

OCTAVE FLUTES IN ENGLAND

1660 – 1800

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Abstract

The small recorders, the flageolet, the fife, and the piccolo are octave flutes, sounding at four-foot pitch. The bulk of the literature relating to the recorder in the late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England focuses on the alto (treble), for this was the most commonly used member of the family, but octave recorders have never been the subject of detailed scrutiny. There is no comprehensive study of the flageolet or of the fife in England during this period, and virtually nothing has been written on the early use of the piccolo. The thesis examines the organology of the four instruments, with most attention being given to the recorder, the dominant octave flute of the era; the changes in the instrument from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century are described, and related to changes in assigned music. The reasons for the displacement of the flageolet by the recorder in the late seventeenth century and the recorder's substantial displacement by the German flute in the eighteenth are explored. Duct flutes have long been the particular province of amateur musicians, who often studied from a self-instructor, and examples of these tutors are examined, together with a representative repertoire. Particular note is made of the English 'small flute concerti' and the use of the sopranino recorder in the late eighteenth century. A chapter examines social, financial, and performance aspects (including performance venues); professional and amateur usage of the instruments and gender differences are discussed. A comparison is made of the usage of the instruments in Continental Europe and England, where differing practices are observed regarding tutors, repertoire, and, in particular, the usage of the piccolo. The introductory review of extant literature indicates thirteen matters in which I consider the literature on octave flutes 1660–1800 to be deficient. The thesis explores these lacunae.

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Glossary of organological and musicological terms

The symbol * in the text indicates an entry in the Glossary

<i>à bec</i>	A term applied to French flageolets with a beaked mouthpiece.
<i>à pompe</i>	A term applied to French flageolets with a windcap.
Alto recorder	A recorder with f' as its seventh-finger note; also known as treble recorder, common flute, consort flute, or English flute. The most important member of the recorder family, and that to which other recorders are related, e.g., a fifth flute is pitched a fifth above the alto recorder.
Arigot	A sixteenth-century bone shepherd's pipe, also known as larigot (from ' <i>l'arigot</i> '). Most familiar as an organ stop.
Baroque recorder	An organological term, referring to recorders with an inverted conical bore and made in several joints. See also 'Renaissance recorder', 'transitional recorder', and Chapter 1.
Bass recorder	A recorder whose lowest note is C.
Basset recorder	A recorder whose lowest note is f: often incorrectly called a bass recorder.
Bird flageolet	A small flageolet used to teach caged birds to sing.
Block	The wooden plug forming the base of the windway in the head-joint of duct flutes. As the block and labium assembly, it forms part of the sound-producing mechanism. See also 'labium'.
Block-line	A recorder maker's term indicating the lower end of the block and windway in the head-joint of the instrument.
Bore	The internal shape of a duct flute: it may be wide or narrow, cylindrical or conical.
Choke bore	A narrowing in the bore of a recorder.
Concert flute	The standard flute used in the orchestra from the eighteenth century: the sixth-finger note is d' but the instrument may be fitted with extension keys to give a lowest note of c'. Although the instrument is technically in D, in common parlance it is described as a flute in C.
Common flute	A term used in the eighteenth century to describe the alto recorder in f'.
Consort flute	A term used in c.1700–1750 to describe the alto recorder in f'.

Corps de rechange	A fourth joint of varying length inserted into the Baroque flute to allow the pitch of the instrument to be altered to suit the local prevailing pitch.
Cross-fingering	Fingerings on a woodwind instrument when tone-holes are left open between those stopped by the player's fingers, for example 01–34– –. They are used to sound chromatic semitones. See also the more restrictive term 'fork-fingering'.
Descant recorder	A soprano recorder in c". See also 'Sizes of recorders'.
Dot-way	A seventeenth- and eighteenth-century term to describe tablature notation.
Duct flute	A woodwind instrument in which the sound is generated by the passage of air from the player's mouth through the windway to the labium. The air column then splits and generates a vibrating system within the pipe of the instrument. See also 'fipple flute'.
English flageolet	A flageolet with six or seven tone-holes and one thumb hole, developed c.1800. See also 'French flageolet'.
English flute	A term used in the late eighteenth century to describe the recorder.
Fife	A small transverse flute with a narrow cylindrical bore, often made in one piece and mainly used as a military or band instrument.
Fifth flute	A recorder whose lowest note is c", a fifth above the alto in f'. In eighteenth-century England the instrument would be called a small or little flute. It is now called a soprano or descant recorder.
Finger-holes	Holes cut in a woodwind instrument to enable the sounding of notes of different pitches. Finger-holes are customarily numbered from top to bottom of the instrument, hole 1 being the uppermost hole, 0 denoting the thumb-hole. See also 'tone-holes'.
Fipple flutes	The term 'fipple flute' is sometimes applied to duct flutes in general and 'fipple' to the block. In view of the uncertainty pertaining to the word 'fipple', it is not used in this dissertation.
<i>Flautino</i>	Literally 'a small flute'. The term is non-specific and may imply the recorder, flageolet, or piccolo.
<i>Flauto piccolo</i>	Literally, 'a small flute': in the eighteenth century, the term may imply recorder, the flageolet, or the piccolo.

Flute	In late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in England, 'flute' implied the recorder rather than the transverse (or German) flute.
<i>Flûte à bec</i>	French term for the recorder (lit., 'beaked flute').
<i>Flûte douce</i>	French term for the recorder (lit., 'sweet' or 'soft' flute).
Flute notation	In organological practice it is customary to refer to the pitch of wind instruments by reference to their 'sixth-finger note', the note sounded when the standard six finger-holes are covered: on the (concert) flute that note is d'. However, since the early nineteenth century, flutes have been fitted with extended foot-joints and extension keys to enable seventh-finger notes of c' and c sharp' to be sounded. The instrument could be described as a flute in D with a nominal pitch (the scale produced when successive fingers are lifted) of D <i>but</i> the standard orchestral flute is described as a 'C flute' because its lowest sounded note is C (c'). The terminology persists in flute band circles and should be born in mind when considering the pitch given (particularly for fifes) in checklists. The instrument whose sixth-finger note is pitched a minor sixth above the concert flute with a sixth-finger note of d' — and whose lowest note is therefore b flat' — <i>should</i> be described as an instrument in B flat, but application of the terminology currently applied to the orchestral flute would label it as a flute in A flat, using the seventh-finger note c' as the denominator. These instruments are treated as transposing instruments, simplifying the fingering on keyless instruments: notated d' sounds b flat' and notated c' sounds a flat'. A 'small flute' or fife in c" (a seventh above the concert flute) existed in the eighteenth century but is now extinct.¹ In current orchestral practice — or, indeed in eighteenth-century orchestral practice — the flute is not treated as a transposing instrument, although the music for the piccolo (which lies an octave above the concert flute) is transposed down one octave.
Fontanelle	A perforated cover protecting the key (s) on a Renaissance recorder: colloquially sometimes called a 'pepper-pot' on account of its appearance.
Fork-fingering	Fingerings on a woodwind instrument where the fingers form a fork, leaving one or more open holes between those that are closed by the fingers, for example 01–3 in the left hand. Fork-

¹ Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History* (London: Faber and Faber, corrected 3rd edn, 1977; New York: repr. Dover Publications, 1991), 59–60.

fingerings are used to sound chromatic semitones. See also cross-fingering.

Fourth flute	A recorder whose lowest note is b flat', a fourth above the alto in f'. The term may also be applied to the tenor recorder in c', a fourth below the alto.
French Flageolet	A small duct flute with four finger-holes and two thumb-holes, the form of the instrument used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This instrument is customarily called the French flageolet to distinguish it from the English flageolet which had six or seven tone-holes and was made either with or without a thumb-hole.
Fundamental	The lowest note of an harmonic series: may also be called the first harmonic.
Gamut	A term which may be used to describe a scale or fingering chart.
Gamut-way	A seventeenth- and eighteenth-century term to describe staff notation.
German flute	The transverse flute.
Gracing	Ornamentation of a melody.
HHA	<i>Hallische Händel-Ausgabe</i> : a critical edition of all Handel's works. Its publication continues.
HWV	<i>Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis</i> : a catalogue of Handel's known works, compiled by Bernd Baselt between 1978 and 1986.
<i>Handfluyt</i>	A seventeenth-century recorder (usually in C) and typically used for playing the solo music of Jacob van Eyck (c.1590–1657) and his contemporaries.
High flute	Used in some collection checklists to indicate flutes pitched above the concert flute.
Labium	The lip of the sound-producing mechanism of duct flutes, the block and labium assembly. See also 'block'.
Little flute	An alternative term used in early eighteenth-century England for octave recorders.
Octave flute	A term used to indicate instruments which sound approximately an octave above the standard orchestral pitch of the concert flute. For the purposes of the present thesis, 'octave flutes' are those whose lowest note lies at or above b flat", thus including fourth, fifth and sixth flutes (recorders), flageolets, fifes, and piccolos.

	The term ‘octave’ may also be applied to the sopranino recorder in f ^{'''} .
Octaving hole	A tone-hole opened to assist in sounding the second (octave) harmonic by venting the tube and changing the position of nodes and antinodes in the vibrating air column. The thumb-hole fulfils this function on recorders and flageolets.
<i>Ottavino</i>	A term which may be applied to octave flutes.
Overblowing	Increasing the wind pressure to sound the octave. See also ‘octaving hole’.
<i>Petite flûte</i>	Literally, ‘a little flute’. It may be a vertical flute (recorder or, less commonly, a flageolet) or a transverse piccolo.
Piccolo	A transverse flute sounding an octave above the concert flute.
Pinching	The technique of inserting the thumb-nail into the thumb-hole of a duct flute to vent the tube and sound the octave. The position of the thumb-nail is used to correct intonation.
Pitch mark	A stamp on an instrument to indicate its pitch. The mark may be a number or note-letter signifying the pitch, e.g., ‘8’ indicates octave pitch, ‘D’ an instrument in D.
<i>Quart-flöte</i>	A German term denoting a tenor recorder in c.
Renaissance recorder	An organological term referring to a recorder with a cylindrical bore and large tone-holes: it is usually made in one piece. See also ‘Baroque recorder’, ‘transitional recorder’, and Chapter 1.
Sixth flute	A recorder whose lowest note is d ^{''} , a sixth above the alto recorder in f ['] . In eighteenth-century England the instrument would be called a small or little flute.
Sixth-finger note	The note sounded on a woodwind instrument when the upper six tone-holes are closed. The expression ‘sixth-finger note’ is often used to describe the pitch of an instrument: a flute with the sixth-finger note of D is described by organologists as being in D (see also ‘flute terminology’).
Seventh-finger note	The note sounded when the seventh finger-hole is closed. Recorders are customarily described by their seventh-finger note rather than their sixth-finger note: an alto recorder is called a recorder in F, for the seventh-finger is f ['] whereas the sixth-finger note is g ['] .
Sizes of recorders	The terminology of recorders is based on the use of the alto (treble) recorder, whose lowest note (seventh finger note) is f ['] .

This instrument is variously called in early eighteenth-century parlance the consort flute, common flute or simply the flute. A fourth flute may lie a fourth below the alto (tenor in c') or a fourth above (b flat'), a fifth above (the fifth flute or soprano/descant recorder) or a sixth above (the sixth flute). The sopranino or eighth flute lies an octave above the alto in f'.

Small flute	(i) A flute smaller than the concert flute. Baines writes 'From the time of Gluck onwards, 'small flute' signified the orchestral piccolo (previously — notes Baines incorrectly — the descant recorder). There were two kinds: the F flute (or third flute) a third above the concert flute and the small B flat and C flutes. The C flute is a tone below the piccolo and usually three-jointed with one key. The C flute is extinct but others survive as band instruments'.² See also 'Flute notation' above. (ii) In early eighteenth-century England, this term was applied to octave recorders.
<i>Solfège</i>	A notational system with syllables assigned to the notes of the scale. The first degree of the scale is notated 'ut' or 'doh': this may be fixed or moveable.
Sopranino	A recorder pitched an octave above the alto recorder in f'. It may also be described as an eighth flute.
Step bore	A marked acute narrowing (choke) in the bore of a recorder.
Stopper	The plug at the mouthpiece end of a transverse flute: its position is important in tuning the instrument. It may have an ornamental cover.
<i>Tambourin</i>	A vigorous <i>Provençal</i> dance in duple time.
Tabularly	A term used in late eighteenth-century recorder tutors to describe a fingering chart in tablature notation as opposed to the modern method of eight circles representing the tone-holes.
Tenor recorder	A recorder whose lowest note is c' (see also fourth flute).
Third flute	A flute whose lowest note lies a third above either the concert flute (in which case its lowest note is f') or the alto recorder (lowest note a').
Transitional recorder	An organological term referring to late seventeenth-century recorders with a cylindrical bore and foot, but with a marked step below the lowest tone-hole; the instrument falls between the

² Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, 294–5.

Renaissance and Baroque styles of recorders. See also 'Baroque recorder', 'Renaissance recorder', and Chapter 1.

Transverse flute	A flute blown cross-wise.
Treble flute	Used in some collection checklists to indicate flutes smaller than the concert flute.
Tone-holes	In organological practice, tone-holes are indicated using Roman numerals, prefixed if necessary by a sharp or flat sign. For example, V indicates the fifth note of the instrument (the first hole being I), #V/bVI the semitone above. The second octave is indicated as I' etc.. Arabic numerals are conventionally used in modern usage to describe tone-holes in tutors and music.
Undercutting	A process in recorder manufacture where tone-holes are widened from the inside to the outside of the bore. The effect is to improve the quality of the note by reducing turbulence.
Vertical flute	A flute blown vertically.
Voice flute	A recorder whose lowest note is d'.

Museum and library sigla

Great Britain

Bate Collection, Oxford	GB–Oxford
Birmingham Conservatoire Collection of Historical Instruments	GB–Birmingham
Brighton Museum and Art Gallery	GB–Brighton
Dean Castle Museum, Kilmarnock	GB–Kilmarnock
Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments	GB–Edinburgh
Horniman Museum, London	GB–London–H
Royal College of Music, Museum of Music	GB–London–RCM
Royal Northern College of Music Collection of Historic Musical Instruments	GB–Manchester
Torquay Museum	GB–Torquay
Victoria and Albert Museum	GB–London–VA
Castle Museum, York	GB–York

Europe

Frans Brügger, private collection, Amsterdam	NL–Amsterdam
Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Berlin	D–Berlin
Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Universität, Leipzig	D–Leipzig
Conservatorio ‘Guiseppe Verdi’, Milan	I–Milano–C
Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich	D–München–BNM
Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg	D–Nürnberg
Musée de la Musique, Paris	F–Paris
René Clemencic, private collection, Vienna	A–Clemencic
Kunthistorisches Museum, Vienna	A–Wien

United States of America

Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati	US–OH–Cincinnati
Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection, Washington	US–DC– Washington
Duke University Musical Instrument Collection, Durham	US–NC–Durham
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	US–MI–Boston
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	US–NY–New York
National Music Museum, Vermillion	US–SD–Vermillion
Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments, Ann Arbor	US–MI–Ann Arbor

Japan

H.Iino, private collection	J–Tokyo
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Library sigla

France

Bibliothèque Nationale de France	F–Pn
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Germany

Sächsisches Landesbibliothek, Dresden	D–Dl
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Great Britain

University Library, Cambridge	GB–Cu
University Library, Cardiff	GB–CDu
Euing Music Library, Glasgow	GB–Ge
Dolmetsch Library, Haslemere	GB–HAdolmetsch
British Library, London	GB–Lbl
Chetham’s Library, Manchester	GB–Mch
Bodleian Library, Oxford	GB–Ob
Christ Church College Music Library, Oxford	GB–Och
Minster Library, York	GB–Y

Italy

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana	I–Vnm
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Sweden

Musik och Teaterbiblioteket, Stockholm	S–Skma
Universitetsbiblioteket, Lund	S–L

United States of America

Public Library, New York	US–NYp
Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington	US–Wc

London theatre sigla

Goodman’s Fields Theatre	GF
Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre	LIF
Little Theatre, Haymarket	LT
Queen’s (King’s) Theatre	Q(K)T
Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	CG
Theatre Royal Drury Lane	DL

Abbreviations of book titles

<i>New Grove II</i>	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> (2001).
<i>GDMI</i>	<i>The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments</i> (2014).
<i>HHA</i>	<i>Hallische Händel-Ausgabe</i> (1956 –).
<i>HWV</i>	<i>Händel-Werke-Verzeichnis</i> (1978–86).
<i>NLI</i>	<i>The New Langwill Index</i> (1993).
<i>BUCEM</i>	<i>The British Union Catalogue of Early Music</i> (1957).

TLS

The London Stage (1960–68).

Acknowledgements

The subject matter for my thesis – octave flutes – evolved after a quizzical glance at the use of soprano (or descant) recorders, not so much in their educational role, but in their role as consort or solo instruments in polyphonic music, sonatas and concerti.

Somehow, I considered that their use in the (then) twentieth century would not accord with such use of octave recorders in the Baroque era, perhaps the hey-day of the recorder. I must first thank Jeanne Dolmetsch, a very old friend, for introducing me to real soprano recorder music in the form of John Baston's second concerto, and so provoking me to further thoughts on octave recorders. To complete the picture of octave flutes, I have added flageolets, fifes, and piccolos to my considerations.

My sincere thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor Suzanne Aspden, for not only tolerating but also positively encouraging a recorder organologist in his study of octave flutes, their repertoire, and social context. I am particularly grateful to two scholarly recorder-playing friends, Isobel Clarke and Fiona Smith, for their advice and encouragement; Fiona also translated works from the German literature. Jeanne Dolmetsch has continued to support my research, and I also thank my fellow DPhil student, Alice Barron, for her support.

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and piccolo. My wife Emma has not only supported and encouraged my research, but has also trawled up obscure data from the depths of the internet, for which I am most grateful.

Many years ago, the late Dr Hélène La Rue suggested (somewhat incredulously, to my mind) that I should read for the degree of DPhil at Oxford. I can only hope that the following pages may be found worthy to be a tribute to a good friend, a distinguished organologist, and a most gracious lady.

Chapter 1

Preliminary discourse**1.1. Introduction**

The act of performing the English small flute concerti over a period of thirty years, alongside a degree of intellectual scepticism regarding the role of soprano (descant*) recorders in the eighteenth century in comparison with the twentieth century, prompted my study of octave recorders and their repertoire.³ The proliferation of descant recorders in schools was understandable, but the number of publications — of both sonatas and consort music — seemed hardly historically informed, and the concept ‘it fits on the descant so it should be played on the descant’ seemed something of a musicological *non sequitur*. The pioneering Dolmetsch Consort of Recorders usually consisted of a soprano, alto(s), tenor(s) and basset, and, again, this did not seem to accord with sixteenth or seventeenth century practice, as my reading suggested that larger recorders would have formed the basis of the ensemble. Undertaken over the past ten years, my studies on the flageolet in the nineteenth century inevitably involved a brief examination of the history of the instrument before 1800 and the realisation that little had been written on the subject.⁴ More than thirty years ago, at the behest of Carl Dolmetsch, I set out to study the recorder in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and my work revealed the existence of octave recorders long after traditional teaching had asserted that the instrument had declined into oblivion; a more recent study of Baroque recorders* in the early nineteenth century confirmed my initial

³ The symbol ‘*’ indicates an entry in the Glossary.

⁴ Douglas MacMillan, ‘The Descant Recorder in the early Eighteenth Century’, *Recorder and Music*, 7/1 (1981), 12–13; Douglas MacMillan, ‘The English Flageolet, 1800–1900’, *Early Music*, 38/4 (2010), 559–570.

impression.⁵ In short, I found that there was a need for a comprehensive overview of octave flutes in England in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it is my hope that my thesis will fill this deficiency in the literature. For the purposes of this study, octave flutes will be considered to be those instruments whose lowest note lies approximately an octave above middle C, including the octave recorders, the flageolet, the fife, and the piccolo. The thesis will examine octave flutes, their pedagogic material, repertoire, and usage in England between the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the end of the eighteenth century. It should be noted, however, that octave woodwind instruments occupy only a small place in the woodwind literature, and that literature itself is small in comparison with the literature for keyboard and stringed instruments. During the course of the study, it became apparent that the recorder was by far the most significant instrument of the octave flute group, and three chapters are devoted to the instrument, whereas the material for the flageolet is contained in one chapter and the transverse instruments — the fife and piccolo — are the subjects of a single chapter. In contrast to octave duct flutes, however, octave reed instruments are a rarity.

I have chosen 1660 as the start date for my study. In this year, the English King Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) returned from exile in France, bringing with him French customs in fashion, art, and music. It was at this time that the flageolet came to England, having been developed in France, and its arrival was followed in the 1670s by the newly developed French Baroque recorder, an instrument which gradually displaced both the Renaissance recorder* and the flageolet. During the early part of the eighteenth

⁵ Douglas MacMillan, 'The Recorder in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Consort*, 39 (1983), 489–497; Hildemarie Peter, *The Recorder. Its Tradition and its Tasks*, trans. by Stanley Godman (London: Hinrichsen, 1953), 59; David Lasocki. "Recorder." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 12 January 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23022>; Douglas MacMillan, 'Baroque Recorders in the Nineteenth Century', *Galpin Society Journal*, 68 (2015), 215–219.

century, the recorder took a prominent role in English musical life and continued in sporadic use until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The year 1800 has been chosen for the conclusion of the study, a date by which the recorder had descended into obsolescence, the flageolet was emerging from its relative hibernation in the eighteenth century, and the piccolo was becoming an increasingly regular member of the orchestra. The recorder passed out of common use towards the end of the eighteenth century, primarily because its soft tone and limited dynamic range rendered it unsuitable for use in the increasingly sonorous environment of late eighteenth-century music with its louder stringed instruments, pianos, and larger orchestras: the transverse flute was louder, had a greater compass, and was more capable of dynamic variation.⁶ The flageolet was little-used in England in the eighteenth century, but was revived in the form of the English flageolet* at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁷ In terms of octave flutes, the years between 1660 and 1800 represent the rise and fall of both the recorder and flageolet in England, and also the introduction of the piccolo. The fife (essentially an instrument of the military) was played during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and has continued in military band use to the present day. Much has been written on the alto recorder and its repertoire, but octave recorders, flageolets, fifes, and piccolos have hitherto received scant attention in the literature. Brief notes will be appended on the tabor-pipe or *galoubet*, as this instrument, although largely associated with the folk tradition, was played in England and had an occasional place in operatic scores in France.

⁶ Douglas MacMillan, 'The Recorder 1800–1905' unpublished PhD diss., University of Surrey, 2005; Daniel Waitzman, 'The Decline of the Recorder in the Eighteenth Century', *The American Recorder*, 8/2 (1967), 47–51.

⁷ Douglas MacMillan, 'The Flageolet in England 1800–1900: the Instrument, its Music, and Social Context' unpublished DMus (RCM) diss., Royal College of Music, 2013.

The thesis will focus strongly on the historical development of the instruments and their organology. Particular emphasis will be placed on the recorder, and its evolution through ‘Renaissance’, ‘transitional’*, and ‘Baroque’ types will be described in detail before discussing the specific topic of octave recorders.⁸ A checklist of surviving octave recorders of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English manufacture will be given in Appendix 1, together with examples of flageolets, fifes, and piccolos.

Many amateur players studied from a tutor book, and I will give an account of these publications for recorders, flageolets, and fifes, along with a consideration of the light which these publications shed on contemporary performance practice. Further chapters will discuss the repertoire for the various instruments, with particular attention being given to the uniquely English ‘small flute concerti’ of the 1720s for fifth and sixth flutes. Appendices 2 and 3 will list the salient pedagogical material and music discussed within the text.

Music and musical instruments do not exist in isolation from the social environment in which they are played, and a chapter will be devoted to the social aspects relating to the usage of octave flutes, including financial matters and performance venues. The chapter will discuss professional and amateur performance, and speculate on the use of wind instruments by women, particularly in the domestic environment.

Although the thesis is primarily concerned with England, I deemed it appropriate to examine the role of octave flutes in Continental Europe in order to make a comparison with the English usage of the instruments, as musicians in the late seventeenth and

⁸ The terms ‘Renaissance’, ‘transitional’, and ‘Baroque’ are used in recorder organology to describe specific types of the instrument, rather than as descriptors of particular chronological periods.

eighteenth centuries were highly mobile and musical composition transcended national boundaries. I will make a brief comparative study of the instruments, their tutors, and their repertoire in France, the Germanic countries, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain. The final chapter will be devoted to providing a comprehensive overview of ‘Octave Flutes in England, 1660–1800’, reviewing the data obtained from primary and secondary literature resources and the specific findings of my research programme. I will contextualise the findings of my research and correlate both the structure, function, and waxing and waning of the members of the octave flute families of instruments in England and Continental Europe, concluding with remarks on the place of the instruments in the early nineteenth century.

1.2. The background to the research questions

The primary research questions which will be raised in the thesis are organological and musicological, the latter including pedagogic material, repertoire, and the social context in which the instruments were played.

The organological development of the recorder, flageolet and fife prior to the middle of the seventeenth century has been described in both contemporary and modern literature, although, to my knowledge, there is no single source which summarises this history, and, in particular, the history and usage of the octave flutes. As a background to my study of the instruments in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a summary will be given, noting the salient changes which led to the development of the flageolet and Baroque recorder in the preceding centuries.⁹ Little has been written on the emergence of the flageolet, and, although alto recorders have been well-served in the

⁹ The literature relating development of the instruments is discussed in Chapters 2 (the flageolet), 3 (the recorder), and 6 (the fife and piccolo) in the thesis.

literature, there is no comprehensive account of the development and usage of octave recorders. In contrast, the fife has been better documented, but similar accounts relating to the early piccolo (particularly in England) are lacking. The first purpose of my thesis is to rectify these organological deficiencies.

The musicological questions to be addressed fall into two broad categories, the study of pedagogic material, and the examination of assigned repertoire for the instruments under consideration. The flageolet tutors are listed in the literature (although not subjected to comparative appraisal), but no attention has been given to the matter of instructional material for octave recorders.¹⁰ In terms of repertoire, that for the flageolet and fife appears small (and, for the piccolo in England, non-existent) and the English concerti for small recorders have been described, although not in great detail.¹¹ The continued use of octave recorders from the early eighteenth century through to the year 1800 has yet to be addressed.

Although the intent of my thesis is primarily organological and musicological, it is necessary to place the instruments and their music within a social context. Although the venues for performance and relative costs of music in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries have been the subject of many articles and books, none has specifically examined octave flutes within this context.¹² Similarly, there exists no

¹⁰ Thomas E. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600–1830* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1967).

¹¹ Lenz Meierott, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der kleinen Flötentypen und ihre Verwendung in der Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1974), 73; henceforth abbreviated as *Die kleinen Flötentypen*. I am indebted to Dr Fiona Smith for her assistance in translating parts of this volume; Douglas MacMillan, 'The Small Flute Concerto in 18th-Century England', *The Consort*, 62 (2006), 91–106.

¹² For example; Robert Elkin, *The Old Concert Rooms of London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1955); Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Vintage Books, 2013); John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (Abington: Routledge, 2013).

comprehensive examination of professional public performance *versus* amateur and domestic performance, and the playing of these instruments by women.

Finally, no comparison of the usage of octave flutes in England with that on the European mainland has been published in the English language literature: my research has indicated substantial musicological (if not organological) differences in practice — again, a topic not adequately reviewed in the current literature.

Recorders are internal duct flutes, with a contracting conical bore, seven tone-holes on the front of the instrument, and one behind: between 1660 and 1800, the flageolet also had a contracting conical bore but had four tone-holes on the front and two behind, giving a six-holed instrument. Neither instrument can be defined with any degree of precision, both falling within Hornbostel and Sachs 1914 classification of open flutes with an internal duct and finger-holes (421.221.12).¹³ The fife and piccolo are classified (again somewhat imprecisely) as open side-blown flutes with finger-holes (421.121.12). The term ‘fipple flute’* as applied to flageolets and recorders is disregarded, as the meaning of the word ‘fipple’ is far from clear. It has been applied to the labium*, the block*, and to the entire sound-producing mechanism.¹⁴

The instrument in relation to which octave recorders are described is the alto (treble) recorder whose lowest (seventh-finger) note is f'.¹⁵ In this study, I include the fourth flute in b flat", which lies a fourth above the alto, the fifth flute (descant) a fifth above

¹³ Anthony Baines and Klaus P. Wachsmann, ‘Erich von Hornbostel and Curt Sachs Classification of Musical Instruments: Translated from the Original German’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 14 (1961), 3–29.

¹⁴ Jeremy Montagu. “Fipple.” *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 24 November, 2016. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42042>.

¹⁵ In contrast to transverse flutes, flageolets, and oboes, recorders are described by their seventh-finger note rather than their sixth-finger note.

in c", and the sixth flute in d", a sixth above the alto. The sopranino in f" lies one octave above the alto. In modern practice, the music for octave recorders is notated an octave lower than the sounding pitch, but other transpositions were employed in the eighteenth century.¹⁶ In English usage, the octave recorders may be referred to as 'small' or 'little' flutes; for example, the 'small flute concerti' were written for fifth or sixth flutes.¹⁷

Alto recorders may also be described as 'common', 'consort', or 'English' flutes, the word 'flute' as used in England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries implying the recorder. The transverse flute was known as the German flute.

'Renaissance' and 'Baroque' are terms applied retrospectively by nineteenth-, twentieth-, and twenty-first century authors to two successive European cultural movements, the former encompassing the period from the fourteenth to the early seventeenth century, the latter, the period between the early seventeenth century and the middle of the eighteenth. Both suggest particular artistic and philosophical positions, but, as neither period may be assigned a definitive start date or end date, the terms are an historian's term of convenience rather than a widely adopted contemporaneous descriptor; the employment of these terms for scholarly study is limited.

The terms, however, are accepted as descriptive rather than temporal in the study of the organology of the recorder, which will be discussed in Chapter 3. Renaissance-type recorders (sixteenth century to the mid-seventeenth century) were made in one piece (except for the larger sizes) and had a more cylindrical bore profile and larger tone-holes than the later Baroque-type recorders. The compass of the instruments was

¹⁶ The parts were transposed so that the player used alto recorder fingering.

¹⁷ Larger recorders include the voice flute in d', the tenor in c', the basset (often called the bass) in f, and the bass (sometimes called the great bass) in c, and the contrabass in F.

approximately one octave and a sixth. The transitional recorders of the late seventeenth century were modelled on the Renaissance pattern but changes to the bore profile (particularly at the foot), enabled a compass of two octaves and a second to be obtained.¹⁸ The Baroque recorders — which originated in the late seventeenth century — had a similar compass, a markedly-contracting inverted conical bore, and small (often undercut*) tone holes. They were made usually made in three pieces, with characteristic ‘bulges’ and ornamental turnery to reinforce the socket and tenon joints.

1.3. Methodology

Initially, I undertook a preliminary reading of secondary literature to establish a background for the research programme, and divided my study into matters concerned with organology, pedagogic material, and repertoire. It should be noted that the recorder — in comparison with the standard orchestral woodwind instruments — takes a small place in the music of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and, as I have noted, the literature pertaining to it (and other octave flutes) is relatively small. My initial reading was then expanded to examine primary source material relating to these topics. With a view to examining the relevant social factors, I read much secondary literature to obtain an overview of late seventeenth- and eighteenth- century musical life in England, before studying selected primary sources. In order to compare the usage of octave flutes on Continental Europe with that in England, I undertook similar reading. In all aspects of the study, serendipitous discoveries added to the more formal and methodical research.

¹⁸ Other terms for transitional recorders include ‘pre-Baroque’ and ‘early Baroque’.

In order to compile a complete checklist of extant eighteenth-century octave recorders and flageolets of English manufacture, I made a study of collection checklists of museums in the UK and overseas (both in paper copies and online), the Musical Instrument Museums Online database, and Nicholas Lander's 'The Recorder Homepage', with its extensive database of historic recorders.¹⁹ I visited museums in Britain and I also corresponded with other scholars. The surviving twelve recorders and five flageolets of seventeenth- or eighteenth-century English origin are documented in Appendix 1, together with a representative checklist of fourteen fifes and twelve piccolos.

Standard texts and reference sources provided data on the majority of tutors I surveyed, and others were uncovered in the course of my research. Seven English tutors for the flageolet, twenty-eight for the recorder, and five for the fife are listed in Appendix 2 and discussed in the appropriate chapters of the thesis. Thirteen tutors of Continental origin are also summarized.

A search of indices, reference texts, catalogues, published music (in both contemporary and modern editions), and literature references allowed me to assemble an overview of the repertoire for the instruments. The aim of the study was not so much to provide a comprehensive bibliography of the repertoire, as to obtain a representative picture of the use of octave flutes in England between 1660 and 1800: nine pieces for the flageolet, thirty-six for the recorder, and four for the fife are discussed in the text and listed in Appendix 3. The majority of the extant repertoire consists of music for the recorder, as befits the most significant octave flute of its time. I studied the seventeen

¹⁹ www.mimo-international.com/; www.recorderhomepage.net/ (multiple accessions, 2014–17).

English concerti for octave recorders from primary source material, and have devoted Chapter 5 to these works, which are of importance as being a uniquely English contribution to the repertoire for octave recorders. Chapter 8 provides a brief comparative review of the repertoire for octave flutes from Continental Europe.

1.4. A Review of the Literature

As a background to the secondary literature, it is appropriate to note publications giving a broad overview of the recorder and which contain notes referring to more specific publications, but, at present, there are no books or journal articles which provide an overall picture of the flageolet, fife, or piccolo. Many other secondary sources will be referenced within the text of the thesis.

In the first instance, four publications containing a wealth of information on the recorder deserve notice. Hildemarie Peter's *The Recorder. Its Traditions and its Tasks* was published in German in 1953 and gives an outline of the history and praxis of the instrument.²⁰ Edgar Hunt's *The Recorder and its Music* of 1962 presents a classic history of the recorder — written by one of the pioneers of the recorder revival — and is a useful synopsis of the development and usage of the instrument; there are passing reference to the flageolet.²¹ The text is not foot-noted, but there is a short bibliography. *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder* presents a late twentieth-century account of the recorder from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance, Baroque and Classical periods to the revival of the instrument and its place in twentieth-century musical

²⁰ Hildemarie Peter, *The Recorder. Its Traditions and its Task*, trans. by Stanley Godman, (London: Hinrichsen, 1953).

²¹ Edgar Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music* (Hebden Bridge: 3rd. edn, Peacock Press, 2002).

culture.²² Richard Griscom and David Lasocki's *The Recorder. A Research and Information Guide* indexes and comments upon 2,445 articles, theses, and books relating to the recorder.²³

Articles in *Grove Music Online* provide an overview and bibliography relating to many topics to be covered in the thesis, and are cited in the appropriate sections: *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (2014) provides organological data.²⁴

David Lasocki's doctoral thesis, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540–1740', provides biographical information and citations relating to the performing environment in London, and Lenz Meierott's *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung die kleinen Flötentypen* (*The Historical Development of Types of Small Flutes*) of 1974 gives a fine account of the history of the flageolet, fife, and piccolo up to the end of the eighteenth century, but the material on the recorder is less comprehensive.²⁵

The following review will concentrate on the instruments, their histories, the tutors which were written for them and their repertoire, these being the salient matters to be explored in the thesis. The extensive literature relating to performance environment and contemporary social factors — of lesser significance in the thesis than the organological and musicological aspects of the project — will not be considered here, but appropriate citations will be given in Chapter 7.

²² *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, ed. by John Mansfield Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

²³ Richard Griscom and David Lasocki, *The Recorder. A Research and Information Guide* (New York and London: 3rd. edn, Routledge, 2012).

²⁴ *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, ed. by Lawrence Libin (New York: 2nd. edn, Macmillan, 2014); recorder, vol. IV; flageolet, II; fife, II; piccolo II; tabor-pipe, IV. Abbreviated as GDML.

²⁵ David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England 1540–1740' PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1983; Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*.

The earliest written descriptions of the recorder are given in Sebastian Virdung's *Musica getutscht* of 1511, Martin Agricola's *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* of 1529 (revised 1545), and Sylvestro Ganassi's *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* of 1535.²⁶ These publications are primarily pedagogical in intent, but provide early descriptions of the Renaissance recorder. In the early seventeenth century, Michael Praetorius, in his *De Organographia* of 1618–20, described and illustrated eight sizes of recorders of the Renaissance pattern.

It is to Marin Mersenne, writing in his *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636, that we owe the first precise description of the (French) flageolet.²⁷ In Propositions VI and VII of the fifth book of his treatise, Mersenne discusses the flageolet. He gives fingering charts for the instrument both in tablature and staff notation and notes the use of the upper thumb-hole as an octaving hole*.²⁸

In Proposition VIII, Mersenne describes the sound of the English flutes (recorders) as 'sweet' because they represent the charm and softness of voices.²⁹ He describes the *flûte à neuf trous*, which is a Renaissance-style recorder featuring alternative seventh finger-holes so that it may be played by a musician who plays either 'right-hand uppermost' or 'left-hand uppermost', and he mentions various sizes of the instrument. He comments

²⁶ Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und Ausgesogen*, ed. by Beth Bullard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Martin Agricola, *Musica Instrumentalis deudsch*, trans. by William E. Herrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Sylvestro di Ganassi dal Fontegara, *Opera Intitulata Fontegara*, ed. by Hildemarie Peter, trans. by Dorothy Swainson (Berlin-Lichterfelde: Lienau, 1956/59); Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum II. De Organographia*, trans. by David Z. Crookes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).

²⁷ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, (1636), trans. by R. E. Chapman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957), 301–07.

²⁸ *ibid.*, 305; partially opening the upper thumb-hole facilitates the sounding of the octave.

²⁹ *ibid.*, 307–310.

that the range of the instrument is a fifteenth ‘but some give it only a thirteenth range’.³⁰ Finally, Mersenne gives brief notes on the fife in Proposition IX.³¹

The writings of Virdung, Agricola, Praetorius and Mersenne provide contemporaneous accounts of the recorder, fife and flageolet; with regard to the recorder, they highlight the history of the instrument prior to the development of the Baroque recorder in the late seventeenth century. As such, they form a background to my study.

Meierott gives a history of the development and use of the flageolet, the recorder, the tabor-pipe, and small transverse flutes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He discourses on the etymology and origin of the flageolet and describes the use of the instrument in the seventeenth century and its relative neglect in the eighteenth. Meierott comments on the use of the flageolet to teach caged birds to sing and refers to the diaries of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703). He notes that the flageolet was largely supplanted in England by the recorder in the eighteenth century and provides comparative tables (culled from Warner’s ‘Indications of Performance Practice in Woodwind Instruction Books in the 17th. and 18th. Centuries’), indicating the number of tutors published for the flageolet, recorder, oboe and transverse flute in France, England and Germany.³² Meierott comments on the usage of the flageolet:

It seems as though the flageolet’s historical development lies outside mainstream art music and for the most part outside multi-part instrumental music, favouring the development of an individual form of notation.³³

³⁰ This is compatible with most recorders of the Renaissance type which had a compass of one octave and a sixth or seventh.

³¹ Mersenne, *op.cit.*, 312–313.

³² Thomas Everett Warner, ‘Indications of Performance Practice in Woodwind Instruction Books of the 17th and 18th Centuries’, PhD diss., New York University, 1964 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1981).

³³ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 54: the ‘individual form of notation’ refers to tablature.

The second part of Meierott's monograph is devoted to an account of the use of small flutes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and he notes that, although the flageolet enjoyed its greatest popularity in France, it was occasionally encountered in England. Meierott's work is of particular importance in the study of the flageolet (his comment about the 'flageolet lying outside mainstream art music' is particularly relevant) but the work is lacking in detail with regard to octave recorders. In respect of my thesis, there is relatively little mention of the use of small flutes in England, whereas the European manufacture and use of the instruments is carefully documented; it should be noted that Meierott, a German scholar, was writing in the 1970s, a period before the development of computer technology and the wide access which it now affords to scholars.

The most commonly encountered recorder is the alto (treble) in f' and the literature contains publications which discuss the relatively low proportion of extant octave recorders in comparison with altos. Anthony Baines, writing in the first volume of the *Galpin Society Journal* in 1948, describes James Talbot's manuscript in the library of Christ Church College, Oxford, dating from c.1690–1700.³⁴ Talbot lists a flageolet, a tabor-pipe and a fife. He gives the pitch of recorders including 8th, 5th, and 3rd flutes as well as larger recorders including consort and voice flutes, tenor, bass and great bass recorders. This document represents the earliest written indication of the existence of octave flutes in England at the end of the seventeenth century.

Eric Halfpenny's 1956 study of the English Baroque treble recorder is confined, as its title suggests, to the treble (alto) recorder, and lists forty-three recorders found in

³⁴ Anthony Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript', *Galpin Society Journal*, 1 (1948), 9–26; GB–Och Music MS 1187.

English collections. Of these, nineteen are altos and only four are described as ‘super trebles’, including 6th, 5th, and 4th flutes. Unfortunately, the pitch of seven of the forty-three instruments could not be identified.³⁵ From this study, it is apparent that the smaller recorders were considerably less common than altos or the larger recorders.

David Lasocki’s meticulously researched ‘Lessons from Inventories and Sales of Flutes and Recorders, 1650–1800’ discusses terminology in relation to the words ‘flute’ and ‘recorder’, and the various sizes of flutes and recorders encountered in the survey.³⁶ Lasocki gives a concluding table which includes makers, the numbers of instruments they advertised, and the number of surviving specimens. The advertisements listed in the table do not always specify the type of recorder, but a review of the surviving 283 instruments reveals an interesting pattern in relation to octave recorders. Out of the 283, only thirty-five are small recorders, as against 161 altos and sixty-eight voice flutes, tenors and basses. Nineteen miscellaneous instruments (including double recorders and cane recorders) make up the total. Of the 440 transverse flutes, only nine are piccolos and none of these are of English origin. Although the listings in this website are derived from both European and American sources, the tiny proportion of small recorders in relation to larger ones is still of considerable interest. Only five English makers are listed, and again the proportion of small recorders is low in proportion to altos and larger instruments. The data indicate that the piccolo was uncommon in the eighteenth century.

Taken together, the publications of Halfpenny and Lasocki confirm that small recorders are rare in comparison with altos. A similar conclusion may be drawn from a perusal of

³⁵ Eric Halfpenny, ‘The English Baroque Treble Recorder’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 9 (1956), 82–90.

³⁶ David Lasocki, ‘Lessons from Inventories and Sales of Flutes and Recorders’, www.instantharmony.net/Music/lessons-from-inventories.pdf. (2010), (accessed 11–17 March 2014).

Philip Young's *4900 Woodwind Instruments*, the MIMO database, and the listed historic recorders in 'The Recorder Homepage'. I have confirmed this finding in my own study of extant instruments.³⁷

Four publications provide a general background to the evolution of the recorder from the Renaissance type to the Baroque type. Writing in Jonathon Wainwright and Peter Holman's *From Renaissance to Baroque; Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century* of 2012, Jan Bouterse comments:

The differences between the pre-Baroque instruments and the recorders in the new French style are not that radical. Several details, such as the division into more joints and socket and tenon construction, the conical bore, and a compass of two octaves can be observed on earlier instruments. I therefore suggest that there was a gradual development from the pre-Baroque recorders to the instruments in the new style. It is difficult to make a distinction between recorders in one joint and from the sixteenth century and those from the seventeenth century, the so-called transition or transitional instruments.³⁸

Also discussing the evolution of the recorder in the late seventeenth century, Herbert Myers (in Stewart Carter and Jeffrey Kite-Powell's *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 2012) comments on the changes in the instrument from the Renaissance type to the transitional recorders of Kynseker (1636–86).³⁹ His description provides a general overview and does not include precise details of the changes in the bore of the instrument. Gisele Rothe's compilation *Recorders Based on Historical Models: Fred Morgan — Writings and Memories* brings together a series of essays by and about the late Australian recorder maker, Fred Morgan.⁴⁰ The chapter 'A Player's Guide to the Recorder' by Morgan himself gives a useful description of the changes in

³⁷ Philip T. Young, *4900 Woodwind Instruments* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993).

³⁸ *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Jonathon Wainwright and Peter Holman (Aldershot: 2nd edn, Ashgate, 2012), 66; the 'new types of recorders' are the three-jointed Baroque recorders with a marked conical bore, as opposed to the one-piece Renaissance instruments with their predominantly cylindrical bore.

³⁹ *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Stewart Carter, rev. by Jeffrey Kite-Powell (Bloomington: 2nd edn, Indiana University Press, 2012), 74–82.

⁴⁰ Gisele Rothe, *Recorders Based on Historical Models: Fred Morgan—Writings and Memories* (Fulda: Mollenhauer, 2007), 139–142.

recorder design — particularly in terms of the choke bore* — from Renaissance- to Baroque-style instruments but gives little information on the dates of these transformations.

Articles by Peter van Heyghen and Laurence Pottier in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century* (the proceedings of a symposium held at Utrecht in 1993) give an account of the Renaissance recorder, the transitional recorder and early Baroque recorders. Van Heyghen classifies Renaissance recorders into four types, and also discusses the evolution of the Baroque recorder in Italy as well as in France. Pottier and Ruth van Back Griffioen provide a description of iconographical works of the period and the light that these shed on contemporary recorders.⁴¹

In summary, Myers, Morgan, van Heyghen, and Pottier provide descriptions of the changes in the recorder, albeit in little detail. Van Heyghen also postulates a classification of Renaissance recorders, and iconographical material is used to support the organological discussion. However, I would comment that iconography is often imprecise, and care has to be taken in transforming iconographic imagery into organological fact.

Jacob Head's website 'The Pleasant Companion – the Flageolet Site' was established as a forum for enthusiasts of the flageolet.⁴² The site provides a useful introduction to more scholarly research.

⁴¹ *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the International Recorder Symposium, Utrecht, 1993*, ed. by David Lasocki (Utrecht: STIMU Foundation for Historical Performance Practice, 1995).

⁴² Jacob Head, 'The Pleasant Companion – the Flageolet Site', www.flageolets.com/ (multiple accessions, 2014–2017).

There is surprisingly little information regarding octave transverse instruments in the standard works of reference on the flute. Danielle Eden's thesis on the piccolo — although essentially concerned with the development of the instrument after 1800 — does contain material regarding the earlier use of the instrument.⁴³ Eden notes that there is little evidence for the existence of the piccolo before 1735, when the instrument was cited in Michel Corrette's *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flute traversiere* (*Method for easily learning to play the transverse flute*).⁴⁴ She notes the existence of the English 'small flute concerti', correctly observing that they are pieces for the recorder rather than the piccolo, and she comments that there is no English solo piccolo repertoire dating from the eighteenth century.

Eden notes the development of the fife, beginning from the sixteenth century and pointing out its narrow bore, piercing tone and military use across Europe.⁴⁵ She makes no comments on the use of the instrument in England in the eighteenth century.

Lenz Meierrott gives a review of the early history of the piccolo (*kleine Querflöte*), noting its use in France earlier than in Germany, but makes no reference to use of the instrument in England.⁴⁶

Writing in *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, Howard Mayer Brown and Jaap Frank describe the fife as a small transverse instrument with a narrow cylindrical

⁴³ Danielle Georgina Eden, 'The Piccolo. Its History, Solo Repertoire and Usage from 1800 until the Modern Day in Western Europe', unpublished PhD diss., University of London, 1998.

⁴⁴ Michel Corrette, *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flute traversiere*, facsimile ed. by Mirjam Nastasi (Buren: Knuf, 1978).

⁴⁵ Virdung, Agricola, Praetorius, and Mersenne (cited above under 'recorder') also document the early history of the fife.

⁴⁶ Meierrott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 103–117.

bore, giving a shrill tone.⁴⁷ The instrument may be traced back to the early sixteenth century, and Mayer Brown notes its use as a military signalling instrument (together with the side-drum) in infantry regiments.

Although the organological history of the fife is relatively well-covered in the literature, there is little corresponding information on the piccolo in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In particular, there is no account of the — admittedly limited — organology of the piccolo in England in the very late eighteenth century. Appendix 1 contains data on representative examples of the transverse instruments.

Richard Griscom and David Lasocki, in *The Recorder. A Research and Information Guide* (2012), give an extensive list of tutors for the recorder, beginning with a commentary on the concept of tutors for a specific instrument and those for several instruments (‘universal tutors’) which include material for the recorder.⁴⁸ The commentary notes the derivation of some of the tutors: others are simply listed, and are cited as referenced by Warner and Vinquist (see below) rather than library location. Nevertheless, the book is an excellent research tool for many aspects of the history of the recorder. Jane Girdham, in an article in *Early Music* (2002) regarding the use of the flageolet by amateurs (both male and female) from the seventeenth to the late nineteenth centuries, notes the existence of tablature in late seventeenth-century flageolet tutors.⁴⁹ There is no reference to eighteenth-century flageolet tutors, although the author does mention *The Bird Fancier’s Delight*, which contains some instructional material.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *GDMI*, vol. II, s.v. ‘fife’ (Howard Mayer Brown and Jaap Frank).

⁴⁸ Griscom and Lasocki, *The Recorder*. 285–330; the word ‘tutor’ is used in my thesis to denote self-instruction manuals.

⁴⁹ Jane Girdham, ‘The Flageolet Player: the Ultimate Amateur Musician’, *Early Music*, 30/3 (2002), 397–409.

⁵⁰ *The Bird Fancier’s Delight*, ed. by Stanley Godman (London: Schott 10443, 1954).

Thomas Warner (1967) drew on his 1964 doctoral thesis to publish a comprehensive list of woodwind instruction books from several nations published between 1600 and 1830, much of which is of relevance to the present study as it includes recorders, flageolets, and fifes, but, inevitably, further tutors have come to light in the fifty years since the book's compilation.⁵¹ Some of the tutors are listed as 'unlocated'.

Mary Vinquist's doctoral thesis 'Recorder Tutors of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Technique and Performance Practice' (1974), discusses performance practice and contains a comprehensive list of tutors, although subsequent research has uncovered two further tutors of significance.⁵² Vinquist mentions the changes in the recorder in the late seventeenth century and briefly mentions the use of the instrument by amateurs, yet fails to comment on its use in theatres and concerts. Her second chapter examines thirty-five tutors (of which twenty-eight are of English origin) and notes the inter-relationships between them, commenting on their several editions and the widespread plagiarism. Chapters 3 and 4 of Vinquist's thesis discuss recorder technique. Of the four appendices, the first is described as a biobibliography comprising comprehensive data (and comments upon) the listed tutor books. Appendix B summarises the fingerings for both C and F recorders as illustrated in the tutors. Both sets of fingerings reach well into the third octave (c''' on the alto) and contain enharmonic alternatives. Vinquist concludes:

No one tutor is complete in itself, but, taken as a whole, the tutors reflect their time and circumstances. To ignore them is folly. To see them as a final arbiter is

⁵¹ Thomas E. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books* (Detroit: Information Co-ordinators, Inc., 1967).

⁵² Mary Vinquist, 'Recorder Tutors of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Technique and Performance Practice', PhD diss., University of North Carolina, 1974; the tutors of Loulié and Bismantova were not known at the time of the writing of her thesis: for details, see Chapter 8, 252, 255.

equally foolish. Their value is that of a mirror—to provide a reflection of reality, but not reality itself.⁵³

Warner and Viquist discuss questions of performance practice which may be distilled from the listed tutors. In particular, Viquist's thesis is directed at those players who wish to develop an historically-informed performance practice and her concluding paragraph (above) is particularly apt. Neither of the above publications, however, document any specific or critical mention of octave recorders.

The literature on eighteenth-century flageolet tutors is confined to occasional remarks. No definitive work has been published on the subject, and the paucity of tutors in the eighteenth century suggests a lessening of interest in the instrument. As we have seen above, however, recorder tutors were published in profusion as the recorder continued to flourish — particularly in amateur circles — where learning from an instruction book would have been of paramount importance. Leslie Hirschberg, in a master's dissertation entitled 'The History of the Flageolet, 1581–1800', refers to the use of tablature in the seventeenth-century flageolet tutors and comments that the use of tablature may have been a factor in the decline of the flageolet in favour of the recorder as an amateur's instrument.⁵⁴

No instrument-specific tutors for the flageolet appear to have been published in the Germanic lands although notes about the instrument appear in the universal tutors by Speer and Majer of 1687 and 1732 respectively, and, from France, only Freillon-Poncein's tutor of 1700 deals specifically with the flageolet; these tutors have received scant attention in the literature.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p.144.

⁵⁴ Leslie Hirschberg, 'The History of the Flageolet 1581–1800', unpublished MMus diss., University of New Mexico, 1986.

Warner lists eight tutors published in England for the fife between c.1756 and c.1796.⁵⁵ Seven publishers are involved, but six of the publications are anonymous; their titles bear marked similarities and all include marches and airs ‘as performed in the Guards and other regiments’, confirming the use of the fife as a military instrument. Further examination of the individual tutors should shed light on the instrument and the expected capability of amateur and military players. There are no eighteenth-century English tutors for the piccolo: only two appear to have been published in France (as noted in Warner’s list of tutors), but both these publications are more guidance on orchestration than instrumental tutors.⁵⁶

Pedagogic material relating to octave flutes is very rarely found in recorder tutor books or in the ‘universal tutors’, which provide only limited instruction on several instruments. However, superficial accounts of flageolet tutors dating from the seventeenth century appear in the literature, but none from the eighteenth. English tutors for the fife have not been critically examined, and a search for tutors for the piccolo in late eighteenth-century England was unrewarding, probably because the instrument had only recently been introduced into the country.

There are no publications specifically reporting the repertoire for octave flutes, whether they are vertical or transverse. Patricio Portell’s *Répertoire de musique imprimée pour la flûte à bec, le flageolet et le galoubet* (2007) lists publications held in the libraries of twenty-two countries world-wide, and includes music and tutors, the majority of pieces

⁵⁵ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books*.

⁵⁶ Louis-Joseph Francoeur, *Diapason général de tous les instrumens à vent* (Paris: Des Lauriers, 1772); Othon Vandenbroeck *Traité général de tous les instrumens à vent* (Paris: Boyez, 1793): cited in Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, as nos. 124 and 181).

cited being for the recorder, both as a solo instrument and in combination with other instruments; operatic and choral repertoire is not included.⁵⁷ The book is an invaluable resource, with a comprehensive bibliography and detailed lists of library holdings. Inevitably, a publication on such a wide topic can never be totally comprehensive but, as a research aid, it fulfils an important role (particularly in respect of the alto recorder) and tends to confirm that the repertoire for octave duct flutes is small.

John Walsh (together with John Hare) was one of the most significant publishers of recorder music in England, and published the small flute concerti of Babell, Baston, and Woodcock in the 1720s.⁵⁸ His output is listed in William C. Smith's bibliography of his works published between 1695 and 1720, and his later output (1721–1766) is listed in a subsequent publication by William Smith and Charles Humphries.⁵⁹ Michael Kassler's compilation, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818*, lists 5,459 entries relating to music (both vocal and instrumental) published between 1710 and 1818, although only 2,999 relate to the period 1710–1800.⁶⁰ As a research source of assigned flute and recorder music, however, it is of limited value as instrumentation is not specified in most of the vocal items. The *British Union Catalogue of Early Music (BUCEM)*, although compiled in the 1950s, still represents a useful overview of the holdings of

⁵⁷ Patricio Portell, *Répertoire de musique imprimée (1670–1780) pour la flûte à bec, le flageolet et le galoubet* (Bressieu: Fuzeau, 2007).

⁵⁸ John Walsh (1665/6–1736) established his business in 1695. He died in 1736 and was succeeded by his son, also named John, who died in 1766. Between 1695 and 1730 he was closely associated with John Hare and his son, Joseph Hare. John Walsh II was succeeded by William Randall: see Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles* (London: Cassell, 1954), 321–322.

⁵⁹ William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1948); William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721–1766* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1968).

⁶⁰ Michael Kassler, *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

over 100 libraries in Britain containing music published before 1801.⁶¹ Although such a dated work cannot be considered — in 2017 — to be comprehensive, it nevertheless provides an excellent overview of music published within the period of reference. In particular, it is of value in assessing the proportion of works published for particular instruments (in this case, octave flutes) within the overall range of musical publications. It should be noted, however, that works containing parts for octave flutes (for example, Handel's *Acis and Galatea*) cannot be identified from *BUCEM*.

The English repertoire for octave recorders may be divided into two categories, the first comprising the uniquely English small flute concerti, and the second including other pieces specifying octave recorders, comprising instrumental solos, obbligato passages in vocal music, and the orchestral use of the recorder in opera and oratorio.⁶² The publications discussed below are only those which contribute substantially to a general survey of the repertoire; further items will be referenced at appropriate points in the course of the thesis.

My article in *The Consort* of 2006 'The Small Flute Concerto in 18th-Century England' provides an outline of seventeen concerti and one suite for performance on fifth or sixth flutes which were published in the 1720s.⁶³ The controversial authorship of Robert Woodcock's (1690–1728) concerti is discussed extensively in David Lasocki and Helen Neate's 1988 article and a previous speculation by Brian Priestman (in 1954) that Jacques Loeillet — and not Woodcock — was the composer of the concerti is

⁶¹ *The British Union Catalogue of Early Music Printed before the Year 1801. A Record of the Holdings of over one hundred Libraries throughout the British Isles*, ed. by Edith B. Schnappe (London: Butterworth, 1957).

⁶² The term 'small flute concerti' describes concerti specifically composed for small recorders, these instruments being called 'flutes' in early eighteenth-century England.

⁶³ MacMillan, 'The Small Flute Concerto in 18th-Century England'.

rejected.⁶⁴ Zöe Franklin discussed the harmonic pattern of Babel's [sic] concerti in a paper in the *Consort* of 2007.⁶⁵ The orchestration of the small flute concerti and their derivation from Italian-style works is discussed in Peter Holman and Richard Maunday's article in *Early Music* (2000), this discussion being amplified in Maunday's subsequent book.⁶⁶ Surprisingly, Meierott's *Die kleinen Flötentypen* makes no significant mention of these concerti. There is no comparative study of the harmonic pattern of the small flute concerti (Franklin's article only refers to Babell), although the orchestration — and the related controversies — of Babell, Baston and Woodcock's concerti is thoroughly discussed by Maunday; this author does not, however, discuss the orchestration of the concerti by Dieupart and Sammartini.

There exists no comprehensive account of the repertoire for octave recorders beyond that of the concerti, but a number of authors provide practical information. It should be noted that the instruments do not appear to have been used in sonatas, their use — apart from the concerti — being confined to obbligato passages in opera and cantatas, albeit with the exception of *The Bird Fancyer's Delight*.

Caren Buse's PhD thesis (2002) 'For the Flute', subtitled 'Published Songs and the Amateur Recorder Player in London in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries' begins with a general background to the use of the flageolet and the recorder in the period.⁶⁷ She discusses the transposition of melodies to suit the compass of the

⁶⁴ David Lasocki and Helen Neate, 'The Life and Works of Robert Woodcock, 1690–1728', *American Recorder*, 24/3 (1988), 92–104; Brian Priestman, 'An Introduction to the Loeillets', *The Consort*, 11 (1954), 18–26.

⁶⁵ Zöe Franklin, 'William Babel's [sic] *Concertos in Seven Parts*', *The Consort*, 63 (2007), 62–73.

⁶⁶ Peter Holman and Richard Maunday, 'The Accompaniment of Concertos in 18th-century England', *Early Music*, 28/4 (2000), 637–50; Richard Maunday, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004).

⁶⁷ Caren Buse, 'For the Flute', unpublished PhD diss., University of Wales, Bangor, 2002, 118, 119, 209: her thesis is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4, 140–1.

recorder, but she does not explore in any detail the contemporary evidence for transposition, nor does she comment on the potential use of octave recorders using an octave transposition in this setting, or, indeed, of the use of voice flutes or tenor recorders. I would assume that she implies that octave recorders were not used for this purpose.

Little has been written on the flageolet repertoire, and much of the late seventeenth-century assigned music for the instrument only appears in published tutors. David Lindley's 1978 article on 'A Seventeenth-Century Flageolet Tablature at Guildford' provides a useful insight into the repertoire enjoyed by a female amateur flageolet player.⁶⁸ Hirschberg comments more fully on *The Bird Fancier's Delight* and its use as an instructional method as well as a book of tunes.⁶⁹ Hirschberg also suggests that the small flute concerti may have been intended for the flageolet, but there is no evidence to support this claim. Hirschberg does not appear to have appreciated that the term 'flute' in early eighteenth-century England implied the recorder.

There is a paucity of literature relating to fife and piccolo repertoire in England in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The piccolo only became a standard orchestral instrument in the early nineteenth century and Eden notes that there was no solo repertoire for the instrument in the eighteenth.⁷⁰

It is within the context of repertoire for octave recorders that the literature is most deficient. The harmonic structure of the small flute concerti (with the exception of

⁶⁸ David Lindley, 'A Seventeenth-Century Flageolet Tablature at Guildford', *Galpin Society Journal*, 31 (1978), 94–99.

⁶⁹ Hirschberg, 'The History of the Flageolet'.

⁷⁰ Eden, 'The Piccolo', 323.

Babell's concerti) has not been summarised, and the use of fifth and sixth flutes and the reasons for, and the effect of, transposition of their parts to alto recorder fingering have not been explored. There is no account of the use of octave recorders (particularly the sopranino) in operatic scores of the late eighteenth century. Similarly, the use of flageolet remains undocumented.

I will discuss the limited repertoire for the flageolet in the late seventeenth century, and the civilian usage of the fife in the eighteenth. There is no material relating to the piccolo at this early date in the instrument's evolution.

The English literature fails to contrast the usage of octave flutes in different countries and the penultimate chapter of my thesis will provide a summary of the use of octave flutes in France, the Germanic states, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain.

1.5. Deficiencies in the Current Literature: a Summary

Following preliminary reading and an extensive survey of the literature, I noted that there were many lacunae in research impeding the provision of a comprehensive survey of 'Octave Flutes in England, 1660–1800', the intention expressed in my original research proposal.

In summary, the areas lacking adequate existing coverage are:

- the organology of octave recorders and a checklist of extant instruments
- the displacement of the flageolet by the recorder
- the displacement of the recorder by the German flute and the place of octave recorders in the late eighteenth century
- the piccolo in England in the eighteenth century

- the absence of pedagogic material for octave recorders
- pedagogic material for the flageolet and fife in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
- pedagogic material for octave flutes in Continental Europe
- the harmony of the small flute concerti and the use of transposed parts
- the use of octave recorders in operatic scores of the late eighteenth century
- the civilian use of the fife
- a comparison of the repertoire for octave flutes in European countries
- the role of amateur and domestic performance in relation to octave flutes
- gender issues pertaining to octave flutes

It is the purpose of my thesis to address these questions, and so to provide a review of ‘Octave Flutes in England, 1660–1800’, which not only summarizes extant primary and secondary literature, but which also, as a consequence of my research, should provide a fitting and contemporary account of my chosen topic.

Chapter 2

The flageolet**2.1. Introduction**

The flageolet appears to have been introduced into England in late sixteenth or early seventeenth decades of the seventeenth century, probably having been brought from France at the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Anthony à Wood noted that the violinist John Banister played at Oxford on 11 January 1665/66 ‘upon a little pipe or flagellet in consort which hath bin about seven yeares in fashion’ and the English diarist Samuel Pepys described his own playing of the instrument in 1660.⁷¹ Before commencing the scholarly study of an artefact and its function, it is appropriate to define, or at least accurately describe, the object of the study. In the case of duct flutes such as the flageolet, however, precise definitions are seldom possible. The flageolet defies definition, for it is an instrument of protean form, although all flageolets may be classified as internal duct flutes* with an inverted conical bore.⁷² Flageolets were made in different sizes with differing distribution of the tone-holes and, later, a variable pattern of keywork. The original flageolet of the seventeenth century (now called the French flageolet to distinguish it from the English flageolet of the nineteenth century) has four finger- and two thumb-holes, whereas the English instrument has six or seven finger-holes and, on some instruments, one thumb-hole. Prior to the development of the English flageolet around the year 1800, the French flageolet was the only known variety of the instrument.

The flageolet is an instrument of considerable antiquity, bearing a name dating back to the Middle Ages. It is appropriate, in order to place the seventeenth- and eighteenth-

⁷¹ Quoted in Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers. The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 353; see notes 163–168 in Chapter 2.

⁷² Hornbostel and Sachs classification 421.22.12.

century flageolet in its rightful historical context, to give a brief summary of its development prior to the first description given of the instrument by Marin Mersenne in his *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636. It has been suggested that the name ‘flageolet’ is derived from the Latin *flare* (to blow) and in the eleventh century an end-blown duct flute of Asiatic origin appeared in the West, being known as *flageol* in France, around the year 1180.⁷³ In the late Middle Ages the instrument was little more than a shepherd’s pipe cut from willow and bore little resemblance to the later flageolets. The sixteenth-century authors Sebastian Virdung (1511) and Martin Agricola (1529, 1545) illustrate small four-holed pipes — called *Russpfeif* and *kleine Flötlein mit vier Löchern* respectively — which may be precursors of the French flageolet.⁷⁴

2.2. The organology of the flageolet

As I have noted, Mersenne gave the first definitive description of the (French) flageolet in 1636. Proposition VI of the fifth book (wind instruments) is headed ‘To explain the shape, construction, tuning, range, and the tablature of the flageolet’.⁷⁵ Mersenne’s flageolet was a small instrument with four finger- and two thumb-holes, a recorder-like beak mouthpiece and a slightly flared foot. The instrument measured 110–120mm in length, had a compass of a fifteenth and was made from hardwoods or ivory. The 4+2 arrangement of the tone-holes was designed to facilitate the placement of fingers on the instrument, for it was so small that six fingers could not be accommodated in line on the front of the instrument as on the recorder or flute.

⁷³ Sybil Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1975), 557.

⁷⁴ Virdung, *Musica getutscht und Ausgesogen*, 107; Agricola, *Musica Instrumentalis deudsch*, 29–30, 165–166.

⁷⁵ Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 301–303.



Figure 1. French flageolet à bec* by Herouard, late C18/early C19.⁷⁶

Mersenne describes the method of playing the instrument with two fingers of each hand together with both thumbs, but notes that some players preferred to use three fingers of the left hand and only one of the right hand. The upper thumb-hole is the octaving hole*, the lower fulfilling the function of the 'normal' fifth finger-hole: the little finger of the right hand may be employed to partially close the bell of the instrument in order to obtain a note below the sixth-finger note*.



Figure 2. Hand position on the French flageolet: the little finger is closing the bell.

Two fingering charts are provided by Mersenne, both being notated in tablature* accompanied by staff notation on a six-line system. The first chart gives a scale of G, the second a scale of F. The compass of the instrument is a fifteenth, from notated e' (obtained by closing the bell) to c''' but its music is written transposed down two

⁷⁶ Author's collection.

octaves. The sixth-finger note is (notated) d', and d'' is sounded with all the tone-holes open. Mersenne refers to le Vacher as the best maker of flageolets.⁷⁷

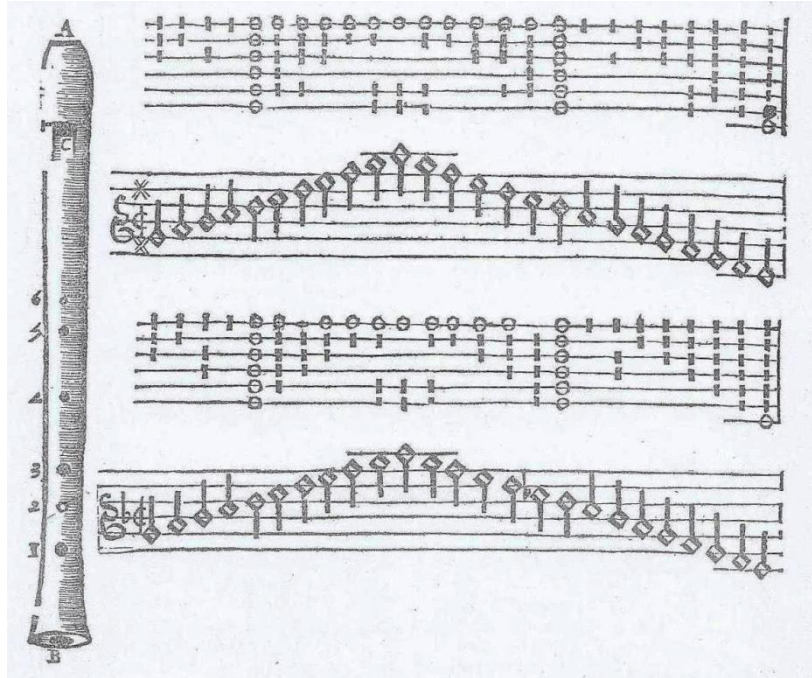


Figure 3. Fingering chart for the flageolet from Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle*, showing fingerings for G major and F major in tablature and six-line staff notation.⁷⁸

Proposition VII is headed 'To explain the diapason of the flageolet family, and the method of playing perfectly in one or more parts, with a musical example'.⁷⁹ Mersenne comments on the uneven position of the tone-holes, half-closing of the tone-holes to produce chromatic semitones, and the use of the pinched* upper thumb-hole for sounding the octave, noting that an increase in breath pressure may be required. He gives a short musical example of a *Vaudeville* for four flageolets by Henri le Jeune, the parts being designated treble, alto, tenor and bass, the ranges being notated as g'-g'', d'-

⁷⁷ The workshop of le Vacher flourished in Paris from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth: see William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 234.

