

Performance Practice in  
Seventeenth-Century Recorder Tablatures

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IN  
SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY RECORDER TABLATURES

by

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the performance–practice indications for ornamentation in four recorder tutors from the late seventeenth century. Humphrey Salter’s *Genteel Companion*, John Banister’s *Most Pleasant Companion*, John Hudgebut’s *A Vade Mecum*, and Robert Carr’s *Delightful Companion* all date from a single period in Restoration England, spanning the years 1679–1686. These tutors form part of a large repertory of instructional manuals for amateur musicians, providing examples of popular didactic methods used at the time. They share the distinction of being the only English recorder tutors to use a tablature or “dot method” of notation. The tablatures are examined in a multimedia format, allowing the reader interactive access to the texts, facsimile scores, and accompanying audio examples from each of the four tutors. The reader is encouraged to extrapolate from the examples of ornamentation practices inscribed in the tablatures and apply them to similar repertoire of the period. Attention is given to placement, fingering, and stylistic realization of the ornaments as well as the broader performance–practice issues informing the music.

In the document section of the thesis, chapter 2 outlines the social background of the tutors. Arguments are made for an increasingly wide-ranging audience for these tutors, with a strong interest in fashion and leisured activities that took hold toward the end of the century. Recent studies of literacy in the seventeenth–century inform the hypothesis that the tutors were accessible to a wider audience than has been suggested by earlier studies. The recorder tutors provide valuable insights into popular culture in the late seventeenth century, illustrating both current performance practices and the musical tastes of their public.

## Acknowledgements

A multi-faceted project such as this requires support on many levels and from more people than I could have anticipated when I began. Using the multimedia platform for presentation required technical support from a number of individuals and, perhaps more importantly, their conviction that this was a project worth pursuing. Despite all the potential complications that this type of project presents for a university faculty—technical support, effective evaluation, library storage and cataloguing—I have received the best encouragement from the Music Programme of the School of Art, Drama, and Music at McMaster University. The only impediments I have experienced in reaching my goal have been of my own making.

My first debt of gratitude goes to my thesis supervisor, Dr. Frederick Hall. Dr. Hall asked the right questions and kept the multimedia component down to manageable proportions when my ambitions threatened to take flight. Most importantly, he broadened the scope of my research, renewing my interest in this topic during the course of the year with tantalizing glimpses into aspects of music, theatre, and social history that I would not have otherwise considered.

I am indebted to Jeanette Van Wingerdan, recorder instructor and lecturer at the Royal Conservatory of Music in The Hague, who first introduced me to this material. She encouraged me to explore the implications that these books have for performance practice in other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century repertoires and, above all else, taught me that the study of authentic performance practice is a liberating one, combining both intellectual curiosity and artistic imagination.

I am grateful to my proposal supervisor, Dr Keith Kinder, and the Graduate Programme for approving this project. I would like to recognize the encouragement I received for this project from the members of my defence committee: Dr. Mary Cyr, Dr. William Renwick, Dr. Hall, and Dr. Kinder.

Thanks are due also to the School of Graduate Studies for allowing me to include a multimedia component in the thesis, thereby recognizing that the use of recent computer technology is not restricted to fields of scientific research.

Many individuals and organizations provided technical support for this project. I would like to thank Dr. Geoffrey Rockwell and the McMaster Humanities Research and Computing Centre for access to their computer equipment. Thanks to Dr. Rockwell and Paul Barrette for their technical advice and for disguising any qualms they might have had about allowing me access to the equipment. Also to those whose computers I "crashed" in the process of struggling with the various aspects of the CD ROM, especially to the REED project. To the Church of St Mary Magdalene, Toronto, and Saskia Roley at the Anglican Church House of Canada who gave me access to their equipment in my hours of need. Finally, to the multi-talented Tracy Mortimore, a singular accompanist who grandly waived his usual substantial fees and added his illustrious skills on violone to several musical examples while simultaneously engineering the recordings.

I am the fortunate offspring of uncommonly interested parents who invested considerable time in reading various drafts of my thesis. I am grateful for their comments, corrections, and encouragement, especially my mother, whose idea it was to incorporate a multimedia component in my thesis. I also appreciated the interest and advice of other individuals who consulted along the way: Dr. Paul Rapoport, whose searing logic and vigorous critique of the CD ROM at different stages has contributed enormously to the final version; Dr. Steeve Srawley for cleaning up my scripts at a critical point; Corey Keeble, assistant curator of the European division at the Royal Ontario Museum and "colour consultant" for my background screens, who brought his usual boundless enthusiasm to the project despite the incongruities of my chosen medium and his area of specialization; Dr. Titler at the history department at Concordia University and Dr. Alsop at the history department at McMaster University who recommended some key secondary sources for the social

history chapter. Finally, thanks are due also to the University of Toronto Music Library, for access to their wonderful collection of secondary sources for baroque performance practice.

# Contents

## List of Figures 1

## 1. Introduction 2

## 2. Restoration England 8

The Restoration Court 10 § Musicians and Music-Making in Transition 14 §  
Literacy and Consumption of Music 25 § Music Publishers and Their Audience  
33

## 3. Playing the Seventeenth-Century Recorder 47

The Recorder Tutors 52 § Common Features of English Recorder Tutors 53 §  
Authorship and Origins 57 § Tablature Notation 58 § Other Features 58 §  
Repertoire 59 § Audience 60 § Historical Overview 61 § Time Signatures  
and Rhythmic Organization in the Recorder Tutors 62 § Rhythmopoeia:  
Quantitative Metres in Poetry and Music 63 § Ornamentation 65 § John  
Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum* 68 § Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion*  
69 § John Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion* 70 § Robert Carr's *The  
Delightful Companion* 70

## 4. Performance Practice in Seventeenth-Century Recorder Tutors 72

Introduction to the CD ROM discussion 72

## 5. Conclusion 73

## 6. Bibliography 78

Social History 78 § Primary Sources 80 § Supplementary Sources 82 §  
Multimedia Reference Manuals 84



## List of Figures

Figure 1. "The Deceiver Deceived: Or, The Virgin's Revenge." Printed for J. Clark (c. 1680). From *The Pepys Ballads*. Ed. W. G. Day. Facs. Vol. 3 Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987.

Figure 2. "Examples of Shakes and Beats." Thomas Greeting. *The Pleasant Companion* (London, 1661 ).

Figure 3. etc. [a complete list of figures and musical examples used in the multimedia component appears in the CD ROM under the heading "Illustrations" in the *Table of Contents*. ]

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

Among the many collections of printed music that were published in London during the rise of the music-publishing industry in the late-seventeenth century, four instruction books for amateur recorder players represent a genre that has yet to be considered in its entirety. The significance of these four books is two-fold; they figure among many similar didactic publications, each providing insight into technique, repertoire, and performance practices of the time, and they leave clues about popular culture—a phenomenon that extended beyond the social élites of the time to include a wide representation of urban society.

Seventeen instruction books for the recorder are known to have been published between 1679 and 1700. The four instruction books of this study are easily distinguished from the others by the use of a special method of music notation called the “dot method,” a form of tablature notation. Mary Vinqvist’s study, titled *Recorder Tutors of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century: Technique and Performance Practice*, discusses these four books in a large-scale context with their contemporaries in England and on the Continent. She covers those topics of interest to recorder players—technique, performance practice, musical terminology, and repertoire—and provides a comprehensive bibliography with some social background for this material. Other authors, notably Herbert A. Myers, have used these four instruction books to discover the general principles for ornamentation on the recorder during the period.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert A. Myers, “Three Seventeenth Century English Recorder Tutors,” *Journal of the American Recorder Society*, 7 (1962), 3-6.

This study first explores the social context of the instruction books in greater detail than has been attempted before. The second chapter explores the lowest threshold for commercial consumption of this type of publication drawing on recent research into literacy and the commercialization of leisure, neither of which were areas that had been fully explored when the earlier studies of these tutors were published. The third and fourth chapters deal with the prefaces and musical examples in the instruction books. A total of thirteen examples have been chosen from all four books with in-depth discussions and illustrations of salient performance practice issues in each. This large number of musical examples allows a detailed look at the role of ornamentation in different genres, including dance music, instrumental versions of theatrical songs, and divisions.<sup>2</sup> Since a wealth of information about specific aspects of performance practice already exists, I have chosen to limit the discussion to those issues that have immediate bearing on the material in these instruction books. Therefore, the sections on seventeenth-century time and metre, ornamentation, and the history of the recorder are comprehensive enough to illuminate the musical examples, but do not attempt to cover these topics in their entirety. The main purpose of this thesis is to discover the full extent of the musical secrets inscribed in the tablature notation and answer the remaining questions that arise from a critical reading of the books' prefaces and their repertoires.

The advantage of taking on a project such as this is that there are many tools for both research and lucid presentation. Ironically, the field of performance practice and the study of long-forgotten repertoires have taken hold in this age of technological stimulation and rapidly-paced development. The

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<sup>2</sup> The practice of making divisions was a seventeenth-century technique of variation in which notes of a cantus firmus or ground were divided into shorter note-values, usually not of the same pitch. The best source of division playing during this period is Christopher Simpson's *The Division Violist, or, The Art of Playing "ex tempore" upon a Ground* (London, 1659). When deciding which notes to divide, either the ground bass, imagined melodies above the ground bass, or a mixture of the two provide the foundation for variation. Stanley Sadie, ed. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols. (London: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 1980), 5:509.

challenge for anyone who is intrigued by past musical cultures, is to animate the music and convince a forward-looking generation that it is worth at least a backward glance. Purists are often accused of going to extreme measures, some even making life-style choices in order to recapture the ambiance of an age long past. Conversely, re-interpreting early music for a modern age often involves appropriating the voices of the past to create something new, leaving just a hint of an archaic flavour to lend authenticity. This approach reaches an increasingly large audience, although it may distort much of what the purists regard as the artistic integrity of a piece of music in an effort to say something new. Performance practice can thus be regarded as either liberating or confining: the piece of music is either a jumping off point or something that is sufficiently complete within itself, awaiting the right key to unlock its contents. The study of performance practice should be a liberating one; the more one learns about the repertoire, social context, performance practice, conventions of ornamentation, articulation, tempo, metre, sound, and instrumentation, the more tools one has for illuminating a piece of music from an early repertory. Until these resources are exhausted, there seems to be little reason to borrow from later traditions of interpretation such as those inherited from the nineteenth century.

Despite the facsimile editions, books and articles documenting specific issues that are now available, much of the early repertoires still languish on library shelves. Setting out to explore the very simple music contained in these four tutors, I realized that nothing would bury them deeper than more prose on the subject. The only way to animate this music is to play it. With this as my goal, I have approached the material in two sections. The first is a hard-copy discussion of the social background to the recorder instruction books. The second section is a multimedia presentation of the actual scores with graphic illustrations and audio examples enclosed on the accompanying CD.

The audio examples are not definitive versions of the music. Although they

adhere to fingerings suggested in the tablatures, I like to think of these musical examples as a place to begin rather than the way the music should be played. The examples chosen for discussion represent different aspects of the repertoire and issues of performance practice, namely, ornamentation. Ultimately, the pieces are significant in what they reveal about popular culture during this period since few rank with the contemporary art music by Henry Purcell for example. The repertoire does, however, illustrate some of the common practices that were in the air and in the ears of performers and audiences in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As we will see, these can be applied to other pieces of a higher artistic level spanning the period between 1650 and 1720.

The multimedia component is therefore intended to be a sort of didactic tool. Ideally, it will lend insight into the interpretation of a number of different genres from the period as well as providing models for current ornamentation practices. As the seventeenth-century lutenist Jean Baptist Bésard wrote "since [ornaments] cannot be explained... orally or in writing... it will have to suffice for you to imitate someone who can play them well."<sup>3</sup> The browser should extrapolate from the musical examples and apply the information gained to other pieces from the period. Suggestions are made for the type of pieces where this might be appropriate. Often, generalizations about performance practices can be misleading—English practices did not always mirror Continental practices, at least not without some time-lag in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—but a sample of thirteen musical examples taken from four tutors with occasional supplements from relevant primary sources should create a relatively complete picture of the instruction books and their contents.

I hope that recorder players will find this project of interest. Likewise, instrumental musicians with an interest in English music from the late

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<sup>3</sup> Julie Sutton, "The Lute Instructions of Jean-Baptiste Brésard," *Musical Quarterly*, 51 (1965), 359.

seventeenth century, including that of Henry Purcell, should gain some insight into a practice of ornamentation that was certainly not relegated to the skills of recorder players alone! The musical examples are a sample of several different genres that were played on most instruments during this period; the ornamental inflections that comprise the most fascinating aspect of the tablatures appear in similar seventeenth-century instruction books for the flageolet, violin, viol, oboe, and harpsichord, for example.

Although the multimedia component is presented as a chapter, it is designed to be an electronic document complete within itself. There are a minimal number of references to peripheral materials from the surrounding chapters although naturally, the peripheral chapters refer to the multimedia component, it being the focus of this project. The layout of information and design of the individual screens are intended to provide navigational orientation for the browser. For example, there are seven "chapters," each with its own colour scheme that is used consistently in the background screens. The colours combinations are close approximations of those found in late seventeenth-century paintings and porcelain glazes. The screen transitions are also intended to give browsers a sense of where they are going. Clicking an arrow button will signal a linear transition such as sweeping to the left or right, while clicking on a miniature score will signal a "zoom" effect that brings the browser into a full version of the score and a deeper level of discussion.

The CD ROM must be played on a Macintosh Computer with a colour monitor (256 colours), operating with System 7 or later. A version of "HyperCard Player" may already be on the browser's computer since it is included with most Macintosh system software packages. Since the CD ROM will only run properly with **version 2.2** of "HyperCard Player" the browser should deactivate any later versions of "HyperCard Player" already residing on their computer. The program will then be able to run off the "HyperCard

Player 2.2" included on the CD.

The memory partition of "HyperCard Player 2.2" should be high enough to allow the program to run smoothly. With System 7.1 or later, the browser can adjust HyperCard's memory settings by:

1. **Selecting the HyperCard program icon in the Finder, and choosing "Get Info" from the File menu.**

2. At the bottom of the System 7 info dialogue box are two editable fields. The one labelled "Minimum Size" indicates the smallest amount of available memory into which the program will launch. **Enter the same value (5,000 K) in both the "Minimum Size" and "Preferred Size fields."** Do not try to launch this program with a memory partition that is less than 5,000 K. Without a memory partition of 5,000 K, the audio examples will not be accessible.

To begin exploring the "stacks" double click on the "HyperCard" folder. Then double click on the folder "thesis." Finally, double click on the folder "Getting Started." Following the title screen, a screen should appear in colour with instructions on how to browse through the stacks. From this point onwards, only click the mouse once to execute an action. If the browser opens any of the other stacks, the screen will not be in colour and many of the images will not appear. For any problems with the program, please consult the slip-cover of the CD.

Every effort has been made to record the audio examples without extraneous noise. However, the quality of audio playback will depend on the sound card and speakers of the browser's computer. Original colours may be distorted by individual monitor settings. If this document does not include an accompanying CD titled "Performance Practice in Seventeenth-Century Recorder Tutors," please contact the Director of Graduate Studies at the School of Art, Drama, and Music, 4th floor Togo Salmon Hall, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

## Chapter 2

### Restoration England

The confluence of musical activities that took place in England during the second half of the seventeenth century resists pat definition. Some of the difficulty in identifying the salient musical features of this period arises from the coexistence of archaic musical practice and the pursuit of novelty that characterized late seventeenth-century England. Musical traditions that had existed before the Commonwealth were reinstated, the continental pretensions of the recently-restored monarchy were adopted, and a new practice of marketing music that had emerged during the 1650s began to attract an increasingly diversified audience. While some stylistic and compositional traditions persisted from the sixteenth century, the pursuit of the ephemeral and fashionable in the late seventeenth century resulted in a *mélange* of musical entertainments with a broad appeal. This chapter will argue that widening demographics of consumers of music and an increase in popular music were the most important changes that characterized musical activities in Restoration England. Music-making during the 1660s, the early years after the Restoration of Charles II, reflected a wide variety of standards, styles, and venues that continued into the eighteenth century.

The conditions of Charles II's exile had not been uncomfortable and he brought well-defined French tastes back to the royal seat in London with the restoration of the monarchy on 5 May 1660. For a short time, the royal consort, Catherine of Braganza (married to Charles II on 20 May 1662), also



boasted her own chapel with musical and clerical attendants from Portugal.<sup>4</sup> These imported influences encountered native musical traditions that had been allowed to continue during the Commonwealth. Secular music had been one of the few cultural pastimes uncensored by Cromwell's government,<sup>5</sup> resulting in an unbroken continuum of some musical activities, especially on an amateur level.

During the 1660s, Charles II's newly-established court found fertile ground for its pronouncements on culture and fashion amongst the gentlemen and nobles in society. These trends were, in turn, adopted by a new profession that had emerged, unfettered, during Cromwell's government. Music publishers have left traces of their influence through their preferred mode of dissemination, the printing press. The commercialization of music in urban centres of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is documented in the newspapers of the period. Prefaces to printed editions of music also prove excellent barometers of popular taste while diaries and letters provide individual commentary on the reception of these trends.

