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## BOOK REVIEWS

**Michael Fleming and John Bryan.** *Early English Viols: Instruments, Makers, and Music.* Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2016. 373 pp., 32 color plates, 92 black-and-white illustrations. ISBN: 9781472468543. \$160; ISBN: 9781315578392 eBook, \$52.16.

*Early English Viols* is a substantial and significant new contribution to viol organology written, with the exception of one chapter, by Michael Fleming, one of the most noted scholars in the field. It presents considerable new documentary and iconographic evidence, and many intriguing observations and conclusions about viols and viol making in the British Isles from the early sixteenth century up to 1642, the start of the Civil Wars. This period saw the greatest flowering of English music for viol consort and solo viol, but remains organologically a shadowy time: few instruments survive, almost none in original condition, and other forms of documentary evidence are rare.

Specialists will know Fleming's reputation from numerous journal and encyclopedia articles, and from his dissertation, long a standard work on the subject (*Viol-Making in England c.1580–1660*, London, Open University, 2001, self-published by the author in 2002 as *VME CD-ROM*). Anyone interested in the subject will certainly wish to read *Early English Viols* for its breadth of information and observation, its rich selection of archival material, and its generous and well-chosen illustrations. That said, the book is not really intended as a summary of current knowledge, nor would it necessarily serve well as an introduction to the field. Fleming's work is informed by a marked skepticism on certain subjects which is intelligently supported, but which causes him to reject the validity of certain well-trodden avenues of research. Most notable is his rejection of the "tradition model," that branch of expertise which seeks to establish attributions and delineate circles of influence, by closely studying an instrument's physical characteristics. He is also disinclined to believe, and does not search for evidence, that influential makers, established shops, or families of makers played a role in establishing a recognizable English school or spreading knowledge of viol making to the provinces. We are thus left with something of an open question as to why there is such a thing as a recognizable "English viol" at all.

In a substantial, separate essay, John Bryan, professor of music at the University of Huddersfield, attempts to explore the lost sound world of

Tudor viols—none of which survives—by analyzing the compositional range of five important genres of the early English viol repertoire. Players may be interested in the highly detailed analysis of duos, six-part consorts, *In Nomines*, and so on, but others may find this dense chapter hard slogging. It must also be questioned whether this approach gives us usable insights into instrument sound. Bryan discovers, not surprisingly, that sixteenth-century music for viols almost universally kept to the traditional ranges of polyphonic vocal models, while the early seventeenth century saw an increase, then an explosion of compositional range and idiomatic instrumental writing.

Bryan would like to explain these developments by postulating changes to the instruments themselves, including the possible introduction of the sound post. Yet changes in musical style are intrinsically so complex and result from the interplay of so many cultural factors that it seems simplistic to assign everything to a single cause. Too many other possibilities present themselves, from pan-European changes of attitude regarding the affective power of instrumental music, to new conditions of court patronage after the accession of James I in 1603.

The main body of the book, by Fleming, begins by surveying the sorts of physical evidence we can realistically glean from the tiny corpus of extant and attributable pre-civil war English viols, perhaps fewer than sixty instruments. This is a daunting picture of damage and decay, gross physical alterations to suit later musical purposes, wholesale replacement of parts, missing or fraudulent labels, heads detached from viol bodies, lost necks and fittings, and shapes drastically altered by time and repairs. Fleming cautions against many common analytical practices, particularly attributions based on general style or vague similarity of appearance. The drift of his assessment is radical: that much of what we think we know about early English viols is unsound, and that close physical inspection reveals far less than we might wish to find. While his caveats demand consideration, there are indeed a few viols from the period in substantially original condition, and even more well-preserved viol bodies, giving physical organology some ground for fact-based discussion.