⁷⁸ IMSLP, reproduced under Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 License, imslp.org/wiki/Category:Mersenne,_Marin/.

⁷⁹ Mersenne, *op cit.*, 303–307.

c'', b–g' and G–g. The compass of the parts suggests the existence of flageolets considerably larger than the instrument described in Mersenne's treatise, but evidence for the existence of such instruments is lacking. Meierott notes — in discussing this piece — that the only convincing evidence for the existence of larger flageolets is the frontispiece to Thomas Greeting's flageolet tutor *The Pleasant Companion* of 1667/68, which shows two flageolets of different sizes.⁸⁰ However, no examples survive in instrument collections.

One of the distinctive (although not constantly present) features of the flageolet from the early eighteenth century onwards is the so-called sponge chamber, a windcap placed between the mouthpiece and the block and labium assembly* which contained a piece of sponge to absorb moisture from the player's breath. *The Bird Fancier's Delight* of c.1717 makes the first mention of the sponge chamber which was to become a common feature of later flageolets, particularly in the nineteenth century: the title-page reads '...with a Method of fixing ye wett Air, in a Spung [sic] or Cotton...'. The tiny bird flageolets of the early eighteenth century were the first flageolets to be fitted with a windcap (see Figure 4, below).⁸¹

⁸⁰ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 27–28; see Figure 9 below.

⁸¹ *The Bird Fancier's Delight*; the bird flageolet was a very small flageolet with a narrow bore and tiny tone-holes which was used to teach caged birds to sing.



Figure 4. The upper image shows the windcap fitted on the head joint of the flageolet. The labium (or lip) is visible on the right. In the lower image, the windcap has been removed to show the windway, block and labium. The sponge would have been placed above the block, which, in this instrument, stands slightly proud of the rim of the surrounding head.⁸²

Meierott classifies the flageolets into four varieties, only two of which are relevant to the present discussion, the small one-piece flageolets without a windcap and the bird flageolets with windcap: his other two categories refer to nineteenth-century instruments.⁸³ He describes the bird flageolet as an instrument with a windcap, a very narrow bore and tiny tone-holes.



Figure 5. A Bird Flageolet from Diderot's *Encyclopédie* of 1767.⁸⁴

Some collection catalogues apply the term 'bird flageolet' to small French flageolets à bec* (as opposed to à pompe*, that is, with windcap) but this fails to separate the bird

⁸² Anonymous late C19 English flageolet, author's collection.

⁸³ His other categories are larger two-piece flageolets without a windcap and larger multi-jointed flageolets with a windcap: these instruments date from the very late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 57–67.

⁸⁴ Diderot et d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers* (Paris: 1767), vol. 5, plate VIII.

flageolets from the standard French flageolet with a beaked mouthpiece. Apart from the production of flageolets of different pitches and the introduction of the windcap, there were no significant changes to the instrument before keys began to be added in the early nineteenth century. Meierott notes the existence of instruments made in several keys — and therefore of different sounding lengths — all of which were treated as transposing instruments, the sixth-finger note being written as d' in all cases.⁸⁵ The English seventeenth-century tutors, however, indicate that the sixth-finger note is (written) g' with a lower extension to f' obtained by partially covering the bell. The sixth-finger note of the alto recorder is g', a point of interest at a time when the two instruments existed side-by-side and the compass of the instrument remained approximately two octaves.



Figure 6. French flageolet with windcap by Robert Cotton, England, late C18.⁸⁶

A curious pair of flageolets was made by John Mason (fl1754–6) for Granville Sharp, a keen amateur musician. Together with family members and professional musicians, Sharp performed in concerts both on land and on water in the family barge.

Contemporary comments noted that Sharp ‘performed duets upon two flutes’ (i.e., flageolets) and the instruments are illustrated in Johann Joseph Zoffany’s portrait of the Sharp family of 1779–81.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 49.

⁸⁶ Royal College of Music 0410; Appendix 1, flgt 1, photo: author.

⁸⁷ Hélène La Rue, ‘Granville Sharp: the Zealous Opposer and Musician’, *Galpin Society Newsletter*, 27 (2007), 4–5; the painting is dated 1779–81 and hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London, (NPG L169); Brian Crosby, ‘Private Concerts on Land and Water: the Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c.1750–c.1790’ *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 34 (2001), 33–4.



Figure 7. A pair of flageolets by John Mason, c.1754–6.⁸⁸

The instruments are identical save in that they are mirror images. The windcaps have been somewhat amateurishly filed down to give a flat surface between the two instruments, suggesting that an attempt was made to play the instruments in the manner of a nineteenth-century double flageolet. It would not be possible to play them together as convergent pipes as the keys would be inaccessible, but if played as divergent pipes it would be conceivably possible to play one in each hand. The Zoffany image shows the instruments held apart. The instruments are much larger than the typical French flageolets of the period (at 500mm in length, they are slightly larger than an alto recorder) and are heavy: it would be difficult to support them in the manner of French flageolets, with third finger of the right hand in front and the fourth finger placed behind the instrument. The position of the keys is also awkward and the thumb-hole is placed well above the first finger-hole, again making the instrument uncomfortable to handle; they are pitched in f', an unusual key for the flageolet. These instruments can only be described as atypical, and probably unique.⁸⁹

An extensive review of the checklists of major European and American collections (see Appendix 1) reveals that very few flageolets of English manufacture survive from the eighteenth century and — with the possible exception of one instrument in the

⁸⁸ GB–Oxford x011/x012; Appendix 1, flgt 2, photo: author.

⁸⁹ Douglas MacMillan, 'A Curious Pair of Flageolets', *Galpin Society Newsletter*, 40 (2014), 8–10.

Horniman Museum — none from the seventeenth.⁹⁰ In France, a country where the flageolet was used to a greater extent than in England, only nine eighteenth-century flageolets are preserved in Le Musée de la Musique in Paris, and these are all of French origin. A fine ivory flageolet by Johann Wilhelm Oberlender (1681–1763) is located in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich.⁹¹ Flageolets are very small instruments and no doubt many have been lost or destroyed, particularly those dating from the seventeenth century, when the instrument appears to have been popular in England. The few surviving instruments from the eighteenth century tend to confirm the impression given by the diminishing number of tutors that the instrument had ceased to be in common use; my research has only revealed a possible five instruments, although one may be of early nineteenth-century origin.⁹² Sadly, no English bird flageolets have survived from the earlier centuries, but an anonymous early nineteenth-century example with a windcap is preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.⁹³ A later example by John Becket (fl1850–73) is preserved in Edinburgh.⁹⁴

2.3. Pedagogic material for the flageolet

The flageolet has long been associated with amateur musicians and, as such, it has been the subject of tutors or books for self-instruction since the late seventeenth century.⁹⁵ The publication of such tutors gives a valuable insight into the popularity of this largely amateur instrument over the centuries, and it is noteworthy that many treatises were

⁹⁰ GB–London–H 15.10.48/118; Appendix 1, flgt 5.

⁹¹ D–München–BNM Mu165.

⁹² GB–London–H 15.10.48/170; Appendix 1, flgt 3. Although the collection checklist dates this instrument as c.1800, the large fifth tone-hole suggests that this instrument dates from after 1803, the year in which William Bainbridge patented his improvements to the flageolet.

⁹³ GB–London–VA 301–1882; Appendix 1, flgt 6.

⁹⁴ GB–Edinburgh 237.

⁹⁵ Girdham, ‘The Flageolet Player: the Ultimate Amateur Musician’.

published in England in the late seventeenth century yet few in the eighteenth, preceding a resurgence in the early years of the nineteenth century.⁹⁶ Some tutors note that it is possible to dispense with the aid of a teacher, although, as will be shown subsequently, teachers of the instrument were in practice.

The principal lists of flageolet tutors published between 1660 and 1800 are contained in Thomas Warner's *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books* (1967), Patricio Portrell's *Répertoire de musique imprimée (1670–1780)* of 2007, and the *British Union Catalogue of Early Music* (1957).⁹⁷ William Tans'ur's *The Elements of Musick Display'd* of 1767/1772 — a 'universal' tutor — gives a brief reference to the flageolet in Chapter III (*Of the Common FLUTE or FLAGELET*) but gives no instructional material.⁹⁸ It is curious that the knowledgeable Tans'ur only refers to the flageolet in his 1767/1772 editions, and not in the original edition of 1746 or its subsequent editions, which were entitled *A New Musical Grammar*. By the time of the publication of *The Elements of Musick Display'd* in 1767, the flageolet had ceased to be in common use, and it is even more surprising that Tans'ur virtually equates the flageolet with the recorder. Both Warner and Portrell list tutors which cannot now be located, and, whilst the existence of these tutors is significant, from the point of view of detailed study of flageolet technique the importance of unlocated tutors is negligible: consequently, only those tutors which are accessible will be studied and commented upon in depth.⁹⁹ The pedagogic material in *The Bird Fancier's Delight* will also be discussed. Bibliographic data on all the tutors is given in Appendix 2.

⁹⁶ MacMillan, 'The English Flageolet 1800–1900: the Instrument, its Music and its Social Context'.

⁹⁷ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 1–28; Portrell, *Répertoire de musique imprimée*, 200–214; BUCEM.

⁹⁸ William Tans'ur, *The Elements of Musick Display'd* (London: Stanley Crowder, 1767, 1772).

⁹⁹ The tutors will be referred to by a 'short title' after the initial exposition.

Chronological order of publication will be adhered to as far as possible, but many of the extant tutors were published in several editions and, for convenience in discussion, the editions will be linked. Finally, brief notes will be given on those tutors which are only known by reference in earlier publications.

Meierott gives histograms showing published treatises according to date; there are discrepancies, however, for when these figures are compared with located treatises, the figures differ.¹⁰⁰

date	Meierott	extant in 2017
1660–1670	2	2
1670–1680	2	3
1680–1690	1	3
1690–1700	4	3
1700–1710	1	0
1710–1720	3	1
1720–1730	0	0
1730–1740	1	0

Table 1. Published flageolet tutors in England, 1660–1800.

These figures suggest that, insofar as the popularity of an amateur's instrument can be judged by the numbers of published tutors, the flageolet had declined in popularity by the early eighteenth century.

Tablature

Tablature notation has existed since the early fourteenth century and was applied mainly to keyboard and stringed instruments, both bowed and plucked.¹⁰¹ Its use in wind instrument playing was largely confined to flageolet music in late seventeenth-

¹⁰⁰ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 45.

¹⁰¹ Thurston Dart, et al. "Tablature." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Accessed 29 September 2014.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27338>.

century England, although tablature was incorporated in some seventeenth-century recorder tutors.¹⁰² Mersenne used tablature in his *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636 and it was employed in English flageolet tutors in the seventeenth century and, as late as 1730, in *The Bird Fancier's Delight*. Sir John Hawkins, writing in 1776, observed that tablature was used in books of instruction for the flute, German flute, and hautboy, and was last used in England in 1704 in the recorder tutor *The New Flute Master*, in which instruction was provided using either 'dot-way'* or 'gamut-way*', the former implying tablature and the latter, staff notation. Unlike the seventeenth-century tutors, this applied, however, only to the fingering charts and not to the tunes. Hawkins also observed that tablature made 'playing at sight scarcely practicable'.¹⁰³ It should be noted that, by the time Hawkins was writing, tablature had been outmoded for over half a century and few players would have been acquainted with the notation by the 1770s.

Tablature is essentially a series of fingering charts, the notes to be played not indicated by marks on the staff but as the fingering to be employed on the instrument. In the case of plucked instruments such as the lute, the tablature indicated the string and fret to be employed, whereas for the flageolet, it was written on six lines to represent the instrument's six tone-holes: a vertical stroke indicated that a finger should be placed on the appropriate hole. An open hole was signified by 'o' and a pinched note* by 'x'.¹⁰⁴ Tablature could not indicate time values using the same symbols as fingering and, in tablature, time values are presented above the fingerings, using conventional (staff-type) notation. Greeting writes in *The Pleasant Companion* of 1682:

¹⁰² Chapter 4, 125–8.

¹⁰³ John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: printed for T. Payne & Son, 1776), vol. 4, 80.

¹⁰⁴ 'pinching' is a technique employed on duct flutes: the thumb-hole is partially closed by the thumb-nail, thus venting the tube and allowing the second, third, and fourth registers to sound.

All tunes or lessons for the *Flagelet* are prick'd upon six lines, answering to the six Holes on that Instrument, by certain characters called *Dots*: these *Dots* direct what Holes are to be stopt...above the six lines over the *dots* are placed *Notes*, for expressing the Measure of time...¹⁰⁵

As a simple and graphic pedagogical system, tablature has its merits but it but it seems unlikely that it would be possible to read it at sight in fast passages. In staff notation, the note and its time value are indicated by a single figure, whereas, in tablature, the player read fingerings rather than notes and had to read a separate line to obtain the appropriate time value; he (or she) would require to learn a new notational system (staff notation) in order to play other instruments.



Figure 8. The technique of reading tablature from Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* of 1678.¹⁰⁶

Published in 1667, Thomas Swain's *Directions for the Flagellet* is the earliest extant flageolet tutor, although the literature suggests that the first edition of Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* appeared in 1661.¹⁰⁷ Only six pages of Swain's work survive. The frontispiece is identical to that of the later editions of *The Pleasant Companion*,

¹⁰⁵ See subsequent paragraphs for further comments on this tutor and Appendix 2 for bibliographic data.

¹⁰⁶ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.12, p.6.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Swain, *Directions for the Flagellet with 20 severall [sic] Lessons fitted to the same Instrument* (London: 1667...); Appendix 2, tutor 1.

suggesting that may have been copied from an early (lost) edition of that work.¹⁰⁸ The surviving pages include the title-page, a lengthy introduction, instruction on holding the instrument, time values, and an explanation of tablature, ties and pinched notes. The introduction reads:

The flagellet, being a very pleasant, spritely Instrument, and portable; is a very good Companion to divert malencholy [*sic*] But hetherto [*sic*] (for want of directions) it hath not been much used. To remove which impediment, I have completed this work; and present it to the world. This is sufficient to instruct the learner, for whom it is soly [*sic*] intended. If thou accept it, my further endeavour to serve thee will be obliged. (signed) Thomas Swain.

Although little survives of this tutor, the preface suggests that few tutors were extant in 1667 and that the portability of the instrument was considered significant, a matter emphasized by Samuel Pepys in his diaries.

The Pleasant Companion may be considered the archetype of seventeenth-century flageolet tutors and was written by Thomas Greeting.¹⁰⁹ Greeting's date of birth is not known, but in 1662 he was appointed musician-in-ordinary (without fee) to Charles II, playing the violin and subsequently becoming a member of the Twenty-four Violins. He also played the sackbut and had a flourishing teaching practice, including teaching the flageolet to Samuel Pepys and his wife. Greeting died in a shipwreck in 1682.¹¹⁰ The first edition of *The Pleasant Companion* (of which no copies survive) was reputedly published in 1661, the evidence for this being derived from Andrew Deakin's *Musical Bibliography*, which cites *The Pleasant Companion: or new Lessons or*

¹⁰⁸ There is no surviving copy of the 1661 edition of *The Pleasant Companion*.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Greeting, *The Pleasant Companion: or New Lessons and Instructions for the Flagelet. The Third Edition. Enlarged. By Thomas Greeting, Gent...* (London: 1678, 1682); Appendix 2, tutors 2 and 3.

¹¹⁰ The Pleasant Companion – the Flageolet Site, www.flageolet.com/biographies/greeting.php/ (accessed 26 September 2014).

*Instructions for the Flagelet, without the help of a Teacher. Thomas Greeting 1661.*¹¹¹

Two editions (1678 and 1682) were available for study, and other editions are listed in the footnote.¹¹² Samuel Pepys bought a copy of *The Pleasant Companion* on 16 April 1668 for the price of one shilling.¹¹³ The 1678 and 1682 editions are similar in content, the later publication including additional tunes. The frontispiece is of interest, showing a seated man playing a (French) flageolet, holding the instrument using two fingers of each hand as described in the text, the little finger of his right hand supporting the instrument. His music is placed on a table and notated in tablature.¹¹⁴ On the table lies what appears to be a slightly larger flageolet, and a stylized viol or violin with flame holes hangs on the wall. It may be that the size of the flageolet on the table is distorted, for the quality of the art-work leaves much to be desired; if it is in fact, larger than the player's instrument, it lends support to the idea of flageolets in different sizes.



Figure 9. Frontispiece from *The Pleasant Companion*, 1682.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Andrew Deakin, *Musical Bibliography: A Catalogue of the Musical Works (Historical, Theoretical, Polemical, etc.) Published in England During the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (Birmingham: Stockley and Sabin, 1892), 16.

¹¹² 1672 (GB-Cu); 1675 (GB-Ob, GB-Cu); 1678 (GB-Lbl); 1680 (US-NYp, GB-Cu); 1682 (GB-Lbl, US-Wc); 1688 (GB-Ge); 1695 (GB-Cu); *BUCEM* also suggests a 1683 edition, but this is an error arising from the interpolation of an extract from *The Pleasant Companion* of 1675 into an edition of *Youth's Delight* of 1683; see Appendix 2, tutor 4 (GB-Lbl, K.4.a.20).

¹¹³ Samuel Pepys, *The Diaries of Samuel Pepys*, ed. by R. C. Latham and W. Matthews, vol.9 (London Bell, 1970–83), 164, (16 April 1668).

¹¹⁴ 'Dot-way' is a contemporary term for tablature.

¹¹⁵ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.12., frontispiece.

The text of the title-page is similar in both editions: the 1678 copy is described as the third edition, and both were printed for John Playford, who sold the tutor.¹¹⁶

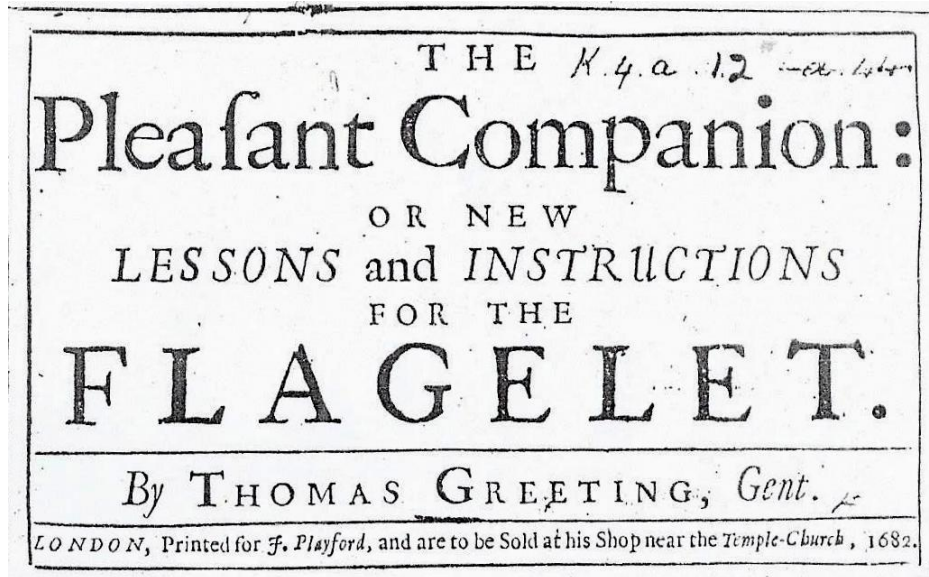


Figure 10. Title-page from *The Pleasant Companion*, 1682.¹¹⁷

The introductory paragraph outlines the author's intentions:

Instructions for playing on the FLAGELET

The *Flagelet* is an instrument that may well be termed *A Pleasant Companion*, for it may be carried in the Pocket, and so without any trouble bear one company either by Land or by Water. It hath this advantage over other instruments in that it is always in Tune, which they are not: and for those whose *Genius* leads them to *Musick* I know not a more *easie* and *pleasant Instrument*: And though at first it may seem *difficult* to Beginners, yet with a little practice of a few Hours, observing the following Directions, and a little assistance of a Skilled Master, the knowledge hereof may be readily attained unto.

It should be recalled that the standard seventeenth-century flageolet was only 110–120mm long and could easily fit into a coat pocket: the comment ‘always in Tune’ must

¹¹⁶ John Playford (1623–86/7) was an important London music publisher during the second half of the seventeenth century. He is perhaps best known for his *The Dancing Master* of 1651, and was succeeded on his death by his son Henry.

¹¹⁷ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.12., title page.

refer to the necessity of tuning a stringed instrument before playing, avoided on the flageolet or recorder.

Greeting goes on to describe two methods of holding the flageolet (with either three fingers of the left hand and one of the right, or two of each hand), before discussing playing in terms of breathing, finger positions and a basic scale. He indicates that the notes and fingerings are shown on the six-line tablature, the lowest line giving the sixth-finger note; the dots placed perpendicularly on the six lines indicate the tone-holes to be closed. A note below this may be obtained by partially closing the bell. Greeting gives instruction on the use of the pinched upper thumb-hole for the purpose of obtaining the second octave and the treatise indicates a compass of two octaves from (notated) g', but it should be noted that the music is transposed down two octaves.¹¹⁸

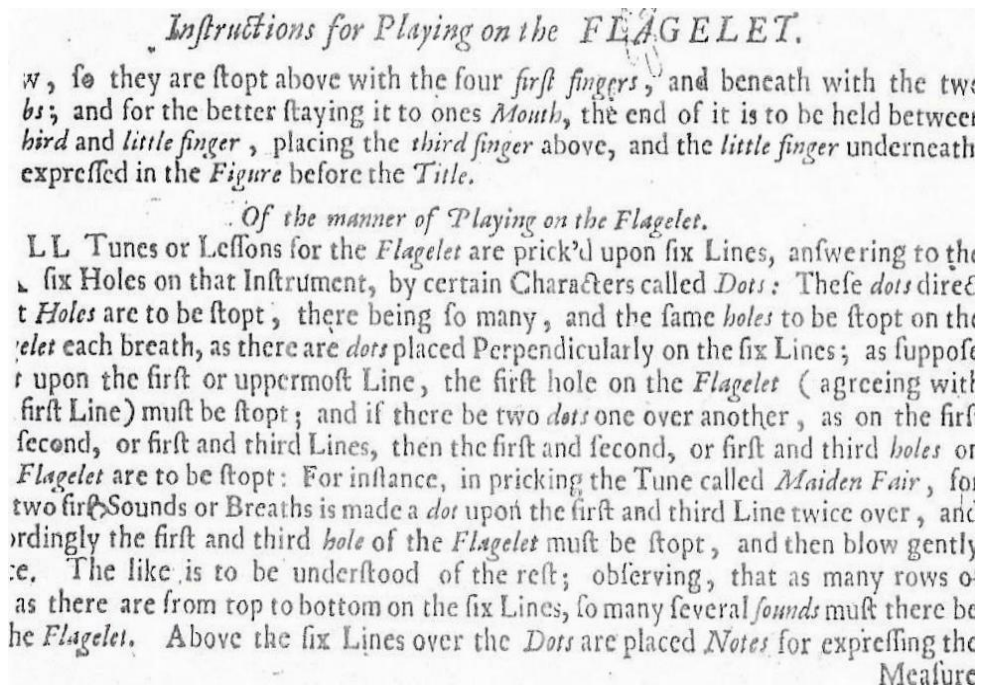


Figure 11. Directions from *The Pleasant Companion*, 1682.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ See comments on tablature notation above; the sixth-finger D is also found in Mersenne.

¹¹⁹ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.12., p.1.

Time values are discussed with note lengths between a semibreve and a semiquaver being explained. The time values are placed in conventional (staff) notation above the tablature (see Music example 1). Graces* are indicated by a comma-like figure, its position on the staff indicating a beat, shake or slur and three basic ‘graces’ are described — the beat, the shake and the slur — and the appropriate notation indicated.

Of the several Graces on the Flagelet.

In the former Example of *Graces*, the Mark or Character of a *Beat* and *Shake* is all one. In Playing them is this difference: When the Mark is on the same Line even with the *dot*, then you are to lift up that finger and shake, and lay it down again before you play another, 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 is for a *slur* or *slide*, that is, when two Notes are tyed together by a *crooked dash* underneath, then those two Notes must be express'd with one Breath. There is another much like this, which concludes with a *Beat*, and is play'd thus: Hit the first Note with the tip of your tongue, and continuing your Breath, take up the second and bring on the first *beat*ing.

Figure 12. Graces from *The Pleasant Companion*, 1682.¹²⁰

It is evident that such ornamentation was of considerable importance in performing late seventeenth-century music, otherwise it would be unlikely to be given prominence in a tutor intended for beginners on the instrument.

‘A table of the Notes flat and sharp Ascending on the Violin and on the Flagelet’ indicates the chromatic scale for the flageolet in tablature, whilst the notes for the violin are given in staff notation. It is appropriate to reflect that tablature was designed to simplify the flageolet for beginners who were unaccustomed to staff notation, although the tablature notational system was destined to pass into history within a few years.¹²¹

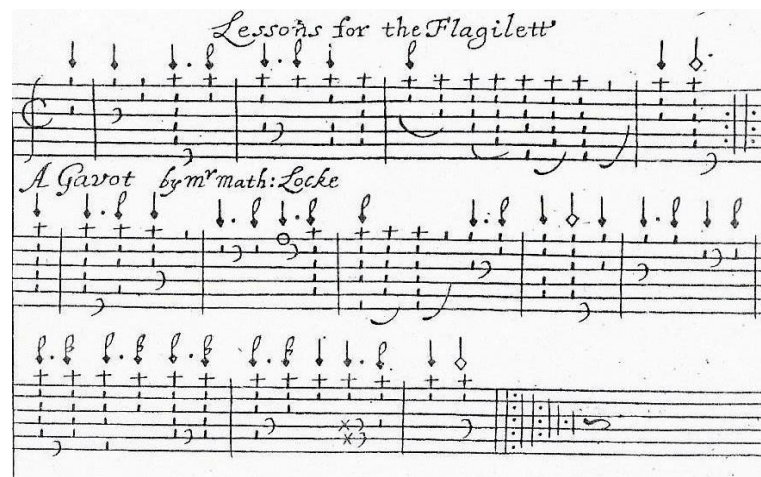
¹²⁰ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.12., p. 3.

¹²¹ Around the year 1808, the English flageolet maker William Bainbridge developed a simplified notation for beginners on the flageolet, but this bore no resemblance to seventeenth-century tablature. See MacMillan, ‘The Flageolet in England 1800–1900’, 83.



Figure 13. Pinched notes; shakes and beats; scale for violin and flageolet from *The Pleasant Companion*, 1678.¹²²

Both editions conclude with an extensive collection of tunes (described as ‘lessons’ and written in tablature) for solo flageolet. An example of a gavotte by Matthew Locke (c.1630–77) is shown in below:



Music example 1. A tune from *The Pleasant Companion*, 1682, showing notes in tablature (below) with time values in staff notation (above).¹²³

Youth's Delight on the Flagelet appeared in three parts and several editions, the earliest known being published in 1683, and the last in 1697.¹²⁴ There are no known surviving

¹²² ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.12., p.4.

¹²³ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.12., p.36.

¹²⁴ Anon., *The Second Part of Youth's Delight on the Flagelet, or the young Gentlewoman's Recreation, being a collection of Songs, Tunes and Ayres, composed of several able Masters, and set to the Flagelet. By the Author of the first part...* (London: 1683, 1690, 1697); Appendix 2, tutors 4, 5, and 6.

copies of the first part, but I was able to study the ninth edition of the second part (c.1690) and the eleventh edition of the third part, held in the British Library.¹²⁵ The British Library also holds an additional version which contains interpolated pages from a 1675 edition of *The Pleasant Companion*. A further version listed in Edward Arber's *The Term Catalogues* contains a variant of the title page and is dated 1683:

The Second Part of Youth's Delight on the Flagelet, or The Young Gentlewoman's Recreation; being a Collection of Songs, Tunes, and Ayres, composed by several able Masters, and set to the Flagelet. By the Author of the First Part. In which book are Lessons made on purpose to teach Birds; with several Preludes or Flourishes, for the help of those who have but little Fancy.

It is significant to note that the instrument was recommended for ladies (who more commonly played keyboard or stringed instruments) and that it could be used to teach birds. This aspect of the instrument's use will be discussed below under the title *The Bird Fancier's Delight*. The complete volume appears to be lost.¹²⁶ The second and third parts of *Youth's Delight* (tutors 5 and 6) are very similar, with identical frontispieces illustrating a man playing a (French) flageolet in a pastoral setting.



Figure 14. Frontispiece from *Youth's Delight*, 1697.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 4; GB-Lbl K.4.a.8.; K.4.a.7.

¹²⁶ Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues*, 1668–1709 A. D., vol. 2 (London: Arber, 1903), 4.

¹²⁷ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.8., frontispiece.

A flageolet is illustrated in the text, with the tone-hole numbers marked, and the author notes that it is possible to play with either the right hand or left hand uppermost. The instructional material is less extensive than that in *The Pleasant Companion* (two pages as opposed to four or five). Nevertheless, the method of holding the instrument, an explanation of tablature notation, time values and basic graces are incorporated; the sixth-finger note is given as g'. The tunes are confined within two octaves and are given in tablature with time values in staff notation, and are similar to those in Greeting's tutor.

The version of *Youth's Delight* catalogued in the British Library as K.4.a.20. contains interpolations from a 1675 edition of *The Pleasant Companion*. The Library Catalogue lists this work as *The Second Part of Youth's Delight* (as above) and notes:

Music K.4.a.20 imperfect, wanting the title page and a leaf or leaves at the end of the "Directions". The title has been supplied from The Term Catalogues. A Title Page reading "The Pleasant Companion: or new instructions for the flagelet. By Thomas Greeting," and a final leaf from the "Directions", have been erroneously supplied from a 1675 edition of that work. The blank verso of the thirteenth page of music bears two MS monograms of Samuel Pepys in his autograph.

Examination of the material confirms the comments in the catalogue. However, the phrase given in the catalogue 'the young Gentlewoman's Recreation' is not derived from this item but from a previous entry in Arber's *The Term Catalogues* and in this respect both Portrell (who includes the phrase in his index, D90) and the catalogue are in error. The preface begins 'The *Flagelet* is a very pleasant instrument, and may properly be called *Youth's Delight*, by reason that it may be carried in their Pocket...'. The phrase 'Youth's Delight' does not occur in the other editions or titles of *The Pleasant Companion*. The instructional material in K.4.a.20. is more comprehensive than that in the other editions of *Youth's Delight* described above, and mainly derived

from *The Pleasant Companion*. The presence of Pepys' monogram in a publication dating from 1683 sheds interesting light on Pepys' interest in the flageolet, and suggests that he continued to play on the instrument into the 1680s, long after he had discovered the recorder in 1668.¹²⁸

Overall, *Youth's Delight* is a much less comprehensive tutor, but the references to the use of the flageolet by ladies and in teaching birds to sing are of value in contextualizing the place of the instrument in society.

The Innocent Recreation was the last flageolet tutor to be published in the seventeenth century.¹²⁹ The relatively brief text (at least, in comparison with *The Pleasant Companion*) gives the customary instruction in holding the instrument, tablature, and time values, and gives a two-octave ascending diatonic scale. There is no chromatic scale, tablature is used throughout, and two pages are given over to an explanation of gracing. The tunes are uncomplicated in melodic and rhythmic style.

Warner lists four tutors which are, at the time of writing, unlocated but are nevertheless of academic interest.¹³⁰ Tutor 8 (*Directiones ad pulsationem elegantis et penetrantis instrumenti, vulgo flageolet dicti, seu nova lectionem ad instrumentum flageolet*) is the only publication to be given a Latin title.¹³¹ It has been suggested that the Latin work was the precursor of Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion*; Christopher Welch notes that the Belgian musicologist François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871) suggested that Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* was a translation of an earlier Latin publication,

¹²⁸ I am indebted to Isobel Clarke for this observation; on Pepys, see this chapter, 84–5.

¹²⁹ *The Innocent Recreation, Being A Choice Collection of the Newest and best Tunes for ye Flagelet Together with plain and easy Directions how to play on it. The Second eddition [sic]* (London: 1699); Appendix 2, tutor 7.

¹³⁰ These tutors are listed as 'unlocated' in Warner's *An Annotated Bibliography*, 1967; Appendix 2, tutors 8, 9, 10, and 11.

¹³¹ *Directions for playing that elegant and fashionable instrument commonly called the flageolet*, trans. by MacMillan.

Directiones ad pulsationem, but Welch himself thought that the Latin version was a translation of Greeting.¹³² *Socius iucundus* would be an adequate Latin translation of *The Pleasant Companion* and the remainder of the title (new lessons for the instrument the flageolet) is written in the style of seventeenth-century instrumental tutors. The word ‘flageolet’ does not occur in the Latin tongue. I consider that this is most probably a seventeenth-century Latin translation of an English text with the interpolation of the word ‘flageolet’, but, in the absence of the primary source material, a firm conclusion cannot be drawn.

Tutor 9 (*Directions to Learn to Play upon that Pleasant and Spritely instrument, the Flagellet*, 1670) may be a second part of Swain’s tutor (tutor 1).¹³³ The unusual spelling of ‘flagellet’ lends support to Warner’s hypothesis in that ‘flagellet’ also occurs in Swain’s tutor.

Of the remaining two tutors listed in Appendix 2, it need only be observed that tutor 9 is a further late seventeenth-century tutor which is at present unlocated, and tutor 10 is an unlocated version of *Youth’s Delight*, c.1682. Tutor 11 (Tollitt’s *Directions to play the French Flageolet*, 1694) is notable for the use of the appellation ‘French’ in relation to the flageolet. The term ‘French’ flageolet only came into general use in the early nineteenth century in order to distinguish the original (French) flageolet from the English flageolet.

Pedagogic material in *The Bird Fancier’s Delight*

The Bird Fancier’s Delight is primarily a collection of tunes which were taught to birds of several species; the bird’s cage was covered and the flageolet (or recorder) player

¹³² Christopher Welch, *Six Lectures on the Recorder and other Flutes in relation to Literature* (London: Oxford University Press, 1911), 61.

¹³³ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 1.

played the tune until the bird learnt to mimic the music.¹³⁴ Stanley Godman's 1954 amalgamation of the two publications by Meares (1717) and Walsh (later, c.1730) has been used as the source of reference regarding the introductory pedagogical material. The history of the volume and the tunes themselves will be discussed under the heading 'Repertoire for the flageolet'.

A lengthy introduction precedes a chart in tablature (with accompanying *solfège** and staff notation) of an ascending natural (diatonic) scale from g' to f'', with directions as to how to read the tablature.

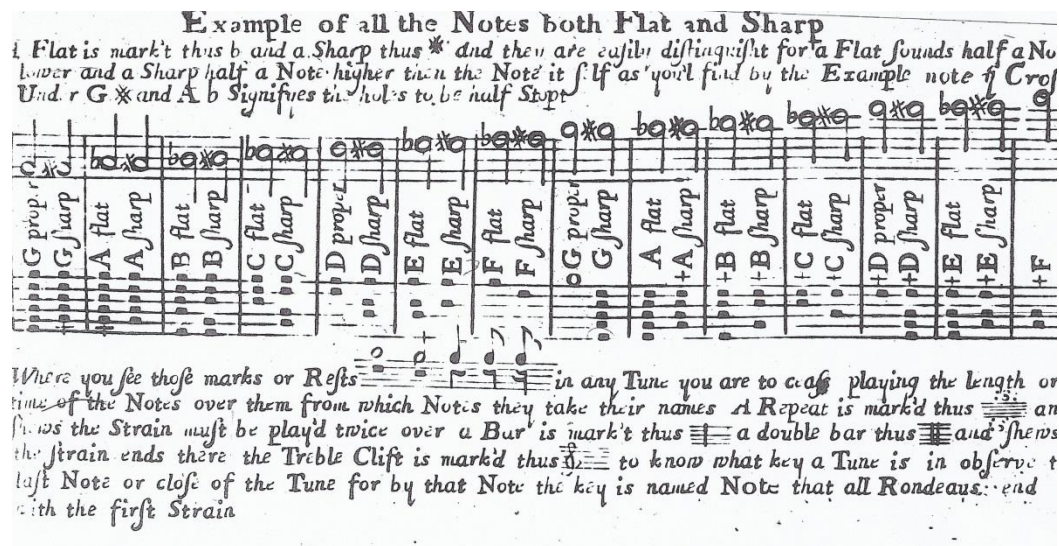


Figure 15. Ascending scale in tablature and staff notation from *The Bird Fancier's Delight*. An enharmonic distinction is applied to the note names given between the staff and tablature notational systems.¹³⁵

The natural scale is followed by a chromatic scale, the notes being described in conventional terminology rather than *solfège*, and the time values of rests are also given. Page 5 gives instruction on time values, and pages 6, 7 and 8 are occupied with an extensive discussion on gracing.

¹³⁴ *The Bird Fancier's Delight*, ed. Godman. Appendix 3, item 6.

¹³⁵ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.1., p.4.

Whereas the pedagogic material in *The Bird Fancier's Delight* is entirely in accord with previous tutors, it is interesting to reflect that its first (now lost) publication was as late as 1708 and the last known date of publication of a specific flageolet tutor was *The Innocent Recreation* of 1699. By the late seventeenth century, tablature notation was in rapid decline and it is perhaps surprising to find it reproduced in the 1717 publication of *The Bird Fancier's Delight*. Some of the tunes were written in tablature, but the preface to the Walsh edition (1730) bears witness to the decline of that notation: 'Tis still in memory, the old manner of playing on the flute [recorder] which was by the way of Dots, a memorial of which remains in the Gamut for that instrument to this time, but it being so impracticable...'.¹³⁶ I consider it most likely that many flageolet players (and also recorder players, for whom *The Bird Fancier's Delight* was also intended) would have advanced to staff notation by the eighteenth century and that the incorporation of tablature was a relic of historical practice.

2.4. Repertoire for the flageolet

Although the instrument is mentioned in the text of four plays dating from the 1660s and 1670s, there is little surviving music for the flageolet in England from between 1660 and 1800.¹³⁷ As an amateur's instrument, this is perhaps not surprising, as many players would have used the extensive tunes given in the tutors and subsequently played popular and folk melodies. As a 'double octave' instrument, the flageolet would not have been used to any great extent in either the chamber or orchestral repertoire,

¹³⁶ quoted in Godman's edition, iv.

¹³⁷ David Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540–1740', PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1983, n8, 339: the plays are *The Slighted Maid* (Sir Robert Stapylton, 1663); *The Chorus of Crowns* (Edward Howard, 1669); *The Roman General* (John Dover, not performed); *The Woman Turn'd Bully* (anon., 1675).

although a few examples of such music have survived and are discussed below. Apart from *The Bird Fancier's Delight*, most of the surviving repertoire consists of short pieces dating mainly from the seventeenth century. Meierott, in *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, makes the perceptive comment 'It seems as though the flageolet's historical development lies outside mainstream art music and for the most part outside multi-part instrumental music'.¹³⁸

David Lindley's paper in the *Galpin Society Journal* of 1978 describes a remarkable manuscript emanating from Loseley House near Guildford in Surrey.¹³⁹ The manuscript appears to have been written by Mary Hendley (later Mary Loseley) and cannot be dated with certainty, but the earliest date for its composition would be 1650. It is likely that the work was completed by 1689. The manuscript measures 15cm x 21cm with music in six-line tablature which is inscribed on odd-numbered pages and there are also two pages with music written in both tablature and six-line staff notation. The volume includes some 40 tunes, of which Lindley has identified seven. Inconsistencies occur in the rhythmical notation in the pieces written in both notational systems, and Lindley notes that '...the writer of the tablature takes a very cavalier attitude to rhythmical notation'. It is certainly possible that these inconsistencies arise from music being transcribed by an amateur musician, possibly Mary Hendley (Loseley) herself. The Loseley manuscript dates from a period when the flageolet was a popular amateur's instrument and indicates the use of tablature in the domestic as well as the commercial environment. It is, in my view, unlikely to date from much before 1660, the year King Charles II returned from France, importing French culture, music and instruments.

¹³⁸ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 54.

¹³⁹ David Lindley, 'A 17th-Century Flageolet Tablature at Guildford', *Galpin Society Journal*, 31 (1978), 91–94.

This manuscript is significant in that it is the only surviving manuscript — at least to my knowledge — of late seventeenth-century English flageolet music. It also shows the amateur, domestic use of the instrument and its use by women. It should be recalled that the preface to the 1683 version of *Youth's Delight* contained the phrase 'or the young gentlewoman's recreation'. The Loseley manuscript provides contemporary evidence for the practice.

Apollo's Banquet was published in several parts and editions from 1669 to 1713.¹⁴⁰ The publication is named after Apollo, the Greek god of music, poetry and the arts, and although primarily a self-instructor and tune-book for the violin, it contains several references to other instruments, notably the flute (recorder) and flageolet. The tunes themselves are straightforward, being short melodies derived — as the title pages suggest — from currently popular and fashionable melodies, which themselves reflect contemporary taste. The compass of the parts lies between d' and c'', the notes above a'' featuring but rarely. However, with regard to the study of the flageolet (and recorder) in the late seventeenth century, the various editions contain differing comments on the instrument and its notation. The final version, published by Walsh in 1713, omits any reference to the flageolet although it incorporates the note 'Most of the Tunes being in the Compass of the FLUTE'.¹⁴¹

I was able to study the 1678, 1691 and 1693 versions.¹⁴² The 1678 publication contains a frontispiece showing a violinist playing whilst seated, but two stylized recorders hang on a wall behind him. The preface contains the remark '...all of which Tunes may properly be Played on the Flagelet by such as are skill'd in the knowledge of Pricking

¹⁴⁰ *BUCEM*, 789; Appendix 3, items 3 and 4.

¹⁴¹ GB-Lbl K.11.e.13.

¹⁴² 2nd. edn, 1678, (GB-Lbl K.5.b.30.); 2nd. book, 1691, (GB-Lbl K.4.b.22.); 1st. book, 1693, (GB-Lbl K.4.b.22.).

Tunes by Notes', thus implicitly excluding those who only read tablature. The flageolet tutors published in the latter part of the seventeenth century contain instructions and tunes written in tablature but *Apollo's Banquet* testifies that there were at least some flageolet players who could play from staff notation. The 1691 preface observes that 'The treble-Violin and Flute are at present the Only Instruments in Fashion' but goes on to say that '[the] Tunes [are] proper to these Instruments, and also to the Flagelet'. In the 1693 edition, the publisher Playford writes, in a publication primarily intended for the violin, 'and also to the *Flute or Recorder*' and adds:

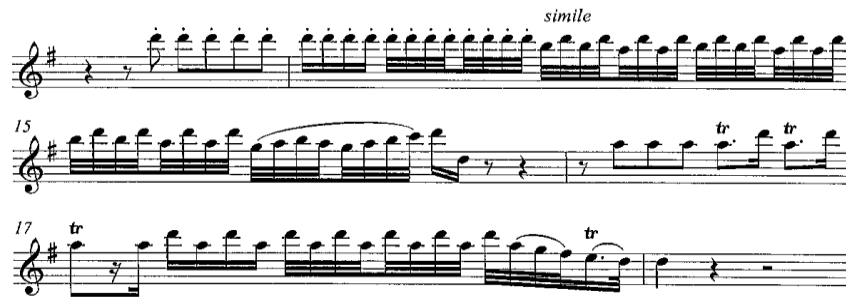
I have in this Seventh Edition left out the TUNES which are already Printed in my Book, called The Country Dancing Master and in their place have added several new ones, with divers new Scotch Tunes: all of which may properly be Played also on the Flute or Flagelet, by such as are Skilled in the Knowledge of Pricking Tunes by Notes.

With *Apollo's Banquet* being primarily intended for violinists, it is hardly surprising that flageolet players were not accommodated by the insertion of tunes in tablature, but it is further evidence that some players of the instrument would have been familiar with staff notation. It is curious that, in the 1693 edition, Playford writes of the 'flute or recorder' for at this time in England the word 'flute' usually implied 'recorder'. The omission of the flageolet from the 1713 edition lends support to the concept that the flageolet was very much in a state of obsolescence by that date, despite Walsh and Meares publications of *The Bird Fancier's Delight* some four years later.

George Frederick Handel (1685–1759) employed the flageolet to imitate bird-song in the aria 'Augelleti, che cantate' in the 1711 production of his opera *Rinaldo*. The soprano soloist was accompanied by a flageolet and two alto recorders; during the performance, live sparrows were released on the stage.¹⁴³ The autograph specifies

¹⁴³ Neapolitan dialect, translated 'How the little birds sing'; Act 1, scene 6, no. 11.

flageoletto, although for the 1731 performance Handel specified *flauto piccolo*, at that date implying an octave recorder.¹⁴⁴ The opening bars of the flageolet part are shown below:



Music example 2. ‘Augelleti che cantate’, flageolet obbligato.

The flageolet was also used to imitate bird-song by Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752) in the masque *Venus and Adonis* of 1715, where a florid obbligato for a French flageolet in A accompanies the aria ‘Chirpy Warblers, tune your voices’.¹⁴⁵ In the final decades of the century, William Shield (1748–1829) wrote a few bars for the flageolet in a comic song in his opera *Fontainebleau* (1782), wherein the singers mimic the sound of various instruments and Samuel Arnold (1740–1802) included a ‘bird imitation’ passage in *The Children in the Wood* (1793).¹⁴⁶

The Bird Fancier’s Delight

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both recorders and flageolets were employed to imitate bird song, classic examples being Handel’s use of the flageolet in *Rinaldo* and the recorder in ‘Hush, ye pretty warbling quire’ from *Acis and Galatea* of 1718. It should be noted, however, that the use of the instrument to teach birds to sing is

¹⁴⁴ HAA* Serie II, Band 4/1, (1993); HWV* 7a; Appendix 3, item 2.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix 3, item 5.

¹⁴⁶ Appendix 3, items 7 and 2.

distinct from its use as an imitator of bird song as described in *The Bird Fancier's Delight*.

The first reference regarding the use of the flageolet to teach caged birds to sing is found in an edition of *Youth's Delight* of 1683 and the last occurs as late as 1844.¹⁴⁷

First appearing in 1708, *The Bird Fancier's Delight* contains tunes to be taught to caged birds and its importance in outlining the social context of the instrument demands its inclusion. The introduction reads:

The Flagelet Reviv'd; or, The Bird Fancier's Delight: Being a New Plain and Easy Introduction to Playing on the Flagelet, by removing the old Impracticable Way of Playing by Dots into Plain and Easy Gamut Rules; by which the Practitioner will not only attain to Play the most difficult things on the Flagelet the first time, but likewise will give them a knowledge on the Flute and any that plays on the Flute will immediately by this Method to be able to perform on the Flagelet. The Tunes proper delightful and pleasant for the Instrument, all fairly engraven.¹⁴⁸

The custom of teaching caged birds to sing became popular in the late seventeenth century, not only in England but also, as Meierott has noted, in Germany and France: it is hardly surprising that the flageolet was selected for this purpose in view of its high pitch and bird-like timbre.¹⁴⁹ The title page (overleaf) of the Walsh edition of c.1730 outlines the purpose of the book.

¹⁴⁷ *The Saturday Magazine*, 24 (1844), 69–71, in discussing the goldfinch, noted that ‘with attention on the part of the teacher, it may be made to repeat tunes from the flageolet’.

¹⁴⁸ *Daily Courant*, 15 December 1708: published by Walsh, Hare and Randall.

¹⁴⁹ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 57, 62–3; see Chapter 8, section 8.2.

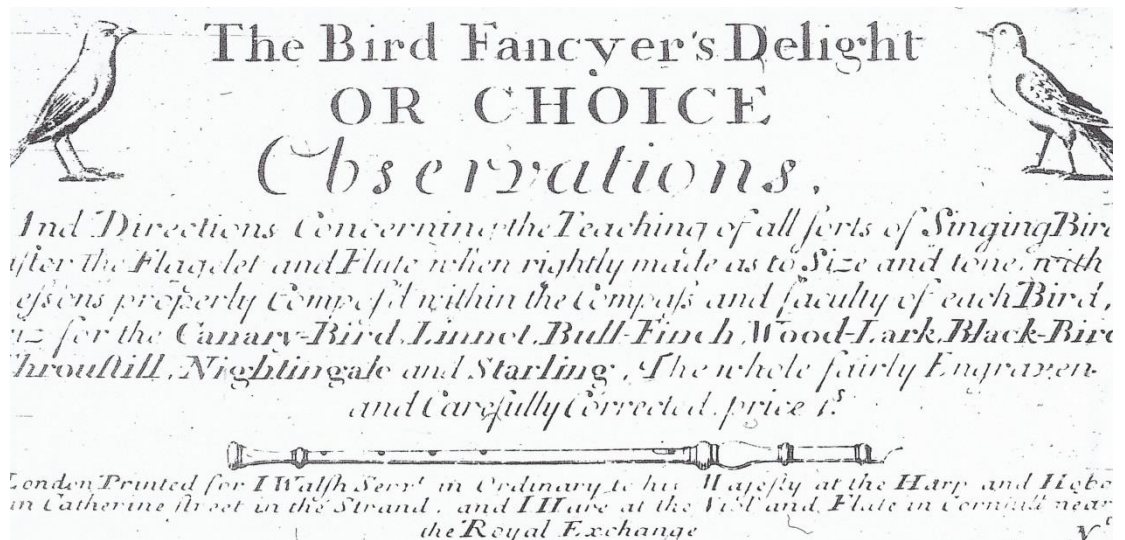


Figure 16. Title-page of *The Bird Fancier's Delight*, c.1730.¹⁵⁰

The first version of *The Bird Fancier's Delight* was published by Walsh, Hare and Randall in 1708, bearing the title *The Flageolet Reviv'd; or, The Bird Fancier's Delight*, and advertised in the *Daily Courant* of 15 December 1708.¹⁵¹ No copies survive. Richard Meares and John Walsh published subsequent editions, the latter 'probably only slightly later' (suggesting shortly after 1717) than Meares, at least according to Godman.¹⁵² Both were advertised in the *Post Boy* in 1717 but the surviving Walsh edition dates from c.1730. This publication does not appear in newspaper advertisements.

Warner also cites the Walsh edition of c.1708, which has an identical title page to the Meares edition apart from details of the imprint, and it is probable that the Meares edition is a later pirated edition of *The Flageolet Reviv'd* of c.1708.¹⁵³ Smith posits the

¹⁵⁰ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.1., title-page; 'Throuthill' is 'throstle' or, in modern English, 'thrush'.

¹⁵¹ Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works published by John Walsh*, 90; listed in Warner *An Annotated Bibliography* as tutor 43.

¹⁵² Godman, preface to *The Bird Fancier's Delight*, ii; Smith (*op.cit.*, 148) notes that Meares advertised in the *Post Boy* on 7–9 May and 1–4 June 1717, Walsh advertising in the same journal on 20–22 June of the same year.

¹⁵³ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 9–11, tutors 43, 48, and 49.

question has to whether Walsh pirated Meares or vice-versa: in the light of the 1708 publication ascribed to Walsh, it would seem probable that Meares was the pirate.

The tunes are brief; some are taken from popular melodies of the day and arranged specifically for different species of bird. Those for the bullfinch are in the key of C minor (described in the original editions as 'c flat'), those for the canary are in F major, those for the linnet are in C major and those for the woodlark in D minor ('d flat') but these patterns are not rigidly adhered to. The Walsh edition also gives short flourishes in these keys for each bird. The compass of the tunes lies between g' (notated) and e''', and would therefore lie comfortably on a flageolet in G or on a sopranino recorder in F. The Walsh edition of 1730 includes 41 tunes, whereas Meares (1717) gives 30, including two for the canary not found in Walsh. In Godman's 1954 edition, all the tunes have been amalgamated.



Music example 3. Tunes for the Bull Finch and Canary Bird from *The Bird Fancyer's Delight* from the Walsh edition c.1730 showing staff notation and tablature.¹⁵⁴

In summary, *The Bird Fancyer's Delight* provides an interesting insight into both the use and the decline of the flageolet, an apparent attempt at a revival in the early

¹⁵⁴ ©The British Library Board, K.4.a.1., p. 7.

eighteenth century and the progressive decline of tablature. Indeed, the use of tablature at this date appears anachronistic and I have not encountered its use for either the flageolet or the recorder later in the eighteenth century. The publishers of *The Bird Fancier's Delight*, however, do provide for the use of the recorder (here named flute) as an alternative instrument.

2.5. The flageolet in context 1660–1800

There is no doubt that, throughout its history, the flageolet has been predominantly an amateur's instrument and there are only occasional references to the instrument in English newspapers published between 1660 and 1800.¹⁵⁵ In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there is evidence of its sporadic use in the theatre and, in these circumstances, the instrument is likely to have been played by professionals who doubled on other wind instruments. Such practice was commonplace; for example, most orchestral recorder parts were played by the oboists. The diaries of Samuel Pepys are widely quoted in the literature in respect of the use of the flageolet by an accomplished amateur musician, and the professional violinist John Banister is known to have played the flageolet in concerts. The following paragraphs discuss illustrative excerpts from Pepys' diary, Roger North's comments on Banister's playing, and references to the use of the instrument in the theatres.

Professional flageolet players

There is little contemporary evidence for the use of the flageolet by professionals in the seventeenth century and, apart from the very occasional orchestral use of the instrument, in the eighteenth. The professional violinist John Banister (1624/5–79) is

¹⁵⁵ Girdham, 'The Flageolet Player: the Ultimate Amateur Musician'; MacMillan, 'The Flageolet in England 1800–1900'.

mentioned by the lawyer, biographer, and amateur musician Roger North (1651–1734) in his *The Musical Grammarian* of 1672 as one who ‘did wonders upon a flageolet to a thro base’ at a concert at Banister’s own house in White Friars in 1672.¹⁵⁶ David Lasocki and Peter Holman note the use of ‘flageoletts’ in music for dances in John Crowne’s masque *Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph* (music by Nicholas Staggins, Master of the King’s Music) which was performed in 1675.¹⁵⁷ Lasocki suggests — I believe correctly — that the writer may have confused the terminology in respect of flageolets, as recorders were used for other pieces in the masque.¹⁵⁸ He illustrates a section of a minuet, which falls comfortably within the compass of a recorder trio of two altos and a basset except for one C in the third part (written in the bass clef) which could easily be transposed an octave higher without substantially changing the piece. There is no evidence for the existence of flageolets of a size capable of playing this note in late seventeenth-century England. Also in 1675, Thomas Shadwell’s *Psyche* used flageolets in two choruses and the instruments were used in Duffet’s *Beauty’s Triumph* of 1676, together with recorders.¹⁵⁹ Early in the eighteenth century, Durfey’s *Wonders in the Sun; or, The Kingdom of the Birds* was given at The Queen’s Theatre (1706), and, in the

¹⁵⁶ Roger North, *The Musical Grammarian* (1728), ed. by Mary Chan, and Jamie C. Kassler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 264–5; Banister —a violinist in the King’s Band—is credited with being the first to introduce public concerts in England at his house at Whitefriars near the Temple in 1672. North writes ‘There was very good musick, for Banister found means to procure the best hands in towne, and for some voices to come and performe there, and there wanted no variety of humour, for Banister himself (inter alia) did wonders upon a flageolet to a thro base, and several members had their solos’. Biographical details of Banister are taken from *New Grove II*, vol. II, 658–659, s.v. Banister (Peter Holman).

¹⁵⁷ Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England, 318–9; Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers. The Violin at the English Court 1540–1690*, 347; this (and the other performances listed in this paragraph) may be found in *The London Stage 1660–1800. A Calendar of plays, entertainments and afterpieces, together with casts, box receipts and contemporary comment compiled from the playbills, newspapers and theatrical diaries of the period*. Part 1, ed. by William Van Lennep (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1960–68), pp.228, 229.

¹⁵⁸ It is suggested that the writer used ‘flageolets’ to refer to recorders, which were beginning to come into favour following the arrival of James Paisible and other players from France in 1673. Four recorder players are listed in the band accompanying the masque (*The London Stage*, 1, 228).

¹⁵⁹ Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England, 325, 334; *The London Stage*, 1, 239, 238.

course of the opera, ‘A Symphony of flutes and flageolets’ is heard.¹⁶⁰ The use of the flageolet by Handel in his *Rinaldo* of 1711 has already been noted, and it is of interest that both Durfey and Handel used flageolets together with recorders in ‘bird’ scenes.

The performance of a concerto for flageolet by Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752) during a performance of *Camilla* 3 July 1717 at Lincoln’s Inn Fields Theatre is documented, but the music is no longer extant.¹⁶¹

John Banister excepted, there is no hard evidence that the flageolet players were professionals, but, following the custom of the period, they were most likely players of other woodwind instruments who doubled on the flageolet or recorder as required. Unfortunately the players are not named.

Amateur flageolet players

As an instrument with little surviving solo repertoire beyond that contained in the tutors, and having no substantial orchestral role, it has to be concluded that the flageolet was essentially an amateur’s instrument. Its portability would commend it to the gentleman amateur who wished to while away a few minutes or hours, but its very high pitch rendered it almost useless as a domestic ensemble instrument. Writing in 1776, Sir John Hawkins comments on players of the recorder (here called the Flûte a bec [*sic*]) and the flageolet:

...those instruments on which a moderate degree of proficiency might be attained with little labour and application and these seem to have been the Flûte a bec and the flajelet. The latter of these was for the most part the amusement of boys; it was also used for the purpose of teaching birds, more particularly the

¹⁶⁰ Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England, 415; *The London Stage*, part 2, ed. by Emmett L. Avery, 122.

¹⁶¹ *The London Stage*, 2, 456.

bullfinch, to sing tunes; for which reason one of the books of instruction for the flajelet now extant, is entitled the Bird-fancyer's Delight.¹⁶²

The Loseley manuscript, compiled by an amateur musician, has been discussed above, but for an account of the use of the flageolet by an enthusiastic amateur, however, it is appropriate to examine the diaries of Samuel Pepys, written between 1660 and 1669. Pepys was born in 1633 and died in 1707. By profession, he was a senior civil servant in the Admiralty and was at various times a Member of Parliament, President of the Royal Society, and Master of Trinity House. He was also an accomplished amateur musician, singing and playing the violin, viol, and lute as well as the flageolet and keyboard instruments. The diary sheds light on his day-to-day life and, of particular relevance to the present thesis, his use of the flageolet. It should be recalled that the instrument was very small and suitable for tucking into a coat pocket. The following extracts from the diary illuminate Pepys' use of his flageolet.¹⁶³

In 1660, Pepys played his flageolet at the Green Dragon on Lambeth Hill, where he both sang and played and was 'very merry'. He amused himself whilst travelling 'after that I came back by water, playing on my flageolette'.¹⁶⁴ In the same year, Pepys received instruction from Thomas Blagrave (cornett player, violinist and singer, c.1620–88).¹⁶⁵ Subsequently, Pepys' wife took up the instrument and was taught by Thomas Greeting, author of *The Pleasant Companion*, but Pepys observed that 'she hath lost time by not practising'; nevertheless he played with her a few months later.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶² Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 4, 480.

¹⁶³ Samuel Pepys, *The Diaries of Samuel Pepys*.

¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 16 January 1660, vol.1, p.19; 30 January 1660, vol.1, 33: it was common practice for Londoners to travel on the River Thames.

¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, 21 June 1660, vol. 1, 180.

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, 1 March 1667, vol. 8, 89; 30 July 1667, vol. 8, 369.

The same year, Pepys himself took lessons from Greeting and in 1668 bought a copy of *The Pleasant Companion* for the sum of one shilling.¹⁶⁷

In 1668, Pepys was introduced by the instrument maker Samuel Drumbleby (fl1665–p1668) to the concept of having two flageolets joined together: he had two instruments made but differently voiced so that he could play a melody on one and echo it on the other.¹⁶⁸ There is no suggestion that the two instruments were played simultaneously to produce simple harmony, as on the later double recorders (*flûtes d'accord*) or Bainbridge's nineteenth-century double flageolets. It should be recalled that echo passages are frequently encountered in late seventeenth-century English compositions. John Banister had dinner at Pepys' house in 1668, the year in which Pepys became entranced by the sound of the recorder, and the year in which Drumbleby supplied him with such an instrument.¹⁶⁹

Pepys' diary ceased after 1669: it would be interesting to know if he continued to play the flageolet after his enchantment with the recorder but the presence of his monogram on a copy of *Youth's Delight on the Flagelet* dated 1675 certainly suggests that he did so.¹⁷⁰ By the end of the following decade the recorder was waxing in popularity and the flageolet waning. Nevertheless, the diaries of Samuel Pepys give a useful indication of the role of the flageolet in one accomplished amateur's life. As Welch notes, the instrument appears to have been a constant companion of the diarist, who played it outdoors, in inns and taverns, on journeys and even at sea — verily, 'The Pleasant Companion'.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 31 July 1667, vol. 8, 369; 16 April 1668, vol. 9, 164.

¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 20 January 1668, vol. 9, 30.

¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 29 March 1668, vol.9, 38; 8 April 1668, vol. 9, 157.

¹⁷⁰ *Youth's Delight on the Flagelet*; see n120, 70.

¹⁷¹ Welch, *Six Lectures on the Recorder*, 62.

2.6. Overview

In England, the flageolet had a relatively brief existence as an amateur's instrument in the latter part of the seventeenth century but declined in use in favour of the recorder, a matter to which the declining number of published tutors gives testament. As a wind instrument for ensemble use, the recorder had many advantages over the flageolet, particularly in its compass (f'-g'''), whereas the flageolet was pitched considerably higher than other treble instruments such as the violin and oboe. In its new Baroque form, the recorder had a greater (even if limited) dynamic range, utilised staff notation and was played widely across Europe. It should be noted that octave Baroque recorders were a product of the eighteenth century rather than the seventeenth, the English seventeenth-century recorder repertoire requiring alto (or larger) recorders. In the earliest known English recorder tutor (John Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick, shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder*, 1679) the author compares the recorder and flageolet to the biblical characters Jacob and Esau.¹⁷² Very few woodwind instruments survive from the late seventeenth century, so the number of extant flageolets is not of significance in assessing the decline of the instrument. The flageolet was little-used in the eighteenth century, but experienced a significant re-birth (albeit with structural change) in the nineteenth. The instrument was eminently portable, but in terms of technique was more difficult than the recorder because of the fork-fingerings* required for even the natural scale, a problem caused by the distribution (4+2) of the tone-holes. Nevertheless, in the absence of a significant embouchure, it would certainly have been possible to acquire a basic technique on the flageolet without a teacher. The very high pitch of the instrument restricted its use as a consort or orchestral instrument, and there is virtually no music published for flageolets in duet or trio, yet, by the early

¹⁷² Chapter 4, n237, 113.

years of the eighteenth century, there was an abundance of such music for the recorder (and for other instruments). The use of tablature restricted the player who did not also read staff notation to a very limited repertoire, and tablature as a form of notation would have made fast passages difficult to read at sight. Little flageolet music — beyond that in the tutors — has been identified in the present study, and this leads me to believe that many amateurs did not progress beyond the basic material in their tutors.

In summary, the flageolet provided the seventeenth-century amateur with a portable instrument on which he could amuse him or herself: the instrument is of little use in chamber or orchestral music, and substantially passed out of common use in England by the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The flageolet — in its new form as the English flageolet — was destined to undergo a revival in the early nineteenth century.

Chapter 3

The organology of the recorder**3.1. Introduction**

Much has been written on the history of the recorder but there lacks an overarching account of the organological development of the instrument from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century and, in particular, there has been little attention given to the history of octave recorders in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The present chapter seeks to remedy this deficiency, examining both primary and secondary sources in order to produce an integrated overview of the development of the instrument in the light of cultural and compositional changes in music. The displacement of the flageolet by the recorder in England in the late seventeenth century has not been addressed in the literature, although the displacement of the recorder by the German flute in the eighteenth century has been noted by many authors. In particular, the literature contains but scant and piecemeal information on octave recorders, and the relationship in England of the recorder to other instruments of the flute family will be explored, with particular emphasis on instruments of octave pitch.

Although there is considerable evidence for the existence of the recorder in the Middle Ages, it is only in the early sixteenth century that tutors for the instrument were published, and from these publications stems much of our information on the instrument, its fingering, and its compass. Few instruments survive from the sixteen and seventeenth centuries.¹⁷³ In considering the recorders of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is appropriate to examine their beginnings in the Middle Ages and their organological development in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in order to appreciate how the recorder of the eighteenth century came into being. This is a

¹⁷³ Adrian Brown's Renaissance Recorder Database lists 209 instruments: www.adrianbrown.org/database/, (accessed 18February 2015).

matter not only of organological interest, but also a matter which reflects on the instrument's repertoire. The periods described as 'Renaissance' and 'Baroque' cannot be defined precisely by date as the end of one style inevitably overlaps the beginning of the new, but the terms 'Renaissance' and 'Baroque' as applied to types of recorder rather than to historical periods has been outlined in Chapter 1.

3.2. The Development of the Recorder

The prime evidence for the use of an instrument in any historical period lies in the presence of surviving specimens but secondary evidence may be provided by the existence of iconographic examples, literary sources, and assigned repertoire. Three significant recorders survive from the fourteenth century, an instrument found in Tartu (Estonia), the Göttingen recorder, and the Dordrecht recorder. The Tartu recorder measures 247mm.¹⁷⁴ The Göttingen instrument (sadly incomplete) was discovered in a latrine under a house in Göttingen, Germany, and is made in one piece. It has double tone-holes for the lowest note and a cylindrical bore which flares at the foot. Dietrich Hakelberg dates the recorder (which measures 256mm in length) to the fourteenth century.¹⁷⁵ The Dordrecht recorder was found in a moat under a house in Dordrecht (the Netherlands) and is thought also to date from the fourteenth century. It is 270mm long, is also incomplete, and has a narrow cylindrical bore. In passing, it should be noted that tapered reamers only became available at the end of the fifteenth century, so recorders made before this time inevitably had a cylindrical bore, a structural feature which persisted into the Renaissance style of recorders.

¹⁷⁴ *GDMI*, vol. IV, s.v. recorder, (David Lasocki).

¹⁷⁵ Dietrich Hakelberg, 'Some Recent Archaeo-organological Finds in Germany' *Galpin Society Journal*, 48 (1995), 3–12.

The German author Sebastian Virdung (c.1465–p1511) published his *Musica getutscht und Ausgesogen* in 1511, and illustrated three sizes of recorder, a discant in g' (in modern terminology, an alto in g'), two tenors in c' and a bass in f: the instruments appear to have a wide (cylindrical) bore and the two smaller ones have a compass of one octave and a minor seventh, whereas the bass has a compass of an octave and a sixth.¹⁷⁶ Apart from the block, they are made in one piece and Virdung's fingering charts indicate that a chromatic compass may be sounded.

