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Cover: An earthenware dish made by Johannes Neis in Pennsylvania in 1786, with its unrelated and somewhat vulgar inscription, is the earliest known picture of dancing in America. The arm positions of the two couples indicate that they may be dancing an “Allemand”, a couple dance of German origin which became popular in the last quarter of the century in ballrooms in Paris, London, and America. ©Philadelphia Museum of Art: Given by John T. Morris, and reproduced by permission.—Kate Van Winkle Keller
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Deciphering Musical Notations in Early Dance Music
by Marshall Barron

In reconstructing early English country dances, researchers are going back to the original sources. The challenges they encounter interpreting the dance directions are compounded by further problems in deciphering the musical notations. What

Mr. Deputy Numskull taking a Lesson at Mr. Clumsy's dancing school. Mr. Clumsy is demonstrating the preliminary foot placement for a minuet, while the newly-elected "Mr. Deputy Numskull" is physically forced into turnout — having never had dancing instruction in his youth and needing it in his new position. An engraving from the Town and Country Magazine, vol. 17 (London, 1785), p. 376.

- Kate Van Winkle Keller
does a backwards C mean at the beginning of a tune? How can the form be determined when no repeat signs are marked? Do the five sharps in the key signature really indicate the key of B major? What is the implication when the first flat (B♭) is located on the second line of the staff instead of on the third line, its normal position?

In a recent letter, Kate Keller defined the differences between manuscripts and printed sources, valuable information indeed for those doing research:

Most of the sources we are working with are printed sources. Playford’s works are almost all printed from moveable type, the Walsh books are engraved from hand-lettered plates—but the important distinction is that multiple copies were made and circulated. Manuscripts, on the other hand, exist in only one copy, made by a person alone—either copying from something else or creating it on the spot. They can only reflect current practices or document creative work. So manuscripts have a different “weight” in our assessment of the artifacts available for study of the period. To me it is a vital distinction and one that must be made carefully when discussing early music.

Unusual symbols and ambiguities present problems that are further compounded by faded photocopies and the wrinkles and blotches of age on the original music. One may well hesitate when reading from facsimiles where flags look like note-heads, while the noteheads look like ink blots.

![Broom: The bonny bonny Broom. Longways for eight.](image)

Sometimes an examination of similar musical patterns within the same tune may clarify the problem area. When possible, a comparison of the tune with a later or different edition can be illuminating.

I hope that these comments will prove useful to dance researchers and today’s dance musicians who are working to reconstruct the English country dances published between 1651 and 1728. My observations are based on close examination of early dance music in facsimile, specifically Playford’s English Dancing Master 1651 by Margaret Dean-Smith (London: Schott and Co. Ltd., 1957); The Dancing Master,

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published by John Playford, 1670 and 1699, London; Compleat Country Dancing-Master, (London: John Walsh, 1718 and 1719) (much of which was made available to me by Christine Helwig and Kate Van Winkle Keller); the informative introduction from The Complete Country Dance Tunes from Playford's Dancing Master (1651 – ca. 1728), edited by Jeremy Barlow (London: Faber Music Ltd., 1985); material derived from William Alan MacPherson's dissertation The Music of the English Country Dance 1651–1728 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilm, 1984); and in consultation with Grace Feldman, an authority on Renaissance and Baroque music. The symbols discussed here, and the examples given, are drawn from facsimiles of the Playford and Walsh editions mentioned above.

**Meter**

In essence, the meter—or time signature—indicates how many beats (or steps) are in a measure.

**Duple Meter**

C = "Common time" = 4/4 = four beats to a measure.

ζ = "Cut time" = 2/2 = two beats to a measure.

ζ indicates a faster tempo (speed) than ζ.

**Triple Meters**

3/4 and 3/8 = Three steps to a measure, as in a waltz or minuet. Note, however, that the waltz was non-existent before 1800, and to introduce the waltz step into a dance published before that date would be anachronistic and stylistically incorrect. Note also that the "minuet step" consists of six dance steps, going across two bars of music.

**MINUET. (Don Giovanni.)**

The time signature given for a minuet may be 3/4, 3/8, 6/4, or any one of the ambiguous symbols noted below (C, C, C3, 3i, 3j)

3/2 = Three steps to a measure, as in "Orleans Baffled." Known as the "hornpipe" in the Baroque era, it is characterized by mixed rhythms and syncopation.
The modern 6/8 = two steps to a measure, with an undercurrent of three little pulses inside each beat JJJ JJJ "higglety pigglety." The transcription of much early dance music, by Cecil Sharp and others, into 6/8 from the original 6/4 in no way changes the character or tempo of the music; it is simply a visual aid to the performing musician who can instantly see rhythmical groupings.

6/4 and 3/2 = The difference between 6/4 and 3/2 lies in the stressing of certain beats, stresses that are not notated. Six quarter notes in 3/2 will be stressed JJJ JJJ JJJ JJJ JJJ but the same six notes in 6/4 will be stressed JJJ JJJ JJJ. The ambiguity is eliminated when 6/4 is transcribed as 6/8, and those six notes are grouped thus: JJJ JJJ JJJ.

A further complexity to be aware of in triple and compound meters is the "hemiola," which often occurs in Baroque music. In the hemiola the accent shifts, so that a 6/8 measure is stressed like a 3/4 measure (JJJJJJ becomes JJJJJJ) or two measures in 3/4 or 3/2 are stressed across the barline into a broad triple pulse (JJJJJ or JJJJJJ). In "Orleans Baffled," the musical hemiola is mirrored in the dance pattern, where there are two steps only to each side of the hey.

(Slash marks indicate the beats in each measure = stress marks indicate where the accents fall in the hemiola.)

9/4 = the modern 9/8 as in the meter of Longfellow’s "Hiawatha": "This is the forest priméval, the murmuring pines and the hemlocks,—" as in "Sir Roger de Coverley." In 9/4 the problem of visual grouping can be greatly aggravated. Sometimes the only method to give a coherent reading of the tune, aside from transcribing it into 9/8, may be to pencil in slash marks on the stressed beats JJJ JJJ JJJ JJJ JJJ.

Ambiguous Symbols
C or C = May signify 3/4 or 6/4 (1651 into the 1700s).
C or C = Sometimes used for 6/4 (1670) or 3/4 (1690).
3i or 3j = 6/4 or 3/4 (1701).

Barlines
Whether a tune is in 3/4 or 6/4 might appear to be easily answered by a glance at the barlines, but in the 1651 edition of Playford’s English Dancing Master, the only
barline to be found in the tune serves the single function of indicating that the first
note is an upbeat.

Upon a Summers Day

Therefore, the meter is ultimately determined by the number of dance steps
needed to complete the dance figure, and that, in turn, is determined by the
historical accuracy of the reconstruction.

Form
Repeat signs may or may not be found in the music, and whether or not a section
is to be repeated can sometimes be deduced only from the dance directions.

Clef
One must look carefully to see where the clef is positioned, as in “The Bonny,
Bonny Broom.” When the lowest part of the symbol curls around the second line,
the clef is the familiar G clef or treble clef. But in Playford’s 1651 edition, the curl
designating G is often centered on the bottom line, indicating that the tune is to be
played a third higher than it looks. This “French violin clef” saved the printer from
dealing with ledger lines above the staff, but raised other problems in deciphering
the music. In some cases the question of a seemingly incorrect clef sign can be
resolved by a look at the accidentals: if the first sharp sign appears on the top line,
then the clef is the G or treble clef. If the sharp is on the line below the top line,
then the tune is notated in French violin clef (see “The Bonny, Bonny Broom”).
Similarly, if the first flat appears on the middle line, the clef is the G or treble clef.
If the flat appears on the second line from the bottom, then the clef is the French
violin clef (see “Upon a Summer’s Day”).

However, the solution is not always so obvious, as these two varying transcrip-
by Leslie Bridgewater in The English Dancing Master (Hugh Mellor and Leslie
Bridgewater, Dance Horizons, N.Y., reprinted from the 1933 edition) to read:

Jeremy Barlow’s transcription in The Complete Country Dance Tunes reads:

The difference between 6/8 and 6/4 is visual only. The differing clef interpretations,
however, make the two transcriptions different in key and mode. This creates a
dramatic shift in mood. The first version, in B♭ major, is brighter, and the second,
in D minor, is more wistful.
Which version is correct? The small # before the C, and the small 2+ above the staff in the second example are Barlow’s code indicating that from the second Playford edition on, the C was raised to C#. “The Gun” retitled “The Valiant Captain” appears in later Playford editions, giving evidence that Barlow’s version is indeed the correct one. But where did the confusion lie in the first place? A close look at the facsimile shows that little help will come from the flats, as the second one is simply misplaced. The clef seems to be curling around the second line . . . But no! A ledger line is floating in space above the level of the staff, and it now becomes obvious that the typesetter was a bit debonair about the positioning of the clef. There are many possibilities for error when interpreting both key and time signatures.

The Gun

Accidentals
Sharps (#) may appear as x’s as in “The Bonny, Bonny Broom” (or in some blurred photocopies as 18). Key signatures often have redundant accidentals. For instance, the two sharps may both be F#’s.

Broom : The bonny bonny Broom. Ely Minfter

Until about 1700, the natural sign (♮) was not used. Therefore, the sharp sign indicated that a note was to be raised a half step (as from E♭ to E♯) and the flat sign (b) indicated that a note was to be lowered a half step (as from C♯ to C♭).

