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Dancing-Masters: Professionals or Business Men?

A study of the status of dancing-masters in eighteenth century England

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Introduction

- ‘Lady: Are you a Dancing Master?
D. I am; nor do I well conceive Madam, why
you question it.
L. I question it, because many have been
deceived by gentlemen of your
Profession.’ (Gardiner)¹

S.J. Gardiner’s lady echoed the question expressed by many in eighteenth century society, which was, how to distinguish between a genuine, well trained, knowledgeable and professional dancing master, and a counterfeit.

Before looking further for an answer to her question, however, I think it is necessary to look briefly at the history of the dancing master. Some of the earliest clear records of dancing masters date back to the 15th century when masters attached to the aristocratic houses of Italy and Spain wrote books describing the dances and etiquette of their time. These men appear to have been attached to, and employed by, the households of wealthy patrons, not only teaching the young members of the family to dance but also instructing them in polite behaviour and correct manners. This instruction was, however, very much restricted to the nobility, and the masters were treated as court servants. Their books belonged to their patrons and were not for general distribution. A prince might present such a book to a noble guest, and the visitor would then show it to the members of his own circle, but there was no question of them being offered for sale. As the instructions in the books were given verbally, the reader had to be able to read the

language in which they were written, and this verbal transmission of dances could lead to misunderstanding and confusion. It may have been for this reason that King Louis XIV of France, having established the Académie Royale de Danse in 1661, in the 1670s ordered his dancing master, M. Beauchamp, to compose a form of dance notation to mirror that of music notation, which could be read internationally². In 1700 a pupil of Beauchamp, Raoul Auger Feuillet published his book ‘Choregraphie’³ giving a detailed explanation of this notation, together with a number of dances written in it, and suddenly dancing took on a new dimension. Dances could be exchanged between masters and between countries, and with France being the centre of artistic life at that time, it became important to have masters who could interpret the French culture. A flood of dancing masters throughout Europe were eager to get hold of the latest choreographies, and instruct their pupils in the latest French fashions. English dancing masters were no exception and the editor of the Spectator tells of a new lodger in the house next to his, a dancing-master, who

‘had been reading a dance or two before he went out, which had been written by one who taught at an academy in France. [...] there is nothing so common as to communicate a dance by a letter’. (The Spectator)⁴

It followed that the man who could communicate these dances, and read the complicated notation in which they were written, was much in demand.

Before going further, it might also be helpful to look at the term ‘professional’ in an eighteenth century context. In her introduction to *The Professions in Early Modern England*, O’Day⁵ talks of ‘the Learned Professions,’ a term also used by Parnell in the *Spectator* in 1712,⁶ and defined by both of them as the Law, the Church and Medicine. O’Day lists the criteria for a profession which include concepts such as vocation, internal control, recruitment, placement, organisation and *esprit de corps*, but, as she points out

‘this list derives from observations of nineteenth- and twentieth-century professions and, frequently, from professions in a North American context’ (O’Day)⁷.

In the twenty first century, membership of a learned profession usually requires a university qualification or its equivalent. In the Eighteenth Century, however, the word ‘profession’ seems to have been used much more freely and was frequently applied to men whose only qualification was at best an apprenticeship, at worst a certain aptitude.

I propose, therefore, to look at the position of dancing masters in terms of their own opinion of themselves, and their contemporaries’ opinion of them, as well as comparing them with other trades and professions in the eighteenth century, particularly the minor branches of the learned professions, such as attorneys, solicitors, apothecaries or surgeons, to try to distinguish differences and/or similarities, which might solve the problem of the dancing master’s status. I will do this by examining archive records to discover the level of training they received, how thorough this was and how it compares with apprenticeships in other professions. I will then study their own writings about themselves, and what others wrote of them, to discover their standing in society, the scope of their work and their relationship with other trades and professions. Finally I will look at what, if any, controls there were to regulate their work and establish autonomy.

