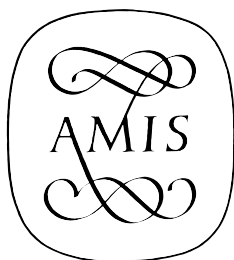


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New Light on the Recorder and Flageolet in Colonial North America and the United States, 1700–1840, From Newspaper Advertisements¹

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Advertisements in early newspapers were the chief source of revenue for such publications, as has been the case from the beginning to the present day. . . . The publisher of the *New York Evening Post*, in its issue of December 1, 1803, concisely stated the case for his fellow craftsmen, to cover a period of two centuries: “Subscriptions alone, allowing them to be quadruple to what were ever known in this city, would not support a newspaper establishment; and, in fact, it is the advertiser who provides the paper for the subscriber.” It is the advertisements, furthermore, that provide the local color, and enable the historian to reconstruct the picture of a community far more than all the reading matter in the so-called news.²

The recent availability of facsimile databases of newspapers has made it possible to do research in a few weeks, sitting at home, that would have formerly taken several years of visits to libraries and archives.³ Having

1. “Colonial North America” is of course a broader term than the territory that is now the United States; the early history of duct flutes in Canada and Mexico, not to mention the rest of Latin America, remains to be researched.

To save space, initial articles of newspaper names have been removed. Page numbers are omitted in the citations, because the newspapers are short enough to enable the advertisements to be found readily without them. A name in parentheses following a newspaper title is that of the publisher. I appreciate the help of Bernard Gordillo and Nikolaj Tarasov during the preparation of this article, as well as the comments by the editor and referees on an earlier draft.

2. Clarence S. Brigham, *Journals and Journeymen: A Contribution to the History of Early American Newspapers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 27. Quotation from *New York Evening Post* corrected from the original article.

3. For Colonial North America and the United States, see America’s Historical Newspapers, Series 1–5 (1690–1922) and Hispanic American Newspapers, 1808–1980, published by Readex, a division of NewsBank; available on subscription from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com>. These databases seem intended to be comprehensive, although they bear no introductory note about their aims.

An earlier database of transcriptions on CD-ROM, *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690–1783* [PACAN], compiled by Mary Jane Corry, Kate Van Winkle Keller, and Robert M. Keller (New York: University Music Editions, 1997), is based on a smaller sample of newspapers but occasionally includes material that has not yet found its way into the other databases. Accessible Archives (available on subscription from <http://www.accessible.com>) is also a transcription database, giving access to, among other newspapers, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.

done extensive research on woodwind instruments in databases of English newspapers,⁴ I started working on the present article to trace how long the recorder was played in what is now the United States in the eighteenth century. As an unexpected bonus, I found a wealth of social material in American newspaper advertisements—far more than exists, for example, in England, where few shops itemized the musical instruments they sold. When it became clear that there was even more material about the flageolet in America, and that use of the instrument increased considerably in the 1790s, I continued researching into the nineteenth century. Scholars of the flute, clarinet, and bassoon have already been exploring newspaper advertisements to good effect.⁵

*The Recorder*⁶

Colin Sterne wrote in 1982 that “the Baroque period represents the golden age of the recorder. The instrument itself reached the end of its technical development. . . . With the advent of the Viennese Classical period, the recorder finally became silent, remaining so during the whole of the nineteenth century. . . .”⁷ Sterne’s statement sets out succinctly the common modern view—perhaps we can even call it the myth—of the recorder’s history from about 1730 or 1740 through the early twentieth century. The instrument is supposed to have disappeared from the musical scene, having been replaced for all practical purposes by its “louder,” “more flexible,” “more expressive” cousin, the transverse flute,

4. 17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers (Gale Digital Collections, <http://www.gale.cengage.com>); *Gazettes*, <http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/>; 19th Century British Newspapers (Gale); *The Times* Digital Archive 1785–1985 (Gale). My research will be published as David Lasocki, “New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements,” *Galpin Society Journal* 63 (2010): 73–138.

5. See Georgia Peebles, “Recruiting, Repairing and Roguery: Eighteenth-Century America[n] Bassoonists,” *The Double Reed* 22, no. 1 (March 1999): 118–20 [quotations from advertisements taken from PACAN]; Susan E. Thompson, “Traversi in Colonial and Post-Revolutionary Philadelphia as Noted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1744–83,” *Traverso: Historical Flute Newsletter* 15, no. 4 (October 2003): 13–15 [based on Accessible Archives and PACAN]; Jane Ellsworth, “The Clarinet in Early America, 1758–1820” (PhD diss., The Ohio State University, 2004) [based on PACAN and microfilms of newspapers] and “Early American Clarinet Makers and Sellers, 1761–1820,” this *JOURNAL* 32 (2006): 80–123 [ditto, supplemented by America’s Historical Newspapers; e-mail message to the author, 9 November 2009].

6. For an earlier short survey of this subject, see David W. Music, “The Recorder in Early America,” *American Recorder* 24, no. 3 (August 1983): 102–3.

7. Colin C. Sterne, “Repertory of the Recorder: A Historical Survey,” in Kenneth Wollitz, *The Recorder Book* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), 196–97.

until revived in its historical and surely unimprovable form almost two centuries later. In fact, as recent research has been revealing, although the recorder did decline among professionals after about 1730, it remained a prominent amateur and educational instrument in Europe for the remainder of the eighteenth century and even survived through the nineteenth.⁸ The present section confirms that the recorder played a role as an amateur and educational instrument in the United States through about 1815.

Terminology. The recorder is an internal-duct flute with seven finger holes and a thumb hole. The instrument and its name are first documented in England in the late fourteenth century.⁹ From the beginning, it was clearly distinguished in name from the transverse flute (“flute”). Complications in terminology set in when the newly remodeled Baroque style of recorder—made in three pieces, with elaborate turnery at the joints—was introduced from France in 1673. The instrument then took on the French name *flute douce*, soon abbreviated to simply *flute*. References to “flute” in England between the 1670s and at least the 1740s, therefore, almost always mean the recorder rather than the transverse flute. The switch in terminology was possible only because the Renaissance style of transverse flute was almost obsolete in England in the 1670s. When the Baroque transverse flute was imported, again from France, around 1700, it was given a new name, “German flute,” a translation of the French *flûte allemande* or *flûte d’Allemagne*.

In France, two new terms, *flûte à bec* for the recorder, and *flûte traversière* for the flute, were introduced in the early eighteenth century. In other European countries, the recorder had parallel names to the French: *Flöte* in Germany; *flauto* or *flauto dolce* in Italy (and Germany); *fluit*, *fluit doux*, or *fluit a bec* in the Netherlands; and *flauta* or *flauta dulce* in Spain. In contrast, the flute was known as *traverso* or *Flöte traversiere* in Germany, *flauto traverso* in Italy, *dwarsfluit* or *fluit travers* in the Netherlands, and *flauta travesera* in Spain.¹⁰

8. This research will be summarized in David Lasocki, with Robert Ehrlich and Nikolaj Tarasov, *The Recorder*, Yale Musical Instrument Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming).

9. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. “Recorder” (by David Lasocki), <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>.

10. This paragraph is based on unpublished research by the author in inventories and purchases. See also Lasocki, with Ehrlich and Tarasov, *The Recorder*.

In Colonial North America, recorders are mentioned under that name in inventories from plantations in New Hampshire as early as the 1630s.¹¹ Since the recorders are listed in conjunction with shawms, they were probably played by the same men, who had some ceremonial function on the plantation.

The next probable reference to the instrument in America comes more than thirty years later. Jan Gerritse van Marcken immigrated in 1654 to Beverwijck, a Dutch settlement (later renamed Albany) in New York. In 1662, he became “farmer of the excise” (collector of taxes on alcoholic beverages) there. Two years later he made an inventory of his possessions that included a chest containing twenty girls’ and boys’ caps, some gloves, a pair of child’s stockings, men’s and women’s clothing, a book, and two compasses, as well as “10 houte fluijten” (ten wooden *fluijten*).¹² Susan E. Thompson dismisses the idea that the *fluijten* were models of the type of ship called “flute” in English at the time, concluding that they were probably small recorders for the children of the household. Ten recorders does seem more likely than ten model ships, and if the instruments were indeed recorders, they would have been similar in size and type, but not necessarily in quality, to the soprano recorder for which Jacob van Eyck wrote his famous collection *Der Fluyten Lust-hof* (Amsterdam, 1646–49).¹³

The colonies did not react instantly to the change of terminology in England in the 1670s. The inventory of the estate of Judith Parker, who died in Surry County, Virginia, in 1679, still uses the older terms to distinguish between “1 Recorder 2 flutes.”¹⁴ The estate inventory of John Dyer, an ironmonger and member of the Artillery Company in Boston, in 1696 lists “2 flutes 2^s.”¹⁵ Barbara Lambert suggests plausibly that the

11. “15 recorders and hoeboys” (Newitchwanicke, 1633), “hoeboys and recorders 26” (Piscataqua, 1633), “15 recorders and hautboys” (Piscataqua, 1635); Louis Pichierri, *Music in New Hampshire, 1623–1800* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 13.

12. Susan E. Thompson, “Wooden *Fluijten* in Beverwijck, a Dutch Colony in the New World,” *American Recorder* 45, no. 5 (November 2004): 16–17.

13. See, particularly, Thiemo Wind, *Jacob van Eyck and the Others: Dutch Solo Repertoire for Recorder in the Golden Age*, trans. Jonathan Reeder (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2010), chap. 11, “The Instrument.”

14. Surry Co. Deeds, Wills, Etc. 2, 1671–84, p. [307a], The Library of Virginia.

15. Barbara Lambert, “Social Music, Musicians, and Their Musical Instruments in and around Colonial Boston,” in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts 1630–1820*, vol. 2, *Music in Homes and in Churches: A Conference Held by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, May 17 and 18, 1973* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1985), 486.

instruments were either Renaissance-type flutes or fifes—more likely the latter, which he was selling to other militiamen.

In 1716, when an organist who had immigrated two years earlier to Boston imported some instruments from England, he used the term flutes, which presumably now referred to recorders, as in England.¹⁶ “English flute” for recorder is first documented in 1743,¹⁷ two years ahead of British sources,¹⁸ and this term continued to be employed in American advertisements until 1815.¹⁹ In 1749, the alternative name “common flute,” first documented in England in 1722, also turns up, and it persisted to the end of the century.²⁰ Sometimes both terms appear in advertisements by the same store around the same time, and they are even presented as alternatives—“English, or common Concert Flutes” (New York, 1773),²¹ or combined—“English common Flutes” (Baltimore, 1785);²² so they were truly equivalent. A “concert” instrument seems to have been one pitched in the customary key: thus F for an alto recorder. “Flute doux,” a garbled rendition of the French term *flûtes douces*, occurs once in New York in 1794.²³ In American sources of the second half of the eighteenth century, “voice flute” did not mean an alto recorder in D, as it had done in England around 1700, but some kind of low transverse flute.²⁴

16. Advertisement by Edward Enstone in *Boston News-Letter*, 16 April 1716.

17. Inventory of estate of Colonel Henry Fitzhugh, Esquire, Stafford County, Virginia, 2 March 1743 (recorded); see “Will of William Fitzhugh and Other Extracts from the Records of Stafford County,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 2, no. 3 (January 1895): 278.

18. Advertisement for a sale in *Daily Advertiser* [London], 26 February 1745: “MUSICK and INSTRUMENTS, being the entire Collection of an eminent Virtuoso, deceas’d, among which are . . . several German and English flutes and Hautboys. . . .”

19. The last reference I have found to “English flutes” in the sense of recorders is in a description of the Apollino, an instrument combining the features of an organ, orchestra, band, and harp, invented by Job Plimpton of Albany, NY (see pp. 44–45 below).

20. Advertisement by John Walsh and John and Joseph Hare for a “great Variety of Instrumental Musick for the Common Flute, German Flute,” *Daily Courant*, 30 November 1722; advertisements by John Beals in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 March 1749, and Frederick Grunzweig in *South Carolina Gazette* (Timothy), 7 April 1749.

21. Advertisement by James Rivington in *Rivington’s New York Gazette*, 14 October 1773.

22. Advertisement by Murphy’s Book-Store and Circulating-Library in *Maryland Journal*, 11 March 1785.

23. Advertisement by G. Gilbert and Co. in *Daily Advertiser*, 12 November 1794.

24. See David Lasocki, “Lessons from Inventories and Sales of Flutes and Recorders, 1650–1800,” in *Flötenmusik in Geschichte und Aufführungspraxis von 1650 bis 1850: XXXIV. Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 5. bis 7. Mai 2006*, ed. Ute Omonsky und Boje E. Hans Schmuhl, Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 73 (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2009), 299–330.

The English term “German flute” for the transverse instrument first appeared in America in an advertisement for a New York concert in 1736,²⁵ and was used into the early nineteenth century. By the 1740s, as in England, references to plain “flute” had become ambiguous. That the term “flutes” could refer to both transverse flutes and recorders is implied by its alternation with “German and English flutes” or “common and German flutes” in advertisements from five stores in Boston, Charleston, and New York over the period 1746–75.²⁶ The usage of “flutes” as transverse flutes was not firmly established until the 1780s.²⁷ Finally, in the mid-1790s, “common flute” came to mean the one-key transverse flute as opposed to one of the newer varieties with up to six keys,²⁸ and by the first decade of the nineteenth century “English flutes” began to signify flutes from England.²⁹

Teachers and Instructions. According to a newspaper report, perhaps fanciful, the earliest documented recorder teacher in the colonies worked with Native Americans rather than colonists. The following report was sent back to England in 1700: “a French Dancing-Master that has settled himself in that Province [Carolina], having made himself Master of the Indian Languages, and travail’d among the Indian Colonies to the Westward, and taught them to dance Country-Dances, and to play upon the Flute, Hautboy and Flagelet, he has therewith so charm’d those Nations, that they have presented him with all manner of Things, and amongst others with little Plates and Bars of Silver, selling his Flutes and Flagelets to them at prodigious Rates, whereby he has amassed a great Estate.”³⁰ The master seems to have died only two months later, as noted in a report from Carolina, referring, however, to Native Americans in Florida: “The latter [Floridans] it seems are more especially addicted to

25. Advertisement for a concert for the benefit of Theodore Pachelbel, *New York Weekly Journal*, 12 January 1736.

26. William Price, Boston, 1746–48; Gilbert and Lewis Deblois, Boston, 1753–71; Garrat Noel, New York, 1766–67; Robert Wells, Charleston, 1766–71; Joshua Lockwood, Charleston, 1773–75.

27. Advertisement by Mr. Roth in *Pennsylvania Packet*, 23 September 1783: “flute with three middle pieces.”

28. Advertisement by Benjamin Carr in *Argus, or Greenleaf’s New Daily Advertiser*, 5 February 1796: “patent and common Flutes. . . .”

29. Advertisement by Simeon Marble in *Connecticut Herald*, New Haven, 23 June 1807: “English and American Flutes and Fifes.”

30. *Flying Post or the Post Master*, 12 November 1700.

Musick and Dancing, divers Nations spending their whole Lives in Dancing, &c. and lament the Loss of the Musick-Master, who had taught many of them to play upon the Flute, Flagelet and Hautboy; many of them spending whole Days in piping on those Pipes, which the Dancing-Master had sold to them.”³¹

A similar sentiment is expressed in an anonymous letter printed in an English newspaper in 1786: “hints [that] might be done in relation to the natives of Canada. . . . Please but the people, and they’ll do any thing for you; and I assure you there is no great difficulty in pleasing them. . . . They should be loaded with presents from England. A quantity of common flutes and little drums should be sent, and rings and necklaces for the women; also little trumpets and trifles of this kind, which have more charms than you can conceive, particularly trumpets, many of which have been sent from France.”³²

Twelve men and one woman advertised their ability to teach the recorder over the period 1713–1771 in five American cities. In 1713, at the house of George Brownell in Boston, “where scholars may board,” there were taught “Dancing, Treble Violin, Flute, Spinnet &c.,” in addition to two of the 3Rs (“Writing, Cyphering”) and several styles of needlework.³³ Barbara Lambert notes that Brownell “was the first dancing master to be permitted by the selectmen,” the city fathers, “to practice his profession as a resident of Boston.”³⁴ The reference to needlework suggests that girls were being taught as well as boys, and that Brownell’s wife, Pleasant, was involved in the school.³⁵ Brownell was the teacher of no less a person than Benjamin Franklin, who recorded in his autobiography: “my father, burthened with a numerous family, found that he was incapable, without subjecting himself to difficulties, of providing for the expence of a collegiate education [so] . . . he . . . took me from the grammar-school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic,

31. *Flying Post or the Post Master*, 6 February 1701.

32. “Letter from New-York,” August 24 in *Public Advertiser*; 13 October 1786.

33. Advertisement in *Boston News Letter*, 23 February 1713; repeated 2, 9 March.

34. Lambert, “Social Music,” 512.

35. Madam Brownell’s obituary in 1738 notes that she was “much known and respected in New-England and New-York, as well as this Province, for her excellent and happy method of educating young Ladies, in which useful Employment she has been engaged for many years.” See *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, vol. 2, Appendix C, 968. Compare an English advertisement of only four years after Brownell’s advertisement concerning the recorder: “One who teaches French, the Flute, Harpsicord, and Needle-work, would be a Governess. . . .” *Weekly Journal or Saturday’s Post*, 11 May 1717.

kept by a Mr. George Brownwel, who was a skilful master, and succeeded very well in his profession by employing gentle means only, and such as were calculated to encourage his scholars.”³⁶ Brownell is first heard of in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1703; resided in Boston, 1713–17; had moved on to New York by 1721 and was still there in 1723; is advertised in Philadelphia, 1728–30; was back in New York, 1731–34, Boston, 1734, and Philadelphia, 1735–38; and ended up with his niece in Charleston, 1744–50.³⁷ On the musical side, he never advertised that he taught instruments again, only dancing.