The Friar and the Nun Longways for as many as will

In other words, accidentals were relative, not absolute.

Siege of Limerick.

Accidentals applied only to the note they preceded. A measure might contain the same accidental each time the same note was repeated.

Kemp’s Jigg

The corollary, of course, is that if a note is not preceded by an accidental, it remains as indicated in the key signature.
Other Symbols

\( \text{\textbullet} \) or \( \text{\textbullet} \) = a tie between notes of the same pitch, which thereby sound like a single note. See "Upon a Summer's Day;"

\( \text{\textbullet} \) = a slur, or smooth connection, between notes of a different pitch.

\[ \text{Spanish Jigg} \]

As a final comment on musical notation, typographical errors abound. Ledger lines above or below the staff may be omitted, leaving the noteheads floating in space. Phrases that should be identical have notes omitted or misplaced. Printers presumed a performer's musical literacy, and often omitted the obvious. For example, measures at the ends of sections may have too many or too few beats, when, for instance, the A section has an upbeat and B section has none. Accidentals, especially in minor keys, may not be indicated—skilled musicians knew when to use them. Certain ornaments, such as cadential trills, passing tones and appoggiaturas which are characteristic of Baroque music, may be intrinsic to the melody, but not notated. It cannot be said too strongly that familiarity with musical conventions of each period is essential to a knowledgeable performance of the tunes.

Having access to more than one edition is a tremendous advantage for research. Sometimes the slight change in a second version may smooth out an awkwardness or clarify an ambiguity. The comparison of different versions of a dance tune in different eras may reveal the conventions of the day in such varied musical aspects as rhythm, key and ornamentation. We may not be happy to see the beautiful old modal tunes "corrected," and thus, to our ears, made commonplace, but there is value in gaining insight into current musical tastes and performance practices.

Comparing the same tune in different contexts of the same period can be equally enlightening. English country dances can be found in Renaissance settings for the lute, complete with harmonies and inner rhythms; in works for the harpsichord, with the tune stated simply, and then with a profusion of ornamentation; in collections of tunes for the violin, the recorder, the viol and the musette. Often the tunes are identical with those in the publications of Playford, Walsh, and others.

In studying these tunes, one becomes increasingly aware of the network of music and musicians, crossing the boundaries of class and country, swapping tunes, stealing tunes, composing, elaborating upon, and cherishing tunes. A great richness of dance tunes and dances came into being in the 17th and 18th centuries, and it is wonderful to see some fine, vital dances re-emerging from forgotten pages and receiving a joyous response from today's dancers.
A Bibliography of Eighteenth Century American Social Dance

by Kate Van Winkle Keller

Those who see eighteenth century Americans through the dour eyes of the strict New England church leaders will be surprised to learn that the earliest dance source we have found was made in 1721 by Ebenezer Parkman, a clergyman from Boston! He played the fiddle and kept a pocket-size notebook in which he wrote Psalm tunes, songs of love and tunes from The Dancing Master like “The Beaux Delight.” Nine years later James Alexander, a middle-aged lawyer in New York, collected country dance figures in a small booklet held together by a long straight pin. His wife kept a drygoods shop and the fabric samples of her inventory are still bright, telling a vibrant tale of festive evening parties dancing “Christ Church Bells” and “Valentines Day” with her husband and their friends.

These are the first two entries in the bibliography that follows—a list of every book, pamphlet, broadside, periodical or manuscript published or made in America before 1801 containing specific dance figures. The bibliography is arranged chronologically, beginning with the earliest sources. Undoubtedly there are more sources to be located, and some we know about have not yet been located.

Over 80 percent of these sources date between 1790–1800, which has led some scholars to assume that Americans did not dance much before that time. This is not the case at all. Dancing among all classes was common throughout the colonial period—and the surviving documents are in about the same proportion as those of other cultural arts.

In the seventeenth century the records about dance are sparse, since the population was small and most of the colonists’ needs—including books and musical instruments—were imported. Probate, court records and letters give the few details

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we have. As soon as newspapers were established, more details of music and dance activities appeared. Dancing masters advertised classes; boarding school mistresses noted that drawing, embroidery and dancing were taught; and musical instruments and equipment were occasionally offered for sale. As years went by, more and more Americans left concrete traces of their leisure hour activities. Letters sent to England requested household servants who were also accomplished on musical instruments, music of the current fashion and harpsichords "of the latest construction." Teachers claimed to teach "in the newest and most approved method from London and Paris" and obtained much of their repertory from the same sources. In 1789 John Griffiths was teaching "new cotilllions, which have been but four months since invented in Paris; and a Solo-minuet which was never before danced in America." By 1800, the United States was a fully established nation, with music and dancing comparable with many European countries.

In newspapers, literature, diaries, letters and even in homemade songs we see that social dancing was important to colonial Americans and economically rewarding to entrepreneurs. There was a growing market in America for teaching and sales, and that market is well documented by this bibliography. The list does not include the dance and music books imported from Britain, France and Italy, nor the over 400 known American music manuscripts made during this period. These merely reinforce the dramatic story. As dancing masters traveled from town to town, carrying their imported and self-made reference books, they must have encouraged their students to copy out figures and tunes. When John Griffiths arrived in Norwich in the fall of 1787, he found an apt student in fiddler John Turner. The young Turner borrowed Griffiths' imported collection of dances and copied over 100 English and Scottish tunes into his notebook. Griffiths entrusted his own "Griffiths Whim" to Turner as well, thus saving that spirited tune from oblivion.

The form of dance documented by all of these sources is overwhelmingly that of the longways English country dance for as many couples as will, and, beginning in about 1772, the French cotillation for four couples in a square. Of all the dance forms current, these were the two most easily written down. The dances of ceremony, chiefly the minuet, taught in dancing schools from the late seventeenth to well into the nineteenth century were considered vital in dance training. But they were difficult to capture on paper and were taught by example. Hornpipes and other solo or duo dances for stage or individual performance were also transmitted orally. The more unstructured jigs and reels, the chief dance forms of the lower classes, needed little instruction although they often involved complex stepping and improvisation. They survive only in passing references and iconographical sources.

The first step in reconstructing the dances of early America is to collect and study all the evidence. For country dances and cotilllions we have a rich supply. The promise of these books is joyous, for as we leaf through the pages we see our ancestors in their classrooms, kitchens and ballrooms, flirting, showing off, learning, overcoming shyness and delighting in the company of loved ones. In the
manuscripts we see awkward letters and splattered ink revealing impatient young hands irritated by tedium of instruction or foiled by poor quality paper. Worn corners, water stains and wax spots tell of many trips in a waistcoat pocket or violin case.

Each document must be studied carefully for all aspects of its story. Some can be compared with British counterparts, of which several are direct copies. Others are copied from contemporary American publications, and several show creative choreography. Where concordances can be found, the differences are interesting, and technical terms and phrases give clues about the teachers, their backgrounds and instructional methods. After 1780, everyone seemed to know “Fisher’s Hornpipe,” and it appears from many title pages that a whole generation of New England youngsters could find plenty of ideas in John Griffiths’ “Instances of Ill Manners To Be Carefully Avoided by Youth of Both Sexes.” This compilation of all sorts of rude things that one should NOT do was reprinted a number of times between 1794 and 1808!

For those interested in seeing copies of items cited here, most of those with “Evans” numbers have been photographed and are available in major research libraries in the United States on the microprint series Early American Imprints, 1639-1800 published by Readex Corporation with the American Antiquarian Society. Many of the manuscripts have been microfilmed by their holding library and copies can be obtained by writing directly to them. Pages from a number of the sources are illustrated in Joy Van Cleef and Kate Van Winkle Keller, “Selected American Country Dances and Their English Sources,” in Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820. I: Music in Public Places, Barbara Lambert, editor (Boston, Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), pp. 2-73. Photocopies of all the sources listed are available for study, but not reproduction, at the library of the Country Dance and Song Society of America.

On April 28, 1786, John Griffiths, First Assistant Dancing Master in Alexander Quesnay’s Academy of Polite Arts in New York City opened a dancing school in New Haven, Connecticut. On September 12, this advertisement appeared in the local newspaper. It is the first known collection of dances to be published in America and may have been compiled by Griffiths himself.
To find melodies to accompany the dances in these sources, first check *The National Tune Index*, which includes all American imprints of music, many important manuscripts and most of the British sources for American dance. For hints on research techniques, bibliographies of reference materials, custom, costume and other relevant material, consult Kate Keller, "Resources for the Reconstruction of English Country Dances" (1983), available from the Country Dance and Song Society.

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE**


*NTI E29; Keller p. 45. Massachusetts Historical Society, Manuscript Collection. The six country dance tunes *Cheshire Rounds, Ld. Biron's Jigg, The Marlborough, The Goddesses, The Queen's Delight* and *The Beaux Delight* can be found together for the first time in *The Dancing Master*, vol. I, 13th ed. (London: J. Young, 1706) and reprinted in succeeding editions. Although there are no dance figures included, this manuscript is cited because it is a unique and early document and complements the Alexander MS below.

**Alexander, James.** [Commonplace book containing professional notes on surveys and legal matters, a remedy for rattlesnake bite and the figures for 27 country dances.] New York, 1730.


