

New Light on the Early History of the Keyed Bugle Part II: More on England and Ireland; The United States¹

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In Part 1 we saw that the keyed bugle had already been invented by 1800, ten years before Joseph Haliday's patent, probably by John Köhler I. A lawsuit brought against the London dealer John Green in 1819–21 by George Collins, then holder of the patent, sheds much light on the roles played in the early history of the instrument by Green, Haliday, Thomas Key, Johann Bernhard Logier, Matthew Pace, and Henry Willman. Part 2 examines the roles of other English makers, dealers, and performers (John Distin, Joseph Greenhill, John Hyde, Charles Wheatstone) and other Irish makers (the Butlers, the Dollards, Andrew Ellard, P. Turton), as well as the early history of the instrument in the United States.

England and Ireland

John Distin

Henry Distin claimed in 1881 that his father, John Distin, already a star keyed-bugle virtuoso with the Grenadier Guards in 1815,² had invented the instrument independently around 1812.³ James D. Brown's well-known biographical dictionary of 1886 even states that "John Distin ... was the inventor of the keyed bugle."⁴ Henry Distin mentioned that Haliday's instrument possessed three keys and his father added two, for which reason the story has been dismissed by scholars, because of course Haliday's 1810 patent was for a bugle with five keys.⁵

We now see that there may have been some truth in the story. Green reported that Haliday first invented a bugle with three holes, then put three keys on it, only later expanding to five holes and keys for the purpose of taking out the patent. It is possible that John Distin saw one of the three-keyed versions, then made the logical development of adding extra keys himself.

The Dollards, the Butlers, Turton, and Ellard

It has been claimed that there were five other Irish makers of the keyed bugle contemporary with the Pace family and Holles. Waterhouse, following Langwill, mentions an instrument by Isaac Dollard in a Dublin collection,⁶ but Dudgeon has not been able to trace it.⁷ According to John Teahan, Dollard was listed in Dublin around 1810 as "Military Bugle Maker."⁸ This information may have been derived partly from Algernon Rose (1895), who wrote: "Mr. George Butler [Junior], of 29, Haymarket, London, and of Monument House, O'Connell Bridge, Dublin.... Mr. Butler [Senior]'s business was established in the Haymarket in 1826.... Mr. Butler's father [i.e., George Senior] succeeded Mr. Dollard, who set up in Dublin about the year 1810. Dollard made flutes, 'Kent' bugles, serpents, and

bass-horns.”⁹ This account, presumably obtained from George Butler Junior, is suspect. To judge by information reported in the 1841, 1851, and 1861 censuses of England, George Senior was born around 1800, moved to London around 1832–34, and at first worked as a journeyman.¹⁰ He died in 1870.¹¹ George Junior was born in London around 1834 (d. 1911).¹² In view of George Senior’s age, it was probably Junior who set up the workshop at 29 Haymarket in 1865.¹³

Teahan also mentions a John Dollard, “Seven Keyed Bugle and Violin Maker, Dublin, 15 Essex Quay, 1822–25; 23 Essex Quay, 1826–28.” Dollard’s first entry in *Wilson’s Dublin Directory* for 1822 reads only “Musical Instrument-maker, 15 Essex quay.” Therefore, Teahan’s listing was probably a combination of such directory entries and the surviving seven-keyed bugle in the Musikmuseum, Historisches Museum Basel, Switzerland (Inv. No. 1980.2544, ex Bernoulli collection). That instrument is engraved “DOLLARD / ESSEX QUAY / DUBLIN” on the bell, and bears the owner’s mark “George W. Thompson / from / David Thompson / 1.th February 1834.”¹⁴

The catalogue of the Royal Military Exhibition in London in 1890 described a six-keyed bugle inscribed “Royal patent Kent Bugle, Halliday, Inventor. Made by P. Turton, 5, Wormwood Gate, Dublin.”¹⁵ It formed part of the collection of Colonel Thomas Bradney Shaw-Hellier, and is now in the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments. The instrument is actually inscribed on the bell “Royal / Patent Kent / Bugle / 299 / HALLIDAY INVENTOR,” and on the bell garland: “Made by P. Turton / 5 Wormwoodgate / Dublin.”¹⁶ Stephen Weston incorrectly reports that the bugle has five keys, and therefore suggests that, because it “was made to Halliday’s original specification at the time of its patent.... It is possible that Turton collaborated with Halliday, who made no instruments.”¹⁷ Turton has not been traced in directories. A surviving ophicleide by him is marked with the same address, the serial number 884, and the date 1829.¹⁸ Weston observes that certain of its features “point to a later date than 1829. This date may be the year of the firm’s foundation.” In any case, we can see that the wording on Turton’s keyed bugle is similar to that on the instruments by Holles, Key, Logier, and Pace. Dudgeon notes, “the double l spelling of Haliday’s name on the early instruments suggests that these makers obtained rights of manufacture through Tilly rather than through Haliday.”¹⁹ As we have seen, Haliday sold his rights to Tilly in 1811.

The similarity of the wording and design of the inscriptions on the bugles of all these makers now suggests, rather, a connection with Logier. In the case of Andrew Ellard, we know the connection with Logier: he took over Logier’s music shop at 27 Lower Sackville Street, Dublin, in 1818.²⁰ R. Morley-Pegge reported in 1956 that he had in his collection an instrument marked “Royal Patent Kent Bugle Made by A. Ellard, Dublin, No. 584, Halliday Inventor.”²¹ Sometime after 1822, when Ellard had moved along the street, he also changed his wording: a seven-keyed bugle in Basel (Inv. No. 1980.2496, ex Bernoulli collection) is marked only: “MADE BY / ELLARD / 47 Sackville St / DUBLIN” (see Figure 1).²²

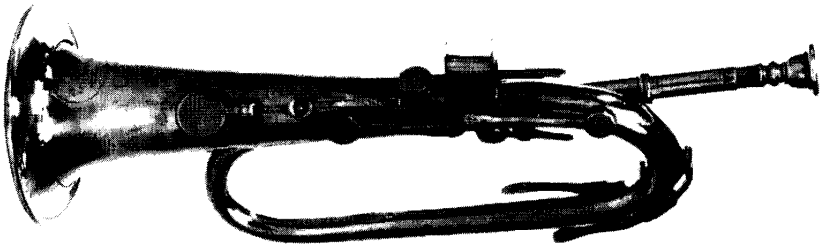


Figure 1: Seven-keyed bugle by Andrew Ellard, ca. 1820.
Historical Museum Basel, inv. 1980.2496.

Charles Wheatstone

The following curious advertisement appeared in January 1822, a year after Collins lost his case to Green:

ROYAL KENT BUGLE.—Cavalry and Infantry Regiments supplied with the above INSTRUMENTS, at C. WHEATSTONE and CO.'s Music Warehouse, 436, Strand, made agreeable to the order issued from Government, by the Inventor, at Dublin. Just published, a new Preceptor for the Kent Bugle, by J. Simonet, 8s. Several sets of Airs, Duetts, Trios, &c. for ditto; new Overtures and favourite Pieces for small Bands, with Kent Bugle parts obligato. A constant supply of New and Second-hand Military Instruments, at reduced prices, for ready money only. Second-hand Instruments Purchased.²³

Charles Wheatstone I (1768–1823), uncle of the celebrated scientist Sir Charles Wheatstone, was a music seller and publisher born in Gloucester, who had been established in London since about 1791.²⁴ Humphries and Smith say he was also an instrument maker, but they may have confused him with his brother William (1775–1854), who made flutes and took out a patent in 1824 for “A new method for improving and augmenting the tones of pianofortes, organs, and euphonons.”²⁵ As Haliday did not make instruments himself, the phrase in the advertisement “the Inventor, at Dublin” may refer to Logier, for whom Wheatstone was acting as agent already in 1813. The advertisement gives us an earlier date for the publication of I. Simonet’s *A Complete Preceptor for the Royal Kent Bugle*, reported by Dudgeon as 1825.²⁶

Joseph Greenhill (1782/3–1836)

Waterhouse has the following entry for Jos. Greenhill: “1835 listed as ‘Professor and manufacturer of the Royal Kent Bugle’; 1847 Mrs C. Greenhill successor. Address: 1824–29: 71 Little Britain; 1829–43: 18 Little Britain; 1843–46: 14 Ivy Lane, Newgate St; 1847–50: ‘Mrs C. Greenhill,’ ditto.”²⁷

In 1825 John Ashton, a music dealer in Boston, Massachusetts, advertised, “just received ... Royal Kent Bugle Horns, with 6 and 7 keys, (made by Greenhill, London) E. Flatts d[itt]o copper and brass.”²⁸ Several six-keyed and seven-keyed bugles by Greenhill have survived.²⁹

He is mentioned in a London directory in 1823, a year before Waterhouse lists him: “Greenhill Jos. (Kent bugle, &c.) 71 Little Britain.”³⁰ The *Post Office Directory* for 1825 already cites him as “Professor & Manufact. of the Royal Kent-bugle.” His full first name is found in the *Post Office London Directory, 1841*: “Greenhill Joseph, professor & maker of bugles, 18 Lit. Britain.”

Two newspaper articles show that Greenhill was of importance in the history of the bugle. A report on the horse races at Ascot-Heath in June 1828 mentions: “In the intervals of the races the spectators were much amused by the performances of a celebrated bugle-player, named Greenhill (of the city), who attracted almost as much notice as the running itself, by the skill he displayed. It formed a very agreeable accompaniment to the day’s sport.” The following day, the newspaper reported the entrance of the royal party:

His Majesty was again accompanied by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland and Prince George. In a few minutes after his arrival at the Royal stand, His Majesty presented himself at the window, which he threw up in order to afford to the gaze of the spectators, a better view of his person. At this moment, the bugle of the Mr. Greenhill, mentioned by us yesterday, struck up “The King—God Bless him,” the thousand opposite the stand uncovered, and the air was rent with their vociferous cheers, which His Majesty very graciously acknowledged, by taking off his hat, and repeatedly bowing. The crowd kept cheering, but unfortunately a heavy shower came on at the moment, and in a trice every hat recovered its place, and nothing but umbrellas were to be seen: the change was as sudden as if the wand of a magician had been used.³¹

Greenhill’s obituary was published on 7 February 1836:

On Tuesday last [2 February], at his house in Little Britain, Mr Greenhill, sen. musical instrument maker, aged 53. Mr Greenhill was well known to almost all the coach guards in the kingdom, having been the first who introduced the use of the bugle on our coaches, a vast improvement upon the old tin [coach] horns. Greenhill always accompanied the mail coaches on their anniversary processions, and played lively airs throughout their procession

on the King's birth day. He also played "See the Conquering Hero Comes," when Queen Caroline went to St Paul's to return thanks after her acquittal by the House of Lords.³²

Morley-Pegge remarks that "In England guards of stage coaches for many years were wont to enliven the tedium of long journeys with a tune on the key bugle."³³ Dudgeon adds, "The post office did not officially permit the use of the keyed bugle by the mail coach guards, presumably because the two hands needed to play it left the guard unarmed."³⁴

John Hyde (fl. 1789–1820)

Little has been written in the musical literature about the life of John Hyde, described by Waterhouse as "Celebrated trumpet player, inventor of the English slide trumpeter."³⁵ The *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* provides the outline of his career. He was working in the band at Drury Lane in 1789–90, 1792–93, and 1799; served as a member of the band at the Haymarket Theatre, 1804–10; and played in the opera band at the King's Theatre by 1817.³⁶ "In 1800 he purchased the Tottenham Street Rooms, which for many years after were called Hyde's Rooms. There he provided concerts, sometimes performing as well as serving as the proprietor."³⁷

Doane's *Musical Directory* (1794) has the listing: "Hyde, John, *Trumpet, Violin, Oper*, OxfMe1793, Dru La Th & Ora, Abb.—No. 6, *Diana-Place, Portland-Road*."³⁸ The abbreviations mean: Opera House, Haymarket; Oxford Music Meeting for the installation of the Duke of Cumberland as Chancellor of the University, 1793; Drury Lane Theatre and its Oratorio Concerts; and Grand Musical Festivals in Westminster Abbey. On the title page of his *New and Complete Preceptor for the Royal Kent or Keyed Bugle* (ca. 1818), Hyde calls himself "30 Years principal Trumpet at the Opera & Kings Concerts of Antient Music &c &c" and gives his address as 14 Old Cavendish Street.³⁹ In the preface he describes himself as "filling for more than thirty years the situation of first Trumpet at the King's Concerts of ancient Music, the Italian Opera, Vauxhall, and at most of the other fashionable public and private Concerts, at which places it has been frequently my duty to perform Trumpet Pieces and Concertos from the pens of many eminent Composers."