In 1713, King’s Chapel, Boston, accepted the bequest of an organ and hired Edward Enstone from London, England, to play it. In February the following year, the vestry minutes noted of his proposed salary of £30 per year: “which with other Advantages as to Dancing, Musick etc., we doubt not will be sufficient Encouregement” for him to emigrate.³⁸ In other words, he could supplement his income by teaching. By December, Enstone had assumed his duties as organist. Alas, his “Petition for Liberty of keeping a School as a Master of Musick & Danceing Mast^r” was disallowed by the selectmen on February 21, 1715.³⁹ He clearly carried on regardless, for on October 25 they issued a complaint against him “for Setting up & keeping a School for Teaching Mussick &c.”⁴⁰ Evidently, he had a partner, Rivers Stanhope, cited “for the Teaching & Instructing of youth to dance etc.” the same day. On April 3, 1716, the selectmen denied “their Petion [*sic*] as partners to kep a School of manners or Danceing School.”⁴¹ Only two weeks later, however, Enstone placed an advertisement announcing: “there is lately sent over from London a choice Collection of Musickal Instruments, consisting of Flaguelets, Flutes, Haut-Boys, Bass-Viols, Violins, Bows, Strings, Reads for Haut-Boys, Books of Instructions for all these Instruments,” to be sold at his dancing school. He added: “Any Person may have all Instruments of Musick mended, or Virgenalls and Spinnetts Strung and Tuned at a reasonable rate, and likewise may be taught to Play on any of these Instruments abovemention’d; dancing taught by a true and easier method than has

36. *The Life of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, Written by Himself*, 2nd American ed. (Philadelphia: Benjamin Johnson, 1794), 15.

37. See the documents in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, vol. 2, Appendix C; the summary of Brownell’s whereabouts on p. 954 is belied by the documents.

38. Quoted in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, vol. 2, Appendix C, 970.

39. Quoted in *ibid.*, 973.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*, 969.

been heretofore.”⁴² Lambert suggests the selectmen disapproved of Enstone’s school because, “constantly troubled by wards [orphans] of the city . . . [they] were concerned by the increasing number of inhabitants in Boston who were unable to find work.”⁴³ He could well have provided (unauthorized) competition for Brownell.

Enstone encountered further trouble in Boston. He was dismissed as organist in November 1723,⁴⁴ and it was advertised on December 2 that “the Houshold Goods of Mr. Enston of Boston, Dancing-Master, will be expos’d to Sale at his House. . . .”⁴⁵ Two weeks later: “the remaining part of Mr. Enstone’s Goods, consisting of Beds, Bedding, and other Houshold Goods, with a Collection of several pieces of Painting & Printgs of sundry sorts, will be exposed to sale every Day this Week, excepting Wednesday. N.B. The said Mr. Enstone will continue to teach Dancing, &c. every Monday, Thursday & Saturday in the Afternoon as usual, during his stay here, at Mr. Grainger’s the Writing School Master. . . .”⁴⁶ In April the next year, cited as “Dancing Master,” he was convicted by a jury of cohabiting with a woman without being married to her.⁴⁷

Another dancing master in Boston, Increase Gatchell, also described as a “schoolmaster,” had an unspecified number of “flutes” in his inventory when he died in 1729, and may have taught his students this instrument.⁴⁸ He too had trouble with his school: a “Company of Young Lads, who were deny’d Admittance” to the school in 1723 threatened to kill him, used obscene language, smashed the windows, and broke one of the iron bars.⁴⁹ He advertised violin strings for sale the following year, so perhaps he was also selling recorders.⁵⁰

In 1744 in Philadelphia, “Mrs. Dickson, from Scotland” announced that she “proposes this winter to teach young ladies to draw in every kind, and to paint upon silk, and japan upon glass or wood, and varnishing, or to play on the flute.”⁵¹ Evidently, she had not been influenced by

42. Advertisement in *Boston News-Letter*, 16 April 1716.

43. Reported in Lambert, “Social Music,” 513.

44. Cited in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, vol. 2, Appendix C, 976.

45. Advertisement in *New England Courant*, 2 December 1723.

46. Advertisement in *Boston Gazette*, 16 December 1723.

47. Cited in *Music in Colonial Massachusetts*, vol. 2, Appendix C, 977.

48. The inventory is reproduced in Lambert, “Social Music,” 488.

49. Letter to the editor (“old JANUS the Couranteer”) of *New-England Courant*, 4 March 1723.

50. Advertisement in *New-England Courant*, 25 May 1724.

51. Advertisement in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 14 December 1744.

the advice of the famous dancer and choreographer John Essex, who wrote in *The Young Ladies Conduct: or, Rules for Education* (London, 1722) that “there are some others [instruments] that really are unbecoming the Fair Sex; as the *Flute*, *Violin* and *Hautboy* . . . the *Flute* is very improper, as taking away too much of the Juices, which are otherwise more necessarily employ’d, to promote the Appetite, and assist Digestion.”⁵²

By contrast, in New York the following September, “a gentleman lately arrived here” made his pitch to “young gentlemen, or others, inclinable to learn,” offering that those “who are willing to divert or improve a tedious hour . . . may be taught by a very easy method, the violin and flute.”⁵³ He offered to wait on gentlemen “at their respective lodgings” and undertook “to teach the meanest capacity (on strict application) two tunes in the first fortnight, and so on in proportion.”

In Charleston, South Carolina, in 1749, Frederick Grunzweig, presumably a fairly recent German immigrant, gave notice to a broad potential clientele—“all young gentlemen, ladies and others, in town and country”—that “besides the spinnet,” singing to the spinnet, “German flute, &c.,” he taught “the English or common flute and violincello . . . carefully . . . at a very cheap rate,” both during the day, presumably at the houses of his students, and at his house every Wednesday and Saturday from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.⁵⁴

John Beals of Philadelphia is the only teacher for whom we have multiple advertisements. In 1749, describing himself as a “musick-master, from London,” he proposed to teach “the violin, hautboy, German flute, common flute, and dulcimer, by note” at his house or to “attend young ladies, or others, that may desire it, at their houses.” As a bonus, “he likewise provides musick for balls or other entertainments.” Probably the music business was slow, for three years later he advertised himself primarily as a net maker, “from Fleet-street, London,” listing in detail all the types of nets he made or mended, and only adding at the end: “Gentlemen and others may be carefully taught the violin, hautboy, German-flute and common flute, by book, as formerly.” The following year, 1753, he advertised in the same manner, just elaborating that he

52. John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct: or, Rules for Education; under several Heads; with Instructions upon Dress, both before and after Marriage: And Advice to Young Wives* (London, 1722), 84–85.

53. Advertisement in *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, 9 September 1745.

54. Advertisement in *South Carolina Gazette* (Timothy), 7 April 1749.

taught the same instruments plus dulcimer “carefully . . . in a plain and easy manner.”⁵⁵ Beals’s terms “by note” and “by book” both mean “from written or printed music,”⁵⁶ or in other words, not just by ear.

Charles Love, “musician from London,” advertising in New York in 1753, was more generous in his offering of instruments if more restrictive in his expectation of students, “teaching gentlemen musick on the following instruments, viz. violin, hautboy, German and common flutes, bassoon, French horn, tenor, and bass violin, if desired.” Although those “gentlemen who have a mind to be instructed on any of the above mentioned instruments” could become “acquainted with his conditions” at his lodgings, he had set up a school “in Mr. Rice’s consort room in Broad-Street.”⁵⁷ Evidently, Love did not find enough students to make a living and had to move on. Four years later, Philip Ludwell Lee, a plantation owner and a member of one of the richest families in Virginia, offered a large reward for the recovery of one of his runaway servants: “Charles Love, a tall thin man, about sixty years of age; he professes music, dancing, fencing, and plays extremely well on the violin, and all wind instruments; he stole when he went away a very good bassoon, made by Schuchart, which he carried with him, as also a Dutch or German fiddle, with an old hautboy and German flute, which are his own; he rode a small white horse, with a Virginia made saddle, and a coarse blue cloth housing: it is supposed he will make towards Charles-Town [Charleston] in South-Carolina.”⁵⁸

In 1763, another Philadelphian, a “limner” (painter) named William Williams, announced that “being lately returned from the West Indies” he was living once more in his former residence, “where he intends to carry on his business viz. painting in general. Also, an evening school, for the instruction of polite youth, in different branches of drawing, and to sound the houtboy, German and common flutes. . . . Those gentlemen inclining to learn, may by applying be informed of the conditions.”⁵⁹

55. Advertisements in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 March 1749, 18 February 1752, 30 January 1753.

56. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “note. n².”

57. Advertisement in *New York Mercury* (Gaine), 2 July 1753. John Rice moved to Boston by November that year to become organist at Trinity Church (see advertisement in *Boston Evening Post*, 11 November 1753).

58. Advertisement in *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis (Green), 29 September 1757.

59. Advertisement in *Pennsylvania Journal*, 13 January 1763.

In Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1771, Francis Russworm begged leave “to inform the young gentlemen in and about Williamsburg, that he shall open a school . . . to teach the violin, German and common flutes. His terms may be known by inquiring at the post office, and where those gentlemen who intend becoming scholars will please to subscribe their names.” Russworm added: “He will wait upon young ladies at their own homes, to teach them to dance a minuet after the newest and most fashionable method.”⁶⁰

In Charleston in 1772, Jacob Hood and Philip Hartunoz informed the public “that they teach at home and abroad [i.e., away from home], all musical instruments of every denomination whatsoever, particularly the violin, violoncello, harpsichord, hautboy, bassoon, German and English flute, French horn, & etc. Any gentleman, a lover of music, may have his Negroes taught upon very reasonable terms by applying to them at the house of Mrs. Knox in Bedon’s Alley. All musical instruments tuned, repaired, and rectified.”⁶¹ Hartunoz is a curious surname, perhaps a typographical error. Hood was presumably the man of that name who had advertised in Newport, Rhode Island, seven years earlier: “*Jacob Hood*, Master of Musick from New-York, teacheth to play on the Violin and German Flute, in the most musical Manner. Any Gentleman inclining to learn the Exercise of those Instruments, may meet with him at Doctor George Eberly’s on the Point.”⁶² On April 24, 1770, he announced in Charleston: “(lately arrived in this town from New-York) Proposes to teach the German Flute and Violin. Any gentlemen that will favour him with their favour [*sic*], may depend that he will do all that lies in his power to give them satisfaction. N.B. He may be found at the Corner-House, next door to the Sign of the Unicorn, King-Street.”⁶³ By September 2, 1771, he had moved house: “The subscriber returns his most sincere thanks to those gentlemen that have been pleased to favour him with their custom; having removed to the home of Mrs. Knox in Bedon’s Alley where he teaches musick on the Violin, German flute and Violoncello. Rectifies all sorts of musical instruments upon the most reasonable terms, and begs the further continuance of their favours.”⁶⁴

60. Advertisement in *Virginia Gazette*, 16 May 1771.

61. Advertisement in *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 16 March 1772.

62. Advertisement in *Newport Mercury*, 4 November 1765.

63. Advertisement in *South Carolina Gazette* (Crouch), 24 April 1770.

64. Advertisement in *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 2 September 1771.

But Hood and Hartunoz soon had competition in Charleston. In 1773, John William Beck advertised “that he teacheth to play on the following instruments, viz., clarinet, flauto traverso, flauto a bec, hautbois or oboe de Simon,⁶⁵ bassoon, violin, tenor violin, and bass violin as perfectly as any master in America”—no false modesty here. He added that students “may depend on his assiduity and punctual attendance on very reasonable terms, either at their own houses or at his house. . . .”⁶⁶ The polyglot term *flauto a bec* for the recorder is documented in Germany in the late Baroque.⁶⁷

That the recorder was being taught as late as 1773 should be no surprise, given the number of instruments that were still being sold in the 1770s, as we will see below. Recorder teachers were advertised in England up to 1768.⁶⁸

Besides Enstone’s “books of instructions” in 1716, tutors for the recorder were advertised for sale in America by Michael Hillegas, music publisher and store, Philadelphia (1759, 1764, 1772); James Rivington, bookseller, New York (1760, 1772, 1779); Peter Goelet, general merchant, New York (1763); Rivington and Brown, booksellers, Philadelphia (1763); Robert Wells, bookseller, Charleston (1766); James Budden, general merchant, Philadelphia (1768); the Post Office, Williamsburg (1772); and Gilbert Deblois, general merchant, Boston (1773).⁶⁹ Deblois claimed that the instructions he sold “for each sort of instrument” were “so very plain and easy as the learner may soon make himself master of it.”

65. Joseba Berrocal suggests that “Simon” may have been a phonetic attempt to render the French word “Cimeau,” and “Oboe de Simon” therefore a term for a lower oboe. E-mail message to hautboyresearch@yahoo.com, 1 May 2009.

66. Advertisement in *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 17 December 1773.

67. For example in one manuscript of Pierre Provo’s Trio Sonata in C minor for alto recorder, flute, and basso continuo (Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel / Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, Ms V 7049, under “Sigr: Schultze”).

68. The “dancing and music-master” Mr. Patence advertised that he taught “ladies and gentlemen the minuet, louvre, country and hornpipe dancing, in the most concise and expeditious mander [i.e., manner], and defies any French or English master to teach more polite or better; as likewise the organ, harpsichord, and violin, German flute or common flute, on very reasonable terms.” *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 21 April 1768.

69. Advertisements in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 13 December 1759; *New York Mercury* (Gaine), 13 October 1760; *New York Gazette* (Weyman), 31 October 1763; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 December 1763, 5 January 1764; *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 13 June 1766; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 June 1768, 27 October 1768; *New York Mercury* (Gaine), 20 April 1772; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 21 May 1772; *Virginia Gazette*, 24 September 1772; *Boston Evening Post* (Fleet), 23 August 1773; *Rivington’s New York Gazette*, 9 October 1779.

As far as we can tell from advertisements and surviving copies, all the recorder tutors available in America were imported from London. Rivington's announcement of "the compleat tutor . . . for the common flute" in 1760, the year he himself emigrated from London to America, probably referred to *The Compleat Tutor for the Flute Containing the Best and Easiest Instructions for Learners to Obtain a Proficiency* (London: Peter Thompson, 1754; same title, Thompson & Son, ca. 1760).⁷⁰ Rivington did not announce any woodwind tutors as having been printed by himself until *New Instructions for the German Flute* (1778), the title of which in any case has the same wording as that of a tutor published in London about three years earlier.⁷¹ His advertisement for "New Instructions, For playing on the following instruments . . . German Flute, Common Flute. . . ." in 1779 presumably alludes to his new publication for the flute. No tutor with "new instructions" in the title is known for the recorder, so Rivington was probably selling one of the latest tutors from London, such as *Compleat Instructions for the Common Flute* (Longman and Broderip, after 1775).⁷² Recorder tutors continued to be published there through about 1794.⁷³

Players. In Europe, at least since the sixteenth century, the recorder had been an instrument used by three classes of performer: professionals, amateurs, and learners.⁷⁴ We have already looked at teachers and their students in colonial America. The remaining references to players are always to amateurs. The earliest is in Beverwijck, New York, in 1660, where a man is reported to have left an alehouse "befuddled but in a good humor with a big flute in his pocket."⁷⁵ The flute is far more likely to have been a *fluit*, or recorder, than a large transverse flute, an instrument that was scarcely played by amateurs in Europe at that time.

70. See Thomas E. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600–1830*, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography 11 (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1967), entries 89 and 95.

71. Advertisement by James Rivington in *Rivington's New York Gazette*, 15 August 1778; for the London model, published by Longman Lukey & Co. around 1775, see Warner, *Annotated Bibliography*, entry 127.

72. Warner, *Annotated Bibliography*, entry 135.

73. *New and Complete Instructions for the Common Flute, Containing the Easiest & Most Approved Methods for Learners to Play. . . .* (London: G. Goulding, ca. 1794); see Ewald Henseler, "Zwei unbekannte Griffstabellen?" *Tibia* 26, no. 1 (2001): 384–85.

74. *Grove Music Online*, s.v. "Recorder" (Lasocki).

75. Thompson, "Wooden *Fluiften* in Beverwijck," 18 (see n. 12 above).

Recorders are mentioned in the estate inventories of two men in Boston: Walter Rosewell, sea captain, in 1717 (“1 Flute & book”); and James Scolley, shopkeeper, in 1721 (“1 flfut”).⁷⁶ The word “flute” is also found in several estate inventories of Virginia gentlemen wealthy enough to have their estates inventoried between 1736 and 1791. At least through the 1750s, these instruments are likely to have been recorders, and the reference to “English flute” is explicit:

Chapman Walker, late Surgeon of the Burwell York County Court, 1736: “flute”⁷⁷

Benjamin Moss, York County, 1737: “1 flute and fiddle”⁷⁸

Robert Davidson, York County, 1740: “1 flute”⁷⁹

Dr. William Scott, a member of the “aspiring” (second wealthiest) class, Prince William County, 1743: “an old flute”⁸⁰

Colonel Henry Fitzhugh, Esquire, plantation owner, Stafford County, 1743: “a case containing a German and an English flute”⁸¹

Jesse Ball, a member of the wealthiest class, Lancaster County, 1747: “1 spinet . . . 1 violin and case . . . 1 flute”⁸²

Ishmael Moody, keeper of an ordinary (a hotel or inn also serving as a venue for entertainment), York County, 1748: “1 flute”⁸³

John Waller, gent., Spotsylvania County, 1754: “a hautboy . . . a flute . . . a fiddle and case”⁸⁴

76. Lambert, “Social Music,” 487.

77. Probate inventory of Chapman Walker, York County, Virginia, 16 August 1736; private communication from John Barrows.

78. Estate inventory of Benjamin Moss, York County, Virginia, 19 September 1737; cited in Mary R. M. Goodwin, “Musical Instruments in Eighteenth Century Virginia” (report, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1953), viii.

79. Probate inventory of Robert Davidson, York County, Virginia, 17 March 1740; cited in Goodwin, “Musical Instruments in Eighteenth Century Virginia,” viii.

80. Probate inventory of Dr. William Scott, Stafford County, Virginia, 2 March 1743 (taken); 8 March 1743 (recorded); see <http://www.gunstonhall.org/probate/SCOTT42.PDF> (accessed 14 July 2006).

