

Edmund Pemberton and the Improvement of Dancing

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Edmund Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing*, published in 1711, is well known in the early dance world. Many of us have danced Mr Groscoret's 'An Ecchoe' for three, or Mr Holt's *Minuet* and *Jigg* for four, or struggled with the intricacies of Mr Isaac's solo *Chacone* and *Minuet*. The more complex figure dances, for as many as nine, ten and even twelve dancers, have provided a challenge to ambitious practical researchers. Pemberton's volume is an 'essay' in the sense of an 'attempt' or 'endeavour' or, mindful that dance notation had only recently been introduced to London, a 'first tentative effort in learning or practice' (as definitions in the online *Oxford English Dictionary* tell us). Familiarity has, perhaps, prevented us from paying due attention to the unique nature of this particular source. It not only provides us with ten choreographies found nowhere else, at least five of which are by dancing masters for whom no other dances survive, but – since all the choreographies are for ladies – also allows us a glimpse into the world of those dancing masters and their female pupils. All eleven of the dances are, obviously, dances of display. In this paper, in addition to exploring what Pemberton's *Essay* might tell us about the teaching of dancing in the early 1700s, I raise the possibility that some of the figure dances may have their origins in London's theatres.

An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing

Edmund Pemberton's *An Essay for the Further Improvement of Dancing* bears the date 1711 on its titlepage, but it was advertised as 'near compleat' as early as 13 June 1710 in the *Tatler* with the advice 'if any more Masters design to subscribe, they are desired to be expeditious'. Publication by subscription allowed authors to obtain money in advance from would-be purchasers to cover some of the costs of printing. For his *Essay*, Pemberton joined with the well-established music printers John Walsh and Joseph Hare, who had been involved in the printing of dance notations since at least 1708.¹ According to his Preface, the *Essay* was 'begun at the Request of several Masters remote from London'. The 'List of the Masters Subscribers' in the published volume has 58 names. All of the dancing masters who contributed choreographies subscribed to the publication, except for Guillaume-Louis Pecour of the Paris Opéra (who may have been unaware of the inclusion of his *Jigg*).² About a third of the subscribers are identified as provincial dancing masters; a number were based in the Midlands and there were two from York, as well as one from Dublin and another from as far afield as Virginia in the American Colonies. More than thirty were, tacitly, identified as based in London, for no other place was given for them. They included such familiar names as John Essex and John Weaver; although Weaver was at this date living and working in Shrewsbury, having left London by early 1708.³ Several can be identified as working in London's theatres, for example 'Mr. La Garde' (Charles Delagarde), who was the dancing master at Queen's Theatre until at least 1709 and himself a notator of dances, and 'Mr. Camille', who is otherwise known only for his appearance at the Queen's Theatre on 22 March 1712, partnering Hester Santlow in dances by Mr. Isaac.⁴

Pemberton's collection was sold for 'Half a Guinea' – the price given at the foot of the titlepage. This may be compared with the five shillings asked for Delagarde's notation of Isaac's *The Saltarella* just three years earlier. Ten shillings and sixpence was expensive for

a book, equivalent to at least £50 in today's prices, indirectly reflecting the earning power (if not the status) of the dancing master subscribers.⁵ We know next to nothing about how many copies were produced of dances printed in notation, but these are likely to have been a few hundred at most. The four copies of Pemberton's *Essay* known to survive are not a reliable indication of the original print run.⁶

What did the subscribers get for their money? Pemberton's *Essay* is a medium-sized book of 64 pages; the leaves of the British Library copy measure about ten by eight inches. The titlepage is followed by Pemberton's Preface, in which he explains that he undertook the work 'to improve the Use of the Characters invented by the Ingenious Mr. *Feuillet*' and thus ensure that 'Masters will be more capable of forming to themselves a juster idea of their Art'.⁷ His admission that he 'waited a considerable Time for the Original of Mr. *Feuillet*'s Treatise of Country Dances, translated by Mr. Essex, which method I have for the most part follow'd' suggests that the idea for the *Essay* came soon after the publication of *Feuillet*'s *Recüeil de contredances* and *Orchesography* (Weaver's translation of *Feuillet*'s *Choregraphie*) in 1706.⁸ Essex's translation of *Feuillet*'s *Recüeil* was published in 1710, and Pemberton follows his title closely; both men were actively promoting dance notation, and they seem to have been colleagues rather than rivals.⁹ The Preface is followed by the Dedication to Thomas Caverley of 'these *Figure Dances*', with Pemberton's declaration that 'this Collection claims your Protection, it being by your Approbation, and promoting the Subscriptions that gave Life to the Undertaking'.¹⁰ Pemberton also declares that it was by Mr Isaac's 'Approbation I first appear'd in Print to instruct Masters in the Characters, which afterwards brought this necessary Work upon me', suggesting that he had published an earlier work of dance notation, although this remains unidentified (if indeed it survives).

