1705), the first all-sung opera in the Italian style to be staged in London, and the performances of *Camilla* (1706); both operas would later prove to be fruitful sources for ballad-opera tunes.<sup>27</sup> According to contemporary newspaper advertisements, Dieupart's concertos were played between the acts at Drury Lane; in addition, he composed English songs for inclusion in the era's many song collections and miscellanies. Some of these songs made their way into ballad opera, especially 'The Wheedler' (also known as 'In vain, dear Chloe').

French instrumentalists populated all of the London theatre bands in the early eighteenth century, and frequently made their living teaching or publishing music as well. On the payrolls at Drury Lane and the opera house (Queen's Theatre, later King's) in the first decades of the century were Paisible, Dieupart, Claude Rogier (first violin), John Baptist Granom (trumpet), Peter La Tour (oboe), Louis Mercy (flute), John Baptiste Loeillet (oboe) and many others.<sup>28</sup> It should be noted also that the ballad-opera orchestra was nearly identical in size and make-up to that used in the French fair theatres – about twelve players, depending on the playhouse.<sup>29</sup>

The English were accustomed to French theatrical practices, as English playhouse impresarios often brought over foreign troupes from the Paris fairgrounds and the Théâtre-Italien during the early decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>30</sup> These Parisian troupes had a long history of travelling abroad, as well as a repertory that reflected their international interests. After the Italian company was expelled from Paris in 1697, the Paris fair actors began incorporating parts of the Italian repertory into their own comedies, especially plays by Evaristo Gherardi. As this was an illegal enterprise, the Paris fair comedians tried clever stratagems to get around restrictions, performing unrelated scenes, playing in mime and holding up placards with words instead of speaking. Often they parodied the serious theatrical and operatic repertory.<sup>31</sup> It is highly

26 See David Lasocki, 'Paisible, James', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (10 July 2013), and William J. Burling, 'New Plays on the London Stage, 1700–1810' (2006), archived at <http://es.convdocs.org/docs/index-18448.html>.

27 Examples include 'Vanne à suivre' (as 'Vanne Sigure'), 'Love leads to battle', 'Cease, cruel tyrannizing', 'Fair Dorinda' and 'O Nymph of Race Divine'. See also Lowell Lindgren, 'Camilla and *The Beggar's Opera*', *Philological Quarterly* 59/1 (1980), 44–61; David Fuller and Peter Holman, 'Dieupart, Charles', in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (10 July 2013); and Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, eds, *Vice Chamberlain Coke's Theatrical Papers 1706–1715* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982). Dieupart is best known today for his *Six suites de clavessin*, partly because J. S. Bach knew them and might have been influenced by them in the composition of his English Suites.

28 Other orchestra members included Pietro Chabourd (flute, bass), Mr Desabaye, Mr Le Sac, who was also on the lists as a dancer (maybe André Le Sac or Le Sacq, who published flute sonatas), Mr Cadet (bassoon) and Mr Grenoust (trumpet), and also employed were singers Mrs (Isabella) Aubert and Mons Gautier.

29 The usual band consisted of strings, two flutes (or flageolets), oboe, sometimes bassoons, trumpets, timpani and basso continuo (clavecin or theorbo). See Bertrand Porot, 'Aux origines de l'opéra-comique: étude musicale du Théâtre de la Foire de Lesage et D'Orneval (1713–1734)' in *The Opéra-Comique in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Lorenzo Frassà (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 322. Compare with Žak Ozmo, 'The Ballad Opera Orchestra', in *A Handbook for Studies in Eighteenth-Century English Music* (Oxford: Burden, forthcoming), and Vanessa L. Rogers, 'Writing Plays "in the Sing-Song Way": Henry Fielding's Ballad Operas and Early Music Theatre in Eighteenth-Century London' (PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 2007), 140–152.

30 See *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces*, part 2: 1700–1729, two volumes, ed. with a critical introduction by Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), and Sybil Rosenfeld's *Foreign Theatrical Companies in Great Britain in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (London: printed for the Society for Theatre Research, 1955). Rosenfeld shows that Rich made significantly more money during the seasons when the French comedians were playing at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

31 In England, Rich's pantomimes would sometimes parody serious stage works as well; it is possible that his *Amadis; or the Loves of Harlequin and Columbine* satirizes Lully's *Amadis*. See Goff, 'John Rich', 91.



likely that the English and Parisian fair theatres are related, as the *parades* (for enticing fee-paying spectators inside the booths), the licentious scenes borrowed from the repertory of the old Italian *commedia dell'arte* and the practice of parodying legitimate playhouse plays are characteristic of both.<sup>32</sup>

Like earlier *commedia dell'arte* troupes, the French *forains* (fair-theatre players) exploited the commercial possibilities of travelling widely, and English theatres frequently figured in their travel itineraries. Joseph Sorin (died c1730) was probably the first fair-theatre entrepreneur to make his way to England; in the 1696–1697 season he worked for Thomas Betterton as dancing master at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and even played guitar on the stage.<sup>33</sup> In 1702 the Foire St Laurent theatres were closed down, and Sorin, Louis Nivelon and the Alard brothers came to London, where they danced at Drury Lane and performed 'night scenes' (sometimes also called 'mimick scenes', since they were mimed scenes) at the London fairs.<sup>34</sup> In succeeding years these dancers – and a number of others – appeared in the London fairs during the summer. In England, the French fair actors added acrobatics and dancing to their repertory of plays.

From the substantial number of French plays produced in London it is evident that English audiences were exposed to various types of French *comédies*, including *comédies en vaudevilles*, before ballad opera arrived in January 1728 (see the Appendix, which details performances of French fair-theatre pieces and plays in French in London). In 1718 Rich – the manager who would produce Gay's *Beggar's Opera* a decade later – brought French fair theatre troupes to Lincoln's Inn Fields; led by Francisque Moylin (who was related by marriage to the Sallés), the troupe stayed until March and performed thirty-two different French plays that season.<sup>35</sup> Their visit to London was a decided success, the troupe returning in March 1720 and then once more in the 1720–1721 season. In 1721–1722 there was a second troupe (under the patronage of the Duke of Montagu) trying out French tragedies for the first time. French troupes returned to London again in the 1724–1725 season, and for the last time that decade in spring 1726; no more French strolling troupes appeared in London again until the 1734–1735 season.<sup>36</sup>

32 Of course, parade-style entertainments by strolling players in fairs can be found across Europe; see Frederick C. Green, *Literary Ideas in 18th[-]Century France and England: A Critical Survey* (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1966), 6. The importance of the English fairs – the counterparts to the Théâtres de la Foire – in the development of the genre of ballad opera has been virtually ignored. Emerging playwrights tried out their new ballad operas for audiences in fair-theatre booths over the summer, which were staffed with established performers from London's patent theatres, as well as new singers and actors hoping to find employment in the coming theatrical season; a number of enduring works and popular songs would emerge in this way. Many new ballad operas appeared at the London fairs each summer in the period from 1729 to 1737, and (more notably) others were adapted for London fair audiences into the versions through which they would find enduring success. Theophilus Cibber, especially, found success in cutting down the longer ballad operas of other authors into successful afterpieces during the summer season: *Phebe* (1729) and *The Devil to Pay* (1731) are two notable examples.

33 Highfill, Burnim and Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, volume 14 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), 196–197. On the number of French troupes during the Restoration see M. Horn-Monval, 'French Troupes in England during the Restoration', *Theatre Notebook* 7/4 (1953), 81–82.

34 The 'night scenes' were called *scènes du nuit* in Paris, and descriptions of the mimed scenes are available in police reports. Their relation to English pantomime is evident, especially when the phrase is appropriated in English works, for example John Thurmond's *Harlequin Sheppard. A night scene in grotesque characters: as it is perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane* (London: Roberts, 1724). See Virginia P. Scott, 'The Infancy of English Pantomime: 1716–1723', *Educational Theatre Journal* 24/2 (1972), 127 and 129, and Viola Papetti's *Arlucchino a Londra: la pantomima inglese 1700–1728* (Naples: Intercontinentalia, 1977).

35 Scott, 'Infancy of English Pantomime', 128.

36 See *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, part 2, volume 2, and part 3: 1729–1747, volume 1, ed. with a Critical Introduction by A. H. Scouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961).



A commentary on current entertainments written in 1720 reveals that the London theatres were unfavourably affected by the success of the French comedians at the Little Haymarket.<sup>37</sup> A letter from Aaron Hill to Rich dated 9 September 1721 describes his frustration in working out the use of the Little Haymarket with the French players: 'I suppose you know, that the *duke of Montague*, and I, have agreed, and that I am to have that house half the week, and his *french vermin*, the other half'.<sup>38</sup> The success of the French comedians in England was also unpopular with the French authorities. The Princess of Wales invited a Comédie-Italienne troupe in 1723, but permission was denied by Louis XV; the incident was made into a play by Marc-Antoine Legrand for the Théâtre-Italien in Paris: *Le départ des Comédiens Italiens pour l'Angleterre* (1723).<sup>39</sup> It is clear that the encouragement of foreign troupes – especially after a recent war with France – was seen as unpatriotic in many quarters.<sup>40</sup> Newspapers decried impresario John Jacob Heidegger's project of bringing to London a troupe of French comedians in 1717.<sup>41</sup> England already has excellent actors and plays, wrote one anonymous correspondent to the *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, and not even ancient Greece 'could boast a Sett of Actors so just to Nature, as at present adorn our English Theatres':

It is well known, that the French Theatres never produced one good tragedy well performed; all they have signalized themselves for, have been the Parts of Buffoons, Scaramouches, Harlequins, &c. which when we borrowed from them, have been thought, by Men of Sense and Taste, to tend to our Disgrace; but now it seems we are to prefer not only their Plays, but also their Actors to our own . . .<sup>42</sup>

The annoyed correspondent appeals to George I, whom he asks not to 'prefer the Efforts of another Nation, to the Genius of his own'; he also snidely remarks that His Majesty should undertake to improve his own knowledge of the English language instead of trying to impose French on his people.<sup>43</sup>

The multiple appearances of the Parisian *forains* undoubtedly influenced the developing genre of English theatrical pantomime, which started in the 1716–1717 season with Rich at Lincoln's Inn Fields and John Weaver at Drury Lane.<sup>44</sup> These pieces consisted of a serious plot line from classical mythology with interspersed *commedia dell'arte* characters, the Italian-style 'night scenes', stage effects, farce, and singing and dancing.<sup>45</sup> English pantomime had a close relationship with ballad opera, as the same performers and composers were involved in both genres, and they were staged in the same theatres. Pantomime would

<sup>37</sup> See *Letters of the late Thomas Rundle, L. L. D. Lord Bishop of Derry in Ireland, to Mrs. Barbara Sandys*, with Introduction by James Dallaway, two volumes (Gloucester: R. Raikes, 1789), volume 2, 17–23. Quoted in Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *A Register of English Theatrical Documents, 1660–1737*, two volumes (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1991), volume 2, 632.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Milhous and Hume, *Register*, volume 2, 632.

<sup>39</sup> Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies*, 13.

<sup>40</sup> England and France had fought against each other in the Nine Years War (1689–1697), and again in 1702 in the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Though they were allies in the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718–1720), France was still popularly thought of as England's oldest enemy.

<sup>41</sup> This French project of Heidegger's has not yet been noticed by scholars.

<sup>42</sup> *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, 5 October 1717.

<sup>43</sup> *Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post*, 5 October 1717. George I struggled with English and for that reason conducted his court business in French.

<sup>44</sup> Scott, 'Infancy of English Pantomime', 125–134.

