

# Instructions for the clarinet: an illumination of musical taste in Georgian London\*

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## Abstract

The authors interrogate ten complete English-language clarinet tutors published in London between c. 1772 and c. 1803. As the largest collection of documentary sources pertaining to the clarinet printed at that time these sources reveal aspects of musical life in Georgian London. In stark contrast to more well-known Continental publications, they offer few details pertaining to the instrument and its performing practices, and only one is attributed to named individual. None the less, they allow us to trace the clarinet's increasing popularity amidst a recognition of its musical versatility and the independence of a distinctive English design of instrument with five-keys. Issued to expedite the financial interests of publishers above those of composers and authors, the immense value of these English sources lies in the prevalence and breadth of music they contain. We examine how this repertoire confirms the popularity of music composed for the stage, the propensity for borrowing and authorial fluidity as well as modes of genre transformation undertaken by individual pieces which traversed time and geographical locations. The prevalence of authorial anonymity in late 18<sup>th</sup>-century London contrasts the priority and value with which we currently afford originality. An interrelationship between these ten sources manifests a process of updating, or modernisation facilitated by the available technology. Iconographical evidence allows us to assert that amongst the publications' intended clientele were both gentlemen amateurs and musicians associated with a military band who wished to enhance their practical musical skills through attaining competence on the clarinet. Acknowledging the hybridity of these sources allows them to reveal much beyond their primary intention to capitalise on an increasing demand for printed music. The historiography of eighteenth and early nineteenth century music becomes richer and more representative when we recognise the diversity amidst extant source materials.

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## Introduction

An instrument developed in Jacob Denner's Nuremberg workshop around *c.* 1710, the clarinet was to manifest a culture, equally «conservative and bourgeois» in which craftspeople were afforded opportunities amidst «a civic pride in German art»<sup>1</sup>. Extant instruments by the Denners and other Bavarian makers bear witness to the skills, imagination and innovation which obtained during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is equally surprising and frustrating therefore that important early organological specimens are not supplemented by contemporary pedagogical sources, despite mention of the clarinet in a variety of eighteenth-century documentary sources, including encyclopædias, dictionaries, instrumentation treatises and fingering charts. The earliest English-language self-contained publication concerning the instrument does not seem to have been published until 1764, and at the time of writing this important source remains unlocated<sup>2</sup>. However, in 2008 Barry Cooper published a commentary on printed music and music manuscripts in the Founder's Library at the University of Wales, Lampeter, which drew attention to two little-known anonymous late eighteenth-century English publications for the five-keyed clarinet<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, we can now be certain that at least ten complete English-language sources were published in London between *c.* 1772 and the end of the eighteenth century. As such these volumes represent the largest collection of documentary sources pertaining to the clarinet in any language to have been printed at that time. This corpus of documentary sources has great potential to enhance our understanding of the clarinet in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and to reveal aspects of music in Georgian London.

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<sup>1</sup> SAMUEL – GATTUSO 2001.

<sup>2</sup> *A Complete Scale for the Clarinet: To which is added, a Collection of useful and instructive Airs for that Instrument, amongst which are some favourite ones, particularly one for Horns and Clarinets, performed at Ranelagh with great Applause, and never before published*, London, Thorowgood and Horne, 1764, which was first advertised in the *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser* on 3 March 1764; see LASOCKI 2010, p. 98.

<sup>3</sup> Two tutors in the collection at GB-LAM are discussed in COOPER 2008. Two others, one of which is incomplete, were acquired by GB-Lcm in 2010.

In marked contrast to Continental European methods, these English sources, marketed as tutors, are furnished with only rudimentary details concerning clarinet construction, performance practice and music theory. The popularity of the five-keyed clarinet enabled their sentiments to be reproduced, albeit it with slight variations, well into the nineteenth century<sup>4</sup>. Three other significant features also delineate these publications from those issued on the Continent: the anonymity of most, the amount of text common to several tutors and the extensive selection of music included. In our age of homogenization and standardization, these publications invite us further to interrogate issues arising from the existence of an intricate network of publishers, players, venues and ensembles. Furthermore, through an examination of the music they contain, these publications are revealed as vital and valuable documentary repositories of the cosmopolitan nature of musical life in Georgian London.

### English clarinet publications in context

A relatively late arrival compared to the oboe and the bassoon, the clarinet became known in England only from the 1720s<sup>5</sup>. The earliest known British makers are George Brown (*fl* 1747-1766) and Thomas Underwood (*fl* 1755-1762) although no instruments by either maker survive<sup>6</sup>. By 1765 the majority of makers and workshops were based in London and were thus «at the centre of a musical instrument trade that shaped musical practice far beyond the city's boundaries»<sup>7</sup>. Workshops connected with John Mason, George Miller, Henry Muræus and Thomas Cahusac were making clarinets with five keys thus allocated: a speaker or register key for *bb'*, one for *a'*, one for *eb'/ab''*, one for *f#/c#''* and one for *e/b'*<sup>8</sup>. These clarinets facilitate a level of fluency akin to the one-keyed flute, two-keyed oboe

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<sup>4</sup> Such as the method by Henry Prentiss, see PRENTISS *c.* 1834-1835 (at US-Su 788.6 P919n).

<sup>5</sup> See RICE 2005.

<sup>6</sup> RICE 2019, p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> NEX 2024, p. 212. As Nex observes, the importance of London as a centre of musical instrument making and dealing continued well into the nineteenth century.

<sup>8</sup> See RICE 2019. We are using Helmholtz pitch notation where middle C is notated as *c'*. Pitches are given in italics for purposes of clarity.

and four- to six-keyed bassoon<sup>9</sup>. As the clarinet became more prevalent businesses such as Goulding, Longman, Preston and Thompson capitalized on a growing market for autodidactic works. Woodwind methods had been published in England since the late seventeenth century and whilst publications for recorder, oboe, transverse flute and bassoon were commercially available by the late seventeenth century, the first extant English language tutor for the clarinet did not appear until *c.* 1772<sup>10</sup>.

The tutors discussed below follow the general organization of those for other woodwinds such as the flute and oboe and were primarily issued to promote sales of instruments and music<sup>11</sup>. They were compiled and issued by publishers rather than individuals, unlike Continental publications which were usually written by «performers with a direct knowledge of instrumental technique»<sup>12</sup>. The anonymity of these English publications obtains only if one thinks in terms of named individuals as authors, their authority derives instead from the reputation of the publisher.

### **The publishers: a network of musical enterprise**

The range of businesses shown in Table 1 confirms the importance of London as a centre of music publishing at this time, facilitated by the technology of engraving<sup>13</sup>. As Barry S. Brook observes, music had become «a free-enterprise profession, supplying predominantly bourgeois markets»<sup>14</sup>. These clarinet tutors demonstrate that it was commercially viable for eight different firms to issue a volume pertaining to the instrument, and in so doing, to capitalise on its relative novelty.

Whilst acquiring and disseminating music was their mainstay, publishers embraced a breadth of commercial pursuits including instrument-making, dealing in both new and second-hand instruments,

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<sup>9</sup> See RICE 1984, p. 18.

<sup>10</sup> See WARNER 1967 as well as the list in CROWN 2013, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> See BOWERS 1997 and HAYNES 1978.

<sup>12</sup> See TARR – DICKEY 2007, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> An excellent map showing the proximity of these businesses to one another appears in VINQUIST 1975, fig. 1.1 p. 17.

<sup>14</sup> BROOK 1975-1976, p. 13.

instrument tuning and repairs, instrument accessories and hire, as well as acting as agencies for music tuition<sup>15</sup>.

Short Title	Location, publisher, RISM siglum	Date	Price
(1) <i>The Clarinet Instructor...</i>	London: Longman, Lukey & Co., No. 26 Cheapside; GB-Lcm G94/1	c. 1772	2 shillings
(2) <i>The Clarinet Instructor...</i>	London: Longman & Broderip, No. 26 Cheapside; GB-Lbl b.160.i	c. 1780	2 shillings and 6 pence
(3) <i>Compleat Instuctions [sic] for the Clarinet...</i>	London: S. A. & P. Thompson, No.75 St Pauls Church Yard; GB-Lbl b.160.1	c. 1781	2s. 6p
[incomplete tutor of which only pages 1-8 survive] <sup>16</sup>	(unknown as no title page survives)	c. 1790-1795	unknown
(4) <i>The Complete Preceptor, for the Clarinet...</i>	London and Edinburgh: Corri & Dussek & Co. Music Sellers to the Royal Family, No. 28 Hay Market and No. 67 Dean Street Soho. South St. Andrews & North Bridge Street Edinburgh [sic]; GB-LAM 34268 (xii)	c. 1795	2 s.
(5) <i>A New Tutor for the Clarinet... Mr. Eley</i>	London: Lewis, Houston & Hyde, No.45 Holborn; GB-Lbl b.80.a.	c. 1795	2 s.
(6) <i>The Clarinet Preceptor...</i>	London: G. Goulding, No. 45 Pall Mall; US-Wc MT382.C55	c. 1797	2 s.
(7) <i>New and Complete Instructions for the Clarionet...</i>	London: Preston & Son at their Warehouses 90 Strand and Exeter Change; GB-Lfom 4062	c. 1797	2 s.
(8) <i>New and Compleat Instructions for the Clarionet...</i>	London: A. Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse, No. 23 Oxford Street; GB-Lbl b.160.g.(1.)	c. 1798	2 s.
(9) <i>A Complete Preceptor, for the Clarinet...</i>	London: G. Astor & Co., No. 79 Cornhill; F- Castelnau-Montratier: Bouquet-Moir Collection	c. 1799	2 s.

<sup>15</sup> Firms had workshops where instruments were made on the premises or by external contractors, but they also sold instruments made by other makers and workshops; see also NEX 2011.

<sup>16</sup> This tutor survives with only eight pages (at GB-Lcm G94/2). Importantly page two refers to a fingering chart, which whilst not extant, was intended to face page 2, as in tutors 1 and 2.

(10) <i>New and Complete Instructions for the Clarinet...</i>	London: G. Goulding No.45 Pall Mall; GB-LAM 34284(ii)	c. 1799	2 s.
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**Table 1: summary of features of publications**

This selection of businesses fortuitously epitomises those active in late eighteenth-century London. Amongst major publishers represented we note the transformation of Longman, Lukey & Co. (tutor 1) into Longman & Broderip (tutor 2), a process which reflects the turbulence of late eighteenth-century commerce. The most enterprising and ambitious firm, Longman's activities also included selling concert tickets, entertaining visiting musicians and establishing property rights. The firm also enjoyed judicious links with Continental composers<sup>17</sup>. Aware of the emerging market of military musicians, Longman & Broderip's 1781 catalogue proclaims: «Regiments furnished with all Sorts of Military Musical Instruments, Books, & c»<sup>18</sup>. The other major firm, Thompson (tutor 3), was a long-established family business, with a history of issuing publications for various instruments. Preston & Son (tutor 7), also a family-run enterprise, acquired a reputation for editions of operatic material and dance tunes. A collaboration between émigré musicians, the short-lived firm of Corri & Dussek & Co. (tutor 4) sadly failed to sustain itself in London's competitive environment. Lewis, Houston & Hyde (tutor 5) took over John Bland's business for two years before selling it on in 1797. Christopher Eley, the named author of tutor 5, dealt commercially with several other publishers during the 1790s including Longman & Broderip, Preston & Son, George Kauntze and John Fike. Four of the firms, Longman & Broderip (tutor 2), Goulding (tutors 6 and 10), Bland & Weller's (tutor 8) and Astor & Co. (tutor 9) are represented today by surviving clarinets, further confirming the range of their commercial pursuits.

<sup>17</sup> NEX, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>18</sup> MDCCLXXXI *Longman & Broderip*.

## The publications in detail

Numbering between 16 and 42 pages, these small octavo-size books were easily stored within the rectangular wooden case in which many clarinets at this time were sold. Whilst the contents of each tutor varies slightly each typically contains: a frontispiece engraving of clarinetist; a general description of a five-keyed clarinet; an explanation of music notes, lines and the treble clef; a scale of notes and fingerings; an explanation of blowing and embouchure; names and lengths of notes and time signatures; details of ornaments, articulation, and ornamentation; information about different pitched clarinets, foot beating, and transposition; followed by tunes either for one or two players, concluding with an alphabetical index of music titles and dictionary of musical terms.

1. *The Clarinet Instructor by which Playing on that Instrument is rendered easy to any one unacquainted with Music as it contains a Compleat [sic] Scale. of all the Notes with the Graces also a Dictionary explaining such words as occur in Music with several favorite Airs the whole by a Capital Performer on the above Instrument. To which is added Six new duo's [sic] for two Clarinets and a Quintetto for Horns, Clarinets and a Bassoon.* London: Longman, Lukey & Co., c. 1772, 28 pp., 2s. [shillings]<sup>19</sup>.

As the earliest known publication for a five-keyed clarinet this is also the oldest extant English-language clarinet source<sup>20</sup>. It is highly unlikely that the «capital performer» named as author on the title page was John Mahon (1746-1834) despite suggestions to the contrary<sup>21</sup>. There is no evidence of Mahon's involvement, and the publication dates from the beginning of his career, before he became

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<sup>19</sup> At GB-Lcm G94/1. The publisher was known as Longman, Lukey & Co. between 1769 until sometime between March and November 1773 when it became Longman, Lukey & Broderip when Francis Broderip joined the business.

<sup>20</sup> Longman & Lukey's *Compleat Instructions for the Bassoon or Fagotto... c. 1770* is the earliest-known monograph dedicated to the bassoon; see WATERHOUSE 2012, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> See WESTON 2002, p. 109 and HOEPRICH 2008, p. 72. Mahon's two clarinet tutors are more extensive, see MAHON 1801 which was issued in a second edition in London by Goulding, d'Almaine, Potter & Co. in 1812.

known as a clarinettist<sup>22</sup>. The unnamed virtuoso might well have been an émigré musician although it is more likely that the publishers Longman, Lukey & Co. fabricated this claim to further their sales.

Page 1 «Instructions for the Clarinett» begins: «As the CLARINET, is an Instrument not so universally known as its Use deserves, a short Description of it and its effects in Music, will be necessary before the Method of playing upon it is shewn.» Page 2 covers notes, the treble clef, note lengths, sharps, flats, and naturals. Facing page 2 is an unpaginated fingering chart entitled «A scale of notes for the clarinett» with instructions on holding the instrument, fingering, blowing, and the embouchure, see **Illustration 1**.

The fingering chart has an engraving of a five-keyed clarinet next to a scale of notes on a staff written from left to right, *e* to *f*'''; each note is identified with a pitch name; fingerings are indicated by filled-in or open circles<sup>23</sup>. The filled-in circles indicate fingers used to cover the left thumb hole (LT), three finger holes of the left hand (L1, L2, L3) and four finger holes of the right hand (R1, R2, R3, R4); and keys to be operated. The open holes indicate the finger holes that remain open and key touches that are not pressed. These same fingerings appear in later English-language clarinet publications issued up to c. 1801 in England and up to 1807 in the United States<sup>24</sup>. The compass is divided into two registers: from *e* to *bb*', called «CHALUMEAU», and from *b*' to *f*''', called «CLARINET». Additional fingerings are specified for *f*#'', *g*#'', *d*''' and *e*'''; the latter fingering is mistakenly no different from the first fingering given for this note.

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<sup>22</sup> Mahon's debut as a soloist was not reported until February 1773; see CRISP 2019, n. 4 p. 28. For a description of Mahon's *Preceptor* of 1801 see RICE – CRISP 2023, pp. 4-20.

<sup>23</sup> Clarinet fingering charts were also published separately and sometimes separately re-published. For example, a «scale for the clarinet» was advertised by J. Longman & Co. in their 1769 Catalogue of Vocal and Instrumental Music; «A complete scale for the clarinet with a collection of duets» in *A Complete Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music, printed and sold by Longman and Broderip, Musical Instrument Makers and Music Sellers, 1789* and «Scale for the Clarinet» in *Musical Publications Printed and sold by Preston and Son, at their Wholesale Music and Musical Instrument Warehouses* [London, 1790].

<sup>24</sup> English publications are GEHOT 1786; *Compleat Instuctions* [sic] *for the Clarinet...* c. 1781; *New and Complete Instructions for the Clarionet...* c. 1797; *New and Compleat* [sic] *Instructions for the Clarinet...* c. 1798; GEHOT c. 1801. North American publications are HOLYOKE c. 1801; HERRICK 1807; see RICE 1984, p. 25.



# A SCALE OF NOTES FOR THE CLARINETT.

The Notes in this part of the Instrument are called CHALUMEAU.

The Notes in this part of the Instrument are called CLARINET.

A different way of playing these Notes.