Hyde published two brass tutors. The first, *A New and Compleat Preceptor for the Trumpet & Bugle Horn* (London: author), is generally given the date ca. 1798. It was entered at Stationers' Hall on 24 January 1799,⁴⁰ and an advertisement on 14 February confirms its publication that year:

NEW MUSIC

Published and Sold at Thompson's Warehouse, No. 75, St. Paul's Church-yard,
For the TRUMPET and BUGLE HORN,
A New and Complete PRECEPTOR, with the whole of the Cavalry Duty,
as approved of and ordered by His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Com-
mander in Chief. To which is added, a Selection of Airs, Marches, and

Quick Steps for Three Trumpets, a Scale of the Chromatic Trumpet, with Airs adapted for it, and a Collection of Bugle Horn Duets, with the Light Infantry Duty. Composed and compiled by J. Hyde, of the Opera-House, and Trumpet-Major to the London and Westminster Light-Horse Volunteers, price 5s....⁴¹

Henry G. Farmer credited Hyde with being the first to take the bugle beyond a signaling instrument and understand its musical potential. "For bugle bands Hyde ... composed and arranged ... calls of a more ceremonial character in two- and three-part harmony, such as the Retreat, Tattoo and Last Post."⁴²

Hyde's tutor has been controversial because in it he says that the slide trumpet ("chromatic trumpet") had been "Invented by J. Hyde and made by Woodham."⁴³ He continues, "The plain Trumpet being so imperfect, and so confined in each scale, I found it necessar [*sic*] to invent something to make it perfect and more universal before I could feel any satisfaction in playing it, D^r Burney in his History of Music, has taken particular notice of the imperfect fourth and sixth, which imperfection is completely remedied by the Chromatic Trumpet; which besides makes a number of notes never thought [*sic*] of on that Instrument as will appear from the Scale." Sabine Klaus remarks that "This quotation provides the principal evidence that Hyde was the inventor of the English slide trumpet,"⁴⁴ though she cites no other evidence.

Nevertheless, Hyde himself repeated his claim. In the preface to his tutor for the keyed bugle he reiterates, "the Chromatic or Slide Trumpet, which improvement is well known to my friends, I invented more than thirty years since."⁴⁵ Later in the tutor he notes that the F and A in the C harmonic series are out of tune: "To remedy these defects in nature, I was induced to try the effect of springs to a slide, which, when I had accomplished, with the assistance of Mr Woodham, who worked upon my plan, I found it would not only rectify the defective Notes, but likewise make all the half tones below the perfect Notes by drawing out the slide about three inches, which puts the whole Instrument half a Tone flatter."⁴⁶ One of Hyde's contemporaries, William Thomas Parke, believed his claim. Writing in 1830 of a performance of "The Trumpet Shall Sound," "finely accompanied on the trumpet by Mr. Sarjant" in 1784, Parke added: "The imperfect note on the fourth of the key on the trumpet has since been rendered perfect by Mr. Hyde's ingenious invention of a slide."⁴⁷

Some doubt has been cast on Hyde's claim, because on a surviving natural trumpet made by George Henry Rodenbostel (d. ca. 1789) that was converted by Richard Woodham into a slide trumpet, the cover of the clock-spring mechanism states, "*Woodham / Inventor / & Maker / EXETER COURT / STRAND LONDON.*"⁴⁸ The biographical information about Woodham collected by Klaus shows that he lived at 12 Exeter Court, The Strand, from 1774 until his death around 1797.⁴⁹ The date of Woodham's death alone leads John Webb to remark, darkly, that Woodham was therefore "not in a position to dispute Hyde's contention."⁵⁰ Woodham is listed in the Westminster Poll Books as music ruler maker (1774), without profession (1780), and as musical instrument maker (1784, 1790). Doane's

directory of 1794 harks back to his earlier, more lowly trade: “*Music-Paper Ruler*.—No. 8, *Exeter Court, Strand*.”⁵¹ Rose (1895), citing information he apparently received from the firm of Henry Keat & Sons, claimed,

In 1780, Mr. R. Woodham, who was a watchmaker in the neighbourhood of Red Lion Square, established a workshop in connection with his business for the making of brass and copper musical instruments. In the same year, he received into employ, as an assistant, Samuel Keat.... Mr. Woodham achieved a reputation in the making of trombones, French horns, bugles, slide-trumpets, and ophicleides. For the brass instrument department in the business of Mr. D’Almaine, he received numerous orders. At Mr. Woodham’s death, 15 years later, the business passed into the hands of his assistant.⁵²

But some of this information is garbled: the ophicleide was patented in 1821 by the French maker Halary⁵³; Goulding, Phipps & D’Almaine was founded in 1798; and D’Almaine did not have a business independent of Goulding until around 1834.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, an origin as a watchmaker would account for Woodham’s skill with the clock-spring mechanism on the Rodenbostel/Woodham trumpet. Woodham’s portrayal of himself as “Inventor & Maker” of that mechanism is not necessarily in opposition to Hyde’s statement that he “was induced to try the effect of springs to a slide, which ... I ... accomplished, with the assistance of Mr Woodham, who worked upon my plan”: Hyde had the idea, for which Woodham found a practical solution.

When Hyde went bankrupt, as first announced in *London Gazette*, 4 November 1797, he was described as “John Hyde, of Wych-Street, in the Parish of St. Clement Danes, in the County of Middlesex, Musical Instrument-Maker, Dealer and Chapman.” He went through the proceedings quickly, his certificates being confirmed on 3 February 1798.

The advertisement for the auction of his belongings in January does call him a musician, gives a different address for him, and shows him to have been a man of some means. No mention is made of trumpets or any instrument-making tools, which he may have managed to salvage.

SALES BY AUCTION. FURNITURE AND EFFECTS. By Mr. PHILLIPS. TO-MORROW, the 11th Instant, at Eleven o’Clock, by order of the Assignees, at No. 8, Lombard-street, near the Post-office. ALL the neat and genuine Household Furniture, plate, linen, china, books, prints and paintings, an eight-day clock, four violins, a German flute, music books, and other valuable effects, of Mr. JOHN HYDE, Musician, a Bankrupt. The Furniture consists of handsome four-post and tent [?] bedsteads, with cotton furnitures and window curtains; seasoned goose feather beds and mattresses, fine blankets, quilts, and counterpanes; mahogany double and single-chests of drawers; dining, card, and Pembroke tables; mahogany and japanned chairs; pier and dressing glasses; Bath and register stoves; Turkey, Persia, and Kidderminster

carpets, &c. May be viewed to-morrow, when catalogues may be had on the premises; and of Mr. Phillips, No. 134, Fenchurch-street. N.B. The House to Let, or Lease to be Sold.⁵⁵

The house at 8 Lombard Street had been listed in 1771–81 as the “Bass Violin,” workshop of the instrument-maker Robert Thompson.⁵⁶

Newspaper advertisements confirm Hyde’s reputation as probably the leading trumpeter of the generation after James Sarjant (d. 1798),⁵⁷ and make it possible to trace many of his occasional performances, including run-out concerts to the provinces, as far away as Yorkshire (see Appendix 1). They also show that he had a son, initial R., who played the trumpet and keyed bugle (1809, 1812, 1815), and who himself had a young son who sang (1820). John Hyde may well have been forced to retire by the following incident, reported in June 1820 under the heading “Daring Robbery and Outrage”:

A few nights since as Mr. Hyde, the celebrated performer on the trumpet, was passing through Drury-lane, he was attacked by a gang of street robbers, one of them ran violently against him, and knocked him down; as he was endeavoring to rise again, a second of the gang tripped him up, at the same time forcibly tearing his fob⁵⁸ out of his breeches. A third struck him a violent blow on his head with a bludgeon, which levelled him to the ground, and he remained senseless for some time. On his recovering himself, he was conveyed by some humane person to a friend’s house, in Museum-street, where he was shortly after attended by Mr. Jones, a surgeon, who, on examining the wound, found it to be three inches in length, and of considerable depth, so that the skull could be distinctly seen, providentially, however, there was no fracture. Mr. Hyde has since been confined to his bed, but we are happy to say he is out of danger.⁵⁹

Some of the performances after 1820 may therefore be by R. Hyde rather than John. Hyde III could well have been the “Mr. Hyde” who performed in Manchester in 1832 and 1836, and who advertised in July 1836 that “he continues to give INSTRUCTION IN SINGING, and upon the following instruments:—The Piano-forte, Guitar, Flute, Violin, and Royal Kent Bugle. No. 55, Kennedy-street, Cooper-street.”⁶⁰ A similar advertisement two years later adds the terms per quarter: “Two Lessons per week ... Two Guineas. One Lesson per week ... One Guinea.”⁶¹

The United States

Richard Willis

An article published in 1821 about Richard Willis (d. 1830), and evidently based on an interview with him, reports that “the facility with which he executes the chromatic passages upon the Kent Bugle, is the result of many years practice under the celebrated

Mr. Logier of Dublin, whose improvements have brought this useful and much admired instrument into general use.”⁶²

Dudgeon cites Willis as “The first professional keyed bugle soloist in America” and dates his first documented American performance on the instrument to May 1816.⁶³ Willis officially became bandmaster at West Point in June the following year, and Robert E. Eliason observes that by September, “two Kent Bugles had been purchased for the West Point Band—one for \$70, the other for \$40—and no doubt Willis had begun to instruct some of his band members on the instrument.”⁶⁴ Dudgeon states that “Willis promptly ordered instruments from Dublin and London.”⁶⁵ Nevertheless, Dudgeon goes on to claim that “The War of 1812 put a damper on trade, but the bond of common language and culture shared by America and England [was] strong enough to restore trade, which was in full swing again by 1820. From 1821 advertisements for keyed bugles began to appear in American musical publications.”⁶⁶

Advertisements show that trade in fact picked up six years earlier than Dudgeon believed. On 1 November 1815, a few months before Willis arrived, The New Store, Long Rooms, over Messrs J. Callender & Son’s store, Marlboro’-street, Boston already advertised, “Just received from *London*, via *Liverpool*, by the *Milo*, Captain GLOVER ... Patent Kent Bugles, with Keys.”⁶⁷ Ryan notes that “a West Point invoice dated December 1815 records the purchase of an E \flat and two B \flat keyed bugles from Manhattan music dealer John Paff.”⁶⁸ This may sound early for the higher size of keyed bugle, but Paff was active in business by himself 1810–17, and on 2 December 1815 he advertised “a few Octave Bugles and Hunting Horns, for sale.”⁶⁹ The same Boston store, now calling itself the Music Saloon and Variety Store, over Messrs Callender’s No. 40, Marlboro’ street, advertised in July 1816: “RECEIVED per the *Minerva*, from *London* ... An elegant Royal Kent Bugle, with instructions &c.”⁷⁰ Probably the “instructions” were Logier’s tutor. In November, the proprietors of The Franklin Music Warehouse, No. 6, Milk-street, Boston, announced “their intention to keep constantly for sale, every article connected with, or appertaining to the science of Music in all its various branches,” including “Patent Kent Bugles with Keys.”⁷¹

