

The Hornpipe: a Dance for Kings, Commoners and Comedians

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If one were looking for a dance to fit the title of this conference, *Kings and Commoners: Dances of Display for Court, City and Country*, then the hornpipe would qualify on all counts – firstly, at various times it was danced by both kings and commoners; secondly, it was very definitely a dance of display; and thirdly, it was danced at court, in the city and in the country. It is an excellent example of a dance that went up and down the social ladder, starting with commoners, ascending to the realm of kings and finally descending again to the ranks of comedians. It first appears amongst the ‘common folk’, a traditional dance customarily associated with the north of England; when performed on stage, it was used to portray a rustic or foolish image.¹ It was most likely a solo stepping dance, or one performed by a group in a circle, with solo stepping interludes. In the second half of the 17th century, however, we find another variety of hornpipe, an English Country Dance performed in ballrooms by elegant society; this is not an exuberant stepping dance, as you might expect if it were related to the traditional hornpipe dance, but rather (if one is to believe the conventional modern interpretation of this dance) slow and stately, a triple time dance somewhat akin to a waltz (well-known examples are *The Hole in the Wall*, *Mr. Isaac’s Maggot*, *Mr. Beveridge’s Magot*). By the early 18th century, we find the hornpipe in the realm of kings; this variety was in the *belle danse* or ‘noble’ style, the highly refined French style of dance that originated at Louis XIV’s court; some of these *belles danses* hornpipes were composed in honour of royalty, and possibly even performed by them. Such dances seem a far cry from the traditional solo step dance. At the end of the 18th century, the hornpipe dance can be found in the realm of comic performers on stage and street corner.

To the dance historian, the hornpipe dance has always been something of a puzzle; there appears to be not the least connection between the traditional stepping dance of the common folk and comedians, the slow waltz-like ballroom dances of the gentry and city, and the highly stylised notated *belles danses* of court and theatre. To make matters worse, in the middle of the 18th century the hornpipe dance changed metre from triple to duple time.

Why have all these disparate forms been given the same name? What relates them all? My suggestion is that it is the relation of the dance steps to the music that is the unifying principle in all three cases. Furthermore, the change of rhythm may be understandable using the same idea.

This hypothesis is of necessity rather speculative, since so few primary sources have come to light to show us the steps used in any of these dances. Our starting point must be the one form of hornpipe dance for which the steps do still survive, the *belle danse* hornpipe. There are six of these extant, all recorded in England in the early 18th century in Beauchamp/Feuillet notation² (also see Appendix). In these *belle danse* hornpipes, the step patterns within each bar of music are complex and unusual. Often there appears to be a conventional dance step-unit with part of another tacked on. However, if attention turns from a whole bar of music (three minims) to concentrate on a two minim grouping within each 3/2 bar, a conventional dance step-unit is usually revealed.³ Over *two* bars of music, *three* relatively

conventional dance steps are frequently apparent, revealing a hemiola rhythm, where the dance step is in **duple** time and the music in **triple**. This pattern, together with other complexities of the step rhythms and the often syncopated musical rhythms, make the *belle danse* hornpipes exuberant and striking.

How might we relate these lively *belle danse* hornpipes to the slow waltz-like hornpipe country dances of the ballroom? Unfortunately, contemporary sources provide few clues as to the steps used in these country dances.⁴ However the above observation of a hemiola rhythm in the contemporary *belle danse* hornpipes leads inevitably to the idea that if in the *belle danse* hornpipes a basic dance step-unit requires just two of the three minims in a 3/2 bar, maybe in the hornpipe country dances the same principle might apply. There are clear similarities in the music of the *belle danse* and the country dance hornpipes,⁵ so why not a similarity in the number of dance step-units performed to the bar? If one does apply this principle, then one might do, for example, three *pas de bourées*⁶ (*fleurets*) for each two bars of music in hornpipe country dances. Rhythmically it works rather well and, contrary to what one might suppose, it is not at all difficult to do. These ideas are illustrated in Example 1.

In the notated *belle danse* hornpipes, repetition of three identical consecutive dance step-units (eg. three *pas de bourées*) was unusual. A more typical sequence can be seen in Example 2.

The basic tactus of 3/2 hornpipe music is the minim. Standard barring practice groups these minims into three to the bar (example 3). It is being suggested here that the basic *dance* step-unit takes only two of these three minims. This 2 minim step-unit can be either at the beginning or at the end of a bar. If in a 2-bar sequence, the ‘extra’ step-unit is at the end of the first, and the beginning of the second bar, then these two ‘extra’ minim/step-units may be able to be grouped to form a single dance step-unit, and we have the conventional hemiola rhythm of 3 dance steps against 2 bars of music (example 4).

