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Amateur Instrumental Music in America, 1765 to 1810.

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AMATEUR INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN AMERICA

1765 to 1810

A Dissertation

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PREFACE

It has long been recognized that "gentleman amateurs" played an important part in the musical life of America during the eighteenth century. These gentlemen, usually educated, wealthy, and socially prominent, were the most visible (and most thoroughly documented) of the American amateur musicians. Their ranks included some of America's finest musicians--and most outstanding citizens. They were not the only amateurs active in this country, however. Music was enjoyed by members of all social and economic groups, and was supported by an extensive network of teachers, publishers, importers, and retailers. American amateur musicians in the late eighteenth century showed a great diversity in training, experience, and musical taste, and in the value they placed on their musical activities.

The importance of the amateur musicians to the musical life of the country and the relatively slight attention given to the amateurs and their activities in other studies of music in America have suggested that a need for a more thorough exploration of the subject exists. It is hoped that this project will help to fill some gaps in the current understanding of amateur musicians in America in the last years of the eighteenth century.

Amateur musicians, as understood in this study, are individuals who study and play for pleasure, artistic satisfaction, and, occasionally, for social or civic occasions without concern for financial reward. The amateurs discussed below felt that music was an important part of their lives but did not attempt to make a living as players.

The intention of this project is to examine the musical activities of amateur instrumentalists during about the last third of the eighteenth century, a period embracing the end of the Colonial era and the first years of the Federal era. The chronological limitations have been stretched somewhat to include important background material and to follow the careers of several major figures whose lives extended into the nineteenth century. In general, conditions are described as they existed during the last two decades of the century.

One important area of amateur activity has been omitted from consideration in this study. The music of the Moravian centers at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina, was possibly the most highly developed in America during the eighteenth century. Most of the players in the Moravian communities were amateurs and shared some

characteristics with other musicians included in this project. The Moravian music, however, is a subject in itself and must be considered in light of communal conditions and European traditions which differ quite strikingly from those which influenced most of the other amateur musical activity. Despite the highly developed state reached by music in the Moravian centers, the influence of their music on other aspects of American musical life appears to have been rather slight. The music of the Moravians has been the subject of numerous studies in the past and does not demand, at this time, more investigation as part of a project of this kind. The Moravians and their music existed, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, largely outside the mainstream of American life (despite many commercial contacts and rather widespread fame as musicians and brewers). For these reasons the Moravian musical activity has been omitted from this study. To have included it would have led to an inflation of the project beyond manageable proportions without adding substantially to the understanding of amateur musical life in the rest of the country.

Appreciation is expressed to the many individuals and institutions whose aid has made the completion of this project a reality.

Special thanks are due to my wife, Mary Ann, whose encouragement, typing skills, ideas, and help in numerous other ways pushed the work to completion, and to her parents for their many contributions throughout the course of the doctoral program. Great appreciation is also expressed to my parents and other members of the family who offered help and encouragement at many points along the way.

A special word of appreciation is due to Dr. Wallace McKenzie, whose guidance, suggestions, interest, and confidence helped to make not only this project, but the entire program possible--and enjoyable. Thanks also go to other members of the committee--Mr. Paul Louis Abel and Dr. Donald Wilson, who read and made suggestions on the entire manuscript, and Mr. John Patterson and Dr. Marchita Mauck for their aid throughout the course of the program. Others whose contributions must be acknowledged include Miss Judy Smith, who read and made many valuable suggestions on the manuscript, Mr. Hal Smith and others of the staff of the East Tennessee State University Library, and members of the staffs of the Louisiana State University Library and the South Caroliniana Library.

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ABSTRACT

It has long been recognized that "gentleman amateurs" played an important role in the musical life of America during the eighteenth century. They were not the only amateurs active in this country, however. Music was enjoyed by members of all social and economic groups, and was supported by an extensive network of teachers, publishers, importers, and retailers.

This project examines the musical activities of amateur instrumentalists in America during the last one-third of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth. The music of the Moravian centers at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and Salem, North Carolina, is a large subject in itself and has not been included in this study.

The dissertation is structured in two parts. Part One deals with amateur players and their teachers. Three teaching situations are considered--itinerant music masters among the plantations of Tidewater Virginia, the instrumental clubs of Essex County, Massachusetts, and musical instruction in urban areas.

Part Two includes an examination of the music, in-

struments, and books available to the American amateur players. Special attention is devoted to American publications of instrumental music and to the markets for which they were designed.

The evidence presented in the dissertation makes it possible to distinguish four categories of amateur players:

1. Untrained or informally trained players

2. Young ladies (and gentlemen) for whom music was primarily a social accomplishment

3. Bandsmen and members of instrumental clubs

4. Serious amateurs

While there is a degree of overlap among some of these categories, each possessed a rather distinctive set of musical preferences, a repertoire of favorite pieces, and its own means of developing musical skills.

Publishers and retailers of music and instruments were well aware of the differences in the material needed by each of these groups and made an effort to see that all needs were (profitably) satisfied.

Categorization of the amateur players, and the investigation of the instructional systems, music, and

instruments used by each group are of great value in developing an understanding of the musical activities of these players, and of their place in the history of music in America.

INTRODUCTION

The study of amateur musicians in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries requires the examination of a number of different types of material. The information on the music and its players is usually found as incidental data in sources devoted to other subjects or to other aspects of musical life. While an exhaustive list of sources would be out of place at this point, a brief explanation of the kinds of material available and the manner of their use in this study may be helpful.

The following types of sources were utilized in the project:

1. Existing studies of other aspects of musical life in America during the period under consideration

2. Eighteenth and early nineteenth century sources which do not deal primarily with music (diaries, journals, letters, newspapers, magazines, and other published materials)

3. Musical sources (printed music, reprints of early editions, articles and other writings about music)

4. Background studies dealing with subjects other than music, or with musical life in England and on the Continent.

Sources of particular importance in the first group include the now-classic studies by O. G. Sonneck (Early Concert Life in America, Early Opera in America, Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon, Early Secular American Music and several of the shorter essays), studies of music in various parts of the country (Musical Activities in Salem, Massachusetts, by Milton Hehr; Music of the Old South, by Albert Stoutamire; Musical Interludes in Boston,1795-1830, by Earle H. Johnson; and many others), sources dealing with different kinds of music (American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music, by Frank J. Metcalf; Military Music of the American Revolution, by Raoul Camus), and bibliographic works (Secular Music in America, 1801-1825, by Richard Wolfe; An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction books, 1600-1830, by Thomas Warner).

The second group of sources includes diaries and letters by Philip Vickers Fithian, Landon Carter, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Francis Hopkinson, and others, newspapers from most of the important cities, city directories, early histories, magazines, catalogues, and advertisements of various kinds.

The third group includes printed music of all kinds (collections, method books, and separate publications), in original editions, on microfilm or microprint, and in modern editions. Articles on music are also included in this group.

The largest amount of material was found in several large microform collections. Of these, two merit special attention:

Early American Imprints, published by the American Antiquarian Society, is an attempt to make available, on microcards[1] as much as possible of the material printed in America up to 1819. There are two series, the first containing material printed before 1801 (approximately 50,000 entries), the second including material printed between 1802 and 1819 (now [1979] complete through 1816). The entries in the first series are arranged by number, following the system devised by Charles Evans, with additional entries as assigned by Roger Bristol in his supplement to Evans'work. The second series uses a similar ar-

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[1]Microcards are opaque cards (approximately 6 x 9 inches) with a capacity of 50 to 100 pages of printed text per card.

rangement. Sources from these series are identified in footnote and bibliographic entries by the letters EAI and the number assigned to the imprint. Numbers preceded by the letter S are from the second series. Two indexes to the musical entries in the first series are available: Music in Early America, A Bibliography of Music in Evans, by Donald Hixon and American Music, 1698-1800. An Annotated Bibliography, by Patricia Heard. Both include the necessary numbers to locate material; Hixon includes several indexes (by number, composer, title); Heard includes materials about music as well as printed music. No index to the music in the second series is yet available. Other important material found in Early American Imprints includes city directories, advertisements, books of all kinds, and other non-serial printed material. Newspapers and magazines are not included.

The largest collection of early American Newspapers is the series Early American Newspapers, published by the American Antiquarian Society in a format similar to that used for Early American Imprints. Several hundred papers, many complete for much of the eighteenth century, are now available. Several important newspapers, including the Times of London and a large selection of eighteenth cen-

tury papers from Charleston, South Carolina, (not in EAN) are available separately on microfilm.

Magazines from American publishers are available in the American Periodicals Series on microfilm.

Other useful materials (originals, photocopies, and films) were found in the libraries of Louisiana State University, East Tennessee State University, and the University of South Carolina. A large amount of information on South Carolina was made available by the South Caroliniana Library in Columbia, South Carolina.

The writers and publishers of much of the eighteenth century material quoted in this study were inconsistent and "imaginative" in matters of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and grammar. Since most of the material is clear in meaning, if unorthodox in style (by today's standards), it is reproduced as printed to retain the flavor of the original. No attempt has been made to correct the "errors" of another day. Only where the meaning of a passage is unclear has a change been made. All such changes are indicated. For the same reason, it seems inappropriate to clutter quoted passages with "[sic]" at every unusual spelling or usage. This is used only where it is essential to clarify the meaning of the passage.

This study is organized in two parts. Part One deals with amateur players and their teachers. Three general teaching situations are considered--itinerant music masters among the plantations of Tidewater Virginia, the instrumental clubs and ensembles of Essex County, Massachusetts, and musical instruction in urban areas. Obviously, not every possible teaching situation can be included in those covered, but the general types of instruction explored in these chapters appear to account for most of the formal musical instruction carried on in America during the period under discussion.

Part Two includes an examination of the music, instruments, and books available to the American amateur players. Special attention is given to American publications of instrumental music and to the markets for which they were designed.

Investigation of the instructional situations and the markets for music and instruments has made possible an understanding of the American amateur instrumentalists and their music at a time when a distinct "American" musical life was beginning to evolve.

PART ONE

AMATEUR INSTRUMENTALISTS

AND

THEIR TEACHERS

CHAPTER I

ITINERANT MUSIC MASTERS

In rural areas, especially among the plantations of Tidewater Virginia, teachers of music, dancing, fencing, and other social skills traveled from home to home, spending up to a week with each family on their circuit. These teachers often took part in the family life of the plantations and performed with their pupils in informal musicales at the homes of the more cultured citizens.

Music was considered an important accomplishment by these wealthy planters, especially for young ladies.[1] The diaries and journals described below contain numerous references to the musical activities (generally at the keyboard) of the young ladies. Gentlemen in Virginia, as elsewhere in the country, were most likely to take up the flute or violin. The successful music master on

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[1]The young Thomas Jefferson, in a letter to William Fleming ca. October, 1773, wrote of Jenny Taliaferro (of one of the Tidewater families) ". . . I was vastly pleased with her playing on the spinnette and singing, and could not help calling to mind those sublime verses " . . . Oh! how I was charmed to see/ Orpheus' music all in thee." The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Julian Boyd, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 1:12.

the plantation circuit had to have at least some skill on these instruments to satisfy the needs of the whole family.

Details of the daily lives and travels of the music masters are, for the most part, lost. Their way of life and work did not include the use of public advertisements or performances, and they were not among the well-educated minority whose letters, diaries, and meticulous observations serve as a primary source of information about eighteenth-century Americans.

A few of the music teachers did receive mention in contemporary writings, and one, John Stadler, appears in the records of three different families, making it possible to trace his travels and work over a period of about ten years.

Stadler, a German musician whose American career had previously taken him to New York and Philadelphia,[1] made his first appearance in the financial records of George Washington when he was hired in 1765 to teach "Mrs. Washington & two Childn Musick."[2] Stadler (spelled

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[1]Philip Vickers Fithian, Journal and Letters, 1773-1774 ed. by Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Inc., 1945), 182.

[2]George Washington, Diaries, ed. by Donald Jackson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 2:40n.

Stedlar by Washington) is first mentioned in Washington's diary in the entry for February 27, 1768.[1] (It seems likely that he was employed more or less continuously from 1765, but no proof of this has been located.) Between February 27, 1768 and July 8, 1770, fairly regular visits by Stadler to Mount Vernon were recorded in the diary. Since Washington was far from thorough in recording the daily events of the plantation (especially those involving Mrs. Washington and the children), it seems probable that Stadler's visits were more frequent than the diary indicates.

Patsy Custis, Washington's stepdaughter, may have begun to take music lessons as early as 1762, though no record of a teacher at that date has been found. An invoice, dated October 12, 1761, for goods to be shipped by Washington's London agent, Robert Cary, includes the following:

> For Miss Custis 6 yrs. old
> [long list of clothes, a Bible, etc.]
> 1 very good Spinit, to be made by Mr Plinius, Harpsicord Maker in South Audley Street Grosvener Square.

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[1] Washington, Diaries, 2:40n.

> Note, it is beg'd as a favour that Mr Cary would bespeak this instrument as for himself or a friend, and not let it be known that it is intended for Exportation. Send a good assortment of spare strings to it.[1]

Washington apparently had obtained some knowledge of London instrument makers and believed (not unreasonably) that the best instruments might not be subjected to the risks involved in the voyage to America.

A similar invoice dated July 20, 1767, furnishes evidence that Patsy's older brother Jackie was playing the fiddle, and that Patsy had made some progress on the spinet.

> For Master Custis 14 yrs. old
> 1 Rozen Box
> 6 bridges for a fiddle
> Best Roman fiddle strings as follow
> ½ dozn. bass strings or 4ths
> 2 Rings of D or 3ds
> 4 Rings of A or 2ds
> 4 dozn. firsts or treble to be carefully packed
> 1 bound Blank Book ruled propr for the Spinnet
> 1 Do Do Do proper for the fiddle
> For Miss Custis 12 yrs old
> A Blank Book bound and Ruld proper for the Spinnet
> A Book with the New Version of Psalms and Hymns set for the Spinnet[2]

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[1] John C. Fitzpatrick, ed. The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources 1745-1799 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931), 2:370.

[2] Ibid. 463-4.

It would appear that the children's musical studies were well established by the time of Stadler's first recorded visit to Mount Vernon.

Washington's diaries tell little about music making at the plantation beyond the presence of the music master, the supplies ordered, and occasional payments to Stadler. The entry for February 27, 1768, is characteristically brief: "In the evening Mr. Stedlar came."[1] Stadler was at Mount Vernon on February 27, March 18-21, April 21-23, October 1-2, November 11, and December 18, 1768, according to the diary.[2] It seems likely that other visits went unrecorded due to Washington's frequent trips to the capital at Williamsburg. On March 16 a shipment of harpsichord music arrived from Cary in London.[3]

Diaries for 1769 and 1770 show about the same number of recorded visits. On September 27, 1769, Washington paid Stadler £8 12s for teaching Jackie eight months, and £10 15s for teaching Patsy for ten months.[4] The information on payments seems to indicate that lessons were given on a monthly basis. The inclusion of lessons for Jackie is of further interest as he was not at Mount Vernon during part of this period, but was in a boarding school in Annapolis.

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[1]Washington, Diaries, Jackson ed. 2:40.

[2]Ibid. 40-253 passim.

[3]Ibid. 50n.

[4]Ibid. 182.

A letter from Washington to J. Boucher, Jackie's tutor at Annapolis, states that the letter will be delivered by Stadler.[1] There is no direct evidence that Jackie received instruction from Stadler while in Annapolis, but this seems possible. Later reports of Stadler's activities indicate that he was a source of news, gossip, and occasionally written materials, at other plantations on his circuit.[2]

During his visits to Mount Vernon, Stadler took his meals with the family and seems to have been treated as a welcome guest by Mrs. Washington and the children. Washington himself spent little time with his German music master, and the diaries, which describe many rides, hunts, and good times with a steady stream of other guests, simply indicate Stadler's presence. Entries for March 18-21, 1768, are typical:

> 18 . . . Found Mr Stedlar at Mt. Vernon.
> 19 At home all day. Mr Stedlar here.
> 20 At home all day. Mr. Stedlar still here.
> 21 Went to court. . . . Mr. Stedlar stayed. . .[3]

On July 7, 1770, Washington paid Stadler £21 10s for lessons for Jackie and Patsy.[4] The next morning "Mr. Stedlar

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[1]Fitzpatrick, The Writings of George Washington, 2:512.

[2]Note especially the entries in the journals of Philip Fithian, presented below.

[3]Washington, Diaries, Jackson ed. 2:46.

[4]Ibid. 253.

went away after Breakft"[1] and appeared no more in the Washington diaries.

Though no record remains of further visits by Stadler to Mount Vernon, it seems likely that the music study continued for a while, possibly until the untimely death of Patsy in 1773 at the age of seventeen. Jackie was married a few months later and was soon the father of several children.[2] Upon his death in 1781, his step-father undertook some of the responsibility for the children,[3] a responsibility which seems to have included providing music lessons.

Two letters from later years indicate that even in the Presidency and in retirement Washington was involved with music, music teachers, and the maintenance of the harpsichord. By this time he seems to have been able to send his step-granddaughter to the finest teacher available.

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[1]Washington, Diaries, Jackson ed. 2:253.

[2]Marcus Cunliffe, George Washington: Man and Monument (New York: Mentor Books, 1958),59.

[3]Ibid. 107.

A letter to Clement Biddle dated December 21, 1789, includes the following:

> Mrs. Washington and I will be much obliged to you to get from Mr. Reinagle[1] who taught Miss Custis last summer, such music as he may think proper for her to progress with through the winter, and pay him for the same which you will be good enough to forward to New York.[2]

On January 10, 1798, Washington wrote to Biddle:

> Pray send a set of strings for Miss Custis's Harpsichord agreeably to the enclosed Memm. under cover to me by the first Post. . .[3]

Biddle's service was evidently rather quick for the time. A letter dated January 29 informed him that "Your letter of the 16th has been received and the music strings came safe."[4]

Washington's dealings with the family's music master were probably typical among the planters of Virginia. Music was to be enjoyed, mainly by the women and children, and was good for them. The ability to provide this refinement to life was a mark of a man's success and concern for the betterment of his children's

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[1]Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809), English pianist and composer, director of music at the New Theatre, Philadelphia.

[2]Fitzpatrick, The Writings of George Washington, 30:481.

[3]Ibid. 36:123.

[4]Ibid. 36:145.

education. Washington clearly saw value in music education, but made no pretense to the possession of musical skill himself.[1] The head of this family had more important things to do.

If Stadler was merely tolerated by Washington, he found a different reception at Nomini Hall, the Tidewater plantation of Robert Carter III.

Philip Vickers Fithian, tutor to the Carter children from October 1773 to October 1774, wrote in his diary one of the most detailed and informative accounts of plantation life in Virginia to be found. Fithian was an amateur flautist (among other things) and took an active part in the musical events at Nomini Hall.

Music, for the Carters, was much more than a genteel accomplishment for the young ladies. As music master, Stadler (spelled Stadley by Fithian) gave informal performances for after-dinner entertainment, joined in family ensembles, and gave lessons on piano, violin, and flute. His wide experience and constant travels made him a welcome dinner guest and conversationalist, armed with the latest news from the outside

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[1] In a letter to Francis Hopkinson dated February 5, 1789 Washington wrote, regarding Hopkinson's Seven Songs and his claim to be the first native born American composer: "I can neither sing one of the songs nor raise a single note on any instrument to convince the unbelieving." Quoted from Fitzgerald, The Writings of George Washington, 30:197.

world.

Robert Carter was himself a dedicated amateur musician. He owned a large collecion of instruments and a sizable library of music and books on music. He was active as a performer at home and taught guitar to his daughter Nancy "as Mr. Stadley does not understand playing on the guitar."[1]

Shortly after arriving at Nomini Hall, Fithian wrote a revealing description of Carter's musical activity.

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[1]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 105.

December 13. [1773] . . . Mr. Carter is practising this Evening on the Guittar. He begins with the Trumpet Minuet. He has a good Ear for Music; a vastly delicate Taste: and keeps good instruments, he has here at Home a Harpsichord, Forte-piano, Harmonica [Franklin's glass harmonica],[1] Guittar, Violin, & German Flutes [including a "concert German Flute, having three middle pieces and mounted with silver"[2]], & at Williamsburg, has a good organ, he himself also is indefatigable in the Practice.[3]

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[1]Carter had ordered the harmonica on May 23, 1764. His letter to London dealer John M. Jordan contains the following information.

"Mr. Pelham [Peter Pelham (1721-1805), organist at Bruton Parish Church and musical leader in Williamsburg] of this place is just returned from New York, he heard on that journey Mr. B. Franklin of Phila: perform upon the Armonica: The Instrument pleased Pelham amazingly & by his advice I now apply to you, to send me an Armonica as played on by Miss Davies at the great Room in Spring Gardens, being the musical Glasses without water [Franklin's Harmonica used a small amount of water to moisten the edges of glasses. "Without water" here distinguishes the harmonica from musical glasses which were tuned by being filled with varying amounts of water.]: Formed into a complete Instrument, capable of Thorough-bass, & never out of tune. Charles James of Purpoole-Lane, near Gray's Inn London is the only maker of the Armonica in England.

Let the Glasses be clear crystal & not stained, for what ever distinction of colour may be thought necessary to facilitate the performance may be made here. The greatest accuracy imaginable must be observed in tuning the Instrument and directions procured for grinding the Glasses, they, must be packed with great care for if a Glass should be broke the Instrument will be rendered useless until the accident could be repaired in London. The case of [or?] Frame in which the Instrument is to be fixed to be made of black walnut."

Letter quoted in Jane Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), 248-9.

[2]Louis Morton, Robert Carter of Nomini Hall (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1945), 218.

[3]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 39.

Later, on January 4, 1774, Fithian added the following observations:

> Mr. Carter is sensible, judicious, much given to retirement and study; his Company & conversation are always profitable - His main Studies are Law & Music, the latter of which seems to be his darling Amusement - It seems to nourish, as well as entertain his mind! And to be sure he has a nice well judging Ear, and has made great advances in the Theory and Practice of Music -[1]

The musical interests of Robert Carter set him apart from most of the wealthy planters of the day. While other well educated musical amateurs have become known (Hopkinson, Jefferson, and Franklin for example), there seems to be no precedent among the planters of the Tidewater for the depth and breadth of musical accomplishment shown by Carter.

Robert Carter III was the grandson of Robert "King" Carter, founder of one of the greatest fortunes of colonial Virginia. With his uncles Landon, Charles, and John (his father died while Robert was a child) he shared in the vast holdings assembled by "King" Carter. His part of the estate, held for him until he reached age 21, amounted to more than seventy thousand acres. He attended the College of William and Mary and, at 21, sailed for England for two years. His study of law in London culminated in his admission to the exclusive Inner Temple, and he "assumed the agreeable duties of a member of that august legal

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[1]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 64.

society"[1] within a few months of his arrival.

Though no records have been found to document his musical activity at this period, it seems likely that during this time he may have become acquainted with the musical life of London.

In 1759 he became a member of the Governor's Council and was required to go to Williamsburg twice a year to sit as a member of the General Court. He bought a home in the capital and lived there with his family for most of each year until about 1772.[2]

Williamsburg offered some opportunity for musical activity during the 1760s. Francis Fauquier, the Royal Governor, was a devotee of chamber music and apparently was a performer of some skill. Thomas Jefferson, a student at the College of William and Mary from 1760 to 1762, was a frequent guest at the Governor's Palace for dinner and music. Regarding these evenings Saul Padover has written:

> Small [William Small, professor of natural philosophy and mathematics], Wythe [George Wythe, professor of law and Jefferson's mentor], and Jefferson, together with Dr. Smith, a professor of mathematics who treated the young student "as

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[1] Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. xxxvii.

[2] Ibid. xl.

> a father," frequently dined with the Governor and often listened to chamber music at the governor's Palace.[1]

Some years later Jefferson wrote:

> At these dinners I have heard more good sense, more rational and Philosophical conversation, than in all my life besides. They were truly Attic societies. The Governor was musical also, and a good performer, and associated me with two or three other amateurs at his weekly concerts.[2]

It seems at least possible that Councillor Robert Carter was one of these amateurs.[3] Louis Morton furnishes some additional information on this group.

> Among Carter's nearest neighbors [in Williamsburg] were Governor Fauquier, George Wythe, and Peyton Randolph, a second cousin, all of whom were active in the life of the colony.[4]

> He found stimulating companionship among the officials of the colony and the professors at the College. With Francis Fauquier, the Governor of the

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[1]Saul K. Padover, Jefferson (New York: Mentor Books, 1952), 15.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Concerts at the Governor's Palace were neither a novelty nor a creation of the unusually cultured Fauquier. Forty years earlier, on April 20, 1720, William Byrd of Westover wrote in his diary: "We had also a concert of music at the Governor's and drank the necessary healths till 11 o'clock. . ." The London Diary, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 400. This concert predates by eleven years the first public concerts traced by Sonneck.

[4]Morton, Robert Carter, 49-50.

colony; with George Wythe, the brilliant lawyer, and with William Small who taught mathematics at William and Mary, he associated on terms of especial intimacy. Faquier became Carter's fast friend. During 1762, the Councillor and the Governor visited New York together. [Possibly they sought out the musical entertainment which was available. See Sonneck, Early Concert Life in America, 163-4 for New York concerts in 1762.] The following year they traveled together to Charleston. [Sonneck found no public concerts advertised in Charleston in 1763, but it seems quite likely that there were at least a few. They were relatively common before and after this time, and the newly formed (1762) St. Caecilia Society was in operation.] Fauquier's love of music found expression in the informal concerts which were held weekly at the Palace. Carter had in his home an organ which had been built to his own specifications in London. Young Thomas Jefferson who was a student at the College often participated in Fauquier's concerts. Doubtless he enjoyed music in Carter's home also, for he later sought to purchase the organ which had stood in the house at Williamsburg.[1] So great was Fauquier's admiration for Carter that when the Governor made his will, he named the Councillor one of the executors of that part of his estate which lay in America. To Carter and his coexecutors, Peyton Randolph, George Wythe, and William Nelson, the Governor bequeathed four "single stone Brilliant Diamond Rings", asking that they would wear these rings "in remembrance of a man who once loved them and dies in the belief that they loved him."[2]

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[1]The assertion that Jefferson intended to buy the organ is not documented by Morton. The letter from Carter to Jefferson quoted below contains the only mention of this organ found in the Jefferson papers. According to Julian Boyd, editor of the Jefferson papers, the preceding letter, which one would assume contained Jefferson's request, is lost. (Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, 2:207). Nothing in Carter's letter clearly indicates that Jefferson was attempting to purchase the instrument.

[2]Morton, Robert Carter, 45.

Letters prove that at some point Carter and Jefferson had become acquainted and shared their enthusiasm for music. In July, 1778, Carter wrote to Jefferson:

> You are pleased to Say that the practical part of musick afforded you much Entertainment and that you wanted an organ. I have two daughters, who practice upon keyed instruments; their music Master did enter into the continental Service, who lately resigned his commission. The Girls and Mrs Carter are in Expectation of Mr. Victors returning to his former calling.[1]

Among the musical leaders in Williamsburg during the last four decades of the eighteenth century was Peter Pelham, mentioned above (p. 18) in connection with the harmonica. He served as organist at Bruton Parish Church and as jailor for the colony. His concerts at the church were popular and apparently well attended. Some of these concerts were benefits for which he received some monetary reward.

In 1777 Ebenezer Hazard, Surveyor-General for the Post Office wrote in his diary:

> June 4. There is to be a musical Entertainment & Ball at the Capitol this Evening for the Benefit of Mr. Pelham, the Organist of the Church.
> June 5. The Entertainment last Night was very fine, the music excellent, the Assembly large & polite, & the Ladies made a brilliant Appearance. A Mr. Blagrave (a Clergyman), his Lady, & a Mrs Neal [a music teacher who gave guitar lessons at her home on Palace Street] performed the vocal parts; they sang well, especially Mr. Blagrave.

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[1]Boyd, Papers of Jefferson, 2:206. Regarding Mr. Victor, see p. 37.

> His Lady played excellently on the Harpsichord. After the entertainment was over, the company went up Stairs to dance.[1]

Both Washington and Jefferson apparently attended Pelham's concerts and Jefferson once hired him, possibly to play for a private party. Jefferson's account book for May, 1769, records that he "Pd. Pelham for playing the organ 2/6."[2]

Some idea of Pelham's repertoire can be gathered from a letter written by one Anne Blair in August, 1769:

> They are building a steeple to our Church, the Door's for that reason is open every day; and scarce an Evening. . . but that we are entertain'd with performances of Felton's, Handel's, Vi-Vally's &c. &c. &c. &c.[3]

The active musical life of Williamsburg apparently impressed even Robert Carter's rather curmudgeonly uncle Landon Carter, who wrote in his diary on August 21, 1771:

> . . . I hear from every house a constant tuting may be listned to upon one instrument or another, whilst the Vocal dogs will no doubt complete the howl.[4]

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[1]Carson, Colonial Virginians, 246. Quoted from MS Journal of Journeys to the South, June 4, 5, 1777.

[2]Ibid. 248, 229n.

[3]Ibid. 246. William Felton (1715-1769) was an English organist and composer noted especially for his keyboard works. "Vi-Vally" was doubtless Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741).

[4]Landon Carter, The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778. ed. by Jack P. Greene (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 2:618.

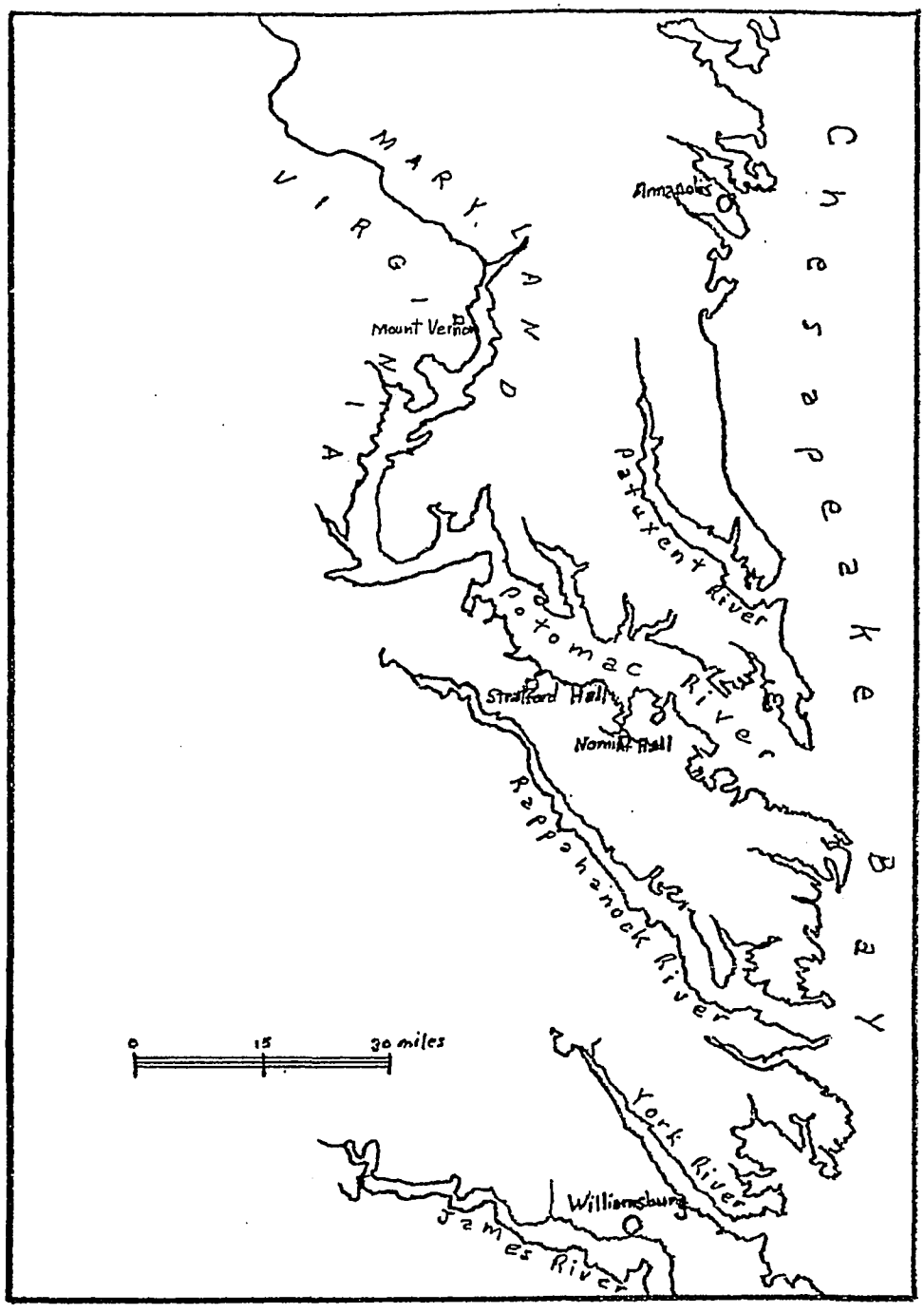

Fig. 1. Eastern Virginia and Maryland, circa 1760

Musical activity in Williamsburg during the 1760s seems to have been varied and well supported. The efforts of Pelham at the church, of Governor Fauquier at the Governor's Palace, and of various amateurs helped to create a fertile ground for the growth of Councillor Carter's musical taste and skill. If his interest in music had not already been aroused during the years in London, the music available in the Virginia capital was sufficient to encourage and guide his progress.

Whatever the roots of his musical interest, by 1773 Carter seems to have been a skilled musician and to have valued musical accomplishment in others. He took an active part in the musical education of his children and set an example for them by his own conscientious study and practice. Fithian's Journal is full of references to musical events which had become a common part of the daily life of Nomini Hall.

The following excerpts from Fithian's Journal describe some of these events, and help to show the place of music in the life of the Carter family.