Similar advertisements followed:

Music Saloon and Variety Store, “Royal Kent Bugles” (December 1816).⁷² New Music Saloon and Variety Store, No. 36, Market-Street, “Royal Kent Bugles” (June 1817).⁷³ Music Saloon, &c., No. 34, Market-street (upstairs): “Received per London Packet ... Royal Kent Bugles” (April 1819).⁷⁴ “Just received ... Royal Kent Bugles” (September 1819).⁷⁵ “Royal Kent Bugles, with 5 or 6 Keys” (April 1820).⁷⁶

Franklin Music Warehouse, “Kent Bugles” (May 1817).⁷⁷ “just received by the *Galen*, from *London* ... a fresh supply of ... Patent Kent Bugles” (May 1817).⁷⁸

Geib & Co., Music Store, No. 23 Maiden lane, Boston: “have just received per ship *Venus*, from *London* ... Kent Bugles, with keys” (January 1818).⁷⁹ “Patent six Key’d Kent Bugles” (February 1818).⁸⁰

The celebrated music publisher George E. Blake, No. 13, South Fifth Street, Philadelphia: “just received, by the ship *Tontine*, from *London* ... Kent Bugles” (May

1818).⁸¹ “just received from Holles’ Manufactory, Dublin, a case of Patent Kent Bugles, octave bugles with keys” (December 1821).⁸²

E. Riley, 29 Chatham-street, New York, “just arrived from England—Patent Kent Bugles with additional keys” (December 1818).⁸³

By 1822, J. & H. Meacham, Albany, New York could refer to their patent six-keyed bugles as “Common.”⁸⁴ As noted above, six- and seven-keyed bugles by Greenhill were being imported from London in 1825. “JUST received from Germany ... KENT BUGLES, with six and eight flaps [*sic*]” were advertised by L. Ricketts, piano maker in Baltimore, in 1828.⁸⁵ This is apparently also the first time that instruments from Germany rather than London or Dublin were mentioned. John Estabrook in Concord, New Hampshire announced “Kent Bugles, 8 keys ... just received from Philadelphia” in 1831.⁸⁶

Richard Willis’s ship from Ireland had docked in New York on 13 April 1816.⁸⁷ Only five days later, he placed the following advertisement:

R. WILLIS, from London, professor of Music, arrived in this city, a few days since and has brought with him that new, elegant, and sweet toned instrument, called the Double Flageolet—Bainbridge, London, inventor, 1812. He was the first that performed a Rodondo on that instrument in the Dublin Theatre, which was received with unbounded applause. He will perform this evening a Concerto Duetto, with some Irish and Scotch airs, and Rondoe’s at Scudder’s Museum, 21 Chatham-street.⁸⁸

On 23 April Scudder and Willis took a joint advertisement that mentioned the keyed bugle:

AMERICAN MUSEUM. NO. 21 CHATHAM STREET. J. SCUDDER respectfully makes known to the ladies and gentlemen of the city, that he has engaged a young gentleman, a professor of music, who has arrived lately from Dublin, to perform a few evenings at the Museum. Some of the most popular and fashionable Irish and Scotch tunes and melodies will be performed on Bainbridge’s patent double Flageolet, never before performed in this city. This instrument is so constructed as to produce two distinct tones of sweet and pleasing music. Price of admittance as usual.

R. WILLIS, Professor of music from Dublin, takes the liberty of announcing to the gentlemen of this city that he intends to teach the following instruments of music, viz.; Double Flageolet, Flute, Violin, Claronet, French Horn, Holady’s patent Kent Bugle. Any lady or gentleman wishing to receive instruction on the above instruments will please apply at the American Museum.⁸⁹

Willis may have been the first to advertise performances on the keyed bugle, on 28 and 30 May 1816,⁹⁰ but he was not the first performer in the United States, as witness the

following widely published news report from June 1815: “PLATTSBURGH, June 3. *British deserters*—Twenty-two British soldiers reported at the Inspector General’s office on Wednesday and Thursday last. Three of them were musicians, and brought their instruments with them—consisting of royal patent Bugle, a Bassoon and a Clarionet.”⁹¹

In passing it is worth noting that Charles K. Jones’s recent biography of Francis Johnson (1792–1844) asserts in two places, without citing sources, that the keyed bugle was brought to America by 1811, and that Johnson had mastered it on his own by 1813.⁹² The footnote to the first claim refers readers to Morley Pegge’s article in *Grove* 5, where it is certainly not supported. Jones goes on to state that the copyright to Johnson’s *Kent Bugle Quick Step* (“composed expressly for and humbly dedicated to Lieutenant P. Fritz”) was registered by the Philadelphia publisher George E. Blake on 6 February 1815; and that the same year Johnson published two other pieces referring to the instrument with another Philadelphia publisher, George Willig: *The Third Company of Washington Guards Kent Bugle Quick March. Commanded by Capt. John Watmough* and *Capt. J. G. Watmough’s Kent Bugle Slow March*.⁹³

These claims show how careful we all have to be with bibliographic and biographical information.⁹⁴ In fact, 6 February 1815 was the date on which Blake registered the copyright to his Musical Miscellany series, which went through eighty-six known numbers, of which Johnson’s *Kent Bugle Quick Step* was the last, published in 1825 or 1826.⁹⁵ The dedicatee, Peter Fritz, did not join the Fencibles (a volunteer militia corps) until 1819 and retained his position until 1830.⁹⁶ According to Richard J. Wolfe, Johnson’s *Third Company of Washington Guards Kent Bugle Quick March* was issued without a publisher’s imprint, but probably by Willig, around 1820; and *Capt. J. G. Watmough’s Kent Bugle Slow March* was issued by the composer around 1820 and reissued by Willig in the period 1824–31.⁹⁷ His *Captain Page Kent Bugle Quick Step* may have been written in June 1819 to mark the election of James Page as captain of the Company of State Fencibles, or more likely, in or after September 1821, when Johnson’s band became attached to the corps.⁹⁸ In the regular army, John Goddard Watmough (1793–1861) never rose above the rank of first lieutenant, and resigned his commission in 1816⁹⁹; according to Jones, Watmough was elected captain of the volunteer Third Company in 1814 and retained that title until 1827.¹⁰⁰ On the title page of his setting of *The Death of Willis* in 1830, Johnson paid tribute to the older master “for the unusual attention to him in forwarding him in the knowledge of that fine martial instrument, the Kent bugle, when first introduced in this country.”¹⁰¹ If Jones is to be believed, Willis and Johnson did not meet until August 1820 in Philadelphia.¹⁰² Thus it seems probable that all Johnson’s pieces referring to the Kent bugle were written in the 1820s.

Willis’s initial performances in May 1816 did have a close second. On 22 July a concert was advertised at Washington Gardens, Boston, under the direction of Gottlieb Graupner, in which there was played “Martial Music, by Messrs. Turner, Gerry, Hart, Neibuhr, Boquet, Whetherbee, &c.” and the second half was “To commence with the highly interesting Duet—Termed the ‘*Kent Bugle*,’ accompanied with the Trumpet, Messrs. Turner & Neibuhr.” Turner was advertised primarily as a clarinetist, going back to a

concert of Graupner's in 1809, in which he played a quartet by Pleyel.¹⁰³ He played twice with Graupner the following year, in an unspecified clarinet concerto and quartetto.¹⁰⁴ Turner was especially active in 1815, taking part in, for example, no fewer than fourteen different performances at Washington Gardens in June–September of “Harmony of Wind Instruments” or “Military Music” also involving Boquet, Fries, Granger, Hart, McIntyre, Neibuhr (various spellings), Wood, and others.¹⁰⁵ Besides appearing in the wind music with Turner, Neibuhr played at Washington Gardens in 1819.¹⁰⁶

The advertisements present a wealth of detail about performances by Willis as well as other early adopters of the keyed bugle, some mentioned by Dudgeon, others new. Appendix 2 summarizes only Willis's keyed bugle repertoire in these performances.¹⁰⁷

Willis died on 1 February 1830. The *New-York Morning Herald* wrote on the 13th, “the last bugle had sounded at West Point over the grave of poor Willis, who, in life, had so often charmed with that instrument, the listening ear of thousands.” A benefit concert for his widow and six children at Boylston Hall, Boston, on 13 August 1830 included a solo composed by William Hanna and played by the new star of the Kent bugle, Edward “Ned” Kendall (1808–61).¹⁰⁸

The newspapers present a little more information about a type of bugle that Willis invented. We already know from Eliason that “A program of 29 December 1825, published in the Philadelphia *National Gazette* of that date included a ‘Solo on the Vox Humana, an instrument invented by Mr. Willis.’¹⁰⁹ Also in the same paper of 27 December 1826, the following note appeared on a program: ‘Mr. Willis will perform on a small pocket bugle of his own invention; its tone is superior to his Vox Humana.’ The United States Patent Office records a patent awarded to R. Willis of West Point, New York, for a Kent Bugle on 10 November 10, 1827, numbered 4923x. To date, however, a copy of this patent has not been found.”¹¹⁰

A publication from 1828 includes a “List of Patents granted in the United States, from August 24th, to November 13th, 1827.... In the musical instrument called the Kent bugle, which he denominates the harmonic pocket bugle; Richard Willis, of West Point, Orange County, New York, November 10.”¹¹¹ On the day of a concert in Baltimore by Willis with the flutist and violinist E.R. Hansen as soloists on 20 January, nine months before this patent, a writer who evidently attended the dress rehearsal commended the performers to the citizens of that city:

We had the good fortune last evening to witness the extraordinary performance of these two gentlemen on their respective musical instruments. The mellowness and modulation of Mr. Willis' Kent Bugle are decidedly superior to any thing of the kind we have ever heard. The instrument in ordinary hands would seem wholly incapable of producing the varied, rich and dulcet sounds which flow from it under the hand of this master. Rapid and difficult variations are executed on it with the greatest facility.

The *Harmonic Pocket Bugle*, as it is termed, is in itself a wonder; some what resembling the Kent Bugle, but only a few inches in length; this new inven-

tion combines the startling tones of the trumpet, the sweetness of the middle tones of the common flute, the slender tremulous notes of the flageolet, and the shrill stirring sounds of the octave flute.¹¹²

In this concert Willis played “‘Home, sweet home,’ & Weber’s Hunting Chorus, for the pocket bugle; invented by Mr. Willis.... O Dolce Conento, with variations for the bugle.... The Hunter’s Horn for the harmonic bugle....”¹¹³

Willis was not the only performer to play his new instrument. An advertisement for the Theatre Circus in Baltimore in 1830 included “several favourite Airs on the Kent Bugle” by Mr. Murphy; “Also a Duet by Signor George and Mr. Murphy, on the key’d trumpet and Willis’ pocket harmonic bugle.”¹¹⁴

Other Performers

James Hewitt’s concert at the City Hotel, New York, on 15 April 1818, included “Pot Pourri, for a full orchestra, composed by J. Hewitt, in which will be introduced, the favorite air of Robin Adair, on the kent bugle, by Mr. Robinson, solo.”¹¹⁵ At the Theatre, New York, on 23 June 1819: “The Military Band of the New York Museum, have kindly volunteered their services on the occasion, will, between the ballet and entertainment, perform many pleasing airs and military pieces: the duet of *Away with Melancholy*, on two patent Kent bugles, by Messrs. Robinson and Anderson.”¹¹⁶ Six days later at the American Museum, “An entire set of music has lately been received by the Dublin Packet. This evening there will be performed several duets on the first and second six key’d patent Kent bugles.”¹¹⁷ I have been unable to trace Robinson and Anderson further.

