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**A survey of flutists and flute activities in eighteenth century
America**

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University of Washington, 1991

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A SURVEY OF FLUTISTS AND FLUTE ACTIVITIES IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of

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1991

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Abstract

A Survey of Flutists and Flute Activities in Eighteenth-Century America

by William Phelps Treat

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The purpose of this study is to chronicle the activities of early American flutists and to provide new evidence to establish the flute's important role during America's musical nascence. Records of concert events, teaching notices, instrument sales, and biographical material from the late seventeenth century up to and including 1800 were surveyed. The study is geographically limited to eight cities: Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Annapolis, Savannah, Williamsburg, Charleston, and certain American Moravian communities. It focuses predominantly upon individuals who considered music their primary or secondary vocation; amateurs were discussed only if they made a distinct contribution to the popularity of the instrument (e.g., music distributors or instrument makers). Only activities involving the transverse flute are discussed.

The primary sources consulted for this study were eighteenth-century newspapers, diaries, travelers' accounts, municipal records, and miscellaneous archival manuscripts. In certain cases, analogous sources were compared in order to verify the details of a particular flutist or concert event.

The results of this investigation uncovered several hundred new references to the flute and significantly expanded upon the theses of Giroux (1952) and Will (1990). Several appendices provide related material such as available flute music, flutists of other cities, and illustrations.

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INTRODUCTION

RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Musicologists have thoroughly explored the history of the flute in Europe during the Baroque and Classical periods. With a single examination of the standard flute repertoire and the many biographies available on flutists of the past, it becomes evident why this has not been an obscure assignment. Virtually all major composers wrote serious literature for the flute: from Blavet, Boismortier, and the Bach family, to Handel, Telemann, Couperin, Haydn, and Beethoven. The concerti of Stamitz, Vivaldi, and Mozart are indisputable paragons of their genre. Furthermore, the list of European flutists who achieved international recognition is long and distinguished: Quantz, Frederick the Great, Hotteterre, Blavet, Buffardin, Devienne, Antoine Reicha, and Johann Baptist Wendling, to name a few.¹ But what of American flutists or flute music during the era of these composers? The scarcity of research on this subject suggests that the flute was non-existent in Colonial America. The purpose of this study will be to chronicle the activities of flutists, teachers, and makers and to provide new evidence which will establish the flute's important role in this nation's budding musical life.

ORGANIZATION AND PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY

Flute activities in the major American cities are surveyed here from

¹Nancy Toff, *The Flute Book* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), pp. 192-214, 225-240. Toff provides a detailed account of European flutists.

the earliest times up to and including the year 1800. Since each city offered flutists a unique set of musical circumstances and different performance venues, I have decided to organize the study of each city chronologically, rather than attempting one national chronology. This way, I can better discuss the experiences of the colonial flutist within the context of each local cultural milieu. Larger cities like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston are assigned separate chapters; smaller cities such as Williamsburg, Annapolis, and Savannah have been combined into one chapter. Evidence of the flute in the various Moravian communities will be discussed in the last chapter. The appendices provide various supportive and ancillary data not covered in the main body of the text. Finally, it became clear early in my research that flute activity was not restricted to performers. Many early music masters advertised flute instruction. Several craftsmen sold instruments built in their own shops. Records that these individuals left behind have been incorporated with those of the performers. Biographical information has also been provided on individuals when available.

Because Colonial America was populated by diverse ethnic, religious, and racial groups, which all contributed in some way to "American" music, a paper of this scope must have some parameters. I will, therefore, focus on the contributions of English and Western European musicians, who immigrated or were naturalized before 1800. Since few records regarding the flute predate the eighteenth century, Chapter One is intended mainly to provide a historical background of the instrument in the seventeenth century. The flute of the Native American, used primarily for courting ceremonies and other rituals, will not be discussed. Nor will flute activities

among the slaves be covered. The origins of the flauto traverso will be traced, but not the recorder or fife.² Finally, I have made no attempt here to assess the professional status or performance prowess of these colonial musicians. I have included anyone who had a verifiable connection with the instrument including the generalist music master and the celebrated virtuoso, the flute maker, and the flute music dealer.

Now for a few comments on source materials. Early newspaper advertisements were a central resource for my chronicle of flute activities. From 1720 to the turn of the century, colonial tabloids such as the *Boston Gazette* and the *New York Mercury* printed notices of concerts and other musical services related to the flute. Although printed concert programs did not appear in America until the nineteenth century, some later notices of musical events became more and more descriptive; they sometimes included the name of the composer and work to be performed. Hence, I have consulted certain twentieth-century studies which have indexed musical references from various eighteenth-century newspapers: Oscar Sonneck's pioneering *Early Concert-Life in America* (a standard reference for all students of American music), Stiverson's *Colonial Williamsburg Music*, Anderson's *Music in New York During the American Revolution*, and Gottesman's *The*

²For the sake of definition, the term *flute* used throughout this paper will refer to the transverse flute and not the recorder or fife (unless otherwise indicated). Although in many early eighteenth-century references it is unclear which one was meant, newspaper announcements and programs in the latter half of the century specifically indicated the "german flute" (i.e. the traverso or one-keyed flute). The adoption of the traverso over the recorder began in Europe during the late 1600s, but took nearly a century to supplant the former. This further complicates the identification of some early references.

Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1804 (3 volumes). Archival searches have also uncovered valuable documents which are published here for the first time. Manuscript sources such as birth, death, and marriage records, wills, household inventories, and census reports provide pertinent biographical information. Receipts, diaries, and letters, which add an element of personal realism to these heretofore anonymous flutists have been discovered as well.

Misspellings of names were very common in early American newspapers. Hence, the abbreviation "sic" is used sparingly; careful attention has been given to preserve all spellings in the original eighteenth-century style. Clarification of names or places is provided when necessary.

EXAMINATION OF CURRENT STUDIES

A perusal of introductory American music texts such as Hitchcock's *Music in the United States* or Gilbert Chase's *America's Music* reveals few references to the flute in the eighteenth century. Retrospective studies such as Brooks's *Olden-Time Music* (1888) and Lahee's *Annals of Music in America* (1922) provide valuable accounts of concert life and general musical climate, but only a cipher for the flute researcher. Even Nancy Toff, in her comprehensive tome *The Flute Book* (1985), does not mention the flute in eighteenth-century America at all. The only dedicated studies are a lone graduate thesis by Paul Giroux³ and a very recent dissertation by Claudia Anderson Will.⁴ These are the only individuals to publish articles on this

³Paul H. Giroux, "History of the Flute and Its Music in the United States" (M.A. thesis, University of Washington, 1952)

⁴Claudia Anderson Will, "The Transverse Flute in Early American Society and Concert Life, 1630-1800," (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Iowa,

topic.⁵

Giroux's thesis was the first to mention the existence of the flute in early America. However, it is a broad history which spans nearly 250 years, from 1716 to 1950. With only twenty-three pages committed to the early period, it is a superficial endeavor. Will's dissertation, on the other hand, is the first serious investigation into this topic. Her research emphasizes the evolution of the flute in American concert life and elaborates upon its stages of popularity, varied musical roles, and major proponents. The preponderance of her citations were culled from Sonneck's work and, although it is a very important source, it represents only a fraction of the total picture. Moreover, it is geographically limited to the major northern cities; the South and the Moravian communities received minimal attention.

To summarize, the objective of this dissertation will be to extend the boundaries of current studies. This will be accomplished by the inclusion of a chapter on Annapolis, Savannah, and Williamsburg; a thorough section on the flute of the Unitas Fratrum or the Moravians; and the addition of new names and performances to the register of flutists in northern cities.

STATISTICS

During the preliminary investigations of this topic, my interest in the colonial flutist was piqued by certain vocational statistics of New York City.

December, 1990)

⁵Claudia Anderson, "The Colonial Flute," *The Flutist Quarterly* (Summer 1988): 54-59. Paul Giroux, "The History of the Flute and Its Music in the United States," *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 1/1 (Spring 1953), pp. 68-73.

From the studies of Sonneck and Redway, a census of eighteenth-century musicians was derived and compared to modern figures. Sonneck states that approximately thirty-three thousand people lived in the city in 1790.⁶ Divide this figure by thirty-five--the average number of musicians who lived there during the 1790s⁷--and you have a 1:943 ratio (i.e., one person out of 943 considered music his livelihood). A comparison to modern day figures proves very compelling. The New York Census Bureau estimates a population figure of approximately ten million people living in the NYC area as of July, 1988 (includes Bronx, Brooklyn, Manhattan, Queens, Staten Island, Nassau, and Suffolk Counties). Divide this by fourteen thousand (the current membership of Local 802, American Federation of Musicians), and you have a 1:714 ratio. That amounts to less than a twenty-five percent increase in the number of musicians in over two hundred years. The implications for research become obvious, especially when one considers that New York City, as a cultural center, ranked behind Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston in the eighteenth century. Considering the arduous circumstances of colonial life, it is amazing that these ratios can be compared at all.

THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL MILIEU

In order to consider the colonial flutist and his music in a proper perspective, it is necessary to examine the cultural background of the period.

⁶Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 190), p. 158.

⁷Virginia L. Redway, *Music Directory of Early New York City* (New York: New York Public Library, 1941), pp. 87-92.

The various social and intellectual trends of the new century had a profound impact upon the development of the concert life and, correspondingly, the development of flute activities.

The Northern Cities

After 1700, theocentric, community-minded towns were transformed into humanistic, heterogeneous cities. The colonial population doubled every twenty-five years and new immigrants arrived daily from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Holland, Sweden and other countries. Their cultural traditions coexisted, in complex ways, in the New World.

Most British immigrants experienced music primarily in the worship service. Psalms and hymns were the predominant forms and were critical in shaping certain nationalistic elements in music. Historian Roland Davis remarked, "Church music, at least the psalm-hymn variety, was a more integral part of the early American musical tradition largely because it was less calculated and more tightly woven into the American Experience...their very simplicity [was] in close harmony with American ideals."⁸ This harmony, however, excluded instrumental music. With the exception of the organ, musical instruments were rarely used in colonial churches.

The history of music outside the church is characterized by inconsistencies. The Puritans of New England and the Quakers of Philadelphia were cautious toward, if not outright prejudiced against, non-

⁸Roland L. Davis, *A History of Music in American Life*, Vol. One: The Formative Years, 1620-1865 (Malabar, FL: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1982), pp. 40-41.

worship music--at least on an official level.⁹ However, the detective work of Percy Scholes has shown that these cultural attitudes were not uniformly held in early times and are frequently misconstrued by modern historians. It is also true that numerous anti-theater laws were passed in order to prohibit dramatic performances.¹⁰ Legislators, particularly in the northern colonies, looked upon theater-going as "senseless and futile indolence." Yet theaters, along with their musicians, survived. Williamsburg had a professional company as early as 1716 and every major American city was frequented by the famed Hallam Company by mid-century. So, the religious establishment did not exercise total control over the desires of the people.

Secular music, in general, seems to have developed in more uniform and predictable patterns when compared to sacred music. Sonneck asserted, "After 1720 we notice a steadily growing number of musicians...an increasing desire for organs, flutes, guitars, violins, harpsichords, the establishment of

⁹Prohibiting certain kinds of music was not unique to the Puritans. The idea of music censorship, deemed in the interest of the public welfare, can be traced to the Byzantine and Ancient Greek societies (eg. "The Doctrine of Ethos").

¹⁰American musicologist John Tasker Howard commented on Bostonian response to a 1750 theatrical presentation: "This so horrified the good citizens that a law was passed absolutely prohibiting 'public stage plays, interludes and other theatrical entertainments,' as 'tending to discourage industry and frugality, and greatly to increase impiety." *Our American Music, Three Hundred Years of It* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1931), p. 19. Also, understanding early American theater is of particular importance to the flute researcher because these companies were typically comprised of both actors and professional musicians. Tasker added, "The eighteenth century theatre is closely associated with music, for a large proportion of the repertoire of the early companies was devoted to the English type of ballad opera; plays interspersed with music, generally compiled from miscellaneous sources." *Ibid.*, p. 68.

'singing schools', an improvement in church music, the signs of a budding music trade from publishers and manufacturers of instruments, the tentative efforts to give English opera a home in America, the introduction of public concerts..."¹¹ During this period, the flute assumed many roles. It was a favorite accompanying instrument for dancing and singing; a familiar member of the theater orchestra; and a favored recreational instrument for the gentleman dilettante (it was not customary for women to play the flute). Also, flute lessons were frequently advertised in the newspapers by local music masters, versatile musicians who taught several instruments.

As previously described, American society became very heterogeneous because of the steady influx of immigrants and, as such, it becomes impossible to make general statements about a particular city. Although certain areas *were* ethnically and religiously segregated, many other minorities and their cultures were intermixed: Germans, who maintained a rich cultural heritage, were transplanted among the British colonists; the West Indians and French among the Charleston aristocracy; and the English among Dutch in New Amsterdam. Colonial historian Wertebaker summarized, "It is clear that colonial culture follows a very complex pattern. There was no one uniform culture, but a dozen or more; not only the cultures of New England, the Middle colonies, and the South, but of subdivision in these major sections."¹²

By mid-century, American culture was in a state of flux. The

¹¹Sonneck, p. 324.

¹²Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *The Golden Age of Colonial Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Great Seal Books, Cornell University Press, 1949), p. 16.

secularization of society and the increase of commercialism, coupled with growing sentiments of political and individual freedom, were significant catalysts for social and cultural change. These factors contributed to a gradual erosion of the Puritan concept of piety and increased a desire for the "sophisticated life." This was the American Enlightenment, an era in which science, humanistic philosophy, and the arts, inspired the individual. Music became a necessary part of higher education. These traits were embodied in leaders such as Benjamin Franklin, printer, statesman, philosopher, and inventor of the armonica;¹³ Francis Hopkinson, signer of the Declaration of Independence, lawyer, and the first American composer; and Thomas Jefferson, U.S. President and scholar, whose Monticello music room was renowned for its frequent musicales.

In the colonist's war for freedom and equal rights, the flute could be heard in military bands. A Philadelphia music master, James Bremner, testified to this in a letter to the Board of War. He wrote, "I would recommend you to purchase 2 German flutes..as the Hautboys generally play on that Instrument, which will be an addition in a private Concert."¹⁴

Many other American Renaissance men enjoyed and supported a concert life in their respective cities and by the final quarter of the eighteenth century, subscription and benefit concerts were commonplace. These cultural trends established a fertile climate for instrumental music in which flutists were active participants.

¹³Or musical glasses

¹⁴Letter of James Bremner to Richard Peters, 22 June 1779, cited by Raoul Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), p. 135.

The Plantation South

The plantation colonies and cities developed quite differently from those in the North. Several factors contributed to these distinctions. In general, the social influence of the Puritans and Quakers was ineffective in maintaining certain moral standards. Christianity was less centralized and more ecumenical. Charleston was more of an international port than New York or Boston, producing a more heterogeneous population. Certain geographical and economic factors also determined cultural distinctions. The class which was more likely to appreciate and practice art music lived on vast isolated plantations. Under these conditions, it would have been difficult for any church to enforce its mores upon a congregation (e.g., rules against dancing, singing, and concerts).

Most importantly, the South had strong allegiances to the mother country. Plantation owners went out of their way to emulate the customs, culture, and class structure of England, significantly more than in the northern cities. Historian and musicologist John Barry Talley confirmed this:

"British society in the northern colonies was influenced by New England Puritans and Pennsylvania Quakers, whose religious and moral convictions led them to seek refuge from England in the New World. They wished to be free from her religious and political influence, had little desire to imitate her ways, and even legislated against such frivolous entertainments as the theater. Such was not the case in the southern colonies, where the plantation economy produced a squirearchy that resembled

the landed gentry of the mother country."¹⁵

Here, the primary venue for music was the plantation musicale, a private affair which featured both the professional music master and his students (i.e. members of the family). These music masters were typically itinerant and travelled on regional circuits. They were engaged for a few weeks at each estate and provided daily instruction on the violin, flute, or harpsichord, in addition to regular evening concerts. Some of the wealthier planters could afford a full-time music master, but they were employed with secondary tasks such as dancing or fencing instruction. Their status notwithstanding, these musical Da Vincis did much to popularize the flute in America.

Towards the close of the century, ideals of the Enlightenment became popular throughout the colonies and had a strong effect on musical tastes. Music was supposed to meet the listener on his own plane; it was not limited to national boundaries, it eschewed the complexities of Baroque music, and it aspired to natural ideas. Correspondingly, the preferred flute music was of a lighter genre. Simple arrangements of operas, accompaniment parts to sentimental songs, and duets for student and teacher became popular. However, as if to reflect the complex nature of American culture, colonial flutists also desired more substantial works. The works of Bach, Stamitz, Pleyel, and Wendling are among the list of serious flute compositions in demand during the final quarter of the eighteenth century. In order to illustrate this, I have included in the appendices flute works which were offered in various British music catalogs. Available to flutists in both

¹⁵ John Barry Talley, *Music in Colonial Annapolis, The Tuesday Club, 1746-56* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 3.

northern and southern colonies, this "repertoire" offers compelling *new* evidence of the flute in eighteenth-century America.

CHAPTER ONE

FLUTES IN EARLY AMERICA

One hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, various explorers and missionaries had already established settlements in the New World in order to pursue wealth, adventure, and converts. The following chapter will examine some musical references to these settlements and an historical background of the flute in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In 1513, Ponce de Leon visited near what is now St. Augustine, Florida. His passengers and crew undoubtedly enjoyed folk songs with flute or violin accompaniment. Instrumental music could have been heard because of its growing popularity in Europe during this time (evidenced by the illustrated treatises of Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht und ausgezogen*, 1511, and Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum*, 1618). However, this remains in the sphere of conjecture. Because recorders and fifes were of an insignificant monetary value, they would never have been recorded on ship manifests. Subsequent missionary efforts left more tangible evidence of musical activities. For example, in 1600, a small organ was used at the Spanish mission of San Felipe in the New Mexico area. Protestant missionary expeditions were launched in 1564, when a number of French Huguenots established a short-lived settlement near what is now Jacksonville, Florida. These Huguenots sang from the Geneva monophonic psalters (unelaborate translations of the *Book of Psalms*). But again, no records of instrumental music survive.

The only suggestion of flute playing among the frontier missionaries is from a later account which depicted the efforts of a Green Bay (Wisconsin) Jesuit, Father Louis André. Musicologist Leonard Ellinwood discovered this notation from the writings of a Father Claude Dablon:

"He [André] composed some songs against the superstitions that we have mentioned, and against the vices most opposed to Christianity; and after teaching the children to sing them to the accompaniment of the sweet-toned flute, he went everywhere with these little savage musicians, to declare war on jugglers, dreamers, and those who had several wives."¹

Since a specific description of the flute was not provided, the modern historian must consider the European flute as the model. Although recorders were the preferred soprano wind instrument in art music until the early 1700s, it is probable that early American explorers and missionaries played the keyless transverse flute. This instrument assumed its own identity, separate from its ancient ancestor the military fife, during the middle Renaissance. The first example of such an instrument is depicted below in Martin Agricola's treatise *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (1529). Figure 1 shows four different "Schweitzer Pfeiffen" (Discant, Alto, Tenor, and Bass); these range distinctions indicated are representative of the developing relationships between instrumental and vocal music during this period.

¹Father Claude Dablon Letter, "Relation de ce qui s'est passe'," 1671/72, cited in Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 37.

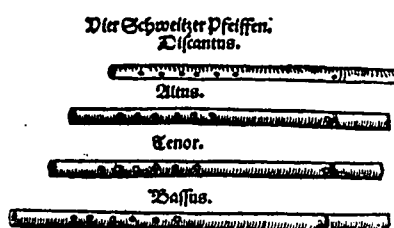


Fig. 1. Flutes depicted in Agricola's treatise

The early settlers would have preferred the keyless flute instead of the recorder for two reasons. First, the recorder was traditionally found in consort with other chamber music instruments such as shawms, krumhorns, lutes, harps, and viols. Because of the large size of some of these instruments and the limited cargo space on the ships, the fife or keyless flute would have been the more logical choice. It is difficult to imagine that these explorers and missionaries had the occasion for art music in such an uncivilized territory. Second, the keyless flute is frequently depicted in early iconography as an instrument that accompanied dancing, folk song, and funeral processions, pastimes which were more common for those early settlers.

The settlement of America was, at best, sporadic during this period. These early explorers and missionaries were not here to establish permanent settlements. This would be accomplished by King James I and his charter of the English trading company, the London Company, named later as the Virginia Company.

Three ships under the command of Captain Christopher Newport reached Jamestown, Virginia in 1607. The music most familiar to the non-Separatist Puritans aboard was similar to the Huguenot psalter mentioned

previously: unaccompanied and monophonic translations of the *Book of Psalms*.² The first ones in America were the Sternhold and Hopkins (London, 1562) and the seventh edition of the French (Geneva) Psalter, published in the same year.

Secular music was the principal means of entertainment and chamber and dance music were enjoyed in nearly all of the wealthier planters' homes. It was considered virtuous for the gentleman Virginian to master a number of the social graces. These would include fencing, riding, dancing, and music; well-rounded attributes which were remnants from Renaissance ideals. Not surprisingly, one modern historian of the seventeenth century has uncovered various early references to the flute. Philip Bruce states that, "For the amusement of the guests in the house, as well as of the members of the family, musical instruments were to be found in nearly all the planters' residences; there are frequent references in the inventories to the virginal, the hand lyre, the fiddle, and violin, and also to the recorder, flute, and hautboy as a part of personal estates."³ Besides drums and trumpets, which were used for signaling purposes, the flute and the violin were the most popular household instruments.

²During the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Puritans sought both religious reform in the Church of England and political power in Parliament. Their cause (although never clearly defined) embroiled the monarchies of James I and his son Charles I to the point of civil war in the 1640s, which led to the establishment of Oliver Cromwell's temporary dictatorship. *Separatist* is a distinction given to those Puritans who left the country (or fled perhaps) because of their dogmatism; *non-Separatist* for those who remained in an attempt to establish reform.

³Philip A. Bruce, *Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Frederick Unger Publishing Co., 1964), p. 164.

The flute of this period would have resembled the *Querflöte* (fig. 2). Michael Praetorius illustrated this predecessor of the traverso in his treatise *Syntagma Musicum*. The alto was pitched in D and the larger flute was divided in sections; features which adumbrated the physical design of the first traverso made in 1660.

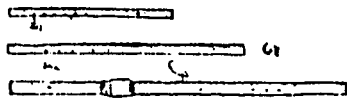


Fig. 2. *Querflöten* from Praetorius's *Syntagma Musicum*

The next major attempt to settle America was in 1620. The ship *Mayflower* left Plymouth, England with 101 passengers and established the first permanent settlement in America on December 16th. Among the passengers were thirty-five Separatist Puritans, now known as the Pilgrims. They had fled earlier to Holland in order to escape King James' hostility towards religious reformers. They brought with them a recently published psalter by Rev. Henry Ainsworth, their pastor during the "exile" period. According to one of the *Mayflower* travelers Edward Winslow, the music of the Pilgrims was excellent. He wrote, "They that stayed at Leyden feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house [it] being large, where wee refreshed our selves after our teares, with the singing of Psalmes, making joyfull melody in our hearts, as well as with the voyce, there being many of our Congregation very expert in Musick; and indeed it was the sweetist melody that ever mine eares heard"⁴

⁴Waldo Selden Pratt, *The Music of the Pilgrims; A Description of the Psalm Book Brought to Plymouth in 1620 [Ainsworth Psalter]* (Boston: Oliver Ditson,

Historian Percy Scholes concluded that Calvin and his Puritan disciples did not entirely eschew music, but condoned its enjoyment outside the church service. Calvin himself discussed the flute, "The flute and tabor and similar things are not blameworthy in themselves, but only their abuse by men, who most commonly turn them to bad ends" and he encouraged them to "use the good things that God has made for us in such a way that we may not be led to cease to aspire to Heaven."⁵ The "abuse...to bad ends" that Calvin referred to here is the use of the flute as an accompanying instrument to forbidden male/female dancing.

Although it took one hundred years for musical instruments to be incorporated in the Puritan service, it is reasonable to assume that they were familiar with them, not only because of their popularity in Europe, but because the English author and champion of Puritanism, John Bunyan (1628-1688), made a legendary flute (fig. 3). He purportedly carved this crude six-holed instrument out of a stool leg during his imprisonment.

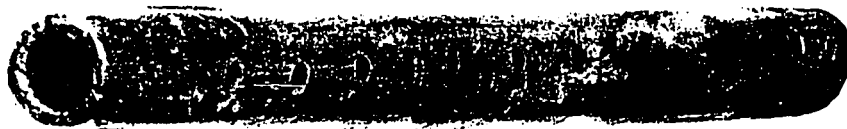


Fig. 3. Bunyan's Prison Flute. *Reprinted from Percy Scholes, The Puritans and Music in England and New England (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 384. Used by permission of Oxford University Press.*

The main importance of this instrument lies not in its trivia or legend, but in

1921; reprint: New York: Russell & Russell, 1971; New York: AMS Press, 1966)

⁵Ibid., pp. 339-340.

its design. It closely resembles those of most European (and American) flutes of the time. Its prototype, the flute allemand, is depicted in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (fig. 4). It is significant to note that Mersenne mentioned the necessity of the inclusion of keys for the flute in order to make it a totally chromatic instrument. This improvement would better accommodate the new instrumental forms of the early Baroque.⁶

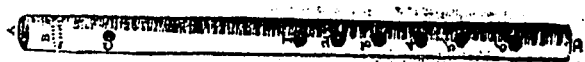


Fig. 4. Flute Allemand from Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle*, 1636

The musical enthusiasm of John Bunyan, along with earlier Puritan accounts, strongly suggests that the Pilgrims did not eschew recreational music and, most likely, had a flutist or two in their midst.⁷

Three other settlements were founded during this early phase of colonization, Hampton (1610) and Newport News (1611) in the Virginia Colony, and Kingston, NY (1615), led by the Dutch explorer Henry Hudson. No references to their music or flutes have survived.

The next phase of colonization is frequently referred to as the "Great Migration" of the Massachusetts Bay Puritans. It began in 1630. The music of the church still predominated in the lives of these colonists. Their most significant musical accomplishment was the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640). It was the first book of any kind to be published in America. However, the latter

⁶For a concise description of the traverso's prehistory see Nancy Toff, *The Development of the Modern Flute* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979) pp. 11-15.

⁷Percy Scholes, *The Puritans and Music in England and New England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), pp. 33-80 and 384-387.

half of the seventeenth century marked a decline in the quality of worship music, which sparked heated debates about worship reform and singing schools. This was one reason for the rise in secular music.

Recent scholarship has concluded that secular music was not anathema to these Bostonians. In a recent essay, musicologist Barbara Lambert uncovered 158 references to musical instruments from Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex Counties.⁸ From her survey of probate records and household inventories, the first verifiable records of flutes in seventeenth-century America were revealed (table 1). Since early municipal records were not chronologically recorded, the exact date of these flutes cannot be determined. But based on the death dates of the individuals, we can place most of them in the seventeenth century. The flutes would have been purchased from England or hewn by amateurs in this country.

Table 1.
Flutes Listed in Household Inventories from Early Massachusetts

<i>Owner/Occupation</i>	<i>Instruments</i>
Arthur Clarke (d. 1665) Boston; ?woodworker	"3 fifes"
Richard Gridley (d.1674) Boston; Brickmaker & CPT of Artillery Co.	"2 fifes"
John Dyer (1643-1696) Boston; Ironmonger	"2 flutes"

⁸Barbara Lambert, "Social Music, Musicians, and Their Musical Instruments in and Around Colonial Boston," *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820*, Vol. II: Music in Homes and in Churches (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), pp. 409-514.