The Clarinet must be held near the Centre of the Body, the Bell Part inclining downwards, with the left Hand upper-most and the right lowest, unless played by a Person who is left handed; then the right Hand above and the left below. The Thumb of the left Hand, is for the Key nearest the Mouth and the first open Hole that is underneath — the 1<sup>st</sup> Finger, for the second or upper Key and the second open Hole — 2<sup>d</sup> Finger, for the third open Hole — 3<sup>d</sup> Finger, for the fourth open hole, and the little Finger of the left Hand, for the two long or lowest Keys — the 1<sup>st</sup> Finger of the right Hand, for the fifth open Hole — 2<sup>d</sup> finger, for the sixth open Hole — 3<sup>d</sup> finger, for the seventh open Hole — the little Finger of the right Hand, for the eight or lowest open Hole and for the short Key at the Bottom — so that the Thumb, 1<sup>st</sup> and little Finger of the left Hand, manages six Holes, and the little Finger of the right Hand two. Blow moderately strong the Chalumeau Notes, but for the Clarinet Notes, the reed must be pinched with the Lips a little, and blown a little stronger; yet be careful that the Teeth do not touch the Reed in blowing.

This Scale to face Page 2.

**Illustration 1: unpaginated fingering chart from tutor 1**

The inclusion of fewer chromatic pitches than contemporary French-language sources, such as those by Valentin Roeser (1769) and Castillon (1776), together with the omission of fingerings for *f#*, *g#*, *c#* "" and *eb* "" may indicate that the intonation of English-made clarinets was less reliable than instruments made in Continental Europe<sup>25</sup>. The apparent discrepancy between fingerings published in England and those within Continental publications reflect differences between instruments made in

<sup>25</sup> ROESER 1769; CASTILON 1776, p. 451, see Rice *loc.cit.*.

these locations, chiefly as regards the construction of the bore and finger-holes<sup>26</sup>. Like all English publications to include a fingering chart, *The Clarinet Instructor* inaccurately represents the profile of the barrel joint, showing a convex-shaped barrel with the characteristic rounded swelling found on eighteenth-century Continental instruments. This suggests either that the instrument was not depicted from life but from a knowledge of Continental models, or that the depiction was taken from another source. Most English eighteenth-century clarinets have incurved or pear-shaped barrels concave at the lower end, in contrast to instruments made by Austro-German and French makers<sup>27</sup>.

An erroneous comment which appears below the fingering chart: «unless played by a person who is left-handed; then the right hand above and the left below» is deleted from subsequent publications because almost every five-keyed clarinet was made for a right-handed player<sup>28</sup>. None the less, the clarinet displays an English-style, long-tenon mouthpiece pulled to full-length, indicating tuning was achieved by adjusting the mouthpiece. The beak position and curved mouthpiece seem to depict the reed-above embouchure, which requires holding the clarinet at an angle of at least 45° from the player's body<sup>29</sup>. Although this reed position is not corroborated by the tutor's text, there is significant organological evidence to corroborate the prevalence of the reed-above embouchure in England at this time<sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, when maker's stamps on eighteenth-century clarinet mouthpieces

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<sup>26</sup> See the discussion in RICE 2003, pp. 79-82.

<sup>27</sup> These features can be seen in an illustration of various five-keyed clarinets in HOEPRICH *op. cit.*, fig. 5.2 p. 66

<sup>28</sup> The publishers may have been thinking of a three-key oboe, still played during the 1770s, on which the player could change hand positions. Clarinet hand-position became fixed with the left hand at the top by about c. 1755 with the addition of a fourth key, first seen in instruments made in Paris by makers such as Jean Godeffroy [Johann Gottfried] Geist (*fl.* c. 1750-1775) and Gilles Lot (*fl.* 1752- *post* 1775). The authors know of only one left-handed eighteenth century five-key clarinet by the Belgian maker, Nicolas Marcel Raingo of Mons (at B.B.mim, 2564).

<sup>29</sup> Pearson's practical experience confirms that the reed-above embouchure necessitates holding the instrument further away from the body than when playing with the now universally practised reed-below embouchure. This position is necessary to manage the reed and control the intonation.

<sup>30</sup> PEARSON 2001.

are aligned with stamps on other sections of the instrument they confirm the placement of the reed under the upper lip<sup>31</sup>.

The text describes how to blow the clarinet and the position of the lips: «Blow moderately strong the chalumeau notes, but for the clarinet notes, the reed must be pinched with the lips a little, and blown a little stronger; yet be carefull [sic] that the teeth do not touch the reed in blowing.» Whilst not explicitly mentioned, this implies the use of the so-called double lip embouchure, where the reed is covered by both lips, which are then folded over the upper and lower teeth. This technique was already an integral component of oboe and bassoon playing. Indeed, many musicians who played the clarinet at this time were likely also to be established players of other wind instruments, rather than specialist clarinetists, so the question of embouchure was a given and not necessary to describe<sup>32</sup>. As with contemporary English methods for oboe and bassoon, no details are provided regarding the selection, care and management of the reed in this tutor or any of the others discussed below. Such was the business acumen of publishers that they were able to supply most, if not all, of the needs of their gentleman amateur clarinet-playing customers. A catalogue published by James Longman and Co. confirms that clarinet reeds were commercially available from 1769 and other businesses soon followed suit.

Page 3 illustrates the lengths of six notes on a staff including a semibreve, 2 minims, 4 crotchets, 8 quavers, 16 semi-quavers and 32 demisemi-quavers. The equivalent rests are noted on a staff below. Common time and triple time are explained with different time signatures. On page 4, dots after

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<sup>31</sup> Examples include a five-key D clarinet stamped «KUSDER / LONDON / (double eagle)» on all sections, c. 1765 (at GB.E.u, 4731); two six-key B $\flat$  clarinets stamped «(sunburst) / G MILLER / LONDON / (five-petal flower),» c. 1765, (at GB.O.ub, 4008, 4009); five-key B $\flat$  clarinet stamped «G MILLER / LONDON / (striding unicorn),» c. 1770, (at GB.O.ub, x42); five-key B $\flat$  clarinet with corps de rechange of two finger hole joints in A with the stamp “(circle)” on the mouthpiece and on barrel, left and right hand joints, and stock «(circle) / G MILLER / LONDON / (unicorn)» c. 1780, private collection; and five-key C clarinet stamped «(fleur de lis) / I. HALE / LONDON,» on the mouthpiece-barrel and body joints, «(fleur de lis) / I. HALE / LONDON / LATE / COLLIER» on the left-hand section, c. 1785, (at US.NY.mma, 1976.77).

<sup>32</sup> This is true for musicians listed as members of the Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain between 1761 and 1799, see MATTHEWS 1985.

notes and rests are illustrated. Page 5 gives the equivalent lengths of notes when the number 3 and number 6 is placed over a group of notes. The single, double, and double bar line with dots on both sides is explained. Additional topics include: the repeat mark (S) and direct mark at the end of the stave and the ligature or tie; page 6 topics are the pause or cæsura; and the use of single and double strokes over semibreves, minims and crotchets.

Page 6 also includes a practical guide to four commonly played ornaments called «Graces». The notation of the ornament is followed by written examples of the four types: shake (trill beginning on the upper note); turned shake (trill with a termination); turn (accented upper note turn); and beat (trill beginning on the main note). Page 7 illustrates six appoggiaturas, their notation and realised examples: upper minim tied to a semibreve; lower minim tied to a semibreve; crotchet tied to a semibreve; quaver tied to a crotchet; crotchet tied to a dotted minim; and quaver tied to a dotted crotchet.

The end of page 7 provides a short explanation of which clarinet, C or B $\flat$ , is the most appropriate to play in different nominal pitches<sup>33</sup>. Five-keyed clarinets are limited in their technical ability, functioning best in keys of up to three flats and one sharp, especially in the chalumeau register. «As pieces of music are composed in different keys, in which clarinets can play in concert with other instruments; it is necessary to have two clarinets, one a B $\flat$ , the other a C clarinet. The B $\flat$  clarinet must be used to play in the key of E $\flat$  and the C clarinet, be used to play in the key of F or C in which four keys B $\flat$ , C, E $\flat$ , and F, pieces of music most commonly are. When clarinets join in concert the clarinet can play in the key of D, but it has not a good effect.» This latter remark may indicate that

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<sup>33</sup> The popularity of these pitches is supporting by surviving instruments. In contrast, French-language sources by Louis-Joseph Francœur and Jean-Benjamin de La Borde also mention clarinets in A and B natural, evidence which is corroborated by extant instruments. Continental makers such as Amlingue, Baumann, Kirst, Lotz and Tuerlinckx made differently pitched exchange joints but this concept did not take root in London. However, George Astor in London, an immigrant maker from Germany, briefly offered clarinets with exchange joints. A six-key C clarinet (c. 1781) has two fingerhole joints for tuning to B-flat. The F $\sharp$ /C $\sharp$  and E/B touches are extendable and the wooden case with five compartments suggests a right-hand joint for an A clarinet and a second barrel (at GB.B.c, 4). Another Astor & Co. C six-key clarinet (c. 1800) includes extendable touches but is without corp de rechange joints (at US.PHO.mim).

players were not yet accustomed to navigating the challenges of a smooth transition between the notes *b'* and *c#''*, one which arises because both keys are operated by the little finger of the left hand.

Pages 8-9 feature four popular solo airs appropriate for beginners to moderately advanced players: 'God save the King'; 'Bellisle March'; 'Lady Coventrys Minuet' and 'Lovely Nancy'. Page 9 has a simple duet 'March for two clarinets' followed on pages 10-21 by six longer duets of moderate difficulty.<sup>34</sup> A small wind band or *harmonie* quintet for two F horns, two C clarinets, and bassoon appears on pages 22-27 and is a typical of the music performed in London's pleasure gardens. The tutor ends on page 28 with a long list of words and abbreviations with their definitions: «A Dictionary, explaining such Greek, Latin, Italian & French Words, as occur in Music.»

2. *The Clarinet Instructor by which Playing on the Instrument is rendered easy to any one unacquainted with Music as it contains a Compleat Scale. of all the Notes with the Graces also a Dictionary explaining such words as occur in Music with several favorite Airs the whole by a Capital Performer on the above Instrument To which is added several Duo's for two Clarinets and a Quintetto for Horns, Clarinets and a Bassoon.* London: Longman & Broderip, c. 1780, 34 pp., 2s. 6p. [pence]<sup>35</sup>.

When Charles Lukey left the firm in 1776, Longman, Lukey & Co. became Longman & Broderip<sup>36</sup>. This second printing of *The Clarinet Instructor* reuses the title words of the tutor 1 although the number of duos has increased. Corrections and additions were made to the seven pages of text; additions include a frontispiece engraving and several new solo airs and duets. The increase in price is likely to be indicative of the rate of inflation in the eight years since the earlier publication was issued.

The frontispiece presents a profile of an elegantly dressed clarinetist outdoors, who appears to be playing from music on a duet stand, see **Illustration 2**. The outdoor setting, the player's apparel and

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<sup>34</sup> We have given the spellings of titles of pieces of music verbatim.

<sup>35</sup> At GB-LBI b.160.i; other copies are located at US-Wc MT 388 .C7 Case and at US-BEm Case X, MT388.C55.

<sup>36</sup> JONES 2001.

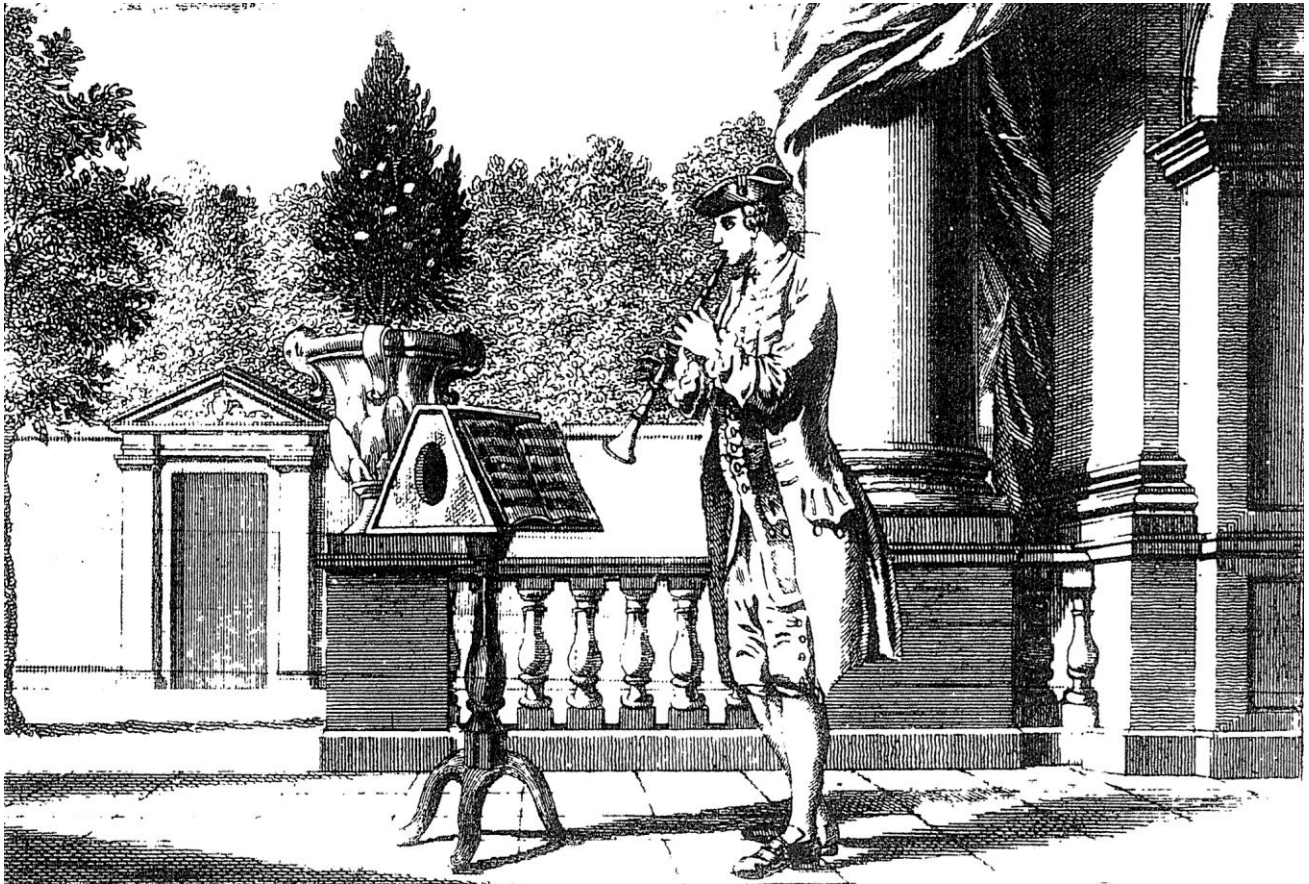
the playing position resemble those in contemporary publications for the oboe<sup>37</sup>. Page 1 «Instructions for the clarinet» states: «As the CLARINET, is an Instrument much esteemed in Regimental Bands as well as in Concerts, a short Description of it and it's [sic] effects will be necessary before the Method of playing on it is shewn.» This remark demonstrates that, in the eight years since the publication of tutor 1, the clarinet had begun to establish itself in military bands as well as in concerts as a solo instrument.

The fingering chart facing page 2 is based on tutor 1, albeit with different fonts, omitting the erroneous text about left-handed players. The instrument depicted replicates the five-keyed clarinet from tutor 1. The name of each note is given in capital letters but the chart is still missing chromatic pitches *f#*, *g#*, *c#*'' and *eb* '''. Pages 2-7 repeat tutor's 1 text almost verbatim. However the omission of the warning about playing in D major may indicate that players were now able to move between the notes *b*' and *c#*'' more fluently. None the less, it is most likely that players used different pitched clarinets to avoid playing in that key, particularly in the context of tutor 2's clearer explanation of Bb and C clarinets: «NB: if a Piece of Music is in the Key of E[b] the Clarinet part is in F, if in the Key of B[b], the [Bb] Clarinet part is in C, and [for the C clarinet] if in the key of F, or C, the Clarinet part is in the same.»<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> See the depiction in the same publisher's *New and Complete Instructions for the Oboe or Hoboy...*, London, Longman & Broderip, c. 1780 (at GB-Lbl b.160.h.).

<sup>38</sup> For example, whilst a work in concert D major would necessitate fluidity between *b*' and *c#*'' when played on a clarinet in C, this challenge is eliminated if the work is played on a clarinet in A in the key of F major.