John Scudder’s American Museum in New York had already announced on 17 June 1818 that “The excellent band attached to the Museum will this evening receive the addition of the Kent Bugle, by a young gentleman of this city.”¹¹⁸ On 2 July, “An excellent Band of Music, accompanied by the Patent Kent Bugle, attached to the Museum, will perform a variety of much approved airs.”¹¹⁹ For its July 4th celebration, the museum announced “a great variety of music,” including “Robin Adair, with variations, Kent Bugle, arranged by Eley.”¹²⁰

Eliason notes, “In Boston a young man with the unlikely name of George Frederick Handel Plimpton began playing publicly late in 1820. It was reported in Boston’s *New England Palladium* of December 22 in that year that ‘Master George Frederick Handel, a son of Mr. Plimpton, will accompany the Apollino with the Kent Bugle and the French horn.’”¹²¹ Dudgeon adds, “George Plimpton is also listed as a Kent Bugler with the J.W. Bancker troupe (circus) in 1832.”¹²²

The Apollino, invented by the music teacher Job Plimpton of Albany (1784–1864), “a native of Medway, Mass.,” was an enormous instrument that “combines the music of a Church Organ, a Grand Orchestra, a Martial Band, and a Harp; the whole of any part may be performed by one person on six octaves of piano forte or organ keys and five pedals.”¹²³ In itself it was said to include “25 Æolian harps, 25 trumpets, 12 bassoons, 37 German flutes, 30 English flutes, 4 French horns, 49 octaves flutes, 25 flageolets, 25

imitations of birds, 1 snare drum, 1 bass drum, 30 fifes, 1 pair of cymbals, 25 clarionets, 4 bugles 37, strings on violin and violincello, bag pipes, imitation of distant thunder, and 25 musical glasses."¹²⁴

Plimpton moved to Boston in 1820.¹²⁵ For the instrument's first advertised performance, at the American Museum in 1820, "J. SCUDDER informs the public, that CONCERTS will be given on the Grand Apollino ... July 28th and 29th. In the course of the performance of each evening, Mr. Plimpton, a member of the Adelphi Lodge, has the honor to inform his friends, that Mr. and Mrs. Plimpton will sing the grand MASONIC ODE of A VIEW OF THE TEMPLE, composed by Brother Belknap. The ode will be accompanied with the Apollino, Violin, Kent Bugle, and Basshorn.... 3. Song, by Mr. Plimpton. 4. Song, by Mrs. Plimpton. 5. Song, by Miss Plimpton."¹²⁶

On 8 February the following year, Plimpton performed at the Columbian Museum on the Apollino, "accompanied with the Violin, Kent Bugle, French Horn.... (by particular request) Mr. Plimpton will sing the much admired Comic Song and Recitation of 'Honey and Mustard,' accompanied with the Kent Bugle."¹²⁷ George Plimpton was named as the Kent bugle soloist for a performance at the same venue later that month: "COLUMBIAN MUSEUM, TREMONT-STREET, MR. PLIMPTON respectfully informs the public, that TO-MORROW EVENING, Feb. 22, being the Anniversary of the Illustrious WASHINGTON, the Museum will be splendidly illuminated on the occasion, and a grand performance will be given on the Apollino, commencing with Washington's March, full Orchestra. Miss Plimpton, in the course of the performance, will sing a number of her favorite Songs; Master G. F. Handel will accompany the Martial Music, and some of the Songs, with Kent Bugle and French Horn."¹²⁸

George's playing was described in a commercial for another Boston concert in March 1822:

MISS PLIMPTON'S CONCERT. There will be a Concert of vocal and instrumental music, this evening, at the Columbian Museum, for the benefit of this young lady, the daughter of a professed, ingenious artist and musician. She sings with much spirit and ease, and considering her youth, with no small degree of taste and felicity. Her brother, also, about the same age, is distinguished for the felicity of his execution on the Kent Bugle; and the father contrives to diversify the entertainment by several comic songs, and the fine music of an instrument of his own invention, called the "Apollino."¹²⁹

Given that Job Plimpton had married Hannah Burnham on 17 August 1807,¹³⁰ their children would not have been older than twelve when they started performing regularly in such family concerts. Further advertisements for concerts throughout New England appeared regularly through 1826 (see Appendix 3).

Dudgeon observes that "The *New England Palladium* of 27 July 1821 mentions another Kent Bugle player, Mr. Campbell, from London, who played concerts with the Plimpton family. This may be the same Mr. Campbell who published a volume of *Kent*

Bugle Instructions in 1820.”¹³¹ *New England Palladium* was issued only through 1820, so this reference is inaccurate, and I have not been able to trace the advertisement further.

Campbell was first advertised the previous year. Vauxhall Pavilion Theatre, Philadelphia, 2 July 1819: “Song—The Hunter’s horn in the morning—A Sporting Cavatina—accompanied on the Kent Bugle by Mr Campbell ... Phillips [composer].”¹³² Washington Garden Theatre, Boston, 27 June 1821: “The Managers respectfully inform the public that they have made arrangements with MR. CAMPBELL, a celebrated performer on the Royal Kent Bugle, to perform for a few nights.... A GRAND OLIO, CONSISTING OF Singing, Dancing and Playing upon the Royal Kent Bugle. *The Bay of Biscay* By Mr. Campbell. (on the Kent Bugle.) ... *The Woodpecker*, (on K. Bugle) by Mr. Campbell. Song—*Robin Adair*. By Master Ayling. (Accompanied by Mr. Campbell on the French Horn).”¹³³ Celebration of American Independence, 4 July: “A favorite Air, on the Royal Kent Bugle.—Mr. Campbell .. Air on the Royal Kent Bugle, Mr. Campbell.”¹³⁴

Dudgeon comments that “The American circus provided employment for a number of keyed bugle soloists. A Mr. Maxy (also Maxcey) was a featured keyed bugle soloist with the Price and Simpson circus troupe in Baltimore in December 1822, and in Augusta and Charleston in March 1825. In 1826, he toured with Blanchard’s Circus in Canada.”¹³⁵

The advertisements show that Maxy had arrived in America by 4 June 1821: at the Boston Theatre, “The Managers respectfully announce the engagement of MR. MAXY, a celebrated performer on the *Royal Kent Bugle*, from Dublin, his first public appearance in the the [*sic*] United States.... *The Grand Washington Transparency*. In this Scene, Mr. MAXY will perform on the six key’d Royal Military Kent Bugle, a variety of Airs, accompanied by the Orchestra; and several Solos, Airs and Marches, from Tekeli;—Scots what ha wi’ Wallace Bled ... Robin Adair, &c.”¹³⁶ On the 7th, the New-England Museum announced that “MR. MAXY, The celebrated performer on the Royal Kent Bugle, French Horn and Trumpet, is engaged for a few nights.... Where he will gratify the visitors of that establishment with a display of his extraordinary powers upon those Instruments. He will perform every Evening, (Saturday and Sunday excepted,) until further notice.”¹³⁷

Before he started to breathe in the sawdust of the circus, Maxy took part in some concert performances. At Mr. Blake’s Ball Room, Providence, Rhode Island, on 13 August 1821: “Mr. Breslaw respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of Providence, that Mr. MAXEY, will commence the performance with a variety of national airs on the patent Kent Bugle, accompanied by Mr. BRESLAW on the Pandean Pipes; after which Mr. MAXEY will play several Martial Airs, on a new invented Trumpet.”¹³⁸ (The instrument was presumably the English slide trumpet.) Still in Providence, at the Green Cottage on the 25th: “Mr. MAXEY will perform several grand pieces of music on the *Kent Bugle, Trumpet, Clarinet, Flute, &c.*”¹³⁹ A concert organized by Graupner at Boylston Hall, Boston, on 20 November 1821 included: “Song—‘Hunter’s Horn,’ with accompaniment for the Kent Bugle, by Mr. Granger, sen. and executed by Mr. Maxy, Amateur. Phillips.”¹⁴⁰ Perhaps Maxy was not paid for this concert, but he is unlikely to have been an amateur. A Washington’s Birthday celebration at the New-England Museum on 22 February 1822 brought back “Mr. Maxy on the Kent Bugle and Trumpet.”¹⁴¹

Starting that year, Maxy is mentioned in several advertisements for circuses. Baltimore, 2 December 1822: "Concerto on the Kent Bugle, accompanied by the Orchestra, by Mr. MAXY."¹⁴² Baltimore Circus, 17 March 1823: "MR. MAXCY, the celebrated Kent Bugle player, will perform several favorite airs, accompanied by the orchestra, and conclude with an admired national air, with variations."¹⁴³ Hartford, Connecticut, 6–7 March 1826: "During the evening several favorite Airs will be performed by Mr. Maxey, on the *Patent Kent Bugle*."¹⁴⁴

Teachers

George F. Norton, arriving in Boston in 1817, announced that "he intends teaching Music—in particular the Flute[,] Clarinetto, and patent Kent Bugle—also, teaches young ladies and gentlemen that New and Elegant Instrument the Single and Double Flageolet."¹⁴⁵ Perhaps he learned from experience that there was no market for the Kent bugle, as well as that he should make a differential by sex: when he arrived in Alexandria, Virginia, in 1819, he advertised that "he intends teaching ladies the single and double flageolets and piano forte; gentlemen the single and additional keyed flute, clarionet, and violin."¹⁴⁶

In contrast, a progression towards the keyed bugle seems to have happened for Patrick Kelly, "professor of music." In 1818 in Norfolk, Virginia, he advertised that he "tunes Piano Fortes, and would have no objection to give Instructions on the Flute, Clarionet, Single and Double Flageolets, &c. Immediate application is necessary, as his residence may not be of long duration in this Borough."¹⁴⁷ Two months later we find him in Baltimore, where he offered instruction on the same instruments plus piano, violin, "Patent Kent Bugle, and the various instruments in use in military bands."¹⁴⁸

By 1822 the keyed bugle had spread to the Midwest: "Instructor of Musick. ANTHONY DAVID, INFORMS the citizens of St. Louis and its vicinity that he is about to open a school for the purpose of teaching young gentlemen the art of Musick. He will give lessons on the Royal patent Kent Bugle, Clarionet, Serpent, Bass horn, French horn, flute and trumpet. For terms apply at Mr. Haskin's, near the Missouri Hotel."¹⁴⁹

Conclusions

Scholars have dismissed Henry Distin's claim that his father, John Distin, already a star keyed-bugle virtuoso with the Grenadier Guards in 1815, had independently invented the instrument around 1812. Nevertheless, Distin may have seen Haliday's original form of the keyed bugle, with three keys, and made the logical development of adding extra keys himself.

It has been claimed that there were five other Irish makers of the keyed bugle contemporary with the Pace family and Matthew Holles. The evidence for the work of Isaac Dollard and George Butler Sr. is shaky; John Dollard was established by 1822. The wording on surviving instruments by P. Turton and Andrew Ellard suggests a connection with Logier.

Two newspaper notices show that Joseph Greenhill, a maker and teacher of the keyed bugle in London, was also a famous performer. He is cited for his performances for Queen Caroline at St. Paul's in 1820 and for the royal party at Ascot in 1828, as well as for introducing the keyed bugle to stage coaches, replacing the old coach horns.