So how did dancing masters acquire their knowledge and by what authority did they become the dictators of a society whose every gesture and movement seem to have been regulated by them?

Training

‘In April 1707 I was placed as an Apprentice with Mr. Thomas Calverley now living in Queen’s Square [...] with whom I continued till the Year 1714.’ (Tomlinson)⁸

It is not easy to establish an exact picture of the training of dancing masters. Kellom Tomlinson describes his early years which, like many professions at this time, consisted of a seven year apprenticeship during which time he also studied the ‘Theatrical Way’ with Mr. Cherrier, a popular French dancer attached to Drury Lane Theatre. This suggests that Tomlinson was allowed to perform on stage during his apprenticeship, though it is probable that most of his earnings from this were paid over to his master Calverley. We are fortunate to have more detailed information about another trainee dancing master, one John Denisson, son of a London jelly maker Henry Denisson. John was apprenticed to Charles Lalauze in 1748 and the articles of agreement between the father and Lalauze give a very clear picture of the terms and conditions applicable at this period.

Whereas the said John Henry Denisson hath by and with the Consent of the said Henry Denisson his father, put himself Apprentice to the above named Charles Lalauze to learn the Art or Mystery of a Dancing Master and after the manner of Apprentice to serve him from the Day of the Date hereof for and during and into The full End and Term of six Years next ensuing Now these Presents Witnefs and it is hereby agreed that during the said Term the said Apprentice his said Master faithfully shall and will serve his Secrets keep his lawful Commands gladly every where obey [...] He shall not commit fornication nor contract Matrimony within the said Term at Cards Dice or any other unlawful Games he shall not play [...] he shall not absent himself Day or Night from his Masters Service without his Leave nor haunt Alehouses or Taverns’.⁹

Henry Denisson agreed to pay one hundred and five pounds in instalments of twenty pounds down and twenty one pounds per year thereafter, and in exchange for this commitment, Lalauze agreed:

‘...that he teach and instruct or cause to be taught and instructed the said John Denisson the said Apprentice in the said Mystery or Art of a Dancing Master on the Stage as well as off’.¹⁰

Young John Denisson was taken into the Lalauze household, described as being in the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields, to live with them for the next six years, and during this time, Lalauze agreed with his father that he would provide him with

Sufficient Meat and Drink Washing Lodging and Apparel of all sorts both Woollen and Linen (except such dresses as shall be used or worn by the said John Henry Denisson in his Performances on the Stage) and also shall and will provide a proper Master for his Son to teach and instruct him in the Art of Playing on the Violin’.¹¹

It is also interesting that Lalauze agreed to take the boy with him if he should have to go abroad, and provide him with food and lodging while there. Like most other good dancing masters, Lalauze would want to return to Paris from time to time to update his knowledge and renew his contacts. Six months after this agreement was made, on 2nd February 1749, a second agreement was drawn up, with similar wording, but this time the term of service was given as seven years, which seems to have been the more normal length of an apprenticeship. Judith Milhous suggests that this revised agreement was drawn up because Henry Denisson had been declared bankrupt, and therefore, unable to pay the remainder of the fee.¹² It would seem that by that stage, Lalauze was sufficiently pleased with his student, to be prepared to waive the fee.

O’Day quotes figures of between £20 to £200 as the fee payable by the parents of an apprentice for training as attorney or apothecary and £20 to £100 for surgeons.¹³ The lower figure for an apprentice surgeon was probably because of their association with barbers, which gave them a lower status. The fee of £105 paid to Lalauze, therefore, puts young Dennison on a similar footing to these professions.