81. Estate inventory of Colonel Henry Fitzhugh, Esquire, Stafford County, Virginia, 2 March 1743 (recorded); see “Will of William Fitzhugh,” 278 (see n. 17 above).

82. Probate inventory of Jesse Ball, Lancaster County, Virginia, 11 March 1747 (recorded); see <http://www.gunstonhall.org/probate/BALL47.PDF> (accessed 14 July 2006).

83. Probate inventory of Ishmael Moody, York County, Virginia, 16 January 1748; partly cited in Goodwin, “Musical Instruments in Eighteenth Century Virginia,” viii; remainder, private communication from John Barrows.

84. Estate inventory of John Waller, Spotsylvania County, Virginia, 1 October 1754 (taken); see “Charges Against Spotswood,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 4, no. 4 (April 1897): 359.

But gentlemen (and ladies) were not the only amateur players of the recorder in America: musical runaways are mentioned in advertisements for their capture:

Thomas Dunfy, an Irish servant of William Montgomerie, aged about 21, in Burlington County, New Jersey, 1737: "He can play on the flute."⁸⁵

Cambridge, a black slave of James Oliver, inclined to run away, Boston, 1743: "plays well upon a flute, and not so well on a violin."⁸⁶

Jo, a black slave of John Johnson, aged about 23, Boston, 1748: "He can play on the flute."⁸⁷

William Mangles, an English servant of John Leathes, aged about 27, Philadelphia, 1753: "He plays pretty well on the common flute."⁸⁸

One man was talented enough not to need an instrument. An anonymous black slave, aged about twenty-two, to be sold in Boston in 1742 "has also a particular faculty of whistling which outdoes the German or Italian flute, and the fla'gelet itself."⁸⁹ If nothing else, this report suggests that readers were expected to know three instruments of the flute family—flute, flageolet, and probably recorder. The term *flauto italiano*, of which "Italian flute" is a translation, was used by Bartolomeo Bismantova in 1694 to refer to the new Baroque-style recorder.⁹⁰ The term is never found elsewhere for either recorder or transverse flute.

Sellers. We are fortunate that in their advertisements American stores often itemized the wares they were selling. As set out in Appendix 1A,

85. Advertisement in *American Weekly Mercury*, 13 January 1737.

86. Advertisement in *Boston Evening Post*, 17 October 1743. Further notices of musical runaway slaves in the second half of the eighteenth century are quoted in Georgia Peeples, "And so They Fled: Eighteenth-Century Fugitive Slave Musicians," *The Bulletin of the Society for American Music* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 13–14.

87. Advertisement in *Boston News Letter*, 22 September 1748.

88. Advertisement in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 15 November 1753.

89. Advertisement in *Boston Post Boy*, 9 August 1742.

90. Bartolomeo Bismantova, "Compendio musicale. In cui s'insegna à Principianti il vero modo, per imperare con facilità, le Regole del Canto Figurato, e Canto Fermo; come anche per Comporre, e suonare il Basso Continuo, il Flauto, Cornetto, e Violino; come anche per Acordare Organi, e Cembali" (Biblioteca Municipale di Reggio Emilia, Ms. Reggiani E. 41; dated Ferrara, 1677; prepared for the printer, 1694), section "Regola per suonare il Flauto Italiano." Facsimile, *Archivum musicum, Collana di testi rari 1* (Florence: Studio per edizioni scelte, 1978); another facsimile of this section appears in *Flûte à bec*, ed. Susi Möhlmeier and Frédérique Thouvenot, *Méthodes & Traités 8* (Courlay, France: Editions J. M. Fuzeau, 2001), 2:126.

no fewer than fifty-three American sellers in eleven cities advertised recorders between 1716 and 1815. Throughout this period, the main sellers were what can be characterized from their lists of items for sale as stores for general goods (nine), hardware (nine), books (six), and housewares (four). Miscellaneous sellers included silversmith (two), bookbinder, clock and watch store, cutler, ivory turner, mathematical instrument maker, picture store, post office, and printer (one each). Less than ten percent of the sellers were in the music business: music stores (five), non-woodwind instrument maker (two), music publisher/store (one), and music teacher (one). Table 1 shows that in the 1750s, when the number of advertisements for instruments rose steeply, the average number of sellers per year offering recorders was 1.4, rising to 4.0 in the 1760s, falling to 2.1 in the 1770s, then staying steady at around 0.6 through 1804. The bulk of the advertisements lie in the period 1752–1777, with a peak of seven per year in 1766–67. Alas, no makers' names are given.

Only one advertiser mentions the price of recorders: in New York in 1762, “a gentleman lately arrived from London” listed his “common

TABLE 1. Number of recorder sellers advertising by year.

Year	Number of sellers	Year	Number of sellers	Year	Number of sellers	Year	Number of sellers
1716	1	1759	3	1771	3	1793	1
1732	1	1750s	1.4	1772	3	1794	2
1739	1	average		1773	5	1795	2
1730s	0.2			1774	4	1796	1
average		1760	2	1776	1	1798	
		1761	3	1777	2	1799	1
1741	1	1762	4	1779	1	1790s	0.8
1742	1	1763	5	1770s	2.1	average	
1748	1	1764	5	average			
1740s	0.3	1765	3			1801	1
average		1766	7	1780	1	1802	2
		1767	7	1781	1	1803	1
1750	1	1768	2	1782	1	1804	1
1753	2	1769	2	1783	1	1808	1
1754	1	1760s	4	1785	2	1800s	0.6
1755	2	average		1780s	0.6	average	
1756	2			average			
1757	3	1770	2			1815	2

Flutes of all sizes at a Dollar each, and upwards, some of 'em exceeding good." In contrast, his "German flutes" were much more expensive at "3 dollars a piece," the starting price of "fiddles . . . at all prices from 3 dollars." The same man moved on to Philadelphia, then Newport, Rhode Island, in 1763, and Boston in 1764.⁹¹

We will see below that the instrument maker Joshua Collins, a recent immigrant from England, was making "all sorts and sizes" of recorder in 1773. American advertisements confirm that recorders were also being imported from London in several sizes in the 1760s and 70s:

"common Flutes of all Sizes, some of 'em exceeding fine" (New York, 1762, etc.)⁹²

"English flutes of all sizes" (Charleston, 1766);⁹³ "of all sorts" (1767);⁹⁴ "of all kinds" (1774)⁹⁵

"common flutes of various sizes" (Philadelphia, 1766)⁹⁶

"common flutes of different sizes" (Williamsburg, 1770)⁹⁷

Only three times are the sizes specified:

"Common Flutes, from a Concert to an Octave" (Philadelphia, 1762)⁹⁸ [from alto up to soprano]

"English, or common Concert Flutes . . . English, second Concert Flutes . . . English, third Concert Flutes . . . English, fourth Concert Flutes" (New York, 1777) [altos, and other recorders pitched a second, a third, and a fourth above them]⁹⁹

"English or Shepherd Flutes, 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th and 8th" (Boston, 1815)¹⁰⁰

Despite the novelty of the "Shepherd" designation, and the lateness of the date, the last named instruments are still likely to have been recorders. Only a little earlier, two dealers in London were advertising

91. Advertisements in *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*, 5 August 1762; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 4 August 1763; *Newport Mercury*, 31 October 1763; *Boston Evening Post*, 25 June 1764.

92. Advertisement by "a Gentleman lately arrived from London" in *New-York Gazette*, 9 August 1762.

93. Advertisement by Robert Wells in *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 13 June 1766.

94. Advertisement by Robert Wells in *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 19 June 1767.

95. Advertisement by Robert Wells in *South Carolina & American General Gazette*, 6 May 1774.

96. Advertisement by Benjamin Condy in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 25 December 1766.

97. Advertisement by the Post Office in *Virginia Gazette*, 29 November 1770.

98. Advertisement by James Rivington in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 25 March 1762.

99. Advertisement by James Rivington in the *New-York Loyal Gazette*, 22 November 1777.

100. Advertisement by J. E. Glover in *Columbia Centinel*, Boston, 20 December 1815.

recorders of the same or similar sizes. The catalog of George Astor, 1799, included “English Concert Flute; Ditto, 2d ditto; Ditto, 3d ditto; Ditto, 4th ditto; Ditto, 5th ditto; Ditto, 6th ditto; Ditto, Octave ditto,”¹⁰¹ and that of Goulding, Phipps, & D’Almaine the following year listed “English Flutes, Concerts, plain; D[itt]o. d[itt]o. Seconds and Thirds; D[itt]o. d[itt]o. Fifths, Sixths, and Octaves.”¹⁰²

References to sales of recorders in British newspapers in the second half of the eighteenth century are less copious, but also mention more than one size: John Carlile, general merchant, Glasgow, “German and common Flutes of all Kinds” (1755);¹⁰³ George Brown, “makes all Sorts of German and Common Flutes” (1761);¹⁰⁴ Henry Thorowgood, dealer, “all Sorts and Sizes of English and German Flutes, Flutes for Birds, Flagelets for ditto” (1764) and “English flutes of all sorts and sizes, German flutes of all sorts and sizes, flutes for birds of all sorts and sizes, flagelets for ditto” (1770);¹⁰⁵ Robert Bremner, music publisher, “English Flutes all sizes . . . Bird Flutes and Flagelets” (ca. 1765).¹⁰⁶

Despite the apparent generosity of “all sizes,” these references reflect a further shift in the history of the recorder. In the sixteenth century, a wide range of recorders had been available, from extended great bass through great bass, bass, basset, tenor, alto, soprano, and sopranino.¹⁰⁷ During the course of the seventeenth century, especially with the advent of the Baroque style of recorder around 1670, the lowest sizes dropped out, leaving basset, tenor, alto, soprano, and sopranino, along with a new size, the voice flute in *d'*, around 1700.¹⁰⁸ During the eighteenth century, as the new evidence shows, even the basset and tenor were gradually discarded, as players concentrated on the smaller sizes, from alto through sopranino.

101. *A Catalogue of Musical Instruments Manufactured and Sold by George Astor, No. 79, Cornhill, and No. 27, Tottenham-Street, Fitzroy-Square, London* (London, 1799).

102. *List of Musical Instruments Manufactured by Goulding, Phipps, and D’Almaine, and Warranted in Tune, At their Manufactory, No. 76, St. James’s Street* (London, 1800).

103. Advertisement in *Glasgow Courant*, 22 September 1755; reproduced in D. J. Bryden, *Scottish Scientific Instrument-Makers 1600–1900*, Royal Scottish Museum Information Series (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1972), 19.

104. Advertisement in *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, 1 October 1761.

105. Advertisements in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 29 October 1764, 13 June 1770.

106. Printed at the end of *The Compleat Tutor for the Flute*; see Eric Halfpenny, “An Eighteenth-Century Trade List of Musical Instruments,” *Galpin Society Journal* 17 (1964): 100.

107. See Adrian Brown and David Lasocki, “Renaissance Recorders and their Makers,” *American Recorder* 47, no. 1 (January 2006): 19–31.

108. See Lasocki, with Ehrlich and Tarasov, *The Recorder* (see n. 8 above).

Makers. At first, recorders were imported to America from England, as explicitly stated in an advertisement by Edward Enstone in 1716 (see pp. 12–13 above). The primary makers in London at that time were Peter Bressan (1663–1731), John Hall (b. ca. 1655; d. 1729 or later), and Thomas Stanesby Sr. (ca. 1668–1734).¹⁰⁹

Several stores stated that their recorders had just been imported via London or Bristol, sometimes even citing the importing ship and captain. The stores in question were: William Price, Boston (1743, 1750); Gilbert and Lewis Deblois, Boston (1753, 1754, 1756, 1761, 1773); Ebenezer Coffin, Boston (1757–59); Richardson & Goldthwait, Newport, Rhode Island (1758); Richard Billings, Boston (1759); Rivington & Brown, Philadelphia (1762); Peter Goelet, New York (1763–72); Garrat Noel, New York (1767); Simeon Coley, New York (1767); James Rivington, Philadelphia (1767), New York (1772); John Sparhawk, Philadelphia (1772); George Deblois, Newburyport, Massachusetts (1774); Dodds & Claus, New York (1794); George Gilbert, New York (1795–96); and James Harrison, New York (1795) (see Appendix 1A).¹¹⁰ We may imagine that the instruments stemmed in part from those London woodwind makers, mentioned by name in American advertisements for other instruments, who are known to have made recorders: Thomas Collier (d. 1785), Caleb Gedney (1729–69), John Mason (fl. 1754–78), Richard Potter (1726–1806), and John Just Schuchart (d. 1759) and his son Charles (b. 1719/20, d. 1765).¹¹¹ Gedney advertised in 1754 that he made “the nearest [i.e., neatest] and best Travers or German Flutes of all Sizes, English Flutes ditto. . . . Orders out of the Country shall be punctu-

109. For information on Hall, see Lasocki, “New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers” (see n. 4 above).

110. Advertisements in *Boston Evening Post*, 12 September 1743; *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, 10 May 1750; *Boston Post Boy*, 26 November 1753, 1 July 1754; *Boston Gazette, or Weekly Journal*, 26 July 1756, 26 September 1757; *Boston Evening Post*, 10 April 1758; *Boston Post Boy*, 7 May 1759; *Boston Gazette, and the Country Journal*, 20 August 1759; *Boston Evening Post*, 2 February 1761; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 22 April 1762; *New-York Gazette*, 31 October 1763, 9 January 1764, 16 September 1765; *New-York Mercury*, 17 February 1766 and repeated through 29 September 1768; *New-York Journal; or, the General Advertiser*, 16 April 1767; *New-York Mercury*, 5 October 1767; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8 January 1767; *New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury*, 2 January 1769; *New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury*, 25 February 1771 and repeated through 12 March 1772, 27 April 1772; *Pennsylvania Packet; and the General Advertiser*, 6 January 1772; *Boston Evening Post*, 13 September 1773; *Essex Journal*, 5 January 1774; *The Diary or Loudon’s Register*, 6 November 1794; *Argus, & Greenleaf’s New Daily Advertiser*, 23 May 1795; *Daily Advertiser*, 3 September 1795, 25 November 1796.

111. See Lasocki, “New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers.”

ally obey'd."¹¹² Mason advertised in 1765: "He makes the most curious German and Common Flutes, Fifes, Hautboys, Clarinets, Bassoons, Vox Humanes, &c. his Work being well known, and used through all Parts of his Majesty's Dominions Abroad and at Home."¹¹³ Recorders by Collier, Schuchart, and Thomas Cahusac Sr. (1714–98) survive in American collections, although of course they may not be of American provenance.¹¹⁴

Cahusac's trade card from around 1780 still mentioned "Common Flutes of all Sizes."¹¹⁵ And his son, Thomas Jr. (b. 1756), then working in Reading, Berkshire, advertised "Common Flutes 2s 6d to 6s each" in 1787 and "Common Flutes . . . of all sizes" the following year.¹¹⁶ His flutes, in contrast, cost 7s. 6d. to £6 6s. 0d.—three to twelve times as much. The dollar–pound exchange rate in 1791 was \$4.55.¹¹⁷ Thus the price range of Cahusac's recorders was equivalent to 57¢ to \$1.37, and his flutes \$1.71 to \$28.67. Unfortunately, the only price we have for recorders in America is the "common Flutes of all sizes at a Dollar each, and upwards" advertised by a "gentleman from London" selling instruments in New York, Philadelphia, Newport, and Boston in 1762–64 (see p. 21 above). His beginning price for flutes was \$3. A gentleman in New York was also selling flutes at \$3 in 1759.¹¹⁸ American prices would have had to be higher than British ones, to allow for the cost of shipping and handling. Even so, Conrad Koehmle in Philadelphia sold flutes "just imported from Europe" at 5s. to £2, lower than Cahusac's prices.¹¹⁹ Rivington in Philadelphia advertised flutes by Schuchart, Potter, Mason, and others at 35s. to £7 in 1762, the lowest price being 4.7 times that of Cahusac twenty years later, but the top price only a little higher than Cahusac's.¹²⁰

112. Advertisement in *London Evening Post*, 21 November 1754.

113. Advertisement in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 26 January 1765.

114. See Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 42, 49, 214.

115. William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), s.v. "Cahusac, (1) Thomas, senior."

116. Advertisements in *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette*, 23 April 1787 and 14 January 1788, quoted in Maurice Byrne, "The Cahusacs and Hallet," *Galpin Society Journal* 41 (1988): 27–29.

117. Lawrence H. Officer, *MeasuringWorth*, 2008, <http://www.measuringworth.org/exchangepound/> (dollar–pound exchange rate from 1791; accessed 7 November 2009).

118. Advertisement in *New-York Mercury*, 20 August 1759.

119. Advertisement in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 5 November 1767.

120. Advertisement in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 25 March 1762.

The earliest known woodwind maker in colonial America, however, came not from England but from Germany. Gottlieb Wolhaupter advertised in New York in 1761 that he “continues to make and mend, all Sorts of Musical Instruments, such as German Flutes, Hautboys, Clareonets, Flageolets, Bassoons, Fifes; and also Silver Tea-pot Handles.” Nine years later, in 1770, a David Wolhaupter—the same man or a relative—announced to “his friends and customers” that he had moved his business to Broadway, “where he makes and mends all sorts of musical instruments, such as bassoons, German flutes, common d[itt]o. hautboys, clarrinets, fifes, bagpipes, &c.; also makes and mends all sorts of mathematical instruments, and all sorts of turning work done by said Wolhaupter.” By 1773, he had moved again and—perhaps a sign of the impending Revolution—was now emphasizing that he made “drums, trumpets, fifes, and all sorts of musical instruments.” In his final year of advertising, 1775, he mentioned the recorder again: “He also makes Clarinets, Hautboys, German and common Flutes. . . .”¹²¹ None of his instruments have survived.¹²²

Two other makers advertised recorders around the same time. In Philadelphia in 1772, Jacob Anthony issued two parallel advertisements, in German and English, begging leave “to acquaint the Public, that he makes and sells all Sorts of musical Instruments; as German Flutes, of all Sorts, common Flutes, Hautboys, Clarinets and Soldiers Fifes; he also mends old Ones; and makes all Sorts of other Turner Work.”¹²³ His German term for recorders was *gemeine Floeten*, a straight translation from the English “common flutes” rather than any of the other known terms from Germany. After Anthony died on December 29, 1804, his obituary stated that he was in his 68th year (i.e., almost certainly born in 1737), “a German by birth, and resided in this city for more than 40 years.”¹²⁴ The praise for him seems to go beyond the customary panegyric: “His great skill in his own line of business, as well as in other branches of mechanism, his unaffected modesty, his inflexible honesty, and his sincere

121. Advertisements in *New-York Gazette*, 16 November 1761; *New-York Gazette*; and the *Weekly Mercury*, 18 June 1770; *New-York Journal*; or, *The General Advertiser*, 13 May 1773; *New-York Journal*; or, *The General Advertiser*, 8 June 1775.

122. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, s.v. “Wolhaupter (Woolhaupter), David (Gottlieb).”

123. Advertisements in *Wochentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote*, 29 September 1772; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 30 September 1772.

124. Obituary of Jacob Anthony, *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, 5 January 1805.

good will to all mankind, rendered him very much esteemed by all who knew him." A flute, a walking-stick flute, and a clarinet by him have survived, but no recorders.¹²⁵

Joshua Collins, describing himself as a "musical instrument-maker and turner from Manchester," announced in Annapolis, Maryland, in 1773 that he had begun business "at Messrs Shaw and Chisholm's Cabinet shop; where all sorts of turner's work is executed in the completest manner; also German and common flutes, hautboys, fifes, &c. of all sorts and sizes; all sorts of musical instruments repaired. . . ." Furthermore, "he has opened an evening school for musick, at Mr. John Hepburn's, where he teaches the most modern and approved methods of playing the German flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, &c. Having been educated in that science, under the care of some of the greatest masters in England." Perhaps he had picked up such training in London, on the way to America. Was the recorder included under the "etc.?"¹²⁶ An oboe by him has survived, dated "November 1771" and therefore presumably made while he was still in England, as well as an octave bassoon, but no members of the flute family.¹²⁷

The Flageolet

The flageolet was mentioned in American newspapers occasionally in the eighteenth century: for example, French dancing master (1700), Edward Enstone, Boston (1716), and Gottlieb Wolhaupter, New York (1761) (see above pp. 10–12 and 26). The instruments would have been the French type, which had four finger holes on top and two thumb holes beneath. The American advertisements make it clear that as the recorder declined in popularity toward the end of the eighteenth century, the flageolet developed a new lease on life and took its place.

An alternative type of flageolet began life in England in the late eighteenth century as an instrument with six finger holes.¹²⁸ Then, around 1800, it developed a seventh finger hole and a thumb hole, and was renamed the English flageolet. Did no one notice that it was simply a recorder under a new name? The English flageolet then existed

125. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, s.v. "Anthony."

126. Advertisement in *Maryland Gazette*, 25 February 1773.

127. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, s.v. "Collings, Joseph."

128. See Nikolaj Tarasov, "Blockflöten im 19. Jahrhundert: Fiktion oder Wirklichkeit?" *Concerto* 22, no. 12 (December 2005–January 2006): 28–31.

alongside the French type, and both eventually developed keywork and an extended range, in the manner of contemporary flutes and oboes, not to mention a chamber containing a sponge to minimize clogging in the windway. Ultimately, the French type was more successful in Europe, mostly because it was louder.

Terminology. Unlike the recorder and the flute, the flageolet had a distinctive name that never hints at ambiguity, although the spelling could vary. The ambiguity comes in knowing whether the flageolets in America were the English or French type, and exactly what the adjective “patent” meant in each case. Most sellers spelled the instrument’s name “flageolet,” although “flagelet” turns up often enough in advertisements to constitute a standard alternative. A few sellers used “flageolett,” “flageolette,” “flagiolet,” “flaguelet,” “flagelett,” or “flaglet,” even “fladganet.” The earliest American instruction book for the English language in which I have found the term (1783) gives only the spelling “flagelet,” divided into three syllables: fla-ge-let.¹²⁹ The first American dictionary to mention the instrument (1800) presents “flageolet” and “flagelet” as alternatives, defined as “a kind of small flute.”¹³⁰ Most other dictionaries published between 1800 and 1815, including ones for the French and German languages, list only “flagelet.” The first American encyclopedia (1803), modeled on Abraham Rees’s revision of Ephraim Chambers’s *Cyclopædia* (London, 1778–88), steals the first two paragraphs of Rees’s definition.¹³¹ The full definition appears in the first American edition of Rees (1805–25):

FLAGEOLET, or FLAJOLET, a kind of little flute, or a musical instrument of the flute kind, used chiefly by shepherds and country people. It is usually made of box, or some other hard wood, sometimes of ivory. It has six holes or stops, besides that at bottom, the mouth-piece, and that behind the neck. The ambit of the flageolet, according to the scale exhibited by Mersennus, is two octaves from *g sol re ut* upwards.¹³²

129. Thomas Dilworth, *A New Guide to the English Tongue* (Hartford, CT, 1783; Philadelphia, 1814).

130. John Entick, *Entick’s New Spelling Dictionary*, new ed., revised, corrected, and enlarged (Wilmington, DE, 1800).

131. Thaddeus Mason Harris, *The Minor Encyclopedia, or, Cabinet of General Knowledge* (Boston, 1803).

132. Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*, first American ed., revised, corrected, enlarged, and adapted to this country, by several literary and scientific characters (Philadelphia, etc., 1805–25).

This account clearly reflected the view of an urban Englishman of the 1770s with some knowledge of historical sources, not the new lease on life obtained by the instrument in both Great Britain and America twenty or thirty years later. At the end of the nineteenth century, *The New York Times* included flageolet in its list of “Words Often Mispronounced”: “Flageolet—*flaj-o-let*. The first and the last syllable are about equal in quantity.”¹³³ All dictionaries and some of the alternative spellings in advertisements make it clear that the last syllable was pronounced “ett,” never “ay” as in French.

Makers. In 1804, “Monniot, Peloubet & Co., lately arrived from France,” advertised in a New York newspaper that “they make and repair all sorts of musical instruments, viz. violins, piano fortes, harpsicords, organs, clarinets, flutes, octaves [piccolos], flageolets, &c.” and “intend to settle in this city.”¹³⁴ Louis Alexander de Peloubet (1764–ca. 1833) was a French refugee who trained as a woodwind maker in Germany; he worked in four cities in New York State between 1803 and 1812.¹³⁵ One would expect him to have produced French-style flageolets (although none of either type are known); an English-style instrument that seems to have been made by his son Chabrier (1806–1885) has survived.¹³⁶

In 1806, John Butler, apparently lately arrived from London, announced the opening of a “manufactory” in New York for “the much admired improved patent flagelet, and military musical instruments” (presumably winds).¹³⁷ He went on to promote this instrument, which he had not in fact patented in England, in the following terms:

generally allowed to be superior to any ever offered for sale; the ease of fingering, neatness of make, and brilliancy of tone render it an instrument of admiration both for ladies and gentlemen—The Pitch is from C sharp below the line up to F, in all which renders it pleasant either as solo instrument or an accompaniment to the piano forte. Ladies or gentlemen knowing music may in a few lessons acquire a proficiency, and those not knowing music may learn in less than one third of the time that is generally allowed for learning any other instrument.

133. *New York Times*, 9 November 1890, p. 10.

134. Advertisement in *Morning Chronicle*, 5 November 1804.

135. See Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, s.v. “de Peloubet family.”

136. See <http://www.vintage-instruments.com/navigate/catidx11/htm> (Flageolet: PELOUBET; accessed 21 August 2006).

137. Advertisement in *American Citizen*, 24 December 1806.

The following year, Butler proclaimed that he had “obtained the President’s letter patent” for his flageolet and revealed more details of its construction: “The improvement consists of an additional key, which produces all the semitones or half notes without altering the position of the fingering from the natural notes, which renders this fashionable and fascinating instrument so easy that ladies and gentlemen may play a piece of music in seven sha[r]ps with the same facility, as they can a piece in only one sharp. The price is ten dollars with the book of instruction.”¹³⁸ No such patent appears in American patent records.¹³⁹ The price of this flageolet was about half that of a transverse flute with six keys: “a fine toned 6 key German flute, with additional joints, and a book of instructions for playing on d[itt]o. price 22 dollars” (Philadelphia, 1794). One could also spend much more or much less for a transverse flute: “German flutes, from 16 s. to 12 l.” (equivalent to \$3.64–\$54.60; New York, 1795); and “just received from Messrs. Brodrip and Longman’s manufactory [in London] . . . German flutes with single and extra joints, silver and brass keys, from 3 to 9 dollars” (Philadelphia, 1795).¹⁴⁰

Butler may well have modeled his “patent” flageolet on the work of another London maker, William Bainbridge, who had actually patented an improved single flageolet in 1803.¹⁴¹ The improvements in question were modest: he enlarged hole 5 to make f^\sharp in tune (in the basic D-major scale) and reduced the size of hole 4 to keep g' in tune; he also added two keys to facilitate the production of d' and d'' , $e'b$, c^\sharp''' , and even f''' (“a note which was never made before on the octave flageolet”). More significantly, the patent flageolet moved the basic note of the scale from hole 8 (as on the recorder) to hole 7, hole 8 now giving only a semitone below (the leading tone of the basic key).¹⁴² Bainbridge took out further patents in May 1807 and February 1810. The 1807 patent de-

138. Advertisement in *New-York Evening Post*, 7 September 1807.

139. Not listed in US Patent Collection database, available from <http://patft.uspto.gov/> (accessed 4 May 2009), nor in *List of Patents for Inventions and Designs Issued by the United States, from 1790 to 1847, with the Patent Laws and Notes of Decisions of the Courts of the United States for the Same Period* (Washington, DC: J. & G. S. Gideon, 1847).

140. Advertisements in *Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily Advertiser*, 15 November 1794, 9 March 1795; *Daily Advertiser* (New York), 3 September 1795.

141. For Bainbridge’s patent, no. 2693, dated 2 April 1803, see *Patents for Inventions: Abridgements of Specifications Relating to Music and Musical Instruments: A.D. 1694–1866*, 2nd ed. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1871; repr., London: Tony Bingham, 1984), 46–47.

142. I owe this point to Nikolaj Tarasov (e-mail message to the author, 19 November 2009).

scribed a flageolet with a mouthpiece on the side, enabling the instrument to be held sideways like a flute; Bainbridge added a hole covered by a key to improve the tuning of the high notes, as well as a small tuning hole above the other holes covered with “a stopper or flap, or pin” to regulate the pitch of the entire instrument.¹⁴³ The 1810 patent proclaimed the transformation of flageolet fingering into that of the flute, but at the same time described a hole (thumbed or keyed) that apparently had an octaving function, as on the recorder, and a keyed hole in the head joint “for producing the half-tones.”¹⁴⁴

A third London maker, W. Weaver, advertised in 1807: “By his Majesty’s Royal Letters Patent. WEAVER and Co.’s. New FLAGELET, (on entire new Principles) calculated to play in all Keys in Music, never before attempted; its Construction is simple beyond most other Instruments, and presents no complicated Difficulties to the Learner, which oblige him to have Recourse to the Study of Music as an Art, or to the Assistance of a Master for their Explanation.”¹⁴⁵ Again, the patent was never registered. Bainbridge had already complained in 1806 that “individuals, ever on the alert to reap from other’s [*sic*] labour, have taken a very unfair advantage, by imposing on the Public (particularly those residing in the country) a spurious sort of Flageolet, which they, unjustly, call Patent.”¹⁴⁶

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, justly or not, the term “patent” could therefore refer to flageolets by Butler or Weaver or any of Bainbridge’s three types. The first mention of a “patent” instrument in American advertisements came in April 1807, when a store in Boston announced: “Patent flageolets . . . just received . . . a fresh assortment of the above delightful instruments, with an easy instructor for it,”¹⁴⁷ and by October patent flageolets were described as “celebrated.”¹⁴⁸ “A few of Bainbridge’s new patent Flageolets, with Instruction Books” arrived in Boston that August.¹⁴⁹ “Patent” flageolets without any specification of their maker were on sale at three other stores in Boston in the years

143. Patent 3043, dated 14 May 1807; see *Patents for Inventions*, 51–52.

144. Patent 3308, dated 26 February 1810; see *Patents for Inventions*, 59.

145. *Jackson’s Oxford Journal*, 20 June 1807.

146. Advertisement in *Morning Chronicle* [London], 15 January 1806.

147. Advertisement by Jacob Gourgas, *Boston Gazette*, 23 April 1807.

148. Advertisement by Jacob Gourgas, *Repertory*, 30 October 1807.

149. Advertisement by William Bent’s Piano-Forte Warehouse, *New-England Palladium*, 25 August 1807.

1807–10.¹⁵⁰ “Butler’s new patent flageolets, of different prices” were advertised in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1808.¹⁵¹ In June that year, an unidentified flageolet received a name with a classical reference, doubtless intended to appeal to the educated:

TITYRUS FLAGEOLETS.

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi, / Sylvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena.

[Tityrus, reclining beneath the shade of the wide-spreading beech tree, / You contemplate the woodland muse with your slender reed.]¹⁵²

CUSHING & APPLETON . . . have received a new supply of the Improved Patent FLAGEOLETS, which, from their Virgilian sweetness, and the great ease with which they may be learnt, have received the name of Tityrus Flageolets. Complete Instructions for the same may be had with them. . . .¹⁵³

“Patent” remained an advertising point until the mid-1820s, then was quietly dropped.¹⁵⁴ “Flute flageolets”—flute bodies with flageolet mouthpieces—were not mentioned by name until 1821.¹⁵⁵ “German flutes, with spare flageolet-top-joints” made an appearance in 1823.¹⁵⁶

Bainbridge invented a type of double flageolet with a double body around 1805, although he never actually patented such an instrument until 1819, and therefore his legal actions against two other makers for piracy were unsuccessful.¹⁵⁷ The bulk of a “London advertisement” by Bainbridge and his business partner John Wood was reproduced in a Boston newspaper in 1810:

New Musical instrument, on which one person can play Duets. Any one either playing the German Flute or Flageolet, may, by the book given, teach themselves in half an hour and make delightful harmony. The patentees engage to teach, or cause to be taught, any lady or gentleman to play duets in that

150. Advertisements by Jacob Gourgas, *Repertory*, 9 January 1807, *New-England Palladium*, 29 June 1810; G. Graupner, *New-England Palladium*, 7 June 1808; N. H. Hinchman, *Independent Chronicle*, 5 June 1809.

151. Advertisement by O. Shaw, *Columbian Phenix*, 3 September 1808.

152. The opening lines of Virgil’s *Eclogue* no. 1, kindly translated by Benito Rivera.

153. Advertisement by Cushing and Appleton, *Salem Gazette*, 24 June 1808.

154. The last advertisement I have traced is by John M. Ives, Salem, MA, *Essex Register*, 25 May 1826.

155. Advertisement by C. & E. W. Jackson, *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 20 October 1821.

156. Advertisement by Cushing & Appleton, *Salem Gazette*, 15 April 1823.

157. Patent 4399, dated 4 October 1819; see *Patents for Inventions*, 84–85. For the legal action, see Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, s.v. “Bainbridge, William,” “Briggs, John,” “Scott, Thomas,” and “Wigley, Charles.”

time.—Messrs. Bainbridge and Wood respectfully offer to the Nobility, gentry and the public, their new invented patent Double Flageolet, which for variety of harmony, and simplicity of fingering, surpasses any thing of the kind ever before invented. By a new stop key, it can be played at pleasure as a single flageolet, possessing all the advantages of Bainbridge’s patent apertures, and his other inventions, whereby the fingering is regular like the German Flute, all others requiring cross fingering, by which the performer is so liable to make false notes.—This double Flageolet has the advantage of tuning the unisons. It is totally different from any other makers, as the second is not made by keys. Those that play but very little on the flute or flageolet, can soon amuse themselves by playing duets, for they have but one line of music to read.¹⁵⁸

Meanwhile, in December 1806, Thomas Scott of London patented a double flageolet that he called “Delecta Harmonia”—a five-key instrument containing twin bores within a single body—on which “one performer may play duetts with much ease and correctness,”¹⁵⁹ and he made it in partnership with John Purkis, “Professor of Music, Teacher of the Flageolet, Pedal Harp, Piano-forte, &c.”¹⁶⁰ They also published a tutor for it around the same time. The new instrument arrived in Salem, Massachusetts, in December 1807, where the store’s advertisement promised that the “great desideratum” of a single performer playing in two parts “may be obtained by a person who is acquainted with the common English flageolet or German flute, in a very short time. A book of instruction, with a great variety of favourite duets, accompanies the instrument.”¹⁶¹ Double flageolets, or patent double flageolets, with no indication of their maker, were advertised more slowly by other stores: Boston, 1813; Philadelphia, 1816; Baltimore and New York, 1818; Norfolk, Virginia, 1819; Washington, DC, 1820; and so on. They continued to be advertised until 1841.¹⁶²

Relatively few flageolets by early American makers seem to have survived. The Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection and the Yale University

158. Advertisement in *New-England Palladium*, 27 July 1810. The original advertisement is found in *Times* [London], 23 June 1809. It adds at the end: “Those that know music will be convinced, by examining at their shop, a set of Exercises and Duets, just published by Mr. Parry, for this Double Flageolet, they may play any duets on it and on any key. To be had likewise, a variety of sweet toned Patent Single Flageolets, at their manufactory, 35, Holborn Hill, near Fetter-lane.”