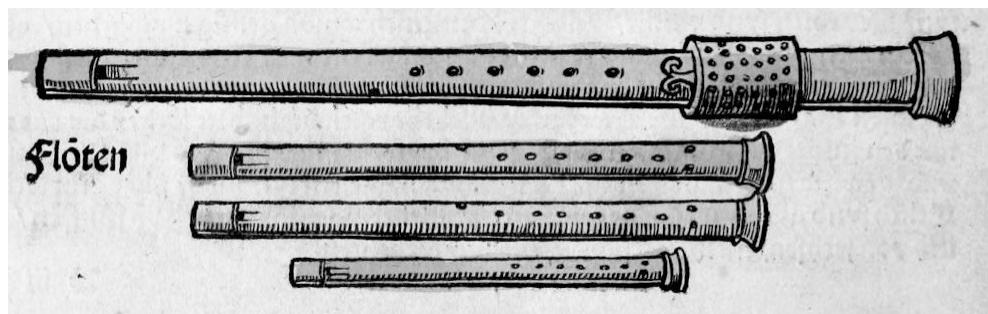


Figure 17. *Vier Flöten* (recorders) from Virdung's *Musica getutscht*. The uppermost instrument is a bass with a fontanelle* covering a key: below are two tenors and a discant. The recorders have large tone-holes and an apparently cylindrical bore.

Martin Agricola's (c.1486–1556) *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* of 1529 (revised in 1545) is based upon Virdung's work and illustrates four recorders labelled *discantus*, *altus*, *tenor* and *bassus*, but the *altus* and *tenor* appear to be of almost identical size and of similar appearance to those of Virdung.¹⁷⁷ The same illustration appears in the 1545 revision. Whilst Sylvestro Ganassi's *Opera Intitulata Fontegara* (published in Venice in 1535) contains fingerings for the customary compass of a thirteenth (chromatic apart from #I*), he also gives fingerings for additional high notes, extending the compass to two octaves and a sixth, although these additional notes are seldom used in music of

¹⁷⁶ Virdung, *Musica getutscht*, 168–181; figure, 106: 'discant' does not equate with the later term 'descant', which applies to a soprano recorder in c'.

¹⁷⁷ Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, 9. In n24, the editor indicates that it was customary to have two similar-sized instruments for playing the inner parts; there are slight inaccuracies in the woodcuts.

this period.¹⁷⁸ Many experimental instruments have been made in recent years to play these notes using Ganassi's fingerings and much has been written on the subject but, for the purpose of the present outline of the history of the recorder, these experiments are of small import: however, they indicate a desire to extend the upper range of the instrument, a matter of importance in the development of the repertoire in the eighteenth century and, later, in the twentieth. It should suffice to note the late Australian recorder maker Fred Morgan's comments on his attempts to make a 'Ganassi' recorder: 'Ganassi's discovery of the highest notes is a *player's* contribution to the development of the instrument even though there seems to be little music that calls for these notes'.¹⁷⁹ By the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, Michael Praetorius had described eight sizes of recorder in his *De Organographia* (1618–20), these again being of typical renaissance one-jointed type, with a fontanelle protecting the key on the basset, bass and great bass instruments.¹⁸⁰ The instruments ranged in size from the sopranino (in g") to the great bass in F, the sopranino measuring c.235mm and the great bass c.3140mm. The compass is given as a fourteenth for the smaller recorders and a thirteenth for the larger instruments.



Figure 18. Renaissance-style bassett recorder attributed to Bassano. Note the apparently cylindrical outline and large tone-holes.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Ganassi, *Opera Intitulata Fontegara*, 9–13; note also fingering charts I and II in Hildemarie Peter's edition (1953) transcribed into modern convention.

¹⁷⁹ Rothe, *Recorders based on Historical Models*, 64–66.

¹⁸⁰ Praetorius, *De Organographia*, 33–4; *ibid.*, plate IX.

¹⁸¹ With permission of the Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, 0117; photo: author.

Mersenne, writing in his *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636, also described recorders with a compass of a fifteenth and built in five sizes ranging from the *dessus* in g' to the *basse* in F. He describes the instruments as 'sweet, because of the sweetness of their sound, which represents the charm and softness of voices'.¹⁸² Mersenne illustrates the *flûte à neuf trous*, a Renaissance-style recorder in which alternative seventh-finger tone-holes are provided to suit a left- or right-handed player. The Dutch author Gerbrand von Blankenburgh's tutor of 1654 gives a text-only description of the fingerings (with enharmonic equivalents) for the *handfluyt** from c' to d'''.¹⁸³ Six fingering charts from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century tutors are presented in Chart II of Hildemarie Peter's *The Recorder, its Traditions, and its Tasks* but Ganassi's exceptional fingerings for very high notes are omitted; they are, however, included in Hunt's *The Recorder and its Music*.¹⁸⁴

The Organology of Renaissance Recorders

Having given a brief outline of the development of the recorder by way of published material, it is appropriate to discuss the changes in the structure of the instrument as discerned from surviving specimens. These changes led eventually to the transformation of the Renaissance recorder into the Baroque recorder, a process which took place between the middle of the sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth. Fortunately, a sufficient number of instruments have survived from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to enable the evolutionary history (and the accompanying acoustic properties) of the recorder to be analysed. Further evidence is given in iconographic sources; while it is not possible to determine bore dimensions from

¹⁸² Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 307; hence the French term for the recorder *la flûte douce*.

¹⁸³ Gerbrand van Blankenburgh, *Onderwyzinge hoemen alle de Toonen en halve Toonen, die meest gebruyckelyck zyn, op de Handt-fluyt zal kunnen t'eenemael zuyver Blaezen* (Amsterdam: 1654).

¹⁸⁴ Peter, *The Recorder, its Traditions and its Tasks*, chart II, illustrates charts from Virdung, Agricola, Ganassi, Mersenne, Blankenburgh, and Salter; Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music*, 115.

paintings of instruments — which may be more or less accurate — the general shape and size of the instrument and the disposition of its tone-holes may be seen.

Writing in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, the proceedings of a symposium held at Utrecht in 1993, Peter Van Heyghen classifies Renaissance recorders into four types:¹⁸⁵

1. The ‘Ganassi’ recorder¹⁸⁶
2. The standard Renaissance recorder
3. The ‘Bassano’ recorder and the *handfluyt*¹⁸⁷
4. The ‘Rafi’ recorder¹⁸⁸

As a simple generalization, it is reasonable to assert that most recorders of the early sixteenth century were built in one piece, had a substantially cylindrical bore with only slight conicity, large tone-holes and a compass of an octave and a sixth or seventh, sufficient for the contemporary repertoire.¹⁸⁹ However, the bore profiles varied considerably, and this had an effect on the compass of the instrument, particularly affecting the third register. The term ‘register’ relates to acoustic function; players will talk of the first, second, and third octaves on the recorder but these are practical, rather than acoustical, terms. The first register (I–IX) on an alto recorder in f’ equates to the notes f’ to g”, the notes a” to d”” form the second (X–XII, being the first harmonic of I, vented by L0), e”” and f”” the third register (XIII–XIV, the second harmonic of III, vented by L0 and L3), and the notes g”” and above, the fourth register (XV onwards, the third harmonic of I, vented by L0, L2, and R2).

¹⁸⁵ *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, 34–40.

¹⁸⁶ Ganassi, Venice, 1492–mid C16.

¹⁸⁷ The Bassano family worked in Venice in the sixteenth century, and in London from the second quarter of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth century: this type of instrument was also made by Hans Rauch von Schratt of Schrattenbach (Austria) in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

¹⁸⁸ The firm of Rafi flourished in Lyon during the sixteenth century.

¹⁸⁹ The substantially cylindrical bore meant that the smaller recorders could be turned in one piece: this would not be possible with the complex tapered bore of the Baroque recorder.

register	tone-holes	acoustical derivation	notes on alto
first	I–IX	fundamental*	f'–g''
second	X–XII	second harmonic of I, vented by L0	a''–d'''
third	XIII–XIV	second harmonic of III, vented by L0 and L3	e'''–f'''
fourth	XV–	third harmonic of I, vented by L0, L2 and R2	g'''–

Table 2. Summary of the acoustic registers of the recorder.¹⁹⁰

The recorder described in Ganassi's *Fontegara* (van Heyghen type 1) had an extended compass of two octaves and a second. The bore of these instruments was largely cylindrical from the blockline* to the first tone-hole, below which there was a slight narrowing leading to a marked choke* at the level of the lowest hole: thereafter, there was a pronounced flare towards the bell of the instrument, the flare contributing to the sounding of the additional notes of the third octave, as described and illustrated in the music examples in *Fontegara*.¹⁹¹ The instrument had large tone-holes and was loud and strong in the first and second harmonics. Ganassi describes an extended chromatic compass from g' of two octaves and a sixth, although the notes of the third octave are seldom required, even in Ganassi's own diminutions. Van Heyghen comments that it is unlikely that the very high notes would be playable on tenor or bass recorders.

The majority of surviving Renaissance recorders (van Heyghen's type 2, the 'Standard Renaissance Recorder') had a more limited compass of an octave plus a sixth or seventh, as described by Virdung and Agricola. These recorders had a cylindrical bore as far as the upper tone-hole, with a gentle taper towards a choke at the level of the

¹⁹⁰ By convention, tone-holes are designated using Roman numerals, the lowest being I; fingering is denoted by the hand and finger number using Arabic numerals, L1 indicating the first finger of the left hand. The thumb-hole is designated L0.

¹⁹¹ David Lasocki, "Recorder." *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press. Accessed 10 February 2015. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23022>.

lowest hole and a slight flare at the bell. The slight contraction of the bore allowed the recorder to be shorter, with the additional benefit that the tone-holes could be smaller and placed closer together for the comfort of the player, a feature particularly desirable on large recorders.¹⁹² However, the acoustic properties of the bore restricted the upward compass of the instrument, the fourth harmonic of the fundamental (XV in acoustical terms, g''' on an instrument with sixth-finger g') being too sharp to be useful.¹⁹³ Fred Morgan wrote: 'The amount of choke will influence the overall length of the recorder, the pitch of the harmonics that form the highest notes and the overall character of the sound and behaviour of the instrument'.¹⁹⁴ Again, these instruments had large tone-holes and were strong in the fundamental: their more restricted compass (as compared with the Ganassi recorders) was sufficient for the consort music of the period, which seldom required a compass of more than an octave and a seventh.

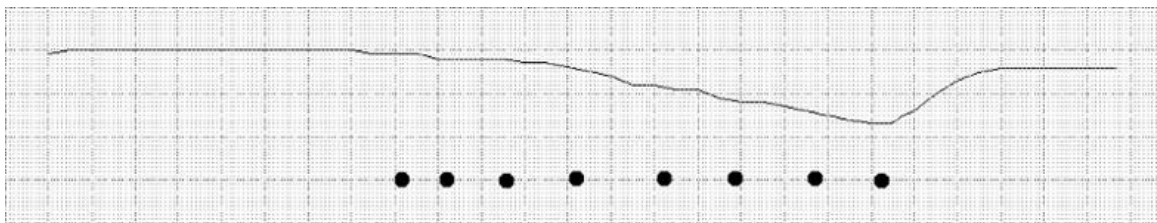


Figure 19. Bore profile of a sixteenth-century recorder showing a gentle narrowing from the first hole with a marked choke at the lowest hole and a flared bell. This is a van Heyghen type 2 recorder: the 'Ganassi' instrument had an almost-cylindrical bore until the choke at level of the lowest tone-hole.¹⁹⁵ The dots indicate the position of the tone-holes.

The 'Bassano' recorders and the *handfluyt* (type 3) had a lower and more pronounced choke than the type 2 recorders, enabling a compass of two octaves and a second. The

¹⁹² The contraction in the bore has the effect of lowering the pitch of the instrument, which can therefore be shorter. In addition, the tone-holes can be smaller. Smaller holes placed higher in the tube sound the same note, albeit with a different tone quality: see Carter and Kite-Powell, *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 74; Philip Bate, *The Flute* (London: Ernest Benn, 1969), 21.

¹⁹³ *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, 36.

¹⁹⁴ Rothe, *Recorders based on Historical Models*, 141.

¹⁹⁵ A-Wien SAM 142: image reproduced by courtesy of Philippe Bolton.

choke was placed lower than in the standard Renaissance recorder (below the lowest hole) and this feature allowed the third register of the instrument to be used for the notes XIII and XIV. The music of the mid-seventeenth century recorder player and composer, Jacob van Eyck (c.1590–1657), whose *Der Fluyten Lust-hof* for soprano recorder (*handfluyt*) requires a compass of over two octaves from c" (transposed an octave lower and notated c') and for which fingerings are shown in Blankenburgh's 1654 tutor (see above): the *handfluyt* with this type of bore profile — in which the choke is lower and more pronounced than on the type 2 recorders — answered this need. The *handfluyt* enjoyed considerable popularity in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, and in a survey of one hundred Dutch paintings, Ruth van Baak Griffioen found 103 recorders illustrated, of which eighty-eight were sopranos, eleven were altos, but there were no tenors or basses.¹⁹⁶ The preponderance of sopranos suggests a large solo repertoire (for example, van Eyck) with no consort playing, and in the paintings, there is seldom more than one soprano recorder depicted.

The 'Rafi' (type 4) recorders have a narrow bore and are completely cylindrical apart from a step at the level of the lowest tone-holes, pre-figuring the transitional recorders of Kynseker.¹⁹⁷ They have a compass of two octaves and a second.

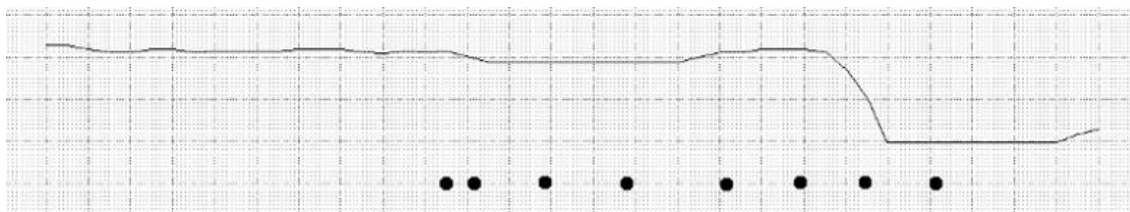


Figure 20. Bore profile of a 'Rafi' recorder with a cylindrical bore showing the step at the level of the fifth and sixth tone-holes.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, 118–9.

¹⁹⁷ 'Step' in this context implies a sudden change in the bore profile rather than a gradual narrowing.

¹⁹⁸ A–Wien SAM 148: image reproduced by courtesy of Philippe Bolton.

The Transitional Recorder

Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the one-piece Renaissance recorder with a largely cylindrical bore was transformed into the three-jointed Baroque recorder with a markedly-contracting inverted conical bore. The change did not occur suddenly with respect to either date or location but was a product of the changes in musical culture of the seventeenth century as the *ricercar* and *canzona* gave way to the sonata with basso continuo. The recorders developed during this period have been variously described in the literature as ‘transitional’, ‘early Baroque’ and ‘pre-Baroque’. For the purposes of this dissertation, I have elected to use the term ‘transitional’ as this most adequately describes the changes in the instrument: ‘Baroque’ or ‘pre-Baroque’ depends on a more precise dating of the Baroque era than is possible, and ‘pre-Baroque’ can only be a retrospective term. Transition between instruments and styles of composition (whether from Renaissance to Baroque or Baroque to Classical) represents a continuous process rather than a sudden and dateable event. In organological terms, ‘transitional recorder’ refers to the type of recorders made by Kynseker and Haka (see below) in the period 1660–90, the years when the Baroque recorder was developing in France and which signalled the last days of the Renaissance recorder.

At the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century, Praetorius described a compass for the recorder of an octave plus a sixth or seventh, but later in the century composers were requiring a compass of two octaves and a second, a matter reflected not only in published music but also in tutors. Blankenburgh’s tutor of 1654, for example, provided fingerings for two octaves plus a second. Recordors of this period (of which few examples survive) have a narrower bore than their Renaissance counterparts; in some transitional recorders the step bore persisted to facilitate the use of the third

register for sounding the high notes.¹⁹⁹ The set of seven recorders by Hieronymus Franciscus Kynseker (1636–86) in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, dating from c.1670, show a marked step below the lowest tone-hole, the step being lower than that in the ‘Rafi’ instruments.²⁰⁰ The bore (including the foot) is cylindrical without a terminal flare (again, unlike the ‘Rafi’ recorders) or the terminal contraction of the Baroque recorders. The external shape of the head of the Kynseker recorders is described as a *Wellenprofil* (wave-profile), but this is ornamental and of no acoustic significance. Unusually for the period, the two smaller instruments have separate head-joints, rather than the more prevalent one-piece construction (figure 29).

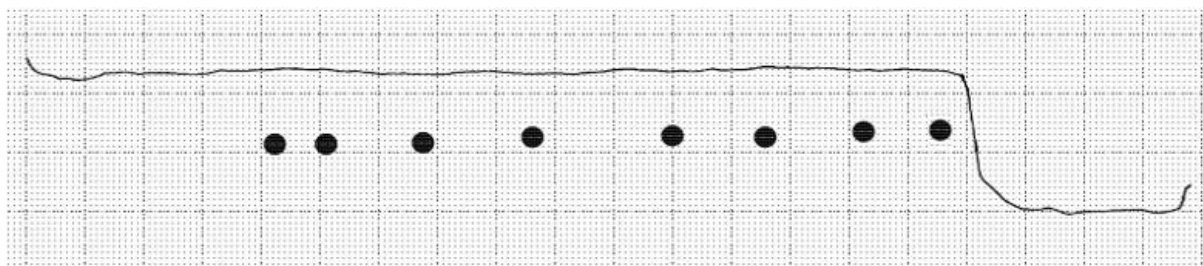


Figure 21. Bore profile of an alto recorder by Kynseker, with a mainly cylindrical bore and a step below the lowest tone-hole. Note that the step is situated lower than on the Rafi recorder in Figure 20.²⁰¹



Figure 22. Soprano recorder by Hieronymus Franciscus Kynseker. Note the ‘wave profile’ on the head of the instrument.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ XIII and XIV (e''' and f''' on an instrument in f').

²⁰⁰ D–Nürnberg MI 98–104. The instruments comprise two each of sopranos in c'', altos in f', tenors in c', and one basset in f.

²⁰¹ D–Nürnberg MI 100: image reproduced by courtesy of Philippe Bolton.

In contrast, the later Amsterdam maker Richard Haka (1646–1705) made both transitional and Baroque recorders. Figure 23 shows the bore profile of a transitional soprano recorder now preserved in Edinburgh: the gentle taper of the bore is apparent and contrasts with the marked step in the bore of the Kynsecker recorders. In this respect, Haka's transitional recorder — although externally a Renaissance style of instrument — is more Baroque than Renaissance in terms of its bore profile.

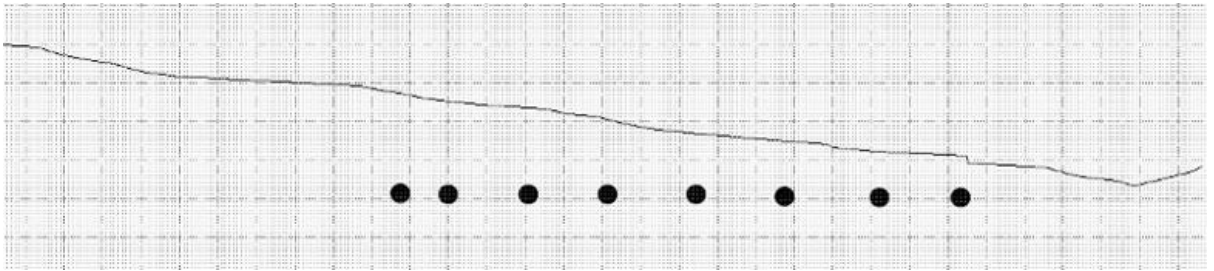


Figure 23. Bore profile of a transitional soprano recorder by Haka showing a gentle contraction throughout the body of the instrument towards the foot.²⁰³

Examination of the four bore profiles illustrated above demonstrates the progressive transition from a largely cylindrical bore with a choke or step to the inverse conical bore of what would become the Baroque recorder. A conical bore will sound a lower note than a cylinder of the same length, and changing the bore from cylindrical to conical therefore allowed the recorder to become shorter and have smaller tone-holes placed higher up the instrument, and thus more comfortable for the player. The flare at the bell in the Ganassi recorders was consigned to history, with the Baroque recorders having tapered bore profile in the foot joint. Most transitional recorders, however, were still made in one piece.

Changes in musical instruments seldom occur suddenly, and occur as new developments in instrument technology and composers' demands evolve. The evolution

²⁰² Modern copy by Mollenhauer.

²⁰³ GB–Edinburgh 1037, image reproduced by courtesy of Philippe Bolton.

from Renaissance recorders through transitional types to the Baroque recorder was a gradual process taking place over many years across the European mainland. Jan Bouterse suggests that:

...the differences between the pre-Baroque instruments and the recorders in the new French style are not that radical [...]. I therefore suggest that there was a gradual development from the pre-Baroque recorders to the instruments in the new style. It is difficult to make a distinction between recorders in one joint from the sixteenth century and those from the seventeenth century, the so-called 'transition or transitional instruments'.²⁰⁴

3.3. The Baroque Recorder

By the late seventeenth century the true Baroque recorder had come into being. There are no contemporaneous manufacturers' announcements of the new instrument, but it is generally considered that the re-modelling of the recorder was the work of the Hotteterre dynasty in La Couture-Boussey, France.²⁰⁵ This extended family of instrument makers is also credited with the development of the Baroque oboe from the shawm and the Baroque flute with its conical (as opposed to cylindrical) bore and D sharp key. The seventh-finger note of the French recorders was f'. There is also evidence to suggest that the Baroque recorder was developed independently in Italy, for Bartolomeo Bismantova's *Compendio Musicale* of 1677 contains *Le Regolo per suonare il Flauto Italiano*, twelve pages of instruction for the Baroque recorder.²⁰⁶ The instrument illustrated is a classic Baroque-style recorder, raising the possibility that the Baroque instrument may have also been developed in Italy, but the accompanying fingering chart gives a seventh-finger note of g' rather than f' as on the French

²⁰⁴ Jan Bouterse in *From Renaissance to Baroque*, 90.

²⁰⁵ Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music*, 37–8.

²⁰⁶ Marcello Castellani, 'The Regolo per suonare il Flauto Italiano by Bartolomeo Bismantova (1677)', *Galpin Society Journal*, 30 (1977), 76–85: a translation of Bartolomeo Bismantova's *Compendio musicale. In cui s'insegna à principianti il vero modo, per imperare con facilità, le regole di canti rigurato, e canto fermo; come anche per comporre, e suonare il basso continuo, il flauto, cornetto, e violin; come anche per acordare organi, e cembali*, Ferrara, 1677.

instruments. Bismantova calls this instrument *il flauto italiano*, and Frederico Maria Sardelli comments that such an instrument would be appropriate for Vivaldi's concerti RV 92, 94, and 95, all of which lie in the key of D major and contain the note f sharp", a note difficult to play on the standard alto recorder in f'.²⁰⁷ Interestingly, a sopranino in g" by the Milan maker Barnaba Grassi (fl1797–1802) is preserved in Leipzig, whereas most sopraninos of the late eighteenth century were in f".²⁰⁸ Bismantova also gives a fingering chart for an instrument *per suonare alla quarta*, which suggests a recorder in d'. In Italy, however, an instrument a fourth above the alto in g' (a soprano in c") would most probably have been styled *flautino*, which suggests that Bismantova is describing what we now call the voice flute, a recorder in d'.²⁰⁹ It may be that Bismantova's G recorder was an Italian derivation from the Renaissance altos (*discants*) in G.

The largely cylindrical wide bore of the renaissance recorder had become a narrow inverted cone, with continued contraction through the length of the foot-joint. A choke was sometimes applied around the level of the lowest tone-hole and both this and the continuing contraction of the bore facilitated the fingering of the highest notes, using the third register for the upper notes of the second octave and the fourth register for the third octave. 'Chambers' were reamed into the bore for the purposes of tuning and improving tone quality, thus producing slight deviation from the smooth contracting inverted cone.

All these features may be seen in the bore profile of an alto recorder by Thomas Stanesby, jr. (1692–1754):

²⁰⁷ Franco Maria Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, trans. by Michael Talbot (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 129.

²⁰⁸ D–Leipzig 1113.

²⁰⁹ Castellani, *op.cit.*, 83.

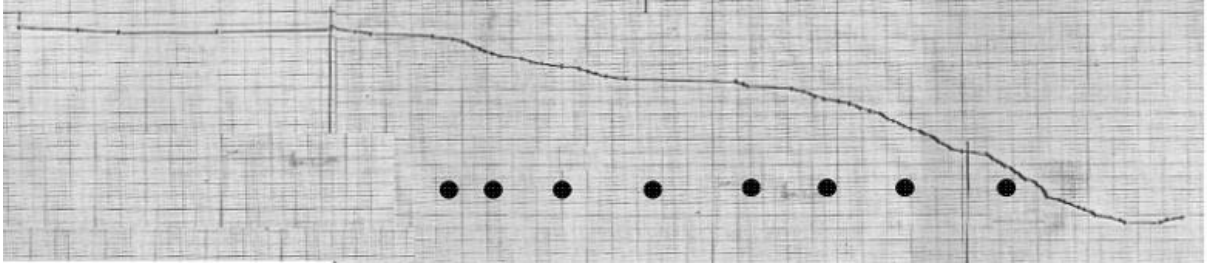


Figure 24. Bore profile of an alto recorder by Stanesby jr., showing the conical pattern continuing into the foot-joint. The un-evenness of the line indicates the presence of 'chambers' within the bore.²¹⁰

The tone-holes were smaller than those on Renaissance recorders and sometimes undercut*; undercutting effectively widens the bore when the hole is closed by the player's finger and so affects tuning. The complex bore profile with its chambering could no longer be reamed in one piece of wood and, as a consequence, the recorder became multi-jointed. The basic bore could be drilled, and then adjusted with reamers passed from the end of the tube. The characteristic bulges and ornamental turnery applied at the joints was functional (to strengthen the joints) as well as aesthetic, and ivory mounts were applied to many recorders.



Figure 25. Late eighteenth-century Baroque recorder (voice flute), stamped 'METZLER/LONDON/105 WARDOUR ST'.²¹¹

The result was a recorder with a more penetrating reedy sound suited to both chamber and orchestral playing; the instrument had a standard compass of two octaves and a second (f'-g''' on an alto in f'), although higher notes could be obtained on a fine

²¹⁰ F-Paris E.980.2.82: image reproduced by courtesy of Philippe Bolton.

²¹¹ Author's collection.

instrument by an expert player. The seventh-finger note was commonly f', as illustrated by surviving instruments, music and tutors (French, English and German) and the F recorder remained the standard alto (treble) recorder throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Laurence Pottier notes that the first convincing image of a Baroque recorder in France is found in Pierre Mignard's (1610–95) *Ste. Cécile jouant de la harpe* of 1691.²¹²

A further Venetian tutor purportedly dating from 1630, *Tutto il bisegnevole per sonar il flauto da 8 fori con pratica e orecchia*, gives instruction for a recorder in F, but depicts a three-jointed recorder with Baroque turnery although the bore appears to be cylindrical.²¹³ Whether this isolated publication — appearing some thirty or forty years before the generally-accepted date for the first baroque recorders — should cause the origin of the instrument to be re-examined is doubtful. It is, however, apparent that France was not the sole birthplace of the three-jointed recorder.

Van Heyghen writes:

If it is correct that during the last quarter of the seventeenth century the *Flauto italiano* was a Baroque recorder in g with such a high register... in contrast with the French *Flûte douce*, a baroque recorder in f with a full and resonant low register...then it could explain why, during the early eighteenth century, recorders that were made in centers [*sic*] that were influenced by the Italian style (Milan and Nuremberg, for instance) usually had a much brighter and easier high register than instruments made in centers that were influenced by the French style (Paris and London, for instance).²¹⁴

Fingerings on the Baroque recorder

There are certain acoustical features relating to woodwind instruments in general and to the recorder in particular which determine their suitability for playing music in

²¹² *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, 134–5.

²¹³ *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, 124.

²¹⁴ *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, 38.

particular keys. This is especially significant in the case of the recorder as the instrument is not fitted with keys to facilitate chromatic semitones and recorders are available in several pitches, each with different tonal characteristics.²¹⁵

As a general principle, notes are produced on a woodwind instrument by the shortening-hole system, whereby the raising of successive fingers produces a natural scale; in organological discussion this scale is customarily described as beginning on the sixth-finger note, but many instruments (including the recorder) have a downward extension to allow the seventh finger to be used. Recorders are described in terms of their seventh-finger note. The natural scale sounded on an instrument with a seventh-finger note of F (such as an alto recorder) is F, G, A, B, C, D, E, and it would be expected that to obtain the chromatic semitones of B flat, C sharp, and E flat, fork- or cross-fingerings* would have to be employed.²¹⁶ The bore of the recorder, however, dictates that the sharpened fourth degree of the scale (IV#, b' natural on an alto recorder) is sounded as a flattened version of the fifth-finger note and fingered 0123–56–, whereas the true fourth-finger note has to be flattened to bring b flat' (01234–67) in tune. When holes below the sounding hole are closed, the pitch is lowered but the tone becomes more veiled. It is apparent that playing in a key which requires many fork- or cross-fingerings is not only more difficult for the player but also produces a more muted effect.²¹⁷ On the recorder, the notes significantly affected by fork-fingering (using Baroque fingering) are, in addition to IV discussed above, #V/bVI, #VI/bVII (and the octaves of these notes) and #I'/bII', bVII'/VII', I'' and II''*. In practical terms, the notes affected by fork-fingerings in flat keys on the alto recorder are b flat', d flat', e flat' and

²¹⁵ The key for the lowest note on the basset recorder is not a chromatic key: it serves to bring the seventh tone-hole within the reach of the player's little finger.

²¹⁶ Adam Carse, *Musical Wind Instruments* (New York: 1939, repr. Da Capo Press, 1965), 27.

²¹⁷ One of the functions of keys on a woodwind instrument is to allow the tone holes to be placed in their acoustically correct position and so avoid the necessity for fork- or cross-fingering.

a flat', whereas the keys of C and G require no fork-fingerings. It follows that the instrument will sound brighter in C and G than in flat keys of F, B flat and E flat: this is an acoustic effect and not influenced by the 'character' of the keys in terms of equal-tempered tuning. The notes of $\sharp IV$ and $bVII$ need fingerings which require closing of tone holes above and below the note, and the sixth finger is required in the case of $\sharp IV$ to bring the note into tune (0123–56–); $bVII$ is fingered using the fork-fingering 01–34– – –. The problem of finding an adequate fingering for $\sharp I''/bII''$ (f sharp'') — the only chromatic note not readily obtained on the Baroque recorder — was not resolved until the advent of the bell key in the twentieth century.

On the soprano recorder (fifth flute in C) the keys avoiding multiple fork-fingerings are G, D and A: the key of C major requires a fork-fingering for f' natural (notated), but only two fork-fingerings are required in the more remote key of E major. The preferred keys for the alto are C, G and D and, for the soprano, G, D and A: this preference for the sharp keys (particularly for the soprano) comes further into focus when considering the sixth flute or voice flute. In contrast, the fourth flute in B flat is more suited to flat keys.

Examination of the fingering for the sixth flute (lowest note notated d') reveals that fork-fingerings are required for G, B flat and C natural in the first octave, together with D sharp, G, B flat, C and D in the second. Again, this instrument is more suited to playing in the sharp keys of A, E, and D, which avoid most fork-fingerings. A further concern with the sixth flute arises in respect to its notation: recorder music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is not transposed (except for the octave) and players use both F and C fingerings as a matter of course. To play a sixth flute with a D

fingering is confusing and it is easier to transpose down a tone and use C fingering, or up a third and use F fingering. In the eighteenth century, however, music for both fifth and sixth flutes was transposed a sixth or fifth lower so that the player read as if he were playing an alto recorder. Not only did the player only have to cope with learning only one fingering, but also — in the case of the sixth flute — the use of alto fingering simplified playing by removing the forks required for the commonly-used notes of G, B flat and C.

The difficulty encountered in the transposition of recorder parts to suit the fingerings of the alto in f' was felt to be a disadvantage to the popularity of the instrument by the celebrated maker Thomas Stanesby, jr.. In 1732 he published a pamphlet headed:

A new System of the FLUTE A' BEC/or Common ENGLISH FLUTE,/ wherein it is propos'd to render that Instrument Universally useful in Concert, without the trouble of Transposing the Musick for it. Humbly Dedicated to all those Gentlemen who like the Instrument.²¹⁸

Stanesby comments that part of the difficulty in playing with other instruments is the lack of three notes at the lower end of the alto's compass (c', d', e', and their associated semitones) and suggests that an instrument with 'an equal compass to the Hoboy and Transverse Flute' would avoid transposition and place the recorder more on a par with other treble instruments. Essentially, Stanesby is advocating that the tenor recorder in c' should be the basis of the family rather than the alto. Transposition would be avoided, as is the case with the oboe, flute and violin. However, the larger recorders tend to be softer and less penetrating than the alto, and Stanesby's attempt to revive the flagging

²¹⁸ Dale Higbee, 'A Plea for the Tenor Recorder by Thomas Stanesby, Jr.', *Galpin Society Journal*, 15 (1962), 55–59.

fortunes of the recorder at a time when its popularity was diminishing met with little success, and only four tenors from his output are extant.

During the zenith of its popularity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the recorder remained without keys although its companions in the woodwind family were fitted with very limited keywork: in the case of the transverse flute, only a d sharp' key was fitted, and early oboes only had keys for C and E flat.²¹⁹

As a general rule, English music written in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries for the alto recorder seldom extended above d''; acoustically, the note d''' is the first harmonic of d', whereas e flat''', e''' and f''' are derived from the second harmonic of a' (the third register) and are more difficult to sound and tune accurately. The English recorders of the period — even by master recorder makers including Bressan and the Stanesbys — were less flexible in the higher notes of the second octave (above d'') than those of the German makers such as the Denners. This is a function of the bore profile, which could, in turn, be related to the relative geographical isolation of England, the English makers perhaps not being familiar with the changes occurring in Europe.²²⁰ The music of the German composers (including Bach and Telemann) makes much more use of the very high notes than does that of the English composers.

Overview

Between the beginning of the sixteenth century and the end of the seventeenth, the recorder was transformed from a relatively loud instrument with a limited compass to a sophisticated instrument with a more penetrating and reedy tone and a standard

²¹⁹ Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, 293, 278.

²²⁰ Conversations with the recorder makers Stephan Blezinger and Doris Kuloosa, 12 November 2015.

compass of two octaves and a second. These changes came about by replacing the original almost-cylindrical bore with an inverted cone: as a consequence, the instrument could be shorter, and have smaller tone-holes placed closer together. In the early sixteenth century, much music was vocal and polyphonic in style so voices could be replaced (or doubled) by a recorder with a relatively limited compass. By the end of the seventeenth century, instrumental music had become more virtuosic and the sonata with basso continuo (implying a more soloistic approach from the recorder) was an established musical form, a form for which the Baroque recorder was eminently suitable. The conical bore not only facilitated the notes of the third octave but also contributed to the increased flexibility required in the developing sonata repertoire with its wide melodic leaps. The question arises as to whether makers developed instruments in response to composers' demands, or whether composers extended the compass of their recorder pieces in response to makers' endeavours. The seventeenth century was an era of marked change in compositional style, and it could be argued that the makers produced the instruments and the composers followed or *vice-versa*. After an interval of some three and a half centuries, the question may rightly be asked. The architectural dictum 'form follows function' may apply to buildings: in music, however, instruments and repertoire are interdependent.

3.4. The Recorder in England, 1660–1800

The French Baroque recorder appears to have arrived in England in September 1673, when four oboists/recorder players accompanied the composer Robert Cambert on a

cross-channel voyage from France.²²¹ The men (Jacques Paisible, Maxent De Bremes, Pierre Guitot and [?Jean] Boutet) were players of the newly-developed Baroque oboe and recorder and it is likely that all the recorders used in England before this time were of the Renaissance type.²²² In France, the recorder was known as *la flûte douce* or *la flûte à bec* and it is probable that either or both of these terms were contracted in English usage to ‘flute’; in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England the word ‘flute’ normally implied the recorder.²²³

The recorder, the flageolet and the flute in seventeenth-century sources.

Recorders, flageolets and flutes were used in seventeenth-century stage productions, although there remains a degree of confusion as to the exact nature of the instruments. Thomas Shadwell’s *Psyche* (with music by Matthew Locke) produced by the Duke’s Company at Dorset Gardens in 1674, required recorders and flageolets together in Apollo’s descent ‘With his Immortal Psyche’.²²⁴ Trumpets, kettle-drums, flutes and ‘warlike music’ accompanied the entry of Mars. In John Crowne’s masque *Calisto; or, The Chaste Nymph* (music by Nicholas Staggins, performed in 1675), both recorders and flageolets were required.²²⁵ John Banister’s *The Parley of Instruments* (1676) called for ‘A symphony of Theorbos, Lutes, Harps, Harpsicons, Guitars, Pipes, Flutes, Flageolets, Cornetts, Sackbuts, Oboes, Recorders, Organs and all sorts of Wind Instruments...with assistant voices and violins’.²²⁶ Whereas the music performed is

²²¹ David Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England 1500–1740: Part 2’, *Early Music*, 10/2 (1982), 182–191.

²²² Renaissance recorders were still known in England in the 1690s: a *vanitas* painting dated 1696 (Still Life with a Volume of Withers “Emblemes”) by Edward Collier (active 1662–1702) shows the upper part of a Renaissance recorder with a metal sleeve on the mouthpiece and also bowed and plucked stringed instruments (oil on canvas, Tate Britain N05916).

²²³ Very few English recorders survive from this period, but an ivory alto by the late seventeenth-century English maker Goddard has recently been acquired by The Bate Collection, Oxford (January 2017).

²²⁴ Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 347.

²²⁵ *ibid.*, 368; *ibid.*, table 15.1, 370; Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England’, 184.

²²⁶ Holman, *ibid.*, 352; apart from ‘harpsicons’, I have elected to use the modern spellings for the instruments.

barely relevant to this organological chapter, the description of the various instruments requires comment. It is evident that contemporary authors distinguished between recorders, flageolets and flutes, but confusion arises in respect of the ‘Minutte for the flageoletts’ in Act 5 of *Calisto*. As I have noted in Chapter 2, the three parts have the range c''–c''', f'–f'' and C–a.²²⁷ The upper parts would lie comfortably on a pair of alto recorders in f' or flageolets in g'' but the third part — descending to ‘cello C — would require a sub-bass recorder. Double (or pedal) bass recorders with a bottom note of C are described in James Talbot’s manuscript of 1690–1700 but there are no surviving examples dating from the late seventeenth or eighteenth centuries of recorders larger than the basset in f.²²⁸ Were the part to be played on a bass recorder in c, the only change required would be the octave transposition of the C in the penultimate bar to c, which would be musically acceptable. However, recorders have a propensity to sound an octave lower than they are actually playing and this may have been in the mind of the composer.²²⁹ There are no surviving ‘bass’ flageolets, and I concur with Lasocki’s suggestion that the writer was probably confusing the new and unfamiliar Baroque recorders with flageolets.²³⁰

The use of ‘flute’ in relation to warlike music in *Calisto* is problematic. It is reported that Renaissance (cylindrical) flutes were little-used in England in the late seventeenth century, but the fife was in use as a military signalling instrument.²³¹ I would assume

²²⁷ Lasocki, *op.cit.*, 184; the music example (Ex.1) is taken from New York Public Library, Drexel MS 3849; see also Chapter 2, 82.

²²⁸ Baines, ‘James Talbot’s Manuscript’; Douglas MacMillan, ‘The Bass Recorder—a Continuo Instrument?’, *The Recorder Magazine*, 32/4 (2012), 134–136.

²²⁹ Recorders sound lower than notated because the tone of the instrument is strong in the fundamental and second harmonics, the upper harmonics being weak. See John Askill, *The Physics of Musical Sounds* (New York: D van Nostrand, 1979), 128

²³⁰ Lasocki, *op.cit.*, 183.

²³¹ Nancy Hadden, in *From Renaissance to Baroque*, 115, 119; on the military use of the fife, see Chapter 6 of the present thesis..

that the flutes mentioned were played transversely (in contrast to the vertical flageolets and recorders), and probably the fife would have been the required instrument.

Flageolets and fifes are octave flutes, both in use in the late seventeenth century, whereas the first mention of octave recorders occurs in Talbot's manuscript, in which the author notes the existence '8th and 5th. flutes'.²³² Surviving orchestral recorder parts are written for pairs of alto recorders (played by the oboists). Considering the important role of octave recorders in English music of the eighteenth century, it is appropriate to speculate on the possible reasons for the absence of these instruments in the seventeenth. Recorders have traditionally been associated with pastoral scenes, supernatural events, funerals, love scenes and the imitation of birdsong.²³³ The imitation of birdsong is a clear example of an ideal use of octave recorders, but is more a feature of eighteenth-century composition; the other scenarios are more suited to the soft sounds of alto (and larger) recorders. Recorder music from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was often assigned to small instruments, whereas English music from the late seventeenth century is almost all assigned to altos.²³⁴ Secondly, an octave flute (in the form of the flageolet) was available, and was used in combination with the recorder in the examples given above (*Calisto* and *The Parley of Instruments*). Thomas Duffet's masque *Beauty's Triumph* of 1676 features a 'dance with "Rechorders and Flajolets playing', and Peter Holman suggests that 'to judge from the surviving songs, John Banister wrote the music'.²³⁵ Although there is no conclusive proof, it would seem

²³² Talbot includes 8th., 5th., 3d [sic], Consort and Voice flutes as 'treble' instruments, and also lists tenor, bass, and Pedal or Double bass recorders.

²³³ Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music*, 46.

²³⁴ Isobel Clarke, conversation with MacMillan, 23 April 2015; Holman, *op.cit.*, 349.

²³⁵ Holman, *op.cit.*, 353; John Banister was an accomplished flageolet player as well as a violinist and composer.

possible that the absence of octave recorders in the seventeenth century may be explained by the presence of the flageolet, and, to a very limited extent, the fife.

3.5. The Recorder *versus* the Flageolet

The flageolet appears to have been a popular instrument amongst late seventeenth-century amateurs, its most notable advocate being Samuel Pepys. However, it was a ‘double octave’ instrument sounding two octaves above the pitch of (for example) the soprano voice, and so of little value in concerted music, unlike the alto recorder and its smaller derivatives. Pepys became fascinated by the sound of recorders when he attended a performance of Massinger’s play *The Virgin Martyr* on 27 February 1668, and in April of that year he determined to buy a recorder.²³⁶ Amateur interest in an instrument (particularly relatively simple instruments like the recorder and flageolet) is reflected in the publication of tutors: as I have noted in Chapter 2, the first edition of Thomas Greeting’s *The Pleasant Companion* for the flageolet was probably published in 1661 and continued through several editions until 1682. The first tutor for the recorder (John Hudgebut’s *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Musick*) did not appear until 1679, some six years after the Baroque recorder arrived in England. The lack of tutors, the absence of surviving instruments and the lack of assigned music suggests that the recorder may have been of relatively little importance in England in the years between the restoration and the arrival of the Baroque recorder in the 1670s. Hudgebut describes the relationship between the two instruments in biblical terms, ultimately favouring the recorder. He also notes that the instrument is suitable for ladies:

This Divine Science (though the Genius and Genius be universal) extending its Sovereignty [sic] through all the Regions of the Earth, is divided into two sorts,

²³⁶ Pepys, *The Diaries of Samuel Pepys*, 29 March 1668, vol. 9, 38; 8 April 1668, vol. 9, 157.

that is, Vocal and Instrumental. Of Instruments (though there be several Species) there is none that comes nearer in Imitation to the Voice (which is the Design and Excellency of all Musick) than that which we call Wind Instruments, as the Flagilet, Rechorder, &c. as taking its inspiration immediately from thence, and naturally dissolving into the same. Of these, though the Flagilet like Esau hath got the Start, as being of a more Ancient standing. The Rechorder like Jacob hath got the Birth-right, being much more in Esteem and Veneration, with Nobility and Gentry, whilst the Flagilet sinks down a Servant to the Pages. But we do not design by lessening the Flagilet to exalt the Perfections of the Rechorder; we will allow the Flagilet all its just Attributes, and see if the Rechorder do not equal or excel them.

The Flagilet is a good Companion, being easily carried in the Pocket, so is the Rechorder: The Flagilet is always in Tune, so is the Rechorder; Besides the Sweetness of the Sound, which is much more Smoother and Charming, the Extent and Variety of Notes, in which it much Excels the Flagilet.

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

On this success and good Entertainment of the Rechorder, I have attempted to show my zeal for its Improvement, hoping all Ingenious Gentlemen will pardon the deficiency of the performance, considering it the first Essay of its kind: And all Ingenious Artists whose Tunes I have made use of in this Collection, will likewise be so Generous to pass by all Errata's as they shall discover in the printed Notes, which I shall endeavour to rectify in the next Edition.²³⁷

On a more scholarly level, a comparison of early recorder tutors with contemporary flageolet tutors reveals similarities of style, particular with regard to the use of tablature. However, by the time of publication of the recorder tutor *The Compleat Flute- Master* by Walsh and Hare in 1695, the use of tablature had been consigned to history in tutors for the recorder.²³⁸

²³⁷ The story of Esau and Jacob may be found in Genesis 25: 31–34 and Genesis 27: 1–38. As the first-born of twins, Esau was entitled to the birthright and to his father's blessing. Although he sold his birthright to Jacob, he was still entitled to his father's blessing. Jacob and his mother Rebekah tricked the blind Isaac into blessing Jacob. Esau had hairy arms, whereas Jacob had smooth arms and, before coming to Isaac for the blessing, he was clothed in animal skins to mimic Esau's hairy arms. The blessing conferred material success, as witnessed with Jacob becoming father of the twelve tribes of Israel (Jacob's new name). Hudgebut is equating the recorder with the nobler Jacob and the flageolet with the (slightly older) Esau.

²³⁸ See Chapter 4 for an account of *The Compleat Flute Master*, its successors and its significance.

feature	recorder	flageolet
compass	f'-g'''; c''-d''''; f''-f''''	d'''-d''''(variable)
use of tablature	only in late C17 tutors	common in C17
fork-fingering	3 rd . degree of scale	7 th . degree of scale
publication of tutors	few in C17; plentiful in C18	C17 only
chamber music	abundant repertoire	very little
orchestral use	common	very rare
assigned repertoire	plentiful	very rare
usage late C17	increasing	decreasing
usage early C18	frequent	very rare
usage late C18	decreasing	very rare

Table 3. A comparison of the salient features of the recorder and the flageolet.²³⁹

The question arises ‘Why did the recorder virtually displace the flageolet during the final quarter of the eighteenth century?’ The fundamental reason is, I believe, that the recorder is a superior instrument for most musical purposes. Although my thesis is essentially concerned with octave recorders within the context of the late seventeenth century, the alto merits discussion, for it was this instrument which displaced the flageolet; as we have seen above, the octave recorders were a product of the early eighteenth century. The Baroque alto recorder is compatible in pitch range with other treble instruments such as the violin, the flute, and the oboe. It has a compass of two octaves and a second, and its music (with the exception of occasional passages in the seventeenth-century tutors) is notated in conventional staff notation. It fitted well as an instrument in the solo sonata with basso continuo and in a repertoire well-suited to amateur domestic performance in duos or trios for recorders. The particular expressive qualities of the recorder (noted above) were appropriate in conveying particular emotions in operatic scores and obbligato passages. In contrast, the flageolet was a very high-pitched instrument, hardly suited to concerted music, but achieving popularity as an eminently portable pocket-sized solo instrument in the days before the Baroque

²³⁹ Voice flutes, tenors, and bassets have been omitted.

recorder became established. To my knowledge, there is only one surviving recorder of English manufacture possibly dating from the pre-Restoration period, and only a handful of instruments of seventeenth-century origin, so a contrast between recorders and flageolets has to be made on the basis of tutors, repertoire, and contemporary literature. It should also be noted that the octave recorders of the eighteenth century were pitched an octave below the flageolet, and therefore suitable for use as octave instruments in the orchestra — a role which was eventually to be taken by the piccolo at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In terms of technique, the recorder (with its 7+1 tone-hole configuration) is perhaps more logical in than the flageolet with its four finger-holes and two thumb-holes; the fingers are lifted successively on the recorder, without the anomaly of the thumb replacing the second finger of the right hand. Both instruments, however, require one fork-fingering to sound the diatonic scale and on the recorder this is the third degree of the scale, but on the flageolet, it is the seventh. The tablature notational system employed in the flageolet tutors and in some of its music would also have contributed to the instrument's decline, as this notation was hardly appropriate for the increasingly-complex music of the sonata and concerto. Although the early recorder tutors used some tablature notation, by the time of the publication of *The Compleat Flute-Master* in 1695, the system — as far as the recorder was concerned — had been consigned to history. There was a significant revival of the flageolet in England in the early nineteenth century, but the instrument (the English flageolet with six or seven tone-holes and one thumb-hole) was more akin to the recorder than to the French flageolet, and no fork-fingering was required to sound the diatonic scale.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ William Bainbridge, *Bainbridge & Wood's Flageolet Tutor* (London, c.1805).

3.6. Octave Recorders in England, 1660–1800

Octave recorders include the fourth, fifth, sixth and octave flutes, named in terms of their pitch above the alto in f'. The true octave instrument in modern parlance is the sopranino, the fifth flute is the soprano or descant: the term 'fourth flute' in the present context applies to the recorder in b flat', but may also be applied to the tenor in c', a fourth below the alto. In modern notation, the music for octave instruments is transposed down one octave. The work of Eric Halfpenny and David Lasocki confirms that, in comparison to altos, tenors, and basses relatively few octave recorders were made in the eighteenth century.²⁴¹ An ivory soprano recorder (of Renaissance pattern) preserved at Dean Castle, Scotland, is the only English seventeenth-century octave recorder known to me.²⁴²



Figure 26. Anonymous soprano recorder (c.1650–1675).²⁴³

Baroque octave recorders are essentially a product of the eighteenth century. The earliest of the major English recorder makers, Peter Jaillard Bressan and Thomas Stanesby, sr., only began work in 1688 and 1691 respectively, but a few instruments by the Hotteterres survive in Paris.²⁴⁴ The English recorder repertoire of the period is almost all written for the alto recorder, although some parts would require the lower

²⁴¹ Chapter 1, 34–35.

²⁴² Douglas MacMillan and Isobel Clarke, 'Duct Flutes in the Charles van Raalte Collection at Dean Castle', *Galpin Society Journal*, 70 (2017), 233–35.

²⁴³ By permission of East Ayrshire Council/East Ayrshire Leisure MI/A75; photo: author; Appendix 1, rcdr 1.

²⁴⁴ *NLI*, 182.

range of the voice flute or tenor if the music were not transposed into a higher key. There is no written trace of small (octave) recorders until the account given in James Talbot's manuscript of 1690–1700.²⁴⁵ I have undertaken an extensive review of the checklists available on the internet, which include not only collection catalogues but also two major electronic databases, and have discovered only eleven octave recorders of eighteenth-century English manufacture made by six makers.²⁴⁶ These are listed in Appendix 1. A similar situation arises regarding instruments made in mainland Europe. The English makers of the identified small recorders are Peter Jaillard Bressan (1688–1730), Thomas Stanesby, sr. (1691–1733/4), Thomas Stanesby, jr. (1713–54), Benjamin Hallett (1736–53), John Just Schuchart (1731–53), and John Mason (*fl* 1754–*p*1756): the table below indicates the proportion of all the surviving recorders by these makers.²⁴⁷

	8 th flute	6 th flute	5 th flute	4 th flute	alto	tenor ²⁴⁸	basset
Bressan				1	37	30	8
Stanesby sr.		1			10	2	1
Stanesby jr.		1	2	1	12	6	
Hallett ²⁴⁹	1		1	1			
Schuchart			1		7		
Mason			1				

Table 4. Proportion of instruments by major English makers of octave recorders.

Unfortunately the data available on five of the octave recorders is minimal, as three are held in private collections, and in one case the collection checklist contains only minimal information; a further instrument is incomplete.

²⁴⁵ Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript'.

²⁴⁶ The Recorder Homepage and MIMO: these list a total of 1,887 recorders of all nationalities (February 2017).

²⁴⁷ The dates given indicate the years of activity as given in *NLI*; a search of advertisements in the London press failed to reveal any notices relating to these makers, except for a report of the death of 'Mr. Schuchart, Sen.' in the *Public Advertiser* of 20 September 1759.

²⁴⁸ Includes voice flutes and tenors.

²⁴⁹ On 12 November 1753 a Mr Hallet [*sic*] performed a solo on the little flute at a Subscription Concert at the Five Tuns in The Strand (*Public Advertiser*, 11 November 1753).



Figure 27. Fourth flute by Bressan.²⁵⁰

The instrument collection left by Samuel Hellier at his death in 1784 contained ‘Two Octave Flutes, one German, one Comn. form by Gedney’ as well as a common flute, a fife, and a bird flageolet.²⁵¹ There is also some evidence that small recorders were being made up to the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for the catalogues of George Astor and George Goulding (c.1799 and c.1803 respectively) advertise English Concert Flutes (recorders) and also ‘2nd., 3rd., 4th., 5th., 6th. and Octave’ versions. None of these instruments survive and there does not appear to be an assigned repertoire as late as 1800 although composers occasionally called for small recorders up to 1793.²⁵²

Octave Recorders in English Eighteenth-Century Iconography.

A study of the extensive iconography section of Nicholas Lander’s Recorder Home Page revealed a mere three convincing images of octave recorders in English art works of the eighteenth century, tending to confirm that the impression that the instruments were not in common use.²⁵³ An anonymous woodcarved trophy in Lyme Hall dating from c.1720 contains a soprano recorder, a stucco ceiling in Felbrigg Hall by Joseph Rose of slightly later date shows two soprano recorders, and an oil painting ‘Maria and

²⁵⁰ With permission of the Bate Collection, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, 0109, Appendix 1, rcd 9; photo: author.

²⁵¹ Anon., ‘A Catalogue of Musical Instruments’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 18 (1965), 5; Caleb Gedney worked between 1754 and 1769.

²⁵² David Lasocki, ‘New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 63 (2010), 73-142; Chapter 4, section 4.7.

²⁵³ Lander, N.S. (1996–2015). Recorder Home Page: Iconography. Accessed 24 November 2015. <http://www.recorderhomepage.net/iconography/>

her Dog Silvio 1781' by Joseph Wright gives a clear image of a soprano recorder in the girl's right hand.²⁵⁴

3.7. The Recorder *versus* the German Flute

Curiously, the recorder began to fall from popularity as an amateur's instrument around the third decade of the century, to be replaced by the German (transverse) flute. Lasocki writes:

In the 1720s, the transverse flute began to take over the recorder's role as the most fashionable amateur instrument. In the professional world, too, apart from concerti for the smaller sizes of recorder with which Baston achieved considerable success, the instrument took an increasingly small part in music at the theatres and in concerts, and publishing activity tailed off.²⁵⁵

The transverse (German) flute arrived in England at the very end of the seventeenth century. Such an instrument by Bressan is mentioned in the Talbot manuscript; John Eccles wrote a part for a 'Flute D.Almagne' in his masque *The Judgement of Paris* in 1701, and in 1706 Peter la Tour gave the first performance on the German flute to be announced in the London newspapers.²⁵⁶

At this point, it is appropriate to compare the recorder and transverse flute, particularly within the context of amateur music-making. The recorder, being a keyless instrument, requires fork- and cross-fingering to sound chromatic semitones but requires no significant embouchure. As a duct flute, its dynamic range is restricted and the compass

²⁵⁴ Musical Trophy, Lyme Park, Stockport, Cheshire, Anonymous, 1720s; Ceiling Decoration, Felbrigg Hall, Norfolk, Joseph Rose (1723–80); Derby Art Gallery, oil on canvas, Joseph Wright (1734–81).

²⁵⁵ Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Playing in England', (1982).

²⁵⁶ Ardal Powell, *The Flute*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 70.

of the instrument is only two octaves and a second.²⁵⁷ The flute of the early eighteenth century was furnished with a D sharp key to provide the one chromatic note not available with fork-fingering but constant adjustments to the embouchure were required in order to play in tune. Even with embouchure corrections and fork-fingering, the flute was at its best in the sharp keys of G and D: f''' was often sharp and players tended to avoid b flat' (a note easily played in tune on the alto recorder). Looking from a more positive aspect, the flute had a greater compass than the recorder (two octaves and a sixth) and a greater dynamic range. Around 1720, 'corps de rechange'* came into use, which allowed the player to make adjustments to the sounding pitch of his instrument (for example, to suit a harpsichord) but the corps de rechange did not simplify the problem of chromatic semitones. The advent of three additional keys (for F, B flat, and C) in the 1760s and 1770s enabled the flautist to play more perfectly in tune.²⁵⁸

Although the modern Boehm flute is a much louder instrument than the recorder, the Baroque flute and recorder were evenly matched in terms of volume although, in the minds of composers, they had individual roles and were very seldom played together.

In view of the greater technical difficulties in playing the transverse flute, it is difficult to understand why it replaced the recorder as an amateur's instrument, and it is equally difficult to believe that this was a sudden process. It is interesting, in this context, to examine the publication of tutors for the two instruments. The earliest English tutors for the German Flute date from 1720 and 1729: Walsh published his *Instructions for the German Flute* (presently unlocated), and in 1729 he published an English translation of Hotteterre's *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne, de la flûte à bec, ou*

²⁵⁷ Blowing too hard will sharpen the note, and blowing too softly will flatten it. The recorder player has to bear this mind when attending to dynamics, but other techniques (such as the use of alternative fingerings, vibrato, and adjusting phrasing) may be used to obtain dynamic contrast.

²⁵⁸ Baines, 'Woodwind Instruments and Their History', 291.

flûte douce, et du haut-bois, divisez par traitez of 1701.²⁵⁹ *The Modern Musick-Master* of 1731 contained instructions for both the recorder and the German flute, and the sections are of equal length.²⁶⁰ Meierott's histograms indicate that it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that flute tutors were produced in abundance, by which time the supply of recorder tutors had substantially diminished.²⁶¹ The supply of tutors cannot be the sole measure of the popularity of an instrument amongst amateurs, but it is a useful indicator: it should be noted that the potential flute player may have sought professional instruction regarding embouchure and intonation rather than relying on a book of instruction. That the recorder declined in popularity after the first quarter of the eighteenth century cannot be denied: that it was *rapidly* replaced in amateur circles by the transverse flute requires a degree of speculation, as it is unlikely that a more difficult instrument (albeit with greater range and expressive capabilities) should suddenly replace a simpler amateur's instrument. The evidence from published tutors and music suggests that the recorder continued in use rather longer than is customarily supposed and it is probable that the two instruments existed side-by-side for many years after the introduction of the German flute into a world dominated by the recorder.²⁶² It is seldom that any artefact suddenly disappears from history, and a period of obsolescent before descent into oblivion is more common. The octave recorders enjoyed popularity as concerto and obbligato instruments into the 1730s, but thereafter, their role was diminished to the extent that they were used only sporadically in art

²⁵⁹ Warner's *An Annotated Bibliography* reports that John Walsh published *Instructions for the German Flute* in 1720 (item 53).

²⁶⁰ Peter Prellieur, *The Modern Musick-Master, or, the Universal Musician* (London: 1731); see Appendix 2, tutor 20.

²⁶¹ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 45.

²⁶² For example, see Henry Carey's (c.1687–43) *The Songs in The Contrivance with their Symphonies & Basses ... with the symphony and song parts transposed to the German flute or common flute and the duett of two flutes* (recorders–DM) of 1729, GB–Lbl H.118.(2.).

music into the 1790s.²⁶³ Little is known of their usage behind the closed doors of domestic salons.

The Decline of the Recorder

Over a period of some four centuries, the recorder underwent substantial changes from being a simple cylindrical duct flute to a sophisticated instrument to suit the needs of the composers of the early eighteenth century. The Renaissance recorder — with its largely cylindrical bore and restricted compass, yet suitable for the consort music of its age — was transformed via the transitional recorder of the seventeenth century to the three-jointed Baroque instrument with its complex tapered bore. Although the alto remained the principal member of the recorder family throughout the period 1660–1800, the fourth, fifth, sixth and octave flutes acquired a distinctive repertoire in England and the octave instrument (the sopranino) continued to be employed by composers until the 1790s.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the recorder had become obsolescent, not only in England but also in Continental Europe. Composers rarely called for the alto after the middle of the eighteenth century (the instrument being replaced by the German flute), but, as we have seen, octave recorders continued in use in England until the end of the century, there being no alternative octave flute available. The recorder's limited compass and lack of dynamic range had rendered it less suitable for the more emotive music of the later eighteenth century and its soft timbre could no longer compete in the increasingly large orchestras of the time of Haydn and Mozart.²⁶⁴ In amateur use, it had

²⁶³ Chapter 4, section 4.7.

²⁶⁴ Douglas MacMillan, 'The Recorder 1800–1905'; Daniel Waitzman, 'The Decline of the Recorder in the Eighteenth Century', *The American Recorder*, 8/2 (1967), 47–51.

been displaced by the German flute and, as an orchestral instrument, it was to be entirely superseded by the transverse flute and the piccolo.

Chapter 4

Pedagogic material and repertoire for the recorder**Part 1: Pedagogic material for the recorder****4.1. Introduction**

Tutors or books of instruction exist for many musical instruments, and, in the case of the recorder (and the flageolet), they are often the sole method by which a beginner learns to play the instrument; having no need for an embouchure, duct flutes are relatively easy to learn in the early stages and many players have studied from tutors alone without recourse to professional instruction. The first English recorder tutor was published in 1679 and tutors continued to be published until the latter years of the eighteenth century, when publication of assigned recorder music and tutors lapsed until the revival of the instrument in the twentieth century. The tutors fall into two categories, the majority being specific to a particular instrument, whereas others are the so-called ‘universal’ tutors containing instructions for theoretical matters, singing, and several instruments. The universal tutors cover the rudiments of music in some detail but contain only basic technical instructions (such as fingering charts) for a given instrument, and not all give tunes to play. They are of limited value to the beginner in comparison with instrument-specific tutors; Griscom and Lasocki list four English tutors published between 1679 and 1686 and twenty-one published between 1695 and 1794.²⁶⁵ Although continental authors (for example, Virdung, Agricola, Ganassi, van Blankenburgh, and Bismantova) published pedagogical material for the recorder in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the earliest known English recorder tutor is Hudgebut’s *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Music* of 1679. It may be that tutors were published in earlier years but were lost during the period of the Commonwealth (1649–

²⁶⁵ Griscom and Lasocki, *The Recorder. A Research and Information Guide*, 312–317.

60), when the performance of music was somewhat restricted. I have studied the four tutors from the period 1679 to 1686, eight published between 1695 and 1750 and seven published between 1750 and the end of the eighteenth century. Representative samples have been chosen because many of the eighteenth-century tutors simply replicate earlier publications with only minor variations; the studied tutors are listed and numbered in Appendix 2 (tutors 12–29). Five are universal tutors, containing only brief instructional material for the recorder, but the remainder are tutors for the recorder alone.²⁶⁶

All the tutors contain basic instructions on holding the instrument, the rudiments of music, and the fingering of both diatonic and chromatic scales. The fingering is illustrated either in tablature as marks on six or seven lines (representing the tone-holes of the recorder) or, as tablature fell into disuse in the early eighteenth century, in black, white or half-black circles (as today); tutors published after c.1770 used circles. *Solfège* terminology was also provided in earlier publications (see illustrations below). In most of the recorder tutors, instruction on ‘gracing’ or ornamentation was given and, in the seventeenth-century tutors, the described graces are similar to those in Greeting’s *The Pleasant Companion* for the flageolet.²⁶⁷ This practice continued until the late eighteenth century, despite the described graces being long out of fashion; in all probability, the printers continued to copy the same engraved plates in order to minimise expenditure. Instruction on transposition of melodies to suit the limited compass of the recorder — particularly in respect of the notes below f’, the lowest note available on the alto — are given in most tutors published after the beginning of the eighteenth century. Tunes (often called ‘lessons’ in the earlier tutors) are usually

²⁶⁶ The universal tutors are *The Compleat Musick-Master* (tutor 19); *The Modern Musick-Master* (20); *A New Musical Grammar* (22); *The Muses Delight* (23); *The Elements of Musick Display’d* (25).

²⁶⁷ Chapter 2, figure 12. Greeting’s tutor was the archetypal flageolet tutor, and subsequent tutors were based upon it. It was still in print as late as 1695 and used as a model for the early recorder tutors. See Chapter 2, 62–67.

provided, these being taken from popular melodies of the day, folk tunes and favourite operatic arias; as a general rule, the tunes could be played by one who has attained the standard of Grade 3 or 4 of the present-day Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, although some of the operatic extracts in *The Modern Musick-Master* are of Grade 5 standard.²⁶⁸

4.2. The seventeenth-century recorder tutors

The first English-language recorder tutor was published in 1679, and three further tutors were published in the ensuing five years.²⁶⁹ The first, Hudgebut's *A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Music*, appeared only six years after the introduction of the Baroque recorder to England in 1673, and was published during the years when the flageolet continued to be a popular instrument for amateur musicians. The next tutor to be published was John Banister II's *The Most Pleasant Companion* in 1681. In 1683 Humphrey Salter's *The Genteel Companion* appeared, followed by John Carr's *The Delightful Companion* in 1686.



Figure 28. Frontispiece and title-page from Salter's *The Genteel Companion*.²⁷⁰ Both recorders are of alto or tenor size.

²⁶⁸ Examples include: for Grade 3, pieces 1 and 5 from *The Bird Fancier's Delight*; for Grade 4, movements 3 and 4 from Handel's sonata in G minor; for Grade 5, movements 3 and 4 from Handel's sonata in F major. The compass of the parts never goes above d'', and the pieces avoid complex rhythmic patterns, although an increased level of dexterity is required as the grades progress.

²⁶⁹ John Hudgebut, *A Vade Mecum for Lovers of Musick* (London: 1679); John Banister, *The Most Pleasant Companion* (London: 1681); Robert Carr, *The Delightful Companion* (London: 1682/86); Humphry Salter, *The Genteel Companion* (London: 1683); for bibliographic information, see Appendix 2, tutors 12–15.

²⁷⁰ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark K.4.a.6; title-page; frontispiece; page numbers are illegible on the natural scale and 'Haile to the Mертtaille Shades'.

All four tutors draw heavily on the pattern established in Greeting's flageolet tutor, *The Pleasant Companion*, and some of the material on gracing is reproduced *verbatim*.²⁷¹

All four begin with a preface introducing the recorder and its virtues, particularly emphasising its similarity to the human voice, and the tutors of Hudgebut, Banister and Carr also refer to the flageolet. Carr, almost certainly referring to the new Baroque recorder and its similarity to the human voice, makes the interesting comment that:

This Delightful Companion, the *Pipe Recorder*, hath been for a long time out of use: but now it's beginning to be in a greater repute than it ever was before: And indeed there is no Musick so near a natural Voice, it admits of excellent Harmony in Consort.²⁷²

Carr is referring in his comment 'for a long time out of use', I suspect, to the suppression of much musical — and more particularly theatrical — activity during the Commonwealth when recorders would have been less frequently heard: for example, Samuel Pepys was fascinated by the sound of recorders in 1668, his comments suggesting that they have seemed to be something of a novelty.²⁷³ The tutors all contain diatonic and chromatic fingering charts for the alto recorder, given in six- or seven-line tablature; the compass of the instrument is given as f'-d"', although Salter extends the upward compass to g''' in the chromatic scale.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Vinqvist, 'Recorder Tutors', 287.

²⁷² Carr, *The Delightful Companion*, 1.

²⁷³ Pepys, *Diaries*, 8 April 1668, vol. 9, 157

²⁷⁴ The frontispiece illustrations of all four tutors show only alto or larger recorders.

