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Shute, John Derek

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THE ENGLISH THEORISTS of the SEVENTEENTH CENTURY  
with particular reference to CHARLES BUTLER and THE  
PRINCIPLES of MUSIK in Singing and Setting...1636.

John Derek SHUTE M.A. (University College)

MASTER of LETTERS: March 1972

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## ABSTRACT

"The English Theorists of the Seventeenth Century, with particular reference to Charles Butler and The Principles of Musik...1636."

The thesis is divided into two main parts: the first part is concerned with the English Theorists and Butler; the second presents a modern edition of The Principles of Musik... Chapter I, which is preceded by a Checklist of treatises, tutors, instruction books and "lessons" (1561-1725), examines the traditions of English Music Theory of which Butler forms part, devoting most attention to those theorists who have received least attention, Butler, the anonymous Guide, Campian, Playford and Simpson. Chapter II deals with the life and work of Charles Butler, presenting a large amount of unpublished biographical information, and showing the author to have been a man of wide learning and many talents. Chapter III discusses Butler's book: individual sections concern the book as a specimen of typography, the content of the book and its style, Butler's scholarship; the "major issues" of The Principles... - the Moods, Greek music, the fourth, the contemporary attitudes towards music as demonstrated in Book Two, Butler's indebtedness to earlier writers and his influence on others - are here treated. The modern edition which follows presents an annotated version of the entire text in un-reformed spelling, adding Index Nominum and Index Rerum. Appendices deal with Butler's sources and references; a checklist of his printed books; transcription of all his musical examples; a photographic supplement is devoted to Butler's biography. Bibliography under four main headings - articles, theses, books, microfilm sources - concludes the thesis. The whole is presented in three volumes, Volume II being the modern edition.

**INTRODUCTION**

INTRODUCTION.

The main objective of this dissertation has been the examination of Charles Butler's The Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting... 1636, against the background of a large number of didactic musical books published in Britain during the seventeenth century by many different authors who have since been conveniently labelled "The English Musical Theorists of the Seventeenth Century". A few words of "apology" are perhaps called for at this early stage before the reader finds that no attention has been given to his favourite theorist while lesser figures have received lavish treatment as if by some arbitrary magic, and also in an attempt to forestall criticism of the kind which censures an author for not achieving what was no part of his objective.

The title delineates the seventeenth century as the scope of this study but I thought it advisable - for several reasons - to extend the period at both ends. I have concerned myself exclusively with printed sources, and, since these begin, and appear sporadically before 1600 - several are not extant - it seemed, therefore, a wise move to begin at the beginning. At the other end of the period Playford's Introduction which had first appeared in 1654, attained its fourteenth numbered edition in 1700, and was to run without further significant alteration through at least five more editions, the last being the nineteenth in 1730. As Henry Playford's business declined, so did John Walsh's increase,



the 1690's being a sort of no-man's land, while the early 1720's marked the end of a significant epoch in Walsh's reign. Faced with the decision of 1690's or 1720's as the upward limit of my checklist, I opted for c.1725 since this allowed Playford to bow out with dignity and also enables us to take notice of the important new trends encouraged, perhaps created by John Walsh.

I have taken the widest possible view of "musical theory": it is fair to say that the books included in the checklist have only one thing in common; each has basically a didactic purpose. In several instances this is the only reason for including a specific book: for example, A Choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord, Spinnet ... by John Blow

[1701]

qualifies for inclusion in my list of theoretical works simply by having the word "lessons" in its title. The work in question contains 3 suites, a D Minor, A minor and C Major: a unique (?) copy is in Durham Cathedral Library at C.14. The Oxford English Dictionary records no use of the word "lesson" in a musical sense without the connotation of instruction or education, so, although not a word of instruction is given, Blow's purpose in writing the book would appear to have been didactic. Perhaps the publisher, Henry Playford, possessed a keener eye for business than did the composer, and it was he who labelled them "lessons", but I think not. Titles like Salos, Ayres, Sonatas are frequently found during this period, so in using the title he used it is most reasonable to assume that Blow accepted the instructional nature of his work.

At the other end of the theoretical scale we come across a work like Claudii Ptolemaei Harmonicorum Libri Tres... Oxford, at the Sheldonian Theatre, 1682, by John Wallis, a translation from Greek into Latin of the musical writings of Ptolemy, doubtless of great importance to all those people like the members of the Royal Society who were deeply concerned with the scientific study of music. Somewhere between the two poles of Blow's Lessons and Wallis' translation of Ptolemy we meet up with a work like Thomas Greeting's Pleasant Companion... (earliest extant edition 1672, at Cambridge) which, in addition to the music to be played supplies instructions on how to play it. The most raw amateur could work his way through Greeting and still be an amateur but it cannot be stated too strongly that Greeting was a good book since it quite obviously achieved the stated purpose and made the recorder and flageolet instruments on which a person could virtually teach himself to play and thereby pass the time congenially, perhaps with a few friends of similar taste, with his family, or even on his own. By 1688 the book had achieved its seventh edition.

This body of musical literature presents music to the public with a view to improving musical education: that is its *raison d'être*. But, within this musical public there is an enormous range of ability, interest and application. Seen as an entity - which it is not, being truly but part of the whole of music published at any one time - the instructional literature illustrates what may be called for want of a better expression "the musical taste" of an era, and this taste, like any other, is constantly changing. The public who received

Whythorne's Songs ... in 1571 was a very different beast from the one which bought Favourite Songs in Muzio Scaevola (c.1722).

If we accept that musical taste can never settle and remain static we must also accept that it is not a narrow and exclusive phenomenon visiting one section of the public as it were by divine authority. The year 1672 saw the publication of an edition of Greeting's Pleasant Companion, the sixth edition of Playford's Introduction, the preliminary skirmishes of Locke and Salmon, and also Edmund Chilmead's De Musica Antiqua Graeca: it may have been a good year, or a bad year, but it was not a particularly single-minded year.

Similarly we must beware the tendency to trust uncritically the little contemporary evidence which survives. Roger North, writing c. 1720 could say of Playford's Introduction that it was "but just (if at all) better than none" and in the next sentence describe Butler's Principles as "a musical grammar ever to be recommended ..." [Roger North ed. John Wilson p. 137] This is valuable comment coming from a writer and musician of North's stature, and we are fortunate to have contemporary evidence - at least on the Introduction - of how these two works were received but we should also bear in mind that this is highly subjective criticism, the opinion of one man, born and bred to music. Samuel Pepys, saw Playford in an entirely different light: he was sufficiently enthralled to read the Introduction all the way as he walked from Greenwich to Woolwich and to write "wherein are some things very pretty." [Diary ed. H. B. Wheatley 22 March 1667 .] As it turns out, it is easy to say that Pepys makes the more just estimate of Playford since the

Introduction was the most important piece of musical literature of the seventeenth century: it was also one of the poorest in terms of real value.

The greatest danger lies in the drawing of general inferences from particular cases. A recent article entitled "The Social Significance of the 17th Century English Music Theorists" by Lillian M. Ruff [Consort No.26, 1970 pp.412 - 422] states that "most households in London had a keyboard instrument" quoting the common reference in Pepys 2 Sep. 1666 in support of this statement. Even if we allow that Pepys' evidence is documentary, in the light of what we know from other sources about the Great Fire we can only say that "of the households in London who had the necessary money, influence, opportunity and proximity to the river to hire a lighter to remove their effects, about two thirds had a keyboard instrument", which is vastly different from Dr. Ruff's view.

One need only cite the opening of Morley's Introduction - probably the most quoted passage of all the English theorists - to recall the dangers of uncritical acceptance of received ideas. The passage used to be accepted as gospel when describing musical England of the Golden Age: indeed the majority of history books - those which trouble to mention music - and many of the literary history texts, are so unbelievably out-of-date that they still imagine that a few sentences carefully culled from Burney and Hawkins, digested by later writers and presented as Morley, will adequately describe the social position of music in England in 1597. The musical histories are gradually approaching a fairer

estimate and on the whole tend to admit that there is perhaps a trace of the advertising - man in Morley. We can, however, afford to be considerably more forthright: had the conditions described by Morley been of general provenance in houses of nobility, merchants and scholars, then there could have been no point in writing the book. Poor Philomathes must have dodged the column if he was unable to sing and play at sight. With some degree of certainty we can affirm that the conditions set out by Morley - the discussion of music and the after-dinner performance of music - obtained in some households; we can name some of the houses; we know the composers, patrons and performers involved. Yet we have little evidence that these conditions existed across the length and breadth of the kingdom: none but a rash man would assert that life at Hengrave Hall, Rushbrooke, or Kirtling was typical of English aristocratic life.

We must be constantly aware of the public to whom a certain book is addressed and it follows that we must be very wary of comparing books produced for widely different audiences, for example the first edition of Morley and the later editions of Playford, not because comparison is not possible, but because we must not, like the Hon. Roger North, expect books to be what they never set out to be. Similarly we ought to remember that these books, like most others, were produced to fulfil a need. Music publishers of the seventeenth century were no more philanthropic than their modern counterparts: they hoped to make a living from their judgement in picking the right books and reading the minds of the musical public. That the needs of the seventeenth century musical

public are not the needs of today should not need to be stated.

The checklist around which the present work grew casts its net wide and takes in many fringe works of musical theory neglected by other writers who have attempted similar but more restricted lists. Nevertheless it is the treatise and instruction book which make up the majority of entries in all these lists, and here I can only claim to have included a few forgotten by other writers. The works which are treated in the chapter in the English Theorists will be seen to be only those which are clearly related to Butler's treatise, i.e. those early treatises which may have influenced him and the later ones on which he, in his turn, exerted influence: the first chapter, then, attempts to place Butler in the mainstream of English theorists.

Chapter Two is devoted exclusively to the life and works of Charles Butler, partly to put on record a great deal of biographical information that was hard to come by, but principally because it enables us to put Butler's music back into perspective, to see it not only as a reflection of the age in which he lived - important enough - but also as a quite small part of a highly diversified output.

Not without reason do we expect our Morley's, our Simpsons, and even our Greetings to produce competent books on music: they were professionals. But Butler, without doubt the most scholarly of the English Theorists of the century and probably second in value only to Morley, was an amateur, and an amateur who succeeded in making his name in every walk of life which he travelled. This ought to concern us.

Chapter Three is given over to some of the broader aspects of Butler's music book, his attitudes to the modes, to Greek music, the harmonic interval of the fourth, to solmization, where sometimes he follows accepted teaching, sometimes creates a new doctrine, sometimes destroys the orthodox approach, and sometimes is simply quite wrong. The reader will find that very little space is given to Butler's following of the orthodox lines.

The substance of this dissertation is a modern edition of Butler's Principles. I must confess to having hesitated a long time about this, knowing that Professor Gilbert Reaney and Da Capo Press of New York were preparing a facsimile as far back as 1967, but not knowing how much editorial matter was to be included. As it happened there was no need for my hesitation since the Reaney facsimile contains only an introduction and no other editorial matter, in many ways a missed opportunity although it will certainly allow the world's music libraries to have their own copy of Butler. The present facsimile craze is, one suspects, library - inspired, it is certainly library - orientated particularly as regards price, but this is not the whole story. Reaney's Da Capo edition is a gift at £5: the Broude edition, when it arrives, will be a perfect facsimile, but at three times the price. Now it is possible to have a xerox copy of Butler at about half the cost of the Da Capo facsimile, or a microfilm copy at about half the cost of xerox. For the scholar working on a particular text, xerox print is the ideal medium in that it can be annotated, interleaved, cut,

re-arranged, all of which is impossible with a library copy and which one feels disinclined to do with a twenty pound facsimile. The student, however, requires a modern edition, unless he is prepared to spend months on each text. Harman's modern edition of Morley is worth ten first class facsimiles to the student, and to some degree to the scholar; it also has a certain appeal to the "interested reader"; it is produced at a very realistic price.

After much consideration I decided that the most satisfactory method of dealing with The Principles was to present a modern edition, liberally annotated, with Butler's sources which have been individually traced. The relegation of this information to an appendix has great advantages: it enables the reader to appreciate more quickly the wide variety of Butler's sources; he can also see at a glance the relative importance of the different sources; it removes an enormous amount of paraphernalia from the text and obviates the necessity of repeating minute details for each single reference. Appendix A may appear to the casual reader as just so many neat pages of typescript but it represents a crushing labour.

Appendix B is a photographic supplement whose prime objective is to place on record a selection of the illustrated material I have come across in my researches into Butler's biography. It would be idle to pretend that all the photographs are of intrinsic value but some are of obvious significance: the extracts from Butler's registers at Wootton, the Churchwardens' Accounts, the holograph signature, the Strode poem are unique and unpublished. The remainder



endeavours to piece together a pictorial account of Butler's life, while the last one records the tribute of a parish to its scholarly pastor, some three hundred years after his death.

Appendix C is a comparatively short section which collects bibliographical information of Butler's books during his lifetime. Facsimile title pages and a checklist indicate what was published and where, and locates surviving copies - not all surviving copies.

Appendix D contains the transcriptions of Butler's musical examples. Ideally these should have been inserted in the text as they are in the original, but for several reasons this was not feasible: Butler's examples in the main use 5 mm type, fine for printing but almost impossible for my manuscript style; in addition many of the examples required to be realised, so what appeared to be a single ~~stave~~ packed with unbarred notes became a five-voiced canon occupying two pages of manuscript: two or three of these examples together and one had lost the thread of the text. So I decided to use facsimiles of the original musical examples in the modern edition of the text and place all the transcriptions together. This way it is at least possible to see text, original example and transcription at the same time.

The Bibliography which concludes the work is divided into four sections listing theses, books, articles and microfilm sources.

Finally I must acknowledge my indebtedness to a host of people who, in various ways, have provided help, incentive and encouragement. First to the late Canon F.R. Money and the late Dr. H. Malcolm Fraser: Canon Money, one-time successor of Butler at Wootton St. Lawrence, and later Canon of Winchester, had delved deeply into the records of his church, unearthing much valuable biographical and documentary evidence of Butler, all of which he put at my disposal. Dr. Fraser was probably the foremost authority on bee-keeping in this country and a keen student of Butler. Dr. Eva Crane, Director of the Bee Research Association, has taken a keen interest in my Butler researches and provided facilities for me to sift the literary remains of Money & Fraser at Gerrard's Cross, the headquarters of the Association. The Superintendent and Staff of the Music Room at the British Museum responded eagerly to several trying enquiries and many visits. At the Bodleian, Peter Ward Jones of the Music Department has been extremely helpful: Miss Margaret Crum first drew my attention to the unpublished Strode poem. Many Librarians and Curators arranged microfilming of relevant texts: Cambridge University Library, Peterhouse, Trinity College, the University Libraries of Glasgow and Reading, the libraries of Royal College of Music, Royal Academy of Music, Dundee Public Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Library of Congress, Henry E. Huntington Library of California, New York Public Library, Harvard University Library, the Prussian Staatsbibliothek of Berlin. The Archivists of Buckinghamshire, Oxford, Hampshire and Lincoln gladly gave advice, while the Librarian of Christchurch, Oxford arranged photo-copying of the Strode poem.

A special record of gratitude is due to R. C. Norris of the Chapter Library of Durham Cathedral for his valuable aid on about ten of Butler's more recondite sources.

It is probably true to say that all books written around one man carry with them an element of crusading zeal but I make the most insignificant claim for Butler. Butler the bee master is alive in Gerrard's Cross, Butler the parish priest, the philologist, the Ramist, the orthographer, have all received mention in the last fifteen years. Butler, the musician, is ignored by the English Musical historians of this century: he deserves better.

Finally I would like to place on record my thanks to Dr. Jerome Roche of Durham University for his forbearance and friendly interest in this work.

CHECKLIST of Treatises Tutors, Instructions  
& Lessons published in Britain 1561 - 1725

The check-list operates according to the following terms of reference.

1. The list is chronological.
2. Works of definite date precede those of tentative or conjectured date, the latter being invariably enclosed in square brackets.
3. Titles on non-extant works are enclosed in square brackets. At least one reference to these works is enclosed, sometimes a newspaper advertisement, sometimes a contemporary catalogue reference, but failing one or both of these sources, a reference to a modern authority. Abbreviations for newspaper names correspond with those given in Michael Tilmouths' "Calendar ..." in R.M.A. Research Chronicles 1 and 2.
4. A.S. after an entry indicates that the work in question appears in Adrienne Simpson's "A Short - title list of Printed English Instrumental Tutors up to 1800, held in British Libraries", in Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle No.6. (1966).
5. T.E.W. after an entry indicates that the work in question appears in Thomas E. Warner's Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600-1800, published as No.11 of Detroit Studies in Musical Bibliography, 1967. The number which accompanies these initials gives the exact reference in Warner's list.
6. R.T.D. after an entry refers to Thuston Dart's "Handlist of Instrumental Music ... 1681", published in Galpin Society Journal VIII (1955).

7. D.D.B. after an entry refers to David Boyden's "Geminiani and the first violin tutor" and "A Postscript to Geminiani...", in Journal of the American Musicological Society 1959 and 1960. A number after these initials gives an exact reference to Professor Boyden's list, while an asterisk indicates that he has not located a copy of the work in question.
8. W.C.S. and a number denote an entry in William C. Smith's Bibliography of the Musical Works of Joh Walsh, 1695-1721.- Oxford University Press for Bibliographical Society, 1948.
9. D & M and a number denote an entry in Day and Murrie English Song Books, 1651 - 1702 Oxford University Press for Bibliographical Society, 1940.
10. A.D. and a page number denote an entry in Andrew Deakin Musical Bibliography : A Catalogue of the Musical Works... published in England..., Stockley and Sabin, 1892.
11. R.S. and a number denote an entry in Robert Steele The Earliest English Music Printing ... for the Bibliographical Society, 1903.
12. For each extant work a single location has been included, using the sigla recommended by Repertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales : most of these entries read GB. Lbm, Great Britain, London, British Museum.
13. No attempt has been made to piece works within the year, except by alphabetical recognition of author. Author takes precedence over Anonymous.
14. All entries are short-title.



A Check List of treatises, instruction books,  
instrumental tutors and lessons published in the  
British Isles from 1561 - 1725.



1561 Short introduction into the Science of Musicke  
in Psalmes of David...Thomas Sternhold...  
 John Day. [1]  
 Society of Antiquaries  
 RS 38

[1563] [Lute...] [Le ROY  
 Adrian] [2]  
 Kingston [trans Alford] [2]  
 RS 16\*

[1565] [Sequence of Lutynges] [3]  
 Stat. Reg. i, 298  
 [Allde] AD. p.4, RS. 18\* RTD p.14

[1568] [Lute...] [Le ROY  
 Adrian] [4]  
 [trans Alford] [4]  
 RS. 20\* RTD p.14  
 [Sercs.] John Kyngston for James Rowbotham  
 GB Lbm

[1568/9] [Instruction to the gyttern] [5]  
 [for Rowbotham] A.D. p.4 R.S. 21\* Maunsell u, 18 RTD p,14

[1570] [A Booke of musyke] [6]  
 [Vantrollier Thos]  
 Stat. Reg. R.S. 24\* RTD p.14

1574 A briefe and plaine instruction...  
lute... LE ROY  
 Adrian [7]  
 trans F. Ke  
 AD p,5 A.S. 63 RTD p.14  
 John Kyngston for James Rowbotham  
 GB Lbm

[1574] [A Brief Instruction of Musicke] [DELAMOTE  
 P] [8]  
 [Tho.Vantrollier] AD. p.5 Maunsell, u, 16, RS. 26\* RTD p.14

- 
- [1584] [Introduction...] [BATHE  
William] [9]  
 [Abell Jeffes]  
 Stat Reg ii 95  
 AD p,6: See Steele p, 101:RS 33\* Maunsell ii 16
- 
- [1587] [A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song] [BATHE  
William] [10]  
 Tho Este RM [1590] RS 110  
 GB Lbm
- 
- [1591] [Divers and Sundry Waies of  
2 pts...plainsong...] [FARMER  
John] [11]  
 Tho East  
 GB Ob AD p,7: RS 127: RTD p,15
- 
- [1593] [New Boke of Tabliture] [12]  
 for Barley RS 43\*
- 
- [1593] [Booke of Citterne Lessons] [43]  
 [for Barley]  
 AD p.8.RS 44\*: Maunsell ii 78: RTD p.15
- 
- 1596 Pathway to Musicke... for [BARLEY  
William] [14]  
 for William Barley AD p.8: RS 151  
 GB Lbm
- 
- 1596 A new booke of tabliture... for [BARLEY  
William] [15]  
Lute, Orpharion, Bandora...  
 for William Barley  
 GB Lbm AS RS 152: RTD p.15
- 
- 1597 Cittharn School [HOLBORNE  
Anthony] [16]  
 Peter Short  
 GB Cu AD p.9: RS 157: RTD p.15
-

1597	<u>A Plain &amp; Easie Introduction</u>	MORLEY Thos	
Peter Short			[17]
GB Lbm	AD p.9 RS 161 RTD p.15		
[1597]	[ <u>Instructions to play the Virginalles</u> ]	[Hoskins]	
Stat. Reg. iii,81			[18]
	RS 50* RTD 16		
1599	<u>First book of Consort Lessons...</u>	MORLEY Thomas	
William Barley			[19]
GB Lbm	RTD p.16 RS 181		
[1599]	[ <u>New Book of Tabliture</u> ]		[20]
[Short]			
	AD p.9 RS 56* new ed. of 1596		
1603	<u>The Schoole of musicke...</u>	ROBINSON Thomas	
The Este for Simon Waterson			[21]
GB Lbm	AD p.10 AS RTD p.17		
1608	<u>Plaine &amp; Easie Introduction...</u>	MORLEY Thos	
Humphrey Lownes			[22]
GB Lbm	2 ed		
1609	<u>Andreas Ornithoparcus : his MICROLOGUS...</u>	DOWLAND John	
for Thomas Adams			[23]
GB Lbm	AD p.11		
1609	<u>Lessons for Viols</u>	FERRABOSCO (Younger)	
Thomas SNODHAM/John BROWNE			[24]
GB Lbm	AD p.11 RTD p.18		
1609	<u>New Citharen Lessons</u>	ROBINSON Thomas	
William Barley			[25]
GB Lbm	AD p.12 AS RTD p.18		

- 
- |      |  |          |                  |
|------|--|----------|------------------|
| 1609 | <u>Conser̄t Lessons</u>                  | ROSSETER |                  |
|      | Thos Este: alias Snodham for John Browne |          | [26]             |
|      |  |          | AD p.12 RTD p.19 |
|      | GB Lcm (Cittern. Part only)              |          |                  |
- 
- |      |  |                   |                     |
|------|--|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1610 | <u>Varietie of lute-lessons</u><br><u>...Besard...John Dowland</u> | DOWLAND<br>Robert |                     |
|      | for Thomas Adams   |                   | [27]                |
|      |  |                   | AD p.12 AS RTD p.19 |
|      | GB Lbm   |                   |                     |
- 
- |        |  |                   |                |
|--------|--|-------------------|----------------|
| [1610] | <u>A New Way...</u>                                  | CAMPIAN<br>Thomas |                |
|        |  |                   | [28]           |
|        |  |                   | AD p.12 (1613) |
|        | Grove says '1613' - EH Fellowes Bukofzer says '1610' |                   |                |
|        | STC (1610) No. 4542 probably post 1614               |                   |                |
|        | GB Lbm   |                   |                |
- 
- |      |                            |                |                          |
|------|----------------------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1611 | <u>Consert Lessons...</u>  | MORLEY<br>Thos |                          |
|      | Thos Snodham & John Browne |                | [29]                     |
|      |                            |                | rev. edition<br>RTD p.20 |
|      | GB Lbm* GB Lcm* GB Ob*     |                |                          |
- 
- |      |                              |                        |                |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 1614 | <u>A Brief Discourse..</u>   | RAVENS-CROFT<br>Thomas |                |
|      | Edward Alde for Thomas Adams |                        | [30]           |
|      |                              |                        | AD p.12 (1611) |
|      | GB Lbm                       |                        |                |
- 
- |      |   |                  |                |
|------|---|------------------|----------------|
| 1626 | <u>Sylva Sylvarum : or a</u><br><u>Naturall historie...</u> | BACON<br>Francis |                |
|      | J.H. for William Lee  |                  | [31]           |
|      |   |                  | AD p.13 (1628) |
|      | 1627, 1628, 1631, 1635, 1639, Huntington<br>1658, 1677      |                  |                |
|      | US SM   |                  |                |
- 
- |      |   |                |                          |
|------|---|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1631 | <u>A Briefe &amp; Short Instruction of</u><br><u>the Arte of Musicke...</u> | BEVIN<br>Elway |                          |
|      | R. Young  |                | [32]                     |
|      |   |                | AD p.14 (1630), RTD p.23 |
|      | GB Lbm  |                |                          |
- 
- |      |                               |                   |                  |
|------|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1636 | <u>Principles of Musik...</u> | BUTLER<br>Charles |                  |
|      | J Haviland for Author         |                   | [33]             |
|      |                               |                   | AD p.14 RTD p.23 |
|      | GB Lbm                        |                   |                  |
- 
- |      |                                |                        |      |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------|------|
| 1638 | <u>Siren Coelestis...</u>      | VICTORINUS<br>Georgius |      |
|      | +Method by William Braithwaite |                        | [34] |
|      | John Norton                    |                        |      |
|      | GB Lbm                         |                        |      |
-

1651 A Musical Banquet... PLAYFORD  
 TH for J. Benson & J. Playford John [35]  
 RTD p. 23:D & M 1  
 GB Ob

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1652 Lutes Apology... MATHEW  
 Thomas HARPER for Livewell CHAPMAN Richard [36]  
 RTD p 24  
 Bedford Co. Record Office  
 Harper's Printers Device on t-p  
 Musica Laetificat Cor  
 Music certifat cer mis  
 Bedford Co. R.O.  
 GB

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1652 A Book of New Lessons PLAYFORD  
for Gittern John [37]  
 TH for J Benson & J Playford  
 GB Ge

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1652 A Booke of New lessons for the PLAYFORD  
cithren & gittern. John [38]  
 TH for John Benson & John Playford  
 AD p.15 AS RTD p.23  
 GB Ge

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1652 Musicks recreation on the lyra-viol PLAYFORD  
 for John Playford John [39]  
 AS RTD p.23 D & M 3  
 GB Lbm

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1653 Compendium of Musick DESCARTES  
 Th. Harper trans BROUNKER [40]  
 AD p.15  
 GB Lbm

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1654 Introduction... PLAYFORD  
 for John Playford John [41]  
 AD p.15 RTD p.24  
 US BH

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1655 Introduction... PLAYFORD  
 for John Playford John [42]  
 D & M 7  
 US Bh

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1658	<u>A brief Introduction...</u>	PLAYFORD John	[43]
	W. Godbid for J. Playford	AS	
	GB Lbm		
1659	<u>Division Violist...</u>	SIMPSON Christopher	[44]
	W. Godbid for John Playford	AD p.16 RTD p.24	
	GB Lbm		
1659	<u>Division Violist...</u>	SIMPSON Christopher	[45]
	William Godbid "Another Edition"		
	GB Lbm		
1660	<u>A brief introduction...</u>	PLAYFORD John	[46]
	W. Godbid for John Playford 3rd ed.	AS D & M 15	
	GB Lbm		
1661	<u>A Short Direction...</u>	LOWE Edward	[47]
	William Hall for Richard Davis OXFORD	AD p.17	
	US SM		
1661	<u>Musicks recreation on the viol lyra way</u>	PLAYFORD John	[48]
	W. Godbid for John Playford	AS	
	GB Lbm		
1662	<u>Cantus, Songs &amp; Fancies...</u>	DAVIDSON Thomas	[49]
	Aberdeen : John FORBES	AD p.17 D & M 18	
	US SM		
1662	<u>A Brief Introduction...</u>	PLAYFORD John	[50]
	for J. Playford	AS D & M 17	
	GB Lbm		
1663	<u>Musicks hand-made...</u>		[51]
	for J. Playford	RTD p.24	
	GB Lbm		
1664	<u>Templum Musicum...</u>	ALSTED trans BIRCHENSHAW	[52]
	William Godbid trans of section "Musica" in "Elementale Mathematicum" by Alstedt, Frankfort 1611	AD p.17	
	GB Lbm		



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- 1667      A Brief Introduction      PLAYFORD  
John  
William Godbid for John Playford      [61]  
AS      D & M 25  
GB Lbm
- 
- 1667      Compendium...      SIMPSON  
2 ed      Christopher  
W Godbid for Henry Brome      [62]  
AD p.18  
GB Ob
- 
- 1667      Directions for the flagellet...      SWAIN  
Thomas  
sold by Robert Pawlett      [63]  
AS  
GB Lbm
- 
- 1667      Chelys...      SIMPSON  
(Further supply of 1665 sec. ed)      Christopher  
Grove V      [64]
- 
- 1669      Musicks recreation...viol lyra-way      PLAYFORD  
John  
W Godbid for J Playford      AS      [65]  
GB Lbm
- 
- [1669]      [Apollo's Banquet...]      PLAYFORD  
[for John Playford]      AS      US. NYp.      [66]  
US. NY\*      GB DU\*
- 
- [1669]      [Musick's Solace...Cithren]      [PLAYFORD  
John]      [67]  
[John Playford]  
MRVL-W 1669  
GPC 1675
- 
- 1670      A Brief Introduction      PLAYFORD  
John  
William Godbid for John Playford      AS D & M 32      [68]  
GB Lbm
- 
- [1670]      Direction to play...flagellet  
... Second part      [69]  
Robert Pawlet      AS  
GB Lbm
- 
- [1671]      Lessons for the BASS-VIOL on the  
Common Tunings      MOSS  
John  
William Godbid for Author      RTD p.25      [70]  
GB Ckc
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1672	<u>De Musica Antiqua Graeca</u>	CHILMEAD Edmund	[71]
	Oxford, Sheldonian Theatre at end of Ox. ed. of Aratus		
GB Ob		AD p.19	
1672	<u>Pleasant Companion...</u>	GREETING Thomas	[72]
	for John Playford		
GB Cu		AS	
1672	<u>Observations...</u>	LOCKE Mathew	[73]
	W Godbid for J Playford		
GB Ob			
1672	<u>An Introduction...</u>	PLAYFORD John	[74]
	W Godbid for J Playford		
GB Lbm		As D & M 33	
1672	<u>An Essay...Advancement of Musick</u>	SALMON Thos	[75]
	H. Macock		
GB Ob		AD p. 19	
[1672]	<u>Observations of the swiftness of sound</u>	WALLIS John	[76]
	Philosophical Transactions		
GB Lbm		AD p. 19	
1673	<u>The Pleasant Companion</u> 2 ed	GREETING Thomas	[77]
	J. Playford		
US Wc			
1673	<u>Melothesia...</u>	LOCKE Mathew	[78]
	for J Carr		
GB Lbm		AD p.20 RTD p.26	
1673	<u>Present Practice of Musick Vindicated</u>	LOCKE Mathew	[79]
	M. Brooke & J Playford		
GB Ob		AD p. 19 (1673)	
1673	<u>De Poematum Cantu et Viribus Rhythmi</u>	VOSSIUS Isaac	[80]
	Oxford : Sheldonian Theatre London : Robert Scott		
GB DRc			



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|-----------------------------|---|------------------------------|-------|
| 1678                        | <u>Compendium</u><br>3rd Ed<br>M.C. for Henry Brome<br>GB Ob                                    | SIMPSON                      | [91]  |
| 1679                        | <u>A Vade mecum...rechorder</u><br>N Thompson for J Hudgebut<br>AS TEW 7 RTD p.26<br>GB Ob      | HUDGEBUT<br>John             | [92]  |
| 1679                        | <u>An Introduction...</u><br>8 ed<br>AG & JP for J Playford<br>AS D&M 49<br>GB Lbm              | PLAYFORD                     | [93]  |
| 1680                        | <u>Synopsie of Vocal Musick</u><br>for Dorman Newman<br>AD p.22 (1690)<br>GB Ob                 | A.B.<br>D & M 53             | [94]  |
| 1680                        | <u>The Pleasant Companion</u><br>for J Playford<br>AS TEW 6 RTD p.26<br>GB Cu                   | GREETING<br>Thomas           | [95]  |
| [1680]<br>[London]          | <u>Lessons for Recorder</u><br>single folio chart/date uncertain<br>RTD p.26<br>GB Lbm          |                              | [96]  |
| [c 1680]<br>[John Playford] | <u>Musick's Delight...flute<br/>or recorder...</u><br>adv. GPC 1682<br>TEW 8                    |                              | [97]  |
| 1681                        | <u>The Most Pleasant Companion</u><br>for J. Hudgebutt & John Clark<br>TEW 9<br>US Wc           | J.B.                         | [98]  |
| 1682                        | <u>Cantus, Songs &amp; Fancies</u><br>3 ed<br>John Forbes: Aberdoen<br>AD p.21 (1681)<br>GB Lbm | DAVIDSON<br>Thos<br>D & M 57 | [99]  |
| 1682                        | <u>The Pleasant Companion</u><br>for J Playford<br>AS TEW 6<br>GB Lbm                           | GREETING<br>Thos             | [100] |

1682	<u>Musick's recreation on the viol lyra-way</u>	PLAYFORD John	[101]
AG & JP for J Playford		AS	
GB DRc			
1682	<u>Claudii Ptolemaei Harmonicomum Libri Tres</u>	WALLIS John	[102]
Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre		AD p. 21(1680)	
GB DRc (Not mentioned in GROVE; art WALLIS)			
[1682]	<u>The False Consonances of Musick</u>	MATTEIS Nicola	[103]
Glasgow (Ewing)			
GB Ge			
[1682]	<u>Rules &amp; Directions for Composing Musick in parts</u>	BIRCHENSHAW John	[104]
[J. Playford]			
CAS 4 BK 1683			
MRVL-W 1682			
[1682]	<u>The Delightful Companions... flute Recorder...</u>	[CARR Robt]	[105]
[John Playford]			
Arber 499			
[1682]	<u>Ductor ad Pandarum... tutor for Tr Vl#...</u>		[106]
[John Clark]			
Loy P 30 MAY 1682			
[Sold by John CROUCH] - DDB Postscript 1A*			
[c 1682]	<u>Youth's Delight on the flagelet...</u>		[107]
[J Clarke]			
Arber I 485		TEW 11	
1683	<u>Pleasant Companion</u>	GREETING Thomas	[108]
for J Playford			
US Wc			
1683	<u>An Introduction...</u> 10th edition	PLAYFORD John	[109]
AG & JP for J Playford		AD p21 AS	
GB Lbm		D&M 63	
1683	<u>The genteel companion</u>	SALTER Humphry	[110]
for Richard Hunt & Humphry Salter		AD p.21 AS	
US Wc		TEW13	

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|--|---|--------------------|--------|
| [1683]   | <u>2nd Pt of Youth's delight</u><br><u>Flagelet...</u>              |                    | [111]  |
| for John Clarke  |   |                    |        |
| GB Lbm*  | AS  | TEW 16             |        |
| [c 1683]   | <u>The Recorder or flute made easie</u>                             |                    | [112]  |
| J Clarke   | Arber III, 15   | TEW 12             |        |
| 1684   | <u>Introductory Essay to the Doctrine of</u><br><u>Sounds</u>       | MARSH<br>Narcissus | [113]  |
| London   | Philosophical Transactions  |                    |        |
| US SM  | AD p.21 (1678)  |                    |        |
| 1684   | <u>"Kitharapaideia" - lessons for</u><br><u>Hpscd</u>               | DIESINEER          | [114]  |
| LG 27 Nov. 1684  |   |                    |        |
| [1684]   | <u>Division Vln...</u>  | PLAYFORD<br>John   | [115]  |
| J. Playford & J Carr   |   |                    |        |
| LG 10 Apr. 1684  |   |                    |        |
| 1685   | <u>The Parish Clerk's Guide</u>                                     | PAYNE<br>B         | [116]  |
| Harley: <u>Music in Purcell's</u><br><u>London: Bibliography</u> |   |                    |        |
| 1685   | <u>Division Vln...</u>  |                    | [117]  |
| John Playford  |   |                    |        |
| GB Lbm   |   |                    |        |
| 1685   | <u>The division - violin...</u>                                     |                    | [118]  |
| 2nd ed   |   |                    |        |
| J. Playford  |   |                    |        |
| GB Ob  |   |                    |        |
| 1686   | <u>The Delightful Companion</u>                                     | CARR<br>Robert     | [119]  |
| 2nd ed   |   |                    |        |
| for J Playford   |   |                    |        |
| GB Lbm   | AD p. 22  | AS                 | TEW 15 |
| 1686   | <u>A New &amp; easie method to learn to sing</u><br><u>by booke</u> |                    | [120]  |
| for Will Rogers  |   |                    |        |
| GB Lbm   | AD p.22   |                    |        |

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- [c 1686] [Aulo-melodia...flute]  
 [John Clarke] [121]  
 Arber II 157 Deakin p.23  
 AD p.23 TEW 14
- 
- 1687 An Introduction... 11 ed PLAYFORD  
 John [122]  
 Charles Peregrine for H Playford  
 AS D&M 91  
 GB Lbm
- 
- 1687 Apollo's Banquet... 5 ed  
 Henry Playford [123]  
 AD p.22 AS  
 GB En
- 
- [1687] [Introduction to the Vln]  
 [J Clarke] [124]  
 LG 24 Nov 1687 DDB 2A\*
- 
- 1688 The Pleasant Companion 7 ed GREETING  
 Thomas [125]  
 Printed for H. Playford  
 AS TEW 6  
 GB Ge
- 
- 1688 A Proposal to perform Musick in  
 Perfect & Mathematical Proportions SALMON  
 Thomas [126]  
 for John Lawrence  
 AD p.22  
 GB Ob
- 
- 1689 Musicks Hand-maid ...  
 for H Playford [127]  
 AS  
 GB Lbm
- 
- 1690 Apollo's Banquet... 6 ed  
 E Jones for H Playford [128]  
 AS  
 GB Lbm
- 
- 1690 Youth's delight...flagelet  
 second part... 9 ed  
 John Clarke [129]  
 AS TEW 16  
 GB Lbm
- 
- 1691 Apollo's Banquet SECOND BOOK  
 E Jones for H Playford [130]  
 D & M 108  
 GB Lbm
-

1693 1st Bk of Apollo's Banquet  
7 ed

E Jones for H Playford AS [131]

GB Lbm

1693 2nd Pt of Division Vln  
2 ed corrected

H. Playford [132]

Engr T. Cross

GB DRc

[1693] New Ayres...Flute...Directions for  
learners

[T Cross, J Man, J Croucher, J Walsh] [133]

CIHT 13 OCT 1693

1694 A Treatise of the Natural Grounds HOLDER  
William

J Heptinstall for John Carr ; AD p.23 [134]

GB Ob

1694 An Introduction... 12 ed PLAYFORD

E Jones for Henry Playford AS [135]

GB Lbm

[1694] The Gentleman's Diversion LENTON  
John

[James Blackwell] [136]

AD p.23 (1693) DDB\* 4

[1694] Directions to play on the French  
flageolet TOLLETT  
Thomas

AD p.23 TEW 17 [137]

1695 The Sprightly Companion... JB

H Playford AS TEW21 [138]

GB Lbm

1695 Nolens volens...Vln

Engr. Tho Cross [139]

Cross, Salter, Young etc.,

DDB 5

GB Ob

[1695] Division Violin 1st Part

[H Playford] [140]

t-p in ms says 1688, but lists of Voc/Inst music inside  
suggests 1695 as best date

GB Lbm

- [c1695] The Compleat Flute-Master [141]  
 [Walsh & Hare]  
 SMITH page 1  
 LG 19 AUG, 1695  
 TEW 18  
 DoImetsch Library (1970) entry says [c1700]  
 [DoImetsch Library Catalogued 1970]
- 
- [1695] Direction to Young beginners to learn to play French hautboy [142]  
 AD p.24 TEW 19  
 probably The Sprightly Companion 1695
- 
- [1695] Innocent Recreation: flagelet Plain & Easie directions [143]  
 [J Miller]  
 LG 17 OCT 1695
- 
- [c1695] Plaine & easie Directions to learn the French hautboy [144]  
 [H Playford]  
 Arber II, 549  
 TEW 20  
 probably The Sprightly Companion 1695
- 
- [1695] The Self-Instructor...Vln [145]  
 [Walsh & Hare]  
 AD p.24 WCS 1 DDB\* 6
- 
- [1695] Youth's delight on Flagelet [146]  
 [J Hare]  
 2nd Pt 10 ed  
 LG 7 OCT 1695
- 
- 1696 A Choice Collection of Lessons PURCELL  
Hpscd & Sp  
 HP for F Purcell [147]  
 GB Lbm
- 
- [1696] The Compleat Flute Master [148]  
 [Walsh & Hare]  
 2 ed  
 LG 27 FEB 1696  
 TEW 18
- 
- [1696] Gentleman's Tutor to the Flute [149]  
 [J Hudgott]  
 PB 22 DEC 1696
- 
- 1697 An Introduction to the Skill of Musick PLAYFORD  
 13 ed  
 E Jones for H Playford [150]  
 AS  
 GB Lbm





[1698] [Choice Call of Lessons Hpscd Sp] [BLOW  
John] [161]  
[H Playford]  
Adv PB 30 JUN 1698

[1698] [Melothesia... second edition] LOCKE  
Mathew [162]  
D Purcell  
t-p of Songs in Phaecton... J Heptinstall for  
Samuel Scott (GB. Lbm) D & M 168

1699 Choice Coll of Lessons Hpscd PURCELL  
3rd ed Henry [163]  
for Frances Purcell  
GB DRc

1699 ...qua continentur Claudii Ptolemaei -  
Porphyrii - Manuelli Bryenni harmonica... WALLIS  
Graece & Latine editio cum notis John [164]  
Oxford Sheldonian Theatre  
GB Lbm AD p.26