Although we can follow the fortunes of music publishers through the size of their inventories, for example, their influence during this period is difficult to determine. The contents of the printed instrumental tutors of the period, including those for the recorder, combined with numerous collections of printed vocal music and song texts testify that certain types of music were more available than ever before. However, the extent to which this material

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<sup>4</sup> The Queen's household included Italian musicians and Portuguese musicians who also happened to be ordained. They were soon sent home due to Parliamentary intervention: the size of her ecclesiastical establishment had evidently caused some discomfort.

See Richard Lockett, "Music," in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: A New and Complete Transcription*, ed. Robert Latham and William Matthews, 11 vols. (London: Bell and Hyman, 1970), 10: 267.

<sup>5</sup> Oliver Cromwell had an organ in the great gallery at Hampton Court (removed from its original location at Magdalen College, Oxford), employed John Hingston as his organist, attended music meetings, used music to entertain his ambassadors and encouraged his ambassadors to use music when they entertained abroad. He mounted a masque on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, and eight masters of music walked in his funeral procession. *Ibid.*, 260.

can be considered "popular," and to whom it appealed, is not immediately clear. Perhaps the only accurate appraisal of who the patrons for these collections might have been should begin with the thresholds of possibility. We can assume that the lowest common denominator for anyone purchasing printed music was a basic level of literacy and some disposable income. The upper threshold might be as high as those employed by the royal court.

## The Restoration Court

Members of the highest social orders<sup>6</sup> experienced musical entertainments performed at court and their response, or rather their deference to the King's tastes, defined what was to be "a mode [fashionable] among the Monsieurs."<sup>7</sup> Many of the pieces from these entertainments, such as incidental songs or instrumental music from masques, were transcribed by music publishers for a larger audience. Publishers were thus able to lure potential customers with promises of "the latest music played at court." Our discussion of popular music and its audience should therefore begin with the musical influences and fashions propagated by the restoration court.

The restoration of the monarchy included resuscitating all the accoutrements of a royal court. The King's Musick was re-embodied and the Chapel Royal re-established; old members returned and new members were hired.<sup>8</sup> Cromwell's government had taken its toll on these traditional sources of patronage, however. The cathedral-school training of boy singers had been abolished during 'the troubles', making the re-institution of the Chapel

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<sup>6</sup> See note # 22 for definition of "social orders."

<sup>7</sup>North, "Notes of Comparison between the Elder and Later Musick and Somewhat Historicall of both [c.1726]," *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays written during the years c.1695-1728*, ed. John Wilson (London: Novello and Company Ltd., 1959), 299-300.

<sup>8</sup>The royal accounts of payments to musicians list those who were re-appointed at the Restoration. Among those wind players re-appointed were Henry Bassano, Andrea Lanier, Clement Lanier, Christopher Bell (who all played flute and/or sackbut), and many others too numerous to mention here. See *Lists of Payments to The King's Musick in the Reign of Charles II (1660-1685)*, ed. Andrew Ashbee (Snodland: Andrew Ashbee, 1981), 103-129.

Royal a half-hearted venture. Without a stable of trained treble voices, the four to six-part chorale anthem that had been so much a part of cathedral singing was no longer feasible.<sup>9</sup> The political isolation of these years had also affected the degree of continental influence on composition and technique.<sup>10</sup> In many ways, the re-establishing of such institutions could not amend the significant losses that time and isolation had wrought on musical culture. However, their return did serve to centralize musical life around the court and London perhaps to a greater degree than it had been in the past.<sup>11</sup>

Charles II gives evidence of this state of arrested cultural development, noting to his sister, the Duchesse d'Orléans, on 9 February 1663 that mounting a masque was impossible since there was not one man in the court 'that could make a tolerable entry.'<sup>12</sup> These frustrations were probably provoked by comparisons with his recent experiences at the French court where dancing and the enjoyment of dance music had occupied much of his leisure time. At Whitehall Chapel on 14 October 1660 Pepys noted that 'there was an anthemne, ill sung, which made the King laugh,'<sup>13</sup> further testimony

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<sup>9</sup>John Hingston, private musician to Cromwell, attempted to prevent this unhappy demise of the British choral tradition. He sent a petition to the Puritan Council in February, 1657 suggesting that they appoint a "Committee for Advancement of Musicke." The petition includes a warning "That by reason of the late dissolution of the Quires in the Cathedralls where the study and the practice of the Science of Musick was especially cherished, Many of the skilfull Professors of the said Science have during the late Warrs and troubles dyed in want, and there being now noe preferment or Encouragement in the way of Musick, noe man will breed his child in it, soe that it must needes bee, that the Science itselfe, must dye in this Nacion, with those few Professors of it now living, or at least it will degenerate much from that perfection lately attained unto." See Percy A. Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England: A Contribution to the Cultural History of Two Nations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934.), 282-83.

<sup>10</sup>When the violinist Thomas Baltzar of Lübeck visited Oxford in 1658, he shifted to higher positions on his violin than the present audience was accustomed to. Dr John Wilson, in his 'humoursome way' stooped down to see if he had a cloven hoof: 'that is to say, to see whether he was a Devil or not.' Lockett, "Music," 262.

<sup>11</sup>"In Elizabethan and Jacobean times the provincial cathedrals had provided livelihoods for a number of composers (Weelkes at Chichester, and Tomkins at Worcester are important examples) and in part, through their song-schools, nurtured much musical talent besides. After the Restoration they never fully recovered their old vitality as musical institutions." *Ibid.*, 263.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 263.

<sup>13</sup>Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 1: 265.

to the unpolished efforts of local musicians.

Musical standards at court were equally impoverished but Charles II acted quickly, beginning with the reconstitution of The King's Musick by 5 July 1660. The King's Musick was re-created according to a new French model in an effort to update the antiquated remnants of the pre-Commonwealth King's Musick. The new instrumental core consisted of a string band of 24, a direct imitation of the *vingt-quatre violins du roy* established by Louis XIV. The traditional disposition of the King's Musick into related consorts of instruments (viols, violins, recorders, shawms, flutes) was thus superseded by the contemporary French model.

I must remember that upon the Restauration of King Charles, the old way of consorts were layd aside at Court, and the King made an establishment, after a French model, of 24 violins, and the style of the musick was accordingly. So that became the ordinary musick of the Court, Theatres, and such as courted the violin.<sup>14</sup>

Non-string players were not displaced by this new model however, and they continued to flourish in wealthy courts such as those of France and England as occasion demanded.<sup>15</sup> The change was most apparent in day-to-day requirements of the court; the King's dining in state, court balls, and other public functions required a quorum of 12 string players as musical accompaniment. In December 1662 they made their first appearance in the Chapel Royal and by 1664, 12 players were assigned to each of the two licensed playhouses in London.<sup>16</sup>

The restored Chapel Royal fostered the traditional educational environment for young boy singers and composers that had existed before the

<sup>14</sup> Roger North, "Memoires of Musick," *Roger North on Music*, 349.

<sup>15</sup> See Ashbee's *Lists of Payments to the King's Musick* for exact numbers, dates and types of wind and string players granted royal patents with The King's Musick.

<sup>16</sup> Lockett, "Music," 264.

Commonwealth. Charles II's influence was present here as well. Attracting the King's attention and thus his royal patronage meant composing music in the French style. Dr Thomas Tudway, a child of the Chapel Royal in the 1660s, describes the successful careers of his contemporaries Mr Humphries, and Mr Blow as directly influenced by the King's musical taste:

...his Majesty greatly encourag'd, by indulging their youthfull fancys, so that ev'ry Month at least, & afterwards oft'ner, they produc'd something New, of this Kind; In a few years and severall others, Educated in the Chapell, Produc'd their Compositions in this style, for otherwise, it was in vain to hope to please his Majesty.<sup>17</sup>

Charles II sent John Banister, the 'Master of the twenty-four' over to France in the winter of 1661–2 and Pelham Humphry from 1665 to 1667.<sup>18</sup> Diarists Samuel Pepys and Roger North both noted that Charles II liked music to which he could beat time, "*a mode* among the *Monsieurs*," and Charles' personal letters attest to the fact that he cultivated an enjoyment of French dance music.<sup>19</sup> Apart from the King's Musick, he also established a King's French Musick consisting of a chamber group of French musicians directed by Ferdinand de Florence. Even after the group was disbanded for financial reasons in 1666, several of the original French musicians were retained in the royal service.<sup>20</sup>

It is therefore evident that during the early years of the Restoration, the deployment of musicians and the style of music they played were decidedly French in character. The King's tastes were mirrored by his courtiers and the

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 264.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 265.

<sup>19</sup>"And it was, and is yet *a mode* among the *Monseurs*, always to act the musick, which habit the King had got, and never in his life could endure any that he could not act by keeping the time; which made the common andante or else the step-tripla the onely musicall styles at Court in his time." North, "Notes of Comparison between the Elder and Later Musick and Somewhat Historicall of both [c.1726]," *Roger North on Music*, 299-300.

<sup>20</sup>Luckett, "Music," 266.

style was well received by a broader population.<sup>21</sup>

## Musicians and Music-Making in Transition

How many strata of urban society greeted these imported tastes and through what channels were musical styles disseminated?<sup>22</sup> During the Commonwealth the traditional channels did not give the type of access that higher social orders would have had during Charles I's reign. With the court in exile and the church and theatre proscribed, only those musicians performing civic functions, such as the town waits, were left with any professional security.<sup>23</sup> During Cromwell's government, composers and performers who had occupied more exalted positions were forced to resort to entrepreneurial enterprises or find patronage in private households. There were those who were forced to find employment unconnected with their

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<sup>21</sup>Although Charles II imported the most recent musical tastes of the French court, the English had been receptive to French influences before the Restoration. Lord North complained in a letter to Henry Loosemore in 1658 that "Our Frenchified Age requires rather a recollection and settling towards sobriety and gravity, than to be bubbled up to an over-Airy humour and lightness." *Ibid.*, 265.

<sup>22</sup>Throughout this chapter, I will refer to a society of orders rather than using the more rigid designation of a class system. London during this period was organized according to a system of parishes with a local presence, and thus reputation was as important to social status as wealth. Wealth and title alone do not account for the intricacies of social orders. A society of order takes into account the accumulation of status, income, education, title, land, and social mobility between different groups. Thus we will refer to higher and lower social orders and Peter Earle's "the middling sort." The middling sort included craftsmen, artisans, minor office holders, parish clerks, farmers, etc. They had some independent means that allowed them a monthly wage-earning capacity, and perhaps the right to vote. "Yeoman," for example, was the legal title given to a man who held the minimum amount of land required to cast a vote (land worth 40 shillings.) For the purposes of this discussion, the lower social orders are differentiated from the middling sort by their daily wage-earning capacity and lack of voting privileges. They included common seamen, labouring people and out servants, cottagers and paupers, common soldiers, etc. The higher social orders were the nobility, gentlemen, some persons in offices, merchants and traders by sea, etc. The dividing line between social orders was often drawn by reference to criteria such as behaviour, education, or way of life. See Gregory King, "Natural and Politicall Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England, A.D. 1696," in *Two Tracts*, ed. George E. Barnett (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1936).

<sup>23</sup>Luckett, "Music," 261.

original profession.<sup>24</sup> Many musicians occupied non-musical positions in households; John Wilbye, John Ward, and Christopher Simpson are examples of musical stewards. Pepys was among those of the higher social orders concerned with attaining a serving staff with high musical credentials for his household.<sup>25</sup> Even after the Restoration musicians had to resort to these measures. North gives an account of one Captain Prencourt, who was initially successful at finding private patronage when he could no longer rely on his royal position. Prencourt was a Saxon-bred musician in the employ of the Catholic court of James II (1685-88), Charles II's successor:

When the court broke up, he was dropt, and soon came to want his art for providing the necessarys of life... In short, he found means to support himself by pauming his facultys upon such as were called lovers of musick, and by that means crept into good families, where he, his horse, and dogg, had free and warm quarters...<sup>26</sup>

Thus, although the musical profession was not directly censored by the government, the loss of traditional sources of employment created a dearth of performance opportunities for those musicians of a more exalted situation than the city waits and the tavern musicians. The Commonwealth was therefore responsible for destroying traditional centres of musical activity and patronage, thereby forcing the majority of performers and composers to rely upon their own ingenuity and limited public resources. Audiences accustomed to hearing public performances of music in the church, court, and theatres had to look elsewhere for their musical entertainments.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>This included following the king to the wars. Captain Cooke's title acknowledges wartime service and William Lawes, a composer of the 1630's and 1640's, was killed in service at the siege of Chester. *Ibid.*, 261.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 260

<sup>26</sup>North, "Captain Prencourt... master of musick," *North on Music*, 54.

<sup>27</sup>Although these physical structures were proscribed, some private patronage did continue: "Masques continued to be given privately throughout the period of the Civil War (1642-49), and the Commonwealth (1649-60)... The most elaborate of these entertainments was *Cupid and Death* (1653), with music by Matthew Locke and Christopher Gibbons; it includes many dances and other instrumental pieces, songs of various types, recitatives, and choruses." Donald Jay Grout, *A History of Western Music*, 3rd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1980), 349-50.

This lack of professional security was directly responsible for the shift from public to private music-making during the Commonwealth. Since domestic music-making was one of the few pleasures condoned by the Protectorate, it was embraced by many families with the means to employ a music teacher.<sup>28</sup> North describes the career of Mr Jenkins, "a great reformer of musick in his time," as an example of one who found success on the domestic scene:

After his whole profession was driven from the Court, he past his time mostly in the country at gentlemen's houses, and then he composed numerous consorts, and in his effete age was no less acceptable, where he chose to reside, than when he was in his full vigor...<sup>29</sup>

Early editions of Playford's *The Musicall Banquet* and *The English Dancing Master* attest to the leniency that the Puritans demonstrated with regard to music and dancing.<sup>30</sup> The 1651 edition of *The Musicall Banquet* lists twenty-seven masters "for the Voyce or Viole" for the benefit of his London patrons.<sup>31</sup> Playford writes that although he can ensure the "theoretick part of Musick," he would wish his patrons "good successe in the practick part, which will soon bee obtained by the help of a Master, this City being present furnished with many excellent and able Masters in this Art and Science..." The Puritans did not discourage all leisurely recreation if the reception of

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<sup>28</sup>Oliver's 'mutable reign' did not prevent men like Colonel Hutchinson from enjoying all sorts of music, or from giving their children the kind of education which included music, dancing and all other qualities befitting their father's house. See E.D.Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 80.

<sup>29</sup>North, "Somewhat Historical," *North on Music*, 297.

<sup>30</sup>*The English Dancing Master* went through eighteen editions with alterations and additions between 1651 and 1728. The collection contained over one hundred tunes with instructions for dance steps and is the single largest source of ballad airs. See C.L. Day and E.B. Murrie, "English Song Books, 1651-1702, and their Publishers," *The Library*, Series 4, 16 (1936), 4: 367.

<sup>31</sup>Twelve of these twenty-seven masters were either part of the pre-Commonwealth "King's Musick" and were rehired at the Restoration, or they appeared on Charles II's books as being newly appointed to the "King's Musick" in 1660. See Ashbee, *Lists of Payments to The King's Musick*, 103-129.



these editions is any indication.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, they were probably more concerned with the public perception of these restrictions than the actual enforcing of them. North notes that in 1642:

...during ye troubles and when most other good arts languished musick held up her head, not at court nor (In ye cant of those times) profane theatres, but In private society, for many chose rather to fiddle at home, then to goe out and be knockt on ye head abroad; and the entertainment was very much courted and made use of not only In country but citty families.<sup>33</sup>

However, for those fortunate enough to find a place as a music master with a wealthy family, there were still significant consequences. The relative isolation of musicians from the continent has been mentioned above and so we imagine composers and performers operating without the stimulation that such cross-fertilization can bring. Furthermore, music masters were composing for and teaching amateur musicians who may not have aspired to much more than learning a limited repertoire of simple pieces for their own enjoyment or perhaps to play in consort with other amateur musicians in the context of a music meeting.<sup>34</sup> There were the cases of Pepys, North, Anthony à Wood, and John Evelyn who shared keen musical insights and a dedication to improving their musical abilities. Whether these gentlemen represented the norm or the exception can only be surmised. However, their collective awe of Italian virtuosi such as Nicholai Matteis, who arrived in England no later than 1671,<sup>35</sup> suggests that the technical abilities of English musicians had fallen behind those of their contemporaries on the continent in a relatively short period of time, probably as a consequence of England's cultural isolation. This occurred in spite of the patronage and enthusiasms of the Pepys and the Norths of that time.

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<sup>32</sup>Percy A. Scholes' study of music under Puritan rule provides conclusive arguments for the case of a thriving musical culture during the Commonwealth in England and abroad in the Puritan New World. See Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England*.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 294.

<sup>34</sup>Music meetings are discussed in detail below.

<sup>35</sup>North, "The Italian Taste Prevails," *North on Music*, 308, n.60.