**Thompson, Aaron.** *A Table of Time* [Commonplace book containing music instructions, 99 march, camp duty and dance melodies for the fife, including five with figures of country dances.] New Jersey [and Woodbury, Ct?], 1777–1782.

Playing Cards. [Five playing cards containing the figures of country dances entitled: “The Military Assembly,” “The Success of the Campaign,” “The Defeat of Burgoyne,” “Lady Buckley’s Whim” and “The Retreat of Clinton.” 1787]

Keller p. 84. These cards are described in Catherine Perry Hargrave, “The Playing Cards of Puritan New England,” Old-Time New England 18 (1928):173. Her citation implies that the cards are located at the United States Playing Card Company in Cincinnati, Ohio. The director of that institution replied to my inquiry in December 1986 that they were not there. I have written to a number of other institutions without luck. We hope that these cards will reappear some day.

Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1782 With proper Directions to each Dance as they are performed at Court Almacks Bath Pantheon and all Public Assemblies. [Commonplace book containing a manuscript copy of the figures for twenty dances from Twenty four Country Dances for the Year 1782 (London, T. Skillern, 1782) and four additional dances.]


The First Assembly. Philadelphia, 1783. [Single sheet containing three melodies, one with figures for a country dance.]


Weeks, Clement. A Collection of Dances belonging to Clement Weeks of Greenland Feb 12th, 1783. [Commonplace book containing the figures of 43 country dances.]

Greenland, New Hampshire, 1783.


Unlocated. Adv. in the New Haven Chronicle on Sept. 12, 1786: “Also may be had at said office. .”


* [A Variety of Country Dances for 1788.]*

Unlocated. Advertisement in [Portsmouth] *New Hampshire Spy* Jan. 25, 1788: "to be sold opposite to the post office." The advertisement appeared several times during the year. The title is not typical of London publications of the period and may refer to a local imprint.

* [Commonplace book containing the figures of 35 country dances, copied "in a round, girlish hand," 179?]*

Keller p. 119. Unlocated. This manuscript is described in detail, with the figures of some of the dances, in George Champlin Mason, *Reminiscences of Newport* (Newport: Charles E. Hammet, 1884), pp. 80-81.


Evans 22663; *NTE* E61; Sonneck-Upton p. 78. Copy at the Library of Congress.


*No. 1 Sweet Richard [Commonplace book containing the figures in manuscript of 14 country dances largely derived from Longman and Broderip's Selection of the Most Favorite Country Dances, Reels &c (London: c. 1790), first and second volumes.]*


*Allen, Jacob (1776-1860). Jacob Allen's Arithmetic Manuscript.* Walpole, March 17th 1792. [Copybook containing figures for 27 country dances (pp. 131-137).] Walpole, Massachusetts, 1792.

In a private collection.

*A Collection of Contra Dances containing the Newest, most Approved and Fashionable Figures.* Stockbridge: Loring Andrews, 1792.

Evans 46413. Copy at American Antiquarian Society.
Frobisher, C[arolyn] R[achel]. [Musical copybook containing 42 pieces in manuscript arranged for harpsichord, most with lyrics, 14 with figures for country dances.] Montreal, 1793.
Keller p. 116; NTI E90. Montreal, Hôpital Général.

Merrill, Joseph (1774–1798). New Country Dances. The property of Joseph Hinkley. [Commonplace book containing a manuscript copy of the dance figures in Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1793 (London, Saml., Ann & Peter Thompson, 1793) and six additional dances.]
Keller p. 35. Pejepscot Historical Society, Brunswick, Maine. My thanks to Robb Spivey and George Fogg for help with details about this manuscript. A copy of Twenty four Country Dances . . . 1793 with music and figures is located in the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library of the English Folk Dance and Song Society and is indexed in the NTI E76.

Evans 27191. Entry in Evans is taken from a Carter advertisement before a copy was located. Copy at American Antiquarian Society. Figures only, pp. 145–147, derived directly from Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1794 (London: Saml. Ann & Peter Thompson, 1794) (NTI E77), which was also published in the fall of 1793.

Evans 26522. Copy at Library of Congress.

Keller p. 34. Chicago, Newberry Library. A transcription of the manuscript was published as Asa Willcox's Book of Figures 1793 (Chicago, Newberry Library, n.d.).

[Griffiths, John. A Collection of the Newest Cotillions and Country Dances. To which is added, Instances of Ill Manners, to be carefully avoided by Youth of both Sexes. By John Griffiths, Dancing Master. Greenfield: Thomas Dickman, 1795.]
Evans 28774. Sonneck-Upton p. 76. Unlocated. Imprint assumed by Evans from advertisement "For sale at this office . . ." in the Greenfield Gazette, November 26, 1795. Evans lists this item in volume 10, p. 92, among the entries for 1795 but gives the date as 1794. Since the source for his citation is the newspaper ad from November 1795, one must assume that his date of 1794 is a misprint.
Crawford, Elisabeth. [Commonplace book containing rules of grammar and the figures of thirteen country dances. 179?]
   Keller p. 49. Harvard University, Theatre Collection, MS Thr 286.

Douglas, Saml. The 14th of Feb. [Country dance figures written on verso of title page of Preston's Twenty four Country Dances . . . 1794 (London, Preston & Son, 1794).]

Griffiths, John. A Collection of the Newest Cotillions, and Country Dances; Principally Composed by John Griffiths, Dancing Master. To Which is Added, Instances of Ill Manners, to be carefully avoided by Youth of both sexes. Northampton: [1794].

Shepley, Nancy [compiler?]. Nancy Shepley's Book [Commonplace book containing the figures of 55 country dances. Pepperill (Massachusetts), ca. 1794.]

Arnold, Wm, attributed owner. Love in a Village [Commonplace book containing the figures of thirteen country dances in manuscript, 179?]


Early American Dances. The Apollo, The Bowers, White Cockade . . . [Commonplace book containing figures of country dances in manuscript. 179?]
   Keller p. 42. Boston Athenaeum, MSS S53.

Moore, Henry. [Commonplace book containing the figures of 37 country dances in manuscript. 179?]
   Keller p. 22. Dover, Delaware State Library, Ridgeley Collection.


Square Dances. Manuscript instructions. [Commonplace book containing the figures for 54 country dances in manuscript. New Hampshire? ca. 1795.]
   Keller p. 64. New Hampshire Historical Society, V793 S773m.


A New Academy of Complements: or the Lover's Secretary . . . to which is added, A choice Collection of above one hundred and twenty Love Songs . . . with plain Instructions for Dancing. Worcester: 1795.


*American Ladies Pocket Book for MDCCXCVII.* Philadelphia: W. Y. Birch, 1796.


[A Collection of Contra Dances, containing a Hundred and Forty Fashionable Figures. Hanover: Dunham & True, 1796.]

Evans 30236. Unlocated. Imprint assumed by Evans from advertisement: “Just Published and for sale at this office” in the *Eagle*, March 7, 1796.


Evans 32146. Copy at Library of Congress.

[A Collection of Country Dances and Cotillions with their proper figures for the pianoforte and violin. Baltimore: J. Carr, 1797.]


[American Ladies' Pocket Book, for 1798. Containing the usual number of ruled pages for Memorandums, an Almanac, new Country Dances, &c. ornamented with a handsome Frontisepiece . . . 1797.]

Evans 31722. Unlocated. Advertisement in *Columbian Centinel* [Boston, Massachusetts], January 3, 1798, “Just received, and for sale by David West. . . .”

[Griffiths, John. *A Collection of the Newest Cotillions and Country Dances principally compiled by J. Griffiths, Dancing-Master. To which is added, Rules for Conver-
sation and Instances of Ill Manners to be avoided by Youth. Hartford: J. Babcock, 1797.]
Evans 32213. Unlocated. Imprint assumed by Evans from Babcock advertisements.

[A Large Collection of Cotillions and Country Dances. Rutland: Josiah Fay, 1797.]
Evans 32352. Unlocated. Imprint assumed by Evans from advertisement in Rutland Herald, August 21, 1797.


The Gentleman & Lady's Companion; Containing, the Newest Cotillions and Country Dances; to which is added, Instances of Ill Manners to be carefully avoided by Youth of both sexes. Norwich: J. Trumbull, 1798.
Evans 48462. Copy at American Antiquarian Society.

Gentleman & Lady's Companion; containing, the newest Cotillions and Country Dances; to which are added, Instances of Ill Manners, to be carefully avoided by Youth of both sexes. 2nd ed. Stonington-Port: John Trumbull, 1798.

Vermont Historical Society, Misc. File #1619.
Not in Evans. Copies at Winterthur and the Clements Library at the University of Michigan.


Evans 48814. Copy at American Antiquarian Society.


Evans 35320. Copy at American Antiquarian Society.

A Collection of Contradances containing newest, most Approved and Fashionable Figures. Stockbridge: 1799.

Bristol 10742. This appears to be a ghost of the 1792 edition.

Fisin, James. *Ode to May*. [Single sheet containing the music and lyrics of Ode to May followed by the music and figures for "Speed the Plough."] New York: J. & M. Paff, [ca. 1799-1803].


The Gentleman & Lady's Companion; containing, the Newest Cotilllions and Country Dances; to which is added, Instances of Ill Manners to be carefully avoided by Youth of both Sexes. Newport: Oliver Farnsworth, 1799.