Example 4 illustrates the use of three dance step-units taking 2+2+2 minims juxtaposing the musical rhythm of 3+3 minims. But about half of the dance step sequences in the notated hornpipe dances do not exhibit this 2+2+2 hemiola pattern. Other rhythmic patterns revealed in 2 bar phrases of the hornpipe dances are 2+1+2+1 and 1+2+1+2 and 1+2+2+1 (see examples 5 to 7). I would like to argue, however, that a hemiola rhythm is *also* apparent in these examples, since a 2 minim dance rhythm is juxtaposing a 3 minim musical rhythm; in other words, the dance step is in duple time, while the music is in triple time.⁸

Very few country dances describe specific steps, just the occasional *rigaudon* step may be mentioned. There is however one hornpipe country dance, in 9/4, Mr Essex’ *Trip to the Jubilee*,⁹ which has one step in Beauchamp/Feuillet notation. This notated step is a setting

Example 1. The first 4 bars of *Isaac’s maggot*, a hornpipe country dance



[bar 1][bar 2][bar 3][bar 4] music
 [PB][PB][PB][PB] conventional dance practice today
 [PB][PB][PB][PB][PB][PB] 2 minim hemiola pattern
 [1 & 2][3 & 1][2 & 3][1 & 2][3 & 1][2 & 3] correspondance of steps to music

In the 6 minims of 2 bars of 3/2 music, one would take the 9 steps of 3 *pas de bourées* (PBs) or *fleurets* on the following beats: 1&2, 3&4, 5&6

Example 2. A typical step sequence over two bars of music in the notated hornpipe dances

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [{pas de bourée} + {hop}][jeté } + {pas de bourée}]

This sequence can be seen in bars 1 & 2 of page 1 of Isaac's Hornpipe⁷ in *The Union* (see Appendix, Figure1). The {hop + jeté} can be seen as one *contretemps ballonné*, a conventional dance step-unit that crosses the bar line.

Example 3. Standard music barring

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [{1 2 3}][{1 2 3}]

Example 4. Hemiola dance barring

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [{1 2} {3}][{1} {2 3}]

For a typical step sequence, see example 2 above.

Example 5

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [1 2 3][1 2 3] music rhythm
 [{1 2} {1}][{1 2} {1}] dance rhythm

A sequence from page 4 of Isaac's hornpipe in *The Union*.

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [contretemps + jeté][pas de bourée + assemblé]

Example 6

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [1 2 3][1 2 3] music rhythm
 [{1} {1 2}][{1} {1 2}] dance rhythm

A sequence from page 4 of Isaac's hornpipe in *The Union*.

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [jeté + pas de bourée][jeté + pas de bourée]

Example 7

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [1 2 3][1 2 3] music rhythm
 [{1} {1 2}][{1 2} {1}] dance rhythm

A sequence from page 4 of Isaac's hornpipe (see the last 2 bars of Figure 2 in the Appendix).

[bar 1][bar 2]
 [pas marché + contretemps][pas de bourée + assemblé]

step, using balance to right & left. Normally in minuet country dances and notated French country dances, two bars of music would be used for the two balancing steps. But in Essex' dance, one is instructed to balance to right & left in just *one* bar. This suggests to me that Essex is using a duple metre for the dance step (the first balance step taking 2 minims, the second taking one). This is the only indication of a dance step in a hornpipe country dance, and it would seem to support the hemiola hypothesis.

A bonus that comes from using more than one standard dance step-unit to each bar of music is that the additional steps enable one to cover rather more ground, and helps to solve the problem that arises in most of the hornpipe country dances where the number of steps indicated seems totally inadequate for the figures described. Indeed many figures in hornpipe country dances are allotted only *half* the number of bars they would be given in duple time dances (a *dos-à-dos* will typically be given 2 bars, a figure of eight only 4 bars).

Dancing masters of the period suggested that an appropriate step for going forward and back in lines in the country dance was the *pas de gavotte*,¹⁰ comprising two dance step-units [*contretemps* + *assemblé*] over two bars of music, requiring four bars for the complete forward and back sequence. Hornpipe country dances provide only two bars of music for the forward and back sequence, so the practice nowadays of taking a whole bar of music for one step-unit precludes the use of the gavotte step. The proposed two minim hypothesis, however, enables one to dance [*contretemps* + *assemblé*] in *one* bar of 3/2 music, requiring only two bars for the complete forward and back sequence (bar 2 in Figure 2 in the Appendix illustrates this proposed hornpipe gavotte step going forwards for the man and backwards for the woman). The lively gavotte step may now be incorporated into hornpipe country dances.