<sup>45</sup> The *commedia dell'arte* had influenced British theatre since at least Elizabethan times. See the first chapter of Clive Chapman's 'English Pantomime and Its Music, 1700–1730', two volumes (PhD dissertation, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1981). Jama Stilwell has recently suggested a rethinking of the history of the abduction opera, which also had its inception in the French fair theatres, in 'A New View of the Eighteenth-Century "Abduction" Opera: Edification and Escape at the Parisian "Théâtres de la foire"', *Music & Letters* 91/1 (2010), 51–82. In addition, there was a precedent for the 'magic stick' of Rich (with which he tapped pieces of scenery in order to effect magical transformations) in the French fair repertoire, for example in Le Sage and d'Orneval's *Les animaux raisonnables* (1718).



grow to become one of the most important genres on the British stage in the eighteenth century, incorporating instrumental and vocal scores from the nation's leading composers together with spectacular transformations and magical effects. Rich and Weaver were not the only proponents of nascent English pantomime in Britain, however: the English dancer Richard Baxter (died 1747), who collaborated with Sorin at the Paris fairs, travelled through the provinces of Britain with his entertainments from 1717 to 1721.<sup>46</sup>

#### BALLAD OPERA AND *OPÉRA COMIQUES EN VAUDEVILLES*

Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* was the first of nearly two hundred ballad operas. With thieves and prostitutes substituting for lofty heroes and heroines, it satirized the British *beau monde*, morals, and contemporary theatrical and musical taste, delighting audiences across the spectrum of English society. John Christopher Pepusch composed for *The Beggar's Opera* a proper (French-style) overture, and Gay filled his so-called 'opera' with sixty-nine musical numbers, all of which were popular tunes of the day, mainly those sung at the theatres or known as street ballads. *The Beggar's Opera* was a smash hit, and it broke records with its run of sixty-two performances. Gay's imitators hastened to write their own ballad operas in the wake of this literary and popular triumph. One of these authors was William Chetwood, who wrote in his *General History of the Stage* in 1749 that 'the French have borrowed from us, as well as we have from them'.<sup>47</sup> This comment reveals that the exchange of dramatic ideas and practices was thought to have been reciprocal, and not just a one-way flow from France to England.

Daniel Hertz and Jeremy Barlow have both connected the music of ballad opera and the *comédies en vaudevilles* by tracing the history of a French dance air called 'Cotillon', which Gay used in *The Beggar's Opera*.<sup>48</sup> However, 'Cotillon' was only the first of several French *vaudevilles* employed by Gay. Indeed, of the twelve tunes with French titles in Gay's three operas, four additional *vaudevilles* from the Paris fair-theatre repertory can now be identified in *Polly* (see Table 2).<sup>49</sup>

*Vaudevilles* made up the largest part of the music for the French fair repertory, the *comédies en vaudevilles*, which also consisted of short opera excerpts, dances and instrumental interludes. Lesage rather vaguely defines the *vaudeville* as a 'type of poetry peculiar to the French' ('espèce de Poésie particulière aux François') in the Preface to his collection *Le théâtre de la foire, ou l'opéra comique* (compiled in collaboration with Jacques-Philippe d'Orneval), saying that it has the esteem of everyone, and especially foreigners.<sup>50</sup> Like their English counterparts, the street ballads, *vaudevilles* were often disseminated orally by street

46 Campardon, *Les spectacles de la foire*, volume 1, 100. Quoted in Scott, 'Infancy of English Pantomime', 131. See the CESAR database of French theatre of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where Baxter is listed in fair performances from 1712–1716 (<[www.cesar.org.uk](http://www.cesar.org.uk)> (3 July 2013)); also François and Claude Parfaict, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des spectacles de la foire*, two volumes (Paris, 1743), volume 1, 118–119, which describes Baxter's unsuccessful attempt at forming a troupe for opéra comique at the St Laurent fair in 1721.

47 William Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London: W. Owen, 1749), 46.

48 Hertz has also established Lesage's preeminence in the genre of opéra comique; see his 'Terpsichore at the Fair: Old and New Dance Airs in Two Vaudeville Comedies by Lesage', in *Music in Context: Essays for John M. Ward*, ed. A. D. Shapiro (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 278–304. Jeremy Barlow traces the history of this dance in 'The Dances in *The Beggar's Opera*', in *On Common Ground 5: Dance in Drama, Drama in Dance. Proceedings of the Fifth Dolmetsch Historical Dance Society Conference* (2005), 5–14, and in his Critical Notes to *The Music of John Gay's The Beggar's Opera* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 112. It appears in *Télémaque* and was parodied by Lesage in his *Parodie de l'opéra Télémaque* (1714). The tune for 'Cotillon' was also known as 'Toney's Rant' in England; it was printed in Frankfurt and Leipzig in the late seventeenth century as well. See Georgy Calmus, *Zwei Opern-Burlesken aus der Rokokozeit* (Berlin: L. Liepmannsohn, 1912), 28.

49 Westrup says that none of the French tunes used in *The Beggar's Opera* are used elsewhere, but this is incorrect. See 'Ballad Operas Online' <[www.odl.ox.ac.uk/balladoperas](http://www.odl.ox.ac.uk/balladoperas)>.

50 Alain-René Lesage and Jacques-Philippe D'Orneval, *Le théâtre de la foire, ou l'opéra comique*, volume 1 (Paris: chez Étienne Ganeau, 1721), Preface, no pagination.

Table 2 French tunes in Gay’s operas

*THE BEGGAR’S OPERA* (1728)<sup>a</sup>

Number of air	Original title	Gay’s title	First French publication	First English publication
No. 13	‘Le printemps rappelle aux armes’	‘The turtle thus with plaintive crying’	Ballard’s <i>La clef des chansonniers</i> (Paris, 1717), volume 2, 282.	D’Urfey’s <i>Pills to Purge Melancholy</i> , fourth edition (London, 1719), volume 1, 189.
No. 19	‘N’oubliez pas votre houlette, Lisette’ (also published as ‘Que chacun remplisse son verre’)	‘Fill every glass, for wine inspires us’	Ballard’s <i>La clef des chansonniers</i> (Paris, 1717), volume 2, 234.	D’Urfey’s <i>Pills to Purge Melancholy</i> , fourth edition (London, 1719), volume 1, 180 (also printed on undated single song sheets).
No. 22	‘Cotillon’	‘Youth’s the season made for joys’	Feuillet’s <i>Quatrième recueil de danses de bal</i> (1705). It is also in Lesage’s <i>Parodie de l’opéra de Télémaque</i> (1715).	Playford’s <i>The Dancing Master</i> , III (c1727), 102 (entitled ‘Toney’s Rant’).
No. 63	‘Folies d’Espagne’ or ‘Joy to great Caesar’ (known also as ‘The King’s Health’ and ‘Mr. Farinell’s Ground’, among others). The tune was possibly composed by French/Italian composer Michel Farinel (1649–1726), although the ground bass had existed from much earlier.	‘If thus – a man can die much bolder with brandy’	Earliest French source is difficult to determine because of the use of the old ostinato bass. This tune does appear in the farces in Lesage and d’Orneval’s collection <i>Le théâtre de la foire, ou l’opéra comique</i> (1721–1737).	Humphrey Salter’s <i>The Genteel Companion . . . for the Recorder</i> (1683). Gay was probably influenced by D’Urfey’s version of the tune, with text fitted to all sections of Farinel’s piece; it was printed first in his <i>Several New Songs</i> (168r) and in all editions of his <i>Pills to Purge Melancholy</i> (as ‘Joy to Great Caesar’).

Table 2 *continued*

POLLY (1729)

Number of air	Original title	Gay's title	First French publication	First English publication
No. 6	'Sortez des vos retraites'	'She who hath felt a real pain'	Not a French air; written by English composer Henry Carey to a French verse by Jean-Jacques Rousseau and published as a song sheet.	Song sheet published in London (c1720).
No. 26	'Ton humeur est Catharine' (also found as 'Ton humeur & Catherène', 'Ton humeur ma chateraine', among others)	'Woman's like the flatt'ring ocean'	Ballard's <i>Les rondes, chansons à danser</i> (1724).	Gay's <i>Polly</i> (1729).
No. 29	'Mirleton' or 'Le Mirliton'	'When I'm great, and flush of treasure'	Ballard's <i>La clef des chansonniers</i> (1717) (as 'En deuil & fort affligée').	Gay's <i>Polly</i> (1729).
No. 38	'Bacchus m'a dit'	'By halves no friend'	French source unidentified.	Gay's <i>Polly</i> (1729).
No. 40	'Cappe de bonne Espérance' or 'Du Cap de Bonne-espérance'	'The body of the brave may be taken'	Lesage and d'Orneval's <i>Le théâtre de la foire, ou l'opéra comique</i> (1721–1737).	Gay's <i>Polly</i> (1729).
No. 50	'Iris la plus charmante'	'Love with beauty is flying'	French source unidentified.	Gay's <i>Polly</i> (1729).
No. 55	'Les rats'	'Know then, war's my pleasure'	Lesage and d'Orneval's <i>Le théâtre de la foire, ou l'opéra comique</i> (1721–1737).	Gay's <i>Polly</i> (1729).

ACHILLES (1733)

Number of air	Original title	Gay's title	First French publication	First English publication
No. 4	'Si vous vous moquez de nous'	'When a Woman sullen sits'	French source unidentified. This (according to Westrup) was written by Gay.	Gay's <i>Achilles</i> (1733).

<sup>a</sup> For the most accurate information on the history of each of the tunes in *The Beggar's Opera* see Jeremy Barlow, ed., *The Music of John Gay's 'The Beggar's Opera'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 108–116.



singers, and were airs for dancing and drinking, often serving satirical purposes.<sup>51</sup> Though the airs vary in type and structure, they are chiefly in binary form, with or without repeats.<sup>52</sup> In this way, they are similar to the English tunes that make up the preponderance of the music in ballad opera. The *vaudevilles* were soon separated from their original texts but could still be identified by their *timbres*: the refrain (as in ‘which nobody can deny’) or the first line (‘For he’s a jolly good fellow’) which indicated to the listener which tune was being sung.<sup>53</sup> Incidentally, this French song type was familiar in Britain; an English dictionary in 1706 defined ‘Vaudevil’ as ‘a Country-Ballad, or Song’.<sup>54</sup>

There are three main collections of the fair theatres’ *vaudeville* tunes. The comedies of the Théâtre-Italien were published in Gherardi’s six volumes in 1694, and were first sold in England by Jacob Tonson in 1714,<sup>55</sup> with the tunes being included at the end of each volume. In 1717 Ballard in Paris published an anthology of over three hundred *vaudevilles* entitled *La clef des chansonniers*. The most significant compilation, though, was Lesage and d’Orneval’s six-volume *Le théâtre de la foire, ou l’opéra comique*, first published in Paris in 1721. As in the Gherardi collection, the tunes for the plays were included in the back of each volume.

Jean-Claude Gillier (1667–1737) was perhaps the most important composer and arranger of music for the Théâtres de la Foire.<sup>56</sup> Gillier began his career composing music for Regnard and Dancourt’s plays for Louis XIV; he began working for the Théâtres de la Foire in 1713 and collaborated with Favart, Fuzelier, Lesage and d’Orneval in over one hundred plays, from a parody of *Télémaque* (1715) to *La répétition interrompue, ou le petit-maitre malgré lui* (1735).<sup>57</sup> Gillier visited England, where he wrote music for plays and performed on the ‘Hand Organ’ at Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre during one of John Rich’s English pantomimes.<sup>58</sup> From 1698 to 1715 he published collections in English and a number of single sheet songs.<sup>59</sup> Gillier’s *Recueil d’airs François . . . composé en Angleterre* (London, 1723) contains airs and duets along with *vaudevilles*; its list of subscribers comprises such luminaries as Lord Edgumbe, the Duke of Montagu, Lady Harvey, the composers Ariosti and Bononcini, and fellow French supporters L’Abbé and Nivelon. Gillier’s uncomplicated, singable music is very much like the English ‘ballad’ airs of the same period – airs which populated the plays and (later) ballad operas.<sup>60</sup> He also began to incorporate new music along with the old *vaudevilles* in his later plays; this practice parallels the development of ballad opera in the 1730s (for instance in the operas of Henry Fielding).

51 See also Clifford Barnes, ‘Vaudeville’, in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (10 July 2013), and Herbert Schneider, ed., *Timbre und Vaudeville: Zur Geschichte und Problematik einer populären Gattung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert. Bericht über den Kongress in Bad Homburg 1996* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1999).

52 Porot, ‘Aux origines de l’opéra-comique’, 304.

53 Barnes, ‘Vaudeville’, 342.

54 John Kersey the Younger’s revised version (sixth edition) of Edward Phillips, *The New World of Words; or, Universal English Dictionary* (London, 1706).

55 Evaristo Gherardi, *Le Théâtre Italien De Gherardi* (London: Tonson, 1714).

56 Mary Hunter, ‘Gillier, Jean-Claude’, in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (10 July 2013). Gillier played the hand organ in Rich’s *Rape of Proserpine* pantomime. His music was still known later in the eighteenth century; volume 3 of *A Collection of Catches, Canons, Gleees, Duettos, &c. Selected from the Works of the most eminent Composers Antient & Modern* (Edinburgh, 1780) included his three-voice catch ‘Crown the Glass’.

57 A fuller list of Gillier’s pieces can be found in the CESAR database.

58 See Hunter, ‘Gillier, Jean-Claude’. Gillier wrote music for William Burnaby’s *The Ladies’ Visiting Day* (1701) and Farquhar’s *The [Beaux] Strategem* (1707), and played the hand organ in Rich’s pantomime *The Rape of Proserpine*.