Evans 48865; Bristol 10786. Copy at Newport Historical Society.

[Ives, John H. Twenty-four Dance Figures of the Most fashionable Country-Dances, together with Eight Cotilllions in the year 1800. Hartford: 1799.]


Evans 35658. Copy at Henry E. Huntington Library.


Evans 35867. Copy at American Antiquarian Society.

[New Song Book, To which is added the Figures of 24 new Country Dances. Portsmouth, NH: Charles Peirce, 1799.]

Roth, Philip. [Copy book containing music for keyboard solo or voice and keyboard, and melody, bass, and the figures for three cotillions: "The Pantaloon," "The Federation," and "L'Armadille." 1797?]

Wolfe 10198. Unlocated. Imprint assumed from title page of Four New Country Dances, Arranged for the piano forte, flute or violin. Also just published: Twelve new country dances, with figures . . . Paffs collection of country dances . . . (Wolfe 10197).

Twenty Four Fashionable Country Dances for the Year 1799 With their proper Figures as performed at Court, Bath and all Public Assemblies. London Printed Boston Reprinted: W. Norman, [1799].

A Collection of the Newest Cotillions and Country Dances. To which is added, a Variety of Modern Songs. Also, rules for conversation and instances of ill manners: to be carefully avoided by both sexes. Worcester: [Isaiah Thomas & Son], 1800.
Evans 37202; Lowens 188. Copies at American Antiquarian Society and New York Public Library.

Contra Dances. [n.p., c.1800]
Not in Evans, not on microprint. Copy at American Antiquarian Society.

Densmore, Benjamin. [Family Papers, including manuscript copies of the figures of five cotillions, c. 1800.]
Minnesota Historical Society, Densmore (Benjamin and Family) Papers, vol. 1b.

Duport, Pierre Landrin. Dance tunes. A collection of melodies (begun in 1783) many of which were current in this country before the turn of the century. Composer's holograph. [Copybook containing about 104 dance melodies, six with figures of cotillions.] Paris, Dublin, Boston, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Williamsburg, 1783-1834.


Evans 37344; Lowens 189. Copy at Harvard University and Boston Public Library. Pp. 203–208 contain “Collection of the most celebrated cotillons and country dances.”

The *English Archer; or, Robert Earl of Huntington:* . . . containing thirty-two songs . . .
Baltimore: Bonsal & Niles, 1800.

*Humors of Boston* [Commonplace book containing figures of 18 country dances. ca. 1800.]
In private collection.

Reinagle, Alexander. *Mr. Francis’s Ballroom Assistant*. Being a collection of the most admired cotillons and country dances with their proper figures annexed. Including a variety of marches, minutes [sic], reels, gavots, hornpipes, &c. The music composed and selected and the whole arranged as lessons for the piano forte by Mr. Reinagle. The work to consist of eight numbers to be published every other week.
Philadelphia: G. Willig, [1798–1804].

Perkins, Betsey. [Commonplace book containing 20 country dances in manuscript.
Litchfield, Connecticut: ca. 1800.]

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1. I wish to recognize James E. Morrison’s contributions to this study. Jim is former national director of the Country Dance and Song Society. His files and indexes (now in the CDSSA library) and his sharing of new information over the past fifteen years have helped with the task of sorting out the bibliographic tangles reflected here. As all researchers know, the location of information is the hardest part and the part that usually receives the least recognition. We all owe Jim a debt of gratitude for his groundbreaking work.
New Jersey

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\[\text{Music notation image}
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"New Jersey" by Pierre Landrin Duport was copied by tunebook compilers, demonstrating that it was available to them, either through Duport's publications or from other musicians or dance teachers.

Playford Revisited:
The Puzzle of "Nonesuch"

by Francis T. Worrell, Ph.D.

"Nonesuch," which appears in the first edition (1651) of Playford’s The English Dancing Master, was one of the earliest dances to be interpreted by Cecil Sharp (Country Dance Book, Part II (CDB), 1911). It has been a favorite with dancers for many years and I love the figures, the fine modal melody and the winding down at the end. Although it is a set dance in three parts, the parts are not symmetrical. The first part has a progressive figure characteristic of longways for as many as will, and some of the figures seem to be unique. All of these features add to the interest of the dance.

"Nonesuch" is also of interest to those studying English country dance. For one thing, the crucial part of Sharp’s argument justifying his interpretation of the side (Part II CDB, pp. 19-20) is based on an instruction in “A la Mode de France,” another dance in the first Playford edition that is recognizably someone else’s version of “Nonesuch.” Furthermore, Sharp’s interpretation of “Nonesuch” differs appreciably from Playford’s instructions, and current dancers not only do not dance Playford, they do not even follow Sharp in some details (a departure from the custom of following Sharp to the smallest detail). All this raises interesting questions. It is my aim here to look back at Playford’s instructions for the two dances (which I may refer to collectively as “Nonesuch” at times) and try to find out what Playford really meant. Some of what I have to say has, no doubt, been said before, but I include it for completeness.

My only intention is to discuss what Playford meant; I will not prescribe the way the dance must be done. The dancers and their leaders will make their choice on the basis of what is most pleasurable. Any difference between my interpretation and Sharp’s is not to be construed as criticism of Sharp, who is rightly honored for his outstanding pioneering work in deciphering Playford’s dances. Where he clearly differs from Playford, I assume that in many cases it was to improve the dance as he, or his dancers, viewed it; in others it may have been in an effort to fit

Francis Worrell is a retired professor of physics who has turned from his interest in the form of crystals (crystallography) to a study of the form of English country dances. At present he is the leader of English Country Dance of Cape Cod.
the old dances into a neat category. Colin Hume has commented on this practice of Sharp (English Dance and Song, Spring 1985, p. 5). Instructions for "Nonesuch" appear on page 29 of the first Playford edition, and those for "A la Mode de France" on page 49. Cecil Sharp recognized them as different versions of the same dance, and he combined them into one, which he entitled with the names of both, in Part II of CDB (pp. 115-117). Playford's instructions for the two, reproduced from the Mellor edition of Playford, are shown below, as are Sharp's.

Nonesuch

Longways for eight

Leade up forwards and back. That againe, set and turne single, that againe. First Cu. slip just between the 2. Cu. turne your faces to them, put them back by both hands, and halfe turne them, put them back, and set them as they were, turne your own in the 2. place: Doe thus to the last.

Sides all, that againe, set and turne S. that again. First man slip before, and stand with his face downewards, the Wo. slip before him and stand faces to your owne, the 2. Cu. as much, the third Cu. as much, the lat Cu. as much.

Armes all as you stand, that againe, slip all to the left hand, and back to your places, then as much to the right hand. First man slip to the left hand, and stand the Wo. as much to her left hand, the 2. Cu. as much, third as much, fourth as much: Then the single Hey, all handing downe, and come up on your owne side.
All a Mode de France

Longwayes for as many as will

Leade up all a D. and back, this againe : set and turne single, this againe :

First Cu. meet, take both hands, and fall in betweene the 2. Cu. each of you turne your face towards them, and put them back, you meet the two men, and We. all foure fall back, and turne your woman, so to all.

Sides all to the right and left, set and turne S. this againe : Then fall all into one File, each Wo. behinde her owne man : Then armes all with your owne by the right and left, and remaine in the same Figure, then men fall off to the right, and We. to the left hand, fall back into the same figure, then men [to] the left; and We. to the right, and back againe into the same figure, then the first man fall into his first place, and his Wo. the like, so the rest one after another, then the first man takes his Wo. by the hand, his left hand to the 2. Wo. the right to the 3. and so forward, his Wo. doing the like on the other side untill you meet all againe in your places.
Nonesuch; OR, A La Mode De France.
Longways for eight; in five parts (1st Ed., 1650).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUSIC.</th>
<th>MOVEMENTS.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>First Part.</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>A1 1–4</td>
<td>All lead up a double and fall back a double to places (r.s.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>5–8</td>
<td>That again.</td>
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<tr>
<td>B1 1–4</td>
<td>Partners set and turn single.</td>
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<td>5–8</td>
<td>That again.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Second Part.</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>(Duple minor-set.)</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>A1 1–4</td>
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<td>5–8</td>
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<td>B1 1–4</td>
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<th>Third Part.</th>
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<td>A1 1–2</td>
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<td>3–4</td>
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<td>7–8</td>
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<td>B1 Bar 1</td>
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<td>Bar 2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Fourth Part.</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A1</strong> 1-4</td>
<td>Partners arm with the right.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>Partners arm with the left.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B1</strong> 1-4</td>
<td>Men dance four slips towards the right wall and four slips back again; while women dance four slips towards the left wall, and four slips back again.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-8</td>
<td>Men dance four slips towards the left wall and four slips back again; while women dance four slips towards the right wall, and four slips back again.</td>
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</table>

| **Fifth Part.** |
| **A1** Bar 1 | First man slips down and towards the left wall in his original place, and faces front. |
| Bar 2 | First woman slips, in like manner, into her own place. |
| 3-4 | Second man does the same; then second woman. |
| 5-8 | Third couple the same; then the fourth. |
| **B1 and B2** | The progressive circular-hey, all handing as they pass (r.s.). First man and first woman begin the movement by passing each other by the right, and, upon completing one circuit, stay in their places while the rest finish the figure. |