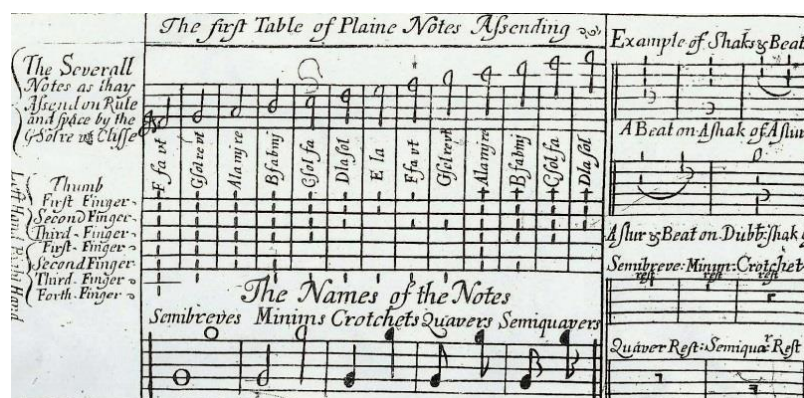
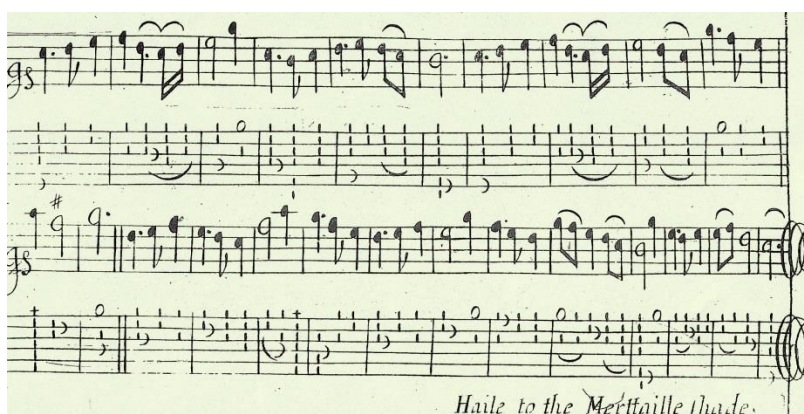


Figure 29. Natural scale from Salter's *The Genteel Companion*. The table on the right indicates the manner of playing graces, and the following page includes a natural scale to g^{'''}.

The first tunes in all four tutors are given in both tablature and staff notation, Banister stating that, in playing, 'The general rule is by way of the gamut (staff notation) but is more difficult therefore I thought it might not be amiss to publish some lessons, in a more easie way, after the manner of the Flagelet, by Characters called Dots...'. Further tunes are given in staff notation only. The tune below (taken from *The Genteel Companion*) is a useful example of the interpretation of the graces as shown by the staff-notated upper line of each system, whilst the graces are indicated by contemporary symbols in the tablature.²⁷⁵



Music example 4. 'Haile to the Merttaille Shades' [sic] from *The Genteel Companion*. The graces are indicated in the tablature version and their realisation is given in the staff notation.

²⁷⁵ Gracing is discussed below under *The Compleat Flute-Master*, section 4.3.

These early recorder tutors suggest a lessening of interest in the flageolet and its tablature and the growth of interest in the recorder and staff notation. By the early eighteenth century the recorder had practically supplanted the flageolet, and there is no mention in the tutors of recorders smaller or larger than the alto.

4.3. The Compleat Flute-Master and the eighteenth-century tutors

The Compleat Flute-Master or the whole Art of playing on ye Rechorder was published by Walsh and Hare in 1695.²⁷⁶ With the exception of the fingering charts which are in tablature, it is the first recorder tutor with tunes written entirely in staff notation and forms the model for a series of similar publications. The unidentified author advertises in the preface that:

...this attempt of ours (being more correct than any yet extant, having all ye rules that can possibly be expressed by way of Printing) will have an effect answerable to its design, ye main end we aim at being only the public advantage.

As Griscom and Lasocki indicate, much of the material in subsequent eighteenth-century tutors is copied from, or derived from, *The Compleat Flute-Master*. They comment:

Walsh and Hare were successful beyond their wildest dreams. They could certainly never have predicted that their fingering chart and ornament instructions were to be pirated and incorporated into most English methods (as well as *The Bird Fancier's Delight*) until as late as the 1780s, when the ornaments must surely have greatly puzzled the performers of classical songs and dances.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ *The Compleat Flute-Master or The whole Art of playing on ye Rechorder, layd open in such easy and plain instructions, that by them ye meanest capacity may arrive to a perfection on that Instrument, with a Collection of ye newest & best Tunes, composed by the most able Masters, to which is added an admirable Solo, fairly engraven on Copper Plattes* (London: Walsh and Hare, 1695); Appendix 2, tutor 16; John Walsh and John Hare published in conjunction between 1695 and 1730 — see Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 321.

²⁷⁷ Griscom and Lasocki, *The Recorder. A Research and Information Guide*, 313; *The Compleat Flute-Master or the whole Art of playing on ye Rechorder*, facsimile of the first edition, 1695, ed. by Gerald Gifford, Jeanne Dolmetsch, and Marianne Mezger (Mytholmroyd: Ruxbury, 2004), p. xxvii lists seventeen such tutors.



Figure 30. Title-page from *The Compleat Flute-Master*.²⁷⁸

The archetype of English recorder tutors is written entirely for the alto recorder, and, like the previous tutors, makes no mention of other sizes of recorder. The scale for the recorder is given firstly as the natural scale in the key of F major from f' to e''', and, secondly, as a chromatic scale from f' to f''' with enharmonic equivalents: the notes are displayed in staff notation and *solfège* terminology is also given. The fingering is displayed in eight-line tablature form and the third finger of the right hand covers the sixth tone-hole from c'' to a flat'' and e flat''' as a supporting finger.²⁷⁹

The art of gracing (or ornamentation) is central to the performance of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century music. The principal graces encountered are:

1. The close shake: a trill beginning on the upper note. (/)
2. The open shake or beat: a lower mordent (+)
3. The slur: modern symbol.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark K.4.b.32; title-page; p.2; page number is illegible on the music example page.

²⁷⁹ Stutz-Finger Technik.

²⁸⁰ Gifford, Dolmetsch, and Mezger, *The Compleat Flute-Master*, xxvii; detailed directions on the three principal and other graces are described in order to aid the modern performer.

Thirty-seven tunes in staff notation (compass f'–d'') with indicated ornamentation follow the instructional text. Unlike later tutors, the first edition of *The Compleat Flute-Master* does not contain directions for transposition, the first Walsh publication to contain such directions being *The Fifth Book of the New Flute-Master* of 1706, although (curiously) the facsimile copy in GB–Lbl does not contain this material.²⁸¹

Example of all the plain notes gradually ascending.
First Learn the Gamut perfectly backwards and forwards by which you acquaint your self with the names of these Lines & Space.

Left hand (Thumb, 1st Finger, 2^d Finger, 3^d Finger, 4th Finger)
Right hand (Thumb, 1st Finger, 2^d Finger, 3^d Finger, 4th Finger)

Beneath those 5 Lines observe these 8 which answer the number of holes on a Flute, & thus direct you how to play your Gamut reckning of upper line if first or Thumb hole, so on these lines on which dots are set, those holes must be stop't. For example Faut has a dot on every line & consequently every hole must be stop't, so where there are no Dots if holes must be open. On if upper line of there & you see a Croß on every note after Grolent in alt. which direct you to stop but half of upper hole pricking it wth the end of your Thumb, & make of note Sound & not higher then it would with if hole quite stop't. But in order to play your Note hold your Flute thus. Place if middle finger of your left hand on if 3^d hole, & if 3^d finger of your right hand on if lowest hole, but one with your right hand Thumb beneath to support your Flute, then if rub of your finger will stop if other holes in course.

Figure 31. Natural (diatonic) scale from *The Compleat Flute-Master*.

oh how you
take not a woman's anger ill
M^r. Purcell

Music example 5. 'Take not a woman's anger ill' from *The Compleat Flute-Master*. The symbols indicating graces are given seventeenth-century (tablature) style.

²⁸¹ Appendix 2, tutor 18: GB–Lbl a.242.

In summary, *The Compleat Flute-Master* represents a break from the older tutors in that tablature is no longer used in the tunes, but only in the form of fingering charts. There is an emphasis on gracing (similar to *The Pleasant Companion* and other flageolet tutors of the late seventeenth century) and the graces are notated in the tunes. Walsh and Hare were major publishers of recorder music; it was no doubt to their commercial advantage to publish a tutor, and they published thirteen iterations of *The Compleat Flute-Master* and *The New Flute Master* between 1695 and 1733.²⁸² As subsequent English tutors were almost all based on *The Compleat Flute-Master*, it is instructive to look at some of the changes wrought in the tutors over the subsequent century.

Never Before Published. The Flute-Master Compleat Improv'd²⁸³

The text of this tutor, published in 1706, differs from that of *The Compleat Flute-Master*, suggesting a different (although un-named) author. The upward compass of the instrument is extended to g"', omitting the problematic note of f sharp"', and the instructions on gracing differ in detail from those in *The Compleat Flute-Master*. It is the latter publication that stood the test of time but, from an historical perspective, the main significance of this early eighteenth-century publication is that contains the first instructions on transposition. Again, the tutor is written for the alto recorder with no mention of other sizes of the instrument.

²⁸² Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works published by John Walsh during the years 1695–1720*; Smith and Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works published by the Firm of John Walsh during the years 1721–1766*.

²⁸³ *Never Before Publish'd the Flute-Master Compleat Improv'd, or the Gentleman's Diversion made more Easie than any yet Extant. Book the First. Containing Plain and Easie Instructions for young Beginners, with Variety of the Newest & best Tunes, Compos'd & Contrived for that Instrument by the most Eminent Masters, to which is Added, An Excellent Solo, by Mr. Tho: Deane of ye Queen's Theatre, Also a Scale shewing how to Transpose Tunes out of any Keys for ye Flute...* (London: printed for John Young, 1706); Appendix 2, tutor 17.

Transposition

The recorder has a limited range of a little over two octaves and the practice of transposition of melodies to render them playable on the alto recorder has seventeenth-century origins; however, the 1706 tutor *The Flute-Master Compleat Improved* is the first tutor to contain instruction on transposition and much of this material was reproduced in *The Modern Musick-Master* (1731) and subsequent publications. The lowest notes of melodies may lie between c' and e', (so below the lowest note of the alto recorder), and the tutors make provision for upward transposition of melodies so as to lie within the compass of the alto, but there are no contemporary references to the use of the voice flute (in d') or the tenor recorder (in c') to avoid transposition. Such instruments did, however exist.²⁸⁴

As a general principle, upward transposition of a fifth reduces the flats in the key signature by two and upward transposition of a fourth reduces the sharps by one: it is therefore preferable to transpose flat keys up a fifth, and sharp keys up a fourth. However, upward transposition of these intervals may take a melody out of the upper range of the recorder but, for example, the upward transposition of a fourth of a piece of which the lowest note is c' and the highest g'', would make the upper note c''', well within the compass of the instrument.

The tutors indicate that transposition is almost always an upward exercise to allow the recorder player to play melodies which extend below f'. There is no mention of downward transposition of melodies which are too high — no doubt because the upper notes of music likely to be encountered by the beginner would be well within the

²⁸⁴ Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript'.

compass of the alto recorder and songs intended for amateur performance would be unlikely to extend above a".

The Modern Musick-Master and its Successors

The Modern Musick-Master is a universal tutor published by Peter Prelleur in 1730–31, and contains instructions for singing and for various instruments in seven separate sections, together with a history of music and a musical dictionary.²⁸⁵ The frontispiece to the complete volume shows a salon music party with two transverse flutes, an alto recorder, violin, bassoon, 'cello, singer, and harpsichord: this is of interest for it not only shows the recorder being played at a time when its popularity was on the wane but also being played in combination with the flute.²⁸⁶ Part II 'Directions for playing on the Flute' (recorder) is devoted to the recorder and most of the material is derived from *The Compleat Flute-Master*.

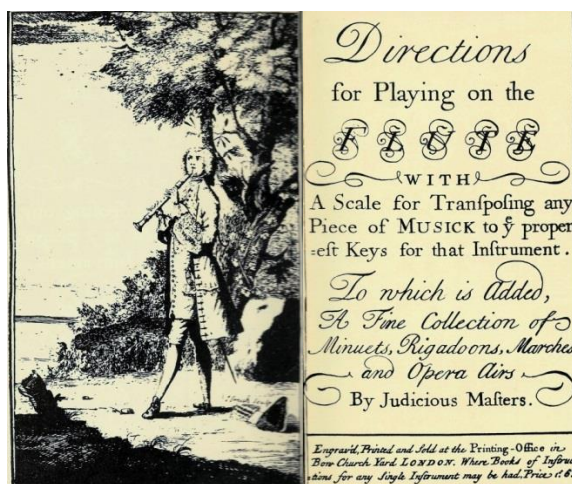


Figure 32. Frontispiece and title-page from Part II of *The Modern Musick-Master*. The musician is playing on an alto recorder.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ *The Modern Musick-Master; or the Universal Musician containing...ii. Directions for playing on the Flute. iii. The Newest Method for Learners on the German Flute.* (London: compiled by Peter Prelleur, 1731); Appendix 2, tutor 20; The first advertisements appeared in *Fog's Weekly Journal* and the *London Journal* of 14 November 1730. It was advertised in several newspapers in November and December.

²⁸⁶ There are few eighteenth-century compositions containing parts for both recorder and flute but it seems likely that players would have used whatever instruments were available, particularly in domestic music-making.

²⁸⁷ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark d.40.; frontispiece from Part II; p.8; p.27.

Unlike the early editions of *The Compleat Flute-Master*, instructions for transposition are provided, copied substantially from *Never Before Published. The Flute-Master Compleat Improved* of 1706 ('To transpose a Tune that is too low for the Flute'). The instructions on gracing are copied from *The Compleat Flute-Master*, but the symbol for the close shake is now described as 'thus // or thus tr'.²⁸⁸ Comparing the tunes in *The Compleat Flute-Master* with those in *The Modern Musick-Master*, I find that fewer ornaments are prescribed in the latter publication (only close shakes and slurs) and all the close shakes are denoted by 'tr'.

In summary, *The Modern Musick-Master* represents a minimal updating — with instruction on transposition — of a publication which had been in circulation for some 35 years, namely *The Compleat Flute-Master*. It became the model for subsequent eighteenth-century recorder tutors.

Recorder tutors published in the latter half of the eighteenth century show only minor alterations; the use of tablature to indicate fingering changed to the modern notation of dots, circles, and half-circles after c.1775, and the term given to the instrument gradually changed from 'flute' to 'common flute'.²⁸⁹ The tunes were updated and modern terminology applied to ornamentation, but the instructions on gracing from *The Compleat Flute-Master* remained, presumably (as I have noted above) because printers copied the original engraved plates in the interests of economy. The last tutor I have identified dating from the eighteenth century is Preston's *New and Complete Instructions for the Common Flute* of c.1790: a further edition was printed for George Goulding between 1787 and 1799. The watermark suggests a date of 1794, but, by

²⁸⁸ *The Modern Musick Master*, 4.

²⁸⁹ Dots indicate a closed hole, circles an open one, and half-circles a half-closed ('pinched') thumb-hole.

1803, the tutor no longer featured in Preston's catalogue.²⁹⁰ Nine further tutors which do not require detailed consideration in this chapter are listed in Appendix 2.²⁹¹



Figure 33. Frontispiece and title-page from *Compleat Instructions for the Common Flute* (c.1780).²⁹²

4.4. Conclusions.

The early tutors (Hudgebut, Banister, Salter and Carr) form a bridge between flageolet tutors such as *The Pleasant Companion* and *Youth's Delight* and the later recorder tutors, of which *The Compleat Flute-Master* of 1695 is the archetype. The early tutors continued to incorporate the use of tablature notation not only as fingering charts, but also to notate some of the tunes, and the seventeenth-century symbols for gracing

²⁹⁰ Ewald Henseler, 'Zwei unbekannte Griffstabellen', *Tibia*, 26/1 (2001), 384–5; Appendix 2, tutors 28 and 29.

²⁹¹ Tutors 18, 19, 22–27.

²⁹² ©The British Library Board, shelfmark b.170.c.; title-page; frontispiece; Appendix 2, tutor 27.

continued to be a feature of recorder tutors until the late eighteenth century. The declining use of tablature is further evidence of the ascendancy of the recorder over the flageolet at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most recorder tutors of the eighteenth century followed the pattern of *The Compleat Flute-Master*, albeit with some changes in terminology of the instrument and the provision of new tunes. The universal tutors carried minimal information about the various instruments described; William Tans'ur's *A New Musical Grammar* of 1746, for example, contains only a few comments and fingerings for the natural and chromatic scales.²⁹³

Two features stand out from this study of recorder tutors. Firstly, tutors continued to be published until the end of the eighteenth century, despite the recorder apparently declining in popularity by the second quarter of the century.²⁹⁴ That the material contained in these later tutors hardly changes is explained, I believe, by the diminishing of interest in the recorder as the eighteenth century progressed and therefore publishers did not consider it worthwhile to update their material. Secondly — and of particular relevance to the present thesis — it is noteworthy that none of the specific recorder tutors that I have studied makes reference to either small recorders or those larger than the alto, despite the existence of instruments and, in the case of the small recorders, an assigned repertoire. However, Tans'ur's *A New Musical Grammar* of 1746 comments that 'Of *Flutes* there are many sorts, as a *Consort-Flute*; a *Third-Flute*; a *Fifth*, a *Sixth*, and *Octave-Flute*, yet all may be play'd by the foregoing rules'. The musical dictionary in the universal tutor *The Muses Delight* of 1754 gives, under the entry 'Flautino or Flageolet', 'a little or small flute, of the common sort; like what we call a sixth flute or

²⁹³ *A New Musical Grammar: or, the Harmonical Spectator. Containing All the useful Theoretical, Practical, and Technical Parts of Musick...By William Tans'ur: Musico Theorico Author of the Universal Harmony &c.* (Author: 1746); Appendix 2, tutor 22.

²⁹⁴ MacMillan, 'The Recorder in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries'.

an octave flute'. Bremner's recorder-specific *The Compleat Tutor for the Flute* of 1765 advertises 'English Flutes of all Sizes'. In the early eighteenth century, music for small recorders was transposed so that the player read from the part using alto fingering but none of the tutors — with the notable exception of *A New Musical Grammar* — allude to this practice.²⁹⁵ Music assigned to octave recorders was published from the early years of the eighteenth century to the 1790s, and it is surprising that these instruments — and the appropriate transposition — are not mentioned in the tutors. Their repertoire was, small and, often being of some technical difficulty, probably deemed to be for professional musicians rather than amateurs, who would have most likely to have played the alto recorder and transposed as a matter of course. The only plausible reason why octave recorders are not discussed in the tutors is the fact that their music was transposed so that the player read the alto fingering, the only fingering with which he or she would have been familiar.

Part 2: Repertoire for the recorder

4.5. Introduction

Music for the recorder may or may not specify the size of recorder required but, as a general rule, the absence of a specific assignation implies the use of the alto.²⁹⁶ This section of the thesis will focus primarily on the music specifying octave recorders, but the English small flute concerti will be considered in Chapter 5. The terms chosen by composers to signify 'octave recorder' may give rise to confusion, in that *flautino*, *flauto piccolo* and *petite flûte* may refer to more than one instrument, usually either the recorder, the flageolet, or the piccolo. Sardelli lists many varieties of small flutes in his

²⁹⁵ Appendix 2, tutors 22 (*A New Musical Grammar*), 23 (*The Muses Delight*), and 24 (Bremner).

²⁹⁶ There is very little music dating from the eighteenth century which is specifically assigned to the voice flute, tenor, and bass recorders.

Vivaldi's Music for the Flute and Recorder, and it becomes necessary to examine the availability of particular instruments in relation to the date of composition (or performance) of the piece in question.²⁹⁷ This, however, is a matter which has given rise to confusion when studying the allocation of parts to particular instruments; flageolets were seldom used in England in the eighteenth century and transverse piccolos did not exist in the country until the very end of the century. English composers writing in the eighteenth century, when using the terms given above, generally required recorders rather than flageolets. For example, the obbligato to the aria 'Augelleti, che cantate' in Handel's *Rinaldo* was scored for a *flageoletto* in 1711, but the composer specified a *flauto piccolo* for the 1731 revival of the opera, almost certainly referring to the recorder as the flageolet had practically passed out of use. There is no English assigned music for octave recorders dating from the late seventeenth century known to me, and music requiring the flageolet has been discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4. The first English compositions specifying octave recorders date from the second decade of the eighteenth century: some composers specify the type of octave recorder (for example, 'fifth flute') whereas others call for a *flautino*, *flauto piccolo*, or small flute.

The recorder was often used in specific musical situations and for particular effects. Alan Davis, in his paper on 'Purcell and the Recorder' in *Recorder and Music* (1996), lists seven situations in which recorders were traditionally employed; in the eighteenth century, the last of these roles would become particularly the province of octave recorders.

1. The Supernatural
2. Ceremonial and religious events
3. Amorous scenes
4. Pastoral scenes

²⁹⁷ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 180–81.

5. Repose
6. 'Textual references to "the flute"'
7. Ornithological representation²⁹⁸

Examination of the recorder repertoire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries confirms that the recorder was used in these contexts. Although professional recorder players existed (usually also oboists but occasionally as flautists) the majority of recorder players were — as today — amateurs.²⁹⁹

In view of the preponderance of amateur recorder playing, it is hardly surprising that much of the repertoire is technically straightforward, with a notable avoidance of the more difficult notes above d''' on the alto recorder. As I have noted in Chapter 3, the notes of e flat''', e''' and f''' lie in the third register and are more difficult to sound and tune accurately than those in the first and second registers, and this acoustic feature may explain why they are relatively seldom employed in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English alto recorder music.³⁰⁰ The complex leaps and high notes found in the recorder music of (for example) Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767) seldom feature in English recorder solos and sonatas.

4.6. The late seventeenth-century recorder repertoire

As I have noted in Chapter 3, the Baroque (alto) recorder arrived in England in the 1670s and most assigned music (whether for the church, the court or the stage) was for this type of recorder. Henry Purcell (1659–95), for example, used only alto recorders (with one exception) in 22 secular works.³⁰¹ Playford's *Apollo's Banquet*, published

²⁹⁸ Alan Davis, 'Purcell and the Recorder', *Recorder and Music*, 16/1 (1996), 9–15.

²⁹⁹ See Chapter 7, section 7.3 for a discussion on the role of amateurs in connection with the recorder.

³⁰⁰ Chapter 3, 107.

³⁰¹ Davies, 'Purcell and the Recorder'; the one exception is the use of a basset recorder in No. 3, 'Hark each tree' from *Hail! Bright Cecilia* of 1692.

between 1669 and 1713 is primarily a tutor and book of tunes for the violin, but, in the 1693 edition it contains material also deemed suitable ‘for the flute or recorder’.³⁰²

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, published songs often contained a part ‘for the flute’. In her thesis ‘For the Flute’, (subtitled ‘Published Songs and the Amateur Recorder Player in London in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries’) Caren Buse discusses the role of the recorder as an amateur’s instrument and notes that many of the song melodies (even if headed ‘for the flute’) would require transposition.³⁰³ She indicates that the parts seldom extend above d^{'''}, but sometimes include lower notes unobtainable on the alto recorder in f['], which could be played on a voice flute or tenor recorder but observes that there is no indication for the use of these instruments in the parts.³⁰⁴ She makes no mention of a complete octave transposition so that the parts *could* be played on a soprano recorder in c["] but suggests that players may transpose the occasional octave or omit the notes altogether.³⁰⁵ An examination of recorder parts in song books and song sheets reveals that arrangements were published ‘within the compass of the flute’ or ‘transpos’d for the flute’, indulging in upward transposition of thirds, fourths or fifths. In effect, this produced versions of the melody for the solo recorder as opposed to the instrument being employed to accompany the voice — a practice no doubt intended to promote sales of printed music.³⁰⁶ The English diarist John Evelyn (1620–1706) heard a recorder when at a dinner with the Master of

³⁰² Chapter 2, 75–76, and Appendix 3, tutors 3 and 4.

³⁰³ Caren Buse, ‘For the Flute’, unpublished PhD diss., University of Wales, Bangor, 2002; see Chapter 1, 45.

³⁰⁴ Many voice flutes and tenor recorders dating from the early eighteenth century are extant.

³⁰⁵ Buse, *op.cit.*, 118–119.

³⁰⁶ This practice was continued in the nineteenth-century flageolet repertoire. See MacMillan, ‘The Flageolet in England: 1800–1900’, 251.

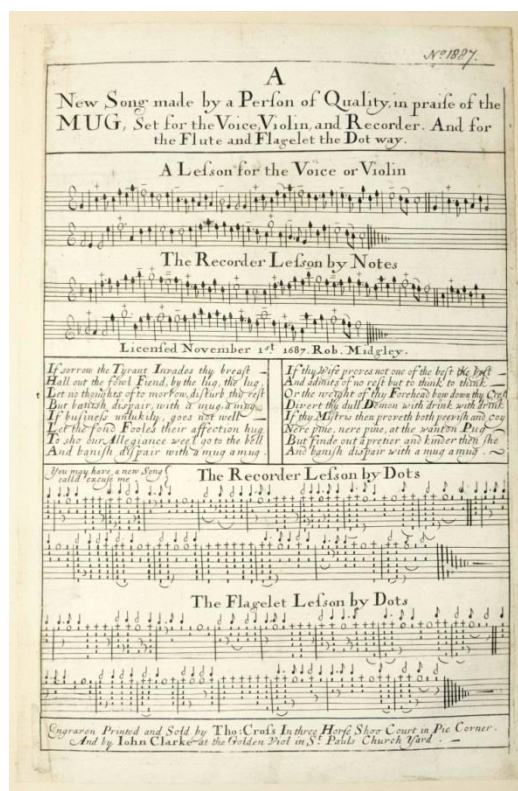
the Mint on 20 November 1679, noting that ‘There was also a *Flute douce* now in much request for accompanying the voice’.³⁰⁷

An example of a transposed recorder part and the late use of tablature as applied to the recorder may be found in the song ‘If Sorrow the Tyrant’, ‘Set for the Voice, Violin, and Recorder. And for the Flute and Flageolet the Dot way’ which was published by Robert Midgely in 1687.³⁰⁸ It is a song in praise of drinking to drown one’s sorrows in respect of business difficulties, marital problems and inadequate mistresses.

Described, as is customary in the late seventeenth century, as a ‘lesson’ for the voice or violin, the tune is given with indicated ornamentation. Following this, the melody is repeated a fourth higher with slightly altered ornamentation and described as ‘The Recorder Lesson by Notes’. Below this, ‘The Recorder Lesson by Dots’ gives the melody in tablature but in the same key as the music for voice and violin. The flageolet part is likewise given in tablature for a flageolet with a sixth-finger note of G, again in the tonic key, the small hooked figures indicating gracing.

³⁰⁷ *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by E. S. de Beer, Vol. IV, *Kalendarium* 1673–1689 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

³⁰⁸ Midgely was a London publisher, *fl*1687; see Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 232.



Music example 6. 'If sorrow the Tyrant'.³⁰⁹

The transposition of the recorder part in staff notation is of interest. The melody as given for the voice and violin does not fit on the alto recorder in f' because of two occurrences of e'. Three solutions are possible: firstly, it is apparent that the recorder player using staff notation could transpose the melody up a fourth so that the player of a recorder in C (soprano or tenor) were to use alto recorder fingering, the melody would sound in the tonic key, as on the violin. This would have the effect of adding one flat to the key signature, as may be seen on the song-sheet. The second option is provided by the version for the recorder using tablature. In this case, the player would require an instrument in C or D.³¹⁰ Thirdly, it may be that the recorder player using an alto and, playing from staff notation, would be happy to play the piece as a solo in a different

³⁰⁹ Reproduced by permission of Chetham's Music Library, Manchester, GB—Mch H.P.1887; Appendix 3, item 9.

³¹⁰ A voice flute or a tenor.

key, such a practice being common in song arrangements for the transverse flute and flageolet as late as the nineteenth century.

Peter Holtslag, in his sleeve notes for a Compact Disc entitled ‘Awakening Princesses’, also notes the widespread use of the recorder by amateurs in songs with the vocal parts transposed to suit the compass of the recorder.³¹¹ He observes that recorders in sizes other than the alto may be required, but gives no evidence for octave transposition to suit octave recorders. Holtslag comments that Walsh’s *Monthly Mask of Vocal Music* (published between 1702 and 1711) contains 360 songs, 239 of which have recorder parts requiring instruments in various keys, but again with no indication for the use of octave recorders.

4.7. The eighteenth-century recorder repertoire

By the early years of the eighteenth century, the sonata and trio sonata with basso continuo were well-established in England and there remains a repertoire of this music for alto recorder as well as numerous solos, duets and trios for recorders, often aimed essentially at the amateur musician.³¹² Opera tunes were transcribed for one or two recorders.³¹³ Concerti were also composed, although mainly for octave recorders: one of William Babell’s six concerti (published in 1726) requires two altos, and two of John Baston’s six concerti (published in 1729) called for an alto recorder, the remaining four being for fifth or sixth flutes. The instrument continued to figure in music for the theatre, Handel requiring recorders in twenty-two out of thirty-nine operas; octave

³¹¹ Peter Holtslag, Liner note to ‘Awakening Princesses’ (recordings of historic recorders from The Bate Collection, Oxford), compact disc Aeolus LC 02232 © and ®, (2012), 9, 11, 15.

³¹² The term ‘solo’ may apply to an either an accompanied piece (in modern terms, a sonata) or to an unaccompanied piece.

³¹³ The *Post Boy* of 27 September 1720 advertised the publication by Walsh and Hare of ‘The Opera of *Radamisto* for the Flute; containing the Overtures, Symphonies, Songs, and additional Aires, curiously transposed and fitted to the Flute in a complete manner...’.

recorders, however, are only required in three of these works.³¹⁴ The quantity of published material for the recorder began to diminish in the third and fourth decades of the eighteenth century as the German flute became more popular but, apart from the tutors (which were often new editions of earlier publications), very little music was published for alto recorder in the second half of the eighteenth century and, by 1800, the instrument had become obsolescent, although a few recorders were made in England in the early nineteenth century.³¹⁵

The repertoire for octave recorders

A search of both published and unpublished music reveals that sporadic use was made of octave recorders from the second to the tenth decades of the eighteenth century. The table below summarises representative pieces, and notes both the instrument required and the compass of the part.³¹⁶ The music is notated as for the alto, so that the player reads as if he were playing that instrument: for example, the fifth flute's lowest note sounds c'', but to comply with twenty-first century notation wherein the instrument's lowest note is notated c', the music is transposed up a fourth. Similarly, that for the fourth flute is transposed up a major second, for the sixth flute a major third. For the sopranino, the music is simply transposed down an octave. This rather confusing situation arises because the octave recorders sound an octave higher than notated; the transposition of the part in the scores gives the clue to which recorder is required. Using this notational system, fifth and sixth flutes are best suited to sharp keys.³¹⁷ The small

³¹⁴ *Riccardo Primo*, *Rinaldo* (1731 performance), and *Alcina*. In the first two, the recorder is used to imitate birds, and, in the third, two recorders play in a *tambourin*, possibly in imitation of the *galoubet*; Appendix 3, items 14, 16, and 17.

³¹⁵ Douglas MacMillan, 'Baroque Recorders in the Nineteenth Century', *Galpin Society Journal*, 68 (2015), 220–22.

³¹⁶ My intention here is to provide a representative overview of the repertoire, rather than attempting a complete catalogue of music published for octave recorders.

³¹⁷ Chapter 3, 105.

flute concerti are not discussed in the present chapter but will form the core of Chapter 5.³¹⁸

Excluding the concerti, the sixth flute is not required: of the remaining fourteen pieces, ten require the sopranino, two the fifth flute and one, the fourth flute. Comparing the instrumentation with Table 4 of extant small recorders in Chapter 3, it is interesting to note that only one sopranino survives, as against two sixth flutes, five fifth flutes, and three fourth flutes (one incomplete). An examination of extant music suggests that the fourth flute was seldom used, whereas the fifth and sixth flutes are required in concerti; the sopranino was a popular obbligato instrument in vocal music. The table below summarises my representative overview of music for octave recorders in eighteenth-century England.

Date	Composer	Title	Flute	Range
1717	Handel	<i>Water Music</i>	5	g'-a''
1717	Anon.	<i>The Bird Fancier's Delight</i>	8	g'-e'''
1718	Handel	'Hush, ye pretty warbling quire'	8	g'-d'''
		'O Ruddier than the cherry' (<i>Acis and Galatea</i>)	8	f'-f'''
1718	Galliard	'How sweet the warbling linnet sings' (<i>Pan and Syrinx</i>)	8	a'-e'''
1726	Babell	<i>4 solo concerti</i>	6	
1726	Babell	<i>double concerto</i>	6x2	
1727	Woodcock	<i>3 solo concerti</i>	6	

³¹⁸ The dates given for the concerti of Babell, Baston and Woodcock are the dates of their publication by Walsh: the dates of composition are not known.

1727	<i>Woodcock</i>	<i>3 double concerti</i>	6x2	
1725	Galliard	‘O blest Retreat’ (<i>The Rape of Prosperine</i>)	8	c''–e'''
1727	Handel	‘Il volo cosi fido’ (<i>Riccardo primo</i>)	8	g'–d'''
1729	<i>Baston</i>	<i>4 solo concerti</i>	6	
1729	<i>Baston</i>	<i>1 solo concerto</i>	5	
1731	Handel	‘Augelletti, che cantate’ (<i>Rinaldo</i>)	8	g'–d'''
1735	Handel	<i>Tambourin (Alcina)</i>	5	d'–g''
1740	Arne	‘Under the greenwood tree’ (from the songs in <i>As you like it</i>)	8	c''–d'''
1751	Boyce	‘The drum is unbrac'd’ (<i>The Shepherd's Lottery</i>)	4	f'–f''
1758	Arne	‘The woodlark whistles’ (<i>Eliza</i>)	8	g'–d'''
1765	Arne	The Morning (<i>Six Cantatas</i>)	8	c#''–d'''
1771	Arne	‘A Wood Nymph’ (<i>A Fairy Prince</i>)	8	d''–e'''
1782	Shield	Overture & trio (<i>Rosina</i>)	8	b'–f'''
1784	Shield	Overture (<i>The Noble Peasant</i>)	8x2	e''–c'''
1787	Shield	‘A Flaxen-headed Cow Boy’ (<i>The Farmer</i>)	8	f''–f'''
1787	Arnold	Overture (<i>Inkle and Yarico</i>)	8	d'–e''
1793	Arnold	Overture (<i>The Children in the Wood</i>)	8	g'–b''
?	<i>Dieupart</i>	<i>Concerto</i>	5	
?	<i>Sammartini</i>	<i>Concerto</i>	5	
?	<i>Anon.</i>	<i>Suite</i>	6	

Table 5. Representative overview of the repertoire for octave recorders
The small flute concerti (to be discussed in Chapter 5) are italicised.

The fourth flute

Little music was written for this instrument, which is not included in Tans'ur's list of flutes; only two complete examples of the instrument survive. However, William Boyce (1711–79) calls for a fourth flute to accompany one aria in his *The Shepherd's Lottery*, an all-sung pastoral afterpiece first given at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane on 19 November 1751; the libretto is by Moses Mendez, and the work was subsequently published by John Walsh. The part for the 'Common 4th. Flute' is transposed up a major second to enable the player to use alto fingering, and is intended to reinforce a pastoral image:³¹⁹

The Drum is unbrac'd, and ye trumpet no more shall rouse the Soldier to
fight...
The Shepherd securely now roams through the Glade,
Or merrily pipes in the Vale...

The compass of the part is f' to f'', lying comfortably in the middle range of the instrument, and could equally well be played on an alto or fifth flute; it is not known why Boyce chose the fourth flute; perhaps his choice was made on visual, theatrical grounds, or on the availability of an instrument. The small instrument would accord better with the image of the piping shepherd than the more solemn-sounding alto.

³¹⁹ Walsh edition, 1751, GB-Lbl MAD.SOC.58, G.225.(1.); Appendix 3, item 19.

16 *Sung by M^r. Beard.*

A Common 4th. Flute. Solo Allegro Tutti

1st. Horn. Solo Tutti

2d. Horn. Solo Tutti

1st. Viol.

2d. Viol.

Tenor.

Cello.

Bass. Allegro 6

Music example 7. The opening of 'The Drum is unbrac'd' from *The Shepherd's , Lottery*, illustrating the transposed fourth flute part.³²⁰

The fifth and sixth flutes

Although used in three concerti, the fifth flute was seldom used in other works. Handel, however, called for fifth flutes in the *Water Music* of 1717, and his opera *Alcina* of 1735.

The *Water Music* was written for outdoor performance on the River Thames to accompany the passage of King George I from Whitehall to Chelsea on 17 July 1717.³²¹

Three sections of the *Water Music* (considered by Thurston Dart and others to be three suites) may be distinguished by their orchestration, the first (in F major and D minor) requiring oboes and horns in addition to strings, the second (in D major) requiring trumpets, and the third (in G major and G minor) calling for flutes and recorders.³²²

Two fifth flutes (styled *Flauto piccolo*) play in unison in numbers 19 and 20, a minuet and a country dance. The music is in the key of G minor and the recorder parts are

³²⁰ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark, G.225. (1.), p.16.

³²¹ HAA, IV/13.*; HWV, 350.*; Appendix 3, item 10.

³²² Anthony Hicks, 'Handel, George Frideric', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 7 July 2015.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40060pg18>.

written a fourth higher in C minor (indicating fifth flutes) and with a sounding range of d" to b flat"". The recorders double the first violins at the octave.³²³

The first performance of *Alcina* was given at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, on 16 April 1735 and the recorder parts represent the final use of octave recorders by Handel.³²⁴ A brief celebratory *tambourin** in the final scene is scored for two *Flauti piccoli* in unison. The piece lies in the key of G major and the compass of the recorder part is from (notated) d' to g", suggesting fifth flutes, although sixth flutes could be used. Curiously, for octave recorder parts, there is no transposition to alto fingering, although the music is transposed down an octave: consequently, it is not apparent whether the composer intended fifth or sixth flutes, but would be technically easier to read the melody on fifth flutes. The recorders may double the first violins, but also play the introductory violin melody over a violin drone. Alto recorders are employed in other numbers in the opera. In both the *Water Music* and *Alcina*, the recorder is used as an octave flute to brighten the orchestral sound, and, in the case of the *tambourin*, to express the sound of the Provençal *galoubet* (*flûte de tambourin*) or tabor-pipe. The sixth flute is only required for the concerto repertoire.

The sopranino recorder 1700–50

The sopranino recorder in f" features in music by Handel and Galliard as well as the anonymous *Bird Fancier's Delight*. *The Bird Fancier's Delight* was essentially music for the bird flageolet, but the title page also refers to the use of the recorder 'after ye

³²³ Christopher Hogwood, *Handel: Water Music and Music for the Royal Fireworks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 43–45.

³²⁴ HHA, II/33; HWV, 34; Appendix 3, item 17.

Flageolet and Flute, when rightly made as to size and tone' and the compass of the pieces (g'-e''') renders them suitable for a sopranino recorder.³²⁵

Handel required a sopranino recorder in *Acis and Galatea* (1718) for the obligato to 'Hush, ye pretty warbling quire', wherein Galatea (following a recitative which extols the countryside) sings of her love for Acis.³²⁶ The composer called for a *flauto piccolo*, and, with a compass of g' to d''', the obvious choice of instrument is the sopranino recorder, whose part is doubled by the first violin: however, the part could be realised on a flageolet in G, but in 1718 a recorder would have been more likely.



Music example 8. *Flauto piccolo* part from 'Hush, ye pretty warbling quire' from *Acis and Galatea*.³²⁷

Less certain, however, is the use of the sopranino in Polyphemus' aria 'O ruddier than the cherry' wherein the giant sings of his love for Galatea. The autograph specifies *flauto* (implying an alto recorder) but all editions based on the 1718 conducting score assign the part to a *flauto piccolo ottavo*, suggesting a sopranino recorder. The compass of the part is two octaves from f' to f''' (notated) and lies perfectly on the sopranino recorder although a flageolet was used in performance in the early nineteenth

³²⁵ See Chapter 2, sections 2.3. and 2.4. for a description of *The Bird Fancyer's Delight*.

³²⁶ HHA, I/9; HWV, 49a; Appendix 3, item 12.

³²⁷ © The British Library Board, shelfmark Egerton 2940 f24.

century.³²⁸ It has been suggested that the use of a tiny instrument (rather than an alto recorder) makes a suitable mockery of the lumbering giant who, in the preceding recitative, sings ‘make me a pipe for my capacious mouth’.

The question arises ‘recorder or flageolet?’ Judging from the tutors, the sixth-finger (lowest) note of most late seventeenth and early eighteenth century flageolets was g' although it was possible to obtain the semitone below by partially occluding the bell with the little finger of the right hand, but f' was not obtainable except on a flageolet built in that key. This makes the use of the flageolet in ‘O ruddier than the cherry’ less probable, and, as the autograph specifies *flauto* (alto recorder in f'), I incline to the view that either an alto or sopranino recorder is appropriate.

Handel again used a sopranino recorder in his *Riccardo primo, Re d'Inghilterra* of 1727. The soprano aria begins ‘Il volo così fido al dolce amato nido’ (‘The flight, so safe to the sweet beloved nest’).³²⁹ The text of the aria suggests the lover flying to her beloved’s nest and the sopranino recorder — with its bird-like timbre — would be suitable to illustrate the scene.

For the 1711 performances of *Rinaldo*, Handel specified a *flageoletto* to accompany the aria ‘Augeletti, che cantate’.³³⁰ In the 1731 performance, he substituted a *flauto piccolo* (which would have implied a sopranino recorder) as the flageolet was, by this date, obsolescent.

³²⁸ MacMillan, ‘The English Flageolet, 1800–1900’; a Mr. Sharpe, the second oboist at Covent Garden, played the part on a flageolet in 1822. It is unlikely that recorders would have been available by this date.

³²⁹ HHA II/20; HWV 23; Appendix 3, item 14.

³³⁰ Chapter 2, 76–77; music example 2; Appendix 3, items 2 and 21.

Johann Ernst Galliard (1687–1747) scored for a sopranino recorder in his one-act opera *Pan and Syrinx* (libretto by Lewis Theobald) of 1718. The soprano aria ‘How sweet the warbling linnet sings’ has an obbligato part for the sopranino (compass g'–d'''), the instrument imitating bird song.³³¹ Galliard also used two sopranino recorders (in unison) in the aria ‘O Blest Retreat, O Blissful Bow’rs’ in *The Rape of Prosperine* (libretto also by Theobald) of 1725–27. The compass of the part is (notated) c''–e'''.³³²

In these pieces, the sopranino is used to give an impression of an idealised countryside and singing birds. Pastoral diversions were a common amusement in the French court at Versailles, and recorders were used (together with musettes) to illustrate such scenes: in Italy the recorder was also used to imitate bird song, for example in the recorder version of Vivaldi’s *Il/ Del gardellino* (The Goldfinch).³³³ The practice was set to continue almost to the end of the eighteenth century.

The last documented use of the fourth flute was in Boyce’s *The Shepherd’s Lottery* of 1751, and I have not encountered any assigned music for fifth and sixth flute written or published in the second half of the eighteenth century: the sopranino, however, continued in sporadic use until the 1790s.

The sopranino recorder 1750–1800

Further examples of the use of the sopranino in vocal music may be found in the work of Thomas Augustine Arne (1710–1778). Although first performed in 1740, it was not until 1750 that John Cox published Arne’s set of songs from William Shakespeare’s

³³¹ GB–Lbl Add. MS 31588 (autograph); GB–Obl Mus.67.c.11; Appendix 3, item 13.

³³² GB–Lbl H.117; Appendix 3, item 15.

³³³ Lasocki and Rowland-Jones in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, 109; Antonio Vivaldi, Op.3.no.10, RV 90a/90b: see Sardelli, *Vivaldi’s Music for Flute and Recorder*, 114–16.

pastoral comedy *As you like it* of 1599.³³⁴ Amien's song 'Under the greenwood tree' is set in a forest scene and is scored for *flauto piccolo*, violins and continuo. The recorder part is suitable for the sopranino (c''– d''', in the key of F major) and accords with the words 'And turns his merry note unto the sweet bird's throat'. The use of the recorder in this song again reflects the use of the instrument to portray pastoral scenes and bird song. Arne's three-act opera *Eliza* (1754; libretto by Richard Rolt) is concerned with Queen Elizabeth I of England, its eponymous heroine.³³⁵ The aria 'The woodlark whistles through the grove' is accompanied by a 'Little Flute Solo', the range of g'–d''', indicating a sopranino. Again, the recorder is used to portray bird song.

Published some nine years later, Arne's cantata *The Morning* (the fifth cantata of a set of 'Six Cantatas for a voice, and instruments set to Musick by Thomas Arne') is scored for soprano voice, 'German Flute or Small Flute', two violins, viola, and basso continuo.³³⁶ The five-movement pastoral cantata requires a 'German flute or small flute' in the second and third movements. In the second ('The lark his warbling matten sings') the instrument imitates bird song, and in the third ('The village up, the shepherd tries his pipe') it alludes to the whistling shepherd. The compass of the part lies in the range c sharp' to d''' and lies comfortably on a sopranino recorder: in view of the references to birds and to the whistling of the shepherd, a sopranino would seem more appropriate than the German flute, which would sound an octave lower.

³³⁴ GB–Lbl G.322.4.; Appendix 3, item 18.

³³⁵ GB–Lbl G.228.1.; Appendix 3, item 20.

³³⁶ GB–Lbl G.321.1.; Appendix 3, item 21.



Music example 9. The opening of ‘The lark his warbling matten sings’ from Arne’s *The Morning* showing the entry of the flute/recorder part.³³⁷

Arne’s adaptation of Ben Johnson’s *The Fairy Prince* (1604) with libretto by George Colman (1732–94) and published in 1771, is scored, in addition to the singers, for two violins, basso continuo and an octave flute. The aria ‘A Wood Nymph’ requires an octave flute, which enters at bar 49 to the words ‘Up, nightingale and sing, jug, jug, jug, jug’; various species of birds are introduced, each prefaced by a short flourish on the recorder. The recorder is used here in its ‘bird imitation’ capacity; the sopranino fits both the compass (d^{''}–e^{'''}) and the character of the piece.³³⁸

William Shield (1748–1829) used sopranino recorders in his comic opera *Rosina* of 1782.³³⁹ A pair of ‘Small Flutes’ is required in the overture and in the trio ‘When the rosy morn appearing, Paints with gold the verdant lawn’. The two instruments play mainly in thirds in the overture, but in the aria the first recorder plays a ‘bird imitation’ part. The compass required for the overture is b[']– e^{'''}, and in the trio, f[']–f^{'''}. Shield used the instrument again in his comic opera *The Farmer* of 1787 to imitate a whistling plough-boy who had social and political ambitions:

³³⁷ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark G.321.(1.), p.45.

³³⁸ GB–Lbl G.226.b.(1.); Appendix 3, item 22.

³³⁹ GB–Lbl Hirsh M.555, Add MS 22815; Appendix 3, item 23.

A flaxen-headed Cow Boy as simple as may be
 And next a merry plough boy
 I whistled o'er the Lea...

The part is assigned to a 'small flute' and has a compass of a'-f"', and is written in the tonic key.³⁴⁰ A sopranino recorder is intended, the recorder ending the song with a short solo passage. Shield also provided a pair of sopraninos with a simple part in the overture to *The Noble Peasant* of 1784.³⁴¹

Samuel Arnold (1740–1802) incorporated an 'Octave Flute' in the second movement of the overture to *Inkle and Yarico* (1787) and in *The Children in the Wood* (1793): both pieces lie most comfortably on a sopranino.³⁴² Apart from the octave, neither part is transposed.

4.8. Lost and spurious works

Around 1725, Walsh and Hare published:

*Corelli's XII concertos [Op 6] transpos'd for Flutes, viz., a Fifth, a Sixth, a Consort and Voice Flute, the proper Flute being nam'd to each Concerto and so adapted to the Parts that they perform in Consort with the Violins and other Instruments. Throughout the whole being the first of its kind yet published.*³⁴³

Only fragments of this arrangement survive (sadly, none of the recorder parts) and the name of the arranger is not known, but Hawkins suggested that it was Johann Christian Schickhardt.³⁴⁴ The music of Corelli achieved considerable popularity with both professionals and amateurs in eighteenth-century England, and it is hardly surprising

³⁴⁰ GB–Lbl E.108., Appendix 3, item 25.

³⁴¹ GB–Lbl E.108.b., Appendix 3, item 24.

³⁴² GB–Lbl E.111.c.(6.); GB–Lbl D.285.(3.); Appendix 3, items 6 and 27.

³⁴³ Published by Walsh, 22 December 1725: Smith and Humphries, *A Bibliography of The Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh, 1721-1766*, 93.

³⁴⁴ 'When the flute was an instrument in vogue this was a very common practice [transposition of the recorder parts], Corelli's Concertos had been in like manner fitted for flutes by Schickard of Hamburg, a great performer on, and composer for, that instrument': in Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 5, note, 180.

that his Opus 6 concerti were transcribed for recorders.³⁴⁵ The use of octave recorders is particularly interesting in that most transcriptions were for the alto, but it is reasonable to assume that ‘and so adapted to the Parts that they perform in Consort with the Violins and other Instruments’ implies that the parts would have been transposed so that alto fingering could be employed.

In 1988 Peter Thalheimer published an edition of a *flauto piccolo* concerto attributed to Handel, which had been discovered in a manuscript in Rostock. However a further article by the same author in 2000 suggested that the composer was more likely to have been (?Francesco) Montenari.³⁴⁶ Nikolaj Tarasov, writing in *Windkanal* in 2009, concurs.³⁴⁷ There are almost certainly further undiscovered works of this genre, and Thalheimer notes that works of Handel were performed on the ‘little flute’ in the 1720s and 1730s.³⁴⁸ To date, I have not found any convincing evidence for this practice but it seems a reasonable supposition, given recorder players’ propensity for making arrangements of music not assigned to their instrument.

4.9. Conclusion

The fact that the vast majority of the recorder repertoire in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries belongs to the alto is undoubted, but the repertoire for octave recorders appears to be very small in comparison and few instruments survive.

³⁴⁵ Corelli’s Opus 5 sonatas for violin and continuo (including *La Follia*) were published in an arrangement for alto recorder by Walsh in 1702; see Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 222, and Holman and Maunder, ‘The Accompaniment of Concertos in Eighteenth-Century England’, 646.

³⁴⁶ Peter Thalheimer, ‘Spurensuche im Repertoire für ‘flauto piccolo’: Händel oder Montenari?—das ist hier die Frage’, *Windkanal*, 2000/2, 6–10.

³⁴⁷ Nikolaj Tarasov, ‘Händel und Blockflöte: Einblicke in Händels umfangreiches Blockflötenwerk’, *Windkanal* 2009/4, 8–14.

³⁴⁸ Thalheimer, *ibid*; the *Daily Courant* of 16 May 1717 advertised a benefit concert for Mr. Castelman at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, which included a concerto on the little flute by Paisible and ‘one entirely new, compos’d by Mr. Handel’; Peter Holman, in conversation with MacMillan in July 2016, suggested that the solo parts in Handel’s Concerto Grosso Op.3 no.3 may have been written for the recorder player John Baston and his violinist brother Thomas: examination of the music confirms that the flute (recorder) part would lie comfortably on a fifth or sixth flute.

Examination of the fourteen pieces I have discussed reveals certain characteristics, perhaps the most interesting being the use of the sopranino recorder in eleven of these, particularly in association with the imitation of birdsong. I am excluding the fifth and sixth flute concerti of the 1720s from the present discussion, as these works will form the core of the next chapter.

I have not encountered any music assigned to the sixth flute apart from the concerti, and the fourth flute only makes an appearance in one piece in one opera (Boyce's *The Shepherd's Lottery*, 1751). Handel uses the fifth flute in the *Water Music* and in a *tambourin* from *Alcina*.

The major interest emerging from this review is clearly the use of the sopranino, an uncomfortably high instrument to play and which has only a minute solo repertoire yet was used by the late eighteenth-century composers Arne and Shield as an accompanying instrument in vocal works.³⁴⁹ Earlier in this chapter, I referred to Davis' description of types of music assigned to the recorder: in the present context, it is appropriate to note that sopranino recorders are required not only in their obvious role as imitators of birds but also in love and pastoral scenes.³⁵⁰ Handel, Galliard and Arne all used the instrument in 'bird music' and the use of the instrument in *The Bird Fancier's Delight* is self-explanatory. Most pieces fall within the range g' – d'', although Handel requires f'' in 'O Ruddier than the cherry', adding to comic effect of a monster playing a small pipe. In general, however, it should be noted that most English alto recorder music of the period under discussion is confined to the range f' – d''.

³⁴⁹ Vivaldi's three concerti (RV 443, 444 and 445) are the best known, although the assignation of these to the sopranino recorder is not without controversy: see Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 177–204.

³⁵⁰ In Table 5, bird imitations include nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20 and 21; love scenes 17; pastoral imagery 17, 20, 21 and 22.

It is interesting to observe that the sopranino continued to be used by English composers until the 1790s. I think the explanation lies in the fact that there was no other octave flute which could be employed in an orchestral (or chamber ensemble) setting. The piccolo made its first appearance in France in the 1740s and only came into orchestral use on the European mainland in the later eighteenth century; the instrument probably only arrived in England in the 1790s. The fife was essentially a military instrument and the tiny French flageolet was little-used in England in the eighteenth century. The flageolet was also extremely high-pitched, with a lowest note of g''' or a'''. The only remaining option was the sopranino recorder, but its use does pose the question ‘who played it?’ Most professional recorder players in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were oboists who doubled on the recorder and I think it must be assumed — the absence of evidence to the contrary — that a similar situation persisted after 1750 when the recorder was becoming obsolescent. No embouchure is required so the elements of recorder-playing would have been relatively easy to acquire for a professional woodwind player. Outstanding virtuosity is not required in most of the sopranino parts but they would have been difficult for an amateur player with only a modicum of technique.

My survey of extant instruments, tutors and assigned music for octave recorders suggests that the instruments had only a limited role in England in the years between 1660 and 1800. Few instruments survive in comparison with altos and larger recorders, the octave recorders are not mentioned in the majority of tutors and, apart from the concerti, their usage is confined to a few works. Those that do require octave recorders most often use the sopranino, particularly in its ‘bird imitation’ and pastoral roles. The recorder was *the* octave flute of eighteenth-century England, but it was supplanted by

the piccolo in the early nineteenth century and — particularly for amateur players — by the English flageolet.

Chapter 5

The small flute concerti**5.1. Introduction**

By the early eighteenth century, the term ‘concerto’ was generally applied to a musical composition contrasting an instrument (or group of instruments) with an accompanying orchestral ensemble. In the case of the English small flute (recorder) concerti, the solo instrument was a fifth or sixth flute (or two sixth flutes), contrasted with a string ensemble and an accompanying keyboard instrument.³⁵¹ The seventeen extant small flute concerti were composed between c.1710 and 1729, with the exception of the F major concerto by Guiseppe Sammartini, which may date from the 1730s. The concerti were written both for concert use and to provide interval music in the theatres: in general they are short, exuberant works but of superficial musical content which were popular in the second, third, and fourth decades of eighteenth-century London.³⁵²

Fifteen of the concerti were published by Walsh and Hare between c.1726 and 1729; these works represent the typical English small flute concerto and will be discussed in section 5.2. Of the three composers whose work was published by Walsh, two had died by 1729 (William Babell in 1723 and Robert Woodcock in 1728) and John Baston appears to have given his final performance in 1733: examination of newspaper announcements and playbills suggests a lessening of interest in the small flute concerti after the middle of the 1720s. Concerti by Charles Dieupart, Guiseppe Sammartini, and an untitled anonymous manuscript in the British Library written in A major for sixth flute, two violins, viola and bass will be considered in section 5.3.

³⁵¹ The term ‘flute’ implied the recorder, whereas the transverse flute was known as the German flute.

³⁵² Performances of the concerti in theatres and concert rooms are discussed in Chapter 7.

Structure, orchestration, and harmony

Of the seventeen concerti, twelve are in Vivaldian (fast–slow–fast) three-movement form, whereas three are in *da chiesa* (slow–fast–slow–fast) form, and two of Baston’s concerti have just two movements. Fifteen of the pieces require a sixth flute, and three require a fifth flute. Both these recorders are more suited to playing in sharp keys, and it is noteworthy that only one concerto is in a flat key (Sammartini).³⁵³ The recorder parts are written transposed so that the player reads as if playing an alto recorder. In addition, transposition of the parts so that the player read alto fingering on a sixth flute had the desirable effect (from the player’s perspective) of removing three sharps from the key signature, thus simplifying the fingering and reducing the number of fork-fingerings required. Orchestrally, all the concerti require a minimum of two violins and continuo; ripieno violin parts may be added (three violin parts may be encountered in Italian works of the period) but only seven of the concerti require a viola. The soloist(s) may be accompanied by the full ensemble, violin(s) alone or continuo alone to provide textural and dynamic contrast, and there are frequent passages for a solo violin in Babell, Baston and Woodcock’s concerti.³⁵⁴ The instrumental parts may contain the directions ‘solo’ or ‘tutti’ but these directions are most probably present to indicate to the player that the subsequent bars are exposed and also that, at that point, any ripienists should drop out. If, as suggested by Maunder in *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, the ripieno parts did not arise from the composer’s hand and were added by Walsh, the ‘solo’ and ‘tutti’ marks were also likely to have been added by Walsh as Maunder argues that the concerti were probably performed one-to-a-part rather than with a large ensemble. With a large accompanying ensemble, only the section leader would play in

³⁵³ The tonic keys employed in the major are D (9), A (4), E (1), F (1), and, in the minor, the keys of E minor (1), A minor (1), and B minor (1).

³⁵⁴ Babell 1/i, 4/i, 4/iii; Baston 2/i, 6/i; Woodcock 2/i, 4/i. Baston’s first concerto (for alto recorder) has solo violin sections in all three movements, and this concerto also requires a ripieno first violin.

passages marked ‘solo’ (as in modern practice), and most publications contained only one copy of each part.³⁵⁵ However, the question remains open as to how the concerti were accompanied when performed in the theatres which had orchestras often numbering fifteen to twenty players.

In terms of harmony, the composers restrict themselves — in the main — to the keys described by Michael Talbot in his paper ‘The Concerto Allegro in the Early Eighteenth Century’ (1971), namely the tonic, dominant, mediant and submediant.³⁵⁶ For first movements, Talbot suggests three likely arrangements of key sequence in the major keys:³⁵⁷

I V vi I
I V iii I
I V vi vii I

and in the minor:

i III V VI i

These patterns are commonplace — but not universal — in the first movements of the small flute concerti, but the slow movements and concluding fast movements do not demonstrate any consistent pattern of form or harmony. Many of these movements are in binary form and only four concluding movements are in the form of dances; modulation in these movements is confined to closely related keys. Fourteen concerti are written in major keys and three in minor keys, and Table 6 below summarises the keys encountered in the fifty-five movements.

³⁵⁵ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 131, 132.

³⁵⁶ Michael Talbot, ‘The Concerto Allegro in the Early Eighteenth Century’, *Music and Letters*, 52/1 (1971), 8–18.

³⁵⁷ Major keys are denoted by upper case figures, minor keys by lower case.

	I	i	ii	III	iii	IV	iv	V	VI	vi	VII
major	37		3		8	1		34		27	
minor		18		9			3	18	2		1

Table 6. The frequency of the use of keys encountered in the small flute concerti.

There are melodies in the concerti which are instantly memorable, whereas others are little more than extended scale or arpeggio passages; many of the solo parts of the concerti consist of arpeggiated passage-work with little development of the melody, although the Sammartini concerto proves an exception. Similar comments may be applied to the frequent violin solos. Opening ritornelli may be repeated in different keys during the course of a movement and often signify a return to the tonic as the movement reaches its conclusion.

5.2. The concerti by Babell, Baston, and Woodcock

William Babell

William Babell was born in London c.1690 and died on 23 September 1723.³⁵⁸ He was the son of a bassoonist and studied with Johann Christoph Pepusch, and it is possible that he may also have studied with Handel. Babell's principal claim to fame lies in his ability as a keyboard player, being a noted harpsichordist who played in the band of King George I and in various theatre orchestras. He was much praised for his skill in ornamentation.³⁵⁹ For the last five years of his life, he was organist of All Hallows, Bread Street, and published arrangements of operatic arias by Handel and other composers. Hawkins linked Babell with Robert Woodcock as a composer of recorder

³⁵⁸ His name is sometimes spelt 'Babel'; obituary notice *Daily Journal*, 26 September 1723.

³⁵⁹ Gerald Gifford and Terence Best, "Babell, William." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 19 August 2015.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline/subscriber/article/grove/music/01648>.

concerti and Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1732 described the late Babell as a famous keyboard player and composer.³⁶⁰ He is not known to have played the recorder.

His sole surviving contribution to the recorder repertoire is a set of six concerti, which was published posthumously by Walsh and Hare as the composer's Opus 3 in 1726:

Babell's/CONCERTOS/in 7 Parts:/The first four for VIOLINS and one small Flute/ and the two last for VIOLINS and two FLUTES./The proper Flute being nam'd to each CONCERTO. Compos'd by the Late/Mr. WILLm. BABELL./Performed at the Theatre with great applause./Opera Terza./³⁶¹

The first four concerti require one sixth flute, the fifth requires two sixth flutes and the sixth is written for two alto recorders but is excluded from detailed discussion as neither having been composed nor arranged for octave recorders. No autograph survives, leading to a degree of speculation regarding the date of composition of the music. In the effects of the 'musical small coals man', Thomas Britton (who died in 1714), there is mention of twelve concertos by Pepusch, Babel and Vivaldi, and Maunder suggests that it is possible that one or more of the concerti mentioned could be the recorder concerti.³⁶² Maunder suggests that Concerti 5 and 6 (for two recorders) could date from as early as c.1710 in view of their similarity to Pepusch's Opus 8 concerti, but considers that the remaining four possibly date from c.1715.³⁶³ The earliest documented performance of Babell's concerti took place on 12 March 1718, as announced in *The*

³⁶⁰ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol.5, note, 180.

³⁶¹ GB-HAdolmetsch II C39.1-7; Smith and Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh*, 28.

³⁶² Hawkins, *op.cit.*, vol. 5, 79-88: item 102 in the list of Britton's effects comprises '12 Concertos by Dr.Pepusch, young Mr. Babel, Vivaldi'.

³⁶³ Johann Christoph Pepusch, *VI Concerts à 2 Flûtes à Bec, 2 Flûtes Traversieres Haubois ou Violons & Basse Continue, Op.8* (Roger, Amsterdam, 1717); although published by Roger in 1717, the pieces are probably of an earlier date. See Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 117; Maunder, *ibid.*, 119.

Daily Courant of 10 March.³⁶⁴ The notice, however, does not specify which of Babell's concerti were performed, or even confirm that they were for the recorder. In comparison with Baston's concerti, there are few documented performances of the Babell concerti, although the title-page of the Walsh edition notes that they were 'Perform'd at the theatre with great applause', and on 16 April 1729 a benefit concert for the celebrated oboist Jack Kytch included a 'Concerto for the little flute composed by Babell'.³⁶⁵

Concerti 1 and 4 are written in three-movement style (fast–slow–fast), whereas the remainder conform to a slow–fast–slow–fast pattern. The movements are all assigned the tempo marks of either *adagio* or *allegro*. Some of the movements are designated $\mathbb{C}$, suggesting duple time (2/2) rather than the common time signature of C (4/4) which the pulse of the music suggests; citing *The Compleat Flute-Master*, Robert Donington points out, however, that C implies a slower motion than $\mathbb{C}$, which would explain the apparent anomaly.³⁶⁶ Roger North (1651–1734) concurs; 'The old mark of Comon [*sic*] Time, quickening, C, $\mathbb{C}$, (etc.).'³⁶⁷ The 'seven parts' comprise the solo flute (recorder), 'violino primo', 'violino primo ripieno', 'violino secundo', 'violino secundo ripieno' and two copies of the basso continuo.³⁶⁸ The disposition of the violin parts — with ripieno instruments — is unusual, and Maunder suggests that the ripieno violin parts may originate from Walsh's 1726 publication rather than from Babell's hand:

³⁶⁴ Holman and Maunder, 'The Accompaniment of Concertos in 18th-Century England'; Maunder writes in *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos* 'At the Tennis Court in the Haymarket "A new Overture, compos'd by Mr Babel [*sic*], with a Solo on the Harpsichord, to be perform'd by him. A new Cantata, and other Concerto's [*sic*] by the same Master..."', 120.

³⁶⁵ Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1 (1961), 1–107.

³⁶⁶ Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 410; concerto 1/i, iii, concerto 2/ii, concerto 3/ii, concerto 5/ii.

³⁶⁷ *Roger North on Music*, ed. by John Wilson (London: Novello, 1959), 99.

³⁶⁸ In the following discussion, I shall abbreviate these terms to 'VP', 'VPR', 'VS', 'VSR', and 'BC'.

Probably the ripieno violins were added by Walsh to suit a later taste, for they never have independent parts but just double the first and second violins in a rather random fashion. The parts cannot be right as they stand: in No.1, for example, most solos are accompanied by a bassetto assigned to violins 1, 2 and ripieno violin 1, while ripieno violin 2 absurdly has rests; and in the finale of No. 2 a passage for violin 1 in imitation with the soloist is duly marked *solo* but is nevertheless doubled by the ripieno part.³⁶⁹

Maunder further comments that it is surprising that concerto 4 has only one ripieno violin part and adds that ‘it is doubtful whether violins were meant to be doubled in works without viola’.³⁷⁰ Arthur Hutchings noted that there was a shortage of viola players in eighteenth-century England, although this may or may not be relevant to Babell’s work.³⁷¹ In practice, there is little to be gained by adding ripieno violins as they do not have significant independent parts and do not add to the harmony.

In terms of harmony, Babell restricted himself — in the main — to the keys described by Talbot in his 1971 paper on ‘The Concerto Allegro in the Early Eighteenth Century’. Whereas Babell does not entirely follow the sequences described retrospectively in Talbot’s twentieth-century commentary, he does adhere to the keys, with only rare excursions to the subdominant. Franklin observed that Babell’s compositions tend to be less symmetrical in form than those of the Italian master, Corelli.³⁷² She further comments on Babell’s repeated use of his opening ritornello passages to confirm the tonal centre and postulates that the concerti may have been developed by Walsh from trio sonatas, but she ‘does not find the evidence convincing’.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 124.

³⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 124.

³⁷¹ Arthur Hutchings, *The Baroque Concerto* (London: 2nd edn, Faber and Faber, 1972), 330.

³⁷² Zöe Franklin, ‘Babel’s *Concertos in 7 Parts*’, *The Consort*, 63 (2007), 62–73.

³⁷³ *ibid.*

Walsh continued to publish the concerti (together with those of John Baston and Robert Woodcock) at least until 1739, and they continued to appear in the catalogue of his successor, William Randall, until 1776.³⁷⁴

Concerto 1 in D major for sixth flute

Babell's first concerto is unremarkable in its harmonic development: the first movement is conventional and the placing of the adagio in the relative minor and concluding on the dominant is found in other small flute concerti. The final allegro also adheres to a conventional pattern.



Music example 10. Babell concerto 1/ii, showing the ornamented recorder part.³⁷⁵

Concerto 2 in D major for sixth flute

This concerto is unusual in its four-movement form. The sparse texture of the eight-bar introduction for two violins alone and the second movement for strings alone without the solo recorder are unique to this work, but the third and fourth movements are unremarkable and the modulation in all four movements is conventional. David Lasocki

³⁷⁴ *Country Journal or The Craftsman*, 24 February 1731; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 9 August 1739; *A Catalogue of the Vocal and Instrumental Music Printed for, and sold by, William Randall, Successor to the late Mr. John Walsh, in Catherine-Street in the Strand for the year 1776*. William Randall's widow, Elizabeth Randall, succeeded him: her catalogue carries a similar title but is undated.

³⁷⁵ Reproduced from the Walsh edition in GB-HAdolmetsch, by permission of Miss Jeanne Dolmetsch.

and Anthony Rowland-Jones consider this work to be a hybrid, ‘a curious combination of concerto grosso and solo concerto’. They comment that only the finale is conventional in its treatment of recorder and orchestra, although I find little unconventional, structurally, melodically, or harmonically in the second adagio movement.³⁷⁶

Concerto 3 in E minor for one sixth flute

This is the only concerto by Babell in a minor key and is also in four-movement form. The key sequences chosen are unremarkable, and the conclusion of the first adagio on the chord of the dominant leads directly to the following allegro.