John Hyde self-published *A New and Compleat Preceptor for the Trumpet & Bugle Horn* in 1799. His claim there to have invented the slide trumpet ("Chromatic trumpet") has been disputed by scholars because Richard Woodham billed himself as the "Inventor & Maker" of the relevant clock-spring mechanism on a surviving natural trumpet by Rodenbostel that was converted into a slide trumpet. Hyde published a tutor for the keyed bugle around 1818 in which he stated he invented the slide trumpet "more than thirty years since," and a famous performer of the day, William Thomas Parke, referred to "Mr. Hyde's ingenious invention of a slide." Perhaps Hyde had the idea, for which Woodham found a practical solution. Hyde's second tutor documents the seventh key on the keyed bugle for the first time. Newspaper reports reveal that Hyde went bankrupt in 1797, when he was described as both musical-instrument maker and musician. Advertisements for his performances confirm his reputation as perhaps the leading trumpeter of his generation and document his repertoire, including a few pieces for the keyed bugle. The ads also bring to light a son, initial R., who also played the trumpet and keyed bugle, and a grandson, who continued the family tradition in Manchester.

The Dublin-born Richard Willis, reportedly a student of Logier, arrived in New York in 1816 and soon became bandmaster at West Point. In 1827, three years before his death, he patented "The *Harmonic Pocket Bugle* ... some what resembling the Kent Bugle, but only a few inches in length." Advertisements give details of his performances on the keyed bugle from 1816 to 1827. A benefit concert for his widow and six children included a solo played by the new star of the Kent bugle, Edward "Ned" Kendall.

Although Willis was the first celebrated soloist of the keyed bugle in the United States, there were others, even in the second decade of the nineteenth century. A British deserter brought his keyed bugle with him in 1815. A musician named Turner, perhaps a member of the military, played the instrument in a concert in 1816. Robinson and Anderson, who belonged to the Military Band of the New York Museum, performed in 1818–19. The claim that Francis Johnson had mastered the keyed bugle on his own by 1813, however, is erroneous.

Advertisements for keyed bugles imported from London began to appear in American newspapers in late 1815, a few months before Willis's arrival. Instruments made by Holles in Dublin were announced in 1821, and by 1828 keyed bugles with up to eight keys were also coming from Germany.

Job Plimpton the inventor of a mighty instrument named the Apollino, settled in Boston in 1820 and toured New England for at least the next six years with his wife as well as his young son and daughter, apparently not older than twelve in the beginning. The son, musically named George Frederick Handel, played several instruments including the keyed bugle, on which he was praised for "the felicity of his execution." Performances by

Campbell from London were advertised in 1819–21. Maxy from Dublin had an extensive career in concerts and circuses between 1821 and 1826.

Finally, George F. Norton in Boston (1817), Patrick Kelly in Baltimore (1818), and Anthony David in St. Louis (1822) gave lessons to the public on the keyed bugle.

David Lasocki, a prolific writer on the history of wind instruments, is Head of Reference Services in the William and Gayle Cook Music Library at Indiana University. He is still writing a history of the recorder for Yale University Press as well as a book on the New Orleans jazz group Astral Project that has now metamorphosed into a series of e-books.

Appendix 1

References in British newspapers to John Hyde as a performer on the keyed bugle

Date	Place	Repertoire	Source
16–18 August 1791	The Music Festival, Canterbury	<i>Redemption</i> , Grand Selection from Handel, <i>Messiah</i> , <i>Acis and Galatea</i>	<i>The World</i> , 10 August 1791
24 February 1792	King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Redemption</i> (selected from works of Handel by Samuel Arnold)	<i>Public Advertiser</i> , 21 February 1792
9 March 1792	King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Judas Maccabaeus</i>	<i>Argus of the Constitution</i> , 9 March 1792
14 March 1792	King's Theatre, Haymarket	Grand Selection (Handel), incl. "Awake, the Trumpet's Lofty Sound" from <i>Samson</i>	<i>Morning Herald</i> , 14 March 1792
27–28 September 1792	Hampshire Music Meeting, St. John's House, Winchester	Grand Selection (Handel), incl. "Let the Bright Seraphim" [from <i>Samson</i>]	<i>World</i> , 20 September 1792
20 February 1793	King's Theatre, Haymarket	<i>Messiah</i> "MORELLI sung 'The Trumpet shall Sound.'... HYDE's accompaniment on the trumpet should not be omitted—it was superior to any thing we ever heard on that instrument."	<i>World</i> , 21 February 1793
21 March 1793	Professional Oratorio, King's Theatre, Haymarket	"Mr. Leete in 'The Trumpet shall Sound,' and 'Honor and Arms.'... Mr. Hyde's accompaniment on the trumpet was very astonishing."	<i>Diary or Woodfall's Register</i> , 23 March 1793

7, 9 August 1793	The Church, Kingston-upon- Thames	Grand Selection (Handel), <i>Messiah</i> , Concerts	<i>True Briton</i> , 31 July 1793
14 March–12 April 1794	Series of concerts, Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	Mostly music by Handel, incl. “Let the bright Seraphim” from <i>Samson</i> ; <i>Messiah</i> , inc. “The trumpet shall sound”; <i>Redemption</i> ; “Awake the trumpet, <i>Samson</i> ”	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 14 March; <i>Morning Advertiser</i> , 17 March; <i>World</i> , 19 March; <i>he Morning Post</i> , 26 March, 4 April, 10 April; <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 11 April, 12 April
7–9 October 1794	Hampshire Musick Meeting, Cathedral, Winchester	Handel, concerts	<i>St. James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post</i> , 27 September 1794
30 March 1795	Free-Masons' Hall	Grand Concert (charity)	<i>True Briton</i> , 26 March 1795
29 February 1796	New Pantheon, Oxford Street	Sacred Music (Handel), incl. “Let the bright Seraphim”	<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i> , 27 February 1796
9 February 1797	Annual Grand Concert for benefit of Free-Masons Charity for Female Children, Free- Masons' Hall	“Hide”	<i>Times</i> , 4 February 1797
10 April 1799	Antient Music, Great Room, King's Theatre	Handel, etc., incl. Mrs. Harrison in “Let the bright Seraphim”: “to Mr. HYDE's trumpet accompaniment great praise is due; it has scarcely been equalled by any of his predecessors.”	<i>True Briton</i> , 11 April 1799
19 April 1799	Harrison's Annual Concert, Great Room, King's Theatre		<i>Oracle and Daily Advertiser</i> , 18 April 1799
5 June 1799	Benefit concert for Hyde, King's Concert Room, Opera House	Incl. “a Concerto on the Chromatic Trumpet, by Mr. Hyde.” Tickets from Hyde, No. 5, Royal-row, Lambeth.	<i>Morning Herald</i> , 4 June 1799; review in <i>Morning Post and Gazetteer</i> , 6 June 1799: “Mr. Hyde executed a concerto on the cromatic trumpet”

7 February 1800	Concert for Choral Fund, Theatre Royal, Haymarket		<i>Times</i> , 6 February 1800
26 May 1800	Benefit concert for Hyde, The Rooms, Tottenham Street	Incl. "Let the bright Seraphim," Madame Mara, acc. Hyde; Concerto, trumpet. Tickets from Hyde at the Rooms	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 29 April 1800
28 May 1800	Charity concert, Opera House	Grand Concert (Handel), incl. "Let the bright Seraphim"	<i>True Briton</i> , 26 May 1800
23 June 1800	Benefit concert for Ravelli, Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Incl. Trumpet concerto; review: "The Concerto ... on the Trumpet ... received, as ... deserved, the warm and loud plaudits of the <i>amateurs</i> ."	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 21 June 1800; review, <i>Oracle and Daily Advertiser</i> , 24 June 1800
27–29 June 1800	The Musical Festival, Salisbury	Incl. Sacred music by Handel, parts of Haydn's <i>Creation</i> ; ; review: "Madam Mara opened the <i>Messiah</i> . Mr. Hyde was uncommonly splendid in his trumpet accompaniments."	<i>Sun</i> , 21 June 1800; review, <i>English Chronicle or University Evening Post</i> , 30 August 1800
30 September, 1–2 October 1800	Three Choirs Festival, Worcester Cathedral	Incl. <i>Messiah</i> , <i>Creation</i> , "Awake the Trumpet," Trumpet concerto	<i>Jackson's Oxford Journal</i> , 26 July 1800
4 March 1802	Charity concert, King's Theatre, Haymarket	Incl. "Let the bright Seraphim"	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 3 March 1802
16 March 1803	Ancient Music	"Chiefly Handel's grand chorusses.... Hyde's trumpet ... produced general satisfaction."	<i>Derby Mercury</i> , 10 March 1803
18 March 1803	Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	Selection from Haydn's <i>Seasons</i> , Handel, Purcell, Boyce, Arne, incl. Trumpet concerto	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 18 March 1803
27–29 September 1803	Three Choirs Festival, Worcester Cathedral, College Hall	Incl. <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> , trumpet concerto, <i>Creation</i> , <i>Messiah</i>	<i>Jackson's Oxford Journal</i> , 23 July 1803
15 March 1804	Charity concert, King's Theatre, Haymarket	Incl. Miss Parke, "The soldier tir'd of wars alarms, accompanied on the trumpet" [from Thomas Arne's <i>Artaxerxes</i>]	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 10 March 1804

25 February 1803	Charity concert, Great Concert Room, King's Theatre, Haymarket	Incl. "Let the bright Seraphim"	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 20 February 1805
5-7 October 1808	Grand Musical Festival, Birmingham	<i>Messiah</i> , <i>Creation</i> , concerts	<i>Jackson's Oxford Journal</i> , 10 September 1808
4-6 October 1809	Grand Musical Festival, Nottingham	HYDE and SON; incl. "The trumpet shall sound"	<i>Derby Mercury</i> , 19 October 1809
14 May 1810	F. Cramer's annual concert, New Rooms, Hanover- Square		<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 14 May 1810
27 February 1812	Concert for the Misses Sharp, New Rooms, Hanover Square	Hyde and son	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 20 February 1812
10-11 September 1812	Three Choirs Festival, Worcester	Haydn's <i>Chaos</i> , "very correctly and finely performed, having ... the Hydes ... the principal wind- instruments ... to give the effect designed by the great Haydn, and it was allowed by all never to have been excelled"; "A scene was given from Israel in Egypt, the performance of which has never been excelled, but in the memorable commemorations in Westminster Abbey. 'The dead shall live,' with Hyde's solemn and excellent accompaniment on the trumpet, had such an effect upon numbers of the audience, that several females were obliged to be carried out. Luther's Hymn produced a similar effect, particularly the accompaniment on the trumpet."	<i>Caledonian Mercury</i> , 19 September 1812

13–15 October 1812	Grand Musical Festival, Hull	<i>Messiah</i> , concerts; review: “from Mr. Hyde, the performer on the trumpet ... we received a most delightful treat.”	<i>Hull Packet and Original Weekly Commercial, Literary and General Advertiser</i> , 29 September 1812; review, 20 October 1812
13 April 1814	Infirmary Concerts, Leeds	Incl. A concerto on the patent bugle	<i>Leeds Mercury</i> , 9 April 1814
15 April 1814	Grand Festival of Music, Parish Church, Halifax	Incl. “Thou art the King of Glory, Trumpet Obligato” [probably from Dettingen Te Deum]; Trumpet concerto; “Let the bright Seraphim”; “New Song, ‘Hark the stern Captive’—C and F horn, and Bugle Obligato”; “Echo Concertante—Horns, Messrs. Ridings [the Second Trumpet] and Hyde”	
4 April 1815	Subscription concert, Music- Hall, Liverpool	Incl. “the new (MS.) Song of ‘Hope when I mourn,’ Obligato accompanied on the Patent Bugle by Mr. R. HYDE”; “‘The Soldier tird,’ (Accompanied on the Trumpet by Mr. HYDE).”	<i>Liverpool Mercury</i> , 31 March 1815
26 January 1818	Charity concert, New Theatre Royal, English Opera House, Strand	Incl. “Let the bright Seraphim”	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 24 January 1818
15 February 1819	Charity concert, New Theatre Royal, English Opera House	Incl. “Let the bright Seraphim”	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 13 February 1819
27 February 1820	Charity concert, New Theatre Royal, English Opera House	Incl. “The trumpet shall sound”; “Song, Master Hyde, ‘Let the bright Seraphim,’ Trumpet Obligato, Mr. Hyde”	<i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 17 February 1820
13–15 June 1820	Commemoration, Oxford	Concerts, incl. Crotch’s <i>Palestine</i>	<i>Jackson’s Oxford Journal</i> , 6 May 1820
8–11 September 1829	Grand Musical Festival, Chester	Trumpets: Messrs. Harper and Hyde	<i>Liverpool Mercury</i> , 5 June 1829