The introductory pages are followed by eight 'Figure Dances':

Choreographer	Title	Performers
Mr Groskort	An Ecchoe	3 Ladies
Mr Holt	Minuet and Jigg	4 Ladies
Mr Caverley	Minuet	5 Ladies
Mr Shirley	Minuet	6 Ladies
Mr Prince	Minuet [and Jigg]	8 Ladies
Mr Couch	[Jigg and] Minuet	9 Ladies
Mr Hickford	Jigg	10 Ladies
Mr Priest	Minuet	12 Ladies

These dances form the first part of the book and are the subject of my paper.

The second part of Pemberton's *Essay* is introduced by a fresh Dedication to the Duchess of Buckingham and Normanby of the 'single Dances' which follow. In his Dedication Pemberton gives most of his attention to her teacher 'the Admirable Mr. Goree', whose 'last Masterpiece' she was. 'Mr. Goree' was the royal dancing master more usually referred to as Jeremy Gohory (although, according to the evidence of his will, his name was Jerome Gahory).¹¹ Pemberton draws attention to the loss of Gahory's dances because of the lack of means to record them, highlighting his concern to preserve choreographies for posterity. There are three 'single Dances':

Choreographer	Title	Performers
Mr Isaac	Chacone. Minuet	Solo Lady
Mr L'Abbé	Passacaille	Solo Lady
Mr Pecour	Jigg	Solo Lady

Pemberton's collection had a strongly didactic purpose. It was intended to provide extra instruction to dancing masters in the use of the newly invented system of dance notation, through a series of choreographies they could use in their own teaching of young female pupils. It was also meant to help raise the status of the art of dancing, by giving choreography the permanence of music.

Dancing Masters in Pemberton's *Essay*

Edmund Pemberton was clearly closely involved with London's leading dancing masters and very active in the promotion of Beauchamp-Feuillet notation. I explored his life and career elsewhere some years ago, but much remains to be discovered.¹² Most dancing masters of this period have left few traces of their existence; the dates and places of their births and deaths are often uncertain and records of their day-to-day work rarely survive. Who were the dancing-masters who contributed to the first part of Pemberton's *Essay*? What evidence survives of their lives and careers?

John Groscort married the widow Frances Lasinby in 1697, succeeding her late husband as the proprietor of a Turkish bath in Covent Garden.¹³ They had at least five children before Frances died in 1708.¹⁴ Groscort was obviously well known as a dancing master by the time *An Ecchoe*, his bouree and minuet, was published in Pemberton's *Essay*. This is his only known dance, even though he, too, was a supporter of dance notation. He subscribed to *Orchesography* and the *Collection of Ball-Dances*, Weaver's notations of six of Mr Isaac's choreographies, in 1706. He was commended by Weaver, in the latter's 1712 *Essay Towards an History of Dancing*, as one of the 'happy Teachers of that Natural and Unaffected Manner, which has been brought to so high a Perfection by Isaack and Caverley'.¹⁵ He was later apparently to achieve a status rivalling theirs, for in 1728 John Essex dedicated *The Dancing-Master*, his translation of Rameau's *Le Maître a danser*, to Groscort, declaring 'you have an indisputable Claim among the Masters of our Profession to be esteemed one of the First'.¹⁶ John Groscort was buried at St Paul Covent Garden early in 1742.¹⁷ When he made his will on 30 December 1741, he must have been very ill for he could do no more than make his mark. Probate was granted to his widowed daughter Sarah Copps and his brother-in-law Michael Mattaire on 2 January 1742.¹⁸ The will shows that Groscort must have been a wealthy man, for the legacies alone amount to £1900 – a sum that even the most conservative estimate makes equivalent to around £190,000 today.¹⁹ He had links to London's intellectual circles (and perhaps to patronage) through Mattaire, who was a much-published classical scholar supported by the Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Rutland.²⁰ In his will, Groscort described himself as a gentleman, and made no mention of his profession.

Several of the dancing masters who contributed to Pemberton's *Essay* can be found in the area around St Martin in the Fields, where Pemberton himself was based.²¹ Thomas Hickford, who was skilled and experienced enough to provide a *Jigg* for ten ladies, ran a dancing school in Panton Street just off the Haymarket from at least the late 1690s. The *Post Boy* for 20 November 1697 advertised a series of concerts to be given there, and there were

other such advertisements until well into the eighteenth century. So far, I have been unable to track down any further information about him. Hickford was not among the subscribers to *Orchesography* or the *Collection of Ball-Dances*, yet he must surely have had some interest in notation or he would not have provided a dance for the *Essay* – unless, of course, he saw it simply as a useful means of advertising.