The various Guilds regulated the terms and conditions of apprenticeships for most trades, as well as branches of the professions such as apothecaries, surgeons or attorneys. The wording of Denisson’s agreement is very similar to indentures of apprenticeship drawn up by these professionals when taking on apprentices, for example. Samuel Richardson’s *The Apprentices Vade Mecum*¹⁴ contained a template for an indenture agreement of apprenticeship which was taken up into a standard form and printed by the Company of Stationers. The form simply left blanks to be filled in by the two parties, and it was commonly used by all the professions, but probably because Denisson’s agreement required certain additions and amendments such as the reservation about the supply of theatre clothes, the travel abroad and the violin lessons, the standard printed form was not used in his case.

As with the other trades and professions, however, apprenticeship was not the only way to become a dancing master. Just as a young man might become a surgeon by enlisting in the navy or army and learning on the job, or an attorney like Elias Ashmole could pick up his knowledge from friends, so it was possible for a dancer to move across the footlights and into teaching. We have the example of Mr. Clarice in Cambridge who described himself as a ‘dancer from King’s Theatre, London’¹⁵, and Mr. Gregory Haughton of York ‘who has danced at the Theatre Royal, London and likewise in Paris...’¹⁶ Both were advertising themselves as dancing masters, but there is no evidence that either of

them had studied with a master or served an apprenticeship.

It is also true that just as many young men training as physicians and finding that English universities did not teach anatomy, took themselves off to continental Universities such as Leiden or Padua to complete their studies, so also young dancing masters like John Denisson went off to Paris to study at the fountain head of his art.

So having, in one way or another, completed his training in the secrets and mysteries of the art of dancing master, how did the young man proceed with his career?

Career

INDEED the affair in this age between masters and their apprentices, stands in a different view from what the same thing was a few years past; the state of our apprenticeship is not a state of servitude now, and hardly of subjection, and their behaviour is accordingly, more like gentlemen than tradesmen; more like companions to their masters, than like servants. (Defoe)¹⁷

A young man would have been around fourteen years of age when he started his training and a seven year apprenticeship would mean he would be about twenty-one at its conclusion. During this time his life had been very strictly supervised and regulated although, as Defoe points out, given a reasonable master, conditions would not have been too harsh. Like young apprentices in all the professions, in the final years of his apprenticeship he would have been helping his master with the simpler tasks, in the case of a dancing master this possibly involved supervising the classes for children and beginners, and often, once an apprenticeship was completed, he would continue as a paid assistant. It might be several years before he could afford to set up his own dancing school, and it could be that he would have to move to another town, perhaps to take over the school of another master who had retired or died. For example, in 1786, Mrs. Froment, widow of the late Mr. Froment, advertised in the

Bath Chronicle begging leave to acquaint the nobility and gentry 'that Mr. Astier will complete the quarters teaching begun by her husband'¹⁸, and that she has the highest opinion of Mr. Astier's professional skill and abilities. The larger cities would have several dancing schools competing. In 1778 the newspaper for Chester and the surrounding area contained advertisements by: Mr. Baptiste 'recently taken a house in Chester and plans to run a dancing school'; Mr. William Cross 'late apprentice to Mr. Cotgrove and has taken a 'commodious apartment' to teach young ladies and gentlemen dancing'; Mr. Chilton 'dancing master, late pupil of Mr. Sorci'; Mr. Shuter 'dancing master, opening a school in Chester'¹⁹. This number of dancing masters in one city is perhaps an indication of the great demand for instruction in genteel behaviour and elegance in dancing, but it did result in strong competition and a man would have to work hard to build up his clientele. Many dancing masters had a school in one major city and travelled quite long distances to teach in neighbouring towns. Mr. Baptiste advertised other schools in Nantwich, Whitchurch and Tarvin, and in Shropshire, Mr. Durack had schools in Shrewsbury, Oswestry and Wrexham. Bearing in mind the difficulty and discomfort of travel at this time, this is another indication of the amount of graft necessary to keep going. Although England had nothing to equate to the French Académie Royale de Danse to supervise standards of teaching by dancing masters, the society in which they worked could operate an unrecognised form of supervision by choosing the best master for their children. However, Gardiner comments that:

'...there are numbers of pretended Dancing-Masters in this Kingdom who send out Bills and inform you that they can teach the *Minuet*, *Minuet de la Cour*, *Gavot*, *Cotillions*, *Quadrilles*, *Country-Dance etc. etc.* They know the names of these things, can scrape a little upon the Violin, get a fine Coat, and commence Dancing-Masters.'²⁰ (Gardiner)

This suggests that, like other branches of the teaching profession, in most places dancing masters exercised their own autonomy, setting their own standards, and winning the respect

of their clients by their hard work and integrity.