Table 1 (continued)

Capt. Walter Rosewell (d. 1717) Kent; mariner	"1 flute & book"
James Scolley (1671-1721) Boston; shopkeeper	"...1 flut..."
Increase Gatchell (d. 1729) Boston; schoolmaster	"...flutes..."

The English did not adopt the traverso until the eighteenth century.

Therefore, it is likely that the flutes of Dyer could have been fifes, recorders or perhaps an instrument resembling Mersenne's Flute Allemand. The flutes owned by Rosewell, Scolley, and Gatchell could have been one-keyed traversos.

Evidence of flute playing existed in other areas as well. During the seventeenth century, the Dutch of New Amsterdam enjoyed the flute and drum at various games and festivals (see Chapter Four). Figure 5 depicts the keyless cylindrical variety, similar to previous examples.



Fig. 5. Imprint of an Early Dutch Game in New Amsterdam. *Reprinted from Esther Singleton, Dutch New York (New York, 1909), 296.*

Flutes were also found in wills of Maryland residents. Cultural historian Richard Beale Davis reports that in the Chesapeake colonies "the virginal, the fiddle and/or the violin, the recorder, the flute, and hautboy were parts of personal estates."⁹ He also discovered evidence of teaching activities from Maryland court records: "William Sturdivant of St. Clement's Manor in 1673 had to sue his former pupil William Younge for his fee for 'learning' Younge to 'play on the violin.' In 1670/71 Miles Chafe sued for payment for having taught John Hitchison to play on the cithern (here Gittren) and in 1672 John Harvey went to court to recover his 'Citterne' from the man who had promised to mend it." Since most early "musick masters" taught several instruments, one might suppose that these men also taught the flute.¹⁰

In summary, the beginning of the seventeenth century marks a significant transition point for flute design. It evolved from the cylindrical keyless flutes of Mersenne iconography to Hottetere's c. 1660 one-keyed traverso.



Fig. 6. Hottetere's traverso

The improvements of this new traverso or "German flute" were a result of chromaticism and the development of vocalistic instrumental forms. It also

⁹Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-1763*, 3 Vols. (Knoxville: the University of Tennessee Press, 1978) pp. 1254-1256.

¹⁰For more detailed information on colonial music teachers see Maurer Maurer, "The 'Professor of Musick' in Colonial America," *Musical Quarterly* 36 (1950): 511-24.

offered a wider range of timbres and dynamic expression. The traverso's first appearance is in a 1670 opera score of Lully. Gradually, European composers such as Albinoni, Couperin, Gaultier, La Barre, Daniel Purcell, Scarlatti, and possibly Vivaldi began writing music specifically for the German flute. This new flute began to supplant the recorder during the first fifty years of the eighteenth century, the formative years of this nation's concert life. Early newspaper advertisements prove that it did not take long to gain acceptance in America.

CHAPTER TWO

FLUTISTS IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOSTON

The ideals of the Enlightenment, coupled with exponential population and economic growth, had many cultural side effects upon eighteenth-century Boston. Her early citizens were no longer preoccupied with survival in the wilderness. As a result, the burgeoning cosmopolitan class experienced feelings of independence and became increasingly self-confident about working out their own life destiny. One writer explained, "While religious convictions remained important to New England Puritans, their concern with materialism and the trappings of respectability became greater in the urban centers, where colonial society was gradually becoming secularized."¹ A cautious appreciation for music ensued.

By 1770, sweeping changes in the economy, science, and politics softened even the most dogmatic Puritan to the point of toleration towards the arts. One visitor to the city observed the cultural milieu in 1788:

You no longer meet here the Presbyterian austerity, which interdicted all pleasures, even that of walking; which forbade travelling on Sunday, which persecuted men whose opinions were different from their own. The Bostonians unite simplicity of morals with that French politeness and delicacy of manners which render virtue more amiable. Music, which their teachers formerly proscribed as a diabolic art, begins to make part of their education. In some houses you hear the forte-piano. This art, it is true, is still in its infancy; but the young novices who exerge it, are so gentle, so

¹Ronald Davis, *A History of Music in American Life, Volume I, The Formative Years 1620-1865* (Malabar, FL: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1982), p. 16.

complaisant, and so modest, that the proud perfection of art gives no pleasure equal to what they afford.²

Amateurs and professionals eagerly contributed to music making on public concerts as well as in their private soirees.

EARLY FLUTE ACTIVITIES

Although Boston's first concert was not recorded until 1729, there is evidence of flute activities as early as 1713. This is especially interesting in light of the purported Puritan ethic of eschewing all "frivolous activities."

The *Boston Weekly News-Letter* advertised in February 23, 1713 flute instruction by George Brownell, an established dancing and music master.

The ad reads:

At the House of Mr. George Brownwell [sic] in Wings Lane
Boston is Taught, Writing, Cyphering, Dancing, Treble Violin, Flute,
Spinnet &c.³

This represents the first verifiable proof of flute activities on a professional level. Mr. Brownell left for New York City in 1731, but returned to Boston four years later and remained until his death in 1738.⁴ Three years after his first advertisement a competitor, Edward Enstone of Sudbury Street,

²J.P. Brissot DeWarville, *New Travels in the United States of America, 1788* (first published 1792; this edition Bowling Green: Historical Publications Company, 1919), p. 60.

³Barbara Lambert, "Music Masters in Colonial Boston," Appendix C from *Music in Colonial Massachusetts, 1630-1820*, Vol. II (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), p. 955.

⁴*Records of the Boston Selectmen, 1736-1742*, XV (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1886) p. 159, cited by Benson, dissertation, 289.

published a notice in the April 16th edition of the same newspaper:

from London a choice Collection of Musickal Instruments, consisting of Flaguelets, Flutes, Haut-Boys [oboes], Bass-Viols, Violins...Books of Instructions for all these Instruments" and also "Any person may have all Instruments of Musick mended, or Virgenalls and Spinnets Strung and Tuned at a reasonable rate, and likewise may be taught to Play on any of these Instruments abovemention'd...⁵

An unexplainable hiatus of flute teachers and players existed from 1716-1743, but this does not indicate that flute activities suddenly stopped. Stephan Deblois (sponsor of Boston's second "consort of musick"), Thomas Brownell, Increase Gatchell, and Peter Haynes were all noted New England dancing masters during the first half century. Many dancing and music masters taught the flute; it was the most popular instrument for secular music and dance, besides the violin and spinet. William Price was another early dealer in Boston, as early as 1743. Although he was known as a general merchant and cabinet maker, his advertisement indicates that he sold, among other items, "Flutes, Hautboys, & Violins, Strings, Musical Books..."⁶ On October 9, 1750, an unidentified flutist is the first recorded to appear on a private "Consort of Musick."⁷ However, it is likely that this was not the first. These concerts generally featured a lighter genre of music intermixed with instrumental and vocal numbers. Unfortunately, printed programs were not commonly used until the end of the eighteenth century (a

⁵Barbara Lambert, *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, p. 974.

⁶Ibid., p. 636.

⁷Ibid., p. 809.

custom which was also not adopted in France or England that much earlier). Therefore, one must rely upon newspaper advertisements, diaries, and other miscellaneous writings for details of performances.

The second half of the eighteenth century showed a steady increase in the number of music merchants who sold flutes in Boston, particularly after the Revolutionary War. A few notable ones from 1750-1760 should be mentioned. Stephan Deblois and his sons Gilbert and Lewis were very influential in Boston's early music life. The father was responsible for staging early concerts and also opened Boston's Concert Hall in 1754. The sons dealt in numerous imported commodities, including flutes. Another merchant, who chose to remain anonymous, placed a significant ad in the *Boston Gazette* of June 25, 1764. It reads in part:

MUSICK, & INSTRUMENTS, To be disposed of by a Gentleman from LONDON;
 A Large and curious Collection of it [music] in Manuscript, (warranted correct) and in Print, viz. Italian and English Opera's and Songs in Score, and the prettiest of 'em transpos'd into easy Keys for the German Flute...some good German Flutes at 3 Dollars apiece, others with 2 or 3 middle pieces to lower the pitch to accompany the Voice, or and Wind Instrument, and a Voice Flute [jew harp?]; common Flutes of all sizes at a Dollar each, and upwards, some of 'em exceeding good...N B He lodges at Mr. Richardson's, the bottom of Cold Lane, by Hanover Street.⁸

The article is particularly important because it the first proof of the one-keyed flute to Boston. If these flutes were made in London, perhaps Richard

⁸Ibid., pp. 787-788.

Potter, Pietro Florio, Peter J. Bressan, or Caleb Gedney was the craftsman. These were just a few of the London makers who were active during that time. A number of American flute makers began to appear by the 1770s. A 1771 trade card of Isaac Greenwood, an ivory turner of Boston, advertised that he made "Joynts for German Flutes"--interestingly, this card was engraved by Paul Revere.⁹ Other Boston flute makers from the late 1780s were John G. Holland of Boston and Portsmouth, NH and William Callender. The fife shown in figure 7 is an example of Callender's workmanship.

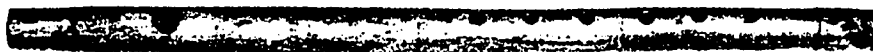


Fig. 7. Fife by William Callender. *Courtesy of the Lexington, Massachusetts Historical Society.*

As the clouds of Revolution approached the colonies, much of Boston's formal music activities were suspended. However, a number of itinerant music masters continued to offer their services to teach and play the flute. James Joan (Juhan), a versatile musician/actor/instrument maker, arrived from Nova Scotia in 1768 to teach (and probably perform) the German Flute, violin, bass viol, guitar and other instruments. He would stay in Boston only three years before moving on to Charleston, South Carolina. The official banning of the theater in 1751 probably created an unappealing political and economic climate for musicians there; similar results occurred in New York and Philadelphia during their anti-theater episodes.¹⁰

⁹Ibid., p. 790.

¹⁰Amusingly, artists, in order to avoid legal predicaments, would use various subterfuges when advertising plays and concerts, which were outlawed in some cities during the Revolution because of its frequent use as a political

The year following Joan's arrival another newcomer came onto the scene. This event marks a very important milestone in American flute history. It is the first performance given by John M'Lean (also McLean, McLane), fife-major of the British 29th Regiment of Foot.¹¹ On March 16, 1769, the Concert Hall hosted a benefit concert for this Scotsman who was perhaps the first professional flutist in America. From an early diary of Capt. John Rowe, we find comments on his performance, "Spent the evening at the Fife-Major's concert at Concert Hall--there was a genteel Company & the best Musick I have heard performed there."¹² William Brown of Philadelphia has long been considered the first professional flutist in America, mainly because of the frequency in which he appeared on programs during the final ten years of the century. But Brown does not appear in any source until 1783, fourteen years after the Fife-Major's first concert. Furthermore, the fact that M'Lean was not documented on as many performances as Brown should not be a deciding factor in establishing his professional status; an absence of records in this period does not automatically imply the quality or quantity of a performer's musical efforts. Although they were few in number, all of M'Lean's concerts were billed as flute concerts and not "Consorts of Instrumental and Vocal Musick" or one

forum. Clever phrases like "a moral lecture will be given" and "a reading of ..." would be used as alternates.

¹¹It is presumed that McLean left the Regiment shortly before hostilities broke out in Boston. The 29th British Regiment is remembered for the infamous and controversial Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770. The Regiment was subsequently nicknamed by the colonists as 'The Vein Openers'. For more information consult Richard Gale, *The Worcestershire Regiment* (London: Leo Cooper Ltd., 1970), pp. 30-41.

¹²Oscar Sonneck, *Early American Concert-Life*, p. 260.

unidentified flute concerto on a multi-event program, as were Brown's. A number of other appearances by M'Lean are documented in New York and Philadelphia up until 1771, but I have been unable to trace his peregrinations after that date. There is no question regarding Brown's significance in the musical life of Philadelphia and New York. He was preeminent. But one should remember that he was predominantly occupied as a concert manager/teacher, and a flutist secondarily. I will discuss Brown's activities more extensively in Chapters Three and Four.

David Propert, an acquaintance of John M'Lean, arrived from New York in 1770. He announced in the *Boston Weekly News Letter* of December 27, 1770:

"David Propert, Professor of Musick, TAKES this Method of acquainting the Ladies and Gentlemen of this town and Neighbourhood, That he teaches the harpsichord, FortePiano, Guittar, German Flute, &c. and has imported a Variety of new Musick and Musical Instruments..."¹³

Mr. Popert was better known as the organist of Trinity Church and organizer of subscription concerts.

Three years later, December 1773, a Mr. Stieglitz (Steiglitz) arrived from London and was touted as being a "capital performer on the German flute." He gave a grand benefit concert shortly after his arrival on Dec. 28th. On April 20, 1774, he collaborated with W.S. Morgan, violinist and concert manager, and combined forces with musicians of the 64th British Regiment Band. The program was included in the *Boston Evening Post* announcement

¹³Barbara Lambert, *Music in Massachusetts*, p. 1106.

of April 4:

Act I

OvertureStamitz, 1st
 Concerto ----- German flute
 Song -----'My dear Mistress'
 Harpsichord Concerto by Mr. Selby
 Symphony ----- Artaxerxes [Arne]

Act 2nd

OvertureStamitz 4th
 Hunting Song ...
 Solo, German Flute
 Song -----'Oh! my Delia'
 Solo Violin [probably performed by Morgan]¹⁴

This program announcement is quite typical of the period; illustrating the haphazard style, misspellings, and the ambiguous designations of performer or composer. The flute concerto or solo that Steiglitz played remains a mystery. In another joint concert with the 64th Regiment Band, Mr. Steiglitz performed a "Simphony [sic] --- G. Flute, accompanied with kettledrums." This might have been a concerto for flute, perhaps by Bach or even Mozart. If either was performed, Mr. Steiglitz was indeed a "capital performer on the German flute."¹⁵ It should be mentioned that military music and collaboration with military musicians was very common even before the

¹⁴Sonneck, *Early American Concert-Life*, p. 267-268.

¹⁵Ibid, p. 268. Concert was held on May 18, 1774. The case for Mozart is not so extraordinary in light of the fact that many European "contemporary" composers had music performed in the U.S. during the eighteenth century, including Mozart. This implies that the cultural state of colonial America was not as uniformly deplorable as some may think. Sonneck reflected that "It should be remembered that Mozart figured none too prominently on concert programs before 1800 even at Vienna!" (p. 28).

Revolution.

The final flutist that I will discuss is a Mr. Stone. He was perhaps the busiest flutist in Boston towards the end of the century, performing on numerous concert series and playing in the theater orchestra. Boston theater records of 1796-97 indicate that he earned a weekly salary of ten dollars.¹⁶ Sonneck traced his appearances: June 20, 1793, a benefit program at Concert Hall; played a "flute quartet"[!] on Nov. 29th, 1793; and a duet with "an amateur" on June 18, 1795--implying that Stone himself was a professional; also, a Concerto probably written under his own hand in 1798. Stone's name appeared on several other concerts in-between, too many to justify extensive coverage here.

Many of the musicians mentioned above were itinerant. Some would appear in newspaper announcements as far south as Charleston. It is believed that this occurred chiefly because of economic reasons, such as the lack of steady work. But Sonneck, Wertebaker, Wright, and other historians have discussed numerous accounts of political and relational problems within the musical community. Therefore, various factors contributed to the transient state of these colonial flutists.

With little effort, other flutists who lived in the New England region could be identified. For example, a John Patterson, music master in Rhode Island from 1764-1796, was found with little trouble.¹⁷ Additional music

¹⁶Lambert, *Music in Massachusetts*, p. 865.

¹⁷Mangler, Joyce Ellen. *Rhode Island Music & Musicians, 1733-1850* (Detroit: Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, 7, 1965). The author describes Patterson (Paterson) as a music teacher from Boston who toured with a theater company and advertised a school for German flute and

masters taught flute in the New Hampshire region: Horatio Garnet (1788), William Crosby (1773), and J.H. Smith (1798).¹⁸

Other prominent musicians in the early concert life of Boston were W.S. Morgan, Thomas Dipper, Josiah Flagg (organizer of Boston's first militia Band), William Selby, Thomas Hartley, William Turner, and to a lesser degree William Billings. Sonneck also believes that a musical society either formally or informally existed in Boston from 1761.¹⁹ Many concerts were frequently given at Boston's famous Faneuil Hall, built in 1742. It was a combination market and assembly building. It is clear that, in spite of earlier censorship, Boston's concert life was well under way by the 1760s and was flourishing at the dawn of the new century. The flute became an inextricable part of that concert life.

clarinet in Newport or Providence, RI. He died in Charleston, no other information on him could be located.

¹⁸S. Louis Pichierri, *Music in New Hampshire, 1623-1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 223, 19, and 23.

¹⁹Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 258.

CHAPTER THREE

FLUTE ACTIVITIES IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY PHILADELPHIA

Philadelphia was founded in 1682 by William Penn. Although the city was predominantly settled by English Quakers, numerous German and Swedish immigrants also established communities in the area. The Pennsylvania colony was renowned for its tolerance of many belief systems and policies of equality. Religious refugees sought freedom in "the City of Brotherly Love" from oppressive European regimes. Principal among these refugees were the Wissahickon Hermits, members of the Ephrata Cloister, the Moravians, German Reformed Lutherans, and the Swedish Lutherans. The Germans, in particular, had a strong musical influence upon the city. One would expect that a city comprised of this cultural diversity would have teemed with musical life from the onset. But for several reasons, its early music history was sporadic, leaving few records of public music activities or the flute until mid-century. Since the attitudes of these denominations are directly related to the development of instrumental performance in early Philadelphia, a brief discussion of them is necessary.

Traditionally, the moral and religious attitudes of the Quakers, or The Friends, are held culpable for the city's fledgling concert life. Their domination of the government and population had a stifling effect on the arts. They denounced all activities which might be of a corrupting influence upon their pursuit of inner purity and sanctification. In their "Twelve Questions," a tenet against music was set: "Are there any Friends that

frequent music houses, or go to dancing and gaming?"¹ In 1716, a more direct admonishment pronounced:

At the Yearly Meeting of the Friends, members were advised against 'going to or being in anyway concerned in plays, games, lotteries, music and dancing.'²

Announcements like these were common.

But before we hold the Quakers solely responsible for the musical temperance of the period, it is important to recognize that even the Continental Congress had designs to interdict "Theatrical Entertainments, horseracing, gaming, and other diversions, which are only productive of Idleness, dissipation and a general depravity of principles and Manners."³ Modern scholarship has already dispelled the myth that the early religious communities eschewed music. It is more tenable to attribute these attitudes (especially the anti-theater ones) to normal social standards rather than the dogmaticism of a particular sect. Regardless of the degree of Quaker influence, protests against their ideas were scarce mainly because other denominations remained isolated. Only gradually did these barriers break down.

¹The "Twelve Questions" were rhetorical questions designed to construct standards of behavior. See Norman Benson, "The Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters of Eighteenth Century America" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Minnesota, 1963), p. 198.

²Robert Drummond, *Early German Music in Philadelphia* (NY: D. Appleton & Company, 1910; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 25.

³*Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* ed., Worthington C. Ford, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), cited by Benson, 207.

FIRST PERFORMANCES

Whatever the reasons for the restrictive music environment, it is clear that forces against musical performances eventually eroded. Concerts became common, even fashionable, towards the latter eighteenth century. One historian emphasized that "to the gentry and many of the middling sort, familiarity with some instrument came to be regarded as an essential part of a proper liberal education."⁴ Others have suggested that concerts existed early on, but were held in a clandestine fashion. For example, evidence of music at society banquets and private dinner parties survives from a celebration gathering of the "Society of Ancient Britons" in 1731. Two years later, a performance of a Handel anthem was given at a ball. In 1740, there was a "Concert Room" which had been temporarily shut down after a visit by the evangelist George Whitefield. On June 5, 1744, a "Concert of Musick" was documented in a diary of William Black, statesman and amateur flutist; unfortunately, a program was not given for this private affair. Dancing assemblies, music clubs, and all aspects of the music trade were in progress before 1750, but were either carried out privately or met with a certain amount of "public" resistance. Accounts of these activities are sparse.⁵

It was not until 1757--one year after the Quakers abdicated their control over the colony--that the first *public* concert was advertised in

⁴Bridenbaugh, Carl and Jessica, *Rebels and Gentlemen, Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1962), pp. 150-151.

⁵For excellent coverage of private musical activities before 1750, see Drummond, pp. 24-33 and Benson, pp. 212-228.

Philadelphia.⁶ It was given at the Assembly Room, in Lodge Alley, under the direction of Mr. John Palma. This event generated sufficient momentum for concert activities, as concerts became as natural as church-going by the end of the century. Many ambitious artistic events involving the flute took place, particularly in the final twenty years of the century. The number of flutists developed more rapidly here than in any other city in the colonies. The following section will survey Philadelphia's most prominent flutists.

Although most were music masters who did not necessarily specialize on the flute, at least three--John Stadler, William Brown, and John McLean--could be considered professionals.

John Beals

The following advertisement was placed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on March 21, 1749:

John Beals, Musick Master from London [who] at his House in Fourth Street, near Chestnut Street, joining to Mr. Linton's, collar maker, teaches the Violin, Hautboy, German Flute, Common Flute and Dulcimer by Note. Said Beals will likewise attend young ladies, or others, that may desire it, at their houses. He likewise provides musick for balls or other entertainments.⁷

⁶It is both ironic and paradoxical that the Pennsylvania colony adopted policies of tolerance toward other faiths, especially since insularity was one the Quaker's most salient characteristics. Their refusal to take oaths, their pacifism, and their ineffectiveness in dealing with Indian crises on the westward borders of the colony, insulated them from the needs of a vast colony and ultimately rendered them unfit to govern. Boorstin commented that "To the Quakers, their obstinacy doubtless seemed a purity of principle and their rigidity a steadfastness in belief." Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (NY: Vintage Books, 1958), p. 66.

⁷Drummond, 32. Beals placed a similar ad in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on

The timing of the ad was rather daring when one considers that the Quakers still maintained control over the government. It is the first public announcement in Philadelphia which mentioned flute instruction. He also furnished music at the Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in 1749.⁸ Like many other itinerant musicians, his services were not in adequate demand, causing him to seek out employment in other cities. A 1757 advertisement in the *New York Weekly Post Boy* informed the public that he "plays the violin, and Hautboy, for Assemblies, at private Balls, or any other Entertainments."⁹ These credits aside, Beals found it necessary to supplement his income in New York by making nets "to keep the flies off horses!" He returned to Philadelphia a year later, evidenced by the following notice: "[He] Plays on the Violin at the Assembly Balls and all other Entertainments; and likewise teaches the Violin and other Instruments of Musick in a plain and easy Way by Book."¹⁰ In 1764, he advertised in Maryland that he sold stockings. But the flute was conspicuously absent from these later notices, making a determination of his success as a flute teacher a matter of speculation.

Robert Coe

Robert Coe was noteworthy among colonial flutists. According to his advertisements, he was the first colonial teacher who specialized on the flute. In Feb. 13, 1753, he announced in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

Jan. 30, 1753, cited by Giroux thesis, plate 34.

⁸Benson, p. 231.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Roger Paul Phelps, "The History and Practice of Chamber Music in the United States from Earliest Times Up to 1875" (Ph.D. dissertation: State University of Iowa, 1951), p. 201.

The Subscriber conceiving himself capable of teaching to play on that agreeable Instrument the GERMAN FLUTE, thinks proper to inform the Publick, that he will attend, for that Purpose, four Nights in the Week, at his House, in Third Street, being the next Door but one above Mr. Joseph Fox's, where any young GENTLEMAN may be taught, paying *Fifteen Shillings* Entrance, and *Fifteen Shillings* per Month: Or, if required, he will attend them at their Chambers, they paying the same Sum Entrance, and *Twenty Shillings* per Month. N.B. The Said ROBERT COE draws Bills, Bonds, Indentures, Leases, Releases, and other Instruments of Writing at the House, next Door to the Horse and Groom, in *Strawberry Alley*.¹¹

It is clear that he was serious about teaching that "agreeable instrument" since he dedicated four nights a week to the task. Some writers go so far to say that Coe actually began a flute school.¹² But to deduce that from this article would be a distortion. The term "school" implies a grand scale of activity, as if it were Coe's principal vocation. The *nota bene* clarifies that he drew up legal documents. A later advertisement on April 23, 1754 discloses that he taught the instrument *at* a school and only after the workday had ended. It reads:

That at the School house next door to the Widow Bittle's, in Strawberry-alley, The Subscriber purposes, after the Hour of five in the Afternoons, to teach on that agreeable Instrument the GERMAN FLUTE, by an easy Method; and as some Gentlemen are afraid to undertake it by Reason of its taking more Wind then they can well spare [!], the Subscriber has

¹¹Giroux thesis, plate 34.

¹²Anderson article, p. 56 and Giroux article, p. 70.

invented a Mouth-piece, made either of Tin or Silver, and does not in the least alter the Tone of the Flute, but does the same as if blown by the nicest Lip....Also [unclear] the Subscriber carefully teaches, Reading grammatically, the various Hands in Writing, and Vulgar and Decimal Arithmetick....¹³

Whatever the degree of his involvement, this flute teacher, inventor, tutor, and judicial clerk made significant strides to popularize the flute in Philadelphia.

Michael Hillegas

Six years after Coe came upon the scene, Michael Hillegas opened a music store on Second Street, the first of its kind in America. Hillegas, who eventually became the first Treasurer of the United States, advertised in the *Gazette* on December 13, 1759 that he sold a variety of German flutes, music and tutors.¹⁴ He was primarily a business man, but supposedly played the violin. He was the chief supplier to Philadelphia flutists until 1774, when the clouds of Revolution began to cast a shadow upon musical activities.

John Stadler

John Stadler was successful as a flute teacher and player. He was also praised for his sterling character and goodness of heart. These qualities were reflected in a *Gazette* advertisement of Aug. 27, 1761:

This is to inform the Public, That an Evening School for teaching

¹³Giroux thesis, plate 35.

¹⁴For more information, consult Jo Ann Taricani's authoritative article "Music in Colonial Philadelphia: Some New Documents," *Musical Quarterly* 65 (1979): 185-199. Curiously, another Michael Hillegas of Pennsylvania died intestate in New York Jan. 6, 1757, see New York Historical Society *Collections V, Abstracts of Wills and Letters of Administration*, p. 433.

young Gentlemen to play upon the German Flute will be opened by the Subscriber...where young Gentlemen may be taught, by an easy and regular Method, to play with Judgement and Taste, for the moderate Price of Six Shillings per Week, and Thirty Shillings Entrance Money, provided the Subscriber can procure six Scholars. The Hours of Attendance will be every Evening (Sundays excepted.) from 6 to 8 o'clock. Said Subscriber will also attend Gentlemen at their Houses, on Hour every other Day, for one Guinea per Month and Thirty Shillings Entrance.

N.B. If any Gentleman is desirous to know the character and abilities of said Subscriber as a Teacher of Music, they may be satisfied by enquiring of any Gentlemen in this City, who is a Judge of these Matters.¹⁵

This German was quite possibly a descendant of the famous Stadler family of woodwind players in Mannheim, Germany. His statement "enquiring of any Gentlemen in this City," signifies his popularity among the upper class. Evidently, Stadler participated on the private concerts of Francis Hopkinson and Governor Penn. Stadler's lesson rates were targeted towards the privileged clientele, since the average laborer made only 15 shillings per day.¹⁶ These issues aside, the advertisement is, more importantly, the first record of a flute specialist who was publicly concerned with "Judgement and Taste," which at least implied that he maintained high standards. It is unknown exactly how long he stayed in Philadelphia, but by the late 1760s, he sought more lucrative opportunities as a private tutor at certain Virginia plantations.¹⁷ There, flute playing was considered a necessary social grace.