**Some Observations**

A study of Playford’s instructions will show several things:

- As Sharp saw, the two dances are two versions of the same dance.
- “Nonesuch” is a three-part dance, the parts being introduced by a double, sides and arms. However, it is unsymmetrical: (a) the parts are of unequal length, (b) the three figures do not have similarities (as they often do in three-part dances), (c) the second figure seems to exist only to introduce the third part, rather than standing independently, and (d) the introduction to the third part has no set and turn single, contrary to the others. In contrast, “A la Mode de France” is divided into three parts, of which the first introduction is part 1, the first figure is part 2 and part 3 is everything else.
- The instructions for “Nonesuch” are better organized and are, in general, more precise. Except for the first part, where the first “*” is clearly an error, the timing is clearly indicated and it is possible to reconstruct the timing of dance. In “A la Mode de France,” however, you are on your own in the later part.
- A puzzling instruction in the first figure of “Nonesuch” is more clearly stated in “A la Mode de France.”
- The one place where the two dances clearly differ is in the last figure.
The one place where the two dances clearly differ is in the last figure. Looking now at Sharp’s instructions, we can make the following additional observations:

- Although “Nonesuch” is clearly shown in Playford to be a three-part dance—the parts introduced by a double, sides and arms—Sharp has divided it into five parts, thus obscuring the basic structure of the dance without any evident improvement in exposition. He seems to have been influenced by “A la Mode de France,” and he used the same first two parts and divided the third into parts 3, 4 and 5.

- Although Sharp used instructions from both dances, he seems to lean toward “A la Mode de France,” not only as to division into parts, but by choosing the last figure as stated in that dance, rather than the one in “Nonesuch.” He also used a phrase from “A la Mode de France” as the basis for his interpretation of the side.

- Sharp has made considerable changes in the figure in the second (Playford) part, and in the timing in the second and third parts. The latter necessitated adding a second B music at the end to come out even.

Reconstruction

In reconstructing Playford’s “Nonesuch,” I shall, of course, use his “Nonesuch” instructions as a basis and consult those of “A la Mode de France” only for help when in doubt, or for confirmation.

- We note that Playford’s music for “Nonesuch” is a single modal melody of 16 bars. Using Sharp’s notation, we shall divide this into two parts of eight bars, calling them A and B. (This is the melody Sharp chose. That for “A la Mode de France” is in the major mode and, to my mind, inferior.)

- The first “Nonesuch” instruction, properly punctuated, reads, “Lead upwards and back. That again. Set and turn single. That again.” (Modern spelling used.) In “A la Mode de France” “a double” is specified, which takes 16 bars (one AB).

- For the beginning of the first figure, the two dance instructions complement one another. In “Nonesuch,” “First couple slip just between the second couple, turn your faces to them . . .,” while in “A la Mode de France,” “First couple meet, take both hands, and fall in between the second couple, each of you turn your face towards them. . . .” Both say next to “put them back” (“Nonesuch” adds “with both hands”), which we translate as “poussette.” In “Nonesuch” we now have the puzzling direction, “Half turn them, put them back, and set them as they were. . . .” The picture we get is that the first couple (1) meets (in two steps, as in Sharp, not the little hop that is usually done) and takes two hands, (2) slips down “just between” the second couple (i.e., so the four people form a line across the set), (3) turn to face the second couple, (4) poussette out, (5) do a half turn, (6) poussette back in. This leaves the second couple in original places,
facing out, and first couple outside them facing in. It is not clear how the first couple can then "turn your own in second place," as stated in "Nonesuch." In addition, there is not enough dance to fill one AB of the music, as is required. There appears to be imprecision on the part of the writer, or a misunderstanding of what is meant, compounded by the apparent omission of some part of the figure to fill out the music. Turning for help to "A la Mode de France," we find (with some clarifying change in punctuation) "you meet, the two men and two women. All four fall back. Turn your women." This, indeed, is what seems to be current practice: after the poussette out, the two men meet the two women, dropping hands as they move forward to meet, the forming lines of two facing two up and down the set, with the first couple below the second. All then fall back a double and forward and turn their partners. True, Playford does not say to go forward between falling back and turning your partner, but clearly you have to in order to reach your partner to turn. Finally, note that Sharp apparently did not solve the mystery of the half turn, either, but followed the instructions for "A la Mode de France."

Finally, Playford concludes this part by saying, "Do this to the last," or, "and so to all." Similar instructions appear in many of the longways-for-as-many-as-will dances in the 1651 Playford. What does this mean? Sharp does not answer this question directly. In his instructions he heads his second part (the figure in Playford’s first part) "Duple-minor set" and gives no instructions for how many repetitions to follow. At the head of Sharp’s music for the dance, it says, "Longways for eight; in five parts, of which second is played seven times:" Since Sharp’s second part is Playford’s first figure, seven times through as a duple-minor set (i.e., with first and third couples starting) will end with couples in the order 1324. As the dance is usually done, with only the first couple starting and the others joining in later, seven rounds would leave couples in the order 1423. While Sharp did not explain this choice in Part II of the Country Dance Book, in which "Nonesuch" appears, I have found that he did in Part III, page 6, as follows: "When, however, a progressive movement occurs in one or other of the figures of a Part, that Part must be repeated as often as the dancers decree. The usual practice is to repeat the Part until the leader has returned to his original place at the top of the General Set." Common practice, however, is to dance until the original fourth couple reaches the top, which takes only five rounds and leaves couples in the order 4312. If we interpret Playford’s "Do this to the last" to mean that only the original couple is active and they dance till they reach the bottom of the set, ending the first figure, this would take only three rounds of the music. Thus far, we have choice of seven, five or three rounds.

Looking for some other evidence, we find in Essex (1710), which is a translation of Feuillet (1706), pages 17-23, instructions for dancing longways dances. The rather lengthy description, illustrated by diagrams, may be summarized as follows: (1) The dance is started by the first couple, dancing with the second. All other couples are inactive. (2) As the first couple proceeds down the set in
successive repetitions, each top couple in turn starts dancing when there is an inactive couple below them, until all couples are dancing. (3) The repetitions continue in the way familiar in longways dances until all couples reach their original positions. The original couple gets there first, but the others must continue, one couple at a time reaching home. In “Nonesuch,” seven rounds would bring couple 1 home, but couple 4 would have to dance with couple 2, then couple 3 before reaching home, for a total of nine rounds.

So, which do we choose? On the basis of what appears in Essex, it appears doubtful that the concept of a duple-minor set existed in 1651. Furthermore, the seven rounds do not end the couples in an order that looks conclusive. One may question whether the procedure in Essex, in 1710, is relevant to 1651. If we could find the same thing in a book dated before 1651, we could reasonably interpolate. It seems to me that the best we can do is follow Essex. (Christine Helwig informs me that the same progression is described by Loren in 1688, a date closer to 1651 than Feuillet’s 1706.) Such observations in the 1651 Playford as “Do this to the last, the rest following in order” can, it seems to me, reasonably be construed to refer to the Essex scheme. The procedure in Essex does achieve a logical result—i.e., at the end all couples are back in the original order, so that in following figures there is no ambiguity as to whether “first couple” means original first couple or current first couple.

- In the second part, we find in Playford’s “Nonesuch,” “Sides all, that again, set and turn single, that again.” In “A la Mode de France,” after improving the punctuation, “Sides all to the right and left. Set and turn single. This again.” The two instructions seem to be consistent. In “Nonesuch” it says clearly that you side twice, and then set and turn single twice. In “A la Mode de France” it says the same if “Sides all to the right and left” means side to the right, then side to the left. I see no obvious simpler explanation. For now, we shall not try to define the side, but only say that it is done twice, followed by set and turn single twice. This part takes 16 bars (AB).

- In the second figure, the dancers merge the two lines into a single column, going one at a time starting with the first man, then the first woman, and so on, ending with the men all facing down, the women up. Playford (as well as Sharp) says specifically to slip in (not hop, as is usually done) and allot 16 bars (AB) for the entire figure. (Sharp allows only 8 bars. See below.) This means two bars, or four beats, for each person. It would seem that one should anticipate this by having the dancers make a wide loop for the second turn single, so as to move the lines twice as far apart as normal. Otherwise the slipping steps inward would look trivial. However, see my later remarks on “slip”.

- Next, in “Nonesuch” Playford says, “Arms all as you stand,” while in “A la Mode de France” he says, more precisely, “Then arms all with your own by the right and left.” This is done to the A music. (Note that there is no set and turn single here.) The figure that follows is the familiar slip left, right, right, left, done to the B music.
Now we get back into the two lines, and here is the only clear difference between the two dances. In “A la Mode de France,” which Sharp adopted for his version, all slip out to original places, proper (right). In “Nonesuch,” all slip left, ending improper. In “Nonesuch,” 16 bars are allotted (AB), as in the slipping in; in “A la Mode de France” we deduce that the same is true: since 16 bars were allotted to forming the column, we expect the same to be true for the return to lines.