**Illustration 2: frontispiece from tutor 2**

Pages 8-12 contain popular solo airs and marches: ‘God save the King’; ‘Shepherds I have lost my love’; ‘Marionets’; ‘He’s aye a kissing me’; ‘The Lass of Paties Mill’; ‘March in Scipio’; ‘The Feathers’; ‘Tally Ho’; ‘I lock’d up all my Treasure’; ‘The Dusky Night’; ‘Nancy of the Dale’; ‘The Comical Fellow’; ‘The Death of Auld Robin Gray’; ‘My Lodging is on the cold Ground’ and ‘March in Mottezuma’. Pages 13-27 include several duets whose titles include ‘March’; ‘Quick March’; ‘Opera Dance’; ‘Minuetto’; ‘Rondo by Kammell’; ‘Non é ver sia contento’ by Giordani, ‘A favorite Rondo by Mr. Fischer, and ‘La Virginella’. Pages 28-33 include the quintet for two F horns, two C clarinets and bassoon from tutor 1. The dictionary which ends the volume on page 34 replicates the terms and definitions from tutor 1.

3. *Compleat Instuitions [sic] for the Clarinet, Containing An accurate Drawing, complete Scale, and the most Familiar Instructions for that Instrument; with the modern Graces & Improvements. To which is added, A Collection of Modern, Popular Airs, Marches, Duets &c. &c. and a Concise Dictionary of Musical Terms.* London: S. A. & P. Thompson, c. 1781, 42 pp., 2s. 6p.<sup>39</sup>

Whilst differently attired, the player shown in the frontispiece engraving is also depicted outdoors, see **Illustration 3**. The text is substantially rewritten including the fingering chart. Page 1 “New instructions for the clarinet” proclaims: «The Growing repute of this Instrument, may it is presumed, make a new set of Instructions, very acceptable at present, when the Clarinet is considered as the life of every martial band; and as an indispensable accompaniment to other wind instruments in concerts, where its tones, Judiciously managed, are exhilarating and animating beyond almost any other. Although it may have some disadvantages as a solo instrument, yet a judicious player may make it something more than barely agreeable, even without an accompaniment.» Next, an admirably clear description reads: «This instrument is divisible into four parts; (1.) The Mouth-piece, to which a flat Reed is tied (2.) The upper joint (3.) The middle piece \_ and (4.) The Bell, or bottom piece. The different joints contain thirteen holes, of which five are stopped by Keys, and the rest by the Fingers. The Keys, which are a modern improvement, have introduced the Instrument into Concerts, where it could not be used, before they were invented.» Page 2 introduces the basics of notation: treble clef, notes on a stave from *e* to *f*’, sharps, flats, naturals, bar lines, and repeat marks. Page 3 illustrates the proportional lengths of various notes, and describes which fingers cover the tone holes.

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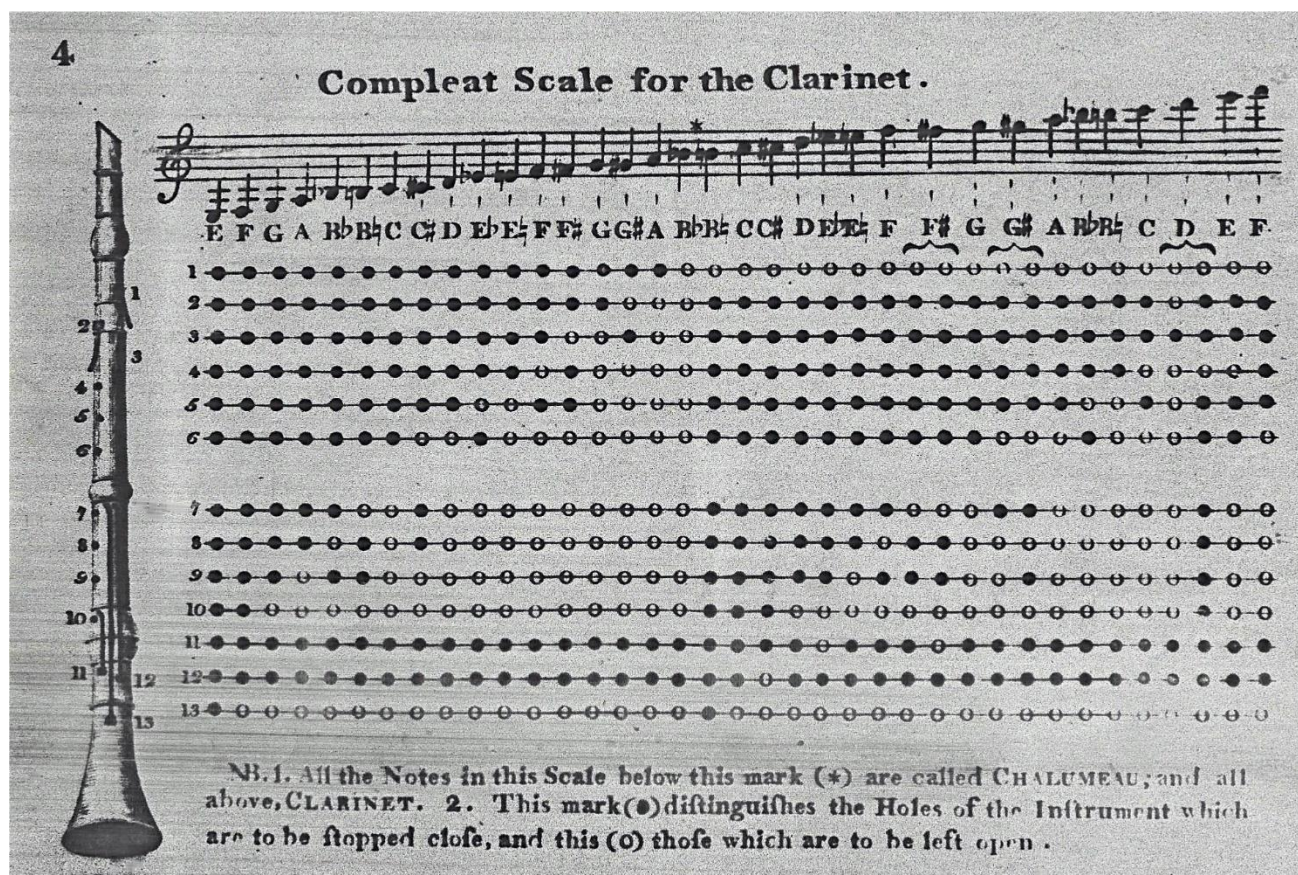
<sup>39</sup> At GB-Lbl b.160.1.; the second printing was published as *Compleat Instuitions [sic] for the Clarinet...*, London, Henry Thompson, 1798-1804 (at GB.L.hm Carse Collection).





**Illustration 3: frontispiece from tutor 3**

The fingering chart on page 4 is clearer and therefore easier to understand than those in tutors 1 and 2, see **Illustration 4**. The depiction of the instrument is also new, and offers a more true-to-life portrayal of the clarinet, with keys and holes numbered on both the instrument and the chart. As a result of this visual clarity the accompanying explanatory detail is much more concise. The chart incorporates three of the four additional fingerings for  $f\#'$ ,  $g\#$  and  $d''''$  from tutors 1 and 2. The transition from chalumeau to clarinet register notes is marked with an asterisk. Chromatic pitches are still missing for  $f\#$ ,  $g\#$ ,  $c\#''$  and  $eb''''$ .



**Illustration 4: fingering chart from tutor 3**

Page 5 introduces time signatures and note values but neglects to illustrate the different types of rests. A useful fact is introduced: «It is proper to be observed, that, very frequently, a tune begins with an odd Note, which is deducted from the last bar of the tune, or strain. Sometimes also, as in Gavots, the Tune will Begin with half a bar, which is in like manner answered by another half bar at the end.» On page 6, the practice of keeping an unvarying tempo by beating the foot while counting is introduced: «In order to regulate the time, it is customary for learners to use a motion of the right foot or heel, stamping gently with it in the beginning of every bar, counting with your mind four in every Bar of common, and three in every bar of triple time.»<sup>40</sup> The lower part of page 6 is devoted to the graces or ornaments from which the turned shake is absent. Page 7 adds to the description of the

<sup>40</sup> A practice documented since PAREIA 1482 (at I-Bc A.80), the use of physical movement to mark the music's tactus was soon to wane following the invention of the metronome during the second decade of the nineteenth century.

caesura: «[it is] sometimes accompanied by a shake or extempore flourish by the principal performer.» Articulation marks are specified for staccato notes and how they are to be played. Those marked with vertical dashes (!) and dots (•) «must be played in a very spirited and distinct manner»; notes with dots are played softer than those with dashes. In keeping with the rudimentary nature of these publications, no specifics are given concerning the manner of note separation. Although it is likely that both tongued and non-tongued methods of articulation were practised by musicians at this time, this aspect of performance was left to the player's discretion<sup>41</sup>.

Page 8 «Of Transposition and Keys» begins: «A Key is the last note in the Bass, and generally in the Air of a Peice [sic] of Music; with which the whole is connected, and on which it depends. Keys are either flat or sharp; but as the former are seldom or never used for the Clarinet, our observations will be confined to the latter. These Keys are distinguished by the omission or insertion of flats or sharps, as in the table below.» The table provides one line of major key signatures called «Sharp Keys» for C, D, Eb, E, F, G, A, and Bb and another of the parallel minor keys called «Flat Keys» for A, B, C, C#, D, E, F#, and G. Transposition is defined as «the art of removing a tune out of one Key into another, by raising or falling every note so many degrees as are necessary to bring it to the Key desired.»

Pages 9 to 24 include an enlarged number of solo tunes, including military marches such as the 'Coldstream March' and 'The Duke of Gloster's March'. Sixteen duets follow on pages 25-40, using popular tunes including 'See the conquering hero' from Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* and 'The Soldier tir'd' from Arne's *Artaxerses*. These are followed by an index of music on page 41. The «Dictionary of Foreign Words which are used in Music» on page 42 lists fewer terms than those in tutors 1 and 2 and offers some different definitions.

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<sup>41</sup> See PEARSON 2000, pp. 47-51.

4. *The Complete Preceptor, for the Clarinet Containing the most approved Instruction relative to that Instrument. Explained in the most simple and comprehensive manner, including a progressive series of Elegant Popular Airs and Duets The whole intended as an Introduction to the Art of playing with Taste & Elegance.* London and Edinburgh: Corri & Dussek, c. 1795, 29 pp, 2s.<sup>42</sup>.

A frontispiece illustration is missing from this tutor and the compiler begins with the same text verbatim from page 1 and the first half of page 2 of tutor 2. The second half of page 2 repeats tutor 2's helpful instructions from the lower section of its fingering chart. The fingering chart on page 3 is also based on tutor 2, with the addition of numbers assigned to each of the five keys on the left-hand side of the chart itself, beginning with 1 for the thumb or register key. In addition, an apostrophe is inserted in the fingering chart after the closed or open finger holes for each key, emphasizing their use as keys. The description of holding the clarinet, the placement of hands and fingers also replicates tutor 2. On page 4 the text explaining which keys best suit clarinets in B $\flat$  and clarinets in C is duplicated from tutor 2 whilst the subsequent explanation of transposition is more concise than in tutor 3. The first scale presents «Flat keys» adding F minor to the eight listed in tutor 3, whilst the «Sharp Keys» are the same as those in tutor 3. Pages 5 to 8 explain the following theoretical musical concepts: «Of Flats and Sharps &c», «Of Notes, their different lengths and the proportion they beat to one another», «Of Shakes and Graces» and «Of Time». This information, whilst presented differently to the previous three tutors, conveys essentially the same details, however the range of embellishments now includes the transient shake. The content of these pages, and indeed those of the preceding clarinet tutors is likely to have been copied from contemporary publications for flute or other woodwind instruments.

On pages 9 to 12 the number of tunes is reduced to thirteen, including the popular solo airs 'Footh Minuet'; 'Care thou Canker'; 'Air in the Heiress'; 'Don't you remember'; 'Within a mile of Edinburgh'; 'La Visite'; 'Rule Britannia'; 'The Sun sets in night'; 'London March'; 'The Duke of

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<sup>42</sup> At GB-LAM 34268(xii), see COOPER *op. cit.*.

York's new March'; 'A Favorite Air' and 'Quick Step'. Indicative of Corri & Dussek & Co.'s realisation that more music was needed are the additional fourteen duos on pages numbered 1 to 16, including several popular solo airs and 'Selections from Pleyel's Concertante', a Pleyel duo and 'Pleyel's German Hymn'. Although the dictionary of foreign terms on the final page has a similar title to tutor 1, many terms are differently defined and fewer are given.

5. Eley, Christopher. *A New Tutor for the Clarinet, Containing every Instruction relative to that Instrument, Progressively arranged in a plain & easy manner. To which is added, A New Scale. Also Six easy Preludes, & Twelve Duets; with A Selection of Marches, Quick Steps, Airs, &c. properly adapted by Mr. Eley.* London: Lewis, Houston & Hyde, c. 1795, 32 pp.<sup>43</sup>.

This is the earliest known English clarinet publication attributable to an individual<sup>44</sup>. Christoph Friedrich [Christopher Frederick] Eley (1756-1832) was born in Hanover, Germany, but by May 1785 was resident in London, having been appointed music master, i.e. bandmaster, of the newly formed military band of the second Regiment of Foot Guards<sup>45</sup>. In supplementing his military commitments with appearances in the various London theatres and at subscription concerts Eley's activities were typical of late eighteenth-century London-based musicians<sup>46</sup>. He performed as a clarinetist in Salomon's subscription concerts in 1786 and 1791, and as principal cellist for the Academy of Ancient Music concerts and at the Covent Garden, as well as in the Drury Lane oratorios and at the Royal Society of Musicians' annual benefit concert in St. Paul's Cathedral<sup>47</sup>. In February 1793 Eley was discharged from his regimental band but undertook further military musical duties, leading the Royal East India company's volunteer Brigade band<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> At GB-Lbl b.80.a..

<sup>44</sup> We have already noted that Tutors 1 and 2 proclaim a connection with «A Capital Performer».

<sup>45</sup> See PARKE 1830, p. 241 and JONES 200,5 p. 36. Between 1815 and 1817 the band became known as The Band of the Coldstream Guards, see *The Band of the Coldstream Guards*.

<sup>46</sup> See PEARSON 2021, p. 104.

<sup>47</sup> *The Gazetteer* 26 and 28 January, 2 and 5 February 1791; 'Christoph Friedrich Eley', file A140, Royal Society of Musicians, given in MATTHEWS 1985, p. 49.

<sup>48</sup> JONES *op. cit.*, p. 61.

Eley's position as music master of the Foot Guards' band enabled him to play a key role in Georgian London's musical networks, facilitating his professional associations with a range of publishers as composer, arranger and author. As Trevor Herbert and Helen Barlow note «Eley was one of the main architects of military music repertoire» for his time, and most of his output is for military band, although chamber music for string instruments and mixed instrumental combinations survives<sup>49</sup>. Eley's military music reflects contemporary taste and repertoire, as well as his portfolio of performing activities.

Eley's clarinet tutor is the second of his four didactic works for individual instruments; one for oboe, was published around 1794, the bassoon tutor between 1811 and 1816, and another for the cello dates from c. 1827<sup>50</sup>. The clarinet tutor does not have a frontispiece engraving but provides a newly written fingering chart. The first seven pages repeat verbatim the text from an anonymous incomplete tutor whose first page is headed «New and Complete Instructions for the Clarinet»<sup>51</sup>. Page 1, replicating the anonymous source, is succinct: «The clarinet is an instrument not only much esteem'd in the Army, but also in Concerts, where its effect, in conjunction with other wind instruments, is admirable. And even in solo airs and duets it may be rendered very agreeable, by a judicious management.»

The fingering chart facing page 2 provides the earliest chromatic compass from *e* to *a''*, extending a third higher than the previous tutors, see **Illustration 5**. Further evidence that the chart was compiled by an experienced player is the presence of different fingerings for *f#'* and *g b'*, a feature

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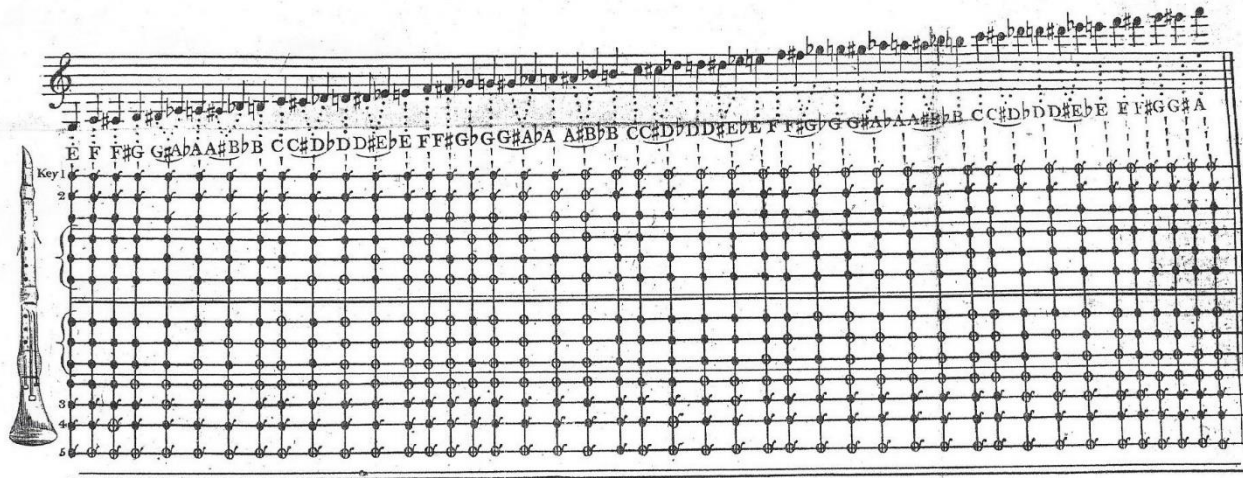
<sup>49</sup> HERBERT – BARLOW 2013, pp. 96, 98-99, 291, 295-296 and 'The Duke of York's Band'.