159. For Scott’s patent, no. 2995, dated 1 December 1806, see *Patents for Inventions*, 49.

160. From advertisement in *Times* [London], 16 June 1807.

161. Advertisement by Cushing and Appleton, *Salem Gazette*, 29 December 1807.

162. Advertisement by Nathaniel Phillips, *Daily Missouri Republican*, 29 June 1841.

Collection of Musical Instruments include English types by the German-born Heinrich Christian Eisenbrandt of Baltimore (double); Asa Hopkins of Litchfield, Connecticut; Firth & Hall and the English-born Edward Riley of New York City (double); and Bacon & Hart (double) and Thomas J. Weygandt of Philadelphia.¹⁶³

Sellers. As shown in Appendix 1B, between 1794 and 1839, flageolets were advertised by 129 American sellers in 32 cities spread over 13 states (Connecticut, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) plus the District of Columbia. Table 2 shows that in the 1790s, when the instrument began its boom, the average number of sellers advertising flageolets was 1.0 per year. The number rose to 3.1 in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and 8.1 in the 1810s, then falling to 6.6 in the 1820s, and sharply to 2.6 in the 1830s. The peak years were 1815–23, with an average of 11.9 sellers per year.¹⁶⁴

Flageolets were advertised as being imported from London in 1795–1804; and despite the presence of Peloubet and Butler, most of the flageolets sold in America in the opening decades of the nineteenth century must have come from England or France, or later from Germany, as many advertisements specify. The only other maker to be mentioned is Clementi—“a few of Clementi’s patent flutes and flageolets” were on sale in Baltimore in 1822¹⁶⁵—although that firm made pianos and actually marketed woodwind instruments made by other makers such as John Willis.¹⁶⁶ An advertisement in Boston in 1817 proclaimed the solid American virtues and high standards of the Franklin Music Warehouse: “The pursuit in which they are engaged is the manufacture of musical instruments of every description—from the sonorous and full-toned organ, to the flute and flageolet. We understand they have attained so great a degree of excellence in their profession, that no imported instruments are any way superior to those of their manufacture; and so strong

163. Dayton C. Miller Flute Collection, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/dcmhtml/dmhome.html>; Yale University Collection of Musical Instruments, <http://www.yale.edu/musicalinstruments/> (both accessed 4 May 2009).

164. Although it is beyond the scope of this article, it is worth noting that from 1840 to 1900, flageolets were still advertised, but by only 0–3 sellers per year, with an average of 0.6.

165. Advertisement by Charles Jackson, *Baltimore Patriot*, 31 May 1822.

166. See Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, s.vv. “Clementi & Co.” and “Willis, John.”

TABLE 2. Number of flageolet sellers advertising by year, 1794–1839.

Year	Number of sellers	Year	Number of sellers	Year	Number of sellers	Year	Number of sellers
1794	1	1806	3	1818	17	1820s	6.6
1795	1	1807	7	1819	19	average	
1796	1	1808	5	1810s	8.1		
1797	0	1809	2	average		1830	2
1798	2	1800s	3.1			1831	6
1799	1	average		1820	18	1832	1
1790s	1			1821	13	1833	2
average		1810	2	1822	5	1834	4
		1811	1	1823	11	1835	2
1800	2	1812	2	1824	2	1836	5
1801	1	1813	4	1825	4	1837	2
1802	2	1814	0	1826	4	1838	2
1803	2	1815	10	1827	4	1839	0
1804	5	1816	13	1828	1	1830s	2.6
1805	2	1817	13	1829	4	average	

is their desire in connection with the arts, that they do not admit the slightest assistance from any foreigner whatsoever. . . .”¹⁶⁷ Yet a couple of advertisements by the warehouse in 1818 and 1820 reveal that some of the flageolets they had for sale came from London and Germany.¹⁶⁸ “Flageolets . . . warranted to be imported instruments” were still being vaunted in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1831;¹⁶⁹ “flageolets, single and double . . . just received from agents in London and Paris,” in New York in 1836.¹⁷⁰

From the beginning of the boom, flageolets were offered at a range of prices. In 1798, the instrument maker William Callender in Boston advertised “high and low priced flagelets” at the same time as flutes costing

167. Advertisement in *Boston Gazette*, 22 September 1817.

168. “Franklin Music Warehouse. . . . Just received from Germany, an invoice of Musical Instruments, consisting of . . . Flageolets. . . .”; *Columbian Centinel*, 16 September 1818. “Just imported, and for sale, on consignment, the following Invoice of Musical Instruments, received by the London Packet, Capt. Tracy . . . Flageolets. . . .”; *Boston Intelligencer & Evening Gazette*, 4 November 1820.

169. Advertisement by John Estabrook, *New-Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, 15 August 1831.

170. Advertisement by Joseph F. Atwill, *New Bedford Mercury*, 26 February 1836.

from \$1.50 to \$16.¹⁷¹ No prices are given until 1820, when a music store in Washington, DC, listed “flageolets tipped with ivory, at \$7.50.”¹⁷² A year later, a Boston instrument warehouse had flageolets imported from London at \$2.75 to \$18—comparable to Callender’s prices for flutes—and flute flageolets at \$12.¹⁷³ In 1833, a general store in Keene, New Hampshire, advertised flageolets from \$3.00 to \$6.00—toward the lower end of the range given by the Boston warehouse in 1821.¹⁷⁴ But very cheap instruments, perhaps aimed at children, had already arrived: in 1829, a bookstore in Salem, Massachusetts, sold French flageolets at 37½¢ and German double flageolets at 50¢.¹⁷⁵

Teaching. The large number of advertisements for flageolet teachers confirms the popularity of the instrument among amateurs in the early nineteenth century. During the years 1805–32, no fewer than thirty teachers placed advertisements, in ten main cities: Albany, Alexandria, Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, New York, Norfolk, Philadelphia, Providence, and Salem (see Appendix 1C). An average of 2.7 teachers per year advertised over this whole period. In the years 1813–21, there was an average of 5.9 teachers, with a peak of 8 in 1817–18.

As the flageolet became popular, it clearly constituted a useful extra string to the woodwind teacher’s bow (pardon the mixing of instruments). For example, George Blake (1775/76–1871), who had emigrated from Yorkshire by 1793, advertised himself as a teacher of the flute and clarinet in Philadelphia the following year.¹⁷⁶ By 1807, he was teaching “clarinet, flute, and patent flageolet.”¹⁷⁷ After living in Albany for a year, George Kinsella (d. ca. 1831) announced in a New York newspaper in 1809 “that he has removed to this city for the purpose of teach-

171. Advertisement in *Columbian Centinel*, 9 May 1798.

172. Advertisement by James Thomas, *Daily National Intelligencer*; 18 November 1820.

173. Advertisement by C. & E. W. Jackson, *Boston Daily Advertiser*; 20 October 1821.

174. Advertisement by George Tilden, *New-Hampshire Sentinel*, 7 November 1833.

175. Advertisement by John M. Ives, *Salem Gazette*, 24 November 1829. By the end of the nineteenth century, what were now clearly just penny whistles were advertised as low as 5¢; advertisement by Lyon & Healy, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 11 December 1898.

176. Dates and biographical information from *Music Printing and Publishing*, ed. D. W. Krummel and Stanley Sadie, *The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), 177, and Richard J. Wolfe, *Secular Music in America 1801–1825: A Bibliography*, 3 vols. (New York: The New York Public Library, 1964), 1:79–80.

177. George E. Blake, *Instructions for the Patent Flageolet, and English and French Flageletts* (Philadelphia: the Author, ca. 1807). Blake’s dates are from Ellsworth, “Clarinet in Early America,” 201 (see n. 5 above).

ing the Flute exclusively.”¹⁷⁸ Yet just over a year later he had already appended: “He will also give private instructions on the FLAGELET, to Ladies and Gentlemen.”¹⁷⁹ In 1812, he specified what kinds of flageolet: “double-barrelled and single patent.”¹⁸⁰ And, as a further business ploy, he offered to “furnish his pupils with flutes or flageolets of any description already chosen.”¹⁸¹ Four years later, he was offering ladies a special deal: “MR. KINSELA, informs the gentlemen of New-York, that he has taken a Room, where he intends to give instructions for the FLUTE and the SINGLE and DOUBLE FLAGEOLET. In order to accommodate those gentlemen who may be employed during the day, Instructions will be given at any hour between 6 and 10 o’clock, P. M. Ladies who are desirous of taking lessons on the Flageolet, may receive those lessons at their houses.”¹⁸² Gentlemen might be willing to make the trip to the teacher’s residence or rented studio, but ladies were not expected to. Although based in New York, Kinsella often went to the “country” (Albany or Hudson) for the summer season and even Christmas, and to Newark and Boston at other odd times, advertising lessons for “a few months.” Returning to Albany for the summer of 1820, he expanded his instrumental offerings: “Instructions on the Piano Forte, Flute, Clarionet, and French or English Flagelet.”¹⁸³

In 1816, Richard Willis, “a professor of music, who has lately arrived from Dublin,” advertised in New York that he would give a few concerts: “Some of the most popular and fashionable Irish and Scotch tunes and melodies will be performed on Bainbridge’s patent double Flageolet, never before performed in this city. This instrument is so constructed as to produce two distinct tones of sweet and pleasing music.”¹⁸⁴ Willis also

178. Advertisement in *Evening Post*, 13 November 1809.

179. Advertisement in *Balance, & New-York State Journal*, 21 December 1810.

180. Advertisement in *Columbian*, 18 September 1812.

181. Advertisement in *Columbian*, 17 December 1812.

182. Advertisement in *Columbian*, 24 December 1816.

183. Advertisement in *Albany Gazette*, 8 May 1820.

184. Advertisements by J. Scudder’s American Museum in *Evening Post* and *The National Advocate*, 23 April 1816. See also Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, s.v. “Willis, Richard,” and David Lasocki, “New Light on the Early History of the Keyed Bugle, Part 2: More on England and Ireland; The United States,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 22 (2010) (forthcoming). In *Evening Post*, 18 April 1816, five days after he arrived in New York, Willis advertised that he “had brought with him that new, elegant, and sweet toned instrument, called the Double Flageolet—Bainbridge, London, inventor, 1812. He was the first that performed a Rodondo [recte rondo] on that instrument in the Dublin Theatre, which was received with unbounded applause.”

announced that he intended to teach the instrument, as well as the flute, violin, clarinet, horn, and Kent bugle, to “any lady or gentleman wishing to receive instruction.”¹⁸⁵ Of course, Willis officially became bandmaster at West Point the following year and quickly established an enormous reputation as a performer and teacher. In 1820, Nathaniel De Luce, who had just been performing in concerts with Willis, announced in Philadelphia “that he has commenced teaching the DOUBLE FLAGEOLET on the principle of Mr. Willis of West Point.”¹⁸⁶

In 1818, in Norfolk, Virginia, Patrick Kelly, “professor of music,” advertised that he “tunes Piano Fortes, and would have no objection to give Instructions on the Flute, Clarionet, Single and Double Flageolets, &c. Immediate application is necessary, as his residence may not be of long duration in this Borough.”¹⁸⁷ Indeed, two months later we find him in Baltimore, where he offered instruction on the same instruments plus piano, violin, Kent bugle, “and the various instruments in use in military bands.”¹⁸⁸ Moreover, “Mr. K. has the pleasure to inform those ladies and gentlemen who have done him the honor of calling on him in order to learn the Double Flageolet, but who could not commence for want of the instrument, (as well as all others who wish to learn that pleasing and fashionable instrument the knowledge of which is acquired in a very short space of time) that they can now be supplied with instruments from London, manufactured by Bainbridge, the inventor.”

James H. Hoffman had an even more peripatetic existence than Kinsella. Although listed in New York City directories from 1798 through 1834, he made his living by traveling from town to town and staying for a few months at a time, offering to teach beginners the rudiments of virtually all the instruments of his day: bassoon, bugle, cello, clarinet, horn, fife, flageolet (plain, patent, and double), flute and piccolo, guitar, harp, horn, hurdy-gurdy, oboe, english horn and vox humana (tenor oboe), percussion, piano, serpent, trombone, trumpet, trumpet marine, union

185. The [Royal] Kent bugle was a keyed instrument patented by Joseph Haliday in 1810. See *Patents for Inventions*, 61; Ralph T. Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004); and David Lasocki, “New Light on the Early History of the Keyed Bugle, Part 1: The Astor Advertisement and Collins v. Green,” *Historic Brass Society Journal* 21 (2009): 11–50.

186. Advertisement in *Franklin Gazette*, 30 November 1820.

187. Advertisement in *American Beacon and Norfolk & Portsmouth Daily Advertiser*, 23 October 1818. For a biography of Kelly, see Ellsworth, “Clarinet in Early America,” 256–57.

188. Advertisement in *Baltimore Patriot & Mercantile Advertiser*, 30 December 1818.

pipes, viola or tenor violin, violin, and zuffolo; and he also taught military bands. We first find him in New York in 1803 announcing “that he has commenced giving instructions on various kinds of musical wind instruments, violin, &c.”¹⁸⁹ Five years later, he hinted that he grew up in Germany, “having experienced both in Europe and America, all the various modes of performing on every musical wind instrument, violin, &c.”¹⁹⁰ I have traced his advertisements through Elizabeth, New Jersey (1812); Goshen, Connecticut (1813); Hudson, New York (1813); Alexandria, Virginia (1814); Chambersburg, Pennsylvania (1816); Norfolk, Virginia (1818); Brooklyn, New York (1820); and Newport, Rhode Island (1827), although he had evidently been much farther afield, as in 1820 he noted “the encouragement which he has been favored with throughout the Southern States and the principal towns west of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.”¹⁹¹ He offered a money-back guarantee of rapid progress, the terms of which changed as the years went by: “first and second gamuts with six tunes at least the first month”; “gamuts and eight tunes at least the first month”; “two gamuts and six tunes at least in two weeks”; “two gamuts and seven popular airs in twelve lessons and twelve tunes at least in a month”; “fifteen tunes at least in eighteen lessons”; “one month . . . at least twenty tunes, calls and signals”; “10, 15, or 20 tunes, in the short space of one month.” Those amateurs who wished to go further and learn “chromatic music” or “sonatas” were promised that “the number of their tunes is not limited, and the terms moderate.” In his advertisements of 1813, Hoffman singled out the flageolet as suitable for the fair sex: “Ladies instructed on that much admired and fashionable instrument, the patent flageolet.”

As early as 1800, one music store in Boston sold “Ladies flageolets”: perhaps only flageolets aimed at ladies, rather than some special model, as this was a few years before patent instruments came on the scene.¹⁹² Other teachers besides Kinsella and Hoffman brought up ladies in connection with the instrument. In 1808, O. Shaw in Providence begged “leave to inform the ladies, that he purposes giving instructions on the guitar and patent flageolet, should application be made. . . .”¹⁹³ Joseph

189. Advertisement in *American Citizen*, 17 May 1803.

190. Advertisement in *Public Advertiser*, 18 August 1808.

191. Advertisement in *Long-Island Star*, 17 May 1820.

192. Advertisement by P. A. Van Hagen’s Piano Forte Ware-House, Boston, *Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, 1 December 1800.

193. Advertisement in *Columbian Phenix*, 3 September 1808.

Wilson's music store, offering instruction on the piano and flageolet by Joseph Jr. in 1816, declared: "ladies instructed in the house."¹⁹⁴ In other words, he was willing to go to the ladies' own houses. The same was true of Lionel J. Larkin, who offered "musical tuition" in Alexandria in 1817: "Ladies wishing to learn the double or single Flageolet, will be waited on at their residence."¹⁹⁵

George F. Norton, arriving in Boston in 1817, announced that "he intends teaching Music—in particular the Flute[,] Clarinetto, and patent Kent Bugle—also, teaches young ladies and gentlemen that New and Elegant Instrument the Single and Double Flageolet."¹⁹⁶ Perhaps he learned from experience to make a differential between the sexes, because when he arrived in Alexandria in 1819, he advertised that "he intends teaching ladies the single and double flageolets and piano forte; gentlemen the single and additional keyed flute, clarionet, and violin."¹⁹⁷ He also had a differential for the teaching location: "Private lessons at the house of any lady or gentleman, One Dollar—Public lessons in his school 75 cents." Similarly, William Stone, apparently arriving in Charleston in 1820, advertised that he "RESPECTFULLY acquaints the Ladies of this city, that he will teach the Flageolet on reasonable terms. Gentlemen will be taught the German Flute or Claronet, on terms equally reasonable."¹⁹⁸

All other teachers, however, aimed their advertisements at both ladies and gentlemen, or only the latter. For example, Florant Meline (1790–1827), a Frenchman arriving in New York in 1811, "intends giving lessons on the CLARINET, FLUTE and FLAGEOLET."¹⁹⁹ If he was perhaps unfamiliar with the English flageolet at that stage, by 1817 he was advertising both types: "the instruction of the single and additional key'd Flute, Clarionet, French and English Flageolets."²⁰⁰ In 1820, he listed his terms: "\$15 per quarter: \$5 to be paid in advance; the balance at the end

194. Advertisement in *Evening Post*, 5 June 1816. For a short biography of Norton, see Ellsworth, "Clarinet in Early America," 282–83.

195. Advertisement in *Alexandria Gazette, Commercial and Political*, 14 April 1817.

196. Advertisement in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 16 August 1817.

197. Advertisement in *Alexandria Herald*, 7 April 1819.

198. Advertisement in *Charleston Courier*, 4 July 1820. For a biography of Stone, see Ellsworth, "Clarinet in Early America," 292–93.

199. Advertisement in *New York Evening Post*, 3 December 1811. For a biography of Meline, see Ellsworth, "Clarinet in Early America," 269–75.