> December 13. [1773] Evening Mr Carter spent in playing on the Harmonica; It is the first time I have ever heard the instrument. The music is charming! He play'd Water parted from the Sea [an air from Thomas Arne's opera Artaxerxes]. The notes are clear and inexpressibly grand; & either it is the sounds are new, and therefore please me, or it is the most captivating Instrument I have ever heard. The sounds very much resemble the human voice, and in my opinion they far exceed even the swelling Organ. (p. 49)

December 27. We returned in the Evening; & found Mr Carter & Nancy [Carter's second daughter] practicing music, one on the Forte-piano, and the other on the Guitar. Mr. Carter is Learning Bedford, Coles hill, and several other Church Tunes. (p. 56)

January 4 [1774]. In the Evening the Colonel is busy in transposing Music. (p. 64)

January 7. The Colonel told me last Evening that he proposes to make the vacant End of our School-Room, Where Dr. Frank lived a Concert-Room to hold all his instruments of Music - as he proposes to bring up from Williamsburg his Organ & to remove the Harpsichord, Harmonica, Forte-piano, Guittar, violin, & German-Flutes, & make it a place for practice, as well as Entertainment. (p. 68)

February 24. The Colonel at Dinner gave Ben [Carter's son] & I a Piece of Music to prepare on our flutes, in which he is to perform the thorough Bass. (p. 90)

February 26. Evening the Colonel & I performed the Sonata. I had the Pleasure to hear the Colonel say that I have my part perfect. (p. 91)

February 28. Evening we performed the Sonata I the first; Ben the second; & Mr Carter the thorough Bass on the Forte-Piano. (p. 92)

March 5. Mr. Carter appointed Ben, & I another Sonata to practise. He wrote for Miss Nancy also "Infancy" to get by Heart & sing it with the Guitar. (p. 94)

March 9. Evening we played in our small Concert our old Sonata; & besides Felton's Gavott [a famous set of variations from one of Felton's harpsichord concerti]. (p. 100)

March 18. In the Evening Mr Carter sent for Ben & I to play over the Sonata which we have lately learn'd, we performed it, & had not only Mr Stadley's Approbation, but his praise; he did me the honour to say that "I play a good Flute", He took a flute also and play'd; which put me in mind, at once of the speech of the Shepherd in virgil- . . . For when compared to him, the best that Ben or I can do, is like Crows among Nightingales.

We play'd till ten, and separated.[1] (p. 110)

Fithian's Journal also contains brief sketches of the musical interests and accomplishments of other members of the Carter family.

> Miss Priscilla, the eldest daughter about 16, is steady, studious . . . She is small for her age, has a mild winning Presence, a sweet obliging Temper, never swears, which is here a distinguished virtue, dances finely, plays well upon key'd Instruments, and is upon the whole in the first class of the female sex.
>
> Nancy the second . . . is only beginning to play the Guitar. She understands the notes well, & is a graceful dancer.
>
> Harriot is bold, fearless, noisy and lawless; always merry, almost never displeased; She seems to have a heart easily moved by the force of Music; She has learned many Tunes & can strike any Note, or succession of Notes perfectly with the Flute or Harpsichord, and is never wearied with the sound of Music either vocal or Instrumental.[2]

This kind of observation was also applied to guests at Nomini Hall. Fithian wrote the following about Jenny Washington, daughter of George's brother John Augustine, and like other members of the Washington family, a pupil of Stadler.

> She plays well on the Harpsichord, & Spinet; understands the Principles of Musick, & therefore performs her Tunes in perfect time, a neglect of which always makes music intolerable, but it is a

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[1]The sonatas studied may have been from the edition of "Handels Operas for Flute 2 vols." included in Fithian's catalogue of the Carter library. (Farish ed. 289).

[2]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 65-66.

> fault almost universal among young Ladies in the practice; She sings likewise to her instrument, has a strong, full voice, & a well-judging Ear; but most of the Virginia-Girls think it labour quite sufficient to thump the Keys of a Harpsichord into the air of a tune mechanically, & think it would be Slavery to submit to the Drudgery of acquiring Vocal Music.[1]

Music at Nomini Hall was not limited to the members of the Carter family. Several servants seem to have been musically inclined and, in fact, the sons of the family were fond of joining in the music and dancing of the slaves.

> January 30 [1774]. This Evening the Negroes collected themselves into the School-Room, & began to play the Fiddle, & dance - I was in Mr Randloph's Room; - I went among them, Ben, & Harry [Carter's son and nephew] were of the company.[2]

> June 13. Evening, John the waiting man Play'd, and the young Ladies spent the evening merrily in dancing.[3]

> February 4. This Evening, in the School-Room, which is below my Chamber, several Negroes & Ben & Harry are playing on a Banjo & dancing![4]

At a ball at Lee Hall, home of Squire Richard Lee (a neighbor of the Carters), Fithian found the following music:

> January 18. About Seven the Ladies & Gentlemen begun to dance in the Ball-Room - first Minuets one Round; Second Giggs; third Reels; And last of

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[1]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 65-66.

[2]Ibid. 82.

[3]Ibid. 158.

[4]Ibid. 83.

> All Country-Dances; tho' they struck several Marches occasionally - The music was a French-Horn and two violins.[1]

Unfortunately no clue is given to the identity of the instrumentalists.

An entry for December 31, 1773, shows Carter to have been of an inventive nature and interested in new ideas and devices related to his "darling amusement."

> The Colonel shewed me after dinner a new invention, which is to be sure his own, for tuning his Harpsichord & Forte-piano: it is a number of Whistles of various sizes so as to sound all the Notes in one octave.[2]

Morton also describes what would appear to be an experiment in acoustics:

> One of his experiments, as he described it, consisted in stretching a wire, equal in thickness to the first string of a guitar, and hanging a weight, which he very carefully measured as "8lb - 5oz. - 4grs." upon it. "This operation" he announced triumphantly, "produced a tone which was in unison with D in alt, of my Forte-piano, that instrument being then in Concert Pitch."[3]

Carter's interest in and performance on Franklin's glass Harmonica also mark him as a man committed to keeping up with the latest ideas in music.

Fithian's catalogue of the library at Nomini Hall lists over 1000 volumes, including a large amount of

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[1]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 76.

[2]Ibid. 58.

[3]Morton, Robert Carter, 217-18.

music and books about music. In addition to the Handel flute works mentioned above, there were "17 volumes of music, by various Authors," "Alexander's Feast. . . by Handel," "Malcolm on Music," and a "Book of Italian Music,"[1] It may be assumed that the family also owned hymnals or tune books, from which the church tunes mentioned in the Journal were taken.[2]

Another item not in the catalogue appears in the entry for August 1, 1774:

> I looked today over Dr Burney's Present State of Music in Germany. I think it more entertaining than really useful.[3]

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[1]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 285-94.

[2]Robert Carter's religious beliefs underwent several changes late in the century. He was brought up in the Anglican Church, later became associated with Deism, joined the Baptist Church, and finally became a convert to Swedenborgianism. The effect of these changes on the religious music he used at home, if any, is a question thus far left unanswered.

For a fuller description of Carter's search for faith see Morton, Robert Carter, chapter 10.

[3]Fithian, Journal, 200. Burney's books were advertised rather widely in the U.S. during the latter part of the century. See book catalogues by Benjamin Guild, Boston, 1790, (Early American Imprints, first series, 22545), and Samuel Bradford, Salem, 1802 (Early American Imprints, second series, S1945).

John Stadler came into this musical household as a welcome guest and versatile professional. While Carter's opinion of Stadler is not recorded, Fithian's great fondness and respect for the music master are seen in the following excerpts from the Journal.

> July 12 [1774]. Breakfasted with us Captain Guthrie, of a Small Schooner of Norfolk; & Mr. Stadley the Musician. I love this good German, He used to teach in New York & Philadelphia - He has much simplicity & goodness of heart - He performs extremely well - He is kind and sociable with me.[1]

> July 15. Mr Stadley left us today. I love that man, he is gone to Colonel Taylors [Colonel John Tayloe of Mount Airy, another stop on Stadler's circuit].[2]

At Nomini Hall Stadler found an outlet for all of his teaching and performing skills. If he did not "understand playing on the guitar" as cited above, he was active as a performer on most of the other instruments in Carter's collection. Fithian's comments on his flute playing have been quoted (p. 12). Other entries from Fithian's Journal describe Stadler's performance on other instruments.

> June 15 [1774]. Mr. Stadley spent the evening in playing several songs & Sonatas on the Harpsichord & Violin.[3]

> August 12. Mr. Stadley played on the Harpsichord & Harmonica several Church Tunes & Anthems, with great propriety.[4]

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[1]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 182.

[2]Ibid. 187.

[3]Ibid. 160.

[4]Ibid. 208.

The journal entries indicate that Stadler visited Nomini Hall on a fairly regular schedule, spending an average of three days each month. This schedule matches that maintained in his visits to Mount Vernon in 1768-1770. Fithian records that Stadler was at the Carter home in November and December, 1773, and in March, June, July, August, September, and October of 1774; (Fithian arrived at Nomini Hall in October, 1773, and departed in October 1774). As Fithian was a careful recorder of the activities of the family and delighted in Stadler's company, it seems likely that no visits went unrecorded in January and February. In April and May Fithian was away for several weeks on a trip to Philadelphia (during which time he called on James Lyon and recorded his impressions of the composer-compiler).[1]

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[1]Fithian's entries for April 22-23, 1774 include the following:

> "Fryday 22. Rode to the stage early for the Papers thence I went Mr Hunters where I met with the great master of music, Mr Lyon. He sung at my request, & sing with his usual softness and accuracy - He is about publishing a new Book of Tunes which are to be chiefly of his own Composition - He has removed out of Halifax into the Northern part of New-England, but poor Man, since he left Cohansie he has felt the hardy arm of want! I returned towards Evening but promised first to visit him again to-morrow afternoon.
>
> Saturday 23. At home drawing off some of Mr Lyons Tunes, & revising my own Exercises . . . Afternoon according to appointment I visited Mr Lyon at Mr Hunters. He sings with great accuracy I sung with him many of his Tunes & had much Conversation on music, he is vastly fond of music & musical genius's We spent the Evening with great sattisfaction to me." (Journal, p. 135)

It is likely that Stadler kept his lessons on the usual schedule during this time.

Additional insight into the scheduling and cost of lessons, as well as the importance of the room and board included can be gained from the following entry in the diary of Landon Carter, uncle of Robert and, later, still another customer of Stadler.

> March 6, 1767. Mr. Gualdo [Giovanni Gualdo, later a prominent teacher and performer in Philadelphia] began yesterday to teach my daughter to play on the Guitar. His terms are 2 days in every 3 weeks, that is 34 times the year, after the rate of 13 Pistoles. These times to be at my house. All lessons elsewhere, if she is in the way to take them, are to be gratis.[1]

Gualdo apparently did not remain on the Virginia circuit long, since he opened a wine shop on Walnut Street in Philadelphia in August of the same year.[2] He later advertised that he "adapted and composed music for every kind of instrument" and "taught ladies and gentlemen how to play on the violin, German flute, guitar and mandolin."[3]

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[1]Landon Carter, The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, ed. by Jack P. Greene (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1965),1:336.

[2]O. G. Sonneck, Early Concert Life in America (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907), 70.

[3]Ibid.

At Nomini Hall as at Mt. Vernon, the traveling music master was looked upon as a source of news about the outside world and gossip from the other homes on his circuit. Again, Fithian provides examples of this function.

> September 9 [1774]. Mr. Stadley came in before Breakfast. He inform'd us that Governor Dunmore has gone to the Frontiers with about 400 Men to subdue the Indians - That the Indians seem disheartened, & leave their towns, & are unwilling to fight.[1]

> October 11. Mr Stadley came this morning. He brings no news of the Congress, but much of the great Race lately at Fredricksburg.[2]

News of the important political events of the time was naturally sought and discussed by the Carters, though the family seems to have remained aloof from much actual participation in public affairs.

The last mention of Stadler in Fithian's Journal is in the entry for October 13, 1774.

> Good Mr Stadley left us this morning. I took leave with great reluctance of this worthy Man, & do not expect to see him more![3]

Fithian left Nomini Hall a few days later. He was soon licensed to preach, was married in 1775, and enlisted in the Revolutionary forces in 1776. He died

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[1]Fithian, Journal, Farish ed. 246.

[2]Ibid. 266.

[3]Ibid. 267.

of dysentery and exposure following the battle of White Plains.

Stadler makes one more appearance, in the diary of Colonel Landon Carter. He apparently served as music master in this household, though the instruments he taught have not been revealed. One can assume, from the evidence in Fithian (see p. 17), that Stadler did not teach guitar, making it necessary for Landon Carter to hire Gualdo to teach that instrument to his daughter Lucy. Stadler appears in the Landon Carter Diary as an old, rather crotchety man, quite different from the cheerful, good-natured character described only one year earlier by Fithian. The reference to Colonel Tayloe indicates that at least part of Stadler's old circuit probably remained intact.

Landon Carter's diary is not easy to read, but the picture of the German music master as seen by Carter is of some interest.

> September 18, 1775. Yesterday old Stadler, the musick master, came here and dined. He went into the passage and there set to reading. I was obliged to take my book for entertainment. And at 3, for it had not struck till I get into the Passage, I was going into my room, but in seeing the old Gentleman moving to Colo. Tayloe's I asked him if he would not stay to coffee, it would be ready at 4. He said he did not think of that and set to reading again. . . . Seeing all this I turned in to take a nap and happened to sleep till past 4 about 20 minutes when I came out asking if Stadler was gone. The monster began to bellow at me for lying down, etc.

> I was immediately raised and could not contain myself at his prodigious mouthing usage as well as absurdity in things that he knew facts were against him. At last I told him I had a good mind to throw the coffee away. It came in; he would drink none. I cannot suspect what he does this for; therefore I am the more concerned at it; for if it is mere temper it is really a very bad one and must make him unhappy in time, as it conveys to me his desire of being the sole determiner in all things which is the worst disposition to be possessed of in the world.[1]

On this unhappy note John Stadler passes from view.

The letter from Robert Carter to Thomas Jefferson cited above (p. 23) indicates that Stadler's place was taken by a Mr. Victor who had entered the service and then resigned his commission by 1778. At least two Victors were active in America at this time. It seems most likely that this was John Victor, whose concerts in Virginia in the 1790's were traced by Sonneck,[2] rather than the better known H. B. Victor, a German who moved to London in 1759 and was established in Philadelphia by 1774.[3] Age and circumstances make it appear unlikely that H. B. Victor would have volunteered for service in the war.

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[1]Landon Carter, Diary, 2:944-945.

[2]Sonneck, Concert-Life, 58.

[3]Ibid. 76-77.

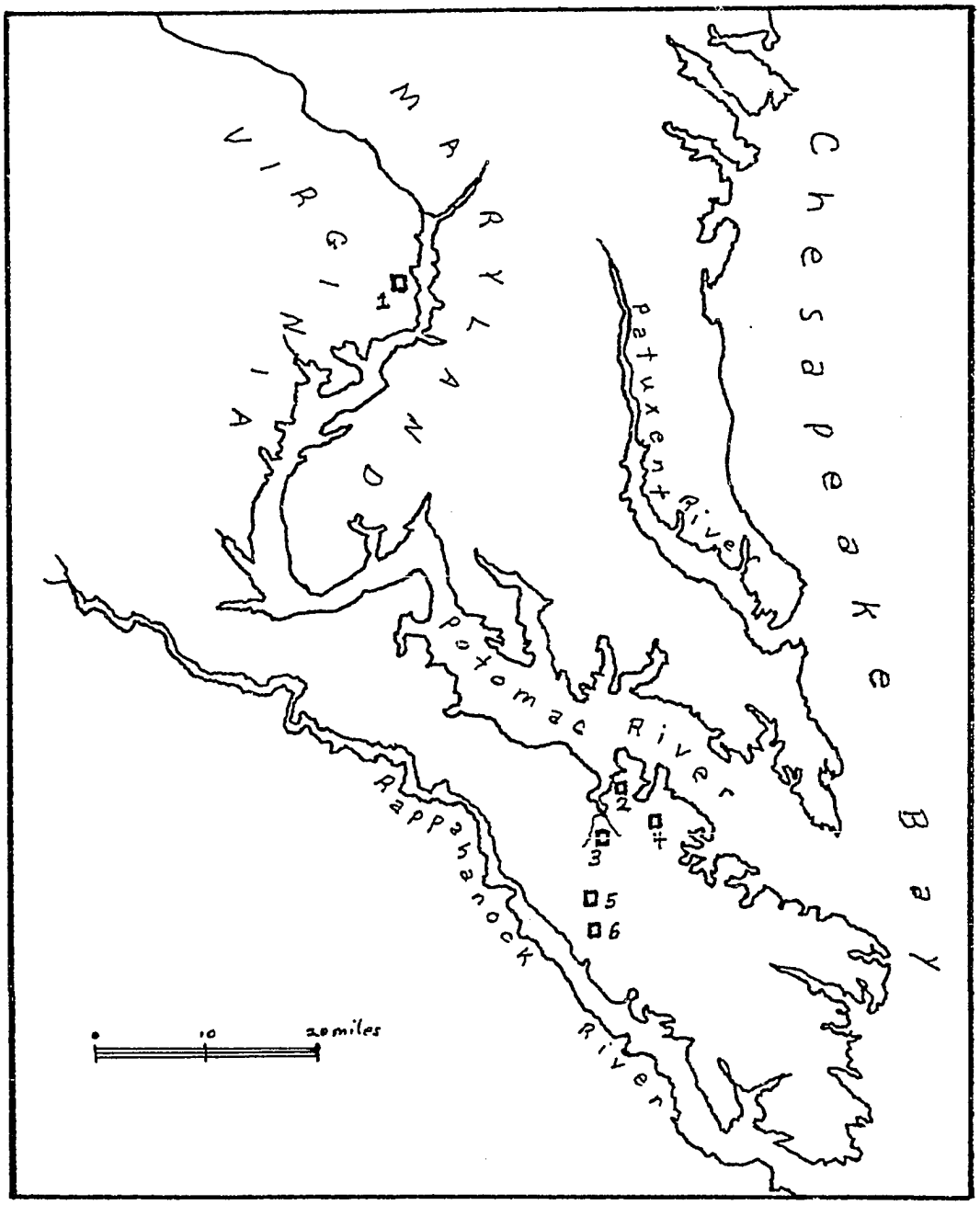

Fig. 2. Virginia plantations served by John Stadler

1. Mount Vernon (George Washington)
2. Bushfield (John Augustine Washington)
3. Nomini Hall (Robert Carter, III)
4. Lee Hall (Richard Lee)
5. Mount Airy (John Tayloe)
6. Sabine Hall (Landon Carter)

The evidence presented by these diaries, letters, and journals, though it deals with the activities of a small number of families, allows some conclusions to be drawn.

1. The planter families of late eighteenth-century Virginia valued musical accomplishment and felt it worthwhile to engage professional teachers for their children.

2. These teachers were predominantly European and brought with them a taste for the more serious European music.

3. Lacking an urban center for the centralization of schools and cultural activities (Williamsburg served as a cultural center only during the "season"[1] when the first families of the area took up residence there), a system of traveling tutors for various subjects, including music, was developed. The tutors were guests of the families for a period of two to four days at a time at intervals of three to six weeks. The room and board provided were considered to be part of the payment for services.

4. There was some tendency for the tutors to move out of the Virginia circuit after a fairly limited period of time and to become involved in the professional activities available in the urban centers. Stadler

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[1]Generally April and October, when the Assembly was in session. See Morton, Robert Carter, 45.

appears to be an exception to this trend, as he seems to have remained in the same general area for about ten years.

5. Instruments and printed music were available. Many families imported supplies directly from England, others obtained musical necessities through dealers in the larger American cities. Keyboard instruments, either harpsichords or pianos, were fairly common in the homes of the wealthy, and organs and glass harmonicas while less common, were not unknown. Violins, guitars, German flutes, and banjos were found widely; though their presence is not documented, it may be assumed that fifes were as popular here as elsewhere. Other instruments, including oboes, bassoons, French horns, and clarinets were in the hands of relatively skilled amateurs and semi-professional players.

6. Evidence regarding the music which was played is slight. That which can be found indicates that the amateur musicians played a wide variety of music including hymn tunes, European sonatas and chamber music, popular and patriotic airs, and music for dancing. This music was frequently arranged by the performer or teacher, and blank books of music paper for this purpose were a normal part of the musical equipment ordered for the plantations.

7. Some individuals took their musical interests and activities quite seriously and spent considerable time in studying and reading about music as well as in performance. The works of European writers, especially Burney, were known and rather widely available.

8. These serious amateurs frequently had the opportunity to become acquainted with the musical life of Europe, especially of Paris and London, through their travels and longer stays in these capitals. Not surprisingly, their standards and tastes were influenced by those of Europe.

CHAPTER II

INSTRUMENTAL CLUBS

Amateur instrumentalists in Massachusetts were interested in the performance of ensemble music and had access to this type of playing on a regular basis during the first decade of the nineteenth century through instrumental clubs. Surviving evidence about these ensembles is rather slight, but it is possible to gain some idea of the nature and accomplishments of the instrumental clubs from newspaper accounts and advertisements, and from the music and method books compiled for the clubs.

The most prominent musician associated with the Salem instrumental clubs was Reverend Samuel Holyoke, a figure well known to students of music in America and widely respected in his lifetime. Through an examination of Holyoke's activities and the two volumes of his instruction book, The Instrumental Assistant, it is possible to draw some conclusions about the membership of the clubs and the musical tastes and preferences of the

amateur instrumentalists of Salem.

The earliest instrumental performance thus far traced at Salem is one which was described in the Essex Gazette of April 19, 1774.

> . . . And, on Thursday Evening a Concert of vocal and instrumental Musick was performed at the Assembly Room, before a large Company of Gentlemen and Ladies of the town who were were [sic] very highly pleased with the Entertainment. The several Parts in the Concert were performed by a number of Gentlemen of this Place, who, the Winter past, have spent their leisure Hours in perfecting themselves, for their own Amusement, in the most approved Branches of the noble Science.[1]

Another concert, probably by some of the same gentlemen, was announced in the Salem Gazette of February 14, 1782, this time for a special occasion.

> Last Monday was the anniversary of the birth of our illustrious General [Washington], when he entered the 50th year of his age. The Concert of Musick, intended to be performed on the occasion, was necessarily postponed till tomorrow evening, owing to the absence of several of the gentlemen who were to bear a part in it.
>
> Tickets for the Concert, to be performed tomorrow evening, may be had at the Printing-Office, at 6s each: The money arising from which, will be appropriated in gratuities to the families of the Continental Soldiers belonging to this town.[2]

Clearly amateurs were active and organized in some manner during this period. Unfortunately, the

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[1] Essex Gazette, April 19, 1774.

[2] Salem Gazette, February 14, 1782.

names of the participants, their leaders, the music they played, and the kinds of organizations they formed are still unknown. Only with the establishment of the Essex Musical Association in 1797 (discussed below, 54), do the gentleman musicians of Salem and the surrounding area become known.

The first band performances recorded in Salem were by the band of Crane's regiment, which was at home on leave in January of 1783 while awaiting announcement of the cessation of hostilities and its formal discharge from the Continental Army. The concert was announced in the Salem Gazette of January 16 as follows:

> The Massachusetts Band of Music being home a few days on furlough, propose, with permission, to perform at Concert Hall, in Salem, to-morrow evening. This band belongs to Col. Crane's Artillery, is complete, and will have the assistance of two or three capital performers. The Musick will consist of Overtures, Symphonies, Harmony, and Military Musick, Solos, Duets on the Horns, and some favourite Songs by the Band; to begin at six o'clock and end at half past nine.[1]

A second concert for the benefit of the poor was performed a week later.

Several aspects of this concert announcement might be meaningful in discussion of instrumental music

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[1]Raoul F. Camus, Military Music of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press,1976),173. Also cited in Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 312.

in Salem as found in the instrumental clubs.

1. The band was home on furlough. Regiments were normally recruited from a single colony and their members were friends, neighbors, and business associates. It is likely, therefore, that at least a few of the musicians in the 1783 concert were from Salem and would return there after the war.

Trained musicians were recruited for the bands. A training system for fifers and drummers was established,[1] but it seems to have been assumed that the other musicians were competent players and could do their job if provided with leadership, instruments, and supplies. (This does not eliminate the possibility that professional players who enlisted may have trained some of their comrades, but the kind of formal training set up for the field music [fifes and drums] does not appear to have been considered necessary for the oboists, clarinetists, and horn players of the bands.) It is probable that some of the players

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[1] In 1775 General Washington ordered that "the Drummers and Fifers of the Regiment in and about Cambridge, are to be order'd constantly to attend the Drum and Fife Major, at the usual hours for instruction." General Andrew Lewis, commander of troops at Williamsburg, set up a training system for his fifers and drummers in 1776. Fife majors were to teach the young players until they were capable of playing their parts. Camus, Military Music, 59,66.

in the band of Crane's artillery had developed their skills before enlisting and had been associated with each other in ensembles before the war.

No list of the players in Colonel Crane's band has been located, but a list for Proctor's Regiment of Artillery Band from Pennsylvania, offers some interesting insight into one of the bands. Of the twelve players listed, all of whom lived in Philadelphia prior to the war, eight were foreign born (five German, two Irish, one Scottish). Two are now known to have been professional musicians before they enlisted.[1] While the proportion of German players may be expected to have been higher in Pennsylvania than in Massachusetts, it is clear that musicians were recruited to furnish music for the Continental Army. The fact that the players were all recruited from a single city suggests the possibility that the men may have been associated in informal musical endeavors before (and after?) the war.

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[1]Camus, Military Music, 138.

2. The concert took place at the "Concert Hall." Though this band concert was the earliest announced public concert in Salem to be traced by Sonneck,[1] it is clear that there had been sufficient musical activity to warrant the existence of a hall of some kind. Nothing in the advertisement indicates that this was the first use of the hall and, indeed, the hall is mentioned in such a way as to suggest that it was a site familiar to the reader.

3. The band was complete. The exact meaning of the word "complete" in relation to band instrumentation at this time is open to some question. The use of the word may, however, indicate that some in the audience had a knowledge of proper instrumentation and that the people of Salem had had experience with bands which were less than complete.

The subject of instrumentation in the military bands is discussed in some detail by Raoul Camus in Military Music of the American Revolution. A letter from James Bremner[2] to Richard Peters, secretary to the Board of War, dated June 22, 1779, offers some guidance on the question.

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[1] Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 312.

[2] Bremner (d. 1780) was an organist and teacher in Philadelphia after 1763. He served as an agent for the Edinburgh music publisher Robert Bremner.

Dr. Sir

I received your favor from Belmount & shall with pleasure give you my opinion, partly from what I know of Military Bands as are used in Europe, & what I think would suit the American Army.

A Complete Band for a Regt. of Foot should consist of

A pair of Cymbals for the Master
2 Hautboys
2 Clarinetts
2 Tailles or Tenor Hautboys
2 Bassoons
2 Trumpets, a pair of Kettle Drums
2 F. Horns made in G. or F. with crooks for E♭. D. and C. and a
Serpent.

--But I fear your performers in this country are either young hands, or, too old to improve much, I therefore think that

2 Hautboys
2 clarinetts
2 Bassoons
& 2 French horns

would be sufficient. I would recommend you to purchase 2 Ger. flutes with pieces [alternate sections to facilitate tuning], as the hautboys generally play on that Instrument, which will be an addition in a private Concert.[1]

The exact make-up of Colonel Crane's band is unknown, but it may be assumed that it followed the general outline given by Bremner. British bands which probably used the full European instrumentation listed above (Bremner, as an agent for a British concern was, doubtless, most familiar with British practice) had been active in America for years and gave frequent concerts to which the Americans were invited. (These affairs continued during the war, culmi-

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[1]Camus, Military Music, 135-36.

nating in large galas at which the young ladies of occupied towns were entertained by British officers.)[1]

The suggested instrumentation for an American band parallels almost exactly the arrangement called for in the more fully scored pieces in the second volume of The Instrumental Assistant.[2]

4. The band had the assistance of "two or three capital performers". Obviously not regular members of the band, these may have been local players. Had they been imported from Boston or elswhere, the usual procedure would have been to advertise this fact. That the "capital performers" were not listed or identified with a major musical center suggests that they were local musicians, and implies that there were players in Salem of enough skill to be welcome in the more or less professional military band.

5. The list of musical types to be performed indicates that the players and audience enjoyed a wide variety of music and that the band was not limited to functional

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[1]See Camus, Military Music, 68-69, 158; Gerson, Music in Philadelphia, 24-25; Church Music and Musical Life in Pennsylvania, 3:507-540; and Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre, 34-39 for descriptions of the social activities of the British Army in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

[2]Samuel Holyoke, The Instrumental Assistant, vol.2 (Exeter: Ranlet and Norris, 1807), EAI S12775.

military music, but was probably operated as a total entertainment unit, not unlike present day military bands.

None of the actual music played is identified, but one may assume that the program contained works of known popularity. Examination of other concert programs and of American publications can give some idea of the expected repertoire.

Overtures by Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809), Nicola Piccini (1728-1800), Luigi Cherubini (1760-1840), Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787), and William Shield (1748-1829) were printed in Philadelphia before 1800. Other overtures not now extant in American editions are known to have been played in this country. Sonneck, in Early Concert Life in America, included programs which list overtures by 60 composers played in America before 1800. Some of these composers were represented by several different works. Virtually every eighteenth-century composer now considered to be important appears in this group with the exception of Mozart (whose works were not often played in America). Three of these overtures were listed as being performed by wind instruments--Overture for Wind Instruments by one Panutge (identity unknown), Overture

to Chimine by [Antonio] Sacchini (1730-1786), "played on wind instruments," and Overture of the Frescatana, "executed by the wind instruments." The last work was attributed by Sonneck to either [Pietro] Guglielmi (1728-1804), Giovanni Paesiello (1740-1816) or Domenico Cimarosa (1740-1801).

Symphonies also appeared frequently on concert programs but the number of composers was somewhat smaller, a few men (notably Haydn and Ignaz Joseph Pleyel [1751-1831]) accounting for a large number of performances.

Wind music was also known as "harmony music" (the German term Harmoniemusik is still in use). Wind ensembles were quite frequently used for outdoor entertainment in America, as in Europe. A 1786 advertisement from Philadelphia (quoted in Early Concert Life) includes the following:

> . . . that by the desire of several gentlemen, he [Vincent M. Pelosi, proprietor of the Pennsylvania Coffee House] has proposed for the summer-season to open a Concert of Harmonial Music, which will consist of the following instruments, viz.
> Two clarinets
> Two French horns
> Two bassoons
> One flute[1]

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 99. Cf. the list in Bremner's letter quoted above, 48.

None of Pelosi's programs have been preserved, but a program from a similar series (instrumentation unspecified) was located by Sonneck. The general content of this program, played at Gray's Gardens (outside of Philadelphia) in 1790, may be similar to that of the Salem concert. Gray's Gardens on this occasion featured a violin soloist "not ten years of age." Included in the program were overtures by Haydn, Schmitt (otherwise unidentified), and [Jean Paul Egide] Martini (1741-1816), symphonies by Stamitz (whether Johann, 1717-1757, Karl, 1746-1801, or Anton, 1754-1809 is unknown), Lachnit (unidentified), and [Karl Friedrich] Abel (1725-1787), two songs, solos on the flute, violin, and clarinet, and "Harmony music" by Philip Phile (d. 1793). Only the "Duets on the Horns" and "Military Music" of the Salem concert have no counterparts on the Gray's Gardens program (and these are balanced by the solos and "Harmony Music" at the Gardens). The instrumentation used at Gray's Gardens was not specified, but a letter to the Pennsylvania Packet (also quoted by Sonneck) stated that "The band is composed of 9 or 10 instruments."[1]

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 100.

The indirect evidence suggests that:

1. The Salem concert of 1783 was performed by a band made up of reasonably skilled musicians, at least some of whom had resided in Salem before the war and would return there upon discharge

2. The populace was accustomed to attending concerts and possessed a suitable hall

3. The band consisted of (at least) two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons, with local players in addition to these eight

4. Local players of adequate skill were available to participate in this concert

5. The players (and the audience?) knew and, it may be assumed, appreciated a wide variety of music.

Relatively little public concert activity in Salem was traced by Sonneck for the rest of the century. The concerts which were advertised in the papers were generally by well known professionals from Boston.[1]

A few musical performances were also presented as parts of theatre seasons during the 1790s. Evidence assembled by Sonneck indicates that Boston professionals were

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 312-16.

imported for these performances as well.[1]

The Essex Musical Association was established on March 28, 1797, by a group of musical enthusiasts under the leadership of Samuel Holyoke (1762-1820) and Parker Spofford (dates unknown), both residents of Boxford at the time. The Constitution of the Association contains information which helps to illuminate the activities of the amateurs of Essex County.[2] The following points are of some interest:

1. The Association met quarterly. An annual "musical exhibition" was given on the second Monday of each September.

2. The first officer of the Association was given the title of "Director." Whether this meant that he was responsible for directing musical performances or simply for running the affairs of the organization is unclear. Since the first director was Holyoke, a professional musician, the former seems likely.

3. Prospective members had to meet some kind of

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[1] O.G. Sonneck, Early Opera in America (New York: Schirmer, 1915; reprint ed. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1963), 158-59.

[2] Essex Musical Association, The Constitution (Newburyport: Blunt, 1798), EAI 33699.

condition or test. The trustees, director, secretary, and treasurer were responsible for examining the candidates. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the nature of the tests. It seems likely that some musical knowledge might have been required, but the constitution tells nothing about the requirements for membership beyond satisfying the examiners.

4. A list of members was included. Of the forty-four members from throughout the county, nearly half were from Boxford; Holyoke was the only one who is now known to have been a professional musician. In addition to Boxford, members were from Andover, Topsfield, Lynn, Salem, Danvers, Linebrook, Wenham, Middleton, Byfield, and Bradford (see map, 56).

5. The "standard book" of the association was the Massachusetts Compiler, a large collection of sacred music published at Boston by Holyoke, Hans Gram (dates unknown), and Oliver Holden (1765-1834?) in 1795. This book contains a fairly wide variety of sacred music by well known European composers (Handel, Haydn, Samuel Arnold, etc.) as well as pieces by the three compilers and by such minor figures as Burney's pupil, Dr. Edward Miller.