59 Jean-Claude Gillier, *A Collection of New Songs* (London: T. Heptinstall, for H. Playford, c1698); single-sheet songs in English are ‘The Excuse or Preamble’ (1710), ‘One Day when Damon with his Caelia Walk’d’ (c1701), ‘Farewell, Vaine Nymph’ (c1705) and ‘In vain I seek for Ease’ (c1715).

60 Hunter, ‘Gillier, Jean-Claude’, and Clifford Barnes, ‘Vocal Music at the “Théâtres de la foire” 1697–1762, I: Vaudeville’, *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 8 (1968), 141–160.





In 1716 the Paris Opéra consented to allow the Théâtres de la Foire to give ‘spectacles mixed with music, dance and *symphonies* under the name of Opéra-Comique’.<sup>61</sup> The longer term *opéra comique en vaudevilles* usually designated spoken comedy interlarded with familiar tunes. This genre was later transformed – with the introduction of Italianate airs in the style of the *intermezzo* – into *opéra comique* (sometimes also called *comédies mêlées d’ariettes*) in the 1750s and 1760s, the decades in which the corresponding genre of English comic opera developed from ballad opera and the same Italian influences.<sup>62</sup>

Heartz has stated that ‘in manner of construction there is no difference between ballad opera and *opéra-comique en vaudevilles*’.<sup>63</sup> Though musically there are many similarities between the two, Heartz’s assertion is erroneous in terms of the genres’ dramatic construction. Most significantly, ballad operas were frequently derived from Restoration-era farces or French comedies, while the *foire* entertainments were often newly written works.

There are further structural differences between the two genres. For instance, although satire was the aim of both, specific French operas were usually the focus of the parodic *comédies en vaudevilles*; ballad operas rarely ridiculed serious opera in London, and instead mocked particular singers (usually the castratos) or English supporters of these expensive ‘foreign’ entertainments.<sup>64</sup> In addition, in France, high- and low-style genres were divided officially into separate theatres and locations, whereas in London, high- and low-style entertainments were sometimes combined in a single genre.<sup>65</sup> Ballad opera is an excellent example: it mixed opera arias and bawdy broadside airs, and high-style blank verse with double entendre.

Despite structural differences between the two genres, there are also similarities, including analogous pastoral and realistic themes, political critique and stock characters (duplicitous valets, judges, lawyers, bankers, licentious wives, even actors). Of course, it must be noted that many of these elements are characteristic of comic theatrical genres in general. Additionally, both genres made use of double entendre, and addressed the audience directly to garner favour.<sup>66</sup>

The *vaudeville final* was the common ending for *comédies en vaudevilles* and often appeared at the end of acts. *Vaudevilles finals* were sung by the main characters, a verse or two for each, while a chorus usually repeated a refrain.<sup>67</sup> The final scene of *Le tombeau de Nostradamus* (1714), one of the farces in the repertory of the fair theatres, ends with a *vaudeville final*. Bringing all of the main characters on stage to sing a couplet or verse of a multi-stanza song was also the usual way of concluding ballad operas.<sup>68</sup> For instance, Fielding’s *An Old Man Taught Wisdom; or, The Virgin Unmask’d* (1736) ends with an air similar in structure

61 James R. Anthony, ‘Théâtres de la Foire’, in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (10 July 2013).

62 M. Elizabeth C. Bartlett, ‘Opéra Comique’, in *Grove Music Online* <www.oxfordmusiconline.com> (10 July 2013).

63 Heartz, ‘*The Beggar’s Opera*’, 50–51. There is no one single model of ballad opera (or *comédie en vaudevilles*, for that matter). There are, however, general features which appear again and again in the most prominent operas – especially those with the largest number of performances, like *The Beggar’s Opera* and the operas of Fielding. Leo Hughes said that *vaudevilles* had anticipated ‘the English ballad opera by several years’ (Hughes, *A Century of English Farce*, 100).

64 Like ballad opera, English pantomime mixed high- and low-style conventions, incorporating for example *la belle danse*, physical theatre, allegorical masque and harlequinade. There were several ballad opera–pantomime hybrids, including Henry Woodward’s *The Beggar’s Pantomime* (1736), Fielding’s *Tumble-Down Dick* (1736) and Theophilus Cibber’s *The Harlot’s Progress* (1733).

65 Instead, England separated Italian opera from theatrical works in English: (plays, masques, ballad operas, pantomimes and English operas).

66 See ‘The Yorkshire Ballad’, given below in the main text, and also Vanessa L. Rogers and Berta Joncus, ‘Ballad Opera and British *double entendre*: Henry Fielding’s *The Mock Doctor*’, in *Die Praxis des Timbre in verschiedenen europäischen Kulturen: Eine musikalische Praxis zwischen Oralität und Schriftlichkeit*, ed. Herbert Schneider (Hildesheim: Olms, 2013), 101–140.

67 Barnes, ‘*Vaudeville*’, 342.

68 By the early nineteenth century the word ‘vaudeville’ was applied ‘in a generic sense, to the concluding scenes of comic operas and other musical dramas’ in English. Thomas Busby, *A Musical Manual, or Technical Directory* (London: Goulding and De’Almain, 1828), 181.



to a *vaudeville final*. Each of Fielding's characters (Blister, Coupee, Quaver and Lucy) sings a verse of the finale, and all join in on the refrain 'With his Down, down . . .'; this is analogous to the ending of Lesage's *Le tombeau de Nostradamus*, where the characters each sing a verse alternating with the chorus's cry of 'Vive Michel Nostradamus!'.

**Lesage, *Le Tombeau de Nostradamus* (1714),  
first two couplets**

**Fielding, *An Old Man Taught Wisdom* (1735)**

*Ils forment une danse qui est coupée par ce Vaudeville:*

*Tune, The Yorkshire Ballad. . .*

VAUDEVILLE.

BLISTER.

*Premier Couplet.*

*Had your Daughter been physick'd well, Sir, as she ought,  
With Bleeding, and Blist'ring, and Vomit, and Draught,  
This Footman had never been once in her Thought,  
With his Down, down, [down, up and down, derry,  
derry, derry, down, up and down, derry, derry, down] &c.*

UN PROVENÇAL.

AIR 175. (De Monsieur Gillier)

Vous connoissez nos caractères.  
Nos esprits sont un peu Manseaux;  
Faites que tous les Provençaux  
A Paris passent pour sincères.

NOSTRADAMUS.

Pour Picards ils seront reçus.

Le PROVENÇAL, lui faisant la révérence.

Vive Michel Nostradamus!

CHOEUR de Provençaux & de Provençales.

Vive Michel Nostradamus!

*Second Couplet.*

UNE PROVENÇALE.

Je cherche à me mettre en ménage;  
Mais je crains un mari jaloux.  
Je voudrois trouver un Epoux  
Qui d'un Ami n'eût point d'ombrage.

NOSTRADAMUS.

Vous en trouverez tant & plus.

La PROVENÇALE, faisant la révérence.

Vive Michel Nostradamus!

CHOEUR.

Vive Michel Nostradamus!

COUPEE.

*Had pretty Miss been at a Dancing-School bred,  
Had her Feet but been taught the right Manner to tread,  
Gad's Curse! 'twould have put better things in her Head,  
Than his Down, down, &c.*

QUAVER.

*Had she learnt, like fine Ladies, instead of her Prayers,  
To languish and die at Italian soft Airs.*

*A Foot man had never thus tickled her Ears,  
With his Down, down, &c.*

LUCY

*You may Physick, and Musick, and Dancing enhance,  
In One I have got them all three by good Chance,  
My Doctor he'll be, and he'll teach me to dance,  
With his Down, down, &c. . .*

*Let not a poor Farce then nice Criticks pursue,  
But like honest-hearted good-natur'd Men do,  
And clap to please us, who have sweat to please you,  
With our Down, down, &c.*

CHORUS.

*Let not a poor Farce then, &c.*



Musically, the French *vaudevilles* – like the popular tunes used in ballad operas – usually contain simple, memorable melodies in major keys with written-out ornaments. Many ballad-opera airs have sections that are very much like the recurring *timbres* used in the *vaudevilles*. For instance, it might be said that ‘The Yorkshire Ballad’ given above has a *timbre*: its refrain ‘With his Down, down’ indicates to the readers of Fielding’s play (and indeed performers in the ballad opera) which tune ought to be sung to his words, even if the air is not supplied. Early ballad operas published with the tunes include them at the end of the publication, as in Lesage and d’Orneval’s collection.

Ballad opera most resembles the *comédies en vaudevilles* in its employment of pre-existing music together with new texts supplied by the authors. Since new verses were set to familiar music, a humorous effect could be made when audiences were able to compare the two versions. For instance, the relatively tame Air 21 in *The Beggar’s Opera* (‘If the Heart of a Man is deprest with Cares’) might be contrasted against its bawdy original in a contemporary popular song collection (its original title being ‘Would ye have a young Virgin’).<sup>69</sup>

### BALLAD OPERA AND THE THÉÂTRES DE LA FOIRE

Gagey conjectured that Gay’s two trips to France with William Pulteney, first Earl of Bath, and his wife in 1717 and 1719 might have sown the seeds for his innovation of the ballad opera.<sup>70</sup> The Pulteneys were attuned to French culture in Britain; they are listed among the subscribers to Gillier’s *Recueil d’airs* and might even have introduced Gillier to Gay. Gay indicated his own interest in French culture when he ridiculed it in his 1720 epistle *To the Right Honourable William Pulteney Esq*, which is full of Gallic stereotypes.<sup>71</sup> The poem also makes clear that Gay did know his French dramatists:

But let me not forget *Corneille, Racine,*  
*Boileau’s* strong sense and *Molière’s* hum’rous Scene.<sup>72</sup>

Gay also must have had some knowledge of French dance conventions: in the fourth scene of Act 2 of *The Beggar’s Opera* he inserted a dance ‘a la ronde in the *French* manner’.

The ever-perceptive Gay was well versed in contemporary theatrical trends, and probably attended the playhouses when the French and Italian troupes were in town. In 1727 he wrote to Brigadier James Dormer with the news that Voltaire was visiting London, and also reported on a visiting troupe of Italian strollers: ‘There is a set of Italian Comedians who act twice a week at the Opera house’, he tells Dormer, ‘but they are very little approv’d off [sic], for the Harlequin is very indifferent, so that they find but small encouragement’.<sup>73</sup>

Like other English authors of the period, Gay had mixed feelings regarding the widespread practice of translating dramatic works from the French. In the Preface to his *Three Hours after Marriage* (1717) Gay expresses contempt for those authors who translate a work and then blame the French for their failure with critics by protesting ‘damn not us, but damn the French that made it’.<sup>74</sup> He offers his play up to the

69 This is Thomas D’Urfey’s *Wit and Mirth; or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* (1719–1720, reprinted frequently).

70 Gagey, *Ballad Opera*, 6. Winton thinks that Gay’s second trip might have been with the Earl of Burlington.

71 Winton (*John Gay*, 63) has also linked Gay’s pastoral tragedy *Dione* to Racine, believing that Gay became interested in rhymed tragedy while in Paris. Racine was also performed in London, however; see the Appendix to this article.

72 John Gay, *Poetry and Prose*, ed. Vinton A. Dearing and C. E. Beckworth (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 214.

73 Letter dated 22 November 1726 [1727], quoted in John Gay, *The Letters of John Gay*, ed. C. F. Burgess (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 63. Swift and Gay had visited Voltaire while he was staying in London, according to David Nokes, *John Gay: A Profession of Friendship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 395.