1699 The Innocent Recreation  
flag... 2 ed [165]  
for John Miller AS. TEW  
GB Lbm

1699 The 2nd Bk of Theatre music  
hautboy... [166]  
John Walsh AD p.27 AS TEW 30  
GB DRc

[1699] Compleat Tutor to Vln BANISTER  
J [167]  
J Young/T Cross  
PB 28 JAN 1699  
PB 7 FEB 1699 re. 1st leaf missing from 1st 100 copies:  
t-p only in Bagford Coll BM Harl 5936  
AD p.27 DDB 8  
GB Lbm\*

[1699] The Compleat Violist HELY  
Benjamin [168]  
J Hare & B Norman AD p.26 AS  
GB Ob

- [1699] [The Psalmody  
+ direction to play] [PLAYFORD  
Henry] [169]  
[H Playford / R Meares]  
PB 26 JUN 1699
- [1699] [An Introduction to Singing of  
Psalms] [WEBB  
Will] [170]  
[E Tracy]  
PM 28 MAR 1699 AD p.26
- [1699] [2nd Bk of Military Musick...Hautboys]  
[J Hare / J Miller] [171]  
IG 26 JUN 1699
- [1699] [2nd Bk for Mock Trumpet]  
[Walsh/Salter/Livingston] [172]  
AD p.27 WCS 21  
FP 4 MAY 1699
- [c1699] [The New Flute Master...]  
[J Walsh, Salter, Livingston] [173]  
Arber, III, 139 AD p.27 TEW 29 WCS 20b
- [1699] [3rd Book of Self-Instructor...Vln]  
[Hare] [174]  
Adv. PB Dec 26 1699 DDB 9\*
- [1699] [Youth's diversion...flagelet]  
[J Young] [175]  
PB 31 AUG 1699
- [c1699] [2nd Pt of Gentleman's Tutor  
to the Flute] [J.B.] [176]  
[J Hudgebutt] Arber III 109  
AD p.26 (1698) TEW 31
- [c1699] [The Compleat Instruction for Flute] [ROTHWELL  
Alexander] [177]  
[J Young] Arber III 123 PB 21 MAR 1699  
AD p.27 TEW 32
- 1700 Choice Call of Lessons...Hpscd BLOW  
et alii [178]  
John Young GB Lbm

1700	<u>An Introduction to Skill...</u> 14 ed W. Pearson for H Playford	PLAYFORD	[179]
GB Lbm		AS D & M 185	
1700	<u>Plaine &amp; easie directions for Psalm singing</u>	PORTER S (elder)	[180]
Will Pearson GB Cu			
1700	<u>Compleat Instructor to the Flute</u> 2nd Bk		[181]
John Young GB Lbm		TEW 33	
1700	<u>2nd Bk Harpsichord Master</u>		[182]
J Walsh 1700 GB Lcm		WCS 27 AS	
1700	<u>Psalm Singers necessary Companion</u>		[183]
J Heptinstall for Henry Rhodes FP 30 Nov 1699 GB Lbm			
1700	<u>Psalm Singers necessary companion</u> 2 ed		[184]
J Heptinstall for Henry Rhodes GB Cu			
1700	<u>1st, 2nd &amp; 3rd Bks of Self-Instructor on the Vln...</u>		[185]
J Hare FP 17 FEB 1700 GB DRc		AS DDB 9A	
[1700]	<u>Compleat Tutor to Vln</u> Bk 2	(BANISTER)	[186]
[J Young]			
PB 29 AUG 1700 announced	PB NOV 9 1700 see Arber III 214	DDB 9B*	
[1700]	<u>A New &amp; Easie Method to learn to Sing by Book</u>	[ROGERS Will]	[187]
PM 15 OCT originally issued 1686 - copy in BM of 1686			

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- [1700] [Guide to Parish Clerks...Singing Psalms]  
 [H Playford] [188]  
 PB 26 SEP 1700 AD p.27
- 
- [c1700] [The New Flute Master  
 2nd Book]  
 [Walsh & Hare] [189]  
 Arber III, 214 Smith p 15.  
 LG 25 NOV 1700 WCS 33 TEW 34
- 
- 1701 Apollo's Banquet newly reviv'd  
 8 ed  
 W Pearson for H Playford [190]  
 AD p28 AS  
 GB DRc
- 
- 1701 1st Pt of Division Vln  
 5 ed  
 H Playford [191]  
 GB DRc
- 
- [1701] Choice Coll of Lessons BLOW  
Hpscd...  
 H Playford [192]  
 GB DRc
- 
- [1701] [The Compleat Parish Clerk or the Young  
 singers perfect Guide...]  
 AD p 28 AB [193]
- 
- [1701] [Lessons for a Single Flute] [DEMOIVRE  
 Daniel] [194]  
 [Walsh & Hare] WCS 53
- 
- [1701] [Compleat Instruction to the Flute  
 3rd Bk]  
 [J Young] [195]  
 PB 19 APR 1701
- 
- [1701] [3rd Bk of Military Musick...hautboy]  
 [Hare & Walsh] [196]  
 A Re-advert of WCS 55
- 
- [1701] [Musical recreations...Vln]  
 [Walsh & Hare] (Oct 1701) [197]  
 WCS 64 DDB 10\*
- 
- [1701] [Nolens Volens 2Bk...Vln]  
 [Walsh & Hare] Dec 1701 [198]  
 WCS 72 DDB 11\*
-

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- [1701] [Psalm Singers Guide...] [199]  
 [J Young] [199]  
 PB 30 AUG 1701 AD p.27 (Mr John Gaunt)
- 
- [c1701] [3rd Bk of Military Musick  
Hautboy] [200]  
 [J Hare & J Walsh] [200]  
 LG 2 JUN 1701 WCS 55 TEW 36
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- 1702 The Theory of Sciences... CURSON  
Principles of liberal arts Henry [201]  
 for R Smith [201]  
 GB Lbm
- 
- 1702 3rd Bk of Harpsichord Master  
 Walsh & Hare [202]  
 AS  
 GB Lbm
- 
- 1702 Select Lessons for Vln  
 Walsh & Hare [203]  
 WCS 93  
 GB DRc
- 
- [1702] A Coll of Lessons & aires Hpscd Sp PURCELL  
 D  
 ECCLES  
 John [204]  
 Walsh & Hare  
 Nct in SMITH  
 GB DRc
- 
- [1702] [Dr Blow's New Hpscd (Bk)]  
 [H Playford] [205]  
 Adv. PB 2 JUL 1702 [205]
- 
- [1702] [Compleat Tutor to Vln DEANE  
 Thos] [206]  
 [J Young] [3rd Bk] [206]  
 PB 9 MAY 1702 DC 11 MAY 1702  
 Arber III, 299, 309, 335 DDB 11A\*
- 
- [1702] [Mr. Dieupart's Bk of Lessons  
Vln & Base] [207]  
 [F. Vaillant] [207]  
 PM 11 APR 1702 [207]  
 PB 16 APR 1702
-

[1702] [A Set of Lessons Hpscd/Sp] [ECCLES  
John] [208]  
[Walsh & Hare]

WCS 104

[1702] [Choice Set of Lessons Hpscd Sp] HART  
Philip [209]  
[J Young] see [1704]  
PB 14 NOV 1702

[1702] [Useful Instruction on the Vln] [LENTON  
John] [210]  
[HP/Salter/Cuthbert]  
PB 5 MAR 1702

AD p.28 (1703) DDB 12\*

[1702] [A New Sett of Aires and Lessons  
Hpscd/Sp] [PURCELL  
D] [211]  
[Walsh & Hare]

WCS 82

[1702] [Flute Improved] [212]  
[J Cullen]  
PB 7 MAY 1702

[1702] [2nd Bk of Gentlemen's Companion  
Flute...] [213]  
[Walsh & Hare]

WCS 83

[1702] [The Ladies Banquet...Lessons  
for Hpscd...] [214]  
[HP/J Hare]  
Adv. DC 28<sup>p</sup> NOV 1702

1703 An Introduction... PLAYFORD  
15 ed  
W Pearson for H Playford & John Sprint [215]  
AS D & M 206  
GB Lbm

[c1703] [4th Bk of New Flute Master] J.B. [216]  
[Welsh & Hare]  
PH 21 JAN 1703

WCS 113 TEW 37





[1704]	<u>Nolens volens...3rd Bk Vln</u>		[228]
	Walsh & Hare	WCS 158 DDB 13*	
1705	<u>A Choice Coll of Lessons</u> <u>Hpscd/Sp</u>	BLOW PURCELL	
	for H Playford Div P 11 NOV 1704 GB Lcm		[229]
[1705]	<u>Select Lessons for Hpscd/Sp</u>	DIEUPART	
	Walsh & Hare GB Lbm	WCS 179	[230]
[1705]	<u>An account of an experiment showing</u> <u>that actual sound is not transmitted</u> <u>through a vacuum</u>	HAUKSBEE	
	Philosophical Transactions Vo. XXIV p 367 GB Lbm		[231]
[1705]	<u>An account of an experiment tending</u> <u>the propagation of sound passing from</u> <u>the sonorous body into the common air</u>	HAUKSBEE	
	Philosophical Transactions Vol. XXIV p.369 GB Lbm		[232]
[1705]	<u>An experiment touching the propagation</u> <u>of sound through water</u>	HAUKSBEE	
	Philosophical Transaction Vol. XXIV p 371 GB Lbm		[233]
[1705]	<u>An experiment on the propagation of</u> <u>sound in condensed air</u>	HAUKSBEE	
	Philosophical Transactions Vol. XXIV p.1902 GB Lbm		[234]
[1705]	<u>An experiment teaching the diminution</u> <u>of sound in air rarified</u>	HAUKSBEE	
	Philosophical Transactions Vo. XXIV p.1904 GB Lbm		[235]
[c1705]	<u>1 st Pt of Division Vln</u>	PLAYFORD	
	for Walsh & Hare GB En		[236]
[c 1705]	<u>2nd Pt of Division Vln</u>	PLAYFORD	
	for Walsh & Hare GB Lcm		[237]

- 
- [1705]      Theory of Musick reduced to arithmetical  
and geometrical proportion...      SALMON  
Thomas      [238]  
Philosophical Transaction Vo. XXIV p 2077  
AD P.29  
GB Lbm
- 
- [1705]      5th Bk of New Flute Master      [239]  
Walsh & Hare      WCS 182  
GB Lbm
- 
- [1705]      [The most New & Easy Method of  
singing the Psalms...]      [JONES  
Richard]      [240]  
AD p 28
- 
- [1705]      [Rules for playing a Thorough Bass]      [KELLER  
LATE G]      [241]  
[Walsh & Hare]      WCS      190
- 
- 1706      The Temple Musick...      BEDFORD  
Arthur      [242]  
H Mortlock  
DC 7 MAY 1706      AD p.29  
GB Lbm
- 
- 1706      An Essay on Opera's after the Italian  
manner      DENNIS  
John      [243]  
J Nutt  
PM 11 APR 1706      AD p.29  
US SM
- 
- [1706]      On the nature & Properties of Sound      GRANDIS  
Guido      [244]  
Philosophical Transactions Vol. XXVI p 270  
AD p29  
GB Lbm
- 
- 1706      Ps-Singers Compleat Companion      HALL  
E      [245]  
J Heptinstall for D Midwinter  
GB Cu
- 
- 1706      Compendium      4 ed      SIMPSON  
Christoper      [246]  
W Pearson for John Cullen  
( Ox C.C.C. O.S.3.30)  
GB Och
-

1706	<u>The Flute Master compleat improv'd or the Gentlemans diversion Book the first</u>	DEANE Tho	
John Young			[247]
PM 9 MAY 1706	AS	TEW 38	
GB Ob			
1706	<u>1st Pt of Division Flute</u>		
Walsh & Hare			[248]
GB Lbm	WCS 184		
1706	<u>2nd Bk of Lady's Banquet...lessons Hpsd/Sp</u>		
Walsh & Hare			[249]
GB Lbm	WCS 187		
1706	<u>5th Bk of new Flute Master</u>		
Walsh & Hare			[250]
GB Lbm	AS	TEW 39	
[1706]	[ <u>Introduction...</u> ]	PLAYFORD	
TC Mich 1706 (III 529)			[251]
		D & M 209	
[1706]	[ <u>Airs &amp; Lessons Hpscd...several masters</u> ]		
[Walsh & Hare]			[252]
		WCS 210a	
[1706]	[ <u>Further Guide to Parish Clerks...</u> ]		
			[253]
		AD p 29	
[1707]	<u>Experiments &amp; Observations on the Velocity of Sound</u>	DERHAM William	
Philosophical Transaction Vol.XXVI p 2			[254]
GB Lbm	AD p 29		
[1707]	<u>6 Select sutes of leszons hpscd</u>	DRAGHI	
Walsh...Hare...Randall			[255]
GB Lbm	WCS 233		
1707	<u>A complete Method for a Thorough Bass</u>	KELLER G	
J Cullen			[256]
		AD p 23 (1694)	
GB Lbm			

- [1707] The Compleat Tutor...Vln 4th Bk [BANISTER]  
Set of Preludes Mr DEAN  
J Young [257]  
Arber III, 554 DDB 13\*  
Dolmetsch Library 1970
- 
- [c1707] 1st & 2nd Bks of Division Violin...  
London: P(earson) Young, Cullen etc., [258]  
Dolmetsch Library 1970
- 
- [1707] The Compleat Musick Master [T.B.]  
[R Meares/M Rawlins/J Miller] [259]  
PM 2 JAN 1707 DDB 13B\*
- 
- [1707] A Book of Lessons Hpscd Sp [WICHELLO]  
[Author] Abiell  
DC 26 MAY 1707 [260]
- 
- [c1707] 4th Bk. of Compleat Flute Master  
[Walsh & Hare] [261]  
PM 15 FEB 1707  
WCS 236 TEW 40
- 
- [1707] Flute Master compleat improved  
2nd Bk] [262]  
[J Young]  
DC 5 JUL 1707
- 
- [c1707] Second Bk of Flute Master [263]  
[John Young]  
Arber III 554 TEW 41
- 
- [1707] 4th Bk of Gentleman's Companion...Flute  
[H/W/R] [264]  
[Hare Walsh Randall] WCS 240
- 
- 1708 Ps-singers Compleat Companion HALL  
E  
[Another issue of 1706]  
J Heptinstall for D Midwinter [265]  
GB Ge BUC 417
- 
- 1708 Lessons for Hpscd or spinet RICHARDSON  
William  
Thos Cross Jr  
for author [266]  
GB Lbm

[1708] 2nd Pt of Division Flute  
Walsh...Hare...Randell [267]  
DC 15 OCT 1708 WCS 278

GB Lbm

[1708] The Lady's Entertainment...Banquet of  
Music : lessons hpscd/sp  
Walsh..Hare..Randell [268]  
WCS 275

GB DRc

[1708] 2nd Bk of Ladys Entertainment and  
Banquet of Musick...lessons hpscd & spinet  
Walsh..Randall..Hare [269]  
WCS 282

GB DRc

[1708] Lessons for Hpscd [BIRON  
Lord]  
[W/H/R] [270]  
BA 18 AUG 1708 WCS 183

[1708] Mr. Kellers new Ed of Rules for a T-Bass  
[Walsh..Hare..Randall] [271]  
WCS 277c

[1708] 1st & 2nd Pts of Division Vln  
6 ed  
[Walsh..Hare..Randall] [272]  
BA 8 SEPT 1708

[1708] The Flagelet reviv'd or the Bird  
Fancyer's Delights...  
[Walsh...Hare...Randall] [273]  
DC 15 DEC 1708 TEW 43 WCS 286

[1708] 4th Bk of Mus. Recreation: Vln  
[Hare / Walsh] [274]  
WCS 288 DDB 14\*

[1708] 3d Bk of Nolens Volens Hautboy  
[Hare / Walsh] [275]  
WCS 289

1709 A Comparision between the French &  
Italian Musick and Opera's... RAGUENET  
F  
for W Lewis, London 1709 [276]  
AD p 30  
GB Lbm

- |         |   |                   |       |
|---------|---|-------------------|-------|
| [1709]  | <u>3rd Bk of Lady's Entertainment and<br/>Banquet of Mus...hpscd/sp</u> | BABELL<br>William |       |
|         | Walsh...Randall...Hare  |                   | [277] |
|         |   | WCS 308           |       |
|         | GB Cfm  |                   |       |
| [1709]  | <u>Hautboy Master Improved</u>  |                   |       |
|         | [L. Pippard & Mrs Miller]   |                   | [278] |
|         | PM 12 NOV 1709  |                   |       |
| [1709]  | <u>Bk of Inst...Vln</u>   |                   |       |
|         | [L. Pippard & Mrs Miller]   |                   | [279] |
|         | PM 12 NOV 1709  |                   |       |
|         |   | DDB 16A*          |       |
| [c1709] | <u>The New Flute Master...</u>  |                   |       |
|         | [Walsh...Randall...Hare]  | 7th Bk            | [280] |
|         | PM 9 JUN 1709   | TEW 44 WCS 305    |       |
| [1709]  | <u>New Violin Master</u>  |                   |       |
|         | [Hare...Walsh...Randall]  | Dec 1709          | [281] |
|         |   | WCS 336 DDB 16*   |       |
| [1709]  | <u>4 Bks of Nolens volens...Vln</u>                                     |                   |       |
|         | [Walsh...Randall...Hare]  |                   | [282] |
|         |   | WCS 306 DDB 15*   |       |
| [1709]  | <u>Select Lessons for a Single Flute</u>                                |                   |       |
|         | [Walsh...Randall...Hare]  |                   | [283] |
|         |   | WCS 321           |       |
| [1709]  | <u>A 2d Bk of Select Lessons for Vln</u>                                |                   |       |
|         | [Walsh...Randall...Hare]  |                   | [284] |
|         |   | WCS 322           |       |
| [1710]  | <u>Insts for Vln: 28 duos for 2 Vlns</u>                                |                   |       |
|         | t-p missing   |                   | [285] |
|         |   | AS                |       |
|         | GB Cdp  |                   |       |
| [1710]  | <u>Apollo's Banquet...</u>  |                   |       |
|         | [J Cullen]  | 9 ed              | [286] |
|         | PM 2 MAY 1710   |                   |       |
| [1710]  | <u>Book of Flute Master Improved</u>                                    |                   |       |
|         | [L. Pippard]  |                   | [287] |
|         | PM 23 MAY 1710  |                   |       |

[1710] [Gentlemens Companion for Vln & Hob]  
[Walsh...Randall...Hare] [288]

WCS 340

[1710] [Violin Master] [2nd Bk] [289]  
[L.Pippard]  
PM7 FEB1710

DDB 16B\*

1711 The Great Abuse of Musick BEDFORD  
Arthur

J Wyatt [290]  
Spec: 31 AUG 1711

AD p.30

GB Lbm

1711 Choice Lessons for Hpscd... CLARKE  
Jeremiah

Charles King/John Young/John Hare [291]  
DC JAN 4 1711

GB Lbm

1711 Devout Singer's Guide WARNER

Edmund Parker & John Hare for S.S. [292]  
GB Lbm

[1711] [New Flute Master 7 ed] [293]  
[Walsh...Hare]  
WCS 390

[1711] [Vln Master Improved] [294]  
[L Pippard] 3rd Bk  
PM 14 APR 1711  
AD p 30 DDB 16C\*

1712 The Temple Musick BEDFORD  
Arthur [295]  
for Author [2 ed]  
GB Lbm

1712 CHELYS SIMPSON  
3ed Christopher [296]  
William Pearson  
PM 21 FEB 1712  
R. Neares/A Livingston  
GB Lbm

[1712] [Devout Singer's Guide] [297]  
[E Parke]  
DC 17 DEC 1712

[1712]	[5th Bk of Gentlemens Companion Flute...]				
[Hare & Walsh]		WCS 423		[298]	
[1712]	[Hpscd Master 4th Bk]				
[Walsh & Hare]		WCS 403		[299]	
[1712]	[Nolens Volens...comp Tutor...Vln 5 ed...]				
[Walsh & Hare]		WCS 424	DDB 17*	[300]	
[c 1712]	[5th Bk of Compleat Flute Master]				
[Walsh & Hare]				[301]	
PM 10 APR 1712		WCS 421	TEW 45		
1713	<u>An Introduction...</u>	16 ed	PLAYFORD		
W Pearson for John Sprint		AS D & M 226		[302]	
GB Lbm					
1713	<u>The Compleat Tutor to the Vln</u>	4th Book			
T Cross Jr. engr				[303]	
Young & Rawlins	Mr. DEAN	DDB 19			
Set of Preludes					
GB Ge					
[1713]	<u>Paper on the Motion of a Tense String</u>				
			TAYLOR Brook	[304]	
Philosophical Transactions Vol XXVIII p 26					
GB Lbm					
[1713]	[6th Bk of Nolens Volens...Vln]				
[Walsh & Hare]		WCS 442	DDB 18*	[305]	
1714	<u>Compendium...</u>	5th ed	SIMPSON Christopher		
W.P. for John Young	(BM Cat. says 6th)			[306]	
GB Lbm					
1715	<u>An Essay upon Vocal Musick...</u>		ROBINSON Daniel		
J Collyer for Author				[307]	
Nottingham		AD p 31			
GB Lbm					
See [217] which probably explains Deakin's error. No such title is listed under the	Jeremy Collier.				



[1715]	<u>The compleat tutor...hautboy</u>		[308]
Walsh			
	AS	TEW 46	
GB Lbm			
[c1715]	<u>Suits of hpscd/sp lessons</u>	BABELL	
	...(G.F.Handel)	Will	
R Meares			[309]
GB Ob			
[c1715]	<u>3rd Bk of Ladies Entertainment</u>	BABELL	
	<u>Hpscd...</u>	Will	
Walsh & Hare			[310]
	WCS 484		
GB Lbm			
[c1715]	<u>Lessons for Hpscd</u>	LOEILLET	
		Jean Baptiste	
Daniel WRIGHT			[311]
GB Lbm			
[c1715]	<u>A Compleat Suite of Lessons</u>		
	<u>Hpscd</u>	Alex Maas=Mann Prusse	
Walsh & Hare			[312]
	WCS 481		
GB Lbm			
[1715]	[ <u>Hpscd Master 5th Bk</u> ]		
[Walsh]			[313]
	WCS 471		
[1715]	[ <u>Nolens Volens 7th Bk...Vln</u> ]		
[Walsh]			[314]
	WCS 472 DDB 20*		
[1716]	<u>4th Bk of Ladies Entertainment</u>	BABELL	
		Will	
Walsh & Hare			[315]
	WCS 501		
GB Lbm			
[1716]	[ <u>Nolens Volens 8th Bk Vln</u> ]		
[Walsh & Hare]			[316]
	WCS 487 DDB 21*		
[c1716]	[ <u>Ld Birons Lessons...Hpscd</u> ]		
[Walsh & Hare]			[317]
	WCS 498		
[c1716]	[ <u>Mr. Hen Purcells Lessons &amp; Insto for Hpscd</u> ]		
[Walsh & Hare]			[318]
	WCS 499		

[c 1716] [The New Flute Master 9th Bk]  
 [Walsh & Hare] WCS 486 TEW 47 [319]

PM 2 FEB 1716

[1717] [Suits of Most celebrated lessons BABELL  
 hpscd/sp Will  
 Walsh & Hare WCS 505 [320]  
 GB Ckc

[c1717] [The Bird Fancier's Delight...flute  
 P & s by Richard Meares [321]  
 PB 9 MAY 1717 TEW 48  
 US Wc

[c1717] [The Bird Fancier's Delight 2nd Bk  
 Walsh & Hare TEW 49 [322]  
 GB Ge

[c1717] [Select Lessons for a Flute 2nd Bk  
 I. Walsh [323]  
 GB Oc WCS 321?

[1717] [An Introduction to the Knowledge & A.B.  
Practise of the Thoro Bass  
 Edinburgh [324]  
 Kidson: Brit. Mus. Publ, p.178 records that this was part  
 of Taphouse Library. Present whereabouts unknown

[1717] [Mr. Godfrey Keller's Rules to play  
a Thorow Bass...  
 [Richard Meares] [325]  
 PB 13 JUN 1717

[1717] [Rules on a comp. method...TB [KELLER]  
 [Walsh & Hare] [326]  
 WCS 511

[1717] [Essay towards improvement of [ROBINSON  
Vocal music Daniel]  
 [J Collyer Nottingham] [327]  
 NM 21 FEB 1717

[1717] [Compleat Tutor to the Vln  
 [Walsh & Hare] [328]  
 WCS 515 DDB 22\*

[1717] [A New Flute Book...]  
 [Daniel Wright] [329]  
 PM 23 MAR 1717

[1717] [The Practical Musick Master...violin]  
 [Richard Meares] [330]  
 PM 13 JUN 1717

[c1717] [The New Flute Master]  
 [Walsh & Hare] [331]  
 PM 23 APR 1717 WCS 510 TEW 50

1718 An Introduction to the Skill of  
Musick... 17 ed  
 W Pearson: J & B Sprinck [332]  
 AS D & M 230  
 GB Lbm

1718 Harpsichord Master improved  
 Pr by and for Daniel Wright &  
 John Young [333]  
 AS  
 GB Ob

1718 Ps-singers necessary companion...  
 [334]  
 GB Lbm

[1718] [Several Suits of m celebrated lessons  
 hpscd/sp] [BABELL  
 William] [335]  
 [Walsh & Hare] WCS 536

[1718] [Compendium...] [SIMPSON  
 Christopher] [336]  
 [J Young] (suspect this is missing 6 ed)

[1718] [Compleat Tutor to Vln 2nd Bk]  
 [Walsh & Hare] [337]  
 See 1717 1st Bk  
 1719 3rd Bk see WCS 515, 562  
 A guess?

[1718] [The Flute Master compleat Improved 1719]  
 [J Young] [338]  
 Ev P 16 DEC 1718

1719	<u>Ps Singers Guide</u> 3rd ed	IRELAND E	[339]
	for Author London GB Lbm		
1719	<u>Ps-Singers Instruction</u>	MARSDEN J	[340]
	Samuel Terry for James Stuart: Liverpool GB LVp		
1719	<u>Singing Masters Guide</u>	WARNER D	[341]
	Will Pearson for C of S GB Cu		
[1719]	<u>A Further Guide to Parish Clerks</u>	WARNER D	[342]
	Joseph Marshall GB Lbm		
[1719]	<u>Suits of lessons...hpscd/sp</u>	YOUNG A	[343]
	Walsh & Hare WCS 569 GB DRc		
[1719]	<u>Compleat Tutor to Vln 3rd Bk</u>		[344]
	[Walsh & Hare] WCS 562 DDB 23* There was probably a 2nd Book of 1718		
[1719]	<u>6th Bk of Harpsichord Master</u>		[345]
	[Walsh & Hare] WCS 566		
[c1719]	<u>The New Flute Master</u> 3rd Bk		[346]
	[Walsh & Hare] PM 24 MAR 1719 WCS 563 TEW 51		
1720	<u>Psalm Singer's Guide...</u> 4th ed	IRELAND Edmund	[347]
	York GB Gu		
[c1720]	<u>Select Lessons for the Flute</u> 3rd Bk		[348]
	Walsh GB Oc		
[1720]	<u>3d Bk of Lady's Banquet</u>		[349]
	[Walsh & Hare] WCS 593		



1724	<u>Sound Anatomiz'd</u>	TURNER W	
	William Pearson for Author		
	GB Lbm	AD p 32	[361]
[1724]	<u>The Spiritual Man's Companion</u>	HOLDROYD Israel	
	Will Pearson for Will DYSON		[362]
	GB Lbm		
[c 1724]	<u>The Harpsichord Master IXth Bk</u>		
	[Walsh & Hare]	WCS Vol II: 760	[363]
1725	<u>A New System of Musick</u>	DE LA FOND J.F.	
	for the Author		[364]
	GB Lbm	AD p 32 (1724)	
1725	<u>An Help to the singing Psalm Tunes</u>	SHERWIN W	
	Richard Ford		[365]
	GB Mp		
1725	<u>The TONOMETER</u>	WARREN Ambrose	
	J. Cluer & A Campbell		[366]
	Westminster		
	GB Lbm	AD p 32 (1724)	
1725	<u>Harpsichord Master X Bk</u>		
	Walsh & Hare		[367]
	GB Ob*	AS	
[1725]	<u>6 Suits of Lessons...hpscd</u>	LOEILLET Jean Baptiste	
	Walsh & Hare		[368]
	GB Lbm		

**CHAPTER ONE.**

**The English Theorists of the Seventeenth Century.**

CHAPTER ONE: The English Theorists.

The books published in England before 1725 which endeavour to provide musical instruction are many and varied. No facet of musical life appears to have escaped the theorist's net. The books themselves are, as one would expect, mirrors of their time and even a casual glance over the check-list (Vol I, pp 14-56) provides an instant reflection of musical culture over a hundred and fifty years. We can see the popularity of lute and viol give way to flute, recorder and violin, but only after a prolonged tussle. We may also observe music as a whole becoming much more available to the amateur, be he composer or player. In addition, the position to be occupied by music in the services of the established church is a constant bone of contention, although we may read that the Restoration of Charles II and the subsequent "settlement" finally decided that music should be an integral part of Church of England worship. Had the Restoration effected this on a permanent basis there would have been no need for clergymen to preach seemingly endless sermons "vindicating" church music and showing that "scripture" was indeed "proof for singing".

Musical theory is but one feature of musical life. Considered on its own, it simply indicates trends and presents a general picture of performance practice. It points out the rise and fall in the popularity of certain instruments; it presents the results of genuine scientific research into specifically musical phenomena; it tells us a great deal which



is significant about how the composers composed, how players played and how singers sang. (Indeed it is often our only insight into these last three problems.) Similarly it may provide organological information; it may help to trace foreign influences or indicate certain lines of musical development; it may provide precise details of how music was seen at the time, of what problems were the most daunting to contemporary musicians, what audiences most admired, what musical standards existed, and a wealth of details which, when placed together, provide notable assistance to all those people who are concerned with editing, performing and listening to old music.

The music itself, some would say, is all that matters, but this is only true and valid as far as it is capable of being performed.

Without the 'theory' it would be in many cases impossible to lift the music from part book or manuscript in a state in which it would mean anything to a modern performer, and when all the music is in front of him, in notation he understands, he is only viewing a skeleton for which the theorists again must supply flesh and blood, and even clothes. We shall get the fullest picture of music in the seventeenth century if we see theory and practice together. Only by viewing the books on music and the music do we come near to a complete picture of what was available and how it was played or sung.

Perhaps it would be a help at this early stage to summarise the technique adopted to enable us to see English

theorists in their setting of seventeenth century England. As an essential preliminary stage a rudimentary card-index bibliography of the books of music and on music published in the British Isles from around 1570 - 1725 was undertaken. The British Union Catalogue and the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Music proved invaluable. Day and Murrie, Humphries and Smith, Wm. C. Smith's John Walsh's Kidson's 'British Music Publishers', Burney, Hawkins, Davey, Walker, Grove etc. helped provide details. Arber, Briscoe-Ayre, S.T.C., Wing, Tilmouth's Calendar, added further details. In addition various specialist publications, concerned directly with the period and with the topic, came to light as investigations gathered momentum.

Boyd and Woodfill have enormous bibliographies of music and books. Le Huray lists all church music (excluding P. Psalters) published in England from 1549 to 1660. Robert Dannington, F. T. Arnold, Howard Brown, et alii are all intimately concerned with books and music of this period. The Journals provided the most useful specific evidence along these lines. Thurston Dart, David Boyden, Thomas Walker, Adrienne Simpson, Lillian Ruff have all written on tutors of the period. Margaret Dean-Smith has written several scholarly articles on the Playfords, including the authoratative M.G.G. article on these vital figures in English musical life of the seventeenth century, which incorporates a list of their published works, unfortunately not quite as definitive as we have been led to believe.

By the time these secondary sources had been tapped, the card index was looking slightly less rudimentary but was crowded with inconsistencies which had to be checked out individually and rather laboriously. It was during this latter process that the finer bibliographical details began to assume their undoubted importance, especially in the case of doubtful publications. The most tangible result of this temporary obsession with minutiae was the extending of the first index to include printers, publishers, vendors, and locations, and for a while the English Theorists were forgotten, until such time as the background of printed music and books on music began to settle down. Eventually the rate of additions, cancellations and amendments began to slow to manageable proportions, and while such an undertaking is never to be called "finished", it does provide valuable information so long as it is under permanent review. On many points the details from this index are in open conflict with generally received authorities: for example B.U.C. is wrong on such an item as William Child's Psalmes for III voyces where it lists the Ethingam Collection at Glasgow University as the one location of this work. (B.U.C. 187) There are copies of all 4 parts of this work in the Bodleian Library which have been seen and examined. Killing another two birds with this same stone, Peter Le Huray is incorrect in stating<sup>1</sup> that the reprints of Child's original 1639 Psalmes "followed in 1650 and 1656 under the title Choise Musick". Only the 1656 edition bears this title. Margaret Dean-Smith<sup>2</sup> has persistently ignored this 1650 edition, although it is a

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1. Music and Reformation in England, p. 397

2. M.G.G. Article 'Playford'

John Playford publication, and the date 1650 (and Playford's name) appear on the title-page. Indeed, elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> in an impassioned plea for precise bibliographical details, she states: "No books were published by Playford in 1650"<sup>4</sup>. This statement has duly been accepted into the Playford canon although it does not agree with the facts. The year 1650 on the title page is quite distinct and the manuscript date on the ~~Le Huray~~ copy is 11 Sept. 1650. Surely "honest John", Edward Lowe and Thomas Pierce could agree on what year it was, or was not!

Too little attention is paid to getting these details right: one should not cast out minutiae as trivia. It is perhaps significant that many who would argue that these details are nugatory include such information in their texts. Let us illustrate this point of bibliographical carelessness, not from Burney or Hawkins or someone out of reach but from a recent book already mentioned. This particular book has been singled out because it admirably serves our purpose, but also because it is a fine book, of notable scholarship and wide learning, and one which could never be damaged by any amount of carping. Published in 1967, it includes as an appendix<sup>5</sup>. "A list of printed books containing devotional music." The list does not apparently operate according to any stated terms of reference, so one must ask the obvious but silly question - silly because the answer is known - where are all the Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalters? There are, of course, far too many to be included, but the 1556 is

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3. R.M.A. Research Chron. No. 6. p. 2.

4. Glasgow copy, in addition to printed date, 1650, also contains Ms. inscription, showing the book to have been possession of Ed. Lowe: "Sent and given mee by my honoured freind Mr. Tho. Peirce. 11 September, 1650" (R.c. 20)

5. Le Huray op. cit. pp. 403-5. Reviewed M&L Vol. 49, No. 1 1968

mentioned. So the reader assumes that only 'first' editions are to be mentioned: yet other books have several editions noted; under Child, 2 of the 3 editions (see above) are mentioned; under Barton, all 4 editions; only the 1621 Whole Booke of Psalmes of Ravenscroft appears; Wither's Hymnes & Songs... is dated c 1623, although there were at least four editions, all dated 1623. There are notable omissions from the list; Barnard, 1641; Wither's Songs of the Old Testament, 1621; the Psalmes of King David translated by King James, 1636; to name but three. John Wilson's Psalterium Carolinum appeared in 1657, not 1652. Campion's Two Bookes of Ayres do not bear the date 1610, but could better be described as [1610?]. The Songs of Mourning, 1613, are by Coperario, and not Campion, although he did write the words. And so on. Thus as a reference list of devotional music, this one fails, not only because it does not function according to any stated criteria for inclusion, but because it gives wrong dates, it supplies definite dates where tentative are called for, and vice versa, it omits known items arbitrarily, and gives false information. None of these criticisms was voiced in the review quoted above. Perhaps it was rather unfair to single out one author for special mention when a good many of the others referred to above are equally culpable.

What appears to be most necessary in all these check lists and lists, is a system which is simple and intelligible at once to the reader: the simple fact of a dubious or conjectured date being placed in square brackets would be of enormous help; the convention of title, of printed books appearing invariably in italics; the general practice of distinguishing what is on the

printed title page from which is the work of an editor. All these pleas have been made before, but they still do not command an unerring following.

As an example of a complete check-list one could cite "A Short-Title List of Printed English Instrumental Tutors up to 1800, held in British Libraries"<sup>6</sup> While it would be easy to argue that the limitations, imposed by Miss Simpson on the material that is included, are too stringent to make the list definitive - her tutors have to contain written instructions, and must be extant and held <sup>in</sup> British libraries - it must be granted that the list operates according to these terms of reference. Even within these restricting conditions, there are however, some notable omissions which measure up to the stated criteria: Christopher Simpson's Division Violist 1659 etc, Thomas Cross's Nolens Volens... 1695 are only the most important omissions. Yet, despite the inaccuracies and the fettering limitations the list is useful since virtually every item which is included is correctly described. It was from this extensive collection of sources, secondary sources, and the manuscript lists of the Bodleian Library and British Museum that the material located in the present check-list was collected. Even this has been radically pruned to be presented as part of a dissertation, since the first idea was to include those works which set out to deal with the performance of music in churches, and also those texts like Batchiler's Virgin's Pattern and Stubbes' Anatomy of Abuses which provide valuable musical information. The inclusion of these two categories - neither of which could ever be finalized -

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6. Adrienne Simpson R.M.A. Res. Chron. No. 6. (1966).

would have swollen the list beyond reasonable bounds and hidden the wood in the trees, so the present check-list is concerned only the first five classifications of the following scheme.

Musical theory in its widest sense may be accommodated under the seven-point plan below:

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|--|---|
| 1. Books on musical practice.  | a) original<br>b) translation                   |
| 2. Books on musical theory.  | a) original<br>b) translation                   |
| 3. Instrumental tutors.  | a) with instructions<br>b) without instructions |
| 4. Song Books with instructions.   |   |
| 5. Works on some specific performance practice, e.g. Thorough Bass, Canon.                       |   |
| 6. Works, (usually polemical) on practice of music in churches.                                  |   |
| 7. Books, not primarily on music, but which contain sections devoted to music or musical theory. |   |

Nor are these 7 categories mutually exclusive: a work like Playford's Introduction... 1679, the eighth numbered edition, contains:-

The Grounds and Rules of Musick	Category 1
Instructions and Lessons for Treble Vln and Basse-Viol	Category 3
The Art of Descant	Category 5
The Order of Singing Divine Service...	Category 6

Butler's Principles of Musick, too, concerns itself with categories 1 and 6. It is, nevertheless, true to state that most of the instructional literature of the period concerns itself with single aspects of the categories enumerated above. Playford was an exception to the general trend, or a creator of new trends,

in that he aimed at a very wide reading public, offering, in the main, rudimentary advice.

Such of these books as are not extant present a different set of problems. Much the easiest thing would have been to have ignored them but this would have seriously impaired the value of the list, and would, of course, have simply shelved the problem. The main difficulty concerned with non-extant texts is that they vary so greatly in the degree of substantiated evidence available to prove or suggest that they ever existed. To include or reject requires a certain responsibility and a discretion that can be applied only after checking out a huge number of secondary sources and trying to trace every lead. This may be laborious, or even tedious, but can be exciting. It can also be frustrating, or it may turn out to be all these things by turns. Take the case of Nolens Volens..., 1695 and The Gentleman's Diversion [1694]. The title Nolens Volens came to light during an examination of newspaper advertisements of the period: these are scattered throughout Wm. C. Smith's Bibliography... John Walsh and other advertisements appear in Michael Tilmouth's "Calendar..."<sup>7</sup> which contains abundant detail of music and books of the period which concerns us. In Tilmouth's "Calendar", Nolens Volens refers to an oboe-tutor,<sup>8</sup> presented under the auspices of J. Hare/J. Wash/J. Miller, in an advertisement dated 8 MAY 1703 in the Post Boy. The same title turns up again in Robert Donington's bibliography,<sup>9</sup> which describes Thomas Brown's The Compleat Musick-Master (preface signed T.B) 1722, 3rd and apparently earliest surviving edition,

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7. R.M.A. Research Chronicle No. 1. 1961 (1964).

8. p. 49.

9. Interpretation of Early Music, 1963.



as a "collateral descendant of Nolens Volens, London, T. Cross, late 1694 or early 1695". Neither Cross nor "Nolens Volens" is mentioned in the text of the book cited above: nor does either rise to a separate citation in a very full bibliography. Humphries and Smith<sup>10</sup>, are similarly reticent on the subject, as Kidson<sup>11</sup> had been. Searching further, Clavel's Catalogue, 1696 edition, gives a reference to Nolens Volens for violin<sup>12</sup>, so there seemed to be a strong indication that this book had existed. In the summer of 1969 during a search for information concerned with John Lenton's Gentleman's Diversion or the Violin Explained, a random check of the vast catalogue of the Bodleian Library revealed that the earliest Nolens Volens, dated 1695, a violin tutor, was available in that library.<sup>13</sup> This work is not listed in the British Union Catalogue, nor does it appear in Miss Simpson's Check-list, notwithstanding it is the earliest surviving treatise devoted exclusively to the violin in this country. Quite apart from its obvious historical importance, it is also a superbly engraved little volume, the work of an acknowledged master, Thomas Cross: yet it receives no attention even in those books which have been particularly concerned with the technical side of book production or the actual publishing of musical literature. The reason for these deficiencies is not difficult to determine: British research is too often centred exclusively on the massive resources of the British Museum which boasts a copy of virtually

10. Music Publishing in the British Isles... 1953

11. British Music Publishers... reprint 1967

12. Reprinted by Gregg International, p. 110

13. I was later disappointed to learn that David Boyden had beaten me to this one. See articles in J.A.M.S. 1959 & 60 on "Geminiani and First Violin Tutors".

everything and knows its own collections inside out. As further evidence to support that the above is fair comment, one could cite Playford's Division Violin, 1685. R.M.S.M. quotes title from B.M. copy and locates another copy at the Bodleian, yet it totally ignores the fact that at the Bodleian there is another copy, dated 1685, whose title page reads SECOND EDITION, also in the Bodleian Library.