Mr Shirley was definitely involved in promoting dance notation, for he not only subscribed to *Orchesography* and the *Collection of Ball-Dances* but he was a notator himself. His versions of Balon's *La Silvea* (titled *La Silvie* in its original French edition) and Pecour's *Aimable Vainqueur* were advertised for sale in the *British Weekly Mercury* for 5–12 March 1715, when his first name was given as Richard and his address was 'the corner of Newport-street, the upper End of St. Martin's Lane'.²² Richard Shirley has also evaded attempts to find out more about him, although his contact with the London stage is indicated by Miss Lindar's appearance as an entr'acte dancer in November 1717 with the billing 'a Scholar of Mr Shirley's'.²³

Mr Prince is just as shadowy a figure, although he could well have been the dancer who appeared regularly at Drury Lane between 1710 and his death in 1718. He is usually identified as Joseph Prince, who married Judith daughter of the dancing master Luke Channell in 1678.²⁴ I find it difficult to believe that Joseph Prince, who must have been born in 1657 or earlier, could have enjoyed a career as a professional dancer on the London stage until the late 1710s. A probably rather younger Mr Prince first appears as a dancer in advertisements during the mid-1690s, and at least two sources refer to a John Prince who may well be the same man.²⁵ Even so, it is impossible to be certain of the identity of the 'Mr. Prince' who subscribed to Pemberton's *Essay* and contributed a dance for eight ladies.

Richard Shirley also had 'his school at Mr. Dowson's in Bartholomew-Close', which takes us in the direction of the City of London.²⁶ Bartholomew Close was not far from Smithfield, adjacent to Aldersgate and one of the City boundaries. Thomas Caverley had a dancing school a little further from the City in Chancery Lane, which was (like Hickford's) a venue for concerts.²⁷ Caverley's status among his fellow dancing masters is attested by the works dedicated to him, not only the first part of Pemberton's *Essay*, but also Weaver's *Essay Towards an History of Dancing* (1712), Kellom Tomlinson's *Passepied Round-O* (1715) and Weaver's *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* (1721). Caverley's greatest skill, according to Weaver, was as a teacher of young women. Weaver wrote that Caverley's 'discreet Manner of Educating Ladies according to their different Genius and Capacity, has so good an Effect, that none go from you unimproved'.²⁸ Perhaps the theme of Pemberton's *Essay* was Caverley's idea?

At least one of Pemberton's contributors was probably based in the City of London. Mr Couch's dancing school in Stocks Market, Walbrook Lane (the site disappeared when the Mansion House was built in 1737) was advertised regularly during the mid-1690s.²⁹ Nicholas Couch was possibly born about 1662, for his marriage licence allegation described him as 'aged about 23 years' just before he married Katherine Alford in 1685.³⁰ The couple's daughter, also named Katherine, was born in 1689. Couch's first wife died after fewer than ten years of marriage, for in 1695 Ann, daughter of Nicholas and Sarah Couch, was baptised at St Nicholas Cole Abbey.³¹ In 1706, a Mr Couch was among the subscribers to *Orchesography* and the *Collection of Ball-Dances*. In 1710, according to an advertisement in the *Daily Courant*, he still had a 'Dancing-Room' in Walbrook.³² Couch was another of the 'happy

Teachers' acknowledged by Weaver in his 1712 *Essay Towards an History of Dancing*.³³ He also subscribed to Weaver's *Anatomical and Mechanical Lectures upon Dancing* and L'Abbé's *New Collection of Dances* during the 1720s. The *Daily Post* for 21 May 1725 announced:

Some Days ago dy'd at his House at Richmond, Mr. Nicholas Couch, formerly Dancing Master in this City, whose great Dexterity in that Profession, together with his modest and obliging Behaviour to all Persons, gain'd him so great Business, that he hath left a very handsome Estate to his Wife and two Daughters.

Nicholas Couch's will was proved on 6 July 1725, and runs to several pages.³⁴ It included more than £500 in legacies as well as properties in the City of London and Egham in Surrey, made provision for his daughters and grandchildren and left the residue to his wife Sarah. Like John Groscort, Nicholas Couch described himself in his will as a gentleman and made no mention that he was a dancing master. He was, surely, the dancing master whose figure dance for nine ladies appears in Pemberton's *Essay*. Couch's 'very handsome Estate' provides further evidence of the money to be made from the teaching of dancing.