<sup>50</sup> ELEY c. 1794, unfortunately the name of the publisher is missing from the only known copy at GB-Cu XRb.852.17B.E5; ELEY c. 1811 (at GB-O.ub Fag.2); ELEY c. 1827 (at GB-Lbl h.1870.(2.)). Eley enjoyed relationships with different publishers suggesting he was mindful of finding the most cost-effective way to disseminate his music and tutors. However, the oboe tutor may have been published by Lewis, Houston & Hyde since the appearance and format is very similar clarinet tutor. Lewis, Houston & Hyde, succeeded John Bland in 1795 at his 45 Holborn London address and the business was sold in 1797 to Francis Linley; see HUMPHRIES – SMITH 1970, p. 211 and *Music Printing and Publishing*, pp. 177-178.

<sup>51</sup> See note 16. Importantly page two refers to a fingering chart, which whilst not extant, was intended to face page 2, as in tutors 1 and 2.

which no other chart includes. Eley's chart does not include additional fingerings given in tutors 1 to 3, but, as with tutor 4, each of the five keys are numbered and brackets indicate fingerings for left- and right-hand fingers. The text below the fingering chart replicates that of tutor 1.

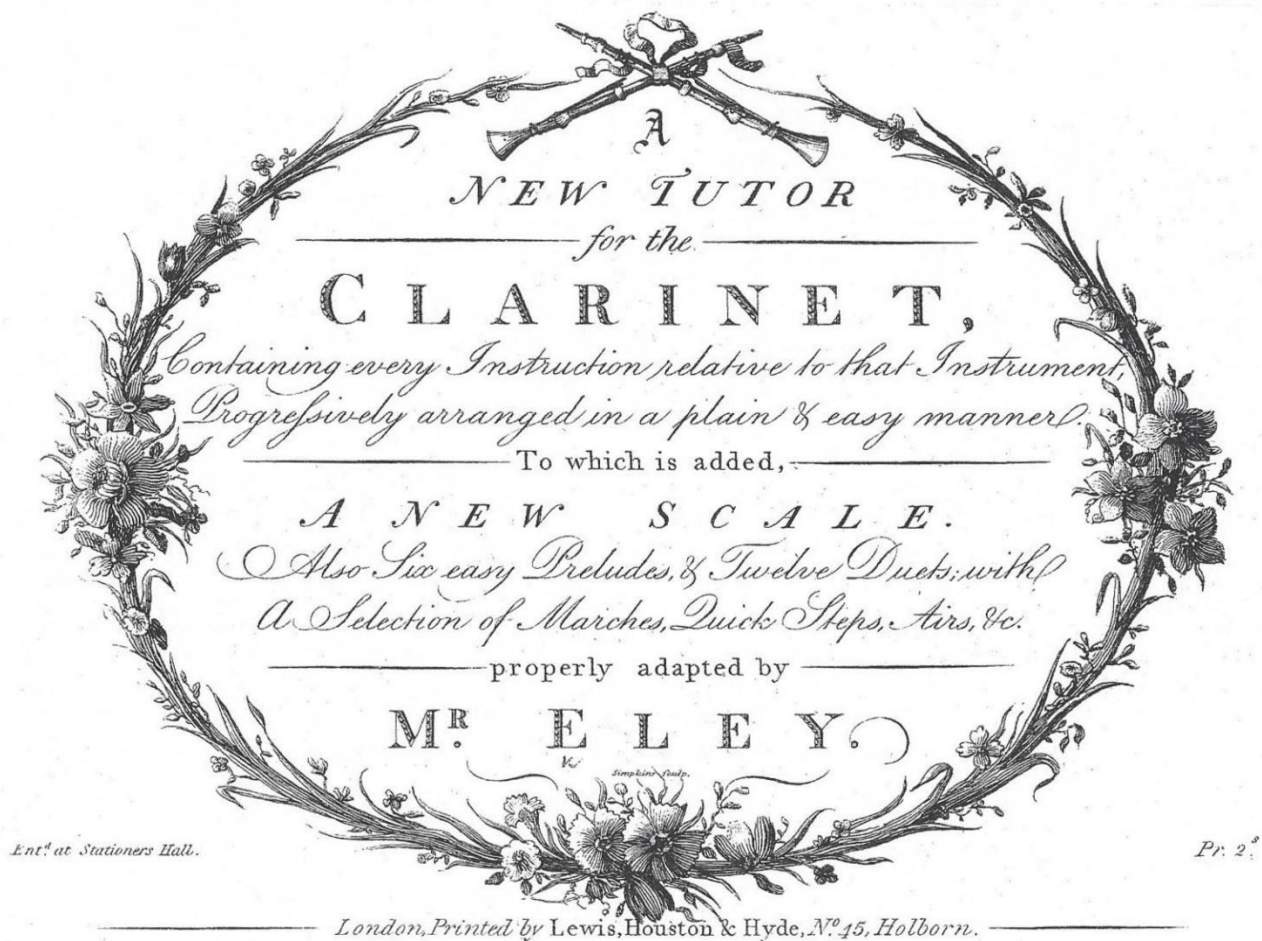
### A NEW AND COMPLEAT SCALE FOR THE CLARINET



The Clarinet must be held in the centre of the body, the bell part inclining downwards, with the left hand uppermost and the right lowest. The Thumb of the left hand is for the Key nearest the mouth, and the first open hole that is underneath. The 1<sup>st</sup> Finger for the second or upper Key, and the second open hole. The 2<sup>d</sup> Finger for the third open hole. The 3<sup>d</sup> Finger for the fourth open hole; and the little Finger of the left hand for the two long or lowest Keys. The 1<sup>st</sup> Finger of the right hand for the fifth open hole. The 2<sup>d</sup> Finger for the sixth open hole. The 3<sup>d</sup> Finger for the seventh open hole. The little Finger of the right hand for the eighth or lowest open hole, and the short Key at the bottom. So that the Thumb, first, and the little Finger of the left hand, manage six holes. And the little Finger of the right hand two. Blow moderately strong the Chalumeau notes, but for the Clarinet notes the Reed must be pinched with the Lips a little and blow a little stronger, being careful that the teeth do not touch the Reed in blowing.

### Illustration 5: fingering chart from tutor 5

Whilst the illustration of the clarinet on Eley's fingering chart is new it continues to depict a convex-shaped barrel appropriate for French or German clarinet. However, the title page is decorated with a flower wreath with two clarinets crossed at the top; the clarinet crossing from right to left clearly has an incurved-shaped barrel of English design, see **Illustration 6**. The apparent contradiction of these illustrations exemplifies the utilitarian manner in which publishers combined pre-existing and new material.



**Illustration 6: title page from tutor 5**

Page 7 on transposition which repeats instructions given in the incomplete tutor, see

**Illustration 7.** The flat keys or minor scales as scale I and the sharp keys or major scales as scale II.

The dictionary «explaining such Foreign words as occur in Music» on page 8 is based on tutor 1 although fewer terms are listed. The text and the music on page 9 replicate the eighth and final page of the incomplete tutor, however the rubric «Adapted by Eley» is added to the first piece although the music itself is identical.

This publication contains the most substantial amount of newly composed music and the remainder are «adapted by Eley». Seventeen numbered solo airs for clarinet on pages 9-16, including seven «adapted by Eley»: ‘The Duke of York’s new March’, ‘Air in the Heiress’, ‘Pinkie House’, ‘German Air’, ‘Quick Step’, ‘March 25<sup>th</sup> Regt’ and ‘Favourite Air’. The first six duets, pages 17-23,



are adapted by Eley based on popular tunes: 'Fal lal la', 'Cottage Maid', 'Wine cannot cure', 'In the dead of the Night', 'Whither my Love', and 'Air Ruse'. The unnamed six duets 7-12, except no. 11, pages 24-28 were composed by Eley. The last four pages, 29-32, include six solo preludes composed by Eley which traverse major keys of C, G, F, D and Bb. These manifest elements of contemporary clarinet technique including arpeggios, short trills and wide leaps.

### TRANSPPOSITION

To Transpose a Tune for the Clarinet, observe first what Key it is in, which may be seen by comparing the Key Note, which is commonly the last note, and the number of flats & sharps prefixed to the tune, with the following Scale, and having raised or lowered your Key Note to C or F the proper Keys for your Instrument raise or lower every other note in exactly the same proportion. Observe also that in the Key of F you must prefix a flat on B; and that if in transposing you find a flat come on C or F, or a Sharp on B or E they must generally be changed for Naturals. Most of the other accidental sharps and flats, must be continued only raised or lowered with the Notes. if your piece is in one of the flat Keys, which are but seldom used for this Instrument, you must remove it into either A without either sharp or flat like C, or into D with one flat, answering to F.

SCALE I. Flat Keys.

SCALE II. Sharp Keys.

### Illustration 7: transposition and scale of flat and sharp keys from tutor 5

6. *The Clarinet Preceptor or the whole Art of Playing the Clarinet, rendered easy to every Capacity wherein Every Instruction related to that Instrument is included in the most clear and simple manner and by which any one may without the assistance of a Master learn to play with taste & judgement in a short time. To which is added a valuable selection of Favorite Airs, Song Tunes & Duets.* London: Printed for G. Goulding & Co. c. 1797, 28 pp., 2s.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>52</sup> At US-Wc MT382.C55. Goulding & Co.'s address from 1799 until 1803 was 45 Pall Mall; see KIDSON 1900.

The publisher Goulding was also an instrument maker and dealer, and sold clarinets made for his firm by James Wood of London. A rare and enthusiastic review of this tutor published in June 1797 comments on its «methodical and judicious» presentation of musical precepts and the «very perspicuous and satisfactory» fingering chart. The reviewer also notes that «many niceties and particulars are here noticed and explained, which are not commonly found in instruction books; and the solo airs, tunes, duets, &c. which accompany the work, are well chosen exercises.»<sup>53</sup> In hindsight the hyperbole we note regarding these claims may indicate that the review emanated from someone closely associated with the Goulding firm.

Page 1 repeats the text from tutor 2 verbatim, with pages 2-4 drawing heavily on the same predecessor. Only half of the folding chart of fingerings following page 4 survives, and notes higher than *e*'' are missing. Whilst the number of fingerings across the two octave compass matches those in tutors 1 to 4, at least two are exclusive to this chart although no fingering for *g*# is shown. A concise explanatory clarifies the closed and open circles on the chart itself. Whilst pages 5 to 7 replicate information given in tutor 5, the scale of «Flat Keys» on page 7 omits F minor.

Pages 8 to 24 comprise 28 popular solo airs including several new titles: 'Gavotte in Otho'; 'Life let us cherish'; 'Tink a Tink'; 'Rondo in Oscar & Malvina'; 'Corporal Casey'; 'Happy were the Days'; 'Finale to Robin Hood'; 'Gratitude'; 'The Village Maid'; 'March in the Overture to Lodoiska'; 'Mrs Garden of Troops Rell'; 'Cropies lie down' and two preludes. Pages 25 to 28 present three duets including 'Here's a health to all good lasses'; 'Romanza from Michell's [Michel Yost] duos Op. 7'; 'Away with Melancholy - A Favorite Duett Mozart'<sup>54</sup>. The tutor includes neither a dictionary of musical terms and abbreviations nor an index of music.

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<sup>53</sup> *The Monthly Magazine* III vol. XVII (June 1797), p. 465.

<sup>54</sup> The example in copy is at US-Wc is imperfect lacking a dictionary and index after page 28.

7. *New and Complete Instructions for the Clarionet, Containing the easiest & most improved Rules for Learners to Play to which is added A Selection of Songs, Airs, Minuets, Marches, Duets (sic) &c. Properly adapted for that Instrument And arranged Progressively for Practice.* London: Preston & Son, c. 1797, 31 pp., 2s.<sup>55</sup>.

The frontispiece presents another profile of a well-dressed gentleman on a park bench playing a clarinet, see **Illustration 8**. On page 1 Preston and Son replicate page 1 of the incomplete tutor although their title reads «New Instructions for the Clarinet». The fingering chart and accompanying text replicate tutor 2 albeit with a change of title to «The Scale of the Clarinet». This replication renders the chart somewhat conservative: its restricted range (which stops at *f'''*) and lack of chromatic fingerings are likely to be unrepresentative of clarinet technique given its date of publication. The publisher continues to use the text and musical examples from the incomplete tutor for pages 3 to 7, covering theoretical information about «The names of the Notes and Rests»; «Of Time»; «The Graces» and «Transposition».

43 popular solo airs on pages 8 to 24 include several new titles: ‘The Tartan Plaiddie’; ‘Bonny Kitty’; ‘New German Spa’; ‘La belle Jeannette’; ‘Irish Lad’; ‘Mind Husey what you do’; ‘Dans votre Lit.’; ‘Row dow dow’; ‘Bow wow’; ‘Never believe ‘em’; ‘A Seaman’s love’; ‘The Harriot’; ‘La nouvelle Provence’; ‘The Banks of Swale’; ‘Irish Hautboy’; ‘When first this humble Roof I knew’; ‘Katherine Ogie’; ‘Willy of the Green’ and ‘Air in the Deserter’. Eight duos follow on pages 25-30 including popular tunes like ‘Drink to me only’ and ‘Cap’t Reid’s March’ and pieces by named composers Handel, Vanhal and Haydn. Page 31 presents an alphabetical index of the music with corresponding page numbers but there is no dictionary of musical terms and abbreviations.

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<sup>55</sup> At GB-Lfom 4062, additional if incomplete copies are held at GB-Gu; at GB.L.hm; at GB.O.ub and in private collections. A second edition was published in London by Preston between 1822 and 1834.



*Umbrell by Harding fecit N.º 28. Strand.*

### Illustration 8: frontispiece from tutor 7

8. *New and Compleat [sic] Instructions for the Clarionet, Containing the Easiest & most Improved Rules for Learners to Play, to which is added A Selection of Songs, Airs, Minuets, Marches, Duetts (sic) &c, Properly adapted for that Instrument, And Arranged Progressively for Practice.*

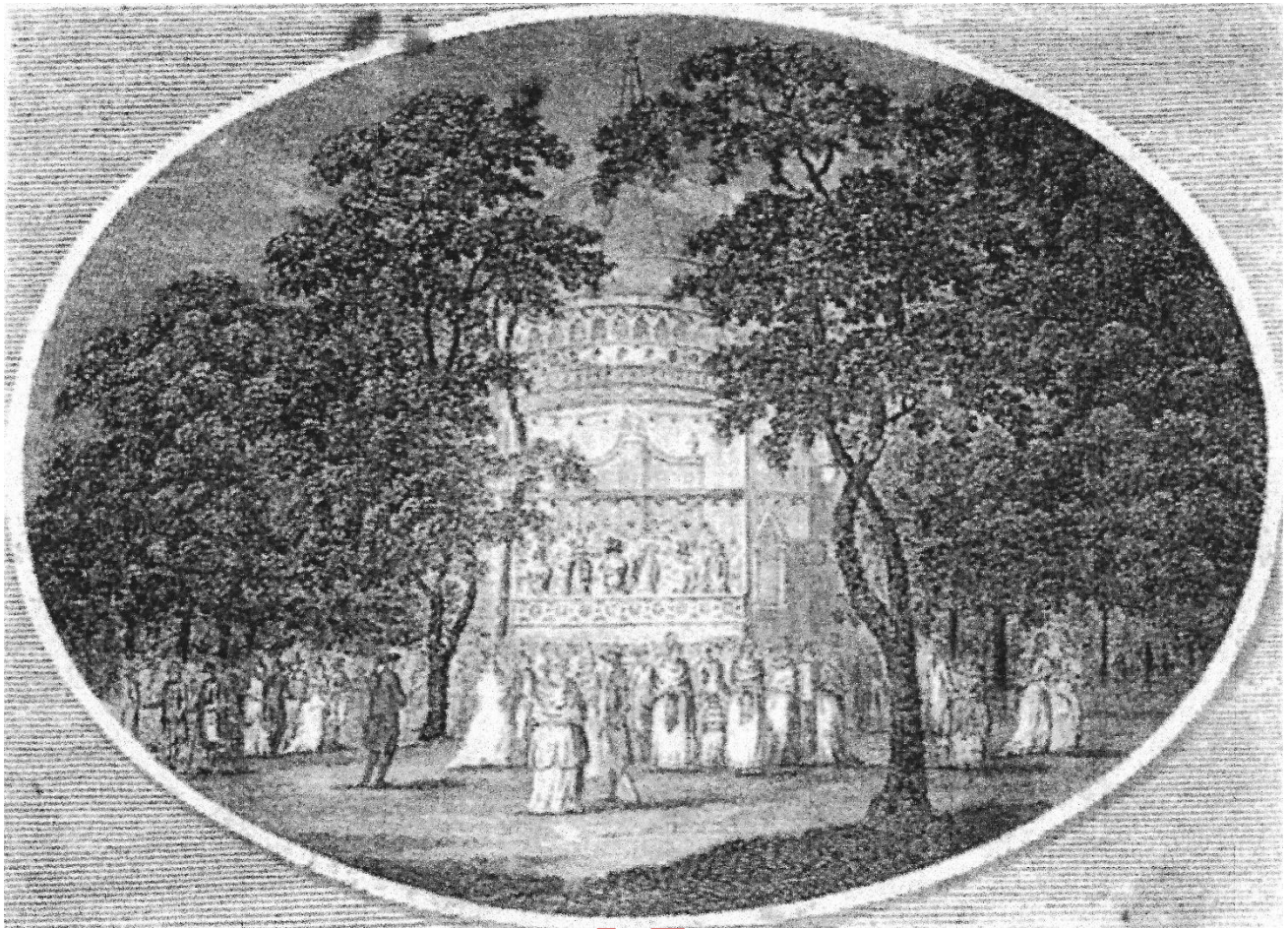
London: A. Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse, c. 1798, 32 pp., 2s.<sup>56</sup>

Rather than depicting a clarinetist, the frontispiece illustrates a staged performance veiled by foliage, mostly likely at Vauxhall Gardens, see **Illustration 9**<sup>57</sup>. Opened in 1661, Vauxhall Gardens was the «quintessential 18th-century venue» at which the clarinet was often heard<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> At GB-Lbl b.160.g.(1.). A Bland & Weller six-keyed clarinet, c. 1810, is at GB.E.u, 5068. They were one of several clarinet makers active in London; see FRICKE 2007, p. 226.