On the subject of Lenton's Gentleman's Diversion [1694] the procedure was much the same except that in the end there was no reward like the tracing of the book. There is abundant evidence that the book existed: contemporary advertisements, Stationers Records, Playford Sale Catalogues; Hawkins<sup>14</sup> seems to have known it; Pulver<sup>15</sup>, perhaps from Hawkins, mentions it. Bukofzer<sup>16</sup>, dates it as plain 1694, thereby leading people up the garden path. Wing<sup>17</sup> lists it as a ghost. Dr. Tilmouth author of the M.G.G. article on John Lenton, says that his information on the Gentleman's Diversion is based on Pulver, but that David Boyden had managed to trace a copy of the second edition, published as The Useful Instructions on the Violin [1702], as once belonging to J.H. Roman, but now lost.<sup>18</sup>

The patient reader may recall that this lengthy digression was caused initially by bringing up the subject of extant books and non-extant and deliberating whether the non-extant should be included in a check list. From the specific examples quoted above it is safe to generalise and say that there is no infallible

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14. Modern Edition pp. 770-1.

15. Biographical Dictionary... 1927

16. Check-list of Baroque Book on Music in Music in Baroque Era, 1948

17. Short Title Catalogue...

18. In a letter 20 Aug. 1969, in reply to my query re Lenton.

method of determining whether a book is extant, and provided that one can find real evidence that a book existed, then it would appear wise to include it. One should always bear in mind that an entry in the Stationers' Registers is evidence only of "intended" publication, and the same must be said of advertisements in contemporary newspapers: the appearance of both these forms together is, of course, stronger evidence than the appearance of either singly. Evidence per sale catalogue is stronger still (when it is contemporary) and reference to the text in question in printed book or manuscript, particularly when close in time to the original, is very valuable. Two more examples of this detective work must suffice. First, Birkenshaw: nobody includes John Birkenshaw's Rules for Composition in any list of English Theoretical publications, yet the evidence that these rules existed is overwhelmingly convincing. Here is a selection.

1. Playford mentions in Choice Ayres & Songs (4th Bk.) 1683, and in Musick's Recreation on the Viol Lyra-Way, 1682.
2. B.M. Add. 4910, by Silas Domville alias Taylor includes the "Rules".
3. Pepys twice alludes to the "Rules" as early as 1665.<sup>19</sup>

The inference to be drawn is that Birkenshaw (variously spelled) circulated his musical precepts at first in M.S. and later, probably after his death, they were printed by Playford. It is most unlikely that Playford was selling manuscript copies of the Rules as late as 1682. Finally the recurring case of one William Penny. Since there appears to be no known musician of that name in the seventeenth century it is reasonable to assume

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19. Diary Vol. V pp. 109, 123.

that Andrew Deakin<sup>20</sup> was first responsible for spreading the story. Deakin showed an admirable curiosity but his bibliography is full of enormous errors both of facts and interpretation. Under the year 1670 the author mentions The Art of Composition or Directions to play the Thorow Bass... William Penny, and follows it up with an annotation reading "a work mentioned in Seventeenth Century Catalogues, but not lost".<sup>21</sup> This book does not appear in the standard bibliographic catalogues of the seventeenth century, namely London, and the 4 editions of Clavel, but it does show its face in Playford's<sup>22</sup> A General Catalogue... [1697], where it is offered at 10s. Thurston Dart<sup>23</sup> records this book as noted by Deakin and adds: "No copy is known. The first printed book about continuo playing in English?". The date, 1670, and the christian name, William, seem to be figments of Deakin's imagination, but the book in question is almost certainly by Lorenzo Penna. The Playford Catalogues contain information so carelessly printed as to be in some cases barely recognisable, which cannot even be mitigated on the usual grounds of "chaotic spelling of the seventeenth century printers". The book in question would have been Li Prima Albori Musicali... Bologna, 1672, frequently reprinted. Arnold<sup>24</sup> describes it as "a work of extra-ordinary interest". An Edward Millington<sup>25</sup> auction catalogue of 1699, which nominates Henry Playford (inter alios)

20. Musical Bibliography, 1892

21. op. cit. p. 19.

22. B.M. Harl 5936. No. 422-8 1697

23. "Handlist...Inst. Music". G.S.J. VIII, 1955, p.25.

24. Art of accompaniment.

25. B.M. S.C. 921 (1).

in the imprint, includes as item 51, Penna's whole Art of Composition in Italian, which must help to explain a little of the confusion.

Having produced a check list of English musical theory, and bearing in mind the classification proposed earlier for the various branches of the subject, the English ancestry of Butler's Principles... may be seen at a glance. To put the Principles into perspective requires but a simple list, as follows:-

[1574*]	<u>A Briefe Instruction of Musicke</u>	Delamote]
[1584*]	<u>Introduction...</u>	Bathe]
1587	<u>A Briefe Introduction to the Skill of Song.</u>	Bathe
1596	<u>Pathway to Musicke</u>	for Barley
1597	<u>A Plaine &amp; Easie Introduction...</u>	Morley
1608†	<u>2nd Ed. of above</u>	Morley
1609	<u>Andreas Ornithoparcus: his Micrologus</u>	trans. Dowland
[1610]#	<u>A New Waye...</u>	Campian
1614#	<u>A Briefe Discourse...</u>	Ravenscroft
1636	<u>Principles of Musik...</u>	Butler
1651†	<u>A Muscicall Banquet...</u>	Playford
1654	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1655	"	Playford
1658	"	Playford
1659#	<u>Division Violist</u>	Simpson
1660	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1662†	"	Playford
1664	<u>Templum Musicum...</u>	trans Bickenshaw
1664	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford

1665	<u>Chelys...</u>	Simpson
1665	<u>Principles...</u>	Simpson
1666	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1667 †	"	Playford
1667 #	<u>Chelys...</u>	Simpson
1667	<u>Compendium...</u>	Simpson
1670	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1672	"	Playford
1672 #	<u>Essay to the Advancement of Musick...</u>	Salmon
1672 #	<u>Observations...</u>	Locke
1673 #	<u>Present Practice...</u>	Locke
1674	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1678	<u>Compendium...</u>	Simpson
1679	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
[1682*]	<u>Rules...</u>	Birckenshaw
1683	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1687	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1694 #	<u>Natural Grounds...</u>	Holder
1694	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1697	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1700	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1703 †	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
[1704*]	<u>Compleat Musick Master</u>	[T.B.]
1706 †	<u>Compendium...</u>	Simpson
[1707*]	<u>Compleat Musick Master</u>	[T.B.]
1712 #	<u>Chelys...</u>	Simpson
1713 †	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford
1718 †	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford

[1718] †	<u>Compendium...</u>	Simpson
1721	<u>A Treatise of Musick</u>	Malcolm
1722	<u>Compleat Musick Master</u>	Thomas Brown
1722 †	<u>Compendium...</u>	Simpson
1724	<u>Introduction...</u>	Betts
1724	<u>Introduction...</u>	Playford

\* Item not extant.

# Book is primarily concerned with different material from Butler's.

† Indicates an edition without changes of previous text.

The last three features help to give manageable proportions to a formidable list, and when one considers that only the books published before 1636 could have influenced Butler, and that his book does not seem ever to have been reprinted and would thus have become less and less of an effective text, the area for serious study is further reduced. The Principles is unique in the sense that it is the only one of the vast number of theoretical books published in England which treats not only of the principles of music but also of the 'civil' and 'ecclesiastical' uses, of music in such depth.

The earliest extant pre-cursor of Butler is Bathe's Brief Introduction to the Skill of Song, 1587, which Thomas Morley seems not to have known, since neither the book nor its author occurs in the text of the Introduction. Hawkins<sup>26</sup> was acquainted with both of the Bathe treatises, but Burney makes no mention of them.

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26. History of Science and Practice of Music mod. ed. 1963  
pp. 497 - 8.

Boyd<sup>27</sup>, for some reason which he nowhere explains, gives the correct date [1584], for the first treatise, but consistently refers to the [1587] one as 1600, which thereby post-dates Morley. The same author is in doubt over the "Guide to the Pathway..." 1596, which his bibliography lists as 1599, probably through copying Kidson's<sup>28</sup> entry under Barley: Kidson, p 239, includes a page of errata where he corrects the date. Boyd ought to have suspected 1599 immediately as a wrong date, since Morley mentions the "Guide" both in his text and his list of authorities in 1597.

Hawkins-throughout much more informative of the theorists than Burney - gives some interesting biographical material on Bathe. Boyd, the only other to have attempted a systematic review of the sources, is much more indebted to Hawkins than he cares to acknowledge. The 1587 edition of Bathe is important as the oldest surviving example of a general theoretical treatise, and as such it deserves some attention. Johannes Wolf<sup>29</sup>, writing in 1939, omits Bathe from his authors (presumably as unimportant) although he prints a list of "instruction books on the art of song and of playing on sundry kinds of instruments..."<sup>30</sup> (The same author dates Hely's "Compleat Violist of [1699] as 1700, and Simpson's Latin version of Division Viol as 1677: it was in fact 1665).

Let us then sample the musical fare of Bathe's Introduction, keeping in mind the strictures of Hawkins and Boyd: Hawkins writes of the book in question that its author "according to his wonted custom, answers the musicians of his own time, and

27. op.cit. 249 - 54 = chief section of interest.

28. op.cit. p.6.

29. Early English Musical Theorists from 1200 to the death of Purcell: Mus. Qu. Oct. 1939, pp. 420 - 9.

30. " " " p. 425.



magnifies the efficacy of his own rules".<sup>31</sup> [British Museum copy K.1.e.5 was presented by Hawkins.] Boyd<sup>32</sup> writes: "His two musical works, however, show more egotism than erudition", despite the fact that he admits to having seen only one of them! There is certainly no erudition in the Introduction: nor is it all necessary that there should be. Apart from the preface, there is precious little egotism, either, and it seems a trifle unjust to censure Bathe for the style of prefatory writing which was widespread at the time.

Bathe admirably divides his book into a sensible arrangement of what the singer must know before he can start to sing and then deals with the problem of actual practice. These two divisions he terms "The Ante Rules of Song" and the "Post Rules of Song". Four ante-rules are presented in a straightforward manner.

1. Naming the Notes
2. To prepare for Quantitie
3. To prepare for time
4. To prepare for Tune

The instructions are quite homely: No.3 speaks of "a just proportion of one stroke to another"; No. 4, "to have your voice cleere". Then comes the main problem, and, to judge from the amount of space occupied in this and almost every other treatise, the stumbling block of musical practice, the Gam-ut. Bathe's advice is fundamental and he enjoins to reader to "learn it perfectly without book, to sing it forwards and backwards: to know, wherein every key standith, whether in rule or in space:

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31. op.cit. p. 498.

32. op.cit. p. 253.

and how many Clefs, how many notes is conteyned in every Key": then he provides a diagram illustrating what the reader must learn. All this is in the nature of an introduction and our author then proceeds to make a separate chapter out of each of his ante-rules.

Chapter One, "For Naming" defines the accepted syllables of the old hexachord system, ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, but it is interesting to note that the diagram which accompanies this exposition shows the notes laid out "in order of ascention and descention" over an octave, thus; ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, fa, ut, fa, la, sol, fa, mi, re, ut. As an exception to this rule of appearance of notes is mentioned the instruction: "Change Ut into Sol, change Re into La, when the next removing note is under", so that sol la sol would replace ut re ut. A diagram then shows all the clefs in use; this time our author spells it "Cleves" as he has already exhausted most of the other possible spellings. One of the basic problems facing the would be musician was, of course, the placing of ut. Here is Bathe's "rule of Ut":

"There bee three places in one of which the ut must alwaies be: that is to say, in G which is Gamut, and G sol re ut, when there is no flat in C which is C fa ut, C sol fa ut, and C sol fa, when there is a flat in b mi, or b fa b mi. In F which is F fa ut, when there are two flats, one in b mi or b fa b mi, the other in E la mi, or E la". To summarise: No flat in Key signature, ut is G; Bb only in signature, ut is C; Bb and Eb in signature, ut is F. Two exceptions to this rule are allowed, "the one is that every re should be named la when you

ascend to it and descend from it: and that every ut should be named sol, which two things are used euphoniae gratia, and yet this name of ut is most proper to the base or lowest part in the first place". In support of allowing these exceptions contemporary practice is cited, "for you see daylie that when any song is lettered, these names be not attributed to them". Finally in this chapter comes an after-thought. "I know I should adde a third exception... that every note having a sharp before it, should be named mi".

If only Bathe had managed to swallow this after-thought, he would have had a better system: one is inclined to agree with Boyd that our author "took a fatal look backward at his contemporaries, hesitated, and was lost."<sup>33</sup>

The article in Grove V under Solmization (signed W.S. Rockstro, rev., & adds.) quoting W.G. McNaught, lucidly defines solmization as the chorister's "cross of tribulation" and later exhibits some of the hazards involved in mutation from one hexachord to another. Examples are from Morley, and Rockstro (or it may be rev. or adds.) speaks of Morley's system of solmization, using "only mi fa sol and la" proving an advantage. This is a slight extenuation of the facts. Morley teaches ut and re<sup>34</sup> but neither syllable appears in his exercises.<sup>35</sup> Burney<sup>36</sup> quotes Butler as "the earliest English writer that I have read who mentions the omission of ut and re in solmization." It would seem, however, that Bathe would be deserving of a little

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33. op.cit. p. 251.

34. op.cit. mod. ed. pp. 11 - 17

35. " " " p. 18

36. op.cit. p. 477.

credit here: it is quite obvious that ut and re were on the way out in 1587, ten years before Morley's Introduction and almost forty in advance of Butler. Bathe's treatment of the hexachord syllables over an octave, rather than over the simple hexachord, marks a distinct step forward in treatment. Morley in his many examples mentioned above, does not include one of a simple octave up and down.

Chapter Two of the ante-rules is entitled "Quantitie" and deals succinctly with note values under the formula "two of every one to the next upward..." It also mentions a strange beast "the cratchet", and uses that spelling consistently.

Chapter Three is on Time, of which there are "two kinds... Semibreefe time, and three minim time", the latter being defined as "the striking down and then up of the hand equally in length, making each latter stroke, just halfe the former".

Equally simple statements govern Chapter Four, "For Tune". "There be eight notes whose ascention and descention doe comprehend all tunes. And later: "The Tune of these eight notes is to be learned by practice, and to be believed as a principle in Musicke". More common-sense advice follows: "Tune the first note of any song as it serveth best for the voyce", with a reminder that "every note in the order of Ascension is a whole note or tone above the next under, save the upper and nether fa which be but halfe notes or Semitones".

The second half of the book comprises the Post-rules of Song and follows the same titles as part one. In the first chapter "For Naming", Bathe mentions the practice in Italy of changing Ut into Sol, and again draws attention to the English habit of

changing Re into La: "when the next removing note before or after be under". "For Quantitie", Chapter Two, is one of the more illuminating chapters. It traces the many borrowings by music from other disciplines to show quantity: colour from the artist, figures from geometry, proportions from arithmetic etc. The author admits that some have been valuable but "they used moreover many signs and tokens and marks of quantity that are cut off as superfluous": later he suggests that many had been used "to the wonderfull pestering of the memory, and great toile of the understanding... yet many were superfluous". He concludes this chapter with a discussion of proportions and ligatures.

Hawkins<sup>37</sup> quotes the next chapter in toto: it is certainly one of the strangest to be met with, and it seems to have completely stupified the redoutable Sir John, who remarks with a veneer of sarcasam of incredible thickness: "see what clear and intelligible terms he has chosen to express his meaning". The provocation for this outburst runs as follows. "Take a stick of a certaine length and a stone of a certaine weight, hold the stick standing upon an end of some table: see you have upon the stick divers marks: hold the stone up by the side of the stick, then as you let fall the stone, instantly begin to sing one note, and just with the noyse that it maketh upon the table, begin another note and as long as thou holdest the first note, so long hold thou the rest, and let that note be thy cratchet or thy minim &c as thou seest cause, and thus maist thou measure the verie time itself that thou keepest, and know whether thou hast altered it or not". From a fairly close study of succeeding

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37. op.cit. 498.

treatises it is apparent that Bathe's metro-bomb failed to catch on, but it must have brought many hours of homely fun to dull Elizabethan evenings, & who can deny that somewhere of a dark Winter's night, and one can still hear the long galleries resounding to the crashing of stone upon table. Alternatively this phenomenon may account for the exceptional sturdiness of Elizabethan furniture, or the scarcity of stone for building in some areas.

The last chapter has for its title "For Tune". Here the author recommends that the learner gets his tunings from an instrument, "which is the better way", rather than from the voice of someone else. A little further on he adds that "it were not amisse, that learners should sometime or other commit the Gam-ut to memory": we have come full circle and are now back at the "cross of tribulation".

Bathe's concluding remarks would seem to sum up his reasons for writing the book. "Many things are heere taught by rule, for which teachers heere-to-fare, gave no rule, and if they were asked how shall a man know the like? they would answer that it is according to the course of the song, but this answer is so uncertaine, that it is as good for the young Scoller, they had said we know not". Some elementary rules for composition, intervals, discords etc., then appear and the book concludes with an examples of two parts in one on a plain-song.

The Introduction [1587] is then, a valuable book, valuable historically in that it is the earliest surviving example of this type of text, and valuable intrinsically for the light it throws on contemporary musical practice in its treatment of solmization

and its simple explanation of proportions. It is straight forward in style, admirably concise, and follows a well thought-out scheme. There is not a trace of "learning" in the book: no reference is made to a composer, player, or theorist: no ancient authority is called to testify to the efficiency of a system. All this presents a fairer picture of Bathe than Hawkins does, and certainly a more informative one than W.H. Grattan-Flood's,<sup>38</sup> which is biography without any adduced evidence, except for the date of the Introduction, which he gives, wrongly, as 1600. Hence the error in Boyd's bibliography? Finally on the subject of Bathe; an authority who ought to know better, reviewing the modern edition of Morley's Introduction<sup>39</sup> writes of Bathe's Brief Introduction... 1584 and mentions Boyd's summary of the author's views on solmization. Boyd has not seen the 1584 edition, confining his remarks to the 1587 edition, as mentioned above. In a footnote the same reviewer<sup>40</sup> mentions "A Guide to the Pathway of music" 1596: this title is one of Morley's little jokes, the 'Guide' being the anonymous author, and the book The Pathway to Music, not "of Music".

R.A. Harman makes the same mistake<sup>41</sup> although Morley gives the book its correct title on the same page: Mr. Harman takes his title from the list of authorities at the end of the book where Morley cites authors not titles of books.

The Pathway to Music seems to have attracted no attention since Morley's time. It was published in 1596 and printed "for William Barley": these two facts demand some comment. Barley

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38. Article: Grove V under Bathe.

39. Mus. Q. July 1953, pp. 442 - 455, Otto Kinkeldy

40. ibid, p. 453.

41. Morley, mod. ed. p. 130.

at this time had no part in the music-printing patent or monopoly which had passed from Tallis & Byrd, 1575, to Byrd above (on the death of Tallis) and thence to Morley in 1598. This may help to account for the careful wording of the title-page, which names neither author nor printer, and undoubtedly accounts for the complete absence of music-type in The Pathway: all the music examples are cut from wood-blocks; to have done otherwise would have infringed the patent. Barley became one of the most important music printers of his age: certainly by 1599, and probably in 1598 he was printing music as the assignee of Thomas Morley, and with the turn of the century John Windet, Thomas East and Thomas Snodham were issuing works as assignees of William Barley. His two publications of 1596, namely The Pathway and a New book of tabliture for lute, orpharion and bandora, would seem to be his first efforts at music printing. After Morley's death (who dare put a date to that?) Barley operated his patent till c 1614. This period, from 1600 till around 1650 when Playford arrives on the scene needs a complete investigation, not least from the points of view of printing and publishing of music.

Neither Hawkins nor Burney shows any acquaintance with The Pathway: nor has the book fared any better in more recent times. Boyd<sup>42</sup> states that Barley printed it, despite the wording on the title page, and later<sup>43</sup> admits that he has not examined it since "the British Museum and other important libraries possess none." The Barclay Squire Catalogue<sup>44</sup> lists it, and it is

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42. op.cit. p. 224.

43. " p. 253.

44. British Museum Catalogue of Printed Music 1487-1800: 1912.



available upon request, but being an anonymous work it is listed under "Pathway". The same author is content to quote from Davey that the work under review is an ordinary elementary work of no value". A fine considered criticism!

Morley<sup>45</sup> flays our anonymous author for the errors in his text and with justification. It is significant that he does so in the Annotations to his first part, under the heading of proportion: his treatment of proportions occupies pages 46 - 99 of the modern edition. The length of this particular section has been a source of concern to readers of Morley (and editors) who have sought in vain for some reasonable explanation as to why Morley should have spent so much time explaining an outmoded practice. Thurston Dart in his foreward to the modern edition<sup>46</sup> inclines to the view that Morley as "a good scholar... may well have felt that his laborious researches deserved putting on record", to which one would add that The Pathway may have been a further incentive, since its anonymous author is all at sea on the subject of proportion. This very deficiency may well illustrate that the accepted doctrine of proportions as elaborately expounded by Morley was not understood by musicians of his own day and indeed played little or no part in contemporary practice. So the theorists can exhibit negative qualities, such as explaining things wrongly, but is not at all likely that they do so because they do not understand the prevailing practice.

Where does this Pathway lead? The author sets out his objectives on the title page: it is to furnish "sundrie familiar

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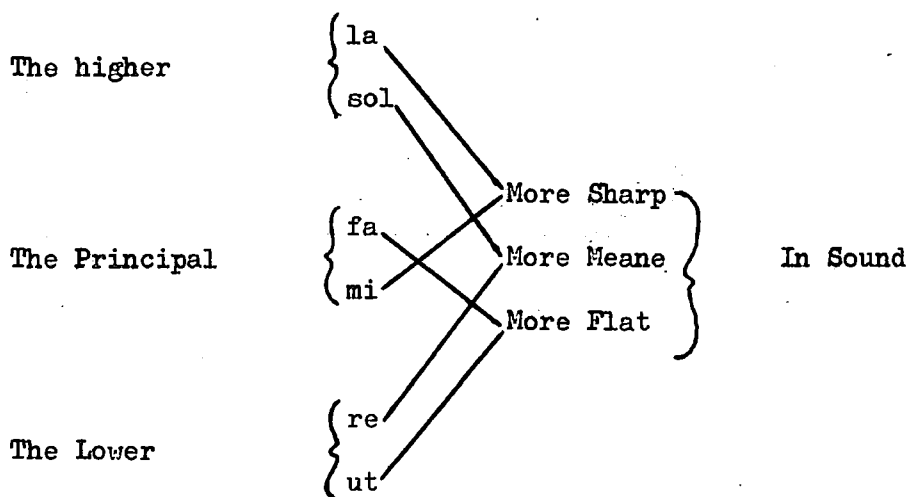
45. mod. ed. pp. 130 - 131

46. op.cit p. xx1.

and easie Rules for the readie and true understanding of the Scale, or Gamma-ut: wherein is exactly shewed by plain deffinitions, the principles of this Arte, brieflie laid open by way of questions and answers, for the better instruction of the learner. Whereunto is annexed a treatise of Descant, and certaine Tables, which doth teach how to remove any song higher, or lower, from one key to another, never heretofore published". And these are the criteria by which he ought to be judged.

The proceedings then are activated and maintained by question and answer, known affectionately as catechisim form, not, one would have thought the ideal medium, except for a very elementary book. But then, Morley's chosen medium of dialogue would not have been everyone's choice. Bothe methods are contrived and both make for unnecessary length and diffuseness of text: but, whereas Morley uses his artificially created medium to lighten the often dull proceedings, life on the 'Pathway' is simply earnest.

Scale is defined as "universall or particular". The universal scale is that "which containeth the voices and orders of all the Keyes, as also the Songs: Sharp, Naturall and Flat, which voices and songes spring from sixe notes or vocall names, devised by the Masters of this Arte, videlicet ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la: By often repeating of which six notes every song is solfaed and song, of which, ut and fa be flat, re and sol be meane or Naturalll (sic), and mi and la be sharp, and for a plainer demonstration to the eye, may be this set down."



This is hardly an encouraging sample: the terminology is too ambiguous, voice, key and song, being as yet unexplained. (I confess to having no idea at all over what the above diagram purports to explain.) However, we reach the diagram of the *Universall Scale* (almost exactly Morley p. 11) and sanity returns: when the author defines Sharp song as having mi in B fa mi, Naturall as having mi in E la mi and fa in F fa ut, and Flat song "hath fa in B fa mi", it becomes apparent that song is hexachord.

The "particular scale", he goes on to define, is that "which comprehendeth the principall sounds by degree of one kinde which are the Sharps or Flats together with their Naturalles, and it is of two sorts, Sharp or Flat, by observation of which scales the learner may know where to find his ut in each song for the true naming of his notes". Diagrams of Sharp scale and Flat scale are appended, although the two together make up the universal scale for which he already has a diagram: the natural scale is included in both diagrams, thereby constituting a great waste of labour. Surely if separate diagrams of the Sharp and Flat scales had to be given, it would have been better to give them before the Universal scale.

Next come some "Rules teaching how to tune the voice".

"Tuning or tune-keeping is a lifting up or letting down of the voice from one voice to another, eyther by Rules or Spaces in certaine distances: from which definition, are excepted the unisones, which keepe in the selfe same place one certain tune eyther in straying or remitting the voice". Again the prospect of a good, simple definition is ruined by inconsistent language 'voice' cannot mean voice and note in the same sentence; and the repetition of a single note, has not, except in these pages, been described as a unison!

Nor does the next section inspire us with ~~more~~ confidence in our guide despite the fact that his next topic is virtually fool-proof. The following gives the entire section on intervals, "A perfect sound (obviously by the lay-out a misprint for 'second') containeth a distance of two perfect sounds". [If sound = semitone, he might just make it, but see below] "An imperfect second, a sound and a halfe, delivered with mi and fa" [1 semitone = a sound and a half!]

"A perfect third from ut to mi... consisting of two tunes"

[a change of terminology]

"An imperfect third containeth a tune and a halfe and is re - fa".

"A fourth is the distance of the voice by a fourth standing of two tunes and a halfe, of which are three kindes, re sol, mi la, ut fa. [i.e. a - d, b - e, c - f: which are all the same kind of fourth. Morley<sup>47</sup> castigates the guide for this misleading definition and rather uncharitably omits the portion here

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47. page 131.

underlined, which does make the meaning clearer.]

"A fifth is the distance of voices by a Fift, [Morley misquotes as distance of the voice] and commeth of three tunes and a halfe tune, of which there be foure kindes; re la mi, in fa fa, ut sol (sic) which ought to read re la, mi mi, fa fa, ut sol. (d - a, e - b, f - c, g - d).

"A perfect sixt standeth of foure tunes and a halfe, from ut to la, or re to mi".

"An imperfect Sixt consisteth of three tunes, with 2 halfe tunes, from la to fa".

Let me quote as a final example of what has been harped upon as confused terminology, the following which appears under the heading of the Seven Cliffes, of which our guide considers four to be "usuall", the G, C and F clefs and the x and b, applied to b. [The older theorists were very logical in considering this to be a clef as it does fix the pitch of the notes within a stave]

"B marked thus b is tearmed a b flat, because it appertaineth to fa whose nature is flat, which is to say less than a note, and B marked thus x it is tearmed a B sharp, because it pertaineth to the note in mi whose nature is sharpe: which is to say more than a note". The two phrases underlined are meaningless. By the greatest stretch of imagination one could allow that "less than a note" may mean semitone, but then one must face that "more than a note" means tone... This is too much to ask!

Ques: "Into how manie parts is prick-song divided?"

Ans: "Into twelve". We have reached the treatise on Descant, and our mentōri sets out the twelve features as follows:-

1. Forms of notes
2. Restes
3. Legatures
4. Degrees in musicke and the signs thereof
5. Augmentation
6. Diminution
7. Imperfection
8. Alteration
9. 4 kindes of prickes
10. Time-keeping
11. Sincapation
12. Proportion

Here again the story is the same. The definition of Note is but one example of many: it is "a signe shewing the lowdness, or stilness of the voice, and is of two sorts, one simple, and the other joyned..." The examples of 'simple' notes and their rests are correct: but the "joyned" variety of notes (ligatures) Morley jumps on as "set down false".

To the question: what is degree in musicke? comes the reply: "it is a certain rate, by which the value of the principell notes is measured and known by a certaine mark" Morley defines it<sup>48</sup> as "a certaine mean whereby the value of the principal notes is perceived by some sign set before them". At last, one up for the guide! But from here till almost the end of the book our author wallows in confusion. Most of the definitions are well on the way to accuracy but they tend to disagree with his musical

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48. p. 23.

examples. The kindest thing one can say is that our unknown trail-blazer seems to have lost his way. The old doctrine of the moods and proportions which Morley delights in revealing must have been a closed book to our author: he would have been well advised to have kept it closed.

There are, however, two more notable, even memorable definitions to come. Asked to define a consonant, our author replies that "it is a concord of unlike voyces within themselves, tackt together, sweetly sounding unto the eare". A "discord" is a "commixion of divers sounds, naturallie offending the eare". One can hear the difference between the two intervals just by reading the definitions.

The reader may recall that at the beginning of this survey of The Pathway it was insisted that the author be judged by the achieving or non-achieving of his stated aims, which included easy and familiar rules, plain definitions etc., etc. He fulfils none of these promises, as has been amply demonstrated, although the book is not entirely without merit. One or two of his definitions are quite brilliant; many are adequate; some are misleading; a few are incomprehensible; one or two are wrong. Morley's censure of the book in 1597, namely that "you shall not find one side in all the book without some gross error or other", is seen to be a reasonably accurate judgement of the book's value. The text contains no 'local colour' and there is no attempt made to gild the expository pill.

If it appears that an inordinate amount of time has been spent on these first two books, it should be stated that it was by design. It has become so much the fashion to consider Morley as the first as well as the greatest of the English theorists that

it is about time the record was set straight. His reputation has little fear from Bathe or the Guide.

A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music by Thomas Morley, appeared in 1597 and is dated for that year, although following the contemporary practice the book was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1596. A second edition was published by Humphry Lowmes in 1608, after the author's death, and Lowmes' name also appears on some copies, dated 1597, but issued before 1608 and made up of sheets of the 1597 edition. It is easy at this distance in time to get the impression of Morley's book as a runaway best-seller: he is the most frequently cited English theorist to date and references to his book are legion. So valuable an authority is he that his work was re-issued in 1771 and 1937, and another one was due in the summer of 1970 but has yet to appear. No other English theorist has been deemed worthy of such lavish treatment. Thurston Dart,<sup>49</sup> however, estimates the size of the first edition as 500, and this is a high figure in comparison with the 300 - 400 - suggested as the total number actually sold - put forward by O.E. Deutsch<sup>50</sup>. Both of these figures are, of course informed guesses. We have very little evidence, as yet, regarding the size of musical editions of the period<sup>51</sup> and should not jump to conclusions. That a fair number of copies have survived is not an infallible guide to the estimating of a large original edition: many other factors must be taken into consideration,

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49. Foreward to mod. ed. xxiv

50. "Editions of Morley's 'Introduction'", Library 4th series, XXIII (1943) p. 129.

51. The most definite evidence to date appears in Margaret Dowling's article "The Printing of John Dowland's Seconde Booke of Songs or Ayres, in Library, 4th series xii (1932-3) pp. 365 - 80.



not least of which, one would suggest, is the format of the book. Folios must show a greater survival rate than pocket editions for the simple reasons that they are subject to less wear and tear, usually deemed worthy of an impressive binding, and therefore stored in good conditions. By a similar token the contents of a book must have some bearing on its survival and hence it is that Morley's Introduction has lasted better than his Consort Lessons. Any librarian would confirm that a book, well-bound and stored correctly, preferably in the dark, will last for ever, if only people would refrain from reading it. It is the opening and closing of the book which places the greatest strain on the spine, and particularly important in this respect is the leaving open of books. Consequently the part books, both vocal and instrumental, are in general more subject to the ravages of time than the treatises. In this respect the lute songs, with lute and cantus part on one page and the "alternative" vocal parts on the opposite page, provide the most obvious example, where the book pressed flat into the table for all to see must have felt as comfortable as the singers who clustered around.

To return to the point, Morley's Introduction was a well known text and represented the composer as a theoretical authority whom no subsequent writer on music in the seventeenth century could afford to ignore. He is also the only English theorist available in a modern critical edition, and at a reasonable price. It would be a great waste of time to give the Introduction the same treatment as Bathe and the Pathway, since it has already been done and it would serve no purpose

merely to re-iterate what more eloquent and informed commentators have said. A few remarks of a general nature would, however, not be out of place. Morley's book is the first English treatise which can be called scholarly and makes any pretence to erudition. Even if we accept - as we surely must - that the author is straining the truth when he says in his list of authors, "the most part of whose works we have diligently perused...", and writes down names of several composers "the most part of whose works" he can never have seen, it hardly detracts one iota from his claim to erudition. There are some notable omissions from his list of "Late writers", such as Fogliano and Padovani (both known to Butler) neither of whom appears in Mr. Harman's note<sup>52</sup>: Cassiodorus, Pythagoras, Aristotle & Co., are missing from the "Ancient Writers". But still Morley's ~~coverage~~ of ancient and modern theory and practice is comprehensive.

Morley's stated aim<sup>53</sup>, "that any of but mean capacity so that they can but truly sing their tunings... may, without any other help saving this book, perfectly learn to sing, make descant, and set parts well and formally together," is proof that advertising was part of sixteenth century life, and is a little unrealistic.

If we can take his preface at its face value he apparently set out to write a short introduction, compiled from his own experiences of musical life, rather as our two previous authors must have done; but when he compared his findings with the writings of other authors, he was so surprised at the lack of agreement

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52. mod. ed. 319

53. Ibid p. 6.

that he was forced to investigate things for himself and the book grew mightily in proportion. The text itself would appear to substantiate the author's statement.

It is a long book and treats, in three parts, Teaching to Sing, Treating of Descant, and Treating of Composing or Setting of Songs. Liberal annotations concern themselves with polemical points and these are treated in separate sections aside from the main text. The book is copiously illustrated with musical examples and Morley creates an imaginary conversation between master and pupil(s) which energises the discourse, bringing light and humour into the sometimes drab and dull proceedings of a text book. He covers the ground admirably and displays particular skill in matching musical example to text. Most topics are treated fully and clearly and some are treated to the point of exhaustion. Thurston Dart has enumerated both the points that Morley appears to have missed and also those for which we would have been indebted for a fuller treatment:<sup>54</sup> underlay, musica ficta, tessitura, improvised ornamentation solfeggio, temperament, instruments, choice of madrigal verse, natural signs, sharp.

One can add almost indefinitely to this list; the practice of music in churches, the actual printing and publishing of the music, are two of the obvious points which Morley must have known well and yet hardly mentions. There is of course, no reason why he should mention them if we recall why he wrote the book. In any case, who are we to comment thus? It was not written for us. The Elizabethan gentleman who bought the book would certainly

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54. mod. ed. p. xxiii.

not be faced with the same problems as those which harrass the modern reader of Morley.

The Plaine and Easie Introduction is then a scholarly book, where the learning is lightly carried, and the matter is treated thoroughly and consistently, and where every topic can be seen to be part of an over-all pattern<sup>55</sup>. The actual manner of writing is clear and precise with the result that definitions are good and read authoritatively. The progress of the book is logical and in several places carries the reader through some dull details and on to more interesting fare, showing, one imagines, that Morley must have been a good teacher. It is certain that the presentation and physical lay-out of the book would have been of enormous value to the work as an educational text, since text and musical examples are skillfully presented, admirably laid-out and usually correctly set. Undoubtedly it is in the laboriously contrived marriage of all these features that the secret of Morley's success lies. It is the earliest surviving text that the English musician could read easily and with profit.

Shortly after the second edition of Morley's Introduction came John Dowland's fine translation of the Micrologus of Andreas Ornithoparcus, dated 1609,, notwithstanding the fact that Grove V gives 1606. Ornithoparcus - real name Vogel(ge) sang - had published his Micrologus originally in Latin at Leipzig in 1517, (Grove gives 1516) and the sixteenth-century writers on music (and the latin ones) frequently refer to this text. [Morley mentions him, p. 71] The fact that Dowland should

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55. One of the very few writers who have entertained misgivings with regard to Morley's treatment of modal theory is Robert Stevenson: see his article "Thomas Morley's Plaine & Easie Introduction to the Modes". *Musica Disciplina* VOL 6 (1952) 177 - 84.

have gone to the trouble of translating the Micrologus is adequate testimony to the value of the book almost a century after its publication. Dowland may have come across Ornithoparcus' work while he was in Germany in the service of the Duke of Brunswick, but his translation did not appear until after he had settled once again in England after having been dismissed the court of Denmark in 1606. One can but suggest likely reasons for Dowland undertaking the preparation of a translation of this treatise: he may have wished to give the book a wider audience than the Latin-reading English public afforded, or he may have found in it an extremely good book which offered something lacking to English readers. Alternatively he may have needed the money. In any event Burney<sup>56</sup> was of the opinion that he had laboured in vain, since the availability of Morley's Introduction in England "precluded all want of such a work as that of Ornithoparcus".

Sir John Hawkins<sup>57</sup>, on the other hand, gives a very full account of the Micrologus and quotes extensively from the Dowland translation. Boyd<sup>58</sup> gives a list of the contents which he characterises as "the dry pabulum of the middle ages", instances one example of wrong etymology, and quotes the amusing section about the "Saxons, and those that dwell upon the Baltic coast" who apparently sang "as if they have a deaf God, or because they think he is gone to the South-side of heaven..." [Hawkins also cites this section.]

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56. op. cit. p. 202/3.

57. op. cit. pp 308 - 314.

58. op. cit. pp 243 - 245.

Dowland's translation makes no effort to up-date Ornithopercus. There is nothing in the way of editorial additions or amendments: all he gave to English readers was a superb English version of the original 1517 edition. The book cannot have been of any great appeal to Jacobean readers since the ideas it presents were almost a century out-of-date. It is a weak criticism to say of a theorist that he is out-of-date, since by his very nature he is bound to be so. The job of the theorist is to codify and perhaps explain musical practice, not to chart the unknown, and while he is busy doing his job, musical practice will have left him behind. The fate of the theorist in translation is naturally more fickle, and the theorist in translation nearly a century after his theorising can have only antiquarian interest.

Since this work has no part to play in our tracing of English theory of the seventeenth century, notice will be very brief. (A list of the contents is printed in M.C. Boyd's book<sup>59</sup> on Elizabethan music.) Twice already, attention has been drawn to the high quality of Dowland's translation: indeed the book might well have been written in English. It is a work which exhibits a mastery of compilation rather than the genius of an individual mind. A vast array of sources, ancient and modern, buttresses the logical and carefully prepared structure. Definitions are clear and simple yet full. Musical examples and diagrams abound and invariably help to illustrate the author's argument. There are even precise instructions for a do-it-yourself monochord. Books One and Two are the particular concern

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59. op. cit. p. 243.

of the would-be singer: Ornithoparcus allows each new topic a separate paragraph or paragraphs according to its complexity, which makes it a work which is easy of reference.

Book Three is devoted to the chanting of plainsong according to the rules of "accent" which, interesting though it is, must have been of very limited appeal to an English audience of 1609. Finally Book Four deals with Counterpoint and concludes with "ten precepts necessary for every singer", most of which are as applicable today as they were in 1517.

We have no means of telling precisely when Thomas Campian published his treatise A New Way of Making Foure parts in Counterpoint, by a most familiar, and infallible Rule. Boyd gives [1613], Grove 1613, Bakofzer<sup>60</sup> 1610; H.C. Galles<sup>61</sup> suggests or rather states 1619/20 "shortly before his death". Bibliographical clues do not unfortunately throw any real light on the situation. T.S. in the imprint is of course Thomas Snodham, who printed 1609-24 for various publishers, but for John Browne alone as distinct from Matthew Lowmes and John Browne, during the earlier part of this period. Pollard and Redgrave<sup>62</sup> suggest 1610. It is, however, quite possible that the book was published after Ravenscroft's A Briefe Discourse..., 1614.

The first thing which strikes the present-day reader of Campian's treatise is that it has a modern ring to it, just as if since Morley's time a gentle breeze had carried away the last vestiges of modal theory, and in its place had deposited a down-

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60. Music in Baroque Era, 1948. p. 420.

61. "Some Musical Instruction Books of the 17th century PRMA, Vol. 55, pp. 31 - 49.

62. Short Title Catalogue No. 4542

to-earth, practical approach which would mean "music for all". The epistle dedicatory confirms this suspicion where the author speaks of his new way "by which Musicke shall be redeemed from much darkness wherein envious antiquitie of purpose did involve it". Boyd<sup>63</sup> calls this passage absurd, but there is no reason to uphold his censure: Campian describes his discovery as "a poor and easie invention: yet new and certaine", and it is in fact all those things.<sup>64</sup> On the very next page Boyd, having defended Campian from an unjustified attack by Vivian, changes his tune thus: "The writing of any book that will enable an unmusical beginner to write correct harmony is quite a feat, and Campian accomplished it".

The mighty wind of change blows through the Preface where Campian instances many examples of the utter confusion of musical terminology, like 'tone' and 'note', and pleads that the gam-ut, an excellent invention of its day, with its six notes in a twenty note compass, is out of touch with modern music: the scale can be better expressed by 4 notes than by 6, leaving out Ut and Re. [The reader will remember that Burney credited Butler with this idea: we have also seen it in Bathe, 1587; Morley's examples (but not his text) would seem to confirm the practice.] He then illustrates the scale by writing the common key "we call Gam-ut", over an octave (not a hexachord) and then giving below the lute tablature which much more fittingly exemplifies the difference between tone and semitone, than a dozen written-out vocal examples.