200. Advertisement in *New York Evening Post*, 24 September 1817.

of the quarter.”²⁰¹ Perhaps that figure proved too high, for later that year he had reduced the quarterly fee to only \$10.²⁰² Meline’s advertisements are addressed to gentlemen only, and he taught them in classes of at least six students: Mondays and Thursdays, or Tuesdays and Saturdays, 6:00–10:00 p.m. Curiously, at the height of the flageolet’s fashion in 1820, he still felt the need to give the instrument strong promotion: “Mr. M. takes the liberty of suggesting, that the double and single Flageolet have become very fashionable in Europe. Their delicacy, the sweetness of their tone, and compass; and the facility with which perfection on them is acquired, render them accomplishments and amusements novel and interesting.”²⁰³

Margaret Knittel (b. 1787/88), a clarinetist from Switzerland, settled in Philadelphia in 1816, later moving on to Baltimore, New York, and Charleston.²⁰⁴ She presented many concerts that received rave reviews for her brilliant playing, considered especially remarkable for a woman. In 1820, presumably not making enough money from performing, she advertised:

that she intends teaching the PIANO FORTE, after the new invented *Logerian System*, with the help of the Chiroplast, which is now gaining great progress throughout Great-Britain.²⁰⁵ A number of pupils may be taught at once, and attain the taste and knowledge of Musical education much sooner than heretofore. Lessons will be divided, part in theory and part in practice on this instrument. Also the art of Composing and Transposing MUSIC, into the different Keys and Instruments. Likewise, the SPANISH GUITAR, double and single FLAGEOLET, CLARINET, FLUTE and VIOLIN, on terms very moderate.²⁰⁶

To some extent, the flageolet was also viewed as an educational instrument, as we see from the following advertisement, placed in New York in 1809: “A PRECEPTOR of a private family, having some leisure hours, should be very glad to attend Boarding-schools. He gives lessons in the

201. Advertisement in *New York Evening Post*, 22 January 1820 (cited in Ellsworth, “Clarinet in Early America,” 134).

202. Advertisement in *Mercantile Advertiser*, 26 October 1820.

203. Advertisement in *Mercantile Advertiser*, 26 October 1820.

204. For a biography of Knittel, see Ellsworth, “Clarinet in Early America,” 257–65.

205. The chiroplast was an “apparatus for facilitating the acquirement of proper execution on the piano forte” (patented in 1814 by Johann Bernhard Logier); *Patents for Inventions*, 75–76. See also Bernarr Rainbow, “Johann Bernhard Logier and the Chiroplast Controversy,” *Musical Times* 131, no. 1766 (April 1990): 193–96.

206. Advertisement in *Charleston Courier*, 14 November 1820.

French, German, and Latin Languages, Arithmetic and Algebra; in the art of singing and playing the Guitar, Violin, Flageolet, and Piano-Forte, and is able to tune the latter.”²⁰⁷ “Boys Flageolets and Hum Tops”—the former presumably more like whistles than real flageolets—were sold in Portland, Maine, in 1821.²⁰⁸ Besides Kinsella, Meline, and Norton, several other teachers addressed advertisements to “young gentlemen”: Francis Augier (Boston, 1805); H. W. Pilkington (Boston, 1813–15); D. Clancy (Alexandria, 1818); Joseph Rouault (New York, 1818);²⁰⁹ and J. S. Richardson (Baltimore, 1821). At least one teacher, in addition to his amateur clientele, taught college students. In 1824, Kelly turns up on the graduation announcement for St. Mary’s College, Baltimore, the earliest Roman Catholic seminary in the United States, which had recently also become a university; his star pupils won prizes for the violin, piano, clarinet, flute, and flageolet.²¹⁰

But the bulk of amateur flageolet players would have had to rely on written material to pick up the rudiments of playing and learn a handful of tunes. In 1794, Benjamin Carr’s “Musical Repository” in Philadelphia advertised “a Scale for the Flageolet, with favorite airs, and the notes of birds.”²¹¹ The first American tutor, *Instructions for the Patent Flageolet and English and French Flagelets*, which neatly encompassed all the single types of the day, was published by the teacher George Blake in the same city around 1807. As we have already seen, as new types of flageolet were invented, they were offered to the public with the necessary “instructions.” Another prominent teacher, Edward Riley (d. ca. 1831), published his own *Preceptor for the Patent Flageolet, with Scales for the English and French Flageolets, Containing Instructions & a Collection of Airs, Waltzes, Songs, Rondos, &c.* around 1818. For those would-be players bewildered by the variety of types of instrument now available, A. Bacon & Co. of Philadelphia helpfully offered a *Complete Preceptor for Flageolets of Every Description, Particularly for the New Improved Patent Octave Flageolet* (also ca. 1818). A *New and Choice Collection of Flute Melodies, Consisting of Duets, Waltzes, Cotillions, Airs, Marches, &c. To Which are Prefixed the Instructions for the*

207. Advertisement in *Evening Post*, 21 December 1809.

208. Advertisement by Richard Ruggles, *Eastern Argus*, 23 October 1821. Portland was then in Massachusetts, Maine not having been separated from it yet.

209. For a short biography of Rouault, see Ellsworth, “Clarinet in Early America,” 287–88.

210. Advertisement in *Baltimore Patriot*, 22 July 1824.

211. Advertisement in *Claypoole’s American Daily Advertiser*, 4 November 1794.

German Flute, and Patent Flageolet (Utica: William Williams, 1817) seems to have been widely sold, being mentioned in advertisements from as far afield as Portland (Maine), Norwich (Connecticut), and Georgetown and Washington, DC.²¹² Even the *Literary and Musical Magazine* in Philadelphia offered brief “Instructions for the Patent Flageolet” in 1820, including the following useful elementary advice: “Much depends on the quantity of breath blown into this instrument; most of beginners blow too violent, by which they produce false notes. From the lowest note up to D on the fourth line, blow very gently; then gradually increase as the scale ascends; but never blow too strong.”²¹³

Music. Thirteen professional musicians were advertised as playing the flageolet in thirty-one concerts during the period 1796–1826, with a concentration on 1820–21 (see Appendix 1D). Ten were also teachers, and as with their teaching, the flageolet was a sideline to their main instruments:

Nathaniel De Luce (Philadelphia, violin, piano; singer)
 Peter Francis Gentil (New York, violin, cello, clarinet; singer)²¹⁴
 Patrick Kelly (Baltimore, flute, clarinet)
 George Kinsella (New York and Albany, flute)
 Margaret Knittel (Charleston, clarinet)
 Lionel J. Larkin (Alexandria and Washington, DC, clarinet, horn)
 Florant Meline (New York, flute, clarinet)
 George F. Norton (Newport, flute, clarinet, trumpet; singer)
 Edward Riley (New York, flute?; singer)
 O. Shaw (Philadelphia, oboe)
 Abraham Taylor (New York, cello; singer)
 Richard Willis (New York, Kent bugle, trumpet)
 Joseph Wilson Jr. (New York, piano; singer)

In these concerts, at first the instrument was used as a bird-imitation obbligato for vocal pieces: a cantata, *The Nightingale*, by Raynor Taylor (Philadelphia, 1796); a song “Nature’s Little Warbler, Sing” (New York,

212. Advertisements by E. Weems in *City of Washington Gazette*, 27 June 1818; J. Milligan’s Book-Store, *National Messenger*, 18 September 1818; R. Hubbard in *Norwich Courier*, 13 May 1818; Portland Bookstore, *Eastern Argus*, 1 June 1819.

213. “Instructions for the Patent Flageolet,” *Literary and Musical Magazine* 4 (1820): 188, 192.

214. For a short biography of Gentil, see Ellsworth, “Clarinet in Early America,” 241–42. Unfortunately, Ellsworth takes the clearly wrong death date of 1808 from Vera Brodsky Lawrence, “Mr. Hewitt Lays it on the Line,” *19th Century Music* 5, no. 1 (Summer 1981): 5–6, then goes on to give details of his life through 1835.

1806); and the same or a similar song, “Sing, Sweet Warbler” (New York, 1807). From 1815 onward, once the double flageolet became fashionable, it was featured more often than the single flageolet (sixteen of the remaining twenty-seven concerts).

The music for the double flageolet was generally light, consisting of “favorite” or “popular” airs, sometimes with sets of variations. The airs identified include two from Scotland, “The Blue Bells of Scotland” and “Oh Nanny, Wilt thou Gang with Me”; one from Ireland, “Robin Adair”; and “Life Let us Cherish,” attributed to “Egan” in the advertisement (elsewhere to Mozart or Hans Georg Nägeli). Two different performers played variations on Mozart’s “O dolce contento”—an Italian translation of the aria “Das klinget so herrlich” from *Die Zauberflöte*. The other pieces by named composers were: a Divertimento by the flageolet maker William Bainbridge; a Rondo from *John of Paris*, a London opera arranged by Sir Henry R. Bishop from music by Adrien Boieldieu and himself; a Serenade by the performer, Patrick Kelly; an “obligato” by John Parry; and a Divertimento by one Perotto. A Duet, arranged by Willis, and a Serenade were even performed on two double flageolets. The guitar is listed four times as the accompanying instrument.

A similar repertoire was advertised for the single flageolet: a “Divertimento, for piano and patent flageolet”; a song, “Flora’s Wreath” by Joseph Mazzinghi, performed in the year it was published (1817), and another, “Hope Told a Flattering Tale,” attributed to “Hayden” but actually an adaptation of Giovanni Paisiello’s “Nel cor più non mi sento” from *La Molinara*. And of course there were several sets of variations: on “the Culan, an Irish air, [by] Moore”; on two popular songs, “Over the Water to Charlie” and “Since Then I’m Doom’d”; on a “Popular Air” by Jean Baptiste Duvernoy; and on an “Air” by Mozart.

A curious piece was a “Concerto, with accompaniment of other instrument of the Apollino.” The Apollino, invented by Job Plimpton of Albany in the mid-1810s, was an enormous instrument that “combines the music of a Church Organ, a Grand Orchestra, a Martial Band, and a Harp; the whole or any part may be performed by one person on six octaves of piano forte or organ keys and five pedals.”²¹⁵ In itself, it was

215. “Description of the Apollino,” *Plough Boy* (Albany, NY) 1, no. 17, 25 September 1819, 131.

said to include “37 German flutes, 30 English flutes . . . 49 octave flutes, 25 flageolets, 25 imitations of birds. . . .”²¹⁶

Even more curious were the performances advertised in 1820 by the “celebrated” Monsieur Godeau, a tightrope walker “who has performed with the most distinguished success in the different capitals of Europe,” then making his first appearance in America.²¹⁷ He had the ability to turn somersaults while playing the flageolet, “and while turning will not lose a note, and alight on his feet upon the rope, feats never attempted by any other person. . . .”²¹⁸ Soon, he expanded his repertoire of tricks: he “will also Dance on the Tight Rope. And in the character of Ferdinand the Grand, will dance the Spanish Fandango, and play on the Flageolet, throwing several Flip Flaps and Somersets at the same time, without losing a note.”²¹⁹ After Godeau had toured for eighteen months (Baltimore, Boston, New York, Newport, and Providence, Rhode Island), he promised he would “dance a Hornpipe”—perhaps a more suitable dance for a former British colony—“on the Tight Rope, playing the Flageolet, throwing a somerset. . . .”²²⁰

Apart from a few songs with flute or flageolet accompaniment, little or none of the above-mentioned professional repertoire was published for amateurs. They generally had to content themselves with collections of tunes arranged for several kinds of melody instrument (flute, fife, flageolet, clarinet, violin, bugle) or songs arranged for either flute or flageolet. George Blake was the most prolific publisher and arranger, offering no fewer than eleven volumes of *Blake’s Evening Companion: For the flute, clarinet, violin or flageolet* between 1808 and 1826.²²¹

Conclusions

The newspaper advertisements that form the basis of this article furnish a wealth of information about recorder teachers, players, sellers,

216. “Grand Musical Invention,” *Village Register and Norfolk County Advertiser* 1, no. 1, 9 June 1820, [4].

217. Advertisement in *American*, 1 June 1820.

218. Advertisement in *Baltimore Patriot*, 8 December 1820.

219. Advertisement in *Columbian Centinel*, 2 June 1821.

220. Advertisement in *Baltimore Patriot*, 11 January 1822.

221. For contents, see Wolfe, *Secular Music in America*, no. 858.

and makers that has been virtually unknown to scholars of the instrument. These advertisements confirm that, as in England, the recorder played a role in musical life, at least as an amateur and educational instrument, throughout the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth. Thirteen teachers advertised over the period 1713–1771 in Boston, Charleston, New York, Philadelphia, and Williamsburg. Except for Mrs. Dickson in Philadelphia (1744), who worked with schoolgirls, they did not exclusively teach the recorder, or even woodwind instruments, but made their living with a variety of instruments, including the flute, flageolet, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, violin, tenor violin, violoncello, double bass, viola da gamba, harpsichord, and dulcimer, as well as singing. No professional musicians are mentioned as playing the recorder, but a variety of amateurs did, including a sea captain, a shopkeeper, two doctors, a plantation owner, and an innkeeper, not to mention four runaways: two servants and two slaves. Fifty-three American sellers in eleven cities advertised recorders in the century from 1716 to 1815, less than ten percent of whom were in the music business. The bulk of the advertisements fall in the period 1752–1777, with a peak in 1766–67. Recorders were imported throughout the eighteenth century—always from England when a country is named. American makers advertised recorders between 1761 and 1775: two makers of German origin (Gottlieb or David Wolhaupter and Jacob Anthony) and one English (Joshua Collins). Although some advertisements refer to “all sizes” of recorder, they in fact document a shift in the history of the instrument toward a concentration on the upper sizes, between alto and soprano.

As interest in the recorder waned toward the end of the eighteenth century, the flageolet took its place. Ironically, the so-called English flageolet, invented in England in the 1790s, was a recorder in everything but name, having seven finger holes and a thumb hole. Through various patents, registered or otherwise, it underwent rapid development over the next twenty years, largely to reduce the tendency for the windway to clog with moisture (wind chamber and sponge), to extend the range, and to make the octaving function easier for amateurs (reduction or abandonment of the thumb hole). Keywork was also gradually added, as on the flute. The double flageolet, invented independently by two English makers, William Bainbridge and Thomas Scott, around 1805, gradually became more than a novelty, being seen as an attractive alternative to the single variety. The French flageolet, with four finger holes

and two thumb holes, which had existed in the background during the eighteenth century, took on a new lease of life in the early nineteenth century, perhaps because of the interest in the English type. Eventually, because it was louder, the French type won out.

The American advertisements provide ample evidence that, even more so than the recorder in the eighteenth century, the flageolet was widely played and taught in the first four decades of the nineteenth. Between 1794 and 1839, flageolets were advertised by no fewer than 129 American sellers in 32 cities spread over 13 states plus the District of Columbia. The peak years were 1815–23, with an average of about twelve sellers per year. Although at least two flageolet makers came to the United States from elsewhere—Louis Alexander de Peloubet from France and John Butler from England—and instruments have survived from American makers such as Bacon & Hart, Eisenbrandt, Firth and Hall, Hopkins, Riley, and Weygandt, most of the flageolets sold seem to have been imported from England or France, later from Germany. Instruments were offered at a range of prices, and presumably qualities, to appeal to all pockets. By around 1830, really cheap instruments began to come on the market, perhaps aimed at children.

During the years 1805–32, no fewer than thirty flageolet teachers placed advertisements, in ten main cities, peaking at eight teachers per year in 1817–18. Again, they did not teach the flageolet exclusively, but also offered instruction on the flute, clarinet, Kent bugle, piano, guitar, violin, and other instruments. Most advertisements were aimed at amateurs: sometimes only ladies, once only gentlemen, sometimes both sexes. The flageolet was also considered an educational instrument, suitable for “young gentlemen” or college students. A number of homegrown sets of instructions were published. Thirteen professional musicians were advertised as playing the flageolet in thirty-one concerts during the years 1796–1826, peaking in 1820–21. These performers also sang and played other instruments. The concert repertoire for the flageolet at first consisted of bird-imitation songs, later of sets of variations and other light fare. Little of the professional repertoire was published for amateurs, who were offered mostly collections of tunes arranged for several kinds of melody instrument. Thus the flageolet achieved its popularity because it was portable and one could easily learn to play a few tunes on it, with or without a teacher. Nevertheless, this instrument kept the family of duct flutes alive and well in the nineteenth century, and later on in the century it was to develop a significant body of touring professionals.

APPENDIX 1:

References to Recorder Sellers, and to Sellers, Teachers,
and Players of the Flageolet in Colonial North American
and United States Newspapers, 1700–1840

- A. Recorder sellers by city (in order of the earliest reference to the city), 48
 B. Flageolet sellers by city (in order of the earliest reference to the city), 52
 C. Flageolet teachers, 1805–1832, 64
 D. Flageolet performances, 1796–1826, 74
 Indexes of names and places follow in Appendix 2.

Note: In order to save space, citations for the newspaper advertisements in question are not given in the following tables. The citations should be found easily in the America's Historical Newspapers database from the information provided.

- A. Recorder sellers by city (in order of the earliest reference to the city).