74 That said, two years earlier Gay himself had answered critics of his *What D’Ye Call It* (1715) by citing modern French comedies as an authority: ‘As to the Third Objection, That the Sentiments are not Comical, I answer . . . For the Sentiments being convey’d in Number and Rhime, I have the Authority of the best Modern French Comedies.’ It should be noted that it is not known if the author of the Preface is Gay himself, or one of his collaborators, John Arbuthnot or Alexander Pope.



audience as an English original, but still worries about its reception: 'How shall our author hope a gentle fate, / Who dares most impudently – not translate?'.<sup>75</sup>

As mentioned earlier, Jack Westrup had noted in 1928 that the four French tunes Gay used in *The Beggar's Opera* were all accessible from English sources.<sup>76</sup> This means that the best evidence of Gay's direct knowledge of the French *comédies en vaudevilles* lies in the music he selected for his second ballad opera, *Polly*, as none of these French tunes were printed in English publications. Four of the French airs in *Polly* are certainly *vaudevilles* (see Table 2). They can all be found in Lesage and d'Orneval's six-volume *Le théâtre de la foire*: 'Ton humeur est Catherine', 'Mirliton', 'Cappe de bonne Espérance' ('Du Cap de bonne-espérance') and 'Les rats'. Comparing the music of the two publications side-by-side, it becomes apparent that the presentation of each tune in the French and English publications is virtually identical; the tunes are even in the same key. See Examples 1 and 2, which provide the respective versions of 'Les rats'. The obvious conclusion is that Gay must have had access to a copy of Lesage and d'Orneval's collection.<sup>77</sup>

These four *vaudevilles* were used repeatedly in the *forains*' farces, as they found their way into at least twenty-seven different comedies in Lesage and d'Orneval's collection. Some of the tunes were employed more frequently than others; for instance, 'Cappe de bonne Espérance' was used the most often, and is even found four times in one work, *Arlequin Traitant* (1716). James R. Anthony has written that the fair playwrights 'often used the same tune repeatedly for a specific situation until it became associated with that situation from play to play'.<sup>78</sup> However, *Polly*'s four *vaudevilles* are given new meanings by Gay in English; he did not carry over their original contexts from the French.

We know from newspaper advertisements that at least three of the pieces from the Lesage and d'Orneval collection were performed in London. These are *Les eaux de Merlin* (premiered 12 December 1721), *L'isle des Amazones* (17 December 1724) and *Les funeraillles de la foire* (8 January 1724), and all were produced at the Little Haymarket Theatre (refer to the Appendix). Perhaps Gay even heard the tunes sung live during their



Example 1 Anonymous, 'Les rats', vaudeville tune in Alain-René Lesage and Jacques-Philippe d'Orneval, *Le théâtre de la foire, ou l'opéra comique* (Paris and Amsterdam: chez Z. Chatelain, 1722–1734), volume 1, page 15 (of the Table des Airs). British Library 241.L18-27. The clef has been changed from its original soprano clef to modern treble clef, and the order of the sharps has been modernized

<sup>75</sup> Other ballad-opera authors make the same complaints. In *The Wanton Jesuit* (1732) the Player tells the Poet that 'in my Opinion, the Town will not relish your French Opera: And for my own Part, I hate every Thing that comes from France, except their Wine and Brandy'; the Poet answers that 'their Dramatic Writings are so far from being flat . . . in my Translation I have preserved the French Idiom to a Nicety'.

<sup>76</sup> Westrup, 'French Tunes', 320.

<sup>77</sup> According to advertisements in London newspapers, J. Groenewegue near Katherine Street and N. Prevost in the Strand traded in imported books in London, including Lesage's plays in French.

<sup>78</sup> Anthony, 'Théâtres de la Foire'. This also became the practice in ballad opera. See Vanessa L. Rogers, 'The Audience as Poet: Traditional Tunes and Contemporary Satire in Early Eighteenth-Century Ballad Opera', *Ars Lyrica: Journal of the Lyrica Society for Word-Music Relations* 18 (2009), 63–83.



Example 2 John Gay, 'Know then, war's my pleasure (Les rats)', Air 55, *Polly* (London: Printed for the Author, 1729), page 24 (of the Airs). British Library 79.i.30(.2.)

London performances. All four *vaudevilles* would have been heard in these three comedies, although no single piece contains all four of them.

In addition to this new confirmation of Gay's familiarity with the French fair theatre, there is proof of Henry Fielding's awareness of the *comédies en vaudevilles* as well. Fielding wrote some of the most successful and enduring ballad operas and thereby exerted much influence over his contemporaries. Two of Fielding's operas are based on plays by Molière and Regnard, and he also owned copies of significant early collections of French fair-theatre repertory and *vaudevilles* in his library.<sup>79</sup> According to its inventory, he owned the original three-volume set of Lesage and d'Orneval's *Le théâtre de la foire* (although he did not seem to own the additional volumes published later), as well as all six of Gherardi's Théâtre-Italien volumes.<sup>80</sup> From this we can see that Fielding was aware of the farces of the Théâtres de la Foire, even if he did not utilize the music or its action.

Although Fielding did not use any *vaudevilles* in his operas, his friend James Ralph (1705–1762) employed two of them in his hit *The Fashionable Lady; or, Harlequin's Opera* (1730).<sup>81</sup> Air 24 in *The Fashionable Lady* is the *vaudeville* 'Plus inconstant que l'Onde & le Nuage', and – like the four *vaudevilles* used by Gay – it is also found in volume six of Lesage and d'Orneval's *Le théâtre de la foire* (as No. 158). It is an old French air – Montaigne even made reference to it in his *Essays*, and Ralph's employment of it in *The Fashionable Lady* seems to be its only appearance on the British stage. A second French tune in *The Fashionable Lady* is Ballard's lively 'Mirliton' (Air 16), which Gay used first in his *Polly*.<sup>82</sup> *The Fashionable Lady* burlesques

79 Fielding was bilingual, with many personal links to France. His play *The Miser* (1732) was also based on Molière's *L'avare*. John Watts published several volumes of Molière translations (many of them advertised in publications of Fielding's plays), but they were not translated by Fielding, as was long thought to be the case. See Joseph E. Tucker, 'The Eighteenth-Century English Translations of Molière', *Modern Language Quarterly* 3 (1942), 83–103. Fielding did have all eight volumes of Molière's *Les oeuvres de Monsieur de Molière. Nouvelle édition* (Paris, 1718) in his library, according to Frederick G. Ribble and Anne G. Ribble, *Fielding's Library: An Annotated Catalogue* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1996), 219–230.

80 Ribble and Ribble, *Fielding's Library*, 193–194. It is notable that Fielding did not employ any of the *vaudevilles* in his own ballad operas, but perhaps the author of the patriotic song 'The Roast Beef of Old England' had an aversion to writing texts to French music.

81 Ralph wrote the Prologue to Fielding's *The Temple Beau* (1730), which began their friendship, and when Fielding started up a troupe at the Little Haymarket Theatre in 1736, Ralph worked with him there.

82 While its usual meaning is 'doggerel', 'mirliton' is also (according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*) a flute or pipe like a kazoo. 'Mirliton' was later used in several ballad operas: Edward Phillip's *The Stage-mutineers* (1733) and *Britons Strike Home* (1739), George Stayley's *The Rival Theatres* (1737?), the anonymous *The Decoy* (1733) and Moses Mendez's *The Double Disappointment* (1746). It is also found in Kane O'Hara's burletta *Midas* (1760).



pantomime in several scenes, and includes in its list of *dramatis personae* Harlequin, Colombine, Scaramouche, Pierrot, Punch and Pantaloon.<sup>83</sup>

In addition to the use of French *vaudevilles* in the ballad operas of Gay and Ralph, the fact that many other ballad operas were based on French sources (see Table 3) demonstrates that the genre's authors had a broad knowledge of the repertory, whether high-style or low.

Ebenezer Forrest's successful *Momus turn'd Fabulist; or Vulcan's Wedding* (1729) took its situation from Louis Fuzelier and Marc Antoine LeGrand's *Momus fabuliste; ou Les nûces de Vulcain* (1719).<sup>84</sup> In the Introduction to *Momus turn'd Fabulist*, a Player discusses the conception of the opera with a Gentleman (a stand-in for Forrest himself), who tells the Player:

Sir, I was my self an Eye-witness of it, being in *France* when this Piece first appear'd on the Stage, and saw it represented several Nights with a considerable share of Pleasure, which put me upon rendering it into *English*. In this Performance I have taken the Liberty of turning the *Fables*, which were Spoke in *France*, into *Ballads* to be Sung, and have heighten'd several of the Scenes by the Addition of other *Ballads*, suitable to the present Taste of the Town. In short, I have made that an *English* Opera, which was but a *French* Farce.<sup>85</sup>

Other ballad operas followed suit. Charles Johnson's *The Village Opera* (1729) was based on Dancourt's *Le galant jardinier* (1705) and Lesage's *Crispin rival de son maître* (1707).<sup>86</sup> Fielding's ballad-opera success *The Mock Doctor* (1732) was a translation of Molière's *Le médecin malgré lui* – and it was one of the most-performed ballad operas of the decade.<sup>87</sup> When critics attacked the piece for 'indecenty', Fielding wrote a letter to the *Daily Post* in his own defence under the name of 'Philaethes' ('Lover of Truth'):

P.S. Whether his Scurrility on the *Mock Doctor* be just or no, I leave to the Determination of the Town, which hath already declared loudly on its Side. Some Particulars of the Original are omitted, which the Elegance of an English Audience would not have endur'd; and which, if the Critick had ever read the Original, would have shown him that the chaste *Molière* had introduced greater Indecencies on the Stage than the Author he abuses . . .<sup>88</sup>

The anonymous *The Envious Statesman . . . with The Humours of the Forc'd Physician* (1732) was based on Molière as well, and it appeared at a booth at a London fair theatre. The advertisement in the *Daily Post* promises a very entertaining performance:

83 Since satire of theatrical conventions and personalities was a common feature of ballad opera, it is not surprising that there were several operas which satirized pantomime; John Kelly's *The Plot* (1735) and Charlotte Charke's *The Carnival* (1735) specifically spoof French (rather than English) Harlequins, although many others satirize pantomime generally and include Harlequin among their *dramatis personae*. Other operas have a French nobleman or (more typically) a French dancing-master as a figure of fun.

84 For a discussion of this ballad opera's political satire see Mark Loveridge, *A History of Augustan Fable* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 227–238. Forrest (1700–1793) was a lawyer and writer who was friends with Rich and Hogarth, and a founding member in their Sublime Society of Beefsteaks club.

85 Ebenezer Forrest, *Momus turn'd Fabulist; or, Vulcan's Wedding* (London: J. Watts, 1729)[, i].

86 Johnson had adapted other French pieces for Drury Lane, including two tragedies, *The Victim* (1714) and *The Sultaness* (1717), both based on Racine. See Table 1.

87 According to the number of performances recorded in *The London Stage*, it was the fifth most popular ballad opera of the decade.

88 Cited in Martin C. Battestin, with Ruthe R. Battestin, *Henry Fielding: A Life* (London: Routledge, 1989), 143.

Table 3 Ballad operas with French sources

Title	Author	First performance and venue	Source	Notes <sup>a</sup>
<i>The Village Opera</i>	Charles Johnson	6 February 1729 Drury Lane	Dancourt's <i>Le galant jardinier</i> (1705) and Lesage's <i>Crispin rival de son maître</i> (1707)	LS II.ii.1013.
<i>Momus turn'd Fabulist; or, Vulcan's Wedding</i>	Ebenezer Forrest	3 December 1729 Lincoln's Inn Fields	Louis Fuzelier and Marc-Antoine LeGrand's <i>Momus fabuliste; ou Les nôces de Vulcain</i> (1719)	LS III.i.21.
<i>The Stage-Coach Opera</i>	Theophilus Cibber or William Rufus Chetwood?	13 May 1730 Drury Lane	George Farquhar's <i>The Stage Coach</i> (c1700–1702), which was itself based on Jean de la Chapelle's <i>Les carrosses d'Orléans</i> (1680)	LS III.i.59.
<i>Father Girard the Sorcerer</i>	Anonymous	2 February 1732 Goodman's Fields	Bougeant's <i>Arlequin esprit follet</i> (1732)?	LS III.i.187. Bougeant's piece is a possibility, but Thomas Lockwood (editor of Fielding, <i>Plays</i> (Oxford: Clarendon, 2004–2011), volume 2, 292) says that this opera and <i>The Wanton Jesuit</i> only pretend to have been taken from a banned play.
<i>The Wanton Jesuit; or, Innocence Seduced</i>	Anonymous	17 March 1732 Little Haymarket	Bougeant's <i>Arlequin esprit follet</i> (1732)?	LS III.i.198. See notes for <i>Father Girard</i> above. Advertisement in <i>Daily Post</i> , 17 March 1732, issue 3900: 'This Opera, relating to the Affair of Father Girard with Miss Cadere, &c. is entirely new, being a faithful Translation from the French Original, as it was forbid in Paris.'
<i>A Comical Revenge; or, A Doctor in Spight of his Teeth</i>	Adam Hallam?	2 May 1732 Drury Lane	Based on Centlivre's <i>Love's Contrivances</i> (1703), which was itself based on Molière's <i>Le médecin malgré lui</i> (1666)	LS III.i.213. Unpublished. Lost?