Fleming next presents a very interesting survey of images originating before the Civil War of English viols, from prints to sculpture, discussing the nexus of preexisting artworks, cultural expectations, and actual observation behind these images. Oddly, there are surprisingly few such images to examine. There is only a single pre-Restoration representation of a viol consort, for example, the tiny and naively painted figures from the funeral tableau of Sir Henry Upton, ca. 1596 (National Portrait Gallery,

London. 710). Fleming documents some extraordinary representations, such as the lively wood sculpture of a viol-playing boy, ca. 1611, from the grand staircase at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire. Nonetheless these images add little to organological knowledge, although they help illuminate the cultural milieu of Tudor and Jacobean viol playing.

The substantial remainder of the book focuses on the period's viol makers, viol making as a trade, and the physical process of building viols. Fleming first examines in detail the sociology of guilds and companies, the social standing of craftsmen, and the conditions of apprenticeship. He then surveys what is known about prominent English makers of the period. Expanding on material originally presented in his dissertation, he starts with the list of five "old" makers cited in Thomas Mace's *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), covering extant instruments and documentary evidence relating to John Rose father and son, Henry Jaye and his possible successors, Thomas Aldred, Henry Smith, and Mace's mysterious "Bolles." Fleming explores possible evidence for the Roses as musicians as well as makers, the apparent continuation of the Jaye workshop after the maker's death, and other important London makers not mentioned by Mace, including William Turner and Richard Blunt.

Fleming then presents the results of provincial archival research, documenting viol making in Oxford, Cambridge, York, Norwich, Maidstone, Chester, and other English cities, obviously a strong personal interest. Sadly, no extant viols can be connected to these provincial makers, although some may be hiding among the twenty or so extant anonymous English instruments that appear to predate the Civil Wars. This discussion of provincial makers, some identified merely as joiners, strongly begs the question of how they were trained. The author's reluctance to consider master-pupil lineages of the sort documentable in the later British Isles and in many other European nations makes it seem that these provincial makers somehow simply "made viols," an improbable scenario given the level of specialist knowledge required.

Fleming then turns to consider the physical resources of viol makers, including wood and its sources, tools and the tool trade, blades and sharpening media, varnish, strings, bows, and bow hair. This discussion marshals considerable archival and iconographic material and provides an overview of the parts of a representative English viol, including bellies and backs, bass bars, fingerboards, bridges, pegs, and so on. The book closes with a discussion of future avenues for research. Topics include the sizes of viols relative to their nomenclature, the possible existence of straight-sided viols (seen in many iconographic representations), a call

for a reception-history of viol sound, and a case for the existence of simpler and more utilitarian forms of viol making away from London and the court.

*Early English Viols* is a magisterial and deeply interesting presentation of its subject, marked by the author's skepticism regarding physical evidence and antipathy to certain avenues of research. But with or without this grain of salt, the reader will find an enormous wealth of information and much food for thought in this engaging and well-written account.

THOMAS FITZ-HUGH MACE  
BOULDER, COLORADO

**Christopher Page, *The Guitar in Stuart England: A Social and Musical History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Musical Performance and Reception series, 288 pp., 24 black-and-white illus., 44 music exx. ISBN 978-1-108-41978-9. £75 (hardback).**

During the twentieth century, accounts of the early history of the guitar in England were remarkable chiefly for their scarcity and brevity. Researchers investigating the instrument's history before the nineteenth century typically concentrated their efforts on Italy, France, Spain, and South America, where the gut-strung guitar was widely played at all levels of society, and where vast quantities of music survived in manuscript or printed form. Indeed, if England was occasionally referenced at all, it was merely to note that the Italian Francisco Corbetta had briefly popularized the guitar during the 1660s and 1670s at the London court of Charles II. Over the past two decades, Monica Hall, Peter Holman, and the late James Tyler have expanded our knowledge of the guitar's role in seventeenth-century English music. Readers might nevertheless have raised a quizzical eyebrow some five years ago, when the renowned musicologist and medievalist Christopher Page announced his intention to write a three-volume history of the guitar in England, commencing in the mid-sixteenth century and concluding in the early decades of the nineteenth. Would there be enough material to justify one volume, let alone three? However, with the publication of this present volume (devoted to the seventeenth), he is now two-thirds of the way through his ambitious project, and the fascinating wealth of material and social history he has so far unearthed indicates that those eyebrows may now safely be lowered again.