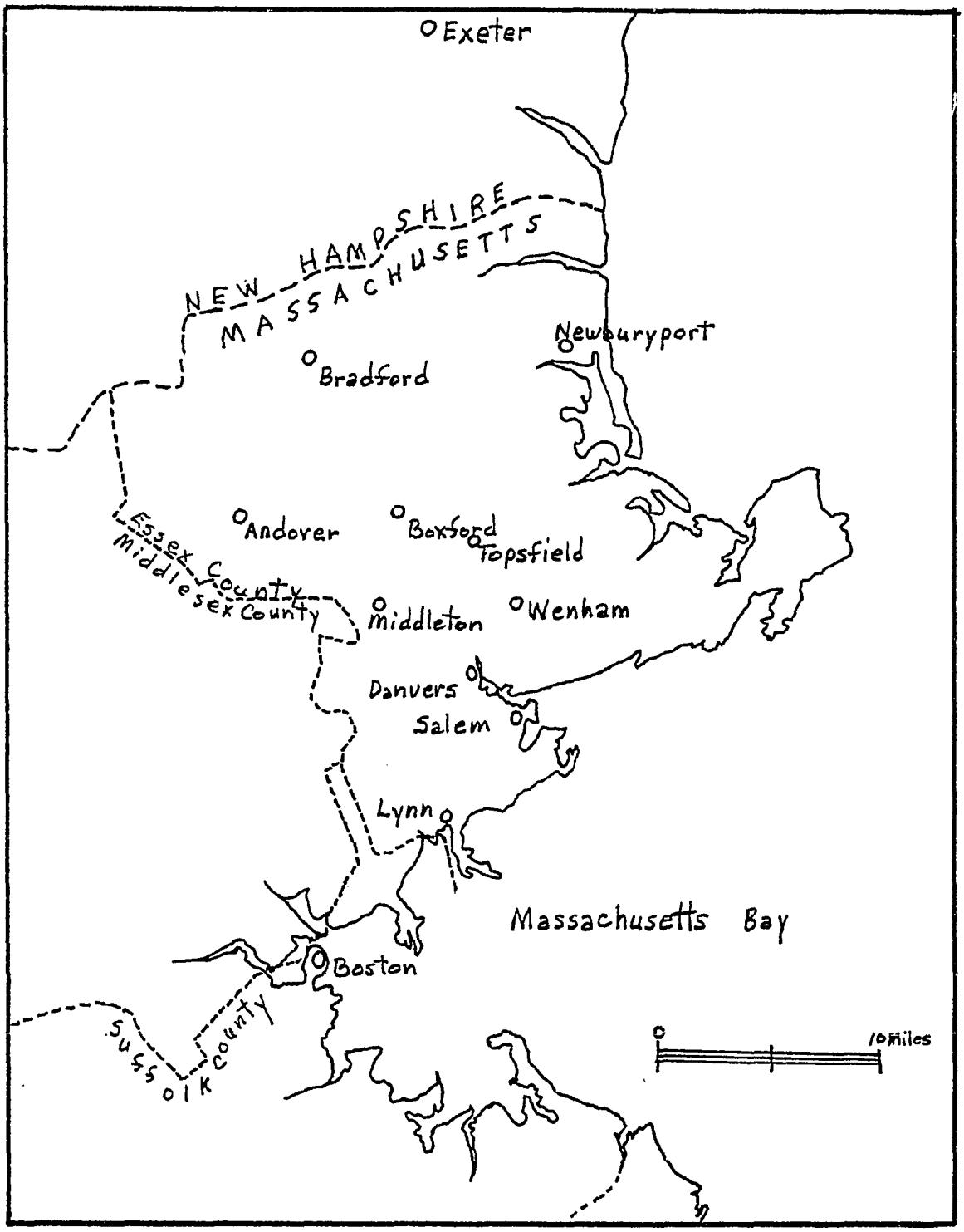

Fig. 3. Essex County, Massachusetts, 1800
Communities represented in the Essex Musical Association

6. The Association was not limited to vocal music. A note on the last page of the constitution says, simply: "Performances - Vocal and Instrumental." This is followed by the information that "Instruments used at present" include "Bass viols, violins, and Flutes." The Massachusetts Compiler contained no purely instrumental arrangements, but some of the pieces had introductions, interludes, and accompaniments which were quite appropriate for flutes, violins, and bass (or cello). The use of orchestral instruments to accompany singing was common in Massachusetts churches well into the nineteenth century. This practice doubtless helps to explain a note recommending the use of orchestral instruments in the absence of an organ for performances of Holyoke's Dedication Service of 1801 (see below, 61).

Samuel Holyoke was a central figure in the musical life of Salem, serving as a teacher, composer/compiler, director of the Essex Musical Association, director of instrumental clubs, and author of The Instrumental Assistant. Because most of the amateur musical activity in Essex County between 1790 and 1807 apparently involved Holyoke in some manner, a look at the man and his career is appropriate at this point.

Biographical information on Holyoke does not appear to have been clearly established until early in this century. Several old sources, probably following F. O. Jones' Handbook of American Music and Musicians[1] (first published in 1886) list Holyoke's birth date as 1771 and his death date as 1816 (Jones even described his death from "congestion of the lungs"). Later sources, possibly derived from Frank Metcalf's American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music (1925), allow Holyoke a longer life span (1762-1820). The latter set of dates has become commonly accepted and is supported by evidence in the form of newspaper articles which appeared on the occasion of his death.[2] All sources agree that he was born in Boxford, Massachusetts, the son of the local Congregational minister.

Holyoke's musical training has also been subject to some question. Many sources ignore the question entirely; Metcalf, in his chapter on Hans Gram, and Milton Hehr, in a dissertation on music in Salem,[3] state that Holyoke was

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[1]F.O. Jones, A Handbook of American Music and Musicians (Canaseraga, N.Y.: F.O. Jones, 1886; reprint ed. New York: Da Capo, 1971), 77.

[2]Frank J. Metcalf, American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music (New York: Abingdon Press, 1925), 117.

[3]Ibid. 135;
Milton Hehr, Musical Activities in Salem Massachusetts, 1783-1823 (Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1963), 312.

a student of the prominent Boston musician Hans Gram, but no documentation for this is offered. Holyoke and Gram collaborated in the publication of The Massachusetts Compiler in 1795, but no source other than Metcalf and Hehr indicates that Holyoke actually studied with Gram.

Upon his graduation from Harvard College in 1789, his formal education was completed. The American Supplement to Grove's maintains that Holyoke attended Dartmouth College, but no documentation is provided in support of this assertion.[1]

Holyoke's well known work in the field of sacred music is, for the most part, outside the scope of this study. It should suffice to state that he published his first sacred collection in 1791 (Harmonia Americana, Boston) and followed with several others, the last in 1804 (The Christian Harmonist, Salem).[2] Throughout his life Holyoke was involved in the teaching of music and was in demand as a leader of singing schools. His first recorded

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[1]Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, American Supplement, ed. by Waldo Selden Pratt (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1935), 9.

[2]Metcalf, American Writers and Compilers, 115-116.

professional activity in Salem was the direction of a singing school in 1796 at the Court House.[1]

At some point between 1796 and 1800 Holyoke may have moved to Salem. Most sources indicate that the move was made in 1800; Hehr maintains that he lived in Salem continuously from 1796 (again, no supporting documentation is offered for either view).

The exact time of Holyoke's move and, indeed, his place of residence during this period is of no great importance.[2] He was quite active over a wide geographical area during most of his life--teaching, writing, directing singing schools, and publishing his collections in Boston and Salem and in New Hampshire. (The Boston publications date from before 1800, those from Salem and Exeter, New Hampshire, were published between 1800 and 1807). He was an active member of the Essex Musical Association and the third of the Exeter publications (The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony, 1802) was dedicated to that organization.

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[1]Hehr, Musical Activities in Salem, 312.

[2]Other possibilities for the time of Holyoke's move may also need to be considered: The contract between Holyoke and Ranlet for the publication of vol. 1 of The Instrumental Assistant indicates that Holyoke was "of Boxford," on November 14, 1800 (facsimile in Metcalf, American Writers and Compilers, 116). He was listed as a teacher in Boston in 1814 (Johnson, Musical Interludes in Boston, 295).

It is reasonable to assume that the first of the Exeter publications, Volume 1 of The Instrumental Assistant (1800) may also have been intended for the musicians of Essex County. The second of the Exeter publications was a Dedication Service, published by Ranlet in 1801. Primarily a sacred choral work, this short collection of hymns with an "Introductory Ode," a Doxology and an anthem, included the following note:

> Should the following music be performed where there is no organ, the Recitative strains may be accompanied by Clarionetts, or Hautboys, supported by a bassoon or a violincello.[1]

Some of the recitative sections include an accompaniment in four parts, printed in open score. Holyoke obviously believed that there was a chance that competent wind players would be available even if the church had no organ. This work was published after Holyoke had moved to Salem (if the date given in most sources, 1800, is correct for his move).

The citizens of Salem seem to have furnished a market for books about European music as well as Psalmody. Samuel Bradford, a Salem bookseller, published a catalogue in 1802 which listed, along with books of songs, "Burney's Musical Tour in Germany &c. 2 vol."[2]

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[1] Samuel Holyoke, Dedication Service (Exeter: Ranlet, 1801), EAI S668.

[2] Samuel Bradford, A Catalogue of Books (Salem: Cushing, 1802), EAI S1945.

The first notice of an "instrumental club" in Salem appeared in the December 30, 1803, issue of the Salem Gazette. This advertisement referred to a "club for practicing upon musical instruments" and invited any interested person to inquire at the store of Messrs. Peabody.[1] The teachers or leaders of the group were not named. A second announcement appeared on March 27, 1804, inviting all interested to leave their names at Cushing and Appleton's Bookstore.[2] Again, no leaders were mentioned and it is unclear whether this was a new club or another announcement for the first.[3]

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[1] Salem Gazette, December 30, 1803.

[2] Ibid., March 27, 1804.

Both of the above references are discussed by Hehr in Music in Salem, 311.

Joshua Cushing was a publisher as well as bookseller. Among his musical publications (sold through Cushing and Appleton) were The Essex Harmony (1802), The Fifer's Companion No. 1 (1805), and the Salem Collection of Classical Sacred Music. See the list of Boston copyrights in Johnson, Musical Interludes in Boston, 343-49.

[3] An additional bit of information on the instrumental ensembles is found in Annals of Salem by Joseph B. Felt (Salem: W. & S.B. Ives, 1845). In an entry for 1783, following a note about the concert by the Massachusetts Band for the benefit of the poor (see above, 44) the author adds: "About 1799 several young men of Salem form a band. They were much noticed for their skillful performances" (503).

Holyoke advertised singing schools at Salem in 1803 and 1805, the last along with a school for instrumental instruction. The following year the instrumental school was again announced.[1]

It is unclear what connection, if any, Holyoke had with the earlier instrumental clubs or how many clubs were functioning by the time of his last announcement. An advertisement from the September 10, 1806, issue of the Salem Gazette offers evidence that two instrumental groups were in operation at that time:

> CONCERT/ To the Patrons and Friends of Sacred Music/ The subscriber, by the assistance of his musical friends, proposes to give a concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music on Wednesday the 24th of September . . .
>
> A Card [under the advertisement]
>
> The Subscriber, proposing to give a concert of vocal and instrumental music in this town, respectfully requests the assistance of all the musical performers who attended the dedication of the New South Meeting House. As his labors in the musical vinyard are generally known, he has ventured to ask the aid of his Friends in carrying the plan into effect, and hopes that he shall not fail for want of their cheerful support. He also requests that the members of the two bands would unite with the vocal performers, which will greatly increase the pleasures of the day.
>
> Samuel Holyoke
>
> As soon as copies of the music can be ready for the performers, notice will be given when, and where to meet for preparatory rehearsals.[2]

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[1] Hehr, Music in Salem, 313-314.

[2] Salem Gazette, September 10, 1806.

One wonders whether Holyoke had made arrangements with his musicians in advance or was really using this advertisement to make contact. In any event, problems were encountered and the concert was postponed until October 1, when Holyoke hoped "to gratify in some measure, the lovers of Harmony."[1]

Even this postponement was not enough, for on September 26 the following advertisement appeared:

> Concert/ The subscriber is again obliged to postpone his concert to Thursday, the 9th of October, because several gentlemen, who have generously promised their assistance, are obliged to attend court, and others to do military duty, next week. He hopes that he shall not be again compelled to disappoint any, who may be disposed to encourage his exertions . . . .
>
> Samuel Holyoke[2]

The obligations on the part of the gentlemen to attend court and to do military duty strengthen the suggestion that Holyoke was dealing with gentleman amateurs rather than players who might be considered professionals.

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[1] Salem Gazette, September 23, 1806.

[2] Ibid., September 26, 1806.

It is possible that the military duty might have involved responsibility with a musical unit of some kind.[1]

Salem instrumentalists had some outlets for performance in addition to the bands. An entry in Annals of Salem for 1800 includes the following:

> An organ is made in London for the first church. It came over in a ship from Hasket Derby. Its cost was $1800. It is among the best in our country.
>
> Prior to this time, orchestral instruments, particularly the bass viol,[2] had been played in our Congregational societies, for many years. They were thus employed in each of our societies as had [not?] been supplied with an organ, till it was so accomodated. They are still [1845] used in our congregations which have no organs.[3]

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[1]Joseph Felt, in Annals of Salem (503) adds some support to the idea of a military band connection: "About this time, some of our musicians unite and receive the name Brigade Band, under the auspices of General Samuel G. Darley. Their career, while so connected, was of few years, but very respectable." The exact nature of the band's connection with a military unit is unclear, but bands were often formed and supported by groups of officers on an "unofficial" basis.

[2]The exact instrument meant by the term "bass viol" is far from clear. Holyoke used the term "bass" in the first volume of The Instrumental Assistant, but his tuning instructions indicate that he was writing for cello (or an instrument tuned like a cello). Both cellos and real basses were in use in Boston (and called by appropriate names), and it is likely that a few old bass gambas might have been in use in outlying areas.

[3] Felt, Annals of Salem, 503.

This use of instrumentalists in sacred music was of particular interest to Holyoke and may explain the note in the Dedication Service of 1801 (above, 61).

Another work by Holyoke which calls for instruments with voices is the Masonic Music of 1803.[1] This publication includes three instrumental pieces and three choral pieces (which might have been doubled and accompanied by instruments). The "Masonic Procession March" and two "Duetto" movements are scored on three staves (two treble and one bass) in exactly the arrangement found in the first volume of The Instrumental Assistant. The choral movements are also in three parts and could easily be doubled by the instruments.

A final note regarding Holyoke's use of instruments in choral music is provided by Metcalf:

> In early life Mr. Holyoke had a fine voice, but in later years it became so harsh that in the teaching of his vocal classes he was obliged to use a clarionet.[2]

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[1] Samuel Holyoke, Masonic Music (Exeter: Ranlet, 1803). Holyoke was a Mason, and wrote several other pieces for Masonic use. Three pieces in David Vinton's Masonick Minstrel (Dedham: H.Mann, 1816) were attributed to "Brother S. Holyoke"; two "Masonic Marches" were included in Volume 2 of The Instrumental Assistant.

[2] Metcalf, American Writers and Compilers, 117.

Discussion of the contents and teaching material found in the two volumes of Holyoke's The Instrumental Assistant is undertaken below (174). At this point it is appropriate to place the books in the context of Salem musical life as seen above.

The title page of Volume 1 (1800) sets forth the author's intention rather clearly:

> . . . containing instructions for the violin, German-flute, clarionett, bass-viol and hautboy. Compiled from late European publications. Also a selection of favorite Airs, Marches, &c. Progressively arranged and adapted for the use of learners. By Samuel Holyoke, A.M. Published according to Act of Congress. Vol. 1.[1]

The second volume, for bassoon and horn, with pieces arranged for a larger ensemble, was published in 1807.

The books were designed to serve a market which included amateur players accustomed to rehearsing and performing in groups. These musicians needed material which was suitable for teaching beginners and for performance by small mixed ensembles.

As Holyoke's contract with Ranlet called for the printing of 1500 copies of each book, it is clear that

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[1]Samuel Holyoke, The Instrumental Assistant, vol. 1 (Exeter: Ranlet, 1800) EAI 37643. The instruments listed are the same as those mentioned in the Dedication Service and the Constitution of the Essex Musical Association.

both author and publisher had reason to believe that: (1) a demand existed for instrumental music for amateur players, (2) these amateurs were reasonably proficient on the standard orchestral instruments, and (3) they played together often enough to warrant the publication of teaching materials and ensemble pieces for them. That this market did, indeed, exist is indicated by the publication, soon after Holyoke's second book, of other instrumental ensemble methods by Joseph Herrick and Oliver Shaw (both published in 1807).

CHAPTER III

URBAN MUSIC TEACHERS

Music teachers in the cities were able to establish studios (often in conjunction with music stores), advertise in the newspapers, and have their students come to them. The activities of several of these urban teachers may help to clarify the picture of music teaching in the cities.

Among the earliest teachers to advertise for students was Charles Love, a musician associated with Lewis Hallam's London Company of Comedians in New York in the 1750s.[1] Love, like R. Shaw (see 83), was the husband of a singer, and his presence with the company can at times only be inferred from the presence of his wife's name in advertisements. On July 2, 1753, however, Love inserted an announcement in the New York Mercury in an effort to establish himself as a teacher. This announcement contains

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[1]Love's position with Hallam's company (which had arrived at Williamsburg in 1752 and at New York in June of 1753) is stated, but not documented, by Sonneck in both Early Concert Life in America (159) and Early Opera in America (23). The timing of the announcement (immediately after the company's arrival in New York), the information that Love was from London, and the presence of Mrs. Love's name in the advertised cast lists for the New York season seem to support Sonneck's statement.

"Mr. and Mrs. Love" were said by Dunlap to have joined the company at New York. William Dunlap, History of the American Theatre (New York: Burt Franklin, 1963), 25.

several interesting bits of information.

> Charles Love, musician from London, at his lodgings at the house of Mrs, George . . . proposes teaching gentlemen musick on the following instruments, viz. violin, Hautboy, German and common flutes,[1] Bassoon, French Horn, Tenor,[2] and bass violin, if desired.[3]

Later advertisements (July 9, 16, 23, 30, and August 6) added:

> His school is to be kept in Mr. Rice's consort room in Broad-street.[4]

This advertisement reveals that:

1. The fact that a musician was from Europe was to his advantage. Love's London origin is stated from the

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[1]This is one of the very few eighteenth century American references to the recorder. The terms "common flute" and "English flute" were generally used to indicate the recorder and to distinguish it from the "German" or transverse flute.

[2]The terms "tenor" or "tenor violin" meant viola, another instrument seldom encountered in American sources of the period. Regarding this use of the term "tenor", Sibyl Marcuse explained (in writing about the real tenor violin), "In France the tenor's identity was disguised by the name taille de violon, which also meant "viola", while in Germany the term Tenorgeige frequently stood for the alto instrument [viola], and in England tenor violin almost invariably did so, right up to the nineteenth century." A Survey of Musical Instruments (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 532.

[3]New York Mercury, July 2, 1753.

[4]Ibid. July 9, etc., 1753.

outset and is, in fact, the only thing in the advertisement which might be taken as a statement of his qualifications to teach music.

2. Love initially intended to teach at his lodgings, but later found studio space at Mr. Rice's consort room. The advertisement was placed within a few days of the company's arrival in New York. Faced with a delay of over two months in the opening of the theatre season due to the inadequacy of the existing building, Love immediately seized the opportunity to establish himself as a teacher.

Information on "Mr. Rice's consort room" has not been located, but it might be assumed that Mr. Rice was John Rice, an organist brought to New York from London to serve Trinity Church. A benefit concert for Rice was announced for January 2, 1745. In the fall of 1753 he left New York to become organist of Trinity Church, Boston, where he advertised his services as a teacher.[1] If he was also active as a teacher in New York (which seems

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 159, 254. The complete advertisement in the Boston Evening Post, November 19, 1753, states that "John Rice, lately from New York, and organist of Trinity Church of this town, proposes to teach young Gentlemen and Ladies, Vocal and Instrumental Musick, viz Spinnet, or Harpsichord, Violin, German Flute, &c."

likely), Love may have shared space with him and, possibly, taken over his studio (and students?) when Rice left for Boston.

3. The announcement was directed toward the "gentlemen." All evidence so far discovered indicates that the vast majority of the more serious amateurs (the best candidates for instruction by a master from London) were from the middle and upper classes, those who had the money and leisure to pursue the finer things of life. Amateurs from the lower strata of society appear to have been mostly self taught, using the instrumental tutors which included instructional material.

4. Love was prepared to teach virtually all of the instruments popular in America. The clarinet was not included, but clarinets were hardly common even in Europe at this time. It would be six years before they appeared in the orchestra at Mannheim, and even longer before they were easily available in London.[1]

The recorder ("common flute") was still in use in

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[1]For more information on the clarinet in Europe at this time see Anthony Baines, Woodwind Instruments and Their History (New York: Norton, 1963), 297-299; and Jack Brymer, Clarinet (New York: Schirmer Books, 1977), 28-33.

America. References to the recorder are rare in eighteenth century American sources, but a few advertisements indicate that it was in use around mid-century. The recorder, with its mechanical simplicity, moderate cost, relatively simple technique, freedom from the problems of strings and reeds, and its large and varied repertoire, would seem to have been an ideal instrument for the American amateur. It suffered from one fatal flaw, however: it was passing from fashion in London.

The viola ("tenor") also appears infrequently in American sources. The reasons for this are not clear, but would appear to be related to the viola's relatively limited role as a solo instrument or in the chamber music popular in America before the last quarter of the century.

The instrument intended by the term "bass violin" is open to some question. The term apparently referred to the cello as well as the contrabass, and may have indicated other large string instruments. Bass string instruments were frequently used in Massachusetts churches until the early nineteenth century (see above, 57).

The German flute (transverse flute) and violin were, and remained, the most popular instruments among amateur players.

The oboe, bassoon, and French horn are instruments of some interest in this context. These were primarily ensemble instruments, most frequently played by professionals or in military bands. Instructional material or collections of music for these instruments are seldom encountered among American publications or advertised imports before 1800. If Love had students on these instruments it would suggest the possibility that New York amateurs had formed an ensemble of some kind.

Unfortunately, the response to Love's advertisement is unknown and his activities for the next four years are undocumented except for an announcement for a benefit concert in January of 1754 and an appearance between the acts of a play on March 11 of the same year.

The benefit concert announcement, placed in the New York Mercury for January 14, 1754, also contains information of some interest.

> For the benefit of Mr. Charles Love, at the New Exchange Ball Room, on Thursday the 24th instant, will be a concert of vocal and instrumental Musick. To which will be added several select pieces on the hautboy, by Mr. Love. After the concert will be a Ball. Tickets at 5s each, to be had of Mr. Love; at the Kings Arms; and at Parker's and Gaine's printing office. Tickets given out last summer by Mr. Love will be taken that night. Mr. Love hopes that gentlemen and ladies will favour him with their good company.[1]

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[1] New York Mercury, Jan. 14, 1754.

Love appears to have been primarily an oboist at this time, though it is possible that he performed on other instruments as well. (Later evidence indicates that he was a good performer on several instruments; see below, 76) The program for this concert is unknown. If Love followed the procedure later used by R. Shaw and others, it might be assumed that his wife took part in the concert.

The announcement of a performance between the acts of a play on March 11 lists Love as a performer on two instruments. Following several dances by William C. Hulett (a dancer and violinist with the company) and songs by Lewis Hallam, Jr. and Adam Hallam (sons of the director of the theatre), the program includes:

> The Quaker's Sermon on the violin; and a Solo on the Hautboy, by Mr. Love.[1]

In Early Concert Life in America (159), Sonneck states that Love was "the harpsichordist in Hallam's theatrical company but no other evidence of his performance as a keyboard specialist has been located.

No further mention of Love has been discovered for the next three years. Hallam's company left New York in October of 1754 for Charlestown, where they performed for two months. They then traveled to Jamaica, where

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[1]Sonneck, Early Opera, 23.

Hallam died a year later. The company was disbanded and remained inactive until it was reorganized by David Douglass in 1758. It may be assumed that the Loves were with the company until Hallam's death, but there is no proof of this. Subsequent events suggest that Love was probably not with the company when it was reactivated by Douglass.

Love's next (and last) appearance in the newspapers was in an advertisement placed by Philipp Ludwell Lee of Stratford Hall (a plantation on the Virginia side of the Potomac a few miles northwest of Robert Carter's home at Nomini Hall). In this advertisement Love was accused of stealing "a very good Bassoon, made by Schuchart."[1] The advertisement states that Love had "Runaway from" Lee, wording which was normally used in advertisements for slaves or indentured servants who had illegally left their masters. Love was also said to "profess" music and to play "exceedingly well on the violin and all wind instruments."[2] In all probability, Love was attempting to make

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[1]Gilbert Chase, America's Music, revised second edition (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1966), 106.

[2]Ibid. Sonneck cites the same advertisement in Early Opera, stating that it is from the Pennsylvania Gazette of December 27, 1757. The Gazette, a weekly paper at that time, was not published on December 27 of 1757, and the ad. does not appear in the issues of the 22nd or 29th. Chase quotes part of the ad. but provides no source.

a living on the plantation circuit (as did John Stadler, above, 9), when he took Lee's bassoon (possibly with the intention of becoming a performer again).

Regarding Love, Gilbert Chase expressed the opinion that

> aside from his larcenous propensities, which we may regard as a personal idiosyncrasy, Charles Love was in many ways typical of the professional musician who emigrated to the American colonies.[1]

The stories of some of the other theatre musicians, notably those by William Dunlap in History of the American Theatre suggest that less than honorable "personal idiosyncrasies" were shared by a number of Love's colleagues.[2]

The evidence cited above makes it possible to draw some conclusions about Charles Love which may be applicable to other urban music teachers. The following points can be established:

1. Love was trained in England and came to this country as a professional musician.

2. He was versatile as a performer and teacher, apparently prepared to teach most of the standard instru-

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[1]Chase, America's Music, 107.

[2]Note especially the tragic lives and deaths of William Young and M. and Mme. Gardie described in a chapter dealing with the orchestra members. 1:391-406.

ments of the day, and to perform professionally on violin and oboe (and on harpsichord if Sonneck's statement is correct)

3. He felt that his London background and training would be an advantage in recruiting students

4. His primary activity as a performer was in the theatre, with concerts considered mainly as a means of procuring additional income (serving approximately the same purpose as the theatrical benefits for actors and singers)

5. He turned to teaching when the theatre was not in season (and therefore not paying)

6. He experienced some difficulty in making a living as a professional performer and teacher

7. His activities covered a wide geographic area.

The main elements of Love's career--foreign training, versatility, connection with the theatre, mobility, willingness to teach, and difficulty in building a career as a professional musician in America--are seen in the lives of most of the professional musicians encountered during the course of this study. Love's career as a player and teacher is typical of the professional musician in America for the remainder of the eighteenth century, except (one hopes) for his "larcenous propensities."

This kind of teaching activity by professional performers is at least as old as the institution of public concerts in America. Some of the first known public concerts in this country (in Boston in 1731 and in Charleston in 1732) were given by men who also appear to have been teachers.

The first public concert in Charleston (so far as has yet been determined) was given by one John Salter in April of 1732.[1] By June of the following year, Salter's wife was operating a boarding school for young ladies at which instruction in music was offered, as shown by advertisements she placed in the South Carolina Gazette for June 9-16, 1733.

> At Mr. Breton's new house, the upper end of Broad Street, Young Ladies are taken to Board by Mrs. Salter: where they may also be taught music.[2]

It seems reasonable to assume that Mr. Salter did the teaching of music at his wife's school.

The first Boston concert traced by Sonneck[3] appears to have been given by Peter Pelham, Sr., at whose "great

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[1] Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 11.

[2] South Carolina Gazette, June 9-16, 1733.

[3] Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 251-252. An earlier concert, performers unknown, has been located in Boston. See Henry Woodward, "February 18, 1729: A Neglected Date in Boston Concert Life", Notes 33 (Dec., 1976): 243.

room" the concert was held. Pelham was also a boarding school keeper (among other things), and was the father of Peter Pelham, Jr., organist of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg for nearly forty years (see above, 23).

Edward Enstone, organist at King's Chapel in Boston from 1714 until after 1720, was a teacher of dancing as well as music. In 1720 he advertised that he kept a boarding house "where young Ladies may be accomodated with Boarding, and taught all sorts of Needle Work with Musick and Dancing, etc."[1]

Boarding schools continued to offer instruction in music as a part of a curriculum to polish and refine the young ladies entrusted to their care. The quality of this instruction is unknown, but it may be assumed that, at least in those cases where the teacher was a professional musician, the students received competent instruction and developed some degree of familiarity with the standard European repertoire.

At least one other important musician kept a boarding school. Henry Capron, a French cellist active in Philadelphia in the last years of the eighteenth century, was

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 9n.

head of a "French Boarding School" in 1799.[1] No information on musical instruction at Capron's school has been discovered, but it is unlikely that this part of the students' education was neglected at a school run by a professional musician.

Boarding schools which offered musical instruction were not limited to the largest cities. In May, 1794, the Columbia (S.C.) Gazette carried the following announcement.

> Mrs. Jervoise Begs leave to inform the public, that she has opened a boarding school at Camden for young Ladies, at which they will be taught the Harpsichord; also Reading and Spelling; and a proper Master will attend to teach Writing and Arithmetic.[2]

No teacher is named for the harpsichord (or for reading and spelling), but the assurance that a "proper Master" will teach writing and arithmetic suggests that Mrs. Jervoise may have taught the other subjects herself. The order of the subjects in the announcement indicates that she considered the harpsichord lessons to be an important part of the training available at her school.

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[1] Cornelius William Stafford, The Philadelphia Directory for 1799 (Philadelphia: Woodward, 1799). EAI 36353.

[2] Columbia Gazette, May 13, 1794.

By 1800 a large number of European professional musicians had settled in the major American cities. These players were usually associated with professional theatre companies, gave occasional concerts, offered instruction to as many ladies and gentlemen as possible, and engaged in a variety of other business endeavors (music stores and publishing, boarding schools, wine and grocery shops, concert promotion, importing, etc.).

At Philadelphia, active teachers during the last five years of the eighteenth century included R. Shaw (see below, 83), Alexander Reinagle (at one time music master to President Washington's family), George Gillingham (prominent violinist and member of the New Theatre orchestra), and Henry Capron. A number of other musicians were employed at the theatre and it seems certain that some of these were also engaged in teaching, though no proof of this has yet been located. Among these were:

Mr. Demarque (French cellist and violinist whose wife was a singer with the New Theatre Company)
Mr. Menel (cellist; also associated with Reinagle in various concert ventures)
George Shetky (Scottish cellist and violinist; nephew of Reinagle)
William Priest (English bassoonist and trumpeter)
A. Wolff (clarinetist)
Mr. Dubois (French clarinetist)
Louis Boullay (French violinist)[1]

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[1]For more on these players see Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, American Supplement, (New York: Macmillan, 1935) 9-11.

Of the professional musicians active in America near the close of the eighteenth century, one of the most interesting, and elusive, is R. Shaw. Almost no purely biographical material about Shaw has been located, and there is some evidence that there may have been two R. Shaws active in the United States in the 1790s.

The facts which can be found indicate Shaw was a versatile and well trained professional (flutist, oboist, singer, conductor, teacher of piano and harpsichord, music store owner, publisher, compiler of collections for flute, and author of a method book for flute). He came to America from London with his wife, a singer and actress, and contributed to the musical life of at least six cities (Charleston, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Richmond, Baltimore, and Boston).

As already seen in the career of Charles Love, neither versatility nor mobility were unusual among musicians of the time. While Shaw's activities covered a wider range of musical endeavor than most of his peers, an examination of his career (in so far as it can be reconstructed) may prove helpful in understanding the lives of the professional music teachers in America.

Most of the information on Shaw's career which has been found exists as a series of disconnected facts. Since the connecting material is missing, it may be most helpful to present these facts in the form of a chronological outline. Sources are included within the outline.

1784 London. Sonneck, following a list compiled by Burney, placed R. Shaw among the instrumentalists in the great Handel Commemoration of 1784. Several other musicians who later came to America were also part of that orchestra. (Early Concert Life, 110n)

1787 London. A review of an oratorio performance at Drury Lane Theatre says that "The Choruses were most ably led by Mr. Shaw". (Daily Universal Register, March 16, 1787) [The title page of an American publication by Shaw (Boston, 1807) states that he was "Late Singing Master in the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London". (Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1801-1825, 2:812)] One Mr. Shaw was listed as first violinist at Drury Lane during this period, but this was probably Thomas Shaw, a prominent violinist known to have performed at Drury Lane.

The list of subscribers to the complete edition of Handel's works (Daily Universal Recorder, March 26, 1787) includes one Mr. Shaw who may be R. Shaw. He had a fondness for Handel, as seen by performances in Norfolk in 1797 and Philadelphia in 1801 (see below for these years).

1791 London. Drury Lane advertisements for Poor Old Drury include Mrs. Shaw among the women (Times [London], October 6, 13, 1791). An advertisement for The Cave

of Trophonius lists Mrs. Shaw as a Priestess, Mr. Shaw as a Dæmon (Times, October 15, 1791).

1793 Charleston. The title page of Shaw's collection for flute, The Gentleman's Amusement (Philadelphia: Carr, 1794) identifies the compiler as having been at the "Theatre Charlestown". If he was a member of the thirteen piece orchestra assembled for West and Bignall's company for its Charleston season (the only company known to have played in Charleston at this time) he would have been in Charleston between February 11 and April 29 of 1793 (the company's first season). The second season opened on January 22, 1794, probably too late for the Shaws to have taken part and still have been with the New Theatre Company for their first Philadelphia season (opened February 17, 1794).

No other record of Shaw's presence in Charleston has been located in newspapers or advertisements. Mrs. Shaw does not appear in any of the known cast lists for the Charleston Theatre.