29 May 1832	Theatre-Royal, Manchester	Incl. "Hark! A trumpet sound"	<i>Manchester Times and Gazette</i> , 26 May 1832
28 October 1836	Subscription concert, Large room over Mr. Bywater's Bazaar, Peter-street, Manchester	"We listened with satisfaction to Mr. Hyde's trumpet, not regretting the absence of Harper."	<i>Manchester Times and Gazette</i> , 29 October 1836

Appendix 2

References in American Newspapers to Richard Willis as a performer on the keyed bugle

Date	Place	Repertoire	Source
28, 30 May 1816	Oratorio, St. Paul's Church, New York	"Air and echo, strike the cymbal, accompanied by the six keyed patent bugle, [Vincenzo] Pucitta." Review: "The Air and Echo, accompanied by the six-keyed patent bugle, was delightful."	<i>Evening Post</i> , 23 May 1816; <i>Columbian</i> , 31 May
4 June 1816	Repeat of "favorite choruses"	"Air and chorus, strike the cymbals, accompanied on the patent bugle, by Mr. Willis, late from Dublin Pucitta." Comment: "In order to render the band as complete and as powerful as possible, the trombone, the serpent, the kent bugle, and double kettle drums were sent for from a distance and obtained at no small expense."	<i>Evening Post</i> , 31 May 1816; <i>New-York Herald</i> , 12 June 1816
17 September 1816	Theatre, New York	"The Band of the Military Academy at West-Point will play the new Grand battle Piece of 'The Siege of Fort Erie,' composed by Mr. Willis, the master of the band. Mr. Willis will likewise, in the course of the evening, play a Solo on the Patent Six key'd Camp Bugle."	<i>Columbian</i> , 16 September 1816
4 March 1817	Concert by S. P. Taylor, City Hotel, New York	"'Strike the Cymbol,' accompanied by Mr. Willis, on the patent six keyed bugle."	<i>Evening Post</i> , 1 March 1817

9 December 1817	New York Handel and Haydn Society, St. Paul's Church	"Air and Cho. Strike the loud Timbral [perhaps based on the hymn 'Sound the Loud Timbral'],' accompanied on the Patent Bugle by Mr. Willis.... Air and Chorus. Strike the Cymbal— accompanied on the Patent Bugle, by Mr. Willis"	<i>New-York Columbian</i> , 6 December 1817
10 December 1817	American Museum, New York	"J. SCUDDER ... has availed himself of the presence of MR. WILLIS in this city, and the excellent band under his direction from West Point, to present his visitors with a rich and grand display of Musical Talents. The pieces to be performed were principally composed by Mr. Willis.... Love Letter, Kent Bugle, Obligato— by R. Willis...."	<i>New-York Daily Advertiser</i> , 10 December 1817
12 December 1817	Theatre, New York	Mr. Phillipps "will sing—The Hunter's Horn in the Morning, a new sporting Cavatina, composed by himself, and accompanied on the <i>Patent Six Key'd Kent Bugle</i> , by Mr. WILLIS, leader of the West Point Military Band."	<i>New-York Columbian</i> , 12 December 1817
15 December 1817	Theatre, New York	Mr. Phillipps "will sing (by particular desire) the simple Melody of Robin Adair—And the New Sporting Cavatina, composed by himself, of the Hunter's Horn in the Morning, accompanied on the Patent Six Key'd Bugle, by Mr. Willis."	<i>New-York Columbian</i> , 15 December 1817
16 December 1817	New York Handel and Haydn Society, Third Grand Oratorio, St. Paul's Church	"Air and Chorus—Strike the cymbal—Miss Conrad, accompanied on the bugle, by Mr. Willis"; review: "the trumpet and bugle of Mr. Willis were new to the audience, and played with astonishing effect.... The accompaniment on the trumpet, by Mr. <i>Willis</i> , displayed powers on that instruments, particularly in its rich and manageable trill or shake, of which we scarcely believed it susceptible."	<i>New-York Columbian</i> , 16, 18 December 1817

4 June 1818	Handel & Haydn Society, first Oratorio, St. Paul's Church, New York	"Chorus, Sound the loud timbrel, accompanied on the bugle by Mr. Willis—Air, Miss Conrad."	<i>Mercantile Advertiser</i> , 3 June 1818
9 June 1818	Handel & Haydn Society, Second Grand Oratorio, St. Paul's Church, New York	"Handel's celebrated Dittengen [i.e., Dettingen] Te Deum. Accompanied on the Trumpet by Mr. Willis, who arrived in the city last evening from West Point.... Air and Chorus—Strike the Cymbal—Miss Conrad, accompanied on the patent six keyed bugle, by Mr. Willis." Review: "The pure pleasure and rational entertainment afforded by this Oratorio, was zested by the able assistance of Mr. Willis's patent bugle."	<i>New-York Columbian</i> , 9 June 1818; <i>Commercial Advertiser</i> , 11 June
11 June 1818	Oratorio	"Mr. Willis will favor the audience with <i>Pleyel's celebrated German Hymn</i> on the Patent Bugle, accompanied with variations." Reviews: "It must have been evident, to every person present, that the patent bugle is at all times necessary to complete the orchestra.—Mr. Willis performed his part to the admiration of the audience"; " <i>Pleyel's German Hymn</i> , by Mr. Willis, on the <i>Kent Bugle</i> , was heavenly. The instrumental parts, and the variations, were arranged with great taste."	<i>Mercantile Advertiser</i> , 10 June 1818; <i>New-York Columbian</i> and <i>Commercial Advertiser</i> , 11 June; <i>New-York Spectator</i> , 12, 19 June
3 August 1819	Mr. Twibill's Concert, Washington Hall, New York	"Air—Robin Adair, kent Bugle, Mr. Willis.... The much admired Sporting Cavatina of the 'Hunter's Horn,' accompanied on the Kent Bugle, by Mr. Willis, Mr. Twibill.... The much admired Hunting Song of 'Bright Phœbus,' with imitations of the Kent Bugle, from the voice, the echo parts by Mr. Willis, on the Kent Bugle, Mr. Twibill.... Yankee Doodle, with variations, Kent Bugle, Mr. Willis."	<i>New-York Commercial Advertiser</i> , 2 August 1819

17 May 1820: postponed to 30 May	Concert by Mrs. De Luce, Mr. Willis, and the Messrs. Brenan	"Kent Bugle Solo, Mr. Willis, the Hunter's horn in the morning."	<i>National Advocate</i> , 17, 26 May 1820
8 June 1820	Handel and Haydn Society, Grand Oratorio, St. Paul's Church, New York	"Kent Bugle and Trumpet, Mr. Wyllis, from West Point."	<i>New-York Columbian</i> , 3 June 1820
8 August 1820	Aquatic Amusement, Steam-Boat Nautilus, New York	"We anticipate the aid of the West Point Band, and famous Kent Bugle of Mr. Willis."	<i>New-York Columbian</i> , 5 August 1820
16 November 1820	Mr. Willis's Concert, Grand Saloon, Washington Hall, Philadelphia	Preview: "MR. WILLIS. This gentleman, who is the leader of the military band at West Point, and who excels upon the Bugle and Horn, is now in this city, and intends gratifying the public with a concert next week. Thousands have witnessed his distinguished performance on the <i>Bugle....</i> " Program: "Kent Bugle solo, Mr. Willis. 'Jessy the flow'r of Dumblane.'... 'O Dolce Contento' [by Mozart] and Pollacca [by Johann Christian Stumph], by Mr. Willis on the Kent bugle, with which he will lead the orchestra; arranged by Mr. Willis.... 'Eveleen's Bower' [Irish melody, transcribed by Thomas Moore], with variations and embellishments; Kent Bugle Obligato, by Mr. Willis. Composed by Mr. Willis.... 'The Hunter's Horn in the Morning,' Kent Bugle, Mr. Willis. Phillips. Song, Mrs. De Luce—"At morning dawn," accompanied on the Kent Bugle by Mr. Willis. [composed by Stephen Francis] Rimbault. Finale, Solo, Kent Bugle, 'Yankee Doodle,' with variations, accompanied by the orchestra, the variations composed and arranged by Mr. Willis."	<i>Franklin Gazette</i> , 9, 13 November 1820

21 November 1820	Mr. Willis's Concert, Last Night, Grand Saloon, Washington Hall, Philadelphia	"Solo, Kent Bugle Mr. Willis, 'the Yellow haired Laddie.'"... 'O Dolce Contento,' and Pollacca, Kent bugle, Mr. Willis, by desire.... 'The Hunter's Horn in the Morning,' Kent Bugle, Mr. Willis, by desire Phillips.... Finale, 'Yankee Doodle,' with variations on the Kent Bugle, Mr. Willis." Comment: "Mr Willis, leader of the West Point Band of Music, and a celebrated player of the French horn and Kent Bugle, has been giving concerts in Philadelphia, which are stated to have been well attended."	<i>Franklin Gazette</i> , 17 November 1820; <i>New-York Columbian</i> , 20 November
11 January 1821; apparently postponed to (or repeated on) 15 January	Mr. Willis's Concert, assisted by Mrs. De Luce and Mr. A. Taylor, The Room of the Handel and Haydn Society, Wall Street, New York	"Polacca. When for our loves and native land, Kent Bugle, principal, Mr. Willis. Cook. Song, The Hunter's Horn, Mr. A. Taylor, accompanied on the Kent bugle by Mr Willis, Phillips.... O Dolce Concerto [sic], subject Kent Bugle by Mr. Willis, accompanied by the full band. Kent Bugle, Polacca, Mr. Willis, accompanied by the Band.... Song, at Morning Dawn, Mrs. De Luce, accompanied on the Kent Bugle by Mr. Willis.... Finale, Yankee Doodle, with variations on the Kent Bugle, composed and arranged by Mr. Willis."	<i>New-York Evening Post</i> , 10, 12 January 1821
12 August 1821	Handel and Haydn Society, Oratorio, Boylston Hall, Boston	Review: "The hall was crowded, and the performances excellent—particularly, 'Let the <i>bright Seraphim in burning row</i> ' &c— sung by Mrs. MARTIN, accompanied on the bugle by Mr. WILLIS, of the Cadet band."	<i>Columbian Centinel</i> , 15 August 1821

August 1823	Visit of George Canning, British Foreign Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons, to West Point	Report: "The evening was brilliant.... The band played delightfully, and gave a romantic effect to so interesting an occasion. Willis' bugle resounded through the hills and mountains with its winding notes, and the responding echoes died away in the deep vale, like the perspective termination of the azure hue on the distant Catskill."	<i>Hampden Journal</i> , 6 August 1823
14 September 1824	Fete, Castle Garden, New York	Report: "The groupes of dancers looked like fairies moving in the distance to mellowed music. The notes of Willis's bugle rung through the artificial clouds above them at times, to heighten the deception; and it was not difficult for the dullest spectator to imagine he was at length gazing at one of those fanciful exhibitions of fairy power, of which all have read and not a few have dreamed of, waking."	<i>Richmond Enquirer</i> , 21 September 1824
28 January 1826	Mr. Willis's Concert, Boylston Hall, Boston	Preview: "Mr. Willis, leader of the West Point Band, has come into the city for a few days. He is unequalled on the Kent Bugle and other wind instruments." Program: "Kent Bugle, etc."	<i>Boston Commercial Gazette</i> , 26 January 1826
15 June 1827	"Extract of a letter from a gentleman of Baltimore, dated West Point, June 15, 1827."	Report: "... we fully enjoyed last evening by moonlight, floating on the Hudson, accompanied by the delightful music of a full band, led by Willis' inimitable bugle, reverberating amidst the lofty mountains on each side of its banks."	<i>Rochester Telegraph</i> , 28 June 1827