Table 3 *continued*

Title	Author	First performance and venue	Source	Notes <sup>a</sup>
<i>The Mock Doctor; or, The Dumb Lady Cur'd</i>	Henry Fielding	23 June 1732 Drury Lane	Molière's <i>Le médecin malgré lui</i>	LS III.i.224.
<i>The Envious Statesman; or, The Fall of Essex . . . With the Humours of the Forc'd Physician</i>	Anonymous	16 August 1732 Bartholomew Fair	Molière's <i>Le médecin malgré lui?</i>	LS III.i.226. The <i>LS</i> has 'The Envious Statesman; or, The Forc'd Physician'. Unpublished. Lost?
<i>The Imaginary Cuckolds</i>	Anonymous	19 April 1733 Drury Lane	Unknown. Possibly Molière's <i>Le cocu imaginaire</i> (1660)	LS III.i.286. Never printed. Lost? We have only newspaper advertisements touting 'Taken from MOLIERE'.
<i>Cure for Covetousness; or, The Cheats of Scapin</i>	Anonymous	23 August 1733 Bartholomew Fair	Molière's <i>Les fourberies de Scapin</i> (1671)	LS III.i.312.
<i>Timon in Love; or, the Innocent Theft</i>	James Ralph <sup>b</sup>	5 December 1733 Drury Lane	Delisle's <i>Timon le misanthrope</i>	LS III.i.344.
<i>The Whim; or, The Miser's Retreat</i>	Anonymous	1734? Goodman's Fields	Dancourt's <i>La maison de compagne</i> (1688)	Not listed in <i>LS</i> . Possibly adapted by William Penkethman for his fair booth.
<i>The Intriguing Chambermaid</i>	Fielding	15 January 1734 Drury Lane	Regnard's <i>Le retour imprévu</i> (1700)	LS III.i.358.
<i>The Devil upon Two Sticks; or, The Country Beau</i>	Charles Coffey	Unperformed?	Lesage's <i>Le diable boiteux</i> (1707)	Not in <i>LS</i> . Unperformed? Published by G. Spavan in 1745.
<i>The Picture; or, The Sick Lady's Cure</i>	James Miller	11 February 1745 Drury Lane	Molière's <i>Le cocu imaginaire</i>	LS III.ii.1151. Published and often advertised with a differing subtitle: <i>The Cuckold in Conceit</i> . Music arranged by Thomas Arne.
<i>The Gentleman Gardiner</i>	James Wilder	29 March 1749 Covent Garden	Dancourt's <i>Le galant jardinier</i> (1704)	LS IV.i.106.

<sup>a</sup> Each entry includes a citation from *The London Stage* calendar [*LS*] (part, volume and page number). See *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces*, part 2: 1700–1729, two volumes, ed. with a critical introduction by Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), and the revision of part 2 by Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous, archived online at Hume's personal website: <[www.personal.psu.edu/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/preface.pdf](http://www.personal.psu.edu/hb1/London%20Stage%202001/preface.pdf)> (26 March 2013).

<sup>b</sup> Misattributed to John Kelly in numerous sources, despite eighteenth-century attributions to Ralph (probably because of Benjamin Victor's attribution in the influential *History of the Theatres of London and Dublin* (London: Printed for T. Davies, 1761), volume 2, 113). But see the contract between Ralph and publisher John Watts transcribed in 'Fly Leaves' (signed 'Eu. Hood') in *The Gentleman's Magazine* 94/1 (1824), 223.





Done from the French of MOLIERE, and intermix'd with Variety of Songs to old Ballad Tunes and Country-Dances. . . . All the Characters to be entirely new dress'd With several Entertainments of Dancing between the Acts, by Mons. D'Ferrou Ville, lately arriv'd from Paris . . . N. B. An Extraordinary Band of MUSICK is provided, to entertain the Audience, of Violins, Hautboys, Bassoons, Kettledrums and Trumpets . . . And further, to engage the Company before the Opera begins, the famous PHILLIPS [the English harlequin] performs on the Stage his surprising Postures.<sup>89</sup>

There may be many further scenes, characters and translations from the French that will become more visible with further study of the genre of ballad opera.

#### 'THE FRENCH HAVE BORROWED FROM US': A RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP

At first, French spectators were not much impressed with *The Beggar's Opera*. A letter from a contemporary French traveller in London gives an account of a performance:

They also performed a kind of comic opera, called the Beggar's Opera, because it is about a band of highwaymen with their Captain; there were only two good actors, and a girl called Fenton who was quite pretty. The orchestra is as bad as the other [at Drury Lane]. It is all ballads with worthless music.<sup>90</sup>

Perhaps the appearance of prostitutes on stage was thought immodest. César de Saussure, who attended a performance in 1728, seemed to have been shocked by the vulgar ladies depicted in the opera. His view of the opera is significant because he uses the word 'vaudevilles' to describe the songs that were performed; this shows that the musical format of *The Beggar's Opera* was recognizable to him:

C'est une espèce de farce, les décorations représentent une prison et des maisons de débauche; les acteurs sont des voleurs de grand chemin et des libertins fieffés, les actrices sont des catins. Je vous laisse à penser ce qui peut sortir du cœur et de l'esprit de gens de cet ordre. La pièce est remplie de vaudevilles très jolis mais trop libres pour être chantés devant des dames qui ont de la pudeur et de la modestie.<sup>91</sup>

It is a kind of farce; the decorations represent a prison and brothels, the actors are highwaymen and errant libertines, and the actresses are whores. I leave you to imagine what can come out of the hearts and minds of people of that order. The piece is filled with very pretty *vaudevilles*, but they are far too debauched to be sung to ladies who have any decency and modesty.

Despite ambivalent feelings about the English in France, the Paris fair theatres presented an increasing number of adaptations of English works in the first half of the eighteenth century, including plays by Vanbrugh, Behn, Centlivre, Pope, Gay, Lillo, Cibber and Addison, and later Garrick and Sheridan.<sup>92</sup> An announced visit to Paris by the Drury Lane troupe in summer 1720 appears to have been cancelled, but

89 *Daily Post*, 22 August 1732. It is not known what might have been 'surprising' about Phillips's postures; probably they were acrobatics or contortions.

90 Translated from the fifth letter of 'Voyage d'Angleterre' by Pierre-Jacques Fougereux in Gerald Coke's Handel Collection (now housed in the Foundling Museum in London). Part of the letter is included as an Appendix to Donald Burrows, *Handel (The Master Musicians)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 603.

91 Quoted in Sybil Goulding, 'Eighteenth-Century French Taste and "The Beggar's Opera"', *Modern Language Review* 24/3 (1929), 278. My translation.

92 See Charles Alfred Rochedieu, *Bibliography of French Translations of English Works 1700–1800* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948).



Phillips, the English harlequin, found success (along with his wife and the dancer Baxter) in the Parisian Théâtres de la Foire, performing in opéra comique in the 1730s; one show he presented in Paris in August of 1737 was even entitled (in English) ‘a new entertainment of dancing and singing’, in the same way it might have been advertised in the London playhouses.<sup>93</sup> Henry (Henri) Delamain (fl.1733–1755?), a dancer and choreographer for London theatres, also found employment at the fairs between 1738 and 1739 with his ‘Troupe des Sauteurs & Danseurs Anglais de Delamain’.<sup>94</sup>

As France became more interested in English drama and literature, *The Beggar’s Opera* was found to fit the requirements of Anglophile and *philosophe* critics.<sup>95</sup> The opera was translated into French (as *L’opéra du gueux*) by Adam Hallam for performances at London’s Little Haymarket in February 1749 and was a success, although it was given (astonishingly) by English performers.<sup>96</sup> This unusual production can perhaps be added to the list of eighteenth-century novelty versions of *The Beggar’s Opera* (along with the cross-dressing version and the ‘Lilliputian’ productions done by child actors). Hallam’s French version might have been politically motivated (the War of Austrian Succession had ended the year before, and France and England were still involved in political wrangling on the Indian subcontinent in 1749), or it might be an indicator of increasing interest in French literary and dramatic material. When Hallam tried to take the piece to Paris, however, it was apparently banned.<sup>97</sup> Forty years later, the *General Evening Post* printed their account of Hallam’s failure:

Hallam was a performer of some reputation, who belonged to Covent Garden Theatre, and a man of education and talents. When he had finished his translation, he took it to Paris, in hopes of bringing it upon the French stage. The French Managers agreed to have it represented, provided the Translator would alter the catastrophe [conclusion], and, according to his deserts, let the hero *be hanged*. Hallam, however, would not suffer the work of an admired English Poet to undergo any change, but that of a mere translation, and therefore brought it back with the indignation of patriotic pride.<sup>98</sup>

Sybil Goulding has found that Hallam’s French adaptation of *The Beggar’s Opera* was even more off-colour than the original (a more likely reason for its failure in Paris).<sup>99</sup> Antoine Yart’s 1753 translation (in his *Idée de la poésie angloise*), on the other hand, cut out any moral improprieties, as did Claude-Pierre Patu’s 1756

93 According to Rosenfeld, *The Ludlow Post-Man; or, The Weekly Journal* (4 March 1720) printed the rumour that Drury Lane troupe would go to Paris ‘during their Vacation next Summer’ (Rosenfeld, *Foreign Theatrical Companies*, 9). For information on Baxter see Campardon, *Les spectacles de la foire*, volume 2, 230. William Phillips (1699–c1775), dancer, actor, acrobat, musician, manager, possibly Welsh, toured the United Kingdom and Paris and ran booths at the London fairs in the summer. His wife played many roles in ballad operas in Dublin and at Goodman’s Fields in London, including Nell in *The Devil to Pay* and Polly in *The Beggar’s Opera*. Phillips was most famous in England for a dance called ‘The Drunken Peasant’. See *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*, volume 11 (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987), 293–299.

94 Campardon, *Les spectacles de la foire*, volume 1, 226–227.

95 According to Goulding, ‘Eighteenth-Century French Taste’, 286, they liked the ‘pensées philosophiques’ in both *The Beggar’s Opera* and *Polly*. This corresponded with an increasing critical reception for Shakespeare in France, beginning with Voltaire’s *Les lettres philosophiques* (1733–1734). See chapter 3 of Green, *Literary Ideas*, for Voltaire’s opinions, and chapter 4 for a history of Shakespeare in the French dramatic tradition. Riccoboni and abbé Le Blanc also promoted Shakespeare, and abbé Prévost promoted English culture in his novels; see Robert J. Frail, *A Singular Duality: Literary Relations between France and England in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: AMS Press, 2007).

96 *General Advertiser*, 29 April 1749.

97 Goulding, ‘Eighteenth-Century French Taste’, 286. I have found no evidence of a performance of this piece in France.

98 *General Evening Post*, 26–28 August 1800. Many thanks to Harriet Tait for pointing me towards this account.

99 See Goulding, ‘Eighteenth-Century French Taste’.



version.<sup>100</sup> The final eighteenth-century attempt at translating *The Beggar's Opera* into French was a 1767 rendering by Mme De Kéralio for her *Nouveau théâtre anglois*. Only one other ballad opera made its way to Paris: Charles Coffey's *The Devil to Pay* (1732) was translated into French and later partially set by Gluck (1759), to great success.<sup>101</sup>

The airs Gay used in *The Beggar's Opera* were the most frequently employed tunes for later ballad-opera authors, and the (originally) French airs were no exception. 'Fill ev'ry Glass' (Air 19) appeared in a later anonymous ballad opera, *The Downfall of Bribery* (1733). Charles Coffey used 'Youth's the Season' (Air 22) in his *The Devil Upon Two Sticks; or The Country Beau* (1745) for an air which makes fun of the French, and it appears with its French indication, 'Cotillon', in a further four ballad operas.<sup>102</sup> Air 63 ('Folies d'Espagne') circulated most widely under its English names, 'Joy to Great Caesar' or 'State and Ambition', and appeared in five later ballad operas.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, Gay's unusual musical choices for *Polly* and *Achilles* never took hold, and the French airs found in these two operas never recurred in later ballad operas.<sup>104</sup>

If the music in *Polly* escaped the notice of Gay's contemporaries and imitators, why would we today find importance in the appearance of French *vaudevilles* in his English ballad operas? First, this information – that he knew the French fair repertory and its music – enhances our existing knowledge of Gay, and it can perhaps change our perception of the music in the new genre he invented. Roger Fiske found Gay's art-music choices to be greatly 'unexpected',<sup>105</sup> probably because they counter the modern notion that music in ballad opera is made up of 'traditional' English ballad-type tunes. Calhoun Winton was convinced that Gay was possessed of 'a musical sophistication much greater than he has generally been given credit for', and this assessment is certainly correct.<sup>106</sup> Not only did Gay have a wide knowledge of common tunes, he also knew Corelli's output quite well, using several of the melodies of the celebrated master in *Polly*.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, two of Gay's borrowings from Handel, Fiske has found, were based on minuets in the *Water Music*, which Handel had not yet officially published at the time of *Polly*'s appearance.<sup>108</sup> From its inception, then, ballad opera was certainly not made up of 'traditional' music, nor was it exclusively English

100 *Choix de petites pièces du théâtre anglais*, two volumes (London and Paris: Prault fils, 1756). Gay's comic play *The What D'Ye Call It* was translated as *Comment l'appellez-vous?* (1756) in the same volume; it was performed in the early part of the century in the Paris fair theatres. Goulding, 'Eighteenth-Century French Taste', 292, said that the 'sheer dullness' of Patu's translation killed further interest in *The Beggar's Opera* in France.