Philadelphia. Mrs. Shaw was listed among the members of the New Theatre Company brought to America by Thomas Wignell (Durang, The Memoir of John Durang, 108). Durang also states that there was a "Band of 20" led by George Gillingham. R. Shaw may have been one of these instrumentalists.

Wignell's players came to America early in 1793, but the opening of the theatre was delayed due to an epidemic of yellow fever. Members of the company played at Annapolis and other cities during the epidemic. Shaw may have traveled to Charleston at this time.

1794 Philadelphia. Mrs. Shaw was listed as a member of the cast in advertisements for the New Theatre's productions during the company's first Philadelphia season (February 17 through July 18, 1794). A benefit performance for her was given on June 22. The appendix to the notes of Durang's Memoirs indicates that Mrs. Shaw was

> hired for the comic old women. Fat; not too well known. Her husband played the hautboy in the orchestra as he had at Drury Lane. Debut in Philadelphia as Lady Waitford in The Dramatist, December 21, 1794, at the New Theatre. (Durang, Memoirs, 158). [The Daybook of the New Theatre indicates that Mrs. Shaw's debut took place on February 21 as Lady Waitford. (Thomas Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre in the Eighteenth Century, 202-224)]

Mrs. Shaw appeared regularly throughout this season. The names of some of her roles lend support to the description above (Betty Pry, Lady Freelove, Mrs. Candour, Mrs. Malaprop, Lady Wronghead, Mrs. Cockletop, Mrs. Neverfret, Miss Di Clackit, Lady Dunder, etc.).

The Gentleman's Amusement, a collection of pieces arranged for one, two, or three flutes, was published for Shaw by Benjamin Carr in 1794. (See below, 135, for more information on The Gentleman's Amusement.) An advertisement for this publication stated that the compiler was at the New Theatre. (New York Daily Advertiser, May 8, 1794)

On April 15 Mr. Shaw played an oboe concerto on an "Amateur and Professional Concert". (Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 95)

Sonneck believed Shaw's address in Philadelphia between May and December, 1794, to be 81 North Sixth Street. (Sonneck-Upton, Early Secular American Music, 577)

Mrs. Shaw appeared at the New Theatre in roles similar to those above in the 1794-95 season, opening December 5. (Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre, 225)

1795 Philadelphia. Mrs. Shaw was at the New Theatre for the remainder of the 1794-95 season.

An advertisement for R. Shaw's music store at No. 44 Seventh, near Mulberry appeared in Dunlap's Daily Advertiser (January 15, 19, 1795). The advertisement listed pianos, flutes, clarinets, fifes, strings, bows, music paper, harpsichord or piano and flute music, vocal music, etc. for sale and "Singing, harpsichord, German flute, &c. taught".

The January 19 advertisement included " . . . and in a few days will be published the fourth number of the Gentleman, a companion for the flute . . . to be had at Mr. Carr's music store and at Messrs. Rice's bookstore . . ."

Mr. Shaw was listed as a performer in "Catches and Glees" at benefit concerts for Mrs. Oldmixon (July 2) and Mrs. Broadhurst (July 8) given by their colleagues in the New Theatre Company. Shaw may also have played in the orchestra for these programs (the orchestra leader, Gillingham, took part in the vocal ensembles). (Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 143)

Mrs. Shaw was again at the theatre for the 1795-96 season (opened December 14). (Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre, 246)

Sonneck believed Shaw's address to be 197 Market Street from March 1795 through November 1797. (Sonneck-Upton, Early Secular American Music, 577)

1796 Philadelphia. Mrs. Shaw was at the New Theatre for the remainder of the 1795-96 season. A benefit for her was held on June 1. Her last recorded performance at this theatre was as Lady Ann in The Deserted Daughter on July 1.

Mr. Shaw took part in a benefit concert for Raynor Taylor (English organist, singer, and composer) on April 21. Shaw played a "Concerto Hautboy" and the "Bird accompaniment on the flageolet" for Taylor's cantata The Nightingale. (Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 144-45)

Mrs. Shaw was not at the theatre for the 1796-97 season. Her roles were taken by Mrs. L'Estrange, whose husband was said to be "from the Theatre, Covent Garden". The L'Estranges (Mr., Mrs., Master) were apparently part of a group of new performers (including the famous Mrs. Merry) brought over by Wignell from a recruiting trip to London. Whether this transfusion of new talent had anything to do with Mrs. Shaw's departure is unknown. It is also unknown whether R. Shaw had any connection with the theatre in Philadelphia after the 1795-96 season.

1797 Richmond. In February Shaw announced that he intended to present a subscription concert at Richmond. After receiving a sufficient number of subscriptions, he advertised the concert, to be given on March 1 at the Eagle Tavern.

The program as listed, made an unusually clear distinction between performers and composers. Mrs. Shaw was featured in two songs and Mr. Shaw in a concerto for flute by Devienne. Both took part in a glee. The

program also included a "Quartetto" for oboe (using the then rare modern spelling for the instrument) and strings by "Back" (probably J.C. Bach) and an overture and symphony, not identified. The performers in the quartet were not listed, but it is likely that Shaw was the oboist. He also probably played in the orchestra, whose presence is implied by the inclusion of the symphony and overture. (Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 61-62)

In relation to the above concert, Sonneck stated that Shaw was a member of the New Theatre orchestra and implied that "the fortunes of the company carried him" to Richmond. The company was, in fact, performing at Philadelphia at this time. The players who appeared at Richmond and later at Norfolk (see below) did not appear with the company in Philadelphia at all during the 1796-97 season (possibly they had been displaced by the new players brought from London by Wignell). Mrs. Shaw's departure from the company is verified by an article in the Gazette of the United States, December 16, 1796, in which the new members of the company were compared with those absent for the season and all were given numerical "ratings". Mrs. Shaw was listed among those absent and was given a rating of 10 out of 15, about average for the group. A number of the former New Theatre personnel reportedly went to Boston to join the Federal Street Theatre. The Shaws apparently were not a part of this group and do not appear in any of the Federal Street Theatre programs for the 1796-97 season. (Pollock, The Philadelphia Theatre)

Norfolk. Shaw directed a concert at the theatre on April 13. The announcement as quoted by Sonneck reads as follows.

> . . . a selection of Sacred Music from the oratorio of the Messiah, etc. Composed by G.H.[sic] Handel, under the direction of Mr. Shaw.
> Vocal Performers. Mr. Bartlett - Mr. Robbins- Mrs. Decker - Mrs. Shaw.
> Instrumental Performers. Mr. Decker - Davezuc - Mr. D. Mard - Mr. Shaw - Mr. Robbins - and Mr. Letutz. (Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 60)

Regarding Shaw and Messiah. see also the performance at Philadelphia in 1801 (93).

Philadelphia. A listing for "Shaw, Robert, merchant, 197 High Street [also called Market Street] and corner of Fifth" appeared in the Philadelphia Directory for 1797. Sonneck believed this to be R. Shaw, the musician, and this may be correct. Two facts should be noted in relation to this identification, however:

1. Robert Shaw, the merchant, was listed in other issues of the directory at times when the musician is known to have been in other cities. (This does not make it impossible that they were the same man, given the lead time necessary for compiling and publishing the directories, the possibility of errors in deleting names from new editions, and the frequent travels of musicians.)
2. In no source so far discovered does the name Robert occur in relation to any of Shaw's musical activities. All publications and concert programs simply list R. Shaw or Mr. Shaw; the directory listings for his music stores in Boston and Philadelphia say Ralph Shaw. (Philadelphia Directory for 1797)

The occupational listing of "merchant" seems appropriate for a music store owner, but it might be noted that none of the other music dealers known to be in business in Philadelphia during this and the next few years were so listed.

1798 Philadelphia. A listing for "Shaw, Robert, merchant, 1 North Fifth Street" was included in the Philadelphia Directory for 1798. This could be the same building as the previous address. High Street served as the north/south dividing line for Fifth Street. 1 North Fifth would be at the corner of Fifth and High, as was the previous address. (Moreau de St. Mery, Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, 261)

Baltimore. Mr. Shaw sang in a glee in a concert given by New Theatre personnel at the theatre in Baltimore on June 26. (Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 55) The Philadelphia season closed on May 5 and the company moved to Baltimore for a late spring season. All listed participants in the concert (except Shaw) had been in the Philadelphia season just concluded. It is unclear whether Shaw played in Philadelphia during this season or joined the company in Baltimore. Sonneck believed that he moved to Baltimore and opened his music store and publishing business there in 1798. A move late in the year could account for his being listed in the Philadelphia Directory for 1799 (compiled and published late in 1798).

1799 Philadelphia. "Shaw, Robert, merchant, 1 North Fifth Street" was still listed in the Philadelphia Directory for 1799. The Philadelphia directories were normally compiled in November for the following year, so it is

entirely possible that Shaw had, as Sonneck believed, already left Philadelphia by the beginning of 1799.

Baltimore. Shaw's music store and publishing business was almost certainly in operation at 92 Market Street during this year.

Song publications with Baltimore (only) imprints may be from this year.

Heigho (Dussek) SU 183, EAI 48837.
Ye Crystal Fountains (Mrs. Robinson-Sgn. Giordani) SU 481.

Sonneck dated all Baltimore imprints 1798-1800. None carried printed dates. (Early Secular American Music)

For songs with both Baltimore and Philadelphia imprints see list under 1800.

No performances by either Shaw have been located for 1799.

1800 Baltimore. Song prints which (probably) date from this year exist in two versions. The earlier title page imprints read:

> Printed and sold by R. Shaw (importer of Music and Musical Instruments) Market Street, no. 92. Baltimore.

The later title pages are identical except for the address, which is given as "13 South Fourth Street, Philadelphia." The latter address is listed in the Philadelphia Directories for 1801, 1802, and 1803 for "Ralph Shaw, Music Store". It is possible that Philadelphia prints for the songs listed above (as Baltimore-only prints) were made and are now lost.

Editions which exist in both Baltimore and Philadelphia versions include:

Good Night, SU 168, EAI 48836.
Happy Were the Days, SU 177.
The Jew Broker, SU 217.
The Sigh of Remembrance, SU 381.
When You and I Love Married Are, SU 468, W 10350.

No listing for R. (or Robert or Ralph) Shaw appeared in the Philadelphia Directory for 1800.
Shaw does not appear in the Philadelphia or Baltimore census records for 1800. (This proves little since only heads of families, property owners, etc. were listed by name. The Shaws may have been among the anonymous thousands living in boarding houses or similar situations who were listed simply by sex and age.)

Washington. Mrs. Shaw was listed in the cast of Wignell's new United States Theatre in the summer of 1800 (no dates given). (Dunlap, History of the American Theatre. 2:133)

1801 Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Directory for 1801 contained a listing for "13 South Fourth Street - Ralph Shaw, Music Store." This is the first appearance of the name Ralph, or any first name in connection with one of Shaw's musical endeavors.
A performance of Messiah was conducted by "Dr. Shaw" in April of 1801. The following is from John Thomas Scharf, History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884, 2:1077-78.

> The first performance took place on the 9th of April, 1801, in the hall of the University of Pennsylvania, on Fourth Street below the Arch. Dr. Shaw was the conductor, and he essayed the bold experiment of producing Handel's "Messiah". It would have been impossible to obtain vocalists competent for this work from the amateur ranks. Dr. Shaw went to the theatre. He engaged for the principal parts Mrs. Oldmixon and Mrs. Broadhurst, John Darley and Darley Jr., and Taylor with others, the theatrical company making up the chorus. Gillingham was the leader of the orchestra, and Taylor [Raynor?] the organist.

Mrs. Shaw returned to the theatre in minor roles. (Reese Davis James, Cradle of Culture, 32, 36, 54)

A number of song prints carry only the Philadelphia address. These are probably from 1801 or later.

1802 Philadelphia. A listing for "Shaw, Ralph, Music Store" appeared in the Philadelphia Directory for 1802. Mrs. Shaw appeared at the theatre on March 30. (James, Cradle of Culture, 54)
The Flute Preceptor, a method book for flute, was published by R. Shaw in 1802 (see below, 165). The title page included: "printed for the author, sold at his Music Store at 13 South Fourth Street." The author was advertised as "Teacher of the German Flute, pianoforte, &c."

1803 Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Directory for 1803 contained a listing for "Shaw, Ralph, music store and professor of music, 13 S. Fourth." This was the first time that Shaw's listing included the title "professor of music."

1804 Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Directory for 1804 contained a listing for "Shaw, R. professor of music, 3 N. Eighth." It is not clear whether this is the same man as Ralph Shaw of the preceding year. The 1804 listing omitted the music store, used the initial "R." instead of the name Ralph, and showed a new address. "Ralph" Shaw did not appear in this edition of the directory. It seems reasonable to assume that the R. Shaw of 1804 is the Ralph Shaw of 1803 with a new address--but see also Robert Shaw, merchant, at 3 N. Eighth in the 1806 directory. R. Shaw of 1804 may be either Ralph (of 1803), Robert (of 1806), or all may be the same man.

1805 Philadelphia. Mrs. Shaw appeared at the New Theatre on January 26. (James, Cradle of Culture, 73)
No directory for 1805 is available.

Boston. Mrs. Shaw appeared at the Federal Street Theatre in the fall of 1805. Dunlap remembered her performance there as "respectable." (Boston Gazette, November 15, December 23; Dunlap, History of the American Theatre, 2:224)

1806 Boston. Mrs. Shaw appeared at the Federal Street Theatre on October 27 and November 3. (Boston Gazette)

Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Directory for 1806 contained a listing for "Shaw, Robert, Merchant, 3 North Eighth." This is the same address as that of "Shaw, R. professor of music" in 1804.

1807 Philadelphia. A listing identical to that above appeared in The Philadelphia Directory for 1807. This directory was probably compiled late in 1806.

Boston. The Boston Directory for 1807 contained a listing for "Shaw, Ralph, Musick Master, 6 Newbury St." This directory was compiled and published in June of 1807.
The six-month period between the dates of publication of these directories would make it quite possible for Shaw to have left Philadelphia after its directory was published and been established in Boston in time to be included in the directory for that city.
This would not, however, account for the listings in the Philadelphia directories for 1808 and 1809.

Mrs. Shaw appeared at the Federal Street Theatre in January and February. (Columbian Centinnel, January 10; Boston Gazette, January 30, February 9) Wolfe quoted an advertisement from this year which stated that Shaw was "Late Singing Master in the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London, Last from Philadelphia, teaches Pianoforte, Singing, German Flute, &c." (Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1801-1825, 2:812)

The title page of one song print from this year (Shield's Zephyr come thou playful minion, Wolfe, 2:812; dating by Wolfe) carries the Newberry Street address.

No musical or theatrical references have been located after this point. The following information is relevant only if Robert Shaw, merchant, is the same as R. Shaw or Ralph Shaw, musician.

1808 Philadelphia. Listing in The Philadelphia Directory for 1809 is identical to that for 1807.

Boston. No directory located.

1809 Philadelphia. Listing in The Philadelphia Directory for 1809 is identical to that for 1807.

Boston. The Boston Directory for 1809 contains no entry for R. or Ralph Shaw.

1810 No directory for Philadelphia or Boston has been located. Shaw does not appear in the census records for either city. (As noted above under the year 1800, census records are of limited value--they may prove the presence of an individual in a given city, but not his absence since only a relatively small number of citizens were listed by name.)

1811 Philadelphia. A listing for "Shaw, Mrs. Widow, 49 Pine" appeared in The Philadelphia Directory for 1811. The directory contained very few listings for widows, apparently only those who had established some independent public identity--as, perhaps, an actress.

No references to the Shaws have been located after 1811.

As the outline above clearly indicates, there are many gaps and unresolved questions in the story of R. Shaw's career. Even if two individuals were involved in the activities described (a possibility which can be neither discounted nor proved at this point), a picture of the professional musician in America at the end of the eighteenth century emerges with some clarity.

The professional musician of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a versatile, well-traveled individual, capable of at least attempting almost any kind of musical endeavor likely to produce a profit. There is no way of determining, at this time, how successful Shaw's various business activities were, but the evidence leaves no doubt of his energy and willingness to follow opportunity to any city in America. The professional lives of other musicians, in so far as they can be reconstructed, show some of the same variety and wide geographical spread found in the life of Shaw.

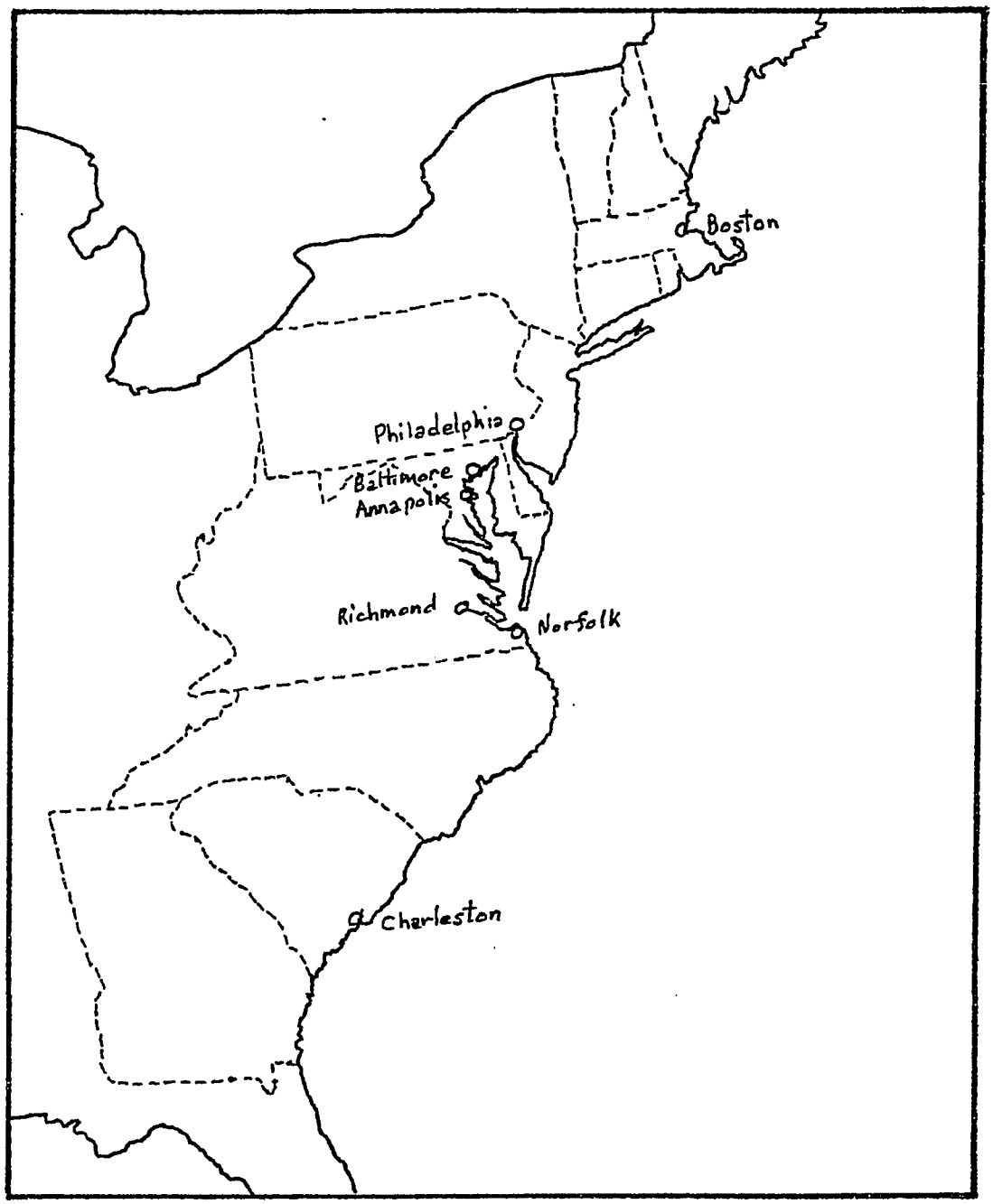

Fig. 4. R. Shaw's centers of musical activity

By the 1820s a new stability had begun to appear in the careers of some professionals. While this was primarily a nineteenth century development and, for the most part, outside the scope of this study, the musicians of Boston had achieved a fair degree of professional stability by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century. This stability appears to have been one of the factors which made Boston the last stop on the American "circuit" (Charleston to Philadelphia-Baltimore to New York to Boston) followed by so many European musicians.

In Boston a group of well known musicians joined together in 1800 to establish a music school based on European models. Francis Mallet (a teacher of voice, guitar, and keyboard instruments), Filippo Traetta (a singer and violinist, son of the Italian opera composer Tommaso Traetta) and Gottlieb Graupner (an oboist who had played under Haydn in London and was a musical leader in Boston for a number of years) published the following announcement in November of 1800.

> Conservatory or Music Academy . . . Messrs. Mallet, Graupner, & Trieta [sic], have jointly agreed, wishing to be useful to this metropolis, and sensible that many will be able (by this way) to satisfy their wishes in accomplishing the education of their children, intend to open a new institution (for this country) but on the same foundation of the first Conservatories of Europe, where order and the progress of their pupils shall be their principal rule.[1]

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[1]Johnson, Musical Interludes in Boston, 286-87.

This early conservatory apparently encountered problems and was disbanded in 1802. Graupner and Mallet attempted to form a school with the English organist Dr. George K. Jackson a decade later, but this effort also ended in failure.[1]

Other teachers in Boston in the years immediately before and after 1800 included:

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Albrecht von Hagen and Peter Albrecht von Hagen Jr. (A Dutch family teaching "all branches" of music)
Peter Smink (A teacher of instrumental music; he offered to aid gentlemen in forming a military band.)
Hans Gram (A prominent Dutch musician and composer)
Jonas P. Barret (Teacher of clarinet, hautboy, flute, bassoon, violin, and bass viol)
U.K. Hill (Teacher of violin, cello, viola, flute, and voice; father of Ureli Hill, first conductor of the New York Philharmonic)
R. Shaw (1807-8)
Francisco Masi ("Music Master of the Italian Band", teacher of piano, clarinet, cello, violin, French horn, trumpet, flute, guitar)
L. Boucherie ("Lately from Europe"; teacher of piano, harp, and voice)
James Hewitt (English violinist prominent in New York; teacher of piano, violin, and cello in Boston in 1808)[2]

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[1]Johnson, Musical Interludes in Boston, 288.

[2]Ibid. 291-93.

These professional musicians and teachers, some of them clearly equal in ability and training to their counterparts in London or Paris, offered the American amateur the opportunity to gain an acquaintance with the latest and best in European music, and to develop his skill as a performer as far as his talent and motivation would allow. Despite the difficulties encountered in making a living as a musician in America, these European musicians managed to survive as performers and teachers (though occasionally occupied with other pursuits) and to pass their knowledge and skill on to American amateurs who, in turn, helped to establish the best in European art music in America.

PART TWO

MUSIC AND INSTRUMENTS AVAILABLE TO THE AMERICAN AMATEUR

CHAPTER IV

INDIVIDUAL AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS

American publishers, in their editions of music for instruments, specialized in pieces for the broadest possible market. Works of limited appeal were available from the major European publishers in quantities which were sufficient to satisfy a rather limited demand. The serious market did not offer the potential for quick return to be gained from the publication of popular songs, marches, ballad opera selections, and collections of light music in simple arrangements for amateur flutists or violinists. The relatively small number of publications for players of above average ability and motivation (notably those for flute by R. Shaw) were compiled and arranged by professional teachers whose students could be depended upon to buy at least a few copies.

The American publications of individual pieces fall into four categories which may be discussed separately. These include:

1. Songs of various types arranged for one or more instruments. These might be folk or popular songs or

selections from light theatrical works. Frequently the instrumental arrangements were printed at the end of vocal/keyboard versions.

2. Marches, patriotic, and military tunes. Marches were quite popular, and amateur fife players (and others) created a heavy demand for military music.

3. Sonatas. Sonatas for the piano (or harpsichord) and sonatas for wind or string instruments with piano were fairly popular. The "battle sonatas" were widely played concert works.

4. Miscellaneous instrumental works. Other purely instrumental works constitute a fairly small part of the total output of American publishers. Most of the instrumental selections were printed in the form of simplified "practical" arrangements.

Collections and teaching methods are discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

In discussing the American publications it seems most appropriate to choose several representative examples of each type for examination. All publications selected for examination are included in Early American Imprints or the American Periodicals Series.

Songs

Most of the song publications from this period might as easily be considered vocal as instrumental editions. For the purposes of this study, those songs for which the intention of instrumental performance is not clear have not been considered. Obviously, any of the song editions which included the melody in the keyboard part (a standard practice of the period) might have been (and probably were) performed on the harpsichord or piano alone at times. A number of publications, however, contained specific instructions or separate lines of music for purely instrumental performance. These have, for this study, been considered instrumental music.

The largest number of songs in instrumental arrangements were printed in collections, especially those for flute or keyboard instruments, and will be discussed below under Collections.

Of the instrumental arrangements of songs, the most common form was the separate version of the tune printed at the end of a voice/keyboard publication. These instrumental appendices, labeled "for the flute" (or guitar) were usually transposed into a range and key comfortable for

the amateur player. This meant that the instrumental versions could not be used with the keyboard part, eliminating their use (without further transposition) as accompanied solos. For the flute, the usual practice was to transpose the melody up a major second to place it in a more practical range for the single-keyed flute. The most frequently used keys for the flute were D, G, C, and E (avoiding, for the most part, the difficulties of the cross-fingered F♮). Occasionally, when the range and key were right for the flute, no transposition was necessary. Where transpositions other than the major second were needed to bring the part into a good range and key such transpositions were made.

Versions for the guitar (usually spelled "guittar") were most commonly printed in C regardless of the original key of the song. Guitar lines occasionally included chords of up to four notes and frequently included the text. Some songs were printed with separate parts for flute and guitar, some with one or the other, a few with a single instrumental line intended for both instruments.

The following song publications can serve as examples of this type of instrumental arrangement.

Samuel Arnold, When on the Ocean (New York: Gilfert, [1799]), EAI 48777, SU 463-464. One of three Gilfert prints of songs from the opera The Shipwreck (the others are In Dear Little Ireland, EAI 48775, and Little Sally, EAI 48776), this edition is typical of the popular opera selections which formed an important part of the American repertoire in the last years of the 18th century. The title page includes the information that the song was "Sung by Miss E. Westray in the Opera of The Shipwreck". The other two songs also include the names of the singers identified with them on the stage. When on the Ocean is printed in a vocal/keyboard arrangement in F with a part "For the german flute" in G.

Georgiana Spencer Cavendish, Duchess of Devonshire, I Have a Silent Sorrow Here (New York: Hewitt, [1798?]), EAI 48410, SU 199. Another theatrical piece, "Sung with great applause in the Stranger," this production of well-known talents ("The words by R.B. Shiridan Esq^{r}. the air by the Dutchess of Devonshire") includes an instrumental line similar to the edition above. The song is in F, the part "For the Flute" in G.

James Hewitt, How Happy Was My Humble Lot (New York: Hewitt, [1799]), EAI 35618, SU 193. Another song

familiar to audiences by way of theatrical performance, this was "A favorite Ballad Sung by Mrs. Oldmixon & Miss Broadhurst, Composed by J. Hewitt." Hewitt included two instrumental lines in this edition. The song is in A, a part for flute in D, one for guitar in C. The guitar part includes both melody and harmony -- in chords of up to four notes (guitar parts in these arrangements were rarely this full).

Another Hewitt composition, Time, A Favorite Rondo (New York and Philadelphia: I.& B. Carr, [1795]), EAI 47450, SU 432, contains a part for guitar only. The song is in A. The guitar part, in C, includes only the melody.

Two songs by James Hook include parts for guitar (one of them for flute or guitar). Sweet Lillies of the Valley (Philadelphia: Carr, [1793]) EAI 25629, SU 415-416, "sung with Great Applause at Vauxhall Gardens." is followed by a version of the melody (in C) "For the Guittar." This line also includes the text.

The Wedding Day (Philadelphia: Carr, [1793]), EAI 25630, SU 456, "A Favorite Song/Sung by Mr. Hodgkinson" has a part "For the Flute or Guittar." The song is in A, the instrumental line in G. The instrumental line includes the text.

She dropt a Tear and Cried be True by J. Moulds (New York: Gilfert, [1795]), EAI 47496, SU 378, contains indications in the keyboard part for "solo," "tutti," and "violins." The part "For the German Flute" is marked "so" (solo) and "sy" ("symphony" or tutti). The song is in F, the flute part in G.

The Caledonian Maid, also by Moulds (Philadelphia: B. Carr, [1795]), EAI 47495, SU 30, includes markings in the flute part similar to those in She Dropt a Tear and Cried be True. The song is in B♭, the flute part in D.

A rather unexpected selection (considering the relative scarcity Mozart's music in American publications) is The Fowler (Philadelphia: Willig, [1795]), EAI 47497, SU 146, "A Favorite Song by the Celebrated Mr Mozart." The Fowler is Papageno's aria from Act 1 of Die Zauberflöte, "Der Vogelfänger bin Ich ja," with the complete German text as well as an English translation. The vocal/keyboard arrangement is followed by a version for guitar (incomplete on the EAI print) which includes a few chords. The song is in G, the guitar part in C.

Another version of the popular Caledonian Maid, The Much Admired Song of Arabella, The Caledonian Maid (New York: Gilfert, [1795]) was published "With an Harp Accompaniment" as well as a part for flute or guitar. The tune

and text are similar, but not identical, to Moulds' Caledonian Maid, above. The harp accompaniment is similar to most of the keyboard arrangements, but the line for the left hand is limited almost entirely to a rather high Alberti bass, mostly printed in the treble clef. The song, in B♭, is followed by a part "For the Flute or Guittar" in C.

The songs described above do not constitute a complete list of publications which included a separate instrumental line, but may serve as representative examples of the type. Several points of similarity among these editions may be noted.

1. All were published in the 1790's, most in the second half of the decade.

2. Most of the songs were from theatrical productions, or at least identified with certain well-known theatrical personalities. It seems certain that these two points are related to the arrival in America of the fully professional theatre companies of West and Bignall (opened at Charleston February 11, 1793) and Wignell and Reinagle (opened at Philadelphia February 17, 1794). Both of these companies toured extensively and carried performers who were recognized as stars in America (and even in England). The performances of popular ballad operas and

other musical works helped to develop a taste for this repertoire among the amateur players and singers. The possibility that the growth of these publications was connected with the growth of the professional theatre is strongly suggested by the title pages to the song prints, which list the names of the productions and the performers identified with the songs.[1]

3. The instrumental parts were printed in transposed versions which made them easier to manage on the instruments of the period, but not usable with the keyboard part. This suggests that the intended market for the instrumental versions was the "casual" amateur rather than the more serious player for whom the sonatas and other instrumental ensembles were intended.

It might also be noted that this type of publication was not limited to separate editions, but may be found in collections of various kinds.

The songs with a separate instrumental line were not an American invention, but were also popular in England.

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[1]The possibility of a relationship between the growth of secular publications during the last decade of the century and the presence of the professional theatres may be most strongly suggested by the fact that more than 95% of the secular publications traced by Sonneck in Early Secular American Music can be dated after 1793. See Richard Crawford, Andrew Law, American Psalmodist (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 266. Cited by Sterling E. Murray in "Weeping and Mourning: Dirges in Honor of General Washington," Journal of the American Musicological Society 31: 297n.

Marches

Marches were highly popular in America in the 1790's. Dozens of marches appear in the larger collections and many were published separately. All of the editions listed below are for keyboard instruments; several also include separate lines for other instruments. Editions of the most popular marches, The President's March (Hail Columbia) and the two most popular tunes (of many) called Washington's March will be listed separately.

Among the most widely played marches were:

The Duke of York's March (Philadelphia: Willig, 1799) EAI 35426, SU 116. A very popular English march, this tune appeared in a number of collections as well as the edition listed above. Other versions were included in: The Scots Musical Museum (Philadelphia: Aitken, 1797. EAI 31701, A keyboard collection), Evening Amusement (Philadelphia: Carrs, 1796. EAI 30396, a collection for flute), Military Amusement (Philadelphia: Carrs, 1796. EAI 30795, a collection for two flutes), and The Instrumental Assistant (Exeter: Ranlet, 1800, EAI 37643, an instrumental method book. The arrangements are in three parts, printed in open score.)

Federal March . . . 4th of July, 1788 by Alexander Reinagle (Philadelphia, 1788, no publisher listed), EAI

21421, SU 139. The title page indicates that this march was ". . . performed in the Grand Procession in Philadelphia the 4th of July, 1788. Composed and adapted for the piano forte, violin, or German flute." The keyboard part includes markings for "trumpets" on fanfare figures. No separate instrumental parts were provided for violin or flute. This march was included in Twelve Favorite Pieces arranged for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by A. Reinagle (Philadelphia: Reinagle, 1789) EAI 45573. Both prints appear to have been made from the same plates.

The Free Mason's March, by William Dubois (Philadelphia: Willig, [1798]) EAI 33649, SU 147, ". . . arranged for the Piano-forte by Mr. Genin" is a more difficult arrangement than most of the marches and songs. A full sonority is achieved through the use of many four-note chords, etc. Sudden changes of texture and register are employed for contrast.

Reinagle's Indian March (Philadelphia: Hupfeld, [1797]) EAI 48240, SU 207, was part of the score ". . . of the much admeired American play: caled Columbus, arranged for the Pianoforte." Most of the music from eighteenth-century American theatrical productions is now lost, so

publications of this kind are of particular interest. There is little about this march which might be considered "Indian" save the title. The copy from which the EAI microprint was made carries a stamped note indicating that it was sold by R. Shaw at his Baltimore music store.

Marche Turque par Crammer (Johann Baptist Cramer) (New York: Paff, [1798?]) EAI 48405, SU 249, serves as evidence that the fad for "Turkish" music extended to America. The piano writing, as might be expected, is high (much of the right hand part is marked "8va") and rather "tinkly."

A Quick Step by Raynor Taylor (Philadelphia: Willig, [1795?]) EAI 29834, SU 350, was printed with an edition of Washington's March (number 1, see below, 117). This edition of Washington's March was said to be "as performed at the New Theatre, Philadelphia." Taylor served as a member of the musical staff of the theatre, and it seems likely that the Quick Step also found its way into a theatrical performance. The arrangement of the Quick Step is somewhat more complex than that of the attached Washington's March.