North gives an explanation for the loss of compositional, and consequently performance technique in his essay "... Somewhat Historical..." He describes the career of Mr John Jenkins who spent his early career at Court but was forced to seek domestic employment with wealthy families when the Court dispersed in 1649.<sup>36</sup> In the following quotation, North remarks on the sophistication of Jenkins' early pieces compared to his later works:

The greatest disadvantage of his works is, that most of his early pieces are lost, and his latter consorts chiefly remain; and those were calculated for low hands little better than scollars, who were not *compotes* ['capable'] of any thing more masterly; and for the same reason, they were molded in the way of Lessons, rather than Fancys. But in all that plaineness, adapted to the capacity of his scollars, there is to be observed a genuine air, according to the true modes of conducting the keys and changing, as might be owned in consort at this day...<sup>37</sup>

However, there were aspects of music-making during the Commonwealth that sustained and encouraged amateur musicians and composers alike. Music meetings had been in existence since the beginning of the century but now took on new importance due to the limited variety of entertainments available. Some of our evidence for the surge of interest in this type of music-making comes from music publishers who were quick to capitalize on this audience, publishing instrumental and vocal tutors and collections of printed music for amateur consumption<sup>38</sup> :

A great means of bringing that forward [music] was the humour of following publick consorts... and some shopkeepers, and a foreman came weekly to sing in consort, and to hear and enjoy ale and tobacco; and after some time the audience grew strong, and one Ben Wallington got the reputation of [a] notable bass voice, who also set up for a composer, and hath some songs in

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<sup>36</sup> According to John Wilson, editor of *Roger North on Music*, there is no evidence that Jenkins was in the royal service until after the Restoration. *Ibid.*, 343, n. 91.

<sup>37</sup> North, "Somewhat Historical," *North on Music*, 296.

<sup>38</sup> See Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England*, 130-131 for a list of the 18 secular collections published by Playford for voice and instruments during the Commonwealth.

print, but of a very low sence; and their musick was chiefly out of Playford's catch book. But this shewed an inclination of the citisens to follow musick.<sup>39</sup>

North describes the "The Publick Musick-Meetings" in his *Musicall Grammarian* (1728). By the 1670s and 80s the private music meeting of the early part of the century had become more commercial in character, but it retained its primary purpose, providing a venue for music-making that it had since the beginning of the century. "And there was nothing of musick valued in towne, but was to be heard there. It was called the musick meeting; and all the Quallity and beau mond repaired to it..."<sup>40</sup> Early publishers such as Henry Playford relied on these associations of amateur musicians to subscribe to their stock of music and tutors.<sup>41</sup> Playford placed advertisements for the ensuing fourth edition of *The Second Book of the Pleasant Musicall Companion* in newspapers including the *Post Boy* on 7 September, 1700. The advertisement announces that copies of this new edition will "be published next Week chiefly for the Encouragement of the Musical Societies, which will be set up at Michaelmas next, in several eminent Taverns in Town and are recommended to be Established in most Cities, Towns, and Corporations of Great Britain and Ireland."<sup>42</sup> He repeats this recommendation in the preface,

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<sup>39</sup>Roger North, "Publick Meetings and I. Ben Wallington," *Roger North's The Musicall Grammarian 1728*, ed. Mary Chan and Jamie C. Kassler, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 264.

<sup>40</sup>North refers to the meetings held in the concert room in the York Buildings, off the Strand, circa 1685. Advertisements for concerts began on 23 November, 1685 and continued regularly until 5 December, 1711. See Roger North, "The York Musick House and how it Failed," *The Musicall Grammarian 1728*, 265.

<sup>41</sup>Most published collections of music listed future publications of interest to their "subscribers" and *The London Gazette* often advertised extra editions for sale at the shop once subscribers had collected their copies. Weber notes that music publishers "sold chiefly sheet music for both voice and instruments, designed for amateurs to play at home and editions of instrumental works for purchase mostly by music societies. Their main marketing device was to sell subscriptions of monthly sheets of music." See William Webber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 18.

<sup>42</sup>For the names of the London taverns where musical societies were established and further details concerning them, see the *Post Boy*, Sept. 21, 24, 28, Oct. 22, Nov. 2, 14 (1700). Michael Tilmouth, "A Calendar of references to music in newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)," in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicles*, 1 (1961), 34.

desiring that "the several cities, towns, corporations, etc. in the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland... will follow the example of well-wishers to vocal and instrumental musick in this famous city [London], by establishing... weekly meetings."<sup>43</sup>

During the first half of the century, the music meeting was a regular, often weekly event where gentlemen played in consort. Viol consorts were popular and the English penchant for four-part imitative compositions such as the fantasia, or dance-forms such as the galliard and pavane were well-suited to the skills of the amateur musicians. The music meetings described by Pepys, North, and Wood were private events, hosted by gentlemen from the same social sphere.<sup>44</sup> It was not uncommon to commission a professional player to join the gathering in order to supply an extra part and perhaps raise the musical standard.<sup>45</sup> The inclusion of professional musicians attests to the members' commitment to improving their abilities and their pursuit of a high standard in their private concerts. However, there were some exceptions:

John Parker, one of the Universitie musicians, would sometimes be among them: but Mr Low, a proud man, could not endure any common musician to come to the meeting, much less to play among them.<sup>46</sup>

With the vogue of the Italian virtuosi violinists,<sup>47</sup> however, some music

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<sup>43</sup>J. Harley, *Music in Purcell's London: The Social Background* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1968), 142.

<sup>44</sup>Women such as Susanna Perwich were invited to participate as performers at these meetings. See Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 24.

<sup>45</sup>Pepys gave Pietro Reggio five shillings for his attendance at a private gathering of amateur musicians and Henry Purcell performed with the Norths. See Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 27.

<sup>46</sup>Llewelyn Powys, ed., *The Life and Times of Anthony à Wood* (London: Wishart and Co., 1932), 51.

<sup>47</sup>The popularity of Italian music and Italian violin playing had taken hold in London by 1675. Between 1675 and 1750 there were more Italian composers residing in London than any other city except Vienna. For more information about the Italian influence in London, see Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 155-60.

meetings became more of a showcase for music masters and visiting professionals. The distinction between amateur and professional widened as the meetings began to resemble public concerts. When increased audiences forced them to move into local taverns and concert halls, they either charged a fee for seating or simply handed the business over to the proprietor of the venue. Although amateur enthusiasts continued to gather for private music meetings well into the eighteenth century, professional musicians began to promote their own concert series, capitalizing on an appreciative, familiar audience that the traditional music meeting had established. The result was an eclectic sort of public concert, which was greeted with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

North describes the social and musical standard of the 'Musick Meeting' circa 1677 thus:

There was a society of gentlemen of good esteem, whom I shall not name for some of them as I hear are still living, that used to meet often for consort after Babtist's manner, and falling into a weekly cours, and performing exceedingly well, with bass violins (a cours instrument as it was then which they used to hire), their friends and acquaintance, were admitted and by degrees as the fame of their meetings spread, so many auditors came that their room was crowded; and to prevent that inconvenience, they took a room in a tavern in Fleet Street, and the taverner pretended to make formall seats, and to take mony; and then the society disbanded. But the taverner finding the sweet of vending wine and taking mony, hired masters to play, and made a pecuniary consort of it to which for the reputation of the musick, numbers of people of good fashion and quallity repaired.<sup>48</sup>

John Banister (c. 1625-1679) was one of the first professional musicians to take

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<sup>48</sup>North, *Musicall Grammarian*, 265-6.

advantage of this new form of patronage.<sup>49</sup> His public concerts began in 1672, and Thomas Britton (1644-1714) soon followed suit, promoting public concerts at 10s. a year from 1678.<sup>50</sup> He was one of the first to introduce Corelli and Vivaldi to the London public.<sup>51</sup> On 11 July, 1701, the *London Post* advertised "An Excellent Consort [in Hampstead]... by several Masters; to begin at Ten in the Morning. Tickets... at Twelve-pence a piece: The Same Tickets are also for the Dancing in the Afternoon."<sup>52</sup> This advertisement illustrates the enterprising efforts by the concert promoters to appeal to a diversified audience who might respond more to dancing than a concert but would undoubtedly relish a whole day's worth of entertainment. Many inns, such as the Crown and Anchor in the Strand, set aside a concert room where traditional as well as 'modern' music could be enjoyed.<sup>53</sup> For some, these new professional endeavours were less appealing than the genteel music meeting. North reports on one particularly turbulent concert in which:

... the whole was without designe or order; for one master brings a consort with fuges, another shews his guifts in a solo upon the violin, another sings, and then a famous lutenist comes forward, and in this manner changes followed each other, with a full cessation of the musick between every one, and a gable and bustle while they changed places; whereas all entertainements of this kind ought to be projected as a drama, so as all the members shall uninterruptedly follow in order, and having a true connexion, set off each other. It is no wonder that the play

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<sup>49</sup>The origins of the first public concerts can be attributed to the music meeting and a longstanding tradition of live music in the taverns, or so-called "music houses." The performers and audience were generally of a lower social caste, thus set apart from the musicians at court and those belonging to the music guild. John Banister's early concerts drew upon the music house *ambiance*; his concert room was described as being filled with seats and small tables in the manner of an ale-house. See Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 137.

<sup>50</sup>For detailed discussion of the increasingly ineffective legislation regarding public performances by professional musicians (Banister was warden of the Corporation of Art and Science of Musick until his death) see Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 16-21.

<sup>51</sup>J.H. Plumb, "The Commercialization of Leisure," in *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Neil McKendrick, et al (London: Europa Publications Ltd., 1982), 279.

<sup>52</sup>Tilmouth, "A Calendar of References," 39.

<sup>53</sup>Stanley Sadie, "Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England," *Royal Musical Association Proceedings*, 75 (1959), 17-30.

houses got ground, and as they ordered the matter, soon routed this musick meeting.<sup>54</sup>

There was, nonetheless, a "violent inclination... to follow musick"<sup>55</sup> among the urban population. The cultivation of private music-making during the Commonwealth had generated a healthy subscription base for music publishers; their audience eagerly bought the latest collections of songs and instrumental pieces and music publishing continued to thrive into the eighteenth century. Public concerts also originated in the context of music-meetings and quickly became important venues for professional musicians who wished to subsidize their incomes during the late seventeenth century. Both activities were derived from the leisurely pursuits of Puritan England and provided channels for disseminating continental music introduced by musicians and composers of the restored court.

Having established several modes of disseminating music in the late seventeenth century, we must address the crucial question of who took part in the musical life of this period. In order to determine which members of English society were consumers of musical culture, we must discover who could afford to participate—who had the leisure time, financial means, and interest in musical culture. This proves a daunting task when confronted with the economic and social diversity represented in different regions of England, especially when one is comparing urban and rural populations in the seventeenth century. Since London was the primary centre for music publication and distribution, I will limit this discussion to the urban population of London, with occasional reference to other urban centres and rural areas for comparison.

It is important to emphasize that London did not represent the norm among the urban populations in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. In fact, by the turn of the century, London was one of the

<sup>54</sup>North, *Musicall Grammarian*, 266.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 266.

most prosperous cities in Europe with a comparatively large population. Between 1500 and 1700, England was still very much a rural nation, with at least three-quarters of its population living in the countryside.<sup>56</sup> However, by 1700 the capital had grown to almost half a million, a dramatic increase from 120,000 people in 1550. At the turn of the century, London contained almost one tenth of the population of England and was the largest city in Western Europe.<sup>57</sup> This figure is significant in view of the fact that over four-fifths of England's towns had a population of less than 2,000 people in 1700.<sup>58</sup> Statistics for trade, transportation and demography show that, economically, London had no European rival in its assets and potential for growth by the beginning of the eighteenth century. It had expanded the production of luxury goods by specialized craftsmen and the development of personal services by highly qualified professionals in the fields of law, medicine and the arts. Thus, the unique size and specialization of London's musical life were manifestations of its remarkable scale and concentration of professional services.<sup>59</sup>

In his essay "The Commercialization of Leisure," J. H. Plumb discusses the explosion of demands for and subsequent provision of high-status leisure activities that occurred in late seventeenth and eighteenth century London.<sup>60</sup> Plumb argues that with "the acquisition of increased leisure, combined with a modest affluence in a rising social class" comes a desire for self-improvement, increased consumption of everything from food to intellectual

<sup>56</sup>Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), 1.

<sup>57</sup>R. Finlay and B. Shearer, "Population Growth and Suburban Expansion," in *London 1500-1700: the Making of the Metropolis*, ed. A.L. Beier and R. Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), 48; De Vries, "European Urbanization," also in *ibid.*, 270-8.

<sup>58</sup>England boasted between 600 and 700 towns in the seventeenth century. The most useful definition of a pre-industrial English town is provided by Clark and Slack. The criteria are as follows: "first, an unusual concentration of population; second, a specialist economic function; third, a complex social structure; fourth, a sophisticated political order; and fifth, a distinctive influence beyond their immediate boundaries." See Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, 5-9. For the population figures cited above see Peter Borsay, *The Eighteenth Century Town 1688-1820* (New York: Longman, 1990), 4-5.

<sup>59</sup>William Webber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 17.

<sup>60</sup>J.H. Plumb, "The Commercialization of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England," 265-285.



pursuits, and a preoccupation with fashion.<sup>61</sup> We have already discussed how the higher social orders cultivated their interest in music privately during the Commonwealth and later in more traditional venues such as at court, church, and in semi-private music meetings that persisted long into the eighteenth century. It is more difficult to determine whether the lower and middling sort participated as consumers of music and to what degree they emulated the wealthy in their musical activities.

## Literacy and Consumption of Music

The proliferation of cheap literature made available by the printing press in the mid-seventeenth century may have provided a bridge between high and popular culture.<sup>62</sup> By examining the contents, marketing, and affordability of the musical publications of the time in conjunction with recent research on literacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we may reach some partial conclusions about musical literacy, practice, and participation among the lower orders. Unfortunately, much information about the social habits of the lower orders comes second-hand, reported by literate men with the time, inclination, and ability to write (literacy in the seventeenth century did not presuppose writing skills<sup>63</sup>). Communities of non-élites are marginalized by the effects of history since they leave fewer written records behind. If, however, we consider evidence left by the publishers of the time, including

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 265.

<sup>62</sup>"...printers, who are craftsmen yet involved intimately with book-learning, are the most obvious intermediaries between learned and popular culture." Peter Burke "Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London," in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Barry Reay (New York: St Martin's Press, 1985), 52. See also Bernard Capp, "Popular Literature," in *ibid.*, 198-243.

<sup>63</sup>"A mark [in the place of a signature] does not really indicate a an inability to write... the common mark in the form of a cross 'was not necessarily proof of illiteracy. When the cross was first placed upon legal documents it was a symbol of the Holy Cross and proof that the man who made it gave his assent religious sanctity. That is, it was the equivalent of an oath.'" David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 57. See also chapter II in *ibid.* For a different interpretation of standards and statistics for literacy and writing skills in the seventeenth century, see Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1981.), ch. 2.

the fact of the sheer volume of populist material that could not have found a market solely amongst a wealthy minority, we may begin to establish a degree of musical interest and, indeed, patronage shared by the less visible strata of urban society.

The following discussion of seventeenth-century literacy draws on recent research by Margaret Spufford and David Cressy.<sup>64</sup> Cressy gives detailed analyses of literacy and education in rural and urban England while Spufford's work illuminates the proliferation of "chapbooks" in the seventeenth century.<sup>65</sup> One of Spufford's most compelling pieces of evidence for literacy among the lower orders comes from as early as 1588, in the preface to John Rhodes' *The Country Man's Comfort*. This book of instructional songs for all occasions and seasons of the year specifies its intended audience in the preface:

If therefore it happens to light into hands that are wise and learned; know this that I doe not count it so fit a booke for thee as for the Schollar of pettie Schooles the poor Countrieman and his familie, who wil aske these vain questions, sometimes saying: what shall we doe in the long winter nights: how shall we passe away the time on Sundayes, what wold you have us doe in the Christmas Holydayes: for such have I made this booke, wherein I shall no doubt please their merrie minds a little, for that they are naturally given to sing, if happily I may winne them to sing good things and forsake evill.<sup>66</sup>

Spufford amassed a large amount of diversified evidence that builds upon the quotation above to suggest that between 1500 and 1700, reading was used over much wider areas of human activity, including pleasure and self-education, and by more members of the community, including some of the laboring

<sup>64</sup>Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth Century England* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1981.); David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

<sup>65</sup>The designation "chapbook" was applied in the nineteenth century to describe short, populist publications on a variety of subjects including theology, cooking, medicine, etc.

<sup>66</sup>As cited in Spufford, *Small Books*, 10.

poor, than has been suggested by previous scholarship in this field. Elementary education outside the grammar schools would seem to have been available to a broad range of social groups during the first half of the seventeenth century. According to the number of masters recorded in the episcopal records after the Reformation, there was a decline in the number of masters and therefore the availability of elementary education in rural areas during the second half of the century.<sup>67</sup> Literacy was naturally higher in the cities where it was more widely attainable at charitable and church-sponsored schools and where the skill was valued by specialty tradesmen, manufacturers and distributors. However, smaller communities in less urbanized areas also had access to primary education. In Cambridgeshire, for example, approximately one-fifth of the larger villages and minor market towns had schoolmasters licensed continuously from 1570 to 1620. According to contemporary maps of masters teaching in the area, "some sort of teacher was almost always within walking distance for a determined child in the late 16th and early seventeenth centuries."<sup>68</sup>

The ability to sign one's name is the only measurable skill that can be used as an index for determining literacy skills of the period. Because reading was taught before writing, we can surmise that people with the ability to write had received at least two years' worth of schooling and were able to read.<sup>69</sup> Between 1580 and 1700, a cross-section of trades and professions signed ecclesiastical court records in the four dioceses of London, Norwich, Exeter, and Durham. These records show that eleven per cent of women, fifteen per cent of labourers, and twenty-one per cent of husbandmen could sign their names. These results can be measured against the fifty-six per cent of tradesmen and craftsmen, and sixty-five per cent of yeomen who possessed this skill. Retailers and distributors of specialist crafts were ninety per cent literate while clergy and gentry were one hundred per cent literate.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 20

<sup>69</sup>Cressy, *Literacy*, ch.2.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., 129.