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63. op. cit. p. 255.

64. Available in C. Ed. of Campian's Works. ed. Vivian, 1909.



The chapter "Of Counterpoint" which follows occupies the greatest part of the whole treatise. Campian recommends composition in four parts, as being the most natural form, Bass, Tenor, Counter-tenor/Meane and Treble, and proposes composition from the Bass. Boyd ignores this important phenomenon which, as well as being the mainspring of Campian's compositional technique, constitutes his principle claim to fame: even Morley seems to have been totally committed to composition from the tenor. "But I will plainly convince by demonstration that contrary to some opinions, the Base contains in it both the Aire and true judgement of the Key, expressing how any man at the first sight may view in it all the other parts in their originall essence" [B6 v.]

Campian continues: "First, it is in this case requisite that a formall Base, or at least part thereof be framed, the Notes, rising and falling according to the nature of that part, not so much by degrees as by leaps...", and then he proceeds to give of examples of the bass moving by degrees and by leaps. [B7 r] After a further passage of elementary elucidation we come to his rule. "If the Base shall ascend either a second, third or fourth, that part which stands in the third or the tenth above the Bass, shall fall into an eight, that which is a fifth shall pass into a third, and that which is an eight shall remove into a fifth" [B7 v]

Campian reduces this rule to a diagram thus:

8	3	5
3	5	8

The lower line indicates the position of the three notes above the "formall Base" in the first 4 part chord.

The upper line indicates the position of the three notes above

the second bass note, remembering that the bass will have risen by a 2nd, 3rd or 4th.

If the Bass falls by a 2nd, 3rd or 4th, then the reader is instructed to read his diagram from the top downwards. Campian has already explained that a fourth rising in the bass produces the same note as a fifth falling and vice versa and that by the same token 3rds become 6ths and 2nds, 7ths. He then proceeds to frame a formal bass of four bars which involves leaps upward 5th and 4th and downward of 5th, 3rd and 5th, in addition to step-wise motion [C<sub>+</sub>]: this he sets for four voices according to his rule. [C<sub>v</sub>] The system works perfectly. Meanwhile he delivers a little morale-booster to these readers who have fallen by the wayside, and then summarises what he has thus far achieved. "If I should discover no more than this already deciphered of Counterpoint... I had effected more in counterpoint than any man before me hath ever attempted..." True enough! But we have not yet reached the end of the method.

Campian presents us with a bass that is not so formal, where the first and last progressions proceed by step and thereby produce rather mechanical inside parts: these parts, he suggests, may be "mollified, by breaking two of the first notes", producing a little chain of crotchets in thirds in the inside parts. Again (on C<sub>+</sub>) he allows an exception to the rule to produce better part writing.

"Know that, whensoever a sixth is requisite, as in B, or in E, or A, the key being in Gam-ut, you may take the sixth instead of the fifth, and use the same cord following which you would have taken if the former cord had been a fifth".

8	3	5
3	6	8

Diagram (not given in Campian) explains.

Where the bass note happens to be F sharp, the sixth must be taken "of necessity", but the use of an octave to the bass, i.e. another F sharp, is forbidden. The authors reasoning for this is very interesting. "Such Bases are not true Bases, for where a sixth is to be taken, either in F sharpe, or E sharpe, or in B or in A, the true Base is a third lower". This is a truly modern approach. Eb in the bass gives him cause for anxiety since a strict observance of his rule will produce E flat to F sharp in one of the added parts: this, of course, "would be unformall". This minor obstacle is circumvented by making the E flat jump to G and thence to F sharp. When the bass stands still, this allows the other parts to "move at their pleasure". Similarly the bass may be broken at will without altering any of the other parts.

[C6v - 7r]

Another "difficulty" arises when two consecutive treble notes form 3rds against the bass. They should not if the rule is strictly obeyed. In this case, as Campian shows, there is no need to alter the consecution of the other two parts which must still obey the rule. [D v]

"Lastly in favour of young beginners let me also add this, that the Base intends a close as often as it riseth a fifth, third or second, and then immediately either falls a fifth, or riseth a fourth. In the like manner, if the Base falls a fourth or second: and after falls a fifth, the Base insinuates a close, and in all these cases the part must hold, that in holding can use the

fourth or eleventh, and so passe either into the third or tenth".

[D2+] This is very sound advice. The author then supplies a hymn of his own composition, composed according to rule.

The next section of the New Way is given over to a discussion "Of the Tones of Musicke". It is a short chapter, a mere 9 sides, but one, I think, of enormous value to the student of English musical theory. Boyd fails to apprehend the real significance of this section and writes it off as follows: "He (Campion) does little more than show what cadences are satisfactory in various keys".<sup>65</sup> None of the earlier English theorists had done this.

Campion first stresses the importance of a true knowledge of the Key or Moode or tone, "for all signifie the same thing"<sup>66</sup>.

"I have therefore thought it good in an easie and brief discourse to endeavour to express that, which many in large and obscure volumes have made fearful to the idle reader". The octave he divides into a fourth and a fifth, fourth at the top being called Modus authenticus, fifth at the top Modus plagalii, but no matter how the fourth is placed with the octave "we must have our eye on the fifth, for that only discovers the key, and all the closes pertaining thereunto". Nor does he stop here, but presses on to say that this fifth "is also divided into 2 thirds, sometimes the lesser third hath the upper place and the greater supports it below, sometimes the greater third is higher, and the lesser third rests in the lowest place". The lowest note of this fifth "bears the name of the Key".

Now to the actual cadences. Campion instructs us that "the maine and fundamental close is in the key itself, the second is in the upper note of the fifth, the third is in the upper note

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65. op. cit. p. 258.

66. See Morley, mod. ed. p. 249 ff.

of the lowest third, if it be the lesser third". The first close "maintains the aire of the key, and may be used often, the second is next to be preferred, and the last last". If the key, however, happens to be G with B sharp (i.e. G B D, a major triad) the third type of close is forbidden but instead one can close on A and sometimes C, if one is discreet. It is also vitally important to make the key known at the beginning of a song and Campian advises that the best way to do this is in the "often using of his proper fifth, and fourth, and thirds, rising or falling".

Campion cites as an example of a song which shows some confusion of key one of the Church tunes "which is begun in one key and ended in another, quite contrary to nature; which error crept in first through the ignorance of some parish Clerks, who understood better how to use the keys of their church-doors, than the keys of music, at which I do not much marvel, but that the same should pass in the book of Psalms set forth in four parts, and authorised by so many musicians, makes me much amazed". The un-named tune is given in full. [It is the tune originally set to Psalm 108 which first appeared<sup>67</sup> in Scottish Psalter of 1564/5. Subsequent appearances in English Psalters include Daman 1579; Este 1592; Alison, 1599; Barley, 1599; any of which versions could be the one referred to here. Post-Campion appearances are in Ravenscroft, 1621; Slatyer 1643; Playford 1671 and 1677. By a singular coincidence it is one of those used as illustrations by Butler, 1636 [p. 144] who quotes the Ravenscroft version, called by Ravenscroft "Oxford Tune".] Campian's objections would appear

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67. Frost. p. 154 - 5.

to be reasonable: the tune in question appears to finish in a different "key" from its opening. He writes what to him seems a sensible Bass to the first part of this tune (and uses an E flat as key-signature) and this produces a cadence on B flat, proving just how "unaireable" the tune really is. Our author next sets the same tune in four parts, with the church tune in the Tenor, altering all the F's of the tune and making them sharp, and giving a strong ring of G minor to the whole song.

The last section of this little treatise is headed "Of the taking of all Concorde, perfect and imperfect", and will not long occupy our attention. Campian begins by praising "the best and most learned" author on this subject, Calvisius, (the only theorist he mentions in his book.) saying how indebted he (Campian) is for Calvisius's work, and how he owes it to English musicians to become a translator: editor would better describe his intended employment. The whole of this section (with one exception and example) and all the musical examples are lifted bodily from Calvisius' Melopoëia... 1592, Chapters 9 and 10.<sup>68</sup>

Such then was Thomas Campian's contribution to English musical theory and it is no matter for speculation to say that this little work shows a radical departure from modal theory. Campian not only gives us an almost infallible rule for elementary composition, but gives clear indications of the road being taken in English music. Although he does not actually use our terminology, he leaves us in no doubt that music to him was four part composition from the bass, (this he does say) major and minor scales, triads (and or least one inversion, the first) and a

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68. Only copy available in G.B. at Glasgow.

strong incipient dominant-tonic relationship which was more than modal. Robert Wienpahl<sup>69</sup> has no doubts about placing English music in the very forefront of the movement towards tonality and he accords Campian a significant position. "Campian's advances in theoretical thinking are of great importance and, coupled with the strong tonal feeling of the English composers, certainly put England in the lead in the evolution of tonality".<sup>70</sup>

Every schoolboy knows that the next piece of English Musical Theory, the work of Thomas Ravenscroft, published in 1614, was a "pedantic effort"<sup>71</sup>. Issued under the exhausting title, A Brief Discourse of the true (but neglected) use of Charact'ring the Degrees by their Perfection, Imperfection, and Diminution in Measurable Musicke, against the Common Practise and Custome of these Times... it is better known simply as the Briefe Discourse. A reading public which could stomach titles like the unterminalable one of Prynne's Histrion-mastix, 1633, would have found nothing indigestible in Ravenscroft's title. Burney and Hawkins both make passing mention of this book: no-one seems to have taken the work seriously. Yet again, Boyd is the only modern writer who pays any attention to Ravenscroft's theorizing, although even he can hardly be credited with a thorough examination of the Briefe Discourse, particularly when his evaluation is padded with speculations like the following. "We may surmise (he says,<sup>72</sup>) that the printer accepted the book for publication only because Ravenscroft's previous volumes of music had been of a popular

69. "English Theorists and Evolving Tonality", M & L, xxxvi, No. 4. (1955) pp. 377-93.

70. op. cit. p. 388.

71. Boyd op. cit. p. 259.

72. ibid. p. 259.

nature, probably selling well,..." We are most certainly not at liberty to surmise anything of the sort. One assumes that, had the publishers, Thomas Adams, so instructed him, Edward Allde would have printed the book with alternate pages upside down and the text back-to-front! Adams had already published his fair share of music, the Dowland translation of *Ornithoparcus*, 1609, and Ravenscroft's Deuteromelia, 1609, and Melismata, 1611, being only three of the more pertinent examples. That Ravenscroft's text and indeed his main thesis are thoroughly irrelevant to Jacobean music should not blind us to the value of his book. It is an astonishing achievement for a young man of 22. (One of the dedicatory poems establishes this fact and also testifies that he received his Mus. B at Cambridge somewhat earlier than all of his illustrious contemporaries, at the age of 14). His ill-timed plea for a return to the purity of the old system of modal time-keeping is studded with references to Glareanus, Listenius, Beurheursius and Morley, to name but a few, and demonstrates a notable understanding of the rules of mood, time and prolation. At its publication it probably stood about as much chance of successfully influencing current opinion as did Butler's English Grammar, 1633, but this is not to say that both books were unimportant.

Ravenscroft is, in the main valuable to us as a commentator on the musical life of early seventeenth century England. The professional musician frequently receives the rough edges of his tongue, as he had done in *Ornithoparcus*' book: in both cases it appears to have been with some justification. Boyd<sup>73</sup> draws

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73. op. cit. p. 242.



attention to Morley's statement "I have broken the ice for others"<sup>74</sup> and Ravenscroft's reference: "The ice is broken, and the foot-path found..." It is not at all beyond the realms of possibility that this remark concerns not only Morley but also the anonymous author who beat him to the press and called his book The Pathway... Lastly on the subject of Ravenscroft; the fact that there is no reference to Campian's treatise makes one very chary of dating the New Way... as [1613.] Campian contributed a dedicatory poem to the Briefe Discourse in 1614; neither poem nor text contains any reference to Campian's treatise. He and Ravenscroft stand poles apart on the question of theory and practice, so much so that a reference would seem almost inevitable, unless, of course Campian had not yet published. There is, moreover, a distinct possibility that Ravenscroft's work was the spur that encouraged Campian to produce his book. Several of the references in Campian's preface could be direct allusions to the arcana of the Briefe Discourse.

To assert that English music publishing began its decline with Ravenscroft's Briefe Discourse is not to hold him personally responsible, nor indeed to attribute that sad demise to him in any way. 1614 was our last point of reference and since no "major" English theorist separates Ravenscroft from the main objective of this discourse, Charles Butler, this would seem to be an opportune moment for taking stock. It was stressed at the very beginning of this essay that one of the objectives was to view the theoretical publications in their proper setting, namely against the back-

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74. Introduction mod. ed. p. 305.

ground of all the music published in this period. To repeat the admonition above, there is no hidden significance behind the date 1614.

To take stock: between 1615 and 1636, the year of Butler's Principles, an index of music published in England provides 170 items which have survived. Of this number 146 items can be classified under the comprehensive, if at times loose, heading, Psalms. In this group are included non-Stearnhold & Hopkins psalters and other works with "psalms" in their title. This leaves us with the princely total of 24 items, approximately one per year, which can be considered to be what we now refer to as secular music. A similar set of figures abstracted from the above totals for the years 1630-36 inclusive, shows a balance of 61 psalms and 5 non-psalms. A glance at the titles of the latter group may help to give point to the issue.

1. Motets... Peerson. 1630.
2. Gibbons Fantazies @ III [1630]<sup>75</sup>
3. 3 pt. Canzonets - Morley 1631 (A reprint)
4. A Brief and Short Introduction - Bevin, 1631.
5. Madrigals & Ayres - Porter, 1632.

No corroborative evidence in support of Professor Pattison's assertion has been found. Thurston Dart<sup>76</sup> has convincingly demonstrated that the first edition belongs to c 1620; and another edition, without imprint does exist, at Glasgow. Professor Dart's

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75. Bruce Pattison: "Notes on Early Music Printing" Library 4th series Vol. xix No. 4, pp. 389 - 421.  
 76. "Printed Fantasies of Orlando Gibbons" M&L XXXVII (1956) pp. 342 - 349.

article is concerned only with the editio princeps. We have then, in our list, one item which is a reprint, and one of doubtful authenticity, leaving 3 items to document the course of secular music in England. It was thus a pardonable error on the part of whoever considered us a community of psalm-roaring saints! Extension of our list to 1650 would produce even more depressing reading, so much so that the details shall remain undisclosed. Nevertheless, the paucity of musical publications before Playford (but after 1636) accounts for some wild statements; this is but one example. Writing of the year 1651, when he assumes (wrongly) Playford issued his first musical work Dr. Percy M. Young ventures: "Nothing had been published in England since Child's Psalmes of 1639"<sup>77</sup>. 28 editions of the Psalms alone survive: Barnard's inestimable First Book... Church Music, 1641, Sandys & Lawes, 1648 etc. Nothing? Dr. Young provides us with a delightful piece of evidence which must surely confirm once and for all that Playford was the "father" of English music publishing: he published Deering's Cantica Sacra in 1622:<sup>78</sup> this was in fact before he was born! This book abounds in errors of fact, such as dates, most of which seem to be directly attributable to "Grove": still, it is not too much to ask, that the intending chronicler of British music check his details.

The twenty years between 1630 and 1650 have been virtually ignored by the writers of English musical history, and where they have not actually been swept under the carpet, we have been led

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77. History of British Music, 1967, p. 224.

78. History of British Music, p. 207.

to believe that the country, basking in the fading-splendour of the Golden Age, was biding its time, waiting for Henry Purcell or John Playford or both, while that master of instrumental composition, John Jenkins, becomes "the most important composer of the transitional period".<sup>79</sup> When will we see the last of that painful expression? All ages are transitional. The classification of people and artistic movements into manufactured pigeon holes is well known and its usefulness approved, but at its very best the idea is only a reasonably effective generalisation. As soon as the guide-lines begin to be lines of demarcation they ought to be thrown out, and, if necessary, a new set laid down. How often do we see Orlando Gibbons described as the last of the Tudor composers, even by reputable authorities? Who can honestly say that he is so free from conditioning that he does not think of Elizabeth I when someone casually says Shakespeare? What on earth is a book like Deering's Cantica Sacra, 1662, doing in a Bibliography of "Printed Tudor and Jacobean music and musical treatises" or why indeed is such a bibliography appended to a book-entitled "Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism"?<sup>80</sup> If monarch chasing is fraught with danger, instrument-chasing would appear to be an equally inept occupation, particularly so if it leads to the following. "The seal was set on the respectability of the viol in musical circles by the issue in 1659 of Simpson's comprehensive Division Violist, a work which contains the finest of Simpson's variations... The Division Violist was reprinted

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79. *ibid*, p. 215.

80. Boyd *op.cit.*

in 1667, and again in 1712"<sup>81</sup> There is nowhere any reference to "the respectability of viol" being a subject for debate; the "musical circles" is surely redundant, unless our author imagines that the viol had long been admired only as a piece of furniture, or as a repository for the "metophysical tobacco"; the Division Violist was never, so far as we know, reprinted.

It was issued at least twice, but differing only in title-page, in 1659. (One issue reads W. Godbid: the other W. Godbid for John Playford: Copies of both in B.M.) By 1665 it had been translated and appeared as Chelys... The Division Viol in Latin and English. As such it was reprinted in 1667 and 1712.

When Percy Scholes<sup>82</sup> was patiently and convincingly demolishing the myth of the crippling influence which the Puritan ascendancy in England exerted on music, he laid the blame for the original conception of this idea squarely on the shoulders of Burney and Hawkins, particularly Hawkins who was first to publish. Having destroyed what had long been an entrancing tale which had yielded magnificent copy to generations of social commentators and historians, all he could put in its place was the never-to-be doubted, but dull truth that all art-forms reach an apogee and decline. Although it is no integral part of our immediate objective, (namely to cast a surveying eye over the musical theorists of the period), to delve too deeply into the social history of England in the first half of the seventeenth century, and Dr. Scholes assembled a disarming amount of evidence to reject Burney and

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81. Young. op. cit. p. 219.

82. Puritans and Music... reprint 1962.

Hawkins, it is just possible that his main thesis is in-capable of standing up to close scrutiny.

To a greater or lesser degree, all subsequent historians of the music of seventeenth century England, have been nose-led by Dr. Scholes' published findings. It will be remembered that Scholes was not propounding an original thesis but one first set out by Henry Davey<sup>83</sup>. Our one social historian<sup>84</sup> derives his sociology of the Puritan era almost exclusively from Scholes; E.H. Meyer<sup>85</sup> advances Scholes' testimony; a more recent author, John Harley<sup>86</sup> in saying that "the domestic practice of music had suffered little interruption during the Commonwealth...", simply underlines the continued presence of music in the home; finally Sir Jack Westrup<sup>87</sup> refers his readers to Scholes book and himself summarises the Puritan prohibitions as "profane music on the Sabbath, organs and choirs in churches, and stage plays". All these historians produce what seems at first sight the irrefutable evidence of the activity of John Playford and the works which he published in the decade leading up to 1660. Sir Jack Westrup<sup>88</sup> is quite adamant on this point: "There had been very little actual publication of music under Charles I (the energy of the publishers of the madrigalian era was extinct), but in the ten years from 1650-60, a great number of works issued from the press; and indeed, we may fitly date the never-ceasing stream of English

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83. History of English Music, 1895. 2nd ed. 1921.

84. A Social History of English Music E.D. Mackerness, 1964, pp. 77-81.

85. English Chamber Music, 1951. pp. 201 - 3.

86. Music in Purcell's London, 1968 pp. 56-57.

87. History of Music in England. [rev. ed.] 1952. pp. 153-4.

88. op. cit. p. 154.

music publications from the Commonwealth". Let us just test this evidence to see how conclusive it really is: first, had the energy been extinct there would have no music published; second, it was in fact a printer from the madrigalian era who printed the works of Filmer, Peerson, Morley, Porter, and East, namely William Stansby; third, since publication of music is not limited to any particular kind, Professor Westrup, one assumes, includes all published music. The effective 'reign' of Charles I being 1625-42, the total surviving copies of this period stands at around 137 items, of which 126 are some or other variety of Psalms. The first decade of Playford, 1650-60 which Professor Westrup instances as one of "numerous" publications, provides about 40 items. Even if we are generous and allow that Professor Westrup does not include Psalms in his reckoning, the score would then be King Charles 10, Playford 30, which does not justify separation into "very little" and "numerous". [The 1907 ed. of Walker used to give 1653 as the date of 1st ed. of Playford's Introduction; the 1952 edition quoted above gives 1655; the real date on the copy is 1654.]

It has still to be defined just how it was that Scholes misled subsequent historians. All his evidence of published works is centred on Playford and the decade 1651-60: where is his evidence of that other decade, 1642-51? The Puritans were in effective control in the earlier period, and controlled all presses apart from the one at Oxford. Would he have us believe that Puritan supremacy was only apparent after Charles I was shortened by a head? or that the long Parliament was pursuing Charles' policy? He does not mention that the party which abolished the

Court of Star Chamber - and thereby the control of the presses which Laud had established in 1637 - rushed to erect its own defences in June 1643, thereby occasioning the outburst from Milton, Areopagitica. Only one piece of music survives from the period 1642 - 49, (apart from 25 Psalm-books) and that was a reprint of the engraved Parthenia, 1646. Doubtless the times were not favourable, but they were sufficiently propitious to produce Psalm books.

Secondly the evidence is centred entirely on the industry and business acumen of one man, John Playford, who provided all the music for these jovial Puritans. This one man theory is not strictly true, but it is what Scholes proposed. It is hardly evidence of a general trend.

Thirdly we are encouraged to believe that Cromwell and Bunyan, Col. Hutchinson and the many others enjoyed music, but we find no evidence of these illustrious gentlemen indulging in the saucier episodes of Playford's Catch that catch can 1652, which incidentally are nowhere very saucy. Nor do we discover any evidence that they entertained themselves with secular vocal music. There is ample evidence of the enjoyment of instrumental music; psalm singing both public and private and was popular; dancing was tolerated. One question should be put to all those who would have us believe that the Puritans gave active encouragement to music, excepting only music for skilled choral resources. Did they encourage all types of music? And the answer will be a very decided negative, since there is no shred of evidence that they encouraged secular song.



The objective of this rather lengthy digression has been not to condemn the findings of Dr. Scholes as untrue, but simply to point out that the situation is not as clear cut as he would have had us believe. In conclusion, one must affirm that the subject of the effects of Puritanism on English music is still open to debate.<sup>89</sup>

The length of time which separates the appearance of Ravenscroft's Briefe Discourse from Charles Butler's Principles sparked off the preceding discussion on the state of English music publishing. One other theoretical treatise, intervenes; the Brief and Short Introduction... of Edway Bevin, the organist of Bristol Cathedral, published by Young in 1631. Its title page outlines an impressive work..."of the Art of Musicke, to teach how to make Discant, of all proportions that are in use: very necessary for all such as are desirous to attaine to knowledge in the Art; and may be practice, if they can sing, soone be able to compose three, foure, and five parts: and also to compose all sorts of Canons that are usuall, by these directions of two or three parts in one, upon the plain-song". The work itself does not live up to its expressed intentions since the pedagogical content is minimal. Bevin assumes that the Brief and Short Introduction he has promised us is not really necessary, since

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89. The following articles deal with the practice of music in the period.

"Music as a Social force..." Bessie GLADDING Musc. Qu Oct. 1929 pp. 506-21.

"Music in England during the Commonwealth" Jeffrey PULVER. Acta Mus. VI fasc. IV (1935) 169-81.

"Domestic Music under the Stuarts" J.A. WESTRUP P.R.M.A. 1942. pp. 19 - 53.

"Amateurs in 17th Century England" " MMR LXIX No. 811, (1936) pp. 257-63.

All represent the Davey/Scholes line of thought outlined above and which I question as a just estimate; the third of these articles is an excellent exposition of the subject.

he deals with concords and discords in one page and fairly races through proportions (which he never defines) giving musical examples and titles only. The whole book is possibly an excuse for exhibiting the old master's wonderfully resourceful canonic technique: some of the examples are extra-ordinarily complex. It is difficult to see how the book could have been of much benefit, except to those who had no need for it, in the sense that most of the examples are finished products and there does not appear to be any basic instructional procedure, to encourage the student to follow the master's example. It is in the respected English tradition of presenting to the musical public an artistic tour de force. John Farmer, in 1591, had done the same thing and Byrd and Waterhouse must have intended publishing their canons as the copy was entered and approved for publication in 1603 as Medulla Musicke,

This brings us to Charles Butler's Principles of Musik... 1636. It is not proposed to review this book here, since it is fully examined in a separate chapter, apart from saying that it is in the tradition of Morley, insofar as it is a learned book, and set out to deliver instructions to cover the rudiments of music and basic compositional technique. In addition to these objectives Butler also included a Second Book which is concerned with proving the "usefulness" of music. None of the other theorists had been involved in surveying this aspect of musical instruction and this makes The Principles a text of unique interest.

After Butler no one made any effort to produce a theoretical treatise till Playford's Introduction... appeared in 1654. It is one of those happy co-incidences much beloved of musical

historians that one of the earliest of all his publications, A Musicall Banquet... 1651, contains within its pages the seeds of its author's later success. [The unique perfect copy of this book is in the Bodleian Library: Huntington Library, California has the only other survivor but it is defective.] Divided into three sections, Lessons for Lira Viol, dances for treble and bass, and rounds and catches for three voices, the whole preceded by some rules and directions to learn to sing, this book sums up Playford's career at its very outset, since all three main sections and the rules grew into important books in their own-right.

Playford's Introduction, 1654, grew out of the rules and directions at the beginning of A Musicall Banquet. The development and history of this, the most important treatise of the seventeenth century, has been well traced and published by L.M. Ruff.<sup>90</sup> [This article forms part of a Nottingham University thesis for Ph.D., 1962, which I was privileged to be allowed to consult when I was first surveying this period, but only on the strict understanding, that I was to copy nothing since the thesis was being revised by Dr. Ruff.] Of all the theoretical treatises published in the seventeenth century - that is, of course, of those which are comparable in scope - this one is easily the poorest, and yet, one has no hesitation in repeating the earlier statement, that it is the most important. With 19 (numbered) editions between 1654 and 1730 and including among its foster-fathers Campian, Simpson, Playford himself, and Henry Purcell, it easily outsold all its rivals, to become the most popular theoretical work: but its

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90. The Consort, No. 22, 1965, pp. 36 - 48.

importance lies in the way in which the receipe was endlessly varied to provide suitable musical fare for about three generations of England's musical amateurs.

A complete record of the many editions of the Introduction, both numbered and un-numbered appears in the check-list. Dr. Ruff has admirably documented the progress of the book, and in particular has gone to great pains to discuss just what part Playford himself played in the writing of the book, notably of the 1683 edition which first discarded Campian's treatise. It would be both tedious and unnecessary to repeat here the story so well told in Dr. Ruff's published article. In the main one can support almost all her conclusions, and would beg to disagree only on some quite small matters. She states<sup>91</sup> that Playford in his first edition "clearly used" the Pathway to Musicke... and Morley's Introduction of 1597. The use of the former would be very difficult to substantiate and for the latter the date 1608 is given by Playford, i.e. he used the Lowmes 2nd edition - a very minor point. [Playford also gives the date 1663 for Butler, which is obviously a typographical error.] Later,<sup>92</sup> speaking of the 2nd edition Dr. Ruff notes that the Preface "refers to musical legends...: these passages probably amounted to Playford's total knowledge of the history of music..." The passage to which she refers is 'lifted' wholesale from Butler.

Further on in this article<sup>93</sup> our author declares that "Playford was the only music publisher at this time": doubtless

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91. op. cit. p. 37.  
 92. " p. 38.  
 93. " p. 39.

the word "regular" or its equivalent is missing here. Humphrey Moseley (Gamble's Ayres & Dialogues 1657) John Martin and James Allestrey (Psalterium Carolinum 1657 and 1660) and Nathaniel Ekin (Gamble's Ayres & Dialogues 1659) issued music. On the same page the 1658 edition is correctly described as a new edition but then as a new "impression": it was of course a new edition. Impression as a bibliographical term signifies (at least in early books) the total number of copies printed without removing type from the press: in most cases type would be immediately re-distributed. Again<sup>94</sup> printers and their trade give trouble. Will Godbid is described as Playford's printer 1654 - 74, whereas Godbid first printed for Playford in 1656, The Little Consort of Matthew Locke, and his last recorded work is the 2nd Edition of Apollo's Banquet, 1678. Later Miss Ruff speaks of Godbid as a printer whose constant endeavour it was to make the Introduction more attractive, "setting up pages in new type and lay-out even though the text remained un-altered"<sup>95</sup>. This of course would be as much of necessity as of design: the only way in which Godbid would have been able to produce the "next edition" would have involved setting up new type: he certainly would not have been able to keep an edition locked-up in type waiting till it was needed, and stereotypography was not then invented. Following immediately, Miss Ruff opines: "It is really remarkable that with all the craftsmanship that went into this booklet, with its tooled-leather cover, it never cost more than two shillings..."

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94. op. cit. p. 40

95. op. cit. p 40.

This of course is nonsense! There is no evidence to support this wild opinion, or indeed even to suggest that Playford ever offered a new book bound in tooled-leather. Certainly the price of the Introduction so far as we can discover (Playford did not always give priced lists of his publications) does not appear to have gone above 2 shillings, but to have presented the book in tooled-leather at that price would have earned him an even more affectionate epithet than "honest John", and would probably have made the first edition his last.

Dr. Ruff devotes a large section of her article to a consideration of the 1683 edition of the Introduction, which the publisher re-wrote, having cast aside Campian's work which had been in one form or another stable-mate to the Introduction since 1655. In view of the fact that Playford explicitly states that the work is not his own Dr. Ruff sets herself the unenviable task of indentifying the various authors who "contributed". She performs this detective work with great skill, but occasionally goes a little too far in her zeal towards indentifying musical examples, and does not sufficiently distinguish between what is one man's particular and individual contribution to the corpus of English theory and what was the common property of the era. In her table of Subject Matter and Sources for this edition of the Introduction<sup>96</sup> frequent reference is made to Coperario's "Rules how to Compose", a manuscript treatise of the early part of the century, now domiciled in the Huntington Library.<sup>97</sup> The date of the treatise has been set at c. 1610 by Bukofzer. [I have not seen the facsimile

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96. op. cit. pp. 43 - 44.

97. facs. ed. by Bukofzer, 1952,

edition, which I understand has a very good introduction penned by Bukofzer, but I do have a microfilm copy of the original M.S. The similarity of the early folios to Campian's treatise is very close and a more detailed investigation may yield dividends but I have not had time to pursue this line of enquiry.] One must surely doubt that this M.S. treatise exerted such a strong influence on Playford's revision as Dr. Ruff's "table" suggests. The reader will recall that this discussion involves Playford's revision of 1683 only. Dr. P.M. Young<sup>98</sup> cites Dr. Ruff's article, having appended a list of Playford's sources, presumably gathered from her article. He, of course, is speaking of the first edition, 1654, so the "Source material" is abbreviated. As stated above, the first edition makes use of Morley, Butler and Campian, and not as Dr. Young leads us to believe Coperario, Ornithoparcus, Campian, Bevin and Butler.

He would have been well advised to read the article himself instead of simply recommending it to his readers. Two American doctoral dissertations have been written around Playford, the first by Ramon Meyer and the other by Russell Nelson.<sup>99</sup> The first of these is concerned exclusively with Playford's Introduction and contains a gross number of factual errors in addition to some very light-weight scholarship. The second is primarily interested in Playford as the provider of music for amateurs and is of a much higher order, though not wholly free from factual error,

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98. op. cit. p. 224. n. 2.

99. Meyer: 1961  
 Nelson: 1967 Both available through U. Microfilms, Michigan  
 U.S.A.

The final point of disagreement with Dr. Ruff concerns her statement<sup>100</sup> that the 1724 edition of the Introduction was the first to employ the 'new-ty'd note' (which first appeared in England in 1687 in Vinculum Societatis - hence vinculum, a tie) The 1703, 1713 and 1718 editions all boast on their title-pages that they are "done on the new Ty'd note", and are so listed in Day and Murrie<sup>101</sup>. Even the edition of 1700, which makes no mention of the technique on its title page is printed "on the new ty'd note". [Copy in Durham Cathedral.]

Christopher Simpson is the next theorist to claim a little of our attention, and initially he presents a somewhat bewildering aspect to anyone concerned with the seventeenth century theorist, since his name has a habit of turning up in so many places. The problem, however, is soon reduced if we are careful to distinguish his two separate functions, first as an "editor" in the sense that he supplied his own annotations to Playford's Introduction, and secondly as an author of two very successful books, the first originally styled The Division Violist, 1659 and the others The Principles of Practical Musick, 1665. His annotations in Playford's Introduction first appeared in 1655 and formed a regular feature there as far as the 1679 edition. We have already noticed something of the history of his own books: the Division Violist became the Division Viol and was provided with a parallel Latin text for its second edition in 1665; 1667 saw another issue, with changed date but still marked 2nd edition; a third edition, along the same lines was issued in 1712. The Principles of

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100. op. cit. p. 48.

101. English Song Books 1651 - 1702: 1940.



Practical Musick was the beginnings of the more famous Compendium which first appeared in 1667. A third edition came out in 1678 and a fourth in 1706. [Subsequent editions are recorded for 1714, 1722, 1727, 1732 and 1775], the underlined date being recorded in Grove but not in B.M. Catalogue, which two authorities also seem to be locked in mortal combat over the numbering, while agreeing that there were 9 editions in all.]

A common-sense interpretation of all this detail would lead us to believe that Simpson served his time on Playford's Introduction before breaking out to write his own master-piece, The Division Violist; (there is unanimous praise for his exccutitent ability on the instrument) that part two of that book suggested the Principles, and this by turn grew into the Compendium. An examination of the books, however, requires some modification of the arm-chair interpretation and reveals that Principles was originally conceived as a little introduction to Part II of the Division Violist, which, being directed almost exclusively to exponents on that instrument, does pre-suppose that the rudiments have already been assimilitated. (Part Two of the Division Violist treats of intervals, concords, discords, etc. which are obviously of supreme importance for a player of divisions). It is probable that readers of the Division Violist liked his style of exposition and asked for rather more help with the fundamentals. The Compendium in fact unites a fair selection of Simpson's theory inside one cover. The Principles, very little changed, constitutes the first book of five: the Second Part of the Division Violist forms the basis of Book Two. A glance at the titles of the five parts will present a good idea of the ground Simpson seeks to cover.

1. The Rudiments of Song.
2. The Principles of Composition.
3. The Use of Discords.
4. The Form of Figurate Discant.
5. The contrivance of Canon.

The Compendium thus forms a good general introduction to the rudiments of music and basic compositional technique and was by its very nature in open competition with Playford, who, it will be recalled, was still publishing Simpson's annotations to Campion's treatise as part of the Introduction.

Playford was involved in at least part of the first issue of Simpson's Division Violist in 1659: in fact, there must have been two issues since two different titles are extant, one of which cites Playford in the seller's position, i.e. "Printed by William Godbid and sold by John Playford..." (B.M. Hirsch I. 553) and the other which states "Printed by William Godbid 1659". (B.M. K.1. i. 11.(1)) In view of the close association between Playford and Simpson it seems reasonable to suppose that the issue involving Playford was the first and that after the success of that issue Simpson chose to go his own way. Be that as it may, all the other publications which bear Simpson's name were published by Henry Brome at the Gun in Ivy Lane up to and including 1678, and all but the last, the Compendium of 1678, were printed by Godbid. [Grove and B.M. Cat. here are again at odds: Grove says 1678 Compendium was printed by Godbid for Henry Brome. B.M. Cat. says " " Henry Brome for M.C. the copy consulted at the Bodleian says M.C. (presumably Mary

Clark who succeeded to her late husband Andrew's business, and is known to have printed for Brome) for Henry Brome. (Savile H.4) There is no suggestion of any enmity between Playford and Simpson as both men refer their readers to the other man's books, so it would appear to have been simple common-sense which necessitated Playford's declining to be Simpson's publisher. If John was "honest", he was also wise.

It has already been stated that the Compendium covers much the same ground as the Introduction and that Simpson was therefore in direct competition with Playford. Obviously then, in such a situation Simpson had to be offering something different. It is notoriously dangerous to impute motives to other people's actions but it does not seem too fanciful to suggest that Simpson had a dry run with his Principles in order to test whether the market was wide enough to accommodate both himself and Playford, and that, having performed what was now dignified as market-research, he began the compilation of a more comprehensive work.

The Compendium is in every way a better book than the Introduction. There is a homogeneity about Simpson's work which is entirely lacking in Playford. The latter reads like a collection of borrowed sources in many places whereas the former strikes one as proceeding naturally from the fruits of rich practical experience. It is a procedure requiring very little facility to isolate the contributions of various authors to Playford's Introduction, yet to perform a similar analysis on the Compendium would prove a deal more difficult. Simpson has assimilated his sources so completely that his writing exudes Simpson.

The treatment which Simpson gives to the various aspects of musical practice shows at once that the book was aimed at a rather "better" class of reader than Playford contemplated. That may sound revoltingly pompous but it is meant in the nicest possible way. We saw earlier that Morley, despite his avowed purpose, makes little concession to the student seeking to dabble in music: Butler makes; if anything, even less. It is no disparagement of Playford to say that he bent over backwards to reach his audience. (although it is an inane metaphor) Rather is it a sign of the times which points out that Playford was concerned with a reading public the very size of which would have appeared miraculous to Morley. That Simpson's book should have been constantly in demand is in itself proof that a reasonable number of people wanted more than Playford could offer.

The Compendium, as published in 1667, is longer than any edition of the Introduction, and the greater length provided scope for a fuller treatment of musical practice. If one were forced to characterise this book in a few words, one would describe it as comprehensive, immensely practical and conservative: comprehensive in that it treats of all aspects of musical practice, immensely practical in the manner in which it treats them; conservative in that its author clings passionately to a set of traditional values, imagining them to be valid for all eternity. His last feature has much endeared Simpson to musical commentators from Roger North onwards, providing many quotable quotes.

A direct contrast of comparable editions of these two books will best illustrate the points which have been outlined above. The 1664 edition of Playford's Introduction has been used for the purposes of this comparison simply because it is to hand, and

indeed is to all intents and purposes the same as the 1667 edition. (Microfilm of the 1664 edition is from the copy at Harvard, the well-known variant edition which omits FOURTH EDITION from its title page and includes Zach Watkins in the imprint, furnishing some proof that he and Playford were in some sort of partnership at that time.)

Playford. 1664

Preface 2 pages.  
Of music in general: divine/civil uses. 13 pages.

Book I pages 1 - 37

Scales and Gam-ut  
Cliffs  
Proving of Notes  
Naming Notes  
Tuning the voice  
Tones or tunes of music  
Notes: names, number, proportion  
Rests and Syncopation  
Keeping Time  
Adjuncts  
Short Ayres pp 37 - 42  
Tunes of Psalms pp 42 - 56  
Singing after the Italian manner 57 - 81

Book II pages 81 - 112

Instructions for Bass-Viòl  
" Treble Violin  
Lessons for Treble Violin

Book III pages 1 - 45

Campian's treatise with Simpson's annotations

Simpson, 1667Part I pp 1 - 34

Scale

Degrees of Sound

Flat &amp; Sharp

Tuning degrees of sound

Notes: names &amp; characters

Ancient moods

Keeping time

Driving a note

Odd rests

Tripla tune

Diminution

Part 2 pp 35 - 77

Counterpoint

Intervals

Concords

Passage of Concords

Concerning Key or Tone

Closes/cadences

How to frame a Bass

How to join a Bass to a Treble

Composition of 3 parts

" " 4 parts

5th & 6th together in Counterpoint

Composition in a Sharp Key

Transition or Breaking of a note

Composition 5/6/7 parts

2 Basses - Composition in 8 parts

Part 3 pages 78 - 109

Concerning discords

Discords admitted to music

Syncopation

Passage of discords

Discords, note against note

Discords in double transition

Relation Inharmonical

3 scales of music

Greater/lesser semitones

Where greater/lesser semitones arise in the scale of Music

Part 4 pages 110 - 141

Figurate descant

Greek moods & Latin tones

Figurate music in general

How to set a Bass to a Treble

How parts pass through one another

Consecution of 4ths and 5ths

Consecution of 3rds and 6ths

Fugue

Arsin and Thesin

Double Fugues

How to form a fugue  
 Music composition for voices  
 Accommodating notes to words  
 Music designed for Instruments

Part 5 pages 142 - 177

Concerning canon  
 Canon of 2 parts  
 " 3 parts  
 " in unison  
 Synopated/Driving canon  
 Canon a note higher/lower  
 " rising and falling a note  
 Retrograde Canon  
 Double descant  
 Canon to a plain song proposed  
 Catch and Round

Note first of all the wide-ranging appeal of Playford; Rudiments, Ayres, Psalms, "à la mode" singing, instructions for Bass viol and violin, simple treatise of counterpoint. Note the number of easily discernible authors; Butler, Playford, Caccini<sup>102</sup> Simpson and Campian. Finally note the substantial amount of music to be played or sung; Ayres, Psalms, lessons. These are all (but one) of the reasons for his success: when we remember that

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102. c.f. a very interesting article by Ian Spink: "Playford's Directions for Singing..." MTR, July. Aug, 1959 pp. 130-5, which suggests that the translator of Nuove Musiche, 1602, was Walter Porter.



the mixture of ingredients was constantly being added to and modified to keep abreast of the times, we have the complete picture of how to be a commercial success in the seventeenth century. (One wonders why the section devoted to the violin with its elementary instructions, rules for graces and "lessons", is not considered to be the earliest extant tutor for the violin)

Simpson, it will be observed, offers a much more substantial musical meal. Both in the comprehensiveness of his subject matter and in the depth and manner in which he treats his material, it is immediately obvious that he is aiming at a more limited audience than Playford's, yet at an audience willing to explore music more deeply and, equally important, capable of deriving profit from this more profound study: in a nut-shell, directed to those of musical ability rather than to music-lovers. Roger North praises the Compendium, while Pepys buys the Introduction. Allowing, then, that comprehensiveness of subject matter, clarity of exposition, and a personal style of writing are virtues to be sought in a treatise on any subject in any age, one would unreservedly recommend Simpson's Compendium as the best musical treatise of the seventeenth century.