The President's March, now believed to have been composed by Philip Phile, was an immensely popular tune during the last five years of the eighteenth century and appeared in many editions under several titles. Some editions included the "Hail Columbia" text by Joseph Hopkinson. The various editions of The President's March are treated at some length by Harry Dichter and Elliot Shapiro in Early American Sheet Music, Its Lure and Its Lore.[1] The following are typical:

The President's March (New York: Gilfert, [1796]) EAI 29609, SU 342. This version was ". . . arranged for two performers on one PianoForte by R[aynor] Taylor."

President's March (New York: Gilfert, [1796]), EAI 31044, SU 343. This edition is not listed in Early American Sheet Music. A separate line is supplied "for the german flute of violin."

The New Favorite Federal Song (Philadelphia: Carr, 1798) EAI 33896, SU 172. The title page includes: ". . . adapted to the President's March, sung by Mr. Fox - written by J. Hopkinson. For the Voice, Piano-Forte, Guitar, and clarinett." No separate parts for guitar or clarinet were provided. An arrangement "for the flute or violin" follows the vocal/keyboard version.

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[1](New York: R. R. Bowker, 1941), 21-22.

The President's March. A New Federal Song (Philadelphia: Willig, [1798]) EAI 33902, SU 343. This edition includes an arrangement of Yankee Doodle on the same print.

In addition to the separate editions, this march appears in The Gentleman's Amusement (see 135) and The Instrumental Assistant, Volume 1 (see 174). The tune was also quoted in Benjamin Carr's Federal Overture.

Washington's March was a title given to a number of pieces during the 1790s. Of these, two were popular enough to be printed in several different editions and collections. The problem of these similarly-titled marches is discussed in some detail by Sonneck in Early Secular American Music and in Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon.[1] Some editions include both marches, always in the same order, but with a confusing array of titles.

To avoid problems in identifying the marches, each appearance of one of the tunes will be numbered in accordance with the incipits below.

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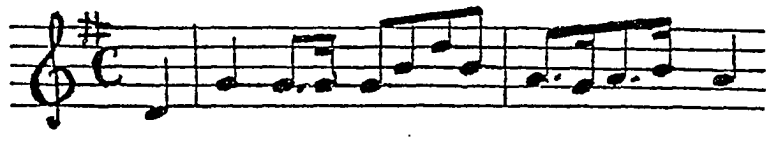
[1](Washington: Library of Congress, 1945; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), 450-454; (Washington: McQueen, 1905; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), 95-104.

1.



2.

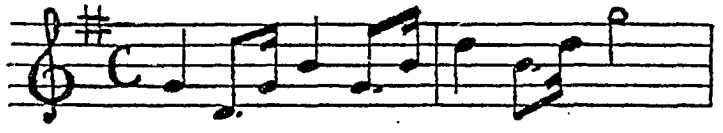


Figure 5. Washington's Marches

Editions of these marches include the following.

Washington's March "As performed at the New Theatre, Philadelphia" (Philadelphia: Willig, [1795?]). This version of number 1 is followed by the Quick Step by Raynor Taylor (see above, 114). EAI 29834.

Washington's March and Washington's March at the Battle of Trenton (Philadelphia: Willig, [1796]) EAI 31555, includes both marches. Number 1 is called Washington's March; number 2, ". . . at the Battle of Trenton," also appears in James Hewitt's sonata, The Battle of Trenton, believed to have been published after this edition. The tune of number 2 was popularly associated with the Battle of Trenton and may have been played there.

Two quite similar editions contain the same music as the preceding version, but with different titles. The New President's March [with] Washington's March (Philadelphia: B. Carr, [1796]) EAI 31554, and The New Presi-

dent's March [with] Washington's March (New York: Hewitt, [1799]) EAI 35638, are musically identically. This version of number 1 is like that of EAI 31555; number 2 differs slightly. In these editions number 1 is called The New President's March, number 2 is titled Washington's March. It is not clear whether "New" refers to a new march or to the new president, John Adams, elected in 1796. The presence of the tune in R. Shaw's flute collection, The Gentleman's Amusement (published early in 1794) indicates that the tune was not new in 1796.

Other appearances of these marches are in:

The Gentleman's Amusement (Philadelphia: Carr, 1794) EAI 27694, 24 (number 1 only).

Evening Amusement (Philadelphia: Carr, 1796) EAI 30396, 19 (number 1 only).

The Instrumental Assistant (Exeter: Ranlet, 1800) EAI 37643, 69 (number 2 only).

The Battle of Trenton (New York: Hewitt, 1797) EAI 33381, (number 2 only).

Military Amusement (Philadelphia: Carr, 1796) EAI 30795, 5 (number 1), 4 (number 2).

Sonatas

Solo and accompanied sonatas make up a small but interesting part of the repertoire from American publishers. The battle pieces listed below were all published as sonatas and sonatas were included in several collections and one method book. Most of the works listed below are for keyboard solo; two are accompanied sonatas.

Favorite Easy Sonata by Franz Joseph Haydn (New York: Erben, [1799?]) EAI 48872, is a publication not included in SU.

Sonatina . . . opera 71, (Philadelphia: Willig, [1800]) EAI 33863 is also attributed to Haydn (SU 395).

A Favorite Sonata by Niccolai (Philadelphia: Willig, [1796]) EAI 30904, is attributed to Valentin Nicolai (SU 393).

Three Sonatas for the Piano-forte by James Hewitt (New York: Carr & Gilfert, [c. 1795]) EAI 47449, SU 395, were "Composed and dedicated to Miss Temple by Jas. Hewitt." The sonatas are all in two movments and in fairly simple arrangements. Textures are mostly in two parts--melody and Alberti bass. The copy photographed for the EAI microprint was in poor condition. Some notes and markings are illegible. The identity of Miss Temple is unknown. These sonatas may have been intended as teaching pieces.

Sonata for the Piano Forte with an accompaniment for a violin, by Raynor Taylor (Philadelphia: Carr, [1797]) EAI 32911, SU 392, is a rare American example of an accompanied sonata. The violin and piano parts are of almost equal importance, with a slight prominence given to the piano at times. The violin part is essential, but frequently serves to accompany the piano. There are two movements, "Andante" and "Tempo di menuetto." Neither instrumental part is particularly difficult. This sonata is reprinted in Music in America.[1]

Other sonatas, available only as part of larger works, include the following.

Sonata by [Ignaz Joseph] Pleyel for piano with flute or violin was printed in Benjamin Carr's Musical Journal for the Pianoforte, Instrumental Section (Baltimore: Carr, [1800]) EAI 37107, SU 273-278.

Six Sonatas by Benjamin Carr, were printed in the first edition (only) of Francis Linley's A New Assistant for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord (Baltimore: Carr, [1796]) EAI 30695, SU 289. The sonatas and the mention

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[1]W. Thomas Marrocco and Harold Gleason, Music in America (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1964), 204.

of the harpsichord in the title were dropped from the second edition of this book. The sonatas are short, relatively simple pieces, appropriate for teaching purposes. The fourth sonata is for four hands.

Battle pieces were highly popular in America in the post-war years. Three of these pieces, all packed with the grandiose pictorial effects characteristic of the genre, were published in America.

The same general organization and stock "effects" are found in all three works--"cannon" (octaves in the bass), "running fire" (scales in sixteenth notes), "cries of the wounded" (descending minor thirds and sixths), fanfares, bugle calls, and recitative-like "orders." Each piece also contains quotations of well known national airs at certain points. All of these pieces are called "sonatas" on their title pages.

The Battle of Gemappe, by Francois Devienne, is a French battle sonata. The standard sound effects are employed (see above) along with quoted tunes which verify the French origin of the piece--"The Marseioise" [sic], "La Carmagnole," and "Ah ca ira." The quoted tunes were well known in America and are found in other pieces and collections. (New York: Gilfert, [1796]) EAI 30341, SU 37.

At least two different editions of the most popular late eighteenth century battle piece were published in America. The Battle of Prague, by Franz Kotzwara, was published at Philadelphia by Moller ([1793] EAI 25698) and at Boston by Graupner ([1795] EAI 28938, both SU 38). The title page of the Moller edition lists the piece as ". . . A Favorite Sonata for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord." The Graupner edition, a somewhat more complex arrangement with more appoggiaturas, trills, and doubled octaves than the Moller version, lists only the pianoforte on the title page. This edition was dedicated to ". . . G. Washington, President of the United States, with compliments . . ." The Battle of Prague contains rather detailed descriptions of the action depicted in the music. Various figures are labeled "Word of Command," "First Signal Cannon," "Answer to the First Signal Cannon," etc. During the "Attack" the action is frequently divided between the players hands--the Prussians in the right hand and the "Imperialists" in the left, or "Attack with Swords" in the right hand and "Horses Galloping" in the left. The tune of "God Save the King" is quoted near the end.

The Battle of Prague was frequently played, and tunes from it were occasionally printed in collections.

The Battle of Trenton, by James Hewitt (New York: Hewitt, 1797) EAI 33381, SU 39, is an "American" battle piece. The standard effects and events are present, but the tunes quoted were American, by adoption if not always by origin. Among the familiar tunes appearing in The Battle of Trenton are "Washington's March" (number 2), "Yankee Doodle," and "Roslin Castle," a tune adopted by the American army during the Revolution for use at military funerals.[1] The Battle of Trenton was "dedicated to General Washington."

Overtures

Overtures were very popular with American concert audiences (programs reprinted by Sonneck in Early Concert Life in America include overtures by at least sixty composers). Publishers found a ready market for keyboard arrangements of familiar overtures, and even created overtures from fragments of other works by famous composers. The following editions are typical of the overtures published in America.

[1]See Camus, Military Music, 116-17 for more information on the use of "Roslin Castle" by the Continental Army.

Overture by Haydn (Philadelphia: Willig, [1797]) EAI 32241, is not actually an overture, but a composite of symphonic fragments taken from the works of Franz Joseph Haydn. The sources are discussed in SU 319.

Overture, La Buona Figliuola (Philadelphia: Willig, [1796]) EAI 31009, is by Niccolo Piccini (not named on the printed music, SU 320).

Overture de Démophon, ". . . arrangè pour le Forte-Piano par Jacques Hewitt" (New York and Philadelphia: Carr, [1795]) EAI 28412, also carries no composer's name. Sonneck attributed the piece to Johann Christian Vogel (SU 320); later writers favor attribution to Luigi Cherubini.[1] The EAI microprint lists Cherubini as the composer.

Overture d'Iphigenie, by Christoph Willibald von Gluck (Philadelphia: Willig, [1795]) EAI 28751, SU 320, is one of the rare appearances of this composer in an American publication.

Marian Overture (Philadelphia: Reinagle and Aitken, [1789]) EAI 22142, SU 318, is one of many editions of works by the composer of popular English operas, William Shield. The arranger is not listed, but may have been Reinagle.

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[1]Regarding this attribution, see Hixon, Music in Early America, 53.

Miscellaneous instrumental pieces

Some publications of interest do not fit into any of the above categories. These include keyboard works and arrangements for various instrumental ensembles (with, on occasion, voices).

Handle's [sic] Water Music (New York: Gilfert, [c. 1798]) EAI 33837, is a keyboard arrangement of two movements from George Frideric Handel's Water Music. The Water Music was apparently well liked in America. A selection appeared in the first volume of The Instrumental Assistant (see 174) under the title "Handel's Water Piece."

A Favorite Rondo in Gipsy Style (Philadelphia: Willig, [1799]) EAI 35606, SU 360, is Franz Joseph Haydn's familiar Gipsy Rondo.

Meddley with the most Favorite Airs & Variations (Philadelphia: Willig, [1796]) EAI 47835, SU 257, by John Christopher Moller is a fairly difficult piece The variations abound in fast passages in one hand against the theme or chords in the other. Written-out cadenzas are included. The "Favorite Airs" are not titled.

Dead March and Monody (Baltimore: Carr, [1800]) EAI 37105, SU 100-101, were Benjamin Carr's contribution to the outpouring of sentiment following the death of Washington. The pieces were written for services held at Phila-

delphia's German Lutheran Church. Arrangements of the music for keyboard and voice are followed by versions "adapted for two flutes, violins, clarionetts, or guittars" (the same instrumental lines were intended for any or all of the instruments).

Pleyel's German Hymn, with Variations (New York: Erben, [1800]) EAI 49136 (not in SU) is a set of variations for piano and chorus on a tune by Ignaz Joseph Pleyel. The composer/arranger of the variations is not named.

The Death Song of an Indian Chief, by Hans Gram, is the first orchestral score known to have been printed in America. This setting, for tenor and orchestra, of a poem by Sarah Wentworth Morton was first published in Massachusetts Magazine in March, 1791. (The magazine published a piece of music in each issue for several years.) The orchestration is full for the time, calling for two clarinets, two horns in E♭, first and second violins, viola, and "Basso" (cello, bass). The music is missing from the American Peridicals Series microfilm of Massachusetts Magazine but is included in EAI 25848 (SU 104).

CHAPTER V

AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

The instrumental collections published in the United States during the 1790s contain a wide variety of music and offer some insight into the tastes of the amateur players for whom they were published. Collections were available from American publishers for flute, clarinet, piano (or harpsichord), and other instruments as well as for voice. Some large collections included music for several media--songs, flute pieces, small ensembles, etc. These mixed collections were frequently compiled by assembling independent editions, and printed from the plates made for the separate issues. Collections for a single instrument also occasionally contained pages from previous separate publications or other collections.

Although each of the collections discussed below contains music from many sources covering a variety of styles, each was directed to a particular segment of the amateur market. Examination of the contents of these collections makes it possible to draw some conclusions about

the musical preferences and levels of performing skill possessed by the players.

For the purposes of this study only collections clearly intended for instrumental use have been included. Many collections of songs were almost certainly bought and used by keyboard players for their own amusement and that of their friends, but it seems appropriate to limit the publications discussed to those specifically designated and arranged for instruments.

Collections for wind instruments (sometimes also advertised for violin) and keyboard instruments are considered separately.

Collections for wind instruments

The flute (transverse flute, generally called the "German flute" to distinguish it from the "English flute" or recorder) was the most popular wind instrument among American amateurs. It was the instrument of the refined "gentlemen" for whom music was a rather elegant amusement, but was equally welcome in the homes of the less cultured middle class. Other wind instruments popular with American players included the fife, oboe, and clarinet.

The collections for winds, while showing certain important distinctions in repertoire, have a number of common features which help to define the market for which they were intended.

1. Only the melody for most pieces is printed.

2. A few duets are included in each collection.

3. A large number of theatrical selections are contained in each collection. The names of singers identified with the songs are provided in some collections.

4. Marches and patriotic tunes are strongly represented in most collections. These selections are second only to sentimental songs in these publications.

5. In most of the editions the title pages emphasize the popular nature of the contents, with special attention to theatrical selections.

These common features suggest that, whatever other aims the publisher had in mind, the collections for flute were meant to appeal to a large number of "casual amateurs" whose musical interests seldom extended beyond the most popular tunes of the day, who normally played alone for their own amusement, who attended theatrical performances, and whose technical skills were rather modest. Some of the collections contained a certain amount of material designed to appeal to individuals who did not fit the profile above, but they all clearly catered to the "casual amateur" to some extent.

All of the collections were (probably) published between 1794 and 1798; all but one were published by members of the Carr family in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York.[1]

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[1]The latest of the collections, The Third Book of Elegant Extracts was "Printed & sold at B. Carr's music store, Philadelphia; J. Carr's Baltimore & J. Hewitt's, New York." (James Hewitt [1770-1827] bought the Carr's New York store in 1796.)

The Gentleman's Amusement was "selected, arranged, & adapted . . . by R. Shaw . . . & B[enjamin] Carr . . . Printed for the editors and sold at B. Carr's Musical Repositories, Philadelphia and New York and J. Carr's, Baltimore."

It seems reasonable to consider Benjamin Carr the publisher of all of these editions.

The contents of Elegant Extracts for the German Flute or violin (Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York: Carrs, [1794]) EAI 26936, SU 120, and its later volumes[1] are the least demanding of any of the collections examined. The title pages of the three books indicate quite clearly that they include popular theatrical selections and little else. The first volume was said to be

> . . . selected from the most favorite songs &c., sung in the theatres and public places.

In the second book even the "&c." after "favorite songs" was dropped.

The third book contained a bit more specific information.

> . . . from the most favorite songs sung at the theatres and other public places, among which are several of Dibdin's and some of the most favorite sung at the Philadelphia Vauxhall.[2]

Obviously, the publisher hoped to capitalize on the great (and growing) popularity of the musical theatre and pleasure

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[1] Book the Second of Elegant Extracts for the German Flute or violin (Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore: Carrs, [1796]) EAI 30383, SU 120-21; The Third Book of Elegant Extracts for the German Flute or violin (Philadelphia and Baltimore: Carrs, [1798]) EAI 33667, SU 121-22.

[2] Regarding the Vauxhall and other pleasure gardens see Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 19-21, 31, 19, 168, 208.

gardens. The English composer Charles Dibdin (composer of the operas Lionel and Clarissa, The Padlock, and The Captive--all frequently performed by American companies) was at the peak of his success and it was felt that his name would assure increased sales for the collection.

The music contained in Elegant Extracts is almost all from theatrical productions or in the sentimental style of the ballad operas. Only a few other kinds of pieces were included (notably sailing songs, folk tunes, and dances). The marches, patriotic songs, original instrumental pieces, or selections by important European composers of "serious" music found in most of the collections are absent from Elegant Extracts.

The theatrical emphasis is evident in the way titles were treated in the third book. The first two books used titles only--no composers' or performers' names or places of performance were included. In the third book sixteen of the twenty-four songs carry some identifying information in addition to the title. Seven songs have composers' names (not surprisingly, considering the title page note, six of these are by Dibdin), eight are identified with performers (all New Theatre personnel; five of these songs were said to have been sung at the Vauxhall), one song is

is listed as a theatrical excerpt (from The Woodman [William Shield]). Of the sixty-one pieces in the three volumes, five are duets, one is a trio.

Both the second and third books contain notes to the effect that some or all of the songs therein might be obtained separately. Unlike The Gentleman's Amusement (below, 135), there is no evidence that the same plates were used for both the collection and for the separate issues.

Evening Amusement (Philadelphia, Baltimore, and New York: Carrs, [1796]) EAI 30396, SU 127-29, is a much more varied collection. The title page lists some of the types of music included.

> Containing fifty airs, song's, duett's, dances, hornpipe's, reel's, marches, minuett's, &c., &c., for 1 and 2 German flutes or violins.

Some theatrical selections are contained in Evening Amusement, but the largest part of the collection is made up of marches, dances, folk tunes, and patriotic songs (American and French). The table of contents of this collection could almost serve as a list of the most popular tunes in America at the end of the eighteenth century.

The following tunes are included.

"God Save Great Washington" ["God Save the King"]
"Stoney Point"
"Roslin Castle"
"General Washington's March" [number 1]
"Thou Softly Flowing Avon"
"The Highland Reel"
"Haydn's minuet" [from the Overture, see 124]
"Yankee Doodle"
"Carmagnole"
"The Marseilles Hymn"
"The Duke of York's March"
"Air by Haydn"
"America, Commerce and Freedom"
"March in the Battle of Prague"

Four pieces are printed as duets, the remainder are in melody-only arrangements.

The contents of Evening Amusement include representative examples of almost all of the types of popular instrumental music published in America in the 1790s. Variety appears to have been a primary consideration in the selection of repertoire for this collection. There is little here for the "serious amateur," but all other tastes seem to be accounted for.

No editor, author, or compiler was listed on the printed copies of Evening Amusement. Lacking any evidence to the contrary, it might be assumed that Benjamin Carr at least had a hand in the selection and arrangement of this volume and of Elegant Extracts.

The Gentleman's Amusement is the most interesting and, probably, the most important of this group of collections. The title page contains quite a bit of important information.

> A selection of solos, duetts, overtures, arranged as duetts, rondos & romances from the works of Pleyel, Haydn, Mozart, Hoffmeister, Fischer, Shield, Dr. Arnold, Saliment, etc. Several airs, dances, marches, minuetts, & Scotch reels. Sixty four select songs from the favorite operas and Dibdins latest publications with some general remarks for playing the flute with taste and expression and a dictionary of musical terms. The whole selected, arranged & adapted for one, two, & three German Flutes or violins by R. Shaw of the theatre, Charlestown, & B. Carr. Forming the cheapest, and most compleat, collection ever offered to the public; the contents being selected from the best authors, and what, purchased in any other manner would amount to more than three times the price. Price bound six dollars. Unbound five dollars or in twelve single numbers at 50 cents each.[1]

The Gentleman's Amusement was to be published in twelve numbers, one each month, beginning on April 1, 1794[2] (serial publication of music was rather common at this time). Advertisements for the various numbers indicate

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[1] The Gentleman's Amusement, ed. by R. Shaw and B. Carr (Philadelphia: Carr, [1794-96?]) EAI 27694, 19498, SU 156-63. The EAI prints are incomplete.

[2] An advertisement in the New York Daily Advertiser, May 8, 1794 included the following: "To be continued monthly. On Tuesday the 1st of April, 1794, was published No. 1 of The Gentleman's Amusement . . ."

that the monthly plan was not followed and that the issues appeared irregularly over a period of at least twenty-five months. Numbers one, two, and three were published in 1794, four and five in 1795, six between March 1795 and May 1796, seven in May, 1796, the rest after this.

The serial nature of this publication may help to account for the fact that no complete copies are now known to exist. Sonneck, by examining three copies in different collections, was able to reconstruct almost the entire list of contents. Two pages are missing from all extant copies (the contents of these were listed in advertisements). For more bibliographic data on this publication see SU 157-63. The EAI prints are incomplete, lacking even some material seen by Sonneck.

The repertoire in The Gentleman's Amusement, like that of the other collections, is heavily weighted with theatrical selections. In this publication, however, (possibly because of Shaw's connection with the theatre) most of the pieces taken from the New Theatre repertoire are identified with the singers who performed them. Often, this stage identification took precedence over the title of the song, many songs being listed simply as "Sung by

Mr. Darley in the Farmer," "Sung by Miss Broadhurst in the opera of Robin Hood," or "Sung by Miss Broadhurst, Mrs. Oldmixon & Mr. Marshall in the Critic." The third number contains a selection "Sung by Mrs. Shaw in the opera of No song no supper."

In addition to the theatrical repertoire, The Gentleman's Amusement contains a number of purely instrumental pieces. These include some of the expected marches ("The President's March," "General Washington's March" [number 1], "Quick March from the Battle of Prague"), dances ("Two favorite strathpey [sic] reels introduced by Mr Francis in the Caledonian Frolic," "Astley's Hornpipe," Fisher's Minuet with new variations") and other kinds of pieces ("Romance by Haydn," "Duetto" [Andante con variatione and Allegretto] by Hoffmeister, "Duetto" by Pleyel, "A Medley duetto adapted for two German flutes from the Federal Overture" [Benjamin Carr], "Duetto by Mozart," "Minuetto with eight Variations for the flute and violoncello, composed by Geo. Ed. Saliment," "The Battle of Prague. Selected and adapted for a flute and violin, or for one or two flutes or violins").

Excerpts from the works of Mozart were rare in eighteenth century American publications, so the presence

of selections from two Mozart operas in this collection is of some interest.

"Grand March from the opera of the Prisoner" is a march arrangement of the aria "Non più andrai" from The Marriage of Figaro (The Prisoner was an opera by Thomas Attwood[1] for which Mozart's tune was borrowed). The arrangement of the "Grand March" probably derived from the version used in The Prisoner (unlocated). It varies somewhat from Mozart's original as found in the first act of The Marriage of Figaro. The arrangement for two flutes is rather simple--the parts running in parallel thirds or sixths most of the time.

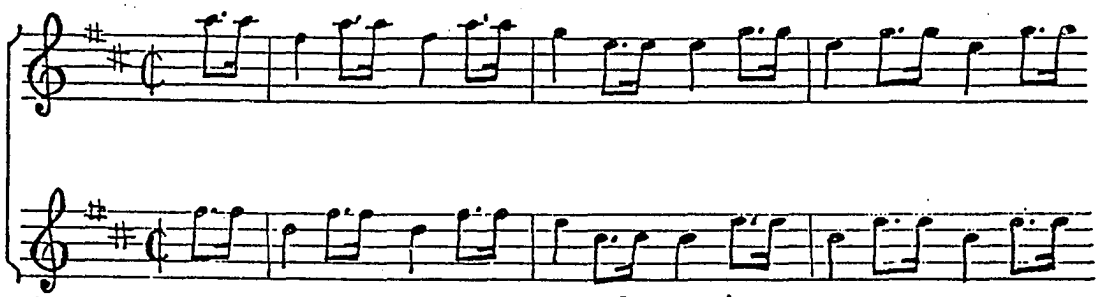

Figure 6a. "Grand March from The Prisoner"

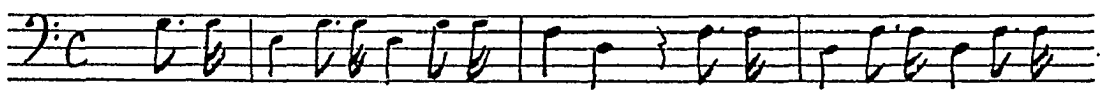

Figure 6b. "Non più andrai" (The Marriage of Figaro)

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[1]Attwood (1765-1838) was a prominent English organist and composer. He was a pupil of Mozart (his harmony and counterpoint exercises with Mozart's corrections survive) and a close friend of Mendelssohn.

"Duetto by Mozart" is a different matter. This duet is an arrangement of the aria "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen" from The Magic Flute. At the beginning, the flute parts closely follow the oboe parts of the original score. At bar 9, the second flute takes the melody while the first has material related to the glockenspiel parts in the original.

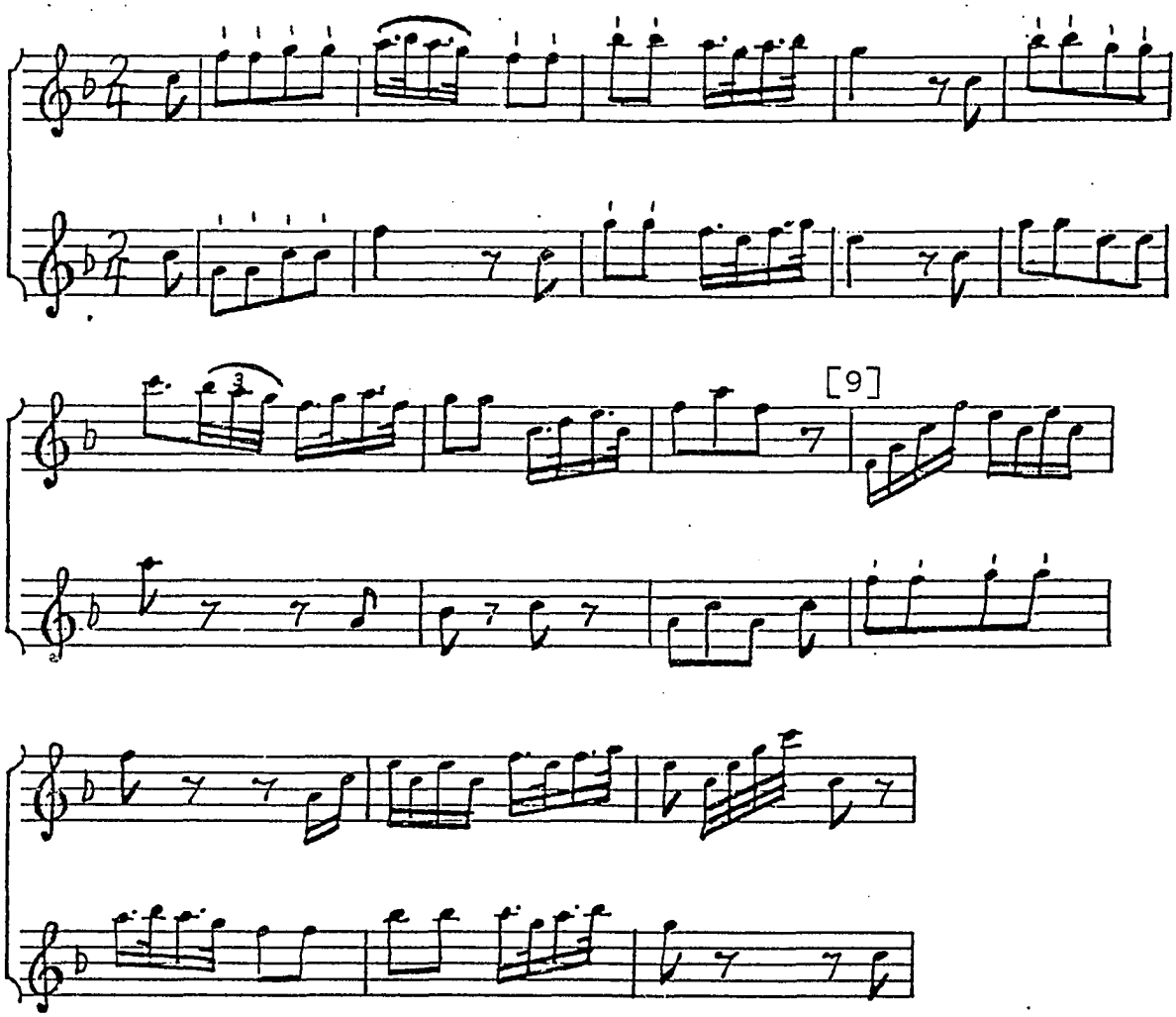

Figure 7. "Duetto by Mozart"

The arrangement is interesting, well conceived, and quite close to the original in most respects.

Not all of the arrangements in The Gentleman's Amusement were for "One, two, & three German flutes or violins," as had been promised on the title page. Several songs were printed in voice/keyboard arrangements, some of these followed by a separate part for flute (two flutes in the case of "The Vetrans" [sic], another Dibdin tune). The voice/keyboard arrangements were printed from plates designed for separate issues with page numbers altered to fit into the collection. These pages, which are fairly evenly distributed throughout the book, carry full information on the place of publication, dealers' names, and prices, leaving little doubt that they were intended as independent publications.

Two instrumental pieces also appear to have been separate issues at one time. "Fisher's Minuet. With new variations" is for flute and keyboard (the keyboard part appears only under the minuet, as "the bass to the minuet will answer for the variations"--a procedure also used by Shaw in The Flute Preceptor [see 165]). A "Minuetto with eight Variations for flute and violoncello" by George Ed. Saliment also included full publication data and a separate price. The cello part was printed on a separate, unnumbered leaf.

One other point of interest, in regard to merchandising practice, found in The Gentleman's Amusement is the policy of carrying a part of a selection over from one monthly number to the next as an inducement to the purchaser to continue building his set rather than leaving the last piece incomplete. Each number concludes with the beginning of a piece which is then completed in the next number.

The last number contained a section of "general remarks on playing the flute with taste and expression," unfortunately missing from all extant copies. A short "dictionary of music terms" was also included.

Three other collections for wind instruments merit a brief note. Military Amusement (Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore: Carrs, [1796]) EAI 30795, SU 260-61, is a collection of twenty-four marches arranged for two players. It includes most of the popular marches found in the other collections or in individual publications (both "Washington's Marches," "The President's March," "The Duke of York's March," " Quick March" and "Slow March" from The Battle of Prague, etc.) as well as some less common selections. Among the latter are "Dead March" (from Handel's oratorio Saul [1739], a tune frequently used by the Continental Army[1]), "Handel's March" ("See the conquering hero comes" from Judas Maccabeus [Handel, 1747]), and "Archer's March" (probably from the opera The Archers [Benjamin Carr and William Dunlap, 1796]). The title page states that the marches were "Adapted for one or two German flute's, violin's, fife's, or oboe's, &c."

The Philadelphia Pocket Companion for the guittar or clarinett (Philadelphia: Carr, [1794]) EAI 27517,

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[1]Regarding the use of this tune at military funerals, see Camus, Military Music, 116.

SU 330, like The Gentleman's Amusement was intended as a serial publication. The title page stated that it was to be

> . . . a collection of the most favorite songs &c. Selected from the European performances and publications of the last twelve month and as its continuation will be annual it may be considered as a yearly journal of the most esteemd lyric compositions.

Only the first volume now exists. There appears to be no evidence that later volumes were printed. A Philadelphia Pocket Companion for the German flute or violin was advertised in 1794, but no copies are known to exist.

The contents of The Philadelphia Pocket Companion for the guittar or clarinett are quite similar to those of Evening Amusement, but without the patriotic tunes and marches found in that publication. Several of the opera excerpts carry the name of the work from which they were taken; one song is identified with a performer. One composer is named (Benjamin Carr). Of the seventeen pieces, three are duets, one is a guitar arrangement with some three-note chords. Only the melody is provided for the rest.

The Musical Journal for the Flute or violin (Baltimore: J. Carr, [1800]) EAI 37106, SU 273-75, was a more successful serial publication. The title page carried the following information:

> This musical journal is published in two sections viz: one of Vocal Music every 1st & 3rd Monday & one of Instrumental Music every 2nd & 4th Monday of each Month throughout the year.
>
> Selected & Arranged by Benjamin Carr who from extensive materials in his possession, a regular supply of music from Europe and the assistance of Men of Genius in this country hopes he shall present the Public with a work that for novelty & cheapness will be fully worthy their patronage.

A Musical Journal for the Pianoforte was published simultaneously on the same plan, with most of the same music (see below, 148). SU lists twenty-four numbers as known imprints (the odd numbers constitute the "vocal section," the even numbers the "instrumental section") of the version for flute or violin and twenty-nine numbers of the pianoforte version. The EAI print of the flute and violin numbers contains only the vocal section (the individual numbers contain one to three songs each).

The vocal section contains songs of a popular nature, very much like those in the other collections, arranged for one or two flutes or violins. Text is included for most of the selections. The instrumental section (as described in SU) contained pieces by Pleyel and Haydn as well as by Carr himself. The contents of the instrumental section (as seen in the list in SU) appears to have been especially noteworthy for the quality of its music.