The figures above indicate, predictably, that literacy was economically determined; the skill "has been conclusively shown to be tied to one's social status... for the simple reason that some degree of prosperity was necessary to spare a child from the labour force for education as soon as it was capable of work."<sup>71</sup> Depending on the type of apprenticeship or labour, children began working between the ages of six and seven years.<sup>72</sup> Thus, if local teaching was available, children could receive from six months to a year's education before they entered the work force, enough time for a bright child to learn to read according to Spufford's findings.<sup>73</sup>

Most social groups had opportunities to develop literacy skills during the seventeenth century, with some periods of decline as noted above. The Protestant Returns of 1642 were signed or marked by more than 40,000 men from over 400 parishes in twenty-five counties. They offer, perhaps, the most accurate evidence of the results the teachers in the rural schools achieved. In 1642, there was an absolute minimum reading public of twenty per cent among men in the least advanced parishes of rural England. The average in these parishes was about thirty per cent.<sup>74</sup> These statistics do not reflect the superior level of literacy found in the towns, however. London was a predominantly literate environment with a literacy range above seventy-eight per cent in 1641-4. Again, there was a close correspondence

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., 21.

<sup>72</sup>The founder of the Aldersgate workhouse wrote in 1678 and 1681 that he had 'some children not above seven or eight years old who are able to earn two pence a day.' In 1699, the Bishopsgate workhouse was established for all poor parish children over the age of seven. They were given two hours instruction in reading and writing after their ten hour work-day. Spufford, *Small Books*, 27.

<sup>73</sup>Thomas Tryon, the son of a village tiler and thus one of the poorest children in his village, describes his struggle to get an education in his autobiography. His father, 'having many Children, was forced to bring them all to work betimes.' He says that 'About Five Year old, I was put to School, but being addicted to play, after the Example of my young School-fellows, I scarcely learnt to distinguish my Letters, before I was taken away to Work for my Living.' Spufford claims that "from the evidence on the likely age at which wage earning began, there is a considerable likelihood that boys below the level of yeoman quite frequently learned to read, since reading was taught at an age when they could earn little, whereas writing was commonly taught at an age after the meaningful earning lives of such boys had begun." Spufford, *Small Books*, 27; see also Cressy, *Literacy*, 27-33.

<sup>74</sup>Cressy, *Literacy*, 72.

between the ability to sign one's name and the proportion of substantial households.<sup>75</sup> The performances of larger urban populations were much better than the national average, with some regional trends taken into account such as higher illiteracy in the north and far southwest of England.<sup>76</sup>

Cressy provides a ranking of illiteracy in London and Middlesex by trade between 1580 and 1700. The commercial élite of the city—apothecaries, drapers, grocers, haberdashers, ironmongers, mercers, vintners, scriveners—were close to the level of the clergy and gentry with almost one hundred per cent literacy, while samples of men working as skilled craftsmen—drapers, clothiers, saddlers, and coopers—ranged in illiteracy from fourteen to twenty-three per cent. Manufacturers such as weavers, blacksmiths, clothworkers, and processors such as brewers, tailors, malsters, cooks, and sailors were between twenty-nine and thirty-eight per cent illiterate.<sup>77</sup> Thus, the more specialized, complex, refined, or expensive businesses boasted higher literacy rates.

It was uncommon for women in Elizabethan and early Stuart England to receive education in developing their reading and writing skills and thus their literacy scores were predictably low. But the level of literacy among women rose dramatically over the course of the century, from ten per cent in the middle of the century to forty-eight per cent at the end.<sup>78</sup> Of the other marginalized urban groups, servants and apprentices in London were also 'extraordinarily' literate. Only eighteen per cent of apprentices and thirty-one per cent of servants who made depositions in London and Middlesex were unable to sign.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Holy Trinity the Less was a moderately poor community with less than sixteen per cent of the households qualifying as substantial. Thirty-three of the men were illiterate as compared to the nine per cent illiteracy in St Mary Magdalen, Milk Street where sixty-nine substantial households resided. See *ibid.*, 72-3.

<sup>76</sup>For scores of individual counties see *ibid.*, 73-5

<sup>77</sup>*Ibid.*, 131-135.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, 129.

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, 129.

The ability to sign one's name is not the only measure we have to determine literacy in urban and rural England during the seventeenth century. Spufford makes a good case for increased literacy across the social spectrum, noting that, in rural areas, the existence of a minimum thirty per cent male readership combined with a female readership of an unknown size must have been the incentive to publishers of "ephemera, ballads, almanacs, and chapbooks" in the late seventeenth century. Sales of these items boomed in the 1660s—this could not possibly be ascribed to the demands of a relatively small, intellectual élite. The sheer volume of publications would support this hypothesis. Charles Tias, one of many specialist publishers of chapbooks at the end of the seventeenth century, had 90,000 chapbooks in stock in 1664. This would have provided one chapbook for every fifteen families in England in 1688.<sup>80</sup> Almanacs produced annually for the Stationer's Company in the 1660s number between 300,000 and 400,000, or one for every four families.<sup>81</sup>

Distribution of the chapbooks was dominated by hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen who found their customers in village alehouses and rural fairs as well as in market-towns across the country. Licenses given under the Act of 1696-7 show official figures of 500 hawkers and pedlars in London and over 2500 nationwide.<sup>82</sup> An almanac called the *City and Country Chapmans Almanac*, published in 1685, contained pertinent information for the men trading in printed materials across the country. Comprehensive lists of the fairs in England and Wales, lists of the market towns arranged by county, and the day of the week on which the market in each town was held, a list of the stage towns on the roads out of London, and the distances between each were included in this publication.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Spufford, *Small Books*, 101.

<sup>81</sup>Spufford uses Gregory King's estimate of a population of 1,360,586 families in 1688. *Ibid.*, 100, and 109, n. 66.

<sup>82</sup>*Ibid.*, 116-118.

<sup>83</sup>*Ibid.*, 113.

Although we know that the chapbooks cost between 3d. and 6d. during the second half of the seventeenth century, the prices of individual ballads and collections of songs are not mentioned in surviving inventories of the hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen, nor did they appear in probate inventories.<sup>84</sup> Presumably they were so inexpensive as not to merit listing. However, we can deduce that these itinerant salesmen interacted with a cross-section of English society since they carried a range of goods holding appeal for both the rustic and the gentry. They sold items such as textiles, hair for wigs, sewing silks, lace, toiletries, bibles, knives, looking glasses, etc. and the printed books in their collection represented only a small proportion of their wares.<sup>85</sup> It is not improbable that their printed materials would have attracted the interest of people with diverse social backgrounds. Pepys is a good example of an educated and privileged individual whose collection of chapbooks betrays a dabbler in the popular wisdom of the lower social orders.<sup>86</sup>

There were other retailers of cheap printed books apart from the chapmen and specialist booksellers. During the first and second half of the seventeenth century, primers at 3d. were stocked by mercers at Charlbury in Oxfordshire and at Ormskirk in Lancashire along with groceries, ironmongery, and cloth. Thomas Greenwood's will of 1683, shows that he resided in Burton Kendal, was a blacksmith by trade and also ran a shop. Greenwood's general store held books valued at one pound, 12s., as well as bridles, stirrups, silk, sugar, salad oil, combs, etc.<sup>87</sup>

There seems to be conclusive evidence that a substantial and diverse amount of printed material was available to a wide range of people across the country. The widespread availability of the books along the routes travelled by 2500

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., 48.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 121-123.

<sup>86</sup>The apparent simplicity of the genre is deceptive, according to Bernard Capp, since "works aimed primarily at the poor were not confined exclusively to them." See Bernard Capp, "Popular Literature," in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England*, 198.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 125.

chapmen, pedlars, and hawkers (1697-8), combined with the affordability and populist nature of this literature create a picture of popular culture shared by a broad cross-section of the population during the late seventeenth century. The populist appeal of these printed books can be gleaned from the contents: ballads, neo-chivalric "histories" such as *Dick Whittington*, "practical manuals" such as *The Compleat Cookmaid*, *The Accomplished Servant-maid's Necessary Companion*, or *The Art of Courtship*, castigating diatribes such as *The Downfall of Temporizing Poets*, or the *Danger of Despair Arising from a Guilty Conscience*, books on magic such as *The most Pleasant and Delightful Art of Palmistry*, satires, jokes, riddles, and bawdy tales all underscore the probability that these inexpensive printed publications must have held wide-ranging appeal.<sup>88</sup> The only improbable hypothesis is that these ballads, "merry books," and "pleasant histories" were indispensable to their owners; it is more likely that the proliferation of these materials reflected a current interest in news, fashion, and self-improvement, mimicking the leisure activities pursued by the higher social orders.

Although evidence of vast inventories of printed editions can be found in printers' records, the volume of the distributed material has disappeared. Perhaps this is the ultimate proof of the low status and high rate of consumption awarded to these "small books" by the general public: Anthony à Wood's papers include a scurrilous song titled *Rats Rhimed to Death* (1660) which reveals what may have been the fate of many cheap editions or ballads. It begins "Bum-fodder or Wast-paper proper to wipe the Nation's Rump with, or your own."<sup>89</sup>

We can hypothesize at this point that recorded inventories of printed

<sup>88</sup>Many of the titles found in Pepys' collections of ballads, 'small godly,' and 'small merry' books, were acquired in the 1680's, the same period as the recorder tutors in this study. See Roger Thompson, ed., *Samuel Pepys' Penny Merriments* (London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1976.), 12.

<sup>89</sup>Sir William Cornwallis kept 'pamphlets and lying-stories and two-penny poets in his privy, to be read there, and then used.' As cited in Spufford, *Small Books*, 49.



materials, the numerous agents who sold them, the variety of practical and populist titles, and a healthy minimum level of literacy in most areas of rural and urban England all point to the same conclusion: people from diverse social backgrounds were adopting new attitudes and consumption habits that had been made accessible and affordable by the invention of the printing press. The lapse of licensing laws in the 1650s and again in the 1690s made specialist publishing more competitive, and consequently their works were available at cheaper prices than ever before.<sup>90</sup> Members of different social groups probably shared some overlapping tastes, despite the simplicity of the genres being sold.

In 1695, servants formed 20 per cent of the population of 40 London parishes—the high literacy rate in London invites the question of whether these servants shared in the social culture of their masters. If they could read, did they pick up the cheap books in their masters' libraries (or privies as suggested above) or might they have invested their own wages in acquiring the latest romance or ballad? And what of the merchants and tradesmen who were seeking to better themselves and the prospects for their children? They might be susceptible to such titles as *The Gentlewoman's Companion: or A Guide to the Female Sex containing Directions for Behaviour in all Places, Companies, Relations, and Conditions from their Childhood down to Old Age*, or *The Compleat Gentleman. Or Directions for the Education of Youth as to their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad*. These questions are worth remembering as we focus on the music publishing industry and its customers.

### Music Publishers and their Audience

The 1690s are the watershed for music publishing in England. Thomas Cross, John Hare, and John Walsh (ca. 1665–1736) published large cheap editions of

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<sup>90</sup>Comparative prices of music books will be discussed in full detail below.

music that were widely advertised with considerable 'puffing' in newspapers. The following advertisement in a paper called *A Collection for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade* is an example of the strategies publishers employed to attract customers. On 13 October, 1693, Walsh advertised a book of "New Ayres Composed for the Flute together... digested into an easier method than has hitherto been extant."<sup>91</sup> Over the next twenty-five years Walsh published over 600 musical works<sup>92</sup> but this was merely the fortuitous continuation of a music publishing industry that John Playford (1623-86) had begun in 1651.

One hundred years before Playford began his business, music publishing had a very different orientation. Between 1530 and 1575, only 60 works containing music appear to have been printed in England and these consisted almost entirely of psalters and other liturgical works.<sup>93</sup> In 1571 John Day issued Thomas Whythorne's *Songs of Three, Fower, and Five Voyces*, the first surviving example of a secular work for a popular audience. From 1586-1600 there were approximately 100 more works produced—60 of which were secular, including madrigals, motets, instruction books, and songs with lute accompaniment.<sup>94</sup> (Morley's *Plaine and easie Introduction to Practicall Musick* (1597) is one of the most notable instruction books of this period.) The first half of the seventeenth century continued to see music publishers favouring sacred books over secular, although the popularity of madrigals resulted in an increase in secular output.

By 1630 both the madrigal and the popular English air were in decline—Martin Peerson's *Mottects or Grave Chamber Music* (1630), and Walter Porter's *Madrigals and Ayres* (1632), were the last secular song books of any

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<sup>91</sup>Tilmouth, "A Calendar of References," 34.

<sup>92</sup>Plumb, "Commercialization of Leisure," 271.

<sup>93</sup>Charles Humphries and Charles C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles: from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford University Press: Basil Blackwell, 1970), 4.

<sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, 4-5.

importance to be published until the middle of the century.<sup>95</sup> Publications of sacred music also decreased. William and Henry Lawes' *Choice Psalms put into Musick* (1648) was one of the few valuable books of sacred music in that period.<sup>96</sup> Thus John Playford's *Musicall Banquet* (1651) marked the beginning of a new era after a period of relatively impoverished musical contributions. The type of music he published was decidedly populist in nature, and he did not draw upon traditions of old liturgical and religious music, nor the works of the Elizabethan madrigalists.

As the prefaces and advertisements for Playford's publications attest, their contents held a broad appeal and could travel from their origins in the theatres and court to music meetings, private homes, taverns, or anywhere else. This surge in the music publishing industry owed a great deal to the exile of the King during the Commonwealth. With the abolition of the monarchy went the system of royal patents, allowing Playford to concentrate on music publishing. Previously, a few men such as Morley held patents giving them sole rights to publish certain types of musical collections, including original compositions or foreign music. In Morley's case, he rarely took initiatives to publish large collections of music and so his patent languished for twenty-one years without a great deal of output.<sup>97</sup>

Playford's concentrated efforts to create a market for his music books in the 1650s were unique and timely. For the first time, publishers such as Playford, who had previously dealt in a wide variety of printed materials and ephemera, were able to specialize without exclusive royal patents, thereby focusing their resources and establishing professional reputations. We have already seen that the climate was conducive to music-making because of

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<sup>95</sup>Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 18.

<sup>96</sup>Plumb, "Commercialization of Leisure," 357.

<sup>97</sup>Thomas Morley was the sole owner of a patent to print music for twenty-one years from 1598. Much of the music published during this period appeared with the names of his assigns, William Barley, Thomas Este and Peter Short. Morley did not exercise his right to print himself except possibly in the case of Richard Carlton's *Madrigals to Five Voyces* (1601). Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 5.

restrictions on other entertainments during the 1650s and thus Playford became the first to capitalize on the possibilities of a diverse market for his publications. His first musical works included *The English Dancing Master* (1651) and *A Musicall Banquet* which contained the genesis for many of his later works. All together, he published more than forty songs or collections of secular vocal music, instruction books and many other miscellaneous works.<sup>98</sup> North acknowledges his contribution, both to the printing trade and the propagation of musical taste:

There was another incident which tended to propagate musick in generall, as well as the Itallian manner, and that was printing from copper plates. The first that I have seen were in *The Division Violist* [1659], and since by Sigr Nichola's books. But it's well knowne the old way was by [type-] setting, and all the Italian musick, even of the best masters, are so publisht; and by that manner was much mended by one John Playford... It hath bin a vast advantage to all lovers, that musick was to be bought at reasonable prises, and now wonderfull fair...<sup>99</sup>

John Playford's son, Henry Playford, succeeded him but with less success owing to the fierce competition from other publishers and his preference for outdated methods of printing.<sup>100</sup> Although Henry Playford's music publishing business was not as prosperous as his father's, this does not imply a diminishing audience for published music; it merely reflects a more competitive market with increasing numbers of specialist publishers promoting their works. Samuel and Benjamin Sprint, John Hudgebut, John Clarke, Thomas Cross, John Crouch, John Hare, John Walsh, John Young, and John Cullen were contemporaries of John or Henry Playford specializing in music publishing and engraving in London.<sup>101</sup>

The types of books that the music publishers were selling also give an insight

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<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>99</sup>North "...Somewhat Historical..." in *North on Music*, 311, n. 66.

<sup>100</sup>Day and Murrie, "English Song Books," 377.