<sup>57</sup> The depiction resembles *Vauxhall Gardens* by Thomas Rowlinson c. 1784, pen and ink, with watercolour and graphite pencil, on paper, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, pp.13-1967.

<sup>58</sup> See CROFT-MURRAY 2001.



**Illustration 9: frontispiece from tutor 8**

The title of this publication is identical to tutor 7, respelling «compleat». The first seven pages use the same plates as Preston's tutor 7, suggesting that Bland & Weller most likely obtained Preston's plates after his death. As with tutor 7 the fingering chart was likely tipped in as a folding page with explanatory text included on the now-missing second page. Its fingerings replicate those in tutors 2 and 7 although the chart is missing notes higher than *a*'. Its replication here, as in tutor 7, is unlikely to reflect the fluency with which late eighteenth-century players were able to traverse five-keyed clarinets.

Whilst the three tunes on page 8 replicate those from tutor 7, the remaining 23 solo airs and 4 duets, pages 9 to 30, are almost all new titles: 'Somebody'; 'O dear what can the matter be'; 'Ah Ça Ira'; 'The Village Boy'; 'I never will be Married'; 'The Dance Nannette'; 'I'm in Haste'; 'The way to keep him'; 'The Primrose Girl'; 'Dear little Cottage Maiden'; 'La Storage'; 'Lovers Quarrel'; 'The

Cottagers Daughter'; 'Hither Mary Hither come'; 'My Heart is devoted dear Mary to thee'; 'Pauvre Madelon'; 'My Jamie is a bonny Lad'; 'William' and 'Nut Brown Ale'. Page 31 is an alphabetical Index of the music with page numbers. The dictionary of music terms on page 32 has the same title as tutor 4, but many terms are re-defined and new ones added.

9. *A Complete Preceptor, for the Clarinet, Containing the most approved Instructions relative to that Instrument Explained in the most simple and comprehensive manner including a progressive series of Popular Airs and Duets*. London: G. Astor, c. 1799, 32 pp., 2s.<sup>59</sup>

There is no frontispiece illustration, and pages 1-5 are based on either the anonymous incomplete tutor or tutor 5. Although the fingering chart is missing, it may have replicated the one given in tutor 5 with extended chromatic compass from *e* to *a*''.<sup>60</sup> The text on page 6 which describes «Of beating Time» has been rewritten with new examples and provides more elaborate advice on the movement of the foot whilst counting than tutor 3. Here the publishers specify the downward stroke (designated «D») for the downbeat, and an upward one (designated «U») for the middle of the bar in common time and the final beat in triple time. They counsel against audible movements: «In beating time the heel of your foot should be kept down, to avoid making a disagreeable noise, the toe being sufficient and gentlelest [sic] for dividing the time.» Page 7 presents «Of Shakes and Graces,» with a range similar to tutor 4. Pages 8-20 include 31 solo airs several of which are new: 'The Recovery'; 'Guarcha Dance'; 'Le Pipe de Tabac'; 'Blue Bell of Scotland'; 'The Portuguese Dance'; 'General Graham'; 'Prince Regents Favorite'; 'Sul margine d'un Rio'; 'Honey Moon'; 'Calabria'; 'Morgiana'; 'Heave the Lead'; 'A favorite Movement. Mozart'; 'Welch Harper'; 'The Austrian Retreat'; 'My native Land I bade Adieu' and 'Westminster March'. Pages 21-29 comprise eight duets including: 'The Downfall of Paris' and 'Sweet is the breath of Morn'. Pages 30 to 32 include Preludes in the major

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<sup>59</sup> At F-Castelnau-Montratier: Bouquet-Moir private collection.

<sup>60</sup> A later copy of Astor's tutor (New York: W. Dubois, c. 1818) with the same text re-engraved includes a chromatic fingering chart from *e* to *a*''.

keys of C, F, Bb, as well as Eley's C major prelude from tutor 5. A dictionary of musical terms and abbreviations, and an index of music are missing.

10. *New and Complete Instructions for the Clarionet, containing the easiest & most improved Rules for Learners to play, to which is added A Selection of Songs, Airs, Minuets, Marches, Duets, &c. properly adapted to that Instrument and arranged Progressively for Practice.* London: Goulding, c. 1799, 34 pp, 2s.<sup>61</sup>

There is no frontispiece illustration, and the title page replicates tutor 7. In reproducing the fingering chart from tutors 2 and 7, the example here seems antiquated for its time although financial considerations may have prevented the publishers from commissioning a new chart. The first seven pages of text demonstrate a familiarity with tutors 1 and 2 and the incomplete publication. Pages 8 to 32 presents various solo airs and duets, amongst which new items include 'Guardian Angels'; 'Duetto by Sigr. Jomelli'; 'Peggy Perkins'; 'Smallillow'; two tunes 'Sung in the Spoild Child: 'Since then I'm doom'd' and 'I'm a brisk and Sprightley lad'; two 'Songs in Nina' (Paisiello) the second 'Sung by Mrs Billington'; a duo marked 'Flauto Primo'; 'Lira la'; 'Air by Mr. Handel'; 'Pleyels Fancy'; 'There's nae luck about the House'; 'My fond Shepperd'; 'Gentle Youth'; 'Lovely fair one'; Preludes in C and Eb, 'Miss Potts Fancy'; 'Lovely Nymph' and 'The Royal Familys Minuet'.

### **The prevalence of duplication**

We have already noted instances where text given in the opening pages of certain publications is repeated verbatim in others. In late eighteenth-century London originality did not have the priority and value we afford it today<sup>62</sup>. The textual duplication within these tutors is therefore characteristic of a culture which expediated the financial interests of publishing above those of composers and authors. As

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<sup>61</sup> At GB-LAM 34284(ii), see COOPER *op. cit.*.

<sup>62</sup> See BUELOW 1990.

a result, the relationship between these publications is not straight-forward; they were unlikely to have been compiled chronologically, i.e. in the order in which they were published. Until an earlier publication comes to light, we might choose to regard Longman, Lukey & Co.'s *The Clarinet Instructor* as an exemplar, i.e. the source upon which some later publications, or variants, drew<sup>63</sup>. In addition, the survival of an incomplete anonymous tutor challenges our reception of tutor 5 and invites us more closely to consider its provenance. By similarly choosing to regard tutors 2-10 as variants of two exemplars, we can account for their textual tropes as manifestations of a process of updating, or modernisation<sup>64</sup>. Printing technology also facilitated this practice as engraved publications were easily updated. This process of revision and reissue is demonstrated by the first two publications, both associated with two iterations of the Longman firm. Issued approximately eight years apart tutor 2 includes important revisions and corrections to the text of tutor 1. A similar relationship exists between tutors 6 and 10, both of which were published by Goulding. Individual publications were probably not intended for posterity, a feature supported by the different selection of music they present. Indeed, as An notes, «heavy re-use of engraved plates shows the qualities of permanency and flexibility that endeared the engraving process to Georgian music publishers»<sup>65</sup>.

Amongst textual tropes we note the clarinet's rapid flourishing, its increasing musical versatility and the likelihood of its adoption by persons who are already musically literate. During the 1770s and 1780s the clarinet was transformed from an instrument described in tutor 1 as «not so universally known as its use deserves» into one whose versatility was celebrated in military bands, in concerts and as an accompaniment to other wind instruments. Descriptions of clarinet tone as «full», «sweet», «charming», «exhilarating» and «animating» are, at best, ambiguous from our distance of almost 200 years but they do confirm the flexibility reflected in its use. A need for «judicious» management in solo

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<sup>63</sup> See the discussion in CROWN *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>64</sup> BUELOW *op. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>65</sup> AN 2011, p. 198.



duet and ensemble repertoire, mentioned in tutor 3, the incomplete method and tutor 5 by Eley, may well be indicative of the quality of reeds available at the time. We have already noted the concise manner in which theoretical aspects of music theory such as pitch, rhythm, ornamentation, articulation and transposition are discussed. If not previously known, this information would likely to have been enhanced and supplemented by instruction from a teacher.

### **The intended clientele**

Issued as a means of stimulating sales of printed music, as well as musical instruments and accessories, these clarinet tutors were aimed at an emerging middle class of amateur performers. As Pierre Bourdieu observes, the musical aspirations of the bourgeoisie were fostered by their economic means, spare time and cultural «disposition»<sup>66</sup>. Whilst unrepresentative of the breadth which obtained in Georgian London, surviving catalogues demonstrate how such a useful and effective source of advertising was also a means by which publishers «accommodated, influenced, expanded and educated» the taste of their customers<sup>67</sup>.

Major businesses including Longman & Broderip and Thompson printed regular, often annual, catalogues. These publications served to advertise the breadth of wares available for sale. For example, Longman, Lukey & Co.'s 1772 catalogue lists secular music for flute, guitar, horn, clarinet or oboe, bassoon and voice, as well as and sacred repertoire, and the presents a list of keyboard, string, brass, percussion and woodwind instruments and accessories. Amongst items for sale are instruction books for German and English flutes, fife, English guitar, and bassoon as well as «The Clarinet Tutor». The 1799 catalogue published by one of their successors, Broderip and Wilkinson, is far more extensive. Whilst the amount and variety of instruments and accessories is similar, a larger quantity of music is

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<sup>66</sup> BOURDIEU 1979, p. 81.

<sup>67</sup> AN *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

available from Broderip and Wilkinson, numbering seven pages and including works for the «Piano Forte». Theoretical publications are listed as either «treatises» or «instruction books», of which the latter category contains seventeen separate volumes including «New Instructions for the Clarinet».

Tutors were also advertised on printed flyers, as well as through visual merchandising in the window of a publisher's shop. Furthermore, by the mid-1780s, London could boast at least nine morning newspapers, ten for the evening, three published on Sundays and six during the week<sup>68</sup>. Advertisements placed in these periodicals capitalised on their significant reach as well as the fact they were usually read by several people in succession, thus attracting buyers to the clarinet publications. Priced between 2 shillings and 2 shillings and 6 pence the volumes were well within the purchasing power of the growing market of amateur players. Amongst these players we can assume numbers of female musicians were small since women's access to the clarinet was limited. Prevailing beliefs that an instrument which necessitated the alteration of one's countenance or bodily disposition were unsuitable for women meant they were more likely to learn and perform on the harp, English guitar or keyboard<sup>69</sup>.

Affirmation of this intended clientele is presented through depictions of individuals, and in the clarinet tutors there are three such examples. Tutors 2, 3 and 7 portray gentlemen playing the clarinet. These depictions add to the paucity of our knowledge concerning the dress of instrumental musicians in the late eighteenth century since they are often absent both from the sparse literature on working and occupational dress e.g. miners, millers and farmers, etc., and from texts pertaining to persons working in fashionable trades such as mercers, hairdressers, haberdashers etc.<sup>70</sup>. Clothing worn by the tutors' owners would be either formal dress or a costume associated with the livery of the household they belonged to or to their sponsor. The men depicted in tutors 2, 3 and 7 are all wearing formal dress

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<sup>68</sup> AN 2008, p. 11.

<sup>69</sup> *Women in Music...*, p. xiii.

<sup>70</sup> We are most grateful to dress historian Dr. Susan North, Curator of Fashion 1550-1800 at the Victoria & Albert Music, London, for her help in identifying features of the clothing of the three men depicted; see also NORTH 2018.

(compare Illustrations 2, 3 and 8). They are shown in outdoor settings, a pictorial convention referencing summer music-making. Indeed, all three are wearing a hat which, if performing indoors, would have been removed.

In the absence of colour depictions we cannot be certain whether the men are wearing any sort of livery. The Windsor uniform was introduced in the late 1770s for the nobility and the right to wear it was a personal gift from George III. His gentlemen ushers were refused the uniform as they were considered low personages, and there is no record of musicians thus attired. Furthermore these images contain no sign of the distinctive braid associated with household livery. The man shown in tutor 2 (Ill. 2) is wearing a tricorne hat, his waistcoat is long-skirted, his coat has full pleats, and its cut is an older style of dress, more prevalent during the late 1750s and early 1760s. The attire shown in tutor 3 (Ill. 3) is of a more modern style, with the coat fronts curving sharply to the back, a waistcoat without skirts and a round hat with high crown and fairly wide brim. The clothing depicted in tutor 7 (Ill. 8) is old-fashioned, reflecting formal dress from the 1770s; the tricorne is still fashionable and the waistcoat has short skirts.

As Eley's publication, tutor 5, suggests these instruction books may well also have been marketed at musicians associated with a military band. We can be certain that clarinets were part of military bands from the 1760s: the Band of the Royal Artillery's Articles of Agreement from 1762 mentions «four hautbois or clarinets», and an account of the Light Cavalry from 1764 reports that «two clarinetts [sic] » were included in the band<sup>71</sup>. The Germanic musicians recruited for the Royal Artillery were expected to be versatile across string, wind and brass instruments. Such players could easily have added the clarinet to their repertoire of practical musical skills by utilising one of the tutors not least because of the suitability of the music included. During the 1770s, as a result of the Militia Acts, musicians joined part- and full-time regiments. Herbert notes that by 1779 each English and Welsh

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<sup>71</sup> See HINDE 1778, p. 206 and BROWNE 1865, p. 308.

county had at least one regiment and some boasted as many as eight<sup>72</sup>. This expansion of military music heralded «the entrance of a mass of *ab initio* performers» which in turn motivated «new modes of training that led to new and different performance values»<sup>73</sup>. Amongst those to emerge from the ranks of this new generation of militia clarinetists was John Mahon, who with four of his brothers, was a member of the Dorset Military Band in the late 1770s<sup>74</sup>. Until the early decades of the nineteenth century these musicians were civilian professionals who owned their own instruments<sup>75</sup>.

It was in London, the home of elite regiments, the aristocracy and a regular supply of first-rate performing musicians, that a «new style of musical deployment in the regular army» began<sup>76</sup>. From Parke's account of 1830 we know that in 1783, Prince Frederick, Duke of York, son of George III, recruited musicians from Hanover for a new band for the second Regiment of Foot Guards<sup>77</sup>. This larger ensemble, directed by Eley, numbered 24 players and helped establish the *harmonie* tradition in England<sup>78</sup>. Its instrumentation was soon imitated by other regiments<sup>79</sup>. As Eley's activities demonstrate, military musicians were not soldiers, but musical freelancers as we understand the term today<sup>80</sup>. Of the 30 musicians admitted to *The Royal Society of Musicians* between March 1761 and December 1799 whose skills including playing the clarinet, at least six mentioned their membership of a military band, see Table 2. Whilst accomplished performers, the musicians listed underneath Heinnitz may well have purchased one of the tutors for the music it contained.