Finally, we have the progressive handing hey, which clearly must be different in the two dances. Sharp adopts “A la Mode de France” in the familiar hey. “Nonesuch,” calls for “the single hey, all handing down, and all come up on your own side.” The interpretation of this that works, and fits the music is: the first couple faces down (the others up) and starts a handing hey by giving right hand to the next, left to the next, and so on. When they reach the bottom of the set they cross and hand up the set to place. The other couples hand up the set, loop at the top as in a straight hey, hand down, cross, and hand up to place. As in the handing hey from “A la Mode de France,” this figure takes 16 bars (AB), and both wind down at the end as each couple in turn gets home. However, note below comments on Sharp’s version.

Comments on “Nonesuch” and Sharp’s Interpretation Thereof

Like many other Playford dances, “Nonesuch” is a puzzle because some parts are obscure, and undefined terms such as “slip” and “side” are used. In addition, Sharp’s interpretation clearly does not follow Playford, and one wonders why. And finally, dancers who normally follow Sharp in detail deviate from his instructions.

It is difficult to see how Sharp arrived at some parts of his interpretation. Since I have found no writings of his in which he explains his reasoning in this case (except for the side, about which more later), I am limited to what I can deduce from what he wrote in his introductions to Parts II and VI of CDB, and articles about him in a centenary edition of the Journal of EFDSS (Vol. 8 No. 4, December 1959). One sees him as a scholarly and precise person who had a strong feeling for the great beauty of the music and its primacy, the necessity to match the figures to the music, and the importance of smooth transitions from one part of the dance to the next. It may be that he made the changes in “Nonesuch” to improve the dance, as he envisioned it, but if that was his reason, it caused him trouble in “Nonesuch.”

In particular, let us look at some of the changes Sharp made, and their effects on the dance overall. The first clear deviation from Playford comes in the introduction to the second part, where Playford’s instructions are to side twice, then set and turn single twice. Here Sharp makes two changes. First, he omits the set and turn single, making this introduction inconsistent with the first one. Second, instead of
sides (of whatever description) twice, he has you side (Sharp style) across, turn single, side back and turn single. It is a puzzle why, in this dance alone he altered his own concept of the side. The figure that results from this altered side, and omission of the set and turn single, makes only eight bars, in contrast with Playford's 16.

The second deviation occurs in the second figure, the merging of the two lines into a single column. Sharp does this in eight bars (B), rather than Playford's 16 (AB). One can make a case that it improves the dance, as will be clear later, and this may have been Sharp's reason. However, this decision had consequences elsewhere. The first is in the preceding introduction. Suppose that there Sharp had followed Playford in including the set and turn single, thus requiring 16 bars (AB) for that introduction. Then his following figure (merging of lines into a column) would have been done to the A music, rather than Playford's AB. But then the following "arms" would have to be done to the B music, which would be most irregular for an introduction. So, it may have been that the first deviation was required after having decided on the second. Speculative, of course, but interesting.

Sharp is not out of the woods yet. When he comes to the re-formation of two lines from a column, to be consistent he must do this to eight bars (A). But then the progressive hey, which requires 16 bars, has only eight (B) left for it, so Sharp had to add a second B music at the end to come out even. Since Sharp liked to standardize his dances (Colin Hume's phraseology), it is a puzzle why he tolerated this departure from the norm.

The Slip

The only step mentioned in Playford's "Nonesuch" is the slip. Interestingly, in "A la Mode de France" the word is absent; in its place is "fall in," "fall into" or "fall back," which seem to be vague instructions to get from one point to another in an unspecified way. What was meant by "slip" in 1651 may not be what we mean today, except that in the context it is clear that it is a movement sideways. Looking for guidance, we find in Feuillet the following: "A toutes les figures qui vont de côté, on fera toujours des chassés de côté," which Essex translated as "In all figures that go sideways you must drive sideways." The term "drive" suggests something vigorous, like our modern "slip." In these times, "chassés" describes a kind of gliding step sideways used in ballet. It is also used in American traditional dance. For instance, in Tolman and Page, p. 34, the chassez (chassé) is defined as follows: "A gliding step is used with either foot in the direction desired. If to the left, the left foot glides and the right is drawn to it and repeated as often as desired." Looking back before 1651, we find in Arbeau's Orchesography (originally published in 1588), page 128, a description of the "double à gauche" (double to the left), as follows: Move the left foot to the left, bring the right foot up near to it, move the left foot
again to the left, then the right foot up to the left, touching it. This is quite similar to the chassé, except that Arbeau would probably have called the latter a succession of "simples" (singles) to the left or right. Either a double or two chassé steps would take four beats of the music, whereas two modern slipping steps would take only two beats.

There is early evidence for the step we call the slip, in a dance manual by Negri (1602). In the Fifth Figure of "Brando di Cales" is an instruction which translates as follows: "Everyone together in a circle take hands and, going around to the left, do one double ripresa four times (for four measures?), running (una ripresa doppio di quattro tempi in corrente). This may describe a step done off the ground, as we now do the slip, in contrast to the chassez or the double to the left or right, which are gliding steps.

So, we have position evidence for slipping and gliding steps before 1651, from Negri and Arbeau. Both probably existed in 1651. But which is meant in Playford when it says to slip? Does this mean specifically one step, or could it be either? Could "slip left" mean a double to the left? If we had more confidence in the precision of Playford's wording, we would say, probably not. For example, in the second figure in "Stingo" (Playford, 1651, p. 10) it says, "All a double to the left," it does not say to slip. However, remember that in the second figure in "Nonesuch" four beats were allotted to each person to "slip" into the center, which would make more sense if the two lines started further apart than normal. This problem would vanish if in this place "slip" meant a double to the left or right. Remembering that where "slip" appears in "Nonesuch" it is replaced by "fall . . ." in "A la Mode de France," we can postulate that "slip" is a vague term.

In the end, we are left with no clear answer. The best solution may be to dance the figures that seem the most appropriate and pleasurable. There is a real choice here: if you slip you have a lively dance, though it may be awkward in the second figure; if you do gliding steps you have a dance which is more stately and formal. However, the original melody for "Nonesuch" is gentle and flowing, which suggests that gliding steps are more appropriate.

The Side

As to what Sharp calls "the side," Sharp's argument about this figure is an instruction in "A la Mode de France." In part II of CDB, pages 19–20, he says, in part, "... and lastly, that is consisted of two movements of equal duration, half to the right and half to the left. This later attribute, which is a very important one, was deduced from 'Nonesuch' [Actually, it was in "A la Mode de France"], where the figure in question is described as 'side to the right' and 'side to the left' with a turn single added to each movement [No such instruction appears], thus converting the movement into one of eight instead of four bars." The curious feature of this, besides the misquotation, is that in the context of describing the side in
general he describes a unique variation of it, which only appears in his “Nonsuch” namely, a half-side followed by a turn single, then another half-side and turn single. It is also of interest to note that although Sharp was apparently aware of the concern with symmetry that the inventors of Playford’s dances had, and interpreted “Arms all. That again” as arms right followed by arms left, he did not interpret “Sides all. That again” as sides to one side followed by sides to the other in dances other than “Nonsuch.”

The term “sides” suggests that it describes a figure in which the dancers turn so as to present a side to each other, as we see in some Spanish dances. It is a rather flirtatious figure. In the Ontario Gallery of Art, in Toronto, is a painting of a wedding celebration by the younger Bruegel (1601–1678) in which a couple in the lower left corner, the woman especially, are turning the right side toward each other. In Feuillet (1706) a number of dances are outlined in diagrams. In four of these, “La Jalousie,” “Le Pistolet,” “Jeanne qui Saute,” and “La Coquette” are diagrams showing the man and woman going toward one another to two bars of the music (a double?) till the right shoulders meet, and back, then the same to the left. This figure is known variously as “Playford siding,” “Pat Shaw siding,” and “half-gipsiding.” One of these dances, “Jeanne qui Saute” is shown by Gilchrist (1939) to be related to “Joan’s Placket,” a dance which appears in the Playford 7th Edition (1687). Comparison of a copy of this dance (kindly supplied to me by Christine Helwig in her notes on a course in dance reconstruction at Pinewoods Camp in 1987) with Feuillet’s diagrams for “Jeanne qui Saute” shows, first, the music is the same, second, the instructions for known figures match the corresponding diagrams, and finally, Playford’s instructions for the figure corresponding to the supposed sides read, “The 1. cu. sides of one side and on the other side.” Although this is for a dance in 1687, not 1651, I would argue that putting a dance (or song) in print tends to freeze its form. With new editions appearing on the average every five years between the first and seventh editions there is certainly a continuity which make it unlikely that the basic figure would have changed in that period, although details of the footwork, which are not specified, might have. I shall, therefore, take the question of the nature of “the Side” to have been settled.

A final note: Dr. Julia Sutton has pointed out to me that a figure which may be related to the side is described in Caroso (1600), which deals with dances of the court. Along with evidence cited early in the preceding paragraph, this suggests that a side-type figure may have been present in folk and court dances alike, so that it is not surprising to find it in Playford.

Instructions

I have left undefined the slip. The dancers, or their leaders, will have to make the choice. I specify nine rounds for the first figure, sufficient to get all back to their starting points. The number of rounds for the entire dance will then be 15,
which is not uncommon for longways dances. (It can be cut to seven (first couple back home) or five (fourth couple at top) as reasonable alternatives.) I assume that dancers will do the Playford side. I recommend using the original “Nonesuch” music, which was Sharp’s specification. It is much better than the major tune used in “A la Mode de France,” and nowadays is commonly injected into the dance at the time of siding. The numbers in () are the number of bars for the figure.