Another dancing master with a base in the City of London was Mr Holt, who had a 'Dancing Room' in Bartholomew Lane, behind the Royal Exchange, in the early 1700s.³⁵ He or another Holt – for there was a whole family of Holts involved professionally in music and dancing during the early eighteenth century – had a 'Dancing-Room in Canary-Court near Exeter Exchange in the Strand', placing him close to the little group of dancing masters around St Martin in the Fields.³⁶ Walter Holt 'Senior' and Walter Holt 'Junior' subscribed to *Orchesography* and the *Collection of Ball-Dances*, while Walter Holt and a Mr Holt 'Junior' subscribed to L'Abbé's *New Collection of Dances* along with a 'Mr. Will. Holt'. Both Walter and William Holt also subscribed to Pemberton's *Essay*. The latter was named as the choreographer of the *Rigadon Renouvelle* published in London in the early 1720s.³⁷ He died in 1723, and his will indicates that he was the son of Walter Holt Senior.³⁸ His father was, very likely, the 'Mr. Holt, Sen. A very wealthy and famous Dancing-Master' whose death was reported in the *Weekly Miscellany* for 15 September 1738. The elder Holt's will provides further evidence that William was indeed his son.³⁹ Walter and William described themselves as 'citizen and musician of London' (not as dancing masters) in their respective wills. So, which Mr Holt contributed the *Minuet* and *Jigg* for four ladies to Pemberton's *Essay*? It may well have been William, although that attribution is by no means certain.

Mr Priest has, of course, been identified as the Josias Priest who created dances for Purcell's semi-operas during the 1690s. An article some years ago by the dance historian Jennifer Thorp raised many issues around his identity and set out the evidence for a family of dancing masters named Priest working in and around London during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁴⁰ The only information we have about this particular dancing master is that he was based in Chelsea – for he must surely be the 'Mr. Preist, Senior, of Chelsea' named in the *Essay*'s subscription list. He was probably Josias Priest, who ran a school for young ladies in Chelsea and may have worked with Henry Purcell in the 1690s.⁴¹ Whether or not he ever worked in the theatre, Pemberton's contributor could have been influenced by other dancing masters in his family who had.

The Figure Dances in Pemberton's Essay

Edmund Pemberton did not find it easy to notate all the dances in his *Essay*. Groscort's *Ecchoe* is laid out clearly enough, but Holt's *Minuet* and *Jigg* contains some clumsily drawn lines and, in one place, tracks which had to be re-engraved leaving the ghosts of the erased lines beside them.⁴² By contrast Caverley's *Minuet* is very nicely placed on the page, even when the figures become more complex towards the end of the dance. Shirley's *Minuet* for six ladies is particularly clear and harmonious, with lines obviously carefully drawn with the help of a rule and compasses (see Figure 1). Does this notation really attempt to show Shirley's floor patterns, or is it an exercise in decorative arabesques? When he came to