<sup>101</sup>Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 12.

into the possible market from which the Playfords and others were seeking to profit. We have already observed the subscription schemes targetting the music clubs in London and its surrounds. The many reprints and enlarged editions of *Select Musicall Ayres and Dialogues* (1652), *The Theatre of Musick* (1685), *The Banquet of Musick* (1685), and others confirm that these collections of instrumental pieces and vocal songs were highly successful among their subscribers.<sup>102</sup> The earliest Playford editions of *The English Dancing Master* (1651) and *Catch that Catch Can* (1652) may have broadened that audience further. *Catch that Catch Can*, a collection of sometimes bawdy and obscene two- to four-voiced rounds or canons, had a distinctly racy character that may have thrived more in the taverns than elsewhere. These high-spirited editions continued to be reprinted well into the eighteenth century. Arthur Bedford's *The Great Abuse of Musick* (1711) complained that John Playford's *The Pleasant Musciall Companion* (a later incarnation of *Catch that Catch Can*) had encouraged drinking, lechery and the like, and now:

Henry comes up in his Father's Stead, and in Publishing of Profaneness and Debauchery excels all that went before him. The Volumes sold by him, intitul'd "Wit and Mirth, or, Pills to purge Melancholy," might more properly have been call'd "Profaneness for Diversion, or, Hot Irons sear the Conscience"; a Poet gives them this character in Front of one of the Volumes, that they will never bring a Man to Repentence, but always have the contrary Effect. In the Preface he informs us, as his Father before him had spar'd no Cost nor Pains to oblige the World with Smut and Profaneness; so he would make it his Endeavour to come up to his Example; and he hath done it.<sup>103</sup>

The other type of popular publication was the instrumental instructor or 'tutor.' Playford's *Musick's Recreation for the Lyra viol* (1652) is one of the earliest examples, followed by *A Book of New Lessons for the Cittern and Gittern* (1652), and *Apollo's Banquet for the Violin* (1669). He also published

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<sup>102</sup>See *ibid.*, 7 for numbers of reprints and enlarged editions.

<sup>103</sup>Day and Murrie, "English Song Books," 395.

# THE + Deceiver deceived:

## Or, The Virgins Revenge.

Those that in Loves wide Grove delight to range,  
And please themselves with pretty charming change,  
Delights to triumph o're the softest spoils  
Of yielding Beauty, seldom scape the toils,  
For Love to take them has a thousand wiles.

Tone of, *Ah cruel bloody fate!*

*This may be printed, R. L.S.*



Man.

**A**h cruel Maid give o're  
to punish him with scorn  
Who has for you in those  
a Name as bright as morn.  
Come dear be kind the Power's of Love  
their Wretches misemploy'd  
To make with such care, a Creature so  
Knot to be enjoy'd.

**Tell me no more;** in vain  
will all your Courtship prove  
I smile to hear you feign  
a false pretended love:  
What Change is seen from broken vows  
to yielding Virgins made  
When you let languish in their angish  
when so Love is tropp'd.



Man.

It's true some gentle hours  
I wish'd in their arms  
Yet no sweet face but yours  
could make me own its Charms  
The fairest Beauties there; display'd  
each moment seem'd to walt  
But you's my delight, is so dazzling bright  
It must so; ever last.

Maid.

So flatter'd your smooth Tongue  
so were your looks address'd  
Such smiles about you hung  
such liking you express'd;  
That those whose senseless hearts you had  
those now that mourn their fate  
In being undone, by trusting to your  
stunning looks are breath'd too late.



Man.

That's their own fault, in haste  
to entertain a flame,  
Which in their cheeks cou'd blaze  
Wh' Rites and Rose's stain:  
Disarm them of those killing beams  
which in your eyes appear (whose light  
Those eyes which are bright, those eyes by  
my court, love bids me dear.

Maid.

In vain you try my heart  
no Conquest there you'll gain,  
Too feeble is your art  
to make me suffer pain,  
You seek a triumph there in vain  
no Trophy you shall boast  
But in what so vain you would now obtain  
you shall be ever lost.

Man.

Such cruelty can't live  
with'in so fair a breast  
A milder sentence give  
to me with love oppress'd,  
Who a flame that burns like mine  
sorely spreads: So that I  
Wh' he th' till now, Love never made bow  
for love of you: now I do.

Maid.

No more of love to me  
though you in earnest were  
As dear as Death I'd be,  
for love I'd give despair  
Revenge the wrongs the softer sex  
sustain by your false wiles  
Revenge false man, the Triumph that's won  
by your deluding smiles.

Man.

Just is your doom bright maid  
just the disdain you show  
With scorn so; so; so; so; so; so; so;  
the power's thus let me know.  
What 'tis to sigh and pine for love  
once I unmoved cou'd see  
Features with tears & these tender scars  
kind Virgins sigh for me.

FINIS.

Printed for J. Clark, W.  
Thackery and T. Passinger, S.

general or universal tutors such as *A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1655). The rising demand for these method books would seem to stem from Playford's response to a shift in social orientation towards the 'middling sort' and their taste in music. For example, many of the practice pieces, called 'lessons,' in these collections are strophic, triple-time tunes and do not reflect the more sophisticated music being composed at court. The populist nature of these tunes is evident from the fact that they are named, over and over, as the musical settings for the ballads sold by chapmen in great quantities. Fig. 1

The recorder tutors of this study fall into the category of instrumental tutor, and like many other tutors of the period, they appeared on the market in response to a demand created by fashion. Walsh's first tutor for the transverse flute in 1721 was more far-sighted than the recorder tutors of the 1690s and early 1700s. By the 1720s, the recorder was supplanted by the transverse flute both at court and in the theatres. Tutors for the French flageolet enjoyed the same short-lived vogue as the recorder tutors, beginning with Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* (1661).<sup>104</sup> As North said in his "Memoirs of Musick":

... nothing is more a fashion than musick, no not cloaths, or language, either of which is made a derision to aftertimes. And so it is of all things that belong to the pleasures of sence... And the grand custom of all is to affect novelty, and to goe from one thing to another, and despise the former.<sup>105</sup>

Details of the recorder's sudden rise in popularity will be discussed in the next chapter.<sup>106</sup> For now, it is interesting to note the breadth of the recorder's appeal and, by extension, that of the recorder tutors. Hudgebut's preface to *A Vade*

<sup>104</sup>Greeting's tutor, published by Playford, went through several editions until 1682. In 1700 Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein published *La Veritable Maniere d'apprendre a jouer en perfection du Haut-bois, de la Flute et du Flageolet...* and perhaps the most famous book for the flageolet was published by Meares in 1717, called *The Bird Fanciers Delight*.

<sup>105</sup>North "Memoires of Musick," 346.

<sup>106</sup>See also Luckett, "Music," 272 -73.

*Mecum* (1679) explains, in a rhetorically understated way, that:

As all Instruments have found great access as well as Improvement of late years in this Nation, this of the Recorder hath not found the least encouragement, being received into the favour of the Ladies, and made the Gentlemans *Vade Mecum*..

After hearing the recorder in a performance of *The Virgin Martyr*, Pepys succumbed to the "wind-musique, which is so sweet that it ravished me, ... and indeed, in a word, did wrap up my soul so that it made me really sick, just as I have formerly been when in love with my wife"<sup>107</sup> and rushed out to Drumbleby to buy a recorder despite his earlier loyalty to the flageolet. His efforts to learn the instrument included a frustrating episode with a recorder tutor written in tablature.<sup>108</sup> Pepys' account shows that the purchase of a tutor might precede any instruction by a music master, even for the wealthy. It was undoubtedly more gratifying to drop by Chancery Lane and purchase a tutor than to pursue the tedious process of engaging a music master and making appointments; perhaps engaging a teacher was the next stage—local music masters were, after all, advertised in some of these editions.

John Evelyn noted on 20 November, 1679 that 'the flute douce' [French equivalent of "recorder"] was 'in much request for accompanying the voice,' at his music gatherings.<sup>109</sup> Professional musicians such as Banister performed on the recorder in their public concerts.<sup>110</sup> However, the tutors represent a distinctive split between professionals and amateurs. There are records of amateurs who took the instrument seriously and graduated from the

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<sup>107</sup> See Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, Feb. 27, 1667/68.

<sup>108</sup> Pepys' first recorded purchase in this genre was Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion, or Choice New Lessons and Instructions for the Flageolet*, also published in tablature notation in the same format as the recorder tutors of this study. Pepys' diary entry for 18 April, 1668 reads: "Greeting's book 1s/-. Began this day to learn the recorder." It was his frustration with the amateurish tablature method used in these instrumental tutors that led Pepys to buy Descartes' *De Musica*. See Lockett, "Music," 277. A copy of Greeting's tutor dated 1675 belonged to Narcissus Luttrell and another belonging to Dr Cummings dates from 1680. See *ibid.*

<sup>109</sup> John Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E.S. de Beer (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), 675.

<sup>110</sup> See Tilmouth, "A Calendar of References," for concert listings.



frivolous tunes and airs in the tutors to sonatas written for the instrument by Henry Purcell and Geoffrey Finger<sup>111</sup> but we are more interested in those "low hands little better than scollars, who were not *compotes* [capable] of anything more masterly."<sup>112</sup> This latter group of amateur musicians sought the effortless acquisition of technical facility on the instrument and the latest fashionable repertoire. The tutors indicate that these impatient individuals would have comprised the majority of the music publishers' patrons. North makes an incisive comment about this group, describing certain ladies who "hear a new song and are impatient to learn it. A master is sent for who sings it as a parrot, till at last, with infinite difficulty the tune is got, but with such infantine, imperfect, nay abominable graces, in imitation of the good that one would split to hear it."<sup>113</sup> This comment is further elaborated by the advertisements and title pages for these books which dwell alluringly on the plainness and easiness for the ungifted amateur to learn to play the latest songs from the theatres and from the court. Banister's promises to his patrons are typical:

The general way of Playing the Recorder, is by the Rules of the Gam-ut, but by Reason many that love the instrument have been weary of it in a short time, through the difficultness of those Rules. I thought it might not be amiss to publish some Lessons, set a more easie way... which the meanest capacity that has an Ear any way inclining to Musick, may learn to Play on this sweet delightful instrument... if they will spare some few hours in perusing the Directions in this Book.<sup>114</sup>

Banister's title page includes a caption that promises "plain and easie Rules and Instructions for young Beginners." We cannot determine the actual age of the "young Beginners" to whom he was appealing but a probable market might have been the single, socially mobile youths who frequented

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<sup>111</sup>Claver Morris, *The Diary of a West Country Physician A. D. 1684-1726*. ed. Edmund Hobhouse, 2nd ed. (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1935), 39-40.

<sup>112</sup>North, "Somewhat Historical," *North on Music*, 296.

<sup>113</sup>Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 34.

<sup>114</sup>John Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion* (London, 1681), 2.

fashionable spots such as Covent Gardens, the theatre, and pleasure gardens where such instruments might have been heard. Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion, or Choice New Lessons for the Recorder* (1686), does not identify an audience but assumes that his patrons can afford a music master to supplement his instructions. His promises are relatively modest as stated in the preface: "By these Rules and Directions, with a little help of some able Master to explain the true meaning and use thereof, . ." his patrons will "become good Proficients of this Instrument."<sup>115</sup> Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion* appealed overtly to a less affluent audience of "Beginners, that have not the help of a Master to Instruct them,"<sup>116</sup> whereas John Hudgebut distinguished between the audience for the recorder, as it was "being much more in Esteem and Veneration with the Nobility and Gentry, . . . [and] being received into the favour of the Ladies" and that of the flageolet which "sinks down a Servant to the Pages and Footmen."<sup>117</sup>

The style of many of the pieces in these editions hardly reflects the skill of their composers; Nicholas Matteis' contributions to the tutors do not betray his improvisatory skills and florid ornamentations that drew such appreciative audiences upon his arrival in England, nor do they compare with the sonatas he published individually. The lessons do, however, reflect the most current, albeit watered-down, versions of theatre tunes with which patrons of the theatre must have been familiar. A public who could not afford regular outings to the theatre may have found that these books kept them abreast of the trends set by the more affluent members of society. We know that booksellers plied a good trade in play books which often reached the

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<sup>115</sup>Robert Carr, *The Delightful Companion* (London, 1686), A7.

<sup>116</sup>Humphrey Salter, *The Genteel Companion* (London, 1683), A3.

<sup>117</sup>John Hudgebut, *A Vade Mecum* (London, 1679), A2-3.

streets by the time that the play had opened.<sup>118</sup> Therefore, the fact that the musical equivalent of these playbooks was in demand is hardly surprising. At the very least, music-making was an important activity that permeated all levels of English society at the end of the century and these tutors would have been an obvious place for an amateur to start.

The price of a recorder was not mentioned by the diarists Pepys and Evelyn, nor was it mentioned in the probate inventories. Since an oboe cost one shilling at the turn of the century, a recorder probably cost the same or slightly less.<sup>119</sup> The fact that recorders were extremely popular by all contemporary accounts and yet do not appear in wills and inventories says more about their paltry value than their popularity. Playford's *Musick's Delight, containing Choice Lessons for the Flute and Recorder, with Instructions for Beginners* (ca.1680) and Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion: or, choice New Lessons For The Recorder or Flute* (1686) were priced at 1s. 6d. each. The Warner catalogue lists the majority of recorder tutors from this period as costing the same amount.<sup>120</sup>

It is interesting to note that both Morley's substantial *Arte of Musick*, and a lute book cost 4s. in 1597. One century later, Henry Playford lists books of

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<sup>118</sup>"When a play is to appear on the Stage, the Town is generally prepared for it by some particular account of its excellency, printed in some of the news Papers, either by the Author himself, or by some particular Friend... If it have but just escaped being damned or hissed off the Stage, the Patron is then assured by the Author, that the approbation of the rational and unprejudiced part of the Town has stamped some kind of value upon it. Soon after this it dies, lamented chiefly by the Bookseller..." i.e. the bookseller has already printed playbooks and due to the failure of the production, will lose his sales. Emmett L. Avery, *The London Stage 1700-1729: A Critical Edition* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968), 159.

<sup>119</sup>"I went at 7 o'clock to the dancing at Mr Fernley's dancing school. It cost me two shillings for wine and three shillings for Mr Fernley and one shilling for a hautboy." See Peter Earle, *A City Full of People* (London: Methuen, 1994), 253.

<sup>120</sup> Walsh and Hare's first and second book of *The Compleat Flute-Master* (London, 1695 and 1697), *The New Flute Master* (1699), John Banister's *The Second Part of the Gentleman's Tutor to the Flute* (1699), Alexander Roathwell's *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute* (1699), and John Young's *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute* (1700) all cost 1s. 6d. Other tutors published between 1679 and 1700 do not advertise their price. See Thomas E. Warner. *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600-1830*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 11 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1967).

equivalent size (although perhaps not of equivalent quality) at the same price or less: *Mr Gamble's Aires and Dialogues in 2 books*, cost 4s.; *Mr Douland's introduction for Singing*, 2s.; *Parthenia*, 2s. 6d.; and selected items in lots of 20, 50, or 100 copies were sold at special rates "Fifty of Mr Farmers first *Consort of Musick* in 4 parts at 2s a set."<sup>121</sup> Walsh's prices were also fairly consistent over the years: *The Treasury of Musick*, in three volumes, bound together cost 10s.; *The Musicall Companion*, in two volumes, bound in one cost 3s. 6d.; *The Pleasant Companion*, bound, cost 1s. 6d.<sup>122</sup> Prices may not have changed but the audience for these works had grown. Although the standard of living was much the same from the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, people were spending their money in different ways.

The least expensive works, aside from individually published songs and ballads, were the instrumental tutors for recorder, flageolet, viol, violin, etc. Although they were more expensive than ballads and chapbooks (priced at 1d. and 2-6d. respectively), they were within the range of many of the middling sort in London society.<sup>123</sup> The cost of an instrument was also negligible, probably less than 1s., and therefore the market for these tutors may have been quite large. The publishers promised that even those "lovers of musick" who "have not the help of a Master to Instruct them"<sup>124</sup> or "Live Remote, and cannot have the opportunity of the instructions of a Master,"<sup>125</sup> could learn to play the recorder. Booksellers in towns other than London carried these types of works which would account for their distribution to amateurs who might not have access to the wealth of professional musicians available in London

<sup>121</sup>Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, 6-9.

<sup>122</sup>*Ibid.*, 11-12.

<sup>123</sup>Contemporary witnesses reveal their incomes as follows: William Tilcome, a carman, was reported to clear at least twenty shillings a week, Jane Roberts, who dealt in buying and selling of old clothes could "get and gaine twenty shillings a week at least," Ayliffe White, a pastry cook made two hundred pounds yearly, and Thomas Cole, formerly a hosier and now keeping a victualling house made 40 to 50 shillings a day. Seamstresses, tailors, and teachers fared less well but common footmen, surprisingly, made seven shillings a week for board-wages, plus seven pounds yearly, their liveries and their master's cast-off clothes. Earle, *A City full of People*, 203-9.

<sup>124</sup>Humphrey Salter, *The Genteel Companion* (London, 1683), A3

<sup>125</sup>Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion*, 2.

during the period.<sup>126</sup> The reference to the eager beginner who could learn without the help of a master might have been a polite acknowledgement that some people were not able to cultivate their interest in music at the same level as their wealthier contemporaries. We know that men such as Pepys engaged masters to teach their wives and children singing, dancing, and instrumental skills without much hesitation over the fees that these professionals charged and so we can extend our estimation of possible patrons for the self-help tutor to the middling sort in London society. There were also the single and ambitious youths (military officers, for example) who may have cultivated such fashionable skills as a means of improving their social status through marriage.