**Part I**

A1 (8) Up a double and back. That again.
B1 (8) Set and turn single. That again.
A2 (1) First couple, only, meet and take hands.
  (3) Slip down (or go down a double, sideways) between the second couple. Turn (man right, woman left) to face second person in your line.
  (2) Holding two hands, poussette diagonally up and out.
  (2) The two men meet the two women, releasing hands as they approach, ending in lines of two facing two, the first couple below the second.
B2 (4) Back a double and forward.
(4) Turn partner.
A3B3-A10B10 Repeat, using normal longways progression, until all couples are back to starting point.

**Part II**

A1 (8) Sides all. That again.
B1 (8) Set and turn single. That again. (If you are going to slip in next figure, you should do the second turn single so as to end with the lines about twice as far apart as usual. If you are going to do a double sideways, or chassez, this is not necessary.)
A2B2 (16) Men face down, women up. Starting with first man, then first woman, and all others in turn, each take four slipping steps (or a double) to the left, ending in a column facing partner, women below men.

**Part III**

B1 (8) All take four slipping steps (or a double) to the left, then right back into the column, then right then left, into the column.
A2B2 (16) Return to two lines in same order as in A2B2 of Part II, each person going left, ending improper in two lines.
A3B3 (16) First couple face down, others face up. First couple starts a

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First couple face down, others face up. First couple starts a handing hey down the set. When first couple reaches the bottom, they cross over to proper side and continue handing up till they reach first position. Other couples start by handing up. When each couple, in turn, reaches the top, make a loop, as in the single hey, hand down to the bottom, cross over and hand up until each couple reaches original position. Each couple will reach home in turn.

Acknowledgments

It is impossible to acknowledge every bit of help that I received in conversations with other dancers and leaders—sometimes not even in the context of “Nonesuch” specifically—where the germ of an idea eventually developed into a conclusion about this particular dance. I have been helped immeasurably by having access to the Music Library at Harvard University; in particular, I wish to thank the staff of the Isham Library for their help in finding references. Christine Helwig has been very helpful in supplying additional references, where noted, which have strengthened my conclusions. Finally, I must express my indebtedness to Dr. Julia Sutton for steering me toward background sources (some of them in her own collection), for her encouragement and for asking the right questions.

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Morris Dancing in Seattle

by Ken Smith

In the extreme upper lefthand corner of our contiguous 48 states is the city of Seattle, Washington, famous mostly for airplanes. But, unbeknownst to most of its own citizens, Seattle is also the largest center of morris dancing in the Pacific Northwest—and the popularity, strength, and diversity of morris in Seattle is primarily thanks to dancers new to morris, many of whom had not even seen it before starting to dance.

Seattle is not the oldest center of morris dancing in the Northwest; Victoria, British Columbia, home of Hollytree Morris and Island Thyme Morris, has that distinction with a history of morris sides dating back to 1974. Morris dancing first appeared in Seattle in about 1976 when the Leafield British Dance Ensemble incorporated the occasional morris dance into its performances. Seattle's first morris side, the Pike Place Morris, was formed in 1977 by Lars Watson, Pat Shuman, Lisa Ferrel, and Frank Ferrel. This side passed out of existence in summer 1978. In spring 1979, Watson and Tim Lane, joined by Patricia Tanin of Leafield, started the Gasworks Morris, a mixed side that broke up in fall 1980.

Seattle's current sides were all formed within the next two years. Watson and Lane, with Bob Greco, founded the Mossyback Morris Men, a men's side, in fall 1980 (currently dancing Bledington and Ducklington); Tanin formed the Madcap Morris, now Elliott Bay Morris, a women's side, in fall 1982 (currently dancing Sherborne and Bledington); and Liz Dreisbach and Linda Smith formed Misty City Morris, also a women's side, in fall 1982 (currently dancing Brackley and Fieldtown). This third generation of morris sides has proved to be healthy and vigorous. While individual sides have struggled occasionally for dancers and musicians, all three sides are healthy today. The smallest of the three sides has ten members and the largest has 22. In addition to the Cotswold sides, the last two years has seen an explosion in non-Cotswold morris: two rapper sword sides (TenPenny Bit, dancing essentially the Westerhope tradition, and Grace O'Malley's Blue and Black Rapper, dancing Newbiggin); a long sword side (Ballard Lock, currently dancing Grenoside and Ampleforth); and a Northwest/clog morris side (the Provisional Northwest Morris, dancing Colne Royale).

Ken Smith is squire and fool of the Mossyback Morris Men and a member of the TenPenny Bit and the Provisional Northwest Morris. He is coeditor of The Morning Star.
Many of Seattle's dancers are new to morris. Only two of Misty City's seven original members, for example, had even seen morris before. No more than a third of the current members of each Cotswold side had danced on other sides before taking up morris dancing in Seattle. The non-Cotswold sides, meanwhile, are the first such sides virtually all of their respective members have belonged to. Experienced dancers have played important roles, of course. Past and current foremen of the Mossybacks, Bob Greco and Laurie Andres, came from sides in other cities (Binghamton, N.Y., and Washington, D.C., respectively). Liz Dreisbach and Amy Brewer, current foremen of Misty City and Elliott Bay, had also danced on other sides (Berkeley and Connecticut/New York City, respectively). Non-Cotswold sides have benefited from experienced dancers as well. Brewer, for example, started off the Ballard Lock Sword team by teaching the Ampleforth dance, which she learned in Connecticut.

Surprisingly, there are relatively few folk dance and music enthusiasts in the Seattle morris community. While many morris dancers are interested in traditional music and dance, recruitment efforts have been directed not at the larger folk community, but rather at friends and fellow workers, with the lure being fun and comraderie rather than participation in a traditional dance. For example, the majority of the first Mossyback roster was recruited by Bob Greco from friends at work; none of these people, including three Englishmen, had danced morris before. Workshops offered through the local Experimental College (an offshoot of the University of Washington) have attracted people active in traditional music and dance, but they have also attracted as many people who were ignorant of both. Morris has been for a number of dancers their introduction to traditional music and dance. For others who had a passing familiarity with it, morris has been the catalyst that has deepened their interest and participation in it.

Since so many of Seattle's dancers are new to morris, they began with few or no preconceptions about the morris other than that it should be enjoyable. Hence, discussions of what or how to dance, how to practice, or how to organize a side have usually revolved around what makes for the most enjoyment, rather than what is most traditional or technically correct. Arguments such as "they used to do it this way in the old days" or "this is the way it's done in this city or by this side" have not generally carried much weight in these discussions. To be sure, enjoyment is not a monolithic concept and different dancers derive enjoyment from different things (as everywhere, some enjoy dancing very hard while others are involved mostly for the beer). Seattle has no exclusive hold on enjoyment; what is noteworthy is that contrasting senses of enjoyment, rather than authenticity, are usually at issue.

Seattle's geographic remoteness from the eastern United States, where most of the country's morris sides can be found, contributes to the local attitudes. As no Seattle side has traveled outside of the Northwest, contact with other sides has been limited to those that have come to Seattle. Consequently, attitudinal influences from other sides have been minimal. Seattle sides have felt free to improvise
and mix a variety of things together. The Mossyback Morris Men lay claim to having created the first Klezmer (sentimental Jewish theatrical music of later nineteenth-century European origin) morris dance. The Misty City Morris, meanwhile, have made The Talking Heads (a popular rock and roll group) a fixture at ales held by Seattle sides.

Another distinctive attribute of Seattle morris sides is the general egalitarianism of the sides. There are no Cotswold sides that accept members “by invitation only.” Except that the Cotswold sides are all single sex, no side restricts who may join. Furthermore, there are no ceremonies in which the kit is given to the dancer, signifying that the dancer is now allowed to dance out in public or is a full member of the side; nor are there pieces of kit given out when a dancer has achieved certain levels of competence. This practice, which is followed by the Ann Arbor (Michigan) Morris and commonly in England, is not done in Seattle. A dancer is a member of the side when he or she joins and starts coming to practice; generally, kit can be acquired when the dancer feels ready to acquire it and wear it. New dancers, however, are still guided by the foremen and squires regarding which dances they are ready to perform.

Finally, a strong (some might say nasty) streak of irreverence has developed. This irreverence is institutionalized in a local morris newsletter, The Morning Star (edited by Lars Watson and Ken Smith). While the newsletter contains useful information, such as tour schedules and serious discussions of dancing, the major focus is on humor. To this end, the newsletter has featured discussions about existentialism and morris, relativity and morris, beer and civilization, and the relative merits of cricket; facetious reviews of tours and ales (one was written in heroic couplets); gossip and advice columns; and personal ads (“MORRIS MATCH: a discrete service for discriminating morris singles . . .”). While both editors are Mossybacks, they have energetically solicited, and received, material from Misty City and Elliott Bay, as well as other Northwest sides.

Currently, the morris community in Seattle is thriving primarily because the community is large enough to be self-sufficient. It was not always this way and, like other communities, the Seattle community has suffered periods of difficult birth and growth before arriving at its current robust state. The explosion of non-Cotswold sides in the last two years—two rapper sides, a long sword side, and a Northwest/clog side—is due in great part to the Cotswold sides establishing themselves and providing a pool of dancers interested in other types of morris. The sword and Northwest sides, as a whole, are composed largely of Cotswold dancers; all of these sides, however, have brought non-Cotswold dancers into their groups.