101 Bertil van Boer has outlined how *The Devil to Pay*'s subsequent translation into German began the new genre of singspiel in 'Coffey's *The Devil to Pay*, the Comic War, and the Emergence of the German Singspiel', in *The Journal of Musicological Research* 8/1–2 (1988), 119–139.

102 It first appeared in *The Beggar's Opera*, as mentioned above, as well as *The Court Legacy* (1733) (and the version renamed as *The Ladies of the Palace*, 1735), *The Oxford Act* (1733) and *Court and Country* (1743), all anonymous operas.

103 Cibber's *Chuck; or, The School-Boy's Opera* (1729), Aston's *The Restauration of King Charles II* (1732), Edward Phillips's *The Stage-Mutineers* (1733) and its adaptation for Dublin by George Stayley, *The Rival Theatres* (1737).

104 *Polly* (with seventy-one airs) has more music than *The Beggar's Opera*; it was unfortunate that it was never performed in Gay's lifetime, as its musical influence might have been as great as that of *The Beggar's Opera*.

105 Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, second edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 113–114. It is true that relatively few French tunes appear in ballad operas, especially in comparison to the number of Italian selections; if more exist, they are currently unidentified. Many ballads are set with generic identifications such as 'A French Tune' or a 'French Air' (or even a 'French Minuet'), or circulate under their English names (like 'Fill Ev'ry Glass').

106 Winton, *John Gay*, xv, 160.

107 Gay used two airs from Corelli's *concerti grossi* Op. 6 Nos 9 and 10, and two airs from the trio sonatas Op. 4 No. 5 and Op. 2 No. 5 (Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 113).

108 The minuets were published only in 'inaccurate' (probably pirated) song-arrangement versions at this point (Fiske, *English Theatre Music*, 111). The titles do attribute the music to Handel, but do not mention the *Water Music*; the music is described as 'A Favourite Minuet of Mr Handell's' or 'a celebrated minuet of Mr Handell's'. Winton (*John Gay*, xiv) writes that the musical choices in *Polly* and *Achilles* 'may also be seen as Gay's attempts to extend the scope – and the musical sophistication – of the form' rather than representing failed copies of *The Beggar's Opera*.



in its borrowings. And although many later writers of ballad operas did mainly use common airs for their musical appropriations, Gay – who created the genre – often did not.

The music of *Polly* serves as the most convincing evidence to date that Gay knew the music of the *comédies en vaudevilles*. In addition, the contents of Fielding's library and Ralph's deliberate use of a new *vaudeville* tune in *The Fashionable Lady* show that Gay was not the only ballad-opera author who may have derived inspiration from this French genre.<sup>109</sup> Clearly, French travelling troupes and theatrical works written for the *foires* provided useful sources for London playwrights in the early eighteenth century.

By the time that ballad opera appeared in 1728 there had been a long-standing custom of translation and cross-fertilization in the London theatre. Gay's ballad operas showed how French practices might be suitably appropriated for London audiences. His breadth of musical and theatrical knowledge, including his awareness of the *Théâtres de la Foire*, helped to make his ballad operas more sophisticated and richly layered than works by most of his imitators. Fielding shared Gay's particular talents, and the two led the genre of ballad opera (and London's theatrical world) in the 1730s because they were among the most versatile and educated in theatrical, literary and musical traditions. As most would-be ballad-opera authors soon found, it would not be enough simply to imitate the characteristics of a successful work (*The Beggar's Opera*) or interpolate popular tunes into plays. A successful writer for the stage had to have some awareness of music and musical conventions and be able to set verses, he had to be an able translator, knowledgeable about dramatic traditions (both foreign and English), and he had to be acquainted with widely different theatrical genres (tragedy, pantomime, Italian opera and others). Furthermore, composers like Carey, Galliard and Handel were among the most successful composers in Britain because they were adept at tailoring the best aspects of foreign music to English tastes. This is akin to the way that Fielding (and other dramatic playwrights) brought the best of their French counterparts into the English dramatic tradition.

The relationship between the two countries was not just a matter of one-way influence, but instead involved a reciprocal exchange of ideas. The appropriation of French musical and dramatic practices in Restoration-era England mentioned earlier was only the beginning of a give-and-take relationship between the two nations at the dawn of the eighteenth century. We have already seen that dancers appeared in front of both French and English audiences (Delamain's troupe, the Alards, the Sallés, Sorin and Baxter), and that Dieupart and Gillier's songs ended up in ballad operas, and consequently became part of English 'traditional' song culture. Similarly, French fair theatres staged English works and hired English performers, and the full story of these practices remains to be told.<sup>110</sup>

All of this occurred in spite of wars between the two nations and, even when they were supposedly political allies, old prejudices. Significantly, despite the deep distrust of foreigners that is explicit in newspapers, pamphlets and other sources, we can see that French participation and influence in London theatres in the early eighteenth century was far greater than has yet been realized. Ballad-opera authors may have mocked the French, and anglicized their music and farces, but they were still looking to France for creative inspiration and cultural cues. These ties must be investigated further so that we can more fully understand the development of British musical theatre in the early eighteenth century.

109 The popular ballad-opera author William Rufus Chetwood, who noted the reciprocal relationship between French and English authors in his *General History of the Stage*, was also a printer who published pieces by Gherardi and Regnard. In addition, he was a prompter in the London theatres during the years when the French troupes were regular visitors. See Vanessa L. Rogers, 'Chetwood, William Rufus', in *The Encyclopedia of British Literature 1660–1789* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), ed. Jack Lynch and Gary Day, <[www.literatureencyclopedia.com](http://www.literatureencyclopedia.com)> (forthcoming).

110 A start has been made by Victor Leathers, in *British Entertainers in France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); see chapters 2 and 3 (8–25). Leathers makes special note of the year 1745, when a roster of British entertainers substituted for the performers of the *Opéra-Comique*. I suspect that a fuller investigation of English characters and situations on French fair stages would prove fruitful to scholars wishing to clarify the dramatic interchange between these two countries as well. A cursory search on the *CESAR* database shows the appearance in Paris of pieces entitled *L'Anglais à la Foire* (no date), *Le Français à Londres* (1727), *Le Ballet anglais* (1723), 'scènes anglaises' from *La Tempête* (no date), 'La Spectacle de la troupe anglaise de Delamain' in 1738, and several other productions of similar interest to historians of English theatre and dance.



## APPENDIX

*French fair-theatre pieces and plays in French in London*<sup>a</sup>

Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
LA FOIRE DE ST GERMAIN	Jean-François Regnard and Charles Dufresny / adapted by Evaristo Gherardi	7 November 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.513. It is unknown if this performance was in French. Burling notes that this play was translated into English by John Ozell for publication and cites a newspaper notice stating that the play 'is preparing to be Acted in English'.
LA FAUSSE COQUETTE	Louis Biancolelli	14 November 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.514. Nicoll (volume 2, page 404; henceforth 2: 404) attributes the play to de Barante. The present attribution is from Lancaster (5: 181). A French edition was published in Paris in 1718 under the title <i>La coquette et la fausse prude</i> .
LE MAITRE EDOURDI; ou, Les Fourberies d'Arlequin	Anonymous	21 November 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.515. The relationship of this play to <i>Les fourberies d'Arlequin; ou, L'Etourdy</i> (14 February 1721, Little Haymarket) is unknown.
LE TOMBEAU DE MAITRE ANDRE	Biancolelli	21 November 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.515. Attribution from Lancaster 5: 191.
LA BAGUETTE DE VULCAIN	Regnard and Dufresny	28 November 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.517. The relationship of this play to <i>L'Arlequin chevalier errant; ou, La baguette de Vulcain</i> (7 February 1721, Little Haymarket) is not known.
ARLEQUIN LARON, JUGE ET GRAND PREVOST	Louis Fuzelier	28 November 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.517. The relationship of this play to <i>Arlequin Prevost</i> (21 December 1724, Little Haymarket) is unknown. Attribution from Brenner (144).
COLOMBINE AVOCAT, POUR ET CONTRE	Nolant de Fatouville	3 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.518.

a Information compiled (and updated/corrected) from William J. Burling, *New Plays on the London Stage, 1700–1810* database (2006), archived at <<http://es.convdocs.org/docs/index-18448.html>> (14 August 2013), Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900*, revised edition, six volumes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952–1959), Henry Carrington Lancaster, *A History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*, five parts in nine volumes (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1929–1942), Clarence D. Brenner, *A Bibliographical List of Plays in the French Language 1700–1789* (Berkeley, 1947) and the CESAR database <[cesar.org.uk](http://cesar.org.uk)>.

b Titles as spelled in *The London Stage, 1660–1800: A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces*, part 2: 1700–1729, two volumes, ed. with a critical introduction by Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960). Any deviations are noted in individual entries. It should be observed that London newspapers omitted diacritical marks and spelled play titles in varying ways. In addition, the titles are usually given in all capital letters in the *London Stage* (since they often appear this way in eighteenth-century newspapers). Finally, despite the attempt to include all pieces performed in French by the travelling troupes, it is possible that some were missed as occasionally titles were advertised in English.

c Each entry includes a citation from part 2 of *The London Stage [LS]* calendar (part, volume, and page number). Since many of these plays were not printed in England, it is difficult to determine the relationship between pieces with similar titles, or to make attributions.



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
LES DEUX ARLEQUINS	Eustache le Noble	10 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.519.
COLOMBINE FILLE SCAVANTE; ou, <i>La Fille Capitaine</i>	Anonymous	17 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.520. The relationship of this play to Montfluery's <i>La fille capitaine</i> (26 April 1720, King's) and <i>Colombine Fille Savante, et Marinete Captain d'Infanterie</i> (14 April 1726, Little Haymarket) is unknown.
LES CHINOIS; ou, <i>Arlequin Major Ridicule</i>	Anonymous	19 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.520. The relationship of this play to <i>Arlequin major ridicule</i> (19 January 1721, Little Haymarket) is unknown.
LE RETOUR DE LA FOIRE [de Bezons]	Gherardi	19 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.520. The relationship of this play to <i>L'Arlequin nouvelliste; ou, Le retour de la Bezons</i> (9 February 1721, Little Haymarket) is unknown.
HARLEQUIN L'HOMME A BONNE FORTUNE	Regnard	26 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.521. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 176).
LE DIVORCE; ou, <i>Arlequin Fourbe et Demi</i>	Regnard	30 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.521. Attribution from Nicoll (2: 404).
Carillon	Anonymous	30 December 1718 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.521 does not indicate that this is a play, instead designating it as entr'acte material.
LE PARISIEN DUPE DANS LONDRES; ou, <i>La Fille A La Mode</i>	Anonymous	1 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.522.
LES PASQUINADES ITALIENNES; ou, <i>Arlequin Medecin de Moeurs</i>	Anonymous	6 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.522.
LES FILLES ERRANTES	Gherardi	8 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.523. Nicoll (2: 405) notes that Regnard has a play by the same title but that the playbills specifically state that this play is by 'Guerardy': in other words, Gherardi.
ARLEQUIN ESPRIT FOLET	Marc-Antonio Romagnesi?	8 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.523. The relationship of this play to <i>L'esprit folet</i> (17 May 1720, King's) is unknown. Probably Romagnesi's <i>Arlequin esprit follet</i> .
ARLEQUIN JOUET DE LA FORTUNE	Vivières de Saint Bon	8 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.524. Omitted by Burling. Attribution by Nicoll (2: 402).
ARLEQUIN THE FRENCH LAWYER; ou, [G]rapigniant	Anonymous	20 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.524. The Fitzwilliam Museum has an image entitled 'Arlequin grapigniant' (24.K.12-168).