All these ideas suggest that the hornpipe country dance, rather than being slow and waltz-like, might indeed have been lively and striking. Furthermore we know that the English were fond of improvising their own dance step sequences;¹¹ the hemiola hypothesis gives enormous scope for such improvisation, as can be seen in Examples 1 to 7 above. Not only can there be 3 or 4 different step-units for each 2-bar phrase, but these units can be arranged in various rhythmical combinations, giving the hornpipe a huge advantage over any other country dance form in terms of novel improvisation. Maybe this explains why Lorin not only reported that the English at this time did whatever step they pleased when dancing their country dances, but he also commented on the strangeness and variety of these steps (*la bizarrerie et la diversité des pas*)¹² – remember that hornpipes were not to be found in France.

A final point on the hornpipe country dance: the waltz-like feel of 3 steps/paces to a 3/2 bar as performed today in hornpipe country dances encourages country dance bands to play the music as if it were a slow waltz (with attendant maudlin sentimentality). The more lively hemiola dance rhythm might inspire them to play in the more spirited and forceful style adopted by early music performers in general when playing hornpipe music of the period.

The focus of this paper is to relate the seemingly disparate forms of hornpipe dance to each other. I have suggested that since the country dance hornpipe tunes were similar to those of the contemporary notated *belle danse* hornpipes, then the two dance forms might well have had the same dance step rhythm. The question then arises: from where did the rhythm of the *belle danse* hornpipe come? Was this perhaps the rhythm of the traditional step dance hornpipe?

The traditional hornpipe dance has been around since the 16th century¹³ or earlier. Very little information survives about its steps. We do not even know if its main characteristic was its dance step, its musical rhythm, or the interplay between steps and music. The few scraps of information that survive are usually to be found in poems and dramas.¹⁴ We do however have a good deal of *music* for the traditional dance. In the 17th century, traditional hornpipe music was in 3/2 or 9/4, and it shows great similarity to the tunes of both the *belle danse* and the country dance hornpipes.¹⁵ Might the complex dance rhythms of the *belle danse* hornpipes have been influenced by the traditional hornpipe dance rhythm? The steps of the traditional hornpipe may well have been replaced by the vocabulary of the *belle danse*, but was their *rhythm* preserved (doing a 2 minim dance step-unit to a 3 minim musical phrase)? Sadly, the descriptions of the traditional hornpipe dance are not sufficiently detailed to provide an answer to this intriguing question. However, a line in a sixteenth century English ballad describing folks at a wedding dancing a hornpipe in a circle does appear to suggest that these traditional hornpipe steps did at least create a notable and persistent rhythm: “And he that breakys the firste strocke,¹⁶ Sall gyve the pypar a penny.”¹⁷ (One has only to think of *branles* like *Pinagay* and *Charlotte*,¹⁸ also danced in a circle, to appreciate the complexity of some of the rhythms in such dances.) It is plausible that the *belle danse* composers would have seen itinerant professional dancers performing traditional hornpipes and been influenced by them. “The Lancashire Hornpipe” was most likely common fair-ground entertainment throughout the 18th century; one was performed at Southwark Fair in London in 1717.¹⁹ It is highly likely that all forms of hornpipe dance would have influenced each other.

So far we have looked at and compared the *belle danse* hornpipe, the country dance hornpipe and the traditional hornpipe, examining or hypothesising about the relationship of dance steps to music. The final variety of hornpipe dance to be discussed is the solo hornpipe performed on the stage.