¹⁵Benson, p. 230, Drummond, p. 38 [but Giroux says Aug. 16, 1761?].

¹⁶Benson, p. 230.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 229. See Chapter Five (Williamsburg) for more information on

William Williams

Mr. Williams, a native Philadelphian, was primarily employed as a painter. By 1759, he was associated with David Douglass and the American Company of Actors as a set designer and scene painter. The vagabond lifestyle of the theater must have attracted him, since he peregrinated with the Company to the West Indies, New York, and back to Philadelphia in 1779. The only record that associates him with the flute can be found in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, January 13, 1763. It reads, "Evening School for the Instruction of Polite Youth, in the Different branches of Drawing, and to sound the Hautboy, German and Common Flutes."¹⁸ Williams' success with this endeavor is questionable; his subsequent newspaper advertisements omitted all references to music.

George Isenberg, D'E'isenburg, or D'Eissenburg

According to Sonneck and others, George D'Eissenburg participated as a flutist on Francis Hopkinson's Subscription Concerts in the 1760s. On May 15, 1763, D'Eissenburg notified the public that he also gave flute instruction.¹⁹ Two years later, he visited Annapolis, Maryland. Although little else is known of this man, the time frame places him with flutists Stadler and Ernst Barnard.

Ernst Barnard

The name Barnard was also mentioned in connection with Hopkinson's 1760s concerts. He was most likely familiar with Stadler and D'Eissenburg.

Stadler.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 233.

¹⁹*Pennsylvania Gazette*, cited by Drummond, p. 39.

However, only little information on this flutist is available.²⁰

James Bremner

Also during the 1760s, a music master, flutist and organist named James Bremner appeared on the city's musical stage. Emigrating from Edinburgh in 1763, he left behind his music publisher relative Robert Bremner, an important distributor to colonial dealers.²¹ James was originally hired as the organist at St. Peter's Church and later Christ Church, but he also taught composition, harpsichord, guitar, and flute. Francis Hopkinson, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, Secretary of the Navy, and America's first native composer, was his most celebrated student. He kept one of Bremner's "Lessons" and other pieces in his library.²² On December 1, 1763 Bremner placed an advertisement which notified the public he was opening a music school:

...at Mr. Glover Hunt's near the Coffee-House in Market Street where young Ladies may be taught the Harpsichord, or Guittar, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 10 o'clock in the morning till 12, at Twenty Shillings per month, and Forty Shillings Entrance Money: Likewise young Gentlemen may be Taught the Violin, German Flute, Harpsichord, or Guittar, from 6 o'clock in the Evening till 8, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, for the same Price and Entrance Money.

Note that Bremner's rates were higher than John Stadler's, which could

²⁰Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 70.

²¹Joseph Kelly, Jr. erroneously identified Hopkinson's teacher as Robert Bremner; it was surely James Bremner. See his *Life and Times in Colonial Philadelphia* (Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole Co., 1973), p. 115.

²²Hermann, Myrl Duncan, "Chamber Music by Philadelphia Composers, 1750-1850" (Ph.D. dissertation: Bryn Mawr College, 1977), p. 7.

either be explained by economic inflation or that a general music master would command a higher fee. In the next year, Bremner organized a concert series which would be held from January 19 to May 24, 1764. These activities continued until around 1770, when it is assumed that he travelled to England, only to return to Philadelphia again in 1774.²³ Although his prowess on the flute is unknown, he did a great deal to popularize good music. Sonneck records five original Bremner compositions: *Lady Coventry's minuet, Lesson, March, Overture (arr. from Earl of Kelly)*, and a *Trumpet air*.²⁴ He died near Philadelphia "on the banks of the Schuylkill" in September, 1780. It is of incidental interest that a diary of a John Bremner, a possible relative, survives in the New York Historical Society Archives. It was written between 1756-1764 and includes references to his home "near Edinburgh," and some sketches of popular songs.

Theodore Memminger

To illustrate how popular the flute was in colonial times, one must consider the numerous non-music merchandizers who sold flutes and flute music. I have recalled several book dealers, Post Offices, a general store merchant, and even a fur trader in other sections of this paper. Adding his name to this diverse roster is none other than a dealer in spirits, Theodore Memminger. On Nov. 17, 1768, he announced in the *Pennsylvania Journal*

²³Bremner was more stationary compared to the average music master. This was probably due to the consistent income he received as a church organist. For more information see Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, pp. 66-68.

²⁴Sonneck, *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music*, edited by William Treat Upton (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Music Division, 1945; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1964), p. 500.

that he stocked:

A Variety of violins at different prices; the best kind of fresh fiddle strings: guitar and spinnett brass and steel wire: a fine pair of very good ivory German flutes. He spins all sorts of bass strings with silver wire.²⁵

One wonders about the maker of the ivory German flutes. Perhaps it was Quantz, Grenser, Florio, Gedney, or Richard Potter? At any rate, it is clear that there was a market for such high quality musical instruments.

John Gualdo

A second name associated with both the spirit business and music was Giovanni Gualdo da Vandero.²⁶ Gualdo was considerably more accomplished as a musician and flutist than Memminger. This wine maker from Italy arrived in Philadelphia in 1767 and opened his store in Walnut Street sometime in August. His musical acumen was not expressed until a *Pennsylvania Journal* advertisement on Nov. 9, 1769 gave notice that "At the Assembly Room, on next Thursday, (being the sixteenth of November) will be performed a *Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick*; with Solos played on different instruments: the concert to be directed by Mr. Gualdo, after the Italian method."²⁷ The program consisted of a *German flute Concert, with Solos* and five additional Gualdo compositions for other

²⁵Drummond, p. 43.

²⁶He anglicized his name to John Gualdo upon arriving in America.

²⁷Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 71. Drummond suspects that this same concert was first advertised for October 18, 1769 in the *Pa. Chronicle*, Drummond, p. 53. Perhaps the Nov. 16th event had to be cancelled for some undisclosed reason.

instruments. It is considered to be the first "composer's concert" given in America. Although no copy of the "flute concerto" is extant, a printed copy of his Op. 2, *Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or two Violins with a Thoroughbass*, survives in the British Museum and the Library of Congress.²⁸ Over the next two years, Gualdo directed several Subscription Concerts which included performances of his two flute works, indicating their audience appeal.

Several months before Gualdo's first concert, he announced the availability of musical wares at his store "In Front Street, next door but one to the Bank Meeting-House."²⁹ This was no ordinary music store as the lengthy ad reveals. German flutes, violins, guitars, mandolins, spinets, clavichords were sold and repaired. Violin, violoncello, and French horn were taught. Music and supplies of all kinds were sold. It was a veritable department store which must have given Michael Hillegas stiff competition. Gualdo seized the opportunity in the advertisement to beseech "the favor of every person indebted to him to make a speedy payment, and in so doing, they will enable him to discharge his own debts before he leaves America."

²⁸The *Six [Trio] Sonatas* have been recorded by "Members and Friends of The New York Flute Club" on Musical Heritage Society's *The Flute in American Music* (MHS 3578, no longer in press however). On the program notes of this record, Robert A. Lehman includes a vita of Gualdo along with a note that a previous recording of Op. 2 was made. It featured John Wummer and Sebastian Caratelli, flutists and Joseph Wolman, pianist (*The Society for the Preservation of the American Musical Heritage*, MIA 112). For more specific information on this and other Gualdo works, consult Myrl Duncan Hermann, dissertation, pp. 12-21, Plate #14, and Phelps, dissertation, pp. 203, 208, and 233.

²⁹*Pennsylvania Chronicle*, Jan. 30-Feb. 20, 1769, cited by Hermann, dissertation, p. 12.

Presumably, this was necessary in order to finance his European business trip in the fall.

His travel plans fell through for unknown reasons, leaving him again to his creative devices. In Sept. 21, 1769, he gave notice for the first time that he "purposes to teach a few gentlemen to play on the VIOLIN and GERMAN FLUTE, and a few ladies on the GUITTAR or MANDOLIN."³⁰ He must have had an acceptable degree of proficiency on the flute in order to perform on the November concert and to begin teaching the instrument.

Gualdo advertised in Jan 24, 1771 that he planned a concert on Feb. 8th. Sonneck believes this one was his last. It is difficult to ascertain how he died, but suicide is not out of the question. Francis Hopkinson wrote to John Penn about their friend Gualdo: "poor Butho [a nickname?] was kill'd a few Weeks ago by a Fall from his House."³¹ This letter was written shortly after he wrote "Sigr. Gualdo lies in Chains in one of the Cells of the Pennsylvania Hospital."³² In his reply to Hopkinson, Penn reflected: "I am very sorry for the fate of poor Butho. I believe he was an honest fellow though he often occasioned much discord in our small concerts."³³ Regardless of his personal idiosyncracies and the circumstances of his death, it is clear that John Gualdo commmanded the respect of numerous musicians and music lovers in

³⁰*Pennsylvania Journal*, Sep. 21, 1769, cited by Hermann, dissertation, p. 13.

³¹Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 75.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 74. Sonneck informs us that Gualdo was admitted to the hospital around October, 1771, and died "of lunacy" December 20, 1771, see his *Bibliography*, p. 507.

³³I do not believe that "discord" used here refers to Gualdo's musical abilities. Excerpts of these letters are in Sonneck's *Early Concert-Life*, p. 75.

Colonial Philadelphia.

John McLean

During the same year that Gualdo directed his first evening of music, John McLean, ex-Fife Major with the 29th British Regiment, gave his first American recital in Boston. I consider him to be the first professional flutist in this country. However, his activities were as brief as they were elusive. After McLean was discharged from military service, he did not associate himself with any theater company or settle down in any one city long enough to become established. Only four of his performances were recorded between the March 1769 event in Boston and December 1771. His whereabouts after this period are unknown. But his lone Philadelphia appearance suggested that he was no ordinary musician. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* announced on Nov. 28, 1771:

By Permission and Particular Desire.

For the benefit of Mr. John M'Lean (Instructor of the German Flute) will be performed at the Assembly Room in Lodge Alley, CONCERT OF MUSIC (Vocal and Instrumental) to begin precisely at Six o'Clock in the Evening on Thursday the fifth of December. The Concert will consist of two Acts, commencing and ending with favourite Overtures, performed by a full Band of Music, with Trumpets, Kettle Drums, and every Instrument that can be introduced with Propriety. The Performance will be interspersed with the most pleasing and select Pieces, composed by approved Authors; a Solo will be played on the German Flute by John M'Lean; and the whole will conclude with an Overture composed (for the Occasion) by Philip Roth, Master of the Band belonging to his Majesty's Royal Regiment of North British

Fusileers...³⁴

It is doubtful that an average musician could have mustered the numbers sufficient for such a gala event.

It is also interesting to note that McLean called on the assistance of military bandsmen for all of his concerts; organizations which generally employed high quality musicians. Perhaps McLean and others like him, saw entering the military as a potential ticket of passage to the colonies? Whatever the reason, he left the British army before the Revolution. Although McLean's national allegiances are unknown, it is a fact that his colleague Philip Roth eventually left the Fusileers to become the music master of Lee's Legion of the Continental Army.³⁵

Philip Roth

Roth's name first appears on McLean's December 5th concert. He must have been in the colonies sometime before this date since his Regiment (the 21st Foot) had been stationed in Philadelphia since 1766. Interestingly, Roth enlisted in Henry Lee's Partisan Corps Band (in the Continental Army) on Feb. 1, 1779.³⁶

The newspaper notice given above establishes him as a composer and band leader but only later is it apparent that he taught and played the flute. Roth returned to Philadelphia after the Revolution and placed the following advertisement:

³⁴Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 75; Drummond, pp. 53 and 54.

³⁵For more information, see Raoul Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), pp. 48, 52, and 53.

³⁶Camus, p. 148.

Mr. Roth, Music Master, In Pennington Alley running from Race to Vine Streets, between Fourth and fifth Streets...teaches all kinds of Instrumental Music in the shortest manner, viz. Harpsichord or Piano Forte, Guitar, Flute, Hautboy, Clarinet, Bassoon, French Horn, Harp and Thorough-Bass, which is the Ground of Music, etc.

The *Pennsylvania Journal* ran the notice on January 7, 1789.³⁷ The only other reference to his flute playing is in a memorial article written by Wm. McKoy in 1829. McKoy reminisced that Roth--familiarily known as "Old Roat"--"taught those of his pupils who preferred the flute, to give to that instrument the additional sound of the drone, while playing in imitation of the Scotch Bagpipe."³⁸ Hopefully, this was not the extent of his technical prowess on the instrument.

Drummond speculated that Roth may have returned to settle in Philadelphia by 1785 and remained at the same address, on Crown Street, until his death in 1804.³⁹ He was greatly esteemed for his musical abilities.

Peter Kalckoffer

The *Pennsylvania Journal* announced on June 8, 1774 that a Peter Kalckoffer taught the German flute and Latin.⁴⁰ Three years later, his name appears along with nine others on a roster of Proctor's Regiment of Artillery Band of the Continental Army. He is listed as "Pet'r Colkhoffer,

³⁷Phelps, p. 204.

³⁸This letter reveals interesting personal information about Roth and can be found, with commentary, in Drummond, pp. 76-81.

³⁹Drummond, p. 79.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 39.

Musician, Germany, 20 December 1777." The date represents his time of enlistment. No other data was collected on Kalckoffer, but an investigation into the "nine others" may prove fruitful.⁴¹

H.B. Victor

Kalckoffer's advertisement on June 8, 1774 rivalled one taken out on the very same day by H.B. Victor, of "Callow Hill Street near Water Street." The notice reads:

Mr. Victor, Musician to her late Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and Organist at S. Georges in London, lately arrived here, takes this method of acquainting the Musical Gentry in general, that he gives instructions on the Harpsichord, or Forte Piano, Violin, German Flute, etc...⁴²

Victor lived in London from 1759-74 before sailing to America. Besides his teaching endeavors, he composed and published music and invented the "tromba doppia, con tympana," a veritable one-man band contraption which combined two trumpets, kettle drum, and cymbals. Victor has one flute opus to credit, *The compleat instructor for the flute*; however no copies survive.⁴³

Phelps refers to another work titled *24 Duets for 2 German Flutes or 2*

⁴¹For their names and other information see Camus, pp. 138 and 139.

⁴²The date of June 8, 1774 was given by Phelps, pp. 203 and 204. However, this contradicts Sonneck and Drummond, who found the very same advertisement on October 17, 1774. Sonneck does allude to another earlier advertisement of Victor's, but does not give the date; see *Early Concert-Life*, p. 76 and 77. Further investigation will be required to confirm the correct one.

⁴³Sonneck, *Bibliography*, pp. 83 and 529.

Violins which is now lost.⁴⁴ Victor remained in Philadelphia until 1778.

James Juhan (also Juan and Joan)

Juhan was active in Boston from 1768, moved to Charleston in 1771, and then to Philadelphia in 1783. During the Revolution, a relative cessation of performances occurred. But afterwards, the principal northern cities grew in political and economic importance which improved the musical atmosphere considerably. This lured Juhan and many other musicians who had previously left for Charleston, back to the North. Juhan's return to Philadelphia generated a tremendous momentum of artistic activity in the final twenty years of the century.

In June 25, 1783, Juhan and his prodigy son Alexander announced in the *Pennsylvania Packet* that they would teach music and make forte-pianos. Juhan added that he continued to teach the harpsichord, violin and German flute. On April 1, 1784, the *Packet* advertised that "For the Benefit of Mr. Juhan. At the *City-Tavern*, on TUESDAY next, April the Sixth, will be Performed A CONCERT which will consist of the most favourite Music, and particularly a Concerto on the Flute, by a gentleman a scholar of Mr. [William] Brown."⁴⁵ It is possible that Juhan and the gentleman/scholar are one in the same person. By April 19, 1786, James Juhan moved to Portsmouth, Virginia, then to "Bollingbrook Street" in Petersburg by April 19, 1787. He advertised his services there until his death on March 24, 1797. Flute instruction was consistently offered in his numerous advertisements

⁴⁴Phelps, 210.

⁴⁵See the exhaustive compilation of articles which chronicle Juhan's life in Lambert's *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, Volume II (Boston: The University Press of Virginia, 1980), pp. 1079-1094.

during his life.

William Brown

Paul Giroux said that William Brown "elevated the use of the flute in the United States to a position of respect in the concert hall, proving that flute-playing could be a legitimate concert art as well as a popular pastime."⁴⁶ In 1786, the editor of the *Pennsylvania Packet* commented, "The first [concerto] by Mr. Brown whose power over the German flute has astonished Americans, and would give additional grace to any royal band in Europe..."⁴⁷ His concert record will show that these accolades are not without justification, but let us first consider his history.

Mr. Brown's background is somewhat elusive. Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon* mentions a flutist/composer Braun associated with the Hofkapelle of Cassel from 1770-1780.⁴⁸ The article also says that he left for America around 1780 but returned to Hanau by 1806. The case of Brown's origins and genealogy were discussed in-depth by musicologists Oscar Sonneck and Carl Engel.⁴⁹ Unfortunately, their querying offered no new information. Engel suggests that further investigation into the registry of inhabitants of Hanau in Hesse might be fruitful. Giroux speculated that Brown could have been a former member of a Hessian band.⁵⁰ Perhaps he sought passage to the colonies in a similar way to that of John McLean?

⁴⁶Paul H. Giroux, "The History of the Flute and Its Music in the United States" (M.A. Thesis: University of Washington, 1952), p. 39.

⁴⁷Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, pp. 110 and 111.

⁴⁸Robert Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1900), p. 176.

⁴⁹Carl Engel, "Introducing Mr. Braun," *Musical Quarterly* 30 (1944), 65-81.

⁵⁰Giroux, pp. 36 and 37.

Regardless of his background, Brown was known in America as a flutist, concert manager and composer. He performed his first concert in New York on Aug. 8, 1783 (the last under British rule) and then moved to Philadelphia in October of the same year. His name appeared on subsequent concert notices in Charleston and Baltimore.

Shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia, Brown offered proposals for two subscription concerts to be held at the City Tavern on October 16th and 28th, 1783. The music to be performed was tantalizing; the details of the management, scrupulous. The musical section of the notice reads:

To render the entertainment more agreeable, Mr. Brown proposes that exclusive of the overtures, solos, lessons, etc. there be some harmony music, the performance of which at his last concert having given such general satisfaction. -- He further proposes to perform some well-known and approved Scotch airs, etc. with variations.⁵¹

Brown organized, performed, or contributed to several other concerts from 1784 to 1785 (table 2), which have been listed on the following page.

⁵¹*Pennsylvania Packet*, October 14, 1783, cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 123.

Table 2.

William Brown's Performances in Philadelphia, 1784 to 1785⁵²

<i>Date of Announcement</i>	<i>Date of Performance</i>
24 Jan/12 Feb, 1784	5 Feb/19 Feb 84
18 Mar 84	23 Mar 84
1 Apr 84	6 Apr 84
3 Jul 84	9 Jul 84
?	16 Sep 84
2 Feb 85	8 Feb 85
15 Mar/23 Mar 85	29 Mar/12 Apr/19 Apr 85
?	3 May 85

Brown made plans to return to Europe in the Spring of 1785; the 8 Feb 85 concert was to be "his last." However, these plans never materialized and to the good fortune of American audiences, Brown remained in the colonies for three more years. During this productive period, his expertise on the flute was sufficiently proven, but not without a corresponding exhibition of his fiery personality.

Brown's personal idiosyncracies were initially displayed in the *Maryland Journal* on Jan. 30th, 1784. Here, he boldly proclaimed that his "superior talents on the German flute gained much applause in Europe and this country."⁵³ This could have been dismissed as innocent salesmanship except that other objectionable qualities emerged later and were publicized by his ex-colleagues Capron and Bentley. It is apparent that our Mr. Brown had a particular malevolent streak. In an open letter dated 12 Feb 85,

⁵²Multiple dates represent postponement notices. Most ads were announced in *Pennsylvania Packet* (except the 19 Apr 85 concert which was in the *Journal*; 3 May 85 concert announcement is unknown; et al) and quoted in Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, pp. 123-127.

⁵³Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 43.

Capron accused Brown of: 1) price gouging the public on his concerts and 2) speaking malicious words behind his back at a concert. Although it is lengthy, this colorful letter is reproduced below in order to illustrate, as Sonneck says, "a delightful *Kulturbild*":

TO THE PUBLIC

Mr. Capron being informed that the motives assigned for his absenting himself from Mr. Brown's benefit concert, may operate to his prejudice; and being solicitous on all occasions to evince the highest respect for the public, he begs leave to observe that he would chearfully [sic] have contributed his abilities to the entertainment of the evening, had Mr. Brown condescended to make the request.

*Whatever insinuations, therefore, may have been introduced upon this occasion, Mr. Capron cannot but ascribe to the same spirit, which induced Mr. Brown to recommend an application for payment at private concerts (a conduct which he did not himself adopt, though he professed the introduction) that so he might create an interest with the public, by drawing an invidious comparison, and *placeing men for he avowed friendship and esteem, in an unmerited and disadvantageous light.* In truth, Mr. Capron has acquitted himself of every obligation to Mr. Brown, and from the circumstances of that gentleman's conduct, he could never be again induced to enter into an intercourse of favours; but in order to the gratification of the public. The sincerity of his disposition in this respect, whatever may be Mr. Brown's superiority in abilities, he is confident he cannot be surpassed; and surely it is sufficient triumph (without the aid of any dishonourable artifice) *that every concert for the benefit of that Gentleman, opens a scene of considerable profit, while the only opportunity which the public has had to assist Mr. Capron, scarcely supplied the means to defray his expenses.**

Upon the whole, Mr. Capron confides in the general candour, that considering his situation as a stranger, --as one, who, without deriving any pecuniary advantage, has punctually contributed to the winter's amusement, and as a performer desirous of, and indeed needing the patronage of the public, it will not be imputed to him as an offence that either *through the pride or subtlety of Mr. Brown's conduct*, he was deprived of the honour [!] of attending at that Gentleman's concert.⁵⁴ [italics are mine]

As if this was not enough to indict Mr. Brown, a letter from another musician/acquaintance, John Bentley, let go both barrels. I will not reproduce this letter here since it is equally lengthy, but will only comment that the tenor of this correspondance was even stronger than Capron's.⁵⁵ Mr. Brown's arrogance on the occasion, seemed to invoke strong rebuke from his friends and fellow musicians.

Fortunately, the altercation did not permanently disrupt musical events in the city. The trio must have reconciled their differences since Brown was invited to perform--only one month later--on the 19 April 85 concert, (listed above). Perhaps the humiliating admonishment he received inspired within him a new creative period, as his activities demonstrate during the 1786-1788 season.

The following list (table 3) is an abridged chronology of Brown's activities through March of 1788, cited by Sonneck and others.⁵⁶ It includes the announcement date [ad], performance date [pd], newspaper

⁵⁴*Pennsylvania Journal*, Feb. 12, 1785, cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 125.

⁵⁵Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, 126. See also J.T. Howard, *Our American Music*, pp. 106-107.

⁵⁶Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, pp. 43, 80-87, 93, 108-114, and 125-133.

[abbreviated], type of performance or sponsor, and the flute work(s) played by Mr. Brown. They are arranged according to the performance date.

Table 3.
A Chronology of Brown's Activities in Philadelphia, 1786 to 1788

22 Feb 1786 [pd]	<i>Pennsylvania Packet</i>	benefit	
22 Apr 86 [ad], 25 Apr [pd]	PP	benefit for J. or A. Juhan	"Double Concerto Flute & Violin" by Davaux and "Concerto Flute" by Brown
27 Apr/1 May 86 [ad], 4 May 86	PP	Grand Concert of Sacred Music [!] for the benefit of the Pennsylvania Hospital etc.	"Flute Concerto" by Brown. [very important event]
8 May/9 May 86 [ads], 9 May/11 May [pd]	PP	City Tavern concert	
3 Jun 86 [ad], 7 Jun 86 [pd]	<i>P Evening Herald</i>	Andrew Adgate's Uranian Society vocal concert	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
10 Sep 86 [ad], 21 Sep [pd]	<i>Pennsylvania Journal</i>	benefit for Capron at City Tavern	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
7 Oct 86 [ad], 12 Oct [pd]	PJ	benefit for Alexander Reinagle	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
18 Oct 86 [ad and proposal for twelve fortnightly subscription concerts given by Mssrs. Capron, Reinagle, Brown, and Juhan], 19 Oct [pd]	PJ	planned subscription concert	"Concerto Flute" by Wendling
18 Oct 86 [ad], 1 Nov 86 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Stamitz
18 Oct 86 [ad], 16 Nov 86 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Eichner

Table 3 (continued)

18 Oct 86 [ad], 30 Nov 86 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Overture (with flute obligato)" by Haydn, "Concerto Flute" by Brown, "Double Concerto, Flute and violin" by Davaux
18 Oct 86 [ad], 14 Dec 86 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Mezger
18 Oct 86 [ad], 28 Dec 86 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Fiala
18 Oct 86 [ad], 11 Jan 87 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Quartetto flute" by Schmitzbaws [Schmittbauer]
18 Oct 86 [ad], 25 Jan 87 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Stamitz
18 Oct 86 [ad], 8 Feb 87 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
12 Feb 87 [ad], 13 Feb 87 [pd]	PP	benefit for William Brown	"Concerto Flute" by Brown and "Rondo Flute" by Brown
18 Oct 86 [ad], 23 Feb 87 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"New Solo, Flute" by Brown
6 Mar 87 [pd]		City Tavern concert organized by Capron	"Concerto Flute" by Fiala
18 Oct 86 [ad], 8 Mar 87 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Rondo flute" by Vanhall
18 Oct 86 [ad, twelfth and last subscription concert], 22 Mar 87 [pd]	PJ	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
4 Apr 87 [ad], 10 Apr [pd]	PP	benefit for J. or A. Juhan at City Tavern	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
9 Apr 87 [ad], 12 Apr 87 [pd]	PP	first Uranian Academy concert	"Flute Concerto" by the Chevalier DuPonceau

Table 3 (continued)

23 May 87 [ad], 29 May [pd]	PP	benefit for J. or A. Juhan at City Tavern (attended by George Washington)	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
4 Jun 87 [ad], 12 Jun [pd]	PP	benefit for Reinagle (George Washington in attendance again!)	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
22 Nov 87 [pd]	Sonneck does not provide source for this and the following Brown concerts]	subscription	"Concerto Flute" by K. Prussia [King of Prussia]
6 Dec 87 [pd]		subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Daveaux and "Concerto Flute" by Brown
20 Dec 87 [pd]		subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
3 Jan 88 [pd]		subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Brown and "Trio, Piano Forte, Flute and Violoncello" by Schroeter
17 Jan 88 [pd]		subscription	"Double Concerto Flute and Violin" by Daveaux and "Concerto Flute" by Brown
31 Jan 88 [pd]		subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Brown
14 Feb 88 [pd]		subscription	"Rondo Flute of" by Fisher and Brown
28 Feb 88 [pd]		subscription	"Quartett Flute" by Stanley?
13 Mar 88 [pd]		subscription	"Concerto Flute" by Abel?

Flutist Extraordinaire!