In Scotland the position may have been slightly different, for example the town council of Aberdeen, becoming alarmed at the riotous behaviour at public dances decided to appoint one dancing master to take charge of the dance education of all the young people in the town, and in order to find the right person they held an audition inviting masters to come and demonstrate their ability. The final choice was between two dancing masters, James Stuart and William Troup who already had a school in the town. In the end, the council chose Stuart and gave Troup six months to pack up, after which he was 'discharged from teaching or receiving any scholars'²¹.

The position in London was very different. Here we had the glamour of the many theatres. A young apprentice to a London dancing master would expect, at some point in his training, to dance in the chorus of one of the many entr'acts or after pieces which were so popular with London audiences. For example, Tomlinson's student Topham danced at Lincoln's Inn Fields and Drury Lane, and young master Denisson danced at Covent Garden whilst still apprenticed to Lalauze. The opportunities for dancing masters in the Capital were wide and various. Some followed the pattern of their provincial counterparts and concentrated on teaching. One of these, recognised by many, was Mr. Calverley whose excellence as a dancing master and teacher was acknowledged by all of his contemporaries. Essex describes him as the

'first Master that ever brought a Boarding School to that height of reputation as it now stands at this time' (Essex)²²

French dancers were very popular in the London theatres and some of these also set themselves up as dancing masters. The best known of these was Anthony L'Abbe who

became master to the royal grandchildren of George I and, as a result, was the fashionable dancing master to many of the aristocracy. On the other hand, many young men on concluding their apprenticeship moved on to become full time dancers on the London stage and it is not always clear whether they ever undertook teaching as well. A number of men who described themselves as dancing masters, also went into publishing, at which they became very successful. Essex, Siris and Weaver, for example, published translations of the major French texts explaining the dance notation system used throughout Europe²³. To the many provincial dancing masters anxious to keep up to date with the latest ideas these would be the standard text books, as important to them as similar texts such as Pechey's *Herbal*²⁴ to apothecaries, or the attorneys' practice books²⁵. John Weaver went even further, bridging the gap between dancing masters and surgeons. As a friend of Dr. John Arbuthnot the celebrated mathematician and physician, Weaver gave a series of four lectures on anatomy to his colleagues in London, which he later published:

'...in order towards the introduction of the Art of Dancing among the liberal Arts and Sciences [...] explaining the Laws of Motion, Mechanical and Natural so far as they relate to the Regular, or Irregular Position, Motion and Gesture of the Body and Parts thereof.' (Weaver)²⁶

Place in Society

'It seems ridiculous to tell you, but it is most certainly true, that your dancing-master is at this time the man in all Europe of the greatest importance to you. You must dance well, in order to sit, stand and walk well; and you must do all these things well, in order to please.' (Chesterfield)²⁷

The eighteenth century was a period in which changes were taking place in the strata of English society. The assembly rooms and pleasure gardens which had sprung up after the Restoration in most of the major cities of

England were beginning to attract not only the local gentry and nobility but the families of prosperous businessmen and tradesmen who could afford the necessary subscription and whose wives, like Mrs. Bennett²⁸, wanted to find suitably prestigious matches for their daughters. These young women, and their brothers, needed to be seen by, and with, the polite society of the town, and in order to do this, they needed to be taught not only the dances currently fashionable, but also the manners and etiquette necessary to mix in that society. Here, the dancing master came into his own, for it was firmly believed that:

‘A Gentleman or Lady cannot even enter a Room, make a genteel Bow or Courtesy, or walk graceful and polite, without being instructed in this part of Education.’
(Gardiner)²⁹

One anonymous pamphlet published in 1700 describes the adventures of a young man recently released from his apprenticeship and looking for a wife. His search leads him to a dancing school, and although his description is meant to be a lampoon of these establishments, and is rather bawdy in style, one short sketch does bear some truth. He describes the conversation between the mothers of two of the young dancers, one of whom is saying to the other:

‘... as long as I and her Father are able to give it her, she shall want no Education to make her a gentlewoman; for tho’ we Sell Ale, ‘tis true, yet we bless God for it, we get our money as honestly, and Enjoy ourselves as Comfortably as any People in our Station throughout the whole Parish, Marry do we, and I don’t know why, if we are able, we should not give our Children as good Breeding as any Body.’
(Anon)³⁰

It was perhaps necessary for dancing masters to stick together because they did have to put up with a lot of criticism and mockery. For example, although Lord Chesterfield was insistent on his son keeping up his dancing lessons, he still dismissed dancing itself as a ‘trifling, silly thing.’³¹ This ambivalent view of dancing was reproduced by many other

writers. The dancing master in the anonymous pamphlet was variously described as ‘Monsieur Shake-legs’ and ‘Lord Caperer Paramount’³². It must be remembered, however, that ridicule was not confined only to dancing masters. The *Spectator* and the *Tatler* contain many examples of humour at the expense of other professions. Attorneys seem to have come under particular attack. One example is a description of them as ‘a certain learned sort of unlearned men in this nation called attorneys’³³. It is also true that a certain amount of snobbery existed. For example, one Alderman’s wife, while recommending a dancing master with the same surname as herself was anxious to point out that ‘he is not of their Family’³⁴

The dancing master’s place in society was, therefore, unclear. He was a very necessary part of provincial society in organising and supervising the town assemblies, often acting as Master of Ceremonies, as well as setting the rules for their good conduct, and he generally held at least one ball per season for his own students for which he might choreograph one or two dances to be performed by his best students, or teach them one of the latest choreographies from London. On the other hand he was patronised and ridiculed by many members of society.

Women Dancing Masters

‘Winter Ball at the Lower Assembly Rooms. At the desire of many friends of the Young Ladies, scholars to the Miss Flemings, it is requested that the first row of seats may be reserved for the dancers only, the second for the parents and relations of their Pupils.’³⁵

As in most professions at this time, the majority of teachers of dancing were male. It was, however, occasionally possible for a woman to be accepted in some of the professions, usually as the widow or daughter of a professional. For example, an apothecary might be helped by his wife and would eventually learn sufficient about his methods and practice to be able to take over his business when he died, or in the case of the

local physician, he would be willing to hand over midwifery cases to a woman.

The announcement above was an advertisement in a local newspaper in Bath. In this case, the father of the Miss Flemings had run a very successful dancing school in Bath for many years with his wife who was a dancer in the theatre there. He had used his two daughters to demonstrate for him and also to take over some of the younger classes, so that on his death, they were able, jointly, to continue running his school for young ladies and to have a very loyal clientele for several years.

Networking

The need for networking in order to raise business was another similarity with the many professions. O'Day points out that attorneys would in some cases make house calls on important clients³⁶ and this was also a service offered by dancing masters to wealthy patrons. Advertisements in the local newspapers were also a popular form of networking, and the regular holding of assemblies at which their students could demonstrate their grace and advertise their master's teaching skills. Gardiner also talks about having hand bills printed and sending these out to all the boarding and day schools in his area.³⁷ At this period, boarding and day schools for both young gentlemen and young ladies proliferated, and advertisements in the local press invariably emphasised that dancing lessons would be available, given by 'eminent', 'approved', or 'proper' masters. These schools prepared young men for a variety of professions, as one school in Wakefield, Yorkshire announced:

'...young gentlemen boarded and qualified for country house or trade, attorney's office, stewardship, East or West Indies Company, Navy, Army (fortifications and gunnery), surveying, use of instruments, mapping estates, drawing and perspective geography, astronomy, use of globes, maps, charts, writing, accounts,

algebra, mathematics for university admission – also French, music and dancing.'³⁸

There is evidence that dancing masters throughout the Kingdom kept a close contact with each other, and formed a kind of old boys' network. Those in the provinces relied upon their London colleagues to publish the latest choreographies which they could then teach to their students, thereby showing themselves to be up to date with the fashionable society. The London dancing masters, on the other hand, needed the support of their provincial colleagues to subscribe to and buy their publications. They all had need of each other to maintain standards and see off the 'pretend masters' referred to by Gardiner.

Siris, in the preface to his translation of Feuillet, states that by its means:

'Our Scholars, altho' they have learnt of different Masters, whether in the City or Country, may agree together in the Assemblies where they shall meet, as if they had learnt of the same person...' (Siris)³⁹

Pemberton gathered together his little collection of dances by persuading a number of London masters to choreograph one dance each for him. He explains that:

'THIS Collection was begun at the Request of several Masters that live remote from London, who express'd their Want of such an Undertaking...' (Pemberton)⁴⁰

In fact 58 dancing masters subscribed to his book, including men from as far afield as Birmingham, Bristol, Chester, Dublin, York and even one from Virginia. All these masters referred to themselves and each other as professional gentlemen, and in general their position was respected by the society in which they moved.

It would seem, therefore, that while society in general was uncertain of the gravity of the dancing master's occupation, they accepted

the value of his work in helping them and their children to climb up the social ladder.

Conclusion

‘A professional man does not work in order to be paid; he is paid in order that he may work.’
T.M.Marshall⁴¹

For an evaluation of the sources I have consulted, I divided them into secondary and primary. Secondary sources seem to be guided by the angle from which they are approaching the definition of ‘profession’. Eliot Friedson⁴² illustrates this by describing the widely differing interpretations of sociologists, economists and political scientists among others, and he concludes that the term ‘professions’ must be treated as ‘a changing historical concept’. In many cases these interpretations are linked to membership of the kind of regulatory body which did not exist in the eighteenth century, such as the Royal Pharmaceutical Society, Royal College of Surgeons, National Union of Teachers. O’Day lists the kind of criteria set by modern historians to define a profession:

‘...this includes a sense of commitment and vocation; an appeal to expertise, a reliance upon the theoretical as well as practical knowledge and skills; a professional ethic; internal control of training, recruitment, placement and discipline; growing organisation and, flowing out of that, a certain autonomy in the workplace and an evident *esprit de corps*. (O’Day).⁴³

A study of the primary sources indicates that these criteria were less important in the eighteenth century, with emphasis on knowledge, training, discipline and autonomy being more generalised. The learned professions were defined by their university education but such regulating bodies as they had, had little real influence on standards within the profession. Membership of the Inns of Court was confined to eating a number of meals in hall, while the College of Physicians only had influence within the vicinity of London. Neither of these bodies troubled themselves very much to test

members’ knowledge and expertise let alone their commitment and vocation. The lower status professions learned in the same way as most business and tradesmen, by apprenticeship, and were on the whole self regulating within their Guilds.