Before continuing, we must confront a further puzzle surrounding the hornpipe: why in the 18th century did its rhythm change from triple to duple time? Up until the 18th century, hornpipe music had been in triple time, but around the middle of this century, hornpipe dance music in duple time started to be published. In the 1760s, Thompson published hundreds of hornpipe dance tunes “as Performed at the Public Theatres,”²⁰ almost half in triple and the remainder in duple or compound duple rhythm. Why the new and seemingly different duple time tunes should *also* be called hornpipes has always seemed something of a mystery. To most people today it looks as if the 4/4 hornpipe music bears little relation to the 3/2 tune, so why did it adopt the same name? And what were the hornpipe dancers doing? Were they using different dance steps for the two different rhythms? If we invoke our hemiola hornpipe hypothesis, we see that the *dance* step-unit in triple time hornpipes is a *duple* time step-unit, using just 2 rather than 3 minims from the bar. If the dance step-units were already in duple time, then they would as easily suit the new duple rhythm as a triple rhythm, so the same steps could be used for hornpipes of either rhythm. The familiar step/close/step/hop [1-2-3-4]²¹ danced to the well-known duple time *College Hornpipe* (which incidentally is in Thompson’s c.1760 collection) can *also* be used for the earlier triple time hornpipe, so long as it takes only 2 of the 3 minims in the bar, as proposed by the hemiola hornpipe hypothesis. The co-existence of the two different hornpipe rhythms over many decades would therefore present no difficulty for the hornpipe dancer. Did the rhythm of the hornpipe music change

from 3/2 to 4/4, to reflect the rhythm of the dance steps?²² If the basic unit of the dance step is in duple time, then it would make it easier to dance if the tune were also in duple time; it would in a sense ‘dumb it down.’²³ The next question, of course, is why would they have wanted to ‘dumb it down’ at this time? As the century progressed, most stage dancing became increasingly virtuosic; capers, *entrechats* and multiple turns were constantly featured. My hypothesis is that the increasing complexity of dance steps in this period shifted the focus of the hornpipe dance from the rhythmic interplay between dance and music to the virtuoso footwork of the dancer alone.

Little evidence has come to light showing the nature of hornpipe steps on the London stage in the 18th century. One of the extant notated *belle danse* hornpipes is a rather virtuoso solo for a man,²⁴ but this may not have been representative of stage hornpipes in general. Were they influenced more by the *belle danse* repertoire, by traditional steps, or by both?

A manuscript from 1752 does shed some light on the nature of hornpipe steps at this time; hornpipe steps that were being taught in Scottish dancing schools: *slips and shuffle forward, spleet and flourish backwards, Hyland step forwards, heel and toe forwards, single and double round step, slaps across forward, twist round backward, cross strocks aside and sink forward, short shifts, and back hops.*²⁵ At first sight this sounds far removed from the step repertoire of the *belle danse* used in ballets on the London stage. Were the gentry in Scotland learning a version of the hornpipe that derived more from the traditional Lancashire dance? And is this the hornpipe they were dancing on the London stage? Famous hornpipe dancers in the 1760s and 1770s, like Aldridge and Fishar,²⁶ were also ballet dancers; when performing their hornpipes, were they using the *belle danse* repertoire, the steps described above, or both? The combination of *sissones* and *entrechats* with *whirligigs* and *pigeon wings* in the extant description²⁷ of a hornpipe by Durang, a famous American hornpipe dancer from the late 18th century, suggests a mixture of *belle danse* and what might have been *traditional* steps. But was there really such a great divide between the two step repertoires? Was the *pigeon wing* anything more than a fancy *belle danse* caper?²⁸ Peacock’s late eighteenth century setting steps for reels (which included hornpipe steps)²⁹ bear a very strong resemblance to the *belle danse* repertoire. Moreover in 1805, Peacock assures us that it would be very easy to notate these steps in the Beauchamp/Feuillet notation (designed to record the *belle danse* repertoire); he is surprised that no-one bothers to do it³⁰ (on the other hand, Saltator, writing in Boston in 1802, tells us that “the description of the (hornpipe) steps will be omitted, as being incapable of definition by writing.”³¹ Had cross-fertilisation between all the forms of hornpipe dance blurred the distinctions between their steps? Was it perhaps more the *style* of delivery of the steps that was the crucial difference?

Stage hornpipes were increasingly being described as *character* dances, being frequently associated with figures such as *Jacky Tar/sailors*.³² Gallini describes comic dancers coming from overseas to learn British hornpipe steps, who, after returning to their own countries, afford audiences there such amusement with these hornpipes that they single-handedly saved ailing opera houses from ruin.³³ Sheer virtuosity of steps alone had for centuries been associated with the grotesque and with comedy. In the second half of the 18th century, however, virtuoso steps were also incorporated into the repertoire of the *belle danse*, or classical ballet. The difference between the step repertoire of the hornpipe and that of ballet may now have become more one of style of execution, with the hornpipe being strongly associated with a *character* as opposed to a *noble* style.