It is difficult to predict what the future holds, though it seems safe to predict that there will be morris dancing in Seattle for some time to come. Probably the most interesting thing to watch for is what changes will come to Seattle as its dancers and sides interact more with other sides and travel to different places to dance. Will additional sides form? Will existing sides take up new traditions? Will other
types of morris, such as border, also appear? Will attitudes regarding the quality of
dancing, types of dancing and presentation change? What kind of interest in the
origins of morris will develop? Another question, just as interesting, is what effect
and influence will Seattle sides have on other sides and dancers. After all, cultural
exchange is seldom one way.

I suggest that underlying attitudes about why Seattleites dance morris will not
change greatly in the foreseeable future (nor is there any reason why they should).
Rather, contact with other sides, through tours and workshops, will stimulate
more interest in the technical quality of dancing and in other traditions, though
not at the expense of less committed or less capable dancers. I expect that more
emphasis on presentation will also develop. Both of these have already happened
to some extent due to a visit by the Hong Kong Morris in April 1987 and to the
Northwest Ritual Dance Weekend, held in November 1986. I also expect Seattleites
to influence other dancers and sides. Already the Hong Kong Morris fool has
adopted some pranks from the Mossyback fool and the editor of the American
Morris Newsletter has contributed an article to The Morning Star. The future is
promising.

Misty City Morris-Seattle Folklife Festival, Memorial Day weekend, May 1987. Photo by
Ken Smith
New York Assembly.

by Anthony Evergreen, Gent.

The assemblies this year have gained a great accession of beauty. Several brilliant stars have risen from the East and from the North, to brighten the firmament of fashion; among the number I have discovered another planet, which rivals even Venus in lustre, and I claim equal honor with Herschel for my discovery. I shall take some future opportunity to describe this planet, and the numerous satellites which revolve around it.

At the last assembly the company began to make some show about eight, but the most fashionable delayed their appearance until about nine—nine being the number of muses, and therefore, the best possible hour for beginning to exhibit the graces. (This is meant for a pretty play upon words, and I assure my readers that I think it very tolerable.)

Poor Will Honeycomb, whose memory I hold in special consideration, even with his half century of experience, would have been puzzled to point out the humors of a lady by her prevailing colors; for the "rival queens" of fashion, Mrs. Toole and Madame Boucharde,* appeared to have exhausted their wonderful inventions in the different disposition, variation, and combination of tints and shades. The philosopher who maintained that black was white, and that, of course, there was no such color as white, might have given some color to his theory on this occasion, by the absence of poor forsaken white muslin. I was, however, much pleased to see that red maintains its ground against all other col-

*Two fashionable milliners of rival celebrity in the city of New York.—Paris Ed.

ors, because red is the color of Mr. Jefferson's********, Tom Paine's nose, and my slippers.*

Let the grumbling smellfungi of this world, who cultivate taste among books, cobwebs, and spiders, rail at the extravagance of the age; for my part, I was delighted with the magic of the scene, and as the ladies tripped through the mazes of the dance, sparkling and glowing and dazzling, I, like the honest Chinese, thanked them heartily for the jewels and finery with which they loaded themselves, merely for the entertainment of bystanders, and blessed my stars that I was a bachelor.

The gentlemen were considerably numerous, and being, as usual, equipt in their appropriate black uniforms, constituted a sable regiment, which contributed not a little to the brilliant gaiety of the ballroom. I must confess I am indebted for this remark to our friend the cockney, Mr. 'SBIDLIKENSFLASH, or 'Sbidlikens, as he is called for shortness. He is a fellow of infinite verbosity—stands in high favor—with himself—and, like Caleb Quotem, is “up to everything.” I remember when a comfortable, plump-looking citizen led into the room a fair damsel, who looked for all the world like the personification of a rainbow; 'Sbidlikens observed that it reminded him of a fable, which he had read somewhere, of the marriage of an honest painstaking snail, who had once walked six feet in an hour for a wager, to a butterfly whom he used to gallant by the elbow, with the aid of much puffing and exertion. On being called upon to tell where he had come across the story, 'Sbidlikens absolutely refused to answer.

It would but be repeating an old story to say, that the ladies of New York dance well;—and well may they, since they learn it scientifically and begin their lessons before they have quit their swaddling clothes. The immortal DUPORT has usurped

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*In this instance, as well as on several other occasions, a little innocent pleasantry is indulged at Mr. Jefferson's expense. The allusion made here is to the red velvet small clothes with which the President, in defiance of good taste, used to attire himself on levee days and other public occasions.

In one of his splenetic moods in Virginia, John Randolph once vented his complaint of Jefferson, with an allusion to the old scandal. "I cannot live," said he, “in this miserable undone country, where, as the Turks follow their sacred standard, which is a pair of Mahomet's green breeches, we are governed by the old red breeches of that prince of projectors, St. Thomas of Cantingbury; and surely, Becket himself never had more pilgrims at his shrine, than the saint of Monticello.”

As for the proboscis of Paine, “I shall secure him to a nicety," said Jarvis, when he was about to take the bust of Paine, now in the New York Historical Society, “if I can get plaster enough for his carbunceled nose.” Dr. Francis, who relates the anecdote in one of the interesting historical sketches which he has given to the public, also furnishes a couplet sung by the boys in the street.

"Tom Paine is come from far, from far;
His nose is like a blazing star!"

—Paris Ed.
despotic sway over all the female heads and heels in this city;—horn-books, primers, and pianos are neglected, to attend to his positions; and poor CHILTON, with his pots, and kettles, and chemical crockery, finds him a more potent enemy than the whole collective force of the "North River Society." * 'Sbidlikens insists that this dancing mania will inevitably continue as long as a dancing-master will charge the fashionable price of five-and-twenty dollars a quarter, and all other accomplishments are so vulgar as to be attainable at "half the money;"—but I put no faith in 'Sbidlikens' candor in this particular. Among his infinitude of endowments, he is but a poor proficient in dancing; and though he often flounders through a cotillon, yet he never cut a pigeonwing in his life.

In my mind there's no position more positive and unexceptionable than that most Frenchmen, dead or alive, are born dancers. I came pounce upon this discovery at the assembly, and I immediately noted it down in my register of indisputable facts;—the public shall know all about it. As I never dance cotillons, holding them to be monstrous distorters of the human frame, and tantamount in their operations to being broken and dislocated on the wheel, I generally take occasion, while they are going on, to make my remarks on the company. I was struck with the energy and eloquence of sundry limbs, which seemed to be flourishing about without appertaining to anybody. After much investigation and difficulty I, at length, traced them to their respective owners, whom I found to be all Frenchmen to a man. Art may have meddled somewhat in these affairs, but nature certainly did more. I have since been considerably employed in calculations on this subject; and by the most accurate computation I have determined, that a Frenchman passes at least three-fifths of his time between the heavens and the earth, and partakes eminently of the nature of a gossamer or soap-bubble. One of these jack-o'-lantern heroes, in taking a figure, which neither Euclid nor Pythagoras himself could demonstrate, unfortunately wound himself—I mean his feet—his better part—into a lady's cobweb muslin robe; but perceiving it at the instant, he set himself a spinning the other way, like a top, unravelled his step, without omitting one angle or curve, and extricated himself without breaking a thread of the lady's dress! he then sprung up, like a sturgeon, crossed his feet four times, and finished this wonderful evolution by quivering his left leg, as a cat does her paw when she has accidentally dipped it in water. No man, "of woman born," who was not a Frenchman, or a mountebank, could have done the like.

Among the new faces, I remarked a blooming nymph, who has brought a fresh supply of roses from the country to adorn the wreath of beauty, where lilies too much predominate. As I wish well to every sweet face under heaven, I sincerely hope her roses may survive the frosts and dissipations of winter, and lose nothing by a comparison with the lovelist offerings of the spring. 'Sbidlikens, to whom I

*An imaginary association, the object of which was to set the North River (the Hudson) on fire. A number of young men of some fashion, little talent, and great pretension, were ridiculed as members.—Paris Ed.
Clement Week’s manuscript (No. 7) is typical of most American collections. The dances are written in the shortest form possible, serving only to remind him of the sequence of well-known figures. The country dances of the late eighteenth century were contrived of almost random sequences of figures and consequently were hard to remember. Notes like these helped keep them straight. Photo courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, provided by Kate Van Winkle Keller.

made similar remarks, assured me that they were very just, and very prettily exprest; and that the lady in question was a prodigious fine piece of flesh and blood. Now, could I find it in my heart to baste these cockneys like their own roast beef—they can make no distinctions between a fine woman and a fine horse.

I would praise the sylph-like grace with which another young lady acquitted herself in the dance, but that she excels in far more valuable accomplishments. Who praises the rose for its beauty, even though it is beautiful?

The company retired at the customary hour to the supper-room, where the tables were laid out with their usual splendor and profusion. My friend ‘Sbidlikens, with the native forethought of a cockney, had carefully stowed his pocket with cheese and crackers, that he might not be tempted again to venture his limbs in the crowd of hungry fair ones who throng the supper-room door: his precaution was unnecessary, for the company entered the room with surprising order and decorum. No gowns were torn—no ladies fainted—no noses bled—nor was there any need for the interference of either managers of peace officers.