Phillip Elliott⁴⁴ suggests that the professions were on a par with gentlemen in that they did not engage in commerce or manual work, but here we come up against yet another term requiring more precise definition, that of ‘gentleman’, and I do not wish to wander too far down this side track. Briefly, the generally held view was that a gentleman did not do any manual work, and often had a country estate and capital with which to finance his leisurely life style. Richard Steele defined a gentleman not necessarily by his wealth and property, but by his manners and bearing⁴⁵, and Lord Chesterfield told his son that he must learn to sit, stand and walk well if he wanted to please in society.⁴⁶ Defoe, in his travels, noted that around London many city men were buying themselves estates⁴⁷. It seems to have been a particular feature of society in England that the newly moneyed classes were accepted within the sphere of the landed gentry. The distinction between the old landed gentry and the business man was therefore becoming blurred. It was generally accepted, however, that a successful professional man could aspire to the status of a gentleman, by buying himself a property in the country, and having a gentlemanly bearing and manners. W. Prest defines a profession as ‘...besides the traditional trinity of church, law and medicine, all other non-mercantile occupations followed by persons claiming gentility.’⁴⁸ These other ‘non-mercantile occupations’ could include the lower branches of the three learned professions, although here again the edges are somewhat blurred. A surgeon could be said, by the very nature of his calling, to do manual work, and an apothecary in his shop could be described as engaged in commerce.

Based on this rather loose interpretation of the professions, therefore, other candidates for the title could include members of the arts world.

It is known that even successful actors and writers in London bought themselves country houses in the vicinity of the river Thames by which they could travel to and from the city.

‘The relationship between artist and patron [...] is comparable with that in professions like medicine, or law or architecture. The artist provides a service which the buyer cannot himself fully evaluate. (Lewis & Meade)⁴⁹

There is no doubt that dancing masters also considered themselves to be artists and professionals. John Essex, in dedicating his treatise to his friend Mr. Groscourt, said: he was writing it from a ‘natural Inclination to serve the profession’,⁵⁰ while Weaver, in a letter to the Spectator advertising his book on the *History of Dancing*, hoped it would:

‘...lay down some fundamental Rules, that might so tend to the Improvement of its

Professors and Information of the spectators that the first might be the better able to Perform and the latter rendered more capable of judging...’(Weaver)⁵¹

This suggests an element of regulation by the masters themselves as well as by their patrons, which was not unlike that of, at least, the lower branches of the professions. Although there is no evidence that dancing masters reached the status of landed gentry still, following the requirements set down by Lord Chesterfield for a gentleman, they could undoubtedly qualify as being experts in sitting, standing and walking well, since it was their job to teach gentlemen how to do these things. In the circumstances, therefore, although it is a somewhat grey area, I would suggest they be given the benefit of the doubt and allowed to consider themselves ‘a profession’.

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Notes

¹ S.J. Gardiner, *A Dancing Master's Instruction book*, London 1786, reprint in *The Minuet in the Late Eighteenth Century*, Inglehearn, London 1998 p.4

² For more information see *Dance of Court of Theater* Wendy Hilton, Dance Books Ltd. 1981

³ Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Choregraphie ou l'art de decrire la danse* 1700, facsimile ed. Broude Brothers, New York 1968

⁴ *The Spectator*: Richard Steele, 29-31 October 1709

⁵ Rosemary O'Day *The Professions in Early Modern England 1450-1800*, Pearson Education Ltd. 2000

⁶ *The Spectator*: October 4th 1712 '...in the Fleet, in Trade, or any of the three learned Professions...'

⁷ O'Day, *The Professions* p.4

⁸ Kellom Tomlinson, *The Art of Dancing*, London 1735, facs. Pub. Gregg International Publications 1970 no page numbers.

⁹ National Archives, Kew C11/2530/9

¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹ *ibid*

¹² Judith Milhous, 'David Garrick and the Dancing Master's Apprentice' *Dance Research vol IX no.1 Spring 1991* p.16

¹³ O'Day, *Professions* p.224

¹⁴ Mckillop A.D., *Samuel Richardson: a bibliographical record*, Yale University Press 1936, pp.109-10

¹⁵ *Cambridge Journal*, Aug. 30th 1759

¹⁶ *York Courant*, Feb. 8th 1741

¹⁷ Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* London 1727 p.20

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²² Essex, *The Dancing Master* London 1728 p.xiv

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