The list shows that Brown was not only his own composer but that he introduced his audiences to flute music which was in vogue even in Europe at

that time. Unfortunately, Brown's "Concerto Flute" and "New Solo" are lost. A copy of his *Three Rondos* (1787) for pianoforte or harpsichord, which he respectfully dedicated to his friend Francis Hopkinson, survives in the Library of Congress.⁵⁷ An impressive list of subscribers for the *Three Rondos* is reprinted in Engel's article.⁵⁸ All of this evidence suggests that Brown, personality aside, had the support and admiration of many citizens across the country. He was a friend to Francis Hopkinson and many other leading citizens; George Washington heard him perform on two occasions. He was one of the most prominent musicians in eighteenth-century America and is deserving of the title of the "America's Preeminent Colonial Flutist."
Alexander Reinagle

Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809) came to Philadelphia, via Scotland then New York, in 1786. He was a prolific composer, pianist, theater manager and conductor. Records of this German's abilities on the flute are limited to one unsubstantiated report by Norman Benson who said, "He [Reinagle] played the flute, trumpet, violin, violon-cello, harpsichord, and piano, and was an intimate friend of Carl P.E. Bach."⁵⁹ On the countless programs that Reinagle performed, none indicate that he played the flute in public. Although it is likely that this important music master played the flute, he did not seem to have a propensity for it. Of his compositions which included the flute or arrangements for it are: *Columbus* (incidental music for the play, 1799), *Federal March* (4 Jul 1788), *I Have a Silent Sorrow Here*

⁵⁷Sonneck, *Bibliography*, p. 361.

⁵⁸Engel, pp. 76-80.

⁵⁹Benson, p. 243.

(song w/flute accompaniment, 1799; possible), and *Rosa* (song arranged for flute or violin, 1800; possible). He died in Baltimore, September 21, 1809.

Philip Phile

Nothing is known of Phile's flute activities other than a reference to a "Flute Concert" played by him on an open-air concert, Oct 16, 1790.⁶⁰ It is unknown whether he actually composed this work. On the same concert was performed *Harmony Music*, a composition now lost but evidently written for wind instruments.⁶¹ The only other flute composition of Phile's is *The President's March* (In *The Gentleman's Amusement*, Philadelphia: R. Shaw & B. Carr, eds., 1794-1796), arranged for two flutes. He was primarily a violinist, orchestra leader and composer, came to Philadelphia around 1784, and died there in 1793.

William Young

Mr. Young, flutist, and teacher from London, once performed in Haydn's Saloman Orchestra. Giroux speculated that Papa Haydn may have composed the *Sonata in G* for Young, but this is only conjecture.⁶² After a brief stay in New York, Young settled in Philadelphia by December 1792, and there became associated with Phile, Reinagle, and Brown.⁶³ He participated

⁶⁰Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, 100. Also, see the "Rondo Flauto solo" performed on an "Amateur Concert" 29 Jan 1789; Phile was possibly the flutist, see Sonneck, p. 94.

⁶¹Sonneck, *Bibliography*, p. 180.

⁶²Giroux, p. 21.

⁶³There is conflicting information about Young's arrival date in America. Both Giroux (21) and Sonneck (*Bibliography* 531) have him in the States sometime in 1792. However, a William Young is listed as a "Patron Manager" for the Uranian Academy in 1787 (Sonneck [!], *Early Concert-Life*, 106 and 113). To confuse matters even more, a Mr. Young is listed as a ticket

on the Reinagle/Capron/Moller City Concerts and in Wignell and Reinagle's New Company orchestra. Also, Young collaborated with Bremner and Hopkinson for the music of St. Peter's and St. James' churches.⁶⁴ During the final decade of the century, he assumed Brown's role as Philadelphia's premier flutist.

Table 4 is an abridged chronology of his performances:

Table 4.
A List of William Young's Performances in Philadelphia

31 Oct 1792 [ad], 15 Dec 1792 [pd]	<i>Bache's General Advertiser</i>	City [Subscription] Concerts	"Quartetto Flute" by Mr. Young
31 Oct 1792 [ad], 12 Jan 1793 [pd]	BGA	City Concerts	"Concerto German Flute" (by) Mr. Young
31 Oct 1792 [ad], 26 Jan 1793 [pd]	BGA	City Concerts	"Quartetto Young" by Mr. Young
31 Oct 1792 [ad], 2 Mar 1793 [pd]	BGA	City Concerts	"Quartetto German Flute" by Mr. Young
31 Oct 1792 [ad], 16 postponed to 31 Mar 1793	BGA	City Concerts/benefit for Miss Moller	"Concerto Flute" by Mr. Young

[The Philadelphia concert scene came to an abrupt halt in 1793 as a result of a yellow fever epidemic!]

Mar 1794 [ad], 22 Apr 1794 [pd]	Dunlops' American Daily Advertiser	Amateur/Professional Concert Series of Reinagle/Gillingham/Menel/Carr	"Concerto flute" by Mr. Young.
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seller for the Grand Concert of Sacred Music on 4 May 1786 (under the auspices of the Uranian Society; Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, 109). Was this a different William Young or has there been a large mistake made in tracing his background?

⁶⁴Gerson, dissertation, p. 12.

Young became busy in the orchestra of Reinagle and Wignell's Company. This could explain the absence of his name on chamber music programs after 1794.

The "Quartetto" was probably not authored by William Young but by a John Young, music publisher. No copies are extant. Also, William is frequently, and erroneously, identified as the author of *Young's Vocal and Instrumental Musical Miscellany*, a collection of songs, duets, catches and glees adapted for the German flute, 1794.⁶⁵

No further information could be uncovered on William Young; however, his life ended in tragedy. He was sentenced to death in 1797, for "having killed in a desperate mood the constable who came to arrest him for contracted debts."⁶⁶

C. Hommann

In *Bache's Aurora* of February 6, 1796, Mr. C. Hommann announced that "he continues to give Instructions on the Violin and German Flute, upon principles which, he flatters himself, are well calculated to accelerate the progress of his pupils on those instruments."⁶⁷ It is assumed that the subsequent shortage of data relating to his flute endeavors indicates that he considered it a secondary instrument. Hommann was primarily a violinist and was very active in the early nineteenth century with his relative J.C. Homman. He wrote a tutor for the violin and *Three Fugues*. Documentation

⁶⁵See Sonneck, *Bibliography*, pp. 349, 484-486, 578, and 583.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 531.

⁶⁷Hermann, "Chamber Music by Philadelphia Composers, 1750-1850" (Ph.D. dissertation: Bryn Mawr College, 1977), p. 155.

of his musical activities can be traced up until a concert of the Musical Fund Society of Philadelphia in 1821.⁶⁸

Peter Declang (Declary)

Mr. Declang left us with scanty data on his past. He is listed as a teacher of flute and strings in Trenton, NJ in 1798.⁶⁹ Then on February 26, 1799, he performed a "Concerto Flute" by Devienne (1759-1803) at the Oeller Hotel in Philadelphia.⁷⁰ By programming any one of Devienne's eleven *Concerti*, he substantiates that flute music in America was not completely inferior to the standards of Europe.

Summary

After the Revolutionary War, Philadelphia rose in prominence and stature mainly because of its centrality with the federal government. By the late 1780s, social sanctions against the theater and other forms of entertainment were lifted and an atmosphere of cosmopolitanism ensued. Consequently, an exponential growth in music activities took place during the final years of the century.

These twenty musicians demonstrate through the breadth and depth of their activities, that Philadelphia was a preferred location for flutists during the eighteenth century. The efforts of Coe, Brown, Stadler, Gualdo, and Young in particular, transformed the flute from a mere utensil of entertainment into an indispensable voice on the concert stage.

⁶⁸Gerson, p. 62.

⁶⁹Kaufman, *Music in New Jersey*, p. 237.

⁷⁰Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 149.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE FLUTE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NEW YORK

While the English Puritans were establishing their first dwellings at Plymouth, the Dutch were erecting New Amsterdam, a garrison at the mouth of the Hudson River. Its principal purpose was to provide a trading outpost for the Dutch West India Company. The proprietors ruled this strategic port from 1624 to 1664, when it was relinquished to the British and renamed New York.

In its nascence, the city's cultural life was restricted by the aesthetic views of its merchant-class, profit-minded citizens and by the doctrines of the dominant religion, Calvinism.¹ Psalm singing was the extent of their music making in the worship service. Chamber or orchestral music and other public performances were officially discouraged. Despite these early restrictions, New York's increasing social and religious diversity became the stimulus for its musical awakening.

Several important events took place during the first half of the century. In 1703, the Anglicans appointed a committee to discuss building an organ in Trinity Church, the most musically active denomination. Another organ was installed by 1727 in the Dutch Reformed church. An instrumental and vocal "Consort" was held in 1710. King's College was founded in 1754. Each development represented a block in New York's cultural foundation.

¹See Norman Benson, "The Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters of Eighteenth Century America," (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Minnesota, 1963), pp. 250-278.

Although the 1710 concert was the first public musical event, the first documented concert occurred on January 21, 1736. This performance was a benefit concert for a Mr. Pachelbel and included German flutes performed "by private Hands" (to be discussed in more detail shortly). It is likely that earlier performances were given but were simply not advertised in the newspapers. Other media such as handbills, broadsides, posters, or town criers could have been used to notify the public of upcoming events. Therefore, one cannot be certain when the first concert was actually given in New York City.

Other possible venues existed for flutists during this time. At least twelve musical societies existed in New York from mid-century. Their activities included numerous private concerts and some public benefits, but in general they were characterized as secretive and elitist, leaving few records behind for the modern flutist/historian. Other clubs were merely informal social gatherings for amateur musicians.² Even though membership rosters of institutions are non-existent, it is reasonable to assume that their ranks included many flutists.

The flute and flutists were an intrinsic part of the musical affairs of New York City. A proficiency on the instrument was regarded as a

²A list of New York's musical clubs and their founding dates follows: Apollo Society (c. mid eighteenth century), Society for the Arts (1764), Harmonic Society (1774), Society for promoting vocal music (before 1786), Musical Society of the City of New York (1787), St. Cecilia Society (1791), Uranian Musical Society (1793), Columbian Anacreontic Society (1795, the most musically active organization of eighteenth-century New York), Harmonical Society (1796), Euterpean Society (1799/1800), Polyhymnian Society (1799), and the Philharmonic Society (1799; a merger of the St. Cecilia and Harmonical Societies).

fashionable commodity at social gatherings, particularly among the aristocracy. Even the general public found the flute useful for festivals, sports, and other pastimes. One popular game called "Plucking the Goose" involved a contestant, a goose, and accompanying musicians (presumably to arouse the adrenalin of the spectators and contestants). The contestant would attempt to grab a greased goose, attached by a line stretched across a stream, while he was being swiftly rowed underneath; if he failed, the contestant would end up in the water. The flute was used to accompany the frivolity. An old print depicting a flutist and drummer in the boat is given in figure 5, Chapter One. The flute is a keyless cylindrical model of the seventeenth-century variety. It is one of the earliest illustrations of a flute in New York and suggests that the instrument was widely popular among the Dutch settlers.

However, the flute was not relegated to this playful dimension for very long. By the early eighteenth century, its stature as a serious concert instrument was beginning to improve. Both professionals and amateurs were soon featured on concert programs and many musicians advertised their availability to teach the instrument. A wide variety of merchandisers sold flutes and flute music. Even flute makers could be found by the second half of the century. Many events which these men participated in were chronicled in early newspapers and other contemporary sources.

As in the other cities, New York flutists can be assigned to three general categories: the music master, an itinerant or resident generalist who taught several instruments, the flute included; the professional flute specialist like George Saliment, William Brown or John McLane; and other

flutists whose prowess is uncertain because of insufficient documentation or other factors (eg. dancing masters, amateur flutists, etc.). The chapter is organized into three sections: flutists and flute teachers, flute makers, and music dealers who sold flutes and music for the flute. When possible, the flutists and their performances are listed chronologically.

I. Flutists and Flute Teachers

George Brownell

Introducing the list is the dancing master George Brownell. Many musicians, dancing masters, and other "entertainers" lived an itinerant lifestyle, sometimes traversing long distances in order to support themselves financially. Mr. Brownell, formerly of Boston (see Chapter Two), now gave notice on June 14, 1731 that he desired to open a dancing school in New York, near the fort and custom house.³ He remained here for only four years before returning to Boston. His reasons for not staying are unknown, but one cannot help wondering if the cultural climate was still unseasonably frigid towards the arts. Since his earlier Boston advertisements indicate that he was an instructor of "Writing, Cyphering, Dancing, Treble Violin, Flute, Spinnet," it is presumed that he taught these as well while in New York.

Unknown

New York's first documented "Consort of Musick" included flutists. The *Gazette* announced on January 6, 1736:

"On Wednesday the 21 of January Instant there will be a

³*New York Gazette*, June 14, 1731, cited by Benson, p. 289.

Consort of Musick, Vocal and Instrumental for the Benefit of Mr. Pachelbell, the Harpsichord Part performed by himself. The Songs, Violins and German Flutes by private Hands. The Consort will begin precisely at 6 o'Clock in the House of Robert Todd Vintner.⁴

The name "Mr. Pachelbell" refers to Charles Theodore Pachelbel, organist of Trinity Church and son of the famous Nuremberg organist and composer, Johann Pachelbell. Unfortunately, the flutists were not identified nor was a program given--a typical practice of the time.⁵

Unknown

Annapolis physician Dr. Alexander Hamilton recorded in his traveler's log of June 19th, 1744, "I went to a tavern fronting the Albany coffee-house, along with Doctor Colchoun, where I heard a tolerable concerto of musick, performed by one violin and two German flutes."⁶ Unfortunately, Dr. Hamilton gave no names or other details concerning the tavern event. One question does arise after reflecting on his statement. Since no newspaper alerted the public of this concert, how many other performances went unannounced and unrecorded? I suspect that early New Yorkers had many opportunities to hear the flute and that the few surviving accounts are only a fraction of the actual number of performances.

⁴Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, pp. 158-159.

⁵See Virginia Redway, "A New York Concert in 1736," *MQ* xxii (1936), p. 170.

⁶Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *Gentleman's Progress, The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948).

Unknown

Another anonymous flutist was one of New York's earliest documented music masters. His 1745 advertisement for flute instruction included a clue that he could be located at Mr. Van Zandt's "on the Dock." The September 16th notice in the *New York Post Boy* pronounced:

All young gentlemen who are willing to divert or improve a tedious hour, that they may be taught by a very easy Method, the Violin and Flute, by a Gentleman lately arrived here...[who] will undertake to teach the meanest Capacity (on strict application) two Tunes in the first Fortnight, and so on in Proportion.⁷

He demonstrated great confidence in his method by promising such ambitious goals.

Unknown

In 1926, drama historian George Odell discovered a playbill from February 20, 1752 (Appendix B). It was a significant document because it was the first to reveal a cast for a New York theatre production. More importantly, for the purposes of this study, the following information was listed on the program, "Several select pieces of musick between the acts; particularly, a solo on the German flute."⁸ At this time, it was a common practice for instrumental and vocal musicians to perform during the intermission. These musicians were already present in the theater orchestra

⁷Cited by Roger Paul Phelps, "The History and Practice of Chamber Music in the United States from Earliest Times Up to 1875," (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1951), p. 163.

⁸George Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1927), p. 46.

and thus provided light entertainment while the cast readied themselves for the second play. This demonstrates the close alliance that existed between musicians and theater productions. It also supplemented the musician's income. Unfortunately, again, the performer and composition were not identified.

Charles Love

Charles Love was, at one time, the harpsichordist for Hallam's renowned theatrical company and was married to a vocalist in that organization. He is one of the first identifiable music masters to teach the flute in New York. His services were introduced *inter alia* in the *Mercury* on July 2, 1753:

CHARLES LOVE, Musician, from London, at his lodgings at the house of Mrs. George, in the first lane from the Bowling-Green, that leads to the North River, proposes teaching gentlemen musick on the following instruments, Viz. Violin, Hautboy, German and Common Flutes, Bassoon, French Horn, Tenor, and Bass Violin, if desired.⁹

After 1754, Mr. Love's career seems to have run into trouble as he was forced into indentured servitude under Philipp Ludwell Lee, Esquire, of Stratford, Westmoreland County, Virginia. This environment, apparently, must have driven him to desperate ends as he was reported a "runaway" three years later.¹⁰ Additional information regarding his musical activities is scarce.

⁹Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York 1726-1776*, Vol. I (New York: Printed for the New York Historical Society, 1938), p. 369.

¹⁰Benson, p. 310.

However, it is likely that he travelled extensively with the theater company in his earlier days.

William Cobham

The title of the first verifiable New York flute player goes to an amateur, a Mr. Cobham of Hanover Square. I have already established that others preceded him on the concert stage, but those individuals were not specified in the contemporary sources. Cobham appeared with William Tuckey, organist of Trinity Church, for a benefit concert on December 29, 1755. An abbreviated form of the announcement reads accordingly:

For the benefit of Messrs. Cobham and Tuckey, at the New Exchange on Monday the 29 instant; will be a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental musick. Among a variety of select pieces, both vocal and instrumental, will be performed, the celebrated dialogue...And a Solo on the German flute, by Mr. Cobham...To begin precisely at six o'clock. After the concert there will be a Ball for the ladies.¹¹

No other information regarding his flute playing could be found but it appears that he was actively involved in the city's concert life. His name appears as a ticket dealer for other musical events during the 1750s. Although Mr. Cobham's avocation was music, his vocation was merchandising, specifically in fabrics such as "bear skins, spotted ermin, white and yellow flannels."

¹¹Announced December 15, 1755 in the *New York Weekly Post Boy*, cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life*, p. 161. Odell (vol. 1, 70) cites the same advertisement, except it is from the *Mercury*, December 15th.

John Beals

Net maker and itinerant musician John Beals appeared in New York City in 1757. He notified the public that he played "Violin, and Hautbouy, for Assemblies, at private Balls, or any other entertainments."¹² Since a previous Philadelphia advertisement indicated that he also taught German and Common flutes, one can surmise that he continued this practice in New York. However, his success as a flute teacher is unknown.

His itinerant status was evident by his subsequent peregrinations to Philadelphia (once again) and Annapolis, Maryland. Perhaps his net-making business at the house of Mr. Samuel Foster was not as lucrative as he had anticipated. But a more plausible explanation is that the musical life of New York was, at best, stagnant during the years before the Revolutionary War. Southern cities were a stronger inducement for him and other struggling, itinerant musicians.¹³

Alexander V. Dierval

One year following Beals' announcement appeared one by Alexander Dierval. Like many of his contemporary music teachers, Dierval made ambitious claims about his pedagogical prowess, as the notice revealed... "This is to give Notice, That the Violin and German Flute, are taught in the

¹²*New York Gazette or the Weekly Post-Boy*, June 20, 1757, cited by Gottesman, p. 308.

¹³Benson expounds upon the plight of the itinerant musician: "The tavern and the private men's clubs met the socio-cultural needs of a population that was unwilling to be guided by the sophisticated tastes of a royal governor and his immediate supporters. Country dances, songsters, barrel organs, and musical washing machines satisfied the untutored tastes of New York's urban population, In such a callow atmosphere, the itinerant did not find a musical role to perform." Benson, dissertation, p. 303.

space of two or three Months each, By Alexander V. Dienval, at Mr. Elphinstone's House in the slott."¹⁴ A similar advertisement was given one year later in the *Mercury*, but this time at a different location, "at the House of Mr. John Waller, opposite the Coffee-House, and the Corner of Hunter's Quay."¹⁵ Exactly what the average flute novice could master in such a short time remains a mystery, but it is likely that Mr. Dienval contributed significantly to the flute's popularity in the city. The only other bit of information uncovered was a concert, given for his benefit, in 1764.¹⁶ This type of concert became commonplace in New York by the 1760s. Benson claims he was a resident New Yorker.¹⁷

Unknown

As the number of British immigrants increased, New York Anglicans needed to establish a second church. In 1766, St. Paul's Chapel was erected and a commemoration ceremony was given in honor of the occasion. A list of the instrumentation for the ceremony was recorded by an Ezra Stiles who said "there were Violins, Bass Viols, French Horns, Flutes, and Hautboys, used in the Musick in public Worship at the Consecration of the Chapel. There was no Organ."¹⁸

¹⁴*The New York Mercury*, September 18, 1758, cited by Gottesman, p. 368.

¹⁵Aug 13, 1759, Odell, *Annals*, p. 79.

¹⁶Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, p. 170.

¹⁷Benson, dissertation, p. 295.

¹⁸Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, 1755-1794* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1916), p. 225. Also, it is cited by Benson, p. 286.

David Propert

Four years later, Professor of Musick David Propert, later of Boston fame, announced his intentions of teaching "the organ, harpsichord, guittar, German flute, &c. and has a variety of new musick, Roman strings for violins, and musical instruments...all which he disposes of at Mr. Philip Kissick's wine merchant, the upper end of Queen-street."¹⁹ Benson lists him as resident music master, which is curious since there is little data on his earlier life. The only other documentation extant from his New York period was an essay he had written one month later for *The New York Journal* on the meaning and beauty of music. He was hired as the organist for Trinity Church, Boston in Dec. 1770 (only two months later) and lived in that city for at least four more years. He was associated with flutists John McLane and James Juhan, who have been discussed in other parts of this paper.

William Charles Hulett

Another dancing master and musician with abilities on the flute was William Hulett. He settled in New York by early as 1752, but only after he traversed the continent with the itinerant Hallam American Company and Douglas Company. As a dancing master, he could accompany his students' minuets and country dances on the flute or violin.²⁰ However, Hulett did

¹⁹*The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, September 17, 1770, cited by Gottesman, p. 370.

²⁰Two autographed receipts of this "dancing academy" have survived. See William C. Hulett, Receipt for Mr. Nicholas Bayard ("for six months instruction of Miss Dolly"). Manuscript, New York, N.Y., November 2, 1764. New York Historical Society. Also, Wm. C. Hulett, Miss Taylors Account from Feb. 20 to July 20, 1770. Manuscript, New York, N.Y., September 15, 1770. New York Historical Society.

not advertise his ability to teach flute and other instruments until November of 1759, when he opened a music school with Dienval.²¹ Another ad appeared in 1769.²² By 1770, his confidence as a flute teacher was established, as indicated by the following notice:

The Guitar, Taught by W.C. Hulet, Dancing-Master who has opened his Public Dancing-School, at his House in Broad-Street [!], near the Corner of Beaver-Street...He flatters himself, that the Performance of his Scholars, has convinced the judicious and impartial, of his abilities as a Master. He teaches the Minuet and Country Dances, by the Whole, by the Month, or Quarter: And likewise the Violin, German flute, and Use of the Small Sword [!]²³

Later on, Hulett seems to have given the flute even more serious attention, for in 1775 two notices appeared in Rivington's *New York Gazette* indicating his intentions to teach that instrument specifically.²⁴ Mr. Hulett was very active in the city's musical life as a subscription concert manager, conductor, and performer; was sought after in Philadelphia for occasional concerts; and was associated with flutist Dienval and many other leading musicians. It is significant to note that Mr. Hulett was affiliated with New York's first music club, the *Harmonic Society*, which was founded c. 1773. Further

²¹Benson, dissertation, p. 310.

²²*New York Journal*, January 12, 1769, cited by Odell, vol. 1, p. 153.

²³*New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*, October 15, 1770, cited by Gottesman, p. 369.

²⁴Jan. 12, Jan. 19., 1775, cited by Gillian Anderson, *Music in New York during the American Revolution* (Boston: Music Library Association, Inc., 1987), p. 52.

investigation into the history of this organization might prove fruitful to the American flute historian.²⁵ Hulett appears to have enjoyed one of the more stable careers as a colonial musician since he lived in one place for so long. He died in 1785 and was succeeded by his musician/dancer son John Hamilton Hulett.

John McLane

The elusive Boston fife-major and professional flutist appears again!²⁶ This time, it was a concert held in his behalf at Mr. Bolton's Tavern. The Jan. 7, 1771 notice indicated that on Jan. 24th "a solo on the german flute" would be performed along with "several pieces of music by the fifers and drummers of the said [29th British] regiment."²⁷ It was not unusual for military bands to give full-length concerts during that period of time, but for this Boston-based unit, to give one as far south as New York, was something of an anomaly. Sonneck hypothesized that McLane could have been the second flutist on a March 1771 concert of George Webster.²⁸ There is yet no evidence to support this.

²⁵Sonneck commented that "The Harmonic Society of pre-revolutionary times seems to have died a natural death when the war clouds began to hover over New York. It was to my knowledge the only musical society founded in the city before the war but Mr. F.L. Ritter, while not mentioning the Harmonic Society, refers to an Apollo Society of which he says (on p. 135 of his *History*) that it seems to have been the foremost among those musical societies...established in New York about the middle of the last century." See *Early Concert Life*, p. 201. Also, see Virginia Redway's list of societies in her *Music Directory of Early New York City*, pp. 101-102.

²⁶Incidentally, Claudia Will mistakenly labels him a major, an army officer, (dissertation, p. 50). A fife-major was actually an enlisted rank.

²⁷*New York Mercury*, cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, p. 174.

²⁸*Ibid.*

George Webster

The above concert was held on March 13, 1771 and was advertised in both the *New York Journal and Mercury*.²⁹ Although a "Solo on the German flute" and a "duet on 2 flutes" were programmed, the names of the composers were not disclosed. Webster was a relatively long-time resident of New York, living there from 1771 to 1785, and seems to have taught the flute exclusively. Like many of his predecessors, he promised (even guaranteed) amazing results:

Mr. Webster best respects to those young Gentlemen who musical inclinations lead them to be taught the German Flute...to learn them [!] to play a dozen or more tunes, with their proper flats and sharps, as the tunes may require, in the course of three months, otherwise he will forfeit the whole expense of teaching.³⁰

To supplement his income, Webster opened a store dealing in liquor, groceries, and shoes. His political allegiance during the Revolution leaned towards the occupying British forces--perhaps sincere, perhaps diplomatic. He advertised that he provided "Sergeants, of the army with any quantity of strong military shoes..."³¹

²⁹Cited by Sonneck, *Ibid.*, p. 174.

³⁰May 28, 1781, *New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, cited by Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1777-1799*, Vol. II, p. 371.

³¹*Royal Gazette*, Nov, 4, 1778, cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, p. 174. It is interesting to note that, during the Revolutionary War, New York's musical and theatrical activities remained virtually unabated while the cultural life of most other American cities slipped into dormancy. This was mainly due to the desire of the British officers to maintain their genteel

Unknown

Three years after Webster came on the scene, an important notice appeared in the *Mercury* on May 9, 1774.³² It was a concert of instrumental and vocal music given by the members of the newly formed *Harmonic Society*. A concert like this was somewhat unusual for this period of time because, in October of the same year, the Continental Congress recommended that all places of public amusement be closed on account of their "extravagance and dissipation."³³ However, these warnings were largely ignored. Concerts, plays, and sporting events were only slightly impeded. Our unidentified flutist was to perform the generic "concert"; a frustrating generalization in early concert programs and a thorn in the modern researcher's side. Many of the performers of other chamber pieces on the program were identified but, as if to purposely antagonize us in the twentieth century, the flutist's name was not given. I presume it was John Hulett (since he was active in the society's founding), but then again, it could have been the featured artist on the program, a Mr. Caze, of whom we know nothing.

John S. Slaiffer

At the height of the Revolutionary War, John Slaiffer opened a school

traditions. For more information on this subject consult Silverman's exhaustive book *A Cultural History of the American Revolution*; Beck's dissertation entitled "British Military Theatricals in New York City During the Revolutionary War"; and Camus's *Military Music of the American Revolution*.

³²Cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, p. 174-175.

³³Esther Singleton, *Social New York under the Georges* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1902), p. 271.

for music on No. 43 Maiden Lane. The music master's notice is particularly noteworthy because of its flowery apology for learning music.

School for Music, Opened in the Maiden-Lane, by John S. Slaiffer, No. 43, where gentlemen may be instructed to play on the violin, flute, and guitar, at one guinea per month...Few will pretend to contradict that the charm of music will sufficiently compensate for the trouble in the attainment of it. Music makes as great an impression on us as the bewitching charms of beauty; it humanizes the soul, and is in short the best companion for the gay, the wounded lover, or the drooping fair.³⁴

At least Mr. Slaiffer acknowledged that effort, rather than miraculous methodology, is required in learning a musical instrument.