The hornpipe dance has appeared in what has always been regarded as many very different and distinct forms, creating something of an enigma as to why they should all be labelled with the same name. I have proposed that what unifies these apparently disparate forms is the relation of the dance steps to the music. There is, in addition, another feature that has characterised the hornpipe in all its different incarnations, and this is that it has always been a dance of 'display', whether for kings or commoners, at court, in the city or in the country. The traditional dance was one of solo stepping, affording the dancer ample opportunity to show off their steps; in the circle dance, solo steppers would have competed with each other for attention. The *belle danse* hornpipe likewise was one of the showiest in the repertoire. The hornpipe country dance, too, conventionally thought to be slow and stately, is transformed by the hemiola hypothesis into one offering more scope for strange and varied improvisation than any other.

The ultimate dance of display, of course, was the stage hornpipe. From the 1730s, judging from both the theatre playbills³⁴ and the number of hornpipe tunes published, this dance became enormously popular and remained so for the rest of the century, with many hornpipe dancers becoming very famous (think of Nancy Dawson). Not only was the stage hornpipe itself a showy dance, it also did much to enhance the *display* quality of *all* kinds of country dances performed in the ballroom. In the mid-18th century, *footing*³⁵ became very popular in the ballroom. In Waylett's *Twenty Four Country Dances for the Year 1751*, only four of the dances lack instructions to *foot it* (often at several places in the dance). *Footing*, which requires solo steps, usually on the spot, would have provided ample opportunity to incorporate the newest hornpipe steps seen on the stage. Gallini tells us that "some of the steps of [the hornpipe] are used in the country-dances here, which are themselves ... executed with more variety...than in any part of Europe."³⁶

The more genteel dancing masters, however, may not have wished to encourage this exhibitionistic trend, feeling it to be inappropriate in the context of the elegant 18th or 19th century ballroom. Writing in the early 19th century, Thomas Wilson complained of people who, after learning a few hornpipe steps, employed them everywhere in the country dance, not realising their inappropriateness in polite society;³⁷ "shuffling and grotesque movements" used in country dances made "a tolerably good Dancer become a subject of exhibition in the Ball Room."³⁸ Perhaps it was this very reluctance to endorse the showy hornpipe on the part of the dancing masters that led to there being so relatively few detailed descriptions or step instructions that have come down to us; this, together with its improvisatory nature, may go some way towards explaining why it has remained an enigma for so long.

Notes

- 1 A "roguish clown" dances a hornpipe, a jig and an antic dance on stage in 1591. In Robert Greene's *The Scottish Historie of James the Fourth*, 1591. Cited in C. Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig*, Dover, New York, 1965, p. 299 (orig. pub. 1929). Indeed Lucifer himself danced a "Lancashire Horne-pipe" in a play by Dekker in 1607. Cited in L.M. Robbins, *Thomas Dekker's "A Knight's Conjuring" (1607)*, The Hague, 1974.
- 2 The six dances are: *The Union* (1707), *The Richmond* (1706), *The Pastoral* (1713), *The Royall* (c1709), *The Princess Ann's Chaconne* (1719) and *Pastoral* (c1725). The first four of these were choreographed by Isaac, the last two by L'Abbée. Although some of these dances were presented in the ballroom, they may have been performed there by