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
LES BAINS DE LA PORTE ST. BERNARD; <i>ou, Arlequin poisson</i>	Germain Bois-Franc	22 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.524.
GEORGE DANDIN; <i>or, The Wanton Wife</i>	Molière	27 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.525.
LE BARON DE LA CRASSE	Raymond Poisson	27 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.525.
PIEROT MAITRE VALET ET L'OPERA DE CAMPAGNE; <i>ou, La Critique de l'opera de Paris</i>	Anonymous	29 January 1719 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.525. The relationship of this play to Fuzelier's <i>L'Opera de Campagne</i> (21 February 1721, Little Haymarket) is unknown.
LE PRECAUTION INUTILE	Fatouville?	14 February 1719 King's	LS II.ii.528 attributes the play to Gallet, but this is incorrect.
ARLEQUIN BALOURD; <i>or, Harlequin a Blunderer</i>	'D. M. P.': in other words, Michael Coltelli (known as Procopé-Couteaux)	16 February 1719 King's	LS II.ii.528. For the attribution see LS for 19 February 1719.
ARLEQUIN MISANTROPE; <i>or, Harlequin a Man-Hater</i>	Biancolelli?	3 March 1719 King's	LS II.ii.530 lists de Barante as the author, but Lancaster (5: 176) ascribes the play to Biancolelli.
ARLEQUIN EMPEREUR DANS LA LUNE; <i>or, Harlequin Emperor in the Moon</i>	Fatouville	7 March 1719 King's	LS II.ii.531. Nicoll (2: 402) quotes Boulmier's statement that this play is an 'ancienne pièce avec de nouvelles scènes par Remy et Chaillot'. It is more probably an adaptation of Aphra Behn's <i>Emperor of the Moon</i> (1687?).
SCARAMOUCHE PEDANT SCRUPULEUX; <i>ou, l'Escolier</i>	Fuzelier	14 March 1719 King's	LS II.ii.532. Attribution from Brenner (216). The relationship of this play to <i>Les amours de Colombine et de Scaramouche, pedant scrupuleux, et Pierot escolier</i> (29 March 1725, Little Haymarket) is unknown.
LES FOLIES AMOUREUSES	Regnard	14 March 1719 King's	LS II.ii.532.
LE DRAGON DE MOSCOVIE	Anonymous	16 March 1719 King's	LS II.ii.532.
ARLEQUIN PRINCE PAR MAGIE	Anonymous	17 March 1719 King's	LS II.ii.532.
L'ENFANT PRODIGE; <i>or, The Prodigal Son</i>	Jean-Antoine du Cerceau?	19 March 1719 King's	LS II.ii.532.



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
HARLEQUIN AND SCARAMOUCHE DESERTERS [ <i>Arlequin et Scaramouch soldats deserteurs</i> ]	Fuzelier	8 March 1720 King's	LS II.ii.571.
THE REASONABLE ANIMALS [ <i>Les animaux raisonnables</i> ]	M. A. Le Grand and Fuzelier	17 March 1720 King's	LS II.ii.573.
HARLEQUIN A SHAM ASTROLOGER, A PARROT, A CHILD, A STATUE, AND A CHIMNEY SWEEPER [ <i>Arlequin feint astrologer, statue, enfant, ramoneur, negre</i> ]	Delisle	26 March 1720 King's	LS II.ii.574. The relationship of this play to <i>Arlequin statue, enfant et peroquet</i> (16 April 1725, Little Haymarket) is not known.
THE SCHOOL OF LOVERS [ <i>L'Ecole des amans</i> ]	Lesage and Fuzelier	4 April 1720 Lincoln's Inn Fields	LS II.ii.575.
ARLEQUIN GALERIEN; ou, <i>Le Port de Mer</i>	Nicolas Boindin	26 April 1720 King's	LS II.ii.577.
LA FILLE CAPITAINE	Antoine Jacob (Montfleury)	26 April 1720 King's	LS II.ii.577. The relationship of this play to <i>Colombine fille savante; ou, La fille Capitaine</i> (17 December 1718, Lincoln's Inn Fields) is not known.
LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME	Molière	29 April 1720 King's	LS II.ii.579. Some passages later incorporated into <i>Pierot Grand Vizier</i> (18 March 1725, Little Haymarket).
ATTENDEZ MOY SOUS L'ORME	Regnard	6 May 1720 King's	LS II.ii.580.
LE JOUEUR	Regnard	6 May 1720 King's	LS II.ii.580.
LE TOURDY [ <i>L'Étourdi</i> ]	Molière	9 May 1720 King's	LS II.ii.580.
L'ESPRIT FOLET	Antoine Le Métel D'Ouville?	17 May 1720 King's	LS II.ii.582. Tentative attribution from Lancaster (5: 181). The relationship of this play to <i>Arlequin esprit folet</i> (8 January 1719, Lincoln's Inn Fields) is not known.
LA SERENADE	Regnard?	20 May 1720 King's	LS II.ii.583.
ARLEQUIN DOCTEUR CHINOIS	Anonymous	9 June 1720 King's	LS II.ii.586.
LA MALADE IMAGINERE [ <i>sic</i> ]	Molière	13 June 1720 King's	LS II.ii.586.





Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
<i>LE CARILLON</i> [ <i>de maître gervaise</i> ]	Anonymous	16 June 1720 King's	LS II.ii.587. The relationship of this play to <i>L'Arlequin dame Alison; ou, Le carillon</i> (3 February 1721, Little Haymarket) is unknown. See also 'Carillon', above.
<i>LES HAUBERGES</i> <i>D'ARLEQUIN</i>	Anonymous	20 June 1720 King's	LS II.ii.587.
<i>LES ADIEUX</i> <i>D'ARLEQUIN,</i> <i>PIERROT ET</i> <i>COLOMBINE</i>	Anonymous	21 June 1720 King's	LS II.ii.587.
<i>LA FILLE A LA MODE;</i> <i>ou, Le Badaut de Paris</i>	Nicolas Barbier?	29 December 1720 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.606. Attribution is speculation from Brenner (30).
<i>LE MARIAGE FORCE</i>	Molière	5 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.607.
<i>PASQUIN ET</i> <i>MARFORIO</i>	Dufresny and Claude-Ignace Brugière de Barante	6 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.607. Attributions from Nicoll (2: 406).
<i>THE COCU BATTU &amp;</i> <i>CONTENT</i>	Poisson	6 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii. Attribution from Nicoll (2: 403).
<i>L'ECOLE DES JALOUX;</i> <i>or, The Fausse Turquoise</i>	Anonymous	12 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.608. This is not the same play of identical title by Montfluery (1664), according to Nicoll (2: 404).
<i>LE MARY RETROUVE</i>	Dancourt?	13 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.609. Probably Dancourt and Gillier's <i>Le Mari retrouvé</i> .
<i>LE DEUILS</i>	Noël Lebreton de Hauteroche or Pierre Corneille	17 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.609. Attribution is speculation from Nicoll (2: 403).
<i>LE MEDICIN MALGRE</i> <i>LUY</i>	Molière	19 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.610.
<i>ARLEQUIN MAJOR</i> <i>RIDICULE</i>	Anonymous	19 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.610. Unclear relationships to <i>Arlequin chasseur major ridicule et doctor Chinois</i> (1 March 1725, Little Haymarket), and <i>Les Chinois, ou, Arlequin major ridicule</i> (19 December 1718, Lincoln's Inn Fields).
<i>LE HEUREUX</i> <i>NAUFRAGE</i>	Barbier	23 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.610. Unclear relationship to <i>Arlequin cru Colombine et Colombine cru Arlequin; ou, L'heureux naufrage</i> (25 March 1721, Little Haymarket).
<i>LES VACANCES</i>	Dancourt?	26 January 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.611. Attribution is speculation from Lancaster (4: 797).



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
<i>LES ENCHANTEMENS D'ARLEQUIN &amp; D'ARLEQUINE DANSE COMIQUE</i>	Anonymous	2 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.613
<i>L'AVARE</i>	Molière	3 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.613.
<i>L'ARLEQUIN DAME ALISON; ou, Le carillon</i>	Anonymous	3 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.613. Relationship of this play to <i>Le carillon de maître gervaise</i> (16 June 1720, King's) not known.
<i>LE LEGATOIRE UNIVERSAL</i>	Regnard	7 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.614. Attribution from Nicoll (2: 405) as confirmed by Lancaster (5: 185).
<i>L'ARLEQUIN NOUVELLISTE; ou, Le Retour de la Bezons</i>	Gherardi?	9 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.614. This relationship of this play to Gherardi's <i>Le Retour de la Foire de Bezons</i> (19 December 1718, Lincoln's Inn Fields) is not known.
<i>LES FOURBERIES D'ARLEQUIN; ou, L'Étourdye</i>	Anonymous	14 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.615. This play is apparently not the same as Molière's <i>L'Étourdi</i> . A Molière afterpiece appeared this same evening, and only it is advertised as being by Molière.
<i>L'OPERA DE COMPAGNE PRECEDE DU GRONDEUR</i>	Dufresny	21 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.616. This relationship of this play to <i>Pierot Maitre Valet et L'Opera de Campagne</i> (29 January 1719, Lincoln's Inn Fields) is not known. Attribution from Nicoll (2: 406).
<i>ARLEQUIN CRU COLOMBINE &amp; COLOMBINE CRU ARLEQUIN; ou, L'Heureux Naufrage</i>	Anonymous	25 February 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.617. The relationship of this play to <i>L'Heureux Naufrage</i> (23 January 1721, Little Haymarket) is unclear.
<i>LE COCU IMAGINAIRE</i>	Molière	2 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.618.
<i>LE FESTIN DE PIERRE; ou, L'Athee Foudraye; ou, Arlequin fait la Valet de Don Juan</i>	Adapted by Letellier	6 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.618. Attribution from Nicoll (2: 405).
<i>MONSIEUR GRIMAUDIN</i>	Anonymous	9 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.619. Nicoll gives the title as <i>Monsieur Guinaudin</i> (2: 406).
<i>DE L'ECOLE DES FEMMES</i>	Molière	13 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.619.
<i>LE PHENIX; ou, Arlequin Ambassadeur de Colombine Becha</i>	de Castera?	16 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.620. Attribution is speculation from Nicoll (2: 406).



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
<i>LES DEUX PIERROTS</i>	Biancolelli?	20 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.620.
<i>LES QUATRES ARLEQUINS</i>	Anonymous	20 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.620.
<i>ARLEQUIN PEROQUET</i>	Anonymous	23 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.621 misspells part of the title as 'Peroquet'.
<i>ARLEQUIN DIRECTEUR</i>	By 'Three young Ladies'	27 March 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.621 does not mark this play as new. For the attribution see the <i>Daily Courant</i> for 30 March 1721.
<i>LE THESE DES DAMES</i>	de Barante or Biancolelli	12 April 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.623. Nicoll (2: 407) suggests de Barante as the author; Lancaster (5: 191) attributes the play to Biancolelli.
<i>LES DISGRACES D'ARLEQUIN</i>	Anonymous	18 April 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.624.
<i>ARLEQUIN LIMONDIER</i>	Anonymous	18 April 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.624.
<i>POURCEAUGNAC</i>	Molière	20 April 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.625.
<i>LES AMANS TROMPES</i>	Anonymous	20 April 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.625.
<i>LA DAME INVISIBLE</i>	Anonymous	24 April 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.625. Burling thinks that this is either Noël Lebreton, sieur de Hauteroche or d'Ouille's <i>L'esprit follet</i> under a differing title.
<i>ARLEQUIN PROTEE</i>	Gherardi?	28 April 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.626.
<i>L'EMPEREUR DANS LA LUNE</i>	Anonymous	4 May 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.628. This play is a revision based on Aphra Behn's <i>Emperor of the Moon</i> (1687?) or a literal translation.
<i>DE LA CAVALCADE ESPAGNOLLES</i>	Anonymous	4 May 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.628.
<i>ARLEQUIN INVISIBLE CHEZ LE ROY DE LUCHINE [LA CHINE]</i>	Lesage	4 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.650.
<i>CRISPIN RIVAL DE SON MAITRE</i>	Lesage?	5 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.650. Attribution is speculation from Nicoll (2: 403) and Brenner (160).
<i>LES MENECHMES; ou, Les Jumeaux</i>	Jean Regnard	5 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.650.
<i>LES AMOURS DE VILLAGE</i>	Anonymous	7 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.651.
<i>AMPHITRYON; ou, Les Deux Sosies</i>	Molière	11 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.651.