Unknown

A benefit concert, possibly sponsored by the British military, was held at the Theater on April 27, 1782.³⁵ The presence of military bands was common during the occupation of the city and it is likely that their musicians were employed. It was the first printed program in New York which specified the works for the flute. Three compositions were listed: a "Quintetto of C. Bach for Flauto;" a "Quartetto of Vanhall for Flauto;" and a "Quartetto of Toeschi for Flauto." Unfortunately, the haphazard and insufficient nomenclature of early programs makes identification of these pieces difficult--the first work in particular. Assuming that "C. Bach" refers

³⁴*New York Gazette, and the Weekly Mercury*, August 18, 1777, cited by Silverman, p. 371.

³⁵Announced in the *Royal Gazette*, April 24, 1782, cited by Phelps, dissertation, p. 173 and Odell, vol. 1, p. 223.

to C.P.E. Bach, he wrote no such work. That is to say, of his many chamber works which featured the flute, no "Quintetto" exists, strictly speaking. Perhaps the colonial editor meant one of the many *Concertos* C.P.E. wrote for flute, two violins, viola, and basso, but it is difficult to be sure.³⁶ John Baptist Vanhall or Wanhall (1739-1813) composed numerous *Quatuors* for flute, violin, viola, and basso and Carlo Giuseppe Toeschi (c. 1731-1788) wrote an equal number of *Quattri* for the same medium.

No biographical information on the flutist is available. A future query into the muster roles of the various Royal regiments might provide a clue.

William Brown

One of America's premier flutists, William Brown, spent only a few intermittent years in New York City. His first attempt to establish himself in this country was made by a benefit concert on Aug. 8, 1783--the last of its type under British rule.³⁷ He proposed a second concert at Roubalet's tavern, the scene of many concerts, for Aug. 15th.³⁸ This was to be the last performance before the ubiquitous Brown emerged in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston. He then resumed his performances in New York by late Fall 1785 but stayed only until October before returning to Philadelphia again. On July 20, 1785, Mr. Brown took out an advertisement

³⁶Another possibility is that the composer was actually J.C. Bach, who did in fact write a number of *Quintettos*. See Franz Vester's catalog *Flute Music of the 18th Century* (Monteux: Musica Rara, 1985).

³⁷*Royal Gazette*, Aug. 6, 1783, cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, p. 184-185 and Odell, p. 225.

³⁸Both were also advertised in Rivington's *New York Gazette*. see Anderson, *Music in New York*, p. 101.

in the *Independent Journal* to notify the public that he intended to teach the flute:

German Flute, Mr. Brown, from Philadelphia, proposes to accomplish a certain number of Gentlemen in playing well upon that Instrument...Mr. Brown humbly presumes the reputation his Performances have secured to him, in his profession, at Philadelphia, as well as at his several concerts in this city, will induce Gentlemen to become his pupils.³⁹

Not only does the notice indicate that Mr. Brown was a professional musician but also that he gave "several" concerts in New York. Moreover, he was an instrumental force behind reorganizing the New York Subscription Concerts and did so with meticulous detail and efficiency. Brown distributed a broadside which set forth guidelines for proper behavior at the 1785-1786 season (Appendix C). The publication warned, among other things,

That during the performance of the Music, no person shall either speak, rise up, move any chairs, tables or benches, walk across the room, or do any other thing to disturb or prevent the rest of the company from enjoying the Music, or by which disrespect may be shewn to the performance. This is to be a fundamental and invariable rule.

Obviously, Brown maintained high standards for all aspects of the performance. At the conclusion of the season, the *New York Daily Advertiser* included that "the managers of the Gentlemen's Concerts [were] perfectly satisfied with the attention and assiduity of Mr. Brown in the conducting of

³⁹Cited by Gottesman, Vol. II, p. 367.

the musical department during the season."⁴⁰ Although it is difficult to chronicle Mr. Brown's daily schedule in New York, it is certain that he was a vital part of the cultural life. He was possibly involved in the American Company performances at the John Street Theater as well.

Philip Phile

In 1787, music master Philip Phile placed the following notice in the *New York Daily Advertiser*:

Philip Phile, most respectfully offers his service to the Lovers of Instrumental Musick in teaching the Violin and German Flute methodically. Attendance will be given at his lodgings, No. 82 Chatham Row near Van de Waters; He will also wait on such Gentlemen as would wish to take Lessons at their Houses.⁴¹

Phile appears to be one of the few teachers who did not proffer exaggerated claims about his abilities; he even suggests a method to his pedagogy. Phile, mainly a violinist, composer, and orchestra leader, relocated to the Quaker city around 1784 and eventually died there in 1793. Interestingly, a "Violin Concerto" by Phile was performed at the Lutheran Church on June 18, 1789. It is impossible to determine whether Phile was actually present at this event or only that a composition of his was played. Early program nomenclature

⁴⁰*New York Daily Advertiser*, March 14, 1786, cited by Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 185 and 224; see also Odell, vol. 1, p. 247-248. The year of this ad confounds the issue of when Brown returned to Philadelphia. As I have indicated in Chapter Three, Brown performed in Philadelphia on Feb. 22, 1786 and Apr. 22, 1786. Was Brown actually present for the March 14th concert or was he simply acknowledged for his work on the Subscription season? Further examination is necessary.

⁴¹*New York Daily Advertiser*, February 21, 1787, cited by Gottesman, Vol. II, p. 369.

makes it difficult to be certain. The concert in question was also significant because it was supported by the *Musical Society*, which was formed only a year and one-half earlier.⁴²

John L. Klipstein

Eight months after Mr. Phile's announcement came one from John Klipstein who, apparently, was a flute specialist. Modern writers on the physiological aspects of performance would be intrigued with his introduction in the *Daily Advertiser*:

Instruction on the German Flute...by his instructions: and he has, by his experience, acquired the art of filling a flute so very easy, as to avoid every symptom of pain in the breast, which is occasioned by irregular blowing, he flatters himself, his very moderate terms, attention and assiduity, cannot fail to merit the attention of those Gentlemen who may please to honor him with their commands, at No. 82, Nassau street nearly opposite the new jail. John L. Klipstein.⁴³

William Hoffmaster

William Hoffmaster or Hoffmetster is commonly confused with Franz Anton Hoffmeister (1754-1812), the prolific composer for flute. Though they were contemporaries, no genealogical connection can be presently established. Herr Hoffmaster was a music master in the late 1780s. A William Hoffmaster is recorded in the 1790 census records, the first official

⁴²Named the *Musical Society of the City of New York* and was founded Dec. 27, 1787 and existed until around 1795. See Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, 202-203; Odell, vol. 1, 269-70, 283; Redway *Directory* gives the names of the officers from 1789.

⁴³*The Daily Advertiser*, October 17, 1787, cited by Gottesman, Vol. II, p. 368.

attempt to count the population of the United States. Since this was the only *William Hoffmaster* in New York City at this time, and since the dates agree with Hoffmaster's residency there, the odds are favorable that this was Hoffmaster the flutist/music master. Eight family members were accounted for in his family. His residences from the city directories indicate that he moved from Ritter Street to 95 Fair Street in 1789, then to 4 George Street (1793), 25 George (1794), then to 187 William Street (1795), then back to Nassau Street, No. 78 (1799). He disappears from the directories after 1804.⁴⁴ His notice to teach the flute is quite ordinary.

To the Publick the Subscriber respectfully informs the Publick, that he is lately removed from Nassau Street to Ritter-Street, a few doors from Mr. Eden's Brew-house; where he continues teaching the Violin, German Flute and Harpsichord, at a moderate Price.⁴⁵

Peter Albrecht Van Hagen

One of the most consummate American musicians of the later eighteenth century was Peter Van Hagen, an immigrant from the Netherlands. He first arrived in Charleston in 1774, but eventually made New York his home base. Around 1796, he and his musical family ventured to Boston in order to pursue more lucrative opportunities. This musical Da Vinci was a virtuoso violinist and concert manager, but he also taught the harpsichord, pianoforte, violoncello, viola, flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, singing and composition--a veritable conservatory! His contributions as a

⁴⁴Redway, *Directory*, pp. 87-93.

⁴⁵*New York Museum*, August 15, 1788 cited by Gottesman, Vol. II, p. 367.

flutist, however, seem to have been minimal. He remarked in the *Daily Advertiser* on Nov. 20, 1789 that he taught all of the above instruments at "6 dollars a month (or 12 lessons) and one pound entrance."⁴⁶ A Peter L.(?) Van Hagen is listed in the 1790 Census.

George Saliment

George Saliment first appeared on the New York scene in 1791 and subsequently became the most documented flutist of Colonial New York. This professional music master and concert manager clearly favored the flute. In fact, in his introductory notice, he "styled himself a master [of that instrument]."⁴⁷ One of his earlier teaching notices appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* on May 4, 1793:

George Saliment, Professor of Music, Respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he has removed for the convenience of his scholars, to No. 20 Wall Street, two doors North of the Tontine Coffee House, where he will continue to teach the German flute, violin, guitar, &c. Those ladies and gentlemen who wish to favour him with their commands, will be waited upon at their own houses, if most agreeable.⁴⁸

The following year, Mr. Saliment appears in the city directory at No. 62 Wall Street, then at 39 Liberty (from 1795 and thereafter). His name is not included after 1800.⁴⁹ However, a George E. Salliment is listed in the 1800 Census. This is probably the flutist since it is the only Saliment listed and

⁴⁶As cited in Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, p. 226.

⁴⁷*Daily Advertiser*, Aug. 18, 1791, cited by Sonneck, p. 188; Giroux, p. 34.

⁴⁸Cited by Gottesman, Vol. II, p. 369.

⁴⁹Redway, *Directory*, pp. 87-93.

because misspellings were common feature in colonial records.

Table 5 is an abridged chronology of Saliment's performances. They were culled mainly from Oscar Sonneck's *Early Concert Life* and Odell's *Annals*.⁵⁰ The format is similar to the table of Brown's performances in Philadelphia and is arranged accordingly: advertisement date, performance date, newspaper, description of event, composition(s) performed (rarely were they specifically identified), and any pertinent notes, to include modern sources.

Table 5.
A List of George Saliment's New York Performances

25 Feb 92, 28 Feb 92	<i>Daily Advertiser</i> (DA),	Capron/Van Hagen/Saliment subscription concert,	"Flute Concerto" by Saliment (he was probably not the composer), [Odell lists a different advertisement date: 8 Feb 92]. Sonneck 188, 89
13 Mar 92, 13 Mar 92	DA	Capron/Van Hagen/Saliment subscription concert	"Flute Concerto" by Saliment, [Odell lists a different advertisement date: [8 Feb 92]. Sonneck 188, 89.
20 Mar 92, 20 Mar 92	DA	Capron/Van Hagen/Saliment subscription concert	"Flute Concerto" [Odell lists a different advertisement date and performance date: 8 Feb 92, 27 Mar 92, respectively]. Sonneck 188, 89.

⁵⁰Sonneck, *Early Concert Life*, pp. 188-247; Odell *Annals*, Vol. 1, pp. 291, 307, 311, 334, 362-365, 367, 394, 395, 415, 437, 439; vol. 2, pp. 69, and 93.

Table 5 (continued)

30 Mar 92, 17 Apr 92	DA	subscription for the benefit of P.A. Van Hagen, junior	unknown but probably "Rondo" by Pleyel. Sonneck 229
10 Oct 92, 15 Oct 92	DA	Saliment/Van Hagen subscriptions	"Flute Concerto" by Saliment, [accompanied by several members of New York's St. Cecilia Society]. Sonneck 190
23 Oct 92, 29 Oct 92	?	Saliment/Van Hagen subscription	"Flute Concerto" by Saliment. Sonneck 190
3 Nov 92, 12 Nov 92	DA	Saliment/Van Hagen subscription	"Flute Concerto" by Saliment. Sonneck 190
3 Nov 92, 2 Dec 92	DA	benefit concert involving all the Van Hagens	"Flute Concerto" Saliment. Sonneck 231
?, 3 Dec 92	?	Corre's Hotel with Van Hagen	(Odell mentions "amateurs of the St. Cecilia Society", 311)
4 Jun 93, 11 Jun 93	DA	Saliment/Pownall/Hewitt at City Tavern	song "Sweet Echo" with Mrs. Pownall with flute acc., Hoffmeister quartetto with Hewitt et al, and a flute concerto by Saliment, advertised on "subsequent days", Odell, 334, Sonneck, 232-233
14 June 93, 18 Jun 93	DA	concert at City Tavern	"Quartetto Flute" by Mezger, "Concerto flute" Saliment. Sonneck 233
26 Dec 93, 27 Dec 93	DA	Capron/Hewitt/Salim City Concerts at the City Tavern	"Concerto Flute" by Saliment [Odell claims the advertisement date was 25 Nov 93, same newspaper, Odell, 362; Sonneck 194-96]
7 Jan 94, 9 Jan 94	DA	Capron/Hewitt/Salim City Concert	"Concerto flute" by Saliment. Sonneck 194-96
13 Jan 94, 14 Jan 94	DA	benefit for Madame De Seze	"Trio for the flute" Saliment. Sonneck 234, Odell, 363-364

Table 5 (continued)

20 Jan 94, 23 Jan 94	DA	Capron/Hewitt/Salimment City Concert	"Quartetto" Messrs. Saliment, Hewitt, Du Camp and Capron. Sonneck 194-96.
28 Jan 94, 28 Jan 94	DA	benefit for Madame De Seze	"Concertante" Hewitt, Saliment, Capron, etc. Sonneck 234, 235, Odell, 363-364.
?, 6 Feb 94	?	at City Tavern with Mrs. Pownall	"Quartetto" with Hewitt, Ducamp, and Capron,
31 Jan 94, 6 Feb 94	DA	benefit for Mrs. Pownall at the City Tavern	"Quartetto, Flute" Messrs. Saliment, Hewitt, Ducamp and Capron. Sonneck 235, Odell 364
15 Feb 94, 26 Feb 94	DA	Capron benefit	"Concerto on the Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 236; Odell 364 says 14 Feb 91, DA, 25 Feb concert
3 Mar 94, 11 Mar 94	DA	Hewitt benefit at City Tavern	"Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 236-37; Odell 364
21 Mar 94, 1 Apr 94	DA	Hewitt benefit	"Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 237-38; Odell 365, City Tavern
2 Apr 94, 8 Apr 94	DA	Madame De Seze benefit at City Tavern	"Quartetto on the Flute" Saliment, Hewitt, Capron, etc. Sonneck 238; Odell 365
3 Sep 94, 4 Sep 94	DA	Pownall's bowling green concert at the Belvedere House	"Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 239; Odell 367 says 29 Aug, DA
18 Feb 95, 21 Feb 95	DA	City Concert series at the New Assembly Room in William Street	"Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 198
2 Mar 95, 5 Mar 95	DA	City Concert at New Assembly Room	"Concerto flute" Saliment. Sonneck 198
17 Mar 95, 19 Mar 95	DA	City Concert at New Assembly Room	"Concerto flute" Saliment. Sonneck 198

Table 5 (continued)

?, 11 Jun 95	probably DA?	Hewitt/Saliment benefit	"Concerto Flute" Saliment and "Double Concerto for Flute and Violin" Saliment and Hewitt. [an arrangement of Collin's <i>Ode on the Passions</i> by Mr. Hewitt was featured on this program; a notation was given that it was recently performed at the Anacreontic Society!], Sonneck 240; Odell?
?, 29 Dec 95	probably DA?	Hewitt/Saliment "annual concert and ball"	"Quartetto Flute" Messrs. Saliment, Hewitt, etc. and "Concertante for Violin and flute" Hewitt and Saliment again. Sonneck 240-41; Odell 415
11 Nov 96, 15 Nov 96	Minerva	benefit for opera star Miss Broadhurst at the Assembly Room	"Concertante for flute and violin" Saliment and Hewitt and "Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 241; Odell 437
30 Jan 97, 7 Feb 97	DA	benefit/City concert with Hewitt	"Concerto flute" Saliment. Sonneck 200; Odell 437 says 3 Feb, <i>Minerva</i>
early May?, 10 Jun 97	probably DA?	Delacroix' Vauxhall Garden Concerts	"Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 209-10; Odell 438
?, 17 Jun 97	?	Delacroix' Vauxhall Garden concert	"Concertant Pleyel" Messrs. Hewitt, Saliment, Moller and Sammo. Sonneck 209-10; Odell 438
?, 4 Jul 97	?	Delacroix' Vauxhall	"Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 209, 212
?, 6 Jul 97	?	Delacroix' Vauxhall	"Quintetto Pleyel" Hewitt, Saliment, et al. Sonneck 209, 212

Table 5 (continued)

12 Feb-14 Mar 98, ?	DA	Moller-proposed subscription series (last <i>advertised subscription</i> concert of the decade; it is unknown whether or not these actually took place)	"Concertante Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 200-201
?, 13 June 98	DA or <i>Gazette</i>	Joseph Corre's Columbia Garden series at Battery Park	"Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 214, 215
?, 24 Jun 98	?	Corre's Columbia Garden concert	"Trio, Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 217
21 Jan 99, 24 Jan 99	Comm Adv.	Grand Concert of Haydn Society	Odell Vol. II, 69.
29 May 99, 4 Jun 99	DA?	Columbia Garden Concert	Odell Vol. II, 69.
29 May 99, 11 Jun 99	DA?	Columbia Garden Concert	Odell Vol. II, 69.
29 May 99, 17 Jun 99	DA?	Columbia Garden Concert	Odell Vol. II, 69.
21 Feb 1800, 27 Feb 1800	DA	Hewitt/Saliment/Gilfert benefit at Lovett's Hotel	"Duet, Flute and Tenor" Saliment, Hewitt, composed by J. Hewitt and "Concerto Flute" Saliment. Sonneck 246
18 Feb 1800, 24 Feb (postponed to 4 March 1800)	Comm. Adv.	annual concert at Lovetts Hotel	Hewitt, Saliment, Henri, Gilfert. Odell Vol. II, 93
[probable] 5 Dec 1800, 9 Dec 1800	DA	Madame De Seze benefit at J. Adams Junior's Hotel	"Concertante on the Harp and flute" Madame Deseze and probably Saliment, his name is not given. Sonneck 247.

These forty four documented performances from 1792-1800 are an indubitable testimony to Saliment's prominence among eighteenth-century

American flutists. On the basis that ten more Saliment performances were added to Will's count (simply by consulting one other secondary source-- Odell), it is logical to assume that many others existed which were either never documented or have not yet been found. He supercedes William Brown in the number of recorded flute performances.

One final word on Mr. Saliment. From his hand, we have one of the first indigenous chamber works for flute, written around 1800. It is entitled *Minuetto with Eight Variations for Flute and Violoncello* (published in Benjamin Carr's *The Gentleman's Amusement*, 1794) and is included in Appendix G of this paper. Although its inherent musical quality is not extraordinary, the technical proficiency required of Variations 4, 6, and 8 reveal that Mr. Saliment could not have been a rank amateur.

William Young

Mr. Young's career as a flute virtuoso had a promising start, but ended up as a flash in the pan. He was associated with Messrs. Hewitt, Gehot, Bergman, and Phillips who introduced themselves to New Yorkers as "professors of music from the opera house Hanoversquare and Professional Concerts under the direction of Haydn, Pleyel, etc. London."⁵¹

Their first American concert was held on Sept. 21, 1792 at Corre's Hotel. It included a wide variety of symphonic music to include an "Overture" by their former mentor Haydn, a "Symphony" by C. Stamitz, a "Concerto Violoncello" by Mr. Philips, a "Flute Quartetto" by C. Stamitz,⁵²

⁵¹*Daily Advertiser*, Sep. 20. 1792, cited by Sonneck, p. 230.

⁵²Carl Philipp Stamitz (1746-1801) wrote numerous *Quartetts* for fl, vn, va, and vc. Consult Vester, *Catalog*, p. 467.

and a programmatic "Overture in 9 Movements, expressive of a battle" by Mr. Hewitt. On Oct. 4, 1792, the group advertised a concert which featured a "Concerto Flute" by C.G. Gloesch,⁵³ a "Concertante for violin, flute, tenor, and violoncello"⁵⁴ by Pleyel, and a "Quartetto Flute" by Schmittbauer.⁵⁵ To my knowledge, these two concerts were the only ones that Young performed on before moving to Philadelphia.⁵⁶

I have mentioned in Chapter Three some important points on Mr. Young: his arrival date in America was debatable; he moved to Philadelphia by Dec. 1792; and he was executed in 1797 for killing a debt collector. Although his career was shortlived, Young's prowess on the flute was self-evident from the quality of literature he performed.

Mr. Bingley

On Sep. 15, 1796, a Mr. Bingley was called upon to assist James Hewitt and Miss Broadhurst on a Vaux Hall Garden concert. Since the other two musicians were quite esteemed, it is likely that Mr. Bingley was also a competent player. He performed an unidentified "Concerto."⁵⁷ Mr. Bingley gave the following notice in the *Mercantile Advertiser* on Jan. 2, 1799:

German Flute and Violin, taught by Mr. Bingley who takes this

⁵³Probably Karl Wilhelm Glosch (1732-1809) who wrote three *Concerti* for fl, 2vn, va, and basso.

⁵⁴Ignace Pleyel (1757-1831) wrote numerous flute works that might fit this description. His flute music was the most popular in eighteenth-century America. See Vester, *Catalog*, pp. 362-384.

⁵⁵Joseph Aloys Schmittbauer (1718-1809). See Vester, *Catalog*, pp. 447-448.

⁵⁶For verification of two programs see Sonneck, pp. 191, and 230.

⁵⁷*Minerva*, Sept. 13, 1796, cited by Sonneck, p. 209; Odell, 416.

method to inform his scholars and friends, that he has removed to No 115 William street, where he continues his instruction on said instruments.⁵⁸

Whether or not this Bingley attained "first call" status in New York City is unknown. But, considering the level of flutists like Brown, Saliment, or Young, he had big shoes to fill. The name *William Bingley* appears in the 1790 and 1800 Census'.

Micah Hawkins

Micah Hawkins (1777-1825) was the last New York musician of the eighteenth century to have had an interest in the flute.⁵⁹ Evidence of his arrival in New York is scanty, but in a letter dated August 1, 1799, Hawkins referred his sister to a previous invitation he sent her to come to New York for a visit. Mr. Hawkins is primarily remembered as the first composer for blackface minstrels and early American opera, but he also displayed prowess as a violinist, pianist, comic singer, and flutist. One historian described him as a "capitol performer" on these instruments, which he could "particularly subject to his will, and he could make them discourse most excellent music."⁶⁰ Although it is unknown to what extent Mr. Hawkins played the flute, a few facts suggest that it was more than casual. First, he was a member of the Euterpean Society and, later, the Apollo Society, but since this does not prove that he played the flute for these organizations, more evidence

⁵⁸Cited by Gottesman, Vol. II, p. 366.

⁵⁹Vera Brodsky Lawrence, "Micah Hawkins, the Pied Piper of Catherine Slip," *New York Historical Society Quarterly* LXII (1978), p. 142.

⁶⁰Benjamin Thompson, *The History of Long Island* (New York, 1843), quoted in Lawrence's article "Micah Hawkins," p. 141.

was needed. This is provided in a tunebook of Hawkins', *A Collection of Song-tunes, Aires, &c*, which he compiled around 1802. In it are orchestra parts for violin and flute, presumably written out for his use in these ensembles. Perhaps in the future more information will be uncovered on these early societies; hopefully, that information will shed light on Micah Hawkins' flute performances in New York City. For the flutist/historian, another Hawkins tunebook, *Book of Notes for the German Flute* (a collection of arrangements of some 210 tunes), is of particular interest since it is typical of the amateur repertoire of the day. Begun in 1794, it contains a potpourri of popular songs and folk tunes (from many countries), dance tunes, and several miscellaneous pieces; all of which were probably written down from memory. Even "Handel's Water Piece" and a "Comick tune from orpheus and Euridice" are found.⁶¹ It was this type of music which elevated the flute's popularity in America to the same level as the violin or keyboard. His contributions to the flute in America were only a fraction of his multifaceted musical accomplishments. But even more remarkable is the fact that Hawkins was an amateur musician, a "hobby" that he practiced during his leisure time. During the day, he owned and managed a successful grocery business.

Peter N. Utt

Mr. Utt was a veritable Renaissance man who lived in New York around the turn of the century. He is listed in the city directories from 1795 as a music instrument maker, a teacher of musick, a shipmaster, and tavern

⁶¹Music Division, The New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, and mentioned by Lawrence, "Micah Hawkins," p. 141.

keeper.⁶² One modern source claims that he was also a flutist, but unfortunately, her claim is unsubstantiated, leading us to question his involvement with the instrument.⁶³

II. Flute Makers

In this next section, I will discuss New York craftsmen who made flutes. However, since the focus of this paper is on the flute players and teachers, only cursory mention of these individuals will be made. I have relied mainly upon the research of Nancy Groce, whose doctoral dissertation "Musical Instrument Making in New York City During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" represents the most thorough treatment of this subject.⁶⁴

The first record of musical instrument making in New York was made in 1731. At that time John Clemm, an organ builder, was commissioned to construct an instrument for Trinity Church. The first reference to a flute maker, however, was not made until 1761. On November 16th, Gottlieb Wolhaupter, "living at the Sign of the Musical instrument-Maker" announced that he "continues to make and mend, all Sorts of Musical Instruments, such as German Flutes, Hautboys, Claronets, Flageolets, Bassoons, Fifes, and also Silver Tea-Pot Handles."⁶⁵ Six years later, Robert Horne advertised

⁶²Lawrence, "Micah Hawkins," p. 147.

⁶³Ibid., p. 148.

⁶⁴Nancy Jane Groce, "Musical Instrument Making in New York City During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Michigan, 1982)

⁶⁵*New York Gazette*, cited by Gottesman, Vol. I, p. 367/368.

that he "makes and repairs Violins, bass viols, tenor viols, Aeolius harps, gautiers, German flutes, Kitts, violin bows, &c..."⁶⁶ In 1770, David Wolhaupter (also Woolhaupter) notified the public that he also "makes and mends all sorts of musical instruments, such as bassoons, German flutes, Common do. hautboys, clarinets, fifes, bagpipes, &c..."⁶⁷ Finally, a wood turner named Ahashuerus (Ahasuerus) Turk, Sr. made woodwind instruments from 1787-1805.⁶⁸ His name is listed in the 1790 Census along with seven family members and four slaves, then again in the 1800 Census.

III. Dealers

Numerous importers were involved in the flute trade to varying degrees. Principal among them were Thomas Dobbs, Dodds and Claus, William Howe, John Jacob Astor (a former flute maker/music dealer who later became one of the richest men in America), James Rivington (publisher), and John Paff.

Merchants who dealt in flute music were even more numerous. To give the reader an idea of the vast amount of flute literature available to New Yorkers, I have included Appendix D, a list of flute music which was advertised in one newspaper, Rivington's *New York Gazette*, from the years

⁶⁶*New York Mercury*, September, 14, 1767, cited by Gottesman, Vol. I, p. 365.

⁶⁷*New York Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, June 18, 1770, cited by Gottesman, Vol. I, p. 367. Groce speculated that Gottlieb and David Wolhaupter were one in the same person, see her dissertation, p. 505. Also, Camus traces Woolhaupter's activities during the Revolutionary War.

⁶⁸Groce, p. 476. Also, a manuscript of Ahasueres Turk, dated 1770, can be found in the New York Historical Society. It is a conveyance between him and Beekman Van Buren for property on Maiden Lane.