Examination of the collections for winds suggests that the market for which they were intended was made up of players of moderate skill, a preference for popular theatrical music (and some knowledge of the theatre repertoire through performance by members of the New Theatre company), a taste for marches and patriotic songs, and (among some players) an interest in the latest and best known works of the famous European masters (Haydn, Pleyel, Handel, and, to a lesser extent, Mozart). Only one of these publications (The Gentleman's Amusement) carries any statement of pedagogical intention. It does not seem to have been the intent of the other compilers either to elevate the taste or to improve the skill of their customers.

These collections were carefully compiled and designed to appeal to a broad spectrum of players who shared an interest in the popular theatrical music of the day. Some collections went no further than that market (Elegant Extracts). Others included a variety of musical types to appeal to a wider group of players (Evening Amusement, The Philadelphia Pocket Companion). Military Amusement is a collection limited to a single form, but a highly popular one. The Musical Journal for the flute or violin appealed to different tastes by separate publication of the vocal

and instrumental sections (with the understanding that many, if not most, of their customers would buy both sections). The instrumental section included more "serious" music than most of the collections. The Gentleman's Amusement contained a wide variety of music (but not as much from the European masters as might be inferred from the title page), and the last (now missing) pages contained some instructional material to aid the purchaser in "playing the flute with taste and expression." This publication and the instrumental section of The Musical Journal were clearly intended for players of broad musical interests, well developed technique, and a view of music as an art worthy of serious attention.

Keyboard collections

Both the harpsichord and piano were in use in American homes during the closing years of the eighteenth century. The piano gained acceptance throughout this period, and by the end of the century was the only instrument listed on the title pages of most keyboard publications (earlier both the piano and harpsichord were listed on most prints). It seems likely (though it has not been proved) that harpsichords continued to outnumber pianos in homes until after 1800. Clavichords were occasionally mentioned in American sources, but played little part in the musical life of this country.[1]

The keyboard collections share some features with the instrumental collections.

1. The repertoire contains a large number of songs and theatrical selections.

2. Marches and other popular types of music are also well represented.

3. Several of the keyboard collections were published serially on a subscription basis.

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[1]See note (p. 217) regarding Thomas Jefferson's order for a clavichord.

In comparison with the instrumental collections, however, the keyboard publications included a larger proportion of what might be termed "serious" music and more that is purely instrumental (rather than song transcriptions). The keyboard collections were also more likely to be the work of a single composer/arranger or to be devoted to the works of a single individual.

The Musical Journal for the Pianoforte (Baltimore: J. Carr, [1800]) EAI 37107, SU 273-78, is a companion to The Musical Journal for the Flute or violin (see 143). It was published on the same serial plan and is divided into separate vocal and instrumental sections. The vocal section contains almost the same music as the vocal section of the flute version. The instrumental section of this publication includes more music by the best-known European masters than does the flute edition. Composers represented in this section include Pleyel (four pieces), Haydn, Boccherini, Viotti, and Corelli as well as Benjamin Carr (two pieces).

It is clear that the Carrs had high hopes for their collection. Their advertisements emphasized that no effort was to be spared in making this the finest publication of its kind available in America. The Federal Ga-

zette (Baltimore) of November 21, 1800, carried a long advertisement describing the publication, conditions of sale, music to be included, and the hopes of the compilers with regard to the second volume of The Musical Journal. This advertisement alluded to a pedagogical intent not stated in the collection itself.

> I. The Musical Journal will be in two sections, viz. one of vocal and one of instrumental music--a number of each section to be published alternately.
>
> II. The vocal section to contain a collection of the newest and most esteemed songs, and, such, as have not, to the knowledge of the editor, been before published in this country; and the instrumental an elegant selection of those pieces, best calculated to delight the ear and improve the finger. . . .
>
> The subscription list, of the first volume of this work, contains the names of the most eminent teachers, and some of the first amateurs in Philadelphia who have sanctioned it by their approval, the vocal part, containing those songs that the proprietor had the satisfaction of seeing become universal favorites; the instrumental section; but here a remark would be impertinent, as the names of Haydn, Pleyel, Boccherini etc speak for themselves. . . . The advantage of a work of this kind, under the editorship of a professional person, and upon which the critical eyes of some eminent masters and amateurs among its subscibers, must act as guardians, will it is presumed, raise its consequence with those who are desirous to forward the advancement of music in this country. The sources from which the Musical Journal will draw its materials, are some valuable libraries of music--regular communications from Europe, and occasional efforts of musical talents here: . . . the proprietor trusts that they will convey pleasure to the proficient, and improvement to the practitioner of every class.[1]

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[1] Federal Gazette (Baltimore), November 21, 1800.

The editor's desire to bring the best music to his customers, his conviction that there were "critical eyes" among the "first amateurs" of Philadelphia capable of judging the quality of his offerings, his willingness to include "occasional efforts of musical talents here," and his interest in conveying "improvement to the practitioner of every class" set this collection apart from most of the others of its time. Benjamin Carr was a well-trained professional musician whose high standards carried through into many of his publications.

Perhaps a key to the difference between The Musical Journal and the other collections (with the possible exception of those by R. Shaw) is found in the advertisement cited above, where it is stated that the qualities of the work "will, it is presumed, raise its consequence with those who are desirous to forward the advancement of music in this country." The desire to "forward the advancement of music in this country" was not yet common among musicians in America in 1800.

Another serial publication was begun in 1793 by the German organist and composer John Christopher Moller and the French cellist Henri Capron. Moller & Capron's Monthly Numbers (Philadelphia: Moller and Capron, [1793]) EAI 25831,

SU 265-66, served in part to publicize the talents of the editors and an unnamed "lady of Philada." (possibly Mary Ann Pownall[1]). Eight of the fifteen pieces in the four extant numbers of this publication are by Moller, Capron, or their Philadelphia lady. The music in the monthly numbers is a mixture of instrumental music (a "Sinfonia" by Moller, "Overture" by [Jean Paul Egide] Martini, and shorter pieces by Moller and others) and songs, some of them by Capron and the "lady." Three of the songs include separate versions for flute or guitar.

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[1]The possible attribution to Mrs. Pownall was suggested by Sonneck (SU 265) and may be correct. Mrs. Pownall was active in New York, Boston, and Charleston as well as at Philadelphia, was associated with Capron in concerts in New York, and collaborated with James Hewitt in a set of six songs, published in 1794. It is entirely possible that she wrote the songs printed by Moller and Capron.

On the other hand, Mrs. Pownall was a famous professional actress and singer, highly regarded both by her colleagues and the public. The manner of listing performers or authors as a "lady" (or "gentleman") was usually used to protect the names of amateurs from association with the evils of the theatre. Mrs. Pownall had little to gain from such a coy procedure, and her name would seem to have been as asset to the publishers. When Mrs. Pownall participated in concerts with amateurs, the latter were identified as "ladies", while her name was used (see Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 141). This suggests the possibility that the "lady of Philada." was an amateur who chose anonimity to protect her (or her husband's) reputation.

The music in Moller and Capron's publication is above average in both technical difficulty and variety in comparison with most of the other collections of the time. The following pieces are included in this set.

"Sinfonia" by Moller (three movements, arranged for piano). Reprinted in Music in America (218).
"A favorite song by H. Capron"
"A favorite hunting song"
"A new favorite song by a lady of Philada"
"La Belle Catherine with variations"
"A lovely rose"
"Delia. A new song by H. Capron"
"Rondo" by Moller
"Ye Zephyrs where's my blushing Rose. A favorite song in answer to the Mansion of peace"
"Asteria's fields. By a lady of Philada."
"A new contredance. By H. Capron"
"Martini's overture" (Overture to the opera Henry the Fourth by Jean Paul Egide Martini)
"Andante" (unidentified)
"March Maestoso" (also from Henry the Fourth)
"The Shepherd. A new song. Com. by H. Capron"

Two collections arranged by the English pianist and conductor Alexander Reinagle[1] consist primarily of popular types of music. A Selection of the Most Favorite Scots Tunes with variations for the piano or harpsichord (Phila-

[1]1756-1809. A pupil of Raynor Taylor, Reinagle came to the United States in 1786. He was active in musical affairs in New York and Baltimore, and in Philadelphia, where he served as musical director of the New Theatre.

delphia: Aitken, [1787]) EAI 20674, SU 375, contains only popular Scottish airs with variations in moderately difficult arrangements.[1]

Twelve Favorite Pieces. Arranged for the piano forte or harpsichord by A. Reinagle (Philadelphia: printed for Reinagle, [1789?]) EAI 45573, SU 439, includes a variety of instrumental types (marches, overtures, rondos) but no songs or other vocal selections. The repertoire is somewhat more ambitious than that of most of the collections, including pieces by Campioni, Vanhal, Piccini, and Haydn as well as Reinagle himself.

Two large mixed collections (voice, keyboard, and flute) may bring this section to a close. Young's Vocal and Instrumental Musical Miscellany (Philadelphia: [John] Young and [Matthew] Carey, [1793-1795]) EAI 26522, SU 484-86, and The Musical Repertory (Boston: [William] Norman, [1796-1799]) EAI 30832, 35981, SU 279-82, were pub-

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[1]Scottish tunes were especially loved by Americans of this time, and several collections of them were published. A larger collection (but in less interesting arrangements) was published by John Aitken (publisher of Reinagle's collection) in 1797 (The Scots Musical Museum, Philadelphia: Aitken, 1797). The latter collection included 128 songs, about one fourth of which were arranged for keyboard solo.

lished serially over a period of several years. Both collections consist almost exclusively of popular songs arranged for voice and keyboard. Alternate versions for flute or guitar were furnished for some songs in each collection. A proposal for The Musical Repertory (called The Muscial Repository in all advertising) explained the policy on the alternate version.

> The tunes shall be judiciously arranged from the original operas, for the voice and the bass, and be fitted suitable for practice on the keyed instruments. Such airs in which the original pitch might not suit the German flute performers will be inserted in additional different and convenient pitch.[1]

The title page of Young's publication stated that the tunes were "Adapted for the voice, piano-forte, violin, and German flute." The repertoires contained in these collections are quite similar to each other and include little that could be called instrumental music. The market for which they were designed was like that for which some of the flute collections (notably, Elegant Extracts and Evening Amusement) were intended.

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[1] Columbian Centinel (Boston), August 17, 1796. Also quoted in SU (279).

CHAPTER VI

THREE AMERICAN METHOD BOOKS

Any investigation into the activities of amateur musicians must include a study of the method books and teaching materials used in their training. During the years just before and after the Revolution, the American instrumentalist had access to a number of European methods of various kinds. These books were widely advertised, used by serious amateurs (Jefferson used Geminiani's violin method[1]), and copied by American publishers.

With the end of the Revolution and the rise in national consciousness which followed, demand grew for books which included tunes popular in America (though they may have originated elswhere).

The first response to this demand was the publication of editions of the European books which were altered to include material arranged especially for the American market. Later method books were compiled and arranged

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[1]William Bainter O'Neal, Jefferson's Fine Arts Library (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976), 45. Jefferson owned, or recommended for the University of Virginia library, a large number of books on music, most of them of European origin. (See list, p. 235).

entirely in America, but usually by European professionals following European models. American teachers eventually began to compile their own methods, using ideas generated by the increasingly popular singing schools as well as materials borrowed directly from European publications.

The three method books to be considered below represent three distinct types of teaching material in use in America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These books, all American publications, show certain common traits but were intended for use in different teaching situations, by students with different backgrounds and interests. They also show different connections with the English roots from which American culture was developing.

The Compleat Tutor for the Fife, published by George Willig at Philadelphia in 1805 (EAI S8226) is a recast English publication which probably also appeared in an earlier American version. Its instructions and repertoire offer some insight into the tastes and abilities of amateur fife players of the time.

The Flute Preceptor; or Columbian Instructor Improved, compiled and published by R. Shaw at Philadelphia in 1802 (EAI S505) is a method by a professional woodwind player for the serious student.

The Instrumental Assistant by Samuel Holyoke, published by Henry Ranlet at Exeter, New Hampshire, in two volumes (1800, EAI 37643, and 1807, EAI S12775), is a method for group instruction. Volume 1 contains instructions for flute, oboe, clarinet, violin, and bass; volume 2 is for horn and bassoon. Each volume contains a large selection of music arranged for instrumental ensemble.

All of the books share a common general arrangement. Following the title page are more or less detailed instructions for the player--explanations of embouchure, breathing, hand positions, fingerings, and, in the case of strings, tuning. Sections dealing with the basic rudiments of music (note values, meter, terminology, and a bit of ornamentation) follow. The books by Shaw and Holyoke also contain dictionaries of musical terms.

The bulk of each book is made up of a selection of pieces arranged for the designated instruments. All of the books include at least a few ensemble pieces. The second volume of The Instrumental Assistant contains pieces in up to eight parts--real band arrangements in eighteenth-century terms. Some idea of the taste and competence of the players for whom the methods were written can be gained from an examination of the music in each volume.

The Compleat Tutor for the Fife

The Compleat Tutor for the Fife (Philadelphia: Willig, 1805) EAI S8226, SU 84-85, W 9425, Wa 273, is an Americanized version of an English publication which probably first appeared in 1760. The history of this book in its various editions (as they have been traced so far) can stand as an example of the process whereby English originals became American publications.

The original edition of The Compleat Tutor for the Fife was probably published in London by Thompson and Son in 1760.[1] This issue was revised and enlarged a decade later. One or both of these English editions almost certainly appeared on the American market soon after publication as one of the unidentified "tutors to the fife" mentioned in the catalogues of booksellers and music stores.[2]

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[1] Two other Compleat Tutors were published in London near this time, one by Rutherford in 1756 and one by Thomas Bennett in 1767. Wolfe drew attention to the similarity between the Willig edition and the Thompson edition. (Wolfe, Secular Music, 2:917)

Lists of fife tutors are found in Camus' Military Music (184-86) and in Warner's Bibliography.

[2] See, for example, the advertisement in the Beers, Isaac, & Co. Catalogue (1800; EAI S150).

A new version, clearly identified as an American edition of an English original, was advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette of July 3, 1776, as "just published." The advertisement reads as follows:

> A Compleate Tutor for the Fife, comprehending the first rudiments of music and of that instrument in an easy, familiar method. To which is annexed besides the fife duty, and the usual collection of lessons, airs on marches, in the English edition, a variety of new favorite ones never before printed.[1]

This 1776 edition is lost, therefore it is not possible to state exactly what was included in it. It is possible, however, to reconstruct much of it by working from the 1805 Willig edition. The following points regarding these books have been established by Sonneck, Upton, and Wolfe.[2]

1. The title page engraving is by John Norman, an engraver known to have been active in Philadelphia after May, 1774. This engraving originally showed a Hessian soldier playing a fife in front of a fort (a reasonable subject before the appearance of the Hessians under British command during the Revolution). On the title page of the Willig edition the Hessian coat of arms has been re-

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[1] Pennsylvania Gazette, July 3, 1776.

[2] Sonneck-Upton, Early Secular American Music, 85; Wolfe, Secular Music, 2:917.

moved and the word "Liberty" inserted. An American flag, apparently also added to the plate at a later date, now flies from the fort.

2. The Willig edition contains American tunes in two sections, all of the other music is British. A few American tunes (The Philadelphia Association Quick March, Yankee Doodle, and The Georgia Grenadiers March) are found near the end of the book and were engraved with the rest of the music. These were probably part of the 1776 edition, being among the "variety of favorite new ones" advertised for that publication. A second group of American songs (The President's March, Washington's March, Stoney Point, Jefferson's March, and Roslin Castle[1]) was added at a later date, engraved in a different style, and inserted near the middle of the book. The page numbers after this section were then changed, none too neatly. These alterations were clearly made to further Americanize the book and increase its appeal for American players.

The sequence of publications, therefore, appears to be

1760: Earliest English edition. All tunes and fife duties were British. (Wa 94)

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[1] Roslin Castle was not an American tune but was widely used by American forces during the Revolution as a funeral march. The tune was popular in America and was included in James Hewitt's Battle of Trenton. See Camus, Military Music, 116-17.

1770: Second English edition, revised and enlarged. (Wa 117)

1776: First American edition as advertised in Philadelphia (lost). Plates were newly engraved and some American tunes were included. (Wa 131)

1805: Second American edition, primarily printed from the 1776 plates. The title page was modified and some new pieces added. The issue is undated, but the publisher's address as given on the print (12 South Fourth Street) was used by Willig during and after 1804.[1]

The musical contents of The Compleat Tutor were chosen to appeal to those with a taste for military music. The first four pages consist of signaling tunes or fife duty (Troop, Taptoo, Reveilly, To Arms, etc.). These selections are followed by some thirty British marches and the American tunes listed above. A few dance tunes (Corelli's Gavot, Cotillion, Haymaker's Dance) complete the repertoire. Most of the pieces are in melody-only arrangements; eight are duets for two fifes.

Purchasers of this book were clearly expected to have a preference for marches. Marches were popular with many musical amateurs, as is shown by the frequency of their appearance in collections and methods, by the publication of books containing only marches (such as Military Amuse-

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[1]Wolfe, Secular Music, 2:917.

ment, published by Carr in 1796), and by the large number of marches published separately. While a few individual marches gained great popularity, the collections seem to indicate that marches as a type were widely enjoyed and that a repertoire of twenty-five to thirty march tunes was familiar to the amateur musician.

The playing instructions in The Compleat Tutor differ little from those in most tutors for the flute. Rather general instructions are given for forming the embouchure and blowing the fife. Fingering charts are provided, along with the information that the fingerings are like those of the German flute, "the key of the German flute excepted." Separate charts show the fingerings for the natural notes and for sharps and flats. The chart of sharps and flats contains no E♭'s (provided by the key on the flute). Different fingerings are suggested for G# and A♭ and for C# and D♭. Other parts of the instructional section explain rhythm and meter, flats and sharps, slurs, shakes, pause, repeats, grace notes, single and double bars, da capo, and (with examples) common and triple time.

The title page of The Compleat Tutor describes the book as

> Containing the best & easiest instructions for learners to obtain a proficiency. To which is added a choice collection of y^e most celebrated marches, airs, &c., properly adapted to that instrument. With several choice pieces for two fifes.[1]

It appears that the purchaser was expected to follow the instructions in the book and progress satisfactorily without a teacher. This may have been the usual method of learning to play the fife, as the fife is not among the instruments listed by the teachers who advertised their services. The only systematic fife instruction encountered in the course of this study has been in a military context.[2]

The activities of the amateur fife player are less well documented than those of flutists, violinists, or keyboard players. It seems that fife playing was primarily an individual recreational activity (with a friend, on occasion, to play duets). Fifes made no appearance in most of the formal or informal concerts for which records remain, and their use in the theatre was limited to military scenes.[3]

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[1] The Compleat Tutor for the Fife, title page.

[2] See Camus, Military Music, for more information.

[3] The State Gazette of South Carolina, February 22, 1793.

Fifes and fife tutors were frequently listed in the advertisements and catalogues of music and book dealers. Other fife tutors and collections were also available from American publishers by the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century. Their contents were similar to the Compleat Tutor, the later ones showing more emphasis on American tunes. Among these later books are the following:

The Fifer's Companion (Salem: Joshua Cushing, 1805) is a large collection (141 tunes) with instructional material. Most of the most popular march tunes are included, as are ballad opera selections and tunes borrowed from famous composers ("Haydn's March," etc.) (W 2790)

The Complete Fifer's Museum, by James Hulbert (Northampton: Simeon Butler, 1807) is a somewhat smaller collection (53 tunes). The repertoire is of more interest than some popular collections, as it contains fewer marches, several tunes by Handel, and Billings' "Chester". (W 4387)

The Complete Fifer's Museum (Greenfield, Mass.: Ansel Phelps, 1811) is identical to the above. (W 4389)

The Flute Preceptor

The Flute Preceptor; or Columbian Instructor Improved, by R. Shaw, published at Philadelphia in 1802 (EAI S505) is a work of considerable interest not well known to students of American music. The book was known by Sonneck, and is mentioned in his study of Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon,[1] but its date of publication (after 1800) prevented its inclusion in Early Secular American Music. Neither Wolfe nor Warner included The Flute Preceptor in their bibliographies. The title of the book implies that there had been an earlier Columbian Instructor, but none has so far been discovered.

The difficulties encountered in gathering biographical data on R. Shaw have been set forth above (chapter 3). For the purposes of the examination of this book only a few biographical facts are essential, and these, fortunately, can be established rather clearly.

Shaw was a professional musician of wide experience in England and America whose main employment as a performer was in the theatre. He was quite active as a teacher, businessman (owner of music stores in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston) and publisher. He compiled and edited

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[1] O.G. Sonneck, Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon (Washington:McQueen, 1905),100-101.

a collection of pieces for the flute, The Gentleman's Amusement (Philadelphia: Carr, 1794; EAI 27694, 29498; SU 156-63; H 171-85).

The Gentleman's Amusement is a collection of some interest, the contents of which may shed some light on Shaw's ideas about the market for music among amateur flutists in the years prior to the publication of The Flute Preceptor.

Collections of popular and march tunes for the gentleman amateur (who was most likely to be a flutist) were common and widely sold in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Several of these contain title page comments and descriptions which emphasize the popular character of their contents, as for example:

Elegant Extracts for the German Flute (Baltimore: I.[J.] Carr, 1794; EAI 26936) ". . . for the German Flute or Violin. Selected from the most favorite songs &c sung in the theatres and public places."

Evening Amusement (Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore: Carrs, 1796; EAI 30396) ". . . Fifty Airs, Songs, Duetts, Dances, Hornpipes, Reels, Marches, Minuets, &c. for 1 or 2 German flutes or violins."

These collections are discussed above (131, 133). Their importance at this point lies in the contrast between

their popular, theatrical repertoire and the somewhat more ambitious (though still light by later standards) music promised by Shaw on the title page of The Gentleman's Amusement:

> . . . A Selection of Solos, Duetts, Overtures, arranged as Duetts, Rondos & Romances from the works of [Ignaz J.] Pleyel, [Franz Joseph] Haydn, [Wolfgang Amadeus] Mozart, [Franz Anton]Hoffmeister,[Johann Christian] Fischer, [William] Shield . . . .

The Gentleman's Amusement is larger than the other collections. It originally consisted of 98 pages, the last 20 of which are now missing from all known copies. The remaining pages contain many of the popular theatrical selections and marches found in the other collections, but a number of longer, more involved or more serious pieces are also included. Among these are:

> Duetto for two flutes by Hoffmeister
> Duetto by Pleyel
> Fischer's Minuet with new variations. A keyboard accompaniment is provided for the theme with a note that "the bass to the minuet will answer for the variations" (a procedure also used in The Flute Preceptor).
> Fischer's Second Minuet, also with a keyboard part.
> Rondo by Haydn
> Duetto by Mozart. A version of "Ein Mädchen oder Weibchen" from Die Zauberflöte.
> Minuetto with Eight Variations for flute and violoncello by George Ed. Saliment.

This degree of interest in the use of genuine, idiomatic instrumental music (even in arrangements) was not very common in the collections of the time. Shaw's experience as a professional performer and teacher makes his collection one of more interest to the serious student than the collections which were simply compiled from popular tunes by publishers eager to exploit a profitable market.

The Gentleman's Amusement also contained a short section of "general remarks for playing the flute with taste and expression," another indication of pedagogical interest on the part of the author/compiler. (This section is missing from all extant copies; it was listed in the table of contents for the entire work.)

The Flute Preceptor is clearly a method book rather than a collection of tunes. Though organized somewhat along the lines of The Compleat Tutor for the Fife, it is considerably more thorough in its instructions to the player, showing unmistakably the work of one experienced in teaching.

The title page sets forth the author's intention that the book be

> . . . an introduction to the Art of Playing on the Instrument in the most clear and simple manner. And by which any person may learn to play with taste and judgement without the assistance of a master. [Note in this book also the emphasis on playing with "taste" rather than simply mastering the rudiments of music.]

In the event that the purchaser felt the need of a master anyway, the author was listed as "R. Shaw, Teacher of the German Flute, Pianoforte, etc." The book was "Printed for the Author & sold at his Music Store No. 13 South 4th Street."

The book was printed from rather poorly engraved plates and contains quite a few errors in spelling. The copy photographed for EAI is complete but not well preserved.

Shaw's musical philosophy is expressed in an introductory section which states that

> Music, since the earliest Ages has been considered not only a divine institution but a principal part of a liberal Education, and claims the attention of all those who have it in their power to acquire a knowledge thereof: - The Flute, from its delicacy and sweetness of Tone, merits an equal share of admiration with other instruments, and is capable of great Musical Expression.

Outstanding features of this method are the practical (and surprisingly "modern") approach in the instructional material and the emphasis on playing "with taste and judgement."

The instructional material in The Flute Preceptor reads much like more recent methods. Shaw obviously wrote from experience as a teacher. His directions to the student are generally clear, concise, and show a knowledge

of the mistakes which might be made by a beginner. For example, in describing the left hand position he tells the student to place

> . . . the third finger in an oblique direction without any arch or bend, taking care that the little finger does not rest on the Flute.

Other notable points of interest include:

1. the use of a picture of the instrument on the fingering chart (a four-section, single-key model)

2. the use of a single chart for all notes rather than the (then) more common separate charts for natural notes and for sharps and flats

3. instructions for the student to begin on the head joint only

4. instructions for counting time which include the suggestion that the student pat his foot (examples at this point are marked with D and U for down and up beats)

5. explanation of transposition (a topic of more concern to the player in the theatre orchestra than to the casual amateur)

6. instructions in the performance of various kinds of ornamentation.

The instructional section also contains a few real technical execises (octave slurs, etc.). Technical exercises are rare in books of this type published in the first years of the nineteenth century. Authors usually provided only a few examples or simple tunes to illustrate fingerings or rudiments of music.

The repertoire in The Flute Preceptor is predominantly popular, but shows a good variety of styles. The balance and mixture of musical styles is not unlike The Gentleman's Amusement, although the number of pieces is smaller.

Both English and American marches are included, some of which (Washington's March and The President's March for example) also appear in both The Compleat Tutor for the Fife and The Gentleman's Amusement. Songs (Blue Bells of Scotland, Within a Mile of Edinburgh), hymns (Pleyel's German Hymn, Sicilian Mariners' Hymn), instrumental pieces (Air in D maj., Air for Two Flutes), and excerpts from theatrical productions (March in Columbus) make up the remainder of the contents. Several pieces are arranged as duets and one, Magie Lawdet with variations, includes a bass part under the theme with instructions that "The bass may be continued throughout the whole of the variations."

A group of pieces near the end systematically covers the keys of F, B♭, and E♭, keys not frequently encountered in flute music of the time.

No mention is made of flutes other than the single key model, although Potter's "Patent German Flutes" (which were available with up to eight keys) were advertised in Charleston in 1793 (while Shaw may have been at the theatre in that city) and, presumably, could have been available in Philadelphia by 1802.[1]

The book ends with a dictionary of "Italian and other words used in music."

The Flute Preceptor was well calculated to appeal to the amateur player. The instructions to the student are clear and practical, the repertoire varied and interesting. The music offers at least a taste of many of the kinds of pieces popular at the time, and several of the best loved individual tunes are included (The President's March, Marseilles Hymn, Washington's March). This book appears to be intended for the player of wide interest and a desire to master the instrument and play with "taste and expression."

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[1] The Columbian Herald and Southern Star (Charleston, S.C.), Nov. 26, 1793.

The instructions go somewhat beyond the demands of the music included in the book, presumably on the assumption that the student would also play other, more challenging repertoire. The fingering chart covers a wider range than is needed for the kind of arrangements found in the popular collections. Suggestions on ornamentation, double-tonguing, and transposition also go beyond the needs of the casual player of marches and songs.

Catalogues of book and music stores, descriptions of public and private libraries, and the diaries and journals left by amateurs and their friends leave no doubt that there was a demand for serious flute literature and a considerable supply of music available.[1] It seems certain that The Flute Preceptor was intended, at least in part, for the serious amateur who wished to develop the skills necessary to play this more challenging, and rewarding, music.

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[1]See chapter 8 for more information on the music which was advertised or listed in library catalogues.

The Instrumental Assistant

The Instrumental Assistant, by Samuel Holyoke, is a work of somewhat broader scope than the methods considered above. The two volumes of this book were published at Exeter, New Hampshire, by Henry Ranlet--Volume 1 in 1800, Volume 2 in 1807. They are beautifully printed from from movable type.

The Instrumental Assistant is a method for group instruction on a variety of instruments. Volume 1 (EAI 37643, SU 209-10) includes teaching material on the flute, oboe, clarinet, violin, and bass (apparently cello). Volume 2 (EAI S12775, W 3935) provides instructions for horn and bassoon. Each volume includes a large collection of pieces in arrangements appropriate for ensembles of wind and/or string instruments.

The instrumental clubs of Essex County, Massachusetts, may have provided the impetus and original market for these books, but Holyoke's contract with Ranlet for the publication of the first volume (dated 1800) indicates that a market for 1500 copies of that volume was anticipated and that Holyoke was already planning a second

volume, to be published on the same terms.[1]

That the first volume did meet with acceptance is suggested by Holyoke's statement, in the introduction to Volume 2:

> Prompted by the approbation with which the first volume of The Instrumental Assistant has been received, the Compiler has ventured a second, which it is hoped, will be as convenient for Instrumental Clubs, as that has been for learners.

The existence of a solid market for this kind of material is clearly shown by the publication, in 1807, of two more instrumental methods, both emulating to some extent Holyoke's first volume. The Instrumental Preceptor, by Joseph Herrick (Wa 288) was advertised in the Independent Chronicle (Boston) as follows:

> Just received . . . The Instrumental Preceptor Comprising Instructions for the Clarionet, German Flute, Violin, Bass Viol, & Bassoon, with a variety of Airs, Minuets, Cotillions, Hornpipes, Marches, Duettos, Rondos, Trios, &c, &c, original and selected by Joseph Herrick. [The advertisement also lists "Holyoke's Instrumental Assistant" for sale.][2]

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[1]This contract, reproduced in Metcalf, American Writers and Compilers of Sacred Music (between pp. 116 and 117), states that 1500 copies of the book will be printed and that Holyoke and Ranlet will each get 750 copies, Ranlet's to serve as "a compensation for printing the same." The contract also stipulates that a second edition or volume may be published under the same terms.

[2]Independent Chronicle (Boston), February 12, 1807.

Herrick's book was apparently modeled closely after Holyoke's, and was also published by Ranlet. A method for the same instrumentation, entitled For the Gentleman, was published by Oliver Shaw, also in 1807. (Shaw referred to his bass string instrument as a cello.)

Holyoke asserted on the title page of Volume 1 of The Instrumental Assistant that the instructions for violin, German flute, clarinet, bass viol (cello), and oboe were "compiled from late European publications" and, indeed, the quality and quantity of the material varies so much that it is plain that the compiler worked from a number of sources.

The instructions for the flute are the most thorough, dealing with embouchure, breathing, articulation (including double tongueing), shakes, graces, etc. Fingering charts differ from those in The Flute Preceptor in a few alternate fingerings and in range. Holyoke followed the common practice of using two charts, one for natural notes, the other for sharps and flats. No illustrations were provided with the charts.

Like Shaw, Holyoke suggested beginning to play on the head joint alone, then assembling the flute when a sound can be produced. The notes of the D major scale are introduced first, with instructions to master them before

proceeding. Similarity to The Flute Preceptor may also be noted in the attention given to the performance of graces. Both books contain explanations and examples of trills, turns, appoggiaturas and other ornaments; both instruct the player to begin trills on the upper neighbor. Double-tonguing is explained in both books with the use of the word "tootle" (triple-tonguing is performed as "tootle-too").

Instructions for the other woodwinds are much less thorough. A set of fingering charts is furnished for a 5-keyed clarinet, but directions to the player are quite elementary--covering little beyond basic sound production and fingering. No graces are explained. Chalumeau and "clarionett" registers are mentioned, but not explained. No information on transposition or on clarinets in keys other than C is provided. Holyoke played clarinet and in later years used it in teaching singing schools, but his instructions show little evidence of a close acquaintance with the instrument.

Instructions for the oboe are little better. Charts are supplied for an oboe with two keys and double holes for the ring finger of the left hand. The description of the embouchure is reasonably clear, but does not go beyond the minimum needed to produce a sound. A chart of shakes

is given, but this is not complete, even in terms of the 2-keyed oboe. Little is said about the choice or making of reeds. Near the end of the section on the oboe Holyoke describes Johann Christian Fischer's method of softening the tone by inserting cotton into the bell.[1]

The instructions for the violin and bass (cello) are more thorough than those for the oboe and clarinet, but they lack the information on more advanced aspects of playing provided for the flute. Holyoke's explanations are clear, if occasionally quaint-sounding today ("Rule 1st. Screw up the second string A to the same pitch with A on the Flute or Clarionett"). Tuning, fingering (including shifts of position), and bowing are briefly discussed.

A section on the rudiments of music is similar to that in The Flute Preceptor, including explanations of notation, rhythm, sharps and flats, articulation, double bars, repeats, simple and compound meters, and ornaments. A few introductory lessons provide very elementary playing experience. A dictionary of musical terms is included.

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[1]Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800) was a professional oboist active in London after 1768. Well known as a performer and teacher, his ideas on oboe playing were influential until the first years of the nineteenth century.

For more information on the practice of muting the oboe see Anthony Baines, Woodwind Instruments and their History, revised edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), 285.

Repertoire in the first volume consists of 66 pieces in three-part arrangements (two parts in treble clef, one in bass) printed in open score. These arrangements are suitable for many combinations of instruments as well as for solo instrument and keyboard. No provision is made for transposing instruments. The pieces included represent a very wide variety of musical types--marches (Washington's March, The Duke of York's March), songs from popular operas (Air in Rosina), songs (O Dear What Can the Matter Be?), dance pieces (Foot's Minuet, Felton's Gavot), and tunes from works by famous composers (Stamitz's Air, Handel's Water Piece).