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
<i>DEMOCRITE AMOUREUX</i>	Regnard	12 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.651. Attribution from Nicoll (2: 403).
<i>LES EAUX DE MERLIN</i>	Lesage	12 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS (II.ii.651) offers no attribution. Authorship is identified by Brenner (92).
<i>L'ECOLE DES MARIS</i>	Molière	14 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.652.
<i>L'AVOCAT PATELIN</i>	David-Augustin de Brueys	15 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.652.
<i>DON PASQUIN D'AVALOS</i>	Anonymous	18 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.653. Nicoll (2: 404) states that this piece is 'an <i>intermède</i> in Montfleury's <i>L'Ambigu comique, ou, les Amours de Didon et d'Enée</i> '.
<i>LA FEMME JUGE</i>	Montfleury	19 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.653. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 182).
<i>DON JAPHET D'ARMENIE</i>	Paul Scarron	21 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.653. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 180).
<i>LES VENDANGES DE SURESNE</i>	Dancourt	26 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.654.
<i>RHADAMYSTHE &amp; ZENOBIE</i>	P. J. Crébillon	28 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.654. Attribution is speculation from Nicoll (2: 406).
<i>ARLEQUIN A LA GUINGUETTE; ou, Les Amours de Village</i>	Simon-Joseph Pellegrin?	28 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.654. Unclear relationship to <i>Les Amours de Village</i> (7 December 1721, Little Haymarket) and <i>Arlequin Cuisinier à la Guinguette</i> (27 January 1725, Little Haymarket).
<i>LE MISANTHROPE</i>	Molière	29 December 1721 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.654.
<i>ANDROMAQUE</i>	Racine	4 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.656.
<i>LE COCHE A SUPPOSE</i>	Hauteroche	5 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.656. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 178).
<i>LES TROIS FRERES RIVEAUX</i>	Joseph de la Font	6 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.656. Attribution from Brenner (83).
<i>PHEDRA &amp; HIPPOLITE</i>	Racine?	8 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.657 attributes the play to Racine, but Nicoll (2: 406) credits it to Pradon.
<i>LES FUNERAILLES DE LA FOIRE &amp; SON RAPEL A LA VIE</i>	Lesage, Fuzelier, and d'Orneval	8 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.657. Attributions from Brenner (178).
<i>ARLEQUIN CARTOUCHE; ou, Les Voleurs</i>	A. F. Riccoboni	12 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.658.



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
<i>LE CID</i>	Pierre Corneille	15 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.658. In the following season (14 May 1723 at King's) Nicollo Haym and Handel's <i>Flavius</i> appeared, partly based on Corneille's <i>Le Cid</i> .
<i>L'USURIER GENTILHOMME</i>	Le Grand	15 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.658 lists the play as anonymous. Attribution from Brenner (90).
<i>L'ETE DES COQUETTES</i>	Dancourt	18 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.659. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 181).
<i>ASTRE AND THIESTE</i>	Jolyot de Crébillon (Crébillon père)	18 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.659.
<i>GRONDEUR</i>	Jean de Palaprat	19 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.659. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 183). But see also 21 February 1721 (Dufresny).
<i>LE MENTEUR</i>	Corneille	22 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.660.
<i>L'EPREUVE RECIPROQUE</i>	Lesage and Le Grand	22 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.660 misspells part of the title as 'Reciproque'.
<i>IPHIGENIE</i>	Racine	23 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.660.
<i>MITHRIDATE</i>	Racine	29 January 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.661.
<i>LES PRECIEUSES RIDICULES</i>	Molière	1 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.661.
<i>DE L'ESPRIT DE CONTRADICTION</i>	Dufresny	1 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.661. Later adapted by John Rich as <i>The Spirit of Contradiction</i> (6 March 1760, Covent Garden).
<i>BRITTANICUS</i>	Racine	5 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.662.
<i>LE TRAITANT DE FRANCE</i>	Anonymous	8 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.662.
<i>RODOGUNE</i>	Corneille	12 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.663.
<i>L'INGRAT</i>	Phillipe Destouches	17 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.664.
<i>CINNA; ou, La Clemence d'Auguste</i>	Corneille?	22 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.664.
<i>THE UNHAPPY FAVOURITE; ou, Le Comte d'Essex</i>	Unknown	26 February 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.665. Burling was unable to determine if this play is a simple translation into French of John Banks's <i>The Unhappy Favourite</i> (1681), a new adaptation or an original treatment of the material.



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
ARLEQUIN HULLA	Jean-Antoine Romagnezi	5 March 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.666. Nicoll (2: 402) states that this play is 'possibly <i>Arlequin Hulla ou la Femme répudiée</i> by Lesage and D'Orneval', but the notice in the <i>Daily Courant</i> names 'Romagnezi' as the author.
PIERROT LE FURIEUX	Fuzelier?	15 March 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.669 describes the play as anonymous, but this piece may well be <i>Pierrot furieux ou Pierrot Roland</i> by Fuzelier (Brenner, 72).
LA CEREMONIE TURQUE	Anonymous	26 March 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.669.
JALOUX DE SABUSE	Jean-Galbert de Campistron	29 March 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.670. Attribution of <i>Les Jaloux désabusé</i> from Lancaster (5: 184).
LES HORACES	Corneille	2 April 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.671.
LE CHEVALIER A LA MODE	Dancourt	5 April 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.671. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 178).
LE RETOUR [IMPREVU]	Regnard	5 April 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.671 misspells part of the title as 'Impreuvevu'; the <i>Daily Courant</i> has 'Impreueu'.
COLIN MAILLARD	Dancourt	9 April 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.672. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 178).
ALCIBIADE	Campistron	9 April 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.672.
OEDIPE	Voltaire	10 April 1722 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.672.
LES META-MORPHOSES D'ARLEQUIN	Anonymous	17 December 1724 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.800. 'An Italian Comedy'.
L'ISLE DES AMAZONES	Lesage and d'Orneval	17 December 1724 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.800. Attributions from Nicoll (2: 405).
LA BAGUETTE ENCHANTEE	Anonymous	18 December 1724 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.801.
ARLEQUIN PREVOST	Anonymous	21 December 1724 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.801.
LA PARODIE DU CID	Anonymous	21 December 1724 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.801.
ARLEQUIN PETIT MAITRE A BONNE FORTUNE	Gherardi?	1 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.802.
ARLEQUIN VALET ETOURDY	Procopé-Couteaux?	6 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.803. Probably <i>Arlequin valet étourdi</i> .



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
<i>LE COCU, BATU, CONTENT</i>	Poisson?	6 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.803. Probably <i>Le cocu battu et content</i> .
<i>ARLEQUIN GENTILHOMME PAR HAZARD</i>	Biancolelli?	7 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.803. Attribution is speculation from Brenner (35).
<i>LES DEUX OCTAVES</i>	Anonymous	11 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.804.
<i>ARLEQUIN GAZETIER COMIQUE D'HOLANDES</i>	Anonymous	13 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.804.
<i>LA BELLE ESCLAVE</i>	Claude de L'Estoile?	15 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.805. Attribution is speculation from Nicoll (2: 403).
<i>LES FACHEAUX</i>	Molière	18 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.805.
<i>LA GUIRLANDE ENCHANTEE</i>	Anonymous	20 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.806.
<i>ARLEQUIN &amp; OCTAVE, PERSECUTEZ PAR LES DAMES INCONUES</i>	Anonymous	25 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.807.
<i>ARLEQUIN CUISINIER DE LA GUINETTE</i>	Anonymous	27 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.807. Unclear relationship to <i>Arlequin à la Guinguette</i> (7 December 1721, Little Haymarket).
<i>LA FILLE SCAVANTE</i>	Fatouville	29 January 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.808. Attribution from Lancaster (5: 182). See also <i>Colombine Fille Scavante</i> (14 April 1726, Little Haymarket).
<i>ARLEQUIN VICONTE DE BERGAMOTTE, Prince de[s] Curieux</i>	Anonymous	3 February 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.808.
<i>COLOMBINE DOCTEUR AU DROIT [ENDROIT]</i>	Anonymous	3 February 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.808.
<i>LES VACANCES DES PROCUREURS</i>	Anonymous	8 February 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.809. See also 26 January 1721, Little Haymarket.
<i>LA FEMME DIABLESSE ET LES EPOUVANTES D'ARLEQUIN</i>	Anonymous	15 February 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.810.
<i>LE TABLEAU DU MARIAGE</i>	Lesage, Fuzelier and d'Orneval	15 February 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.810. Attribution from Brenner (92).
<i>PROTEE AVEC LA CRITIQUE DES COMEDIENS FRANCOIS</i>	Anonymous	23 February 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.811.



Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
<i>LES INTRIGUES D'ARLEQUIN</i>	Laurent Bordelon?	23 February 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.811. For attribution on speculation see Lancaster (4: 702–705).
<i>LE DEUIL COMIQUE</i>	Anonymous	1 March 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.812.
<i>ARLEQUIN DOCTEUR FAUSTUS</i>	Anonymous	8 March 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.812. 'Avec un Nouveau Ballet Comique & autres Danses par Mr Roger'. Benefit performance for Defonpre, the Harlequin.
<i>L'AUBERGE D'ARLEQUIN</i>	Anonymous	15 March 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.813.
<i>PIEROT GRAND VIZIER</i>	Anonymous	18 March 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.814. 'With The Turkish Ceremony of the Bourgeois Gentilhomme'.
<i>LES AMOURS DE COLOMBINE &amp; DE SCARAMOUCHE, PEDANT, SCRUPULEUX, &amp; PIEROT ECOLIER</i>	Anonymous	29 March 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.815 misspells the last part of the title as 'Escalier'. Unclear relationship to <i>Scaramouche Pedant Scrupuleux</i> (14 March 1719, King's).
<i>L'OMBRE D'ARLEQUIN</i>	Anonymous	29 March 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.815.
<i>LE DIABLE BOITTEUX</i>	Dancourt?	29 March 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.815.
<i>LES RENDEZVOUS INTERROMPUS; ou, Arlequin Docteur Domestique</i>	Anonymous	1 April 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.815.
<i>ARLEQUIN EMBASSADEUR D'AMOUR</i>	Anonymous	7 April 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.817.
<i>LES EPOUVANTES DE SCARAMOUCHE ET ARLEQUIN JUGE COMIQUE</i>	Anonymous	12 April 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.818.
<i>LA MATRONE D'EPHESE; ou, Arlequin Diane</i>	Fuzelier	16 April 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.819.
<i>LE DIVORCE DU MARIAGE</i>	Anonymous	21 April 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.820.
<i>ARLEQUIN FEMME GROSSE</i>	Anonymous	3 May 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.823.
<i>SCARAMOUCHE PERSECUTE PAR ARLEQUIN FAUX DIABLE</i>	Anonymous	3 May 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.823.





Title <sup>b</sup>	Author	First performance and venue	Notes <sup>c</sup>
ARLEQUIN NOUVEL-LISTE DES TUILERIES	Anonymous	10 May 1725 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.825.
LA FEMME VEANGE; ou, Le Triumpe d'Columbine & d'Arlequin Marquis Ridicule	Fatouville	28 March 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.861. Attribution of <i>La Femme Vengée</i> from Nicoll (2: 404).
LE DEUIL DE MAISTRE ANDRE	Anonymous	13 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.863.
COLOMBINE FILLE SCAVANTE & MARINE[R]E CAPITAIN D'INFANTERIE	Gherardi	14 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.863 differentiates spelling from the <i>Daily Courant</i> . Unclear relationship to <i>Colombine Fille Scavante</i> (17 December 1718, Lincoln's Inn Fields) and <i>La Fille Capitaine</i> (26 April 1720, King's).
ARLEQUIN COURIER DE BATAVIA	Anonymous	14 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.863.
OCTAVE ETOURDI	Anonymous	15 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.864.
ROY DE TRIPOLI & COLOMBINE DOCTEUR ENDROIT	Anonymous	20 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.865 does not distinguish this afterpiece (afterpieces?) as separate.
LES AVANTURES DE LA FOIRE ST. GERMAIN DE PARIS	Anonymous	22 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.865. Unclear relationship to <i>La Foire St. Germain de Paris</i> (7 November 1718, Lincoln's Inn Fields).
LA MORT DE LUCRESSE	Anonymous	22 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.865.
PIEROT ARLEQUIN	Anonymous	25 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.866.
ARLEQUIN DE CAPITE	Anonymous	27 April 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.866.
TIMON MISANTROPE	Delisle	11 May 1726 Little Haymarket	LS II.ii.871. Attribution from Nicoll (2: 407).