Concerto 4 in A major for one sixth flute

There is no violino secundo ripieno part in this concerto, which begins with a ritornello figure for violins and continuo, and in the adagio the recorder is accompanied only by VP and VS in unison, an orchestration also found Woodcock’s solo concerti.

Concerto 5 in D major for two sixth flutes

This is the only Babell concerto to incorporate oboes, but the second oboe part calls for the notes of c sharp' eighteen times and b thrice: these notes are not obtainable on the two- or three-keyed oboe of the early eighteenth century.³⁷⁷ It seems unlikely that a composer of Babell’s stature would not have known the compass of the oboe of his day, and it is certainly possible that the idea of substituting oboes for violins could have derived from Walsh. The oboe parts are alternatives to the violins, rather than playing separate material. Maunder suggests that this concerto may originally have been written

³⁷⁶ David Lasocki and Anthony Rowland-Jones in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, 115.

³⁷⁷ Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, 282.

for two alto recorders (as is concerto 6 in F major), and transposed down a minor third to be playable an octave higher on sixth flutes.³⁷⁸ Organologically, this makes sense, for it would explain the peculiar disposition of the oboe parts and the appearance of the note AA in the bass in the penultimate bar of the final movement. It does, however, pose the question as to why the concerto was transposed (and for whom) and why the sixth concerto was not similarly transposed. The Pepusch concerti also present the possibility of using two contrasting pairs of wind instruments, with violins as an alternative.³⁷⁹ Harmonically, the Pepusch and Babell concerti both exhibit conventional modulatory patterns, and in both pieces the third movement lies in the relative minor key and concludes on a chord of the dominant. There are no ripieno violin parts. The recorder and violin pairs often play in parallel thirds, or with the first players in unison (and similarly the seconds), or as alternating sections with recorders and violins accompanied by the continuo. The final allegro is a dance-like movement beginning on an anacrusis and has a duple pulse suggestive of a bourrée or rigaudon.



Music example 11. Babell concerto 5/ii, bars 28–30: alternating passages of the melody between recorders and violins, both playing in thirds. The recorder parts are written on the upper staves.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁸ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 120.

³⁷⁹ Pepusch, *VI Concerts à 2 Flûtes à Bec, 2 Flûtes Traversieres Haubois ou Violons & Basse Continue*, Op.8.

³⁸⁰ IMSLP, ed. by Hans-Thomas Müller-Schmidt and reproduced under the Creative Commons License 'Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International, Petrucci Library, [http://imslp.org/wiki/6_Concertos_in_7_Parts, Op.3_Babell, William](http://imslp.org/wiki/6_Concertos_in_7_Parts,_Op.3_Babell,_William)'), (accessed 8 December 2015).

John Baston

John Baston came from a musical family; his date of birth is not known, but his name is first encountered in a record of a concert given at Stationers' Hall, London in 1709, when he performed a concerto grosso with his violinist brother, Thomas (fl1708–27).³⁸¹ He was employed at Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre as a 'cellist between 1714 and 1722, after which he moved to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. He was also a recorder player and performed recorder concerti (often with his violinist brother) as 'interval music' between plays in the theatre. Baston's name frequently appeared in playbills, and he appears to have been very popular with audiences; Charles Burney described Baston playing on the common flute as 'one of the favourite musicians of our time'.³⁸² His last documented performance took place in Drury Lane in 1733, and he is said to have died in 1739. His surviving compositions amount to a set of six concerti for the recorder, the second of which was arranged for two flutes and published in *The Delightful Companion* in 1745.³⁸³ This volume also contains a sixteen-bar fragment for two flutes by 'Mr. Baston', which is not found in any of the concerti. Baston's concerti were published by Walsh and Hare in 1729, and they remained in print until 1776.³⁸⁴

Six/CONCERTOS/in Six Parts/for VIOLINS and FLUTES /viz. a Fifth, Sixth and Consort Flute. /The Proper Flute being nam'd to each/CONCERTO

³⁸¹ *The Daily Courant*, 24 August 1709.

³⁸² Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period* [1789], vol.2, ed. by Frank Mercer (New York: Dover, 1957), 1001.

³⁸³ *The Delightful Pocket Companion . For the German Flute...Printed for & Sold by John Simpson*, 8, 30, GB-Lbl d.56.a: the volume contains solos and duets for the transverse flute.

³⁸⁴ Advertised in the *Daily Post*, 2 April 1729; *Country Journal or The Craftsman*, 24 February 1731; *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 9 August 1739; see n374, 167.

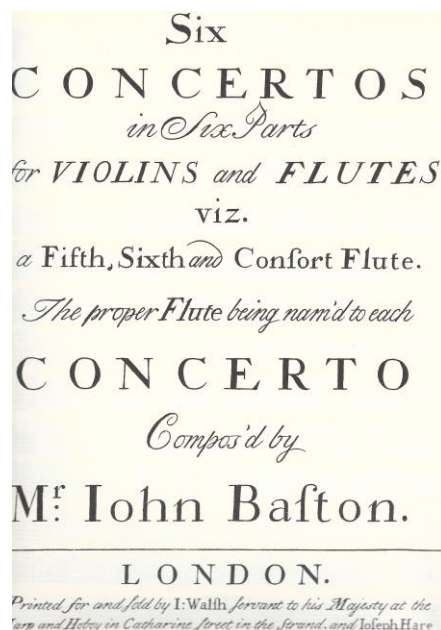


Figure 34. Title-page of the Walsh and Hare edition of Baston's concerti.³⁸⁵

The first and third concerti are scored for the consort flute (alto recorder), the second, fourth and fifth for the sixth flute, and sixth concerto for the fifth flute. The first, second, and fifth concerti are in three-movement form, whereas the third, fourth and fifth have only two movements. The third and sixth concerti, however, require the first movement to be repeated after the slow movement, effectively making them three-movement works: the instruction 'Da Capo' is written after the adagio (second movement) of concerto 3 for alto recorder and 'end with the Allegro' after the siciliana of concerto 6. In the absence of an autograph score, it is not possible to determine whether the instruction to repeat the first movements emanated from the composer or the publisher. The first violin parts of concerti 1, 2 and 6 (which may have been written for the composer's brother) contain solo passages for the instrument.

Baston stipulates three violin parts, VP, VPR (here spelt 'repiano'), VS, 'tenore', and bass.³⁸⁶ It is only in the first concerto that VPR has a significant part; elsewhere it

³⁸⁵ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark i.53.

doubles VP (and, very occasionally, VS) in the tutti passages. As Baston's concerti were most commonly performed in the theatres which employed orchestras, it is possible that the ripieno parts were intended for ripienists in the orchestra, but, equally, they could have been added by Walsh, although Baston was still alive at the time of Walsh's publication. The 'tenore' (viola) part doubles the bass at the octave, or occasionally plays in unison with it, except in concerto 5; in concertos 1, 3, and 5, the part occasionally lies below the lowest note of the viola, namely c.³⁸⁷ Susi Möhlmeier and Frédéric Thouvenot, commenting on the string parts, note that the tenore part (corresponding to the alto [viola] part) requires a tuning with a string going down to G, a fourth lower than standard viola tuning.³⁸⁸ I would speculate that Baston *may* have been writing for the rare tenor violin (tuning G, d, a, e') but concur with Maunder's opinion that it is more likely that the copyist was lacking in care when preparing the parts.³⁸⁹ Baston tends to adhere to the tonal patterns described by Talbot and, apart from concerto 5, the viola is supplementary; a ripieno violin is only harmonically necessary in concerto 1.

Concerto 2 in D major for sixth flute

Neither the ripieno violin nor the viola is necessary for performance of this concerto, the latter instrument merely doubling the bass. The opening figure is repeated five times in the tonic during the course of the first movement, and modulation follows the conventional pattern to the dominant and relative minor. There is a pause (with an opportunity for a cadenza) on the chord of the mediant at bar 69, two bars being marked 'adagio', which are followed by a flourish for the recorder before a recapitulation of the

³⁸⁶ Compare with the orchestration of Babell's concerti as outlined on pp.165–6.

³⁸⁷ In concertos 1 and 3 to G, in concerto 5 to A.

³⁸⁸ Susi Möhlmeier and Frédéric Thouvenot, 'Introduction to facsimile of John Baston's *Six Concertos* (1729), ed. Jean Marc Fuzeau (Courlay; Fouzeau, 1997), IX (facsimile of GB–Lbl i.53).

³⁸⁹ Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, 532; Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 122–3.

opening figure in the tonic key. In the lyrical adagio and triple-time presto, modulation remains confined to closely-related keys.



Music example 12. Baston concerto 2/i, bars 68–70, adagio and flourish for recorder.³⁹⁰

Concerto 4 in A major for sixth flute

Concerto 4 is a two-movement work, beginning with a siciliana, Maunder suggests that the piece ‘appears to have been cobbled together from a Siciliana for recorder and continuo [...] and a short trio sonata movement for “sixth flute”, violin and continuo’.³⁹¹ The violins play in unison throughout the concerto and double the bass at the octave in the siciliana. The presence of the note BB in the bass (bars 8 and 16 of the siciliana) suggests either transposition of a previous work or a copyist’s error, and the absence of repeat signs in the allegro (which appears to be in binary form) is also likely to be an error.

The opening siciliana exhibits an unusual modulation to the supertonic followed by a short passage in the relative minor, the tonic key returning following a seventh chord of the dominant. Unlike concertos 3 and 6, there is no indication that the allegro should be repeated to form a three-movement work.

Concerto 5 in D major for sixth flute

³⁹⁰ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark i.53.

³⁹¹ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 123.

In this concerto, VPR doubles VP in the tutti passages in the first movement and throughout the second and third movements. The ‘tenore’ (viola) part is largely independent of the bass: in the final chord of the andante, the part requires the note A which lies a third below the range of the viola if using conventional tuning.

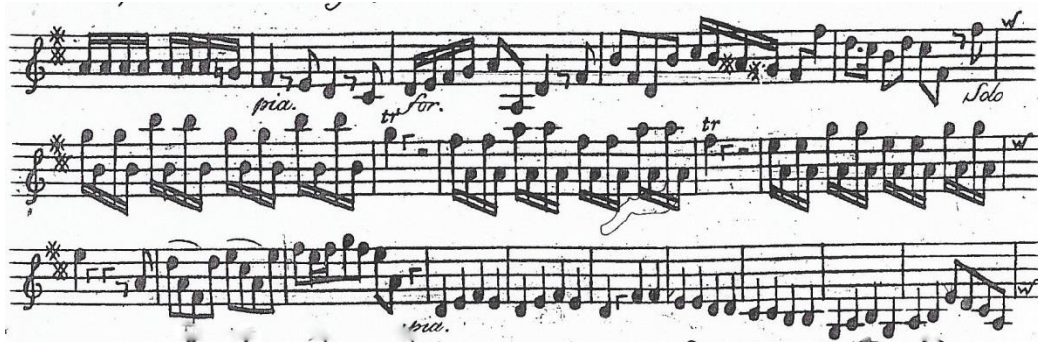
The opening allegro modulates conventionally through the relative minor, mediant minor and dominant before returning to the tonic. The second movement opens in the relative minor key of B minor, and the movement closes on an imperfect cadence, leading to the final presto.

Concerto 6 in D major for fifth flute

This two-movement concerto is scored for fifth flute, despite being in the home key of the sixth flute (concerti 2 and 5 are also in D, and require the sixth flute). The reason for this is not apparent, for the work presents no particular technical difficulty in the transposed key of G, rather than the transposed key of F used in concerti 2 and 5; both keys lie comfortably on the recorder using alto fingering, and the part lies within the compass of either the fifth or sixth flute.

In the allegro, the recorder part (mainly arpeggiated passage-work) is accompanied either by violins alone (often in unison), continuo alone, or the full ensemble. Baston incorporates a brief violin solo between bars 29 and 33. The second movement is marked ‘siciliana’; Maunder comments that it ‘looks as if it were originally accompanied by continuo alone’, suggesting that the upper string parts were added by the publisher. Unlike the siciliana in concerto 4, there are two independent violin parts, and VP merely doubles the bass at the octave, while VPR doubles VS. Apart from five

bars in the dominant, the music remains in the tonic key throughout. The instruction ‘end with the Allegro’ concludes the movement, suggesting a repeat of the opening allegro to form a three-movement concerto.



Music example 13. Baston concerto 6/i, bars 29–33, violin 1, showing solo passage.³⁹²

Robert Woodcock

Robert Woodcock was born in London in 1690 (he was baptised on 9 October 1690) and died in London on 28 April 1728, supposedly of gout. Much of his life was documented by the engraver George Vertue (1684–1756).³⁹³ Although a fine marine painter and amateur musician (playing the recorder and oboe as well as composing), Woodcock worked in government service for most of his life before abandoning his clerk’s desk for the painter’s easel in 1725. Woodcock was an admirer of the celebrated Dutch marine painter Willem van de Velde II (1633–1707), who lived in London from 1673 until his death in 1728. Woodcock imitated the Dutchman’s style, and three of his paintings are conserved at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London.³⁹⁴

Hawkins, writing in 1776, described Woodcock as ‘a celebrated performer’ on the flute

³⁹² ©The British Library Board, shelfmark i.53.

³⁹³ David Lasocki and Helen Neate, ‘The Life and Works of Robert Woodcock, 1690–1728’, *American Recorder* 24/3 (1988), 92–104.

³⁹⁴ Accession numbers BHC0982, BHC0983, BHC0984.

and also added comments on Woodcock's transposition of the recorder parts.³⁹⁵ The last documented performance of a Woodcock concerto took place in 1734 but Walsh was still advertising the pieces in 1739, and as late as 1776, they remained in the catalogue of his successor, William Randall.³⁹⁶ A set of parts for the concerti were purchased from Walsh in 1754 for use in the Dublin charity concerts.³⁹⁷

Woodcock's solo surviving compositions form a set of twelve concerti published by Walsh and Hare in 1727, although they may have been written as early as 1722.³⁹⁸ Of these, the first six are relevant to the present study, those for oboe and German flute being excluded.

XII/CONCERTOS/in Eight Parts/The first three/for VIOLINS and one Small FLUTE/The Second three/for VIOLINS and two Small FLUTES/The third three for/VIOLINS & One GERMAN FLUTE/and the three last for/VIOLINS & one HOBOY/The proper Flute Being nam'd to each Concerto/ Compos'd by/ROBERT WOODCOCK.³⁹⁹

In 1954, Brian Priestman published an article in *The Consort* suggesting that Woodcock was not the composer of the concerti published by Walsh and Hare, but that he was a painter who had appropriated works by Jacques Loelliet (1685–1748) whilst travelling on the Continent and had these published in London under his own name.⁴⁰⁰ Priestman based this assertion on the similarity of Woodcock's third concerto to a manuscript

³⁹⁵ Hawkins, *A General History*, vol.4, note, 131 '...the method was to write the flute part in a key corresponding to its pitch; this practice was introduced by one Woodcock, a celebrated performer on this instrument, and by an ingenious young man, William Babell, organist of the church of Allhallows Breadstreet, London, about the year 1710, both of whom published concertos for this instrument, in which the principal part was for a sixth flute, in which case the lowest note, though nominally F, was in the power D, and consequently required a transposition of the flute-part a sixth higher, viz., into the key of D'. It should be noted that such transposition had been practised in the late seventeenth century.

³⁹⁶ See n374, 167.

³⁹⁷ Denis Arnold, 'Charity Music in 18th-century Dublin', *Galpin Society Journal*, 11 (1968), 162–174.

³⁹⁸ *The Daily Courant* of 13 March 1722 gave notice of a concert at Drury Lane the following day which would include 'A New Concerto on the little Flute, compos'd by Mr. Woodcocke [sic] and perform'd by Mr John Baston'. If this were one of the twelve concerti it would indicate a date of composition some five years before Walsh published the music; Walsh advertised the publication of the concerti in the *London Journal*, 18 February 1727.

³⁹⁹ GB-HAdolmetsch II E37, 1–8.

⁴⁰⁰ Brian Priestman, 'An Introduction to the Loellietts', *The Consort*, 11 (1954), 18–26.

copy of a flute concerto by Loelliet in Brussels (itself a copy of a manuscript in the University of Rostock). I examined the third concerto some years ago, and observed that, although the outer movements of the Rostock piece were virtually identical to the Walsh edition of 1727, the central movement was different (see music example 14). In the Rostock copy, the slow movement is a grave in common time, the recorder being accompanied by unison violins and continuo, whereas the Walsh edition has a siciliana with accompaniment by unison violins alone.⁴⁰¹ I concluded that Priestman's ascription to Loelliet was improbable, and more recent work by David Lasocki and Helen Neate, in their more extensive study of Woodcock's life and works, confirmed my hypothesis.⁴⁰²

The image displays two musical staves for comparison. The top staff, labeled 'Siciliano', shows a recorder part in 12/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The bottom staff, labeled 'Grave', shows a recorder part in common time (C) with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The accompaniment for the 'Grave' version includes violins and a bass line.

Music example 14. Woodcock concerto 3/ii, contrasting the Haslemere (Walsh) version above with the Brussels/Rostock version (below).⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ Douglas MacMillan, 'A New Concerto, Compos'd by Mr. Woodcock', *Recorder and Music Magazine*, 8/6 (1985), 180–181.

⁴⁰² Lasocki and Neate, 'The Life and Works of Robert Woodcock'.

⁴⁰³ Reproduced from MacMillan, 'The Small Flute Concerto in 18th. Century England' by permission of the editor.

Concerti 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 conform to a Vivaldian three-movement form, with many solo passages accompanied only by a violin bassetto. David Lasocki considers that concerto 5 is more Handelian in character (although still in three-movement form), commenting that the construction and melodic material is more Handelian than Vivaldian.⁴⁰⁴

Woodcock's concerti are scored for VP, VPR, VS, viola (of the recorder concerti, only concerto 5 requires a viola) and BC. The 'eight parts' of the title page include two bass parts (one figured) and one or two solo recorders as well as the violin and viola parts: it is only concerto 5 that contains all eight parts. Woodcock provides dynamic contrast by having four patterns of orchestration: solo recorder, recorder with unison violins, recorder with continuo, and the full ensemble. In the three concerti for solo recorder, the accompaniment in the slow movement is provided by violins alone, a feature found also in Babell's fourth concerto. Harmonically, Woodcock follows conventional early eighteenth-century patterns; the solo parts require a fine technique, but, like Babell's and Baston's works, they could hardly be described as requiring great virtuosity.

Concerto 1 in E major for sixth flute

In the opening presto movement, the recorder part extends to f sharp''' and g''' (c sharp ''' and d''', but notated as transposed), but this note (#XIV/bXV) is not easily obtainable on the recorder and it is surprising to find it written in an eighteenth-century English concerto.⁴⁰⁵ In the second movement the recorder is accompanied only by two violins playing in unison.

⁴⁰⁴ Lasocki and Neate, *op. cit.*.

⁴⁰⁵ Until the advent of Carl Dolmetsch's bell key, the note could only be sounded in tune by means of the player closing the bell of the instrument with the knee — hardly a practical exercise in a fast movement.

Concerto 2 in A major for sixth flute

This is the only recorder concerto by Woodcock wherein VPR has a significant independent part. Although largely doubling VP, it has passages where it is independent of VP and is necessary to complete the harmony. There are two passages in the first movement (bars 40–43 and 70–73) where VP plays solo accompanied only by the ‘cello without the harpsichord.



Music example 15. Woodcock concerto 2/i, bars 19–22. VP and VPR: VPR (lower) is necessary to complete the harmony in the passage marked ‘Pia’.⁴⁰⁶

The adagio is based on the relative minor key, the recorder being accompanied by unison violins alone, and concludes with an imperfect cadence on the chord of the dominant, which leads to the two minuets. In the second minuet, the recorder is accompanied by unison violins alone and modulation is confined to the tonic and dominant. The first minuet is repeated.

Concerto 3 in D major for sixth flute

The opening allegro begins with an introduction played by the violins and continuo, the recorder entering with a four-bar unaccompanied flourish, a unique entry in the small flute concerti. It is the second movement, a siciliana in binary form, which is relevant in

⁴⁰⁶ ©The British Library Board, shelfmark i.250.

the dispute regarding the authorship of Woodcock's concerti (see music example 14); in this movement, the recorder is accompanied only by VP and VS, playing in unison, VPR being silent.

Concerto 4 in B minor for two sixth flutes

This concerto is one of only three small flute concerti in a minor key. Maunder observes that both this and concerti 5 and 6 show a debt to Albinoni's concertos for two oboes and he comments that '...the first movement of No.4 even copying Albinoni's *Devise* procedure: the first duet entry is repeated and extended after a repetition of the last few bars of the opening tutti'.⁴⁰⁷ The scoring for the two sixth flutes also exhibits a parallel with Albinoni's Opus 7 concerti for two oboes, wherein the oboes often play in thirds and alternate with the strings. The opening presto begins with a passage in reiterated semiquavers preceding a violin solo, the recorders playing mainly in thirds throughout the movement. The second movement (again in B minor and marked 'largo') has a sarabande-like rhythm and, harmonically, is confined to the tonic and dominant; the final brief gavotte is in binary form.

Concerto 5 in D major for two sixth flutes

This is the only recorder concerto by Woodcock to require a viola. The part is independent of the bass and aligned more with the violins in accompanying the recorders than with the bass instruments.

In the opening allegro, the recorders play partly in thirds and partly in imitation and are frequently accompanied by the upper strings alone, including the viola. Although

⁴⁰⁷ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 129; the oboes in Albinoni's concerti often play in thirds, and frequently alternate with the first and second violins, which also frequently play in thirds. A similar scoring is found in Pepusch's Op.8 concerti.

marked 'largo', the second movement is in the rhythm of a siciliana in binary form. The spritely concluding presto in duple time opens with a four-bar solo for recorder 1, before a tutti passage leads to the dominant at the double bar.

Concerto 6 in D major for two sixth flutes

The first movement (marked 'vivace') modulates briefly through the mediant minor until a cadence in the tonic leads to the entry of the recorders playing in thirds over a violin accompaniment. The largo lies in the relative minor key as is common for this composer and consists — like Concerto 4 — of blocks of chords rather than a lyrical melody. The rhythm is sarabande-like with hemiola figures at the cadences. The final movement consists of three twenty-bar gavottes, each in binary form. Harmonically, all follow the same pattern. The first gavotte is written in quavers, crotchets and minims with a simple accompaniment, the recorders (in thirds) being accompanied by violins alone, interspersed with tutti passages. The second gavotte has a much fuller orchestral texture and the basses play in quavers throughout. In the final gavotte, the accompaniment is simplified, but VP and VPR play in triplets throughout over a crotchet bass. In each iteration of the gavotte, the recorders play the same parts, moving mainly in parallel thirds.

5.3. The Concerti by Dieupart, Sammartini, and an anonymous suite

The following three works do not fall within the conventional English pattern established in the concerti of Babell, Baston and Woodcock. Dieupart's concerto possesses a less-conventional harmonic structure in the first and second movements; the Sammartini is a more complex work of a slightly later date and the A major suite is an anonymous and untitled work.

Charles Dieupart, Concerto in A minor for fifth flute⁴⁰⁸

Charles (also known as François) Dieupart (c.1667–c.1740) was a French-born composer and harpsichordist who arrived in England c.1703. He was closely associated with both the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, and The Queen's/King's Theatre as a harpsichordist; he published keyboard suites which were later arranged for the recorder. He left five concerti, including a small flute concerto in A minor, but which remained unpublished in his lifetime. On 11 May 1722, *The Daily Courant* advertised 'a Concerto for the little Flute composed by Monsieur Dieupart, and performed by Mr Baston and others' at Drury Lane and (in the absence of other known recorder concerti by Dieupart) this may be the A minor concerto.⁴⁰⁹ Maunder postulates a date of composition as 'the early 1720s'.⁴¹⁰ The concerto is in three movements, and is scored for *Flauto o Hautbois* or *Flautino*, two violins, viola, *violone grosso*, harpsichord, two oboes, and bassoon. The harpsichord part is unfigured, and the oboes double the violins in the forte passages in the first movement, but double the violins throughout the second and third movements; the bassoon doubles the harpsichord and *violone* throughout. The *flautino* part is written in the French violin clef (G1) with transposition to D minor, indicating a fifth flute.

Discussing the authorship of the piece in the preface to his edition of the concerto, David Lasocki comments that certain stylistic features of the slow movement bear a similarity to two of Babbell's concerti.⁴¹¹ My examination of the second movement of Babbell's first concerto and the third movement of his second note a similar crotchet bass pattern to the Dieupart, but the similarities to other concerti (which are not substantial)

⁴⁰⁸ D–DI Mus. 2174–0–1.

⁴⁰⁹ *The Daily Courant*, 11 May 1722.

⁴¹⁰ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 129.

⁴¹¹ David Lasocki, Preface to *Concerto in A minor for Soprano Recorder with Piano Reduction*, F. Dieupart (Tokyo: Zen-on Music, R-154, 1979), 154.

are in style rather than harmony; they are not exclusive to Babell and Dieupart.

However, the harmonic structure of Dieupart's first movement is very different from that of Babell, Baston, and Woodcock's concerti, modulating more extensively to less-closely related keys. Dieupart was a notable harpsichordist rather than an amateur composer (like Woodcock) or a player-composer (like Baston), and this may go some way towards explaining his more advanced harmonic structure. The final movement is stylistically unremarkable.

Perhaps more significantly, Lasocki points out that the original title-page and *Flautino* part are in the same hand, whereas the part headed *Flauto o Hautbois* and the accompanying orchestral parts are written by another. He suggests that this part is a transposition of the *Flautino* part to suit the flute or oboe. The *Flautino* part is followed (in the same hand) by one copy each of violin 1 and violin 2, whereas the *Flauto o Hautbois* part is followed by two copies of the string parts.⁴¹² Assuming that the transposed *Flautino* part is the original, Dieupart's concerto is the only solo small flute concerto to include doubled strings and parts for oboes and bassoon. I think it is plausible to invert Lasocki's argument that the *Flauto o Hautbois* version is a copy of the *Flautino* and hypothesise that the recorder player appropriated and transposed the solo part of the version for flute or oboe and reduced the size of the orchestra. There is no means of proving this theory, but Dieupart's large orchestra would be likely to provide problems of audibility for the recorder player, even when playing a soprano recorder.

⁴¹² In the first hand, there are two copies each of violin 1, violin 2, viola, cembalo and bassoon, suggesting a substantial orchestra. In the second hand, there is one copy each of violin 1 and violin 2.

The first movement (marked ‘vivace’) is based on a semiquaver figure, which is passed between the recorder and violins but there is little ornamentation or melodic development. The movement opens in the tonic, moving via the mediant to the submediant, and, unusually, to the subdominant and leading-note major before returning to the tonic.



Music example 16. Dieupart concerto 1/i, bars 4–7, showing melody and alternation between recorder and violins.⁴¹³

The second movement (marked ‘grave’) begins with four chords of the submediant with an interrupted cadence at the beginning of the second bar. There are two demisemiquaver flourishes for the recorder which lead to the eventual establishment of the tonic key of A minor at bar 5. The final movement is a gigue in binary form. Despite the atypical harmony of the first movement, there appears no reason why this piece by a French *émigré* to England and who did not work in Dresden should not be ranked with the English small flute concerti of the 1720s and 1730s.

Guiseppe Sammartini, Concerto in F for fifth flute⁴¹⁴

The sole manuscript of this concerto (held in the Musik och Teaterbiblioteket in Stockholm) is headed *Concerto in F. 5. Parte & la Fluta, da Guiseppe San Martini*. The composer was a distinguished oboist (born in 1695) who arrived in London around 1728 and died there in 1750. His compositions (described by Burney as ‘full of science,

⁴¹³ Reproduced by permission of Mario Bolognani from baroque-music.it and taken from IMSLP [imslp.org/wiki/Concerto_in_A_Minor_(Dieupart,_Charles)] under Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0. Accessed 15 November 2015.

⁴¹⁴ S-Skma MS 1759.

originality, and fire') are mainly instrumental and, although he wrote for the flute, the present concerto appears to be his only work for octave recorder.⁴¹⁵ The piece is on a larger scale than the concerti described above, taking some thirteen minutes to perform, as opposed to the seven or eight minutes required for the concerti by Babell, Baston, and Woodcock. It is likely to date from a later period than these works, but there are no records of its being performed in the eighteenth century. Despite postulating a date of composition of 'the late 1720s or 30s', Lasocki and Rowland-Jones note that 'there are many chromatic touches, verging on the *empfindsam*'; to my mind, this would suggest a date of perhaps later than the 1730s.⁴¹⁶ Sammartini, as a virtuoso oboist, may well have played the recorder and it is tempting to speculate that he may have performed the concerto himself, although there is no contemporary evidence.

The concerto is scored for recorder (the transposition indicating the fifth flute), four-part strings and continuo.⁴¹⁷ The recorder may be unaccompanied (for short periods only), or accompanied by violins, or continuo; the viola line is independent of the bass, and neither does the instrument join with the violins when they alone are accompanying the recorder. There are solo and tutti marks in the string parts, and on two instances the bass line is marked *violone solo*, suggesting that a sixteen-foot pitch instrument may have been employed, although the term *violone* is often imprecise and may be applied to either an eight-foot or sixteen-foot pitch instrument. The only other English small flute concerto where a *violone* is required is that by Dieupart.

⁴¹⁵ By the third decade of the eighteenth century the term 'flute' would probably be applied in England more to the transverse flute than the recorder. Although Sammartini's sonatas and trio sonatas are often adapted for the recorder, they were written for the transverse flute. However, a manuscript in the Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, contains twenty-seven sonatas for flute, oboe, recorder and violin, fourteen being assigned to the alto recorder; Burney, *A General History of Music*, vol.2, 1013.

⁴¹⁶ David Lasocki and Anthony Rowland-Jones in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, 110.

⁴¹⁷ The score is headed 'Flauto Concerto, due violini, viola, basso'.

The opening allegro is in ternary form (unlike any of the other sixteen concerti) and the central slow movement is rhythmically a siciliana in the mediant minor key of A minor; however, no tempo marking is given. The final allegro assai is technically the most demanding movement (perhaps the most technically demanding movement in all the small flute concerti), with rapid semiquaver passage-work, chromatic semitones and written-out cross-fingered trills.

Anonymous suite in A for sixth flute⁴¹⁸

The British Library Add.MS 31453 contains three linked untitled movements (allemanda, andante and minuet) for sixth flute, two violins, viola, and basso continuo by an anonymous composer.⁴¹⁹ The manuscript is undated, but the presence of an allemande and minuet together with the style of the music and its harmonic structure would suggest that it is of early eighteenth-century origin. The recorder is frequently accompanied by only a single violin, the only passages for the full ensemble being the final eight bars of the first movement and the final nineteen bars of the minuet. The viola part is independent of the bass.

It has been suggested that the suite may have been composed by Peter Prellieur (c.1705–41) on account of its supposed similarity to a trumpet concerto in Dresden.⁴²⁰ The trumpet concerto (written for two trumpets, two oboes and strings) is also in three movements: its harmonic structure — like that of the anonymous suite — is

⁴¹⁸ GB–Lbl Add. MS 31453.

⁴¹⁹ I am indebted to the late Dr Walter Bergmann for drawing my attention to this music, and for providing me with a score and continuo realisation taken from the original in the British Library. Dr Bergmann has transposed the recorder part into the tonic key so that it may be played on a soprano recorder using C fingering. The manuscript is notated in C, appropriate for the sixth flute played with alto fingering.

⁴²⁰ In an email to me (13 July 2005) Peter Holman commented to me that Add. MS 31453 was ‘likely to be by Prellieur because the trumpet works in the same sequence are attributed to Prellieur in a German source’; D–Dl 2709–0–1.

conventional, and the short second movement ends on a chord of the dominant. In this movement, the melodic line is taken by oboe 1, supported by the upper strings. In the final movement (minuet) there is an extended second minuet played by the first oboe, accompanied only by two violins in unison. Accompaniment by unison violins is not uncommon in English small flute concerti and, in the A major suite under discussion, the recorder is almost always accompanied by violin 1 alone. Both works are harmonically unadventurous, but they differ in assigned instruments and in orchestration, particularly in respect of the solo oboe in the second movement of the Prelleur and in the long second minuet section for oboe in the same work. A further anonymous concerto for trumpet, two oboes, strings, and continuo in Add.MS 31453 bears similarities to both the Dresden concerto and the A major suite, particularly in its use of a solo oboe. I do not perceive sufficient similarity between the Prelleur concerto, the anonymous trumpet concerto in Add.MS 31453 and the A major suite to ascribe convincingly the authorship of the latter work to Prelleur.

The recorder does not play in the contrapunctal andante in which the viola is independent of both the bass and the two violin parts. The movement is written in the relative minor key of F sharp minor, is replete with sevenths, and is based on imitative counterpoint. At the end of the movement, the bass holds a dominant pedal note for three and a half bars which leads to a iv–V–I cadence in the penultimate bar. The frequent use of suspensions contributes to a feeling of tension in the movement which is relaxed in the concluding minuet, which is in binary form but without second minuet.

5.4. Summary

The table below summarises the salient features of the compositions surveyed:

composer	flute	movement	key	keys visited	notes
Babell 1	6	allegro	D	I V vi I	
		adagio	b	i III V	
		allegro	D	I V vi iii I	binary
Babell 2	6	adagio	D	I V	VP & VS only
		allegro	D	I V vi iii I V	strings & BC only
		adagio	D	I V I	
		allegro	D	I V iii I	binary
Babell 3	6	adagio	e	i V	ripieno tacet
		allegro	e	i III V iv I	binary
		adagio	G	I V IV I	binary; BC tacet
		allegro	e	i III V i	binary
Babell 4	6	allegro	A	I V ii vi V I	no VSR
		adagio	A	I V vi I	rcdr, VP, VPR only
		allegro	A	I V vi I	
Babell 5	6x2	adagio	D	I V vi V	
		allegro	D	I V vi iii I	
		adagio	b	i V	
		allegro	D	I V vi I	
Baston 2	6	allegro	D	I V vi I	
		adagio	D	I V	
		presto	D	I vi I	
Baston 4	6	siciliana	A	I ii vi I	
		allegro	A	I V vi I	binary
Baston 5	6	allegro	D	I vi iii V I	
		andante	b	i III i V	
		presto	D	I V I	
Baston 6	5	allegro	D	I vi I	
		siciliana	D	I V I	da capo
Woodcock 1	6	presto	E	I V vi I	
		siciliana	E	I V vi I	binary
		allegro	E	I V vi iii I	binary
Woodcock 2	6	allegro	A	I V vi I	

		adagio	f#	i V	
		minuets	A	I V I	da capo minuet I
Woodcock 3	6	allegro	D	I V vi I	
		siciliana	b	i V i	binary
		vivace	D	I V vi iii I	binary
Woodcock 4	6x2	presto	b	i III V i	<i>devise</i>
		largo	b	i V i	
		gavotte	b	i V iv III i	gavotte; binary
Woodcock 5	6x2	allegro	D	I V vi I	viola
		largo	b	i III V i	siciliana; binary
		presto	D	I V vi I	binary
Woodcock 6	6x2	vivace	D	I V vi I	
		largo	b	i V iv III i	siciliana; binary
		gavotte	D	I V vi V I	three gavottes
Dieupart	5	vivace	a	i VI iv VII V i	
		grave	a	VI i V	
		allegro	a	i V III i	
Sammartini	5	allegro	F	I V I / I V iii V	ternary; AA/BB/A
		siciliana	a	i v III i	
		allegro	F	I V ii vi iii I	ritornello form
Anon. suite	6	allegro	A	I V vi I	allemande; binary
		andante	f#	i III V	recorder tacet
		minuet	A	I V I	binary

Table 7. Synopsis of the small flute concerti.

Whereas the orchestration of the concerti (particularly the unusual ripieno string parts) has been examined by Richard Maunder, little has been written on the harmonic development and form of the concerti. In this respect, the concerti of Babell, Baston and Woodcock, published by John Walsh in the 1720s, conform to a similar pattern, but Dieupart and Sammartini's concerti exhibit more complex harmonic development; the Sammartini is of a later date than the other works. In the earlier concerti, modulation is substantially confined to the closely-related keys of the dominant, relative minor and

mediant minor in movements in major keys, and to the dominant and relative major movements in the minor mode. In the major key concerti (fourteen out of seventeen), the slow movement is in the relative minor and five of these conclude on a chord of the dominant. The final movements do not follow any particular form and, with the exception of the Sammartini concerto, modulation in these movements is confined to closely related keys

Despite their slight musical content, when played as ‘interval music’ in the theatres as well as in concert rooms, the small flute concerti appear to have been popular with audiences, a matter outlined in the title-page to Babell’s concerti and a matter which will be further explored in Chapter 7 of the thesis.⁴²¹

⁴²¹ The concerti were ‘Performed in the theatre with great applause’; see Chapter 7, 233–7.

Chapter 6

The fife, the piccolo, and the tabor-pipe**6.1. Introduction**

The fife and piccolo are small transverse flutes, the former having a history of seven centuries and an instrument largely associated with military music, whilst the latter was first described in the eighteenth century, and subsequently became an important extension to the flute section of the orchestra. The fife has been substantially ignored by the historically informed performance movement for it lies outside mainstream European ‘art’ music, being more familiar to the bandsman than the orchestral player but, nevertheless, shares a common development with the piccolo and both instruments are known not only for their common ancestry but also for their penetrating timbre, whether out-of-doors in a band or soaring above the symphony orchestra. The tabor-pipe (or *galoubet*) is an instrument belonging to folk musics, but its very occasional use in operatic scores justifies a brief inclusion in this thesis. Utilising primary and secondary sources, in this chapter I summarise the history of the instruments prior to discussing their place in English music from the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 to the dawn of Romanticism in the closing years of the eighteenth century. The current literature gives an adequate history and organology of the fife and its (predominantly military) usage, but does not discuss the English tutors for the instrument or its use in civilian hands. There is no account of the piccolo in England before the year 1800.

6.2. The fife

The fife is a small transverse flute around 400mm in length. The English term ‘fife’ is derived from the German *Pfeife*, (whistle or pipe) which may in turn be derived from

the Latin *pipo-pipare* (to chirp); it was first described in the late fourteenth century.⁴²²

The fife subsequently found a place as a military signalling instrument for infantry regiments and in military bands, particularly in association with drums as the fife and drum band. It was traditionally an instrument used by the infantry, whereas the cavalry tended to use trumpets and drums. Not used orchestrally, the instrument acquired a repertoire of military music, dances and popular melodies and is still in use as a band instrument in Europe and the United States of America.



Figure 35. Anonymous military fife, late C18/early C19.⁴²³

Evidence for the existence the fife in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries may be found in both iconographic, literary and pedagogic sources, but no instruments are known to have survived from this period. Indeed, very few woodwind instruments have survived from this era, and it seems reasonable to speculate that fifes — as simple and inexpensive military instruments — were either discarded or not preserved in aristocratic households. The existence of transverse flutes in Europe may be traced back to the Middle Ages: Ardal Powell (in *The Flute*, 2002) copies an illustration of two transverse flute players from *Cantiga 240* of the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, which date from of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, and similar references may be found to flutes across Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁴²⁴ The flute (together with the drum) had become an important instrument in the military world of the fifteenth century, particularly in Switzerland and southern Germany, and these nations were responsible for spreading the use of the instrument

⁴²² *GDMI*, vol. II, s.v. ‘fife’, (Howard Mayer Brown and Jaap Frank).

⁴²³ Royal College of Music 0417, Appendix 1, fife 1; photo: author.

⁴²⁴ Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), 18.

across Europe. Powell also copies a woodcut by the Swiss Urs Graf (1485–1527), which shows four soldiers playing six-holed transverse flutes: using the figures of the soldiers for comparison, however, suggests that the instruments appear larger than fifes and Marcuse estimates that the smallest instrument measures at least 500mm, even allowing for likelihood of the players being shorter than in the present day.⁴²⁵ As I have already noted, however, iconographical representation is not necessarily compatible with organological veracity. The city of Basel appointed fifers as early as 1374, the French king appointed *phiffres et tambourins* in 1516, and the papal Swiss Guard had two drummers and two fifers on strength by 1548. The famous woodcuts *The Triumphs of Maximilian I* (1526) by Hans Burgkmaier (1473–1531) illustrate what Powell describes as ‘fifers’, although the instruments have eight tone-holes and would appear to be considerably larger than present-day fifes.⁴²⁶ The instruments appear slender, but mere external appearance cannot give an accurate depiction of the sounding length to bore ratio, and details of pitch and compass are not forthcoming until Praetorius’ *De Organographia* of 1618–19.⁴²⁷ The instrument had appeared in England by the reign of King Henry VIII (reigned 1509–47).

The German author Sebastian Virdung, in his *Musica Getutscht* of 1511, includes a woodcut of a narrow transverse flute with six tone-holes, although the holes appear to be placed rather too close together.⁴²⁸ He calls the instrument a *Zwerchpfeiff* and associates it with the drum as an instrument of the military, noting that drums are beaten to the music of the fife. He also illustrates a three-holed pipe, which he calls *Schwegel*,

⁴²⁵ *ibid.*, 28; Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, 126.

⁴²⁶ *ibid.*, 31.

⁴²⁷ Marcuse, *op.cit.*, 572.

⁴²⁸ Virdung, *Musica getutscht und Ausgesogen*.

reserving the term *Flöten* for four recorders: apart from the *Zwerchpfeiff* there are no transverse flutes.⁴²⁹

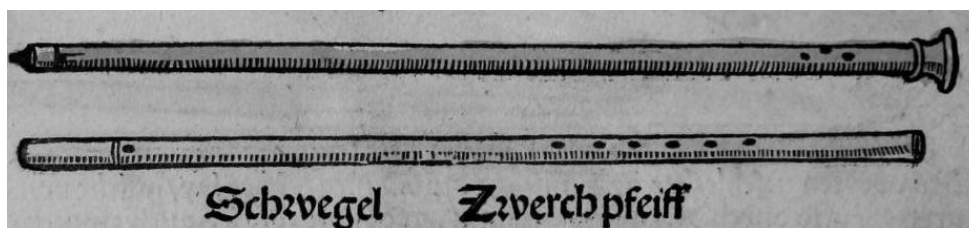


Figure 36. *Schwegel* (top) and *Zwerchpfeiff* (below) from Virdung's *Musica getutscht*.

The later German author Martin Agricola published two editions of his *Musica Instrumentalis deudsch*, the first in 1529 and the second in 1545.⁴³⁰ Agricola illustrates a group of four transverse flutes of differing sizes, *discantus*, *altus*, *tenor*, and *bassus*, naming the instruments *Schweizerpfeiffen* (Swiss pipes) or *Querpfeiffen* (transverse pipes).⁴³¹ The *altus* and *tenor* are of similar size, and fingering instructions are given in tablature. Agricola makes no specific mention of the fife, although the term *Schweizerpfeif* alludes to the Swiss ancestry of the instrument. In the later edition, he includes an illustration of a six-holed *Schweytzer [sic] Peiffe*. Powell comments that 'It is difficult to be sure whether any physical distinction between "the fife" and "the flute" existed in the sixteenth century, when military flutes became so prevalent' although Virdung's comments suggest that they were separate instruments. He also notes that 'the military flute known in sixteenth-century German-speaking lands was played in a special style associated with the Swiss', a point emphasised by Agricola.⁴³²

Thoinot Arbeau's *Orchésographie* of 1589 is a manual of dance, written in dialogue form between the teacher Arbeau (an anagram of the author's real name, Jehan

⁴²⁹ *ibid.*, 106, 114. The *Schwegel* is the tabor-pipe or *galoubet*.

⁴³⁰ Agricola, *Musica Instrumentalis deudsch*.

⁴³¹ *ibid.*, 12–13

⁴³² Powell, *The Flute*, 37, Agricola, *ibid.*, 87.

Tabourot) and his pupil, Capriol.⁴³³ After a discussion on military drum beats and marches, Capriol enquires ‘But why is the drummer accompanied by one or two fifers?’ to which Arbeau replies:

What we call the fife is a little transverse flute with six holes, used by the Germans and Swiss, and, as the bore is very narrow, only the thickness of a pistol bullet, it has a shrill note. In place of the fife some use an *arigot**, which has greater or lesser number of holes according to its size. The best ones have four holes in front and two behind and their sound is piercing...⁴³⁴

Regarding music, Arbeau comments that ‘Those who play them improvise to please themselves and it suffices for them to keep time with the sound of the drum...’ He gives two examples of tabulation for the fife or *arigot*. The military connotations of the fife persist in this short dialogue and Arbeau provides an illustration of a fifer, a flute-player and a drummer playing a deep drum slung from his left side.⁴³⁵

The second volume of Michael Praetorius’ *Syntagma Musicum, De Organographia*, appeared in 1618–20 and contains an extensive description of the musical instruments of the day.⁴³⁶ Praetorius distinguishes between consort flutes (*Querpfeiffen*) and military fifes, which he styles *Schweizerpfeiffen* or *Feldpfeiffen* (Swiss or military pipes) and which are only used with military drums: he notes that they have a different fingering from the *Querflöt* [*sic*].⁴³⁷ Fifes are made in two sizes with a compass of d'-a" or g'-c". A fife is illustrated in Plate 9 and the two different sizes of fife are shown with a selection of drums in Plate 23. It becomes apparent that, by the early seventeenth

⁴³³ Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchésographie*, trans. by Mary Stewart Evans (New York: Dover, 1967).

⁴³⁴ *ibid.*, 39. The ‘ones with four holes in front and two at the back’ suggests an early form of the French flageolet.

⁴³⁵ *ibid.*, 38.

⁴³⁶ Michael Praetorius, *De Organographia*.

⁴³⁷ *ibid.*, 46; *ibid.*, table VIII, 36, plates 9 and 23.

century, there is contemporary documentation of the separate qualities of the fife and flute.

Mersenne, writing in his *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636, comments the ‘the fife only differs from the German flute in that it speaks more strongly, and that its tones are much more lively and brilliant, and that it is shorter and narrower’. He continues ‘This is the proper instrument of the Swiss, and others who beat the tambourine...’.⁴³⁸

Mersenne notes that the fingering differs from that of the German flute (of which he says little) and that the compass of the fife is a fifteenth from d' (notated), whereas the flute has a compass of two octaves and a third. Mersenne does not equate the fife with the military.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the fife (with the drum) had become established as a military instrument and the earlier blurred differentiation of the fife and flute had been relegated to history. The fife was the instrument of the soldier: the flute of the civilian.

The fife appeared in England early in the sixteenth century and was in military use by the sixth decade of that century. Henry VIII was present at a ‘mask’ in 1510 in which ‘there came a fife and drum apparelled in white damaske and greene bonnets and hosen of the same suit’, and, at his death in 1547, he left amongst his many instruments ‘vi phiphes of black Ibonie tipped with Siluer’.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 311.

⁴³⁹ Powell, *The Flute*, 37; Francis William Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (London: Methuen, 1911), 298.

British Army regulations dating from 1557 explain that fifers should ‘teach the companye the soundes of the marche, allarum, approche, bataille, retreat, skirmische, or any other challenge that necessitie should be knowne’.⁴⁴⁰ The image of the fife as an instrument of the military even invaded the keyboard music of William Byrd (1542/3–1623); a battle piece in *My Lady Neville’s Booke* was entitled ‘The flute and the droome’. Francis William Galpin notes that a warrant was issued by Charles II in 1671 ‘for the apprehension of persons, beating Drums, sounding Trumpets, or playing Fifes at dumb shows or models without the licence of His Majesty’s Sergeant Trumpeter’.⁴⁴¹ On 5 February 1673/4 a patent was issued for the appointment of Clement Newth, to be appointed fife-player in ordinary in place of Richard Vaux and, in 1684, listed below the ‘musitians in ordinary’, appears the note ‘John Maugridge Drum-Major, four other Drummers and a Fife’.⁴⁴² By the late seventeenth century, the fife had passed out of military usage in Britain, but was re-introduced around 1745, possibly following the practice of mainland Europe. The fife was finally superseded as a signalling instrument in the British army in the late nineteenth century by the bugle.

The organology of the fife

The fife is a small cross-blown flute with a narrow cylindrical bore, measuring 350–420 mm in length. It is commonly made in one piece, has six tone-holes, no thumb-hole, and, until the nineteenth century, was not furnished with keys.⁴⁴³ The ends of the instrument are commonly protected by metal ferrules which may be glued or nailed into position and the stopper* is not usually furnished with an ornamental feature as on the Baroque flute. The bore is narrow in relation to the length of the instrument, favouring

⁴⁴⁰ *GDMI*, vol. II, s.v. ‘fife’.

⁴⁴¹ Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, 156.

⁴⁴² Andrew Ashbee, *Records of English Court Musicians*, vol.5 (Aldershot: Scolar, 1986), 65, 180.

⁴⁴³ Hornbostel and Sachs 421.121.12. (open side-blown flute with finger-holes).

the enhancement of higher harmonics: the large tone-holes also favour the higher harmonics and these features combine to produce an instrument with a piercing tone, well suited to outdoor use as a signalling instrument and in marching bands.⁴⁴⁴ The octave is produced by overblowing and the sixth-finger note was most commonly d" (notated d'), but other pitches may be encountered. As instruments largely destined for military — and hence outdoor — use, surviving fifes tend to be robust in construction, in contrast to the more refined piccolos. Of the fourteen fifes listed in Appendix 1, it is interesting that seven are unstamped, as compared to only one of the twelve piccolos, suggesting that robust, factory-type instruments (possibly of lesser quality) were produced for military use. The fifes pitched in C have an overall length of c.380mm, the B flat instruments are slightly longer at c.397mm, and the fifes in A average 407mm. These figures can only be used as a rough guide, for the number of instruments is too small to use statistically, and the prevailing pitch standard at this period was variable.⁴⁴⁵

The compass of the instrument is generally given as a twelfth (d"—a'") although some authors give a fifteenth, the difference depending on the quality of the instrument and on the skill of the player. In British military use during the eighteenth century, the player was not expected to attain a compass of more than a twelfth.⁴⁴⁶

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the military fifer carried two instruments in a metal case slung from his belt, one pitched in C (a seventh above the flute in D) and the other in B flat, a minor sixth above the flute.⁴⁴⁷ The music was

⁴⁴⁴ Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, 34.

⁴⁴⁵ Pitch in a wind instrument is fundamentally determined by the length of the vibrating air column, so an instrument at lower pitch will be longer than one at higher pitch.

⁴⁴⁶ The music in David Rutherford's tutor of c.1750 is substantially confined within the notated range d'—a", with very occasional use of b".

⁴⁴⁷ *GDMI*, vol. II, s.v. 'fife'.

transposed so that the player read as if playing a flute in D; playing on the B flat instrument had the effect of removing two flats from the key signature. The instrument underwent little development until the late nineteenth century apart from the addition of a D sharp key which was fitted to a few instruments from the second decade of the century onwards.

Pedagogic material for the fife

There do not appear to be any surviving tutors for the fife published before c.1750 and, in comparison with other woodwind instruments, relatively few thereafter. As the fife was mainly associated with the military in the seventeenth century, it may be that the simple music required for military signalling was taught via an aural tradition, for many of the soldiers who played the instrument may have had a low degree of literary attainment.⁴⁴⁸ The earliest tutor I have identified was published by David Rutherford in c.1750, entitled *The Compleat Tutor for the Fife, Containing easy rules for Learners after a new Method*.⁴⁴⁹ The title also advertised a collection of marches, and the pieces are described as being in the proper keys for the German Flute.⁴⁵⁰ The unidentified author gives instruction on blowing and rudiments of music, and a diatonic fingering chart transcribed down two octaves is presented so that the lowest note is written d (fourth lower ledger line in the G2 clef); the highest note is a", giving the remarkable compass of two octaves and a fifth. The student is instructed to beat time with his toe. The tunes comprise a few military calls, marches and other airs in the keys of G, D, and A, all falling within the range d'-b", although the latter note is used infrequently. A

⁴⁴⁸ c.40% of English males were literate in 1640, rising to 60% by the middle of the eighteenth century: see en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Education_in_the-Age_of_Enlightenment (accessed 6 February 2015).

⁴⁴⁹ Anon., *The Compleat Tutor for the Fife Containing easy rules for Learners after a new Method With a Choice Collection of all the Celebrated Marches that are played upon that Instrument which all are in proper Keys for the German Flute* (London: c.1750); Appendix 2, tutor 30.

⁴⁵⁰ The preferred keys are sharp keys, particularly D major.

compass of an octave and a fifth appears to have been deemed comfortable for the player. It is curious that some of the marches are given in 6/8 and even 3/4 time, suggesting that the author of the tutor had not served in the Army, but it is also relevant to note that troops did not always march in step until c.1748.⁴⁵¹ A chromatic fingering chart notated d'-a''' concludes the book.

Thomas Bennett published a *Compleat Tutor for the Fife* in 1767, the frontispiece illustrating the military connotation of the instrument.⁴⁵²



Figure 37. Frontispiece and title-page from *The Compleat Tutor for the Fife* (Bennett).⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 23.

⁴⁵² Anon., *The Compleat Tutor, for the Fife, Containing ye Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency, to which is added a choice Collection of ye most Celebrated Marches, Perform'd in the Guards &c. Properly adapted to that Instrument; with several choice pieces for two Fifes* (London: 1767); Appendix 2, tutor 31.

⁴⁵³ ©The British Library Board, e.318.a, frontispiece, title-page.

Despite differences in the title, the textual material is virtually identical to Rutherford's tutor, although Bennett's publication contains pieces for two fifes and omits any mention of the German flute. Regarding the chromatic scale, it is noted that 'This Gamut* serves for either the Fife or the German Flute; it is only an octave higher than the former'. Preceding the tunes, Bennett illustrates the use of the fife as a military signalling instrument.



Music example 17. Chromatic scale from Bennett's *The Compleat Tutor for the Fife* (left) and military calls (right).⁴⁵⁴

There is a greater selection of tunes in this tutor than in Rutherford's, including *The Marquis of Granby's or 1st. Troop of the Horse Grenadiers* and *The Light Horse March* — despite the fife being an instrument of the infantry rather than the cavalry.

A further *Compleat Tutor for the Fife* was printed by Thompson and Son, dated by Warner as having been published around the year 1760, and a further edition with additional music was published c.1770.⁴⁵⁵ The frontispiece is identical with that in

⁴⁵⁴ ©The British Library Board, e.318.a, pp.2, 9.

⁴⁵⁵ Anon., *The Compleat Tutor For the Fife, Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions to Learn that Instrument with a Collection of Celebrated March's [sic] & Airs Performed in the Guards and other*

Bennett's publication, positing the question as to which tutor came first. The unidentified author gives instruction on blowing and holding the instrument, which has a natural scale of D from d' – d''' and also gives fingerings for f natural', g sharp', c'', and b flat''. He indicates that, to obtain the second octave, the player should 'draw the lips tighter and let the wind come out finer and stronger'. The military usage of the fife is clearly identified — as in the two preceding tutors — by the presence of 'Duty Calls' such as 'Reveilly' [sic] and 'To Arms'. The tunes are all marches, albeit in various time-signatures including 3/4 and 6/8, and within a compass of d' – a'', with very occasional use of b''.

Two universal tutors warrant a brief mention: William Tans'ur's *The Elements of Musick Display'd* of 1767 and Joseph Gehot's *Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Music*, dating from 1786.⁴⁵⁶ Tans'ur's *The Elements of Musick Display'd* is an updated version of his *A New Musical Grammar* of 1746, and is an elaborate book of instruction in both the theory and practice of music, including pedagogic material on playing instruments. Regarding the fife, he comments that:

The *Fife* or *Fifaro*, is a *wind* Instrument, very shrill, and held as the *German-Flute*, and play'd much the same; so that the *Scale* of one will partly serve for the other; which see. It is very much used in the *Army*, accompany'd with the *Drum*, &c.⁴⁵⁷

No fingering chart for the fife is given. Joseph Gehot's *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Musick* is a universal tutor, and gives a scale from d' – c''' for the fife, including four chromatic notes. The scale differs from that for the German flute, as the fife having no key.

Regiments &c. NB *The Tunes in this Book are also Proper for the German Flute* (London: c.1760); Appendix 2, tutor 32; 1770 version, Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 117.

⁴⁵⁶ Tans'ur, *The Elements of Musick Display'd*; Gehot, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Music*; Appendix 2, tutors 33 and 34.

⁴⁵⁷ Tans'ur, *The Elements of Music Display'd*, 102.

Further tutors continued to be published up to the final decade of the century, the latest listed by Warner being *Entire New and Compleat Instructions for the Fife* printed for the instrument maker, publisher, and music seller John Preston c.1796.⁴⁵⁸ In summary, the three principal tutors studied are substantially similar in content and strongly reinforce the concept of the fife as an instrument of the military, but also suggest an amateur civilian use.

The repertoire for the fife

I have not encountered published music for the fife dating from the seventeenth century, but, by the latter part of the eighteenth century — coinciding with the restoration of the fife in military circles — a small repertoire began to be published for both civilian and military use. A few examples shall serve to illustrate the scope of the published repertoire. In 1775, Captain Robert Hinde published a set of 24 *Quick Marches with Basses* adapted for the German flute, violin, oboe and keyboard instruments: the pieces are simple, mainly restricted to the range d'-a" but with the occasional use of b", and are confined to the major keys of G, D and A. The bass lines are best described as elementary, and the melodies are free from wide leaps and complex rhythmic patterns.⁴⁵⁹

⁴⁵⁸ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, tutor 185.

⁴⁵⁹ *A Third Collection of Twenty four Quick Marches with Basses as Performed by the Guards Light Horse and other Regiments. Collected by Capn. Robt. Hinde. adapted for the Fife, Ger. Flute, Violin, Hoboy, Pianoforte or Harpsichord* (1775): Appendix 3, item 34.



Figure 38 and music example 18. Title-page and marches from Robert Hinde's 24 Quick Marches.⁴⁶⁰

A more extensive publication, aimed at the amateur market, is *The Gentleman's Amusement* of c.1790, containing marches, folk melodies and operatic airs, again adapted to the fife, violin or flute. Some of these pieces are more complex, being of the standard of Grade 4/5 of the present-day examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.⁴⁶¹ *Thompson's Pocket Collection* provides favourite marches 'as performed in His Majestys [sic] camps by the militia and other regiments' for two players, again specifying the flute and violin as well as the fife.⁴⁶² The opera composer William Shield wrote a few bars for the fife in his opera *Fontainebleau* of 1784, which was given at Covent Garden in 1784. In the act 3 aria 'The morning we're married', the couple are woken by the sound of instruments and a vocal imitation of each instrument is given first by the singer and then the instrument plays. Five bars are devoted to the fife and drum.⁴⁶³

It is appropriate to note that these (and other pieces encountered) are published for variety of instruments, all of which were popular with amateurs of the period. The

⁴⁶⁰ ©The British Library Board, b.28, title-page; p.1.

⁴⁶¹ *The Gentleman's Amusement being a Selection of Scotch, English Irish and Foreign Airs. Adapted to the Fife, Violin, or German Flute* (n.p: c.1790).

⁴⁶² *Thompson's Pocket Collection of Favourite Marches for two German-Flutes, Violins, or Fifes as Performed in His Majestys [sic] Camps by the Militia and other Regiments, Composed by the most Eminent Masters* (n.p: c.1795).

⁴⁶³ William Shield, *Fontainebleau*, 1784; Appendix 3, item 37 (also item 7 for the flageolet).

selection of music parallels that found in tutors of this era and is far from difficult to play. It does, however, suggest that the fife had a role to play outside of its original purpose as an instrument of the military.

The fife in context, 1660–1800

In seventeenth-century England, as elsewhere, the fife was associated with the drum as an instrument for military signalling, but it passed out of military use in the late seventeenth century. As we have seen above, however, there is clear evidence that the fife was still in use in England in the 1670s and 1680s. Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow suggest that the reason for the fife's disappearance from military circles was 'the preference attached to groups of hautboys'.⁴⁶⁴ Against this, it should be noted that, although the seventeenth-century hautboy (oboe) was relatively loud, a double-reed instrument is more difficult to handle on the march and is more fragile than the fife. The fife was reintroduced into the Guards regiments by the Duke of Cumberland by 1745 and subsequently became an instrument to accompany the march as well as a signal instrument: indeed, the fife and drum were charged with setting the cadence (rhythm) of the march.⁴⁶⁵ Francis Grove, in his *Military Antiquities of the British Army* (1786–88) observed that:

The fife was for a long time laid aside, and was not restored till about the year 1745, when the Duke of Cumberland introduced it into the guards; it was not however adopted into the marching regiments, till the year 1747: the first regiment that had it was the 19th., then called green Howards, in which I was privileged to serve... fifes afterwards, particularly since the practice of marching in cadence, have been much multiplied.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁴ Herbert and Barlow, *Music & the British Military in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 32.

⁴⁶⁵ In this context, 'cadence' describes the fall of the marching feet, from the Latin *cado*–*cadere* 'to fall'.

⁴⁶⁶ Quoted in J. A. Houlding, *Fit for Service. The Training of the British Army 1715–1795* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 284; note, 424.

By 1764, Army regulations made provision and pay for two fifiers on the strength of each company of the Grenadier Guards, although later in the century the fife was used mainly as a training aid.

An advertisement placed by the woodwind instrument maker John Mason (fl1754-78) in the *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* in 1765 notes that ‘He [Mason] has been Fife-maker to his Majesty’s three Regiments of Guards these 18 years’, confirming that the instrument was in use at least from c.1747.⁴⁶⁷ The painting by William Hogarth (1679–1764), *A Representation of the March of the Guards towards Scotland in the Year 1745*, provides contemporary evidence for the use of the fife and drum in the British Army in that year. A boy fifer accompanied by an adult drummer are shown in the lower left-hand corner of the painting (overleaf), the remainder of which is a typical ‘Hogarthian’ portrayal of contemporary life.

⁴⁶⁷ David Lasocki, ‘New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 63 (2010), 73–142.



Figure 39. A Representation of the March of the Guards towards Scotland in the Year 1745 by William Hogarth.⁴⁶⁸

Prior to this date, English soldiers were not always required to carry out manoeuvres in step, but the penetrating sound of the fife and drum would have been audible over the sound of tramping boots. As an outdoor instrument, the fife had the advantage of being robust, made in one piece with a cylindrical bore and without keys — and therefore cheap to make and maintain.

The fife came into civilian use late in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the tutors and music cited above: it should be recalled that this was a period when the German flute was becoming increasingly popular amongst amateur musicians and it is possible

⁴⁶⁸ Painted by William Hogarth and published in 1750. The dedication reads 'To His Majesty the King of Prussia, an Encourager of Arts and Sciences! This plate is most humbly Dedicated'. The dedication may refer to the 1761 engraving by Luke Sullivan and its retouching by Hogarth. Reproduced by courtesy of The Foundling Museum, catalogue number 7124 (ex-Coke Collection).

that some of these players may also have played the fife, for the two instruments bear similarities in technique, albeit with some differences in fingering. By the early nineteenth century, its use in the military was increasingly codified, and, by the end of the century, the fife had been replaced by a short conical keyed flute.⁴⁶⁹ English music contains many pointers to the use of the fife in war. Henry Purcell's ode *Hail! Bright Cecilia* (1692) contrasts "The Am'rous Flute' with 'The Fife and all the Instruments of War', and around one hundred years later a popular song by James Wrihten contained both feminist and bellicose sympathies; *The Female Captain* begins 'Sound the Fife, beat the Drum'. The fife survives today in bands: over almost eight centuries little has changed in either the structure or the role of this octave flute.

6.3. The piccolo

The piccolo is a small transverse flute pitched an octave above the standard concert flute. Although becoming a regular member of the orchestra from the early nineteenth, it was first described in France around the year 1740, but was little-used in England until the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.



Figure 40. One-keyed piccolo late C18/early C19 by Metzler, London.⁴⁷⁰

The study of the instrument in the eighteenth century is beset by terminological controversies which relate to the description of octave flutes in general and to the piccolo in particular. Early in the eighteenth century, Handel calls for a *flauto piccolo*

⁴⁶⁹ Samuel Potter, *The Art of Playing the Fife, with the Garrison, Camp and Street Duty* (London: the author, c.1815).

⁴⁷⁰ Royal College of Music 0728, Appendix 1, picc 1; photo: author.

on several occasions in the early eighteenth century and the question arises as to which instrument is intended, the words *flauto piccolo* simply meaning ‘small flute’.⁴⁷¹ Much has been written on this topic, but, for the purposes of the present discussion, it should suffice to assert that Handel’s *flauto piccolo* was undoubtedly a vertical octave flute (flageolet or recorder), as the transverse piccolo was not described in the literature until c.1740 and only appeared in England late in the eighteenth century. The *petite flûte* of late eighteenth-century France was most commonly the piccolo (always if qualified by *traversière*) but could also be a small recorder or flageolet.⁴⁷² In 1774, at a performance of *Don Quixote* with a ‘pastoral entertainment’, a Mr. Ebeling played a ‘rural concerto’ on the ‘Flauto-Piccolo’, but it is probable that the instrument was a vertical small flute rather than a transverse one: although the term ‘flauto’ was seldom applied to the recorder in the 1770s, there are no extant English transverse piccolos from this date.⁴⁷³

The earliest description of the piccolo is given by Michel Corrette in his *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flute traversiere* of c.1740, although the suggestion that the instrument could have been introduced somewhat earlier is discussed and discredited by Danielle Eden.⁴⁷⁴ Corrette writes:

*On fait présentement a Paris des petites Flutes Traversieres et a l’Octave qui font un effet charmant dans les Tambourins et dans les Concerto faits exprès pour la Flute. Voyez ceux de Messieurs Boismortier, Corrette, Nodeau [sic], Braun et Quantz.*⁴⁷⁵

A one-keyed piccolo by Thomas Lot III (1708–89), dated 1734–55, is illustrated by Tula Giannini in her *Great Flute Makers of France* (1993), and Eden reports that Lot

⁴⁷¹ Welch, *Six Lectures on the Recorder*, 149–55.

⁴⁷² Chapter 8, section 8.2.

⁴⁷³ *Morning Chronicle and Daily Advertiser*, 25 August 1774.

⁴⁷⁴ Eden, *The Piccolo*, 27.

⁴⁷⁵ Michel Corrette, *Méthode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flute traversiere*, 11.

supplied a piccolo to the flautist and composer Naudot.⁴⁷⁶ A keyless instrument of approximately piccolo size is illustrated in Diderot's *Encyclopédie* of 1767.⁴⁷⁷ In 1772, Francoeur gave a description of the one-keyed piccolo (*la petite flûte* or *petite flûte traversière*), noting that it was based on the fife but had better intonation and stated that it could be used for special effects such as storms and military scenes. It could also be used as a substitute for the fife.⁴⁷⁸ The piccolo is first encountered in Germany c.1755 in an inventory of instruments in the court of Sayn-Wittgenstein in Berleburg, Westphalia, which lists *eine kleine flûte traversière*, and in the same year Johann David Denner (1691–1764) listed *piccoli* for sale in Nuremberg.⁴⁷⁹ Eden comments that little is known about the introduction of the piccolo to Britain. The earliest extant English piccolos date from the very late eighteenth or very early nineteenth century but there is no evidence of a specific repertoire for the instrument, although Eden suggests that it could have been used by the military.⁴⁸⁰

The organology of the piccolo

The piccolo is a transverse octave flute with a contracting conical bore (at least in the body) whereas the fife is cylindrical: it measures 320–350mm in length. Although the post-1800 piccolo is considered an octave version of the concert flute, it appears to have been derived more from the fife than the *Querflöte* of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸¹ Nancy Toff observes that the instrument's progenitor was the military fife of the Middle Ages, 'from which, of course, the flute descends', but is difficult to follow the reason behind

⁴⁷⁶ Tula Giannini, *Great Flute Makers of France. The Lot and Godfroy Families 1650–1900* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), plate 12.b., 21; Eden, *op.cit.*, p.26.

⁴⁷⁷ Vol. 5, plate 8.

⁴⁷⁸ Francoeur, *Diapason général de tous les instruments à vent*, 7.

⁴⁷⁹ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 107.