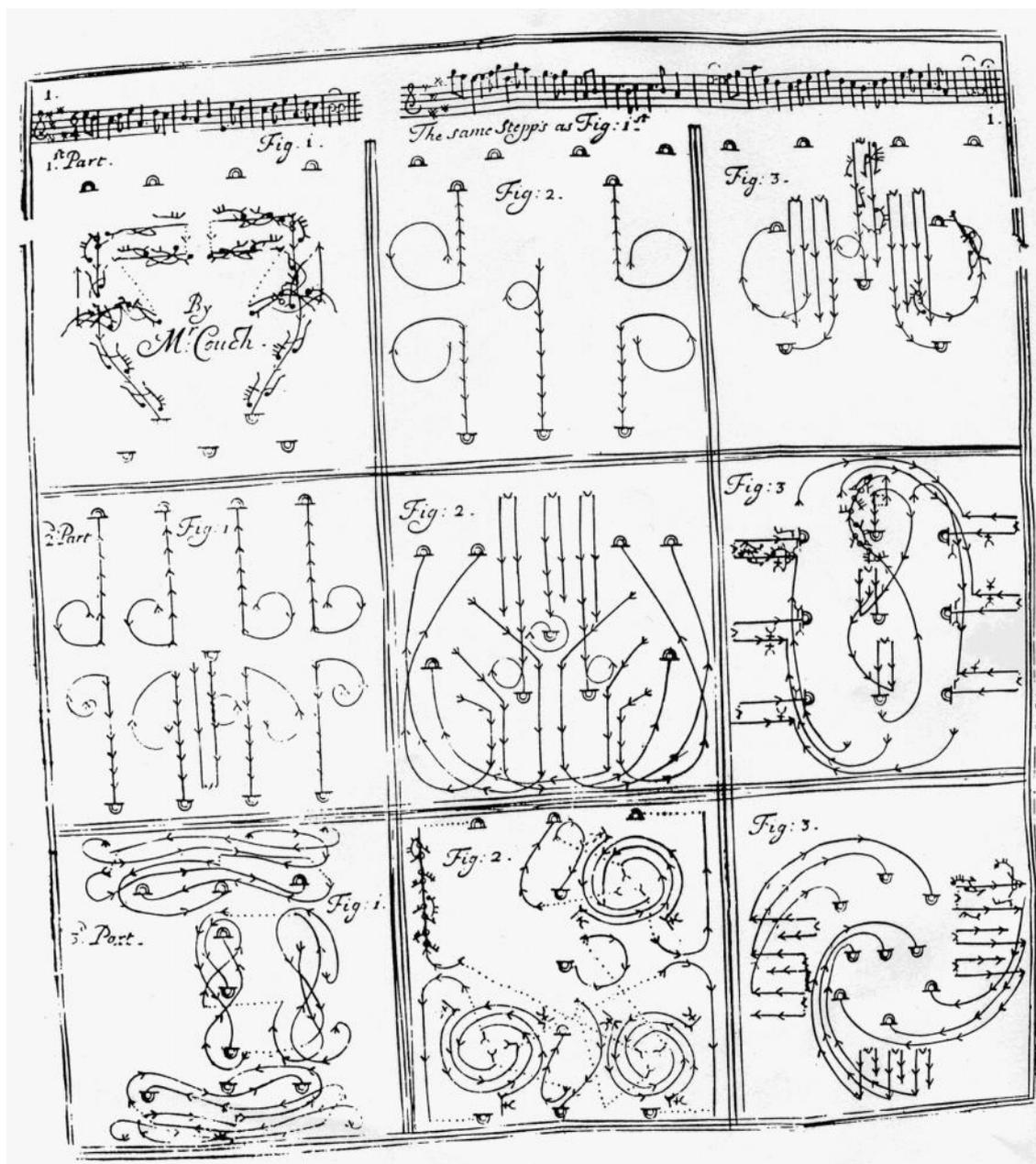


Illustration 1: Mr. Shirley's *Minuet*, 4th Part, Figs. 3 & 4.

Prince's, Couch's and Hickford's dances for eight, nine and ten ladies respectively, Pemberton was very nearly defeated. The limitations of even simplified Beauchamp-Feuillet notation, when showing the movements of more than four dancers, are exposed to view. Of course, Pemberton's task was made more difficult by a desire to save on paper costs (in the eighteenth century, paper was an expensive commodity) which obliged him to cram up to nine complex figures onto a single sheet. Even on a double-size folded sheet, the results were anything but clear (see Figure 2). Pemberton's attempts to add the steps for Couch's *Jigg* did not help the clarity of the notation.