The inclination to follow fashion, especially in the cities, has been discussed above. Many of the tutors promised that their contents were drawn from the latest songs and tunes sung at court and in the theatre but the majority were simple triple-time tunes titled simply "ayre" or "a new scotch tune," etc. Although the tunes are contemporary (for example, a dance titled "Quick Steps" in Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion... for the Recorder* (1686) appears later in 1690 in Purcell's *Dioclesian* ), a true *aficionado* of the instrument or a musical connoisseur such as Evelyn or Pepys might not find these pieces satisfying. An appreciation for the Italian influence that permeated theatres and public concerts distinguished the serious musician from the amateur. In response to the rage for everything Italian, Playford added a 'brief discourse of the Italian manner of singing' from the outdated Caccini treatise of 1601[2] and included it in his fourth, enlarged edition of the *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* . However, the proletariat recorder tutors followed the same format as their early counterparts for the flageolet, including a minimal preface professing the *excellencies* of music, a brief overview of the scale with a fingering chart in tablature and a series of lessons in the form of intabulated pieces. It was the acquisition of popular repertoire

<sup>126</sup> See Tilmouth, "A Calendar of References," for advertisements placed by London music publishers in newspapers in other cities. For example, *The Newcastle Courant*, *The Norwich Gazette*, *The Nottingham Mercury*.

rather than pyrotechnical Italianate skills that these tutors offered and the publishers of these books had a specific audience in mind. Connoisseurs of virtuosic instrumental music could satisfy themselves with imported Corelli sonatas, for example, that were published and sold individually.<sup>127</sup>

Thus we can see these tutors serving two types of audience. The first would be represented by the cultivated amateur of Pepys' stature whom we know bought a recorder and a tutor as soon as the instrument became popular. The tutor was probably purchased as a first step towards learning the instrument before employing a master if the initial interest persisted. The second type of patron might have been the "citizens and meaner sort of people" who attended the theatres and wished to learn the latest popular tune on a novel instrument. Admittedly, there were fewer of the lower orders attending the theatre than there were before the Commonwealth since prices had escalated from 1d. to 6d. but Pepys notes that the theatres were especially full at Christmas time. There were also many plays with incidental music performed in the streets, taverns and at fairs that the middle and lower social orders would have enjoyed.<sup>128</sup> Perhaps a more accurate description of the potential patrons for these tutors should identify an audience with an interest in fashion and leisure, rather than a finite level of disposable income. Such a description would include people with a basic level of literacy, the desire for self-improvement, the leisure time to devote to such ephemera, the security of an independent income or provider, or in the case of the lower middling sort, a freedom from responsibilities such as providing for a family.

The multimedia discussion on CD will continue to mention the ephemeral,

<sup>127</sup>Travelling in Italy was still regarded as adding polish to a young man's education, and many young men such as John Evelyn, who learned the lute in Italy, would have acquired a taste for Italian music. After the success of Nicolai Matteis 'the stupendous violin' and the popularity of Corelli's music, young men were still more anxious to visit Italy, and returned with 'flourishing hands' when they performed on the fiddle. Pepys introduced the Italian Morelli into his household in 1674 and heard Italian musicians at Lord Bruncker's on 12 February 1667 and such examples can be multiplied. Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 156.

<sup>128</sup>Burke, "Popular Culture in London," 40.

fashionable, and facile nature of the pieces in the tutors without any apologies to the more sophisticated repertoire available during this period. Such comparisons are unnecessary when the materials in question are so different in function, content, and prospective audience. The tutors represent an important aspect of "popular music" that persisted well into the eighteenth century.

## Chapter 3

### Playing the Seventeenth–Century Recorder

*The following is a cursory overview of the many aspects of the recorder tutors and recorder performance that will be discussed in detail in the multimedia chapter that follows. Thus, at this point the reader may wish to turn to the accompanying CD for a more detailed version of the material presented here. The electronic discussion is augmented by graphic illustrations and aural demonstrations of various topics and pieces.*

The four tutors investigated in this study have the distinction of being the earliest English instruction books for the so-called “baroque Recorder.”<sup>129</sup> The recorder had existed long before the baroque period, evolving over time from the whistle–type folk pipe that was common in European and other folk cultures from a very early date. The earliest surviving instrument may date from as early as 1335 and certainly no later than 1418. It was found in the moat of a large fortified house in Dordrecht, Holland that was occupied between 1335 and 1418. This instrument is now housed in the Gemeetemuseum in The Hague. Iconographical evidence suggests even earlier origins: woodcarvings on the choir stalls in the thirteenth–century cathedral at Chichester in England may represent recorders.<sup>130</sup> However, by about the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the recorder had developed into an instrument with a very different physical construction and a distinctive sound that differentiated it from its medieval and renaissance predecessors.

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<sup>129</sup> Herbert W. Myers, “Three Seventeenth–Century English Recorder Tutors,” *Journal of the American Recorder Society*, 7 (1966).

<sup>130</sup> Edgar Hunt, *The Recorder and Its Music* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1977), 9.



The origin of the name “recorder” has aroused much discussion<sup>131</sup> but the most widely accepted derivation comes from the obsolete verb “to record,” meaning to warble or sing like a bird.<sup>132</sup> Confusion has arisen from the various names used in Europe to refer to the recorder, the “flute” designation in particular. Prior to the eighteenth century, the Italian “flauto,” the French “flûte,” and the German “Blockflöte,” all referred to the recorder rather than the transverse flute. “Traverso,” “flute traversière,” and “German flute” were the names used to designate the transverse flute in Italy, France, and England respectively.<sup>133</sup>

Sound is produced on the recorder by blowing through a whistle-type mouthpiece set in one end of a vertically-held pipe. The pipe is made of wood and is pierced by eight holes: the thumb-hole at the back and the first three holes are covered by the thumb and first three fingers of the left hand; the lower four holes are covered by all four fingers of the right hand, with the thumb acting as a support. Before the baroque recorder was invented, there was no strict adherence to left-handed or right-handed placement of the fingers on the instrument; the final hole at the foot of the recorder was bored twice, slightly offset to the left and right of the other holes, and the hole that was not covered by a finger was filled in with beeswax.

During the Renaissance, the recorder was designed to be played in consort with other recorders of different sizes. It was made in one or two pieces with a wide bore shaped like an inverted cone that flared toward the foot of the instrument. The mouthpiece had a short “beak” and the individual finger-holes were measured in different widths that allowed some shading for intonation purposes: half-hole and three-quarter-hole coverage enabled players to adjust their intonation in mean-tone temperaments. The tone of

<sup>131</sup> See Christopher Welch *Lectures on the Recorder in Relation to Literature*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1911); B. Trowell, “King Henry IV, Recorder-Player,” *Galpin Society Journal* 10 (1957); Dale S. Higbee, “The Etymology of ‘Recorder’,” *Galpin Society Journal* 18 (1965).

<sup>132</sup> Eve O’Kelly, *The Recorder Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 20

<sup>133</sup> Stanley Sadie, ed., *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1980), 3: 623.

these instruments is open and powerful compared to that of the baroque recorder, a consequence of the flared construction of the bore.

In the late seventeenth century, the baroque form of the recorder was redesigned in France. The structural alterations made to the instrument are attributed to the Hotteterre's, a family of instrument-makers who had their *atelier* in the village of La Couture-Boussey, about 100 kilometers north of Paris. They were also responsible for the changes made to the oboe and transverse flute, and the transformation of the curtal into the the bassoon.<sup>134</sup> The baroque recorder is made in three sections, to allow subtle shaping of the bore. The decorative rings at each of the joints transform the outward appearance of the instrument and disguise the necessary thickening of the walls that give strength to the joints. The wind way is narrower, curved in a cross-section and set in a pronounced beak. The bore is tapered toward the foot, the resultant sound being softer and mellower than its Renaissance predecessor. Fingering charts from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries show that two octaves plus a whole-step was the standard range for the baroque recorder.<sup>135</sup>

The frontispieces of John Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion* (1681) and Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion* (1683) illustrate recorders with the ornamental turnery corresponding to this remodelled, jointed recorder. The fingering charts in all the English tutors from this period correspond to baroque recorder fingerings,<sup>136</sup> usually for the alto in F, although other members of the recorder family (the soprano, sixth flute, voice flute, tenor, and bass) were common throughout Europe during the period. The prefaces instruct the beginner to learn to hold the recorder in the "right way," with the "left hand next to your mouth [and] the right hand beneath." The design of the baroque recorder requires that the right hand be used to cover the final hole, which is usually turned slightly to the right to

<sup>134</sup> Eve O'Kelly, *The Recorder Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 30.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 30

<sup>136</sup> See Vinquist, "Fingering Charts," in *Recorder Tutors*, 243-271.

facilitate this movement, unlike the renaissance version which gave access to the final hole on either side of the instrument. Another clue to instrumentation is that the notation of the tutors is at pitch for a recorder in F,<sup>137</sup> while the renaissance recorder of the corresponding size and fingering would have sounded in G. The choice of alto recorder over soprano or tenor (renaissance instruction books from Ganassi to van Blankenburgh were intended for recorders in C<sup>137</sup>) may have been due to its portable size, its rich tone that complemented the voice in chamber music, and the ease with which many of the popular tunes and airs of that period could be transposed to fit its range.

The fingering charts in the three earliest tutors give different fingerings for enharmonic equivalents: for example, E<sup>flat</sup> has a higher realization than D<sup>sharp</sup>. These fingerings are consistent with meantone temperament used during this period. Pure thirds and flatter leading tones (to produce a more pleasant intonation of the third of the dominant chord) are two of the characteristics of meantone temperament and are consistently represented throughout the tutors.<sup>138</sup>

One further anomaly in the fingering charts is the instruction to keep the

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 243-271.

<sup>138</sup> Twentieth-century ears are accustomed to tuning in equal temperament where all semitones within an octave are equally spaced from each other. Thus, all fifths are slightly flatter than perfect, and major thirds are relatively wide compared to many baroque temperaments. "In the baroque era, there were dozens of different temperaments in use, each one favouring certain keys since it had some intervals that were more in tune, or pure sounding, than they are in equal temperament... In the seventeenth century, several types of meantone temperament were favoured that have in common the use of pure (or sometimes slightly tempered) thirds, and four fifths that are tempered flatter than pure. In quarter-comma meantone, for example, the comma is divided between four fifths, and the rest of the notes of the scale are derived by tuning thirds from these five notes. In this temperament, the player must choose two accidentals according to what the music requires: either D<sup>sharp</sup> (tuned pure with B) or E flat (tuned pure with G), and either A sharp (pure third with F sharp, itself pure with D) or B flat (pure with D). The resulting E flat is higher than D sharp, and B flat is higher than A sharp." Mary Cyr, *Performing Baroque Music* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1992), 60, 65-66.

sixth hole covered by the third finger of the right hand.<sup>139</sup> This is known as a “supporting finger technique” whereby the third finger lends extra physical support to the instrument.<sup>140</sup> The third finger does not change the intonation of upper notes to any great degree and certainly aids the beginner in avoiding tension that can build up when only the thumb of the right hand provides support for the whole instrument.

Little attention is given to the production of sound on the recorder in the four English tutors of this study. The almost identical prefaces in Banister and Salter say: “Blow gently” and Hudgebut and Carr add that one should “blow gently when you have stopped them all [the holes]. The lowest note is the most difficult to blow and so the warning to “blow gently” may have been a cautionary rather than technical instruction. The prefaces do not include instructions for articulation. Details of articulation can be discerned from the slurs and ornamentation in the tablatures but the omission of such information in the prefaces is unfortunate. However, we know from other contemporary sources on the Continent that both sound production and articulation were important aspects of recorder playing.<sup>141</sup> Perhaps the lack of such details in the tutors simply reflects the facile pedagogical methods used to attract a particular audience. The books promised to teach the beginner with “plain and easie rules” and guaranteed efficiency.

The remodelled baroque recorder came into vogue in England quite quickly after the Restoration, probably as a result of Charles II’s penchant for anything French. The instrument appealed to professionals and amateurs alike,

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<sup>139</sup> “Now when we use seven Lines, the lowermost of the seven is most used for the keeping on the third Finger of the right hand on that hole, which is a thing you must observe in all the Tunes you play.” John Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion*, 3. This supporting finger technique was also recommended by French tutors. See David Lasocki “The Compleat Flute-Master Reincarnated,” *Journal of the American Recorder Society* 11 (1970), 3: 84.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:84.

<sup>141</sup> See Jacques Hotteterre, *L’Art de Preluder sur la Flûte Traversière, sur la Flûte à bec, sur le Hauboïs, et autres Instrumens de Dessus*. ed. Michel Sanvoisin (Paris: Éditions Aug. Zurfluh, 1966); J. P. Freillon-Poncein, *On Playing Oboe, Recorder and Flageolet* (Paris, 1700), transl. Catherine Parsons (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

appearing at court, in the theatres, music meetings, public concerts, and as an ideal instrument for private instruction.

The earliest extant English tutor for the recorder is John Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum*, dated 1679. Between 1679 and 1700 sixteen recorder tutors were published and by 1730, thirty instruction books for the recorder existed in England. After 1730, only eighteen recorder tutors were published, of which three are sections of larger "universal" tutors.<sup>142</sup> The decline in printed instruction books for the recorder in the second half of the eighteenth century reflects the diminished popularity of the instrument. By this time the recorder had given way to the transverse flute and surfaced only in isolated instances as an esoteric amateur instrument before its rediscovery in the twentieth century.<sup>143</sup>

## The Recorder Tutors

The profusion of instruction books for the beginner, called "tutors" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,<sup>144</sup> is a testament not only to the recorder's appeal but to the quest for self-improvement and the pursuit of fashion that characterize this period, especially in urban areas of England.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> A universal tutor contains theoretical principles of music-making as well as brief chapters on woodwinds, strings, and voice. These chapters will generally include a fingering chart and some musical examples. See William Tans'ur *The Elements of Musick Display'd* (London: Stanley Crowder, 1772).

<sup>143</sup> For the history and development of the recorder in the twentieth century see Eve O'Kelly, *The Recorder Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

<sup>144</sup> "The term "tutor" applies to sources of didactic or pedagogical nature which treat three or more aspects of recorder playing." Vinqvist, *Recorder Tutors*, 21.

<sup>145</sup> Advertisements for self-instruction books printed on subjects ranging from astrology, cookery, gradening, and music-making to midwifery, swordsmanship, education, and travel are rampant in the newspapers of the period. Many of these books are listed in "term catalogues" from the period. See Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709. A. D.* 3 vols. (London: Edward Arber, 1903); D. F. Foxon, ed. *Bibliotecha Annua 1699-1703. English Bibliographic Sources. Series 1, no. 4* (London: Gregg Press, 1964); *Ibid.*, *A Register of books 1728-1732: Extracted from The Monthly Chronicle. English Bibliographic Sources. Series. 1, no. 3* (London: The Gregg Press, 1964).

Whether or not amateur musicians supplemented their tutors with lessons from a master is an interesting question; essential technical information such as how to articulate on the instrument is omitted in the English tutors and therefore one could infer that a master might have filled in the gaps left by the tutors. On the other hand, only one of the authors suggests that a master be employed in tandem with his tutor; the others seem confident that their tutors will provide a complete and efficient acquisition of musical skill on the recorder. Chapter 2 has presented arguments pointing to a wide commercial audience for the tutors based on literacy levels and increasing commercialization of leisure in urban areas during the second half of the century. The following discussion examines the content of the actual publications to show how publishers tried to appeal to this audience.

### Common Features of English Recorder Tutors

The four tutors featured in this study were chosen because they share several characteristics distinguishing them from the other recorder tutors published in England during the same period. Aside from being among the earliest known examples of English tutors for the recorder, John Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum* (1679), John Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion* (1681), Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion* (1683), and Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion* (1686) use a tablature or "dot" method of notating many or all of the "lessons" contained in the books. Before exploring this unique aspect of the tutors we will summarize the common features that they share with contemporary sources for recorder instruction.

Among the fifty-one woodwind instruction books printed in England by 1730, thirty (nearly 60%) are for the recorder or include material relating to the recorder.<sup>146</sup> Twelve are for the flageolet, nine for the oboe (beginning in

<sup>146</sup> See the Warner catalogue for a complete list of all woodwind instruction books published between 1600 and 1830: Thomas E. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600-1830*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 11 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1967).

1695), and only three for the flute (beginning in 1720).<sup>147</sup> As previously discussed, the price of these instruction books was 1s/6d and the price of an instrument would seem to have cost even less,<sup>148</sup> making the enterprise of learning the recorder an affordable undertaking for the leisured members of society. The price of the tutors did not rise over the course of the century, perhaps due to large-scale pirating that made their publication fast and cheap.<sup>149</sup> Texts were borrowed, reset with new musical examples, and issued as a new tutor. Daniel Wright noted this practice in his tutor, *The Musical Pocket Book* (c. 1720), which he printed without the theoretical or practical preamble that was the norm. He claims that his tutor is for "those persons who can go alone" and makes his position on the pirated texts clear:

"It has been an old though a needless custom to put before every book of tunes 2 or 3 sheets of directions for learning on the instrument which directions a man must buy 100 times over... many persons have long complained of this ill custom... it makes every book to be looked upon like the directions, yet it is the old story over and over again."

The amount of pirating between tutors may be taken as a measure of the tutors' popularity. Although texts, fingering charts, and repertoire were often shamelessly copied, many of the authors made amendments to these items, substituting new fingering charts or adding their own ornamentations to a borrowed tune. All the English recorder tutors of the late seventeenth century shared some basic layout and content conventions, however. Each tutor had a title page (sometimes with a decorative frontispiece), followed by an introductory preface by the author, and a seven to ten page didactic discussion of technique and musical terminology. Fingering charts and tables of note values and ornamentation are either interspersed throughout the discussion or gathered on several pages toward the end of the author's discussion.

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> See note # 119.

<sup>149</sup> Vinqvist, *Recorder Tutors*, 14.