⁴⁸⁰ Eden, *op.cit.*, 69

⁴⁸¹ The German term *Querflöte* describes a cross-blown, as opposed to a vertically-blown, flute (*Langsflöte*).

this assertion in that the essential similarity between the fife and piccolo is sounding pitch rather than bore profile.⁴⁸² Early flutes were cylindrical (like fifes), only acquiring a conical bore in the late seventeenth century.⁴⁸³ Franceour commented that it was easier to play the piccolo in tune because of its conical bore and single (D sharp) key.⁴⁸⁴ The majority of early piccolos were built in D, although examples in E flat, F, G and C may be encountered, and pitch marks* including 'D' and '8' may be found on the instruments.⁴⁸⁵ The typical range of the instrument was a little over two octaves. Later (Boehm) piccolos tend to have the cylindrical bore of the Boehm flute, which was introduced in 1847.

The early eighteenth-century flute was furnished with one key (for d sharp') but by the fourth quarter of the century it became common for flutes to bear four keys (d sharp', f', g sharp', and b flat').⁴⁸⁶ Later in the nineteenth century, these keys were also added to the piccolo, but no examples of multi-keyed English piccolos survive from an earlier period. Subsequently, a lower joint was added to the flute providing two keys for c' and c sharp', but, again, this feature is not found on piccolos.

The surviving English piccolos of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries cannot be dated with any degree of precision beyond quoting the dates of their makers: they were commonly made in three pieces (although instruments in two or four pieces are reported) and were furnished with a D sharp key.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸² Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book* (Oxford: 2nd edn, Oxford University Press, 1996), 64.

⁴⁸³ Adam Carse, *Musical Wind Instruments* (New York: reprint, Da Capo Press, 1965), 83-4.

⁴⁸⁴ Eden, *op.cit.*, 31.

⁴⁸⁵ *ibid.*, 96; in Appendix 1, picc 5 and picc 12 are stamped 'D'; 1, 4, 7, and 11 are stamped '8'.

⁴⁸⁶ Philip Bate, *The Flute* (London: Ernest Benn, 1969), 96-98.

⁴⁸⁷ Appendix 1, piccolos.

The repertoire for the piccolo

French composers were the first to use the piccolo in orchestral scores. It has been suggested that Rameau scored for the piccolo in his *Dardanus* of 1739, but the part for *petites flûtes* descends to c' in bar 11 of the second *tambourin** in act III, scene 3: this note is not obtainable on the piccolo but could be played on a soprano recorder.⁴⁸⁸ By the end of the eighteenth century, the one-keyed piccolo was established in France, and was used (for example) by Gluck in his opera *Iphigénie en Tauride* of 1779.⁴⁸⁹ The few citations affirming the use of the piccolo suggest that it was more an instrument of the early nineteenth century than the late eighteenth, but it is instructive to examine the use of the piccolo by major composers. Haydn scored for the piccolo in only one piece — as an accompaniment to the whistling ploughman in ‘Schon eilet froh der Ackermann’ from *Die Jahreszeiten* (1801). Beethoven first employed the piccolo in his fifth symphony in 1808, and subsequently scored for it in the sixth symphony (also 1808) when it was used for dramatic effect in the portrayal of a storm during the fourth movement. The composer also used the piccolo in his overture to *Egmont*, the ninth symphony, and in *Wellington's Victory*.

No tutors for the piccolo were published in England in the eighteenth century, and I have not encountered any music assigned to the piccolo in the English repertoire. The only convincing evidence for its use in England in the late eighteenth century is the existence of a handful of instruments by English makers.

⁴⁸⁸ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 179, 194.

⁴⁸⁹ Chapter 8, 260.

The piccolo in eighteenth-century England

By the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries one-keyed piccolos were being made in England, but, judging by the limited number of surviving specimens, in only small numbers. The twelve instruments listed in Appendix 1 are unlikely to have been made before c.1790 and may be of early nineteenth-century origin. By way of comparison, a search of the MIMO website for late eighteenth-century piccolos of continental origin revealed that, as in England, few piccolos remain from this period.⁴⁹⁰

Conclusion

The fife and the piccolo are octave transverse flutes with a common ancestry and a similar compass, but which differ both in structure and in function. Whereas the fife has enjoyed a virtually unbroken existence in England from the late Middle Ages to the twenty-first century, the piccolo made its first appearance in the country shortly before 1800. If an English composer required an octave flute in the late seventeenth or eighteenth century, he could turn to the flageolet (in the seventeenth) and to octave recorders in the eighteenth. The growth in size and sonority of the orchestra contributed to the recorder's temporary demise during the nineteenth century but a new octave flute — in the form of the piccolo — was waiting in the wings.

6.4. The tabor-pipe

Unlike the fife and piccolo, the tabor-pipe is an instrument of the folk tradition, and is associated with the tabor, a small drum hung from the player's left shoulder: the three-holed pipe is played with the left hand, the drum with the right. In the German-speaking countries the instrument is known as the *Schwegel* but the commonly-used term

⁴⁹⁰ www.mimo-international.com/ (accessed 29 January 2015).

galoubet is strictly a Provençal name for the instrument which in English may be called ‘pipe’, ‘three-holed pipe’, or ‘tabor-pipe’. There are also various folk appellations, but, for convenience, ‘tabor-pipe’ will be used in the present discussion. The instrument (in various forms and sizes and known by various names) was — and indeed still is — widely distributed across Europe.



Figure 41. Anonymous C18 ivory tabor-pipe.⁴⁹¹

Having originated in Southern France and Northern Spain, the instrument’s history may be traced back to the late Middle Ages and it is described by both Viridung and Agricola; three examples were found in the wreckage of the English ship *Mary Rose* which capsized and sank in 1545.⁴⁹² Arbeau discusses the instrument with his pupil Capriol and notes its association with the tabor in accompaniment to dance. Praetorius names the instrument *Stamentienpfeiff* and gives a compass of d'–c''' (table 8) but notes that examples sounding a fifth lower may be found. He illustrates both sizes of the instrument, alongside an appropriate (shallow) drum, and notes the English use the instrument in conjunction with a drum.⁴⁹³ Mersenne discusses the instrument (describing a compass of a seventeenth) but makes no mention of its use or its association with the tabor.⁴⁹⁴ William Kent’s *Nine Daies Wonder* of 1600 describes a legend that Kemp (who was Shakespeare’s clown) danced in nine days from London to Norwich to the music of the pipe-and-tabor and an illustration shows the player with a

⁴⁹¹ Royal College of Music 0065; photo: author

⁴⁹² Frances Palmer, ‘Musical Instruments from the *Mary Rose*’, *Early Music*, 11/1 (1983), 53–60; Viridung, *Musica getutscht*, 106, 114; Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, 5, 11, 79.

⁴⁹³ Praetorius, *De Organographia*, 36, 45, plate 9.

⁴⁹⁴ Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 299–301.

deep drum.⁴⁹⁵ The instrument continued in use in England into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, William Tans'ur commenting in 1767 that:

The *Tabor-and-Pipe* are two musical *Instruments* that always accompany each other; and are mostly used at *Wakes* by Country People, and at their *Dancings* and innocent *Diversions*; and often with *Morris Dancers*; and sometimes on *Concerts*, if well perform'd by such as are skill'd in *Musick*. The *Pipe* is very shrill, having 3 *Holes*, but it mostly depends on the Management of the *Breath*, and by *pinching* to make the sounds; which are play'd only by the *Left Hand*
 ...⁴⁹⁶

The pipe-and-tabor was last used in England prior to its modern revival in the late nineteenth century in Oxfordshire to accompany Morris dancing, when the combination was known as the 'whittle and dub'.⁴⁹⁷

The organology of the tabor-pipe

The tabor-pipe usually measures about 300mm in length, although it should be noted that there is considerable variation; the ivory instrument illustrated above measures 325mm. The tabor-pipe has a narrow cylindrical bore (75–85mm), giving a piercing tone, well-suited to outdoor use and dance functions. Two tone-holes are placed on the front for the first two fingers of the left hand, the third finger being placed behind the instrument and the fourth in the front in order to provide support. The thumb-hole lies behind and functions as the highest tone-hole, but it is not 'pinched' to sound the octave as on the recorder and flageolet. The little finger may be employed to partially close the bell and extend the compass downwards by a semitone, a technique also used on the French flageolet. The compass of the instrument is generally given as an eleventh or twelfth, although skilled players may extend this to two octaves. Most authors give d'–

⁴⁹⁵ *GDMI*, vol. IV, s.v. 'Pipe and Tabor', (Anthony Baines).

⁴⁹⁶ Tans'ur, *The Elements of Musick Display'd*, p.103; Appendix 2, tutor 25.

⁴⁹⁷ *GDMI*, vol. IV, s.v. 'Pipe and Tabor'.

a" (notated, sounding two octaves higher) but Gehot includes c sharp'.⁴⁹⁸ The fundamental (first harmonic) is very weak and not used. Using the second harmonic, the notes of d', e', f sharp', and g' may be sounded: overblowing leads to the third harmonic (a fifth higher), producing a', b', and c sharp". A further increase in wind pressure will sound the fourth harmonic d", e", f sharp", and g", giving a compass of an octave and a fourth. The final a" is effected by the sixth harmonic.⁴⁹⁹ The third degree of the scale may sound a major or minor third above the lowest note.⁵⁰⁰

The pipe-and-tabor forms a self-contained instrumental combination, and the instruments are mainly played in the folk tradition to accompany dancing. The combination was used for this purpose in England from the late sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and there are records of the occasional use of the tabor-pipe in French operatic scores of the late eighteenth century, when the instrument was known as *le tambourin*.⁵⁰¹

⁴⁹⁸ Gehot, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Music*, 18.

⁴⁹⁹ Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and Their History*, 225.

⁵⁰⁰ Further details of the acoustics and history of the instrument may be found in Jeremy Montagu, 'Was the Tabor Pipe Always as we Know it?', *Galpin Society Journal*, 50 (1997), 16-30.

⁵⁰¹ Chapter 8, 244-5, 260.

Chapter 7

Society, performance, and gender

Music and musical instruments do not occur in isolation solely as objects of aesthetic value, but relate to the society in which they subsist. Following a brief historical introduction, I shall consider social and financial aspects of music, professional, amateur and domestic performances, and gender issues — as far as may be discerned — in relation to octave flutes. A section will be devoted to the performance aspects of the small flute concerti.

7.1. Historical background

During the course of the seventeenth century, the linear contrapuntal style of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries gradually gave way to an increasing emphasis not on counterpoint, but on vertical harmony, with an upper melodic line (or lines) supported by a continuo bass. The century was a troubled one for English music, beginning with the cultured Stuart monarchs under whom the traditions established in the long reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603) were largely continued until the abolition of the monarchy in 1649, although the Civil Wars (1642–51) would inevitably have had a disruptive effect on musical activity. The Commonwealth (1649–60), when England was ruled by the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) and his son Richard (1626–1712), was an era in which church music was largely suppressed in accordance with Puritan theology, and the theatres closed, again for religious reasons. However, music continued to be played and sung in the domestic environment, as witnessed by the publication of such works as John Playford's *The Dancing Master* in 1651, Henry Lawes' *Ayres and Dialogues* for voice and lute or bass viol in 1653, and Christopher Simpson's *The Division-Violist* in 1659. Margaret Laurie comments:

Although the public performance of plays was banned in 1642, a fair amount of dramatic activity nevertheless took place during the Commonwealth period. Paradoxically, the use of music during drama was encouraged by the ban, for musical entertainments and dancing were often tolerated when straight plays were not.⁵⁰²

Stephen Rose writes:

Court & church music had in effect been dissolved during the Civil War, and musicians who did not flee abroad either made a living by teaching amateurs or gathered in musical meetings such as the weekly one at William Ellis's house in Oxford.⁵⁰³

However, with the return from exile in France of King Charles II in 1660, the practice of music in the court, the church, and in the theatres was revived.

In 1663 King Charles II (reigned 1660–85) issued patents for only two companies to perform plays spoken in the English language, namely the King's Company and the Duke's Company, but the companies could move from theatre to theatre.⁵⁰⁴ Music was frequently performed in the London theatres and it is useful to note the dates of activity of the principal theatres concerned, particularly as many performances of small flute concerti were given on the theatre stage. Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre opened c.1661, closing in 1746, and the first Theatre Royal in Drury Lane opened in 1663. The Theatre Royal in Covent Garden was established in 1732 by John Rich, who formerly managed Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre.⁵⁰⁵ The Queen's Theatre in the Haymarket (becoming The King's Theatre on the accession of George I in 1714) was built by John Vanburgh and opened in 1705; it was used throughout the eighteenth century for operatic

⁵⁰² Margaret Laurie, 'Music for the Stage II: from 1650', in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: the Seventeenth Century*, ed. by Ian Spink (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1992), 306.

⁵⁰³ Stephen Rose, 'Music in the Market Place', in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. by Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 60.

⁵⁰⁴ Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: 2nd. edn, Oxford University Press, 1986), 2.; the patent to perform dramas in English was issued to the company rather than to the theatre.

⁵⁰⁵ *ibid.*, 1–2.

productions.⁵⁰⁶ Italian opera (being sung, and in Italian) was not subject to the licensing restrictions — nor were other musical entertainments such as concerts and pantomimes — and could be performed at unlicensed venues. The Little Theatre (also in the Haymarket) opened in 1720 and was used by foreign companies and for lighter entertainments and concerts.⁵⁰⁷ The first Goodman's Fields Theatre (in the relatively poor area of Whitechapel) opened in 1729, the second in 1732, and finally closed in 1742.⁵⁰⁸ These theatres were all used for concerts as well as for musical performance in connection with theatrical entertainments.

Early eighteenth-century London ranked as one of the musical capitals of the world; public concerts had been established by John Banister in 1672 and professional public performances were given in theatres, concert rooms, taverns, the halls of city livery companies and in pleasure gardens.⁵⁰⁹ Benefit concerts, with the proceeds being given to an individual musician, were popular in the early eighteenth century, although subscription series became more prominent in the latter part of the century.⁵¹⁰ Although London was deemed the musical capital of England, it is important to emphasize that music was far from neglected in the provinces. The larger towns (particularly those with 'society' connections, such as Bath) and the cathedral cities played host to much music-making, often led by, and largely performed by, amateurs with or without professional

⁵⁰⁶ *The London Stage, 1660–1800...Part 2, 1700–1729*, xxvi.

⁵⁰⁷ *The London Stage, Part 2*, xxxv–vi.

⁵⁰⁸ *The London Stage, Part 3, 1730–1749*, ed. by Arthur H. Scrouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961), xxiii–xxvii.

⁵⁰⁹ Nicholas Temperley, et.al. "London (i)." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 19 November 2015.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/16904pg5>.

⁵¹⁰ Simon McVeigh in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 8–11; John Baston played one of Woodcock's small flute concerti at a benefit concert for the violinist Carbonelli in 1722, present chapter, 236.

stiffening.⁵¹¹ I have not, however, encountered any references to the performance of recorder or flageolet music outside of London.

7.2. Finance and social status

The amateur performance of notated music (whether printed or in manuscript) was largely the province of the nobility, gentry, and the ‘middling sort’ — including shopkeepers, tradespeople, independent artisans, and lower-level professionals — for it was those social classes who had literacy skills and a sufficient income to purchase instruments, music, and tuition.⁵¹² In the late seventeenth century, a skilled artisan could earn around £35 *per annum* (£1 15s. per week) and a lawyer or clergyman around £50, whereas a labourer would earn only £20 (8s. per week): women were paid about half the sum awarded to men, a domestic servant receiving a mere £3 *per annum* plus board. By the eighteenth century, annual incomes had risen, and, whereas a labourer still earned around £20 *per annum*, a journeyman (a trained craftsman) could earn around £39, an artisan craftsman £55, and a skilled cabinet maker as much as £90.⁵¹³ These figures equate to 8s., 15s., £1, and £4 14s. per week respectively. Living costs remained fairly constant until inflation set in late in the eighteenth century, when pay rises failed to keep up with the cost of living. In 1770, Mary Johnson deemed that a man and wife with four children ‘of the middling sort’ with a maid would spend c.£115 a year on basic housekeeping necessities, including food, beer, coal, candles, and haberdashery.⁵¹⁴ Of this, the weekly food bill would have been c.13s.7d. As a basic

⁵¹¹ Peter Borsay in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 19–33.

⁵¹² Margaret R. Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1996), 15.

⁵¹³ Before decimalisation in 1971, in English currency £1 = 20 shillings (s), 1 shilling = 12 pence (d); Figures averaged from Jerry White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, 234.

⁵¹⁴ Mary Johnson, *Madam Johnson’s Present: Or, Every Young Woman’s Companion in Useful and Universal Knowledge*, (1770), quoted in www.somethingspast.com/family-costs-money-1700s/, (accessed 25 April 2016); the middling sort would expect to earn between £100 and £500 *per annum*

measure, the price of a loaf of bread fluctuated with the wheat harvest; a quarten loaf (c.4lb. or 1600g) cost 4½d. in 1666, 9d. in 1709, 4d. in 1731, and 7½d. in 1758.⁵¹⁵

In the late seventeenth century, a professional musician's salary could be as much as £50, comparable to the lawyer or clergyman cited above. A rank-and-file orchestral player in the first quarter of the eighteenth century could expect to receive £40 for a forty-week season (close to the pay of a journeyman in the period), but many players augmented their income by teaching. Players in theatre orchestras who gave performances on stage for interval music would be paid upwards of 3s. 4d. extra, and the distinguished recorder player James Paisible, for example, was paid 5s. per day with an extra guinea (£1 1s.) by the management at Drury Lane when he performed on stage.⁵¹⁶ Professional musicians, however, were often deemed to be of low social status; despite the fact that they were highly skilled, they were frequently associated with itinerants and vagrants, and itinerant street musicians were hardly distinguishable from beggars.⁵¹⁷

As well as notated music, there would inevitably have been much activity in the performance of folk musics learnt via an aural/oral tradition and there is no reason to suppose that such performance was confined to the lower social classes. Such performance is not documented in contemporary literature, although both words and music of songs have survived. Stephen Rose comments that:

Everywhere in Europe there was popular or traditional music, heard on the street, in the tavern and in the countryside. Much of this popular music

throughout most of the eighteenth century; see www.oldbailey.org/static/Coinage.jsp/ (accessed 5 July 2016).

⁵¹⁵ www.johnhearfield.com/History/Breadt.htm/ (accessed 25 April 2016).

⁵¹⁶ *The London Stage, 1660–1800, Part 2*, cxxxvi.

⁵¹⁷ Stephen Rose in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 83.

circulated orally and was documented only when it intersected with the literary tradition; for this reason it is often overlooked by historians.⁵¹⁸

To participate actively in music required an outlay in terms of buying an instrument and music, and also paying for tuition, although the profusion of tutor books suggests that many players attempted to teach themselves. Whereas self-tutelage may be reasonably practical on the recorder and flageolet, would-be violinists, flautists, and keyboard players would almost certainly have required professional instruction.

Instrument costs were not inconsiderable. The average price for a viol in the late seventeenth century was around £2, with an additional cost of £1 *per annum* for strings.⁵¹⁹ In 1698 the physician and amateur musician Claver Morris paid £2 for a violin, and purchased a further instrument in 1715 for £3 5s; an oboe with ivory mounts sold for £1 7s.⁵²⁰ Jenny Nex, in her doctoral dissertation ‘The Business of Musical Instrument-Making in Early Industrial London’, notes that violins could be obtained for as little as 8s. in 1772, whereas, at the upper end of the market, an instrument by Amati sold for £52 10s. in 1788. A flute by Bressan was sold for £5 5s. in 1725 and a flute by John Mason sold for £1 1s. in 1765.⁵²¹ In the 1760s, John Zumpe’s little square pianos (suitable for a small home) cost upwards of £20, the cheapest harpsichord would have sold for around £32, but one of Americus Backers’ grand pianos from the 1770s would have cost £60 to £70.⁵²² It is apparent that the purchase of even a small new keyboard instrument would have been beyond the means of a labourer, and would have cost

⁵¹⁸ Stephen Rose in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, 3.

⁵¹⁹ Ben Hebbert, email communication to MacMillan, 26 April 2016.

⁵²⁰ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), n2, 23.

⁵²¹ Maurice Byrne ‘Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan’, *Galpin Society Journal*, 36 (1983), 2–28; Jenny Nex, ‘The Business of Musical-Instrument Making in Early Industrial London’, PhD diss., University of London, 2013, 105–107.

⁵²² Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1976; rev. edn, Oxford University Press, 1990), 13; Marie Kent, email communication to MacMillan (price of pianos), 12 April 2016; Michael Cole, *The Pianoforte in the Classical Era* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 117.

around one half of an artisan's income — or, for that matter, one half of an eighteenth-century orchestral musician's annual income (without taking supplementary teaching into account). On the subject of the cost of Mason's flutes, David Lasocki comments that Mason's prices 'seem to be the first ever given by an English woodwind maker'.⁵²³

It would be interesting, in terms of the social distribution of (particularly amateur) musicians, to know the cost of recorders and flageolets but, until the very late eighteenth century, woodwind instrument makers produced neither catalogues nor price lists. Newspaper advertisements often provide information on wills, sales, death inventories, and stolen instruments, and there are advertisements to the effect that a maker offered certain instruments, but information on the price of the instruments was rarely given. It seems probable that many musicians purchased their instruments direct from the maker, although music publishers and sellers also sold instruments; John Walsh, who published a vast amount of recorder music, also sold instruments (probably by John Hare), but there is no record of his selling recorders.⁵²⁴ Lasocki comments 'We know little about the recorder-buying habits of individual gentlemen during this period'.⁵²⁵ It is only around the year 1800 that the firms of George Astor and George Goulding began to publish catalogues of their instruments, but prices were not always

⁵²³ David Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements', *Galpin Society Journal*, 63 (2010), 73–142.

⁵²⁴ William C. Smith, et al. "Hare." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/12372>; Frank Kidson, et al. "Walsh, John (i)." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed March 3 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/29858>.

⁵²⁵ Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements'.

given. By 1806, however, the flageolet maker Charles Wigley offered flageolets with ‘ivory cistern, silver key and book £1-5/-, with metallic tube and book, £1. /’.⁵²⁶

Walsh’s tutor *The Compleat Flute-Master* sold for 1s. 6d. in 1695, a similar price being charged for the flute (recorder) section of Prelleur’s *The Modern Musick-Master* of 1731; this remained an average price for woodwind tutors throughout the eighteenth century. This sum, however, represented more than ten per cent of a labourer’s average weekly wage. Music — once the player had exhausted the tunes in his (or her) tutor — would prove a further expense. In 1702, six sonatas for two flutes (recorders) by Gottfried Finger cost 2s., the 1717 edition of *The Bird Fancier’s Delight* cost a mere 6d., whereas a set of parts for Baston’s six concerti (published in 1729) were priced at 6s.⁵²⁷ Later in the century, a set of six sonatas would cost 10s. 6d.⁵²⁸ It is likely that manuscript copies would have been made from printed editions, and that players borrowed parts from their friends — but they would still have to fund the expense of manuscript paper.

It is appropriate to consider the cost of concert- and theatre-going against annual salaries. Tickets for Banister’s concerts in the 1670s were priced at 1s., and concert ticket prices (at 1s. up to 10s. 6d.) remained stable in the first half of the eighteenth century. To attend the theatre in the eighteenth century, a patron would pay five 5s. for a box, whereas a seat in the upper gallery sold for 1s.; Jerry White comments that ‘A

⁵²⁶ *Morning Chronicle*, 9 June 1806.

⁵²⁷ Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720*, 99, 148; Smith and Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721–1766*, 36.

⁵²⁸ Stanley Sadie ‘Music in the Home II’, in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 314.

shilling was a manageable sum for an artisan and an occasional treat for a journeyman'.⁵²⁹

It becomes apparent that the amateur musician (to say nothing of the professional) required a substantial sum of money to enjoy his music either as an auditor and as a participant and this, in itself, would tend to restrict the performance of notated (or 'classical') music to the more wealthy. Street and folk musics would have been accessible to many more. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the recorder and the flageolet were played solely by the upper echelons of society. Neither were expensive instruments in comparison with oboes and bassoons and, although only circumstantial evidence in the form of iconography exists, it is likely that the instruments would have been played by members of the lower classes: the playing of recorders seen in Dutch paintings of indoor and tavern scenes would surely have been paralleled in England.⁵³⁰ Anthony Rowland-Jones, writing in *From Renaissance to Baroque: Changes in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, notes that much iconographic representation illustrates upper-class music-making, and that painters were unlikely to depict servants at music.⁵³¹

The purchase (or acquisition by other means) of inexpensive instruments by itinerant players (who would probably have learnt their music by an aural tradition) remains undescribed in the literature, as do their putative earnings.

⁵²⁹ Rosamond McGuinness and H. Diack Johnstone 'Concert Life in England I' in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: the Eighteenth Century*, 41; White, *London in the Eighteenth Century*, 307.

⁵³⁰ Ian F. Finlay, 'Musical Instruments in 17th-Century Dutch Painting', *Galpin Society Journal*, 6 (1953), 52–69: Finlay refers to (but does not illustrate) Jan Steen's (1626–79) *The Rommel Pot, A Merry Company, Open Air Wedding*, and *The Wedding*; Dirk Hals' (1591–1656) *The Merry Company* of 1625 is reproduced in Lasocki, *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, 105.

⁵³¹ Wainwright & Holman, *From Renaissance to Baroque: Change in Instruments and Instrumental Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 88.

7.3. Professionals and amateurs

The flageolet and recorder are known to have been played by both professional and amateur musicians. Both are relatively simple instruments to learn in the early stages, and sufficient skill to play simple tunes reasonably accurately may be acquired considerably more rapidly on these instruments than on the violin, harpsichord or transverse flute. Although there is no documentary evidence beyond the existence of the tutors to support the hypothesis, it would seem likely that many amateurs studied from a tutor without professional instruction. Chapters 2 and 4 of the present thesis contain an outline of these publications, and it should be noted that, if tutors are a useful indicator of practice, amateur players shifted their instrument of choice as fashions changed; thus the flageolet tutors ceased to be published by the end of the seventeenth century. The first recorder tutor was published in 1679, and a plethora of recorder ('flute') tutors appeared in the first four decades of the eighteenth century. Only a few recorder tutors were published in the latter half of the century, whereas the number of tutors published for the German flute increased.

Professional players

In the two decades following the Restoration, the flageolet appears to have been of greater significance than the recorder. We know that it was played occasionally in the theatres, and Roger North commented that the professional violinist John Banister 'Did wonders upon a flagelet to a thro base' in one of his concerts in the 1670s.⁵³²

Nevertheless, it remained essentially an amateur's instrument.

⁵³² Chapter 2, n156, 82.

The Baroque recorder, however, was played by professional musicians from the time of its arrival in England in 1673. It was employed in the theatres and court masques, where it was generally played by oboists: David Lasocki gave a useful summary of its role in his article ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England’, published in *Early Music* in 1982.⁵³³ The players customarily doubled on other instruments (particularly the oboe and, later, the German flute) and I have no evidence to suggest that there were professional musicians who performed solely on the recorder. The recorder player, oboist and bass violinist Jacques (James) Paisible (c.1656–1721) was perhaps the leading virtuoso on the recorder in early eighteenth-century London, and the ‘cellist John Baston became a popular performer on octave recorders, playing both his own and other composers’ concerti.

After the middle of the eighteenth century, the only public performances given on the recorder appear to be in connection with the theatre, where octave recorders were employed in theatrical interval music and operas. The instruments would have been played, as earlier in the century, by professional oboists or flautists. Recorders were not used orchestrally in the music of mid-eighteenth century composers as such William Boyce, Carl Friedrich Abel, and Johann Christian Bach but, curiously, recorders of all sizes were advertised for sale as late as 1800 despite an apparently diminished usage in assigned orchestral and chamber music.⁵³⁴ Although not generally considered an instrument of serious art music, the flageolet found its way into occasional stage productions.⁵³⁵ Again, the instrument would probably have been played by the player of another woodwind instrument.

⁵³³ Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England, 1500–1740’.

⁵³⁴ Chapter 4, 118.

⁵³⁵ Chapter 2, 82.

The fife was essentially an instrument of the military. In this sense, it would be appropriate to describe it as a professional's instrument, but some music for the fife was published which was clearly intended for the civilian amateur market.⁵³⁶ There is little to add regarding the piccolo: although piccolos were made in England at the very end of the eighteenth century, there is, at present, no evidence regarding either the instrument's players or its music.

Amateur and domestic performance

Histories of music tend — perhaps inevitably — to focus on professional public performance in capital cities, but it should be recalled that much (if not most) music was played by amateurs across the length and breadth of the country for their own enjoyment as well as for public consumption. As Stanley Sadie noted 'Concert life in eighteenth-century England as a whole had a variety and vitality to which it would be hard to find a parallel' and commented on the plethora of musical performances (often by amateurs) in provincial towns; more recently, John Brewer wrote 'Most music was played informally in clubs and societies made up by amateur musicians'.⁵³⁷

It was as an amateur's instrument that the flageolet was most successful. It was small, portable, and would fit in a coat pocket, but, as an instrument for playing with others, it was disadvantaged by its very high pitch.⁵³⁸ It seems likely that it would have been used mainly as a solo instrument, befitting the title of Thomas Greeting's tutor *The Pleasant*

⁵³⁶ Chapter 6, 204–6.

⁵³⁷ Stanley Sadie, 'Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century England' *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 85 (1958–59), 17–30; Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 293.

⁵³⁸ Few coats survive from the seventeenth century, but a gentleman's coat dating from 1760–80 has pockets which measure 190mm x254mm, large enough to hold a flageolet (Susan North, email communication to MacMillan, 29 November 2016).

Companion. The evidence provided by Samuel Pepys' diary and the various tutors published re-inforce the concept of amateur use.

Pepys, however, appears to have heard recorders for the first time (perhaps surprisingly, as the instrument had been in use for well over a century) in 1668, and was entranced by their sound; forthwith, he visited Drumbleby, his instrument maker, to order one.⁵³⁹

The recorder became a popular instrument amongst amateurs, and the first tutor was published in 1679, with *The Compleat Flute-Master* appearing in 1695; the tutors, however, were not intended for professional players, who would have been trained by apprenticeship.⁵⁴⁰ The profusion of tutors certainly suggests a substantial amateur market, and this market was enhanced by the plethora of simple solos, duets and trios for recorders which continued well into the eighteenth century.⁵⁴¹ Peter Holman comments:

We tend to think of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as the golden age of amateur music-making, but there must have been an enormous amount of musical activity in Georgian homes, to judge from the vast amount of vocal and instrumental music published mainly or wholly with amateurs in mind.⁵⁴²

Writing on the subject of domestic music-making in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: the Eighteenth Century*, H. Diack Johnstone comments that there are few specific references to domestic performance in the first half of the eighteenth century, but the dearth of comments in letters, diaries, plays and novels 'must not be taken as evidence of dwindling amateur involvement' and he too notes that the amount of music

⁵³⁹ Pepys, *The Diaries of Samuel Pepys*, 8 April 1668, vol. 9, 157.

⁵⁴⁰ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image*, n41, 229.

⁵⁴¹ See, for example, the catalogues of John Walsh in Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works published by John Walsh during the Years 1695–1720*; Smith and Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the Years 1721–1766*.

⁵⁴² Peter Holman 'Eighteenth-Century English Music: Past, Present, Future' in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by David Wyn-Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 3.

published suggests substantial amateur activity.⁵⁴³ David Lasocki notes the recorder-playing activities of Daniel DeMoivre (a teacher, *fl*1687–1731), Claver Morris (a physician, 1659–1727) and Dudley Ryder (a law student and dancer, 1691–1756) amongst others, but there is no reference to the use of octave recorders.⁵⁴⁴ Claver Morris acquired recorder sonatas by Robert Valentine but there are few references to flutes or recorders in the later eighteenth-century diaries of the Burney sisters or the amateur musician John Marsh.⁵⁴⁵ This is perhaps unsurprising, as the recorder (and flageolet) substantially faded from the musical scene after the middle of the eighteenth century and the profusion of gentleman amateur flautists was more a product of the early nineteenth century.⁵⁴⁶

The recorder was used for playing song melodies as solo pieces, which were often added to the song-sheets in a transposed version ‘for the [solo] flute’ if the music lay beyond the range of the recorder.⁵⁴⁷ However, the publishing of simple music for the recorder was tailing off by the 1720s.⁵⁴⁸

Tutors for the alto recorder continued to be published until the end of the eighteenth century, but there is little evidence for the use of octave recorders by amateurs, although it is reasonable to assume that some players would have possessed these instruments;

⁵⁴³ H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Music in the Home I’ in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: the Eighteenth Century*, 159.

⁵⁴⁴ David Lasocki, ‘Amateur Recorder Players in Renaissance and Baroque England’, *American Recorder*, 40/1 (1999), 15–19.

⁵⁴⁵ H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113/1 (2008), 93–127; *The Journals and Letters of Susan Burney: Music and Society in late Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. by Philip Olleson, (London: Routledge, 2016); *The Famous Miss Burney: the Diaries and Letters of Fanny Burney*, ed. by Barbara G. Schrank and David I. Supino, (New York: Day, 1976); *The John Marsh Journals. The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1758–1828)*, ed. by Brian Roberts, (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998).

⁵⁴⁶ Robert Bigio, *Readings in the History of the Flute* (London: Tony Bingham, 2006), ix.

⁵⁴⁷ See my summary of Caren Buse’s thesis ‘For the Flute’ in Chapter 4, 141.

⁵⁴⁸ Lasocki, ‘Professional Recorder Playing in England 1500–1740, (1982), 182–191.

there would have been little difficulty in adapting to the small recorders, especially as the transposed fingering matched that of the alto. However, the Mackworth Collection, established by the Neath (South Wales) industrialist Sir Herbert Mackworth (1737–91) and now preserved in the library of the University of Wales, Cardiff, contains an incomplete set of parts for Robert Woodcock's small flute concerti, published by Walsh in 1727.⁵⁴⁹ This may suggest an amateur domestic use, especially considering that Woodcock's technical demands could be met by a skilled amateur player. As Fiona Smith writes 'It must be borne in mind that far more sets [of playing parts] have been lost than have survived, and the gaps in the surviving evidence are therefore considerable'.⁵⁵⁰ Homes, theatres, concert halls and individual musicians would, almost certainly, have discarded music they no longer required.

In 1776, the historian Sir John Hawkins noted that the recorder had descended from being a gentleman's instrument to one used by those lower in the social order:

And to come nearer to our own times, it may be remembered by many now living, that a flute was the pocket companion of many who wished to be thought fine gentlemen. The use of it was to entertain ladies, and such as had a liking for no better music than a song-tune, or such little airs as were composed for the instrument; and he that could play a solo of Schickhard of Hamburg, or Robert Valentine of Rome, was held a complete master of the instrument... The practice of the flute à bec descended to the young apprentices of tradesmen, and was the amusement of their winter evenings; the German or transverse flute still retains some degree of estimation among gentlemen, whose ears are not nice enough to inform them that it is never in tune.⁵⁵¹

In England, there was an abundance of musical activity in major towns and cities, particularly in such places as Bath, Newcastle, Norwich, Oxford, and the cathedral cities; outside England, both Dublin and Edinburgh were important musical centres.

⁵⁴⁹ GB-CDu 3.56.

⁵⁵⁰ Fiona Smith, 'Original Performing Material for Concerted Music in England, c.1660–1800', PhD diss., University of Leeds, 2014, 332.

⁵⁵¹ Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, vol. 4, 482–3.

There is no record of music for octave recorders being performed either outside of London or in the domestic salon.

It is likely that there will be few literary or iconographic references to octave flutes as the instruments were seldom used, and, as in the previous periods discussed above, there is little material in currently known private diaries which could lead to an understanding of the role of the instruments in the domestic setting. Stanley Sadie writes:

Of all kinds of musical activity the least documented is, understandably, domestic music-making. At its extent and its social spread in England during the eighteenth century we can only guess. But there are clues that can serve as a basis for such guesswork.⁵⁵²

The ‘clues’ spoken of by Sadie remain the published music and surviving instruments, of which there are many. It is only possible to surmise that flageolets and recorders of all sizes were played by amateurs for public performance or, within the confines of their homes, for their own recreation.

7.4. Performances of the small flute concerti

The advent of the small flute concerto was by far the most significant episode in the history of octave flutes in England in the early eighteenth century, for, as I have written in Chapter 5, the concerti represent a unique English contribution to the repertoire of the recorder. Evidence exists of the small flute concerti being performed in both the theatres and in the concert rooms.

⁵⁵² Stanley Sadie in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, 313.

John Baston performed at York Buildings in 1720 and again in 1728; the premises closed in 1732. Richard Maunder notes — in relation to his contention that concerts were performed one-to-a-part — that the size of the performing space (15'9" deep, 17' in diameter [c.5m x 5.2m]) is hardly large enough for more than single strings, soloist(s) and a harpsichord.⁵⁵³ There is no record of small flute concerti being performed at the house of the ‘musical small coals man’ Thomas Britton of Clerkenwell (1644–1714) but (as I have noted in Chapter 5) amongst his effects were found concerti ‘by the young Mr. Babel’, which could have included the small flute concerti. John Baston performed at Hickford’s Rooms in 1720 and the oboist Jack Kytch performed one of Babell’s small flute concerti there in 1729. There is little evidence of small flute concerti being performed in the Pleasure Gardens (although two concerti for the ‘little flute’ were performed at Marylebone Gardens on 12 July 1738, but neither the composer nor the performer was named in the newspaper advertisement).⁵⁵⁴ The recorder is a soft instrument and — with its window and labium as a sound-producing mechanism — it is not suited to outdoor use; a mere draught of wind can silence the instrument. However, appropriate shelter was provided for the instrumental ensembles.

The earliest reference to a performance on the octave flute (although not of a concerto) is found in an announcement in *The Spectator* of 21 November 1715 at a benefit concert for a Mr. Cook, which included ‘Octave Flutes’, but the majority of documented performances of small flute concerti took place in the theatres, notably Lincoln’s Inn Fields and Drury Lane, the most frequent performer being Baston.⁵⁵⁵ The concerti were inserted into the evening’s programme as ‘interval music’. It should be

⁵⁵³ Maunder, *The Scoring of Baroque Concertos*, 112.

⁵⁵⁴ *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 10 July 1738.

⁵⁵⁵ *The Spectator*, 21 November 1715: ‘a consort for the benefit of Mr Cook with Hautboys, German Flute, Kettledrums, Trumpets, Octave Flutes, Violins, and Singing by several masters’ was given at the Barbers’ and Surgeons’ Hall in Mugwell Street, London.

noted that — in contrast to present-day practice — an evening at the theatre usually contained several episodes interweaving ‘entr’acte’ entertainments of various kinds between the acts of the main play, as well as before it; the main play was not infrequently followed by an afterpiece. The music to be performed was often cited in advertising material, and a similar custom prevailed pertaining to dancing and singing as these activities formed an integral and significant part of the evening’s entertainment.⁵⁵⁶ Theatre orchestras usually numbered around twenty players, and the concerto soloist would perform on the stage, whilst the orchestra remained seated in the pit.⁵⁵⁷ The soloist was often a member of the orchestra; John Baston, for example, although playing the ‘cello in the orchestra, played recorder concerti on the stage during the interval music. However, by the late 1720s, fewer performances of concerti were advertised. John Baston’s final advertised performance appears to have been at Drury Lane on 9 May 1733, and a ‘Concerto of the late Mr Woodcock’s on the Little Flute’ was played at Goodman’s Fields Theatre on 8 May 1734.⁵⁵⁸

I have listed below six examples of announcements of performances of small flute concerti to illustrate the variety of contexts and of venues. The player and/or composer was not always specified in playbills; for example, the noted recorder player James Paisible played an unattributed ‘concerto on the little Flute’ at Drury Lane in 1718 (performance 1 below) and the trumpeter and flautist John Grano (p1692–a1748) played an unspecified concerto on the ‘Little Flute’ at the Little Theatre, Haymarket, in 1722 (4).⁵⁵⁹ John Baston played not only his own compositions but also that of other

⁵⁵⁶ At a performance of *Love’s Last Shift* at Drury Lane on 6 June 1716 (at which Paisible played ‘A New Concerto for the Little Flute’) singing and dancing both featured in the playbill (*The London Stage 1660–1800, Part 2*, 406).

⁵⁵⁷ Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*, 279.

⁵⁵⁸ *The London Stage, Part 3*, 298, 396.

⁵⁵⁹ The concerto by Handel has not been identified; see Chapter 4, 156.

composers: he is known to have played both Woodcock's and Dieupart's concerti (performances 2 and 3). In 1729 the Dutch oboist Jack Kytch (d.1738) performed one of Babell's concerti at Hickford's Rooms (5). This is the only documented performance of a Babell recorder concerto, but Walsh (in the title-page to his publication of Babell's concerti of 1726) notes that they 'were 'Perform'd at the theatre with great applause'. Corroborative evidence for this assertion is, at present, lacking. The German composer and recorder player Johann Christian Schickhardt (c.1681–1762) gave a concert of his own compositions at the Three Tuns and Bulls-Head in Cheapside in 1732, the listed music including a concerto for small flute and four other pieces for small flute (6). As far as I know, none of this music has survived but the description is interesting, for, apart from the concerti and obbligato passages, there is no surviving English music for small recorders dating from the 1730s.

1.
16 May 1718; Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.
King Henry the IVth.
A Concerto on the little Flute by Paisible, and one intirely [*sic*] new compos'd by Mr Hendel [*sic*].⁵⁶⁰
2.
14 March 1722; Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.
Concert for the benefit of the violinist Carbonelli
Three 'entertainments': in the third entertainment (item 4 of 6) 'A New Concerto on Little Flute composed by Woodcocke [*sic*] and performed by John Baston'.⁵⁶¹
3.
11 May 1722; Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.
Sir Courtly Nice
MUSIC Select Pieces, Particularly a Concerto for the Little Flute composed by Monsieur Dieupart, and performed by Mr Baston and others.⁵⁶²
4.
11 May 1722; Little Theatre, Haymarket.
Concert, including A Concerto on the Little Flute by Grano.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶⁰ *Daily Courant*, 16 May 1718.

⁵⁶¹ *Daily Courant*, 13 March 1722; *Daily Post*, 14 March 1722.

⁵⁶² *Daily Courant*, 11 May 1722.

5.

16 April 1729; Hickford's Rooms.

A Concert for the Benefit of Kytch

Part III included 'Concerto for the Little Flute composed by Babel.'... 'All the Vocal Parts performed by Kytch on the Hautboy, also the Little Flute and Bassoon'.⁵⁶⁴

6.

9 March 1732; In the Great Room at the Three Tuns...

A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, by the best Masters in which Mr. Schickhard [sic] will perform himself, the whole night's entertainment being his own Composition (entirely New) and will consist of the following Pieces, viz.
⁵⁶⁵

3. A Solo for the small Flute and Bass

5. A Trio for the small Flute, Violin, and Bass

7. A Solo for the small Flute and Bass

9. A Concerto for the small Flute, Violins, &c.

10. A Solo on the small Flute, with Ecchoes [sic] and Bass.⁵⁶⁶

The examples given here are not intended as a comprehensive record of all performances of small flute concerti. In my article in *The Consort* in 2006 I noted twenty-six advertised performances of the concerti, and, of these, twenty-one were given as interval music.⁵⁶⁷ There must have been many more, and the examples given above serve solely to provide an overview of the diversity of performances, players and venues over a period of almost twenty years.

There is, unfortunately, no convincing evidence to support the performance of small flute concerti in the home by either men or women, but the concerti continued in print for several years. It would not be surprising if the more adventurous amateur recorder players did not perform them; most of the concerti can be performed satisfactorily with an accompaniment of only two violins, a string bass and a keyboard instrument. With

⁵⁶³ *The London Stage, Part 2*, 677; 'By' in this context means 'performed by', not necessarily 'composed by'.

⁵⁶⁴ *Daily Post*, 11, 14, 15 April 1729; singers are listed to appear in other items in the programme, but this comment suggests that Kytch adapted vocal music for instrumental performance.

⁵⁶⁵ I have only listed the small flute pieces.

⁵⁶⁶ *Daily Post*, 9 March 1732.

⁵⁶⁷ MacMillan, 'The Small Flute Concerto', 91–106.

only a limited professional market, the question arises ‘for whom else would Walsh have published three sets of such works?’. Indeed, in 1731 and 1739, Walsh advertised further publications of the concerti of Babell, Baston and Woodcock (along with works by Corelli), suggesting a continued interest in the concerti outside their role in the theatres, which would presumably already have purchased and stored the parts in their libraries. The pieces remained in print into the 1770s.

7.5. Gender issues

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries wind instruments were generally deemed to be the province of men, and there was a certain opposition to women playing wind instruments on the grounds of facial distortion and the phallic implications of vertically-blown instruments.⁵⁶⁸ John Essex, in his *The Young Ladies Conduct* of 1722 wrote:

The *Harpsichord*, *Spinnet*, *Lute* and *Base Violin*, are Instruments most agreeable to the Ladies: there are some others that really are unbecoming to the Fair Sex; as the *Flute*, *Violin* and *Hautboy*; the last of which is too Manlike and would look indecent in a Woman’s Mouth; and the Flute is very improper, as taking away too much of the Juices, which are otherwise more necessarily employ’d, to promote the Appetite, and assist Digestion.⁵⁶⁹

Roger North asserted that the instruments appropriate to the female sex were ‘the espinett, or the harpsichord, lute, and gittarr’.⁵⁷⁰ However, there is contemporary evidence that both the flageolet and the recorder were played by women. Although the phallic associations are unavoidable, neither instrument requires a high breath pressure so any facial distortion whilst playing is minimal. It could also be added that the flageolet, a very small instrument, could easily be carried in a coat pocket or large purse. Samuel Pepys’ wife played the flageolet: a diary entry for 11 September 1667

⁵⁶⁸ Leppert, *Music and Image*, 122.

⁵⁶⁹ John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct: or, Rules for Education* (London: 1722), 84–5.

⁵⁷⁰ Roger North on Music, ed. by John Wilson, (London: Novello, 1969), 16.

notes that ‘My wife and I spent part of the night at the Flagillette, which she plays anything upon almost, at first sight and in good time’.⁵⁷¹ An edition of the tutor *Youth’s Delight on the Flagelet* of 1683 carries the inscription *The Second Part of Youth’s Delight on the Flagelet, or The Young Gentlewoman’s Recreation*, suggesting that the flageolet was an appropriate instrument for ladies, and Mary Hendry, the authoress of the Loseley manuscript, was a flageolet player.⁵⁷²

John Hudgebut’s tutor *A Vade Mecum for Lovers of Musick* of 1679 alludes to women playing the recorder:

As all Instruments have found great access as well as Improvements of late years in this Nation, this of the Rechorder hath not found the least encouragement, being received into the favour of Ladies, and made the Gentlemans Vade Mecum.⁵⁷³

The instrument was also played by children, a point to which Elizabeth Henson’s childhood student note-books bear witness; these notebooks indicate how little elementary recorder teaching has changed between the late seventeenth century and the present day.⁵⁷⁴ The two leather-bound volumes date from c.1691 (the latest date noted in the books) and consist of the student’s notes on basic technical issues (written in a childish hand) and simple tunes in staff notation intended for the alto recorder with a limited compass of g’ to a”. Tablature is not used.

Apart from Hudgebut’s tutor and the notebooks of Elizabeth Henson, I have no other evidence for the use of the recorder by women or children during the late seventeenth century, but, in view of its similarity to the flageolet, there appears to be no logical reason why women should not have played the instrument.

⁵⁷¹ Pepys, *The Diaries of Samuel Pepys*, 11 September 1667, vol. 8, 433.

⁵⁷² Chapter 2, 68, 74.

⁵⁷³ Chapter 4, 112–3.

⁵⁷⁴ GB–Ob Ms.Mus.Sch.g.239 and g.40.

Limited evidence is also available from the eighteenth century. In 1711, the *Tatler* quoted a letter from a Belinda to a Mr Isaac Bickerstaff ‘I could with infinite Pleasure rove about the Wilderness, in our Garden, and charm the Rival Nightingales with the Musick of my Flute’.⁵⁷⁵ An obituary published in the *Grub Street Journal* in 1733 noted the passing of ‘Monsieur de Moinor, very famous for teaching young gentlemen and ladies on the flute, and other instruments’.⁵⁷⁶

Richard Leppert illustrates a mezzotint by Richard Houston (after Francis Hayman) entitled *Hearing* (1753) which shows a young woman admiring a bird on top of its cage. In her hand she holds an elongated duct flute, and on her table is an open music book which could — perhaps fancifully — represent *The Bird Fancier’s Delight*.⁵⁷⁷ This is the sole evidence which I have encountered to show that duct flutes may have been played by women in the latter part of the eighteenth century, although an early nineteenth-century painting ‘Music’ by Samuel de Wilde (1801) shows a young girl playing an English flageolet.⁵⁷⁸

As in earlier years, in late eighteenth-century homes women tended to play keyboard instruments, whilst the practice of the violin and flute (the favoured instruments of amateurs) was the province of men. However, the practice of music to any advanced level was seen in some quarters as unmanly: Lord Chesterfield, writing to his son in 1749, commented ‘If you love music, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play to you; but I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourself’.⁵⁷⁹

⁵⁷⁵ *Tatler*, 14–17 April 2011: ‘flute’ at this time meant ‘recorder’.

⁵⁷⁶ *Grub Street Journal*, 6 September 1733; again, the ‘flute’ would be the recorder.

⁵⁷⁷ Richard Leppert, *Music and Image*, 190.

⁵⁷⁸ Manchester City Art Gallery, accession no.1910.8.

⁵⁷⁹ Philip Dormer Stanhope (Earl of Chesterfield), ‘Letters to his Son’, LXVIII, 19 April 1749.

It must be concluded that, while there is little firm evidence for the playing of octave flutes by women in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I believe it is reasonable to speculate that such activity would have occurred in the home. There is no evidence for female professional players of recorders, flageolets and fifes but, equally, there is no suggestion that the repertoire for these instruments is assigned to players of a particular gender. In a military situation, the fife would have been played by men.

The above paragraphs give a broad outline of the social, performance and gender issues regarding music relating to octave flutes between the Restoration in 1660 and the end of the eighteenth century. In particular, I have noted the lack of primary source material relating to domestic performance but folk musics would probably have been played by all classes of society and both genders; little, however, can be extrapolated from either contemporary literature or iconography.

Chapter 8

Octave flutes in continental Europe**8.1. Introduction**

This chapter will survey the role of octave flutes in the principal European countries of France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Spain between 1660 and 1800. The first section will discuss the terminology applied to the instruments (particularly the recorders) in various languages and discuss their organology, and the second will address tutor books. The third section will comment on the differences in usage of the instruments across Europe in terms of their assigned music, and a final section will note the differences between continental and English practice.

The study of octave flutes is confused by the many terms used to describe the instruments in particular languages and particular countries, and often the appropriate instrument for a piece has to be determined by an understanding of the instruments currently available.⁵⁸⁰ Two classic examples are the use of *flauto piccolo* by Handel and French composer's use of *la petite flûte*: when translated into English, both terms mean 'small flute'. In Handel's time, transverse piccolos did not exist, so a vertical flute (either a recorder or flageolet) is implied, but *petite flûte* may be applied in late eighteenth-century France to octave recorders, the piccolo, the flageolet, and even the tabor-pipe. The matter will be further clarified in the discussion of the repertoire emanating from different cultures.

⁵⁸⁰ The terms encountered include *flauto piccolo*, *flautino*, *ottavino*, *piccolo*, *petite flûte*, *petit-dessus*, *flûtet*, *flûte de tambourin*, *flautilla*, and *Oktavflöte*.

8.2. Organology

Phillip Young's *4900 Woodwind Instruments* (1993) provides data on 4,900 instruments made between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries and includes instruments by both American and European makers.⁵⁸¹ Although the volume cannot be considered in any sense a comprehensive record of all surviving woodwind instruments, it forms a useful source of comparison of the various types of instruments and the countries in which they were made.⁵⁸² Young lists twenty-nine makers of octave recorders active between 1660 and 1800, these makers building a total of 348 of the extant recorders of all sizes that he documents. Of these, only forty-nine are octave recorders (15.9%), comprising the first four classifications in the table below; 196 are altos (63.4%) and 113 are tenors or basses (36.6%).

Country	8 th . flute	6 th . flute	5 th .flute	4 th . flute	alto	tenor	bass
Switzerland	2				2		
Germanic lands ⁵⁸³	2		7	1	95	13	41
France	2		3		11	5	6
Britain		2	3	1	50	31	7
Italy	2		1				
The Netherlands	7		15	1	38		10
Total	15	2	29	3	196	49	64

Table 8. Numbers of surviving recorders 1660–1800, taken from Young's *4900 Woodwind Instruments*.⁵⁸⁴ Only instruments by makers who made octave recorders are included.

It is apparent that octave recorders form only a small proportion of the total, and this is reflected in the paucity of repertoire of their assigned repertoire. The high proportion of octave recorders (and the lack of large ones) of Netherlandish manufacture is not in proportion to the production of other countries, nor is the high proportion of basses in

⁵⁸¹ Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*.

⁵⁸² Young documents the existence of six English octave recorders dating from the eighteenth century: my checklist includes eleven (Appendix 1).

⁵⁸³ Includes Austria.

⁵⁸⁴ These figures include transitional recorders by Kynseker and Haka as well as Baroque instruments; 'tenor' includes voice flutes in d' (all by the English maker Bressan) and tenors in c'.

Germany; with these exceptions, the distribution of different sizes of recorders is broadly similar across Europe.⁵⁸⁵ The number of piccolos, fifes, and flageolets from the eighteenth century as listed in Young is small (seventeen piccolos, fifteen fifes, and fourteen flageolets) and no particular pattern can be elucidated, save that most of these instruments date from the very late eighteenth century.

France

Four types of octave flute were used in French art music between the late seventeenth century and the close of the eighteenth, including the recorder, piccolo, flageolet, fife, and *galoubet*.⁵⁸⁶ The commonly encountered term for octave flutes is *petite flûte*, but this may be applied to any of the four instruments listed above; the further term *flûtet* or *flûte de tambourin* may be applied to the *galoubet*. Few instruments of these types made in the eighteenth century survive in collections. The most-commonly used *petite flûte* was the recorder, particularly in the years before c.1740, and this term could include both sopranino (*dessus*) and soprano (*taille de flûte douce*) recorders.⁵⁸⁷

French term	English term	compass
<i>dessus</i>	sopranino	f' – f'''
<i>taille de flûte douce</i>	soprano	c'' – b flat'''
<i>haute-contre</i>	alto	f' – g'''
<i>quinte</i>	tenor	c' – d'''
<i>basse</i>	bass(et)	f – f''

Table 9. Eighteenth-century French terms for recorders, adapted from the structure of Lully's string band.⁵⁸⁸ Sounding pitches rather than notated pitches are given. The sopranino was also occasionally termed *petit-dessus*, particularly by Michel Pignolet de Montéclair (1667–1737).

⁵⁸⁵ The high proportion of bassets /basses in Germany relates to the survival of thirty-three instruments by Johann Christoph Denner (c.1678–mid C18).

⁵⁸⁶ In England, this instrument is known as the tabor-pipe (Chapter 6, section 3.4.).

⁵⁸⁷ In French usage, at least until the 1740s or 50s, *flûte* implied the recorder (of all sizes), the transverse flute being named *flûte d'Allemagne*: in France, the transverse instrument supplanted the recorder somewhat earlier than in England.

⁵⁸⁸ *A Performer's Guide to Seventeenth-Century Music*, 79–80.

There is very little music assigned to fifth flutes (and none to sixth flutes), the majority of the repertoire being for sopraninos, as indicated by the compass of the parts, most of which lie in the range f' to e''' (notated). The parts including d' or e' would require the piccolo.

Louis-Joseph Francoeur's *Diapason général de tous les instruments à vent* which was published in Paris in 1772 is essentially a treatise on orchestration. The author divides flutes into four categories, namely *la grande flûte*, *la petite flûte*, *la petite flûte à bec ou flageolet*, and *la flûte de tambourin* or *flûtet*.⁵⁸⁹

<i>la grande flûte</i>	transverse	$d' - b'''$
<i>la petite flûte</i>	transverse	$d'' - d'''$
<i>la petite flûte à bec ou flageolet</i>	vertical	$f'' - f'''$
<i>la flûte de tambourin</i>	vertical	$e''' - b''''$

Table 10. *Flûtes* listed in Francoeur's *Diapason général*. Sounding pitches rather than notated pitches are given.

Francoeur comments that *la petite flûte* (a transverse piccolo) is more suited to sharp keys, and that the *flûte à bec* is more suited to flat keys. The author, however, fails to distinguish between recorders and flageolets; the lowest note given for *la petite flûte ou flageolet* is f' , which strongly suggests the alto recorder. Flageolets were built in several pitches, so the lowest note cannot be taken as either confirming or rejecting the notion that the instruments are the same. Francoeur makes the somewhat surprising comment that the flageolet may easily be played by the players of the oboe and bassoon, as the fingerings are similar: I would contend that the fingering of the recorder (with its 7+1 arrangement of tone-holes) is not substantially dissimilar to the oboe, but the French flageolet, with its 4+2 tone-holes, is somewhat different. I conclude that Francoeur's *petite flûte ou flageolet* is most probably an octave recorder.

⁵⁸⁹ Francoeur, *Diapason général de tous les instruments à vent*, 1–12.

It is not always apparent from the assignation or even the music itself which *petite flûte* is intended by the composer. I have discussed the early history of the piccolo in Chapter 6, and argued that the earliest convincing evidence for the existence of this instrument dates from c.1735.⁵⁹⁰ Lenz Meierott suggests that, after this date, *petite flûte* usually implied the piccolo rather than the recorder, but, as the compass of the written parts is compatible (in many cases) with either instrument, it is difficult to be precise.⁵⁹¹ There is no specific comment as to the type of recorder intended (unlike, for example, the fifth and sixth flutes specified in the English concerti) but the compass of the parts almost invariably suggests the sopranino in f". Later in the century, however, the assignation becomes more complex with the increasing use of the piccolo. The compass of the two instruments overlaps apart from the notes of d" and e", and pieces including these notes would inevitably have to be played on the piccolo. In addition, the use of recorders declined substantially in the late eighteenth century as the piccolo became more prominent, but it is not possible to make any judgement on the grounds of surviving instruments, for, of these, there are very few. Writing in his *Notionnaire, ou mémoriale raisonné* of 1761, François Alexandre P. de Gersault provided an interesting contemporary viewpoint regarding the octave flutes in use in France.⁵⁹² He describes *la petite flûte* as *dessus de la flûte traversiere* (i.e., the transverse piccolo), but relegates the *flûte à bec* and *le flageolet* to *instruments d'amusements*, suggesting that they are seldom used in serious art music. He comments that the recorder is played only by shepherds and peasants, but was previously used in tender pieces and to accompany the voice. Gersault describes two types of flageolet, the standard 4+2 flageolet and the *très petite* bird flageolet used *pour les serins*. This suggests that the practice of teaching

⁵⁹⁰ Chapter 6, 210.

⁵⁹¹ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 175.

⁵⁹² François Alexandre P. de Gersault, *Notionnaire, ou mémoriale raisonné* (Paris: chez Guillaume Desprez, 1761), 632–654.

birds to sing continued in France (*serin* is translated as ‘canary’), and a small barrel organ at 2' pitch called *la serinette* was used for this purpose in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁹³

The flageolet existed in two varieties, the tiny *flageolet à oiseaux*, and the *gros flageolet*; the former instrument was a small, slender flageolet with a windcap, whereas the latter was larger and had a beak-like mouthpiece. The *flageolet à oiseaux* was illustrated in the *Encyclopédie* in 1767.⁵⁹⁴ Even the *gros flageolet* was a very high-pitched instrument, and its use was reserved for special effects. Meierott gives a compass of c'''–c''''', but flageolets were built in several keys, so this range can only be an approximation.⁵⁹⁵

The *galoubet* is a three-holed pipe with a compass of an eleventh or twelfth and sounding two octaves higher than written; Francoeur gives a written compass of e'–b". The fife remained an instrument of the military, but nevertheless found an occasional place in operatic scores.

Germanic Lands and Austria⁵⁹⁶

As in France, the most common octave flute was the recorder, followed by the transverse piccolo; the flageolet, tabor-pipe and fife were seldom used, but composers occasionally mention the *piffero* and the *zuffolo*. The exact nature of these instruments

⁵⁹³ Arthur W.J.G. Ord-Hume. "Bird instruments." *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03122>.

⁵⁹⁴ Chapter 2, figure 5, 54.

⁵⁹⁵ Meierott, *op.cit.*, p.177.

⁵⁹⁶ 'Germany' and 'Austria' are twenty-first century terms for German-speaking countries which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, consisted of many independent territories.

is unclear. The terms *flauto piccolo*, *flautino*, and *Oktavflöte* are unspecific, and may apply to either the recorder or the piccolo.

In the latter years of the seventeenth century, the transitional recorders (for example, those of Hieronimus Franciscus Kynseker, Nuremberg, fl1673–86) were replaced by Baroque recorders. Many Baroque recorders of German manufacture survive in collections, but, as in other countries, the proportion of octave recorders is small.⁵⁹⁷ The appropriate instrument for each piece may be determined in many cases by the key and compass of the part.

Of the octave recorders, the sopranino and sixth flute alone appear to have been used. The tutors of Speer (1697) and Eisel (1738) both refer to the *Quart-flöte* but this instrument is a tenor recorder in c' (a fourth below the alto) rather than the fourth flute of English usage, which lies a fourth above the alto.

The flageolet is known to have existed in Germanic lands in the seventeenth century and, in 1732, Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* described it as a small ivory pipe, by means of which canary-birds were taught to sing, and a fine example in ivory by J. W. Oberlender (1705–45) exhibiting a 'wave profile' is preserved in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich.⁵⁹⁸ The piccolo is first encountered in Germanic lands c.1755 in an inventory of instruments in the court of Sayn-Wittgenstein in Berleburg, Westphalia, which lists *eine kleine flûte traversière*, and, in the same year,

⁵⁹⁷ See Table 8; two anonymous ivory soprano recorders dating from the late seventeenth century are preserved in D–München–BNM Mu 153, Mu 163. Both exhibit the 'wave profile', but are not listed in Young's *4900 Woodwind Instruments*.

⁵⁹⁸ Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon, oder musicalische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1732); D–München–BNM Mu 165.

Johann David Denner (1691–1764) listed *piccoli* for sale in Nuremberg.⁵⁹⁹ The fife appears to have been confined to military usage.

Italy⁶⁰⁰

Overall, recorders, flutes, and flageolets appear to have been less-frequently used in Italy than in England, France, Germany or the Netherlands. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, *flauto* almost always referred to the recorder rather than the transverse flute; the terms encountered for octave recorders included *flauto piccolo*, *flautino* and *ottavino*.⁶⁰¹ The most common octave recorder was the sopranino in f", but there are occasional references to the fifth flute, although none to the sixth flute. There are few surviving octave recorders of Italian origin, but the existence of both a sopranino and a soprano by Johannes Maria Anciuti (a1709-p1740) should be noted, and an eighteenth-century ivory sopranino stamped 'Castel' (mid-C18) is preserved in Edinburgh.⁶⁰²

The flageolet may be known as the *flasolet*, *fasolet*, or *flautino alla francese*, the latter name prefiguring the contrast between English and French flageolets of the nineteenth century. The instrument was seldom used.

The Netherlands

During the Dutch 'Golden Age' from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, a period when the country triumphed in commercial, military, and artistic affairs, the recorder achieved remarkable popularity. Rob van Acht's article in the *Galpin Society*

⁵⁹⁹ Meierott, *op.cit.*, 107.

⁶⁰⁰ 'Italy' is a twenty-first century terms for a country which, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, consisted of many independent territories.

⁶⁰¹ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, Table 11.1, 180–81.

⁶⁰² Sopranino (head only) I–Milano MTS FD/02; soprano (in C) D–Berlin 470; GB–Edinburgh 3323.

Journal of 1988 outlines the importance of the recorder in comparison with the transverse flute in the Netherlands between 1670 and 1820, and notes that, out of 182 surviving instruments, seventy are recorders and only twenty-nine are transverse flutes; sixty-one oboes and three bassoons make up the remainder.⁶⁰³ However, very few recorders from the seventeenth century made before 1670 have survived.⁶⁰⁴

The *handfluyt*, a Renaissance style soprano recorder with a compass of two octaves and a second from (notated) c' was the preferred option for the music of the blind Utrecht player and composer Jacob van Eyck (c.1590–1657), whose *Der Fluyten Lust-hof* (The Flute's Pleasure Garden) is a remarkable source of unaccompanied Dutch recorder music from the seventeenth century. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the *handfluyt* was replaced firstly by transitional and then by Baroque recorders, Richard Haka (1646–1705) being the leading maker of his generation who built both types. As I have noted in Chapter 3, Ruth van Baak Griffioen, in a survey of one hundred Dutch paintings, found 103 recorders illustrated, of which eighty-eight were sopranos, with only eleven altos: there were no tenors or basses.⁶⁰⁵ A survey of recorders made in the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries listed in Young's *4900 Woodwind Instruments* reveals a total of twenty-three small recorders out of a total of sixty-one (32.4%) whereas the corresponding figures for the rest of Europe lists twenty-six octave recorders out of a total of 261 recorders (10%). Of the Dutch octave recorders, seven are sopraninos and fifteen are sopranos in c'. The preponderance of octave recorders in the Netherlands stands in contrast to the rest of Europe, suggesting a different repertoire. This trend towards small recorders continued into the early

⁶⁰³ Rob van Acht, 'Dutch Wind-Instrument Makers from 1670 to 1820', *Galpin Society Journal*, 41 (1988), 83–101.

⁶⁰⁴ Rob van Acht, Vincent van den Ende, and Hans Schimmel, *Niederländische Blockflöten des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Celle: Moeck, 1991), 20.

⁶⁰⁵ Lasocki, *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, 118–9.

eighteenth century and the large number of illustrated sopranos and the lack of tenors and basses (bassets) in seventeenth-century paintings suggest that much of the repertoire was for solo recorder rather than for consort playing.⁶⁰⁶ The Amsterdam publisher Michel Charles le Cène left eleven recorders on his death in 1743, including *Twee octaaffluiten met ivoor van Van Heerde* (two sopraninos with ivory).⁶⁰⁷ The flageolet does not appear to have been of significance in The Netherlands, and only one flageolet (now lost) from that country is reported in Young's *4900 Woodwind Instruments*.⁶⁰⁸

Spain

No recorders of Spanish manufacture from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries appear to have survived.

8.3. Pedagogy

As I have proposed in previous chapters, many players in England appeared to have learned to play recorders and flageolets from tutor books rather than seeking professional instruction. Overall, far fewer tutors were published in continental Europe than in England, and the table below (culled from Warner's *Annotated Bibliography*) outlines the number of recorder, universal, and flute tutors published in the period 1660–1800.⁶⁰⁹ Flute tutors are included to demonstrate the increasing popularity of the instrument in later eighteenth-century England.

⁶⁰⁶ Present chapter, 267.

⁶⁰⁷ David Lasocki, 'New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements'.

⁶⁰⁸ Musikinstrumentenmuseum der Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung, Berlin x2738.

⁶⁰⁹ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*.

Date	England	France	Germany	Italy	Netherlands	Spain
1660–1680	1			(1)		
1681–1700	4	(2)	(1)		1	
1701–1720	12	(1) i			2	
1721–1740	7 (1) ii	0 ii	(2) i			
1741–1760	4 (2) iv	0 ii				(1)
1761–1780	3 xvi	0 iii				
1781–1800	1 xiii	0 vii	iii		1	
Total	32(3) xxxv	2(2) xv	(3) iv	(1)	4	(1)

Table 11. Recorder tutors, universal tutors and flute tutors published between 1660 and 1800. Universal tutors and tutors for instruments in addition to the recorder are indicated in brackets, flute tutors in Roman numerals.

France

Three tutors (by Freillon Poncein, Loulié, and Hotteterre) published between 1700 and 1707 represent the earliest French methods, but only Loulié's *Méthode* is devoted solely to the recorder.⁶¹⁰ Freillon Poncein deals extensively with the flageolet, recorder, and oboe, whilst Hotteterre's *Principes* is primarily concerned with the flute; the section on the recorder is less extensive, and only three pages are given to the oboe. There is a stronger focus on ornamentation in French tutors than in English publications of the period (related to contemporary French musical style) but, as with the English tutors, there is no mention of recorders other than the alto. Freillon Poncein's tutor represents the sole surviving French eighteenth-century tutor for the flageolet. No new recorder tutors appear to have been published in France in the eighteenth century after 1707, although the Hotteterre tutor was reprinted in Paris in 1713, 1720, 1722, and 1741, and by Roger in Amsterdam in 1710.⁶¹¹ It was reproduced in London in 1729 by Walsh.