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<sup>72</sup> HERBERT 2020, p. 436.

<sup>73</sup> HERBERT forthcoming.

<sup>74</sup> See RICE – CRISP *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>75</sup> Private correspondence with Trevor Herbert, April 2023.

<sup>76</sup> HERBERT – BARLOW *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>77</sup> The previous band, comprising pairs of oboes, clarinet, horns and bassoons played by musicians who also performed in the theatres, was hired on a peripatetic basis only and the regiment sought to establish an ensemble to whom performer were more accountable; see PARKE *op. cit.*, pp. 239-241.

<sup>78</sup> *Loc. cit.*.

<sup>79</sup> MONTAGU et al. 2001.

<sup>80</sup> HERBERT – BARLOW *loc. cit.*.

Name	Admitted on	Skills and venues (where given)
Johan (John) Heinnitz	4 December 1768	«Clarinet Vauxhall Gardens and the Guards 1766, also Hautboy»
Robert Thomson	2 April 1780	«Is a Trumpet in second Troop of Life Guards... Performs on the Hautboy and clarinet»
Edmund Denman	4 April 1784	«Is in the first Troop of Grenadier Gaurds [sic] Plays the Bassoon Clarinett [sic] & French Horn»
James Tutton	4 April 1784	«plays Clarinitt [sic] and Violin... plays in the 1st Regiment Band and at the Royal Circus»
John Howles	2 May 1784	«Belongs to the Guard. Plays at the Circus Plays on the Violin, and Clarinett»
Laserre Purney	3 February 1788	«Is one of the Trumpets in the first Troop of Life Guards, he Plays the Trumpet Clarinett [sic] Violin and Tenor»

**Table 2: military musician members of the Royal Society of Musicians<sup>81</sup>**

By 1794, the earliest date for the publication of tutor 4, six of the sixteen members of the Grenadier Guards band were clarinetists<sup>82</sup>. As the oboe declined, the clarinet began the dominant military woodwind instrument, at a time when, as Herbert observes, military music was the most far-reaching type of instrumental music in Britain<sup>83</sup>.

### The music

Given it is music which comprises the bulk of these publications it is somewhat incongruous that this feature has been responsible for their neglect. As Janet Page notes in relation to the contemporary *New and Complete Instructions for the Oboe or Hoboy*, much of the text before the music in these clarinet volumes was «merely a publishers' convention, serving to introduce, if not merely to sell, the music that followed, which varied widely from tutor to tutor»<sup>84</sup>. Apart from the quintet included in the first two publications, most of the almost-300 individual pieces are intended for either solo or duet performance. Whilst it has been particularly challenging to ascertain the provenance

<sup>81</sup> These entries are taken verbatim from MATTHEWS 1985.

<sup>82</sup> FARMER 1912, p. 84 and FARMER 1950, p. 28.

<sup>83</sup> HERBERT 2020, p. 429.

<sup>84</sup> This tutor was published in London by T. Cahusac opposite St Clements Church Yard. We date this at c. 1775 because the price of 2 shillings (at GB-Lbl a.300.rr.(2.)); see PAGE 1988, p. 366.

of the music within these ten publications, at least 73% has been identified. Most are tunes drawn from contemporary works presented in the London theatres, although the selections also include concert, military and folk musics. This breadth demonstrates the movement of music between social classes as well as the «burgeoning aristocratic and bourgeois interest in vernacular music»<sup>85</sup>. The presence of duets signals how the process of learning the clarinet was an enterprise which often included a second player, be they teacher or peer. This practice is confirmed by an advertisement for lessons from «a foreign Musician lately arrived» placed in London's *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* on 1 January 1782<sup>86</sup>. Whilst private clarinet tuition had been available in London since the late 1740s, the 1770s saw the growth of both individuals and private music schools offering instruction in the instrument<sup>87</sup>.

The individual pieces vary in length from 6 to 99 bars, but the vast majority number between 16 and 32 bars. They traverse those keys suitable for the five-keyed clarinet, noted above. The vast majority, about 90%, are in C or F major with a small number of pieces in G, D, B $\flat$  and E $\flat$  major, and G minor. Dynamics and tempo indications are occasionally given, and notated articulation includes slurs as well as detached strokes (dot, dash and slurred dot). Whilst the tessitura is primarily concentrated between  $c'$  and  $c''$ , more frequent use of altissimo notes (those from  $d'''$ ) occurs from tutor 4. From tutor 7 the range of pieces often extends to  $f'''$ , almost exclusively diatonically although there are instances of  $eb'''$ , confirming the development of clarinet technique in the last decades of the eighteenth century. A summary of features of the music is presented in Table 3.

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<sup>85</sup> MIDDLETON 2006, p. 17.

<sup>86</sup> Quoted in CRISP *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>87</sup> See CRISP *op. cit.*, pp. 2-21.

Tutor number	Numbered pages, % of which is music	Amount and type of music	Number of separate tunes/pieces
1	28, 71%, (20 pages)	pp. 8-27; solos, duets and one quintet for 2 horns, 2 clarinets and bassoon.	13
2	34, 76%, (26 pages)	pp. 8-33; solos, duets and one quintet for 2 horns, 2 clarinets and bassoon.	32
3	42, 76%, (32 pages)	pp. 9-40; solos and duets only.	60
4	16, 50%, (8 pages)	pp. 9-16; solos and duets only	28
5	32, 75%, (24 pages)	pp. 9-32; solos and duets only	35
6	28, 75%, (21 pages)	pp. 8-28; solos and duets only	33
7	31, 74%, (23 pages)	pp. 8-30; solos and duets only	51
8	32, 72%, (23 pages)	pp. 8-30; solos and duets only	41
9	32, 78%, (25 pages)	pp. 8-32; solos and duets only	43
10	34, 79%, (27 pages)	pp. 8-34; solos and duets only	37

**Table 3: details of music contained within each publication**

Differences in the selection of music from tutor to tutor reflects the repertoire each publisher was keen to promote and sell. The primarily commercial nature of this enterprise is echoed by Lewis Granom in his *Plain and Easy Instructions for Playing on the German-Flute* published in London in 1766. He sets forth his warning in no uncertain terms:

I must give one necessary Caution, which is not to apply to a Music-Seller for his opinion in the choice of your Music, especially if he publishes on his own account, for instead of recommending the Works of approved Authors, he immediately loads you with all the Trash he himself has published which, in general, is such Stuff that if you have any Claim to a natural good Taste, or a Tolerable Ear, by frequently playing his John-Trot Airs your taste will become

vitiated and your Ear ruined to such a Degree as will render you incapable of distinguishing good Music from bad and leave you unable to judge for yourself<sup>88</sup>.

We also note the inclusion of music by the first generation of composers to employ the clarinet: Arne, François-Hippolyte Barthélemon, Charles Dibdin, Antonio Sacchini and Mattia Vento, as well as arrangements of works by foreign composers such as Vicente Martín Y Soler, Giovanni Paisiello and Ignace Pleyel<sup>89</sup>. Other music by composers familiar to clarinetists today, such as George Frideric Handel, James Hook and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, appears alongside less familiar repertoire by Samuel Arnold, Nicolas-Marie Dalayrac, Pierre Gaveaux, Tommaso Giordani, William Jackson, William Reeve, William Shield and Stephen Storace.

Nine of the publications begin with a 14-bar version of 'God Save the King' in the key of C major, the most convenient tonality for the five-keyed clarinet. The earliest documented performances of this tune were in 1745, in an arrangement by Arne at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, London. However, the majority of the tunes, about 75%, appear in only one tutor, supporting David Hunter's observation that «more money was to be made out of the popularity of new musical works than out of the continued republication of old works.»<sup>90</sup>.

A close affinity with London stage works, both newly composed as well as pasticcios, is shared by the overwhelming majority of music these publications include. Georgian London was a thriving, affluent and multicultural metropolis. Its political stability fostered an economy in which an emerging middle class were able to join the aristocracy in availing themselves of London's artistic offerings. Paramount in the city's buoyant musical life was theatrical entertainment which was to be enjoyed across a range of venues. Stage works embraced a wide range of genres, included pasticcio, opera seria,

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<sup>88</sup> GRANOM 1766, pp. 12-13.

<sup>89</sup> See the discussion in PEARSON *op. cit.*, pp. 93-119.

<sup>90</sup> HUNTER 1986, p. 276.



comic opera, ballad opera, incidental music, table entertainment, pantomime, afterpiece and farce, often incorporating both home-grown and imported music. It was in locations such as the King's Theatre, the two patent theatres at Covent Garden and Drury Lane, the Lyceum, the Pantheon and the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, as well as the many pleasure gardens that the predominantly bourgeois customers to whom the tutors were marketed first encountered such music. Capitalising on this familiarity, therefore, was a deliberate and commercially shrewd decision by publishers enabling them to profit from satisfying a «large music-hungry middle class»<sup>91</sup>. Indeed, by the time these clarinet publications appeared these customers were the most significant consumers of printed music<sup>92</sup>.

This familiarity is demonstrated by inclusion of the air 'For tenderness formed' which also confirms the propensity for borrowing and authorial fluidity prevalent at this time in music for the stage. The tune would have been familiar to London audiences sung by Anna Maria [Mrs.] Crouch (née Phillips) as the character Miss Alton in *The Heiress* with music by Thomas Linley Sr, first performed in January 1786 at the at Drury Lane patent theatre, with new words by John Burgoyne. Appearing as a solo in five of the ten tutors, this tune is the second-most popular after 'God save the King'. It was actually composed by Giovanni Paisiello and first performed in 1782 as 'Saper bramante' in Act 1 Scene 6 of his four-act comic opera *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, written during his service at the court of Catherine the Great in St Petersburg<sup>93</sup>. There are 30 slightly different manuscript copies of the opera, reminding us that the majority of music was disseminated this way, rather than via printed copies, until well in the nineteenth century. The cavatina is sung by the character of Count Almaviva, who, in disguise, serenades Rosina. Paisiello's innovative orchestration features the celebrated pairing of clarinets and horns (noted above in tutor 1) with obbligato mandolin and strings. In the years between its premiere and the London hearing of 'Saper bramante' Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* was staged

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<sup>91</sup> BROOK *op. cit.*, p. 15 and NEX *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>92</sup> AN 2008, p. 5.

<sup>93</sup> See ROBINSON 2001.

throughout Europe, in Italian, French or German as follows: Vienna, August 1783; Caserta, November 1783; Prague, spring 1784; Turin, autumn 1784; Trianon, September 1784; Versailles, October 1784; Lille, June 1785; Cassel, August 1785; Monza and Padova, autumn 1785; Bratislava and Warsaw, October 1785 and Mannheim, November 1785<sup>94</sup>. Paisiello's popularity, his status as a composer of opera and international renown during his lifetime stand in marked contrast to his neglect today<sup>95</sup>. In the tutors the tune appears as either a 20- or 24-bar solo which replicates the vocal part from the opera. Transposed up a tone into C major, the tessitura lies almost exclusively within the clarinet register.

Tommaso Giordani's 'Non è ver, che sia contento', which appears in tutor 2, tells a similarly intriguing story about the clarinet and opera, see **Illustration 10**. It was first heard at the King's Theatre in April 1772 in the pasticcio *Artaserse*, directed by Giordani himself<sup>96</sup>. The work also includes music by Johann Christian Bach, Gusman, Giovan [sic] Tomaso di Maio, Gaetano Pugnani, Giuseppe Sarti and Vento. Unlike other European cities such as Paris, Naples and Vienna, all London theatres were run as commercial enterprises as there was no court-based system of operatic patronage. As Michael Burden describes it, Britain was the «only monarchial state in Europe where opera was founded on a commercial system»<sup>97</sup>. The King's Theatre held sway until the mid-nineteenth century as the leading house for the performance of works in Italian. Managed by an impresario, this venue derived its revenue from performances of opera seria and opera buffa, through pasticcios and revivals, and its imported repertory was adapted by the in-house composer.

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<sup>94</sup> See ROBINSON 1991, pp. 306-324; LOEWENBERG 1939, p. 159 and LOEWENBERG 1978, cols. 399-400. The complete work was not performed in London until June 1789; see LOEWENBERG 1939, p. 160.

<sup>95</sup> Evidence of the tune's lasting appeal to clarinetists is confirmed by its appearance as a 48-bar C major duet 'Vous l'ordonnez' in VANDERHAGEN 1819, p. 57 (at F-Pn Vm8 h. 44.).

<sup>96</sup> Whilst the aria is mentioned in the libretto, published in 1773 by William Griffin, it does not appear in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera Artaserse by Sig.r Giordani...* so we cannot be sure of its scoring.

<sup>97</sup> BURDEN 2009, p. 202.

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Non è ver che fia contento

Giordani

Andante

**Illustration 10: ‘Non è ver, che sia contento’ by Tommaso Giordani from tutor 2**

Between 1770 and mid-1783 Giordani’s activities at the King’s Theatre encompassed arranging, composition and musical direction<sup>98</sup>. In 1775 he was most likely to have directed performances of the pasticcio *La marchesa giardiniera*, based on Pasquale Anfossi’s comic opera *La finta giardiniera* premiered in Rome the previous year<sup>99</sup>. This production was one of the earliest to bring the music of Anfossi to London ears, albeit with the addition of music by Giordani himself. Giordani’s decision to include ‘Non è ver, che sia contento’, his aria from *Artaserse*, is not unusual given that between 1728 and 1800 almost 300 different aria texts by Metastasio were used in contexts

<sup>98</sup> See CHOLIJ 2001.

<sup>99</sup> ‘Non è ver, che sia contento’ is one of five of the opera’s musical numbers, all by Giordani, printed in *The favorite Songs as Sung by Sig.ra Sestini in the Comic Opera La Marchesa Giardiniera*.... however it does not appear in the corresponding libretto published as *La marchesa giardiniera*... (at IRL-Dn LO 8683). It is possible that ‘Non è ver, che sia contento’ was an insertion aria, or a later addition or that it was not sung at all the performances. Thanks to Michael Burden for help in reconciling this. Anfossi’s three-act drama giocoso *La finta giardiniera* was first performed in Rome at the Teatro delle Dame during the 1774 Carnival.

other than those for which they were originally intended<sup>100</sup>. We note that the scoring includes pairs of clarinets and horns, a combination already enjoyed by London audiences. Transposed up a tone, into C major, the duet arrangement preserves the clarinets' opening flourish as well as replicating the solo vocal line. The lower part has the wider compass, scalic passages in the lower chalumeau register necessitate a reliable *b* and *f#*'.

A third work from the operatic genre warrants mention not least because, at 99 bars in length, 'The Soldier tir'd' is the most substantial piece of music printed in these tutors, see **Illustration 11**. Its transformation, from D major coloratura aria in Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes* to F major clarinet duet in tutor 3, bears witness to the movement of repertoire across genre boundaries. Written for Arne's pupil, the soprano Charlotte Brent, the aria is sung by the character of Mandane in Act III, and was first heard in London at Covent Garden on 2 February 1762. The opera outlasted Arne's other stage works, and contemporary iconography attests that the role of Mandane was amongst the most highly prized of those performed in London during the eighteenth century<sup>101</sup>.