Numerous musical examples follow with indications for ornamentation throughout.

The title pages are all variations on a common theme:

The Recorder or Flute made easie; by exact and true directions, shewing the manner and way of playing on that fashionable Instrument... ; whereby the meanest capacity may, with a little spare time, attain his desire. To which is added, Some easie Lessons for Beginners; with Song-Tunes, Ayres, and Grounds, with division on the Grounds.<sup>150</sup>

This title is formulaic in that it promises even the most unmusical candidates a straightforward and efficient acquisition of skills on the instrument. The fashionable nature of the recorder is commonly stressed by many tutors, as is the promise that the patron will be able to learn the most popular tunes sung at court or in the theatres. For example, *The Fifth Book of the NEW FLUTE MASTER* (1706), promises:

The most Perfect Rules and Easiest Directions for/ Learners on the FLUTE yet Extant. Together with Extraor/dinary Collection of AIRES both Italian and English Particularly/ the most celebrated ARIETTS in the New OPERA of Arsinoe Queen/ of Cyprus, and severall other Excellent Tunes never before Printed.<sup>151</sup>

Titles like this suggest that advertising a fashionable selection of repertoire was an effective marketing strategy. Considering the similarities in pedagogical content that we will see below, the promise of new repertoire is one of the few things distinguishing these tutors from one another.

A preface by the author or publisher follows each of the title pages. Apart

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<sup>150</sup> John Clarke, *The Recorder or Flute made easie*, (London, 1683).

<sup>151</sup> Walsh and Hare (London, 1706).



from the authors' selection of pieces, their prefaces are the most individual aspect of the tutors. They include scraps of Boethian prose, biblical analogies, rhetorical justification for the existence of their work, and encouragement to beginners in their task.

The didactic section of the tutors comprises the first few pages of the book, beginning with explanations of musical terms such as time, including metre, tempo and rhythm; the names of the notes, including both the letter names and, in the earlier tutors, the slightly out-dated gamut system based on the hexachord; and ornaments (called "graces"). Vinqvist arrives at conclusions about posture and technique based on the frontispieces of several of the tutors but the texts do not refer to these aspects of recorder-playing. The instruction to "blow gently" is the only attention given to sound production. The English sources do not discuss articulation. This very important aspect of recorder playing is only presented in French tutors by Hotteterre and Freillon-Poncein and a Dutch tutor by Schickhardt where it is discussed in great detail.<sup>152</sup> The authors of the English sources do, however, devote considerable space to hand and finger placement, including useful fingering charts that provide insight into contemporary fingerings and tuning systems. Many of the tutors give directions for transposing music to keys suitable for the recorder. Trill fingerings are only provided in a few tutors, one of which is Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion* (1686) featured in this discussion. In all, these topics are covered in as few as six to ten pages of text interspersed with charts and examples.<sup>153</sup>

In contrast to the abbreviated explanations of technique and musical terminology, the tutors contain a profusion of musical examples or "lessons"

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<sup>152</sup> Freillon Poncein, *La Veritable Manière d'apprendre à jouer en perfection du Hautbois, de la Flûte et du Flageolet* (Paris, 1700); Jacques Hotteterre, *Principes de la Flûte traversière ... de la flûte à bec ... et du Hautbois* (Paris, 1707); Schickhardt's *Principes de la Flûte* (Amsterdam, 1720).

<sup>153</sup> Freillon-Poncein's tutor includes sixty-five pages of text interspersed with musical examples and only eight pages devoted to music alone. See Vinqvist "Appendix," in *Recorder Tutors*, 176.

upon which beginners can try out their skills. This is a unique feature of the English woodwind tutors—Vinqvist notes that of the tutors published on the Continent during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only Freillon Poncein's *La Veritable Maniere...* (1700), Hotteterre's *Principes de la Flûte Traversière* (1707) and Schickhard's *Principes de la Flûte* (1720) contain numerous musical examples.<sup>154</sup> Compositions in the earlier English tutors are distinctly French in flavour while those in tutors published at the turn of the century are more Italianate. Names such as Monsieur Baptist (Jean Baptist Lully), Monsieur Grabeu, James Paisible, Godfrey Finger, and Henry and Daniel Purcell appear in the earlier tutors while Geminiani, Corelli, and Martini appear in the later books.<sup>155</sup> Titles also reflect the French character of the earlier pieces. "A minuwey," for example, is an approximate spelling of the French pronunciation of the dance known as a minuet. Some of the earlier tutors make an effort to place the lessons in order of increasing difficulty but the majority of the pieces in the earlier collections have a fairly homogeneous technical standard. The later tutors plunge into comparably difficult Italianate repertoire without any preparation.<sup>156</sup>

### Authorship and Origins

Vinqvist outlines a chain of plagiarisms where the substance and sometimes the exact wording of the texts are copied from one tutor to the next. Among the later tutors, *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute, the Second Book* (London, 1700) and *The Flute-Master Compleat Improv'd* (London, 1706) by John Young are the prototypes for discussions of time and metre and *The Compleat Flute-Master* (1695) by John Walsh and John Hare is the prototype for ornamentation.<sup>157</sup> The three earliest sources which are of primary concern to us here—John Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum* (1679), John Banister's *The*

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<sup>154</sup> Vinqvist, *Recorder Tutors*, 32.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>156</sup> See William Tans'ur, *The Elements of Musick Display'd* (London: Stanley Crowder, 1772).

<sup>157</sup> David Lasocki "The Compleat Flute-Master Reincarnated," *Journal of the American Recorder Society* 11 (1970), 3: 84.

*Most Pleasant Companion* (1681), and Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion* (1683)—derive from Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion*, a tutor for the flageolet first published in London in 1673 and reprinted in 1680 and 1683. Aside from the borrowed texts, which quote Greeting almost verbatim, their method of notating musical examples in tablature is also derived from this source.

## Tablature Notation

Tablature or “dot” notation is the feature that sets the four tutors of this study apart from other recorder tutors of the period. The system commonly appears in music written for stringed instruments such as the lute, viol, and cittern but only appears in woodwind methods for the flageolet and recorder. The four English tutors noted here and Etienne Loulié's *Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte douce* (France, c. 1707)<sup>158</sup> contain the only known examples of recorder tablature.

*For illustrations and performance practice implications of the tablature method, please refer to the multimedia discussion on CD ROM.*

## Other Features

The remaining details pertaining to the tutors are cosmetic. All four tutors include a page with a descriptive title, name of publisher, place and date of publication. Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion* (1681) and Salter's *The Genteel Companion* (1683) include decorative frontispieces that provide valuable iconographic information about the seventeenth century recorder. Welch<sup>159</sup> proposes a frontispiece for an intended second edition of Hudgebut's tutor that never came to publication. The plate for the frontispiece was

<sup>158</sup> Richard Semmens, “Etienne Loulié's 'Method for Learning how to play the Recorder'” *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario*, 6 (London: Department of Music, University of Western Ontario, 1981), 7-23.

<sup>159</sup> Christopher Welch, *Lectures on the Recorder* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 70-73.

engraved in 1682 and then awkwardly re-sized to fit the title page of the *Thesaurus Musicus* (1693-96). The original sizing of this plate matches the proportions of *A Vade Mecum* nicely.<sup>160</sup>

*Graphic reproductions of the frontispieces are included in the CD ROM.*

## Repertoire

The style of many of the pieces in these editions hardly reflects the skill of their composers. Nicholas Matteis' contributions to the tutors do not betray his improvisatory skills and florid ornamentations that drew such appreciative audiences upon his arrival in England (c. 1671), nor do they compare with the sonatas he published individually. The lessons do, however, reflect the most current, albeit watered-down, versions of theatre tunes with which the wealthier classes must have been familiar. A public who could not afford regular outings to the theatre may have found that these books kept them abreast of the trends set by the more affluent members of society. Many of the other pieces fall into the category of dance music, a lucrative genre judging by the success of John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* which went through 18 editions. The binary minuets, jigs, gavottes, and airs are often prefixed by the word "new," although it is difficult to confirm whether or not the pieces originated in other sources. Young's *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute, The Second Book* (1700) makes the more realistic promise that his book contains "All ye Minuetts Boreys Regadoons Marches Trumpet Tunes and Song Tunes now in use, To which is added ye newest French Dances Perform'd at ye Ball at St James on ye Princes Birth day last." It appears that the style and recognizability of the repertoire had a direct influence on the successful marketing of a tutor.

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<sup>160</sup> Ibid., 70-73.

## Audience

The tutors represent a significant divide between professionals and amateurs. As previously discussed, there were amateurs who pursued the instrument seriously and aspired to playing the sonatas composed in the new Italian style popular at the time.<sup>161</sup> However, there must have been a significant proportion of amateur musicians who merely sought the effortless acquisition of facility on the instrument and the latest fashionable repertoire. Again, North's comments about the parroting ladies who "hear a new song and are impatient to learn it... " and proceed to do so "but with such infantine, imperfect, nay abominable graces, in imitation of the good that one would split to hear it"<sup>162</sup> provides a wonderful picture of what amateur performers probably aspired to. The advertisements and title pages for the tutors dwell alluringly on the plainness and easiness of their methods, promising the ungifted amateur easy acquisition of the latest songs from the theatres and at court. Banister's promises to his patrons are typical:

The general way of Playing the Recorder, is by the Rules of the Gam-ut, but by Reason many that love the instrument have been weary of it in a short time, through the difficultness of those Rules. I thought it might not be amiss to publish some Lessons, set a more easie way... which the meanest capacity that has an Ear any way inclining to Musick, may learn to Play on this sweet delightful instrument... if they will spare some few hours in perusing the Directions in this Book.<sup>163</sup>

The profusion of tutors with basic-level didactic instruction and current repertoire indicates that these impatient individuals would have comprised the majority of the music publishers' patrons.

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<sup>161</sup> Claver Morris, *The Diary of a West Country Physician A. D. 1684-1726*. ed. Edmund Hobhouse, 2nd ed. (London: Simpkin Marshall, 1935), 39-40.

<sup>162</sup> Harley, *Music in Purcell's London*, 34.

<sup>163</sup> John Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion* (London, 1681), 2.

## Historical Overview

The history of music publications of this type holds some interest. The majority of the tutors were published by John Walsh, John Hare, and John Young, although John Playford was the first to dominate the music publishing scene from 1651 until 1684. Over a period of approximately fifty years, the shops of thirty–five printers and sellers of recorder tutors existed within two square miles along the Thames River near London Bridge, which may explain the pirating of texts and music that went on over the years.<sup>164</sup> Advertisements for the tutors were published in urban newspapers such as the *London Gazette* and the *Postboy*.<sup>165</sup> Another method publishers used was to sell their music on a subscription basis to individuals or clubs of amateur musicians who met weekly in music meetings held in private or tavern settings.<sup>166</sup>

The following is a list of the English tutors from all known sources, extant or missing published before 1700:

1679 John Hudgebut, *A Vade Mecum*

1680 John Playford, *Musick's Delight*

1681 John Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion*

1682 John Clarke, *The Most Pleasant Companion*

1683 \_\_\_\_\_, *The Recorder or Flute Made Easie; by exact and true directions, shewing the manner and way of playing on that fashionable instrument by the notes of the Flageolet; whereby the meanest capacity may, with a little spare time, attain his desire. etc.*

1683 Humphrey Salter, *The Genteel Companion*

c.1686 John Clarke, *Aulo Melodia, or the Art of playing on the Flute*

1686 Robert Carr, *The Delightful Companion*

1695 John Walsh and John Hare, *The Compleat Flute–Master*

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<sup>164</sup> Vinqvist *Recorder Tutors*, 14-20.

<sup>165</sup> See note #41.

<sup>166</sup> See note #42.

- 1697 \_\_\_\_\_, *The Second book of the Compleat Flute Master*
- 1699 John Walsh, *The New Flute Master*
- 1699 John Banister, *The Second Part of the Gentleman's Tutor to the Flute*
- 1699 Alexander Roathwell, *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute*
- 1700 John Younge, *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute*
- 1700 John Walsh and John Hare, *The New Flute Master. The Second Book*
- 1700 John Young, *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute. The Third Book*

## Time Signatures and Rhythmic Organization in the Recorder Tutors

The seventeenth-century concept of musical measure, time signatures, and bar lines evolved gradually from sixteenth century mensural notation. Most symbols used in seventeenth century notation had been familiar to musicians for over a century. The  $\text{C}$  and its diminution  $\text{C}$  for example, were still considered to be mensural symbols.<sup>167</sup> Time signatures using numerical

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<sup>167</sup> In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the mensural system related all notes to a down-and-up gesture of moderate speed, called the *tactus* (meaning beat). Bar lines were used occasionally to indicate note values equivalent to one or two *tactus*, but they did not necessarily define a metrical hierarchy. The "measure" or time value of the *tactus*, was conducted with an equal down-and-up motion for duple metres, even though it came to include two or four beats instead of one. Triple proportions were conducted by a *tactus* beat with a downstroke double the duration of the upstroke. Proportions with large numbered denominators indicated faster tempos and those with smaller denominators indicated slower ones. Because of this, the number of beats within a *tactus* group varied and the practical question of how many beats were included in the measure of the *tactus* became an issue for musicians. George Houle, *Meter in Music 1600-1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 1-2.

fractions, such as 3/2 or 9/8, originated in proportional signatures<sup>168</sup> and evolved into metre signs. Uni-proportional tempo marks did not appear with any regularity until the proportional system was in its decline at the end of the seventeenth century. This state of affairs contributes to the metric disarray of the time signatures in the recorder tutors.

*Contemporary commentary on rhythm and metre can be found on the CD ROM under the section "Rhythm and Metre." This section also describes and illustrates rhythmic idiosyncrasies found in the four recorder tutors.*

### Rhythmopoeia: Quantitative Metres in Poetry and Music

Rhythmopoeia provides another perspective on metrical organization. The study of rhythmopoeia translates quantitative poetic metres into their musical equivalents. While the tactus regulated the flow of music, rhythmopoeia defined metrical units. The musical feet of rhythmopoeia, equivalent to poetic feet, were symmetrical or asymmetrical and could be simply repeated or constantly varied to form a phrase. Rhythmopoeia was used by theorists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to illustrate the word-music relationship in modern languages. Although the differences between their modern accentual language and ancient quantitative language did not make it an ideal vehicle for such analysis, the steps and metrical structures of dance rhythms could be successfully compared to the metrical

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<sup>168</sup> The proportional system of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was based on a proportional relationship between different note values called longs, breves, semibreves, minims, etc. The proportions of longs to breves or breves to minims were variable: one long might contain two or three breves; one breve two or three semibreves and so on. Smaller values than the minim were found in duple proportions only. The relation of long to breve became known as the mood (modus) and the relation of breve to semibreve as time (tempus). A triple relationship between long and breve was referred to as "perfect" and a duple relationship "imperfect." This multi-proportional system declined throughout Europe during the seventeenth century, although many of the signs such as  $\text{c}$  and  $\text{c}$  remained as superfluous vestiges of an archaic practice. Uni-proportional tempo marks did not appear with any regularity until the proportional system was in its decline at the end of the seventeenth century. Morley's *Plaine and Easie introduction* (London, 1597) gives the best contemporary account of this late Renaissance practice in the English language.



units of rhythmopoeia. The importance of rhythmopoeia waned when the musical measure became associated exclusively with accent in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>169</sup>

The development of rhythmopoeia as a theory of metre organization in the seventeenth century was a French consequence of the rhythmic theories of poets, musicians, and writers involved with *musique mesurée*. Marin Mersenne was the chief theorist of *musique mesurée*, even though his *Harmonie Universelle* was published long after the height of creative activity by poets and musicians.<sup>170</sup> He took the view that “musical feet” were already found in common musical practice and only needed to be recognized by musicians:

Since the rhythms that make up airs and dances belong to the theory of rhythm of which we have not yet spoken, it was necessary to deal with them here in order to teach the different kinds of airs and melodies used by the French... The most excellent metrical feet, which have given the name and birth to Greek theory or rhythm, are already in use in the *airs de Balets*, dance melodies, and all other occasions which serve as private or public amusements. This will be seen by an analysis of the feet that are used in airs that are sung or that are played on violins, the lute, guitar, and other instruments. Consequently these feet may be called rhythms in order to accommodate ourselves to the manner of speech of performers and composers of airs. This is why I use this term from now on, in order to join theory with practice.<sup>171</sup>

Mersenne’s table of rhythmic movements will provide the basis for some of the analysis of French-derived dance music in the four tutors. The metrical placement of emphasis created by ornaments and articulation is often best understood using Mersenne’s rhythmopoeic scansion rather than attempting to align it with a time signature or barring-system that is inaccurate or simply

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<sup>169</sup> George Houle, *Meter in Music 1600-1800*, 62.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 66.

not there.

*The multimedia discussion on the accompanying CD discusses Mersenne's theory of rhythmic movements in more detail, with reference to specific dance pieces found in Salter's and Hudgebut's tutors.*

## Ornamentation

The most valuable information that the four recorder tutors impart about late seventeenth-century performance practice in England is their detailed description of ornamentation. The tablature method of conveying ornamental detail provides a unique tool for modern performers attempting to recreate the spirit of instrumental music from this period. Although the prefaces and instructional sections of the tutors are by no means comprehensive in their illustrations of ornaments, each "lesson" provides graphic representation of ornaments in tablature form. The range of possibilities for the placement, intonation, and realization of ornaments inscribed in the tablatures surpass verbal descriptions or notated illustrations of this type of ornamentation in other contemporary sources for woodwinds.