Appendix 3

References in American newspapers to G.F.H. Plimpton as a performer on the keyed bugle

Date	Place	Repertoire	Source
2 July 1821	Mr. Smith's Hall, Dedham, MA	"Miss Plimpton will sing a variety of fashionable and popular songs.—Mr. P. and Master G. F. Handel, will sing a number of Comic Songs, Duets, &c.—the whole will be accompanied with the Royal Kent Bugle, French Horn and Violin...."	<i>Village Register and Norfolk Country Advertiser</i> , 29 June 1821
3 December 1822	Essex Coffee House, Salem, MA	"a CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Music on the Violin, French Horn and the patent six keyed Bugle."	<i>Salem Gazette</i> , 3 December 1822
25–26 December 1822	Mason's Hall, Concord, NH	Miss Plimpton, "assisted by her father and brother, with Music on the Violin, French Horn and Patent six-keyed Bugle."	<i>New-Hampshire Patriot & State Gazette</i> , 23 December 1822
17 February 1823	Morgan's Exchange Coffee House, Hartford, CT	same	<i>Connecticut Gazette</i> , 18 February 1823
19 February 1823	Washington Hotel, Middletown, CT	same	<i>Middlesex Gazette</i> , 20 February 1823
27 June 1823	Essex Coffee House Hall, Salem, MA	same	<i>Salem Gazette</i> , 24 June 1823
27 November 1823	Mr. Kinney's Hall, Norwich, CT	Miss Plimpton "assisted by her father and brother, with music on the Violin, French Horn, and Patent six keyed Bugle."	<i>Norwich Courier</i> , 26 November 1823
10 February 1824	Mr. Schaffer's Hall, Providence, RI	"A Ball after the Concert.... Musick on the patent six-keyed Bugle, for the Ball, by Master G. F. H. Plimpton"; details: "Solo on the Kent Bugle—Robin Adair, Master G. F. H. Plimpton.... Hunting Song—Tally ho—with the echo of the Kent Bugle."	<i>Rhode-Island American</i> , 6 February 1824; <i>Providence Patriot</i> , 7 February

23 March 1824	Mr. Schaffer's Hall, Providence, RI	Similar	<i>Rhode Island American</i> , 19 March 1824
30 March 1824	Essex Coffee House, Salem, MA	Miss Plimpton, "assisted by her father and brother, with music on the Violin, French Horn, and Royal Kent Bugle."	<i>Essex Register</i> , 29 March 1824
29 December 1824	Columbian Museum, Boston	Concert by Mr., Mrs., Master and Miss Plimpton: "National, Pathetic, and Sentimental Songs, Duets, &c. accompanied with Violin, Kent Bugle, and the APOLLINO."	<i>Boston Commercial Gazette</i> , 27 December 1824
27 April 1825	Pantheon Hall, Boston	"German Air—(Kent Bugle Obligato,) G. F. H. Plimpton.... Song—Tally Ho, with echo of Kent Bugle, Miss Plimpton."	<i>Boston Commercial Gazette</i> , 25 April 1825
5 May 1825	Golden Ball, Haverhill, MA	Concert by Mr., Mrs., Master, and Miss Plimpton, including "Part I. 1. March and Waltz. Violin and Kent Bugle... 5. Hunting Song, 'Tally Ho,' with Eco of Kent Bugle, Miss Plimpton.... 8 Rondos. Violin and Kent Bugle.... Part II. 1. Gen. Jackson's Grand March and Quick Step, Violin and Kent Bugle.... 5. Solo on the Kent Bugle, Master G. F. H. Plimpton."	<i>Gazette & Patriot</i> , 30 April 1825
13 September 1825	Columbian Hall (late Columbian Museum), Boston	Plimpton, wife and daughter, "with Solos, &c. on the Kent Bugle, by his son, with the accompaniments of a small Orchestra and a Military Band."	<i>Independent Chronicle & Boston Patriot</i> , 10 September 1825
3 February 1826	Columbian Hall, Boston	"MRS. PLIMPTON respectfully informs her friends and the public, that she will give a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music ... assisted by her children, and an Orchestra. In the course of performance ... Kent Bugle Obligato, Master G. F. H. Plimpton...."	<i>Boston Commercial Gazette</i> , 2 February 1826

NOTES

- ¹ I would like to warmly thank: Ralph T. Dudgeon for answering numerous questions and sending me copies of the keyed-bugle tutors cited; Trevor Herbert, Martin Kirnbauer, Sabine Klaus, and Arnold Myers for answers; and Bernard Gordillo for research assistance.
- ² Ralph T. Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle*, 2nd edn. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 21–22.
- ³ “The Famed Distin Family: Career of the Great Horn and Saxophone Quintet,” *New York Times*, 7 August 1881.
- ⁴ James D. Brown, *Biographical Dictionary of Musicians* (Paisley & London: Alexander Gardner, 1886), 212. This entry was probably based on a retelling of the story in “The Distin Family: Career of the Great Saxhorn Quintet,” *Brass Band News* (January 1882): 2.
- ⁵ The story is noted and held to be erroneous in Robert E. Eliason, *Keyed Bugles in the United States*, Smithsonian Studies in History and Technology 19 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1972), 6–8.
- ⁶ William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 93; Lyndesay G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers*, 6th edn. (Edinburgh: author, 1980), 41.
- ⁷ E-mail message to the author, 17 April 2009.
- ⁸ John Teahan, “A List of Irish Instrument Makers,” *Galpin Society Journal* 16 (1963): 39.
- ⁹ Algernon S. Rose, *Talks with Bandsmen: A Popular Handbook for Brass Instrumentalists* (London: William Rider & Sons, 1895; reprint with a new introduction by Arnold Myers, London: Tony Bingham, n.d.), 119–20. In his preface (p. vi) he cites as sources “a dozen or more visits to different London workshops, the courtesy of whose proprietors the Author gratefully acknowledges.”
- ¹⁰ In the 1841 census, he was living at Francis Court, Maiden Lane, parish of St. Paul Covent Garden, Westminster, and described as “Mus^l Inst^t Mk^t” aged 40. His first three children, Elizabeth (12), James (11), and Susan (9), are said to have born abroad (presumably Dublin), and his next five, George (7), Robert (5), William (3), Thomas (1), and Margaret (1), in London. In the 1851 census, the street number is given as 1, George’s age as 51, and his profession and that of his son George (aged 17, born in London) as “Journeyman Trumpet Maker.” Susan, aged 19, is now said to have been born in London—perhaps a slip, because she is listed after George, at the head of the block of younger children, Thomas (11), Margaret (11), and Mary Ann (7). In the 1861 census, George and his family are found at 57 Greek Street, parish of St Anne Soho, Westminster. His age is given as 63, and his profession and that of his sons James (30, born in Dublin), George (27, London), and Thomas (21, London) as “Musical Instrument Mkr.” The three censuses are available through ancestry.co.uk (accessed 18 April 2009).
- ¹¹ <http://www.helensfamilytrees.com/neag01.htm> (accessed 19 April 2009).
- ¹² Also listed in the 1871 census as aged 37, “master employing 5 men + 4 boys.” Death date from www.helensfamilytrees.com/butg02.html#34 (accessed 19 April 2009).
- ¹³ As reported in Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 52.
- ¹⁴ E-mail message from Martin Kirnbauer, 21 April 2009.
- ¹⁵ *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Instruments Recently Exhibited at the Royal Military Exhibition, London, 1890*, issued under the orders of Colonel Shaw-Hellier, and compiled by Captain C.R. Day (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1891), 168–70.
- ¹⁶ Information from the collection’s director, Arnold Myers, e-mail message, 6 May 2009.
- ¹⁷ Stephen Weston, “Turton’s Ophicleide,” *Galpin Society Journal* 37 (1984): 117.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 116.

- ¹⁹ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 21.
- ²⁰ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 106.
- ²¹ R. Morley-Pegge, "Regent's Bugle," *Galpin Society Journal* 9 (1956): 94.
- ²² Information from Kirnbauer, e-mail message to the author, 26 October 2009.
- ²³ *Morning Chronicle*, 18 January 1822.
- ²⁴ See Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles: from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd edn., with supplement (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), s.v., "Wheatstone (Charles)."
- ²⁵ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 426; *Patents for Inventions. Abridgments of Specifications relating to Music and Musical Instruments. A.D. 1694–1866*, 2nd edn. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1871; reprint, London: Tony Bingham, 1984), 94–95.
- ²⁶ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 157.
- ²⁷ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 144.
- ²⁸ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 22 September 1825.
- ²⁹ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 278.
- ³⁰ *Pigor & Co's London & Provincial New Commercial Directory for 1823–4*, 181.
- ³¹ *Times*, 5 June 1828.
- ³² *Examiner*, 7 February 1836. (When George IV and Caroline were divorced in 1820, she was acquitted of the charge of infidelity.)
- ³³ *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn., ed. Eric Blom (London: Macmillan, 1954), s.v. "Key Bugle," by R. Morley-Pegge.
- ³⁴ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 34.
- ³⁵ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 188.
- ³⁶ *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 8 (1982), s.v. "Hyde, John."
- ³⁷ *Ibid.* Several concerts in Hyde's Rooms, Tottenham-Street, are advertised: 4 May 1803, for the benefit of Mr. Delamare (*Times*, 4 April); 29 April 1805, F. Griesbach's Concert (*Times*, 27 April); 6 June 1805, for the benefit of Mr. Hoffman (*Times*, 6 June); 29 March 1806, Mrs. Mountain's concert; "The room, and King's boxes, were crowded; there were about 500 present" (*Morning Chronicle*, 31 March); 30 May 1806, F. Griesbach's annual concert (*Times*, 29 May).
- ³⁸ J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* (London: editor), 35.
- ³⁹ Reproduced in Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 2.
- ⁴⁰ *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818*, compiled by Michael Kassler from Lists prepared for William Hawes, D.W. Krummel and Alan Tyson and from Other Sources (Aldershot & Burlington, VT, 2004), 389; Albert G. Rice, "A Selection of Instrumental and Vocal Tutors and Treatises Entered at Stationers' Hall from 1789 to 1818," *Galpin Society Journal* 41 (1988): 19, says 26 January.
- ⁴¹ *Sun*, 14 February 1799.
- ⁴² *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th edn., ed. Eric Blom, s.v. "Bugle Band," by Henry G. Farmer.
- ⁴³ Cited in John Webb, "The English Slide Trumpet," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 5 (1993): 267; full preface quoted in Sabine K. Klaus, "A Fresh Look at 'Some Ingenious Mechanical Contrivance'—The Rodenbostel/Woodham Slide Trumpet," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 20 (2008): 34.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ *A New and Complete Preceptor*, 1.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 9. He comments on the resulting "Scale of the Chromatic Trumpet": "In this Scale there are two Notes wanted to render the diatonic Scale complete in the lower Octave, which are D \flat and F \sharp . Mr Percival of S \prime . James's S \prime . has a plan in preparation to make those two Notes."
- ⁴⁷ W.T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs; Comprising an Account of the General State of Music in England, from*

the First Commemoration of Handel in 1784, to the Year 1830, 2 vols. (London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1830; rpt. in 1 vol., New York: Da Capo Press, 1977), 1:41.