In order to consider Simpson's theoretical output at one sitting we have waived the rule of strict chronology. The next work to be examined received its one and only edition in 1664 and is entitled Templum Musicum... The full title goes a long way to explaining the motives behind the production of this work.

Templum Musicum: or the Musical Synopsis, of the learned and famous Johannes - Henricus - Alstedius, being a Compendium of the Rudiments both of the Mathematical and Practical part of Musick:

of which subject not any book is extant in our English tongue.

Faithfully translated out of Latin by John Birckenshaw, Philomath.

William Godbid for Peter Dring, 1664. The book is a translation of the portion on music in Alstedt's Elementale Mathematicum, first issued at Frankfurt in 1611. The remark in the full title quoted above, "of which not any book is extant in our English tongue", would seem a trifle disingenuous in the light of the English translation of Descartes' Compendium which had appeared in 1653, and which we have not paused to review for some unexplained reason. The Descartes' Compendium is concerned almost exclusively with the scientific part of music and in no way ventures into the realms of practical instructions, the study of which has been the principle aim of this background discourse. Birckensha's book, however, like the Dowland translation already considered, does purport to be an instruction book and it is therefore proposed to give it the same treatment which was accorded to Dowland.

Like Dowland's translation of Ornithoparcus, this one is comparatively short, 93 pages in all, but in a well-packed octavo in marked contrast to Dowland's sumptuous folio. Birckensha is quite the dullest author one could hope never to meet, and must be in strong competition for the accolade of worst translator. This study of Butler has required a great deal of attention to books written in Latin, Calvisianus' Melopoeia, 1592, being only the most obvious example. It is no exaggeration to state that it is much easier to read in Latin than to read Birckensha's translation which is an utter travesty of what good translation should be.

At the very beginning of the book the translator promises us a revelation, "a great light and discovery of this Art", and we read on, spell-bound. Before we have got very much further the text drops into a conveniently designed pattern, of precepts and rules, the former in Black Letter: and the latter in Roman. "The Subject of Operation in musick are Things sacred and liberal."<sup>103</sup> The seventeenth century, almost to a man, seemed to have settled for "ecclesiastical and civil", so it is obvious that our author means to do away with traditional terminology, (often, though not in this case, a source of misunderstanding) and to substitute his own. Rule 2<sup>104</sup> provides an all too typical example: "An harmonical song, is a concinnous multitude of sounds...." This man makes Butler look like Morley's Philomathes, and Simpson like a clodpole, but perhaps a fuller quotation will prove that these are not isolated bad examples. Further into the subject of sounds we come across the following.<sup>105</sup>

"A musical sound is considered in respect of his quantity and signs. The doctrine of that is called theoretical music, and of this signatory. Quantity is threefold, Longitude, Latitude and Crassitude... The Latitude of a musical sound is that which is discerned in the tenuous and asperous spirit. The Crassitude of a musical sound is that which is discerned in the profundity and altitude thereof". And this, of an interval: "The unequal sound doth bring forth a distance or an interval of a sonorous

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103. Templum musicum... 1664 p.3.  
 104. " " " p.3.  
 105. " " " p.13.

crassitude which is called a musical interval". This,<sup>106</sup> which defines a scale: "The series of Intension and Remission". After all this, the traditional confusion of English terminology appears perfectly lucid. Worse, however, is soon to follow, when our translator buckles down to the subject of intervals.<sup>107</sup> "A Musical Dyas, is that which ariseth from two sounds: consonant and harmonical from consonants, and dissonant from dissonants. And it is more simple, or more compounded. That is called radical, this radicated". So the interval C-G is a consonant radical musical dyas and the interval C-f is a dissonant radicated musical dyas. It's so easy, really! Summing up on intervals<sup>108</sup>, we learn that "The Simple unison is the Radix of all Consonancy and Dissonancy" despite the fact that "vulgarly they imagine that the unison doth both consonate and dissonate. But they erre; for the unison doth equisonate only..." In conclusion, one more quotation, a personal favourite which tends to epitomise the whole book<sup>109</sup>. "The Harmonical Tryas is the root of all Harmony that can be invented and may be called the unitrisonous radix". The main clause of this sentence with its subject Anglicised (as is actually done elsewhere in the book) has an air of authority and is a fine statement of basic musical principles, but one can sympathise with the non-Latin reader (for whom the book was expressly translated) who would not be able to decide whether he should take his unitrisonous radix to the Queen's Chapel, or rush to plant it in his garden.

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106. Templum musicum... 1664, p. 21.

107. " " " p. 48.

108. op. cit. p. 50.

109. " " p. 56.

One would be hard-pressed to believe that there would have been a large crowd at Peter Dring's in the Poultry clamouring for copies of Templum Musicum, but the book certainly has a value. This mathematical part is a good statement of the facts and presents some useful information for anyone interested in temperament and the various tunings. Had the book been well-translated instead of "faithfully translated" it might well have had a future because there was nothing quite like it available in England.

The preceding pages have been an attempt to review English musical theory of the seventeenth century, using the type and style of Butler's Principles as a kind of yard-stick and a point of reference, in an endeavour to show just how he fits into the line of succession from Bathe to Simpson. It was part of the pre-conceived plan that most time and space has been devoted to those authors (and their works) who have been least explored, namely Bathe, the anonymous author of the Pathway, and Campian, and that most of the others have been treated cursorily, but not, one hopes, entirely without consideration due to their reputations. By confining the line of investigation to one tradition, we have, with some regret, neglected some of the most important contributions to English musical theory, Locke's Melothesia, 1673, being the most obvious case in point, and worth five editions of Playford's Introduction or innumerable Pathways. Moreover this investigation has completely disregarded several incidents in seventeenth century theory which have an immediate appeal, incidents like the Salmon/Locke controversy over the real fundamental problems of musical education. Similarly we have

by-passed all the work of the "scientific" theorists, the experiments of William Noble and Thomas Pigot in Oxford in 1673 which prepared the ground for that other Oxford luminary John Wallis who performed work of international significance in the field of sympathetic vibrations and overtones. And again the vast array of instrumental tutors; the imposing list of polemical literature, mostly turgid parsonical utterances on the exceedingly vexed question of music and worship; all these have as it were been 'noted' but ignored. It is only by detailed examinations of this forbidding and many-sided corpus of theory that we can hope to see the whole picture of which here we have explored but one facet. Then, of course, this whole picture is only part of bigger picture, the music itself, which in turn is part of a still larger one of English life in the seventeenth century.

This study has centred around somewhere approaching four hundred books, a fair proportion of which no longer exist, most of which have been seen and consulted, about forty of which have been examined closely, and one which has received the greatest attention. These books, which constitute the primary sources, have also indicated several cognate aspects of seventeenth century English music which are deserving of study; music publishing, John Playford and Henry Playford, Puritanism and Music are just the most obvious. It is probably a slight exaggeration to describe the first half of the century as terra incognita but the period between c1620 - 50 can with some justification be termed "the forgotten-years". (The second half of the century, however, the "Age of Purcell", the public concert, the Royal Society, the Restoration etc., has attracted a great deal of

attention from scholars of whom Sir Jack Westrup, Michael Tilmouth and Franklin Zimmerman are only the most renowned. Spanning the whole of this century and reaching back well into the sixteenth, Thurston Dart stands pre-eminent as a person of unquestionable scholarship.)

The mass of instructional literature that has been examined contains very little of genuine, lasting importance: Morley and Simpson (Division Violist) were probably the only books that crossed the channel, and we produced no Mersenne, no Praetorius, and no Kircher. But all this is not to deny that these books were useful, that they exerted a certain influence, or indeed that some were quite significant in their day. Certainly, without them our knowledge of English music in the seventeenth century would be inestimably poorer; even if every single piece of music had survived, musical notation being what it is, an approximation of what the whole effect should be, we would still be a long way from understanding what can be called the "social" aspects of music, the who? how? where? when? The books, like the music, represent the prevailing fashions of the age and are in the main undeniably trivial and short-winded yet it would never do to attribute these 'qualities' indiscriminately to the whole age. (The very presence of Milton, Dryden, Purcell, Newton and Locke, stands as a constant reminder that such hasty judgement is foolish). The seventeenth century particularly in its latter half was an age which consumed music voraciously. The music in the main was of the day and for the day and rightly died with the day, at the least a temporal blessing bestowed by a beneficent god for the solace and wholesome recreation of man when his daily

labour was done, at the most a means whereby man could offer his best endeavours, dressed in their Sunday best of 24 violins and unique choral resources, in praise and thanks to Almighty God. Even so, this is not the complete story. Professionalism and the public concert, the ever-growing stream of foreign musicians, all begin to play significant roles in the latter half of the century and thereby ensure that the country as a whole becomes a nation of listeners.

The social history of English music in the seventeenth century has yet to be written but one or two attempts have already been made, and these confined exclusively to the latter half of the century where the well-worn tracks are clearly discernible. After a fairly deep study of a limited aspect of the century's books and music, it would appear to be extremely difficult to make valid generalisations from a great mass of specific fact. This, one assumes, is the hallmark of scholarship, since any fool can collect facts, and only the scholar can make valid generalisations; valid in the sense that they are based on a careful assimilation of a great deal of detail, and yet generalisations in the sense that they are statements produced by the ability to stand-off from the minutiae to see trends developing, and to visualise the details as part of a whole. On one side of the scholar we have the pedant to whom all detail is significant, and no tree is part of a wood, and on the other side there is the populariser who writes attractive narrative often on the minimum of factual knowledge, and occasionally from sheer ignorance. The difficulty of presenting such valid generalisation does not beset all authors.



A recent writer on music of the Restoration period<sup>110</sup> in a chapter devoted entirely to "Experiment and Theory" makes the following general observations.

"Instruction books there had been before: the works of Morley and Simpson were well known; now, as was natural, new tastes and requirements were reflected in the works of the new writers. The desire to perform on the viol was replaced by the wish to be a violinist: Simpson's Division Violist might still be useful - and indeed Playford set out an edition in 1685 - but there was a need, too, for Lenton's The Gentleman's Diversion, or the Violin explained. Locke, along with numerous others, found it worth while to explain the rules of the now popular art of playing from a thorough bass. The growing favour of the Italian style was demonstrated in Purcell's 1694 revamping of Playford's old Introduction to the Skill of Music". Only the portion underlined is worthy of any serious attention and for the following very sound reasons. Where the writer is specific he chooses singularly inept examples, backed up by false facts. Playford was involved in part of the first edition of Division Violist, 1659, and the work received a second edition in 1665 (and another issue in 1667) and a third in 1712. The work Playford issued in 1685 was the Division Violin. Nobody in living memory has seen the Gentleman's Diversion [1693/4]: but there are extant violin tutors like Nolens Volens, 1695 which could have been cited, or even consulted! Who were the "numerous others" on the thorough-bass? One recalls Matteis [1682] but no other in the seventeenth century. It is

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110. Music in Purcell's London, John Harley, 1968.

generally accepted that Purcell "revamped" only the last book of the Introduction for 1694, and what an example to demonstrate "the growing favour of the Italian style"! The Division Violist was of course concerned exclusively with the practice of divisions on the viola da gamba - which could never have been replaced by the violin - and did indeed retain its popularity in England for many years.

One more quotation, this time from a man who had made a sincere endeavour to review the sources.<sup>111</sup>

"It is impossible to look over the list of musical treatises printed in England during the middle and last part of the seventeenth century, without being impressed by the fact that the art was for more than fifty years in a wretched condition. The educational treatises were few and almost worthless: and of the composers succeeding Orlando Gibbons few are now remembered. The Madrigals and Ayres published between 1610 and 1630 compare badly with those published earlier, and while the restrictions of the puritans were in force, church music can scarcely be said to have shewn any vitality. The few good masters were Pelham Humphrey, William Child, Henry and William Lawes, Matthew Locke, John Blow and Henry Purcell. The polyphonic style of writing was dying out, and harmony was losing its virility. The disputes concerning Service music were of no service to religion but were terribly injurious to art, while in whatever way music was associated with the pursuits of the common people and the entertainments of the wealthy debasement resulted. The seventeenth century saw music in a state of lowness such as the art could scarcely be expected

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111. Andrew Deakin, 1892, p. 30.

to survive, a state of lowness which a century and a half of struggle has scarcely overcome".

This is how we used to apply our sense of historical perspective at the end of the nineteenth century. One cannot argue reasonably in the face of charges like these. The piece is unmitigated rubbish and teeming with inconsistencies. He mentions 8 good masters and we are in a wretched condition. That must be more than we have ever had! And what does that bit about harmony mean!

CHAPTER TWO

Charles Butler (c 1560 - 1647) life & works

CHARLES BUTLER (c 1560 - 1647)

Most of the standard reference books carry an account of the life and work of Charles Butler. In all cases the primary authority of Anthony & Wood, the Oxford antiquary, is readily discernible, though not always acknowledged. Wood's account of Butler first appeared in Athænae Oxonienses<sup>1</sup> almost half a century after Butler's death and is given below, to show the full extent of later authors' indebtedness to Wood.

"CHARLES BUTLER was born at one of the Wycombs (Great Wycomb I suppose) in Bucks, entered a Student into Magd Hall in the year 1579, took a Degree in Arts, and being made one of the Bible Clerks of Magd. Coll was translated thereunto. Soon after, proceeding in that Faculty, he became Master of the Free-School at Basingstoke in Hampshire, where continuing 7 years, with the enjoyment of a Cure of a little Church called Skewæes, was promoted to the Vicaridge of Lawrence-Wotton three miles distant thence, (a poor Preferment God wot for such a worthy Scholar), where being settled, he wrote and published these Books following, which shew him to have been an ingenious Man, and well skilled in various sorts of Learning... He took his last farewell of this World on the 29th of March in 1647 and in that of his age 88, or thereabouts (after he had been Vicar of Wotton St Lawrence before-mention'd 48 years) and was buried in the Chancel of the Church there". [Wood's bibliographical account of Butler is omitted here: a photocopy of Wood's piece on Butler appears in Appendix B, Plate XXV.]

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1. Oxford, 1721 ed. Vol II, col 102. (First edition 1691-92, at Oxford.)

One whose account preceded Wood's by thirty years, was Thomas Fuller,<sup>2</sup> the notable church historian. Fuller included Butler as a Hampshire "Worthy" since he was beneficed in that county and of Butler's wide-ranging interests he noted: "I behold these his books as the receptacle of the leakage and superfluties of his study; and it is nottrespas a grace for one to walk and take a turn in the field of nature. He was also a pious man, a painful (i.e. painstaking) preacher, and a solid divine..."<sup>3</sup>

(Fuller may even have known Butler personally since it is quite possible that they met when the former was in Hampshire. Certainly Fuller was one of the besieged at Basing House, close to Wootton, for three years during the Civil War, with a galaxy of Royalist stars, including Inigo Jones, Wenceslaus Hollar & William Faithorne).

The Dictionary of National Biography is the most frequently cited modern source of information on the life and work of Charles<sup>4</sup> Butler, and this, in its turn leans heavily on Anthony a Wood: indeed the article on Butler adds scarcely a word to Wood's account. Several articles have been written on the multifarious activities of Charles Butler - details of these articles appear in the bibliography - but none gives any idea of the enormous ability of the man. Oblique references to the "homo universalis" and "Renaissance man of letters" are no substitute for a determined effort to estimate a man's contribution to life. Nor do patronising remarks, like that which describes Butler's knowledge of bee-keeping as "at least adequate"<sup>5</sup> do the slightest service to the subject of the article : still less do they inspire confidence in their author.

2. Worthies of England, 1662 (Modern ed by John Freeman, 1952)

3. Worthies, mod. ed. page 215.

4. Article by A.H.B(ullen).

5. "Charles Butler, Musician, Grammarian & Apiarist" - James Pruett.

At the hands of English musical historians after Burney and Hawkins, Butler has not fared well. Davey gives him a line; Walker and Westrup ignore him completely; Young grants a share in a footnote. But the strangest omission of all concerns the study which is exclusively centred on the music of Butler's time, namely The Puritans and Music...<sup>6</sup> Here, even in a bibliography culled from "thousands" of sources consulted, Butler's book is not cited. More recently, Butler has been accorded a place in Grove's Dictionary...<sup>7</sup> but this piece contains several inaccuracies, wrong dates, and gives a very superficial survey of "The Principles..."

Musical historians concerned with the wider field of European music may be excused their disregard of our author.<sup>8</sup> Bukofzer draws attention to the expression "civil" use, which he suggests is "a term of the English theorist Butler", but it is a term in use before Butler (it appears in Praise of Musick Dr John Case - 1586) and long afterwards.<sup>9</sup> The New Oxford History of Music recognizes Butler's existence, in a footnote, but this is mainly owing to the author, the late Gerald Hayes, having had a special interest in Butler. The only full length book on Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism<sup>10</sup> has been the subject of many references in these pages : Dr. Boyd makes many criticisms of the Principles of Musik which are discussed in a later chapter. He also describes Butler as "music master to the boys of the Magdalen College choir school, Oxford"<sup>11</sup> but presents no evidence to justify this claim which is nothing more than sheer speculation.

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6. P.A.Scholes 1934

7. 5th edition, 1954, p1048 R(ober) D(onington)

8. Music in the Baroque Era, J.M.Dent, 1948 p.100

9. Vol 4, p 736 n 3

10. M.C.Boyd 2nd ed 1962.

11. M.C.Boyd 2nd ed 1962 p 245.

Later, the same author offers three dates for the editions of Butler's Feminine Monarchie, two of which are wrong.

The primary concern of this chapter is the life and work of Charles Butler and the Principles of Musik represents only a single aspect of his many-sided career. Having already summarised what the standard reference books have to offer, this would seem to be an opportune moment to review what material really exists for a "biography" of Butler, to examine the genuine documentary evidence and then to speculate over the "gaps" in his very full life in the light of our knowledge of the period in which he lived, a period which reaches from the early days of Elizabeth I to the last days of Charles I.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to a reconstruction of the main events of Butler's life as far as records permit. Most of the facts have been available for the best part of twenty years since Canon Money did the basic work on the Wootton St Lawrence Registers and Churchwardens' Accounts of the period. Canon Money produced a pamphlet on Charles Butler, in collaboration with Dr. H. Malcolm Fraser, the noted authority on bees, who had also done some valuable work on Butler, and was known to have been preparing a book about him. The pamphlet turned out to be a single folded sheet but is teeming with information apparently unknown to all other writers on Butler: this pamphlet was published at the time of the Coronation of Elizabeth II in an effect to stimulate interest in Butler to a sufficient degree that people would subscribe towards the cost of a window to his memory to be placed in Wootton church. Another gentleman, closely associated with Canon Money and Dr. Fraser in this venture was Dr. David Bone, a medical man, poet and bee keeper: he too, is known to have written two essays on Butler, one of which, scheduled for publication in the American journal Bee World, he



confesses to having withdrawn, and the second, he recently confirmed, has still not been "finalised". The last of the quartet of collaborators was Gerald Hayes, a name familiar to all students of English music of the period. Mr. Hayes actually made a broadcast on Charles Butler which co-incided with the festival service at Wotton to commemorate the unveiling of the window by the Dean of Winchester in 1954. A photograph of the Coronation window (and a legend of it) appear at Appendix B, Plate XXVII, and a copy of Bone's poem for the occasion at Plate XXVIII.

[Since this section was prepared the literary remains of both Canon Money and Dr. Fraser have been deposited with the Bee Research Association at Gerrard's Cross in Buckinghamshire, and the Director of that Association, Dr. Eva Crane, graciously allowed me complete freedom of access to these unpublished manuscripts. All the notes for Canon Money's valuable pamphlet are preserved there and it is clear that he contributed most of the material for this work, although he acknowledged Fraser's assistance. It is also evident that Fraser's proposed book on Butler never progressed beyond the initial stages of collecting transcripts and xerox copies of his books.]

At the end of 1970 came the long-promised facsimile of The Principles of Musik from Da Capo Press in America, announced as far back as 1967. The quality of facsimile is far from perfect with several quite dirty pages; the lettering, both on spine and front cover mis-spells Butler's "Musik"; there are no notes or editorial matter but there is an introduction by Professor Gilbert Reaney of the University of California at Los Angeles. Professor Reaney relies mainly on D.N.B. for his account of Butler's life although mention of Butler's book on Consanguinity as arising out of the personal

13. B.B.C. kindly supplied me with a transcript of Mr. Hayes broadcast.

14. A photograph of the window appears in Appendix B, Plate XXVII with a legend.

experience of his son William's marriage shows that Professor Reaney has read Canon Money's pamphlet, despite the omission of any acknowledgement!

There is extant virtually sufficient source material to warrant a full-scale "life" of Charles Butler, but the reader will find that the broad picture has been our objective, so he will be spared many of the minute details. This chapter has been purged many times in an effort to paint the fullest possible picture of Butlers' life and times in the smallest possible space, but it may well seem that there are yet redundant passages which would have been better omitted. Certainly there are gaps in the story: we know virtually nothing of Butlers' childhood, nor of "the missing years" between 1583 and 1593, nor of his early ministry in Hampshire. All these gaps have been diligently explored: all have arrived at dead ends, but in this type of research even negative results are valuable since they can put an end to some of the fanciful tales we are accustomed to swallow as hard fact.

The casual reader who has taken the trouble to peruse Money's pamphlet before reading the present account will be struck at once by the great similarity of much of the detail - hardly surprising in view of the fact that the primary sources have not changed - but the reader prepared to delve more deeply will discover that the interpretation in the present account often deviates from Money's path, and that the present account contains a wealth of detail not known to earlier writers: Money, moreover, records only positive findings, and is very short on background.

Much of the intricate yet often fascinating documentary evidence has been omitted owing to the exigencies of space, as the first draft of this chapter occupied almost one hundred and fifty pages. The

reader will also find that he is expected to take in his stride the common historical generalisations of the period, Puritan, Laudian, Erastian, all used without much commentary. Experts may quibble endlessly about the validity of such epithets, and it is right and proper that they should, but at the end of the day we are still left with an identifiable body of opinion which can be termed Puritan, or with an attitude of mind which can be readily described as Laudian and so on. The only dangers behind these terms lie in their careless use or in the fond imagining that they are inviolable: when these and like terms are used in these pages they have not been used carelessly.

Butler's life divides easily and naturally into three quite distinct phases, each centred on a geographical area; Buckinghamshire, Oxford, and Hampshire: not surprisingly the documentary evidence increases from very obscure beginnings to quite considerable records of his life and work in Hampshire. Anthony Wood's description of Butler as originating from Buckinghamshire, was not a shot in the dark. This was, in fact, based upon the entry of Butler's matriculation at Magdalen College, Oxford, 24 November 1581, which describes him as aged 20 and "pleb" of Bucks.<sup>15</sup> Wood's further testimony that Butler belonged to Wycombe ("Great Wycombe, I suppose") seems to be completely un-supported by any other evidence, and virtually "contradicted" by some of the available evidence. The first available original registers for High Wycombe and West Wycombe begin in 1612 and 1663 respectively and are therefore too late for our enquiries. The other principal source of genealogical information, the probate records of the Archdeaconry, begin in 1484 and indicate eight Butlers prior to 1600, but none is for the Wycombe area.<sup>16</sup> A prominent local historian

15. Alumni Oxonienses: compiled by Joseph FOSTER, Oxford 1891

16. Information supplied by County Archivist, Bucks.

and expert on the Wycombe area also reports that he has never found any evidence to connect Butler and Wycombe except for brief notes in the local histories, all based on Anthony a Wood. <sup>17</sup> This one fact - that Butler appears on the matriculation registers at Oxford late in 1581, aged 20 and at Magdalen College, the son of a commoner from Buckinghamshire - appears to be all that remains to connect Butler with his place of birth.

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The historian of Magdalen College, J.R.Bloxam, last century recorded Butler's arrival in Oxford in 1579, i.e. two years before his matriculation, as a Student at Magdalen Hall. Where Wood had stated that Butler became a Bible Clerk at Magdalen College, Bloxam <sup>19</sup> uses the term "one of the Choristers". Foster also describes him as a Chorister and gives the dates 1579-85.

A certain amount of confusion surrounds a very significant date given by Bloxam and followed by Canon Money and Dr. Fraser who saw no reason to question Bloxam's statement that Butler was 10 at the time of his matriculation, thereby placing his birth around the year 1570. <sup>20</sup> A careful check of the surviving records of Oxford University reveals that Bloxam is here in error and that Butler was aged 20 at his matriculation thereby dating his birth around 1560, as Anthony a Wood had earlier implied. Foster agrees with Wood and gives the correct age at matriculation. There is no definite evidence of where Butler studied during his years in Oxford: most authorities agree that he entered Magdalen Hall and passed on to Magdalen College but documentary evidence is sadly lacking. The Archivist of Magdalen College, Dr. G.L.Harris, reports that all the records of Magdalen Hall have disappeared, and furthermore, that there is no record of Butler in

17. Letter from L.J.Mayes, Borough Librarian, High Wycombe.

18. Register of the Presidents, Fellows and Demies of Saint Mary Magdalen College, Oxford 1853 Vol I

19. op sit

20. Oxford University Archives S.P.I. p 91

the college accounts for 1583 and 1591 - the only years which survive from the period 1579-93 when Butler was in Oxford - although these accounts record all the Clerks, Chaplains and Choristers.<sup>21</sup> Magdalen Hall was not strictly part of the college. The title pages of most of Butler's books state "Magd" and some give his degree, Master of Arts : perhaps it is not without some significance that the writer of one of the prefatory poems to The Principles of Musick, is described as "Hum. Newton. Bac. Mag. Col" while Butler himself is styled "Magd. Master of Arts". Both Bloxam and Foster state that Butler was at Magdalen College, but Foster notes that Oxford Historical Society says that Butler graduated B.A. from Magdalen Hall : without more evidence this problem cannot be solved.

Butler's choristership at Oxford is confirmed by Bloxam and Foster but in view of his advanced years, and what we know of the climate at Magdalen during these years, we should not assume that he had any musical duties to perform. R.S.Stanier, an ex-Master of the College school, in his excellent history of the foundation,<sup>22</sup> states that from 1564 during the period of Puritan domination at Magdalen, choristerships were used as exhibitions, i.e. grants for deserving students, and no one bothered about the singing.

The University Archives record that Butler graduated B.A. on the sixth of February 1583 (84) and that he proceeded Master of Arts on the first of July 1587. There is good reason to presume that he left Oxford in the first half of 1593 but nothing is available to suggest just what kept him in Oxford till that date. Canon Money's acceptance of Bloxam's dating of Butler's birth led him to infer that

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21. Letter dated 7 November 1970

22 Magdalen School, 2nd ed. 1958, pp 94 ff

Butler was biding his time in Oxford till he was of age for ordination, but we have seen that Bloxam made a mistake on this date. Foster Watson<sup>23</sup> stated with apparent authority that "Butler was Master of Music in the Song School in connexion with Magdalen College, Oxford..." but there appears to be no evidence to support this view : certainly there is none at Oxford, and R.S.Stanier (already quoted)<sup>24</sup> did not find any mention of Butler. Watson, who incidentally assumed that The Principles... was a school text-book, seems to have arrived at these conclusions on purely circumstantial evidence: Butler, stated on his title-page as "Magd"., was known to have held a choristership at Magdalen, to have become a schoolmaster in Hampshire and to have written a "musical text-book". This same interpretation appears in two recent American books, although neither credits Foster Watson with the original idea.<sup>25</sup> If there is no evidence to support the theory that Butler was Music Master at Magdalen College Song School, it must also be stated that there is none to contradict it; nor is there the slightest hint of any other employment which he may have followed at Oxford during this time, 1587-1593, if indeed he remained there till 1587.

Life at the university during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has received the close study of at least one recent author.<sup>26</sup> Dr. Kearney demonstrates that Cromwell's abolition of the study of canon law and the dissolution of the monasteries (1535-40) had serious effects on the universities, but that in the second half of the sixteenth century the everyday teaching was still performed by clergy men and theology was still the dominant senior faculty. The

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23. The English Grammar Schools to 1660... new impression 1968, pp212-13  
 24. Letter dated 18 September 1970.  
 25. Boyd: Elizabethan Music... 2nd ed 1962 p 245  
 N.C.Carpenter: Music in the Renaissance Universities 1958, pp185-6  
 26. Hugh Kearney: Scholars and Gentlemen... 1970.

The expansion of the universities at that time is seen to be a result of the "most important social distinction in English Life", the division of society into gentlemen and non-gentlemen: Kearney sees the universities as providing the easiest and cheapest route up the social ladder. Throughout the upheaval of the sixteenth century the universities clung to and developed their medieval function of training men for the ministry while the Tudor government kept a close watch on its future clergy, ever more conscious that loyalty to the secular power of government and adherence to the orthodox tenets of the established church were becoming difficult to separate.

Butler arrived at Magdalen when the rule of Lawrence Humphrey, the President, was already well established. His Presidency lasted from 1560 to 1589, during which period he was several times Vice-Chancellor of the University, and one of the most famous Puritan divines. Humphrey's treatise on education, The Nobles, was issued in 1563, and significantly postulates Biblical modes of behaviour first and classical, second, with Christ as the epitome of the gentleman. As President of Magdalen he exerted enormous influence in his college and it was in no small measure due to his influence that the number of students at Magdalen rose remarkably during the Elizabethan era. Dr. Kearney sees the whole of Oxford under Humphrey's influence during this period, so Butler, a non-singing chorister, was educated at one of Oxford's most Puritan colleges under a leading Puritan divine.

Bloxam records that Butler resigned his Choristership at Magdalen in 1585. Our next documentary evidence is a note dated in May 1593 at Oxford, in which Butler bids farewell to Thomas Pygot, Knight, to make his way to Hampshire.

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27. *op.cit* page 26. This section owes much to Dr. Kearney's book.

This note is the last part of the Epistle Dedicatory of his earliest surviving book, Rameae Rhetoricae Libri Duo in usum scholarum, published by Joseph Barnes at Oxford in 1597, and of which the British Museum possesses an apparently unique copy. The epistle is written to Thomas Pygot, Knight and is dated 1593: it is written in Latin and couched in the deferential terms typical of contemporary dedications. For our purpose, the last sentence is perhaps the most important: it reads: "Faxit Deus opt. max teque tuis, tuosque tibi & utrosque sibi incolumes diu conservet. Vale Oxon. 5 Nonas Maii 1593". An armigerous family by the name of Pigot or Pygot is recorded in <sup>28</sup> The Visitation of the County of Buckingham, 1634, and this dedication in Butler's first book lends added weight to the suggestion made by Wood and others that Butler came from Buckinghamshire. Indeed in view of the choristership for deserving students mentioned by Stanier as common practice at this time, the connection with the Pygot family in Bucks, and the knowledge that Butler is described in the University Registers as "pleb", it would be reasonable to assume that the Pygot family were responsible for Butler's attendance at Oxford.

No details of Butler's ordination have yet come to light. Available records at Oxford and Winchester have been checked but they provide no information. Lincoln, too, the diocese which of course included a large section of Buckinghamshire, holds no information on this point. In the case of Lincoln, the registers of Bishop Wickham (1584-95) have not survived: at Winchester there are no registers of ordinations for the period; at Oxford, the see was vacant.

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28. ed W.H. Rylands, Harleian Society, Vol 58, 1909



Butler, however, became Rector of the small parish of Nately Scures, four miles east of Basingstoke, Hampshire, in 1593 and two years later, in January 1595 he became Master of the Holy Ghost School, at a stipend of £12 per annum. The herbage of the burial ground or litten next to the Holy Ghost Chapel was apparently a source of profit, and it is recorded that Butler held the herbage rights from 1595 to Michaelmas 1600. Unfortunately the church register and accounts during Butler's rectorship of Nately Scures have not survived, with the result that we know nothing of his ministry in that parish with its tiny twelfth century church. [The earliest records date from the Restoration.] The D.N.B. article wrongly implies that Butler held these two appointments of Rector of Scures and Schoolmaster for the seven years 1593-1600 : the records of the Holy Ghost School show quite conclusively that the Mastership of the school began in 1595 when he had already been Rector of Nately Scures for two years. [See Appendix B Plate I & II for Nately : Plates III - V for Holy Ghost Chapel and Basingstoke.]

A certain amount of mystery shrouds the earliest books and we probably owe this to Anthony a Wood who listed Butler's works, all six of them, but only in the editions he knew. The D.N.B. ignores one of these books - Oratoricae Libri duo - and makes no attempt to compile a complete list. Falconer Madan in his study of book production at Oxford produced a very full inventory of those books which Butler caused to be published in Oxford but there are still inconsistencies and gaps where a book was first produced, or only appeared in London.

29. Baigent and Millard: History of Basingstoke, p 142

30. Baigent and Millard: op cit. p 136

31 Oxford Books... 3 vols, 1895

The first book which Butler wrote, Rhetoricae Libri duo... is described in D.N.B. as "not known to have been published before 1629".

<sup>32</sup>  
Madam records an edition of 1598 (preface dated Oxford 16 Calend. Decemb [16 November] 1598) published at Oxford with Epistle Dedicatory to Thomas Lord Egerton. (There is a copy at Corpus Christie College, Oxford.) An earlier edition is, however, to be found in the <sup>33</sup> British Museum, described as Rameae Rhetoricae Libri Duo... In usum scholarum, 1597. [Facsimile of 1597 title page : see Appendix C]

We have already noticed that the Epistle to this edition is dated 1593, so we can safely assume that the copy at the British Museum is not of the first edition. Furthermore, we have Butler's own testimony that this book did not in the beginning have a very rapid sale, and editions from 1597, 1598 and 1600 are extant. So it is quite probable that an edition of 1593 was his earliest publication, and this made its way slowly. Butler refers to the book's progress in the preface to the first edition of the Feminine Monarchie, 1609: the passage is given in full below.

"I am out of doubt that this book of Bees will in his infancy lie hidden in obscurity, as the book of tropes and figures did for a while go unregarded, without friends or acquaintance. But as that did by little and little insinuate itself into the love and liking of many schools, yea of the University itself, where it hath been both privately and publicly read (a favour which this mother doth seldom afford to her own children lest happily she should seem too fond over them) so this will in time travel into the most remote parts of this great kingdom of great Brittain and be entertained of all sorts both learned and unlearned..."

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32. op cit Vol 1 p 230

33. B.M. 1090 b. 18 (2)

Rhetoricae libri duo... was intended to be a school text-book and it was an edition in Latin for English school-children of the work of the French scholar Pierre de la Ramee who had met his death at the hands of the mob in the notorious Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572. This is no place to estimate the influence or importance of the teachings of Ramus which in any case have been very fully discussed by eminent literary historians. K.G. Hamilton<sup>34</sup> gives a carefully documented account of the consequences of Ramism<sup>35</sup> for English literary thought, and Foster Watson<sup>35</sup> adequately describes the vogue of the French scholar's ideas upon the curriculum and practice of the Grammar schools. It is sufficient for our purposes to state that Butler's book, Rameae Rhetoricae Libri duo... 1597, which incidentally was a Latin version of the work of Ramus' collaborator Talaeus, was enormously popular and held the field for half a century, being described by such an enlightened educationalist as Brinsley as "the most used in the best Schooles"<sup>36</sup>. Butler also produced a Latin version of Ramus under the title of Oratoriae libri duo...<sup>37</sup>, Oxford 1629 which was printed along with the Rhetoricae... in London by John Haviland (printer of the Principles of Musik) and issued in the same year.<sup>38</sup> Both books appear by the number of surviving editions to have been in constant demand and to have been issued at least as late as 1655: one edition appeared on the continent in 1642.<sup>39</sup> It seems likely, then, that every schoolboy in the first half of the seventeenth century would have known of Butler.

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35. The English Grammar Schools to 1660. 1968 edition

36. Quoted from Hamilton, op cit page 108.

37. Madam: Oxford Books. Vol I p 144

38. B.M. 11.805 d.3

39. T.D. Lugduni Batavorum [Leyden] BM 1088 d 2.

The fullest discussion of Ramus and his influence appears in a book by W.J. Ong;<sup>40</sup> Christopher Hill<sup>41</sup> devotes his attention to the cult of Ramism; the best general survey of Ramus at the English Universities is in Kearney<sup>42</sup>. This author sees Ramus as "an educational revolution in himself", witness the three hundred editions of his logic and the one hundred and fifty editions of his rhetoric in the century following his death. That Ramism did not spread its roots at Oxford to anything like the same extent it did at Cambridge is attributed to the massive influence of Magdalen's President, the Puritan Lawrence Humphrey, who was willing to work for a godly Reformation of the established Church from within, and rejected the extreme views of his younger contemporaries at Cambridge.

Taking into account the success of Rhetoricae Libri duo... which is attested by the knowledge that at least three editions are known while Butler held his two appointments of Schoolmaster of the Holy Ghost School and Rector of Natley Scures, 1597, 1598 and early 1600, his decision to relinquish both offices at Michaelmas 1600 in favour of the Vicarage of Lawrence-Wootton, about three miles to the west of Basingstoke, seems to suggest that our author had finally found his true vocation. It is moreover quite likely that what Anthony a Wood described as "a poor preferment" offered a thoroughly congenial situation: he was released from the time-consuming duties of an Elizabethan schoolmaster, now stationed on the Oxford side of the main town, and still near to his friend and contemporary at Magdalen, Ambrose Webbe, Rector of St. Michael's, Basingstoke, 1597-1648, who

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40. Ramism: Method and the Decay of Dialogue, 1958

41. Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution, 1965

42. Scholars and Gentlemen, 1970 pp 46-70

may well have been responsible for Butler's settling in North Hampshire. Details of Butler's appointment to the living at Wootton St. Lawrence are still available at Winchester Castle, the repository of local diocesan archives. The ceremony of institution took place on 27th November 1600, conducted by the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bilson, and Butler was presented to the living by the Dean, George Abbott, who later became Archbishop of Canterbury, immediately preceeding William Land in that office. [ See Appendix B, Plate VI for facsimile of Butler's Institution Articles to Wootton. ] No record of Butler's marriage survives but Canon Money was of the opinion that he must have married about the same time as he moved to Wootton St. Lawrence, since the Registers at Wootton contain details of baptism of his known children.

It seemed rather odd that none of his male children was given their father's name but it was quite certain that there was no other Charles Butler in the Wootton Registers, apart from the vicar's grandson, Charles, son of Richard Butler. Further investigation revealed that there was another Charles Butler. The Records of the Holy Ghost School in Basingstoke where Butler was Master contain an indenture of a lease to Elizabeth Butler, the wife of Charles the elder, which was surrendered and granted to "Charles Butler younger of Farrington, of Berks, clothier, son of Charles Butler of Lawrence Wootton in co. of Southampton"<sup>43</sup>. The date is given as 2 August 1626, which seems to confirm that the younger Charles was born before the move to Wotton and had left the district.<sup>44</sup>

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43. Baigent and Millard: History of Basingstoke pp 670-71

44. I suspect that this line of enquiry will establish a direct link to Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, whose father was known to be a retired draper in Wantage Berks, but there has not been sufficient time to check out this suspicion.

There can certainly have been no great financial inducement to lead him<sup>45</sup> to Wootton, particularly when we recall that the Liber Ecclesiasticus of 1535 valued 90% of all livings at less than £26 per annum, and that these fixed incomes had originally been directed towards a colibate clergy. Even so it is most unlikely that there was anything like a state of poverty for Butler at Wootton. His books would have earned him<sup>46</sup> money and his bee-keeping certainly did. John Aubrey noted that the hives which Butler set aside for his daughter's marriage portion at the time of her birth realised an endowment of £400 twenty-one years<sup>47</sup> later. So much for poverty! Fuller pointed out that Hampshire was an especially good county for honey and itemised many of the fringe benefits which accrued to the bee-keeper, from mead to medicine and cere-cloth. [Appendix B, Plates VII - XII, for photographs of Wootton.]

Butler's most famous book, The Feminine Monarchy, appeared in 1609 and was published at Oxford, with a preface dated "Wootton, II July, 1609". [Facsimile of title page at Appendix C.] This, the first edition, also contained the first music to be printed at Oxford, Butler's musical representation of the bees' swarming, and has attracted a good deal of attention over the years. Gerald Hayes was the first to<sup>48</sup> show any interest in the bee-music in his article published in 1925, in which not only did he examine the growth of the music between the 1609 and 1634 editions but also printed the different versions in<sup>49</sup> facsimile. More recently an article by George Sarton appeared under the title of "The Feminine Monarchie of Charles Butler, 1609": despite the obvious limits of the title, the author manages to consider all three editions of this book and his book on grammar, together with a

45. Quoted in Clergy and Society 1600-1800 - A Tindal Hart p 2

46. History of Wiltshire

47. Worthies of England pp 199-201

48. "Charles Butler and the Music of the Bees", Musical Times June, 1925: pp 512-515

49. Isis, XXXIV, 1943, pt 6, pp 469-72

study of his predecessors in both fields. Not surprisingly the treatment is very superficial, though well illustrated. Nan Cooke Carpenter<sup>50</sup> has written specifically on the Bees' madrigal and indeed sees the very inclusion of the music as significant of the early baroque, "a period during which the exotic and unusual exerted a peculiar fascination upon the mind of man"<sup>51</sup>. The same author has written two other articles on aspects of Butler, one of which sees very deep significance in a remark in Butler's Principles of Musik concerning Marlowe,<sup>52</sup> and the second which investigates the importance and influence of the Huguenot poet Du Bartas on Butler.<sup>53</sup> All three articles show exemplary scholarship in their pursuit of Butler's ideas but in each case, with the possible exception of the Du Bartas essay, the writer appears to reading more into the text than the author intended. The Bees' Madrigal is simply an oddity and, as such, has attracted more than its fair share of attention: it possesses little of musical value and even less of poetic value.