1773-1783. Although some serious compositions were advertised, most of the works represented were salon pieces designed for the amateur and enjoyed during periods of recreation. Easy duets, catches, glees, and folk tunes comprise the bulk of these collections.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Compared with other colonial cities, New York was smaller and culturally less significant than its neighbors. This is ironic when one considers the large number of flutists and flute teachers who were present there, or, when one compares those numbers to a city such as Philadelphia. Granted, most of the flutists and teachers discussed above were general music masters whose flute playing was secondary to the violin or harpsichord. However, specialists of the caliber of George Saliment, William Brown, or William Young were also present and were responsible for planting the seeds of serious flute playing in what was to become one of the cultural centers of the world.

CHAPTER FIVE

FLUTISTS OF THE COLONIAL SOUTH: ANNAPOLIS, SAVANNAH, AND WILLIAMSBURG

ANNAPOLIS

Annapolis, formerly Anne Arundel town, became the new capital of the province in 1694 and later an important location for the newly forming national government. It advanced in stature throughout the eighteenth century as an important commercial and intellectual center. Theater was a common diversion for the Annapolitans and records indicate that plays took place as early as 1730. Balls and recreational music were also common. However, since Annapolis did not have the strong sacred music community that New England did, the potential of serious musical activity was limited.¹ Music masters in the North commonly held posts as organist/choir master and taught private lessons. This afforded at least a few of the serious musicians enough time and money to practice their art regularly. This was not the case in Annapolis.

Concert life centered mostly around social clubs such as the Free Masons and, more importantly, the Tuesday Club, which existed between 1745-1756. These private clubs were established by leading gentleman who sought an outlet for philosophy, comradery, revelry, poetry, and good music-making.

Although some professional musicians lived in the city at one point or

¹In order for the colonial musician to earn sufficient income, he depended upon a "base from which to operate in other fields." For more information see Maurer, Maurer, "The 'Professor of Musick' in Colonial America," *Musical Quarterly* 36 (1950): 519.

another, a paucity of professional flutists existed. This does not mean, however, that the flute was non-existent. The abilities of a number of amateur flutists were noteworthy and demonstrate the ubiquity of the flute. From household inventories of Anne Arundel County Estates, at least four prominent residents were shown to have owned flutes: Samuel Stringer (1747), John Burle (1749), Henry Hill (1752), and Benjamin Warfield (1753).²

A number of specific references to flutists can be culled from the records of the Tuesday Club and the extant writings of its members. The Club, a brainchild of physician Alexander Hamilton, sought to "meet, converse, Laugh, talk, Smoke, drink, differ, agree, Philosophize, Harangue, pun, Sing, Dance and fiddle together."³ From a 1750s wash drawing, we have pictorial evidence that flutes were included in the Club's musical activities. Figure 8 depicts a traverso in a "Grand Rehearsal of the Anniversary Ode of the Tuesday Club."

²John Barry Talley, *Secular Music in Colonial Annapolis, The Tuesday Club, 1746-56* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 26.

³Talley, p. 47.



Fig. 8. Flutist in Hamilton's "Grand Rehearsal".

Other accounts support this fact, "The violin was clearly the favorite instrument--'We abound in fiddlers,' wrote Callister--but the flute was also very popular."⁴ It is likely that the flutist depicted here was the Rev. Alexander Malcolm, a long-time member. Hamilton records Malcolm's flute in his *Itinerarium* of 1744, "He [Malcolm] showed me some pritty pieces of musick and played some tunes on the flute and violin. He is author of a very good book upon musick which shows his judgement and knowledge in that part of science."⁵ The flutist also could have been James Holliday (a.k.a. "Joshua Fluter"⁶) or Hamilton himself. We also know that Hamilton

⁴Talley, p. 28.

⁵*Gentleman's Progress, The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, Carl Bridenbaugh, ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), p. 118. Rev. Malcolm's book referred to here is *A treatise of Musick, Speculative, Practical, and Historical* (Edinburgh, 1721). The title suggests that gentlemen music amateurs of eighteenth-century Annapolis had more than a casual interest in music.

⁶Talley, p. 28. Members of the Tuesday Club were given amusing

owned a flute since a Henry Callister acquired, from his estate, a cello, flute, etc. Additional flute activities were recorded. In 1752, the Club required the assistance of two flutists for a performance that included five string players, keyboard, and possibly a bassoonist. Unfortunately, neither the individuals nor the piece were identified. Perhaps Samuel Hart, an honorary member of the Club, played the flute but the passage used to corroborate this assumption, "a gentleman remarkable for his delicate pipe," is debatable.⁷ George Neilson, flutist and former member of the Red House Club, a predecessor to the Tuesday Club, was touted as a "virtuoso on the Violin, bass viol, flute, hautbuoy, jews harp as well as the bassoon."⁸ I cannot help wondering how Mr. Neilson could have been a "virtuoso" on five very different instruments-- nonetheless, he was a flutist of sorts.

The next article of flute memorabilia is an advertisement by the Philadelphia flutist George Isenberg. On October 31, 1765, he placed the following notice in *The Maryland Gazette*:

GEORGE ISENBERG, intending to spend a few Months in this City, takes this Method to acquaint those Gentlemen inclining to learn or perfect themselves on the German Flute, that they may be Taught by him to perform in a short Time...⁹

Although it is unknown how long the itinerant Mr. Isenberg remained in

pseudonyms.

⁷Davis, p. 1261 and Talley, p. 64.

⁸Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-1763* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), p. 1260.

⁹From the "Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files," Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Annapolis, the newspaper notice indicates that he continued to specialize on the flute.

Demand for flutes in the city increased. By 1773, German flutes could be purchased from Joshua Collins, a newly arrived instrument maker and flute teacher. His advertisement of February 15 reads:

Joshua Collins, Musical Instrument-maker and Turner from Manchester, Begs leave to acquaint the Publick that he has commenced the said Branches of Business at Messrs. Shaw and Chisholm's Cabinet Shop; where all Sorts of Turner's Work is executed in the compleatest Manner; also German and common Flutes, Hautboys, Fifes, &c. of all Sorts and Sizes; all Sorts of Musical Instruments repaired, Harpsicords, Forte Pianos, or any stringed Instruments put in tune. He has opened an Evening School for Musick, at Mr. John Hepburn's, where he teaches the most modern and approved Methods of playing the German Flute, Hautboy, Clarinet, Bassoon, &c.¹⁰

Mr. Collins worked at the cabinet shop of Shaw and Chisholm, where flutes were sold until 1795.

Annapolis did not emerge as a leading cultural center during the Colonial period. Though the city displayed a little interest towards the theatre--a troupe was formed in 1752--it could not boast of many other cultural achievements. Most concerts were put on by amateur musicians or the elite gentlemen's clubs and few records of serious flutists exist. The musical atmosphere in Charleston and other prominent southern cities was quite different.

¹⁰*The Manchester Gazette* cited in the "Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files."

SAVANNAH

The Georgia colony was founded upon different motives than its northern neighbors. While Charleston, Annapolis, and Williamsburg were basically agrarian cities, Savannah was founded with the main purpose of planting a buffer hedge between the Southern English colonies and Spanish Florida; hence, one that would strengthen the English border. Those recruited to the endeavor were poor white farmers who were capable of defending the area against Spanish and Indian raids.¹¹ It was not intended as an utopia for dissenting Christian groups nor a goldmine for London tradesmen. It was seen as an opportunity by those who wanted to escape rigid class systems, and a refuge to those who had become weary of the intolerant English church--which seemed to vacillate from Catholic to Protestant, one monarch after the next.

A group of English families and their leader General James Oglethorpe arrived in Savannah on February 1733. During the next three years, Moravians, Salzburgers, and Scottish also settled the area and brought with them their own musical heritages.

In spite of the frontier conditions, Savannah developed into an important cultural outpost in the Southern hinterland. A library society was formed in 1763 and musical activities began shortly after the first English settlement. Although it did not exhibit the cultural sophistication of Charleston, a number of references to flute activities were culled from

¹¹See Kenneth Coleman's article "The Southern Frontier: Georgia's Founding and the Expansion of South Carolina," in *Planters and Yeomen*, Peter Charles Hoffer, ed., (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988) pp. 165-174.

modern histories and are presented below.

There are numerous accounts of military and ceremonial music during the first thirty years of the colony and it is logical to assume that concert music and flutes were heard during this time as well. Unfortunately, the first newspaper did not appear until 1763, leaving the historian with few existing records and little concrete evidence. Be that as it may, flutes were verified from the very first year of the paper.

In the December 29, 1763 issue of *The Georgia Gazette*, German flutes were advertised. The dealer, Simon Munro, was one of the many merchants who imported musical instruments from London and East India. He offered at John and James Graham's store a "neat violin and case and an ivory and boxwood German flute."¹² Three years later, Inglis and Hall sold the same, and included music books for each one--probably tutors.¹³ Hearn's Book Store also seemed to deal in a fair amount of musical merchandise. Flutes and flute music were advertised in the February 24th and October 6th, 1785 issues of *The Gazette of the State of Georgia*.¹⁴ Three more competing merchants sold flutes and other instruments during the last half of the century; attesting to the fact they they were in substantial demand.¹⁵

¹²Jack Broucek, "Eighteenth Century Music in Savannah, Georgia" (Ph.D. dissertation: Florida State University, 1963), pp. 94, 185, and 238.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 185 and 238.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 188 and 239.

¹⁵Savannah merchants Elbert and Graham Raes, Hugh Newbigging, and Monsieur Huguenet advertised flutes in 1774, 1786, and 1796, respectively. Also, John Paff, a NY music merchandiser, visited the city in 1799 and offered "Patent" and common flutes for sale. See Broucek, pp. 169, 188, 193, 239, and 241.

Sonneck identifies the first "concert of musick" in Savannah as a benefit performance for Mr. John Stevens, junior, announced on May 21, 1766.¹⁶ This harpsichord recital may have included flutes, but it is not until 1785 that we can confirm their use on concerts. These Savannah flutists were primarily music masters and probably were not as proficient on the instrument as Philadelphia's William Brown. Nonetheless, they gave instruction and performances and were influential in city's music life. Prominent among them were Capt. John Hiwill (Hiwell), Charles Francis Chevalier, and Claude Simon.

This 1785 concert which employed flutes was given by Capt. John Hiwell (also spelled Hewill or Hiwill), former Inspector of Military Music.¹⁷ The concert included "violins, German flutes, clarinets, French horns, bassoon, &c." and tickets were sold at the New Inn or the Printing Office.¹⁸ Unfortunately, a program was not advertised. However, his next performance was very ambitious and included the following works: *Overtures* by Bach and Arne, clarinet and bassoon solos, *Symphonias* [sic] by Stamitz, Crispi, and Gugliemi, and other works which would have certainly called for

¹⁶Sonneck, p. 63.

¹⁷On August 19, 1778, Hiwill became the first person to receive a Congressional appointment to this position, which was created to "standardize and supervise" all American military music activities. Before this landmark duty, he served as the fife major in Colonel Crane's Massachusetts (3rd) Regiment of Artillery. George Washington must have approved of Hiwill's work as Inspector since he approved a pay raise for him in 1779/80. For more information, see Raoul F. Camus, *Military Music of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), pp. 129-132.

¹⁸Advertised February 10, 1785 in *The Gazette of the State of Georgia*, see Broucek, p. 153.

a flutist. It is interesting to note that Hiwill insured his audience that he would be joined on this recital by "capitol Performers from Europe."¹⁹ In order to earn a livelihood, he operated a music/grocery/toy shop and opened a successful school where he taught the German flute, concert fife (?), clarinet, French horn, bassoon, tenoroon, and guitar. Apparently, Hiwell attempted to settle in Providence, RI directly after his discharge from active duty, but he stayed there only a short time before moving to Savannah.²⁰

In 1789 dancing master Charles Francis Chevalier established an academy to teach music, dancing, fencing, and other social graces. He announced to teach instrumental music, including the German flute. Although he regularly accompanied his dance students in their lessons, the extent of his concert activities is unknown.²¹ At some point in 1789, his academy was joined by Claude Simons. Mr. Simon's role seems to have been more musical, as an earlier notice from Augusta suggests:

The Subscriber begs leave to inform the Public, that he is lately arrived here from Savannah, and intends to open a Musical Academy: WHEREIN he will teach the Harpsichord, Violin, German Flute, Guitar, Clarinett, &c. &c. &c. Ladies and Gentlemen who will put themselves under his tuition, may depend on his punctual attendance. For further particulars he is to be spoke with at Mr. Emanuel Wambersie's.²²

¹⁹Broucek, p. 153.

²⁰Camus, *Military Music*, p. 178.

²¹Broucek, p. 176.

²²*Georgia State Gazette or Independent Register*, November 4, 1786, cited in the "Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files," Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

One final instructor of flute could be identified through my research. His name was J. Turner and he also opened a school to teach a wide diversity of subjects. In *The Georgia Gazette* of November 19, 1789, he publicized that he would teach "young gentlemen to perform on the Hoboy and German Flute."²³ Little existing evidence has survived on Mr. Turner.

In summary, Savannah's flute activities were modest compared to other eighteenth-century cities, but for a city many times smaller than Charleston or New York, its exposure to the flute was significant. The efforts of John Hiwill, in particular, brought strong cultural management to the city and a wide variety of music. Concert-goers were definitely exposed to the qualities and capabilities of the concert flute. The existence of the numerous flute dealers demonstrates that Savannah's gentlemen dilettantes were enthusiastic about learning the instrument. Jack Broucek, the principal source for this section, described the flute's status in Savannah the best when he said, "A German flute appears to have been as necessary an item for the eighteenth century gentleman as a wig."²⁴

WILLIAMSBURG

The population of Williamsburg was only a fraction of Boston or New York. Like other smaller plantation cities, its community was decentralized. The local church had a more favorable attitude towards music and other "diversions." As a result, it developed a cultural life earlier than the northern cities. America's first theater was built there in 1716 and by 1737

²³Broucek, p. 179.

²⁴Broucek, p. 182

the first public concert was performed. Military and ceremonial music was common as early as 1699, the year that Williamsburg became Colonial Virginia's capital.²⁵ During the "publick times"--when members of the House of Burgesses convened for court, or when businessmen gathered in town for trade--local musicians would be employed for informal concerts at the Governor's Palace.²⁶

However, the dominant socio-cultural structure was not found in the city or the church.²⁷ Colonial Williamsburg did not produce significant composers or virtuosi. Musical societies, public concert series, and busy concert managers such as the Van Hagens of Philadelphia did not exist.²⁸

²⁵The capital of the colony was relocated from Jamestown to Williamsburg because the former was nearly destroyed by fires and violence during Bacon's Rebellion.

²⁶The vicissitudes in Williamsburg's population certainly had its effect upon the cultural life. Norman Arthur Benson describes, "All eighteenth century visitors...noticed the discrepancy between Williamsburg as it burgeoned into activity during 'Publick Times' and as it settled into somnambulant composure after the 'Publick Times' were over. Theatrical groups, aware of this social pattern, made Williamsburg a part of their itinerary and arranged that itinerary to coincide with the pulse of activity that characterized the 'Publick Times.'" See Benson, "The Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters of Eighteenth Century America" (Ph.D dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1963), p. 41.

²⁷Here, Benson makes an important qualification regarding the significance of the church in colonial society: "...music development in America owes much of its eighteenth century importance to the emotional and intellectual fulfillment of certain socio-cultural needs through the church as an integral part of the community." Benson, p. 33.

²⁸One musician should be considered an equal to these northern music moguls: Peter Pelham, organist of Bruton Parish Church, was preeminent in all official Williamsburg musical activities. He was a well-trained musician and an influential citizen. See Maurer Maurer, "Peter Pelham: Organist-Jailer," *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 28 (1946): 6-

Rather, the plantation musicale was the chief outlet for creative expression. These informal musical gatherings would regularly meet after dinner in order to provide a few hours of entertainment and catharsis. But the musicale was more than just a private recreation, it was a cultural and social imperative.

Plantation manors resembled the Baroque feudal systems of Western Europe. The wealthy gentry patronized the arts and sought out itinerant music masters and talented servants²⁹--essentially, court musicians--for the "refinement" of their children and for fashionable, London-style entertainment. It is important to remember that these were English Virginians who cherished English traditions. So there may have been a hint of pomp and circumstance to these occasions as well. Leading citizens such as William Byrd II, Councillor Robert Carter, and John Blair took an active interest in music and maintained large libraries and collections of instruments.

The ubiquity of the flute in the colonies is demonstrated by the fact that, even in Williamsburg's seasonal culture, it was regularly advertised by teachers, dealers, and performers and also recorded in the diaries of tutors and the planters.

Numerous estate inventories imply that most local gentlemen found it

13.

²⁹Slaves who showed proficiency on musical instruments were often sold at a higher price. Thomas Hodge "who plays well on the French horn, the flute and other instruments" was "advertised" in the *Virginia Gazette* on December 22, 1768. See Roger Paul Phelps, "The History and Practice of Chamber Music in the United States from the Earliest Times to 1875," (Ph.D. dissertation: State University of Iowa, 1951), p. 105.

important to own a flute. The following list (table 6) was culled from the research of the Virginia musicologist Mary Goodwin and represents only the first half of the eighteenth century:

Table 6.
A List of Flutes Owned by Early Williamsburg Residents

1737	Benjamin Moss	<i>York County Records</i>	"1 flute and fiddle"
1739	Robert Davidson	Ibid.	"...In the chamber...1 Flute..."
1743	Henry Fitzhugh, Stafford County	[?] <i>Virginia Magazine of History</i>	"...a case containing a German and an English flute with an '8 do 12,'..."
1748	Ishmael Moody	<i>York County Records</i>	ordinarykeeper, [tavern keeper], "...In the cellar under the ordinary...1 flute,..."
1751	John Blair, Williamsburg	diary, <i>William & Mary Quarterly</i>	"Clear & very warm, had compy. Mr J.R. play'd on his violin & Dr. Hackerston on his G flute."
1754	John Waller, Spotsylvania County	<i>Virginia Magazine of History</i> ³⁰	"...a hautboy valued at 10 shillings, a flute 5 shillings, a fiddle and case 25 shillings..."

Colonel Landon Carter confirmed the regularity of "tuting" around town in his diary entry of August 21, 1771:

...For I hear from every house a constant tuting may be listened to, from one instrument or another, whilst the vocal dogs will no doubt compleat the howl.³¹

Notable among the "tuters" would be Councillor Robert Carter, planter aristocrat and land baron. The following references to music at his Nomini

³⁰Mary R. M. Goodwin. *Musical Instruments in 18th Century Virginia* (typescript paper in the Research Report Series of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, July 1953), p. viii. Several references to the flute in Virginia can be located in this excellent source.

³¹James S. Darling and Maureen McF. Wiggins, "A Constant Tuting: The Music of Williamsburg," *Music Educators Journal*, 61/3 (1974), p. 58.

Hall mansion are compelling.

Philip Vickers Fithian, private schoolmaster of the Carter household, left one of the most important resources on the "state of the art" of the Colonial South in his *Journal and Letters*. One pertinent diary entry of December 13, 1773, reveals Mr. Carter's evening activities:

Mr. Carter is practicing this evening on the guittar... 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], *Guittar*, and *German Flutes*, & at Williamsburg, has a good *Organ*, he himself also is indefatigable in the Practice...³²

The master of the house was purported to have been proficient on all of these instruments. But in order to nurture these talents and mentor his children in these "social graces," the services of the itinerant musician were required. Although several taught at Nomini Hall over the years, the most significant was the Philadelphia music master and flutist John Stadler. He was well-accepted by the Carters and a frequent guest at their home. His admirable personality and character was described by Fithian: "I love this good German, He used to teach in New York & Philadelphia--He has much simplicity & goodness of heart--he performed extremely well--He is kind and sociable with me..."³³ Fithian was also a flutist and joined-in on informal evening concerts at the mansion. On March 18, 1774, he described a memorable evening of flute playing with Mr. Carter, John Stadler, Ben

³²*Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian: 1773-1774*, Hunter D. Parish, ed., (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1943) p. 39.

³³July 12, 1774. *ibid.*, p. 182.

(Carter's eldest son), and himself. The account suggests that Stadler was an accomplished flutist:

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. Stadleys (sic) 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 Ben or I can do, is like Crows among Nightingales - We play'd till ten...³⁴

Apparently, Stadler left Nomini Hall on October 13, 1774 for Fithian recorded, "Good Mr. Stadley left us this morning. I took leave with great reluctance of this worthy Man, & do not expect to see him more!"³⁵

Later in the late 1780s, Mr. Carter had a change of heart towards music and entrusted his current music master, John Victor, with the sale of his instrument collection. One of Carter's letters to Victor reveals interesting details on the construction of his flute:

I take the liberty also to deliver to you one Concert German Flute, having 3 Middle pieces and mounted with Silver, which you will dispose of -if any purchaser whod apply to you- I have no remembrance of the price, for I imported that wth several other flutes and the shop Note is now Mislaid- However I would agree to take 2 Guineas...³⁶

³⁴Ibid., p. 110.

³⁵Ibid., p. 267.

³⁶September 5, 1788 correspondence from *Robert Carter's Letter-Book*, Vol. VIII, page 185. It is interesting to note that in 1775, Carter recorded in his *Day Book* (pp. 89-91 of Vol. XIII) detailed measurements for construction of a

In addition to the flute teachers mentioned previously, two others appeared in colonial sources and are worthy of mention. An advertisement was placed in the May 16th, 1771 edition of *Virginia Gazette* by a Francis Russworm to announce the opening of a music studio:

FRANCIS RUSSWORM BEGS Leave to acquaint the young Gentlemen in and about *Williamsburg* that he shall open School on *Monday the 3d of June*, at Mr. *Singleton's* House, to teach the VIOLIN, GERMAN and COMMON FLUTES...³⁷

Seven days later, William Atwood (also Attwood) posted a similar notice:

WILLIAM ATWOOD BEGS Leave to inform the Gentlemen of *Williamsburg* that he teaches the *French* HORN, HAUTBOY, and *German* FLUTE; and has, for that Purpose, rented a Room near the College [i.e. the College of William and Mary]...³⁸

Because of a dearth of available sources, their prowess on the flute remains a matter of speculation, but it is clear that they had attained a relatively high degree of proficiency on it in order to make a such public announcements. Russworm's obituary states: "[Russworm]...who played such a sweet Fiddle [!], and was a worthy good-tempered Man, had the Misfortune to be drowned a few Days ago in crossing over some Ferry."³⁹

German flute and Common flutes. Both the *Letter Book* and *Day Book* are located in the Manuscripts Division, Duke University Library, Copy-Research Department, CWI. Flute references are reproduced in Goodwin's *Musical Instruments*, p. xii, and xi-a.

³⁷See *Virginia Gazette* advertisement cited in Goodwin, p. ix.

³⁸*Virginia Gazette*, *ibid.*

³⁹*Virginia Gazette*, June 24, 1773 cited in Phelps dissertation, p. 109.

Taken collectively, the estate inventory list, and the activities of Robert Carter, Russworm, and Atwood confirm that many Williamsburgers owned and played flutes. But where did they purchase them and what sources were available for music? Five locations can be identified.

First, newspaper announcements on November 29th and December 13th, 1770 informed the public that there was, "...to be SOLD at the POST OFFICE in Williamsburg... Instructions for the violin and flute... [and also to be sold] *German* and common flutes, of different sizes..."⁴⁰ Four months later, the Williamsburg merchant John Greenhow gave notice that his store sold German Flutes and Fifes.⁴¹ Purdie and Dixon advertised "German flutes (some of a new Construction)" and various music.⁴² The third distributor of musical supplies was the Printing Office which advertised on June 10, 1773 that they sold, among other items, German Flutes and Violins.⁴³ Next, Ann Neill informed Williamsburg's musical public that "The Subscriber...has opened a Store opposite Mr. *John Greenhow's*, near the Market Square...to sell all Kinds of *European* Goods...*German* Flute, Guitar....ANN NEILL."⁴⁴

From the libraries of local musicians one can ascertain the variety of flute music which could have been imported by these local music distributors.

⁴⁰*Virginia Gazette*, cited in Goodwin, p. ix.

⁴¹*Virginia Gazette*, April 11, 1771, *ibid.*

⁴²*Virginia Gazette*, August 29, 1771, *ibid.*, p. x.

⁴³*Virginia Gazette*, *ibid.*

⁴⁴*Virginia Gazette*, Dixon and Hunter, eds., November 14, 1777, *ibid.*, p. xi.

Cuthbert Ogle, the first professional musician in Williamsburg,⁴⁵ possessed a large library; the contents of which exemplifies the finest taste in popular European works--even by a Londoner's standard (table 7). Although most of the works were written for Ogle's primary instruments, the harpsichord and violin, some holdings included flute parts:

Table 7.
Flute Music from the Library of Cuthbert Ogle

- Rameau, Jean-Philippe. *Five Concertos for the Harpsichord*, accompanied with a Violin or German Flute (London: J. Walsh, c. 1750)
- Handel, George Frederick. *Handel's Songs Selected from His Latest Oratorios* for the Harpsichord, Voice, Hoboy, or German Flute, 6 parts (London: J. Walsh, 1749 and 1751)
- . *Songs and Symphonies curiously Transpos'd and fitted to the Flute in a Compleat manner* (London, 1725)--likely
- Woodward, Henry. *The Musick in Harlequin Ranger*, As it is perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, set for the violin, German Flute, or Hautboy, with basso continuo for the Harpsichord (London: J. Oswald, c. 1752)
- Schickard, Johann Christian. *Six Sonatas for one Flute & two Hoboys or two Violins with a Viol Bass and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord & Arch Lute* (London, 1730)⁴⁶
- Farinelli's Celebrated Songs* collected from Sig. Hasse, Porpora, Vinci, and Veracini's Operas (Galuppi, Lampugnani, and Pescetti's Chamber Airs). Set for German Flute, Violin, or Harpsichord, 14 parts (London: J. Walsh, 1736-1755)⁴⁷

⁴⁵Ogle arrived in Virginia April 24, 1754 compared to Peter Pelham's date sometime in 1755. See Benson dissertation, pp. 43 and 76.

⁴⁶Maurer, Maurer, "The Library of a Colonial Musician, 1755," *William & Mary Quarterly* 7 (1950), p. 47.

⁴⁷John W. Molnar, "A Collection of Music in Colonial Virginia: The Ogle Inventory," *Musical Quarterly* 49 (1963): 150-162.

Councillor Carter's library included two volumes of Handel's works for flute, the popular arrangements of his *Operas*. It is likely that he owned other flute titles but, unfortunately, the contents of many references were sketchy (eg. "17 volumes by various authors", a "book of Italian music," "books of music" etc.).⁴⁸

Appendix E is a comprehensive list of flute music available to or owned by Williamsburg residents during the eighteenth century. The titles were culled from Stiverson's *Colonial Williamsburg Music, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music in the Collections of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*.⁴⁹ The works represented prove that the colonial flutist had access to a considerable repertoire.

One final item deserves special mention. The *Virginia Gazette* notified the public on July 18th, 1771:

LOST, Either in YORK, or in its neighbourhood, THE top part of a GERMAN FLUTE, tipped with ivory, having POTTER, the maker's name, on it. It can be of no service to any person, without the other parts. Whoever, finds it, is desired to send or bring it to the printer hereof, who will direct him where to find a

⁴⁸Carter's erudition and love of music is displayed by his impressive library. Significant among the titles were Burney's *Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces* (purchased only one year after it was published in London!) and also the Annapolitan Alexander Malcolm's book *A Treatise of Music, speculative, practical, and historical* (Edinburgh, 1721). This collection was cataloged by Fithian in his *Journal and Letters*, pp. 285-294.