Boston

date	terms	seller	trade
1716	flutes	Edward Enstone	dancing and music school
1732	consort flute	Samuel Kneeland	printer
1748, 1750	English flutes	William Price	looking glass and picture store
1753, 1756, 1762, 1771, 1773	English flutes	Gilbert and Lewis Deblois	hardware stores
1760–61	common flutes		
1754	flutes	Samuel Hardcastle	cutler
1757	flutes	Ebenezer Coffin	hardware store
1759	common flutes		
1759	English flutes	Richard Billings	hardware store
1761, 1763, 1766	English flutes	Stephen Deblois Jr. (advertising in 1763 and 1766 with George Deblois, Salem)	hardware store
1764	common flutes of all sizes	Newport —> A gentleman from London	
1765	common flutes	William Tyng	hardware store
1798, 1804	English flutes	William Callender	ivory turner, music store
1802–3	English flutes	Daniel Hewes	ivory turner, umbrella manufacturer

1808	English flutes	Hayt and Schaffer	umbrella and musical instrument manufacturers, ivory turners
1815	English flutes	The New Store, Long Rooms	?
1815	English or Shepherd Flutes, 2d, 3d, 4th, 6th and 8th	J. E. Glover	music store

Charleston, South Carolina

date	terms	seller	trade
1739, 1741	flutes	John Watson and McKenzie	general store
1740–41	flutes	John Crokatt and Kenneth Michie	housewares store
1742	flutes	Hopton and Smith	general store
1753, 1755, 1759	English flutes	Bremar and Neyle	general store
1755–57	common flutes		
1762–63, 1766	common flutes	James and William Lennox	housewares store
1766	English flutes of all sizes	Robert Wells	bookseller, stationer
1767, 1769–70, 1774	English flutes of all sorts/kinds		
1771, 1776	English flutes		
1777, 1781–82	common flutes		
1767	common flutes	Thomas You	silversmith
1768	common flutes	Nicholas Langford	bookseller
1773	common flutes	Joshua Lockwood	clock and watch seller
1775	common flutes	James MacAlpine	auction

New York

date	terms	seller	trade
1757	sundry sorts of flutes	Dirck Brinckerhoff	general store
1760, 1762–63, 1772	common flutes	James Rivington	bookseller, printer
1773	English, or common flutes		

date	terms	seller	trade
1777	English, or common concert flutes; English second, third, fourth concert flutes		
1779–80	English flutes		
1780	common flutes		
1761	common flutes	John Anderson	housewares store
1762	common flutes of all sizes	A gentleman lately arrived from London → Philadelphia	
1763–69, 1771, 1773–74	common flutes	Peter Goelet	general store
1764	common flutes	Josias Short Vavasar	music store
1764–65	common flutes	T. Anderton	bookbinder
1766–67	common flutes	Garrat Noel	bookseller
1767	common flutes	Simeon Coley	silversmith
1774	common flutes	Thomas Hazard → New Haven	general store
1793	English flutes	Archibald Whaites	musical instrument maker
1794	concert English flutes	Dodds and Claus	keyboard manufacturers
1794	flute doux	George Gilbert	music store
1795–96	English flutes		
1795	English flutes	James Harrison	music warehouse
1799, 1802	English flutes	John and Michael Paff	hardware store
1801	English flutes	Mrs. Terrett	?

Newport, Rhode Island

date	terms	seller	trade
1759	English flutes	Richardson and Goldthwait	hardware store
1763	common flutes of all sizes	Philadelphia → A gentleman from London who is to leave the island soon → Boston	

Salem, Massachusetts

date	terms	seller	trade
1763, 1766	English flutes	George Deblois (advertising with Stephen Deblois Jr., Boston)	hardware store

Baltimore

date	terms	seller	trade
1764	common flutes	William Lux	general store
1785	English common flutes	Murphy	bookseller

Philadelphia

date	terms	seller	trade
1764, 1774	common flutes	Michael Hillegas	music publisher, store
1762, 1767	common flutes	James Rivington	bookseller
1762	common Flutes, from a concert to an octave		
1763	common flutes of all sizes	New York → A gentleman from London → Newport	
1766	common flutes of various sizes	Benjamin Condry	mathematical instrument maker
1772–73	common flutes	Nicholas Brooks	seller of “useful and ornamental goods” (housewares)
1772	common flutes	John Sparhawk	bookseller

Providence, Rhode Island

date	terms	seller	trade
1767	common flutes	Thompson and Arnold	general store

Williamsburg, Virginia

date	terms	seller	trade
1770	common flutes of different sizes	Post Office	

Newburyport, Massachusetts

date	terms	seller	trade
1773	common flutes	George Deblois	general store

Norfolk, Virginia

date	terms	seller	trade
1795	English flutes	?	?

B. Flageolet sellers by city (in order of the earliest reference to the city).

Boston

date	terms	seller	trade
1716	flagelets	Edward Enstone	organist, dancing and music teacher
1798	high and low priced flagelets	William Callender	musical instrument maker
1804	flagelets		
1800	flagelets (imported)	P. A. Van Hagen	musical instrument store
1802-4	flagelets/ flageiolets (1802, from London)	Daniel Hewes	musical instrument store, turner
1806	flagelets (by the late arrivals)	Jacob Gourgas	fancy goods
1807	patent flagelets		
1807	celebrated patent flagelets		
1810	patent flagelets		
1807	elegant tip't flagelets (just received from London . . . from the first manufactories in London)	G. Graupner	music store
1808	patent flagelets, assorted (from London)		
1810, 1817	flagelets (1810, from London)		
1816	double flagelets (from London)		
1818	flagelets (from London)		
1819	flagelets of every description, single and double		
1820	flagelets, single and double		
1807	Bainbridge's new patent flagelets	William Bent	piano warehouse
1808	flagelets of all descriptions	Hayt and Schaffer (1808); Elna Hayt (1815)	umbrella and musical instrument manufacturers, ivory turner

date	terms	seller	trade
1815	French and English flageolets		
1809	patent flageolets, common ditto	N. H. Hinchman	music store
1812	patent and common flageolets		
1813	double and single flageolets	Paul Lamson	umbrella store
1816	flageolets		
1815	flageolets	Hayts, Babcock and Appleton	organ and piano manufacturer
1816	flageolets (from London)	The Music Saloon over Callender's	music store
1817, 1820	flageolets (1817, from London)	New Music Saloon and Variety Store	music and variety store
1820	flageoletts, with 1 or 2 silver keys		
1820	flageolets, with one, four, six or eight keys		
1822	French and English flageolets (brought from London)		
1817–18	flageolets (1817, London-made)	Franklin Music Warehouse	music store
1818	flageolets (just received from Germany)		
1818, 1820	flageolets (from London)		
1822	French and English flageolets		
1818–20	flageolets (1820, from London)	John Ashton Jr.	umbrella, musical instrument store
1820	best London made flageolets with ivory cisterns		
1820	flageolets, with ivory cistions (patent) (from London)		
1821	patent double flageolets, single ditto		
1823	patent flageolets		
1825	flute flageolets		

date	terms	seller	trade
1818	patent and common flageolets (by the late arrivals)	Frederick Lane	music store
1819, 1823	patent and common flageolets (by the late arrivals)		
1820	patent and common flageolets, with additional keys; octave flageolets, with keys (imported)	Israel E. Glover	umbrella and musical instrument store
1821–23	patent flageolets, common ditto (1822–23, from London)		
1820	flageolets	T. K. Jones & Co.	auction
1821	1 patent flageolet	Blake and Cunningham	auction
1821	flute flageolets \$12; patent flageolets; flageolets \$2.75 to \$18 (from London)	C. and E. W. Jackson	musical instrument warehouse
1825	1 flageolet in mahogany case	Julien Auction Room	auction

New York

date	terms	seller	trade
1761–62	flageolets	Gottlieb Wolhaupter	woodwind maker
1794–96	flageolets/flaglets/flageletts (1795, from London, “from the first manufactories”)	George Gilfert	music store
1798–99, 1802, 1804, 1806, 1815	flageolets/flagelets/flagiolets (1798–1804, from London)	John and Michael Paff (1798–1802); John Paff (1815)	hardware and music store?

date	terms	seller	trade
1801	fladganets	Mrs. Terrett	?
1805	flagelets (French goods)	Isaac Moses and Sons	draper, tea merchant
1805	flageolets	Music Store, 320 Pearl Street	music store
1807	flageolets	Aaron Levy and Co.	auction house
1813	flageletts	William Bruce	warehouse
1813	French goods . . . flageolets	Walsh and Gallagher	hardware store?
1816	flageolets	I. Riley; James Seton at I. Riley's	book auction
1816–17	flageolets (English musical instruments)	George Gibbs	general store
1817	flageolets, various kinds		
1817	patent flageolets (from London)	Wm. Dubois	music store
1817	flageolets (from London)	Joseph Willson	music store
1818	flageolets	J. & W. Geib	piano warehouse; music store
1821	double and single flageolets		
1818	2 double flageolets	Cornelius S. Bartow & Co.	auction
1818	flageolets; double fluted flageolets	New Bookstore	bookseller
1818	1 elegant double flagelet	Baudouine and Chapman	auction
1818–19	flageolets (from France)	Vallotte and Lete	musical instrument manufacturers
1820	flageolets		
1819	1 flagiolet	Robert McMenomy	auction
1819	flageolets (from the best European manufactories)	Raymond Meetz	music store
1819	flageolets	Lawrence Power & Co.	auction
1820	flageolets	M. Myers & Co.	musical instrument and toy store; auction
1820	flageolets	C. G. Fontaine	auction
1821	flageolets	Firth and Hall	music store
1836	flageolets, single and double (from agents in London and Paris)	Joseph F. Atwill	music store

Charleston, South Carolina

date	terms	seller	trade
1770–71, 1774–75	flagelets/flageolets	Robert Wells	bookseller, stationer
1821	flageolets	Napier, Rapelye and Bennett	auction
1834	flageolets	O. A. Roorbach	book store?

Philadelphia

date	terms	seller	trade
1800	French flageolets (received from London)	R. Shaw	music and instrument store
1804	flageolets	Abraham Sink	hardware
1816	single and double flageolets	Caldeleugh and Thomas	stationery, fancy goods
1818	flageolets; double duet flageolets		
1816	flageolets	John Dorsey	auction
1819	single and double Flageolets (English, of best selection)		
1817	double and single flageolets	J. S. Richardson	music store, teacher
1817	single and double flageolets	The Auction Store	auction
1817	very superior flageolets		
1818	flageolets; duet or double flageolets	W. C. Beck and S. M. Stewart (successors of Caldeleugh and Thomas)	stationery, fancy goods
1819	flageolets, double and single		
1819–20	French and English flageolets	Klemm and Brother	musical instrument store?
1820	flageolets; duett or double flageolets	Beck and Stewart	stationery, paper hangings, fancy goods
1820	Flagelets	Samuel Carusi	music teacher
1820	flageolets	Charles Taws	musical instrument store
1820	French and English flageolets	Neff, Jones & Co.	auction

Portsmouth, New Hampshire

date	terms	seller	trade
1803	flageolets	George Dame	fancy goods
1816	flageolets	Tappan and Foster	fancy goods; musical instruments
1818	flageolets	Harrison Gray	?
1831	flageolets	J. W. Foster	music store?

Providence, Rhode Island

date	terms	seller	trade
1804, 1806	flagelets/flageolets (imported)	David Vinton	staple and fancy goods
1807	flageolets	John Muenscher	?
1807–8	flageolets/flagelets	William Hamlin	fancy goods
1808	Butler's new patent flageolets, of different prices	O. Shaw	music teacher and publisher
1823	flageolettes		
1817	flageolets	Charles Potter	auction
1821	flageolets	Chapin and Schaffer	music store

Salem, Massachusetts

date	terms	seller	trade
1807	French flageolets	Cushing and Appleton	hardware store?
1807, 1809, 1813, 1815, 1818, 1820–23	flageolets/ flagiolets		
1807	An improved double flageolet with silver keys, and finished in the best manner. With this instrument (which has received the name of Delecta Harmonia) one performer may play in two parts!		
1808	Improved patent flageolets which . . . have received the name of Tityrus flageolets		

date	terms	seller	trade
1812	flageolets (one a sweet toned double one)		
1823	patent flute flagelets: German flutes, with spare flagelet-top-joints		
1825	patent flageolets	John M. Ives	bookstore and library
1826	London flageolets		
1827	flageolet flutes, third ditto		
1829	French flageolets, 37½ cents; German double flageolets, 50 cents		
1827	double and single flageolets	Elias Hook	music, stationery, fancy goods, military goods
1838	Eng[lish] flageolets	Ives and Jewett	book and music store

Hartford, Connecticut

date	terms	seller	trade
1811	flageolets	Uzal Miner	musical instrument maker
1829–30	flageolets	Charles Hosmer	printer

Washington and Georgetown, DC

date	terms	seller	trade
1815, 1817, 1819	patent flageolets	W. Cooper	music store
1820	double and single flageolets	Robert Bunyie	musical instruments dealer
1820	patent double flageolets	Baltimore → Kelly	music teacher
1820	flageolets, tipped with ivory, at \$7.50	James Thomas	music store?
1826	flageolets	Pishey Thompson	music instrument store

Utica, New York

date	terms	seller	trade
1815	flagelets	William Whiteley	musical instrument manufacturer

Alexandria, Virginia

date	terms	seller	trade
1815	one patent flagelet	Robert Gary	bookseller, stationer
1815	fine tuned flageolets	James Kennedy and Son	bookseller
1816–17	flageolets		
1817	patent flagelets		
1819	flageolets of different kinds		
1816	patent flageolets	Robert Gray	?

Baltimore, Maryland

date	terms	seller	trade
1816	flageolets	George Wheelwright	umbrella and musical instrument manufacturer
1817	10 tip'd patent flageolets	Moses Poor	auction
1818	flageolets		
1818	flageolets	August Hammer	staple and fancy goods
1818–19	double flageolets manufactured by Bainbridge	Kelly → Washington, DC	music teacher
1819	double and single flageolets	Joseph Robinson	circulating library
1823	flageolets		
1821	French flageolets	Harrison Dawes	auction
1821, 1823	flageolets		
1823	2 double flageolets		
1822–23	double and single flageolets	John Cole	music store
1822	a few of Clementi's patent flutes and flageolets	Charles Jackson	piano dealer
1823	flageolets	James Gould	fancy goods

date	terms	seller	trade
1826	flageolets	E. S. Thomas	variety store
1828–29	flageolets/ flageolets	L. Ricketts	piano maker, music store
1834	a number of double and single flageolets		

Cooperstown, New York

date	terms	seller	trade
1816–17	flageolets	H. and E. Phinney	?
1827, 1830–31	flageolets	William Nichols	military goods, fancy hardware

Maysville, Kentucky

date	terms	seller	trade
1816	flageolets	John W. Sturm	fancy goods

Petersburg, Virginia

date	terms	seller	trade
1817	flageolets	John W. Campbell	bookseller, stationer

Norfolk, Virginia

date	terms	seller	trade
1815	flagelets	John C. Niemeyer	hardware store
1819	flagiolets, patent single and double		
1816	an elegant flagiolet	Maurice and Lee	auction
1819	flageolets	G. Balls	music store?
1819	flageolets	G. Bocciardi	confectioner
1819	flageolets	Francis Pierre and Niclot	musical instrument makers and dealers
1820	double and single flageolets	E. T. Robb	piano maker

Lansingburgh (now Troy), New York

date	terms	seller	trade
1818	flagelets	Alexander Walsh Jr.	fancy and staple goods

Ithaca, New York

date	terms	seller	trade
1819	flageolets	Mack and Searing	bookseller
1823	flageolets	Mack and Morgan	bookseller
1836	flageolets	Sylvester Munger	jewelry store

Surry County, Virginia

date	terms	seller	trade
1821	one double keyed patent flageolet	John T. Bowdoin	estate sale

Portland, Maine (then Massachusetts)

date	terms	seller	trade
1821	boys flageolets	Richard Ruggles	umbrella manufacturer; ivory turner
1825	flageolets, tipt and plain		
1826	flageolets	S. Patten	bookstore

Hopkinton, New Hampshire

date	terms	seller	trade
1821	flageolets (imported)	Edmund Currier	musical instrument store, fife maker, clock and watch store

Trenton, New Jersey

date	terms	seller	trade
1823	flageolets	John Davisson	paper warehouse and bookstore

Newburyport, Massachusetts

date	terms	seller	trade
1824	flageolets	N. and T. Foster	umbrella and music store?

Pittsfield, Massachusetts

date	terms	seller	trade
1824	flageolets	Abner Stevens	music store, hardware, dry and fancy goods

Richmond, Virginia

date	terms	seller	trade
1825	flageolets	Wm. H. Fitzwhylsonn	stationer
1831	flageolets	W. P. Cunningham	piano warehouse, music store
1833–34	flageolets/ flageoletts	R. I. Smith	music store
1838	flageolets	P. H. Taylor	music store and piano warehouse

Hagers-Town, Maryland

date	terms	seller	trade
1826	flageolets	L. W. Glenn	music store (sold at Baltimore prices)
1827	flageoletts	P. Blood	bookseller

Brattleboro, Vermont

date	terms	seller	trade
1827	flageolets	John Birge	variety store

Norwich, Connecticut

date	terms	seller	trade
1827–28	flageolets	Edward Coit	watches, jewelry, fancy hardware
1829	flageolet flutes, flageolets	R. W. Roath	watches, jewelry, fancy hardware
1831	single and double flageolets		

Concord, New Hampshire

date	terms	seller	trade
1831	flageoletts (warranted to be imported)	John Estabrook	musical instruments

Keene, New Hampshire

date	terms	seller	trade
1831	flageolets	Geo. Tilden	general store?
1832	flageolets at \$3.25		

date	terms	seller	trade
1833	flageolets, price from \$3.00 to \$6.00		
1835–36 1837	flageolets German and Tyrolese violins, flutes, flageolets. . . .		

New Bedford, Massachusetts

date	terms	seller	trade
1835	flageolets	Emerson and Underwood	books, stationery, cutler, musical instruments
1837	flageolets	Sidney Underwood	

Macon, Georgia

date	terms	seller	trade
1836	flageolets	J. A. and S. S. Virgin	watchmaker, jeweler, music store

Nashville, Tennessee

date	terms	seller	trade
1836	flageolets	?	?