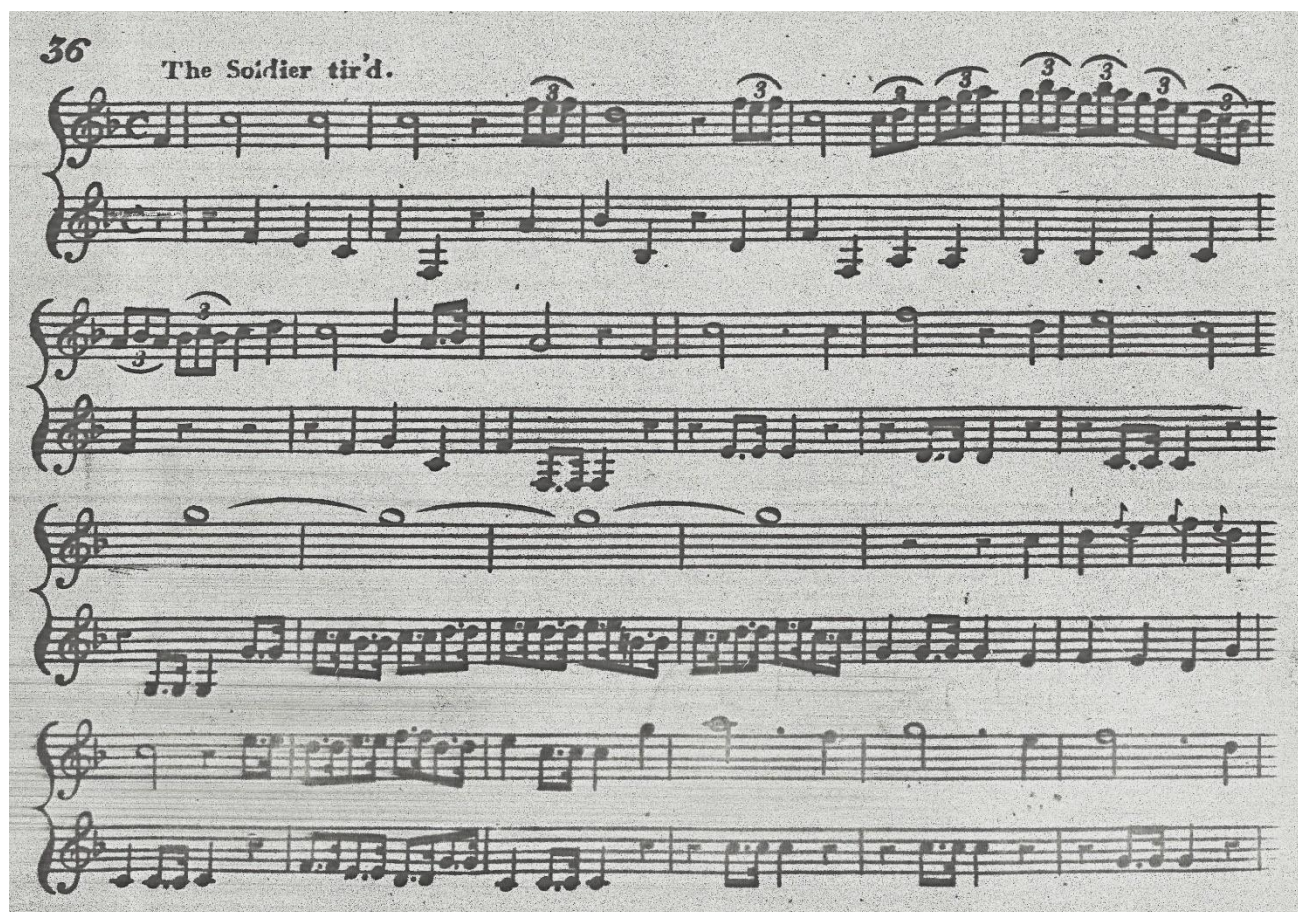
The florid melismatic passagework of 'The Soldier tir'd' soon ensured it a place as an encore and stand-alone bravura showpiece<sup>102</sup>. These features are reflected in the upper part which replicates the solo soprano line, encompassing the notes from *f*' to *c*'''. The melismatic passagework is more rewarding than challenging for the instrumentalist, with only one bar necessitating facility across the break between the chalumeau and clarinet registers. The second part provides rhythmic and harmonic support and has a lower tessitura.

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<sup>100</sup> BURDEN 2007, p. 20.

<sup>101</sup> BURDEN 2009, p. 108.

<sup>102</sup> BALDWIN – WILSON 2001.



**Illustration 11 ‘The Solider tir’d’ by Thomas Arne from tutor 3**

European conflicts arising from the French Revolution. contemporary with the publication of tutors 4 to 10, ensured the threat of a French invasion was uppermost in the minds of late eighteenth-century Britons. Paul F. Rice notes the prevalence of «texts with strong patriotic and/or political overtones» in British vocal music at this time<sup>103</sup>. ‘Malbrouk’, in C major, is both prevalent and popular, appearing in five tutors where it is consistently and positioned directly after ‘God save the King’. Known elsewhere by various names such as ‘Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre’, ‘We won't go home till morning’ and ‘For he’s a jolly good fellow’, the song recounts John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) who captured the town of Mons during the Battle of Malplaquet on 11 September 1709<sup>104</sup>. This conflict between the French and the British was fought in Flanders during the

<sup>103</sup> RICE 2010, p. 11.

<sup>104</sup> See ‘La Malbrouk’.

War of Spanish Succession. Initially sung by the French to mock their enemy, the song was particularly popular in Paris during the 1780s<sup>105</sup>. Its inclusion, beginning with tutor 3 in *c.* 1781, suggests that the tune was equally well-known in England, and remained so, as its use in tutor 10 implies. Notated in C major, the tune's range covers only a sixth and its location entirely within the clarinet register presents no obvious challenges to the player.

An insight into musical pursuits enjoyed during the late eighteenth-century is revealed by the inclusion in five tutors of the catch 'Care thou Canker'. This type of round was usually sung by male voices, often in titular fraternities such as the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club established in 1761<sup>106</sup>. Attributed to John Garth (1721-1810) of Durham by the publisher William Chappell in 1859 the tune was probably composed before 1782<sup>107</sup>. London audiences would also have heard the tune as a trio for female voices 'When the rosy morn appearing' in William Shield's comic afterpiece *Rosina*, first performed at Covent Garden on 31 December 1782<sup>108</sup>. The same F major melody appears in all five tutors. Whilst its range is confined to the octave between *f*' and *f*'', the piece helps the player learn smoothly to negotiate the break between the chalumeau and clarinet registers, from *a*' to *c*''. The duet version, in tutors 7 and 8, includes some paired slurring in the lower part, indicative of contemporary practices.

Much of the pure concert music, as we now understand the term, has proven hardest to identify largely because details of the composer are rarely included. In order of popularity, named composers include: Pleyel, Joseph Haydn, Giordani, Handel, Mozart, John Flack, Foot, Niccolò Jommelli, Antonín Kammell, Giovanni Battista Martini, Michell (probably Michel Yost), Johann Baptiste Vanhall (Wanhal) and Vento. As Allan Badley observes, by the early 1790s Pleyel was held in high regard as a

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<sup>105</sup> BRENNER 1950, p. 180.

<sup>106</sup> See GLADSTONE et al. 1996.

<sup>107</sup> CHAPPELL 1859, p. 722.

<sup>108</sup> Shield collaborated with Frances Brooke whose libretto drew on FAVART 1768.

composer in Europe<sup>109</sup>. Pleyel's visit to London between December 1791 and May 1792 and appearances at the Hanover Square Professional Concerts stimulated further demand for his music. His prolific output was widely disseminated, making him «one of the most popular, important and frequently performed composers of his day»<sup>110</sup>. In support of Rita Benton's assertion that Pleyel himself was often unaware of the extent to which his music was used by publishers, nine tunes composed by Pleyel appear across tutors 4, 5, 8, 9 and 10<sup>111</sup>. Adapted from music Pleyel wrote between 1784 and 1794, these tunes encompass symphonic and chamber genres, particularly the string quartet, and illustrate the «particular vogue» his music enjoyed in English-speaking countries, see Table 4<sup>112</sup>.

Of the labels accorded these pieces, six mention Pleyel, whilst the other three are given as song titles. As a corpus of work, the Pleyel repertoire in these tutors demonstrates the transformation of concert music in an era «when music was considered a commodity to be put to the widest possible use.»<sup>113</sup>. In the most prevalent piece, the first listed in Table 4, we observe its alteration from a symphonic movement into a pastoral song, which certainly manifests «a lyrical charm» counter to its instrumental antecedent<sup>114</sup>. A version transposed into C major to facilitate duet performance appears in tutors 4, 5 and 9, whereas a more extensive solo version in F major appears in tutor 8. As Table 2 shows, this is one of four examples manifesting the ways in which Pleyel's instrumental music, like that of Haydn, was converted into songs with folk-like connotations to appeal to the taste of London audiences<sup>115</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup> BADLEY 2012, p. 543.

<sup>110</sup> BENTON 1977, p. viii.

<sup>111</sup> BENTON 2001.

<sup>112</sup> BENTON 1977, p. ix.

<sup>113</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>114</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>115</sup> See MCVEIGH 1993, p. 135. The symphony was reissued in versions for duo, trio, string quartet and piano, see BENTON 1977, pp. 51-52. Although it has not been possible to ascertain from whom or when the tune acquired words it was regularly published in that format in London from c. 1792, see BENTON *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54.

No.	Details of work as first composed by Pleyel	Tutor and details of work as used
1	I Allegro molto from Symphony in A (B137), 1786	4, 5 and 9: 'Cottage Maid' Pastorale Andante – duet in C major
		8: 'Henry's Cottage Maid' Pastorale Andante – solo in F major, with introduction and postlude
2	II Andante Grazioso: Theme and Variations, IV Adagio and V Rondo: Presto from Symphonie Concertante in Eb (B111) for solo violin, viola, cello and oboe, 1786	4: Selection's from Pleyel's Concertante - duet in C major
		8: 'Love thou Pleasing teasing [sic] Power' - solo version of Rondo, in F major
3	III Rondeau Allegro from String Quartet in C (B334), 1787; later recycled by Pleyel as III Rondo Presto of Keyboard Trio in C (B449), 1794	4: No. VIII Pleyel - duet in C major
4	II Air ecossaise Adagio from Keyboard Trio in Bb (B444), 1793	4: No. XI 'The Yellow Haired Laddie' – duet in F major
5	II Andante from String Quartet in G B349, 1788	4: No. XII 'Pleyel's German Hymn' – duet in F major
6	III Rondo Allegro from String Quartet in Bb (B311), 1784	8: Pleyel's Rondo – in C major
7	II Allegretto from String Quartet in D (B312), 1784	8: 'The Village Boy' – in C major
8	III Rondeau Allegretto from String Quartet in G (B332), 1786	9: Duetto by Pleyel – in G major
9	III Rondo Presto from Keyboard Trio in C (B449), 1794	10. 'Pleyel's Fancey' - duet in C major

**Table 4: details of music by Pleyel and its appearance within various tutors**

As 'Pleyel's celebrated Concertante', the Symphonie Concertante in Eb (B111), had already enjoyed success at the Pantheon and Hanover Square before the composer's visit to London<sup>116</sup>. The work is the first of six Pleyel contributed to this genre in Paris. Indeed, of the almost 600 examples composed during the genre's short lifetime between 1767 and 1830, half were composed by composers based in France. Brook remarks how in Paris «this output soon exceeded that of the solo concerto and of the conventional symphony»<sup>117</sup>. As the most widely published in London of Pleyel's symphonies concertante it is not surprising that the work appears in two tutors<sup>118</sup>. Whilst in tutor 8 the melodic

<sup>116</sup> This declaration appears on the title page of Longman & Broderip's publication 1790 (at GB-Lbl g.161.c.(9)).

<sup>117</sup> BROOK – GRIBENSKI 2001.

<sup>118</sup> See BENTON 1977, pp. 11-17.



line's frequent use of trills and repeated opening eight-bar phrase are characteristic of the jig, tutor 4's version recasts concertante solo and orchestral string parts from movements one, two and five, to create a duet in C major requiring fluidity across the chalumeau register from both players. Other works demonstrate the enduring popularity of Pleyel's string quartets and the fluidity with which he re-used his own music. In their clarinet incarnations these pieces, especially 'Pleyel's Rondo' in tutor 8, demonstrate players' agility in the lower altissimo register and ability to move between altissimo and clarinet registers, see **Illustration 12**. In the light of Pleyel's vast oeuvre it is also likely that some of the hitherto unidentified music was also composed by him.



**Illustration 12** 'Pleyel's Rondo' from tutor 8

Tutor 2 includes a duet version of 'Rondo by Kammell' in F major. Bohemian-born Kammell was known in London by the mid-1760s where he became a contemporary of fellow émigrés Johann Christian Bach and Christian Ferdinand Abel. In London Kammell's corpus of string chamber music was printed and sold under his own auspices, as well as by publishers including Welcker, John Preston, the Thompsons, Longman & Broderip and Robert Wornum *Sr.* The Rondo appears in E major as the final movement from the Nottorno [sic] no. 6 for two violins and bass, published as op. 6 between 1770 and 1772, «humbly dedicated to Lady Young of Delaford». The dedicatee Elizabeth Young *née* Taylor was the second wife of Sir John, 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet plantation owner in the Caribbean and Governor of St Dominica. The lamentable fact that Sir John's prosperity, from which Lady Elizabeth benefitted, was gained as a result of the slave trade demonstrates the extent to which such commercial enterprises, now

considered most undesirable, were a part of aristocratic life in Georgian London<sup>119</sup>. Transposed into F major the duet Rondo presents similar technical challenges to the piece by Fischer. The upper part, ranging from *f*' to *c*'', implies a certain level of articulatory dexterity in the inclusion of two types of detached stroke (the dot and the dash) and the frequent use of paired slurs. The lower part helps maintain the harmonic and rhythmic character, necessitating a reliable *b* and *f*#'.

The association of named individuals with tunes extends beyond composers. The Mr. Fischer whose 'Favourite Rondo' appears in tutors 2, 4 and 10 was Johann Christian Fischer, born in 1733 in Freiburg when the city was part of the Habsburg territories in southwestern Germany. Settling in London from 1768 he soon established a formidable reputation as an oboist<sup>120</sup>. This tune is adapted from the finale of Fischer's second concerto for «Hautboy, German Flute or Violin», published in London by both Longman & Broderip and Welcker around 1771. Transposed up a tone into F major, the upper part of this duet version replicates the concerto's solo line and lies within the clarinet register, although the presence of the note *d*''' necessitates control of the transition into the altissimo register. The lower part, ranging across both chalumeau and clarinet registers, was probably performed by a teacher or more experienced player.

We have already noted the high regard in which the clarinet was held in military bands, and how the formation of local militia, motivated by political tensions on the Continent, stimulated the creation and performance of military repertoire. Initially regarded as a type of «speciality hautboy» often played by oboists, the clarinet's coming-of-age enabled it to make a valuable contribution to the expanding corpus of military music<sup>121</sup>. The inclusion of military music in the clarinet tutors confirms the importance of this genre to Georgian musical life. Public concerts by regimental bands in London,

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<sup>119</sup> MARSHALL 2019. In John Zoffany's oil-on-canvas portrait of the Young family, completed between 1767 and 1768 (114.3 x 167.8cm, National Museums Liverpool, UK: Walker Art Gallery, WAG 2395) Elizabeth is playing the mandolin which is suggestive of her cultural credentials, see ROWLANDSON. Sir William purchased the manor of Delaford in Buckinghamshire, England in 1767 which could well be the backdrop for the portrait.

<sup>120</sup> KEAHEY 2001.

<sup>121</sup> BURGESS – HAYNES 2004, p. 101 and CROFT-MURRAY 1980, p. 140.

in St. James's Park as well as in Vauxhall and Ranelagh Gardens, brought music to the masses, in direct contrast to the affluent minority who consumed music live in lessons, at concerts and from assembly room ensembles.

The tutors' selection of military music embraces repertoire performed on and off the battle field. The majority of this repertoire consists of marches, and many are named for persons, regiments, places and stage works. The 'March 15<sup>th</sup> Regt.' (tutors 3, 5, 7, 9 and 10) was most likely used as a slow march by the band of this regiment. First raised in 1685, the regiment was known as the 15th Regiment of Foot between 1751 and 1782, then as the 15th (The Yorkshire East Riding) Regiment of Foot between 1782 and 1805. During the time covered by the publication of the clarinet publications the regiment served in the American Revolutionary war as well as in the West Indies during the French Revolutionary wars before returning to England in 1796<sup>122</sup>. In direct contrast to its popularity in the clarinet tutors, the tune's provenance has been difficult to ascertain although one source claims it originated in Dresden around 1790<sup>123</sup>. It appears in three different keys; as a duet in C major, and then as solos in F and G major.

Amongst two marches pertaining to the Duke of York, the so-called new march (tutors 4, 5 and 9) is an adaptation of 'Non più andrai' from Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro* K492 of 1786, providing insight into the early reception of Mozart's operas in England and a further example of the interrelationship between stage works and other genres, see **Illustration 13**. London theatres did not in fact stage productions of Mozart operas not until the first decade of the nineteenth century, beginning with *La Clemenza* in March 1806. Furthermore, *Figaro* was not performed in its entirety until June 1812<sup>124</sup>. Likely brought to London in early 1787 by the Storaces, Nancy and Stephen, and Michael Kelly, the tune was heard in October 1792 as 'Where the banners of glory are streaming', sung by

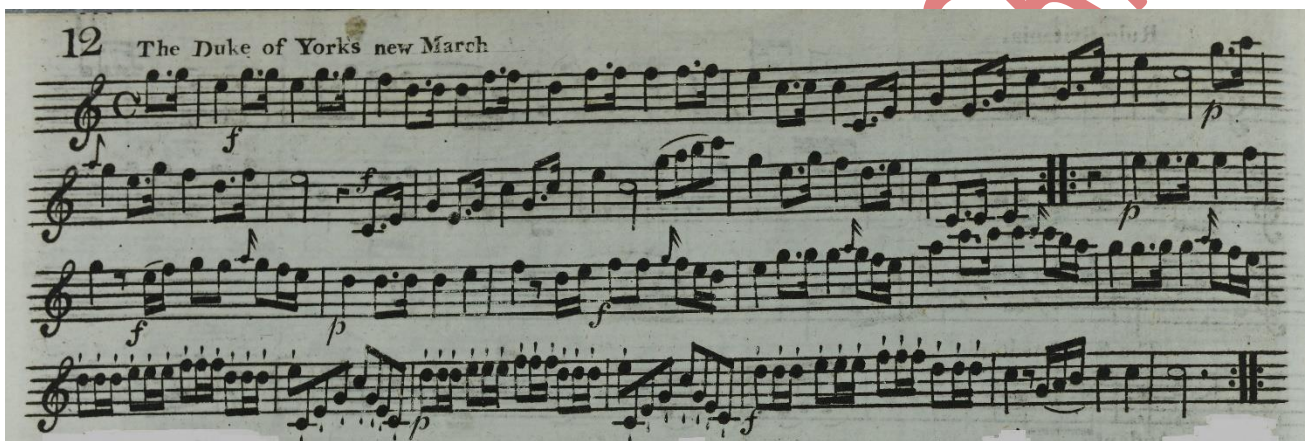
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<sup>122</sup> CANNON 1848. Under the title 'Regimental Slow March: XV von England' the tune was released by the Band of the 1st Battalion the Prince of Wales's Own Regiment of Yorkshire; see *The Yorkies in Step*.