⁶¹⁰ Jean-Pierre Freillon Poncein, *La Veritable Manière d'apprendre a jouer en perfection du Haut-Bois, de la Flûte et du Flageolet* (Paris: Collombat, 1700); Etienne Loulié, *Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte douce* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds fr. n. a. 6355, xix – xx, MS, p1700); Jacques-Martin Hotteterre 'le Romain', *Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne, de la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce, et du haut-bois, divisez par traitez* (Paris: Ballard, 1707).

⁶¹¹ Hotteterre, *Principles of the Flute, Recorder & Oboe*, trans. and ed. by David Lasocki, (London: Barrie and Rockcliffe, 1968), 12.

Francoeur's *Diapason général de tous les instruments à vent* is not a tutor in the classic sense but rather a manual for composers. Francoeur describes the *petite flûte traversière* as an instrument for special effects, for example, in thunderstorms, lively songs, dances, and in the imitation of birds. The *flûtet ou petite flûte de tambourin* has a (written) compass of e'-b'", but sounding two octaves higher and was intended to be used in *tambourins* and other dances. Othon Vandenbrock's *Traité général de tous les instruments à vent à l'usage des compositeurs* of 1793 again is not a tutor but, rather, an orchestration guide for composers. Vandenbrock notes that 'the small flute is an octave higher than the large: it is used in '*des aires villageois, pour annoncer la gaieté et le divertissement*'.⁶¹² Le Marchant published a (now unlocated) tutor for the *galoubet* in 1787.⁶¹³

As we have seen, in comparison with England, very few tutors for the recorder were published in France in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, further suggesting that the transverse flute had displaced the recorder as an amateur's instrument somewhat earlier than in England. The majority of the English tutors for the recorder date from the first two decades of the eighteenth century, with the most of transverse flute tutors dating from after the middle of the century, and a similar pattern may be observed in France. I have not identified any French tutors for the fife. Overall, the publication of tutors was more an English phenomenon than French, perhaps suggesting that the French were more likely to seek professional instruction. It is also appropriate to note that the transverse flute, because of its embouchure, is more difficult to learn

⁶¹² Francoeur, *Diapason général de tous les Instruments à Vent*, 1–12; Vandenbrock, *Traité général de tous les instruments à vent*, 59–61.

⁶¹³ Le Marchand, *Principes de galoubet ou flûte de tambourin* (Paris: Des Lauriers, 1787); cited by Warner but unlocated.

than the recorder, and so beginners would be more likely to enlist the services of a teacher.

Germanic lands and Austria

Only one tutor for recorders and flageolets appears to have been published in Germany in the late seventeenth century, and a further two in the first half of the eighteenth.⁶¹⁴

All three are ‘universal’ tutors, incorporating material for several instruments; Speer and Majer discuss the flageolet as well as the recorder and Speer and Eisel refer to the *Quart-flöte*, effectively a tenor recorder in c'. Speer — unusually — gives no instructions for the alto recorder, and his notes on the flageolet and *Quart-flöte* include only fingering charts with no instructional text, whereas Majer and Eisel provide more detail. None discuss octave recorders, and it should be noted that Majer's *Discant-Flöthe* [sic] is an alto recorder in f' and not a soprano. There are no known German tutors specifically written for the flageolet. Lasocki notes that an edition of Hotteterre's *Principes de la flûte traversière* was published in German in 1728, although precise details are lacking.⁶¹⁵

Because they are universal tutors, the three German publications are inevitably limited in scope compared with the French (and particularly English) tutors. Judging by the quantity of relatively simple published music, the recorder was a popular instrument in Germany and the very limited instruction provided by the tutors suggests that most players would have sought professional instruction. Again, in comparison with England

⁶¹⁴ Daniel Speer, *Grund-richtiger kurtz-leicht und nöthiger jetz Wolvermehrter Unterricht de musicalischen Kunst, oder vierfaches Kleeblatt* (Ulm: 1687/97); Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Casper Majer, *Museum-musicum, theoretico practicum, das ist, Neu-eröffneter Theoretisch-und Practischer Music-Saal...* (n.p., Nürnberg, 1732/41); Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus αυτοδιδάκτορ, oder der sich selbst informierende Musicus, bestehend sowohl in Vocals-als üblicher Instrumental-musique* (Erfurt: Funcken, 1738).

⁶¹⁵ Hotteterre, *Principles*, trans. by Lasocki, 13.

and France, very few tutors were published for the transverse flute in Germany in the eighteenth century (thirty-five in England, fifteen in France, but only four in Germany), further suggesting that players of this instrument received formal instruction.

Italy

The only recorder tutor known to have been published in Italy during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is Bismantova's *Compendio musicale* of 1677.

Although not an octave flute, the *flauto italiano* must be given brief mention, this being a term used by Bismantova to describe an alto recorder in g'.⁶¹⁶ Sardelli comments that such an instrument would be appropriate for Vivaldi's concerti RV 92, 94, and 95, all of which lie in the key of D major and contain the note f sharp", a note difficult to play on the standard alto recorder in f'.⁶¹⁷ Interestingly, a sopranino in g" by Barnaba Grassi (fl1797–1802) is preserved in Leipzig.⁶¹⁸ Bismantova also gives a fingering chart for an instrument *per suonare alla quarta*, which suggests a recorder in d'. In Italy, however, an instrument a fourth above the alto in g' (a soprano in c") would most probably have been styled *flautino*, which suggests that Bismantova is describing what we now call the voice flute, a recorder in d'.⁶¹⁹ It is relevant to note that the almost-contemporary German author Daniel Speer also referred to a fourth flute or *Quart-flöte* in c' (a fourth below the alto) in his tutor *Grund-richtiger* of 1687/97.

⁶¹⁶ Bismantova, Bartolomeo, *Compendio musicale. In cui s'insegna à principianti il vero modo, per imperare con facilità, le regole di canti rigurato, e canto fermo; come anche per comporre, e suonare il basso continuo, il flauto, cornetto, e violin; come anche per acordare organi, e cembali* (Ferrara, 1677).

⁶¹⁷ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 129.

⁶¹⁸ D–Leipzig 1113; see Young, *4900 Woodwind Instruments*, 91.

⁶¹⁹ Bismantova, *op.cit.*, 99.

Bismantova makes no mention of octave recorders, but refers to the flageolet as *Fasoleto, ò Flautino Francese*, noting the French origin of the instrument; it is illustrated but there is little text.⁶²⁰

The Netherlands

Although published slightly before the dates covered in my thesis, it is important to mention two tutors published in the Netherlands in the 1650s in connection with the widespread use of the soprano recorder. Both were published in editions of Jacob van Eyck's *Der Fluyten Lust-Hof* (1644–55) but were apparently intended for two editions of an instrumental collection, *'t Uitnemend Kabinet II* of 1649–55.⁶²¹ Gerbrand von Blackenburgh's (c.1620–1707) *Onderwyzinge hoemen alle de Toonen en halve Toonen, die meest gebruyckelyck zyn, op de Handt-fluyt zal konnen t'eenemael zuyver Blaezen* and Paulus Matthisz' (1613/4–1684) *Vertonige en Onderwyzinge op de Hand-fluit* both describe the fingerings for the seventeenth-century *handfluyt* with a compass of two octaves and a second from c', and were reprinted in several editions of Dutch solo recorder music, probably indicative of a substantial amateur market. The importance of these tutors is firstly, that they provided fingerings for the *handfluyt* and, secondly, that they laid the foundations for the remarkable popularity of the soprano recorder in the Netherlands during the late seventeenth century.

In 1685 Constantijn Huygens published his *Tons de ma fluyt* containing a fingering chart for the recorder, and in 1699 Claas Douwes *Grondig ondersoeck van den toonen der musijk* gave a text description of the fingerings of the tenor recorder. Joos Verschuere van Reynvaan's *Muzikjal kunst-woorden boek* (1795) also described the

⁶²⁰ Bismantova, *op.cit.*, 101.

⁶²¹ David Lasocki in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, 123–4.

fingering for the alto, but noted that it was appropriate to learn C fingering in order to play on the *Quartfluit*.⁶²² Lasocki reports that a Dutch edition of Hotteterre's *Principes* was published in Amsterdam by le Cène in 1728.⁶²³ An unlocated universal tutor *De leermeester op de fluyt, vioolen habois, inhoudende alderhande van frayne airen voor die drie instrumenten, met twee bouwenpartyren en basse* was published in three parts by Estienne Roger between 1708 and 1712.⁶²⁴

It is noteworthy that only the earlier tutors of Blackenburgh and Mattysz described octave recorders: the later works only refer to alto (and larger) recorders.

Spain

In 1754, Pablo Minguet y Irol published his universal tutor *Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores, y mas usuales*.... Part 6 is headed *Reglas, y advertencias generales para tañer la flauto traversera, la flauto dulce, y la flautilla*, and is devoted to the wind instruments; fingering charts for the recorder (f'-f'''), oboe, and transverse flutes are given.⁶²⁵ The *flautilla* is identified as the French flageolet, a fingering chart in the left-hand margin of the recorder fingering chart illustrating the instrument and giving fingerings for the *flautilla* with the limited diatonic compass of f'-b'' (notated). There is no other evidence for the use of the flageolet in Spain before 1799.⁶²⁶

⁶²² Griscom and Lasocki, *The Recorder: a Research and Information Guide*, 310, 317, 330.

⁶²³ Hotteterre, *Principles*, trans. Lasocki, 13.

⁶²⁴ François Lesure, *Bibliographie des Editions Musicales publiées per Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles le Cène Amsterdam, 1696–1743* (Paris, Société Française de la Musicologie: Heugel, 1969), 85.

⁶²⁵ Pablo Minguet y Irol, *Reglas, y, advertencias generales para tañer la guitarra, tiple, vandola, cythara, clavicordio, organo, harpa, psalterio, clavicordio, organo, harpa, bandurria, violin, flauto traversa, flauta dulce y la flautilla* (Madrid: Joaquin Ibarra, 1754).

⁶²⁶ Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, email to MacMillan, 28 August 2013.

8.4. Repertoire

In my surveys of music for octave flutes composed in England discussed in chapters 2, 4, 5, and 6 of the present thesis, I noted that the assigned repertoire was small but the instrument prescribed was usually easily identified, whether it be flageolet, fife, or recorder and, usually, also the type of recorder. French, German, and Italian composers were often less specific and a choice has to be made in terms of the date of performance, compass of the part, and the availability of particular instruments.

France

Although little purely instrumental music was written specifically for the recorder in France, French composers scored for octave flutes from the late seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth, particularly in operatic scores.⁶²⁷ Patricio Portrell's *Répertoire de musique imprimée (1670–1780) pour la flûte à bec, le flageolet et le galoubet*, provides an extensive catalogue of primary works, alternatives, arrangements and tutors, but excludes church music and opera.⁶²⁸ The only French music cited for octave flutes in this publication takes the form of a few pieces assigned to the *tambourin (galoubet)*.

Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1634–1704) used octave recorders (most probably sopraninos) in his *Messe pour plusieurs instruments in lieu des orgues* of 1674 and again in his *La Fête de Rueil* (1685).⁶²⁹ Although Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) frequently employed recorders in his ballet music, he did not specify the size of instrument required and used the instruments for special symbolic effects, including the earthly and

⁶²⁷ There are many compositions specifying alternative treble instruments, including the flute, musette, oboe, recorder and violin.

⁶²⁸ Portrell, *Répertoire imprimée pour la flûte à bec, le flageolet et le galoubet*.

⁶²⁹ David Lasocki, 'Marc-Antoine Charpentier and the Flûte; recorder or traverso?', instantharmony.net/Music/eb16.php, 54,78, (accessed 25 February 2016).

heavenly matters. Earthly matters comprised pastoral and sensual scenes, love, sleep, water, and the representation of birdsong, whereas heavenly affairs comprised magic, gods, sacrifice, death, Mercury (the messenger of the gods), the muses, and conflict. Anthony Rowland-Jones notes that there is no specific assignation of parts to *petites flûtes*.⁶³⁰

Later in the eighteenth century, octave flutes were regularly utilised in operatic scores, Meierott listing twenty-four such scores from 1700 to 1764, including fifteen by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) up to the year 1764, the year of the composer's death.⁶³¹ Meierott's comprehensive table indicates the composer's assignation, the type of instrument (*petites flûtes* in twenty-two of twenty-four operas), the key of the piece, and the clef in which the part is written. The instruments were used to accompany airs and choruses, and (more frequently) in dance movements, especially *tambourins*. Meierott reports that Rameau specifically requested flageolets in *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1733), but an examination of the first edition reveals that the composer simply stipulated *flûtes* in a *Première gavotte pour les Habitans de la forêt* in Act 5, scene 3, for the 1733 performances, although, for later performances in 1742 and 1757, he assigned the parts to *petites flûtes*.⁶³² The compass of the parts is a' to e'', which would lie on a sopranino recorder or flageolet; a piccolo would be perhaps less likely at this date. Again, it is reported that Rameau scored for flageolets in his comédie-ballet *Platée* (1749) but an examination of the short score noting a first performance on 4 February 1749 reveals the inclusion of *petites flûtes* in a chaconne (Act 1, scene 3; c''–f''), a march in the same

⁶³⁰ Anthony Rowland-Jones, 'Lully's Use of Recorder Symbolism', *Early Music*, 37/2 (2009), 217–250; Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 156.

⁶³¹ Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) was a particularly prolific composer for octave flutes, scoring for them in his operas on twenty-four occasions (Meierott, *op.cit.*, 161–170).

⁶³² Jean-Phillipe Rameau, *Hippolyte et Aricie*, (Paris: chez L'auter (1733); *Hippolyte et Aricie: tragédie en cinq actes: version 1757; version 1747 (compléments)*, ed. by Sylvie Boiusson (Bonneuil-Matours, France: Société Jean-Phillipe Rameau; Kassel, New York, Distribution mondiale, 2006).

scene (g'-d'''), and in a *Musette gracieuse ou les paysans mesles avec les Satyrs* (b'-a'').⁶³³ These parts all fit comfortably on a sopranino recorder; were a flageolet to be used, an instrument in B rather than the more common A would be required. The piccolo would also be suitable.

The practice of using octave flutes continued in both the *Opéra comique* and the Paris *Opéra* in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the *Opéra comique*, octave flutes were employed to give a 'rustic' colour to the music, particularly in *vaudeville*-type arias (*ariettes*), dances, and storm scenes, and the instruments were also used to imitate bird-song. A similar function pertained in the more serious world of *L'opéra*, with its considerably larger (and state-supported) orchestra, where the instruments were again used for special effects.⁶³⁴ Most scores specified *petites flûtes* (which may have been played together with *grandes flûtes*), and, for example, Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714–87), requested *petites flûtes* in his *Iphigénie en Tauride*, where the instruments play in a tempest scene in Act 1, in *Le chœur des scythes* in the same act, and in the concluding chorus of scene 4.⁶³⁵ These pieces lie in the key of D major, and the compass of the parts is d' to d''' (notated), strongly confirming the use of the transverse piccolo. There are occasional specific references in operatic scores to the flageolet and *galoubet*, the latter predominantly in dance movements, and particularly in *tambourins*.⁶³⁶ *Petites flûtes* were added to the *batterie* in Turkish music, and, occasionally, *petites flûtes* (compass d'-d''') and *flûtes de tambourin* were used together to provide doubling of the melody at both one and two octaves above the violins and

⁶³³ Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Platée* (Paris: chez L'auteur, chez Boivin, chez Leclair, 1749).

⁶³⁴ Meierott, *op.cit.*, The tables on pp.200 and 241 give a comparison of the size of the two orchestras.

⁶³⁵ Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Iphigénie en Tauride* (Paris: 1879).

⁶³⁶ Meierott, *op.cit.*, 176–177.

oboes (for example, in a *tambourin* in Act 2, scene 9 of André Grétry's (1755–1842) *Colinette à la cour* of 1782.⁶³⁷

The fife was used in a military context. It is apparent that, in comparison with English usage in the late eighteenth century, French composers were more colourful in their orchestration, with a wider choice of available woodwind instruments (*L'opéra*, being state-sponsored, could afford a large orchestra) and, in particular, of the various types of flute. There is a much greater use of octave flutes than in contemporary English operatic scores, and the parts are technically more difficult. By the time of Gluck and Grétry in the late eighteenth century, it would appear that the piccolo had substantially replaced the sopranino recorder in the opera orchestra. Although French composers occasionally wrote concerti for alto recorders, most of these pieces were suitable for performance on alternative instruments of a similar pitch, and there is a substantial repertoire of simple music for two or three flutes or recorders, but there is no evidence for the existence of concerti for octave flutes.⁶³⁸

Germanic lands and Austria

The terms *flauto piccolo* and *flautino* appear to be interchangeable. Johannes Pezel scored for *flautinis* [sic] in his *Bicina variorum Instrumentorum* of 1675, and J. S. Bach scored for the *Flauto piccolo* in Cantata BWV 96 *Herr Christ, der ein'ge Gottes Sohn* of 1724 to illustrate the appearance of the Epiphany star. In this piece, the assigned recorder is the sopranino, whereas the alto aria 'Kein Arzt ist ausser dir zu finden' from

⁶³⁷ André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, *Colinette à la cour* (Paris: chez Houbaut; Lyons: chez Castard, 1782).

⁶³⁸ For example, Joseph Bodin de Boismortier (1689–1755), *Vingt et un oeuvre...contenant six concerto pour les flûtes traversières, violons, ou hautbois, avec la basse...le dessus de 3e.se joue sur la musette ou sur la flûte-à-bec* (Paris, 1728), F-Pn L11019; Jacques Christoph Naudot (1687–1762), *Dixième Oeuvre contenant VI Babioles pour II Vieles* [sic], *Musettes, Flutes-a-bec, traversieres, haubois, ou violons, sans Basse* (Paris: c.1730), GB-Lbl K.7.f.16.(6.).

Cantata BWV 103 (*Ihr werdet weinen und heulen*, 1725) unusually requires a sixth flute. In later performances of these cantatas, a violino piccolo was substituted for the recorder.⁶³⁹ The sixth flute is also assigned for the aria 'Die Schöne sol bey Sonnenschein' in Georg Philipp Telemann's opera *Sieg der Schönheit* of 1722. These are the only pieces I have encountered in the German repertoire requiring a sixth flute. Telemann also made occasional use of sopranino recorders for special effects in his unpublished cantatas, and sopraninos are required in Georg Caspar Schürmann's *Heinrich der Vögler* (1718), where they are used to imitate the sound of birds.⁶⁴⁰

Later in the century, the 1763 catalogue of the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf included three concerti for *flauto piccolo* by Fehre (biographical details unknown), (? Francesco) Montenari (dates unknown) and Foerster (?Charles Förster, 1693–1745). To my knowledge, these are the only known concerti for small recorders (apart from those of Vivaldi) to emanate from continental Europe. A partita by Fehre and a trio by Georg Andreas Sorge (1703–78) for *flauto piccolo*, violin or oboe and bass are also included in this catalogue. All are in the keys of F or B flat, suggesting the sopranino.⁶⁴¹ A *Partia [sic] pro Flauto octavo, violino und basso* in the key of F by Johann Wilhelm Hertel (1727–1789), has a compass for the recorder of f'–d"', suggesting the sopranino.⁶⁴²

⁶³⁹ Nikolaj Tarasov, 'Bach and the Recorder', *The Recorder Magazine*, 27/2 (2007), 12–19; *ibid.*, 27/3, (2007), 54–60.

⁶⁴⁰ Ulrike Teske-Spellerberg, 'Der unbekannte Telemann: Obligate Blockflötenpartien in seinen unveröffentlichen Kantaten', *Tibia*, 16/4 (1991), 599–610; Meierott, *op.cit.*, 239–30.

⁶⁴¹ Barry S. Brook, *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue. The Six Parts and Sixteen Supplements, 1762–1787* (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 21.

⁶⁴² Johann Wilhelm Hertel, *Partia pro Flauto octavo, violino und basso*, ed. by Erich Benedikt, (Munich: Doblinger, *Diletto Musicale*, DM 979, c.1989).

Nikolaj Tarasov has argued that the part assigned to the piccolo in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (K.384, 1782) — although often played on that instrument — was written for an octave recorder because of the compass and transposition of the parts found in an autograph manuscript.⁶⁴³ However, Mozart reverted to the transverse piccolo in his *Die Schauspieldirektor* (K.486) of 1786. Both Joseph Haydn and Mozart utilized *flauti piccoli* in short pieces (usually dances) in the period 1771–91.⁶⁴⁴ The instrument played may have been a transverse piccolo or a small recorder and Mozart, in a postscript to his *Six German Dances* (K 509), suggested that the actual instrument to be played would be determined by local availability.⁶⁴⁵ It should be noted, however, that recorders were falling into disuse by the later years of the eighteenth century.

I have already commented on Walther's reference to the flageolet as an instrument to teach birds to sing. Octave flutes — the exact instrument is seldom specified — were also used for special effects (for example, storms) and in Janissary music. With the exception of the works listed in the Breitkopf catalogue, German composers disregarded the octave recorders as concerto instruments, despite composing an extensive concerto repertoire for alto recorders.

⁶⁴³ Nikolaj Tarasov, 'Mozart und Blockflöte—Teil 2: Das Flauto piccolo in der *Entführung aus dem Serail*', *Windkanal*, 2/2007, 14–20.

⁶⁴⁴ Pezel's *Bicinia* are cited in Portrell, *Répertoire de musique imprimée*, item A 178, 94; a transitional recorder would be presumed.

⁶⁴⁵ Nikolaj Tarasov, 'Mozart und Blockflöte—Teil 1: Untersuchungen in Sachen *Flauto piccolo* oder *Flautino*', *Windkanal*, 1/2007, 8–15.

Italy⁶⁴⁶

Sardelli's comment that 'the quantity of music composed in Italy for small "flutes" of any kind is indeed small' is born out when one examines the repertoire.⁶⁴⁷ Apart from Vivaldi's concerti and operatic obbligati, few pieces have come to light. In general, however, it should be noted that the repertoire of assigned music for the recorder by Italian composers of the eighteenth century is small in comparison to northern European states.

An unusual *Concerto de Flauti* by Alessandro Marcello (1669–1747) preserved in Venice is scored for *due flauti soprani e due sordini, due flauti contralti e una violetta sordina, due flauti tenori et una violetta sordina, un flauto basso e violoncello*.⁶⁴⁸ *Due sordini* implies two muted violins; the concerto is a simple three-movement work, not requiring virtuosic technique from any of the players, and is probably unique. As such, it cannot be regarded as a typical style of composition for octave recorders. Andrew Robinson (quoting Rob van Acht) notes that the inventory of the Medici court in Florence in 1700 mentions sixteen recorders by the Dutch maker Richard Haka (1646–1705), including four sopraninos, four sopranos, four 'contraltos' (presumably altos), two tenors, and two basses. Robinson suggests that these instruments were used in a recorder ensemble.⁶⁴⁹

⁶⁴⁶ 'Italy' is a twenty-first century term for a country composed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of a number of small states.

⁶⁴⁷ Sardelli, *Vivaldi's Music for Flute and Recorder*, 185.

⁶⁴⁸ I-Vnm Ms.It.IV, 573; the instrumentation described in *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, n30, p.89, is inaccurate: there is no positive evidence for a keyboard instrument, although the presence of one is certainly probable.

⁶⁴⁹ Andrew Robinson, 'Families of Recorders in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: the Denner Orders and Other Evidence: Part 1', *The Recorder Magazine*, 23/4 (2003), 113–117.

Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) composed eleven cantatas with recorder obbligato between 1699 and 1706.⁶⁵⁰ Alto recorders are specified in seven of the cantatas, the remaining four cantatas (nos. 3, 5, 8, and 9) requiring recorders in C, but it is not clear whether these are tenors or sopranos. Müller-Busch notes that there are no surviving Italian tenor recorders from the early eighteenth century, but, equally, it may be asserted that there are virtually no sopranos. I believe that the only clue is given in Cantata 8, where the first recorder part clearly requires an alto; to use an octave instrument in the second part would not be appropriate as it would sound above the first part, and it seems reasonable (on this admittedly slender basis) to conclude that tenors rather than octave recorders are implied.

Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) specified small flutes (*flautini*) in three concerti and in at least three operatic arias. The concerti include RV 443 (C major), 444 (C major), and 445 (A minor), and their ascription to the recorder rather than the flageolet or transverse piccolo has been the subject of much debate, comprehensively summarized by Sardelli.⁶⁵¹ Peter Thalheimer, in an article in *Tibia* in 1998, proposed that the flageolet was the appropriate instrument, whereas Winfried Michel (writing in the same volume of *Tibia*) argued for the soprano recorder in C.⁶⁵² The compass of the solo parts is f' to f''' strongly suggests the sopranino recorder (despite the note e' occurring once in the solo part in a *tutti* passage in RV 445), and the consensus of current opinion is that the sopranino is the appropriate instrument upon which to perform the concerti. The piccolo was not in use in Italy at this time.

⁶⁵⁰ Franz Müller-Busch, 'Alessandro Scarlatti's Kantaten mit obligaten Blockflöten', *Tibia*, 16/1 (1991), 337–346. The relevant cantatas are *Chi sa dove è la speranza*, *E perche non seguite*, *Mentre Clori la bella sotto l'ombra*, and *Quella parce gradita*, (nos. 3, 5, 7, and 8 respectively).

⁶⁵¹ Sardelli, *op.cit.*, 177–198.

⁶⁵² Peter Thalheimer, '“Flautino” and “Flasole” bei Antonio Vivaldi', *Tibia*, 23/2 (1998), 97–105; Winfried Michel, 'Vivaldi's Konzerte “per Flautino” in ihrer wahren Gestalt. Ein letzter Leserversuch', *Tibia*, 23/2 (1998), 106–11.

Autograph insertions next to the titles of RV 443 and 445, however, indicate a downward transposition of a fourth in the orchestral parts. Under these circumstances, if the recorder player were to play on a C recorder using F fingering, the concerti could be played on a soprano thus placing them in the keys of G major and E minor in place of C major and A minor, respectively.⁶⁵³ It will be recalled that, in English writing for small recorders in C, the recorder parts are transposed *up* a fifth, giving the same effect as Vivaldi's *downward* transposition of a fourth in the string parts. There is no evidence for a similar transposition of RV 444, and Sardelli suggests this alteration to the parts may have been made for a specific performer.⁶⁵⁴ The concerti are all in three-movement form, utilise the two-octave compass of the recorder, and their harmonic structure is much more complex than that of the English small flute concerti. In addition, they are of considerably greater technical difficulty than almost any other recorder concerto of the period: it is not known for whom they were written.

Vivaldi used sopranino recorders in arias in his operas *Tito Manlio* of 1719 (RV 738) and *La Verità in cimento* of 1720 (RV 739).⁶⁵⁵ A fragment of a lost opera *La Candice o siano Li very amici* (RV 704) also contains an aria for contralto, with sopranino and continuo.⁶⁵⁶

Although this brief review is focused substantially on Antonio Vivaldi and Venice, it indicates that small recorders (particularly sopraninos) were used in Italy in the early eighteenth century. It is certainly possible that other as yet undiscovered obbligato passages for small recorders (or, less likely, flageolets) exist.

⁶⁵³ Sardelli, *op.cit.*, 195–196.

⁶⁵⁴ Sardelli, *op.cit.*, 196.

⁶⁵⁵ 'Sempre sopra note oscura' (3.10) from *Tito Manlio* and 'Cara sorte di chi nata' and 'Io son fra l'onde' (3.5) from *La verità in cimento*.

⁶⁵⁶ Sardelli, *op.cit.*, 258.

The Netherlands

In the seventeenth century, the preponderance of sopranos and the absence of larger recorders strongly suggests a large solo repertoire but little consort playing; in the iconographical representations, there is seldom more than one recorder. As well as van Eyck's famous *Der Fluyten-Lusthof*, unaccompanied music for the *handfluyt* emanated from the hands of Johan Dicx (d.1666), Jacob van Noord (d.1680), Pieter de Vois (1580/81–1654), and various anonymous composers.⁶⁵⁷ This would certainly account for the widespread manufacture of Renaissance-pattern octave recorders (*handfluyt*), but, as the seventeenth century gave way to the eighteenth, soprano recorders of Baroque form continued to be made in the Netherlands, which is perhaps surprising as the seventeenth-century solo repertoire would have probably been deemed out-dated by this time.

Although Dutch composers wrote for the recorder in the eighteenth century, I have not identified any music assigned to octave recorders. In terms of repertoire, van Acht comments:

The fact that this high productivity [of instruments] is not clearly reflected in compositions for traverso and other wood-wind instruments (especially the oboe, of which many were made) does not directly result in a historic dilemma, as the instrument upon which the music was to be played was often not indicated in publications of this period.⁶⁵⁸

It would seem reasonable to assume that those who owned octave recorders and flageolets would adapt and transpose music assigned to other instruments.

⁶⁵⁷ Thiemo Wind, *Jacob van Eyck and the Others: Dutch Solo Repertoire for the Recorder in the Golden Age*, trans. by Jonathon Reeder (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2011), 19.

⁶⁵⁸ van Acht, 'Dutch Wind-Instrument Makers'.

It is also appropriate to mention the extensive publishing activities of Estienne Roger and (later) Michel-Charles Le Cène in Amsterdam. Their work was of European significance; between 1696 and 1743 they published 600 titles not only from the Netherlands but also from northern Germany, England, France and Italy, including music for the recorder.⁶⁵⁹ However, there is no music specifically assigned to small recorders in their catalogue.⁶⁶⁰

Spain

In an article in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*, Beryl Kenyon de Pascual comments that there is no assigned music for the recorder in seventeenth-century Spain, but the recorder was used occasionally in church music in the early eighteenth century.⁶⁶¹ There is no sonata repertoire for wind or bowed instruments before the middle of the eighteenth century, and the only reference to octave flutes remains in the instructions for the *flautilla* in *Reglas, y advertencias generales* of 1754. It appears that neither recorders nor flageolets were of great significance in Spain.

8.5. Summary

In all the countries surveyed, it is apparent that discretion must be applied as to which instrument is required in any particular context, the interpretation of terms such as *flauto piccolo*, *flautino* and *petite flûte* being dependant on the availability of instruments and the compass and key of the music. In this respect, English practice is

⁶⁵⁹ Samuel F. Pague and Rudolf A. Rasch. 'Roger, Estienne', *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 24 June 2016.

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23665>.

⁶⁶⁰ François Lesure, *Bibliographie des Editions Musicales publiées per Estienne Roger et Michel-Charles le Cène, Amsterdam 1696–1743*.

⁶⁶¹ Beryl Kenyon de Pascual in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century*.

often more specific than Continental usage in that fourth, fifth, and sixth flutes tend to be specified in the score.

In the late seventeenth century there was an unparalleled flowering of the soprano recorder in the Netherlands but, elsewhere in Europe, relatively fewer sopranos were made, and the sixth flute was a predominantly an instrument of English usage. The sopranino was used in Italian (and possibly German) concertos and as an obbligato instrument across Europe; it continued in use until the late eighteenth century when it was superseded by the piccolo, a process occurring earlier in France than in other countries. The flageolet was mainly an amateur's instrument (particularly in late seventeenth-century England) but was used sporadically in the eighteenth century, often to imitate bird-song. Like the *galoubet*, it occasionally found its way into operatic scores. The fife continued to be associated with the military.

More tutors were published in England than in the rest of Europe combined. A study of Table 8 reveals that the publication of tutors in the European mainland was somewhat sporadic, suggesting that more players received professional tuition in these countries. The 'universal tutors' were inevitably limited in the quality and quantity of information given to each instrument, and, in some cases (for example, Irol's *Reglas*), this amounted to a fingering chart alone. From continental Europe only one tutor specifically written for the flageolet has survived (Freillon Poncein's *La Veritable manière*).

The English repertoire for small recorders differed from that on the Continent in respect of the concerti: the concerti for fifth and sixth flutes were a peculiarly English phenomenon, although Vivaldi wrote three challenging concerti for the sopranino.

Apart from these and the reported three concerti for the sopranino listed in the Breitkopf catalogue of 1763, there are no other octave flute concerti emanating from mainland Europe. I have not encountered any sonatas or trio sonatas with continuo for octave flutes, either from England or Continental Europe. The sopranino was used across Europe (including England) as an obbligato instrument in the accompaniment of arias in cantatas and operas, such use continuing until the end of the eighteenth century in both France and England. The small recorders would ultimately be replaced by the piccolo in mainstream art music, and by the flageolet in domestic amateur practice.

Chapter 9

Conclusion**9.1. Introduction**

At the end of the first chapter of the thesis, I outlined thirteen points in which I considered the literature on ‘Octave Flutes in England, 1660–1800’ to be deficient, namely:

- the organology of octave recorders and a checklist of extant instruments
- the displacement of the flageolet by the recorder
- the displacement of the recorder by the German flute and the place of octave recorders in the late eighteenth century
- the piccolo in England in the eighteenth century
- the absence of pedagogic material for octave recorders
- pedagogic material for the flageolet and fife in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
- pedagogic material for octave flutes in Continental Europe
- the harmony of the small flute concerti and the use of transposed parts
- the use of octave recorders in operatic scores of the late eighteenth century
- the civilian use of the fife
- a comparison of the repertoire for octave flutes in European countries
- the role of amateur and domestic performance in relation to octave flutes
- gender issues pertaining to octave flutes

I have examined these issues which had not been previously addressed by scholars. My thesis addresses the lacunae in the literature and both complements and adds to previous studies in the fields of organology, pedagogy, repertoire, and social factors relating to

the instruments, based upon a study of primary and secondary literature and examination of surviving instruments.

The present chapter will draw together the several strands of evidence discovered in order to summarise the place of octave flutes in English musical practice, and to outline the differences between English and Continental usage of the instruments over the period of the 140 years covered by the research. Concluding paragraphs will examine the place of the instruments and their development in the early nineteenth century, prior to a brief mention of their role in the early music revival of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Octave flutes have been in use at least since the eleventh century, when the precursor of the flageolet in the form of an end-blown duct flute of Asiatic origin arrived in Europe, becoming known as the *flageol* in France around 1180.⁶⁶² Mediaeval recorders of octave size have been discovered, and Michael Praetorius described eight sizes of recorders in his *De Organographia*.⁶⁶³ Fifes have been in use since the fourteenth century, and twenty-first century musicians are familiar with many types of octave transverse flutes.

It is appropriate to speculate on the reasons for the continued existence of octave flutes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which may be summarised as:

1. The high-pitched sound of the instruments (which may be at 2-foot pitch such as the flageolet, or 4-foot pitch such as the recorder and piccolo) serves to

⁶⁶² Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, 557.

⁶⁶³ Praetorius, *De Organographia*, 33–4.

brighten the sound of an instrumental ensemble. In the case of the fife, its shrill tone would be audible on the battlefield.

2. The instruments are eminently suitable for the imitation of bird-song.
3. In the performance of concerti, octave recorders sound above the string accompaniment and give rise to fewer problems of audibility than do alto recorders.
4. In the orchestra, piccolos may be used to portray special effects such as storms.
5. The instruments are small and easily portable, and some may be carried in men's coat pockets, a useful property for amateur musicians.
6. In the case of the recorder and flageolet, the instruments are easy to learn, at least in the early stages: octave recorders have found a particular niche in education — particularly of children — since the twentieth century.

9.2. Organology

The recorder and the flageolet

The development of the recorder in its various types and sizes from the Middle Ages to the late seventeenth century has been described, prior to a more detailed consideration of the Baroque recorder, its bore profile, and consequent acoustic characteristics. Of particular note is the development of the contracting conical bore, facilitating the higher registers of the instrument, but, beyond size (and consequently pitch), there are no specific structural differences between octave recorders and the larger instruments. The previously unreported reasons for the particular advantage of sharp keys for fifth and sixth flutes (and flat keys for fourth flutes) by reducing the number of fork- or cross-

fingerings has been explained.⁶⁶⁴ The transposition of the music to suit alto fingering in F not only saves the player the necessity of learning C or D fingering, but also reduces the number of sharps in the key signature and consequently the number of fork- or cross-fingerings required, thus brightening the tone of the instrument. The small proportion of octave recorders to altos is emphasised by the survival of only eleven octave Baroque recorders of English manufacture.

From c.1660, the flageolet was a popular instrument amongst English amateur musicians, but, following the introduction of the Baroque recorder in 1673, it faded from use and was almost entirely replaced by the recorder by the turn of the century; there are very few surviving flageolets dating from the late seventeenth century.⁶⁶⁵ There are several reasons which may be posited to explain the demise of the flageolet in favour of the recorder:

1. The flageolet's compass lies around two octaves above the soprano voice, rendering it of little use in most concerted music, whether contrapuntal or in sonatas with vertical harmony built upon a continuo bass. The high pitch of the instrument does not blend with the pitch of other treble instruments (violin, oboe, recorder) nor with the soprano voice, although its pitch does render the flageolet eminently suitable for the imitation of birdsong, a practice which continued into the nineteenth century.⁶⁶⁶
2. The fingering of the instrument (with its 4+2 arrangement of tone-holes) is more difficult than that of the recorder.

⁶⁶⁴ Chapter 3, 104–6.

⁶⁶⁵ The small number of surviving flageolets may be accounted for by the lack of use of the instrument in the eighteenth century, and also by the fact that flageolets are tiny instruments which are easily lost or broken.

⁶⁶⁶ MacMillan, 'The Flageolet in England 1800–1900', 273.

3. Little flageolet music was written in staff notation. Although tablature was in common use for plucked instruments, its use in English wind music was confined to the flageolet, and, to a much lesser extent, to the recorder tutors of the late seventeenth century. The extensive use of tablature in the tutors and their included tunes limits the player in terms of sight-reading.
4. There is very little published repertoire beyond that contained in the tutors, and a player who only read tablature would be restricted in their choice of music, having exhausted the tunes given in the tutors.

In sum, the flageolet was a portable instrument which was suited to the amateur player amusing himself or herself, but, for the reasons given above, it was limited in use in concerted music.

Similarly, as I have noted in Chapter 3, the recorder fell from favour as an amateur's instrument around the third decade of the eighteenth century, only to be replaced by the German flute. The reasoning may be explained as follows:

1. The recorder is a simpler instrument to sound than the flute, having no requirement for an embouchure, but it has a more limited compass and dynamic range. In contrast, the German flute has a greater compass and dynamic range, but it is a more difficult instrument to play.
2. Despite the continued publication of tutors for the recorder into the latter half of the century (many of which were merely revised iterations of previous publications), the supply of tutors for the German flute only began to proliferate

in the fifth decade of the century. This is surprising in view of the increasing popularity of the German flute after c.1720.⁶⁶⁷

3. Prior to the introduction of the piccolo in the very late eighteenth century (1790s) small recorders (particularly sopraninos) were used as octave pitch instruments in the orchestra.

The evidence from published tutors and music suggests that the recorder continued in use rather longer than is customarily supposed. In 1957, Carl Dolmetsch wrote:

The recorder is supposed to have become obsolescent during the 1760s. I am inclined to think that the process was more gradual and that it lingered on here and there until it and the 'German Flute' were definitely superseded by Boehm's 'modern' flute.⁶⁶⁸

The continued publication of tutors and a small assigned repertoire suggests that the recorder and German flute existed side-by-side for many years after the introduction of the latter into an environment initially dominated by the recorder.

In view of the popularity of the flageolet and the profusion of tutors for it in the late seventeenth century, it is interesting to note that octave recorders were ignored by the writers of tutors in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the instruments themselves had only a small assigned repertoire. There is little convincing evidence for the use of octave recorders in amateur music-making, and the widespread use of the instruments in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries is without parallel in the

⁶⁶⁷ Lasocki, 'Professional Recorder Playing in England', Part 2.

⁶⁶⁸ Carl Dolmetsch, 'The Recorder and German Flute in the eighteenth Century', *The Consort*, 14 (1957), 18–23; the first version of Boehm's flute appeared in 1832, the definitive version (which is still in use) being introduced in 1848.

eighteenth, although the improved octave flageolet filled this role in the nineteenth century.⁶⁶⁹

The piccolo and the fife

The few surviving English piccolos from the late eighteenth century tend to confirm that the piccolo was introduced much later into England than into France or Germany. Neither the piccolos nor the fifes exhibit significant organological curiosities.

Continental Europe

Organologically, there are no significant differences between octave flutes of Continental manufacture and those originating from England. Recorders were in use across Europe, the preponderance of sopranos in the Netherlands has been noted, and fewer recorders were used in southern than in northern European countries. Bird flageolets were described in both Germany and France, and, as in England, few octave recorders and flageolets survive in collections.

9.3. Pedagogy

The flageolet

The flageolet tutors were the first woodwind methods to be published in England after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660; I have reviewed the content of Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* and the anonymous *Youth's Delight on the Flagelet* in some detail (Chapter 2) and commented on other less significant or incomplete tutors.⁶⁷⁰ The number of published tutors diminished rapidly at the end of the seventeenth century as

⁶⁶⁹ Present chapter, 285–7.

⁶⁷⁰ Appendix 2 contains further notes and bibliographic data.

the instrument declined in popularity, and, apart from the pedagogic material in *The Bird Fancier's Delight*, none were published after *The Innocent Recreation* of 1699.

The recorder

The first four tutors were published between 1679 and 1686, incorporating a combination of tablature and staff notation. Walsh's *The Compleat Flute-Master* of 1695 was modelled on Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* but the tunes were written entirely in staff notation. Material on gracing from *The Compleat Flute-Master* continued to be employed in tutors until the late eighteenth century, by which time the system of notation of ornamentation employed had largely been supplanted by the symbols still applied today, or by the sign '+' allowing the player to make his or her own interpretation. A profusion of recorder (flute) tutors was published in the early eighteenth century, coinciding with the popularity of the recorder as an amateur's instrument; publication, however, continued until the latter part of the century even though the recorder had largely fallen from use in favour of the German flute. It is perhaps surprising that such publication continued, but much material was copied from tutor to tutor.

None of the recorder-specific tutors give any instruction for — or even mention of — octave recorders, the only pedagogical mention of these instruments being found in William Tans'ur's universal tutor *A New Musical Grammar* of 1746. As we have seen, music for octave recorders was transposed so that the player read alto fingering, so Tans'ur's comment that 'all may be play'd by the foregoing rules' probably implies the use of alto fingering. It is evident that an assigned repertoire for octave recorders existed from the second to the final decades of the eighteenth century so it is perhaps

surprising that these instruments are not mentioned in the tutors.⁶⁷¹ The only possible explanation for this omission is that, speculatively, only professionals were likely to have performed this repertoire, and they would have adopted alto fingering on their octave recorders as a matter of course without reference to written directions.

The fife and piccolo

The fife was predominantly an instrument employed by the military in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I have not encountered tutors for the fife published before c.1750, and suspect that the instrument may have been taught within regiments by an aural/oral tradition: it is also possible than tutors may have been lost after the instrument passed out of common military usage in the 1680s when it was replaced by the hautboy. Its reintroduction to the Army in the late 1740s may have been the precipitating cause for the publication of tutors, all of which contain military calls in addition to tunes.⁶⁷² No tutors for the piccolo were published in England in the eighteenth century.

Continental Europe

It is apparent that fewer tutors for the instruments under discussion were published in Continental Europe than in England. In France, only Freillon Poncein discussed the flageolet, as did Speer and Majer in Germany, and Minguet y Irol in Spain; however, all these tutors also cover other instruments. Their material on the recorder is largely confined to the alto, although Speer and Eisel make mention of the *Quart-flöte*, a tenor recorder; nevertheless, they do not discuss octave recorders, and Speer — surprisingly

⁶⁷¹ Chapter 4, Table 5.

⁶⁷² The tutors are listed in Appendix 2.

— omits any mention of the alto.⁶⁷³ Hotteterre's tutor is primarily concerned with the flute, with much less material being devoted to the recorder and oboe. There is no mention of the flageolet, and none of these tutors discuss octave recorders. In the Netherlands, only the earlier tutors of Blanckenburgh and Matthysz discuss octave recorders, coinciding with the popularity of the soprano recorder as a solo instrument.

The small number of tutors suggests that either there were fewer amateurs or that more people took lessons from professional teachers; however, the abundance of simple music suitable for amateur use continued in both France and Germany well into the eighteenth century.

9.4. Repertoire

The flageolet

As Meierott noted in 1974, '...the flageolet's historical development lies outside mainstream art music and for the most part outside multi-part instrumental music' and, consequently, there is little repertoire to be found in the literature. In the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century occasional use of the instrument was made in staged productions, often to imitate the sound of bird-song; the instrument was used in this role in Pepusch's *Venus and Adonis* as late as 1715. Octave recorders largely superseded the flageolet in this role for the remainder of the eighteenth century, although an isolated late use of the flageolet to imitate birdsong is found in Samuel Arnold's opera *Children in the Wood* of 1793. As a very high-pitched instrument, the flageolet was employed in the peculiar role of teaching caged birds to sing, as is demonstrated in *The Bird Fancier's Delight* of 1708–30. I believe that the small

⁶⁷³ *Quart-flöte* here refers to an instrument pitched a fourth below the alto (i.e., a tenor recorder), whereas the English 'fourth flute' usually implies a recorder a fourth above the alto.

amount of published repertoire for the flageolet is related, firstly, to the very high pitch of the instrument, secondly to the advent of octave recorders, and, thirdly, to the persistence of tablature as a notational system for this instrument's repertoire. It is only in the final stages of the instrument's decline that staff notation was adopted for its music.

The recorder

Although there is an abundance of assigned repertoire for alto recorders emanating from the late seventeenth century, there is none for octave recorders. The first mention of these instruments is to be found in James Talbot's manuscript dating from c.1690–1700, but the second and third decades of the eighteenth century represent the zenith of compositions for the instruments, although octave recorders continued in use into the 1790s. Two patterns of usage are apparent, firstly as solo instruments in concerti and, secondly, in an orchestral role, most often as an accompanying instrument to arias in cantatas and operas.

A representative selection of music for octave recorders given in Chapter 4, Table 5, indicating the size of recorder appropriate for each piece.⁶⁷⁴ Excluding the concerti, I have listed eighteen works, and it is apparent that the sopranino is the most-frequently used instrument, being used in fifteen of the compositions. The fifth and sixth flutes are predominantly concerto instruments in the English repertoire, although, as we have seen, Handel used fifth flutes orchestrally on two occasions; the fourth flute was rarely used.

⁶⁷⁴ Table 5 is intended as a representative overview of the usage of the instruments in the eighteenth century rather than a complete inventory of the repertoire.

The extensive use of the sopranino — particularly in the latter half of the eighteenth century — has not been reported in the literature. The sopranino is the true ‘octave recorder’, lying exactly an octave above the alto, and, in this sense, bears the same relationship to the alto as does the piccolo to the transverse flute. Of the fifteen pieces listed in Table 5, the sopranino is used to mimic birdsong in ten, and was also used in pastoral or amorous situations. In one instance (‘O Ruddier than the cherry’ from *Acis and Galatea*) the sopranino provided a comic visual contrast in the form of a tiny pipe being played by the giant Polyphemus. In four overtures (all dating from the last twenty years of the eighteenth century) the sopranino was used as an octave flute in the orchestra rather than fulfilling a ‘bird imitation’ or specific ‘character-enhancing’ role. To use the sopranino as an imitator of birdsong is hardly unexpected, and I have noted that a similar role was given to the flageolet, a use which was revived in the nineteenth century.⁶⁷⁵ What stands out from this survey, however, is the use of the sopranino as an octave instrument in instrumental pieces such as operatic overtures. The sopranino was the only octave flute available to English composers; the flageolet was not in common use (and was too high-pitched for the role) and the piccolo only arrived in the country in the very late eighteenth century.

The small flute concerti form a uniquely English contribution to the repertoire for fifth and sixth flutes. It is not known why English composers selected these instruments, rather than the alto recorder favoured by Continental composers, but in terms of their prime usage in the theatres, they would have provided a lighter musical contribution to a long evening of the spoken word. Fifth and sixth flutes were relatively uncommon in Continental usage.

⁶⁷⁵ MacMillan, ‘The Flageolet in England 1800–1900’, Chapter 7.

I have shown that there is a small but distinctive English repertoire for octave recorders. The fifth and sixth flutes were predominantly concerto instruments, and the sopranino was used more extensively than has been understood in the past. There remains the anomalous advertising of octave recorders by Goulding and Astor at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth century; no repertoire appears to be extant for these instruments.⁶⁷⁶

The fife and piccolo

The fife was an instrument of the military, used for both signalling and for accompanying the march of infantry regiments. Some of the military calls are given in the tutors for the fife published in the latter half of the eighteenth century, together with appropriate tunes. Music intended for civilian use was published for fife with bass accompaniment, and also for two fifes, flutes and violins being specified as alternative instruments; at this time, the German flute was becoming increasingly popular with amateur musicians.

There was no repertoire for the piccolo in eighteenth-century England.

Continental Europe

With the notable exception of Vivaldi's three concerti for the sopranino (and the putative concerti described in Breitkopf's 1763 catalogue), no concerti for octave recorders appear to have been written in Europe. The reason for this deficiency is obscure: both fifth and sixth flutes (the instruments of the English concerti) were available, as demonstrated by their use as obbligato instruments, although such practice

⁶⁷⁶ Chapter 3, 118.

was much less common than in England. As in England, the sopranino features much more frequently than other octave recorders in France, and in the German and Italian states; I have noted the particular flowering of the solo soprano recorder repertoire in the Netherlands.

Petites flûtes (whether recorders or piccolos) were included in the orchestra more often in France than in England, and it is interesting to contrast the use of the sopranino in the two countries. In France, the piccolo was introduced much earlier and formed an alternative to the sopranino, particularly in loud orchestral passages such as storm and war scenes, but there is no similar usage of octave recorders in the English repertoire. Recorders would have not been sufficiently loud to be audible in the increasingly-large orchestra employed in *L'Opéra* in Paris.

The repertoire for octave flutes is small but specific, and different patterns of usage may be observed in the various countries. The fifth and sixth flutes were predominantly instruments of the English concerto repertoire, and the importance of the sopranino as the dominant octave recorder in the eighteenth century has not previously been highlighted in the literature.

9.5. Social factors

The professional playing of octave flutes — most frequently by musicians who doubled on other instruments — is well-documented in the literature. The evidence for amateur usage is more circumstantial, in that most amateur playing would have taken place in private houses and so remains undocumented. The social status of the players is unknown: a certain financial outlay would be inevitable and a degree of literacy would

be required for the study and performance of notated music, but the playing of music in the folk traditions is undocumented. The publication of tutor books (particularly in England) is strongly suggestive of a substantial amateur market, and presumably mirrors the popularity of particular instruments: as the popularity of an instrument decreased, so did the publication of tutors. Music suitable for less-skilled players was published in profusion in England, France, and in the Germanic states, and it is likely that many of the soprano recorders made in the Netherlands were sold to amateurs for the playing of unaccompanied music.

It is often assumed — rightly or wrongly — that most amateurs were male. There is, however, evidence that both the recorder and flageolet were not only played by, but also recommended for, women.

9.6. Into the nineteenth century

The English flageolet appeared at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was essentially an alto recorder fitted with a windcap containing a sponge to absorb moisture from the player's breath. None of these instruments survive, but in 1803, the London maker William Bainbridge (*f*1802–d1830) patented his 'Improved Octave Flageolet', an instrument of soprano recorder size, with six or seven tone-holes, sometimes with a thumb-hole, and with a sixth-finger note of d' (notated).⁶⁷⁷ Bainbridge modified the bore and tone-hole arrangement so that a diatonic scale could be sounded without cross- or fork-fingering, thus simplifying the technique required for the instrument. He also partially plugged the first tone-hole, enabling it to be used as an octaving hole in place of the 'pinched' thumb-hole, again simplifying the instrument.

⁶⁷⁷ Patent No.2693, 2 April 1803. 'Improvements on the flagelet or English flute, whereby the fingering will be rendered more easy and notes produced that were not before produced'.

The instrument was widely used by amateurs during the nineteenth century but declined in popularity at the end of the century; it never acquired a concerted repertoire, and in that sense reflected the usage of the flageolet in the seventeenth century. Bainbridge also developed double, triple, and transverse flageolets, but these instruments were effectively obsolete by the middle of the century, although a modified form of Bainbridge's single flageolet continued in use into the early twentieth century.

The French flageolet (the original form of the instrument, with four finger- and two thumb-holes) was revived in the early years of the nineteenth century as the 'quadrille flageolet' and used in dance bands until the twentieth century, where its piercing tone would have been audible even above a cornet and strings and it remained primarily a professional's instrument.⁶⁷⁸ A small virtuoso repertoire for French flageolet or piccolo was published in England in the 1870s and 1880s. The piccolo itself displaced recorders and flageolets in the orchestra, and the fife, whilst remaining a military and band instrument, acquired keywork and a partially conical bore.

The recorder was obsolescent by the end of the eighteenth century and, although a few instruments were made, no significant repertoire was composed in England. In the isolated Bavarian town of Berchtesgaden, however, fifth and sixth flutes (known as *Berchtesgadener Fleitln*) continued to be made into the late nineteenth century, at least twelve of which survive.⁶⁷⁹ Paul Walch, the final member of the Walch dynasty who had been making woodwind instruments in Berchtesgaden since the sixteenth century, died in 1873. He passed his craft on to Georg Oeggel, whose great-grandson continues to

⁶⁷⁸ MacMillan, 'The Flageolet in England, 1800–1900'.

⁶⁷⁹ Douglas MacMillan, 'An Organological Overview of the Recorder 1800–1905', *Galpin Society Journal*, 60 (2007), 191–202.

make the instruments to this day: there is thus an unbroken tradition of the manufacture of octave recorders in Berchtesgaden from the sixteenth to the twenty-first centuries.

The first stirrings of interest in the revival of historic instruments began during the nineteenth century, and Victor-Charles Mahillon of Brussels copied the Kynseker transitional recorders from Nuremberg in the 1880s; other copies of historic recorders were made for the museum in La Couture-Boussey in France.⁶⁸⁰ In England, Francis William Galpin and Arnold Dolmetsch were experimenting with recorders in the early twentieth century, but it was not until the 1920s and 1930s, however, that the present flowering of octave (descant) recorders began first in Germany and then in England. The flageolet has not been revived, as its place has been taken by the soprano recorder.

Taking a broad view of octave flutes between the seventeenth and twenty-first centuries, it is apparent that — with the notable exception of the piccolo — the instruments have remained predominantly amateur's instruments, and, as we have seen throughout the previous chapters, the recorder was the dominant octave flute in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England, with the flageolet taking second place. A similar situation pertained in Continental Europe. Nevertheless, the flageolet, the recorder, the fife, and the piccolo each had a distinctive role in musical practice during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the present thesis has explored and contextualised matters both organological and musicological which have hitherto been neglected by scholars. It must be emphasised that octave flutes of whatever type were — and indeed are — only very small stars in the galaxy of musical instruments, and the fortunes of each individual instrument waxed and waned according to changes in

⁶⁸⁰ MacMillan, 'An Organological Overview of the Recorder 1800–1905'.

compositional practice and, to an extent, the prevailing societal environment. Music and its instruments are subject to evolutionary progress, and the foundations laid in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries underpinned the cultural changes of nineteenth- and twentieth-century music and its instruments. The flageolet has never been revived, there being no musical need for instrument after the revival of the recorder, but the fife continues as a band instrument, and the piccolo is now a standard member of the symphony orchestra. The soprano recorder has moved on to fresh fields and pastures anew, with a growing contemporary repertoire and an unrivalled place in musical education.

Appendix 1

Checklist of flageolets, octave recorders, fifes, and piccolos of English origin made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

The data in this checklist has been assembled from a study of UK collection checklists, articles in scholarly journals, communications with curators, and visits to collections.⁶⁸¹ In addition, I have incorporated material relating to octave flutes of English manufacture but now preserved in European and American collections. The list of flageolets and recorders is, to the best of my knowledge, comprehensive at the time of writing (2017), but, inevitably, other instruments may be preserved in private collections or small museums which are inaccessible to scholars. The listed fifes and piccolos are intended to be illustrative and representative rather a complete list of extant instruments; the repertoire for these instruments is considerably less extensive than that for the flageolet, and, in particular, for that of the recorder.

Musical Instrument Museums Online (MIMO) incorporates checklists from European and Scandinavian Collections and has been used as a search tool in addition to the individual collection checklists given above.⁶⁸² Other sources include Nicholas Lander's 'The Recorder Homepage' (a database of 1,794 historic recorders) and Philip T. Young's *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*.⁶⁸³ Meierott's *Die kleinen Flötentypen* contains an extensive list of small flutes, including flageolets, recorders, piccolos, and *galoubets* held in eight European collections (four in Germany, two in Austria, one in Belgium and one in France) but no instruments of English manufacture dating from 1660–1800 are listed.⁶⁸⁴

UK collections

Bate Collection, Oxford (GB–Oxford).⁶⁸⁵

Birmingham Conservatoire of Collection of Historical Instruments (GB–Birmingham).⁶⁸⁶

Brighton Museum and Art Gallery (GB–Brighton).

Castle Museum, York (GB–York).⁶⁸⁷

Dean Castle Museum, Kilmarnock (GB–Kilmarnock).

Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments (GB–Edinburgh).⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸¹ Some of collections searched did not hold appropriate instruments, but their contact information is included: negative findings may, in themselves, be significant in the search for instruments of a particular type, period and country of origin. As much detail as may be ascertained from either the published checklists or examination of the instruments is given but, in some cases, this information may be minimal: the instruments are included because of their significance in terms of their existence or particular features.

⁶⁸² www.mimo-international.com/MIMO/museums.aspx (multiple accessions, 2014–2017).

⁶⁸³ www.recorderhomepage.net/ (multiple accessions, 2014–2017); Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*.

⁶⁸⁴ Meierott, *Die kleinen Flötentypen*, 121–132.

⁶⁸⁵ www.bate.ox.ac.uk/flutes.html/ (accessed 14 May 2014).

⁶⁸⁶ <http://www.bcu.ac.uk/pme.conservatoire/hic/the-collection/piccolos-fifes-flutes/> (accessed 13 May 2014).

⁶⁸⁷ <http://freespace.virgin.net.cade.york/limen/music/cmconv.htm> / (accessed 20 May 2014); Robert Wake, email to MacMillan (instruments in the Castle Museum), 20 May 2014.

Horniman Museum, London (GB–London–H).⁶⁸⁹
 Royal College of Music, London (GB–London–RCM).⁶⁹⁰
 Royal Northern College of Music, Manchester (GB–Manchester).⁶⁹¹
 Torquay Museum, Torquay (GB–Torquay).⁶⁹²
 Victoria and Albert Museum London (GB–London–VA).⁶⁹³

European collections

Frans Brügger, Private Collection (NL–Amsterdam).
 Rene Clemenic, Private Collection (A–Vienna).

United States of America collections

Art Museum, Cincinnati (US–OH–Cincinnati).
 Dayton C Miller Flute Collection, Washington (US–DC–Washington).⁶⁹⁴
 Duke University Musical Instrument Collections (US–NC–Durham).⁶⁹⁵
 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (US–MI–Boston).⁶⁹⁶
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (US–NY–New York).⁶⁹⁷
 National Music Museum, Vermillion (US–SD–Vermillion).⁶⁹⁸
 The Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments (US–MI–Ann Arbor).⁶⁹⁹

Japan collection

I. Ino, Private Collection (J–Tokyo).

⁶⁸⁸ *Historic Musical Instruments in the Edinburgh University Collection*. Volume 2 Part D Fascicle i: Recorders and Flageolets, 2nd. edn, Arnold Myers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments, 2010): abbreviated as EUCHMI.

⁶⁸⁹ *Catalogue of the Adam Carse Collection of Old Musical Wind Instruments* (London: London County Council, 1951); *Wind Instruments of European Art Music*, The Horniman Museum, London (London: Inner London Education Authority, 1974); Mimi Waitzman, email to MacMillan (instruments in The Horniman Museum), 21 May 2014.

⁶⁹⁰ E. A. K. Ridley, *The Royal College of Music Museum of Instruments Catalogue*, parts I and Ia (London: The Royal College of Music, 1982 and 1998, [Ia, Elizabeth Wells]).

⁶⁹¹ Anna Wright, *Catalogue of the Collection of Historic Musical Instruments*, Royal Northern College of Music (Manchester: Royal Northern College of Music, 2010).

⁶⁹² www.torquaymuseum.org/ (accessed 26 February 2015).

⁶⁹³ Anthony Baines, *Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, Part II, with addenda by James York (London: V&A Publications, 1998).

⁶⁹⁴ www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/dcmhtml/dmhome/ (accessed 26 May 2014, 23 February 2015).

⁶⁹⁵ <https://music.duke.edu/music/> (accessed 30 May 2014); Gillian Suss, email to MacMillan, (instruments in Duke University Collections), 3 June 2014.

⁶⁹⁶ <https://www.mfa.org/collections/musicalinstruments/> (accessed 26 May 2014).

⁶⁹⁷ www.metmuseum.org/collections/the-collection-online/ (accessed 27 May 2014).

⁶⁹⁸ www.usd.edu/smm/ (accessed 23 February 2015).

⁶⁹⁹ www.music.eumich.edu/search/Stearns_collection/Collection_search_adv.php/ (accessed 28 May 2014).

Checklist of the instruments⁷⁰⁰

no.	location	collection ID	date	maker
Flgt 1	GB–London–RCM	0410	1770–94	Robert Cotton
Flgt 2	GB–Oxford	x011/12	1754–56	Mason
Flgt 3	GB–London–H	15.10.48/170	c.1800	Potter
Flgt 4	GB–London–H	M8.12.54/1	1700–1800	anon.
Flgt 5	GB–London–H	15.10.48/118	?C17/?C18	anon.
Flgt 6	GB–London–VA	301–1882	p1803	anon.
Rcdr 1	GB–Kilmarnock	MI/A75	c.1650–75	anon.
Rcdr 2	NL–Amsterdam	private collection	1736–53	Hallett
Rcdr 3	US–DC–Washington	DCM 1214	1691–1733	Stanesby sr.
Rcdr 4	NL–Amsterdam	private collection	1713–54	Stanesby jr.
Rcdr 5	A–Clemencic	private collection	1713–54	Stanesby jr.
Rcdr 6	J–Tokyo	private collection	1713–54	Stanesby jr.
Rcdr 7	US–OH–Cincinnati	1914.140	1731–53	Schuchart
Rcdr 8	US–SD–Vermillion	4825	1736–53	Hallett
Rcdr 9	GB–Oxford	0109	1688–1730	Bressan
Rcdr 10	US–anonymous	private collection	1713–54	Stanesby jr.
Rcdr 11	GB–Torquay	V4608	1736–1753	Hallett
Rcdr 12	GB–Brighton	R5773/119	c.1754–56	Mason
Fife 1	GB–London–RCM	0417	late C18/?C19	anon.
Fife 2	GB–Birmingham	2.3	1738–98	Cahusac
Fife 3	GB–Edinburgh	4	C18	anon.
Fife 4	GB–Edinburgh	3382	c.1800	Astor
Fife 5	GB–London–H	28.8.52/1	c.1800	Parker
Fife 6	GB–London–H	14.5.47/14	late C18	Cotton
Fife 7	GB–London–H	15.10.48/127	C18	anon.
Fife 8	GB–London–H	2004.1016	1775–1825	anon.
Fife 9	GB–London–H	2004.2019	1775–1825	anon.
Fife 10	US–MA–Boston	17.1860	c.1800	Metzler
Fife 11	GB–Edinburgh	4	c.1800	anon.
Fife 12	GB–Oxford	x114	1778–1831	Astor
Fife 13	GB–York	YORCM:DA500	late C18/?C19	?Cahusac
Picc 1	GB–London–RCM	0763	1788–1816	Metzler
Picc 2	GB–London–RCM	0326 P/2	late C18	anon.
Picc 3	GB–Oxford	181	1770–1815	Parker
Picc 4	GB–Edinburgh	5424	1788–1816	Metzler
Picc 5	GB–London–H	14.5.47/96	c.1800	Parker
Picc 6	US–DC–Washington	1166	1745–1823	Potter
Picc 7	GB–York	YORCM:DA508	1794–1810	Cahusac
Picc 8	GB–Edinburgh	2000	?1787–97	Milhouse

⁷⁰⁰ All makers' dates are taken from Waterhouse, *NLI*.

Picc 9	GB–Oxford	1147	c.1786–1834	Goulding
Picc 10	GB–York	YORCM:DA511	1788–1816	Metzler
Picc 11	GB–York	YORCM:DA510	a1795	Florio
Picc 12	GB–York	YORCM:DA515	late C18/?C19	Whitaker

Flageolets

All flageolets listed (except flgt 2) are of the ‘French’ type, with four finger- and two thumb-holes. Dimensions are given in millimetres. ‘mp’ refers to the mouthpiece.

Flgt 1

Description	French flageolet
Maker	Robert Cotton, London
Date	a1770–p1794
Location	GB–London–RCM
Collection ID	0410
Type	French flageolet <i>à pompe</i>
Length	262 (275 with mp), sounding length 166
Pieces	2
Material	boxwood; ivory mp
Mounts	unmounted
Holes	4+2
Keys	keyless
Stamp	on head and body: ROBERT/COTTON/LONDON/(star)
Source	examined March 2014
Provenance	ex Ridley
Notes	bulbous windcap; cutaway plug; figure 6.

Flgt 2

Description	pair of flageolets
Maker	John Mason, London
Date	fl a1754–p1756
Location	GB–Oxford
Collection ID	x011/12
Pitch	f
Length	500+mp
Pieces	3+mp
Material	boxwood
Mounts	ivory
Tone-holes	4+1
Keys	3; brass; wood block or ring-mounted
Stamp	(mermaid)/J.MASON.LONDON/(two lions rampant)
Source	examined 1 October 2014
Provenance	ex Sharpe
Notes	This curious pair of flageolets was made by John Mason for Granville Sharpe, an opponent of slavery and a keen amateur musician. Together with family members and professional musicians, Sharpe performed in concerts both on land and in the

family barge. See MacMillan, 'A Curious Pair of Flageolets', (2014); Chapter 2, section 2.3, figure 7.⁷⁰¹

Flgt 3	
Description	English flageolet
Maker	family Potter, London
Date	c.1800 (checklist); <i>NLI</i> gives c.1745–1823
Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	15.10.48/170
Type	English flageolet
Pitch	?d
Length	394/267
Pieces	3
Material	boxwood
Mounts	bone; elaborately turned cap; 2 rings; bell-rim; spacing studs
Holes	7+1; 1 st . hole plugged with bone; large 5 th . hole.
Keys	1; brass; elaborate square key-flap; ring mounted
Stamp	on head: cap (twice); top and bottom of pipe POTTER/LONDON
Source	1974 checklist
Provenance	ex Bull
Notes	mp missing; an elegant instrument; the large fifth tone-hole suggests that the instrument may have been made after the changes introduced by Bainbridge in his patent of 1803.
Flgt 4	
Description	flageolet
Maker	unknown
Date	1700–1800 (checklist)
Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	M8.12.54/1
Type	French flageolet
Length	198/154
Pieces	2
Material	dark wood
Mounts	ivory
Keys	keyless
Stamp	unstamped
Source	examined 18 November 2014
Provenance	ex Bull
Notes	date range given 1700–1800; I think this is accurate;?English ?French manufacture.
Flgt 5	
Description	flageolet
Maker	unknown
Date	?late C17/C18

⁷⁰¹ Douglas MacMillan, 'A Curious Pair of Flageolets', *Galpin Society Newsletter*, 40 (2014), 8–10.

Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	15.10.48/118
Type	French flageolet <i>à bec</i>
Length	165/134
Pieces	1
Material	bone
Mounts	unmounted
Keys	keyless
Stamp	unstamped but small ?C incised above 1 st . tone-hole
Source	checklist 1974; examined 18 November 2014
Provenance	ex Bull
Notes	?English ? French manufacture; an elegant instrument with ‘turning’ below the window; no windcap so it is unlikely to be a bird flageolet; in wooden case.