None of the articles written by musicians or appearing in musical journals shows the slightest appreciation of the value of The Feminine Monarchy, and one article, that by James Pruett, exhibits positive effrontery in conceding that Butler's "knowledge of bee-keeping was at least adequate,"<sup>54</sup> an opinion which he admits to having gleaned from one of the book's prefatory poems! All bee-masters would acknowledge that Butler's work is a classic and a truly great book. Dr. H. Malcolm Fraser, a leading authority on the subject of bees and an expert on the history of bee-keeping, gives a carefully considered opinion when he writes: "no English work on skep bee-keeping has yet

50. Notes and Queries, 1955 March, pp 103-106

51. Carpenter: op cit. p 103

52. Carpenter: "A Reference to Marlowe..." Notes and Queries, January 1953, pp 16-18

53. Carpenter: "Charles Butler and Du Bartas" Notes and Queries, January 1954 pp 2-6

54. "Charles Butler, Musician, Grammarian, Apiarist" Musical Quarterly, October 1963 p 502.

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appeared which supersedes it! Elsewhere Dr. Fraser has examined Butler's book in detail and isolated his contribution to the study of bee-keeping. Butler was that rare combination of scholar and bee-keeper of immense practical experience. As a scholar he was in a position to know what had been previously written on the subject: as a practical bee-master he was capable of evaluating the information he found and testing it against his own experience. He was an outstandingly patient observer of nature and used a genuinely scientific method of experiment. The very title of his book shows a departure from ancient lore: Aristotle had believed that the "queen" was male. Butler's original work includes the careful description of the exterior of the queen and workers; the discussion of the "Sense" of bees; the account of the growth of the egg into the perfect bee; observation of the melissean year; the study of the breeding habits of wasps and dor-beetles in comparison with those of the bee, leading to the conclusion that the drone was a male bee; the statement that a swarm contains bees of all ages, queen, workers and drones; the discoveries concerning wax and its working by the bees. All this material was ordered and presented with Butler's meticulous care as a scholarly book, complete with marginal notes and references, quotations from classical and learned authorities, all arranged in numbered paragraphs and indexed, in fact the complete trappings of the learned study which he patiently provided for all his books. Patient observation, vast experience, and careful presentation gave the Feminine Monarchy an authority which underwrote its success.

The Parish Registers of Wootton St. Lawrence which are still in the

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55. History of Bee-Keeping in Britain, p 32

56. This section is based upon some unpublished papers of the late Dr. Fraser (on deposit at The University Library, Reading), consulted and used with his permission. Dr. Fraser was known to have been preparing a biography of Butler in his last years.



custody of the incumbent provide details of the more official side of Butler's family life. <sup>57</sup> Three sons, William, Edmund and Richard were baptised there, and in turn Richard's only son, Charles, and three grandsons; so were Richard's three sons and only daughter. Butler's first daughter Bridget died in infancy and was buried at Wootton in 1605, while a later daughter, Elizabeth, baptised in 1612, was married there on Valentine's Day 1633 to Richard White, curate of Eastrop. Elizabeth was Butler's "honey-girl" (as mentioned by John Aubrey) and her great grandson was the famous naturalist and country parson of Selborne, Gilbert White. [Facsimiles of entries in Wootton register relating to Elizabeth Butler are on Appendix B, Plates XVI and XVIII.] Her husband, Richard White, eventually became Vicar of Basingstoke, succeeding Ambrose Wobbe (1597-1648), although not until after the Restoration of Charles II (1661-1685).

The relationship of the clergy and society and the position of the church in an isolated community were very different in the early seventeenth century from what they are now; so different that a brief summary of the working organisation of Butler's chosen way of life will not be out of order. The church was at the very centre of village life, the venue of corporate worship and organiser (and offer place) of amusement. It was the hub of local administration and taxation. Just as the secular arm of authority devolved upon the Justice of the Peace and through him to the constable, so the ecclesiastical influence rested upon the parson and through him reached to the churchwardens, sidesmen, the clerk and so on. In theory at least a select vestry (often a meeting of notable residents, with the parson in the chair and the clerk as a secretary) was in overall control.

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57. The late Canon F.R. Money, sometime Vicar of Wootton, first revealed much of this information.

Nor were the two arms of authority easily separable, since church wardens were overseers of the poor and surveyors of the highways, and the constable was obliged to urge parishioners to attend divine service. Failure to comply with the rules usually led to an offender appearing before the archdeacon's visitation or at the archdeacon's court, which had the ultimate deterrent of excommunication as its maximum penalty and even had two varieties of this, the greater of which usually meant a complete separation from society, and the lesser which forbade the offender to appear at any church service, particularly at the communion. The church had power neither to fine nor imprison but the secular authority had both and there is much evidence to suggest that the church was quick to send for help when necessity required it. Churchwardens held extremely responsible positions which involved maintenance of church fabric, provision of books, ornaments, vestments, furnishings, and the collection of the various monies which constituted the income of the church. The parson himself was a moulder of public opinion in an age which was not blessed with mass-communications, wielding an enormous influence over his parishioners. He was required to exercise all those functions described above and, in addition, to catechise the youth, distribute alms and visit the sick.

It is perhaps understandable that with a large family and the care of a parish on his shoulders that the stream of books (or rather editions) should slow to a trickle at the time his family was growing up. In any case, by seventeenth century standards Butler was already an old man in 1620. The second edition of Feminine Monarchy appeared in London in 1623, printed by John Haviland for Roger Jackson.

[Facsimile title page at Appendix C.] Butler's part in this enterprise is not clear, but since this was his first book produced in London and there was later some dispute over its "rights" with the Stationers'

Company, these may well have been some ill-feeling in the matter. Joseph Barnes, the first Printer to the University in Oxford<sup>58</sup> who had printed the first edition in 1609 would have retained the rights of the book according to the accepted practice of the seventeenth century stationery trade, more particularly since he alone appeared in the 1609 imprint. The rights would have been his to dispose of as he saw fit and appear to have passed to his son who in turn "assigned" them to Roger Jackson,<sup>59</sup> who was thus able to contract with Haviland to produce the new edition. Professor W.A. Jackson<sup>60</sup> describes the subsequent devolvement of rights upon Mr. Harrison, one of the Court of Stationers, as "not clear" [Details of the dispute are presented later in the chapter, as it did not take place till 1632.] Presumably for the author who revised his text or supervised re-setting, added new material or saw his book through the press - perhaps as a "reader" - there would be some reward without financial responsibility since he was neither printer nor publisher. In the case of this edition it does seem that Butler "learned his lesson": all the subsequent books checked reveal the phrase "for the Author" in the imprint, implying that Butler (like many others) was his own publisher. There can have been little real risk in publishing or printing a book by such an established author, and even if printer and publisher shared expenses Butler would have received a better deal than selling outright to a printer who would then not only pay all but take all.

58. Falconer Madan: A Chart of Oxford Printing, Bib Soc. 1904, gives details concerning Barnes who set up his press with aid of £100 from the university, 1585. Strickalnd and Johnson, Print and Privilege at Oxford to 1700, p 6, date this venture 1584 and throw a great deal of light on the conditions at the University Presses in both Oxford and Cambridge.

59. Arber III, 642: 26 Feb. 1619

60. Records of the Court of Stationers' Company 1602-40 page 245.

If there was any dispute over the 1623 edition of Feminine Monarchie IT does not appear to have affected Butler's relations with the printer since he later printed "for" Butler in London<sup>61</sup>. (John Haviland, the printer, possesses considerable interest for musicians, involved as he was in Mistress Griffin's business and William Stansby's having acquired both by 1636).<sup>62</sup>

In 1625 Gervase Markham, (1568? - 1637) himself of considerable achievements, published in London A Way to get Wealth... Markham, described in D.N.B. as the first hackney writer, the first to import an Arab horse into England, a scholar of some linguistic ability, a collaborating dramatist, agricultural writer and reformer, had managed to get hold of Butler's Feminine Monarchie which he issued in A Way to get Wealth... Unfortunately we have no information regarding the business arrangements which enabled Markham to accomplish this venture but the version of Feminine Monarchie issued was not the second edition of Jackson and Haviland (1623) but, in fact, a re-issue of the original sheets. Knowing what we know of seventeenth century publishing and its ethical code, we are still unable to explain this remarkable phenomenon: the original sheets of 1609, printed, at Oxford by Joseph Barnes, were issued in 1625 under Markham's imprint in London. This may well have been the cause of the dispute with the Stationers' Company in 1632.

Butler's next book was a new one and was first published in 1625 at Oxford. Syngeneia, or to give it its Latin title by which it is more generally known, De Propinquitate matrimonium impediende regula generalis, is certainly Butler's most abstruse book, dealing with problems

61. Combined ed. of Rhetoricae...and Oratoriae... 1629 & Principles of Musik...1636

62. A good summary of his activities in McKerrow: A Dictionary of Printers...1557-1640 pp 131-1

of consanguinity and in particular with affinity as a bar to matrimony.

[Facsimile title page at Appendix C] Even the "broad-chested" Fuller was content to quote the opinion of the Learned Dr. Prideaux, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, who "commended (it) as the best ever written on that subject"<sup>63</sup>. This much is well known, but several features are less familiar. The book appears to have been prompted by the marriage of Butler's son, William, to a cousin, Mary Butler, at Wootton in 1624. It attracted a certain attention in theological circles at the time and ran to another edition in Butler's life-time, which no-one appears to have noticed, perhaps because it was published abroad, in Frankfurt.<sup>64</sup>

We know very little about Butler's wife apart from the most obvious inferences, namely that she was called Elizabeth and that she bore him six children. A few scraps of personal information have survived outside of the parish records. In the records of the Holy Ghost School there is evidence of the indenture of a lease, dated 20 Jan 1613/14, II Jac. I, which notes "a grant to Elizabeth, the wife of Charles Butler the elder...property between the tenement of Nicholas Mowdey on the South part and the alms-houses on the North part (in Holy Ghost Street)"<sup>65</sup>. This lease was later surrendered and granted to "Charles Butler youngor of Farrington, Co. of Berks, clothier, son of Charles Butler of Lawrence Wootton in Co. of Southampton" at a yearly rent of 16 shillings:the new lease appears under 2 Aug 1626, 2 car I Then, in the Church Wardens' Accounts of Basingstoke Parish, under "Seats",<sup>66</sup>

63. Worthies of England: mod ed. p 215

64. 1643: Copy at BM 5176 aa 38

65. Baigent and Millard: op cit p.670

66. Baigent and Millard: op cit,p671.

appears the following entry. "Received of Charles Butler for his wife's seat to sit in the 8th seat in the south side range where widow Edwards sat, 16d" [19 May 1622] Finally the Registers of Wootton record the burial of Mistress Butler in 1628, and our author was left a widower for nearly twenty years.

The year 1629 was another milestone in Charles Butler's career as author. The Oratoriae libri duo... was published at Oxford<sup>68</sup> and in the same year a combined edition of Oratoriae libri duo and the older Rhetoricae libri duo... was issued in London,<sup>69</sup> printed by Haviland. The Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company provide a very interesting reference to Butler<sup>70</sup> which appears to have escaped the notice of those who have previously written about him. At a meeting of the Court of Stationers on the 19th January, 1632, a dispute between Butler and a member of the Court, Mr. Harrison, was resolved, following formal complaint made on Butler's behalf by "my Lord of London" (Dr. William Laud, later Archbishop of Canterbury, and a key-figure of the times). The dispute refers to The Feminine Monarchie, here called "Butler of Bees", the rights of which appear to have passed to Harrison from Roger Jackson, the publisher of the second edition. (The Mr. Harrison involved is the one usually referred to by bibliographers as John Harrison IV). In view of the fact that Butler himself was to publish the third edition in 1634 it is reasonable to assume that he would be most anxious to recover the rights of the book and thus secure future profits. The records indicate that he bought back the rights of the book, although the actual sum is not specified: the wording of the minute ("In consideration of...paid into Mr. Harrison this day in the

67. Baigent and Millard op. cit p 504

68. Madan op cit p. 144

69. Madan op cit p. 233

70. W.A. Jackson, Records of the Court of the Stationers' Co. 1602-40 p. 245.

presence of the Master Wardens and Assistants he the said Mr. Harrison did resign all his interest in the said Booke..." may indeed suggest that Butler appeared in person at the meeting. Less immediately apparent is the reason for Butler's recourse to the Bishop of London for redress of his complaint. This suggests that he had already tried the direct approach to Harrison and had met with no success (Laud's interest in books and scholarship is well known: he became a central figure in controlling and regulating the presses and in establishing the Bishop of London as a powerful restraining (and guiding) influence against much of the subversive literature of the age. H.R. Trevor Roper's superb biography of Laud points out that John Haviland was sent to Brussels at the instigation of Laud to procure a Greek fount<sup>71</sup> to enable the King's Printers, Barker and Lucas, to produce one Greek text every year in the interest of scholarship. Barker and Lucas were extremely keen to foster this enterprise since Laud in his turn had promised to commute a very heavy fine he had imposed upon them as punishment for (inter alia) their version of the Ten commandments, urging people to commit adultery!)

Butler's next new book was The English Grammar and this appeared at Oxford in 1633, printed by William Turner [Facsimile title page at Appendix C] A second edition was published in 1634, with the title page "reset and the prefatory matter enlarged",<sup>72</sup> but described by Madan as a re-issue of sheets of the 1633 edition<sup>73</sup>. The fact that the book was written in a new system of orthography of Butler's own devising is generally counted as its one claim to fame. What is more, it is well known that this orthography called down the wrath of Dr. Johnson in the preface to his Dictionary of 1755, and later still of

71. Archbishop Laud: H.R. Trevor Roper, 2nd edition, p 275

72. Madan p. 165 pp 176-7

73. An edition, edited by A Eichler, was published in 1910 in Halle, Germany.

Sir John Hawkins. It is generally stated that Butler's last three books, namely the English Grammar, The Feminine Monarchy<sup>1634</sup> and the Principles of Musik are written in the reformed spelling and it is implied that all three books employ the same orthography. This is not the case.<sup>74</sup> The English Grammar, like the Principles of Musik is dedicated to King Charles I and probably draws attention to Butler's Royalist leanings. The third edition of the Feminine Monarchy was dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria thereby creating the precedent of dedicating books on bees to the Queen, a precedent followed by Warder, (Queen Anne) Wildman, (Queen Charlotte) and Bevan (Queen Victoria).

As an advocate of standardised reformed spelling Butler was crying in the wilderness, principally because he was too late on the scene, but also because he failed to recognise that the printed language and the spoken language are not entirely the same. Sir Alan Herbert has admirably described this condition as the "fundamental fallacy"<sup>75</sup> of all spelling reformers, who insist "that the function of the printed or written word was to represent the spoken word. The true function surely of the printed or written word is to convey meaning, and to convey the same meaning to as many people as possible". Steinberg also investigates the effects of printing on the standardisation of the European languages and notes the enormous influence wielded in the early days of printing by several of the major printers... Caxton, in this country, he notes, was instrumental in establishing a printed word which was intelligible throughout the kingdom, although that printed word might be pronounced in dozens of different ways.

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74. The Principles of Musik represents the final solution to Butler's problem of reforming orthography and shows certain refinements on the two earlier books where certain lower case letters are used upside-down. P of M uses all letters in their normal positions but with various symbols attached to them to explain pronunciation.

75. Quoted in S.H. Steinberg, Five Hundred Years of Printing pp 126-7



Elsewhere<sup>76</sup> Steinberg writes: "Charles Butler's History of the Bees (Oxford 1634) was the first book to repudiate Caxton". This is, of course, wrong on all counts. The English Grammar, as we have seen, preceded the third edition of Feminine Monarchy. In addition there had been advocates of reformed spelling between Caxton and Butler; John Hart, William Bullokar and Alexander Gill (Milton's tutor) had all produced books on grammar and orthography.

Professor A.C. Partridge has recently produced a study on the development of English language from Caxton to Dr. Johnson,<sup>77</sup> in which he discusses the grammatical work of Charles Butler with admirable clarity. (He wrongly dates the Feminine Monarchy as 1605 and apparently does not know the 1633 editio princeps of the English Grammar<sup>78</sup>). Partridge sees Butler, "a versatile country parson", standing in the tradition of Joannes Goropius who believed in the "greater antiquity and dispersion of German than Latin. His (Butler's) grammar consists partly of unscientific observations on pronunciation and spelling; but there are useful sections, too, on morphology and punctuation". The same author demonstrates that Butler was first to explain the historical background of the unphonetic character of English spelling and goes on to discuss Butler's views on various grammatical points, all of which he summarises as follows. "The judgement of Butler may be that he thought for himself...and made original observations on aspects of grammar that had not been considered"<sup>79</sup>. To this it must be added that Butler's English Grammar forms a useful guide to contemporary pronunciation<sup>80</sup>. Even this most cursory review of the English Grammar has drawn attention

76. op cit p. 126

77. Tudor to Augustan English, 1969

78. Partridge, op at p 176

79. Partridge: op at p. 177

80. See Shakespeare's Pronunciation Helge Kokeritz, Yale, 1953.

to the fact that the book was not simply an essay in reformed orthography which is the impression conveyed by most people from Hawkins to the present day who have written on Charles Butler. James Pruett has summed up the attitudes of several commentators when he writes of the English Grammar.<sup>81</sup> "As have many such attempts at linguistic reform, Butler's efforts towards alphabetic enrichment failed and his orthography remains only as an interesting bypath to a dead end". Which only shows that one ought to read the books one discusses. In the same paragraph of the same article,<sup>82</sup> the only article since 1960 which purports to estimate Butler's achievements as "Musician, Grammarian and Apiarist", the author makes the following observation "Publishing the Feminine Monarchy in the new orthography must have been an expensive undertaking because the original plates for the first two editions would have been discarded and the text entirely re-set." The significance of these remarks is particularly elusive since Pruett does not define his terms clearly and we are left to guess at the meaning of "original plates for the first two editions". Surely he cannot seriously imagine that the seventeenth century English printer used stereotyping; or that the other editions of Feminine Monarchy were from engraved plates? The text, in any case, would have been re-set: this was, after all, the first Oxford edition for 25 years! Indeed, it is well known that it was the normal practice for a printer to re-distribute his type as soon as he had printed the forme, so that the type was inevitably "re-set" for each edition. Only in very exceptional circumstances would type be locked up. William Turner, the Oxford printer, had even had experience of Butler's reformed orthography before printing the third edition of Feminine Monarchy, since it was he

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81. Pruett: op at p. 503

82. Pruett: op at p. 502-3

who printed the English Grammar, both editions. Far from being an "expensive undertaking", the third edition of Feminine Monarchy would quite simply have demanded a little more care from the printer. It was not unusual for authors to see their work through the press, thereby themselves performing the office of proof-reader, in which case, were Butler present at Oxford for this venture, it is reasonable to assume that this may have off-set the cost of the new "characters" used in the production of the book.

William Turner printed the third edition of Feminine Monarchy at Oxford in 1634, in the new orthography, and this was the last edition in Butler's lifetime and the only one to employ his reformed spelling. The book later enjoyed the distinction of being translated into Latin (1674, by Richardson of Emmanuel College, Cambridge) and that version in turn was re-translated into English. (1704, by W.S.) Five editions in about a hundred years is sufficient to show that there was a steady demand for the book.

As the parish registers of Wootton record the official side of Butler's ministry, those events so felicitously termed "the life crises",<sup>83</sup> so do the churchwardens' accounts give many glimpses into the type of worship offered and the manner in which Butler cared for his parishioners. [C.W. Accounts, inside back cover, give us our only copy of Butlers' signature. See Plate XVIII of Appendix B, and compare Plates XVI and XVII for handwriting in Parish Register.] Not least do these latter records show the close association of the clergyman with the squire and members of his family. The Manor of Manydown, [See Appendix B Plates XIII and XIV for Manydown: Plates XX-XXI for the Withers: and also Plate XVII] a mile to the south west of Wootton, had been the

<sup>83</sup>. Alan Macfarlane: The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a seventeenth Clergyman p 11

ancestral home of the Withers from 1389 and remained their home long  
 84  
 after Butler's death. Canon Money has counted no less than fourteen  
 baptisms, three weddings and nine burials from the Withers family during  
 Butler's ministry. The church to this day contains mural tablets, grave  
 covers, and many references to the squire and his family, in addition to  
 a beautiful silver chalice, dated 1625, the funeral gift of Squire John  
 Wither. John's son Richard also presented a copy of the Authorised  
 Version of the Bible in 1628. The nephew of Squire John was, of course,  
 the most well-known Wither of all, George, the poet, of Bentworth in  
 Hampshire, who, despite a very checkered career involving two terms of  
 imprisonment, is perhaps most famous for The Hymnes and Songes of the  
Church, 1623, for which Orlando Gibbons provided the music. The Withers  
 became prominent allies of Parliament during the Civil War, when  
 William was squire; Captain Guillaume and Parliamentary troops were  
 quartered at Manydown in 1643, even Sir William Waller was in the area,  
 85  
 and visited Wootton in that year. The protracted siege of Basing House,  
 close to Wootton, demanded the presence of Oliver Cromwell, before the  
 86  
 gallant garrison of Royalist forces were compelled to surrender.

[See Appendix B, Plates XXIII-XXIV: Basing House]

This whole area of Hampshire appears to have held royalty in great  
 estimation. Edward VI had been entertained by the first Marquis of  
 Winchester at Basing; Mary Tudor and her husband Philip II had been  
 guests there after their wedding; Elizabeth visited twice, in 1560 and  
 in 1601; James I passed through Wootton in 1610; in Wootton itself, even  
 the village fair was called significantly "Kingales". Judging from the  
 dedicatory epistles of his last books, Butler himself appears to have

84. The early history of Manydown has been told by a Dean of Durham,  
 Dean Kitchin, in The Manor of Manydown, Hampshire: G.W.Kitchen, 1895

85. Full details of Waller's campaign in the area contained in  
Roundhead General: John Adair pp 111-176.

86. Details in Baigent and Millard, op cit pp 412-32

been a staunch supporter of the crown: The Feminine Monarchie, as has already been noted, was dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, and both the English Grammar and the Principles of Musik were dedicated to Charles I. Doubtless his royalist sympathies owed much to his days in Oxford in general and Magdalen College in particular. [See App. B Plate XIX]

The churchwardens' accounts give ample testimony to the diligence with which Butler conducted his ministry at Wootton. Morning Prayer was offered every Sunday and the Communion was celebrated fully at each quarter. In addition he provided Communion for the more dispersed members of his flock at Ramsdel, Up Wotton, and Est Okle. He gave relief to unfortunates passing through the parish, and tidied up several of the medieval customs like providing Haliloaf for distribution to the poor of the parish and collecting money from parishoners for bread and wine. His interest in and care for the fabric of the church was immediate and lasting. Records of repair and re-building are not difficult to find. Four new bells were cast in 1625; seats were repaired in 1613; certain members of the parish were made responsible for specific sections of churchyard fence; the church was regularly swept by "Goodwife Mortimer" Churchwardens' Accounts also tell us about the villagers' annual fair, known locally as "Kingales" which seems to have been a riotous occasion. (These fairs received severe censure from the more way-out Puritans but they did provide a welcome interlude in what must have been for many villagers a dull routine and they made a lot of money for church funds). Feasting and merry-making were the big attractions with dancing and play-acting and games like pewter and tronks for added spice. [See Appendix B: Plate XV for "Kingales".] In fact, everything pertaining to the conditions of worship at Wootton St Lawrence seems to have conformed with those ideals which Archbishop Laud

endeavoured to inculcate in the country as a whole. The interior of the church was a model of simple beauty: whitened walls; colourful Royal Arms, Commandments and sentences of scripture adorned the chancel arch; the communion table, spread with a rich carpet, stood in the chancel and was fenced-off in dignified isolation: the pulpit; with its seats for Vicar and Clerk, and its silk cushion, was another focal point of the building; Prayer Book and surplice were no stumbling blocks to Butler.

Before trying to place Butler, the clergyman, in his seventeenth century background it is essential to understand the nature of the religious situation in which he performed his ministry and in which hundreds of other clergymen earned their daily bread. It is notoriously easy to deal in generalisations but dangerous the instant that the generalisation becomes too facile, yet to a certain extent one is compelled to use broad terms and they do possess the undoubted virtue that, when used with discrimination, these same terms can convey an often complex concept to many people in few words. True it certainly is that the Civil War of the 1640's was contested by King and Parliament, and for many people at the outbreak of hostilities the choice of sides may have been no more complicated than declaring for the king or for Parliament, yet this is not to deny that many chose the king because he was the king, or simply because they distrusted Parliament, or supported Parliament because they disliked the policy of "Thorough" pursued on the king's behalf by Strafford and Laud. So, although the ultimate choice was between King on the one hand and Parliament on the other, the actual processes whereby an individual reached such an apparently simple decision were infinitely complex. The religious

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87. A good summary of the ideals of Laudian worship is available in A Tindal Hart, Clergy and Society 1600-1800 p.30

spectrum in England stretched from "Jesuit" to Leveller" (to use two more generalisations) with the vast mass of people in between. These were the fringe fanatics, or so they appeared to those at the centre who considered both types to be equally subversive and to constitute a persistent threat to society at large. To the Leveller, the most lukewarm Anglican would appear to be Antichrist while the mildest Puritan would be the devil incarnate to a Jesuit. Significantly the Jesuit end of the spectrum chose the king and the Levellers declared for Parliament, but these were the easy choices. The really difficult decisions faced the majority in the centre where doubtless many Puritans espoused the Royalist cause and Anglicans chose Parliament. Even the staunchest Parliamentarians quaked at the signing of the death warrant of their king.

The gathering storm of the Civil War was not an overnight affair. In many ways it can be said to have taken the whole lifetime of Charles Butler in which to build up, although hardly anyone in England would have said that the war was inevitable probably right up to the time that Charles I unfurled his standard, at Nottingham on 22 August. The causes of the war which used to be explained as political and constitutional have now been exposed to the economic, social and religious historians of this century who have revealed and are still revealing more and more significant material on the complex origins of this fratricidal enterprise. It has been seen as a constitutional struggle between King and Parliament; a crisis of the aristocracy; a war of religion; the inevitable result of a crippled economy; a revolt against autocratic

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88. "Jesuit" is here used simply to represent the far-right wing of Catholic supporters in England. "Leveller" is to a certain extent anachronistic since the "party" only came to the fore in the late 1640's. It is here used to represent the ultra left of the religious parties.

government, arbitrary taxation, and thorough; the logical outcome of reformation; a papist plot; a product of the rising tide of unemployment; and a score of other things. But it was all these things, and it was different things to different people. There is no simple explanation.

The position of the parson during this time of social and economic upheaval must have been in many cases perilous. He was, generally speaking, better educated than his Elizabethan predecessors had been and his social status had improved. Within his parish he held enormous influence: he was the mouthpiece of government as well as the curer of souls. A minimum of conformity was required - the breadth of the "via media" was well known-but even this minimum was too much for some who could make matters of conscience out of all manner of "things indifferent". The use of the Book of Common Prayer, the wearing of a surplice and hood, licensed preaching, catechizing of young people, distribution of alms and visitation of the sick, were all that was legally demanded of the parson by the Canons of 1604. Provided that parson and squire were in accord or had in turn their own approved "via media" everything in the parish would run reasonably smoothly since the two men represented the two arms of ecclesiastical and civil government within the parish. Religious differences would only come to the surface if either man deviated from the broad path, and even then these differences must in many instances have been played down for the mutual interest and care that each had for the parish. This seems to have been the situation at Wootton where the Withers declared for Parliament and Butler was a Royalist.

Butler stands as part of the great tradition of the Anglican clergy better known to students of English history of the seventeenth



century through the examples of men like George Herbert<sup>89</sup> of Bemerton or Nicholas Ferrar of Little Gidding. Yet these "saints and scholars" represented only the tip of the iceberg: Robert Herrick<sup>90</sup> Thomas Fuller, Jeremy Taylor, Henry Hammond, Herbert Thorndike, and Butler himself, were shining lights in a society where matters of religion often assumed paramount importance. To assert that these men were not isolated examples is not to maintain that every Anglican parsonage housed a scholar-saint. This argument would be almost as futile as maintaining that all Puritan preachers were as rabid as Hugh Peters or as saintly as Richard Baxter. Between the extremes in both camps existed an enormous number of men, differing widely in aptitude, ability and application, whose chosen duty it was to look after the spiritual needs of mankind. Butler, for better or for worse, was a king's man, a supporter of "Arminianism" as identified with Archbishop Laud, and doubtless, too, as a result of these conviction, held Erastian views on the bonds between State and Church, acknowledging the primacy of the former. The breed was not uncommon and indeed yielded a type sufficiently well known as to make a "character" for John Earle, later Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury, and one of the Westminster Assembly of divines in 1643. This character is given in full (from the version in Earle's own handwriting) since virtually every phrase seems strangely apposite.<sup>91</sup>

"A grave Divine"

Is one that knows the burden of his calling and hath studied to make his shoulders sufficient. He was not hastie to launch out of his port the University, but expected the ballast of learning, and the wind of opportunity. Divinitie is not the beginning, but the end

<sup>89</sup>. Herbert, the keen amateur musician, is less well known but Isaak Walton, Lives of Donne, Herbert, Hocker and Sanderson, gives details p269ff

<sup>90</sup>. A fine dual biography of Herbert and Herrick, Two Gentle Men, Marchette Chute, amply illustrates the situation of the incumbent-poet.

<sup>91</sup>. John Earle: Microcosmographie, Or a peece of the World discovered Ms. Eng misc f 89 (c 1627) Bodleian Library ff 8-12

of his studie: to which he takes the ordinary stair, and makes the Arts his way. He counts it not prophaneness to be polished with humane reading or to smooth his way by Aristotle to school-divinity. He hath sounded both Religions, and anchored in the best, and is a Protestant out of judgement, not faction, not because his country but his reason is on this syde. The Ministry is his choice, not refuge, and yet the Pulpit not his itch, but feare. His discourse there, is Substance, not all Rhetorick, and he utters more things than wordes. His speech is not helpt with inforced action, but the matter acts itselfe. He shootes all his Meditations at one Butt; and beates upon his Text, not the cushion, making his hearers not the Pulpit grone. In citing of Popish errors, he cutts them with arguments, not cudgells them with barren Invectives, and labours more to shew the truth of his cause, than his spleen. His sermon is limited by the Method, not the Houre-glass: and his Devotion goes along with him out of the Pulpitt. He comes not up every day because he would not be idle, not talkes three houres together, because he will not talke nothing, but his tong preaches at fit tymes, and his conversation alwaies, better than an Exercise. In matters of Ceremonie, he is not ceremonious; but thinkes he owes that reverence to the Church to bow his judgement to it, and make more conscience of a schisme, then a surpliss. He admires the Churches Hierarchie as the Churches glorie: and however we jarre with Rome, would not have our Confusion distinguish us. In Simoniacall purchases he thinkes his soule goes in the bargaine, and is loth to come by promotion so deare: yet his worth at length advaunces him, and the price of his own merit buyes him a lyving. He is no base grater of his Tithes and will not wrangle for the odd egge. The Lawyer is the onely man he hinders, by whom he is spyt for takeing up quarrells. He is a mayne pillar of our Church, though neither Deane, nor Canon; and his lyfe our Religions best Apology. His Death is his last sermon,

where in the pulpitt of his bed he instructs men how to dy by his example".

Against the background of the "personal rule" of Charles I and the famous Metropolitical Visitation of Archbishop Laud, led by his Vicar-General, Sir Nathaniel Brent, (1633-36) the aged Butler began work on his last book, The Principles of Musik. The two books of the Principles are considered separately in later chapters of this dissertation. Here it is sufficient to notice that the work appeared in 1636 and was the last new book of Butler's to appear during his lifetime. It was the work of an old man but, as far as we know, was a new book: at least Butler makes no reference to any intended music-book in any of his other writings. Editions of his earliest work continued to appear in London, there was one in 1642, and at least two more, after his death, in 1649 and 1655; the Syngeneia appeared in Frankfurt in 1643; but the Principles of Musik enjoyed only one edition, and was the only one of his books not re-issued.

There is little to record of the final years of Charles Butler from the publication of the Principles of Musik in London till his death, eleven years later in 1647. A poem by the Oxford poet, William Strode, on the occasion of the publication of the Principles, has recently come to light,<sup>92</sup> and is included at App B Plate XXII<sup>93</sup>. Parish Registers at Wootton cease in 1643, and Church Warden's Accounts<sup>94</sup> stop in the early 1640's. When the Long Parliament abolished the office

92. Miss Margaret C Crum of the Dept. of Western MSS at the Bodleian Library brought this to my notice. Located at Corpus Christi College, C.C.C.325, this MS and unpublished poem was not known to Strode's editor, Bertram Dobell, who issued a C.E. in 1907. Incidentally Strode's tragic-comedy The Floating Island with music by Lawes, was performed before Charles I and the Queen, in Oxford in 1636.

93. Discussion of the Strode MS appears in Bodleian Library Record IV (1952-3) M.C. Crum: p.p. 324-335

94. It is not possible to date the cessation of these accounts more accurately since at least two pages have been "removed" from the end of the book. Accounts resume in 1662.

of Bishop in 1643 many clergy lost their livings but Butler was not evicted. Perhaps his piety and learnings, his relationship with the Squire of Manydown, and his venerable age, all combined to give him security of tenure for his last days. The Bishop of Winchester, however, was not so fortunate, and had to resort to the subterfuge of escaping in a dung-cart from his besieged residence. Probably Butler's son-in-law, Richard White, Rector of nearby Worting, helped out at Wootton during these last years. The Siege of Basing House and Battle of Alresford<sup>95</sup> were both too close to Wootton to provide any comfort for the old man, while the subsequent news of the King's defeat at Marston Moor (2 July 1644) and Naseby (14 June 1645) can only have confirmed his worst fears, fears soon to be realised with Charles I's "imprisonment" at Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight, again quite near home. Charles Butler died 29 March 1647 and was buried in a nameless grave inside the church at Wootton St Lawrence.<sup>96</sup>

This chapter has been concerned with the life and works of Charles Butler and has attempted to review the man's achievements against the background in which he worked. If it has been successful, the reader should now have a clear picture of a diligent country parson in seventeenth century England, and of that man's place and function in society; of an author who produced distinguished and scholarly books on a wide variety of subjects, a classic on bee-keeping written out of his own experience, an original book on English grammar, an extremely learned text on affinity as a bar to matrimony, and a best-selling text-book on logic. It is given to few men to reach eminence in such a wide field of activity and it is given to even fewer that

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95. C.V. Wedgwood, the foremost historian of the period, sees Alresford as "an unquestioned and major triumph for the Parliamentary forces, the first in the war". The King's War, p 285.

96. According to Anthony & Wood.

they should do so and remain obscure country parsons. Butler, the scholarly author of The Principles of Musik is known to musicians. As author of the Feminine Monarchy and English Grammar he is well known to bee-keepers and philologists. And yet, Butler, the Anglican clergyman far more than half a century, has attracted little or no notice. Several instances have already been cited of experts in a particular discipline who have written on Butler and ignored or underestimated his achievements in other fields, even to the extent of carelessly giving wrong dates and titles for his books. The article in Grove's Dictionary is a case in point: it contains several factual errors. The second edition of the Feminine Monarchy was in 1623 and produced in London: the "etc" after the dates of the English Grammar implies other editions; Butler is described as "Agriculturist"; his date of birth is not even conjectured, his death is queried, but 1647. These are the factual errors. The "errors" of interpretations are even more glaring. Selective employments are given, no mention of him being parson or schoolmaster; mention is made of Butler's indebtedness to Morley but no mention at all of Calvisius who exerted far more influence than Morley. What is a fellow of Magdalen College? When one considers that it has taken Butler five editions of this major work to achieve an "entry" it is a cause for concern that he is treated so badly.

Enough <sup>evidence</sup> documentary exists to make possible the writing of a full-scale biography of Charles Butler, but it would take a man as wise as he was to assume the responsibility. This chapter has simply scratched the surface but one hopes it has revealed a few tempting glimpses of Butler the man in his background.

CHAPTER THREE

The Principles of Musik ...

The Principles of Musik

Charles Butler's music book appeared in 1636 under the title - admirably succinct by seventeenth century standards - The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting : with the two-fold Use thereof, Ecclesiastical and Civil.<sup>1</sup> It is a volume in small quarto format, answering to the following bibliographical description, the style<sup>2</sup> of which is recommended by R B McKerrow : \*<sup>4</sup> - \*\*<sup>4</sup> , A - R<sup>4</sup>: i.e. 76 leaves. The book was printed "for the Author" by John Haviland in London, presumably "In the Old Bailey over against the Sessions House", which is the usual address given in his imprint from 1634, but which does not appear on this volume. The choice of Haviland as printer was undoubtedly imposed upon Butler by expediency which necessitated the employment of a London printer for the large number of musical illustrations. Haviland had printed Butler's work in 1623 and again in 1629 but the Principles of Musik was his first Butler text in the improved orthography. Haviland's qualifications as a music-printer are rather more obscure : he probably printed a folio edition of Sternhold and Hopkins<sup>3</sup> in 1638, and may have printed earlier editions which are no longer extant. It is, however, well established that Haviland who had taken up his freedom of the Stationers' Company in 1613, was working in conjunction with Mistress Griffin, the widow of Edward Griffin, who had produced music, and Sir John Lambe's famous "notes" on the Stationers recorded that by 1636, Haviland, Robert Young and Miles Fletcher (or Flesher) had acquired Mistress Griffin's business and William Stansby's, not to mention Widow Purslow's<sup>4</sup>. Robert Young,

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1. Pollard and Redgrave S.T.C. 4196
  2. Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students :1967 edition (1927) pp 155-163
  3. B.U.C. 826 signed I.H.
  4. Arber III, 701. See Companion to Arber, p 100 section 312, in addition.

Haviland's partner had produced music previously, notably ElWay Bevin's "Brief and Short Introduction", 1631 and Young, incidentally, then occupied Peter Short's old premises at the "Starre on Breadstreet Hill". Stansby, of course, was one of the most important music printers' of his day, so that if his effects reached the Haviland-Young-Flesher consortium, they were indeed fortunate.

For the musical examples in Butler's Principles..., that is for the great majority which are type-set, Haviland employed a fount of standard 5mm - stave music type, the normal size for pocket-versions of the psalms. Steele<sup>5</sup> has isolated four separate founts of 5mm type in use before 1600, all of which were used for small psalm books. The type employed by Haviland is quite obviously the same as that exhibited by Steele as Figure 29, used by John Day as far back as 1569 and subsequently by Wolfe, East, Windet and Barley before 1600. The same type was being employed by Thomas Harper, later famous as John Playford's printer, in the 1630's so it was obviously still quite popular with printers.<sup>6</sup> It is a neat, compact, utility - type, completely undistinguished, in the true conservative style of the English musical printers, but it "joins" well and has a very tidy face. A size of only 5 mm may well sound small for a quarto format, especially when one would imagine that the size had been specially designed for the Ubiquitous pocket psalm - book, but the size goes well with Haviland's letter press (both Roman and Italic) and only becomes noticeably small in a double page of music-type. [All musical examples in the modern edition of Butler are facsimiles. The double page spread of music type also appears in Appendix B, Facsimile.]

A few of the musical examples, notably those concerning ligatures

5. Earliest English Music Printing 1965 ed (1903) p 7

6. e.g. All the French Psalm Tunes, printed by Harper, 1632. BM 3435. aaa 27



on pages 36 and 37 are printed from wood blocks, and certain of the diagrams which illustrate the text are also printed in this fashion.

[Facsimile at App B Facs 4] The "Cyclus Tonorum" on page 13 is one [App B Facs 5] Yet other musical illustrations appear to have been entrusted to the printer's ingenuity. [App B Facs 6] The stave on page 12 which lays out the names of the notes in the order in which they appear must have been constructed purely from spare parts, quads and rules, and other diagrams, particularly when they involve a lot of letter-press and music type, must have given Haviland bother. All things considered the printer performed his musical tasks with skill, and from time to time with a little artistry. (Pages 40 and 41, for example, are a fine piece of workmanship, involving all the printer's arts : individual sections are pleasantly executed and the whole display is remarkably effective).

The lay-out of the letter-press is scarcely less effective and here Haviland performed his allotted task with the whole apparatus normally associated with a scholarly book. Two sizes of Roman type and two of Italic serve for main text and annotations. Greek type is also called for in several places. Marginal annotations which provide a reference, draw attention to an important point, or simply attract the eye of a reader looking for something in a hurry: decorated initial-letters, rows of type ornaments and running head-titles are also aids to speedy reference, since a chapter invariably begins with a decorated initial and ends with a row of type-ornaments. [App B Facs 3] The lay-out of the page is adequate without being lavish and margins on the open side are generous and well-sprinkled with notes. Haviland delivered the text at the rate of 38 lines per page, [App B Facs 1] while the Annotations are comparatively crushed at 47 lines per page:

[App B Facs 2] this, in addition to the somewhat recondite nature of some of the notes, often packed in never-ending streams of italicised Latin, makes hard going of the Annotations. Intelligent use is made of the contrasting qualities of Roman and Italic letterpress, both characters being adapted to Butler's reformed orthography. The Greek fount, however, is a particularly dirty specimen and quite difficult for an amateur to assimilate. Quotations from Greek and Latin (and the few Hebrew words) are invariably given in standard orthography. So much for John Haviland's contribution to The Principles of Musik, a contribution we can define as craftsmanlike and competent, but devoid of distinction. Perhaps his best claim to fame in this book is that he printed complex letterpress with remarkably few errors, so few that it has been possible to itemise each one.