<sup>123</sup> Anonymous liner notes to *The Yorkies in Step*.

<sup>124</sup> COWGILL 2000, pp. 220-225.

Thomas Sedgwick in Thomas Attwood's pasticcio *The Prisoner*<sup>125</sup>. Eley's arrangement, published that year in London, includes the rubric «as performed by His Royal Highness's new Band in the Coldstream Regt. of Guards»<sup>126</sup>. Now called the 'Figaro March' the tune is still used by the Coldstream Guards as their official slow march<sup>127</sup>. All three instances of the tune (tutors 4, 5 and 9) are in C major and demand articulatory dexterity. Rhythmically the opening four bars of tutors 4 and 5 use Mozart's vocal line which has a more martial character, whereas tutor 9 replicates the grace notes of the orchestral violin part, which may suggest derivation from different scores.



**Illustration 13 'The Duke of York's New March' from tutor 4**

Folk material accounts for only about ten percent of the music presented in the tutors. Whilst its origin is often uncertain, this repertoire encompasses Scottish, English, Irish, German, French, Italian and American tunes, and reminds us also of the importance of the dance. Many of the Scottish and Irish tunes presented in the clarinet publications present yet further evidence of the interaction of stage music and other genres. Scottish tunes, the most prevalent folk material in the tutors, had been heard in London since the time of Oliver Cromwell and enjoyed further dissemination during the eighteenth

<sup>125</sup> See also 'Non più andrai...' (at GB-Ob (W) Tenbury Mus. c.35 (12)).

<sup>126</sup> ELEY 1792 (at GB-Lbl g.271.t.(10.)).

<sup>127</sup> Currently the British Army's oldest continuously serving regular regiment, the Coldstream Guards was formed in 1650. It was known as the Coldstream Regiment of Foot Guards from 1670 until 1855 when it acquired its current name, see *The Coldstream Guards*.

century through publications issued by John Playford, James Oswald and Robert Bremner<sup>128</sup>. Settings of Scottish tunes, with enhanced instrumental accompaniment by Thomas Linley Jr for *The Duenna*, a pasticcio premiered at Covent Garden in November 1775, and by J.C. Bach for the celebrated soprano castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci composed between 1784 and 1785, demonstrate the reception enjoyed by this repertoire in Georgian London. ‘The Lass of Paties Mill’, appearing in tutors 2 and 3, which probably dates from the mid-sixteenth century, was published in 1725 in William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*. As ‘I like the fox shall grieve’ the tune was used in Act II of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* between 1729 and the mid-1780s<sup>129</sup>. Transposed from D to F major, the tune presents the player with the opportunity to display their command of the clarinet register.

‘The Sun sets in night’, in tutor 4, was published in London around 1780 as ‘The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians. An original Air, brought from America by a Gentleman long conversant with the Indian Tribes... The Words adapted to the Air by a Lady’<sup>130</sup>. As such the piece seems to embody the European penchant for exotic music, but in 1802 the Scottish-born poet Anne Hunter *née* Home (1742-1821) revealed herself as creator of both tune and text. As Mrs John Hunter and wife of surgeon John Hunter (1728-1793) Anne’s poems are most often heard in settings by Haydn from the mid-1790s amongst his English-language solo songs with keyboard, HXXVIa: 25-30, 32, 41-42<sup>131</sup>. Hunter recounts:

The idea of this ballad was suggested several years ago by hearing a gentleman, who had resided several years in America amongst the tribe or nation called the Cherokees, sing a wild air... I have endeavoured to give something of the characteristic spirit and sentiment of those brave savages...<sup>132</sup>.

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<sup>128</sup> Playford’s various dancing master publications were regularly issued between 1651 and 1728; Oswald’s publications appeared from 1740 until 1765 and Bremner’s between from the mid-1750s until the late 1780s.

<sup>129</sup> THOMPSON 1725, p. 3 and *The Beggars* [sic] *Opera*..., p. 16 (at GB-Lbl D.270.-2.).



<sup>130</sup> ‘The Death Song of the Cherokee Indians’ (at GB-Lbl G.297.(24.)).

<sup>131</sup> See BROWN 1994, pp. 39-89.

<sup>132</sup> HUNTER 1802, p. 80.

As Michael Pisani observes, rather than a verifiable connection between Hunter's creation and the indigenous music of the Cherokee people «both text and musical rhetoric express the celebration and anxieties of the colonial enterprise»<sup>133</sup>. These elements and Hunter's poem (but not her tune) are present in John Scawen's 1790 play *New Spain, or Love in Mexico* which, in collaboration with Samuel Arnold, was staged as a three-act dialogue opera in July that year at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket<sup>134</sup>. Although buyers of tutor 4 may therefore have recognised only the words, by this time the tune had been published in the UK as well as across the Atlantic in the USA, and continued to be issued well into the nineteenth century<sup>135</sup>. The tune itself has been transposed up a tone into F major and traverses the range *e'* to *g''*. A slur between *c''* and *eb''* in bar 14 suggests players were able to negotiate sliding their finger between the open hole for R4 and the key for *eb'/ab''*.








The music included in tutors 7, 8 9 and 10 also offers insight into contemporary clarinet technique. Individual pieces often venture beyond *d'''* to *f'''* and make more frequent use of the altissimo register, although not even Eley includes notes between *f#'''* and *a'''* despite their inclusion in his fingering chart. Nine solo preludes appear in tutors 5, 9 and 10; their characteristics are shown in Table 5.

Key, no. of bars	Tutor	Compass	Other features
C major, 21	5 and 9	<i>g - c'''</i>	mostly scalic, mixed articulation with slurred and detached strokes within one beat, whole compass agility, chromatic pitches: <i>f#'</i> , <i>c#''</i> , <i>d#''</i> , <i>f#''</i> and <i>g#''</i> , mostly 
G major, 14	5 only	<i>g - c'''</i>	features arpeggios, predominantly staccato, whole compass agility, detached leap from <i>g</i> to <i>a''</i> , mostly 

<sup>133</sup> PISANI 2005, p. 47.

<sup>134</sup> See SCAWEN 1790.

<sup>135</sup> KIDSON et al. 1911-1912, pp. 166-170 and KOEGEL 1997, p. 461.

F major, 26	5 and 9	$e - c'''$	staccato arpeggios and slurred low chalumeau passage-work, detached leap from $e$ to $bb''$ , no avoidance of $b\sharp$ , mostly 
D major, 16	5 only	$f\# - d'''$	staccato scales and repeated notes, chromatic pitches: $c\#''$
Bb major, 14	5 and 9	$bb - d'''$	2 types of staccato, features upper clarinet register, chromatic pitches: $c\#''$ , $f\#''$ , $gb''$ and $ab''$ , many 
C major, 20	5 and 9	$e - d'''$	mix of slurred and detached articulation within individual beats, whole bars of staccato, chromatic pitches: $f\#''$ , mostly 
C major, 11	10 only	$g - c'''$	predominantly scalar, 2 arpeggios, no chromaticism, mostly 
C major, 6	10 only	$c' - c'''$	predominantly scalar, no chromaticism, many 
Eb major, 15	10 only	$eb' - eb'''$	almost exclusively scalar, no chromaticism, requires fluency in cross-fingerings: $eb'$ , $ab''$ and $bb''$ , mixes  and 

**Table 5: summary of features of Preludes in tutors 5, 9 and 10**

Three of the six preludes «compos'd by Eley» are also the final pieces in tutor 9 despite being unattributed by Astor and Co.. Eley's are the more technically demanding preludes because of the combination of a variety of articulatory strokes with predominantly short note values and a wide compass, although he does not often venture beyond  $d'''$ , see **Illustration 14**.

Composed by Eley

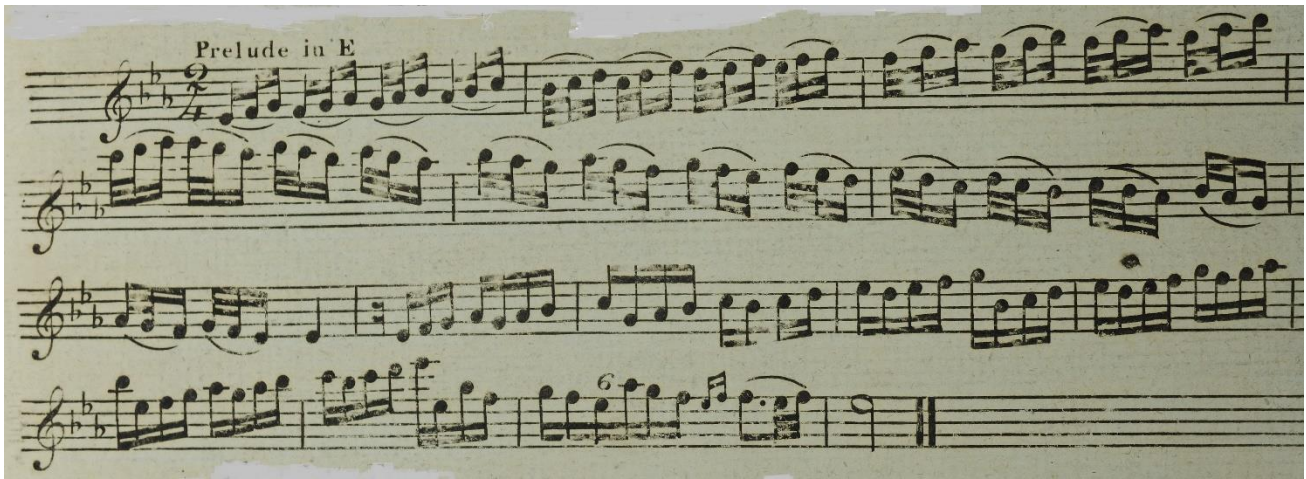
In the Key of B $\flat$

In the Key of C

**Illustration 14** two preludes by Christopher Eley from tutor 5

The E $\flat$  major prelude in tutor 10 suggests that players active in England had achieved a considerable level of finger dexterity, see **Illustration 15**. To navigate this prelude without recourse to cross-fingerings would require a clarinet with at least eight keys but extant instruments confirm the popularity of models with five or six keys until at least the second decade of the nineteenth century.





**Illustration 15 Prelude in E $\flat$  from tutor 10**

## Conclusion

These clarinet tutors published in the last three decades of the eighteenth century corroborate several aspects of the instrument's coming-of-age in Georgian London. None the less, attempts to compile a historiography of the clarinet, especially as regards approaches to pedagogical materials, are too often marred by their prioritisation of well-known Continental sources published by individuals<sup>136</sup>. These English publications cannot, however, be judged by Continental models, not least because they intentionally eschew mention of several important aspects of performance practice, such as posture, embouchure, articulation, breathing, as well as the making and management of reeds. These sources also make no mention of reed position, although organological evidence confirms the prevalence the reed-above embouchure. Furthermore, amidst scant discussion of such these aspects we must acknowledge the priority accorded music.

The thirty years covered by these sources documents the growing awareness of the clarinet's versatility, by virtue of its large compass and distinct timbre, and its use in an increasing range of musical contexts. Although quite rudimentary, the illustrations of a five-keyed clarinet on the fingering

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<sup>136</sup> Such as VANDERHAGEN 1785.

charts of all but two of the tutors confirm the popularity of that type of instrument as well as an independence of design which characterised English-made clarinets until well into the nineteenth century. Amongst features not previously observed we note how the type of player depicted in three of the tutors provides further evidence of their intended middle-class gentlemen patrons. In terms of musical learning, the prevalence of duets confirms the importance of chamber music as a means through which fluency on the clarinet was often demonstrated.

These publications also bear witness to the power of music to transcend social classes and to provide access to audiences beyond those who first heard the music live. In corroborating the rapidity with which the market for printed music grew in the period from c. 1772, the breadth of repertoire in these English publications demonstrates the wide-ranging permeation of stage music and resultant cross-genre fertilisations, as well as reflecting elements of contemporary politics of the time. Amongst the music we note the prevalence of Pleyel, confirming his popularity in late eighteenth-century London, as well as the propensity of publishers in issuing his music without permission for their own financial gain<sup>137</sup>. The appeal of Pleyel's music was a clearly driving force behind the many arrangements made and sold, but it is equally likely that these adaptations stimulated further interest in Pleyel's output<sup>138</sup>. Scholars have begun to recognise how Pleyel's contributions to the canonical genres of symphony and string quartet, reflected in several of the clarinet publications, were likely to have been more well-known in certain locations than works by Haydn and Mozart, and that this familiarity helped to disseminate Pleyel's stylistic influence at a regional level<sup>139</sup>.

Tutor 1, one of two exemplars, documents the establishment of principles of fingering for English clarinets. The addition of all chromatic notes and extension of the range to *a'''* presented in tutor 5 affirms its author Eley's practical expertise. This compass is confirmed in contemporary music

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<sup>137</sup> This last feature is discussed in TOLLEY 2017.

<sup>138</sup> Whilst BADLEY *op. cit.*, p. 548 views this as an either/or situation, we feel that these factors were interrelated.

<sup>139</sup> See BADLEY *op. cit.*, p. 542.

to include the clarinet, composed by Arne, J.C. Bach, Barthélemon, Dibdin, Thomas Erskine [Earl Kelly], Hook and Vento. We note also how the process of engraving fostered textual duplication, which in turn assured the continuity of practices into the early nineteenth century, including ornamentation. Amidst authorial anonymity, tutor 5's association with Eley renders it the earliest single-authored English-language source pertaining to the clarinet. None the less, the affinity between tutor 5, the incomplete tutor and tutors 6, 7, 8 and 9 invites us to question the extent to which it is actually Eley's legacy which permeates subsequent publications. Eley's presence as the only named author, however, does demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between the clarinet and military music, as well as the legitimacy of genres beyond concert musics, which many commentators have failed to recognise.

In fact, only from 1801 do we encounter a more Continental style of didactic publication amongst English materials pertaining to the clarinet, beginning with the publication *A New and Complete Preceptor for the Clarinet* by John Mahon<sup>140</sup>. Amongst factors influencing this difference was the significant change in printing practice. Publishers abandoned the octavo oblong (i.e. landscape) format for the upright royal quarto (i.e. portrait) format which occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century. The technology of quarto publications enabled more information to be presented on each page which in turn facilitated the inclusion of more detail. Both features characterise nineteenth-century clarinet methods by Mahon as well as those by John Hopkinson, William Gutteridge and Thomas Lindsay Willman. Such volumes include more elaborate and detailed texts, fingering charts of greater complexity as well as longer and more complex musical works. Printing technology enabled these later publications to reflect rapid changes in clarinet design, and in so doing, to cater for specialist clarinet players<sup>141</sup>.

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<sup>140</sup> MAHON 1801.

<sup>141</sup> See HOPKINSON c. 1814; GUTTERIDGE 1824 and WILLMAN 1825.

Therefore we must eschew Eurocentric readings of the earliest English clarinet tutors simply because they are not, as their contents clearly demonstrate, pedagogical works. Seeking to interpret this body of English sources in Continental terms is flawed because it imposes a standardisation which simply did not obtain. By recalibrating our expectations we allow these English publications to reveal themselves as hybrid sources, primarily commodities through which printed music was promoted and distributed and, as such, valuable repositories of musical taste, indicative of the pursuits of the emerging middle class. They manifest a commercially driven enterprise which seems to be peculiarly English. We hope therefore, that this study, the first to examine such a corpus English tutors pertaining to any instrument, may stimulate research into similar publications for other wind instruments. Recognising the existence and important of this hybrid category, alongside encyclopædias, instrumentation treatises, fingering charts and didactic works, will ensure future research presents a more representative account of extant documentary source materials which recognise this plurality.

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