Flgt 6	
Description	bird flageolet
Maker	anon., English
Date	early C19: catalogue gives c.1810
Location	GB–London–VA
Collection ID	301–1882
Type	bird flageolet
Length	188/137+mp
Pieces	3
Holes	7+0
Material	dark wood
Mounts	ivory mp, 2 rings and bell-rim
Keys	keyless
Stamp	unstamped
Source	examined 22 February 2017
Notes	Hole1 plugged, 2, 3, and 4 bushed to make the tone-holes smaller. 5–7 holes unbushed, but I think there are traces of glue: it would seem logical to bush them all. Hole 5 is large, suggesting Bainbridge’s improved octave flageolet fingering. This would date the instrument as <i>post</i> 1803.

Recorders

Rcdr 1	
Description	<i>handfluyt</i>
Location	GB–Kilmarnock
Maker	anon.
Date	c.1650–75
Collection ID	MI/A75
Length	288/255
Pieces	1
Material	ivory
Mounts	unmounted
Stamp	unstamped
Source	examined 23 May 2016

Provenance	Charles van Raalte collection
Notes	measured by Ture Bergstrøm 1998; see MacMillan and Clarke (2017); Chapter 3, figure 26. ⁷⁰²
Rcdr 2	
Description	Sopranino
Maker	Benjamin Hallett, London
Date	<i>fl</i> 1736– <i>p</i> 1753
Location	NL–Amsterdam
Collection ID	XVII
Lowest note	f''
Pitch	a'=405
Length	259.8
Pieces	3
Material	ivory
Mounts	unmounted
Stamp	on all three joints: HALLETT
Source	Lander
Rcdr 3	
Description	sixth flute
Maker	Thomas Stanesby, sr., London
Date	1668–1734, <i>fl</i> 1691–1733/34
Location	US–DC–Washington
Collection ID	DCM 1214
Lowest note	d''
Pitch	a'=410
Length	303
Pieces	3
Material	ivory
Mounts	unmounted
Stamp	on all three joints: T/STANESBY/ (sunburst); also 6 on foot-joint
Source	Lander, Young
Provenance	ex W. Howard Head
Notes	some damage to foot and lip; '6' on the foot-joint is a pitch mark.
Rcdr 4	
Description	Sixth flute
Maker	Thomas Stanesby, jr., London
Date	1692–1734, <i>fl</i> 1713–1754
Location	NL–Amsterdam
Lowest note	d''
Pitch	a'=429
Length	308
Pieces	3
Material	ivory
Mounts	unmounted

⁷⁰² Douglas MacMillan and Isobel Clarke, 'Duct Flutes in the Charles van Raalte Collection at Dean Castle', *Galpin Society Journal*, 70 (2017), 233–5.

Stamp	STANESBY/IUNIOR/D; cherub's head engraved on head, grapevine on body
Source	Lander, Young
Provenance	ex Hunt
Notes	an elaborately-decorated ivory recorder.
Rcdr 5	
Description	soprano (fifth flute)
Maker	Thomas Stanesby, jr., London
Date	1692–1734, <i>fl</i> 1713–1754
Location	A–Clemencic
Lowest note	c"
Material	ivory
Mounts	unmounted
Source	Lander, Young
Provenance	ex Baines, ex Galpin
Notes	no other data available.
Rcdr 6	
Description	soprano (fifth flute)
Maker	Thomas Stanesby, jr., London
Date	1692–1734, <i>fl</i> 1713–1754
Location	J-Tokyo
Lowest note	c"
Material	ivory
Mounts	gold
Stamp	STANESBY/IUNIOR/6. Gold points inlaid in ivory on all three joints
Source	Lander, Young
Notes	no other data available.
Rcdr 7	
Description	soprano (fifth flute)
Maker	John Just Schuchart, London
Date	1695–1758, <i>fl</i> 1731–53
Location	US–OH–Cincinnati
Collection ID	1914.140
Length	355
Material	boxwood
Mounts	horn
Stamp	IuI/SCHUCHART/2-headed spread eagle
Source	Lander, Young, collection curator (lisa.delong@cincyart.com; email to MacMillan, 26 February 2015)
Provenance	ex Taphouse
Notes	no other data available.
Rcdr 8	
Description	Fourth flute or soprano (checklist)
Maker	Benjamin Hallett, London
Date	<i>fl</i> a1736–p1753

Location	USA–SD–Vermillion
Collection ID	4825
Lowest note	?
Pitch	a'=396
Length	368
Pieces	3
Material	boxwood
Mounts	unmounted
Stamp	on all three joints: 4/HALLETT
Source	Lander
Provenance	ex Spiegl, ex Higbee-Abbott-Zylstra
Notes	The length of the instrument and the mark '4' suggests that it is a fourth flute.

Rcdr 9	
Description	fourth flute
Maker	Peter Jaillard Bressan, London
Date	f/1688–1730
Location	GB–Oxford
Collection ID	0109
Lowest note	b flat'
Pitch	a'=430 (see notes)
Length	367
Pieces	3
Material	stained boxwood
Mounts	unmounted
Stamp	on head: PuI/BRESSAN/(rose)/4 on body: between holes 2 and 3 and between holes 3 and 4 as on head
Source	on foot: as on head
Provenance	examined May 2014 ex Hunt
Notes	The foot has been slightly altered to raise the pitch of the instrument to a'=430; in playing condition. Byrne (1983), however, reports that the instrument was three-quarters the size of a treble, but has been shortened by about 12mm at the upper tenon. ⁷⁰³ Figure 27.

Rcdr 10	
Description	fourth flute
Maker	Thomas Stanesby, jr., London
Date	1692–1734, f/1713–1754
Location	US –anonymous
Lowest note	b flat'
Material	boxwood
Mounts	unmounted
Stamp	head only: STANESBY/JUNIOR/4
Source	Lander: Young

⁷⁰³ Maurice Byrne, 'Pierre Jaillard Bressan', *Galpin Society Journal*, 36 (1983), 2–28.

Notes head joint only. '4' is a pitch mark.

Rcdr 11
 Description soprano recorder
 Maker Benjamin Hallett, London
 Date *fl* a1736–p1753
 Location GB–Torquay
 Collection ID V4608
 Length 333
 Pieces 3
 Material rosewood
 Mounts ivory mouthpiece sleeve and upper ring
 Stamp on head: HALLETT
 Source museum staff
 Notes listed in an early edition of Langwill's *Index*.

Rcdr 12
 Description Soprano recorder
 Maker John Mason, London
 Date *fl* a1754–p56
 Location GB–Brighton
 Collection ID R5773/119
 Pitch c"
 Length 384 (sounding length 287)
 Materials boxwood
 Stamp on all three joints: MASON/5
 Source examined 2 June 2016
 Provenance ex Albert C. Spencer
 Notes A soprano recorder dating from the mid-eighteenth century; no other recorders by this maker are reported; the tone-holes are undercut, with some wear on the thumb-hole; the instrument is slightly warped; the foot-joint appears as though it was made from a different wood, but it bears the same stamp as the other joints and a crack in the joint has been glued; it is otherwise in good conservation condition; the mark 'MASON' is not reported in *NLI*, and the figure '5' indicates a fifth flute; Mason is known primarily as a flute-maker.

Fifes

Fife 1
 Description fife
 Maker unknown
 Date late C18–early C19
 Location GB–London–RCM
 Collection ID 0417
 Type fife ?military
 Length 423
 Pieces 1
 Material black wood, probably ebony

Ferrules	silver
Keys	keyless
Stamp	unstamped
Source	examined 4 July 2014
Provenance	ex Hartley; figure 35.
Fife 2	
Description	fife in C
Maker	Thomas Cahusac I, London
Date	1714–1798, <i>fl</i> c.1738–98
Location	GB–Birmingham
Collection ID	2.3
Type	military fife
Pitch	in c; a'=430 (checklist)
Length	398/310
Pieces	1
Material	?boxwood
Ferrules	brass (one missing)
Keys	keyless
Stamp	C/CAHUSAC/LONDON
Source	collection online checklist
Provenance	ex William Bentley
Notes	checklist comments 'British Military use, late C18/earlyC19'; 'C' in the stamp is a pitch mark.
Fife 3	
Description	fife in C
Maker	unknown
Date	C18 (checklist)
Location	GB–Edinburgh
Collection ID	4
Type	fife ?military
Pitch	c"; nominal pitch b flat
Length	376
Pieces	1
Material	boxwood
Ferrules	brass
Keys	keyless
Stamp	unstamped
Source	EUCHMI via MIMO
Fife 4	
Description	fife in B flat
Maker	Astor, London
Date	c.1800 (checklist)
Location	GB–Edinburgh
Collection ID	3382
Type	fife ?military
Pitch	b flat': nominal pitch a flat
Length	411

Pieces	1
Material	boxwood
Ferrules	brass
Keys	keyless
Stamp	ASTOR/LONDON/(unicorn head)
Source	EUCHMI via MIMO
Fife 5	
Description	fife in C
Maker	John Parker, London
Date	c.1800 (checklist): <i>NLI</i> gives <i>a1770–p1815</i>
Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	28.8.52/1
Type	fife ?military
Pitch	c"
Length	383
Pieces	1
Material	boxwood
Ferrules	brass (top ferrule missing)
Keys	keyless
Stamp	above embouchure: (royal arms) below embouchure: PARKER/LONDON
Source	checklist 1974, p.74; examined 24 November 2014.
Fife 6	
Description	fife in B flat
Maker	Cotton, (?John), London
Date	late C18 (checklist)
Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	14.5.47/14
Type	b flat fife
Pitch	b flat
Length	412
Pieces	2
Material	boxwood
Ferrules	brass
Keys	1; ring-mounted; round key-flap
Stamp	on head: COTTON/BRIDE LANE/FLEET St./(star) on body: COTTON/BRIDE LANE/FLEET St./(star) on foot: 7 on head above embouchure hole: (three stars)/RE IV/three stars)
Source	checklist 1974; examined 18 November 2014
Provenance	ex Carse
Notes	entered in 1951 checklist as ‘small b flute’; the maker’s address suggests John Cotton (1821–26; <i>NLI</i> , p.72) so probably early C19; there is also a mark with six stars above the maker’s stamp with the numerals 6 0.

Fife 7

Description	fife
Maker	unknown
Date	1725–85 (checklist)
Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	M15.10.48/127
Type	fife
Length	244
Pieces	2
Material	dark-stained wood
Ferrules	none
Keys	keyless
Stamp	unstamped
Source	Waitzman; checklist 1974; examined 24 November 2014
Provenance	ex Bull
Notes	v small; shorter than F piccolo GB–Oxford 1147; ? in G.

Fife 8

Description	fife
Maker	unknown
Date	1775–1825 (checklist)
Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	2004.1016
Type	fife
Length	340
Pieces	2
Material	boxwood
Ferrules	brass
Keys	none
Stamp	unstamped
Source	examined 24 November 2014
Provenance	ex Boosey and Hawkes
Notes	embouchure hole plugged; dark wood sleeve in upper joint, ?function.

Fife 9

Description	fife
Maker	unknown
Date	1775–1825 (checklist)
Location	GB–London–H
Collection ID	2004.1019
Length	350
Pieces	2
Material	boxwood
Ferrules	brass
Keys	keyless
Stamp	unstamped
Source	examined 24 November 2014

Provenance ex Boosey and Hawkes
 Notes crack in head glued and bound with thread; ferrules tacked in place

Fife 10

Description fife in b flat
 Maker Valentine Metzler, London
 Date c.1800
 Location US–MA–Boston
 Collection ID 17.1860
 Type military fife
 Pitch b flat"
 Length 380
 Pieces 1
 Material boxwood
 Ferrules brass
 Keys keyless
 Stamp (in scroll) V.METZLER LONDON/C
 Source collection online checklist
 Provenance ex Galpin/Leslie Lindsay Mason
 Notes checklist gives pitch as b flat but 'C' in the stamp suggests a pitch mark indicating an instrument in C, so the checklist is probably in error.

Fife 11

Description fife in C
 Maker unknown
 Date c.1800
 Location GB–Edinburgh
 Collection ID 4
 Type fife
 Pitch c
 Length 376
 Pieces 1
 Material boxwood
 Ferrules brass
 Keys keyless
 Stamp scratched '1800'
 Source EUCHMI via MIMO

Fife 12

Description fife in B flat
 Maker George Astor, London
 Date c.1778–c.1831
 Location GB–Oxford
 Collection ID x114
 Type fife
 Pitch b flat'
 Length 385

Pieces	1
Material	boxwood
Ferrules	brass
Keys	keyless
Stamp	(royal arms)/G.ASTOR & CO./LONDON/(unicorn)
Source	Young; collection online checklist; examined 4 November 2014
Provenance	ex Baines
Notes	may be late C18 or early C19.
Fife 13	
Description	fife
Maker	?Cahusac, London
Date	1800–25 (collection checklist); late C18/early C19
Location	GB–York
Collection ID	YORCM: DA500
Type	fife ?military
Length	427
Materials	light wood
Ferrules	missing
Keys	none
Stamp	?C/illegible/LONDON
Source	examined 19 December 2014
Notes	collection catalogue suggests Cahusac but the mark is not legible enough to be convincing. The ‘C’ could be a pitch mark or the beginning of ‘Cahusac’. If the instrument is by a member of the Cahusac family, the latest date for its manufacture would be 1816.

Piccolos

Picc 1	
Description	piccolo
Maker	Metzler, London
Date	probably 1788–1816
Location	GB–London–RCM
Collection ID	RCM 0763
Type	one-keyed piccolo
Length	322
Pieces	3
Material	?boxwood
Mounts	ivory
Keys	1; brass; ring mounted; square key-flap
Stamp	on head: METZLER/LONDON/8 on foot: METZLER/LONDON
Source	examined March 2014
Provenance	ex Hill
Notes	‘8’ is a pitch mark; figure 40.
Picc 2	
Description	piccolo

Maker	unknown
Date	late C18
Location	GB–London–RCM
Collection ID	0326 P/2
Type	one-keyed piccolo
Pitch	d"
Length	309
Pieces	4
Material	ivory
Mounts	?silver
Keys	1; silver; ring mounted; square key flap
Stamp	none
Source	examined July 2014
Provenance	ex Ridley

Picc 3	
Description	piccolo
Maker	John Parker, London
Date	<i>fl</i> 1770– <i>p</i> 1815
Location	GB–Oxford
Collection ID	181
Type	one-keyed piccolo
Pitch	?f"
Length	278
Pieces	3
Material	boxwood (Eden gives ‘maple’)
Mounts	unmounted
Keys	1; brass; square key flap; ring-mounted
Stamp	on head: PARKER/LONDON on lower joints: PARKER
Source	examined 4 November 2014
Notes	may be late C18 or early C19.

Picc 4	
Description	piccolo in C
Maker	Metzler, London
Date	1788–1816
Location	GB–Edinburgh
Collection ID	5424
Type	one-keyed piccolo
Pitch	c": nominal pitch c"
Length	321
Pieces	3
Material	boxwood
Mounts	ivory
Keys	1; silver; square key flap; ring-mounted
Stamp	METZLER/LONDON/8
Source	EUCHMI via MIMO

Picc 5
 Description piccolo in D
 Maker John Parker, London
 Date c.1800 (catalogue): *NLI* gives a1770–p1815
 Location GB–London–H
 Collection ID 14.5.47/96
 Type one-keyed piccolo
 Pitch d"
 Length 307
 Pieces 3
 Material boxwood
 Mounts unmounted
 Keys 1; brass; ring-mounted; round key-flap
 Stamp on head: 8/monogram/PARKER/LONDON/D
 Source checklist 1974; examined 18 November 2014
 Provenance ex Carse
 Notes conical bore; ‘D’ is a pitch mark; may be late C18/early C19.

Picc 6
 Description piccolo in C
 Maker Potter (firm), London
 Date c.1745–1823
 Location US–DC–Washington
 Collection ID DCM 1166
 Type one-keyed piccolo
 Pitch c"
 Length 315
 Pieces 3
 Material boxwood
 Mounts ivory
 Keys 1; brass; square key flap; ring mounted
 Stamp POTTER/(trefoil)
 Source collection online checklist
 Provenance ex Cheetham
 Notes could be early C19.

Picc 7
 Description piccolo
 Maker Cahusac, London
 Date late C18/early C19
 Location GB–York
 Collection ID YORCM: DA508
 Type one-keyed piccolo
 Pitch ?d"
 Length 311
 Pieces 3
 Material boxwood
 Mounts ivory
 Keys 1; brass; ring-mounted; square key-flap
 Stamp above embouchure: R.TAYLOR/CHESTER

Source	below embouchure: 8/CAHUSAC/(illegible)/STRAND/LONDON on middle and foot joints: CAHUSAC/LONDON examined 19 December 2014
Notes	‘8’ in the stamp suggests a D piccolo, an octave above the flute and the length of the instrument is compatible with this; touch of key broken; illegible part of stamp looks like ‘1’; it is not possible to determine from the stamp which member of the Cahusac family (Thomas, sr., Thomas, jr., or William Maurice) made this piccolo as all worked in the Strand and used similar marks. I would estimate that the instrument was made between c.1790 and c.1810. Taylor is probably a dealer.
Picc 8	
Description	piccolo
Maker	William Milhouse, London
Date	1787–1840 (<i>NLI</i>): checklist gives ?1787–97
Location	GB–Edinburgh
Collection ID	2000
Type	one-keyed c piccolo
Pitch	b flat (nominal pitch)
Length	365
Pieces	3
Material	boxwood
Mounts	ivory
Keys	1; silver; square key flap; ring mounted
Stamp	W.MILHOUSE/LONDON
Source	EUCHMI via MIMO
Notes	more probably early C19.
Picc 9	
Description	piccolo
Maker	Goulding, London
Date	c.1786–1834
Location	GB–Oxford
Collection ID	1147
Type	one-keyed piccolo
Pitch	c"
Length	318
Pieces	3
Material	stained boxwood
Mounts	ivory
Keys	1; square key flap
Stamp	on head: GOULDING/45/PALL MALL/LONDON on lower joints: GOULDING
Source	Young; collection online checklist; examined 4 November 2014
Provenance	ex Jeans, ex Morley-Pegge
Notes	lower joints conical; address suggests 1804–05.

Picc 10
 Description piccolo
 Maker Metzler, London
 Date 1788–1816
 Location GB–York
 Collection ID YORCM: DA509
 Type one-keyed piccolo
 Pitch ?f"
 Length 242
 Pieces 2
 Material boxwood
 Mounts ivory; domed stopper
 Keys 1; brass; block-mounted and sited transversely; square key-flap
 Stamp on head: METZLER/LONDON
 Source examined 19 December 2014
 Notes very small instrument ? in g" or f"; the ?f" piccolo in GB–Oxford 181 (Picc 3) is 278mm long and ?in f"; it is difficult to assign a precise date to this instrument and the collection checklist date of 1800–25 seems reasonable.

Picc 11
 Description piccolo
 Maker Pietro Grassi Florio, London
 Date late C18: earliest 1767, latest 1795
 Location GB–York
 Collection ID YORCM: DA510
 Type one-keyed piccolo
 Pitch ?c" ?d" (checklist)
 Length 312
 Pieces 3
 Material boxwood
 Mounts ivory
 Keys 1; brass; ring-mounted; square key-flap
 Stamp on head and foot: FLORIO/LONDON/8
 Source examined 19 December 2014
 Notes most likely a d piccolo; length is compatible and it is stamped '8'; Florio was born in Italy but worked in London up to his death in 1795.

Picc 12
 Description piccolo
 Maker Whitaker, London
 Date late C18/early C19
 Location GB–York
 Collection ID YORCM: DA515
 Type one-keyed piccolo
 Pitch d"
 Length 313
 Pieces 3
 Material boxwood

Mounts	ivory
Keys	1; brass; ring-mounted; square key-flap
Stamp	on all joints: WHITAKER/LONDON/D; (D on head only)
Source	examined 19 December 2014

Appendix 2

Pedagogic material for the flageolet, recorder, and fife**Tutors for the flageolet**

1

Directions for the Flagellet with 20 severall [sic] Lessons fitted to the same Instrument. Written and Engraved by Tho: Swain; Gent. 1667...

London: Sold by Robert Pawlett

Author Thomas Swain

Date 1667

Location GB–Lbl Harleian Collection 5936 (388, 389) ex The Bagford Collection⁷⁰⁴

Notes Frontispiece is identical to *The Pleasant Companion*. Pawlett was active as a bookseller at The Bible in Chancery Lane, 1641–67.⁷⁰⁵

2

The Pleasant Companion: or new Lessons and Instructions for the Flagelet. The Third Edition Enlarged. By Thomas Greeting, Gent...

London: Printed for J. Playford

Author Thomas Greeting

Date 1678

Location GB–Lbl K.11.e.8

Notes *The Pleasant Companion* was first published c.1661, but no copies survive from this date.⁷⁰⁶ The publication appeared in at least five editions before 1688.⁷⁰⁷

3

The Pleasant Companion, or new Lessons and Instructions for the Flagelet. by Thomas Greeting, Gent...

London: Printed for John Playford

Author Thomas Greeting

Date 1682

Location GB–Lbl K.4.a.12.

⁷⁰⁴ John Bagford, (compiler), *The Bagford Collection for the History of Printing*. (A collection in the British Library of title pages, fragments of printed books and other material dating from 1528–1715).

⁷⁰⁵ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 253.

⁷⁰⁶ Deakin, *Musical Bibliography*, 16.

⁷⁰⁷ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 2.

4

The Second Part of Youth's Delight on the Flagelet, or the young Gentlewoman's Recreation, being a Collection of Songs, Tunes and Ayres, composed of several able masters, and set to the Flagelet. By the author of the first part...

London: Printed for John Clarke

Author unknown

Date 1683

Location GB-Lbl K.4.a.20.

Notes (1) *Youth's Delight on the Flagelet* appeared in several editions between the years 1683 and 1697: no examples of the first part survive, but editions of the second and third parts are listed below.
(2) The title page in the British Library copy reads:

THE/Pleasant Companion/OR NEW/LESSONS and
INSTRUCTIONS/For the /FLAGELET./By Thomas Greeting,
Gent./London, Printed for John Playford, and are to be Sold at his
Shop/in the Inner-Temple, near the Church. 1675.

However, the Library Catalogue lists this work as *The Second Part of Youth's Delight* (as above) and notes 'Music K.4.a.20 imperfect, wanting the title page and a leaf or leaves at the end of the "Directions"'. The title has been supplied from Edward Arber's *The Term Catalogues*. A Title Page reading *The Pleasant Companion: or new instructions for the flagelet. By Thomas Greeting*, and a final leaf from the 'Directions' have been erroneously supplied from a 1675 edition of that work. The blank verso of the thirteenth page of music bears two MS monograms of Samuel Pepys in his autograph.

5

Youth's Delight On the Flagelet the second part, Containing the newest Lessons with easier Directions than any heretofore Being the 9th. Edition with Additions of ye best and newest Tunes. Also A Scale of the Gamut the Violin way...

London: Printed for John Clarke

Author unknown

Date c.1690 (library catalogue)

Location GB-Lbl K.4.a.8.

Notes No trace has been discovered of the first part of this series. The second part was first announced in *The Term Catalogues* for the year 1683 as *The Second Part of Youth's Delight on the Flagelet, or The Young Gentlewoman's Recreation; being a Collection of Songs, Tunes, and Ayres, composed by several able Masters, and set to the Flagelet. By the Author of the First Part. In which book are Lessons made on purpose to teach Birds; with several Preludes or Flourishes, for the help of those who have but little Fancy*. Printed for John Clarke at the Golden Viol in

St. Paul's Churchyard'. John Clarke was a London bookseller, active 1697–1723.⁷⁰⁸

6

Youth's Delight On the Flagelet the Third Part Containing ye newest Lessons with easier Directions than any heretofore being ye 11th Edition of ye best & newest Tunes.

London: Printed for and sold by John Hare

Author unknown

Date 1697 (title page)

Location GB–Lbl K.4.a.7.

Notes The third part of the series has the same frontispiece and text as the 9th. edition (above) but contains a different selection of tunes.⁷⁰⁹ John Hare was a musical instrument maker, seller, printer and publisher in London from 1695. He was subsequently closely associated with John Walsh.⁷¹⁰

7

The Innocent Recreation, Being A Choice Collection of the Newest and best Tunes for ye Flagelet Together with plain and easy directions how to play on it. The Second edition. [sic]

London: Printed for and sold by John Miller

Author unknown

Date 1699

Location GB–Lbl K.4.a.14.

Notes This volume is probably the last flageolet tutor to be published. John Miller was a music and musical instrument seller, active 1695–1707.⁷¹¹

Reported but unlocated tutors for the flageolet

Both Warner and Portrell list tutors which they were unable to locate. Warner's source for such publications include Arber's *The Term Catalogues* (two tutors) and Deakin's *Musical Bibliography* (one): one is given as Lichtenthal but his source for tutor 28 is not given.⁷¹² The tutors (together with such comments as may be made) are listed below.

8

Directiones ad pulsationem elegantis et penetrantis instrumenti, vulgo flageolet dicti: socius iocundus, seu nova lectionem ad instrumentum flageolet.

Author unknown

Date 1667 (Warner)

⁷⁰⁸ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 105.

⁷⁰⁹ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 5.

⁷¹⁰ Humphries and Smith, *op.cit.*, 171.

⁷¹¹ Humphries and Smith, *op.cit.*, 234

⁷¹² Pietro Lichtenthal, *Dizionario e bibliografia della musica* (Milan: Fontana, 1826). I have been unable to access this dictionary.

Notes Welch notes that François-Joseph Fétis — in the nineteenth century — suggested that Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion* was a translation of an earlier Latin publication *Directiones ad pulsationem*, but Welch himself thought that the Latin version was a translation of Greeting.⁷¹³ See Chapter 2.

9

Directions to Learn to Play upon that Pleasant and Spritely Instrument, the Flagellet, Without the Help of a Teacher. The Second Part, Never Before Published.

Author unknown
 Date c.1670 (Warner)
 Notes Warner gives his source as Arber, Vol. 1, p.49. He states that a fragment (four pages) exists in the British Library, but this is not entered in the current catalogue.

10

Youth's Delight on the Flagelet, with Additions of the Newest Songs, Tunes, and Aires with plain and Easy Directions.

London: Printed for John Clarke

Author unknown
 Date c.1682 (Warner)
 Notes Warner gives his source as Arber, Vol. 1, p.485. The publication (as dated 1682) is not listed in the current British Library catalogue, but there were several versions of *Youth's Delight*.

11

Directions to Play the French Flageolet

Author Thomas Tollit
 Date 1694
 Location unknown
 Source Warner
 Notes Warner cites Deakin, p.23. Nothing else is known, but it is of interest that the instrument is described as the 'French' flageolet. All flageolets were of this type until the development of the English flageolet c.1800. The name 'Tollett' occurs as a composer in *Apollo's Banquet*.

Tutors for the recorder

12

A Vade Mecum for the Lovers of Music, Shewing the Excellency of the Rechorder: With some Rules and Directions for the same. Also, some New Ayres never before Published.

London: N. Thompson for John Hudgebut

⁷¹³ Welch, *Six Lectures on the Recorder*, 61.

Author unknown
 Date 1679
 Location GB–Obl Douce M.440.
 Notes The oldest extant English tutor for the recorder.

13

The Most Pleasant Companion, or, Choice New Lessons for the Recorder or Flute. Being a New Collection of New Lessons, set forth by Dots and Notes, To which is added, plain and easie Rules and Instructions for young Beginners, by J.B. Gent.

London: Printed for John Hudgebutt...also for John Clarke

Author John Banister II (1662–1736)
 Date 1681
 Location US–Wc MT 342. B25 M6, Music 3414, item 7. (pdf file supplied by library).
 Notes The author 'J.B.' is the son of John Banister I, violinist, flageolet player and founder of the first London public concert series.

14

The Genteel Companion; Being exact Directions for the Recorder: With a Collection of the Best and Newest Tunes and Grounds Extant. Carefully Composed and Gathered by Humphry Salter.

London: Printed for Richard Hunt and Humphry Salter
 Author unknown
 Date 1683
 Location GB–Lbl K.4.a.6.
 Notes I think this is the 1st. edn; 2nd. edn published in 1686 but nothing in the volume suggests that it is a copy of the 2nd. edn.

15

The Delightful Companion: or, Choice New Lessons for The Recorder or Flute, to which is added, Several Lessons for Two and Three Flutes to play together. Also Plain and Easie Instructions for Beginners, and the several Graces proper to this Instrument. The Second Edition, Corrected.

London: Printed for John Playford and John Carr

Author unknown
 Date 1686
 Location G–Lbl K.4.a.16.

16

The Compleat Flute-Master or The whole Art of playing on ye Rechorder, layd open in such easy and plain instructions, that by them ye meanest capacity may arrive to a perfection on that Instrument, with a Collection of ye newest & best Tunes, composed by the most able Masters, to which is added an admirable Solo, fairly engraven on Copper Plattes.

London: Printed and sold by I: Hare...and I: Walsh...

Author unknown
 Date 1695
 Location GB–Lbl K.5.b.32.; GB–HAdolmetsch II B 13, facsimile ed. by Gerald Gifford, Jeanne Dolmetsch, and Marianne Mezger (Mytholmroyd: Ruxbury, 2004).
 Notes *The Compleat Flute-Master* is the ‘parent’ of almost all the subsequent English recorder tutors: the section on gracing continued to be reproduced up to the end of the eighteenth century, by which time this style of ornamentation was out-dated by almost 100 years.

17

Never Before Publish'd the Flute-Master Compleat Improv'd, or the Gentleman's Diversion made more Easie than any yet Extant. Book the First. Containing Plain and Easie Instructions for young Beginners, with Variety of the Newest & best Tunes, Compos'd & Contrived for that Instrument by the most Eminent Masters, to which is Added, An Excellent Solo, by Mr. Tho: Deane of ye Queen's Theatre, Also a Scale shewing how to Transpose Tunes out of any Keys for ye Flute...

London: Printed and sold by John Young, 1706.

Author unknown
 Date 1706
 Location GB–Obl Mus.Sch. G.627.
 Notes The graces are fresh material and not copied from *The Compleat Flute-Master*; transposition is introduced for the first time. The transposition material was substantially copied in *The Modern Musick-Master*.

18

The Fifth Book of the New Flute Master. Containing The most Perfect Rules and Easiest Directions for Learners on the FLUTE yet extant, together with an Extraordinary Collection of Aires both Italian and English Particularly the most celebrated Ariettas in the New Opera of Arsinoe Queen of Cyprus, and severall other Excellent Tunes never before Printed. To which is added a Scale shewing how to Transpose any Tune to the Flute that is made for the Violin or Voice...

London: Printed for J. Walsh ...and J. Hare

Author unknown
 Date 1706
 Location GB–Lbl a.242.
 Comment The British Library copy has nothing on transposition; the remaining instructional material (including gracing) is similar to the *Compleat Flute-Master* but the tunes differ.

19

The Compleat Musick-Master. Plain, Easie, and Familiar Rules for Singing and Playing on the most useful Instruments now in Vogue, according to the Rudiments of Musick, viz., Violin, Bass-viol, Flute, Treble-viol, Haut-boy, Tenor-viol. Containing likewise a great Variety of Choice Tunes, and fitted to each Instrument, with Songs for two Voices: to which is added, a Scale of the Seven Keys of Musick, shewing how to Transpose any Tune from one Key to another.

London: Printed by and for William Pearson... and sold by John Young...and E.Miller...

Author B.T. (unidentified)

Date 1722

Location GB-Lbl A.1330.

Notes A universal tutor by 'B.T.'; the pages on the recorder (Chapter 4) are derived from *The Compleat Flute-Master*. 'The *Flute* is a pretty lively Instrument and carries two Conveniences along with it (for the young Practitioner). First, it is an Instrument, that may be carried always in the Pocket without any trouble, so that the Practitioner may have it ready when he has any time to practise; secondly, it is an Instrument that is always in Tune which is another great advantage'.

20

The Modern Musick-Master; or the Universal Musician containing...ii. Directions for playing on the Flute. iii. The Newest Method for Learners on the German Flute.

London: Printed and Sold at the Printing Office

Compiler Peter Prelleur (c.1705–41)⁷¹⁴

Date 1731

Location GB-Lbl d.40.

Notes A universal tutor containing instructions for singing and several instruments, and also including a history of music and a dictionary. The frontispiece shows a salon music party with two flutes, an alto recorder, violin, bassoon, 'cello, singer, and harpsichord. The flute (recorder) section is listed below. The material for the recorder is presented in Part II, headed *Directions for Playing on the Flute with A Scale for Transposing any Piece of Musick to ye properest Keys for that Instrument. To which is Added, A Fine Collection of Minuets, Rigadoons, Marches and Opera Airs By Judicious Masters.*

21

The Compleat Tutor for the Flute. Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to obtain a Proficiency. To which is Added A Choice Collection of the most Celebrated Italian, English, and Scotch Tunes. Curiously adapted to that Instrument.

London: Printed and Sold by John Johnson

⁷¹⁴ Richard Platt, "Prelleur, Peter", *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed 28 April 2015, <http://www.oxford music online.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22288>.

Author unknown
 Date 1740
 Location GB–Lbl d.47.h.
 Notes The transposition section begins ‘To transpose a Tune that is too low for the Flute’: relates to the notes of c’, d’ and e’, unobtainable on the alto recorder for which the tutor was written.

22

A New Musical Grammar: or, the Harmonical Spectator. Containing All the useful Theoretical, Practical, and Technical Parts of Musick...By William Tans’ur: Musico Theorico Author of the Universal Harmony &c.
 M.DCC.XL.VI.

London: Printed for the Author, and sold by him... by Jacob Robinson, bookseller... and by most Booksellers, in Town and Country

Author William Tans’ur
 Date 1746
 Location GB–Lbl 1024.e.15.
 Notes A universal tutor. Chapter V (3) ‘Of the Flute’: ‘Of *Flutes* there are many sorts, as a *Consort-Flute*; a *Third-Flute*; a *Fifth*, a *Sixth*, and *Octave-Flute*, yet all may be play’d by the foregoing rules’.⁷¹⁵ This is the only tutor up to 1746 to make a specific mention of octave recorders. The chapter on the recorder (‘Flute’) is brief and contains fingering charts.

23

The Muses Delight. An accurate Collection of Songs, Cantatas and Duetts, Set to Music for the Harpsichord, Violin, German-Flute, &c. With Instructions for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinnet, German-Flute, Common-Flute, Hautboy, French-horn, Bassoon, and Bass-violin: also Compleat Musical Dictionary, ...

Liverpool: Printed, published, and sold by John Sadler

Author unknown
 Date 1754
 Location GB–Lbl E.872.
 Notes A universal tutor with a strong focus on vocal music. There are two pages of instruction for the recorder (pp.23–25). The recorder scale is given ‘tabularly’* [sic] or ‘musically’. The dictionary gives, under the entry ‘Flautino or Flageolet’, ‘a little or small flute, of the common sort; like what we call a sixth flute or an octave flute’. Later editions (1756–58) were published under the title *Apollo’s Cabinet: or the Muses Delight*.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹⁵ *A New Musical Grammar* 80–84. This is the only mention up to this year of small recorders in any tutor, published at a date when the recorder was in decline.

⁷¹⁶ MacMillan, ‘The Recorder in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries’.

24

The Compleat Tutor for the Flute Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency. To which is added A Choice Collection of the most Celebrated Italian, English, and Scotch Tunes. Curiously adapted to that Instrument.

London: Printed for and sold by R. Bremner

Author unknown

Date c.1764

Location GB-Lbl d.47.g.1.

Notes This publication is a reprint of John Simpson's *The Compleat Tutor for the Flute* of 1746, which is in turn copied from *The Modern Musick-Master*. On page 2 Bremner advertises for sale 'English flutes of all sizes, Fifes for the Army, Bird Flutes and Flagelets'. Although the instructions for gracing are reproduced from *The Compleat Flute-Master*, the indications for ornaments in the tunes are given in conventional twenty-first century notation, for example 'tr' for 'trill'.

25

The Elements of Musick Display'd or, its Grammar, or Ground-work made easy Rudimental, Practical, Philosophical, and Technical....

By William Tans'ur, Senior. – Musico-Theorico. Professor, Corrector, and Teacher of Church-music, above 50 years.

M.DCC.LXX.II.

London: Stanley Crowder

Author William Tans'ur

Date 1767/1772

Location GB-Lbl c.16.

Notes An extensive publication comprising theoretical and practical aspects of the art of music with instructions for playing many instruments, and published under various titles between 1746 and 1829. Tans'ur equates the common flute with the flageolet, despite not mentioning the latter in the earlier versions: by 1772 the flageolet was hardly used in England, and neither was the recorder. The material on the recorder is almost identical with that in the author's *The New Musical Grammar* of 1746. (tutor 22).

26

The Compleat Tutor for the Common Flute, Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency. To which is added, A Choice Collection of the most Celebrated Italian, English & Scotch Tunes, Curiously adapted to that Instrument.

London: Printed for and sold by Chas. & Saml. Thompson

Author unknown

Date c.1775

Location GB-Lbl d.47.I.(1.).

Notes The flyleaf in the British Library copy contains the hand-written note 'Richd. Edwards... March 3 1781'. Almost identical to the Bremner tutor (24) but the title now adds 'common' and the fingerings are not given 'tabularly'.

27

Compleat Instructions for the Common Flute, Containing the Easiest and most modern Methods for Learners to play, carefully corrected by eminent Masters. To which is added A favourite collection of Minuets, Marches, Song Tunes, &c. Properly disposed for that Instrument. Pr.1/6

London: Printed and sold by Longman and Broderip, No. 26. Cheapside

Author unknown

Date c.1780

Location GB-Lbl b.170.c.

Notes Similar to other late C18 tutors. The instructions on gracing from *The Compleat Flute-Master* are reproduced, with directions as to how the graces should be played.

28

New and Compleat Instructions for the Common Flute. Containing the easiest & most Improved Rules for Learners to Play. To which is added A Favorite Collection of Songs, Airs, Minuets, Marches, Duetts, &c. Properly adapted for the Instrument. Price 2s.

London: Printed and sold by Preston & Son

Author unknown

Date c.1790

Location GB-Lbl b.160.p.

Notes Similar to other late C18 tutors.

29

New and Complete Instructions for the Common Flute, containing the easiest and most approved Methods for Learners to play. To which is added A Selection of Songs, Airs, Minuets, Marches, Duetts &c., properly adapted to that Instrument and arranged Progressively for Practice...

London: Printed for G. Goulding, No.6 James Street, Covent Garden

Author unknown

Date c.1794

Location Elizabeth University of Music, Hiroshima

Notes Reported by Henseler, 2001⁷¹⁷; Goulding worked at 6, James Street between 1787 and 1798/99; the watermark suggests a date of 1794.

⁷¹⁷ Henseler, Ewald, 'Zwei unbekannte Griffstabellen?', *Tibia*, 26/1 (2001), 384–5.

Tutors for the fife

30

The Compleat Tutor for the Fife Containing easy rules for Learners after a new Method With a Choice Collection of all the Celebrated Marches that are played upon that Instrument which all are in proper Keys for the German Flute. Price 1s:6d

London: Printed for, and sold by, David Rutherfoord,

Author unknown
 Date c.1750 (library catalogue)
 Location GB–Lbl e.318.
 Notes David Rutherfoord was active as a music seller and publisher c.1745–71.⁷¹⁸

31

The Compleat Tutor, for the Fife, Containing ye Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency, to which is added a choice Collection of ye most Celebrated Marches, Perform'd in the Guards &c. Properly adapted to that Instrument; with several choice pieces for two Fifes.

London: Printed for, and sold by, Thos. Bennett

Author unknown
 Date 1767
 Location GB–Lbl e.318.a.
 Notes The text is virtually identical to that of Tutor 30, but there are more tunes. Bennett was active as a music engraver, seller and publisher in London, c.1755–80.⁷¹⁹

32

The Compleat Tutor For the Fife, Containing The Best and Easiest Instructions to Learn that Instrument with a Collection of Celebrated March's [sic] & Airs Performed in the Guards and other Regiments &c. NB The Tunes in this Book are also Proper for the German Flute.

London: Printed for, and sold by, Thompson & Son

Author unknown
 Date c.1760
 Location GB–Lfom, 7124.
 Notes The frontispiece is identical to that of tutor 31. A Peter Thompson is cited in Humphries and Smith: other Thompsons operated from 75, St. Paul's Churchyard, but only Peter from the West End of the churchyard.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁸ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 283.

⁷¹⁹ *ibid.*, 68.

⁷²⁰ *ibid.*, 308.

33

The Elements of Musick Display'd: or, its Grammar, or Ground-Work made easy: Rudimental, Practical, Philosophical, and Technical....By William Tans'ur Senior. – Musico-Theorico. Professor, Corrector, and Teacher of Church-Musick, above 50 years.

M.DCC.LXX.II.

Notes The tutor is described under 'recorder', tutor 25. There are a few lines on the fife and tabor-pipe, but these do not appear in the first edition, Tans'ur's *A New Musickall Grammar* of 1746, 1753 and 1756.

34

A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Music in three parts by Joseph Gehot

Author Joseph Gehot (1756–c.1820)
 Date 1786
 Location GB–Lbl E.350.1.
 Notes Contains a few lines on the fife and tabor-pipe.

European tutors⁷²¹

35

Grund-richtiger Kurtz-Leicht und Nöthiger jetz Wol-vermehrter Unterricht der musicalischen Kunst. Oder vierfaches Kleeblatt. [Basic, short, easy, and necessary instruction in the art of music. Or a four-leafed clover.]

Publisher Georg Wilhelm Kühnen, Ulm

Author (Georg) Daniel Speer (1636–1707)
 Date 1st. edn 1687, 2nd. edn 1697
 Location GB–Lbl m.H00/0378. (Leipzig: facsimile of 2nd. edn, Peters, 1974)
 Notes The tutor is divided into the four parts of the clover leaf (*Kleeblatt*); a universal tutor with two-octave scale for *Quartflöte* c'–c'''; flageolet d'–c''; no clef or text for either instrument. There is no description of the alto recorder.

36

Museum-musicum, theoretico practicum, das ist, Neu-eröffneter Theoretisch – und Practischer Music-saal... [Theoretical and practical musical museum; that is, Newly-disclosed theoretical and practical music-room...]

Publisher Georg Michael Majer, n.p.; 2nd. edn, Johann Jacob Cramer, Nuremberg: 1741

Author Joseph Friedrich Bernard Caspar Majer (dates unknown)
 Date 1st.edn 1732, 2nd. edn 1741.

⁷²¹ The translations of the titles of the European tutors are taken from Griscom and Lasocki's *The Recorder. A Research and Information Guide*.

- Location GB–Lbl W.P.11059.a/8. facsimile ed. by Heinz Becker (Bärenreiter: Kassel, 1954)
- Notes Facsimile of a universal tutor; describes *Discant Flöte* with lowest note f', alto or tenor a fourth lower in c'; compass c' –b''' with C fingering; author uses alto clef to suggest that a tenor is intended; 'discant' with lowest note f' is an alto, and Majer also uses the term 'discant' to apply to the standard violin. Notes that flageolet is used to teach canary-birds, and has a compass of an octave and a fifth from d' (notated).

37

Musicus αυτοδιδαχτος, oder, der sich selbst informierende Musicus, bestehend sowohl in Vocals-als üblicher Instrumental-musique. [Musicus autodidaktos; or, The self-taught musician, for both vocal and instrumental music.]

- Publisher Johann Michael Funken, Erfurt
- Author Johann Philipp Eisel (1698–1763)
- Date 1738
- Location GB–Lbl 557*c.27.
- Notes A universal tutor; *Fleute Douce* is easy and suitable for children, f'–g''' written in G1 clef; also 'Von der *Fleute Douce* und so gennanten *Quarte-Fleute* "a fourth higher"' but gives c as lowest note and refers to the tenor a fourth lower; Vinquist notes that C fingering is the same as Speer's; bass a fifth lower, notated in F4 clef. Chart for the flageolet gives a compass of d'–c'''.

38

La veritable manière d'apprendre a jouer en perfection du haut-bois, de la flûte et du flageolet. [The true way to learn with perfection the oboe, recorder, and flageolet, with the principles of music for the voice and all kinds of instruments.]

- Publisher Jacques Collombat, Paris
- Author J P Freillon Poncein
- Date 1700
- Notes Translation by Catherine Parsons-Smith, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); tutor for oboe, recorder, and flageolet; earliest surviving French tutor for the flageolet.

39

Méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la flûte douce. [Method for learning to play the recorder].

Unpublished

- Author Etienne Loulié
- Date p.1707
- Location Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds. n.a.6355, xix–xx.

Notes The first French tutor for the (Baroque) alto recorder. Tablature, derived from English methods.⁷²²

40

Principes de la flûte traversière, ou flûte d'Allemagne, de la flûte à bec, ou flûte douce, et du haut-bois, divisez par traitez. [Principles of the flute, recorder, and oboe, divided into treatises.]

Publisher Christophe Ballard, Paris, 1707
Roger and la Cène, Amsterdam, 1728

Author Jacques-Martin Hotteterre 'le Romain',
Date 1707

Notes English translation by David Lasocki, (London: Barrie and Rockcliffe, 1968).

41

Diapason général de tous les Instruments à Vent.

Publisher Des Lauriers, Paris

Author Louis-Joseph Francoeur
Date 1772

Location GB-Lbl h.3879.b.

Notes A treatise on orchestration rather than an instrumental tutor; includes *petite flûte*, *flageolet*, and *flûtet*.

42

Principes de galoubet ou flûte de tambourin.

Publisher Des Lauriers, Paris

Author Le Marchand
Date 1787

Location unlocated⁷²³

43

Traité général de tous les instruments a vent a l'usage des compositeurs.

Publisher Marie, Paris

Author Othon Vanderbronck
Date 1793

Location GB-Lbl W86-819. (facsimile, Geneva: Minkoff, 1974).

Notes a treatise on orchestration rather than a tutor; for *petite flûte* and not flageolet.

⁷²² Information taken from Griscom and Lasocki, *The Recorder. A Research and Information Guide*, item 1076, 310.

⁷²³ Information taken from Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, 39.

44

Compendio musicale. In cui s'insegna à principianti il vero modo, per imperare con facilità, le regole di canto rigurato, e canto fermo; come anche per comporre, e suonare il basso continuo, il flauto, cornetto, e violino; come anche per acordare organi, e cembali. [Musical compendium, in which is taught to beginners the true method to command with ease the rules of figured song and plainsong, as well as to compose and play the basso continuo, recorder, cornetto, and violin, and also the organ and harpsichord.]

Ferrara, s.n.

Author Bartolomeo Bismantova
Date 1677
Notes see Castellani (1977).⁷²⁴

45

Onderwyzinge hoemen alle de Toonen en halve Toonen, die meest gebruyckelyck zyn, op de Handt-fluyt zalkonne. t'eenemael zuyver Blaezen, en hoe men op yeder 't gemackelycst een trammelant zal kunnen maken, heel dienstigh voor de leif-hebbers. [Instructions for how one can learn to play all the most usual tones and semitones on the recorder in tune, and how one can make a trill in the easiest ways to each one—very useful for music lovers].

Publisher Paulus Matthysz (Amsterdam)

Author Gerbrand von Blackenburgh (c.1620–1707)
Date 1654
Notes Published in Jacob van Eyck's *Der Fluyten Lust-hof*, 1654.

46

Vertonige en Onderwyzinge op de Hand-fluit [Depictions and instructions for the Recorder].

Publisher Paulus Matthysz (Amsterdam)

Author Paulus Matthysz (1613/14–1684)
Date c.1649
Notes Published in Jacob van Eyck's *Der Fluyten Lust-hof*.

47

Reglas, y advertencias generales para tañer la Guitarra, Tiple e Vandora, Cythara, Clavicordio, Organo, Harpa, Psalterio, Bandurria, Violin, Flauta Traversa, Flauta Dulce, y la Flautilla

Reglas, y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores, y mas usuales... [Rules and general advice that teaches the method of playing all the best and most common instruments.]

⁷²⁴ Marcello Castellani, 'The *Regolo per suonare il Flauto Italiano* by Bartolomeo Bismantova (1677)', *Galpin Society Journal*, 30 (1977), 76–85.

Part 6 (relating to flutes and recorders) is headed *Reglas, y advertencias generales para tañer la flauto traversera, la flauto dulce, y la flautilla...* [Rules and general advice for playing the transverse flute, the recorder, and little flute...]

Publisher	Joaquin Ibarra, Madrid
Author	Pablo Minguet y Irol
Date	1754
Location	GB-Lbl K.8.a.14.
Notes	A universal tutor with a very large section on the guitar; the material for wind instruments occupies four pages out of sixty-one; the recorder is an alto in f' and the <i>flautilla</i> is a French flageolet with a notated compass of f'-b''; fingering charts are given.

Appendix 3: repertoire

1. The music listed in this appendix is discussed in detail in the chapters relating to the various instruments. During the course of these discussions, brief mention may be made of publications which do not require formal entry in this appendix.
2. Biographical material relating to authors, publishers and printers is taken from Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, unless indicated to the contrary.
3. Works by Handel are referenced in *Die Hallische Händel-Ausgabe* (HHA) and/or *Händel Werke Verzeichnis* (HWV).
4. The abbreviations referring to the London theatres are listed under ‘Museum and library sigla’, p.15.

Repertoire for the flageolet

1

A 17th-Century Flageolet Tablature at Guildford

David Lindley, *Galpin Society Journal*, 31, (1978), 94–99.

Location	http://apps.nationalarchives.gov.uk/a2a/records.aspx?cat=176-lm_2&cid=-1&Gsm=2012-06-18#-1 , Surrey History Centre, Woking, Surrey.
Notes	see Chapter 2.

2

Aria ‘Augelletti, che cantate’ (*Rinaldo*)

Composer	George Frederick Handel (1685–1759)
Date	1711
Source	HHA Serie II Band 4/1 (1993) autograph; HWV 7a.
Notes	Act 1, scene 4, no. 11; marked ‘Flageioletto’ in autograph; the compass of the part is g'-d''', playable on a flageolet in A; an association with bird song. The flageolet is accompanied by two alto recorders and strings; live sparrows were released on stage. See also ‘Music for the recorder’, 16.

3

Apollo's Banquet containing Instructions and variety of new Tunes, Ayres, and Jiggs For the Treble Violin. To which is added, The Tunes of the most usual and newest French-Dances used at Court and in Dancing-Schools. The 2nd Edition with Additions

Author	John Playford ⁷²⁵
Date	1678
Printer	W. Godbid
Location	GB-Lbl K.5.b.30.

⁷²⁵ John Playford (active 1648–84) was a collector of popular and dances tunes. He was a music instrument seller, book and music publisher, and composer, responsible for many publications in mid to late seventeenth-century London.

Notes An early edition of *Apollo's Banquet*. William Godbid was active in Little Britain in the City of London c.1656–79.

4

The First Book of Apollo's Banquet: containing instructions and a Variety Of New Tunes, Ayres, Jiggs, Minuets, and several New Scotch Tunes, for the Treble Violin. To which is added, The Tunes of the Newest French Dances now in use at Court and in Dancing-Schools. The 7th. Edition Corrected: With New Additions...

Author Henry Playford⁷²⁶

Date 1693

Printer E. Jones

Location GB–Lbl K.4.b.22.

Notes This volume also contains the second and third parts and the 'Second Book' of the 1691 edition. Edward Jones was the King's printer, in business at the Savoy, London, 1687–1706.

5

Aria 'Chirpy Warblers, tune your voices' (*Venus and Adonis*)

Composer Johann Christoph Pepusch (1667–1752)

Date 1715

Publisher John Young

Location GB–Lbl G.222. (4.).

Notes Taken from *The Songs and Symphony's in the Masque of Venus and Adonis*, the aria 'Chirpy Warblers, tune your voices' has a florid flageolet 'bird imitation' part, compass a'-d"', suggesting a French flageolet in A. Performed 12 March 1715, DL.

6

The Bird Fancier's Delight or choice Observations, And Directions Concerning ye Teaching of all Sorts of Singing-birds, after ye Flagelet & Flute, if rightly made as to Size & tone, with a Method of fixing ye wett Air, in a spung [sic] or Cotton, with Lessons properly Composed, within ye Compass and faculty of each Bird, Viz. for ye Wood-lark, Black-bird, Throusthill, House-sparrow, Canary-bird, Black-thorn-linnet, Garden-Bull-finch, and Starling.

Composer unknown

Date 1717

Publisher Richard Meares

Location US–Wc, MT345.B57.

Notes This is the text of the title page of the Meares edition, taken from the Schott edition (ed. by Stanley Godman) of 1954. A Canary-Bird, a Bull-finch and a bird flageolet are illustrated. The differences between the Meares and Walsh editions of *The Bird Fancier's Delight* are discussed in Chapter 2.

⁷²⁶ Henry Playford was the son of John Playford and took over his business in 1684. He retired in 1707 and died two years later.

7

Aria 'The Morning we Married' (*Fontainbleau, or our way in France*)

Composer	William Shield (1748–1829); libretto by J.O'Keefe
Date	1782
Publisher	Longman & Broderip
Location	GB–Lbl E.108.c.
Notes	A comic opera. The song 'The Morning we Married' contains vocal imitations of several instruments, the directions noting 'The imitation of each instrument is first given by the Singer without any Accompaniment [<i>sic</i>]'. Subsequently, the various instruments play, including a few bars on the flageolet and fife. Performed 16 November 1784, CG.

8

See 27 (*The Children in the Wood*), listed under 'recorder' which also contains an aria accompanied by a 'bird imitating' flageolet.

Repertoire for the recorder

9

'If sorrow the tyrant'

A New Song made by a Person of quality, in praise of the Mug, set for the Voice, Violin and Recorder. And for the Flute and Flagelet the Dot way...

Author	Rob. Midgley
Date	1 November 1687
Printer	Thomas Cross
Location	GB–MCh H.P.1887
Source	<i>BUCEM</i> , p.539.
Notes	Thomas Cross was a music engraver, seller, publisher and composer, active in London c.1683–1733.

10

Minuet and Country Dance (*The Water Music*)

Composer	George Frederick Handel
Date	1717
Source	HAA Serie IV, Band 13 (2007); HWV 348–50; (discussed in HWV 50)
Notes	Handel calls for a <i>Flauto dolce piccolo</i> in the minuet and country dance, numbers 19 and 20, both in G minor; the unison parts are transposed a fourth higher into C minor, implying the use of fifth flutes; the compass is written g'-e flat"', sounding d'-b flat"' using alto fingering as was customary at the time. The 'three suite' concept of the <i>Water Music</i> dates from the 20 th . century (F major/D minor, D major, G major/G minor).

11

The Bird Fancier's Delight

See no. 6 under 'flageolet', above. The sopranino recorder is an alternative to the flageolet.

12

'Hush, ye pretty warbling quire'; 'O Ruddier than the cherry' (*Acis and Galatea*)

Composer	George Frederick Handel
Date	1718
Source	HHA Serie I, Band 9/1 (1991), autograph; HWV 49a
Notes	The obbligato to the soprano aria 'Hush, ye pretty warbling quire' (Act 1, no.4) is assigned to a <i>Flauto piccolo</i> , compass g'-d"', indicating a sopranino. The autograph gives <i>flauto</i> for the aria 'O Ruddier than the cherry' (Act 2, no.12) but copies based on the 1718 conducting score assign the part to <i>Flauto piccolo ottavo</i> , which would also have been a sopranino recorder.

13

Aria 'How sweet the warbling linnet sings' (*Pan and Syrinx*)

Composer	Johann Ernst Galliard (1687–1747); libretto by Lewis Theobald
Date	1718
Publisher	W.Mears, J.Browne, and F.Clay
Location	GB–Lbl Add.MS 31588.
Notes	A one-act opera; the aria 'How sweet the warbling linnet sings' specifies a <i>flauto piccolo</i> with a compass of a'-e"', indicating a sopranino. Afterpiece to <i>The Amorous Widow</i> , 14 January 1718, LIF.

14

Aria 'Il vole cosi fido' (*Riccardo primo, Re d'Inghilterra*)

Composer	George Frederick Handel
Date	1719
Source	HHA Serie II, Band 20 (2005) autograph; HWV 23
Notes	The aria 'Il volo cosi fido' (Act 3, scene 8, no.36) requires a <i>Flauto piccolo</i> ; the compass of the obbligato is g'-d"', indicating a sopranino recorder.

15

Aria 'O Blest Retreat, O Blissful Bow'rs' (*The Rape of Prosperine*)

Composer	Johann Ernst Galliard
Date	1727
Location	GB–Lbl H.117.
Notes	A sopranino recorder is required in the aria 'O Blest Retreat, O Blissful Bow'rs'; compass c"-e". Afterpiece to 'The Cheats of Scapini', 14 February 1727.

16

Aria 'Augelleti, che cantate' (*Rinaldo*)

Composer George Frederick Handel
 Date 1731
 Source HHA Serie II Band 4/2, (1993) autograph; HWV 7b.
 Notes Act 1, scene 6, no. 11; see music for the flageolet, item 2 above; for the 1731 revival, the flageolet was replaced by a *flauto piccolo*, in this case a sopranino recorder.

17

Tambourin (Alcina)

Composer George Frederick Handel
 Date 1735
 Source HHA Serie II, Band 33 (2009); HWV 34, performing score
 Notes The *tambourin* in Act 3, scena ultima, no.43, requires a *Flauto piccolo* with a compass of d'-g", indicating a fifth flute. Alto recorders are used in other numbers.

18

Aria 'Under the Greenwood Tree' (from *As you like it*)

Composer Thomas Augustine Arne (1710–78)
 Date 1740
 Publisher John Cox
 Location GB–Lbl G.322.4.
 Notes Taken from *As you like it* by William Shakespeare (1564–1616), the piece is scored for two violins, basso continuo and *flauto piccolo*; the compass of the part is c"–d'", suitable for a sopranino recorder; the song conveys a pastoral image. Performed 20 December 1740, DL.
 Amien's song begins:

Under the Greenwood Tree,
 who loves to lie with me,
 and tune his merry note,
 unto the sweet Bird's throat...

19

Aria 'The Drum is unbrac'd' (*The Shepherd's Lottery*)

Composer William Boyce (1711–1779); libretto by M. Mendez
 Date 1751
 Printer John Walsh
 Location GB–Lbl G.225.(1.).
 Notes The aria has a part for 'A Common Fourth Flute' written in C although the aria is in F major; the upward transposition of a second allows the use of alto fingering on a fourth flute and the recorder imparts a rustic image of the shepherd playing on his pipe. Afterpiece to *The Revenge*, 19 November 1751, CG.

The Drum is unbrac'd, and ye trumpet no more shall rouse the Soldier to fight...
 The Shepherd securely now roams through the Glade,
 Or merrily pipes in the Vale...'

20

Aria 'The woodlark whistles through the grove' (*Eliza*)

Composer	Thomas Augustine Arne; libretto by Richard Rolf
Date	1754
Printer	John Walsh
Location	GB-Lbl G.228.1.
Notes	The title of the opera (<i>Eliza</i>) refers to Queen Elizabeth I. The aria concerned is accompanied by a 'Little Flute Solo'; the part is notated in the tonic key, compass g'-d''' with 'bird imitation' passages and lies comfortably on a sopranino; a further example of 'bird imitation music'. Performed 29 May 1754, LT.

'The woodlark whistles through the grove
 Tuning the sweet notes of love
 To please his female on the spray...'

21

Arias 'The Lark his warbling mattin sings' and 'The village up' (cantata *The Morning*)

Composer	Thomas Augustine Arne
Date	1765
Publisher	John Walsh
Location	GB-Lbl G.321.(1.).
Notes	The fifth cantata from <i>Six Cantatas for a Voice, and Instruments set to Musick by Thomas Arne</i> . The cantata is scored for two violins, viola, basso continuo, and 'German Flute or Small Flute'; the flute only plays in numbers 2 ('The lark his warbling mattin sings') and 3 ('The village up, the shepherd tries his pipe'); the compass of the part is c sharp"-d''' and lies comfortably on a sopranino; in view of the references to birds in the text, a sopranino recorder would seem more appropriate than the German flute, which would sound an octave lower.

22

Aria 'A Wood Nymph' (*The Fairy Prince*)

Composer	Thomas Augustine Arne
Date	1771
Printers	R. Falkener and J. Welcker
Location	GB-Lbl G.226.b.(1.), (Falkener); GB-Lbl G.263. (4.), (Welcker)
Notes	The words of the aria were adapted by Arne from Ben Johnson (1572–1637). The scoring is for two violins, basso continuo and octave flute; the piece is in the key of G major, the recorder entering at bar 49 just after 'Up nightingale and sing' and clearly imitating birdsong, following

a figure played in the introduction by violin 1; the part (compass d²–e³) lies comfortably on the sopranino. Performed 12 November 1771, CG.

See, O see, who here is come a-maying
The master of the Ocean with his darling Orian
Why left we our playing
To gaze on them that all amaze
Whose like were never seen
Up nightingale and sing
Jug, jug, jug, jug...

23

Overture and trio 'When the rosy morn appearing' (*Rosina*)

Composer	William Shield (1748–1829); libretto by Frances Brooke (1724–89)
Date	1782
Publisher	J. Dale, Chancery Lane, London
Location	GB–Lbl Hirsch M.555; Add. MS 22815. (orchestral parts)
Notes	<i>Rosina</i> is a comic opera in one act; two sopranino recorders ('Small Flutes') are required in the overture and in a trio for three female voices wherein the first recorder plays 'bird imitation' music. The compass of the parts is b ¹ –e ³ (notated 'all ottava'). Afterpiece to <i>King Henry the Second</i> , 31 December 1782, CG.

When the rosy morn appearing...
Warbling birds the day proclaiming
Carol sweet the lively strain...

24

Overture (*The Noble Peasant*)

Composer	William Shield; libretto by T. Holcroft
Date	1784
Publisher	William Napier
Location	GB–Lbl E.108.b.
Notes	In the three-movement overture, two 'Small Flutes' are required in the central andante and the final allegro. The first part has a compass of e ² –c ³ , the second, e ² –a ² : the parts are simple and the instruments play in thirds. Sopraninos would be appropriate. Performed 2 August 1784, LT.

25

Aria 'A flaxen-headed Cow Boy' (*The Farmer*)

Composer	William Shield; libretto by J. O'Keefe
Date	1787
Publisher	Longman and Broderip (later also by Muzio Clementi)
Location	GB–Lbl E.100.(3.), (Longman and Broderip); E.108, (Clementi)
Notes	The recorder plays a solo introduction (f ² –f ³ in tonic key), subsequently extending down to a ¹ , suggesting a sopranino; the instrument imitates the whistling plough-boy and the recorder ends the piece solo. Given as an

afterpiece to *Zenobia*, 31 October 1787, CG. The aria (for baritone) concerns a plough boy with social and political ambitions.

‘A flaxen-headed Cow Boy as simple as may be
And next a merry plough boy
I whistled o’er the Lea...’

26

Overture (*Inkle and Yarico*)

Composer	Samuel Arnold (1740–1802); libretto by George Colman, jr.
Date	1787
Publisher	Longman and Broderip
Location	GB–Lbl E.111.c.(6.).
Notes	The andante section of the overture is scored for ‘Octave Flute and Bassoon Unis.’ followed by tutti passages. The compass of the octave flute part in the exposed passages is d'-e", which would lie on a sopranino or a fifth or sixth flute, but the part is not transposed so the sopranino is more likely. Performed 4 August 1787, LT.

27

Overture; aria ‘See Brother, see on yonder brow’ (*The Children in the Wood*)

Composer	Samuel Arnold; libretto by T. Morton
Date	1793
Publisher	Longman and Broderip
Location	GB–Lbl D.285.(3.).
Notes	A comic opera in two acts; in the final movement of the three-movement overture, there is a passage for oboe and small flute; the compass of the part is g'-b", suggesting a sopranino recorder. In the soprano aria ‘See Brother see on yonder bough, the Robin sits, hark I hear it now’ there is florid bird imitation obbligato for a flageolet, compass e"-f'" (notated). This would have been a French flageolet, possibly in D. Note the distinction between octave flute and flageolet; both were uncommon in 1790s. Afterpiece to <i>The Chapter of Accidents</i> , 1 October 1793, LT.

The small flute concerti

28

Babell’s Concertos in 7 Parts: The first four for Violins and one small Flute and the two last for Violins and two Flutes. The proper Flute being nam’d to each Concerto. Compos’d by the Late Mr. Willm. Babell Performed at the Theatre with great applause. Opera Terza.

Composer	William Babell (c.1690–1723)
Date	c.1715, published 1726
Publisher	Walsh and Hare
Location	GB–HAdolmetsch II C 39, 1–8; GB–Y 195–197 (Printed Music); US–Wc

Notes RISM B6; for comments on date of composition, see Chapter 5.

29

Six Concertos in Six Parts for Violins and Flutes, viz. a Fifth, Sixth and Consort Flute. The Proper Flute being nam'd to each Concerto. Compos'd by Mr John Baston.

Composer John Baston (d.1739)
 Date 1715–29: published 1729
 Publisher Walsh and Hare
 Location GB–Lbl i.53.
 Notes RISM B1240

30

XII Concertos in Eight Parts. The first three for Violins and one Small Flute. The Second three for Violins and two Small Flutes. The third three for Violins & One German Flute and the three last for Violins & one Hoboy. The proper Flute Being nam'd to each Concerto. Compos'd by Robert Woodcock.

Composer Robert Woodcock (1690–1728)
 Date 1720s; published 1727
 Publisher Walsh and Hare
 Location GB–Lbl i.25; GB–CDu 3.56 (Mackworth); GB–HAdolmetsch II C 39, 1–8; S–Skma FbOR; S–L Englehart 202 (concerti 8, 9, 10 missing); S–L 696, 697a (concerto 4 only); US–R M1120. W886
 Notes RISM W1862; the authorship of these concerti is discussed in Chapter 5.

31

Concerto à 5. Flautino, et 4 Violons. Mons: Dieupart

Composer Charles Dieupart (c.1667–c.1740)
 Date 1720s
 Publisher modern edition only; no evidence for C18 publication
 Location D–DI Mus.2174–0–1
 Notes RISM 212001265; in manuscript; for related title-page in another hand, see Chapter 5.

32

Concerto in F. ♭. a. 5. Parte & la Fluta, da Guiseppe San Martini.

Composer Guiseppe Sammartini (1695–1740)
 Date c.1730–40
 Publisher modern edition only; no evidence for C18 publication
 Location S–Skma MS 1759.

33

Allemanda, andante and minuet (Suite in A)

Composer Anonymous
 Date early C18
 Publisher unpublished

Location GB–Lbl Add. MS 31453.
 Notes Discussed in Chapter 5 as ‘Anonymous Suite in A’.

Repertoire for the fife

34

A Third Collection of Twenty four Quick Marches with Basses as Performed by the Guards Light Horse and other Regiments. Collected by Capn. Robt. Hinde. adapted for the Fife, Ger. Flute, Violin, Hoboy, Pianoforte or Harpsichord.

Author Robert Hinde
 Date c.1775 (library catalogue date)
 Printer Longman, Lukey and Co.
 Location GB–Lbl b.28.

35

The Gentleman's Amusement being a Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs. adapted to the Fife, Violin, or German Flute. Vol.I

Author unknown
 Date c.1790 (library catalogue date, but volume II is dated 1787)
 Publisher Thomas Skillern
 Location GB–Lbl b.485.
 Notes six volumes; Skillern published in London between c.1777 and 1802.

36

Thompson's Pocket Collection of Favourite Marches for two German-Flutes, Violins, or Fifes as Performed in His Majestys [sic] Camps by the Militia and other Regiments, Composed by the most Eminent Masters. pr.2/6

Author unknown
 Date c.1795 (library catalogue date)
 Publisher A & P Thompson
 Location GB–Lbl a.223.h.
 Notes printed in oblique quarto to fit the coat pocket; a frontispiece depicts two soldiers with fife and drum; Thompson also published a tutor for the fife (see Appendix 2, tutor 32).

37

Aria ‘The Morning we Married’ (*Fontainbleau, or our way in France*)

See flageolet 7. The fife is also required in this aria.

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Notes

1. The tutors discussed in the thesis are listed as primary sources in the bibliography; their library locations and other data are given in Appendix 2.
2. The music discussed in the thesis is listed in Appendix 3.

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