Now to Butler's contribution. One assumes that the responsibility for dividing the Principles into books, chapters, sections and sub-sections, is to be laid upon the author and that the printer simply followed instructions. As a text it was quite obviously designed to be read at different levels and in different ways, but its principal appeal is to the educated amateur, aiming at the same type of audience as Marley's Plaine and Easie Introduction had sought. The Principles is basically a scholarly book which provides a good deal of sound practical advice. Reading without reference to the Annotations, the diligent amateur must have found a sensible and very sane book, often cutting through an enormous amount of arcane mystery in a deft sentence, while at the same time leaving the reader in no doubt that composers are born not made. The amateur who was something of a scholar could not fail to have been impressed by the precise and accurate documentation of Butler's annotations, by the masterly command of sources, particularly of the classical and medieval authorities. The professional musician,

too, could well have gained immense profit and pleasure from Butler's text, which does not simply provide rules and regulations but explains the nature and antiquity of his art from Old Testament to modern times. We know that the book appealed to John Jenkins for it was he who recommended it to Roger North who in turn sang its praises at the expense of Playford's Introduction. Playford himself thought very highly of the book and did not scruple to use Butler's historical summary [the Preface to the Principles] in his Introduction, without open acknowledgment. It is safe to assume, at this late date, that there was only one edition of Butler's book, although all copies may not have been issued at the same time. The normal practice appears to have been to print many more copies than went into immediate circulation and then for these to remain in sheets until they were called for. For this reason it would probably have taken many years before the impression was exhausted. North's testimony that he borrowed a copy from Jenkins suggests that all copies were in circulation by the end of the century, since he could well have afforded to buy one if he valued the book as he did. The number of surviving copies indicates a fairly large edition, perhaps as high as seven or eight hundred copies. Playford Sale Catalogues at the British Museum prove that copies were still changing hands at the end of the seventeenth century<sup>7</sup> and a copy was offered for two and a half guineas at a Calkin and Budd Sale in 1844, there described as "excessively scarce",<sup>8</sup> and selling at a higher price than all the English theorists, Morley included.

James Pruett in his article on Butler<sup>9</sup> suggests that Butler in adopting the sequence of exposition followed by annotation was copying

7. B.M. Bagford: Harleian 5936. Nos 419, 420, 421, 422-8

8. Calkin and Budd: A Catalogue... p. 177 BM

9. "Charles Butler, Musician Grammarian and Apriarist" Mus Quarterly p 504

Marley, but he was following the convention of the scholarly book over which Marley held no monopoly. In any case, if Pruett had read Marley's original instead of the Harman edition he would have found that Marley collects all his Annotations at the end of the book: the Plaine and Easie Introduction was the only book to issue from Marley's pen whereas Butler had been writing books since 1593.

M.C. Boyd<sup>10</sup> is no great admirer of Butler. He justifies this lack of appreciation in a series of sweeping charges against the book, most of which are without foundation. Here is Boyd's indictment:

BUTLER : contains an insufficient number of musical illustrations  
 devotes too little space to some topics puzzling  
 to students  
 lacks the lightness and humour of Marley's ....  
 shows no real enthusiasm for the compositions it  
 mentions  
 falls into a number of avoidable errors.  
 quotes ancient and medieval opinion as if they applied  
 to modern music (without suspecting that a musical  
 revolution was going on).

It would be an imposition upon the reader's good nature to be faced with a long analysis of the foregoing charges, more especially as some of them are quite obviously trivial, depending on matters of fashion or mere personal opinion. There is not an unusually small number of musical examples by seventeenth century standards. Butler's book may lack Marley's lightness and humour but it does have its own very special brand of humour and when Butler plays with words he does it

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10. Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism, 1962, p 248. Later (p276) Boyd describes Butler as M.A. of Cambridge University!

most effectively. Morley's lightness and humour are well suited to the dialogue form but this form tends to produce a lengthy text, particularly when all three characters join in the act. It is impossible to decide just who are the students puzzled by Butler's omission: if he has unearthed some contemporary evidence about the reception of the Principles he does not present it; if he is here referring to twentieth-century students, the charge is not worth mentioning.

Butler does fall into several errors: this alone of six specific charges will stick, but it applies to all other theorists. Dr. Boyd does not specify the errors to which he refers which makes criticism of his judgments difficult but one suspects that he is drawing attention to several points on which Butler differs from Morley and Ornithoparcus, to both of whom Boyd unfavourably compares Butler. In several places Butler makes mistakes, one a genuine mathematical howler, but Boyd seems not to have noted these and the errors to which he refers seem to be errors of opinion (rather than fact): such errors are the prerogative of all authors. The accusation that Butler shows no enthusiasm for the music he mentions is a figment of Boyd's imagination, completely untrue. In a similar manner, nowhere does Butler quote ancient and medieval opinion as applying to modern music. He quotes ancient and medieval definitions of musical phenomena: an interval, when all is said and done, is a distance between a high sound and a low sound, whether Boethius said it in Latin, Aristoxenus in Greek, or Butler in English. This is as far as Butler follows the ancients, and since a great measure of the Principles is concerned with recording the antiquity of music and its status through the ages, his technique is not only legitimate but essential. Lastly, a musical revolution is always going on. Theorists codify practice: composers make revolutions.

We have already noted that Roger North and John Jenkins championed the Principles of Musik. North, indeed, was a passionate admirer of Butler, as we see from the following extract, which, given in full, places Butler in his background and tempers some of the extravagant praise accorded to Marley in recent years.

"This book of Mørley hath sufficiently shewed the rules of musick in his time, but it is not easy to gather them out of his dialogue way of wrighting, which according to usage is stuff with abundance of impertinences, and also with matters, in our practise, wholly obsolete. I know many serve themselves of Mr. Sympson's books, which are doubtless very good, and worthy as could be expected from a meer musick master, as he was, but they are not compleat. Nay some make a shift with poor old Playford's Introduction, of which may be truely sayd that it is but just (if at all) better than none. But there is a musicall grammer ever to be recomended, compiled by a learned man, and compleat in all grammaticall formes. It was put out by a famous master of science Mr. Butler, and I do not know another in any language comparable to it. And one may be secure that whatever is done pursuant to the prescriptions of this work, cannot be irregular or absurd..."<sup>11</sup>

In fairness, it must be admitted that this paragraph tells us more about North than it tells us about Mørley, Simpson, Playford and Butler : North was Butler's ideal reader. The only contemporary criticism of Butler's book appears to be a manuscript and unpublished poem by the Oxford poet William Strode which has survived in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford and was apparently not known to the editor of Strode's complete works, Dobell. This may have been intended for inclusion among the prefatory poems of The Principles, but is more likely to have been Strode's spontaneous offering on receipt of

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11. from Roger North on Music, ed. John Wilson, p. 137

Butler's book.<sup>12</sup>

The two giants of English Musical History, Burney and Hawkins, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, were unanimous in their praise of Butler. Burney<sup>13</sup> describes The Principles as "better digested, more compressed and replete with useful information, than any work of the kind that appeared for more than a century after Marley's Introduction". Hawkins<sup>14</sup> testifies that the book "abounds with a great variety of curious learning relating to music, selected from the best writers ancient and modern..." Subsequent English Musical Historians, relying heavily on these two men, were content to echo these sentiments. Henry Davey<sup>15</sup> calls The Principles "a very admirable theoretical treatise". Ernest Walker, 1907, and Walker revised Westrup 1952, make no mention of Butler's name.<sup>16</sup> The late Gerald Hayes, in a broadcast talk, confessed to being somewhat disappointed by Butler's music book, although he did say, enigmatically, that, "if only it had appeared before 1600, it would have been a major work". Hayes' interest in Butler's life and work was wide but not apparently deep. Most of the information contained in his talk was taken from Canon Money's pamphlet and on one of the few occasions Hayes made a direct reference to contemporary music he unfortunately chose as his example of Butler's reference to contemporary musicians, Orlando Gibbons, the only ; important musician of the day whom Butler had ignored.

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12.. Poem is included among the pictorial illustrations

13. Mod. ed. p 318

14. Mod. ed. p 575 col i

15. History of English Music, 1895, p 297

6. B.B.C. 14 Nov. 1954

16. J.A. Westrup's review of the Reaney Da Capo facsimile edition of 1970, [Music and Letters Vol 52, No. 2 April 1971, p207] goes some way to explain this omission. Butler's book is here described as "cluttered up with obsolete lore and interminable references to the Old Testament and ancient authors. It difficult to believe that anyone who possessed Marley's book would have learned anything more from Butler... a more serious obstacle in the intrusion of so much that is irrelevant and the lack of any really practical instruction".

The Principles of Musik in singing and setting is unique in one important aspect : it is the only book which sets out with a two-fold purpose, to instruct the musical reader and to justify music's existence. The first part of Butler's purpose needs no explanation, nor does it merit defence, but the apology for music stands in need of both. It may have been written as an academic exercise, or even perhaps as a provider of mere bulk to an otherwise slender volume, but it is much more likely to have been written because Butler seriously believed that forces were abroad in society that were determined to stamp out music and not simply from church worship. This will be more fully discussed later.

Book One of The Principles concerns itself with the rudiments of music and provides elementary instruction in the art of composition. The book is divided under four comprehensive chapter headings, The Moods, Singing, Setting, and the ways of Setting: Chapters two, three and four are broken down into sections and sub-sections; the section treating of an individual topic, and sub-section of a particular aspect of that topic. Butler supplies annotations after each section, thereby making the detailed and often lengthy explanations more immediately available to the reader. Reference between main text and annotations is usually effected by means of a letter in the main text and the corresponding letter in the annotations. For easier reference the margins are also used for catch-words and letters. A knowledge of Latin is hardly essential for the reading of the text since Butler tends there to translate or paraphrase his quotations but in the annotations the reader without Latin would be hard pressed to follow the arguments, some of which are given entirely in that language. Most of the Greek quotations are translated into Latin, or presented in their accepted Latin versions.



Greek rarely appears in the main text or annotations. Occasionally, probably out of habit, and usually on a rhetorical point, Butler explains himself in Latin. Butler's use of Hebrew is confined to the giving of Hebrew words for wind instruments, strings and such like; if his command of that language was well-founded, the most that can be said is that it does not show. Fluency in Latin and a working knowledge of Greek would, of course, have presented no problems to anyone who was interested enough to want to grapple with Butler's annotations.

The modern reader will not find every word of Butler subjected to minute analysis in these pages. Instead, he will find that Butler's text has been treated selectively in an effort to search out our author's individual contribution to English musical theory, to assess his strengths and weaknesses, and to see to what extent he was indebted to earlier writers. Where large sections of our author's writing receive but passing attention or are totally ignored, this is not to imply in the slightest degree that the passages are worthless, but simply that they are conventional and represent received ideas adequately explained and noted in the text.

The main part of the book is preceded by an Epistle Dedicatory and a Preface to the Reader in accordance with prevailing fashion amongst seventeenth century authors. The Epistle is addressed to King Charles I and is written in language of studied moderation in marked contrast to the usual fulsome flatteries of many such dedications. Butler preaches the Aristotelian concept of the ~~one~~ <sup>three</sup> arts necessary for the education of youth, Grammar, Music and Gymnastic, the first two as disciplines of speech and the last as a discipline for the body. Furthermore our author ~~emphasises~~ the close association of music and grammar in ancient times, and demonstrates the unique position of music as the one science allowed

inside the church. David is cited as a king whose example ought to be followed, while Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian and Charlemagne are shown to be his logical successors. Even closer at hand, Charles the Ninth of France and James I of England are both honoured for their interest in music and presented as models worthy of imitation.

The Preface to the Reader concerns itself with the origins of music in the ancient world, Hebrew, Greek and Roman, showing the art always to have been held in great estimation, numbering such men as Plato and Socrates among its admirers and practitioners. More recent examples from Alfred the Great to Henry VIII are brought forward. Butler shows that while there existed in the ancient civilisations some genuine doubt concerning the first musicians, all the authorities were agreed that musicians and that art were deserving of respect. Even animals were not immune to the powers of music with one exception of the ass. Classical authors may not agree on who was the first musician; Orpheus, Linus, Amphion, Terpander, Mercury, Minerva, Apollo, the Muses; but the people of God, Butler suggests, must surely acknowledge that Jubal, son of Lamech, the sixth from Adam, was the first musician.

These first two sections represent Butler's synthesis of musical history which, however rudimentary, appears to have been his own. The substance of these sections was taken over by John Playford for his Introduction, and lasted as long as that book, from 1654 to 1730. Playford added a little here and there from other and later authors, and the occasional gem from his own personal experience, but in essence the introduction to the Introduction was borrowed, without acknowledgement from Butler.

Book One, Chapter One takes as its subject the "Moods" and exhibits Butler's style to perfection. The main text is brevity itself,

and the model of organised arrangement. Butler considered that all music could be accommodated within five modes, Doric, Lydian, Aeolic, Phrygian and Ionic : this thesis has caused modern commentators considerable trouble. Pruett, amazed that anyone should question Glarean's classification of modal practice, says : "Perhaps this negation is in line with his heavy reliance on biblical and patristic authority in musical things.<sup>17</sup> Further clouding Butler's explication of the modes is the failure to note the ambitus of each mode, although we have no reason to believe that the ranges of his five modes would be different from those normally accepted in the early 17th century". Boyd adds : "So far had they been forgotten [the modes] that he classifies them according to their emotional character,<sup>18</sup> rather than by their Tonic note". [One presumes that Dr. Boyd means Final and not Tonic note] Butler, in fact, classifies the modes in accordance with their ethos, although he was perfectly well acquainted with Dodecachordon and understood the modal ambitus. His concern over the ethical qualities of music is of course directly owing to Plato and Aristotle rather than to the church fathers and the bible, and his failure to conform to Glarean's codification of the modes springs from the conviction that Glarean's theories were, dare one say, outmoded ! "Skillful musicians know how to form any Mood in any Key or Tone indifferently"(p.2) It is perhaps of some significance that John Milton, musical son of a musical father, also adopts Butler's classification, doubtless having been nurtured on the same classical diet.<sup>19</sup> The whole confusion which has lasted for centuries and which, in some measure still exists, is the

17. "Charles Butler : Musician, Grammarian, Apiarist". Musical Quarterly

18. Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism p 246

19. The subject is discussed fully in Spaeth: Milton's Knowledge of Music

result of theorists insisting upon applying the Greek ethical names to the ecclesiastical modes, implying that the Greek modes were the same as the church modes. It is of paramount importance to anyone attempting to write on this subject to try to achieve some knowledge of both Greek music and the ecclesiastical modes, but particularly of the state of knowledge in respect of both topics during the seventeenth century. Certainly, to Glarean, the Dorian mode, ran from D to D, with a dominant on A and D as the final, but it is a salutary thought that both Zarlino and Mersenne were equally certain that the same mode ran C - g - C and Galilei, Mei, and Doni, in Italy were likewise convinced that their Dorian was correct : it ran from E to E. To present the Dodecachordon as gospel on all matters of modes is too facile. Butler knew his Glarean and his Mersenne and was probably aware of all the pitfalls of presenting dogmatic conclusions on matters imperfectly understood. In accepting the five ethical moods from antiquity by way of such reputable authorities as Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Macrobius, Boethius and Cassiodorus, and by emphasising their ethical and mimetic qualities, he was in reality putting forward the points on which all theorists agreed. Wrangle as they did over where a mode began, they all agreed that music had ethos and that this ethos was powerfully affective. It is important to remember that Butler knew his ancient theorists, excepting pseudo-Plutarch, only through the work of Boethius. One of the most significant Greek theorists, Aristoxenus, had been translated in 1562 : the translation had been made by Antonio Gogova at the request of Zarlino, but had arrived too late to be of much use to him. Meibomius' famous collection of Greek theorists did not appear till 1652, so that it is no wonder that Butler was hardly in a position to give definitive information of the Greek modes. Only one piece of Greek music had

ever appeared in print, and that was untranscribed, in Galilei's Discorso..., 1591. It was also due to Galilei that the deduction was made that the Greek harmoniai were species of the octave and that their tonoi were transposition scales. Both harmoniai and tonoi could be called Dorian Lydian etc. The same man also asserted, and proved (correctly) that as octave species the modes ought to be given in descending order of pitch, so that the systems put forward by Zarlino and Glarean, in addition to faults already mentioned, were both upside down.

One page of text is followed by seven pages of notes, teeming with references, classical, patristic, medieval. Of specifically musical writers, Glarean, Plutarch, Boethius, Cassiodorus and Mersenne, are all called upon to give evidence, while there are many topical allusions to musical practice. Ravenscroft's Whole Booke of Psalmes, Francis Quarles Divine Poems, Thomas Tomkins' "When David heard...", the "Battle Galliard" (probably Byrd's) madrigals, canzonets, pavans, galliards, ballads; all present themselves for discussion, thereby testifying to the author's involvement in music at least as far as the early 1620's. The classical references easily outweigh the others and many are to musical commonplaces, like the eighth book of Aristotle's Politics. The story of Ericus musicus, likewise, seems to turn up, from Krantz, in all contemporary discussion of the power of music: Mersenne gives the same story. Equally popular is the tale of Timotheus and Alexander the Great. Augustine's definition of music, "scientia bene modulandi", appears time and time again. Yet, many of the references are unique to Butler: Tacitus' characterization of our ancestors, "cantantes ibant ad bellum"; Peter Martyr's statement on the uses of music; these, and all the references to contemporary music, are Butler.

Doubtless these annotations show a mastery of classical sources, but many seventeenth century writers were equally adept in this field. Butler's learning he carries lightly but it is nonetheless wide. Where he exhibits his consummate skill is in the way in which he marshalls and presents his information, the short straightforward chapter followed by the complex, reference-studded notes, in neither of which is a word wasted. The notes are logically arranged and lead on, references are clearly indicated, marginal notes jump out at the reader : Thomas Tomkins rubs shoulders with Cicero and King Saul leaving the reader the impression that music is an art that has been honoured since biblical times, which is, of course, Butler's thesis.

Butler's treatment of the modes cannot be explained away as an error of fact, nor is it an error of interpretation. He is perfectly consistent in his treatment as his text and annotations prove. Well aware that the modes had been classified according to their finals, he refused to admit that such classification had any application to contemporary music, but to the more ancient idea, that music contained in itself the power to influence the mind of man in several very specific ways, he readily subscribed. We have seen that the theorists could not agree on the series of notes for each mode, but they did agree on the affective quality of the music. Of the many sixteenth and seventeenth century theorists who had written authoritatively on the moods, Butler appears to have known or consulted only Glarean and Mersenne. He mentions Zarlino, but only by way of Calvisius, and in a different context, and shows no acquaintance with the anti-Zarlino faction of Galilei, Mei and Doni, nor with their genuine discoveries on Greek music. Butler makes no statement to the effect that he understood the conflict between Greek and ecclesiastical modes, or that he was even aware that

the matter was one of dispute. He is the only writer who explains the modes without a single reference to musical notes or intervals. His annotations on the modes show him to be quite convinced that the old modes as a series of notes had no application to his music, but at the same time, he was equally sure that the ethical character of music was still a valid concept for the seventeenth century. By maintaining this position, and placing contemporary types and styles of music into their respective Greek categories, he was not simply re-emphasising what all the theorists believed about the power of music; he was stressing that these beliefs had served Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and would continue to serve the seventeenth century. The close association of words with music so often affirmed by the ancient Greek writers explaining the ethical and mimetic qualities of the modes receives strong support from Butler. He considers that the Doric and Lydian moods are particularly associated with sacred compositions, namely metrical psalms, hymns and anthems. It is, in his view, the function of the Aeolian mode to "pacify the passions of the mind"; the Phrygian should rouse the spirit, and "inciteth to arms and activity: the Ionic he visualises as the purveyor of "honest mirth and delight". The correspondence between Butler's views and Milton's on the function of the modes is remarkable close. Spaeth<sup>20</sup> characterises the Lydian mode as "soft, effeminate and passionate" in an effort to agree with Plato's sentiment that the Lydian was one of the "solute" modes, but he is here distorting Milton's meaning. The section of L'Allegro to which Spaeth refers characterises the Lydian mode in exactly the way Butler describes, "with its heavenly harmony, ravisheth the mind with a kind of ecstasy, lifting it up from the regard of earthly things into

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20. Milton's Knowledge of Music : p 162

the desire of celestial joys". Compare this with Milton:

"Lap me in soft Lydian airs  
 Married to immortal verse...  
 The melting voice through mazes running  
 Untwisting all the chains that tie  
 The hidden soul of harmony". (L'Allegro 135-44)

Chapter Two treats of singing, which, Butler explains in one of his many rhetorical notes, includes both singing and playing. The first section is devoted to the "number of the notes" where Butler demonstrates that the majority of vocal writing lies within the range of 3 septenaries, from the bottom note of a man's bass to the top note of a boy's treble. Instruments, of course, have extended this range in both directions; Butler cites the virginal and organ as examples of greater compass. He was quite certainly a player of both instruments and throughout the book provides several examples of sound corroborative evidence for the organologist. Rarely does he have anything original to report on instruments but it is interesting to note that several surviving specifications for contemporary organs accord with his descriptions," 51 notes in the direct and natural order of the scale, beside the 20 extraordinary hermitones, and the second Set both of Principals and Diapasons".. Section Two deals with the names of the notes, by which Butler means the old solmization syllables. Having previously divided the vocal compass into three septenaries, Butler is quick to point out that for these seven notes there are only six names, the seventh note, being a semitone above la being given the same name as the fourth, fa, but spelt pha by Butler, to distinguish it.

Butler's exposition of his views on solmization shows that his approach was quite modern. Morley, for instance, at the end of the sixteenth century seems to have been strongly committed to the old



hexachord system, while Butler is at home with the octave species. It is worth recalling that Campion, too, advocated the octave rather than the hexachord as a solmization unit, at least in his musical examples. Butler is the first Englishman to suggest a name for the seventh note, pha, but his system must have stood little chance of catching on in England where ut & re had already virtually disappeared and the remaining four syllables were quite sufficient to cover any eventualities. It stood no chance of catching on abroad since the continental countries had their own system and Butler, of course, wrote in English, which inevitably restricted his influence. Since Butler himself later refers to the continental systems, a few extra details may not be misplaced at this juncture. Rockstro's article in Grove V reads authoritatively and is accurate on the very early details of solmization. But where he states that "the definite use of a seventh syllable cannot be traced back to an earlier date than the year 1599, when the subject was broached...Puteanus...proposed the use of bi," "he is not correct. It is now generally accepted that the Spaniard Ramos de Pareja<sup>21</sup> was the first to suggest a seventh syllable, and incidentally six new ones to replace the Guidonian syllables. Ramos' system, springing from the Latin line "psal-li-tur per vo-ce's is-tar" was based on the octave.<sup>22</sup> Pietro Aron<sup>23</sup>, writing in 1516, also supports the division of tonal material into octaves. Waelrant's "bocedization" system, again based on seven syllables precedes Puteanus. Mersenne states that the syllable "si" which did become established was the invention of a French musician named Le Maire: so says

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21. Musica practica, Bologna 1482

22. Reese, Music in the Renaissance p 182 suggests that Ramos may have been influenced in his division of tonal material into octaves by Joannes Gallicus (fl c 1442 at Mantua)

23. De Institutione harmonica

Sir John Hawkins<sup>24</sup> who himself supports Puteanus; Burney,<sup>25</sup> however, quotes from Zacconi's Practica di Musica, that one Anselmo Fiamingo, musician to the Duke of Bavaria, proposed the completion of the octave by adding the syllables si and bo : Zacconi's book was published in 1596. Burney further relates that Mersenne declares his support for an anonymous author in Flanders who is supposed to have proposed the self-same syllables in 1547 : Burney kindly identifies the source as Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim..., published in 1623 and well known to Butler. Our author notes that is common practice to omit ut and re in solmization, singing sol and la instead. This was duly recorded by Burney as "the earliest English writer that I have read who mentions the omission of ut and re in solmization"<sup>26</sup>, but here the Doctor is in error. Morley, 1597, by his solmization exercises, connives at the omission, and Bathe in 1587 shows that the practice was even then quite common. It is perhaps of more importance that Butler does not commend the neglect of ut and re, for the very practical reason that it was most confusing for beginners. Butler's terminology does not accord with our practice : his 'note' is a solmization syllable; by 'cleff' (variously spelt) and 'key' he means a named note (FF, F, f, ff): "signed cleff" represents our modern clef. He sees the function of the signed clef to locate Treble G, Mean C and Bass F. Annotations, this time lasting eight pages, support the text with historical information, more detailed explanations, and diagrams. These annotations which constitute a sort of running commentary on a very lucid text are not all of equal value. This is not the place to discuss each and every note in the light of our much

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24. General History mod ed. pp 159-60n

25. General History mod ed p 476 (Vol I)

26. Burney Dover Edn. Vol. I p 477

wider knowledge of, say, Greek musical practice, (which in any case has been treated in the individual notes to the modern edition) but it ought to be pointed out at this early stage that those annotations which concentrate on giving practical advice to the learner are far more valuable than some of the speculative or historical notes.

Butler's advice on sharp and flat keys is most pointed; his remarks on the neglect of ut and re are devastatingly accurate in their direction towards those who would make the art of music more difficult for the beginner; his own version of the "Guidonian Hand" offers wise counsel to the uninitiated.

Section Three of the first chapter is one of the shortest in the book and is entitled the "Tune of Notes". Bearing in mind that Butler is referring to solmization syllables, we learn that he contends that the only distances between these syllables are a tone or a semitone and that each tone is the same as every other tone, and the same applies to semitones. He recommends two ways of becoming proficient in distinguishing these two fundamental distances, by the voice of a teacher, or the use of a fretted instrument. This time the annotations centre round the Aristoxonian and Pythagorean controversy over the equality of tones and semitones; the grist for this mill comes via Boethius who seems to have supported Philolaus, himself a Pythagorean. Butler appears to have had little time for, and less understanding of, the very real problems of tunings. With characteristic intellectual integrity he presents both sides of the case as far as he was able to see it, elects to follow Aristoxenus, probably because he was simpler, and then asserts the common-sense view of the "practical musician", demolishing all other possible tunings as

"mere fancy, forged only by melancholic imaginations". The doctrine that all tones are the same, and all semitones the same, is obviously absolutely necessary for the musical beginner, but it ought not to be presented as dogma, and could not be so presented by anyone who had troubled to try a few simple experiments. This defect is characteristic of Butler and appears whenever the "scientific" side of music comes under scrutiny: his attitude to music is wholly practical.

Nowhere in The Principles is the bias towards practical music more pronounced than it is on the question of the "tunings". Butler states the conflicting views of Aristoxenus and Philolaus, the disciple of Pythagoras; the opinion of both Greek theorists were available to our author by way of Boethius' De Musica which seems to have been his only source for the Greek theorists. Aristoxenus in "allowing the ear to be the ultimate judge" in matters of tuning, claims Butler's immediate respect, while the system advocated by Philolaus and defended by Boethius, with its distinctly mathematical flavour, provokes a certain amount of ridicule from Butler: "But that it is indeed a mere fancy, forged only by melancholic imaginations, there is no musician so simple that knoweth not; and that the Just Hemitone is that which naturally passeth in the order or series of the notes in the Heptachords and Septenaries of the scale". Needless to say the ridicule is uncalled for, more so, since Butler has little or no comprehension of the issue under discussion, as his subsequent example well illustrates. He cites the diapente (or perfect fifth) as being composed of 3 tones and an "equal" semitone and the diatessaron (perfect fourth) of 2 tones and the same equal semitone and states quite unequivocally that if this semitone is raised or lowered by a diesis, or diaschisma, or a comma or schisma, or less, "it is out of

tune..." All four intervals are accorded their Pythagorean meanings as given in Boethius. Butler's tuning is, of course, mean-tone, based on a compromise, namely that the tone appears in the centre of the gap between the major and minor tones of just intonation. In this system the 'normal' semitones E-F, B-C, A-Bb, F G etc are all equal but all are slightly smaller than the perfect semitone & the mean-tone fifth is slightly smaller than the fifth of just intonation, but the major third is perfectly true and common to both systems. Butler exhibits no understanding that the system he was using was anything less than perfect. He is also completely unaware of the violent controversy which had raged in Italy between Zarlino and Galilei on the subject of tuning. Zarlino was completely opposed to the use of temperament in vocal music, and one suspects, because of his somewhat doctrinaire classification of consonance being restricted to those ratios inside the senario, he was led to underwrite the tuning advanced by Didymus and later modified by Ptolemy, known as syntonic diatonic. Temperament of some description was a sine qua non of keyboard instruments and lute: this, of course, Zarlino recognised: but he resolutely withstood the frontal attacks of Galilei, Mei and Benedetti, whom he answered not with reason but with typically mystical sentiments. Galilei it was who finally crushed the opposition but he owed a great deal to Mei and the recently published treatise of Aristoxenus whose tunings represented a close approach to equal temperament. Galilei demolished the idea of vocal music in both Ptolemy's syntonic diatonic and the Pythagorean/Boethian system, and, what is more, he achieved his success by experiment, accepting nothing from ancient authority except what he had himself proved. Butler shows no awareness of the conflict which had raged over temperaments and in trying to gloss

over the details of tuning as being of no practical importance he exhibits a fundamental weakness, fundamental in that it contains so much truth yet still begs the question. (Butler was not the first to recognise that Boethius had nothing to offer the practical musician: Guido d' Arezzo at the beginning of the second millenium had set an illustrious precedent in this respect). Our author is certainly right in maintaining, even if it is only by implication, that the Pythagorean tuning as supported by Boethius was utterly unacceptable for keyboard or fretted instruments of the seventeenth century, but in its place Butler recommends the "just semitone which naturally passeth in the order or series of notes..." which is a poor substitute for the worst system in the world. He must have known how organ and harpsichord were tuned yet he shows no inkling that there was a system behind it. We see another example of this same technique when we come to the subject of concord proportions : Butler toys with the mechanics of the topic, gets himself into a tangle and then throws out the baby and the bath water.

The next section deals with figures and proportion. Eight notes ranging from the large to the semiquaver and illustrated, tactus (i.e. tactus minor, of the semibreve) is explained. Butler provides details of what remained of the proportional systems Dupla, Tripla, Sextupla, Noncupla, and gives the appropriate signs by which the proportions may be distinguished. Gilbert Reaney<sup>27</sup> comments that "it is interesting to see that, where there are nine minims to the beat, the up-beat comes on the fifth minim" : the significance of this remark has remained elusive. Pruet<sup>28</sup> on the subject of proportions produces a rare piece

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27. Introduction to facsimile of Butler's Principles, p 1X

28. Art. cit p 505

of pseudo - scholarly comment. He quotes Butler on the more outlandish proportions 5 to 1, 7 to 1, 9 to 2 : "the which either never having been in use, or being now out of use, because of them there is no use, but only to perplex the Setter and Singer, and to offend the learner..." Pruettt follows up his Butler quotation thus. "Perhaps he was agreeing in essence with an earlier statement by Glarean : 'the observance of so many proportions is superfluous...' ". Butler gives in Latin the exact piece of Glarean on the next page! The notes which follow these sections provide a brief history of notation, further explain tactus, and review the proportional system so accurately and tediously delivered by Thomas Morley. All is going reasonably well till we arrive at arithmetical proportion leading to concord proportion where Butler exhibits the same trait of character noticed in the last notes. His preliminary exposition of arithmetical proportion, concise and accurate, leads straight on to musical proportion in Sounds, where the prime mover of his case is Boethius. Butler provides a long section of Boethius where the Roman writer retells the story of Pythagoras in the blacksmith's shop which fable everyone before Galilei seems to have believed. Certainly Butler never questions the validity of the statements attributed to Pythagoras. The wood-cuts which illustrate these experiments appear in Gafurius<sup>29</sup> at the end of the fifteenth century, and show graphically the details of the experiments explained in Boethius, so Butler was not the only one to believe the stories. The experiments were concerned with the relationships between fourth, fifth and octave which Pythagoras was supposed to have discovered by calculating the ratios of the weights of the blacksmith's hammer, "proving" that an anvil struck by a

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29. Theorica musice, 1492

hammer of 6 lbs weight and then by a hammer of 12 lbs weight would produce notes an octave apart: similarly, 9lbs of hammer after 12lbs would produce a perfect fourth as an interval, as would be the result of the difference between a 6lb and an 8lbs experiment. The 12lb and 8lb hammers were related by a perfect fifth as were the 9lb and the 6lb producing a little diagram which Butler gives on page 31.

Regretably, the whole episode is a complete fabrication, an artificial experiment, a kind of hopeful retelling of "Aristotle's" real (and workable) experiment based on the lengths of strings. Butler gives this experiment later. Vibrating strings of lengths corresponding to the weight of Pythagoras' hammers, that is 12, 9, 8, 6, do produce exactly the acoustic relationships explained above, but to produce these same relationships with hammers the weights must be squared. In terms of weights attached to strings 4 : 1 produces an octave, 9 : 4 a fifth, 16 : 9 a fourth. Mersenne was aware of this refutation of Pythagoras in time for his Traité de l'harmonie universelle, 1627, but Butler apparently only knew his Quaestiones celeberrimae in Genesim, 1623.

It would be somewhat harsh to castigate Butler too severely for these short-comings since he is doing nothing more than restate the doctrine of antiquity which had not been questioned till Galilei finally threw it overboard in 1591, yet it is Butlers' discredit that he accepted it blindly. Having dealt with the doctrine of concord proportion received from Greeks and Romans our author now sets about the modern teachings on the subject. It is immediately evident that he does not even begin to understand the principles involved. Aware that sesquitertia proportion produces a diatessaron and sesquialtera a diapente, he subtracts one from the other to find the proportion which answers to a tone. This he carries out in the manner  $3/2 - 4/3 = 1/6$ .



Therefore  $1/6$  is a proportion represents a tone on sound, and he deduces that a semitone would answer to  $1/12$  in proportion. The complex mathematics ought to read  $3/2 \times 3/4 = 9/8$ , so, with his initial blunder under his belt, we approach his future deductions with some trepidation. Page 34 offers a table of the proportions of notes to the ground, a very monument to his earlier howler, proving among other things that the true perfect fifth is an augmented fourth and that the real perfect fourth is actually a major third. Blissfully unaware of the havoc he has wrought, Butler brings his annotations somewhat testily to an end, writing off the doctrine of concord proportions as of no account. We have already remarked on this technique of playing down the ideas which either he had not mastered or which he believed had little to offer to the practical musician.

Section Five of this chapter describes the "note's external adjuncts", reduced to seven items, flat, sharp, ligature, repeat, pause, direct and close. Only ligature requires any detailed explanation. Butler divides the question of ligature into old and new. He gives the Latin rules for Initial, Middle and Final ligatures of the old sort.

Section Six provides a diagram which summarises all the information to date and follows this up with five preliminary lessons, vocal exercises for moving by step and leap. The lessons are cunningly laid out : lessons 1, 2 and 3 are two parts in one canonical, and can also be performed as six-part rounds : lesson 4 is in two parts : lesson 5 in four parts.

Chapter Three is the longest chapter of the book and sets out to treat of composition. Section One explains the parts of a song, usually four, Bass, Tenor, Countertenor and Mean, and points out

that while many compositions utilise more than four voices, this is still the standard arrangement of parts. The annotations include parts for a dial-song said to have been composed by W. Syddael in imitation of Parsons' *In Nomine*. The dial itself generates a fifth part and this tolls inexorably through the whole composition which is itself very undistinguished music. Section Two is concerned with melody, where our author recommends that the normal movement is by step and that leaping should be to consonant intervals. Section Three, "Of Harmony", deals first with intervals, simple and compound, and then discusses concords and discords. The definitions are succinct, the instructions, traditional and good, with the solitary exception of his attitude to the fourth, which, while it is wholly defensible and logically expounded, needs a rather lengthy essay to clarify Butler's position. Pruett<sup>30</sup> accuses Butler of deceit here, because "of the theorists he cites, Boethius, Franchinus Gafurius and Glarean classify the fourth as dissonant, Glarean and Gafurius unequivocally". He further suggests that our author may not have "done his homework properly". One can of course exchange texts from the theorists and prove most things out of context, but there is only writer who has not done his homework here. Boethius most definitely never in any circumstances classified the fourth as a dissonance, although he does on one occasion stress that the Pythagoreans would not allow the 11th to be termed a consonance.<sup>31</sup> As for Glarean and Gafurius and their unequivocal classification of the fourth as a dissonance, the following is offered as evidence for the defence: "The fourth is also rejected unless it has either the fifth, the major 3rd or the minor third underneath it". This appears in Glarean's Dodecachordon<sup>32</sup>, Book I Chapter 8, and is supplied complete with a

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30. art cit p. 506

31. Boethius Bk 2 c 26

32. Miller ed. Section 9 p 65

musical example from...Gafurius<sup>33</sup>: it could never be described as unequivocal.

The ensuing essay is an attempt to explain Butler's attitude to the fourth.

James Pruett's article on Butler,<sup>34</sup> frequently cited in these pages, takes Butler soundly to task on the subject of the fourth. "Butler's classification... of the harmonic interval of the fourth as a consonance leads him into several errors of fact..."<sup>35</sup> Here we may wonder if Butler did his homework properly or whether he is practising a slight deception in order to carry the argument... Butler's insistence on the fourth as consonant appears anachronistic in the light of the 16th century theorists whose works he knew and relied upon".<sup>36</sup> Pruett quotes Morley on the same question; "But why they should make diatessaron (4th) a consonant, seeing it mightily offendeth the ear, I see no reason"<sup>37</sup>. but a quotation from Morley certainly does not give the final word on the subject. Mr. Pruett mentions that "the fourth has plagued theorists through the ages" which ought to have suggested to him that there is no simple resolution of the problem. Morley, undoubtedly, did not even begin to solve it. In fact, on the question of the fourth he is decidedly vague in his attitude, changing his "terms" to suit the occasion, and nowhere defining them accurately: in his text he describes the unison, fifth and their octaves as Perfect concords,<sup>38</sup> and the third and sixth and their octaves as Imperfect concords, (thereby emphasising that he believed in degrees of consonance) and yet he

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33. Practicl musice Bk III, c 5

34. "Charles Butler, Musician, Grammarian and Apiarist"

35. "Charles Butler, Musician, Grammarian and Apiarist" p 506

36. "Charles Butler, Musician, Grammarian and Apiarist" p 507

37. Harman edition p 205

38. Harman edition p 141

refuses to admit of the fourth being either sort of consonance. Then in his Annotations,<sup>39</sup> in an endeavour to define the perfect consonants, he produces the following opinion: "I can give no reason, except that our age hath termed those consonants perfect which have been in continual use since music began", an opinion which he must have known, having read Boethius, would quite simply not fit the facts.

The case for the "Ancients" is stated by Burney<sup>40</sup> in these terms "The concords, according to the testimony of every writer on ancient music, from Aristoxenus, to Boethius and Bryennius, the two last, of any authority, were the fourth, fifth, eighth, and their replicates or octaves ..." This is substantially true, except for consideration of the 11th, the "replicate" of the fourth, which Boethius most definitely did not classify as consonant, as the chapter heading of Book 2 c 26 of De Musica adequately testifies: "Diatessaron a~~e~~ diapason non esse consonantiam, secundum Pythagoricos". Ptolemy, however, did allow that the 11th was to be a consonance.<sup>41</sup> While the ancients may have had misgivings over the eleventh there was no doubt whatsoever that the fourth was consonant. Boethius states<sup>42</sup> "primae autem consonantiae sunt diapason: diapente: diatessaron", as Morley would have known quite well, just as surely as he would have been acquainted with the Pythagorean numerology which supported the scheme, so that the simplest and smallest ratios produced the greatest consonances (diapason 1 / 2 , diapente 2 / 3, distessaron, 3 / 4, in terms of vibrating lengths of strings : 2 : 1, 3 : 2, 4 : 3, in our terms of frequency)<sup>43</sup>

Sir John Hawkins<sup>44</sup> quotes Butler extensively, while giving the

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39. Harman edition p 205

40. Burney: op cit Vol I p 119

41. Harmonics... Bk 2

42. De Musica... 1492 ed. Bk 4 c 13

43. Pruettt, op. at p 506, contends that Boethius regarded the fourth as dissonant: this is not the case.

44. Op. cit p 408

wrong page number as a reference in The Principles... His introduction to the subject describes the debate on the consonance/dissonance of the fourth in these terms : "Hardly any question has been more agitated by the modern musicians than this," so the topic was obviously still under discussion two centuries after Morley. That Sir John should be content to quote at length from Butler is a tribute to the careful way in which Butler treats of this complicated issue. Contary to Mr. Pruetts' assertions, Butler has done his homework very well and is at great pains to define his terms. Butler bases his judgement of the fourth as a consonance on three factors, "Authority, Reason, and the very judgment of the ear". Authority is represented by the Greek and Roman theorists from Aristoxenus to Boethius ( and, incidentally as far as Guido d' Arezzo) who, we have seen, unanimously declare the fourth to be consonant. Reason lies in the simple "proportions" of vibrating lengths of strings, which initially divided the octave into a fourth and a fifth and thereby provided the three concords of "antiquity", diapason, diapente and diatessaron. Furthermore, reason dictates that what has been accepted "thousands of years"as"a special Concord" cannot become a discord overnight. Nevertheless, Butler's "judgment of the ear" produces the most conclusive proof of the fourth not ranking as a dissonance. He only claims for the fourth that it is a Secondary concord, not a Primary which "may be set to the Bass in a close", but he does state quite unequivocally that it sounds well "with the Ground, and better than either of the other Secondary concords, namely the sixth or the minor third, and, moreover, when a sixth is added to this fourth, it produces a "symphony" as true as a third with a fifth, and better than a third with a sixth; then if

both sixth and octave are added to this fourth, it sounds "fully and harmoniously, in pleasing variety, among other symphonies". The musical example given subsequently, illustrating one of these "chords" in operation "immediately before the close", would have made Morley sit up and take notice, but it is extremely doubtful that he would have approved the technique. The most that can be said of it is that it illustrates Butler's point and draws attention to the fact that fourths from the bass should be treated, if not actually as dissonances, at least with great circumspection.