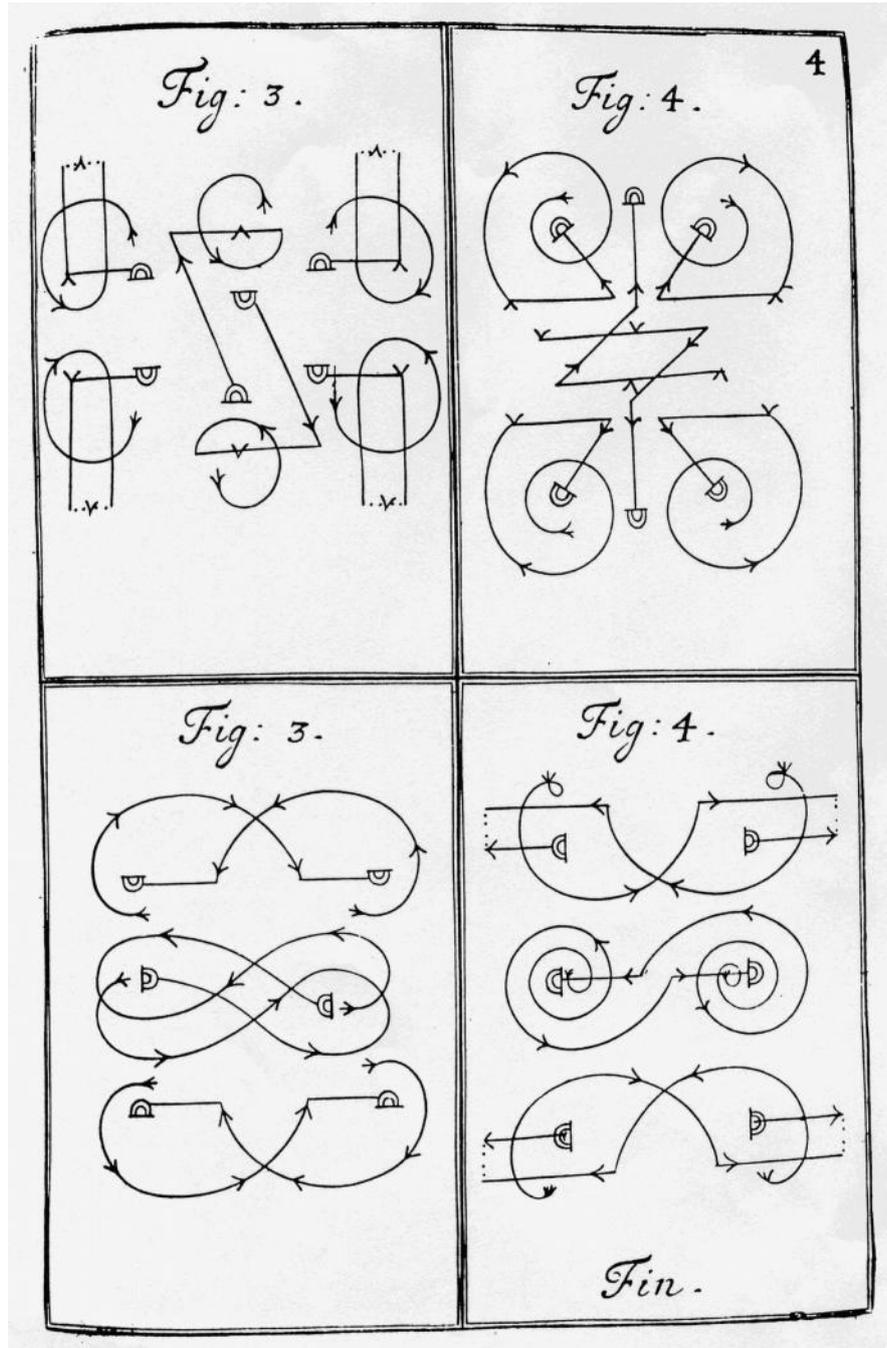


Illustration 2: Mr. Couch's *Jigg*, 1st Part - 3d Part.

One solution to the notational difficulties can be seen in Preist's *Minuet* for twelve ladies, in which the notator was able to use just one track for the floor patterns traced by four ladies. This dance comes at the end of part one of the *Essay* and is an object lesson in the beauty that these notations can attain. Did Pemberton write out the dances in the order they appear in the book? Did he learn as he went along? Or is it that the choreographic style of some dancing masters allowed Pemberton to deploy the best of his considerable design skills?

It is not possible to undertake a detailed analysis of all eight figure dances within this paper. Here, my interest in these choreographies lies in the possibility that some of them might have their origins on the London stage. Although we know that choreographies involving five, six, eight or even more dancers were a feature of the entr'acte entertainments given in London's theatres, we know nothing about the steps and figures they employed. Only the *Balet de Neuf Danseurs* in Feuillet's 1700 *Recüeil de dances* provides a contemporary example of a group dance, but we have no way of knowing how typical it might have been.⁴³ Among its features are the alternation of passages by a soloist and four of the eight other men; all eight of the supporting dancers perform together only in the final sections of the choreography. Each figure begins with all the performers facing the audience (in various formations), and the whole dance ends with them in a V pattern.⁴⁴ The figure dances in Pemberton's *Essay* provide a very different English source for floor patterns, if not steps, that might shed light on stage practices in London.

Groscort's *Ecchoe* is very obviously a dance of display, with the dancers' focus on the presence or audience and the sort of steps to be found in many other notated theatre as well as ball dances of the period. Holt's *Minuet* and *Jigg* for four is very inwardly focussed, the ladies face each other and the centre of the figures they perform, rather than looking outwards or to the front. Mr Caverley's *Minuet* is much the same. Prince's *Minuet* and *Jigg* for eight ladies would be an obvious candidate for a dance originating in the theatre, if he was the Mr Prince employed as a dancer at Drury Lane. The dance is very long, for beneath the second line of music on the first plate is clearly stated 'The 1st. Part 4 times over' – directing that the four figures of the first part must be repeated four times in all, giving 128 bars. The four repeats allow the individual dancers to return to the positions in which they began the *Minuet*. The *Jigg* which follows the *Minuet* takes another 64 bars, making 194 bars in all. In the *Minuet* the dancers move into and out of lines up and down or across the dancing area – in the latter, one line of ladies always faces the presence or audience. These formations are varied in the *Jigg*, but the dancers are still often outwardly focussed, facing across the dancing space or with some or all of them facing the presence. The whole dance ends (so far as one can tell, for the notation is not entirely clear) with the eight ladies in an open curve facing their audience. The only steps shown are an occasional *pas balancé*.

Couch's *Jigg* and *Minuet* are more complex than any of the earlier dances in the collection. The notation also incorporates steps in several places. In his Explanation, Pemberton says 'Mr. Couch's Fig. Where you see one Example of Steps, all the rest do the same'. This dance is also very long, for in Figure 6 of the 5th Part the instruction is given 'End this with the 3. First Parts'. So, the 72-bar *Jigg* is followed by a 48-bar *Minuet* and then repeated, for a dance of 192 bars in all. The dance opens with a duet by two of the nine dancers, and Couch then draws in another three ladies. All nine dancers dance at once for the first time only in the opening figure of the second part. The opening formations for each figure through-

out the dance suggest that Couch's choreography is predominantly inwardly focussed, even though there are several figures in which all or most of them face outwards or towards the presence, and the closing figure brings all the dancers into trios on three sides of a square open towards the audience. The steps are straightforward, including *contretemps*, *pas de sissonne*, *pas assemblé* and variants on the *pas de bourée*.