- professional dancers rather than the gentry; many were also performed on the stage. All but the last one, a solo, are dances for a couple.
- 3 An exception to this is the hornpipe of *The Princess Ann's Chacone*, L'Abbée inserts a short section that uses conventional 3 minim dance step-units into his basically two minim rhythmic pattern.
 - 4 Although the *Country Dance* originated in England, the only clear descriptions of steps for the 18th century country dance that we have in English works are those given by Weaver and Essex, both of whom were translating Feuillet's description of the steps used in France for these dances. There were no hornpipe dances in France in either the country dance or the *belle danse* repertoire, so it is not surprising that there are no special recommendations for hornpipe steps in these works. See John Essex' translation: *For the Further Improvement of Dancing*, London, 1710. Facsimile edition: Gregg International Pubs., London, 1970. From the mid-17th century, we have Playford's brief description of *single* and *double* steps. Another source is André Lorin, who, after seeing country dances performed in England in the 1680s, proposed steps for these same dances in France, but stated that the English seemed to be doing whatever strange and varied step took their fancy. A. Lorin, *Livre de Contredance présenté au roy*. F-Pn, Ms. fr. 1697 (c.1685/6), p. 31)
 - 5 The same music is used for a notated *belle danse* hornpipe (Isaac's *The Royall*) and a country dance (*Manage the Miser*, Walsh c.1705). Cited in Carol Marsh, *French Court Dance in England, 1706-1740: A Study of the Sources*. Unpub. Ph.D thesis, 1985, p. 248.
 - 6 *A pas de bourée* is 3 steps, ie. 3 changes of weight. The *pas de bourée* [PB] is used here simply as an example of a French dance step-unit commonly used for country dances at the time; other steps would also have been used.
 - 7 Isaac's dance *The Union* appears to consist of a Loure and a Hornpipe. Neither rhythm is written on the dance, but Tomlinson, in a section on *Time*, cites Mr. Isaac's Hornpipe movements in *The Union* and *The Richmond* as examples of this rhythm. Kellom Tomlinson, *The Art of Dancing*. London, 1735, p. 150.
 - 8 The final bar on page five of Isaac's hornpipe in *The Union* gives a very clear illustration of both the duple time nature of the hornpipe step-unit and the hemiola rhythm: in this bar there is a *pause* on the first and most important minim of the bar, clearly showing a hemiola rhythm; a *contretemps* takes up the two remaining minims. In the four notated hornpipe dances by Isaac, almost all the bars contain a duple time dance step juxtaposing the triple time music, creating a hemiola rhythm throughout. L'Abbée's hornpipe from *Princess Ann's Chacone* is more sophisticated; the hornpipe music starts in the minor mode, where all steps are in hemiola rhythm; there follows eight bars in major mode, during which the steps are *not* in hemiola rhythm, seeming to hark back to the preceding chacone, then the music returns to the minor, and again all the steps are in hemiola rhythm. The sixth extant hornpipe, *Pastoral*, also by L'Abbée, is a virtuoso solo dance basically in hemiola rhythm, but in a few places the complexity of the footwork blurs the musical rhythm.
 - 9 John Essex, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-30.
 - 10 John Essex (*op. cit.*, p. 16) says "In all figures that goe forwards, and backward, or backwards, and forwards, you must always make Gavott steps" (ie. *contretemps* +

- assemblée*). Similarly Magny says: “Sur la ligne droite, allant en avant; c’est un contretems en avant, & un assemblé. Sur la ligne droite, allant en arriere; c’est un contretems en arriere, & un assemblé”. M.Magny, *Principes de Chorégraphie*, Paris, 1765. Facsimile edition. Minkoff, Geneva, 1980, p. 210. De la Cuisse also affirms that the *Contretemps*, which takes up 2 measures, is used for going forwards and back. De la Cuisse, *Le Répertoire des Bals*, Paris, 1762, p.11.
- 11 John Essex (*op. cit.*, p. 7) translates Feuillet’s reluctance to be too prescriptive about the use of steps for country dances, “being willing to leave the Dancers ye liberty of composing the same as they please”.
 - 12 Lorin mentions that the English did steps “selon leur caprice,” ... “la bizarrerie et la diversite des pas que chacun y faisait a sa fantaisie”. Lorin, A. *Livre de Contredance présenté au roy*. F-Pn,Ms.fr. 1697 (c.1685/6), pp. 30-1.
 - 13 “There be also many other kinds of dances, as Hornpipes, Jigs, and infinite more which I cannot nominate unto you”, stated Thomas Morley in 1597, in *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, London. New edition, edited by R.A.Harman, New York, 1963.
 - 14 See Emmerson, G. *A Social History of Scottish Dance*. McGill – Queen’s University Press, Montreal & London, 1972, p. 222; J.M.Ward, *op. cit.*; Pete Stewart, *Three Extraordinary Collections*, Hornpipe Music: Pencaitland, 2007.
 - 15 For early Lancashire hornpipe music, see Pete Stewart *op. cit.*, and Martha Curti, “The Hornpipe in the Seventeenth Century”. *The Music Review*, 40, no.1, 1979, pp. 14-24.
 - 16 A slight clarification of this word is revealed in the following: “When they were in their dance they kept stroke with their feet just one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces, and bodies, euery one of them had a seuerall gesture.” Purchas 1625, 4:1687. Cited in J.M.Ward, “The Lancashire Hornpipe”, *op. cit.*, p. 141, footnote 3.
 - 17 Stewart *op. cit.*, p 93, Ward *op. cit.*, p. 141.
 - 18 See T. Arbeau, *Orchesographie*, 1588. Facsimile edition. Forni, Bologna, 1981.
 - 19 Emmerson, *op. cit.*, p. 209. Of course this could have been performed by a dancer from the London stage, supplementing his income at Southwark Fair!
 - 20 Thompson’s *Compleat Collection of 120 Favourite Hornpipes as Performed at the Public Theatres*, London, 1760s and his *Thirty Favourite Hornpipes which are now in vogue and performed at the Public Theatres*, London 1760s.
 - 21 This step is similar to the *chassée* step used in quadrilles in the ballroom from the late 18th century, and also to Magri’s *fleuret sauté* performed on the stage in the 1770s. (Magri, G. *Theoretical and practical treatise on dancing*. 1779. Trans. M. Skeaping, London Dance Books, 1988.) It also appears in Peacock’s promenade step for the reel. (F. Peacock, *Sketches relative to the history and theory but more especially to the practice and art of dancing*, Aberdeen, 1805, pp. 91-2.)
 - 22 It is beyond the scope of this paper to compare the 3/2 and 4/4 hornpipe tunes from a musical point of view; however it is tempting to wonder whether the characteristic stress on the final beat of the cadential bar in 3/2 hornpipe tunes may relate to the characteristic **oom-pom-pom** ending of the duple time tune. Furthermore, if one compares the **triple** time hornpipe tune *Black Mary’s Hornpipe* from Walsh’s *Third Book of The most Celebrated Jiggs, Lancashire Hornpipes.....*, c.1730 with the **duple** time hornpipe tune *Soldier’s Joy*, first published in the 1760s, one can see the same musical motif in both. I am grateful to Ian Cutts for pointing out the similarity of these two tunes.