The second volume of The Instrumental Assistant contains instructions for the horn and bassoon, and a large collection of pieces for ensembles. Holyoke's preface states that "it was thought unnecessary to insert the rules for learning Music in the Volume, as the First contains what is necessary for that purpose."

The instructions for the horn are rather basic, but attention is given to the matter of the difference between first and second horn players. It is recommended that first horn players not attempt to play second, and vice versa, to avoid damage to the embouchure. Mouthpieces of dif-

ferent sizes are also suggested, due to the difference in the required range. Hand stopping is suggested as a means of obtaining notes not otherwise available. Scales "proper to 1st & 2nd horns" and a table of shakes are provided.

The bassoonist receives relatively little instruction. Holyoke wrote that "The bassoon is imperfect, and requires the assistance af a good musical ear to blow it in tolerable tune." The scale and range are given in bass clef, but tenor clef is said to be essential also. The fingering chart is for an instrument with six keys. The keys and their functions are described in the text, but no illustration of the bassoon is provided. A table of shakes is supplied.

The music in Volume 2 is in more interesting arrangements than that in any of the other books herein examined. The 85 pieces range from the expected marches and songs to excerpts from popular concert works (March and Quick-step from The Battle of Prague, by Kotzwara[1]), and include a large number of instrumental pieces titled simply Air, Duetto, Minuet, Grand March, or Quick march. Composers are not named for any of these pieces with the exception of the First Quick March, by one E.S. Coffin. Twenty-four

of the selections are marches, a few others are in march style. While marches constitute the largest category of pieces, the variety of types is quite wide, with at least a few tunes to appeal to any taste.

The arrangements in the second volume vary widely, from duets and trios to large ensembles including several kinds of instruments. Among these are pieces in five parts (2 clarinets, 2 horns, and bass) and some for even more players (2 clarinets and violins, 2 horns, cello, bassoon; or 2 clarinets or oboes, 2 violins, 2 horns in D, and "basso." [possibly an abbreviation for bassoon]). One piece calls for 2 clarinets, bassoon, and "Accompaniment" from an unfigured bass. The varying terminology for the instruments suggests that the music was borrowed from a number of sources.

The two volumes of The Instrumental Assistant were clearly designed to serve the needs of the amateur bandsman who played primarily in groups as a recreational activity. The instrumental clubs of Essex County (and elsewhere?) appear to have produced a number of reasonably competent musicians and to have provided them with an opportunity for instruction, rehearsal, and performance on a regular basis. Holyoke's books furnished not only instructional material, but a large repertoire in practical arrangements.

Three general categories of amateur players can be identified through the examination of these method books and the markets for which they were designed:

1. The "solitary fife player (or flutist, or violinist)," who played a few marches and popular songs for his own amusement. These players were probably self-taught, using the instructions in the various tutors, and rarely played either for or with others. Music, for them, was simply a diversion.

2. The "serious amateur," interested in a variety of musical styles, who played with some regularity and was available to provide entertainment at evening musicales or to serve in the theatre orchestra. These players studied with a local "professor of music," owned a fair collection of music and good instruments, and considered music to be an art as well as an entertainment. Many of the serious amateurs were acquainted with the best in European music, read books on music history and theory, attended concerts (and sometimes participated in them), and in some cases traveled to Europe, where they had the opportunity of observing the cultural life at first hand.

3. The bandsman, for whom music was a social as well as an artistic or recreational endeavor. The bandsmen

frequently had been in military bands, and generally belonged to some kind of formal organization or club for the study and performance of ensemble music. The exact nature of the instrumental clubs remains unknown, but their advertisements and the interests of some of the directors and author/compilers of group methods suggest that they may have shared some social characteristics with their vocal counterparts, the singing schools. The bandsmen received some formal training, and a few doubtless fell into the category of serious amateur, but most probably considered their group activity to be their primary musical experience. Many performances by the bands or clubs were of a ceremonial nature (dedications, etc.) and thus served civic, as well as musical functions. The players were occasionally called upon to take part in formal concerts, usually as an ensemble.

Some amateurs certainly fell into more than one of the above categories, and there are always musicians who defy any kind of classification, but the use of these categories should prove helpful in understanding and describing the large, diverse group of amateur instrumentalists active in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER VII

INSTRUMENTS IN USE IN AMERICA

The standard orchestral and keyboard instruments in use in America in the eighteenth century were generally imported from London and represented the types most popular among English players. Instruments which were made in America (mostly flutes and violins) followed the European models with little attempt at improvement. American manufacturers of keyboard instruments showed more interest in innovation and produced models which showed technical improvements of various kinds. As improved wind and string instruments became available in London near the end of the century, they were advertised by American importers and dealers.

The following instruments were in use in America during the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth.

Woodwind

- recorder ("common flute," "English flute")
- flageolet
- fife
- transverse flute ("German flute")
- oboe ("hautboy")
- clarinet
- bassoon

Brass

trumpet
horn
trombone (used primarily at Moravian music centers, not encountered among other amateurs in the course of this study)

String

violin
viola ("tenor")
cello (frequently called "bass")
bass
guitar

Keyboard

harpsichord
piano
organ

An examination of these instruments in their late eighteenth century form and the evidence for their use in America is in order at this point.

Recorder

Recorders were among the earliest instruments brought into the American colonies. The inventories of two New Hampshire plantations include the following:

> Newitchwanicke, 1d of Julie, 1633 . . . in the Great House, 15 recorders and Hoeboys.
>
> Pascattaquack 2d Julie, 1633 . . . hoeboys and recorders 26.[1]

No further information about these impressive collections of instruments has been located. Indeed, the recorder appears only infrequently in American sources after this time.

The terms "English flute" and "common flute" were often used during the first half of the eighteenth century to indicate the recorder.[2] The following advertisement from the Boston Evening Post of December 17, 1753, is typical of the evidence for the presence of the recorder in America. The merchants were the sons of Stephen Deblois, who had been organist of King's Chapel in 1733 and later of Christ Church (Old North Church).

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[1] Irving Lowens, Music and Musicians in Early America (New York: W.W. Norton, 1964), 21-22.

[2] Sibyl Marcuse, A Survey of Musical Instruments (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 595.

> . . . to be sold by Gilbert and Lewis Deblois at their Store in Queen-Street, by wholesale and Retail, at the very lowest rates for ready Money or short Credit, . . . Brass kettles, pewter, Nails, Powder and Shot, steel and iron, scales, . . . English and German Flutes, Violins, Bows, Strings, &c.[1]

A few months earlier Charles Love (see above, 69) had advertised his services in New York as a teacher of "German and common flutes."[2]

After the 1750s the recorder disappeared from public view, but it is safe to assume that the instruments then in use continued to be played and that recorders were sold for a few more years. By the 1780s the recorder was passing from favor in London and, therefore, in the American centers which closely followed the latest London fashions.[3]

The last known recorder method (before the twentieth century revivial of recorder playing) was published in London by Longman and Broderip about 1780.[4] Fingering charts and some instructional material for recorder were included,

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[1] Boston Evening Post, December 17, 1753.

[2] New York Mercury, July 2, 1753.

[3] Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 564.

[4] Compleat Instructions for the Common Flute (London: Longman and Broderip, ca. 1780), Wa 135.

along with music for the German flute, flageolet, piano, and voice in The Young Musician, or the Science of Music by N. Swaine, published in England about 1818.[1]

The advertisements contain no information on the types of recorders imported, their makers, or the materials used in their construction. If the recorders were equal in quality to the flutes and keyboard instruments advertised by some dealers, one might expect to have found fine, ivory trimmed recorders by such makers as Peter Bressan, Thomas Stanesby (Senior and Junior), Joseph Bradbury (all active in London during the first half of the eighteenth century), and possibly such Continental manufacturers as the Hotteterre family of La Couture-Boussey or the Denners of Nuremburg.[2]

The recorder was quite popular in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it seems reasonable to assume that this fondness for the recorder reached America. Unfortunately, the sources currently available do not permit a thorough examination of the place of the recorder in America--they provide only a brief glimpse of what might have been a popular instrument for the amateur musician.

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[1]N. Swaine, The Young Musician, or the Science of Music (Stourport: George Nicholson, ca. 1818), Wa 361.

[2]For more information on recorder makers see Edgar Hunt, The Recorder and Its Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), 96-105.

Fife

Fifes were very popular with amateur players throughout the eighteenth century. They were not generally used in ensembles, but they appear frequently in advertisements directed to the more casual music lover. The published repertoire is predominantly popular and includes (as expected in light of the fife's prominence as a military instrument) a large number of marches.

Fifes were simple and relatively inexpensive, which contributed to their popularity. Marcuse describes fifes as "transverse flutes with a narrow, cylindrical bore, six finger holes, historically made of a single piece of wood, and devoid of keys."[1] The usual range was two octaves (d' to d^3). Fifes were made in several keys--eighteenth century examples exist in A♭ and B♭ as well as the more common C and D.[2]

Advertisements for fifes include no information on the makers, but it is normally clear that the instruments were imported from London. A catalogue of imported articles

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[1]Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 571.

[2]Anthony Baines, European and American Musical Instruments (New York: Viking Press, 1966), 86.
Nicholas Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments (New York: October House, Inc., 1964), 50-52.

published in 1801 by the New Haven booksellers Beers, Isaac, & Co. included "Fifes - Violin Strings - Tutor to the Fife, Violin and German Flute . . ."[1] Fifes were also advertised by R. Shaw's music store in Philadelphia.[2]

The single public performance on the fife (aside from military performances) located during the preparation of this project was at the Charleston Theatre on February 22, 1793 (at which time R. Shaw may have been a member of the orchestra). The advertisement for this performance of A School for Soldiers contains a description of one of the scenes of the drama which included ". . . procession to Execution, drum muffled and fife . . . Regimental Band, playing the dead march in Saul."[3]

Most of the advertisements for the fife include fife tutors. Several English publications were available and one American tutor (The Compleat Tutor for the Fife) seems to have appeared in at least two editions (see 158).

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[1]Beers, Isaac, & Co. Catalogue (New Haven, 1801) 75.

[2]Dunlap's Daily Advertiser, January 15, 1795.

[3]State Gazette of South Carolina, February 22, 1793. See Camus, Military Music, 116, for use of the "Dead March" from the oratorio Saul (Handel, 1739) at military funerals.

Flageolet

The flageolet was a popular instrument in England during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Considering its wide use there, the infrequency of its appearance in American sources is surprising.

Marcuse describes the flageolet as follows:

> Like recorders, flageolets are fipple flutes with an inverted conical bore, contracting but slightly, and flaring for a short distance at the lower end of the tube. They are further characterized by having four front fingerholes and two dorsal thumbholes, and by overblowing the octave.
>
> By the eighteenth century two types of flageolet existed side by side, the regular and the bird flageolet. The latter was employed for teaching birds, particularly canaries, to sing, had an extremely high pitch and was made in two sections with a very narrow bore. Regular flageolets were longer, made in one piece, provided with a beak, and pitched in D (with low C available by closing all holes and half stopping the lower aperture with the little finger).[1]

The only appearance of the flageolet in public performance in materials examined for this study was at a benefit concert for Raynor Taylor in Philadelphia in 1796. On this program R. Shaw played the "Bird accompaniment on the flageolet" for Taylor's cantata The Nightingale, a performance which might have called for the "bird flageolet."

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[1]Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 557, 558.

Advertisements for flageolets are rare. The earliest so far located is from the Boston Newsletter of April 16-23, 1716. This advertisement by Edward Enstone, organist of King's Chapel, gives notice that "there is lately sent over from London, a choice Collection of Musickal Instruments, consisting of Flageolets, Flutes, Haut-boys . . ."[1]

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[1]The complete advertisement is quoted in Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 9n.

Tranverse (German) flute

The transverse flute (generally called the German flute in the eighteenth century) was the favorite wind instrument of the more serious amateur. It appears to have been highly popular throughout the Colonial and Federal periods and to have maintained its appeal through the nineteenth century.

The flute of the second half of the eighteenth century was a wooden instrument with an inverted conical bore. It was generally made in four sections with alternate sections (corps de rechange) sometimes provided to facilitate tuning. There was normally a single key (for E♭).

Most advertisements which list any orchestral instruments for sale include the flute, often in several models. Typical is the catalogue of Beers, Isaac, & Co. cited above, which also advertises "German flutes, both plain and tipped with Ivory."[1] Among the owners of more elegant flutes was Robert Carter of Nomini Hall (see chapter 1), whose collection of instruments included a "concert German Flute, having three middle pieces [corps de rechange] and mounted with silver."[2]

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[1]Beers, Isaac, & Co. Catalogue, 75.

[2]Louis Morton, Robert Carter, 218.

By the last years of the eighteenth century more highly developed flutes began to appear on the American market. In 1793 T. Bradford, an importer in Charleston, advertised "Potter's patent German Flutes" for sale at his shop on Tradd Street.[1]

The Potter flutes were made with metal lined head joints and with tuning slides, making the corps de rechange unnecessary. They were equipped with six to eight keys. An advertisement by Potter in the Daily Universal Register (later the Times) of London in 1787 is of some interest in relation to the appearance of the Potter Patent Flutes in Charleston. Following a description of the instrument and its advantages Potter concluded that "these instruments are the best calculated for exportation, particularly for warm climates, as the keys stop without leather."[2]

The more advanced flutes seem to have made little impression in the north, and the method books of Shaw and Holyoke contain instructions only for the old style, single key flute.

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[1] Columbian Herald and Southern Star (Charleston, S.C.), November 26, 1793.

[2] Daily Universal Register, July 14, 1787.

Oboe

The oboe of the eighteenth century was fairly well standardized in England and America. While makers introduced minor modifications in bore or silhouette, the basic instrument remained the two-keyed model of the late seventeenth century.

Several forms of the word hautbois were normally used to designate the oboe. Hautbois, or its variants such as "hautboy" or "hoboy" ("hoeboys" appear along with recorders in the 1633 New Hampshire inventories above, 186) was treated as the English name for the instrument rather than as a borrowed French term. The spelling "oboe" was used in Germany and Italy but was not common in English speaking areas until the nineteenth century. The word "oboe" did appear at least once in America in the eighteenth century, in an advertisement for a concert by members of the New Theatre Company (of Philadelphia) at Richmond on March 1, 1797. The player was R. Shaw.[1]

The oboe described by Samuel Holyoke in the first volume of The Instrumental Assistant (see above, 174) was typical of the oboes in use in America during the eighteenth century. This model had double holes for the ring finger

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 62

of the left hand (to facilitate the production of G#) and two keys for the little finger of the right hand (a closed key for Eb and an open key for C). Instruments of this type were produced in large numbers by such London makers as Stanesby, Milhouse, Kusder, and Cahusac, as well as by most continental makers. Many surviving specimens from this period also have double holes for the index finger of the right hand. Some makers supplied alternate upper sections (corps de rechange) as an aid in tuning.[1]

Reeds were rarely mentioned in advertisements, and the student received little guidance in this regard from Holyoke's book. Ready-made reeds appear to have been available in some places. Edward Enstone, in the advertisement cited above (192) also announced that he had "Haut-boys" and "Reads for Haut-boys" as well as "Books of Instructions" for all of the instruments he stocked.[2]

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[1]Baines, European and American Musical Instruments, 103-5. See also Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 688-91; Baines, Woodwind Instruments and their History (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), 277-85; Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments, 119-20.

[2]Boston Newsletter, April 16-23, 1716. Cited in Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 9n.

Clarinet

The clarinet appeared in America late in the eighteenth century, following its adoption in Germany, France, and England. During the eighteenth century the clarinet was under an almost constant process of development and no standard or "classical" model comparable to the single-keyed flute or the two-keyed oboe can be distinguished. (The five-keyed clarinet of the last years of the century achieved more widespread acceptance than did others before the mid-nineteenth century.)

The earliest appearance of the clarinet in America (so far located) was a performance by one "Mr. Hoffmann, junior" in a concert organized by John Gualdo at Philadelphia on November 16, 1769.[1] Mr. Hoffmann was probably Charles Hoffmann, a German musician who enlisted in the Continental Army as a musician in 1777.[2] Clarinetists were active in New York by 1782 and in Boston by 1788.[3]

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[1] Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 73-74.

[2] Camus, Military Music, 139.

[3] Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 184, 282. These dates represent recorded, public performances by soloists. It is safe to assume that clarinets were in use in these cities by military bandsmen or by amateurs prior to these performances. Clarinets were part of several army bands after 1777.

The clarinet described in The Instrumental Assistant is a five-keyed model similar to extant instruments by Kusder, Milhouse, and Bland and Weller of London, Baumann, Amlingue, and Mousseter of Paris, Griesbacher of Vienna, and, after 1800, Asa Hopkins of Litchfield, Connecticut.[1]

The makers listed above built clarinets in a variety of keys, C, B♭, and A being the most common. American sources contain little information on the sizes of clarinets in use; military records normally specified "B clarinets" (probably B♭ instruments).[2] Holyoke, in The Instrumental Assistant, omitted any mention of the key of the instrument (all of his arrangements were scored for clarinets in C).

Reeds for clarinets were listed only in military records.[3]

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[1]Baines, European and American Musical Instruments, 112-13; Baines, Woodwind Instruments and their History, pl. 27; Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments, 100.

[2]Camus, Military Music, 134, 136.

[3]Ibid.

Bassoon

The bassoon, serving primarily as an ensemble instrument in the eighteenth century, appeared in relatively few advertisements, but the evidence which is available suggests that it was rather widely played. The first American solo performance located in the course of this study was in Charleston in 1765. This concert was organized by one Mr Pike, who featured himself on both bassoon and horn, accompanied by "gentlemen of the place." The program included eight concertos (among other works) of which Pike played at least five--three on horn and two on bassoon.[1]

Another noteworthy appearance of the bassoon was in an advertisment published in 1757 in which Philipp Lee of Virginia accused Charles Love (see above, 69) of stealing "a very good Bassoon, made by Schuchart."[2] Also of interest was William (?) Young, an Englishman who served in the orchestra of the New Theatre in Philadelphia. In his History of the American Theatre, William Dunlap described Young's tragic end.

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 15.

[2]Chase, America's Music, 106.

> Young, an Englishman, was the bassoon player of the orchestra. He had contracted debts, and, on the deputy sheriff or constable attempting to arrest him, he drew forth a pistol and shot him. The desparate man was immediately secured, shortly after tried, condemned, and executed.[1]

No clear description of the bassoon in America has been located prior to the publication of the second volume of The Instrumental Assistant in 1807. The instrument described there was a six-keyed model of a type built in England (and presumably exported) by Milhouse, Proser, and Goulding, in Germany by Kirst and Grenser, and in France by Prudent and Martin Lot.[2]

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[1]William Dunlap, History of the American Theatre New York: Burt Franklin, 1963), 401.

[2]Baines, European and American Musical Instruments, 108-9; Baines, Woodwind Instruments and their History, 286-89; Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments, 132-33.

Trumpet

Trumpets were considered primarily military instruments in America during the eighteenth century. Most references to the trumpet in American sources of this period refer to the instrument in a military context, on parade, or (infrequently) in the theatre. The evidence suggests that the trumpet was not a popular instrument among amateur players and was, in fact, usually a second (or third) instrument for the professional wind players. The tradition of baroque trumpet playing, particularly clarino performance, does not appear to have been important in America and was dying out in Europe at the time that instrumental music was becoming popular and well organized in America. In any event, clarino playing was not an activity for the amateur.[1]

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[1]Christopher Monk, in Musical Instruments Through the Ages (ed. by Anthony Baines, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1961), 288, listed several reasons for the decline of clarino playing in Europe which may help to explain the lack of this kind of performance in America. Among these are:

1. ". . . the disappearance in the turmoil following the French Revolution of the numerous small courts which maintained players."
2. ". . . the restrictive domination of trumpet guilds [which] had forbidden any wide popular use through which the old technique might have survived."

America, with neither courts nor guilds, nor a real demand for professional instrumentalists outside the theatre (and for professionals in the theatre only in the last years of the century) offered little opportunity for the development or employment of virtuoso trumpeters.

The military use of the trumpet is a subject of some interest which lies, for the most part, outside the scope of this study. Briefly, the trumpet was used for signaling, for fanfares, and, with drums, to accompany troops on parade. The military performers were professionals (some, in the tradition of European armies, were black) and were usually hired for their skills, rather than trained in the service as were fifers and drummers. They seem to have taken little part in civilian performances except in the role of guest performers furnishing fanfares and ceremonial music on special occasions.[1]

The trumpet of the late eighteenth century was the natural trumpet of the preceding decades, with inter-

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[1]Trumpets and kettledrums were used at Charlestown, S.C. in ceremonies celebrating the birthday of Queen Caroline in February, 1736. (South Carolina Gazette, February 18-March 6, 1736).

At county fair in 1737 "a Flag was displayed, Drums were beating, Trumpets sounding, and other Musick playing, for the Entertainment of the Company . . ." (Camus, Military Music, 41).

Regarding the military trumpeters, See Camus, Military Music, 19-20, 25-28, 30-31, 33-35, 40-42, 44, 51, 55, 58-59, 64, 67, 73, 135, 148, 164, 174.

changeable crooks to make possible performance in different keys. By 1800 various solutions had been proposed to the problems related to the limitations of the natural trumpet in the performance of melodic material (in any but the highest register employed by the clarinists) and in music which changed key too frequently to permit the changing of crooks. These new trumpets were not commonly used in America prior to the second decade of the nineteenth century and are, therefore beyond the scope of this study.[1]

The evidence assembled in the course of this study suggests that the trumpet was not widely used among either amateur players or the professionals associated with the theatrical companies in America during the eighteenth century.

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[1]Regarding the new models introduced in the first years of the nineteenth century see:
Christopher W. Monk, "The Older Brass Instruments", Musical Instruments Through the Ages, ed. by Anthony Baines, 288-94; Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 803-8.

Horn

Unlike the trumpet, the horn was widely played in concerts, in the theatre, and in the instrumental clubs of Massachusetts (and elswhere?).

The earliest concert announcements did not include any description of the instruments used, so it is impossible to trace the first uses of the horn in America. By the 1760s, however, it appears to have been rather common in the principal cities. In 1762 Alexander Dienval, a professional musician living in New York, advertised his services as a teacher of French horn (as well as "violin, German flute, hautboy, bass violin [sic], tenor violin, etc."). Horn solos appeared on concert programs at Philadelphia (by John Schneider) in 1764 and at Charleston (by Thomas Pike, who also performed on the bassoon) in 1765. Even more versatile were the performances by a Mr. Humphreys and a Mr. Stotherd at Charleston in 1773, in which each played a solo on the horn and sang a song. They finished the concert with a guitar duet. "French Horns, hautboys, etc. by the band of the 64th Regiment [of the British Army, stationed at Boston]" were heard in a concert of vocal and instrumental music in Boston in 1771.[1]

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[1]Sonneck, Early Concert Life, 163-64, 15, 22, 262.

The years for which there is evidence for the early use of the horn in America (1761-1800) saw several important developments in horn design and technique. The earliest references to the horn in advertisements for concerts or lessons provide no clue to the kind of horn in use or to how it was played. Evidence relating to other musical developments and to the music itself suggests that the latest European fashions appeared in America rather quickly, usually within a few months of their introduction in London. If this was the case with the developments in horn playing, one would expect to find hand stopping in use (on instruments designed for this technique, such as those by Hampel or Raoux[1]), and to find some degree of specialization in high or low parts among the players. It is likely that those horn players who had lived in Great Britain or on the Continent had heard (and possibly studied with) the famous horn virtuosi whose performances at Paris, London, and other musical centers made a strong impression on the public and on composers.[2]

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[1]R. Morley Pegge, "The Horn, and the Later Brass", Musical Instruments Through the Ages, ed. by Anthony Baines, 299.

[2]Among these virtuosi were Giovanni Punto (1748-1803) for whom Beethoven's Horn sonata was written, Leutgeb (?-1811), for whom Mozart's Horn Concerti were written, and Jean Joseph Rodolphe (1730-1812).

Clear indications of the types of horns in use in America, and the techniques expected from the players can be found in the second volume of Samuel Holyoke's instrumental tutor, The Instrumental Assistant, published at Exeter, New Hampshire, in 1807. By this time, as shown by Holyoke, hand stopping was an established practice among American players. The use of hand stopping suggests that the Raoux-type horn was in use at this time.[1] Holyoke's instructions also indicate that players normally specialized either in high or low parts. Holyoke advised against "first" horn players trying to play second parts or vice versa, due to the danger of damage to the embouchure. He also advocated the use of different mouthpiece rims for first and second players. The instructions in The Instrumental Assistant were designed with the division of parts in mind, and scales "proper to 1st & 2nd horns" were provided.[2]

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[1]The older type of horn had the crooks (necessary for playing in different keys) inserted between the mouthpiece and the body of the instrument, making it difficult to place the hand in the bell as required for hand stopping. The horns designed by Hampel, and improved and manufactured by Raoux had the crooks inserted within the hoop of the instrument, maintaining a constant (and comfortable) relationship between the mouthpiece and bell.

[2]Regarding The Instrumental Assistant, see 174.

Violin

Relatively little need be said about the string instruments in use in America during the last third of the eighteenth century. There is some evidence that members of the viola da gamba family were used in America in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but by the middle of the eighteenth century the violin family was securely established as the primary group of bowed strings in all but the largest sizes. The bass string instruments were much less standardized than the smaller sizes, and instruments of the viola da gamba type may have survived among the basses used in churches into the nineteenth century.

The last years of the eighteenth century were for the violin family, as for the horn, a time of development in technique and structural change. In the case of the violin, changes were made in existing instruments as well.

These changes, and the reasons for them, were described by Sibyl Marcuse as follows.

> By the third quarter of the eighteenth century a combination of advanced playing technique--from about 1750 on violinists started exceeding the seventh position, but not necessarily in ripieno playing--and larger audiences in larger halls created demand for instruments capable of producing greater volume and brilliance of tone.

> These demands were met almost simultaneously in Italy and in France with a remodeling of the instrument (from ca. 1770 on). The neck, originally set at the same plane as the body, was now thrown back at an angle and slightly lengthened (up to 1 centimeter at most), the fingerboard was lengthened (from 2 to 2.6 centimeters) and redesigned, the bridge was made correspondingly higher, the tops of the bridge and fingerboard made more convex, the bass bar made considerably stouter and somewhat longer, and the soundpost thicker. Although thinner strings were then in use the tension was greater than it had been before the remodeling. . . . Very few instruments indeed escaped this rebuilding.[1]

As late as 1810 Amati violins were being rebuilt in Paris.[2]

Curiously, the remodeling of older violins is a subject not encountered in American sources from the last years of the eighteenth century. It is reasonable to assume that violins already in use in the 1760s were of the older type, and that those imported after 1800 were built, or modified, to the new specifications. For the years between 1770 and 1800 a mix of instruments seems most probable, with the new type gradually becoming established. The advantages offered by the remodeled violin were of little use to most amateurs, who played in small rooms or at

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[1] Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 521-22.

[2] Ibid., 523.

home, and whose technical demands were too modest to require the lengthened fingerboard and the additional range it provided. For the amateur the older violin was probably quite adequate. It is also reasonable to assume that the highly-trained professional players who had been active in London before arriving in America in the 1790s (George Gillingham, Jean Gehot, James Hewitt, etc.) were acquainted with, and used, the new type of viloin.

The most specific information on the violin in America in this period is found in the first volume of The Instrumental Assistant. In this book Samuel Holyoke provided instructions for playing the violin which include posture and position for holding the instrument, bowing, fingering, and shifts of position. Nothing in the instructional material indicates a need for, or awareness of, the newer type of violin. The range called for does not necessitate the extended fingerboard, and the seventh position in not descibed. The only clue which might help to identify the state of the violin as Holyoke knew it is his statement that "the distance from the nut to the bridge must be $11^{1}/10$ inches." This is short even by the earlier standard and is almost two inches shorter than the speaking

length of the remodeled, "modern" violin (now about thirteen inches).[1] This very short speaking length almost certainly indicates the older type of violin.

In general, it probably made little difference to the American amateur whether his violin matched the latest European concert instruments, or was slightly outdated. In this case, there may have been less rebuilding of existing instruments in America than in England, France, or Italy. The newer type of instrument probably became dominant only as newly imported models replaced those in use--a process which may have lasted well into the nineteenth century.

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[1]Regarding the dimensions of the remodeled violins, see Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 523. Note that the section quoted above (208) indicates that the neck was lengthened "up to 1 centimeter [.3937 in.] at most." This is in agreement with David Boyden's statement that string length increased by ¼ to ½ in. ("The Violin Group," Musical Instruments Through the Ages, 125). This would indicate a speaking length of about 12½ inches in most of the old style violins. The 11 1/10 in. speaking length described by Holyoke remains unexplained.

Viola

The viola received very little notice in eighteenth century American sources, and appears to have been little used in this country prior to 1800. This is not surprising for several reasons.

1. The viola was not widely used as a solo instrument or in chamber music in Europe until the last quarter of the century, following the performances on viola by Carl Stamitz at Paris in 1770.[1]

2. Violas were not easily available in Europe for much of the century--production having virtually ceased between 1700 and 1750, then continued in a limited manner until the last years of the century.[2]

3. The viola had little appeal for most amateurs before the close of the century. Of the instruments popular among American amateurs, all were either (a) treble, melody instruments with an existing repertoire of published solo and ensemble music (flute, violin, oboe, clarinet), (b) ensemble instruments for which parts were easily available and for which opportunities existed for ensemble performance (military bands and instrumental clubs offered opportunities for bassoonists and hornists as well as for

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[1]Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 529.

[2]Ibid.

flutists, oboists, and clarinetists), or (c) keyboard instruments (or guitar) suitable for use in the home, and not requiring other players or instruments for a complete and satisfying musical experience.

4. Violas, even to the end of the century, were largely utilitarian instruments in the hands of European professionals. The orchestral parts did not require extensive technical ability and many, if not most, of the players were violinists who played viola as needed in ensembles.

For the above reasons, the viola seldom appeared in American sources from the eighteenth century. Where it was mentioned, the term "tenor" was frequently used instead of "viola." (This was in accordance with common English practice of the 1770s and 80s.)[1]

The impact of the viola on American musical life in the eighteenth century appears to have been slight.

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[1]See note, p. 70.

Cello

The cello of the late eighteenth century had evolved into a form very much like that of the modern instrument. The spike had been temporarily abandoned in favor of a playing position in which the body of the cello was held between the legs--in a manner similar to that employed for the bass gamba. Four strings, in the now-standard tuning (CGda) were the norm, additional strings and other tunings having been discarded by about 1750.[1]

The use of the cello in America is rather difficult to trace due to the variety of terminology employed and the fact that several different bass string instruments were in use at about the same time.[2]

The only cellists named in sources consulted for this study were foreign professionals, the most prominent of whom was Henri Capron (see 80). Other cellists who built careers in America were one M. Demarque, a French pro-

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[1]For more on the cello up to the mid-eighteenth century see Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 533-539.

[2]The difficulties encountered in identifying the various bass string instruments of the late eighteenth century are explored by James Webster in "Violoncello and Double Bass in the Chamber Music of Haydn and his Viennese Contemporaries, 1750-1780," JAMS 29 (Fall, 1976): 413-38.

fessional musician active in New York and Philadelphia after 1793, and George Schetky, nephew of Benjamin Carr, who was most active in Philadelphia.[1]

Cellos appear to have been used in Massachusetts churches to accompany singing, a practice which was generally abandoned as organs became widely available in the nineteenth century. There has been some difficulty in identifying the exact instrumental types used for this purpose due to the inconsistent terminology employed by writers of the time. The best evidence that the cello was in use in Massachusetts about 1800 is found in the writings of Samuel Holyoke, and in several later publications dealing with music in Salem and Essex County.

In Annals of Salem (1845), Joseph Felt noted that in 1800

> An organ is made in London for the first church. . . . Prior to this time, orchestral instruments, particularly the bass viol, had been played in our Congregational societies, for many years. They were thus employed in each of such societies as had [not?] been supplied with an organ, till it was so accomodated. They are still [1845] used in our congregations which have no organs.[2]

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[1] Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, American Supplement, ed. Waldo Selden Pratt (New York: Macmillan, 1935) 9-10.

[2] Joseph B. Felt, Annals of Salem (Salem: W. & S. B. Ives, 1845) 1:503.

The constitution of the Essex Musical Association (of which Holyoke was a founding member) contains a list of "Instruments used at present" which includes "Bass Viols, Violins, and Flutes."[1]

Holyoke's method book, The Instrumental Assistant (Volume 1, 1800) contains instructions for the "Bass Viol," which suggest that the term referred to the cello.

> The most convenient position for playing the Bass Viol is to rest its body on the calves of the legs.-- The distance from the nut to the bridge should be 26½ inches.[2]

The playing position, sounding length of the string, and the tuning given later in the instructions (CGda) clearly indicate that the "bass viol" of Holyoke's book was the cello.

The available evidence suggests that the cello was not frequently encountered among amateur players outside of the churches (and its use in church may have been primarily limited to Massachusetts[3]). The instruments used

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[1] The Constitution of the Essex Musical Association.

[2] Holyoke, The Instrumental Assistant, Volume 1.

[3] Regarding the use of the cello in European churches, see Marcuse, op. cit., 534-35; and W. Henry Hill, Antonio Stradivari (London: William E. Hill and Sons, 1902; reprint ed. New York: Dover, 1963) 110, 112.

by the European professional might safely be assumed to have been of the latest type, products of respected English or Continental makers. In the churches and among amateur players one might expect to find older instruments, and instruments from less prestigious makers.

Keyboard instruments

The most common keyboard instruments in use in America during the eighteenth century were the harpsichord (in various sizes), organ (primarily, though not exclusively, in churches) and, in the last years of the century, the piano. The clavichord was known to Americans, but evidence of its use by amateurs is, so far, lacking.[1]

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[1]At least one potential clavichord owner was won over to the new piano at the last minute. In a letter to Thomas Adams (February 20, 1771) Thomas Jefferson referred to an order for a clavichord.

> "The things I have desired you to purchase for me I would beg you to hasten, particularly the Clavichord, which I have directed to be purchased in Hamburgh because they are better made there and much cheaper."