Hickford's *Jigg* is rather shorter, at 96 bars of music. According to its opening formations for each figure it is very much directed to the presence, and the ladies are often placed so that all ten of them can be seen at key points of the dance. The notation also shows how Hickford makes effective use of rest bars, which means that not all the dancers are in motion all the time. This is very much a feature of the choreography, which (on the page at least) also contrasts linear and circular figures. The final figure begins with the ladies in an open curve facing the presence, and continues a solo begun by one of the dancers in the previous figure. The ten ladies end in the triangular formation in which they began the dance.

The twelve ladies of Mr Priest's *Minuet* begin in an open square, with two lines of four on either side and four at the back – all of them face the front. The four ladies across the back of the dancing area remain still throughout the whole first part of the dance. The other eight dance in two lines of four, holding hands and moving in a single line – as already noted, this allowed Pemberton to notate their movements very economically. The choreographic device of a line of dancers moving together is used throughout the dance, and Priest's dance is also characterised by an emphasis on facing the presence or audience. The most complex figures come at the end of part three, particularly figure four in which every dancer has to make a small circle on her own axis halfway through the music. The dance closes with the ladies in an open square, as they began.

Any evidence that the dances in the first part of Pemberton's *Essay* had a theatrical origin must lie in the figures, since the steps (which are rarely notated) never stray beyond the basic *belle dance* vocabulary. The examples provided by other theatre choreographies, and the *Balet de neuf Danseurs* in particular, suggests that only those dances with a strong focus towards an audience in front of the performers are possible candidates. Those which have this feature are Groscoret's, Prince's, Hickford's and Priest's. Groscoret's trio, with or without its minuet, may owe something to choreographies on the London stage, even though the dancing master seems to have had no links with the theatre. Hickford incorporates a solo towards the end of his figure dance, while Priest's use of an open formation leaves space for a possible soloist at several points during his choreography. None of the evidence is conclusive, and the choreographies also show obvious debts both to ballroom duets and country dances. Whatever their origins, the figure dances in Pemberton's *Essay* are dances of display, suggesting that performance before an audience was an important part of the dance training of amateurs in early eighteenth-century London.

The Improvement of Dancing

Pemberton's *Essay for the Improvement of Dancing* was an important part of attempts by London's leading dancing masters to introduce dance notation to members of their profession and improve standards in dancing schools throughout the country. The aim was to ensure a genteel style for the ballroom. The inclusion of dances for ladies alone may reveal the bias of the clientèle of most dancing masters, or perhaps just the interest (based on practical and commercial considerations) of Caverley and Isaac – who were Pemberton's

chief patrons. The use of display dances for such purposes suggests a more complex attitude to genteel young women dancing in public than the straightforward condemnation almost invariably found in conduct manuals. The *Essay* also reveals a network of prosperous and influential dancing masters, in the provinces as well as London, eager to keep up with the latest fashions in dancing and happy to support the promotion of dancing as an art. Were any of these figure dances related to stage choreographies? The evidence is too slender to allow us to draw any conclusions without a great deal more analysis. They were certainly meant to be performed before an audience, to which some of the dances were clearly directed. How well they might have worked on stage can only be judged through reconstructions by dancers able to emulate the considerable skills of deportment and memory, and the stamina, of the young women for whom they were originally created.

Notes

- 1 Walsh and Hare published Mr Isaac's *The Saltarella* in 1708, see Little, M. E. and Marsh, C.G. *La Danse Noble*. Broude Brothers, Williamstown, 1992, [1708]-Slr.
- 2 The only English notations Pecour did subscribe to were L'Abbé's, see L'Abbé, A. *A New Collection of Dances: Originally Published by F. Le Roussau c. 1725*. Stainer & Bell, London, 1991.
- 3 Ralph, R. *The Life and Works of John Weaver*. Dance Books, London, 1985, pp. 17, 19.
- 4 Goff, M. *The Incomparable Hester Santlow* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2007), p. 17, 19, 37.
- 5 For a discussion of prices and earnings among authors, actors and others in this period, see Hume, R. D. *The Economics of Culture in London, 1660–1740*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 2006, 69 (4), 487–533 (for changing monetary values see pp. 490–1, for book prices see pp. 508–9).
- 6 The four copies are in the British Library, the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the Library of Mills College, Oakland in California. See Little and Marsh, *La Danse Noble*, 1711-Pem.
- 7 Italics are sometimes silently reversed in quotations.
- 8 Feuillet, R. A. *Recüeil de contredances*. Paris: l'auteur, 1706. Feuillet, R. A. *Choregraphie*. Paris: l'auteur, M. Brunet, 1700, translated by John Weaver as *Orchesography*. H. Meere, London, 1706. Pemberton's emphasis on English translations may reflect both his own and his intended audience's inability to read French.
- 9 Feuillet, R. A. [transl. John Essex] *For the Furthur Improvement of Dancing*. J. Walsh & P. Randall, London, J. Hare, the author [i.e. J. Essex], 1710.
- 10 The order of the preliminary pages in Pemberton's *Essay*, which also include an 'Explanation' of the sequence and interpretation of the figures of individual dances, varies from copy to copy.
- 11 See Goff, M. 'The Testament and Last Will of Jerome Francis Gahory' (forthcoming).
- 12 Goff, M. 'Edmund Pemberton. Dancing-Master and Publisher', *Dance Research*, 1993, 11 (1), 52–81.
- 13 Parish Registers, St James Dukes Place, Marriages, 15 July 1697. *Survey of London. Volume XXXVI. The Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden*. Athlone Press, London. 1970, p. 91.
- 14 Parish Registers, St Paul Covent Garden: Baptisms, (children of John and Frances Groscort) John 2 March 1698, Mary 20 June 1699, Mary Katharin Angelica 29 October