C. Flageolet teachers, 1805–1832.

name	dates	city	instruments taught	audience; terms
Francis Augier	1805	Boston	flute, clarinet, flageolet, bassoon	young gentlemen
E[dward] Riley (d. ca. 1831)	1806	New York	flute, flageolet, guitar, piano	music room; “the most approved principles”
	1807			music room; MWF, 5–9pm; TuThSat, 7–10pm; families attended; private lessons at his house
	1809		piano, singing, flute, flageolet	music school
	1810		flute, flageolet	music school
Mr. and Miss Riley	1811		piano, guitar, singing, flute; masters recommended for clarinet, bassoon, flageolet, flute, violin, tenor, violoncello, piano forte, harp, English and Spanish guitar, singing, trumpet, French horn, bugle horn, etc.	music school
E. Riley	1813		flute, guitar, singing	
	1814–18		piano, guitar, singing, flute, flageolet, clarinet, bassoon, violin, tenor, cello	music school; “by proper Masters”
	1818		guitar, piano, singing; violin, clarinet, flute, double and single flageolet	music school; “on improved principles”; by lesson or quarter
	1819		piano, singing, guitar, viola, cello, flute, single and double flageolet, clarinet, bassoon, drums	“on improved principles”; “by approved masters”
	1820		piano, guitar, violin, violoncello, flute, single and double flageolet	by lesson, quarter or in classes

George Blake	1807	Philadelphia	clarinet, flute, and patent flageolet	1794: flute, clarinet
J. M. Gervaise	1807	New York	flute, patent flageolet	“moderate terms”
Joseph Rouault [listed in New York directory, 1810–25]	1807	New York	flute, flageolet	
	1809		flute, flageolet, clarinet	
	1815		flute, clarinet, flageolet	“after the simplest and best method”; “improvements made by his former scholars”
O. Shaw	1818		flute, clarinet, etc.	young gentlemen
A preceptor of a private family	1808	Providence, RI	guitar, flageolet	ladies
	1809	New York	singing, guitar, violin, flageolet, piano; also French, German, Latin, arithmetic, algebra	boarding schools
P. C. Louvrier	1811	Salem, MA	piano, violin, flute, guitar, flageolet; also French	flageolet: \$3 entrance and \$10 a quarter
James H. Hoffman [listed in New York directory, 1798–1834]	1803	New York	“various kinds of musical wind instruments, violin,” etc.	
	1808		“every musical wind instrument, violin,” etc.; military bands	amateurs; terms moderate
	1812	Elizabeth, NJ	bugle, trumpet, horn, trombone, clarinet, English horn, flute, piccolo, fife, bassoon, serpent, hurdy gurdy, violin, cello, percussion, etc.; military bands	music school/academy: “first and second gamuts with six tunes at least the first month”; “gamuts and eight tunes at least the first month”; “positively only for one quarter”

name	dates	city	instruments taught	audience; terms
	1813	Goshen, CT	trumpet, horn, bugle horn, trombone, sacbut, clarinet, oboe, grand oboe or voice umane, flute or patent flute, fife, patent flagelet, hurdy-gurdy or beggar's lyre, flagotto or bassoon, serpent, violin, violoncello, bass drum, cymbals, etc.; military bands	"gentlemen who would be apprehensive of learning may rest assured of their performing two gamuts and six tunes at least in two weeks, or no compensation is required"; "Ladies instructed on that much admired and fashionable new instrument, the Patent Flagelet"; "he has musick which will render them capable of the art of reading any chromatic musick at first sight"
	1813	Hudson, NY	various wind and string instruments; military bands	music academy: "perform Sonatas or any other difficult piece of music after at first sight"; "two Gamuts and seven popular Airs in twelve lessons and twelve tunes at least in a month, or no compensation will be required"; ladies: patent flageolet
	1814	Alexandria, VA	clarinet, trumpet, horns, bugle horn, oboe, grand oboe or voice umane, trombone, fife, German flute, patent or additional key'd flute, guitar, faggotto or bassoon, serpent, patent flageolet, sacbut, hurdy gurdy, or beggars lyre, violin, violoncello, union pipes, harp, etc. etc.; military bands	"twelve Tunes at least, in one month, or no compensation will be required"

1816	Chambers- burg, PA	clarinet, oboe, trumpet, horn, bugle horn, grand hautboy, trombone, fife, German flute, octave and additional keyed flute, piano fortes, fagotto or bassoon, serpent, patent flageolet, hurdy gurdy or beggar’s lyre, violin or fiddle, violoncello or bass viol, bass drum, cymbals; military bands	“fifteen tunes at least in eighteen lessons, who has never played upon any instrument, or no compensation will be required”; “To persons who are deficient in this fine art, they will receive the theory and practical part of playing Sonatas, Duetts, or any other intricate Music, at first sight, which he will copy from the same”
1818	Norfolk, VA	clarinet, trumpet, horn, bugle horn, oboe, grand oboe or voce umane, trombone, fife, German flute, octave flute or additional key’d flute, piano forte, fagotto or bassoon, serpent, flageolet, patent ditto, sacbut, hurdy-gurdy or beggar’s lyre, violin, violoncello or bass viol, bass drum, cymbals, etc. etc. etc.; military bands	“Positively for one month only (in consequence of his engagements), in which time, he pledges himself to teach a Scholar the first principles of Music; and, at least twenty tunes, calls and signals”; “instruct such as cannot sing, read or write Musick, or play on any Instrument, to perform on any of the instruments named below, in the time above-mentioned, or no compensation will be required”; “To Amateurs who desire a greater variety in this fine art, on Cromatic Musick, the number of their tunes is not limited, and the terms moderate” “10, 15, or 20 tunes, in the short space of one month”; “Lessons received individually and alter- nately each day on separate hours; the evening to gentlemen whose avocations preclude their attendance at that time, as may best suit their mutual convenience”; “Amateurs impressed by an ardent emulation for further improvement in chromatic music, the tunes not limited[,] terms moderate”
1820	Brooklyn, NY	any instrument, having his choice of 30; military bands	

name	dates	city	instruments taught	audience; terms
	1827	Newport, RI	clarinet, trumpet, trumpet marine, hautboy, grand oboe (or amana voce), serpent, German flute, octave ditto, additional key'd ditto, flageolet ditto, fagotto, bassoon, pian forte, zuffalo, vielle hurdy, lyre, violin, viola (or tenor fiddle), cymbals, plain flageolet, patent flageolet, double barrel'd ditto, French horn, trombone, F. clarinet, plain bugle, six key'd bugle, fife, Spanish guitar, violoncello, or bass viol	“each scholar taught in a scientific and comprehensive manner in 20 lessons”; to any attentive learner from the first principles, to play 15 popular airs on any solo, or single instrument, who have no ear for music and whose efforts were ineffectual to attain this DIVINE ART in said term—or no compensation will be required”; “AMATEURS imprest for further improvement on Chromatic Music, the SONATAS not limited”
George Kinsella [listed in New York directory, 1809–1830]	1808	Albany	flute	music school; young gentlemen; Fri–Sat eve
	1809	New York	flute	“the beginner and the proficient”
	1810	Albany	flute	every Mon–Tue; later in year: music school: one evening per week, 8–10pm; “private instructions on the FLAGELET, to Ladies and Gentlemen” gentlemen
	1811	New York	flute	young gentlemen; “a few days in each week”;
	1812	New York (resident in Newark, NJ)	flute; also “double-barrelled and single patent flageolets”	later in year: 12–2, 5–6pm

	1812	Newark, NJ	flute; also “double or single Flageolet, to such ladies or gentlemen who may have a desire to learn that instrument”	classes of not more than six, twice a week (\$8 per quarter); private lessons (\$12 per quarter); Thu–Sat; “When his scholars shall be sufficiently advanced he will once a week or once a fortnight, give a PRIVATE CONCERT, at which each scholar will have the priviledge of inviting his friends”
	1813	New York	flute, flageolet	gentlemen
	1814	Hudson	instrumental music	
	1814	New York	flute, flageolet	lessons as usual
	1815	Boston	flute, double or single Flageolet	ladies and gentlemen
	1816–18	New York	flute, single and double Flageolet	gentlemen; “In order to accommodate those gentlemen who may be employed during the day, Instructions will be given at any hour between 6 and 10” pm; “will attend Ladies wishing to learn the flageolet at their houses”
	1817	Albany	flute, and single and double flagœlet	“Ladies who are desirous of receiving lessons on the Flagœlet, may receive those lessons at their houses.”
	1819	New York	flute, flageolet, etc.	“his pupils, and young gentlemen who are desirous of receiving instructions in music”
	1820	Albany	Piano Forte, Flute, Clarionet, and French or English Flagelet	ladies and gentlemen
William Stone	1811	Charleston	flute, clarinet, flageolet	gentlemen
	1820		flute, clarinet, flageolet	flute, clarinet: gentlemen; flageolet: ladies

name	dates	city	instruments taught	audience; terms
Patrick H. Taylor, “late of London and Dublin” [listed in New York directory, 1824–33]	1812– 13 1817 1821	New York	clarinet, flageolet, flute, etc.; military bands flute, clarinet flute, clarinet, flageolet, etc.	
H. W. Pilkington	1813– 15	Boston	flute, single or double flageolet	young gentlemen; “can attend to the instruction of four Pupils in addition to his evening classes, and give private lessons to three Gentlemen throughout the day” “Any lady or gentleman”
Richard Willis, “lately arrived from Dublin”	1816	New York	double flageolet, flute, violin, clarinet, horn, Kent bugle	
Joseph Willson Jr.	1816	New York	piano, flageolet	“ladies instructed in the house” (father’s music store)
J. S. Richardson, from London (New York: S. R., “a regular pro- fessor of music, just arrived from London”)	1817 1817 1821	Philadelphia New York Baltimore	harp, piano forte, flute, flageolet piano, harp, double and single flageolet harp, piano forte, flute, double flageolet, guittar, violin	at his music store ladies and gentlemen “Terms \$18 per quarter, three lessons per week—\$12 for two lessons per week. N. B. His Music School for young gentlemen, Wednesday and Saturday evenings, from 8 till 10.”
Lionel James Larkin	1817 1818	Alexandria, VA	musical tuition clarinet, flute, horn, bassoon, violin, etc.	every day 9am–12noon, 2–5pm; MTuThF, 7–9:30pm; “Ladies wishing to learn the double or single Flageolet, will be waited on at their residence” “Ladies. . . .”; later in year took a house

	1820	Washington, DC	clarinet, flute, violin, bassoon, horn, single and double flageolets, vocal music	music school
Gaetano Carusi	1813	Philadelphia	clarinet, horn, bassoon, flute, fife, flageolet, every stringed instrument	
	1817	Annapolis	piano, violin, clarinet, flute	
Gaetano Carusi and family, consisting of eight performers	1818	Alexandria, VA	vocal and instrumental music, namely, piano forte, pedal harp, violin, violoncello, flute, clarinet, clarion, bassoon, horn, trumpet, all kinds of flageolet, etc. etc.	music school
D. Clancy, late master of the 3d British Rifle and 1st Venezuelian bands	1818	Alexandria, VA	clarinet, bassoon, flute, single and double flagelet, etc. etc.	young gentlemen
Patrick Kelly	1818	Norfolk, VA	flute, clarinet, single and double flageolets, etc.	ladies and gentlemen
	1818	Baltimore	piano, violin, flute, single and double flageolets, clarinet, patent Kent bugle, and various instruments used in military bands	“Mr. K. has the pleasure to inform these ladies and gentlemen who have done him the honor of calling on him in order to learn the Double Flageolet, but who could not commence for want of the instrument, (as well as all others who wish to learn that pleasing and fashionable instrument the knowledge of which is acquired in a very short space of time) that they can now be supplied with instruments from London, manufactured by Bainbridge, the inventor.”
	1824		St. Mary’s College: students on violin, piano, clarinet, flute, flageolet	

name	dates	city	instruments taught	audience; terms
Francis Granella, from Italy	1819	Providence, RI	vocal and instrumental music; piano, French guitar, flute, flageolet	ladies and gentlemen; "lessons will be given in the newest style, hitherto unique in this country, and most fashionable in England, France and Italy"
George F. Norton	1817	Boston	flute, clarinet, patent Kent bugle, single and double flageolet	young ladies and gentlemen
	1819	Alexandria, VA	"he intends teaching ladies the single and double flageolets and piano forte; gentlemen the single and additional keyed flute, clarinet, and violin. Also tunes and strings piano fortes at the shortest notice"	"Private lessons at the house of any lady or gentleman, One Dollar—Public lessons in his school 75 cents."
Mr. Passage, lately from Paris	1819	Charleston, SC	clarinet, flute, bassoon, flageolet; fencing	
F. Masi, lately from Boston	1820	Alexandria, VA	psalmody, organ, piano, flageolet, clarinet, flute, violin, bassoon, horn	school of vocal and instrumental music; ladies and gentlemen
Margaret Knittel	1820	Charleston, SC	piano, Spanish guitar, double and single flageolet, clarinet, flute, violin	"Lessons will be divided, part in theory and part in practice on this instrument"; terms very moderate
Nathaniel De Luce	1820	Philadelphia	double flageolet	on the principle of Mr. Willis of West Point
Florant Meline, "lately from Paris and Italy"	1811	New York	clarinet, flute, flageolet	
	1817		single and additional keyed flute, clarinet, French and English flageolets	gentlemen

	1820– 21		single and additional keyed flute, clarinet, double and single flageolet	“First Class, Mondays and Thursdays, from 6 to 10, P. M.; Second Class, Tuesdays and Saturdays, at the same hours . . . Terms of tuition \$10 per quarter [reduced from \$15]. Entrance \$5.”; “by the lesson, month or quarter” / “YOUNG GENTLEMEN of this metropolis, that having taken this eligible situation, and having conveniently fixed the front room, which faces Broadway, he has determined to devote himself to the Instruction of the above mentioned Instruments. Mr. M. takes the liberty of suggesting, that the double and single Flageolet have become very fashionable in Europe. Their delicacy, the sweetness of their tone, and compass; and the facility with which perfection on them is acquired, render them accomplishments and amusements novel and interesting.”
F. C. Schaffer Sr.	1821	Providence, RI	piano, guitar, harp, violin, bass viol, tenor viol, flute, flageolet, clarinet, horn, etc.	school; ladies and gentlemen
Mr. Hewitt	1828	Baltimore	flute, flageolet, clarinet, piano	University Drawing and Music Academy; “clear, familiar Analytical Lectures, and very interesting, easy, thorough, and naturally progressive lessons”; “N. B. Lessons much cheaper than at any other School, and given in private, at the pupil’s, or Mr. G’s residence, on the same terms, as in a class.”
Isaac Goward [listed in New York directory, 1830–35]	1830	New York	drawing, painting, penmanship, short-hand writing, and book keeping, piano, elecutive singing, flute, flageolet, clarinet, violin, violoncello, guitar, composition of music, and harmony or thorough bass	

name	dates city	instruments taught	audience; terms
	1832	piano, Spanish guitar with singing, flute, flageolet, clarinet, violin, bass viol, etc. etc.; singing, elocutive singing, harmony or thorough bass, composition	“more may positively be easily acquired in barely SIX LESSONS or HOURS, or ONE LESSON of six hours, than in YEARS of vexatious drilling on that monopolizing old system which is just fit to torment pupils’ heads and drain their pockets”

D. Flageolet performances, 1796–1826.

Year	Place	Performer	Piece
1796	Philadelphia	Miss Huntley; bird accompaniments on the flageolet, Mr. Shaw	Cantata, <i>The Nightingale</i> , Bird accompaniment on the flageolet, [composer Raynor] Taylor. . . .
1806	New York	Miss Dilinger, accompanied on the Flageolet by Mr. Riley	Song (“Natures Little Warbler Sing”)
1807	New York	Miss Dellinger (accompanied on the flageolet by Mr. Gentil)	Song, “Sing sweet warbler”
1809	New York	Miss Dellinger (accompanied by Mr. Gentil)	Flageolet Song
1815	New York	George Kinsella	Duetto on the double flageolet
1817	New York	Kinsella	Duetto on the double Flageolet
1817	New York	Richard Willis	“Flora’s Wreath,” composed by Mazzinghi
1817	Newport, RI	George F. Norton	Variations on the flagelet the Culan, an Irish air, Moore
1818	Albany, NY	Kinsella	Divertiuerto [<i>sic</i>], on the double Flagellet. Perotto
1818	Washington, DC	Lionel J. Larkin	Solo on the Double Flageolet
1819	Alexandria, VA	Larkin	Obligato—double flageolet, Parry

1819	Baltimore	Messrs. Patrick Kelly and Gilles	Popular Scotch air and favorite Waltz on the double flageolet and guitar, Shield
1820	Baltimore	Messrs. Kelly & Gilles	Serenade on the double flageolet and guitar, Kelly
1820	New York	Florant Meline	Variations on the flageolet, “Since then I’m doom’d,” and “Over the water to Charlie”
1820	Washington, DC	Messrs. Kelly and Gilles	Air “Dolce Contento” with variations Double Flageolet and Guitar, Mozart; Serenade Double Flageolet and Guitar, Kelly
1820	Baltimore	Messieurs Kelly and Gilles	Air—Life let us cherish, with variations on the double flageolet and guitar—Egan
1820	Alexandria, VA	Larkin	Aria, with variations on the new patent Flageolet
1820	New York	Willis	Solo, Double flageolet
1820	New York	George Frederick Handel Plimpton? ²²²	Concerto on the Flageolet, with accompaniment of other instruments of the Apollino
1820	New York	Charles Willson and Joshua Willson	Divertimento, for piano and patent flageolet
1820	New York	Meline	several favorite Airs and Songs, with embellishments on the flute, double and single flageolets
1820	Philadelphia	Willis	Solo on the double flageolet, “The Blue Bells of Scotland,” with variations, Willis; Solo, double flageolet, “Oh Nanny wilt thou gang with me,” Scotch Air
1820	Philadelphia	Willis and Nathaniel De Luce	Solo, double flageolet, Robin Adair, Irish Air; Medley, consisting of a variety of favorite airs, double flageolet; Duet, on 2 double flageolets, arranged by Mr. Willis
1820	Charleston	Margaret Knittel, with a full Band	Hope told a Flattering Tale, Hayden

²²². Job Plimpton’s son George Frederick Handel started to appear with his father and sister in concerts in 1820, usually playing the Kent bugle and horn.

Year	Place	Performer	Piece
1820	New York	Nathaniel De Luce	Solo, Double Flageolet, Robin Adair; Solo Double Flageolet, Oh Nancy
1821	Charleston	Knittel	A popular air, with Variations on the Flageolet, Duvernoy
1821	Sullivan's Island, near Charleston	Knittel	Air, with variations on the Flageolet, Mozart
1821	New York	Abraham Taylor, Willis	(1) Air, Double Flageolet, Taylor, accompanied on the Kent bugle by Willis, [composer]Braham; (2) Air, Double Flageolet, Willis; Divertiment, Double Flageolet, Willis, [composer] Bainbridge
1821	New York	Meline	Solo on the Double Flageolet, Dolce Conento, with variations, and a Rondo in the opera of John of Paris
1821	Washington, DC	Kelly and Master Gegan	Serenade on two double Flageolets—Kelly
1826	Boston	Willis	double flageolet

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