⁴⁸ Photograph in Klaus, "Fresh Look," 39. The instrument is now in the National Music Museum, Vermillion, South Dakota; see <http://www.usd.edu/smm/UtleyPages/SlideTrumpets/13505RodenbostelWoodhamTrumpet/RodenbostelWoodhamTrumpet.html> (accessed 13 February 2009).

⁴⁹ Klaus, "Fresh Look," 45–46.

⁵⁰ Webb, "English Slide Trumpet," 267.

⁵¹ *A Musical Directory*, 71.

⁵² Rose, *Talks with Bandsmen*, 347.

⁵³ *Grove Music Online*, s.v., "Ophicleide," by Reginald Morley-Pegge/Philip Bate, Stephen J. Weston/Arnold Myers (accessed 13 February 2009).

⁵⁴ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v. "D'Almaine & Co."

⁵⁵ *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 10 January 1798.

⁵⁶ *The London Directory for the Year 1788*, 161; *The London Directory for the Year 1780*, 161; Frank Kidson, *British Music Publishers, Printers, and Engravers* (London: W. E. Hill & Sons, 1900; rpt., New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967), 130–31.

⁵⁷ See *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 13 (1991), s.v. "Sarjant, James."

⁵⁸ "A small pocket formerly made in the waistband of the breeches and used for carrying a watch, money, or other valuables" (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

⁵⁹ *Morning Chronicle*, 19 June 1820.

⁶⁰ *Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, 16 July 1836.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 31 March 1838.

⁶² *Euterpeiad: or, Musical Intelligencer, & Ladies' Gazette*, 1 September 1821, 92.

⁶³ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 57–58.

⁶⁴ Eliason, *Keyed Bugles in the United States*, 11. Eliason (*ibid.*, 10) points out that an advertisement in *Evening Post*, 17 September 1816, already calls Willis "the master of the Band" at West Point.

⁶⁵ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 33, cited without a source.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁶⁷ *New England Palladium*, 27 October 1815; repeated *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1 November 1815. Also cited by Eliason, *Keyed Bugles in the United States*, 9.

⁶⁸ George E. Ryan, *A Life of Bandmaster Richard Willis: First Teacher of Music at West Point* (Hanover, MA: The Christopher Publishing House, 2001), 60.

⁶⁹ *Evening Post*, 2 December 1815.

⁷⁰ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1 July 1816.

⁷¹ *Boston Intelligencer, and Morning & Evening Advertiser*, 2 November 1816.

⁷² *Boston Intelligencer*, 14 December 1816.

⁷³ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 26 June 1817.

⁷⁴ *Boston Intelligencer*, 10 April 1819.

⁷⁵ *New-England Galaxy & Masonic Magazine*, 24 September 1819.

⁷⁶ *Boston Intelligencer*, 8 April 1820.

⁷⁷ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 12 May 1817.

⁷⁸ *Columbian Centinel*, 28 May 1817.

⁷⁹ *Mercantile Advertiser*, 9 January 1818.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 February 1818.

⁸¹ *Franklin Gazette*, 21 May 1818.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 15 December 1821, cited in Eliason, *Keyed Bugles in the United States*, 13, 15. Dudgeon,

Keyed Bugle, 70, comments that these bugles “arrived in Philadelphia ... in time to be sold in conjunction with a performance by Willis’ West Point Band.” According to Ryan, *Life of Bandmaster Richard Willis*, 94, 236, the band was in Philadelphia in August 1820 and January 1821; but certainly its performances could have opened up the market for Kent bugles in the city.

⁸³ *Commercial Advertiser*, 19 December 1818.

⁸⁴ *Boston Spa Gazette, and Saratoga Farmer*, 29 May 1822.

⁸⁵ *Baltimore Patriot*, 2 July 1828.

⁸⁶ *New-Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, 25 April 1831.

⁸⁷ Ryan, *Life of Bandmaster Richard Willis*, 56.

⁸⁸ *Evening Post*, 18 April 1816.

⁸⁹ *Evening Post and National Advocate*, 23 April 1816; repeated in *Evening Post*, 24, 26–27, 29 April; *National Advocate*, 24–26 April.

⁹⁰ St. Paul’s Church, New York: “the Oratorio,” including “Air and echo, strike the cymbal, accompanied by the six keyed patent bugle, Pucitta” (*Evening Post*, 23 May). Review in *Columbian*, 31 May: “The Air and Echo, accompanied by the six-keyed patent bugle, was delightful.” The “favorite choruses” were repeated on 4 June, including “Air and chorus, strike the cymbals, accompanied on the patent bugle, by Mr. Willis, late from Dublin Pucitta” (*Evening Post*, 31 May). A retrospective review written on 8 June claimed that “In order to render the band as complete and as powerful as possible, the trombone, the serpent, the kent bugle, and double kettle drums were sent for from a distance and obtained at no small expense.” *New-York Herald*, 12 June 1816.

⁹¹ First published in *Evening Post*, 8 June 1815.

⁹² Charles K. Jones, *Francis Johnson (1792–1844): Chronicle of a Black Musician in Early Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2006), 44, 63.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 47–49.

⁹⁴ The source that Jones cites, Donald W. Krummel, “Philadelphia Music Engraving and Publishing 1800–1820” (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1958), 110, does not mention any of the three pieces by Johnson referring to the Kent bugle; and on p. 111 it even says, “The possibilities of dating Willig publications are ... quite small.”

⁹⁵ Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801–1825: A Bibliography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1964), 1:87; 2:454.

⁹⁶ Thomas S. Lanard, *One Hundred Years with the State Fencibles: A History of the First Company State Fencibles, Infantry Corps State Fencibles, Infantry Battalion State Fencibles and the Old Guard State Fencibles, 1813–1913* (Philadelphia: Nields, 1913), 35.

⁹⁷ Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, 2:451, 455.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 452; Lanard, *State Fencibles*, 13, 16.

⁹⁹ *Who was who in America: Historical Volume, 1607–1896* (Chicago: Marguis, 1963), s.v. “Watmough, John Goddard”; *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*; available from <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts> (accessed 13 May 2009).

¹⁰⁰ Jones, *Francis Johnson*, 44, 74.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 62.

¹⁰² Jones, *Francis Johnson*, 63.

¹⁰³ 13 September 1809; *Repertory*, 12 September. On Turner, see also Jane Ellsworth, “The Clarinet in Early America, 1758–1820” (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 2004), 297–99.

¹⁰⁴ 8 June, postponed to 13 June (concerto); *Boston Gazette*, 7 June; *Boston Patriot*, 9 June. 28 June (quartetto); *Columbian Centinel*, 27 June.

¹⁰⁵ Twice the music is specified: “Military Music—consisting of New Marches and Quick Steps, Waltz’s, &c. composed by J. Hewitt”; “Duke of Wellington’s Grand March, as performed on his

entering Paris." Turner also appeared in: (1) a charitable Masonic Celebration on 16 March; (2) a benefit concert for the singers Bray and Stockwell on 17 May ("Clarinet—Messrs Granger, Hart and Turner Harmony—Wind Instruments Messrs. Granger, Hart, Turner, Wood, Neibhur and Cooper.... Trio—Flute, Clarinet and Bassoon Messrs Pilkington, Turner and Wood"); and (3) in F.C. Schaffer's benefit concert ("Duett—(Clarionets,) Mr. Turner and Hart Harmony—(Wind Instruments,) Messrs Granger, Turner, Hart, Wood, &c.") on 29 September. See *Boston Gazette*, 16 March, 15 May, 26 June, 3, 13, 31 July, 3, 14, 17 August, 4 September; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 27 July, 25, 29 August, 11, 28 September; *Columbian Centinel*, 5 August; *Repertory*, 9 September 1815.

¹⁰⁶ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1 July 1819.

¹⁰⁷ It may be compared with Dudgeon's statement that "Willis chose his solo repertoire from operatic melodies (usually with a set of his own variations), traditional trumpet pieces such as Handel's *Let the Bright Seraphim* and lighter patriotic and dance pieces from the popular styles of the day. Obligatos to songs and choruses were also prominent vehicles for his keyed bugle programs." *Keyed Bugle*, 60.

¹⁰⁸ *Boston Courier*, 12 August 1830.

¹⁰⁹ His vox humana is also mentioned in an advertisement for a concert in Boston on 28 January that year: "The instruments Mr. Willis will introduce, will be the Kent Bugle—Common Trumpet—Double Flageolet—and an instrument of his own invention called the VOX HUMANA" (*Boston Commercial Gazette*, 26 January 1826).

¹¹⁰ Eliason, *Keyed Bugles in the United States*, 13.

¹¹¹ *The Franklin Journal, and American Mechanics' Magazine; Devoted to the Useful Arts, Internal Improvements and General Science*, ed. Thomas P. Jones, V (Philadelphia: Franklin Institute, 1828), 212–13. See also *List of Patents for Inventions and Designs, Issued by the United States, from 1790 to 1847, with the Patent Laws and Notes of Decisions of the Courts of the United States for the Same Period* (Washington: J. & G.S. Gideon, 1847), 321: "Bugle, kent ... Richard Willis ... West Point, N.Y. ... Nov. 10, 1827."

¹¹² "Mr. Willis and Mr. Hansen," *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 20 January 1827.

¹¹³ *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 19–20 January 1827.

¹¹⁴ *Baltimore Patriot*, 4 March 1830.

¹¹⁵ *New-York Columbian*, 14 April.

¹¹⁶ *New-York Evening Post*, 22 June.

¹¹⁷ *New-York Columbian*, 29 June 1819.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17 June 1818.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2 July 1818.

¹²⁰ *National Advocate*, 4 July 1818.

¹²¹ Eliason, *Keyed Bugles in the United States*, 13. The advertisement was for a concert in The Columbian Museum, "in commemoration of the Landing of our Fore-fathers at Plymouth."

¹²² Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 69.

¹²³ "Description of the Apollino," *Plough Boy* (Albany, NY) 1, no. 17 (25 September 1819): 131.

¹²⁴ "Grand Musical Invention," *Village Register and Norfolk County Advertiser*, 1, no. 1 (9 June 1820): [4].

¹²⁵ "Mr. Plimpton, late of this city" (*Albany Gazette*, 1 September 1820); "JOB PLIMPTON, of this City" (*Boston Daily Advertiser*, 30 April 1822).

¹²⁶ *American*, 28 July 1820.

¹²⁷ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 8 February 1821.

¹²⁸ *Columbia Centinel*, 21 February 1821.

¹²⁹ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 11 March 1822.

¹³⁰ www.familysearch.org (accessed 10 May 2009).

- ¹³¹ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 69.
- ¹³² *Franklin Gazette*, 1 July 1819.
- ¹³³ *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot*, 27 June 1821.
- ¹³⁴ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 4 July 1821.
- ¹³⁵ Dudgeon, *Keyed Bugle*, 69.
- ¹³⁶ *Columbian Centinel*, 2 June 1821.
- ¹³⁷ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 7 June 1821; similar advertisement in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 14 June.
- ¹³⁸ *Providence Patriot*, 11 August 1821.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 25 August 1821.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 19 November 1821.
- ¹⁴¹ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 22 February 1822.
- ¹⁴² *Baltimore Patriot*, 2 December 1822; further performances 3–7 December.
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17 March 1823; repeated 18, 27 March, 11 April.
- ¹⁴⁴ *Connecticut Mirror*, 6 March 1826.
- ¹⁴⁵ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 16 August 1817.
- ¹⁴⁶ *Alexandria Herald*, 7 April 1819.
- ¹⁴⁷ *American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 23 October 1818. For a biography of Kelly, see Ellsworth, "Clarinet in Early America," 256–57.
- ¹⁴⁸ *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, 30 December 1818.
- ¹⁴⁹ *St. Louis Enquirer*, 17 June 1822.