The ornaments, called "graces" in these tutors, are best described as the finger ornaments we recognize today as trills and mordents. The graces in the tutors consist of upper and lower appoggiaturas combined with shakes, beats, double shakes, and slurs. During the second half of the seventeenth century, professional musicians were also familiar with other styles of ornamentation including the practice of making divisions<sup>172</sup> and the Italianate style of florid ornamentation that would take hold in England by the eighteenth century.<sup>173</sup> However, these more virtuosic styles of ornamentation do not appear in the tablatures and are not mentioned in the prefaces of the tutors. One possible

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<sup>172</sup> Divisions originated in the madrigal tradition of the Renaissance. See Christopher Simpson, *The Division Viol* (1659) for instructions on the art of making divisions.

<sup>173</sup> Nicolai Matteis and John Banister were both renowned for their virtuosic ornaments on the violin. See the Corelli *Opus 5* Sonatas for violin for examples of Italianate ornamentation.

explanation might be that if the audience for the tutors was an amateur one, the publishers would have wanted to avoid discouraging the humble beginner with complicated ornamental flourishes.

Although we consider graces as the less sophisticated of the three styles of ornamentation, they held an important place in French and English music until the turn of the century. The practice of gracing should not be relegated to amateur music-making alone since it coexisted with other forms of ornamentation, even within the same piece. The indigenous practice of making divisions by no means excluded the practice of gracing and many of the more advanced pieces in Salter's tutor include written-out divisions with additional graces added to almost every main pulse of each measure.

The names and realization of the graces comply with the definite preference for anything French during this period. The names of the graces are an exact translation of their French equivalent: the *battement* became the beat, the *tremblement* the shake, and the *flattement* the sweetening.<sup>174</sup> The earliest English directions for French-type graces appear in Christopher Simpson's *The Division Viol* (1659) and Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (1676). The earliest discussion of these graces for woodwind instruments appears in Thomas Greeting's tutor for the flageolet titled *The Pleasant Companion* (1673). As Vinqvist has pointed out in her study of recorder tutors published during this period, Greeting's flageolet tutor is particularly interesting because it provides the prototype for the discussions of graces in three of the recorder tutors by Hudgebut, Salter, and Banister.<sup>175</sup>

Greeting's description "Of the several Graces on the Flageolet" is included below:

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<sup>174</sup> Definitions of the English versions of these graces and their French equivalents will be included in the next chapter.

<sup>175</sup> Vinqvist, *Recorder Tutors*, 287.

In the former Example of Graces the Mark or Character of a Beat and Shake is all one, but in playing them there is this difference: When the Mark is on the same Line even with the Dot, then you are to lift up the Finger and shake, and lay it down again before you play any other Note; this is called a Beat. But when the Mark stands alone upon any other Line underneath the Dot, then with the Finger belonging to that Line on which it is set you must shake, taking it off again before you play any other Note; and this is called a Shake. The third Mark or Character is for a Slur or Slide, that is, when two Notes are to be expressed with one Breath. There is another not much unlike this, which concludes with a Beat, and is played thus: Hit the first Note with the tip of your Tongue, and continuing your Breath, take up the second and bring on the first beating.<sup>176</sup>

The graces Greeting refers to are illustrated below. Three of the four tutors plagiarise this chart:



The dot tablature method used to instruct the reader is unusually explicit, providing more information about the melodic contours of the graces than alternative methods such as indicating graces with signs. The note to be graced is represented by dots that correspond to the fingering for that note. The grace is indicated by a curved stroke similar to a comma. When this comma is placed on a line of tablature it indicates that the corresponding finger should be moved up and down in a trilling motion. A comma placed

<sup>176</sup> Thomas Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion*, (London, 1673), 5-6.

on a line without a dot means that the trilled finger should be lifted off at the end of the ornament. This grace is called a “shake.” A comma beside one of the dots means that the trilled finger is left down at the end of the grace. This ornament is called a “beat.” Both ornaments therefore resolve on the original pitch of the note receiving the grace. As we will discover, the signs are a minimal representation of the many possibilities for ornamental nuance contained in the musical examples. The tablature gives the most interesting account of where and how to perform these graces. In the following chapter, we will examine the rich possibilities for gracing inscribed in the tablatures of the four tutors.

### John Hudgebut’s *A Vade Mecum*

John Hudgebut compiled *A Vade Mecum* in 1679. The title page of Hudgebut’s tutor claims that it was to be sold at his shop called *The Golden Harp and Hoboy* in Chancery Lane, St Paul’s Churchyard. *A Vade Mecum* has 42 pages, consisting of eight pages of text and 34 pages of music in tablature. The book was printed using movable blocks of type rather than the engraving method used to print the other tutors of this study.

Of the 40 examples in the tutor, 23 are in tablature notation with the regular score written above. Hudgebut uses seven lines of tablature rather than the six used by Salter and Banister. The multimedia discussion stored on the accompanying CD will examine a selection of pieces in tablature since these yield the most information about ornamentation practice. The *gavot*, *minewet*, and an untitled piece by Mr Grabeu have been chosen for close analysis because they exhibit many of the characteristic ornamentation practices in Hudgebut’s collection. The CD ROM will also discuss the following aspects of Hudgebut’s tutor: the preface, patronage, didactic method and layout, fingering charts, tablature notation, tone production and articulation, a possible frontispiece for this edition, the author, and repertoire.

## Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion*

*The Genteel Companion* was compiled in 1683 by Humphrey Salter and sold at the *Sign of the Lute* in St Paul's Churchyard where many of the music sellers and printers had their shops. Salter's tutor is by far the longest of the four with a total of 61 pages. There are ten pages of text and 51 pages of lessons. The examples on pages one to twelve are in tablature and standard musical notation while the rest are in regular notation. Salter uses a six-line tablature system as opposed to the dense, even-line system used by Hudgebut and Carr. The alignment of notes in tablature beneath the regular notation is by far the most accurate in Salter's tutor. Close scrutiny of the tablature ornaments therefore offers potential insight into the melodic contour, placement, and rhythmic realization of these ornaments.

Several of the pieces in the tutor also appear in *The Division Flute* (1706). There are occasional discrepancies over notes and harmony, but the most remarkable difference between the pieces appearing in both books is that Salter provides an abundance of graces in his versions, while *The Division Flute* includes only the plain divisions and the occasional trill on penultimate notes. In the case of "Mr Redding's Ground," even the ground bass has shakes and beats added in Salter's version. Any performer intending to play repertoire from *The Division Flute* will do well to consult Salter's examples for appropriate ornamentation practice.

Many of the lesson titles suggest a French style or origin. This will be discussed in further detail in several examples from this tutor. Four dances, *A Jigg*, *A Minuway*, [Another] *Minuey*, and *An Aire*, have been chosen to illustrate the role ornamentation plays in revealing the rhythmical emphasis of the French dance music of this period. Other topics include the title and preface, patronage, layout and didactic method, posture, tone and articulation, fingering charts, tablature, repertoire, and the author.

## John Banister's *The Most Pleasant Companion*

John Banister compiled and published *The Most Pleasant Companion* in 1681. It was printed in London and sold along Chancery Lane, St Paul's Churchyard, where many of the music sellers and printers had their shops. There are eight pages of text and eighteen pages of music in tablature. The first twelve lessons of the tutor are set with a different style of tablature notation than the other three tutors. Lessons one to twelve are notated in tablature with the rhythm written above, while lessons thirteen to eighteen conform to the other tutors by notating in both tablature and standard notation. Ornaments only appear in the tablatures, making these lessons the richest source for performance practice purposes.

*Blush not Redder than ye Morning, When Buissey Fame, and Haile to the Mertill shades* have been chosen as representative of the song tradition that attracted a wide, populist audience to these types of publications. Both the original vocal versions of the songs, published in collections by the Playfords, and Banister's versions are discussed, with a special emphasis on the ornaments that Banister added to these tunes. Other topics for discussion include the title and preface, patronage, didactic method and layout, tone production and articulation, fingering charts, tablature, repertoire, and the author.

## Robert Carr's *The Delightful Companion*

*The Delightful Companion* was arranged and published by Robert Carr in 1686. His tutor has a total of 38 pages, six of text and 32 of music. Only the first eight lessons are in tablature and regular notation and these are much simpler technically and stylistically than those that follow. Like Hudgebut, Carr uses a seven-line system of tablature and includes ornaments in both the notated and tablature versions of pieces. Carr's tutor is unique in that it

includes the only fingering chart for trills—this is the earliest English trill chart extant.

*A Gavot*, and two untitled pieces have been chosen to illustrate Carr's approach to ornamentation in the lessons written in tablature. These examples are representative of the way Carr applies graces in his tutor although his later lessons also include written-out Italianate flourishes that were also typical of ornamentation practices during this period. Other topics for discussion include the title and preface, patronage, didactic method and layout, fingering charts, tablature, tone production, repertoire, and possible later additions of extra lessons to the original tutor.

*All the aural performances on the CD ROM are faithful to the placement of ornaments and specific fingerings suggested by the tablature. The examples are played on a copy of a period instrument after Johann Christian Denner. The graphic illustrations provide easy reference for most aspects of the discussion.*



## Chapter 4

### Performance Practice in Seventeenth-Century Recorder Tablatures

This chapter is written in a multimedia format stored on the accompanying CD. The following topics and musical examples will be discussed: a general introduction to the seventeenth-century recorder; rhythm and metre in the tutors; ornamentation in the tutors; three lessons from John Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum* ; three lessons from John Banister's *Most Pleasant Companion* ; four lessons from Humphrey Salter's *Genteel Companion* ; three lessons from Robert Carr's *Delightful Companion*. The opening screens include instructions for navigating through the discussion and prompting audio examples. Because the CD ROM is designed as a discrete entity, it contains a title page, credits, table of contents, and a list of illustrations. The only element shared by the hard-copy and CD discussions is the bibliography which is contained at the end of this hard copy document.

Browsers who experience difficulties launching the program should consult the CD slip-cover under the heading "Trouble-Shooting."

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

The compositional styles and genres represented by the thirteen examples we have discussed can be regarded in a number of different contexts. It is easiest to dismiss the music in the recorder tutors as not being of the same artistic calibre as that of Henry Purcell. Indeed, relatively few English composers during this period rank with Purcell. Contextualizing the music in seventeenth-century popular culture says a good deal more about the pieces, the tutors, and the art music of the time. There is an underlying assumption in most discussions of music in seventeenth-century England that a certain portion of urban society had access to art music. The means by which this music reached different social orders is difficult to establish, however, since this information is not implicit in the surviving scores. However, didactic collections like these tutors can, in some cases, say much more about their audience and the influence of the more sophisticated repertoires of the period. The preceding chapters have attempted to show the possibilities for participation in musical culture through discussions of social history, literacy, the musical examples and prefaces in four of the recorder tutors, and the performance practices inscribed in the tablature notation.

The repertoire in these four collections is easily identified. Songs from the theatres represent a portion of three of the collections, with instrumental dances in the French style of the late seventeenth century making up the largest part of each collection. Robert Carr's *Delightful Companion* contains a few pieces with an Italian influence, hinting at the new trend toward Italian opera and instrumental virtuosity that began to take hold in London at the turn of the century. Humphrey Salter's *Genteel Companion* also contains

pieces with divisions, a practice that persisted from the Renaissance into the next century although with an increasingly Italianate, virtuosic flair.

The hyperbole of the title pages, promising the newest, most popular, or current tunes from the courts and theatres, gives us our first clue about the audiences for these tutors. We have seen how during the second half of the seventeenth century the urban population became increasingly fashion-conscious, spending their disposable income on leisure activities, the pursuit of self-improvement and the acquisition of social status. The sudden burst of activity in the publishing industry during the Commonwealth contributed directly to this movement with vast numbers of handbooks for self-education appearing for sale. Although members of the higher social orders are known to have purchased these books for amusement, another audience was clearly intended. Presumably a handbook on preparing a young gentleman or gentlewoman for society was aimed at those people who had not moved in these circles before but had a desire to do so, perhaps as a result of recent improvements in their financial status through business or marriage. An established family belonging to the higher social orders could rely on its own traditions in these matters, rather than on a chapbook written by a self-professed gentleman's tutor. This type of book promised to provide all the necessary skills and knowledge that would allow patrons with social pretensions to deport themselves in a particular environment.

As we have learned from Pepys' accounts, attending the theatre or hiring a music master to learn a new instrument or current repertoire was all part of the lifestyle of the higher social orders. The recorder tutors would have held an appeal for any person interested in staying abreast of the theatre scene, whether they could afford to attend the theatre or not. The tutors promised to teach their patrons the most popular tunes from the theatres, allowing them to appear as though they attended plays and semi-operas and could afford a music-master to teach them their favorite tunes. Ultimately, a knowledge of

current music and skills on a novel instrument such as the recorder offered social mobility. As the second chapter has shown, the lowest threshold for this type of patron was a small amount of disposable income and literacy skills. If people of the same social standing as Pepys also purchased the tutors, the potential audience was rather large.

If, indeed, we can assume that the audience for the tutors stretched over several bands of social orders, and that the music itself was perceived as offering a certain degree of social mobility as well as simple amusement, then we can approach the musical examples without deference to the more sophisticated art music of the period. These pieces offer fascinating examples of the types of music likely to trickle down into the popular repertoire and, more importantly, what aspects of the music were appreciated by the amateur musicians who purchased this repertoire. The musical genres represented in the tutors were proffered from above, from the courts of Charles II and James II, and from the theatres which were stocked with musicians from the royal court. Aside from the origins of the repertoire, there can be no doubt that ornamentation was of foremost importance. Graces are introduced by the first piece in each collection, despite the challenge that this must have posed to any beginner. Amateurs must therefore have been impatient to reproduce what they had heard, or what they believed they had heard as the definitive version of the piece with ornamentation comprising the most impressive aspect.

From a didactic point of view, the application of graces may have been an alternative to detailed discussions of articulation, providing the beginner with tools to interpret the characteristic placement of emphasis in a French dance tune, for example. Salter's tutor provides especially good examples of non-metrical patterns of accentuation that accord with the stylized French models. By following the detailed indications for finger trills and mordents in the tutors, the student cannot help but create a hierarchy of emphasis or

accentuation in the melody. Examples from the Banister and Hudgebut tutors suggest that their particular taste in graces was engendered from a less lofty tradition than the Continental one. In many examples the profusion of graces on consecutive notes creates busy and energetic renderings that sound peculiar when one tries to reconcile them with unornamented versions. Again, what apparently mattered was the appearance of virtuosity and skill rather than an intimate knowledge of the repertoire. We do not find any indications of such ornamentations in the original score of Purcell's "Hail to the Myrtle Shade" despite the profusion of graces in Banister's version. We can, however, gather from the tutors that this is the way some members of the seventeenth-century public wanted to hear them. Whether or not the graces added to or detracted from the original pieces depended on the individual authors or publishers of these collections. They were unanimous in their inclusion of this style of ornamentation, however, which leaves little doubt as to what the prevailing tastes were at the time and what was perceived as necessary skills for playing the recorder or any other wind instrument.

Examining the realization of the graces inscribed in the tablature was one of the main reasons for approaching this material in a multimedia format. Whether or not one chooses to insert graces with the same abandon that these seventeenth-century authors did, is a matter of individual discretion. The tablature indications provide an important source of information for pitch, placement, and rhythmic contours of the graces during this period. We have seen how the graces accord with their French equivalents, allowing us to look to contemporary French sources for examples and discussions of appropriate realization. However, the musical examples in the English tutors show that the tablatures are much more descriptive than the system of symbols used in regular score notation by French and English composers of the period. Meantone temperament played a part in determining the fingerings for different ornaments, as did the manipulation of pitch for

dynamic and accentual effect. Banister's "Joy to the Bridegroom" demonstrates how a grace such as a mordent appearing several times on notes of the same pitch can have a slightly higher or lower fluctuation in pitch each time due to the different fingerings indicated by the tablature. Other graces are also introduced in the tablatures, some of which are not discussed in the prefaces to the tutors. These include the lower, ascending appoggiatura followed by an exceptionally high trill to a note above. Hudgebut's examples introduce the slur as a type of ornament, used to point up the interval of an ascending semitone in minor-mode pieces and occurring in rhythmically unconventional places. In all, the different types and realizations of the graces suggest a much richer palette of ornamental nuance than might be gathered from the prefaces alone, or indeed, from any other source that uses a system of signs to indicate ornaments.

The tutors therefore offer interesting insights into seventeenth-century musical culture and practice on several levels. According to the prefaces, they can be viewed as collections that disseminated music propagated at court and in the theatres, albeit somewhat simplified. Perhaps more accurately they can be viewed as examples of the ephemeral, fashionable pieces that held a social *cachet* during this period—identifying the performer as someone who moved in specific social circles or at least hoped to give the impression that he or she did. The application of graces in each of the musical examples is perhaps most revealing, demonstrating what the musical tastes of the patrons were during this period. Even division-style pieces that are already quite active and ornamental are overlaid with graces, suggesting an audience anxious to participate in the virtuosic, Italianate style of ornamentation that took hold at the turn of the century. For the recorder-player today, the tablature is most significant, providing one of the most useful guides to ornamenting seventeenth-century English music.

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