After the musical example just mentioned, reason takes over once more as Butler argues the case that if <sup>the</sup> fourth is accepted into the upper voices of a close where all parts form primary consonances with the bass and secondary among themselves, then, of course, the fourth must be a concord, although secondary. It must be pointed out at this stage of the argument that Butler is neither a reactionary individual refusing to face the musical facts of life, nor does he represent a small body of conservative opinion. Among those who contended for a consonant fourth we can put into the field, quite apart from those quoted by Butler, Descartes,<sup>45</sup> Zarlino,<sup>46</sup> Salinas,<sup>47</sup> and Papius<sup>48</sup> (who wrote a book on this one controversial issue): even as late as 1725, J.J. Fux<sup>49</sup> was still calling the dispute "a famous and difficult question", while half a century later Padre Martini<sup>50</sup> was still claiming the fourth as a perfect consonance.

45. Compendium Musicae, English trans, 1653: Chapter VIII, p 20  
The "most unhappy" of all consonances

46. Istitutione Harmoniche, Venice 1558, Part III c 5

47. ... de Musica libri Septem, Salmanticae, 1577 Book II, cc 8 & 9

48. ... de Consonantibus sun pro Diatessaron, Antwerp 1581

49. Gradus ad Parnassum... Vienna, 1725. Mod ed Alfred Mann, J.M.Dent, 1965.

50. Esemplare o sia Saggio Fondamentale Pratico di Contrapunte sopra il Canto Fermo. Bologna 1774. pp XV and 172

Yet, despite the theorists' polemical battles, Butler's included, one is compelled to face the facts that composers treated the fourth as a dissonance in two parts, and treated the fourth from the bass as a dissonance in works of more than two parts, except in what H.K. Andrews has described as "the consonant-fourth" idiom.<sup>51</sup> Morley, with all his talks of "mightily offending the ear" does not scruple to use the fourth between upper parts and naturally makes no pretence to treat the interval there as a dissonance. In attempting to tie up a few loose ends of Butler's theory and contemporary practice it ought to be pointed out that he was aware of the problems of the fourth. We have seen that he treated it as a secondary concord, one not to be admitted next to the bass in a close, but one whose sound he seems to have liked. His refusal to classify it as a dissonance is reasonable, and his arguments are thoroughly convincing, if rather more intellectual than practical: moreover he had a considerable weight of contemporary authority on his side. All the theorists paid the penalty for having to accommodate a great deal of Greek and Roman theory to a contemporary practice which was completely different, and it should always be remembered that none of the Graeco-Roman writers was penning a Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music. Butler, having once accepted the idea that the fourth was an "acoustic" concord, just could not accept that in seventeenth century practice it could be a concord between two upper voices and yet a discord when it involved the bass. Although he quotes an extensive piece from Calvisius<sup>52</sup>, the German theorist upon whom he leans heavily, in an attempt to get strong support for his views on the fourth - Calvisius describes it as a

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51. Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphomey pp 198 - 200

52. Melopoeia... Erfurt, 1592 Chapter IV

Perfect Concord at the beginning of the chapter - intellectual honesty forces Butler to admit that the German really dithers over this issue in other places, calling it "quae aliquo modo perfecta censetur" and later "quae vix perfecta existimatur"<sup>53</sup>. It is to Butler's credit that he gives us these two thoughts of Calvisius which do nothing to support his own argument.

The fate of the fourth is well described by Andrews in his stimulating monograph on William Byrd.<sup>54</sup> "As the sixteenth century advanced composers became increasingly sensitive to the fourth from the bass as a dissonant element, till, with Palestrina, the chord became relegated to the category of a discord, requiring the utmost care in its management. In the work of Tallis, Byrd, and the later English polyphonists it remained as a semi-consonant interval, treated with some degree of freedom though not frequently used except in the orthodox manner." Bearing in mind this last sentence and recalling that Tallis and Byrd are frequently cited as models in The Principles of Musik, it would seem that practice and theory have finally achieved some degree of unanimity

Section Four deals with what Butler calls the "Ornaments of Melody and Harmony" and these ornaments are treated under four headings: consecution, syncope, fuga and formality. Consecution he defines as the following of intervals, consonant or dissonant, upon concords. First he discusses the consecution of consonant intervals, under the headings of simple and mixed consecution. Simple consecution he asserts is the consecution of concords upon concords of their own kind: for this type of writing he gives five simple rules, each supported

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53. *ibid* *ibidem*

54. Technique of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony pp 233-4



by a musical example. He allows consecutive unisons, fifths and octaves on the same notes, but forbids these consecutive intervals both in "gradations and skipings". Such prohibited consecutions are not to be avoided by using seconds (to hide unison) ninths or sevenths (octave) tritone or semidiapente (fifth): nor do the smaller rests remove the effects of these prohibited intervals. Continued consecution of the other concords is approved, especially in thirds and sixth, but also in fourths. Four easy rules are provided for mixed consecution. Different sorts of concords progress best when the parts move by step in contrary motion. Unisons, fifths and octaves follow each other best if one part proceeds by leap and the other by step. The consecution of all the other concords upon the primary ones (unison, fifth and octave) may be by degree or leap. Our author then provides many examples of good progressions, all in two parts.

Butler suggests two reasons for the allowance of discords: first that the concords become sweeter by contrast, and second, that thereby "many musical points" are sweetly maintained. Under these circumstances even "the most harsh discords Tritonus (augmented fourth) and somidiapente" (diminished fifth) are allowed if treated carefully. Such careful treatment includes that they be of short duration, be approached by step rather than by leap, do not receive too much stress by being wrongly placed in relation to the resolving concords, "begin well uppon a pointed not". For a fuller treatment of the whole subject Butler recommends Paduanus, Calvisius and Morley, and a study of the best composers.

With the notes to this section it finally becomes clear that Calvisius has become the model for Butler's compositional technique.

The German writer has already turned up several times in the notes, but it is only in this section that the importance of his influence becomes obvious. The reader will remember that Calvisius was also mentioned in connection with Campian's treatise during the second decade of the seventeenth century. Neither of our English writers seems to have been aware that Calvisius had written more than one book, since neither specifies the title of the text to which he has been indebted. Whereas Campian was content to mention Calvisius and to translate a large slice of his text and copy his musical examples, Butler acts with exemplary correctness and honours the German theorist times without number. Both Campian and Butler used Melopoeia... of Calvisius, published in Latin at Erfurt in 1592. The library of Glasgow University possesses the only readily accessible copy in the British Isles. (BM copy has been lost) Calvisius' earliest text. From that point in Butler's book to which we have just referred it becomes increasingly obvious that Butler has based the whole of his compositional instructions on Melopoeia: the annotations amply support this contention, since the chapter references to Melopoeia run in an orderly sequence from this juncture. Butler's indebtedness to Calvisius in this and subsequent sections cannot be too strongly emphasised, but at the same time it should not be misrepresented. Calvisius dominates the compositional chapters, not the whole book. His is not the exclusive influence: Morley, too, has greatly impressed our author. This estimate of the extent of the obligations Butler owed to his predecessors, is not one which has been accepted into our authoritative works of reference. Grove V suggests that Morley was the prime influence. Pruett describes Butler's text as "heavily weighted with

quotations from the works of other authors, notably Sethus Calvisius and Franchinus Gafurius". There are six references to Gafurius, sixtytwo to Calvisius, in the Principles which is some measure of the notability of Gafurius' influence. Morley easily outstrips Gafurius as an important influence on Butler, while Ornithoparcus and Glarean are roughly of equal importance to Gafurius. Boethius, in the early stages of the book, ranks in influence second only to Calvisius.

The section concerning syncope is based on Calvisius and Morley. Calvisius termed the process Alligatio, Morley called it Binding. Butler deals with simple alligation and continued binding in deference to his two authorities. All the examples of continued binding are taken from Morley's Plaine and Easie Introduction...

The third of our ornaments of melody and harmony is fuga, and here Butler deals with imitation, the point, and canonical writing in general. (Professor Reaney<sup>55</sup> draws attention to this section, remarking of Butler's use of the word "fuge", but Butler always uses the non-English spelling fuga). Butler sees imitation as of two kinds, report which is in similar motion, and revert which presents the point is contrary motion. His instructions are simple, based upon Morley and Calvisius, and reduced to five elementary observations, culminating in a large scale musical illustration from William Byrd in which "all sorts of fugas...are...most elegantly intermeddled". The example is that quoted by Morley on the same subject and gives some idea of the type of music Butler admired: it is pretty arid stuff.

Canon is treated under its Latin title fuga ligata. Butler includes those canons which only supply the Principal and a title - Fuga in Epidiapason post duo Tempora - canon at the octave above after

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55. facs ed of Butler's Principles, 1X

four semibreves. All these examples, some by Zarlino, are quoted by Calvisius. Harmonia Gemina under its various titles, Contrapunto doppio, Double Discant, is next to appear, and here, too Butler follows Calvisius, even to the extent of adopting his terminology. Examples again are Zarlino via Calvisius. Butler recommends Calvisius and Morley as worthy of further study.

The last of the ornaments of melody and harmony appears under the title "Formality". Formality is "the maintaining of the air or tone of the song in his parts", to Butler", and incidentally to Calvisius, the most important of the ornaments, without which the whole composition becomes "a formless chaos of confused sounds". The final note of the bass part defines the "proper tone" of every song, and this should be further emphasised by the entrance and progress of the subject. This air is to be maintained in all places. The close Butler describes as the "formal meeting of all parts is primary concords...for the concluding either of the whole song, or of some principal part thereof": the close may be simple or extended. Cadences are either proper or improper, and if proper, primary or secondary. Butler uses the term cadence to apply to the stepwise progression of the top part, not the progression of the bass part. The primary cadence is formed in the tone itself, while the secondary cadences, three of them, are formed on the three consonant intervals of the tone, the fifth, third and fourth. Of these three secondary cadences the one on the fifth is most important since it best maintains the air, then comes the cadence on the third, and finally the one on the fourth. Improper cadences (on the sixth, second and seventh degrees) are only admitted if they are immediately qualified by a principal cadence. Air is also to be maintained by fuga where the point should begin on the tone itself or on any of its three concords,

third, fourth, or fifth. The final means of maintaining air is by single notes: here Butler is referring to the first note of the bass part. To illustrate his section on "observable notes" our author then refers his readers to a close study of Tallis' motet, Absterge domine. Annotations are this time concerned with clearing up minor discrepancies like the Phrygian cadence, and citing examples of the maintaining of formality such as were to be seen in various compositions in the Ravenscroft Psalter. Butler does allow himself the opportunity for a sly dig at Campian, although he does not mention him by name. The influence of Calvisius is again most noticeable in this chapter.

"Setting in counterpoint" and setting in discant" are the two sectional headings of the last chapter of Book One. Butler considers that setting in counterpoint is well suited to rhythmical verse such as the Psalms in metre. First write down the melodious part, then add a bass part, and finally the other two parts, making each part as melodious as possible. Barlines should be used to enable the setter to see at a glance what he has written and thereby correct his mistakes. Discant is the opposite of the note against note style of composition, "the parts following one another in melodious points, reported and reverted, or both, with other harmony interposed until at last they meet all together in the close". Butler further exhorts the composer to mingle slow and quick sections since even the most accomplished "running discant" will eventually prove tedious, even to the most unsophisticated audience. For this style too Butler recommends the use of bar lines as an aid to the composer. This time he prints a musical illustration from the Tallis motet referred to earlier.

The Epilogue encourages the would-be composer to study Morley's

Introduction and to follow the examples to be found in the "artificial works of the best Authors" of whom he supplies a long list : significantly, Byrd appears in capital letters, most of the composers are English, Thomas and John Tomkins are described as Aureum par musicorum, Orlando Gibbons is omitted. Butler, however, is quick to recognise that composition does not depend merely upon diligence and study but requires what one can only describe as inspiration.

Sir Jack Westrup<sup>56</sup>, reviewing the facsimile edition of Butler<sup>57</sup>, describes the original as "cluttered up with obsolete lore and interminable references to the Old Testament and ancient authors. It is difficult to believe that anyone who possessed Morley's book would have learned anything more from Butler...a more serious obstacle is the intrusion of so much that is irrelevant and the lack of any really practical instruction". We have come to expect better criticism than this from Professor Westrup who here misses the boat: the obsolete lore and references to the bible (perhaps interminable) and ancient authors are very necessary to Butlers' thesis if we recall that he was concerned to show the continuation and allowance of music in all civilised societies, not simply to update Morley. Butler could have taught Morley a great deal about music and would have done the same for Morley's readers, but not in the way that Westrup implies. In any case, why should we expect an ancient Hampshire cleric to measure his musical arm against one of the finest composers of his age: the two men were contemporaries, yes, but hardly colleagues. With scarcely more irrelevance one could assert that Butler was the better preacher! In the common ground between the two men Butler would have trounced

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56. Music and Letters Vol. 52 No. 2 1971 p 207

57. Intro. by Gilbert Reaney, Da Capo Press, New York, 1970

Marley on Greek and Roman literature, on logic, rhetoric and on grammar, in all of which disciplines Marley's accomplishments have been extolled.<sup>58</sup> The "much that is irrelevant" in Butler is only irrelevant to a type of book which Butler laid no claims to have written. His book, moreover, contains any amount of really "practical instruction", much of it Marley's instruction!

The prime purpose behind the Second Book of the Principles of Musik is to present a carefully reasoned "apology" for music. The plea is nowhere impassioned since such argument would have been totally out of character for our author. We have already noted that Book One shows certain signs of Butler's indebtedness to the many people who had taken it upon themselves to produce musical instruction books, Calvisius and Marley being the strongest influences upon our author. The second book of the Principles exhibits no such tendencies, nor are specific influences to be traced. Perhaps it would be wise at this early stage in our investigation of Book Two to define our author's self-assumed terms of reference. The book deals with the allowance and usefulness of all types of music from Hebrew, Greek and Roman times through to the period when Butler was writing. An impression is often conveyed that this book was written to defend church music from the attacks of the Puritans, and, while it may be true that this was its purpose, it is certainly not concerned exclusively with music in the services of the church.

Butler defines the uses of music under two headings, ecclesiastical and civil, the one for the service of God, the other for the solace of man. Both uses, he admits, are capable of performance in three ways,

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58. Marley : mod ed p xviii and p xxviii

by voice, by instrument, and by voice and instrument, thereby showing that he had no objection to the performance of instrumental music in Church. He writes first about instruments which he classifies as Entata and Empneusta, string and wind, and the list of instruments which he appends gives a truly representative selection of seventeenth century instruments. Perhaps most notable is the combination of virginal and organ operated from the same keyboard which seems to have completely floored Mr. Pruett. The instrument is, however, well known and documented by organologists: its generally accepted name is claviorganum, and we are fortunate that a specimen survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum,<sup>59</sup> made in England in 1579 by Lodewijk Theeuwes. On the subject of organs, Butler is rather more enigmatic: he speaks of the same keys sounding "divers Pipes of the Organ...by reason of the new-invented divers stops". If we substitute "comparatively new" for "new" we shall probably be a little closer to the real situation. Even assuming that Butler knew nothing of organ building on the continent, there were stops on English organs long before 1636. The earliest surviving list of organ stops for this country appears to be that of 1599, included in the musical clock from Queen Elizabeth to the Sultan of Turkey,<sup>60</sup> but there are earlier records of unnamed stops, like John Howe's "Peir of organs with VIII stops" for Holy Trinity, Coventry<sup>61</sup>.

The next section leaves us in no doubt that Butler considered the voice as the most important musical instrument. Even without words, it can delight the ear, but when it is "married to immortal verse" (Milton) it is capable of moving the affections of the listener. Butler

59. V and A Museum: Catalogue of Musical Insts. Vol 1. Raymond Russell described p 48 ff Plates 16.

60. The British Organ: Clutton and Nalund, pp 47-8

61. The British Organ: Clutton and Nalund, p 49



draws attention to the close associations of poetry and music, showing that the most important musicians were also poets, David, Orpheus and Arion. The rest of the section is devoted to instructions to composers and performers of vocal music. Composers are urged by Butler, supported by Gafurius and Calvisius, to make every effort to let music and words agree. The instructions are basic but nonetheless useful to a beginner. His general advice to composers is much more pointed. Passages using imitative counterpoint should be repeated to allow the words to be more easily heard a second time. Ligatures should be avoided as they make the picking up of the words more difficult: Butler considers it more profitable to repeat some or all of the words. The music and words should show a close rapport in their presentation: Butler equates the musical devices of rests and cadences with the poetic marks of full stop, colon, and comma.

His directions to singers are utterly timeless. Here again he calls in Gafurius for support.

"Of mixed music" is the shortest section in the book. Butler obviously finds the music of voice and instrument the most satisfying of all, and asks only that the instrumentalists accompany, and not mask the words of the singers.

Chapter Two deals with "Divine Music" and is divided into five sections. Butler sees the prime function of music within the framework of the church service, sometimes as purely vocal music, sometimes with the addition of instruments, and it is interesting to observe that he suggests the music of voice and instrument is normally reserved for some special occasion, basing his suggestions on the Old Testament and Psalms. Such events requiring special solemnity were the celebration for

the deliverance out of Egypt, the three journeys of the Ark of the Covenant, the renewing of the covenant by Ezekiah, the feast of the Passover, and so on.

Section Two underlines the continuance of church music, carried over into New Testament times and frequently reported by the early patristic writers. Isidore, Jerome, Athanasius, Eusebius, are cited as evidence that the early church not only countenanced but encouraged music in its worship. Hymns, first made by Moses, were later made by Hilary and Ambrose: these were sung in church, sometimes reponsorially sometimes antiphonally. The use of responsories is traced back to St. Ignatius, and of antiphons to Bishops Flavianus and Diodorus. By far the greater majority of the evidence presented by Butler in this section is not new as one may imagine from the comparatively late date of his treatise. Many of his references are the almost classic quotations for the argument for retaining "elaborate" church music in the service. For instance the long quotation from Basil the Great with which Butler concludes the argument of this section, the Epistle No. 63 to the Neocaesareans, where Basil seems to be answering the same charges that were currently being levelled at English Church music, is used by Case in his Praise of Music and in the classic defence of the practice of the established church, Richard Hooker's Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity. Butler, while he undoubtedly arrived at the same conclusions as Case and Hooker, made his journey by way of the sources with which he shows complete familiarity. He shows many points of contact with Case<sup>62</sup> whose defence is elaborate and well expounded, particularly in the later Latin version Apologia musices..., 1588, which utilises rather

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62. It now seems to be generally agreed that Dr. John Case was the author of both books although the first one is not signed.

different authorities from the English version, 1586. It is, however, something of a mystery that Butler makes no reference at all to Case or his work, particularly as both versions of his book were published in Oxford, and at times when it is presumed Butler himself was a resident of that city. Our author, certainly a clergyman, probably then a keen amateur musician, must have come across Case's book. Yet, it is a characteristic feature of this second book that Butler avoids reference to any committed contemporary or near contemporary source, just as he is careful to separate himself from any of the mud-slinging which smears much of the literature of the period. He does not indulge in any of the factions or opprobrious terms applied to psalm-singers or Puritans but steers his personally charted course through very disturbed waters. Case was suspected of being a Roman Catholic, Hooker represented the accepted views of the established church: perhaps Butler for those reasons gave them a wide berth.

It must not be inferred from the above argument that Case and Hooker were the only authors of the age to have attempted a rationale of church music: nor, indeed, was the whole topic a new one. Percy Scholes<sup>63</sup> has shown that the disputes over church music are as old as the music itself and that every age has its Puritans. A more comprehensive picture of the church and music which also discusses the attitude of the church to music can be found in Ernst Meyer<sup>64</sup>. It would be tedious to attempt to re-tell the story, but it is to Scholes' discredit that he makes no reference to Butler who produced the best book on church music during the seventeenth century and at precisely the moment in history when the Puritan star was "rejoicing as a giant to run his course."

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63. The Puritans and Music...

64. English Chamber Music...

Indeed it is a fundamental error of Dr. Scholes thesis that he sees the Puritan Revolution as a sort of South American coup d'état where the scales were balanced across Charles I's block so that the Puritans came up as Charles all too literally was shortened by a head. No-one appears to share this opinion but the cause is arguable. If the popularity and esteem of music during the Puritan régime rests on the industry and acumen of John Playford during the interregnum what accounts for the miserable and execrable performance of English music publishing during the last years of Charles I, with its endless miles of psalm-books? Bunyan may have had a flute, Cromwell may have listened attentively to Deering's Cantica Sacra, Colonel Hutchinson was probably an accomplished amateur musician, but where is the evidence that they sang Playford's light love-songs or saucy catches? These, too, were music!

Section Three details and refutes the usual objections to the performance of music in church, by which term is understood 'elaborate' church music. Butler sees the practice as a holy ordinance of God which has the same *raison d'être* as the other points of the Christian faith, namely the evidence of God's word and the practice of his church, but charitably he views the objections to church music as proceeding from zealous ignorance rather than obstinate malice. The precise objections which Butler states and refutes cannot be found as early as 1572, in what has been termed the "first open manifesto"<sup>65</sup> of the puritan party", namely An Admonition to the Parliament, but A View of Popish Abuses, also 1572, shows that the party were not among the admirers of church music. "As far organs and curious singing"<sup>66</sup>, though they be proper to

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65. Frere and Douglas : Puritan Manifestoes, xi

66. Frere and Douglas : Puritan Manifestoes p 30

popishe dennes, I mean to Cathedrall churches, yet some others must also have them. The queenes chappell and these churches must be paternes and presidents to the people, of all superstitious". Even earlier a letter from Theodor Beza to Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, states the Genevan viewpoint. "They were not content with common and plaine songs,<sup>67</sup> and therefore under pretence of beautifying this holy action, that busy and curious pricksong and discanting was brought in, more meet for stage plays, for the most part, than for a holy action, and more fit to delight the ear than to stir up the mind. A thing surely for this respect not only unprofitable, but also very hurtful, that in that noise, no man could well mark what was said: so that the matter itself doth plainly convince, that the true worship of God was by this means especially transformed into vain, and at length, more stage-like songs". It was from statements like these, printed, circulated and discussed, coupled with the centuries-old antagonism towards music in worship shared by many people, that a puritan attitude towards music in worship eventually coalesced. No one has ever attempted to determine - perhaps it would be an impossible task - precisely how much of the antipathy towards music in worship was really directed towards music, and how much - one suspects a larger part - was directed at the practitioners of the art in Cathedrals and Collegiate churches, who were apparently seen as parasites, idle, drunken, remnants of the tattered practices of popish superstition, doubtless with some justification on occasions.

At any rate, the objections when eventually formulated, developed a habit of appearing in print. There is a kind of inevitability in the arguments, the same objections and the same responses, with no-one being convinced of the other side's point of view. Butler lists five objections and their responses. First comes the

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67. Frere and Douglas: Puritan Manifestoes. p 51.

objection that elaborate music, where the words are lost and the music alone is heard, does not serve to edify the people. Butler calls St. Augustine, a very respected authority, as his witness, giving lengthy quotations from Books 9 and 10 of the Confessions, which oddly enough show Augustine to have dithered on this question. Unlike some other writers on the subject Butler exhibits both sides of the story of Augustine which would obviously have been of greater help in convincing people who had not already made up their minds. Also quoted are the testimonies of Basil the Great and Augustine that a good song can be effective in conveying a message - perhaps as effective as a good sermon - which, considering the enormous stress the puritans placed on a preaching ministry, makes Butler's reply a two-edged sword.

The second objection usually centres around ceremonies: it appears here as "the true worship of God doth not consist in these outward graces and ornaments : God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth". Butler rushes to point out that those who worship God with the outward service only run the certain risk of having their service refused, quoting Amos in support of this contention. Then comes the devastating rhetorical question: are we to presume that men like David, Solomon, Ezekiah, and Nehemiah did not worship God in spirit? Butler would rather presume that because these men worshipped in spirit, as a direct consequence they added the outward service : "because David's heart was ready, therefore his tongue and his instruments were ready also to praise the Lord".

The third objection springs from the Pauline text : "I will

sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the Understanding also". Our author resolutely refuses to believe that the English language sung in the most "exquisite music" can be an unknown tongue, but, if it is, then it is the listener who is at fault. Butler points out that the replies in the Ten Commandments and the Litany are well known, as are the common anthems like Te Deum and Magnificat. On other occasions the meaning can easily be perceived from a solo voice, and the repeats in the choral sections are an aid to intelligibility. Anyone who can read can follow the words in a book: he who cannot read can learn words by heart. Butler then delivers his punch-line: unless all these conditions can be satisfied even the plain metrical psalms cannot be understood.

That the congregation cannot join with the choir in the elaborate music is the next objection to be encountered. This is certainly true but Butler hastens to point out that it is only an extension of the same argument laid open in the last objection, since not everybody can join even in the metrical psalms. "For some that have good minds have not good voices, and some that have voices cannot read: some that can read cannot sing, and some can neither read nor sing. All which are the greatest part of most congregations". In any case, he continues, why should it be thought more necessary that the congregation should join with the choir in the skilled job of singing Anthems, than that they should join with the priest in reading the lessons or the prayers? Butler insists that this situation must always have existed since it would have been impossible for the congregation to join with the priests and Levites in Old Testament days, except in well known responses. To those who insist that they join with the choir, Butler offers this advice: learn to sing. If, however, the objection is directed towards

elaborate church music per se, then Butler compares the attitude of the objectors to "those irreligious sacrificers, that offered to God the halt and the blind and kept the fairest and the fattest of the cattle for themselves."

The last objection concerns the availability of "exquisite music" since it is quite obviously not possible for every little parish church to have a cathedral choir. Butler demonstrates that it will be necessary that some places be satisfied with metrical psalms, preferably in parts, or even in unison, but, if this is offered with the spirit and the understanding, then God who accepted the widow's mite will accept this offering. There is nevertheless a caution to be observed: even at this humble level of performance, it is possible to aim at perfection and we must at all costs avoid "indecent and disorder".

Section four of this second chapter is devoted to the special uses of divine music most of which are to be discovered in a close study of the Psalms of David. Butler cites numerous examples of the varying functions of the psalms. In addition to this ordinary use of divine music, we are also given a glimpse of the extraordinary use, to ward off the evil spirit and herald the good; thus did David and his harp pacify King Saul, while Elishah needed the help of a minstrel to prophesy to the three Kings. Butler makes reference to Luther who was firmly convinced that music still had the power to ward off evil spirits: many people would have agreed with him.

"An Apostrophe to our Levites" presents the duties and responsibilities of those concerned with church music, poet, composer and singer. The picture he paints of the condition of church music at the time is greatly at variance from that given by other authors of the



seventeenth century, even though details are hard to come by. His glowing report reads : "Our composers...through their rare wit, art and practice, are now grown to that perfection, that, if it were possible they might exceed Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun : and for our Chanters and Singing-men, their skill in all sorts of music is most complete: their voices and instruments...as good as nature and art can make: that nothing is now wanting in our Quires; if, withall, they be adorned with such outward and inward graces as become those that sing the Lord's songs in his holy temple". The first reaction to this encomiastic review must be to ask just where does Butler gather his information. In view of the high-flown terminology, one assumes that he can only be speaking of cathedral or collegiate churches. Thomas Mace,<sup>68</sup> writing forty years after Butler, gives a totally different picture of music in these establishments. Unfortunately for us, we are given no clue as to the provenance of these halcyon days of church music. In the light of our knowledge of Butler's background we are led to conjecture Oxford or Winchester, or both, and perhaps London which he may have visited from time to time in connection with his books, some of which were published there. The situation at the Chapel Royal, according to surviving records, suggests that, even with the best musicians in the kingdom, performances of the calibre described by Butler were not the norm. Indeed William Laud, Bishop of London and Dean of the Chapel Royal, had occasion more than once in the early 1630's to reprimand the Gentlemen of the Chapel for not wearing their gowns, nor bringing their psalters, and for not singing.<sup>69</sup> Nor were conditions in the provincial

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68. Musick's Monument 1676

69. Cheque Book. ed. Rimbault pp 77-8

cathedrals noticeably better. The story of Thomas Weelkes<sup>70</sup> at Winchester College and Chichester early in the seventeenth century lends an air of credulity to John Earle's highly coloured description of singing men.<sup>71</sup> After a careful survey of music in the English cathedrals in the reign of Elizabeth, Alan Smith<sup>72</sup> writes that "it seems certain that conditions of residence, pay and performance were of a very low standard indeed", except for Chapel Royal and a few cathedral and collegiate foundations. There is no reason to think that this situation changed significantly, except for the worse, in view of the country's economic condition, in the early years of the seventeenth century.

It is most unlikely that Butler in praising the performance standards of church music was recalling any golden days of his youth in Oxford, for we have seen, that, although he held a chorister's place at Magdalen, there were no services in the college. The only possible justification for his statement would be that journeys back to Oxford in the early years of the seventeenth century had afforded him the opportunity of hearing such music as he describes. Perhaps Richard Nicholson, Informator Choristarum at Magdalen and later first Choragus at the University, produced performances of this high standard, or was it Edward Lowe at Christchurch Cathedral. All we know for certain is that Butler recalls a performance of Thomas Tomkins' "When David heard that Absalom was slain", in the Music School at Oxford. Thomas received the B. Mus. degree as a member of Magdalen College on 11th July 1607, and it has been suggested by Sir Ivor Atkins<sup>73</sup> that the work named above was his exercise, although Denis Stevens<sup>74</sup> rightly adds

70. In David Brown's Thomas Weelkes pp 21-45

71. Microcosmography

72. "Cultivation of Music in Eng. Cathedrals..." P.R.M.A. Vol. 94 p 37

73. Early Occupants... Worcester, p47

74. Thomas Tomkins... p 32

that there is no evidence to support this hypothesis. This same work turns up in Thomas Myriell's collection of manuscript music "Tristitiae Remedium", dated 1616, and later in Songes of 1622 and Musica Deo Sacra, 1668. Butler waxes lyrical over the work and this must have been a very fine performance. Perhaps he fondly imagined that performances like this one were the staple fare of all English Cathedrals; perhaps there was somewhere in Oxford which regularly produced such excellence; perhaps the myth of the "golden age" had already begun; most likely it was an old man remembering better days and trying to be charitable.

His advice to singers is homely yet pertinent and possesses a certain timeless echo. It embraces not only the qualities to be expected of church singer but also requires the complete subjection of self, all admirably summed up in the Laudian watchwords, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness". He goes on to instance examples of the zealous care the church has always taken to keep her musicians up to these exacting standards and, incidentally, reveals the age-old problems which have continually bedevilled the efficacy of music in worship.

Chapter Three introduces the discussion of civil music, or, as we would call it, secular, bearing in mind that such a phenomenon exists only by association. Butler sees this use of music as secondary to the sacred use, permitted by an indulgent god for the solace of his creature, "as a temporal blessing to his people", and agreeable to nature. Aristotle and Co. testify that music is natural to mankind, so much so that Butler can conclude with the Boethian aphorism "Not to be animal Musicum is not to be animal rationale". Divine allowance of the secular use of music is proved by a barrage of highly apposite biblical quotations, perhaps best epitomised in the line from 1st Maccabees: "Joy was taken from Jacob; and the pipe with the harp ceased". Butler

shows himself well acquainted with the opinion, often advanced by the puritans of any age, that there exist close ties between music and "wickedness". These ties of course spring not from the music itself but perforce from the associations - music in the theatre, music for dancing, music in the tavern - all of which came in for some slashing criticism during the early seventeenth century. But the inference that over-indulgence in or abuse of music carries with it the seeds of wickedness seems to our author not be sufficient grounds for prohibiting the practice of secular music.

In Section Two Butler discourses on the many special uses of secular music, first as a means of relieving the monotony of the workaday world, not perhaps the most exalted compliment to music, but certainly an attitude of numbing familiarity to the twentieth century. To this he adds music's health-giving properties which guarded the singing man from asthma, pneumonia and consumption. Byrd gave this same advice at the end of the sixteenth century. Secondly Butler recommends music as recreation for the mind worn out with study, oppressed with care, or in need of relaxation. In line with the classical civilisations that were his heritage, he considers music to be an essential part of a feast.

He notes from the same classical sources that music has always been clearly associated with the deaths and funeral rites of great men, and also with victory celebrations and other state occasions. Music as an integral part of dancing he acknowledges and approves, carefully demonstrating the antiquity and health-promoting qualities of this art, and pointing out that the Jewish people, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Homer, and the early Christian church were unanimous in their commendation of it.

Butler employs the same question and answer technique on the use of civil music as he had applied to sacred music. He patiently enumerates the most common objections and steadily destroys or discounts them. The first objection to the civil uses of music, as Butler records it, is that these civil uses are nothing but vanities, normally so much abused that they do more harm than good. Carrying the fight to the enemy's camp Butler heartily agrees that they are vanities, since everything mankind does or is, is vanity, but unlike much of the intemperate criticism of music that is to be found in his age, Butler rightly apportions the blame for the abuse not only on youth which is naturally given to excess but also on authority which allows such abuse to go unchecked. It is part of the responsibility of those who are placed in authority to set and maintain certain standards of behaviour to ensure that those who find that they cannot conform to these standards be prevented from taking part in any of these legitimate practices. This is a remarkably advanced viewpoint for a man of the seventeenth century.

The second objection in many ways grows out of the first. It must have been a familiar cry from those responsible for exercising parental control and public authority that the setting and maintaining of standards of decency in public behaviour were constantly faced with the licence and profligacy of the Ballad-makers and Dance-makers. Of those two more disreputable elements of seventeenth century society, it was the Ballad-mongers who presented the greater threat to public order, peddling their insidious trash at village fairs, in market places, and even on occasion at private houses. Butler, in line with establishment thinking, places the blame on the itinerant minstrelsy who alone were responsible for disseminating the filthy songs of the Ballad-

makers and the filthy fashions of the Dance-makers. The wandering minstrels had long been recognised as a corrupting influence and successive monarchs had tried to control the breed with harsh legislation. As musicians, of course, the quality of individual minstrels must have varied enormously, from those who were fine players and preferred the wandering life to those who were absolutely incompetent musicians but who managed to scratch meagre subsistence from unsuspecting village fairs. It cannot be supposed that the Elizabethan vagrancy laws stamped out the minstrelsy completely but they went a long way to bringing the problem under control, and once the constant wandering of minstrels was prohibited, -unless they were attached to someone in authority-, the musicians in any particular area seem to have banded together in an effort to maintain standards, teach, secure employment and in many other ways to look after their own interests and also those of the community which afforded them protection. The individual minstrel who was completely unattached and made his music his living, was running a grave risk by the end of the sixteenth century. Yet even the harsh penalties imposed for infringement of the vagrancy laws did not succeed in completely eradicating the breed. Woodfills' book<sup>75</sup> gives a very good survey of the independent minstrelsy. True to his undying optimism Butler can see signs that changes are afoot, and that a better generation is approaching. This attitude is characterised in the remark: "our Marlowes are turned into Quarleses";<sup>76</sup> Butler leaves us in no doubt that he preferred Quarles to Marlowe. 'Kit' Marlowe was one of the most tempestuous figures of Elizabethan literature: suspected of atheistic tendencies, a secret political agent,

75. W.S. Woodfill; Musicians in Eng. Society... pp 109-132

76. A lengthy discussion of this statement in N.C. Carpenter: "A Reference to Marlowe..." Notes and Queries

member of Raleigh's "School of Night" dabbling in witchcraft<sup>77</sup>, a noted blasphemer who met his death as the result of a tavern brawl in Deptford,<sup>78</sup> he also managed to write magnificent drama and poetry. Quarles was of a different breed: Christ's College Cambridge, Lincoln's Inn, noted Royalist who published pamphlets in defence of Charles I and a book of religious poems, Emblems in 1635, he personified a somewhat different ethos from Marlowe.

In an Epilogue Butler eloquently urges moderation and temperance in all our recreations.

A word or two must be said on the effect of the whole book and an estimate made of Butler's achievement. It seems most probable that the idea of penning a volume of this nature, while outwardly indebted to Lucian's conviction that any art requires a 'systema' and profitable uses, was dictated by the position in which music found itself in early seventeenth century England. There is no doubt that Butler in The Principles of Musik was setting out a rational defence of an art he deemed to be under attack, an art which was soon to be deprived of one its creative outlets, to Butler the supreme creative outlet, elaborate church music. Whether this attack was mounted by a section or sections of the community which can be identified as "puritan" is another matter. Hawkins, and later Burney, would have us believe that music was banished the realm, Scholes insists that there is no evidence against the Puritans: the real truth lies somewhere between these two extremities, but it is no part of this study to re-evaluate the situation, however tempting may be the prospect. Butler never once uses the term Puritan which appears always to have been an abusive epithet, and it is to his credit that in an age prone to pour

invective on its rival factions, he maintains an air of studied moderation and Christian charity. We know that Butler held Royalist views and sympathised with the Laudian High Anglican tradition. We also know that a considerable body of opinion at the time, broadly identified under the banner of puritanism, did not value either the monarchy or the established church - perhaps the two sides of the same-coin - in the same way as Butler. He was convinced that musical practice was about to be drastically re-fashioned, and since he believed that the sacred use of music was its most important asset, he sought to justify it by precedent and reason. To do the job thoroughly entailed writing an elaborate defence of all music, and a defence was not enough: there had already been a defence in the two studies by Dr. John Case. Butler, the classical scholar, knew that an art needed not only profitable uses, but also a series of precepts: Book One gives the rules, Book Two provides the apology.

There is much to commend Butler as a writer. We have seen that his style is easy, concise, and direct, never ambiguous. His organisation of material shows an assured hand and a deft presentation, where all the side-issues and conflicting opinions so perplexing to the novice are packed away into neat annotations that would satisfy the scholar. The advice to the beginner in the first part of the volume is always highly practical. Butler never dithers nor does he allow the student to falter, because the instructions are given in a straightforward, homely manner which inspires confidence in our guide. The narrative is not without humour although the humour is very different from Morley's. Butler has the ability to pick out good analogies, and, when the occasion demands, he can cut through a maze of esoteric speculation



with one single practical thrust. As a handler of words he is masterly, both in his native language and from the Latin : his translations are not simply idiomatic paraphrase. There are occasional flashes of real genius here; his description of the use of music by man to help the working day pass quickly is "to deceive their tedious labours" : inter pocula he translates "when the wine is in and the wit out", his version of Augustine (p 109), "Those voices did pierce ears, and thy truth distilled into my heart : and thereby was inflamed in me a love of pity; the tears trickled down, and with them I was in a happy case", is a gem. An air of genial optimism pervades the book in the sense that Butler feels a better world is just around the corner : his description of church music and its practice, of the tightening of control over the minstrels, and so on, all testify to his optimism. At the same time he treats his "enemies" with kindness and respect, denying that they are acting out of "obstinate malice", but rather "zealous ignorance". On many occasions in the first book we have noted the indebtedness of Butler to Calvisius and Morley, but he was not a mere follower, nor would he go against his better judgement. The position he adopted on the "fourth" owes nothing to Morley whose opinion is completely contrary to Butler's and Calvisius is guilty of object equivocation on the topic. Finally the book provides a lot of "local colour", giving insight into the practice of church music, and glimpses of the minstrelsy in action : it provides a deal of incidental information for the organologist and several references for the literary historian. But it is the assurance with which Butler marshals his biblical, Greek and Roman sources which is mostly likely to impress the modern reader at first sight : even allowing that most of these were the working tools

of contemporary scholarship, we must still admire the industry with which he sifted his evidence and the diligence with which he prepared his case.

On the debit side, the book leaves several things unsaid. Butler several times mentions ornamentation but gives no details of how it was written (if at all) or performed, simply recommending discretion in its use. He is not much more forthcoming on the subject of instrumental music, except to mention the usual dances and to confirm that even highly complex instrumental music was performed at home. Butler admired the art of voluntary but gives no details of what it included. Of the secular music of his age, particularly the vocal species, he provides only meagre information, most of which could equally well have applied to the turn of the century. He does not mention the violin, the masque, or "theatre" music.

He is at his weakest on those topics which were of least practical relevance to the seventeenth century amateur musicians; Greek theory and practice, temperament, concord, proportions and so on. Nor was he much better informed on the majority of continental theorists around the turn of the century; the party about Galilei in Italy was unknown to him as was Galilei's rival Zarlino. He did, however, know Mersenne, from as late as 1623, and he also refers to his De Harmonicis Instrumentis. On the subject of English Church Music he admires the verse anthem and Ravenscroft's Whole Booke of Psalmes, 1621, but his constant reference here is to the music of Tallis and Byrd, not to Gibbons and Weelkes. While a fair selection of contemporary musicians is scattered through the pages of the Principles, Butler shows little acquaintance with any of the music of these composers. This is scarcely surprising in a venerable Hampshire parson, but it must be conceded that he was somewhat

out of touch with the musical scene as it existed in London in the 1630's. Such criticism is no damning indictment of a musical theorist.

Hawkins<sup>79</sup> thought that Butler's text had been neglected because of the "improved orthography" and Reaney would appear to agree where he states<sup>80</sup> that Butler's "phonetic script has often prevented scholars from reading his treatise on music". Both statements are, of course, about one-tenth of the whole story : Butler's script can be mastered by anyone used to reading in about two minutes, [It is highly significant that there is no contemporary references to readers having had difficulty with the script,] yet Reaney writes as if the book were written in hieroglyphics. The real truth is that the reader outside the seventeenth century did not require a justification of his music, and did not relish the idea of dabbling with a strange script to find out about a type of music that had no relevance to the circumstances in which he now found himself. But, to the student of English music in the seventeenth century, Butler is a very significant text.

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79. General History p574

80. facs ed Principles xv