- 23 An earlier example of this dumbing down process was the evolution of the basse dance. In the 15th century, the dance phrasing did not coincide with the musical phrasing, making it interesting, but difficult to dance (see Hertz, Daniel, “The Basse dance: its evolution circa 1450 to 1550”, *Annales musicologiques*, 6 (1958-63), pp. 287-340.) In the 16th century, not only was the dance simplified by making the music and dance phrases coincide, but also the rhythm was changed from triple to duple time. The minuet suffered a similar fate. In the latter half of the 17th century, there were many minuet step variations, often forming complex relationships with the music, including frequent use of hemiola. A hundred years later, both the step and its relationship with the music had been greatly simplified. (In 1762, Gallini was describing the minuet step as “invariable” (G-A.Gallini, *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*, 1762. Facsimile by Broude Bros, NY, 1967, p. 176). Kimiko Okamoto discussed this relationship in her paper, “Relationships between Dance and Music in the Eighteenth-Century Minuet”. DHDS Conference 2007: On Common Ground 6, *The Minuet in Time and Space*.)
- 24 Pastoral, by Anthony L’Abbée, in *A New Collection Of Dances, Containing a great number of the best ball and stage dances: Composed by Monsieur L’Abbe....*London, c.1725 p.65.
- 25 See Emmerson, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
- 26 Emmerson, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
- 27 Durang was performing in the late 18th century, but his hornpipe was recorded by his son only in 1855, in “Dance, Pas de Matelot. A Sailor Hornpipe – old Style”, from Durang, *The Ballroom Bijou*, Philadelphia: 1855, p.158 (Cited in K. v. Winkle Keller and C.C. Hendrickson, *George Washington, A Biography in Social Dance*, The Hendrickson Group, Connecticut, 1998, p. 96).
- 28 The *pigeon wing* is described by Durang as “a dance step executed in part by jumping up and striking the legs together”. Cited in Y. Guillard “Early Scottish Reel Setting Steps and the Influence of the French Quadrille”. *Dance Studies*, vol. 13, edited by R.Lange, 1989, p. 14.
- 29 Although Peacock’s reel descriptions were not published until 1805, when he was 82 years old, he started teaching in 1747, so it is likely that the steps come from the second half of the 18th century (Peacock, *op. cit.*). Reel steps may have differed from hornpipe steps, but Topham describes the reel as using “a variety of hornpipe steps”; further, that “besides all those common to the Hornpipe, they have a number of their own”, ie. belonging to Scotland (Topham, E., *Letters from Edinburgh; written in the years 1774 and 1775*, Vol. 1, Watsen & Co, London, 1776, p.343).
- 30 Peacock, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-24.
- 31 Saltator, *A Treatise*. Boston, 1802, pp. 72-3.
- 32 This trend started quite early in the century; in 1730, Francis Sallé, brother of the famous Marie Sallé, danced a hornpipe “in the character of a Boatswain” at Lincoln’s Inn Fields theatre as part of a “Grand comic Dance of Sailors”. See Okamoto, “Survey”, *op. cit.*, p.4.
- 33 Gallini, G-A. *A Treatise on the Art of Dancing*. London 1762. Facsimile edition. Broude Bros, New York:, 1967, p. 182-3.
- 34 Kimiko Okamoto. “Survey of *The London Stage Calendar 1700-1770*”. Handout at the John Rich Conference, London, 2008.