⁴⁹Cynthia Zignego Stiverson, *Colonial Williamsburg Music* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1988).

reward.⁵⁰

The advertisement confirms that colonial flutists were not isolated from the latest European developments in flute design. The aforementioned advertisement, "German flutes...(some of new construction)" also supports this. The London flute maker Richard Potter (1728-1806) was one of the first to improve the one-keyed traverso with the addition of three keys.⁵¹ Once accepted, this innovation gave flutists an improved chromatic capability and evenness of tone. It is interesting to note that this new design was not widely accepted in Europe before 1790, which suggests that American flutists were not complete dabblers in the art.

The majority of flute references in colonial sources were introduced during and immediately preceding the Revolutionary War. It is bewildering how Williamsburg continued to pursue its musical diversions when the clouds of Revolution approached--particularly when compared to other cities whose music activities virtually stopped at that time.

In spite of the fact that no great flutist came out of or performed in this Colonial town, the efforts of the itinerant masters and estate amateurs were notable and exemplify the flute's important status in the South.

⁵⁰Goodwin, p. x.

⁵¹Two others were Pietro Florio and Caleb Gedney. See Nancy Toff, *The Development of the Modern Flute* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979/1986), pp. 24-27.

CHAPTER SIX

FLUTISTS OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHARLESTON

Charleston, formerly Charles Town, was first inhabited by Englishmen in 1670. It was an attractive city to potential settlers for several reasons. Trade in tobacco, indigo, and slaves flourished as a result of its strategic harbor. By mid-century, it had become the fourth largest city in the New World and, perhaps, the most important cultural center on the continent.¹ It also promised religious freedom to members of dissenting groups (not the least of which were the French Huguenots who, after the continued persecution of Louis XIV, flocked to Charleston as refugees in the late seventeenth century). Finally, it was a cosmopolitan city with a heterogeneous population.

As previously described, southern colonists closely modeled their culture after England. Robert Bagdon, an historian of the early city, said that "Charleston in the 17th and 18th centuries was an English colony in the truest sense of the word, not a new beginning but an appendage three thousand miles away."² The Charleston gentry in particular had a passion for the opulent cultural life of the mother country.³

¹The population of Charleston grew from 2000 in 1700 to 12,000 in 1775. See Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1964,) and *Cities in Revolt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955).

²Robert Joseph Bagdon, "Musical Life in Charleston, S.C. From 1732-1776 as Recorded in Colonial Sources" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Miami, 1978), p. 3.

³The issue of Charleston's grand culture is the subject of debate. Apparently some of its early residents (and certain modern historians) did not share in the opinion that Charleston was the London of America. Daniel Boorstin

Every aspect of the musical trade was represented in Charleston: from instrument makers, repairmen, and dealers, to performers and teachers. German flutes were sold as early as 1738. A merchandiser named John Dalrymple placed an advertisement to this effect in the *South Carolina Gazette* on April 27th.⁴ In 1763, the importers Atkins & Weston placed a similar notice, except this one boasted "the best German flutes."⁵ The estate inventory of one local instrument maker, James McAlpine, listed a large collection of flutes which were possibly made by him.⁶ It seems that a popular London music dealer and instrument maker, Thomas Bradford, was a major distributor of flutes during the final two decades of the century. In

recalls the words of a Dr. Alexander Garden, botanist and physician, "In Charleston we are a set of the busiest, most bustling, hurrying animals imaginable and yet we really do not do much, but we must appear to be doing. And this kind of important hurry appears among all ranks, unless among the gentlemen planters, who are absolutely above every occupation but eating, drinking, lolling, smoking and sleeping, which five modes of action constitute the essence of their life and existence." Then Boorstin writes, "But the free-spending aristocracy did not spend much of its money on books; the first major bookshop in Charleston did not open until 1754...This busy, gay, unbookish community had very much its own flavor, but certainly not one to qualify it as a cultural capital of the colonies." Should one judge a city's culture solely upon the nonexistence of a bookstore--especially since books were available for some time through general merchants? See Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), pp. 212 and 312 respectively. A more plausible explanation can be found in Richard Beale Davis's *Intellectual Life*. His premise is that the southern colonists only mimicked London fashion without fully understanding it or perhaps only for a pretentious display of status.

⁴*South Carolina Gazette*, April 27, 1738, cited in the "Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files."

⁵*South Carolina Gazette*, June 25, 1763, cited in the "Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files."

⁶*Charleston County, S.C., Wills, etc., Vol. 99A, 1776-1778*, as cited in *ibid.*

the *Columbian Herald* of November 26, 1793, we find their advertisement for "Potter's patent German flutes."⁷ That Charleston had a circle of discriminating professional musicians is apparent from the fact that this same dealer sold renowned Cremona violins.

Charleston's musicians had many opportunities to perform as well. By the second half of the century, Charleston lured numerous qualified professional musicians from northern cities. The main incentives were: higher remuneration for their services by established musical groups; an absence of religious antipathy towards the arts; and a wealthy aristocracy in search of meaningful leisure activities. It was a community which had all the raw materials for a highly developed culture.

The first "consort of musick" was heard in 1732, only three years after Boston's first concert. The first theatre performance was given in 1735 and musical organizations such as the renowned St. Cecilia Society, Orpheus Society, and the Stoughton Society gave numerous public and private concerts. In keeping with London fashion, Charleston also attempted to establish a Vauxhall Garden series, named after the popular London open-air extravaganzas.

Music in Charleston's churches enjoyed a national reputation. St. Michael's, for example, became famous for having "maintained the finest musical establishment in the country."⁸ The achievements of church music were inextricably linked to the overall cultural success of the city because of

⁷Cited in the "Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files."

⁸Leonard Ellinwood, *The History of American Church Music* (revised edition, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970, New York: Morehouse-Gorham Company, 1953), p. 43.

what Davis described as the "leadership of professional musicians and the interdependability of church and secular forms,"⁹--a point which I alluded to in the sections on Annapolis and the Moravians. Bagdon reiterates this by stating, "The musicians who were employed by these churches tended to be at the center of musical activity in Charleston, not only within the church, but also in connection with secular music. The most successful secular musicians in Charleston during this period seemed to be the ones who were also under the patronage of one of the churches."¹⁰ Two organists, Frederick Grunsweig and Frederick Hoff fall into this category and are particularly relevant to this study since they also taught the German flute.

Grunswieg (also spelled Grundzweig) was the organist at St. Michael's Church from 1762-1764. He is responsible for one of the earliest records of flute teaching in the South. His advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* of April 6, 1747 reads:

This is to acquaint all Gentlemen, Ladies and others that are desirous to be instructed on the harpsichord, viol, guitar and German flute that the subscriber (having a thorough knowledge of those instruments) proposes to teach the same on the most reasonable terms...¹¹

This versatile musician was also involved in private concerts. A benefit concert was announced in the *Gazette* for Jan. 30, 1755 but "was put off on

⁹Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life*, p. 1263.

¹⁰Bagdon, p. 5.

¹¹Bagdon, 151 and Giroux, p. 27. See advertisement in *Gazette* of April 17, 1749 (Benson, 135).

account of the bad Weather, 'till Thursday the 13th instant, Feb."¹²

Unfortunately, the program for this occasion was not advertised, leaving us to guess which instruments Grunswieg decided to employ. He died about January 14, 1765 and left, among other instruments, two German flutes in his last will.¹³

Of Frederick Hoff, little is known of his flute activities. He taught the flute and other instruments in order to supplement his organist income from the German Church. Two flutes were found in his estate inventory.¹⁴

Several other flutists and flute teachers lived and worked in Charleston. The first specific record of the flute being taught is of an unidentified French dancing master sometime before 1708:

A French dancing-master settling in Craven county, taught the Indians country-dances, to play on the flute and hautboit, and got a good estate; for it seems the barbarians encourag'd him with the same extravagance, as we do the dancers, singers, and fiddlers, his country men.¹⁵

¹²Sonneck, p. 14. Also, Sonneck did not find any newspaper references to concerts from 1735-1751. Although this was due mostly to the unavailability of sources (many being burned or lost during the Civil War), it is likely that an epidemic of contagious small pox in 1738 discouraged concert-goers as well.

¹³Charleston County, S.C., *Wills, etc., Volume 88A, 1763-1767* as cited in the "Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts Research Files." See also George W. Williams, "Charleston Church Music, 1562-1833," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7 (1954) pp. 35-40.

¹⁴George Williams, *ibid.*, p. 37.

¹⁵John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, (London: John Nicholson, 1708), p. 381, as quoted by Norman Benson, "The Itinerant Dancing and Music Masters of Eighteenth Century America" (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Minnesota, 1963) p. 129.

The itinerant music master James Juhan arrived in 1771 after spending three years in Boston. This consummate musician taught the German flute, violin, bass viol, and guitar, made and repaired instruments, and taught French. No less than eleven Juhan advertisements were issued in Charleston newspapers from September to October, 1771.¹⁶ His numerous addresses can be followed in these notices. It is unknown how long Mr. Juhan stayed in Charleston before moving to Philadelphia by 1783. He died in Petersburg, VA in 1797, nearly three decades after first setting foot on American soil.¹⁷

Another flutist, John-William Beck, confidently proclaimed his teaching abilities in the *South Carolina American and General Gazette* of December 17, 1773:

John-William Beck, Musician, Begg leave to acquaint the Publick, that he teaches to play on the following instruments, viz. Clarinet, Flauto Traverso, Flauto a bel [a bec], Flageolet, Hautboy or Oboe de Amour, Bassoon, Violin, tenor Violin and Bass Violin as perfectly as any Master in America...¹⁸

Other part-time flute teachers made their services available to the musical public. A musician by the name of Mr. Blake took out several ads to

¹⁶Bagdon, p. 15. The following dates were given in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* (SCAGG): September 2, 9, 17, 24, and October 20. In the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* (SCGCJ): September 10, 17 and supplement to September 24. In the *South Carolina Gazette* (SCG): September 12, 19, and 24.

¹⁷Lambert, "Appendix C," *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, p. 1079.

¹⁸Bagdon, p. 155.

teach the German flute in 1768.¹⁹ Three years later, Jacob Hood gave notice that he taught German flute, violin, and violincello.²⁰ By March of 1772, Hood established a teaching partnership with a Philip Martunoz, instrument repairman and music teacher. With their combined "expertise" they established a veritable conservatory:

For all Lovers of Musick Jacob Hood and Philip Martunoz beg leave to inform the public that they teach at home or abroad, all Musical Instruments of every denomination whatsoever particularly the Violin, Violincello, Harpsichord, Hautboy, Bassoon, German and English Flute, French Horn, etc...²¹

The statement "at home or abroad" signified that they, like most colonial musicians, would travel to neighboring homes and plantations in order to supplement their incomes through music instruction.

Two dancing masters, Robert Launce and George Christie, taught the flute primarily as an accompanying instrument. Although little biographical information could be found on them, their numerous advertisements suggest a considerable enterprise.²²

The activities of the St. Cecilia Society are the most significant

¹⁹Bagdon cites the following ads: SCAGG, May 27, June 10, June 17, 1768; SCGCJ May 31, 1768; SCG, June 6, Postscript to June 13, June 20, 1768, cited in Bagdon, p. 154.

²⁰SCAGG, September 9, September 17, 1771, cited in Bagdon, p. 155.

²¹From SCAGG, March 16, 23, and 30, 1772, cited in Bagdon, p. 155.

²²For Christie: SCAGG, October 28, November 4, 1771; February 20, 1772: SCGCJ, November 5, 12, and Supplement to November 19, 1771; SCG, November 14, and 28, 1771. For Launce: SCGCJ, November 27, 1770 (a performance at a magic show); SCAGG, June 3, June 17, 1771. Bagdon, pp. 155 and 172.

achievement that Charleston can boast of. Founded in 1762, it became the first musical society in America. It was a well-organized and exclusive organization which sponsored numerous events. In the realm of fostering professional orchestras, the Society was pioneering, not only because of its reputed high performance standards, but also because of its professionalism in hiring practices:

The St. Cecilia Society gives notice that they will engage with, and give suitable encouragement to musicians properly qualified to perform at their Concert...The performers they are in want of are, a first and second violin, two hautboys and a bassoon whom they are willing to agree with for one, two or three years.²³

This particular ad was sent to New York, Philadelphia and Boston newspapers. It is significant because it represents the first national vacancy notice for orchestra positions. These ads were strong inducements for fledgling northern musicians. The prospects of a stable income and a higher social status drew many to this city, particularly after the War. The financial stability that this organization generated for musicians was renowned not only in this country, but also in Europe. In a letter written by a German visitor in 1784, an idea of this reputation can be grasped:

In Charleston there were two concerts twice a month by four first and three second violins, two violas, two violoncellos, two bassoons, one harpsichord, two clarinets or oboes, two flutes and two horns. We met there the following musical artists, Franceschini, an Italian, Abercrombie, a Scotsman, and Peter

²³Sonneck p. 18.

Walton [Valton, a German]... Music supports her Master handsomely in America and one may speedily make a fortune through her.²⁴

Mentioned in the article is the composer Gaetano Franceschini (who on Aug 8, 1783, played the violin on a New York benefit concert for Mr. William Brown, the eminent Philadelphia flutist). It is unknown why Mr. Brown was in Charleston at this time. Perhaps he was exploring the potentials of employment in the city or just visiting a former musician acquaintance? It is difficult to say.

The advertisement above is also significant because of the instrumentation of the orchestra, which was a size comparable to most European orchestras of that time--an impressive statistic considering the caesura of cultural activities in the colonies during the revolutionary conflict. The Society's fortnightly concerts included works which required flutists. Compositions by J.C. Bach, Abel, Toeschi, Stamitz, Haydn, Moller, Handel, and Corelli were represented on various programs, many of which required flute. Therefore, there is evidence to support that flutists with high performance standards worked in Charleston. Unfortunately, records could not be located to determine who he (they) might have been; perhaps one of the flutists already discussed could have been engaged for their concert seasons.

The Charleston music scene became increasingly competitive after the

²⁴Originally published in *Musikalische Bibliothek*, Vol. I, 1784 and reprinted in Roger Phelps, "The History and Practice of Chamber Music in the United States from Earliest Times Up to 1875" (Ph.D. dissertation: State University of Iowa, 1951), p. 74.

struggle for independence primarily because of an influx of foreign theater musicians. Numerous subscription series, benefit concerts, and special performances were given during the final quarter of the century. In 1796, a "Grand Music Festival" was held at the Charleston Theatre and included an orchestra comprised of thirty of "the most eminent professors and amateurs in town," including flutists. This performance featured the *Stabat Mater* of Haydn along with other vocal and instrumental pieces. In an announcement of the program, flutes were among the orchestra.²⁵ On Dec. 14, 1799, Mr. Labatut, clarinetist, gave notice in the *South Carolina Gazette* that, among other works, the popular flute "Quartetto" by Pleyel would be performed. A roster of participants was not included.

For all of the musical activity recorded in Charleston's early history, surprisingly few references to flute performances survive. Of course, one cannot rely totally upon extant records from this period, as a significant number of the most important ones were destroyed or lost. Even though a number of flutists existed, the most popular function of the flute was as an accompanying instrument to song and dance.

The procurement of flute music presented somewhat of a problem to the Charleston musicians. This was due in part to the few printers in the city at that time (save the aforementioned Peter Valton, who only proposed to print some music). Musicians had to import music from England, Holland, France, and cities in the northern colonies. The first record of flute music can be traced to the *Gazette* in 1732, which announced that *Musical Miscellany, being a Collection of Choice Songs, set to the Violin and Flute, by*

²⁵Sonneck, p. 34.

the most Eminent Masters was to be sold.²⁶ Flute self-instructors or method books were available as early as 1737. The first one which identified an author was advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, November 21, 1769. The author was "Schucart."²⁷ This was probably Johann Christian Schickhardt (1682-pre 1762) a German and a prolific composer for flute who lived in Amsterdam. Other flute music was available and sold usually at local bookstores or general merchant's shops. In 1765 the following advertisement was placed: "Sundry solos, duets, etc. for the harpsichord violin or German flute Upwards of 500 single songs, among which are most of the new ones sung at the theatres and gardens in London..."²⁸ Collections similar to this one were common in America during the eighteenth century (Sonneck lists *Gentlemans Amusement*, *Evening Amusement*, and *Elegant Extracts* to name a few). Private individuals also sold music when it became available. Charlestonian Shad Windsor advertised in 1771 that he had for sale "Duets for two German flutes by Geanon, Hasse, Martinei, etc."²⁹ Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1783), a German, was an important Italian opera composer of the early Classic period and an acquaintance of J.J. Quantz. He wrote several trio sonatas for two flutes and basso continuo. Martinei was perhaps Padre Giambattista Martini (1706-84) of Bologna, Italy, composer and teacher of J.C. Bach. On Geanon, nothing could be found (possibly Guignon). It would not be

²⁶April 15, 1732, cited in Benson, p. 130. Phelps suggests that this could have been Edward Wigg [?].

²⁷Bagdon, p. 125.

²⁸Bagdon, p. 126.

²⁹Bagdon, p. 127.

surprising to find flute music of every variety in the colonial libraries of gentlemen dilettantes. One modern author comments that "from at latest the 1730s to the Revolution there was music in Charleston of every kind known in the period."³⁰

³⁰Davis, *Intellectual Life*, p. 1265.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE FLUTE OF THE AMERICAN MORAVIANS

Several German religious sects settled in America during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Prominent among them were the Mennonites, German Pietists (the Wissahickon Hermits), Dunkards, Ephrata Community, and the Unitas Fratrum or, as they will be referred to here, the Moravians. The latter were by far the most prolific and creative in their musical activities.

Benjamin Franklin once commented on the Bethlehem Moravian community, "I was at their Church, where I was entertain'd with good Musick, the Organ being accompanied with Violins, Hautboys, Flutes, Clarinets, &c."¹ His approbations of the quality of music there were not politically motivated or tainted by naivete. In fact, the principal Moravian settlements--Bethlehem, Lititz, Nazareth, Pennsylvania and Salem, North Carolina (now Winston-Salem)--retained musical standards unparalleled by any city in America in the eighteenth century but, because they lived in somewhat isolated mission settlements, their activities did not have much consequence on American music.² However, as Franklin's quote verifies, the

¹1756. Kenneth Silverman, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (NY: Penguin Books, 1986), p. 168.

²The Moravians, officially known as the Unitas Fratrum, were a German evangelical society whose American missionary efforts focused upon both the Native Americans and other German settlers. They were theological descendants of the Bohemian martyr reformer Jan Hus (1372-1415). Three Centuries later, a Saxon nobleman named Count Nicholas Ludwig Zinzendorf provided political asylum to the group and assisted them in their migration to Savannah, GA in 1735. In 1753, they settled the 100,000 acre Wachovia tract in the Piedmont area of North Carolina. Six towns were

flute was important in their community and was a concert entity from the onset.

Compositions by American Moravians were mainly used for congregational worship; the preferred genre being anthems, hymns, arias, and chorales. This is not surprising since their *raison d'être* was the practice and evangelism of their faith. A list of leading composers would consist of Jeremias Dencke, John Antes, Johann Friedrich Peter, Johannes Herbst, Georg Gottfried Muller, David Moritz Michael, and Johann Christian Bechler. Although the scoring of their earlier anthems were restricted to SATB, strings, and organ/basso continuo, the flute and other instruments were eventually incorporated. By 1780, Peter used the traverso in his "Der Herr segne euch je mehr und mehr."³ It typically ornamented the instrumental ritornello sections such as the prelude, interlude, and postlude.⁴ However, the preeminent importance of the text subordinated the role of the flute. In Peter's later anthems such as "Sey gegrusst, erblastes Leben" (1781) and "Ihr sollt an Jerusalem ersatzt werden" (1786), the traverso was used more extensively as an obbligato instrument. In most of Peter's orchestrations, the flute is not functionally independent from the violin parts but is used for the purposes of added color. McCorkle suggests

established there: Salem, Bethabara, Bethania, Friedland, Friedberg, and Hope. Three others were founded in Pennsylvania: Bethlehem, Lititz, and Nazareth. Their settlement schools were so successful that in 1796 George Washington tried to gain admission there for two of his grand nieces.

³Donald McCorkle, "Moravian Music in Salem," (Ph.D. dissertation: Indiana University, 1958), p. 137.

⁴Several flute parts are extant or mentioned in *A Catalogue of Music* by Rau and David. Peter, Till, Muller, Herbst, Michael, and Bechler included the flute in their later anthems.

that an explanation for this might be that Peter "probably knew very little of the idiomatic qualities inherent in the various members of the woodwind family, for it is very doubtful that he ever knew anyone possessing the technical facility we take for granted today."⁵ However, a more comprehensive examination of the flute in these works, as well as a comparison to similar styles of European masters, is necessary to formulate an accurate appraisal. John Christian Till, Muller, Herbst, and Michael also used the flute in their sacred works.⁶

Notwithstanding the above comment on the paucity of good Moravian flutists, other data supports that there must have been players of adequate ability among the community of brethren. The principal justification for this theory is the existence of numerous secular flute works documented by the Moravians. Appendix F lists no fewer than twenty eight designated chamber works.⁷ Composers such as Devienne, Clementi, Mozart, and Pleyel are represented. The duet seems to have been the most popular genre. But what forum existed for the performance of this music and who might have played the instrument? An examination of their *Collegium musicum* provides some insight.

The *Harvard Dictionary* defines *Collegium musicum* as a "name for

⁵McCorkle, p. 145.

⁶Albert Rau and Hans T. David, *Catalogue of Music by American Moravians* (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Co., 1938)

⁷Appendix F was included merely for the purposes of illustrating the diversity of flute repertoire among the Moravians. The works were culled from a limited number of sources. An attempt to provide an unabridged list would be outside the scope of this research project; hopefully, it will be accomplished in the future.

musical associations formed by amateurs for the performance of serious music."⁸ Its origins are attributed to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century universities of Europe, the most renowned of which were in Hamburg and Leipzig. The Moravians continued this tradition in America and organized a *Collegium* in each settlement shortly after their arrival. They maintained this forum for the performance of sacred and secular chamber and orchestral music well into the nineteenth century. Unlike their Quaker neighbors in Philadelphia, the enjoyment of this type of music was openly sanctioned under the aegis of the church. In his preface to *Anthems...performed in the Church of the United Brethren* [1811], Moravian composer Christian Ignatius LaTrobe reflected upon their true mind-set towards instrumental music:

The practice of Instrumental Music is recommended by the Brethren, as a most useful substitute for all those idle pursuits, in which young people too often consume their leisure hours; and since its application as an accompaniment and support to the voice is calculated to produce the most pleasing effect, its use in the Church has been retained.⁹

The importance of the Moravian's *Collegium* was far-reaching since no other such group had been as highly organized in the colonies. Many important masterpieces had their American premiers in Bethlehem and Salem.¹⁰

⁸*Harvard Dictionary of Music*, second edition, revised and enlarged by Willi Apel (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977) p. 182.

⁹Donald McCorkle, "Musical Instruments of the Moravians in North Carolina," *The American-German Review* 21/3 (1955), p. 12.

¹⁰McCorkle states that the Bethlehem Philharmonic Society, which succeeded the *Collegium musicum* there, organized the first American

Naturally, the flute was an inextricable part of this ensemble. There is some evidence of flutes in Bethlehem as early as 1742.¹¹ But a November 15, 1755 entry in the *Bethabara Diary* gives conflicting information: "Saturday ...At six was our Sabbath Lovefeast, at which our flutes were used for the first time..."¹² Perhaps this was the first time that flutes were used in church as opposed to other places? The use of flutes became popular during the last decade of the eighteenth century. Figure 9 depicts two traversos in the Wachovia Historical Society's collection, one made by Gutter (Neukirchen):

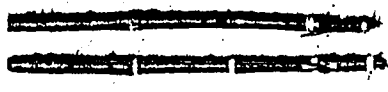


Figure 9. North Carolina Moravian flutes
of the late eighteenth century.
Courtesy of the Wachovia Historical Society.

Information on Moravian flutists is scarce. Church diaries from the 1780s indicate that Jacob Loesch was the flutist in the ensemble, but it is reasonable to assume that there were more since many the orchestral compositions required two flutes. Loesch was in America by 1755 since his

succeeded the *Collegium musicum* there, organized the first American symphony orchestra in 1820. Haydn's oratorio *The Creation* was performed around 1811.

¹¹McCorkle, p. 49.

¹²Cited by Roger Paul Phelps, "The History and Practice of Chamber Music in the United States from Earliest Times Up to 1875," (Ph.D. dissertation: State University of Iowa, 1951), p. 141.

name is referred to in a non-musical context in the *Bethabara Diary*.¹³

McCorkle states that he was "Jacob Loesch, the younger, (who moved to Bethania in 1789)."¹⁴

One final note on the flute of the Moravians. In June of 1791, President George Washington visited the Salem community. Diaries indicate that he was frequently entertained by music during dinner mealtimes and at formal concerts. At one point he, like Benjamin Franklin in 1756, enjoyed hearing a Moravian flutist as he was serenaded by strains of woodwind music near his room. The account here has been abridged since the original contains much peripheral information:

As he [Washington] approached the town several tunes were played, partly by trumpets and French horns, partly by the trombones. He sent word to our musicians that he would like some music during his evening meal, and it was furnished to him....the President and Major Jackson, attended a *Singstunde* in the evening, the singing being interspersed with instrumental selections, and they expressed their pleasure in it. In the evening the wind instruments were heard *again* [italics mine], playing sweetly near the tavern.¹⁵

In the final ten years of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth, Moravians shifted their musical emphasis from the chamber music of the *Collegia* to larger orchestral works. This was due mainly to the popularity of symphonic works of the great classical composers. This

¹³Phelps, p. 141.

¹⁴McCorkle, p. 164.

¹⁵McCorkle, p. 172.

generated increased numbers of woodwind players and, by implication, flutists. The repertoire listed in Appendix F shows that the flute was not an indifferent pastime for dabblers, but an ordinary feature among the extraordinary Moravian musical community.

CONCLUSIONS

The primary goal of this research was to provide significant new evidence of flute activities during America's musical nascence. The success of this endeavor can be partially measured by the plethora of records now uncovered. However, other important conclusions can be drawn from this study.

By examining early newspapers, traveller's accounts, and other extant manuscripts, it became immediately apparent that flute playing was not restricted to the major cities, but was also common in smaller towns and certain religious settlements. Flutists were featured in performances by mid-century in places such as Williamsburg, Savannah, Annapolis, and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Another basic conclusion is that American flute playing had a prehistory. Compelling evidence from seventeenth-century documents suggests that the early colonials were well-acquainted with the flute. Boston probate records indicate that the flute was both an ordinary household item and a popular form of entertainment--a fact which is especially intriguing in light of the restrictive cultural climate of New England during that period. And a letter from Green Bay Wisconsin, a region totally isolated from the cultural mainstream, reveals that a Jesuit missionary was teaching the flute to the Indians. Even though these could not be considered serious musical activities, they do verify the flute's presence in seventeenth-century America.

It is also evident that each city offered diverse forums for flute performance during the eighteenth century. Some featured a particular venue from early on. For example, New York and Philadelphia offered

subscription concerts; Williamsburg offered the theatre; Charleston, the St. Cecilia Society concerts; and on plantation estates, the family musicale. Cultural and social standards dictated the consumption and popularity of these particular forms of entertainment. Some cities offered flutists a range of performance opportunities. One fact remains certain: after the harpsichord and violin, the flute was the most popular instrument.

Another conclusion reached from this study is that flute music was both plentiful and multifarious. It began as a fashionable accompanying instrument for dance or popular song. Later, instructional tutors charted fingerings for the *new* German flute and featured arrangements of folk songs. Unfortunately, pre-Revolutionary newspaper advertisements did not specifically identify compositions on programs. When flute works were finally identified in the 1780s, the repertoire was comparable to sophisticated European standards. The works of C.P.E. Bach, J.B. Vanhall, Toeschi, and Mozart were routinely mentioned, as if common to their programs.