- 1700; Burials, Frances ‘wife of John Groscott’ 16 August 1708. Two further daughters, Sarah and Margaret, are beneficiaries of Groscott’s will but records of their baptisms are yet to be found.
- 15 Weaver, J. *An Essay Towards an History of Dancing*. J. Tonson, London, 1712, sig. A4v.
 - 16 Rameau, P. [transl. John Essex] *The Dancing-Master*. [J. Essex], J. Brotherton, London, 1728, p. iii.
 - 17 Parish Registers, St Paul Covent Garden, Burials, 7 January 1742.
 - 18 The National Archives, PROB 11/715.
 - 19 Multipliers from 100 to 500 (or more) have been suggested for the conversion of values around 1700 to those of the early 2000s, see Hume, ‘Economics of Culture’, pp. 490–2.
 - 20 Margaret Clunies Ross and Amanda J. Collins, ‘Mattaire, Michael (1668–1747)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17841>, accessed 13 May 2009].
 - 21 The imprint for the *Essay* gives Pemberton’s address as ‘next the *Fire-Office* in *St. Martin’s-Lane*’.
 - 22 *The Silvea* is not known to survive. For Shirley’s version of *Aimable Vainqueur* see Little and Marsh, *La Danse Noble*, [c1715]-Aim.
 - 23 *The London Stage 1660–1800. Part 2: 1700–1729*, ed. Emmett L. Avery (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960), 7 November 1717, Drury Lane.
 - 24 See the entry in Highfill Jr., P. H., Burnim, K. A., Langhans, E. A. *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*. 16 vols. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 1973–1993.
 - 25 *Daily Courant*, 11 July 1709. *A Register of English Theatrical Documents 1660–1737*, ed. J. Milhous and R. D. Hume. 2 vols. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale, 1991, no. 2212.
 - 26 *British Weekly Mercury* 5–12 March 1715.
 - 27 For example the ‘Vocal and Instrumental’ concert given at Caverley’s Academy on 20 March 1713, see the entry in *The London Stage 1660–1800. Part 2*.
 - 28 Weaver, *Essay Towards an History of Dancing*, sigs. A3r–A3v.
 - 29 *Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 29 June 1694 – 20 September 1695.
 - 30 Guildhall Library London. MS. 10091/29, Bishop of London, Marriage Licence Allegations, 3 June 1685. Parish Registers, St Nicholas Cole Abbey, Marriages, 4 June 1685.
 - 31 Parish Registers, St Nicholas Cole Abbey, Baptisms, 8 March 1695. Nicholas and Sarah Couch had at least two other children, both baptised at St Nicholas Cole Abbey, Mary 5 September 1697 and Nicholas 9 December 1700 (who was buried there 23 December 1700).
 - 32 *Daily Courant*, 24 February 1710, advertising a ‘Consort of Vocal and Instrumental Music’ there.
 - 33 He is called ‘Mr. Crouch’ which may be the source of the suggestion that he could have been John Crouch the violinist, see the entry for Mr. Couch in the *Biographical Dictionary of Actors*.
 - 34 The National Archives PROB 11/604.

- 35 Advertisement in the *Daily Courant*, 4 March 1706.
- 36 Advertisement in the *Daily Courant*, 23 April 1706.
- 37 Little and Marsh, *La Danse Noble*, [c1722]-Rig.
- 38 The National Archives PROB 11/591.
- 39 The National Archives PROB 11/691.
- 40 Jennifer Thorp, 'Dance in Late 17th-Century London: Priestly Muddles', *Early Music*, 1998, 26 (2), 198–210
- 41 Thorp, 'Dance in Late 17th-Century London', p. 205.
- 42 Mr. Holt, *Minuet*, 2d Part, Figs. 1 and 2.
- 43 Little and Marsh, *La Danse Noble*, 1700-Feu. Feuillet's *Balet de neuf Danseurs* is to music from Lully's 1679 *tragédie en musique Bellérophon*. There is no evidence to confirm or deny that it was ever performed on stage.
- 44 The soloist, who had finished dancing earlier, is omitted from the point of the V (presumably accidentally).