- 35 Both *setting* and *footing* require solo steps, usually on the spot. It is difficult to know the difference between them. However, one does see instructions to *set* and to *foot it* in the very same dances, suggesting that they may be different concepts. Nicholas Dukes (1752) *op. cit.* appears to use the two terms interchangeably, although he may be implying that one *sets* to another person using *footing* steps. He also says that people continue *footing* when they are travelling, which reinforces the distinction above that *setting* is something done in front of another person, while *footing* places more emphasis on the *type* of steps used.
- 36 Gallini, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
- 37 Thomas Wilson, *A Companion to the Ballroom*. London, 1816, p. 205.
- 38 Thomas Wilson, *The Complete System of English Country Dancing*. London, 1821, p.318.

Appendix

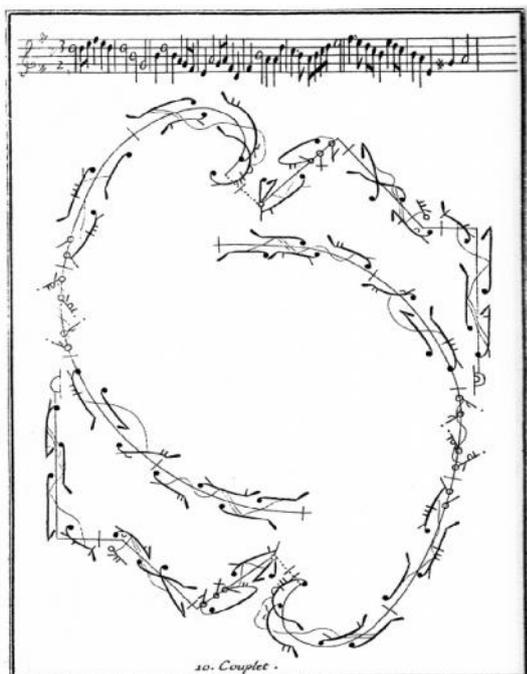


Figure 1. Page 1 of the hornpipe section from The Union, by Isaac, 1707

Steps for Figure 1

Bars

- 1 pas de bourée + hop
- 2 jeté + pas de bourée

Bars 1 & 2 can also be described as:
pas de bourée + c'temps ballonné + pas de bourée

- 3 jeté + coupé
- 4 contretemps + demi-coupé/pas marché
- 5 pas marché + 2 demi-contretemps

Bars 4 & 5 can also be described as:
contretemps + pas de bourée + 2 demi-c'temps

- 6 2 pirouettes
- 7 contretemps + jeté
- 8 jeté + pas de bourée

Bars 7&8 can also be described as:
contretemps + 2 jetés + pas de bourée

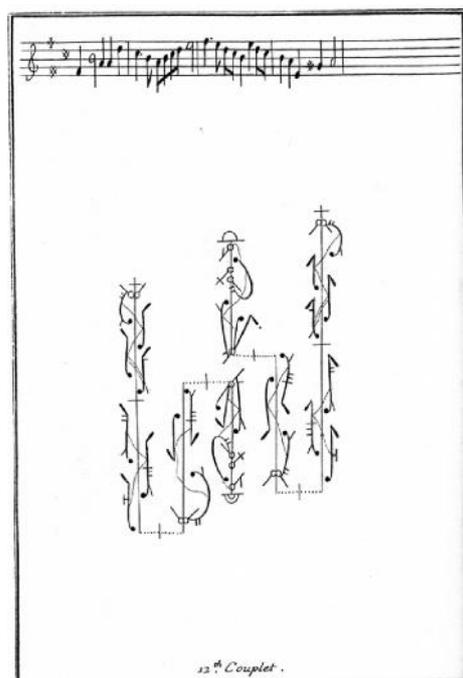


Figure 2. Page 3 of the same dance

Steps for Figure 2

Bars

- 1 jeté + coupé
- 2 contretemps + assemblé
- 3 slide + contretemps

Bars 2 & 3 can also be described as:
contretemps + gavot link step + contretemps

- 4 pas de bourée + assemblé