This order was rescinded a few months later, as seen by a letter to Adams dated June 1, 1771.

> ". . . I must alter one article in the invoice. I wrote therein for a Clavichord. I have since seen a Forte-piano and am charmed with it. Send me this instrument instead of the clavichord."

It is not clear whether or not this piano was finally received by Jefferson. Fourteen years later, in a letter to Francis Hopkinson (written from Paris, where Jefferson was attempting to interest French harpsichord players and builders in Hopkinson's new method of quilling the harpsichord), Jefferson indicated that he was still wrestling with the question of the piano.

> "I mentioned to Piccini the improvement with which I am entrusted. He plays on the Pianoforte and therefore did not feel personally interested. . . . I had almost decided, on his advice, to get a Pianoforte for my daughter. But your last letter pauses me, perhaps till I see it's effect."

Letters from The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, ed. by Julian Boyd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 1:62, 1:71, 8:550.

Harpsichords were fairly common in America during the second half of the eighteenth century. They were included in the orchestras for theatrical productions and concerts, and were found in the homes of many middle and upper class families. The name "spinnet" (almost invariably in this spelling rather than the more modern "spinet") frequently denoted small instruments used in homes. This term was used for small harpsichords in England as late as 1785.[1]

The term "harpsichord" is found most often in sources from the last years of the century, often referring to instruments used in public performances. A few wealthy amateurs owned instruments which were called harpsichords, and it may be assumed that this term, until the last decade of the century, indicated a large instrument, possibly with two manuals. Robert Carter of Nomini Hall owned an instrument which Phillip Vickers Fithian called a harpsichord.

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[1]See George Washington's order for "1 very good Spinit, to be made by Mr. Plinius [probably the London maker Roger Plenius]", p. 10.

Regarding the use of the term "spinet" for a small instrument, Philip James has written that, during the last half of the century "Those who could not afford or had not the room for a harpsichord would buy a spinet, but although they were being made as late as 1785 they were by that time obsolete." Early Keyboard Instruments (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), 32.

Since Fithian, in a description of Washington's niece, Jenny (daughter of John Augustine Washington), asserted that "She plays well on the Harpsichord, & Spinet,"[1] it is reasonable to assume that he was aware of a difference between the instruments, and that Carter owned a large harpsichord. This distinction in terminology was consistent with English usage of the time.

Spinets and harpsichords were available from many importers in the principal trade centers of America. An advertisement in the State Gazette of South Carolina (Charleston) of January 4, 1794, stated that "John Speissegger, Musical Instrument Maker . . ." had for sale "Two double key [two manual] harpsichords with pedals (made by Kinkman . . .)" The maker of the harpsichords was doubtless the firm of Jacob Kirkman, one of the two principal London manufacturers of top quality harpsichords (the other was Burkat Shudi). Nothing in the advertisement suggests that either "double key harpsichords" or harp-

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[1]Fithian, Journal, 163. Carter also owned an organ and a piano (not yet common in America in 1773, when Fithian was with the Carter family).

sichords with pedals were novelties in Charleston.[1] That they were products of one of the leading London makers is not surprising--Charlestonians were as avid in their search for the latest and best merchandise as were Londoners. The fact that the instruments were advertised using the maker's name rather than simply as "the latest London make" may be an indication that potential buyers had gained a degree of sophistication since the early days of slavish imitation of London life.

The place of the spinet and harpsichord as instruments for young ladies had been cited in chapter 1 (28). In the theatre and concert hall the harpsichord was the standard instrument for accompaniments until the end of the century. The piano appeared more frequently in the 1780s and 90s, finally displacing the harpsichord about 1800.

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[1]The function of these pedals is not clear from the advertisement. Pedals were not common on harpsichords in the eighteenth century and few Kirkman instruments with pedals of any kind are now known. Pedals on eighteenth century harpsichords served to operate (1) stops (lute, couplers, 4 or 16 foot registers, etc.); (2) special mechanisms (a Kirkman instrument with a pedal operated swell device is in the Benton Fletcher Collection in London); (3) organ-like pedal keyboards. Whatever their function, the presence of pedals indicated a special, and expensive, instrument.

The piano played a relatively small role in American musical life for most of the eighteenth century. As shown above (18) Robert Carter owned a piano at a rather early date, and Thomas Jefferson had an interest in pianos over a period of years. By the late 1790s pianos were becoming common in America, but the great growth in the popularity of the piano (and in the production of American pianos) came in the nineteenth century and is thus beyond the scope of this study. During the last five years of the century many publications appeared for the piano--at first for "harpsichord or piano," then for "piano or harpsichord," finally for "piano" only.

The date of the first American-built piano has been the subject of some controversy, but it appears certain that after 1775 (the year of John Behrent's first piano) American pianos were available, though obviously in limited numbers during the war.[1] The last years of the century saw the beginnings of the American piano industry in

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[1]It might be noted that the limitations on imports imposed by the Revolution helped to encourage American production of many kinds of goods formerly bought in London. There is no reason to believe that musical merchandise was not affected by the same forces.

the work of Charles Taws at Philadelphia (after 1788) and Benjamin Crehore at Milton, Massachusetts (after 1792).[1]

The pianos of the eighteenth century were, for the most part, of the rectangular or "square" type, patterned after the clavichord. Grand pianos became available from London makers (notably John Broadwood) after 1777,[2] but regular importation was delayed by the war until the 1780s. Upright pianos appeared about 1800 and, typically, Thomas Jefferson was interested, especially in an American model. In a letter to his daughter, in 1800, he wrote,

> A very ingenious, modest and poor young man in Philadelphia, has invented one of the prettiest improvements in the pianoforte that I have seen [unfortunately the young man is not named], and it has tempted me to engage one for Monticello. His strings are perpendicular, and he contrives within that height to give his strings the same length as in a grand pianoforte, and fixes the three unisons to the same screw. [If "screw" indicates a tuning pin, Jefferson was probably mistaken on this point.][3]

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[1] Grove's, American Supplement, 7, 9, 10.

[2] James, Early Keyboard Instruments, 54. Pianos designed after large harpsichords had been built in Germany by Silberman and others, but widespread availability of the large pianos came only after the introduction of the English models, the Viennese models of Johann Stein and Johann Streicher, and the French grands of Sebastien Erard.

[3] Ibid, 57-58.

Pianos from London continued to be prized by wealthy Americans and, as with harpsichords, flutes, and music, customers in Charleston were offered the best of London merchandise. In an advertisement in the Columbian Herald and Southern Star for November 26, 1793, T. Bradford offered, among other things, "Broadwood's Grand and Small patent Piano Fortes." Broadwood was one of the most celebrated London makers, heir to Shudi's harpsichord business and, later, the manufacturer of pianos preferred by Beethoven.[1]

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[1]James, Early Keyboard Instruments, 53, 56.

The organ in America is a subject somewhat distinct from the other instruments discussed above. Most organs were in churches, were used in the performance of sacred music, and were seldom heard in the kind of secular music for amateurs which forms the subject of this paper. The full history of the organ in America is covered in Orpha Ochse's thorough study, The History of the Organ in the United States,[1] and the reader is referred to that work for detailed information on early American organs.

Organs were infrequently encountered outside of the churches, but, as seen above (18) Robert Carter had an organ at his home in Williamsburg (whether it was ever moved to Nomini Hall is unknown). Thomas Jefferson showed some interest in this organ, but assertions that he wished to purchase it have, so far, been impossible to document.[2] In light of Robert Carter's musical enthusiasm and large collection of instruments, the comments of his uncle, Landon Carter, on the purchase of an organ for Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg are of some interest. The following

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[1]Orpha Ochse, The History of the Organ in the United States (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975).

[2]See note, p. 22.

excerpts are from Landon Carter's diary, dealing with the actions of the House of Burgesses.

> April 1752
> 1. Wedesday
> Several other bills brought in, one for an Addition to this Church and an organ. I opposed it and so did some Others, but it was carried for a 2d reading.
>
> 15. Wednesday
> The bill for repairing the Church passed with its orgain. Some Mountaineers thought an organ was some strange instrument or Rather Monster and so voted only to have an opportunity of seeing one. The repair is to cost £300 and the Organ £200 Sterling, and, when it is got, who is to play upon it? Not in the bill at present. The Gentlemen intend to find one and all other Charges, but I humbly conceive these are but promises and at a future day the money will be askt of us. Yet our fools could not believe this, although I told them the Whole in a long speach. Besides experience had informed us that these instruments could not stand long in this Country. Dust, Spiders, and dirt daubers would Stop up all the Pipes, and when it should be out of Repair what artificer had we to mend it.[1]

Despite the opposition of Carter and his friends, an organ was purchased and Peter Pelham served as organist for many years (see 23).

Organs not installed in churches included one in the Concert-Hall at Boston (advertised for sale in the Boston Gazette of June 27, 1763), and several built by

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[1]Landon Carter, Diary, 91, 103.

amateurs for their amusement. (See Ochse, History of the Organ in the United States, 78, for more information on the amateur organ builders.)

If the church organs were rarely used for secular performances, the organists were not so limited. A number of the most important figures in American music in the eighteenth century were organists whose activities outside the church were highly successful. The work of most of these men lies beyond the scope of this study, but it might be noted that among the organists of the eighteenth century were Peter Pelham (see 23), Francis Hopkinson, William Selby, John Christopher Moller (see 150), and Raynor Taylor.

Guitar

The guitar was quite popular in America, as it was in England, during the eighteenth century. As with other instruments, the latter part of the century saw many changes in the guitar, and it is not possible to identify the exact form of the instrument in use at various times and places in America. A number of different kinds of guitars were in use in Europe (French, German, Italian, and Spanish guitars, as well as the "English guitar"--which was not a guitar at all but a cittern[1]). With the exception of the English guitar, the European guitars were basically similar. A common description of them (and their development in the eighteenth century) has been given by Marcuse.

> At the end of the seventeenth century the ordinary guitar's neck had been fitted with ten frets, and the strings of each course [normally there were five courses, the lower four double strung] were tuned in unison, except that the chantarelle [the highest pitched string] remained single. Half a century later the penalty of popularity had to be paid: guitars became the instruments of amateurs par excellence, and it became necessary to simplify the playing technique. This was brought about by re-

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[1]The cittern, a form of lute, was passing from use in the early eighteenth century when its popularity was revived by the development of the "English guitar," a simplified, less refined cittern with six wire strung courses. Occasionally, keyboards and mechanical plucking actions were applied to the English guitar.
See Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 443-45.

> moving one string from each pair. Subsequently a sixth string was added to the bass end, tuned E. The French do not seem to have adopted the extra string generally, but continued to write for the old and the revised instrument side by side.[1]

The American sources which mention the guitar generally give no clue as to the particular type of instrument intended. The music simply lists guitar (frequently spelled "guittar"), as do most advertisements and entries in journals and diaries.[2]

It is clear that the guitar was often a "ladies" instrument (as it was in England[3])--Robert Carter's daughter Nancy studied the guitar with her father,[4] and other young ladies seem to have followed their English counterparts in learning to play.

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[1]Marcuse, Musical Instruments, 455.

[2]Exceptional advertisements include one for "Preston's patent or plain guitars" in the Columbian Herald and Southern Star (Charleston) of November 26, 1793, and one announcing that Francisco Masi, of Boston, offered lessons on the "French guitar" (Johnson, Musical Interludes in Boston, 293).

[3]Harvey Turnbull, The Guitar (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 48-49.

[4]See p. 17. It may be significant that the Carter family's German music master did not "understand playing on the guitar." Nancy's cousin, the daughter of Landon Carter also studied the guitar (see p. 34).

A final note on the guitar as an instrument for young ladies is of interest. The New Hampshire Mercury and General Advertiser of January 7, 1785, carried an article on "The Mental and Personal qualifications of a Wife" which included the following on music.

> . . . A more than tolerable good voice, and a little ear for music; and a capability of singing a canzonet, or a song (in company); but no peculiar and intimate acquaintance with minims, crotchets, quavers, &c.
>
> No enthusiasm for the guitar.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPORTED MUSIC, BOOKS, AND SUPPLIES

The music available to the American amateur was, as would be expected, predominantly European. An examination of the editions which were published in America and a comparison of these with the catalogues of importers, libraries, and the holdings of individuals known to be serious musicians reveals that most American publishers served a popular market which demanded practical, reasonably simple arrangements of marches, folk songs, and tunes from the latest ballad operas. Musicians who desired the more difficult instrumental works by well-known European composers depended upon editions imported from London. These imported editions brought to the American amateur virtually the whole range of music available in London.

Among the sources of information on the instrumental music available to American players are the catalogues of booksellers, importers, music stores, libraries, and the collections of music belonging to various individuals.

The most extensive listing of music located in the course of this study was found in the Catalogue of a Large

Assortment of Books published by the Boston book dealer Benjamin Guild in 1790.[1]

In his catalogue Guild included many books, a rather large number of collections of songs and sacred pieces, operas, books on music, and a long list of instrumental pieces and collections. This list contains quite a large number of pieces of interest, and it seems appropriate to quote from it at some length. Spelling, capitalization, and punctuation are reproduced as they appear in the catalogue. Among the items included are the following:

> Barbella's Six Trios for 2 violins & a violencello
> Love in a village by Handel, Arne &c.
> Campioni's Six Sonatas for violins and harpsichord
> Agus's Six Sonatas for violin, flute, &c.
> Vanhall's Six Sonatas for the Pianoforte or Harpsichord
> Just's Six Overtures for violins, flutes, Horns, Harpsichords, &c.
> Goldsmith's Hermit set by Hook
> Kammell's Six Trios
> Thompson's Six Lessons for the Harpsichord
> Bach's Symphonies for Violins
> ____'s do., for two Hautbois
> Vinci's twelve Solos for Violin or Flute with Harpsichord
> Boismortier's Six Sonatas for two Flutes
> Raunzzini's Six Quartettos for two Violins
> Bach's Six Symphonies for 2 clarinets, 2 Horns and a bassoon
> Cramer's favorite Concerto for a Violin
> Avison's twelve Concertos for violins, Harpsichord &c.

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[1]Guild, Benjamin, A Catalogue of a Large Assortment of Books (Boston: Benjamin Guild, 1790), EAI 22545.

Kammel's six Divertimentos for violins, Hautbois, Flutes &c.
French Minuet
Campioni's Six Sonatas for two Violins, Harpsichord &c.
_____'s do. for do. Opera 1
_____'s do. for do. Opera 3
_____'s do. for do. Opera 5
Bach's Six Sonatas
Hook's Collection of favourite Songs, Airs, Minuets, &c.
Wynne's Twelve English Songs
Handel's 140 Songs selected from his Oratorios for the Harpsichord, Voice, Hautbois, or German-flute in 2 vol.
Giordani's Favorite Overtures in eight parts for Clarinets, or Hautbois Obligato
Hook's Collections of Songs Sung at Vauxhall Gardens
Haydn's Three Symphonies in eight parts for Violins, Hautbois and horns.
_____'s six Grand Quartettos for two violins &c.
Lee's Monthly Masque or Collection of English Songs
Kotzwara's Six Trios for Violins and Horns
Storace's eight Canzonetts with an accompaniment for a Piano forte or Harp
Le Duc and Gossec's three Symphonies for Violins, Hautbois, Horns, &c.
Longman and Broderip's Pocket Companion for the Flute
Collection of 42 English modern Songs, Airs &c. fol.
Collection of 87 do. IV fol. Set to different Instruments.

Guild's catalogue contains examples of most of the musical types popular with American players. The sonatas and chamber works were probably intended for the serious amateurs and were performed in the informal musicales at the homes of cultured gentlemen. The libraries of Thomas Jefferson and Robert Carter included publications of this kind. The excerpts from Handel's oratorios doubtless also appealed to these players.

Amateurs who preferred lighter music and selections

from the musical theatre were offered the songs of Hook and Storace and the collections of English songs.

The larger ensembles are of some interest as their availability suggests the existence of groups to play them. Perhaps the instrumental clubs of nearby Essex County provided Guild with a market for the larger ensemble pieces. Some of these works appear on public concert programs given by professional musicians, who may also have been among Guild's customers.

Guild's catalogue is more extensive than any other located in the course of this study, but several merchants carried stocks of music which match Guild's in quality if not in (advertised) quantity. Notable among the other music dealers was T. Bradford of Charleston who announced in 1793 that he carried (in addition to Broadwood pianos and Potter flutes) "the greatest variety of new music by Haydn, Pleyel, Mozart, Hoffmeister, and other eminent composers."[1]

Probably more typical was Philadelphia bookseller Mathew Carey, whose 1795 Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets,

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[1] Columbian Herald and Southern Star (Charleston), November 26, 1793.

Maps, and Prints included such song and ballad opera selections as

> Charms of Melody. A choice collection of the most approved songs, catches, duets, &c.
> Songs in the Highland Reel
> Songs in the Deserter
> Songs in the Farmer
> Songs in the Son-in-Law
> Songs in Rosina
> Songs in the Flitch of Bacon
> Songs in Robin Hood[1]

Other booksellers whose catalogues included music were Beers, Isaac, & Co. of New Haven, T.B. Jansen of New York, and Samuel Bradford of Salem.[2]

The personal libraries of several amateur players were catalogued and these catalogues offer additional insight into the musical preferences of the serious amateurs. Among the private libraries, those of Robert Carter of Nomini Hall and Thomas Jefferson may serve as examples.

Carter's library was catalogued by his family's tutor, Philip Vickers Fithian, and the catalogue was published with Fithian's Journal. As seen above (chapter 1) the Carters were a musical family headed by a man of unusually refined taste and accomplishment. Fithian described many informal performances of a repertoire about

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[1]Mathew Carey, A Catalogue of Books, Pamphlets, Maps, and Prints (Philadelphia: Wrigley and Berriman, 1795). EAI 28388.

[2]Beers, Isaac, & Co., 1801; EAI S150. T.B. Jansen, 1801; EAI S709. Samuel Bradford, 1802; EAI S1945.

equally divided between European instrumental works and church tunes. The Carter library, as catalogued by Fithian, included "17 volumes of Music, by various Authors," "Book of Italian Music," "Alexanders Feast . . . set to Music by Handel," and "Handels Operas for Flute 2 vols."[1]

Jefferson's activity as a performer was primarily as a violinist, but he had a very broad taste in music. His library, as well as his recommendations for the library at the University of Virginia, included music for keyboard instruments and books on music theory and history.

Among the books in Jefferson's personal library or suggested by him for the university library, the following are of some interest (one assumes that Jefferson was familiar with the books he owned or ordered).

Geminiani, F. Rules for Playing in a True Taste on the Violin, German Flute, Violoncello and Harpsichord . . .

Pasquali, Nicolo. The Art of Fingering the Harpsichord. Illustrated with Examples in Notes . . .

Pasquali, _____. Thorough-Bass made Easy: or, Practical Rules for finding and applying its Various Chords with little Trouble . . .

Zuccari, Carlo. The True Method of Playing an Adagio Made Easy by Twelve Examples First in a Plain Manner with a Bass Then with all their Graces Adapted for those who study the Violin.

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[1]Fithian, Journal and Letters, 1773-1774, Farish ed. 221-225.

Bremner, Robert. The Rudiments of Music: or, A Short and Easy Treatise on that Subject. The Third Edition.

Hoegi, Piere. A Tabular System whereby the Art of Composing Minuets is made so Easy that any Person, without the least Knowledge of Music, may Compose ten thousand, all different, and in the most pleasing and correct Manner . . .

Holden, John. An Essay towards a Rational System of Music.

Jackson, William. A Scheme demonstrating the perfection and Harmony of Sounds Wherein is discover'd the true coincidence of Tones . . .

Prelleur, Peter. The Compleat Tutor for the Harpsichord or Spinnet wherein is shewn the Italian manner of Fingering with Suits of Lessons for Beginners & those who are already proficient on that Instrument & the Organ: With rules for tuneing the Harpsichord or Spinnet.[1]

In addition to practical works dealing with performance, books on music history, musical dictionaries, and books on musical esthetics were available in America during this period. The most popular writer on music seems to have been Charles Burney, but publications by other writers were advertised by some booksellers and importers. Some Americans wrote articles on music (notably Benjamin Franklin and Francis Hopkinson), but most of the advertised books were from London.

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[1]William Bainter O'Neal, Jefferson's Fine Arts Library; His selections for the University of Virginia Together with His Own Architectural Books (Charlottesville: University Press of Virgina, 1976).

Among the books on music (aside from those of Burney) found in American stores and libraries were:

Hoyles Dictionary of Music (advertised by Beers, Isaac & Co., New Haven, 1801)

Beatties's Essays on Music, Ludicrous Composition, &c. (listed by the Boston Library Society, 1802)[1]

Malcolm on Music (library of Robert Carter, 1774)[2]

Burney's writings on music were popular in America, as they were in England. Both Robert Carter and Jefferson owned copies of The Present State of Music in Germany, The Netherlands, and United Provinces in the first (1773) edition. Jefferson's copy was eventually sold, along with other books, to the Congress; Fithian read Carter's copy in 1774 and found it "more entertaining than realy useful."[3] Jefferson also recommended that The Present State of Music in France and Italy be purchased for the University of Virginia library.[4]

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[1]Beers, Isaac & Co. Catalogue. Catalogue of the Boston Library Society (Boston, 1802) EAI S1932.

[2]Fithian, Journal, 224.

[3]O'Neal, Jefferson's Fine Arts Library, 45; Fithian, Journal, 200.

[4]O'Neal, Jefferson's Fine Arts Library, 44.
In 1786 Jefferson asked Burney to supervise the construction of a harpsichord. O'Neal writes that "Burney was delighted to execute the commission, and Jefferson, in thanking him, spoke of 'the reading of your account of the state of music in Europe.'"

The Present State of Music in Germany . . . was advertised by the Salem bookseller Samuel Bradford in 1802 as "Burney's Musical Tour in Germany &c."[1] "Burney's general history of Musick" was included in Benjamin Guild's extensive list of books and is probably the work referred to as "Burney on Music (2 vol.)" in the catalogue of the Boston Library Society.[2]

Clearly, the amateur instrumentalist in America had access, by the last years of the eighteenth century, to printed music and books on music equal in quality (if not, perhaps, in quantity) to those offered in London. The presence of a market for books such as those by Burney suggests an interest in music which extended beyond the performance of the latest popular tunes and chamber music for the home to a concept of music as an art worthy of cultivation by the best minds. For many of these men music was an intellectual accomplishment, not simply a pastime for the dilletante or a refined recreation for the young ladies.

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[1] Samuel Bradford, A Catalogue of Books (Salem: Cushing, 1802). EAI S1945.

[2] Boston Library Society Catalogue (Boston, 1802). EAI S 1932.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

The evidence examined above reveals that amateur music-making was flourishing in America by the last years of the eighteenth century. The kind of music played, the method of training instrumentalists, the instruments chosen, and the place of music in the life of the player were variable factors which were affected by geography, social station, education and intellectual accomplishment, and the sex of the player--as well as by taste and musical preference. It is possible to define several categories of amateur players on the basis of these factors.

Four general categories can be distinguished (with the understanding that there is overlap between the categories and that some musicians might fit into more than one group). These categories are suggested as a means of grasping and understanding the variety of musical experience available to Americans at a time when a distinct "American" musical life was beginning to evolve.

The amateur instrumentalists may be placed in the following general categories.

1. A large number of the amateur players received little or no formal training and used music simply as a diversion or recreation. This group included most of the fife players (who learned from the various self-teaching tutors), some flutists and violinists, and, probably, recorder players, as well as the slave musicians[1] and others whose performances served informal social functions. Doubtless, many of these players were unable to read music, and a reconstruction of their repertoire is not possible from examination of published music. Those who did read music appear to have preferred a light, popular, repertoire made up of marches, familiar songs, dance tunes, and a few of the current theatrical selections. They generally played alone, although some of the collections designed for this group contained duets and trios. With the exception of those who played for dancing or singing at occasional social functions, they did not play for an audience. This group of players was not limited to any particular economic group or geographical area.

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[1]See the excerpts from Fithian's Journal cited on page 28 regarding slave musicians at Nomini Hall.

2. For young ladies (and gentlemen) of well-to-do families music was considered to be an important social accomplishment. These young people learned to play the harpsichord or piano from a traveling music master[1] or from teachers associated with boarding schools,[2] and used their skills to entertain friends and family. The repertoire preferred by this group was heavily weighted with sentimental songs, short keyboard pieces, and dances. Occasional pieces by well-known European composers were also included, as were hymn tunes.

The standards of performance achieved by these players certainly varied widely, but there is evidence that some of the young ladies developed sufficient skill to impress rather critical listeners.[3] That the listeners so impressed were young, male, and eligible was doubtless a fact of some importance to the girls and their parents.

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[1]See chapter 1 regarding the activities of John Stadler as music master to families in Virginia.

[2]See chapter 3 regarding music teachers in boarding schools.

[3]See the comments of Thomas Jefferson and Philip Fithian regarding performances by young ladies in Virginia (8, 28).

3. Amateurs in some areas organized themselves into bands or ensembles under the general name of "instrumental clubs."[1] For these players music was a social as well as an artistic endeavor. Many of them had been in military bands, and the music published for them shows a taste for marches and ceremonial pieces.

Group instruction was available through the instrumental clubs, and it may be assumed that most of the players benefitted from some formal training. The method books designed for the clubs (notably those by Samuel Holyoke, see 174) suggest that the most popular instruments for these bandsmen were the flute, violin, clarinet, oboe, bass (or cello), horn, and bassoon. Evidence for the use of the fife, recorder, or keyboard instruments is lacking. The arrangements included in the method books indicate that the technical demands made on the players were moderate, but it is not possible to ascertain the level of proficiency attained by the best players (it is assumed that the music was arranged for players of average ability).[2]

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[1]See chapter 2 regarding the Massachusetts instrumental clubs.

[2]The evaluation of the demands made upon the players is based on examination of the music contained in the two volumes of Samuel Holyoke's The Instrumental Assistant. See 174.

4. Some of the amateur players developed a deep love for music as a fine art and a serious intellectual endeavor. While these players enjoyed the recreational and social aspects of music making, they found a greater satisfaction in the purely artistic elements of performance. These "serious amateurs" were usually well educated (often in Europe), and considered music to be an art worthy of cultivation by the best minds.

The serious amateurs frequently studied with a local "professor of music," owned good instruments, and collected music and books on music history and theory. Their interest in music extended beyond performance to questions of esthetics, acoustics, compositional techniques, criticism, and the place of music in education and in life.

The repertoire played by this group of amateurs was the broadest of any encountered in this study, encompassing all of the lighter forms favored by the less dedicated players (marches, popular tunes, dances, sentimental songs, etc.) with the addition of works by the most famous European composers (Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Pleyel, etc.). The libraries of Robert Carter and Thomas Jefferson, both of whom might be placed in this category, can serve as guides to the taste of some of the more serious amateur

musicians. (The musical contents of these libraries are discussed in chapter 8 .)

Keyboard instruments, violin, and flute appear to have been favored by the serious amateurs, possibly due to the quantity of good literature for these instruments which was available from dealers and importers.

In light of the difficulties encountered by many musicians in making a living entirely from music, the line between highly-skilled amateur players and professionals (who might have been employed in another trade at times) is difficult to draw. In general, however, the serious amateurs can be distinguished from would-be professionals by their view of music as a means of spiritual uplift rather than a skill to be exploited for profit; by the breadth of their other interests and (consequently?) their success in other fields; and by their determination that music should hold an honored, but secondary, place in their lives.

Supporting services (instruction, music publishing, importing, and retail sale of music and instruments) were adequate to meet the needs of these amateur musicians.

Instruction was carried out in several ways:

1. Self-instruction was possible by means of tutors or teaching methods which included the information needed to begin to play and to read music. The instructional material in these books appears less than satisfactory to the modern reader, but it was certainly possible to learn some of the basic skills needed to play simple music from them. The best of the books (The Flute Preceptor, for example) offered well designed instructions which showed that the author was experienced as a teacher of instrumental music. (See chapter 6.)

2. In rural areas and among the plantations of Virginia music teachers traveled from home to home, often staying for a few days with each family on the circuit. The itinerant music masters were usually trained in Europe and were capable of teaching several of the most popular instruments. The students of the traveling music teachers were the children of wealthy planters who felt that the development of some musical skill was an important part

of the education of a young lady or gentleman. (See chapter 1 regarding the activities of traveling music masters in Virginia.)

3. Group instruction was available through the instrumental clubs of Massachusetts (and elsewhere?). These clubs were organized as ensembles using most of the standard orchestral wind and string instruments (flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, violin, and cello [frequently called "bass"]). The kind of instruction offered by the instrumental clubs is unknown, except in so far as it can be reconstructed from the method books of Samuel Holyoke. These books suggest that the students received a fairly thorough grounding in the basic elements of music, but less than satisfactory training in the more practical aspects of instrumental technique. It is possible that the deficiencies of the books were made up for by skillful instruction in the rehearsals, but evidence for, or against, this is lacking. Regardless of the efficiency of the instruction, it is clear that the ensembles did play music of moderate difficulty and played in public without causing undue critical comment. (See chapter 2 regarding the instrumental clubs of Essex County, Massachusetts, and chapter 6 regarding the method books of Samuel Holyoke.)

4. In the cities, professional performers and teachers (often associated with theatrical companies) were available to train instrumentalists. Some of these teachers were fine performers who took part in concerts as well as theatrical productions, and were, with the income derived from teaching, able to make a living as professional musicians. Most of the best known musicians in America in the last years of the eighteenth century taught at some time, and their influence on the course of music in America was considerable.[1] It was these players and teachers who set the standards for instrumental performance in America.

The urban professionals advertised their services in the newspapers and published methods and editions of European works for the use of their students. Some also gained prominence as composers. For these reasons they are somewhat better known today than the traveling music masters or the leaders of the instrumental clubs. (Samuel Holyoke is an exceptional example of a well-known leader of the clubs, but his reputation was built as a composer of sacred choral works rather than as an instrumentalist.)

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[1]Among the urban teachers were Alexander Reinagle, Benjamin Carr, Raynor Taylor, R. Shaw, and George Gillingham.

Some of the more prominent performer/teachers had also taught on the plantation "circuit"[1] but it seems clear that the urban positions were the goal of most of the European performers who traveled to America. The fact that so many of the players followed a common pattern while in the United States (Charleston to Philadelphia-Baltimore to New York to Boston, with frequent stops and side trips along the way to such towns as Richmond, Williamsburg, Petersburg, Annapolis, Hartford, and Salem) suggests an understandable desire for the stability and prospect for success to be found in the urban centers. (See chapter 3 regarding the urban professionals.)

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[1]Among these were John Victor and Giovanni Gualdo (see 37, 34) as well as Charles Love (see 69), who started in New York and later moved to the Virginia plantation circuit. This circuit may have served as a path down, as well as up, through the professional ranks.

The amateur players and their teachers had access to a large amount of music and instruments from the best European makers. American publishers served the market for light, popular music and excerpts from theatrical works with an inventory which grew rapidly in the last years of the eighteenth century. The demand for more serious music was met by importers and retailers whose catalogues suggest that the American amateur could buy music in quantity and quality equal to that offered in London. (See chapter 8.)

Importers also provided the American player with the best in European instruments. While most advertisements omitted the name of the maker of musical instruments, those which were mentioned (Potter flutes, Kirkman harpsichords, Broadwood pianos) were among the very best available. Instruments which were ordered directly from London (such as those ordered by Washington, Jefferson, and Robert Carter) were specified in such a way as to indicate a strong, and informed, interest in the quality of the instrument. (See 10, 18, 217.)

In conclusion, American amateurs formed a diverse and active group. Music was of more importance to some than to others, but for all it was a valued part of life, a pleasure well worth its cost in time, effort, and money. The activities of the amateurs were supported by, and in turn supported, a sizable group of teachers, music stores, importers, and publishers.

The demands of the amateurs for instruction helped to make it possible for many fine European musicians to live and work in this country--and to make invaluable contributions to the development of American musical life.

The amateurs' need for music suited to their taste and ability helped to make possible the growth of the American music publishing industry.

Amateurs, as performers and as listeners, helped to create knowledgeable audiences for musical presentations, and to raise the level of musical awareness and discrimination in the United States.

ABBREVIATIONS

EAI: Early American Imprints. Numbers which follow are entry numbers; S preceding the number indicates the Second Series.

SU: Oscar G. Sonneck, A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music, revised and enlarged by William Treat Upton (Washington: Library of Congress, 1945; reprint edition, New York: Da Capo Press, 1964). Numbers which follow are page numbers.

W: Richard J. Wolfe, Secular Music in America, 1801-1825, 3 vols. (New York: New York Public Library, 1964). Numbers which follow are volume and page numbers.

Wa: Thomas E. Warner, An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600-1830 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, Inc., 1967). Numbers which follow are entry numbers.

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VITA

Benjamin Richard Compton III was born on February 7, 1942, in Sumter, S.C., the son of Mr. and Mrs. B. R. Compton, Jr. The writer graduated from Dreher High School in Columbia, S.C., in 1960 and attended the University of South Carolina for two years. In 1962 he transferred to New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, where he received the Bachelor of Music degree in clarinet in 1964 and Master of Music degree in research in 1966.

He served on the faculty of Campbell College for two years and has been Assistant Professor of Music at East Tennessee State University since 1968. At East Tennessee State University he teaches woodwinds and music history and directs the Collegium Musicum and other ensembles.

As a performer, he has been active in the performance of chamber music and solo works for clarinet and in the performance of early music on a number of medieval and renaissance instruments. He is associate conductor and principal clarinetist of the Johnson City Symphony. He has served as an adjudicator and clinician in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia.

The writer is married to the former Mary Ann Fryer, of Florence, S.C., and is the father of two daughters, Ann Marie and Susan Lynn.

Professional organizations of which he is a member include The American Musicological Society and The Sonneck Society. Other organizational affiliations are The American Recorder Society, Phi Mu Alpha, and Pi Kappa Lambda.

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Benjamin Richard Compton

Major Field: Music

Title of Thesis: Amateur Instrumental Music in America 1765 to 1810

Approved:

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Date of Examination: April 3, 1979