The results of this research also bring to light the socio-economic status of the professional musician who played the flute. The few successful ones, like Brown and Saliment, had to combine their unusual talents with their business acumen, particularly when it concerned the management and production of their concert series'. The less successful had to be mobile, adaptable, and versatile; non-musical jobs were a necessity. Nearly all were itinerant.

In summary, the importance of this study is the contribution of new data to the chronicle of early American flutists. The activities of many southern flutists have been recovered from the annals of history. The

knowledge of New York and Moravian flutists has been significantly expanded from previous studies. Although this dissertation could be considered a sequel to those studies, it does not pretend to be comprehensive or complete. Appendix A lists only a few flutists from other colonies and cities that I noticed in secondary sources. Future research at the Moravian archives in Bethlehem would undoubtedly yield new documentation. It is likely that much information on this topic is hidden in the archives and historical societies of this country and in those abroad. The task of chronicling eighteenth-century American flute events is hardly finished.

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APPENDIX A

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FLUTISTS OF OTHER COLONIES/CITIES

<i>New Hampshire</i>	<i>Dates of Known Activity</i>
Horatio Garnet, Portsmouth, teacher	1788
William Crosby, teacher	1773
J.H. Smith, "Professor of Music," teacher	1789
<i>Rhode Island</i>	
John Patterson (Paterson), teacher	1764-1796
John Hiwell	1784 (after Feb. 1785, Savannah)
<i>New Jersey</i>	
Peter Declary (Declang), teacher, performer	1798
Mr. Jungbluth (Eungbluth)	1798
I. Mitchell	1796
<i>Connecticut</i>	
Andrew Law, singing teacher, reputed to have also taught the flute and violin	1770
Noah Webster, amateur performer	1775
Edmund Smith, dealer	1782
Isaac Beers, flute music dealer	1785
Flute Performances at Yale	1780s
<i>Baltimore</i>	
Francis Callister, teacher	1780/90
R. Shaw, editor of <i>Gentleman's Amusement</i> , teacher of music	1794
John Cole, teacher	1798
Mr. Astor, maker	1784
<i>Augusta, Georgia</i>	
Claude Simons, teacher	1786

Petersburg, Virginia

James Juhan, teacher	1787
R. Shaw, teacher	1797

Portsmouth, Virginia

James Juhan, teacher	1786
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Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Capus, teacher	1787
John Widewiet, teacher	1789
Thomas Sheldon, teacher	1794

APPENDIX B

NEW YORK CITY PLAYBILL OF 1752 ANNOUNCING A GERMAN FLUTE
SOLO AT INTERMISSION

G. G. R.



For the Benefit of Mrs. *Upton*,
(being the last Night of playing.)
By his Excellency's Permission,
At the THEATRE in *Nassau-Street*,
On *Thursday* the 20th of *February*, will be acted, A TRAGEDY,
(never played here) called,
VENICE PRESERV'D,
O R,
A PLOT DISCOVER'D.
The Part of *JAFFIER*, to be perform'd by Mr. UPTON.

<i>Priuli,</i>	}	by	<i>Mr. Leigh,</i>
<i>Pierre,</i>			<i>Mr. Petty,</i>
<i>Bidamar,</i>			<i>Mr. Fitzgerald.</i>
<i>Renault,</i>			<i>Mr. Tremain,</i>
<i>Elliot,</i>			<i>Mr. James,</i>

The Part of *BELVIDERA*, to be perform'd by Mrs. UPTON,
Several select Pieces of Musick between the Acts; particularly, a SOLO
on the *German Flute*.
A SONG by Mrs. UPTON, called *JOCKEY*.
To which will be added,
MISS in her T E E N S.
If thro' Ignorance, Mrs. *Upton*, as being a Stranger, shou'd neglect
applying to any Gentlemen or Ladies, she hopes they'll excuse it.
To begin precisely at 6 o'Clock.
BOX, 5*s*. PITT, 4*s*. GALLERY, 2*s*.
Tickets to be had at the *Crown and Thistle*, and at Mr. *Evans's*, Hatter near the Dock.
N. B. Those who please to favour her with their Company, may depend
on seeing the Play decently perform'd, at least perfect, and that all or
more than included in the Bills will be done.

APPENDIX C

A FACSIMILE OF WILLIAM BROWN'S BROADSIDE CONCERNING THE
NEW YORK SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS

New-York, October, 1785.

AT a Meeting of the Subscribers to the *Gentlemens'*
Concert of this City,

FRANCIS VAN BERCKLE,
SAMUEL CURSON,
MORGAN LEWIS,
JOHN LAWRENCE,
JAMES FAIRLIE,
DAVID CAMPBELL, } *ESQUIRES,*

Were chosen Managers, and the following Regulations for conducting the Concert then agreed upon.

I. That the Concert shall consist of two Musical Acts, besides Solos and Singing; and that betwixt each Act there shall be a recess of Half an Hour.

II. That during the performance of the Music, no person shall either sneak, rise up, move any chairs, tables or benches, walk across the room, or do any other thing so disturb or prevent the rest of the Company from enjoying the Music, or by which disrespect may be shewn to the performance: This to be a fundamental and invariable Rule.

III. That if any Lady or Gentleman transgress in any of the particulars mentioned in the preceding Rule, it shall be the indispensable duty of the Managers to reprimand the transgressors. Those persons whom it may be necessary so to reprimand twice in the same night, shall not be permitted to dance for that evening; and if they transgress in the same manner at any subsequent Concert, if a Lady no Ticket of admission shall be thereafter sent her, and if a Gentleman he shall lose the benefit of his Subscription for the remainder of the Season.

IV. That no person whatever shall be admitted within the Orchestra, but Managers and Performers.

V. That any Gentleman choosing to perform at the Concert, must give notice of his intentions two days before to Mr. BROWN, who is to conduct the Musical department, and to have under his sole government all the hired performers.

VI. That no Gentleman who is a Residenter in the City, and not a Subscriber, shall be admitted to the Concert on any account whatsoever.

VII. That Strangers recommended by any of the Subscribers, shall, upon application to a Manager, have a Ticket.

VIII. That the two Ladies Tickets to which each Subscriber is entitled for the Season, shall be signed with the name of such Subscriber, without which the Bearer of such Ticket cannot be admitted; and if any person should happen to be admitted upon such Ticket, of a station or character improper to mix with such company as there is reason to expect will frequent the Concerts, it shall be the duty of the Managers to request such person to leave the room; and if such Ticket has by the Owner been intentionally and knowingly so disposed of, he shall be no longer considered as a Subscriber.

IX. That after each Concert there shall be a Dance, under the direction of the Managers, but no set shall stand up to dance after Twelve o'Clock.

X. That it shall be considered as the absolute duty of the Managers to see that the above Rules and Regulations are invariably adhered to, and that upon their failing to do so they shall be liable to censure and removal.

APPENDIX D

A LIST OF FLUTE MUSIC (DESIGNATED OR ADAPTED) SOLD IN RIVINGTON'S NEW YORK GAZETTE BETWEEN THE YEARS 1773-1783

Principal source: Gillian Anderson. Music in New York During the American Revolution: An Inventory of Musical References in Rivington's New York Gazette (Boston: Music Library Association, Inc., 1987). All spellings were copied verbatim.

Alexander, B.

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

Bach, C.P.E.

Duetts for two German flutes.

Bach, J.C.

Quartetts, Opera 9.

6 quartettos for German flute.

Six quartettos for two violins, a german flute, violin, taille and bass.

Quintetto for flauto.

Four sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

Bates, William

Duetts for German flute.

Six duets for two violins and German flutes.

Duetts for violins and Germans flutes.

Bem, Venceslav

Quartetts for German flute.

Blanc (Blane)

Six duets for two flutes.

Duetts for German flutes.

Solos for German flute.

Campioni, Carlo Antonio

Duetts for German flute.

Six sonatas for violin and German flute.

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

Cappelletti, Anthonio

12 sonatas for German flute.

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

Catches and glees...set for the violin, German flute, guitar, etc.

Cirri, Giovanni Battista

Duetts for violins and German Flutes.

Quartetts.

Contra dances and other easy baggatelles for young adepts on the German flute, fiddle, guittar, hautboy, &c.

Davis, Thomas
20 airs for two German flutes or two violins.

Dibdin, Charles
Deserter, English opera adapted for the German flute.

English songs. Set for the violin, German flute, guitar.

Fischer, Johann Christian
Concertos for hautboys or German flute.
Duetts for violins and German flutes.

Florio, Pietro Grassi
Duetts for German flute.

Flute music, to be sold by Valentine Nutter.

Garth, John
Sonatas for two German flutes.

Geminiani, Francesco
On true taste for violin...

Gerard, James
Six sonatas for violin and German flute.

German flute music. numerous

German flute tutors and instructors. numerous

Giardini, Felice
Duetts for violins and German flutes.

Giordani, Tommaso
New Concertos, Opera 19.
6 chamber concertos for German flute.
Quartettos for violin....

Golden pippin, English opera, adapted G. flute.

Graf, Friedrich Hartmann
Six quartettos for a flute, violin, viola, and violoncello.

Grassi, Florio
Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

- Groneman, Johann Albert
Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.
- Hasse, Johann Adolph
Six sonatas for a German Flute, violin and bass.
- Haydn, Franz Joseph
Six quartettos for a violin alto and bass Opera 5...
- Holyoak
Duetts for German flute.
- Hopkinson, Francis
"Sing to his shade a solemn strain" In memory of Mr. James Bremner!
- Humble, Maximilian
Sonatas, Sonatas, Six Sonatas, Sonatas.
- Just, Johann August
Duetttinos.
- Kammel, Anton
Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.
- Kerntl, C.F.
Duetts for German flute.
Six sonatas for violin and German flute.
- Kloffler, Johann Friedrich
Duetts for two German flutes.
- Lidarti, Christiano Giuseppe
Six sonatas for violin and German flute.
- Lidel, Andreas
Trios, Op. 1.
- MacGibbon, William
Scots tunes.
- Magherini
Trios for German flute.
- Mahon, John
Clareneto solo concerto..
- Mancinelli, Domenico
Eight duets.
Duetts for violins and German flutes.
Six sonatas.

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

Marches, for young adepts on the German flute, fiddle, guittar, hautboy, etc.

Midas, English opera. adapted.

Miller, Edward

Six solos for violin or German flute.

Solos for German flute.

Minuets, Dutch, for German flute.

In, For young adepts on the German flute, fiddle, guitar, hautboy, etc.

Myslivecek, Josef

Trios for the German flute.

Nardini, Pietro

Duetts for violins and German flutes.

A new and excellent pocket book for the German flute and fiddle.

Noferi, Giovanni Battista

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins, Opera 10.

Nussen, Frederick

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

Patoni, Giovanni Battista

Sonatas for German flute.

Pesch, Carl August

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins, Opera 2nd.

Pla, Jose

Concertos for two German flutes or hautboys.

6 sonatas for vi and German flute.

Sonatas, six sonatas 6 sonatas...

Reid, John

Solos for German flute.

Reinards, William

2 pocket duets for violins and German flutes.

Rodil, Antonio

Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

Sabbatini, Luigi Antonio

2 pocket duets for violins and German flutes.

Schwindl, Friedrich
Six sonatas for violin and German flute.

Scots Songs, numerous.

Stamitz, C.P. or J.W.A
Concertos, Duets, and Sonatas. numerous

Tacet, Joseph
Divertiments.
Duets and preludes for German flute.
39 preludes for German flute, violin, or hautboy.

Tartini, Giuseppe
Two solos for violin and German flute.

Thumoth, Burk
Six solos for violin and German flute.

Toeschi, Carlo Giuseppi
Quartetto for flauto.

Vento, Mattia
Sonatas for two German Flutes or violin.

Vocal music, catches, gless...for the flute, fiddle, guitar, harpsichord, etc.

Wanhall (Vanhall), Jan Baptiste
Quartetto for flauto.

Weiss, Carl
Trios.

Wendling, Johann Baptist
Six sonatas for violin and German flute.
Sonatas for two German flutes or violins.

APPENDIX E

FLUTE MUSIC AVAILABLE IN COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

Source: Cynthia Zignego Stiverson. *Colonial Williamsburg Music, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Printed Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Music in the Collections of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* (West Cornwall, CT: Locust Hill Press, 1988).

Abel, Karl Friedrich

Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or German Flute, and Violoncello.

Six Sonatas For Two Violins, or a German Flute and Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord.
[c. 1765]

Six Sonatas For Two Violins, or a German Flute and Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord.
[c. 1770]

[Astorga, Jean Oliver]

Six Sonatas For two German Flutes or two Violins and a Bass

Bach, J.C.

Six Quartettos for a German Flute Violin Tenor and Violon-cello

Besozzi, Alessandro

VIII Sonatas For Two German Flutes Or Two Violins with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord.

Six Solos For A German Flute Or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello.

Six Solos For the German-Flute, Hautboy, or Violin, With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord.

VI Sonatas in Three Parts for a German Flute, A Violin with a Thorough bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello.

Boccherini, Luigi

Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte With an Accompaniment for a Violin or German Flute

Clio and Euterpe Or British Harmony A Collection of Celebrated Songs and Cantatas By the most approved Masters Curiously Engrav'd With the

Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord and Transposition for the German Flute

The Compleat Country Dancing-Master: Containing Great Variety of Dances...fitted to the Violin, or Hautboy and most of them within the Compass of the German Flute & Common Flute Engraven in a fair Character, and Carefully Corrected...

Geminiani, Francesco

Concerti Grossi Con Due Violini, Violoncello, e Viola di Concertino obligati, e due altri Violini, e Basso di Concerto grosso ad arbitrio il IV. V. e VI. si potranno suonare con due Flauti traversieri, o due Violini con Violonncello

Giardini, Felice

*Sei Sonate di Cembalo con Violino o' Flauto Traverso.
Six Quartettos: Three for a Violin, Oboe, or Flute, Tenor & Violoncello...*

Handel, George Frederic

*Handel's Songs Selected from His Latest Oratorios For the Harpsichord, Voice, Hoboy or German Flute.
Seven Sonatas or Trios for two Violins or German Flutes with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello.
VI Sonates a deux Violins, deux hautbois ou deux Flutes traversieres & Basse Continue
Solos For a German Flute a Hoboy or Violin With a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin.*

Hasse, Johann Adolph

*Six Sonatas or Trios For Two German Flutes or two Violins and A Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord.
Twelve Concertos In Six Parts, For a German Flute, Two Violins, a Tenor, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello.
A Second Set of Venetian Ballads For the German Flute, Violin, or Harpsichord.
A Third Set of Venetian Ballads For the German Flute...*

Hook, James

Six Sonatas for the PianoForte, or Harpsichord, With an Accompaniment for the German Flute or Violin

Jackson, William

Twelve Songs Set to Music by William Jackson of Exeter, Properly disposed for the Voice, Harpsichord, German Flute, or Violin

Lates, James

Six Sonatas For Two Violins, or a German Flute and Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord

Love In A Village. A Comic Opera...For the Harpsicord, Voice, German Flute, or Violin

Meusel, Godfrey

Midas A Comic Opera...For the Harpsicord, Voice, German Flute, Violin, or Guitar

The Musical Miscellany; Being a Collection of Choice Songs, Set to the Violin and Flute, By the most Eminent Masters

Purcell, Henry

Orpheus Britannicus. A Collection Of All the Choicest Songs For One, Two, and Three Voices, Compos'd By Mr. Henry Purcell, Together, With such Symphonies for Violins or Flutes, As Were by Him design'd for any of them...

Quantz, Johann Joachim

Solos for a German Flute a Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin

Rameau, Jean Phillippe

Five Concertos For the Harpsicord Compos'd by Mr. Rameau. Accompanied with a Violin or German Flute

Reinards, William

Six Duets For Two German Flutes Or Violins

San Martini, Giovanni Battista

Six Sonatas or Duets For Two German Flutes or Violins.

Six Sonatas or Duets For Two German Flutes or Violins.

[second issue]

Schickhardt, Johann Christian

Solos for a German Flute a Hoboy or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin

Schwindl, Friedrich

Six Quatour a Deux Violins (ou Une Flutte un Violin) Taille & Basse

Six Quartettos for A German Flute Violin Tenor And Bass or Two-Violins a Tenor and Bass By Messrs. Bach Abel & Giardini

Stamitz, Carl Philipp

Six Trios, for two Violins, a Violoncello, or Tenor Obligato. NB. The first Violin Part, may be Performed on the German Flute

Stanley, John

Six Solo's for a German Flute, Violin or Harpsichord

Universal Harmony Or, The Gentleman & Ladies' Social Companion.

Consisting of a great Variety of the Best & most Favourite English & Scots Songs...for the Voice, Violin, Hautboy, German & Common Flute, with a Thorough Basse...

Vento, Mathias

Six Sonatas For the Harpsichord with an Accompanyment for a Violin or German Flute

Vincent, Thomas Jr.

Six Solos For A Hautboy German Flute, Violin, or Harpsicord with a Thorough Bass

APPENDIX F

A LIST OF CHAMBER MUSIC AND CONCERTOS WHICH INCLUDE THE FLUTE, EXTANT IN THE MORAVIAN ARCHIVES OR MENTIONED IN THEIR CATALOGS

*includes Moravian, Moravian-connected, and Moravian-documented works

Principal Sources:

- McCorkle, David. "Moravian Music in Salem"
- Rau, Albert and Hans T. David. *A Catalogue of Music by American Moravians*
- Moravian Music Journal Publications*. Summer 1982.
- Hellyer, Roger, "The Harmoniemusic of the Moravian Communities in America," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 27 (1980): 95-108.

Agrell, Johann (1701-1765); Aurelli, Frederico (?); Vinci, Leonardo (1690-1730)

Six Sonatas or Duets for two German Flutes or Violins.
Opera Seconda. London: Walsh, c. 1735

Anonymous

XII Duetti a Due Flauti Traversi. [Copied Jan. 8, 1790] (Johann Friedrich Peter Collection)

Clementi, Muzio (1752-1832)

Oeuvres Completes de Muzio Clementi. Cahier VII.
Contenant 8 Sonates pour le Pianoforte avec accompagnement de
violon ou Flute et violoncelle. Leipsig: Breitkopf & Hartel

Devienne, Francois (1759-1803)

Trois Quatuors concertans pour Flute, Violon, Alto et Violon-celle.
Oeuvre 62me. Offenbach: Andre, 1797

Dietter, [? Dieter, Christian Ludwig (1757-1822)]

Trois Duos Pour Flute et Violon avec accompagnement de Violon-celle.
Oeuv. 21. Leipsig: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1807

Dulon, Louis [Friedrich Ludwig] (1769-1826)

XII Variations Pour Flute et Violon composees et dediees a Monsieur
Le Comte Henri Ernesti [...] Par Louis Dulon aveugle Joueur de Flute.

Op. 2. Leipsig: Breitkopf & Hartel, c. 1796

Giordani, Tommaso (c. 1744-c. 1816)

Six Quatuors pour le Clavecin, Flute, Violon, e Basse Compose par Tommaso Giordani. Opera XVII, Dedie a My Lord Lucan. London: Napier, c. 1772-1791

Concerto for Flute and Orchestra (Fleisher Collection)

Graun, Karl Heinrich (1701-1759)

Arias in C [2], and *A.* Flauto Traverso, Violino Primo, Violino Secondo et Viola con Basso

Trio e A dur. Flauto Traverso, Violino con Basso

Grimm, Johann Daniel (1710-1760)

Some [23] *Duets for two German Flutes*

Gyrowetz, Adalbert (1763-1850)

Trois Trios pour Flute, Violon, Violoncelle. Oeuvre 40. Rotterdam: N. Barth, n.d.

Hagen, Amand van der (1753-1822)

Six Walzer, Six Allemandes pour Flut et Violon. Rotterdam: N. Barth, n.d.

Hembel, ?Hempel, Christian Wilhelm (1727-?)

Trio e D dur a Flauto Traverso Primo et Flauto Traverso Secondo e Fondamento. copied 1770

Hoffmann, Leopold (1730-1792)

Trio o Divertimento e C dur a Violino Primo o Flauto Traverso, Violino Secondo e Basso. [copied Apr 13, 1767]

Hoffmeister, [Franz Anton? or Friedrich August?]

Concert Pour la Flute Traversiere avec l'Accompagnement de Deux Violons, Taille & Basse, Deux Hautbois & Deux Cors de Chasse. Oeuvre I. Libro I. Berlin & Amsterdam: Hummel, c. 1791

Parthia in Eb/Quartet for Flute and Strings in Bb, Op. 1, No. 3/or Quartet for Flute and Strings, Op. 2, No. 3 (Breitkopf Catalog, 1778)

supplement). apparently these are one in the same work. (See Bethlehem catalog #1351 and Hellyer article)

Hupfeld, Henry (?-c.1812)

III Duets for two Flutes or Violins. Philadelphia: C. Hupfeld;
Baltimore: F. Hammer, n.d.

Just, ?Johann August (1750-?)

No. 5 Sonata a Cembalo obligato, Flauto ou Violino e Violoncello

Lidl, Anton (?-c.1789)

Six Quatuors, Trois a Deux Violons, Taille et Violoncello, Trois a Une Flute, Violon, Taille et Violoncello

Michael, David Moritz (1751-1827)

Parthia Suite II in E-flat major. Fl., 2 clar., 2 hn., bsn. c. 1807. copied 1810

?Meinung, Ludwig (1743-1817)

Two Arias in G. Flauto Traverso, Violin Primo, Violin Secondo, Viola con Basso. copied c. 1785

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1756-1791)

Il Don Giovanni grand' Opera ridotta in Quartetti per Flauto, Violino, Viola & Basso. Bonn: Simrock, 1804

Pleyel, Ignace (1757-1831)

Parthien Nos. 1, 2, and 3 in Eb. Taken from the 6 Sonatas for Violin or Flute and keyboard. First published in 1796. (Cf. R. Benton, *Ignace Pleyel: A Thematic Catalog...* NY: 1977) See Hellyer article

Reinards, William

Six Sonatines A Deux Flutes Traversieres. Oeuvre IX.
Berlin and Amsterdam: Hummel, c. 1791/92

Riedt, Friedrich Wilhelm (1712-1783)

Sonata A Traverso Solo, Col Basso per Violoncello e Cembalo. Leipsig: Breitkopf, 1758

Schmittbauer, Joseph Aloys (1718-1809)

Quartetto per Flauto, Violino, Alto Viola e Basso. copied c. 1785

Smalle, Aegidius (?)

Trio ex F Dur. Flauto Traverso Primo/Secondo, et Bosso. copied c.
1770

Steinfeldt, Albert Jakob (1757-1824)

Six Solos Pour la Flute Traversiere et Basse. Oeuvre Premier. Berlin
and Amsterdam: Hummel, c. 1781

Vogel, Louis (?)

Trois Duos pour deux Flutes. Oeuvre 35me. Offenbach:
Andre, 1797

Wending, Johann Baptist (c.1720-1797)

Six Sonates a Flute, Violon & Violoncello. Musicien de la Chambre de
S.A.S. Msgr. l'Electeur Palatin. Oeuvre Troisieme. Amsterdam:
Hummel, c.1769

Six Trios a Flute, Violon & Violoncello. Oeuvre Cinquieme. Berlin &
Amsterdam: Hummel, c.1774-76

Wragg, J. (?)

*Progressive Duetts, For Two German Flutes, Extracted from the
Celebrated Book of Instructions by J. Wragg.* Philadelphia, J.G.
Klemm, n.d.

APPENDIX G

GEORGE SALIMENT'S *Minuetto and Variations*

The first system of music consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. Both are in the key of D major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. The music begins with a half rest in the upper staff, followed by a quarter note G4, a quarter note A4, and a quarter note B4. The lower staff has a half note D3, a half note E3, and a half note F3.

The second system continues the piece. The upper staff has a half rest, followed by quarter notes G4, A4, and B4. The lower staff has a half note D3, a half note E3, and a half note F3. The system concludes with a double bar line.

The third system features a more active melody in the upper staff, starting with a quarter note G4, followed by eighth notes A4, B4, and A4, and then quarter notes G4, F4, and E4. The lower staff continues with a steady eighth-note accompaniment: D3, E3, F3, G3, A3, B3, C4, D4.

The fourth system continues the eighth-note accompaniment in the lower staff. The upper staff has a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and A4, and then quarter notes G4, F4, and E4. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Var. 1

The first variation begins with a double bar line. The upper staff has a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and A4, and then quarter notes G4, F4, and E4. The lower staff has a half note D3, a half note E3, and a half note F3. The system concludes with a double bar line.

The second variation begins with a double bar line. The upper staff has a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and A4, and then quarter notes G4, F4, and E4. The lower staff has a half note D3, a half note E3, and a half note F3. The system concludes with a double bar line.



Var. 2

Var. 3

The image displays six systems of musical notation, each consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values, primarily eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Several measures feature triplets, indicated by a '3' above the notes. A double bar line with repeat dots appears at the beginning of the first system and in the middle of the fourth system. The fourth system is labeled 'Var. 4' above the treble staff. The sixth system includes the instruction 'sva- - - - - 1' above the treble staff, indicating a first ending. The overall style is characteristic of classical or romantic-era piano music.

The image displays a page of musical notation, page 171, consisting of six systems of music. Each system contains two staves: a treble staff and a bass staff. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The first system shows a melodic line in the treble and a rhythmic accompaniment in the bass. The second system features triplets in both staves. The third system includes a section labeled "Var. 5" in the treble staff, which is a more complex, rapid melodic passage. The fourth system continues with intricate melodic lines in both staves. The fifth system shows a continuation of the melodic development. The sixth system concludes the page with a final melodic phrase in the treble and a simple accompaniment in the bass.

The image displays a musical score for two variations, labeled 'Var. 6' and 'Var. 7'. The score is written for piano (p) and violin (v). It consists of six systems of music, each with a piano part on the left and a violin part on the right. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 3/4. The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system is labeled 'Var. 6' and includes performance markings such as '8va-1' and '8va-1 8va-'. The third system continues the variation with similar markings. The fourth system features trills ('tr') in the violin part. The fifth system also includes '8va-' markings. The sixth system is labeled 'Var. 7' and concludes the piece. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

The image displays a musical score for piano, consisting of six systems of staves. Each system contains a treble and bass clef staff. The music is written in a key with one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The first three systems feature a complex, rhythmic melody in the treble clef, often with sixteenth-note patterns, while the bass clef provides a steady accompaniment. The fourth system is marked "Var. 8" and shows a change in the melodic line. The fifth and sixth systems continue the piece, with the sixth system including the vocal-like syllable "gia" written above the treble clef staff.

The image displays five systems of musical notation, each consisting of a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is as follows:

- System 1:** The treble staff begins with a sixteenth-note triplet. The bass staff has a quarter note. A fermata is placed over the final note of the treble staff, with the marking "8va" above it.
- System 2:** The treble staff features a series of eighth-note chords. The bass staff has a quarter note.
- System 3:** The treble staff has a sixteenth-note triplet. The bass staff has a quarter note.
- System 4:** The treble staff contains a complex sixteenth-note triplet. The bass staff has a quarter note.
- System 5:** The treble staff has a sixteenth-note triplet. The bass staff has a quarter note.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE AUTHOR

William Phelps Treat was born in West Islip, NY, April 22, 1960, the son of Herbert A. Treat, Jr. and Dorothy E. Treat. He received a Bachelor of Music degree from Florida State University in 1982 and a Master of Arts degree from Teachers College/Columbia University in 1985. He is currently the piccoloist with The United States Military Academy Band, West Point, NY and an adjunct instructor at The King's College, Briarcliff Manor, NY.