Page's 2015 volume on the four-course Tudor guitar was a masterclass in economy, supplementing the meager archive of surviving images and

musical sources with letters, diaries, and government importation records to create a vivid and authoritative picture of the instrument's role in sixteenth-century English music-making. This book's subject, the Stuart period, by contrast, offers a comparative profusion of iconography, music, and surviving five-course instruments, all of which are amply represented in this book's lists of figures and musical examples. The author divides the information into seven main chapters that trace the guitar's seventeenth-century history through its professional teachers and performers, its amateur enthusiasts, and its popularity at all levels of English society, as well as examining the lives and repertoires of its greatest exponents (above all, the virtuoso Corbetta). These chapters are augmented by four appendices, including a checklist of manuscript sources of five-course guitar music and a list of guitars in seventeenth-century probate inventories.

Page neatly interweaves extracts from private diaries, official documents, newspaper advertisements, and English-Italian phrase books in his central narrative, showing that the guitar was widely played in theaters (by actors such as Thomas Jevon and Joseph Haynes), by merchants, and in boarding schools, as well as by royalty and the aristocracy. The instrument often appears in seventeenth-century portraits, especially of women, and the series of fine paintings by Sir Peter Lely of female guitarists (reproduced between pp. 105 and 110) are representative of an era when young gentlewomen were encouraged by English society to become proficient on the guitar, not simply for its own sake, but as one of the skills that might improve their marriage prospects. The author devotes chapter four to exploring the complex social context behind this affinity between women and the guitar, concluding that the motivation often went beyond the mere desire for approval in a male-dominated culture, and suggesting "a companionable form of shared musical interest among women in which guitar-accompanied songs . . . could flourish" (p. 112).

A chapter on the Restoration Court inevitably centers on Francisco (Francesco) Corbetta of Pavia, whom Charles II had first encountered while in exile. Page accurately describes him as "a sophisticated opportunist in his use of the guitar fingerboard, rather than a contrapuntalist" (p. 73), and he was undoubtedly a charismatic musician whose dazzling virtuosity impressed everyone who heard him, although when he performed for Samuel Pepys in 1667, the diarist "was 'mightily troubled' to see him playing 'so bad an instrument'" (p. 75). However, Pepys's initial disdain for the guitar (which he once dismissed as "a

bauble”) was gradually tempered by experience, especially when a young Italian guitarist named Cesare Morelli entered his household ca. 1675. Pepys was won over by the instrument’s ability to support the voice, and together they compiled what is now the largest collection of guitar-accompanied songs to survive from baroque Europe.

Page notes that the English at this time regarded the guitar as primarily an Italian instrument, rather than Spanish or French, as had frequently been the case a century earlier. Guitar teachers in seventeenth-century London were almost invariably Italian (Pietro Reggio, Nicola Matteis, and Mr. Clement being among the most celebrated), and many English travelers to Italy sought guitar lessons while they were there, believing this to be the instrument’s authentic home. The latter part of chapter six focuses on Matteis, “an early example in Restoration England of a professional musician who exchanged court patronage for the support of London gentlemen such as Pepys, giving lessons, playing in private houses, and performing in public at various new forms of pre-arranged assembly” (p. 163). He also published (around 1680) *Le false consonanze della musica* (an English edition appeared in 1682), which Page rightly describes as “probably the most important treatise ever compiled on the art of guitar continuo” (p. 163).

One awkward problem facing any modern author when dealing with this period is how to present musical examples to the general reader. Almost all seventeenth-century guitar music was written in tablature (a system that makes perfect sense to players of plucked instruments, but little sense to some other readers), and therefore needs to be rendered into staff notation; but because various types of re-entrant tunings were widely used (with one or both of the fourth and fifth strings being tuned an octave higher than on a modern guitar), it is difficult—and sometimes impossible—to do this with certainty. Furthermore, various techniques of strumming and left-hand ornamentation are required to bring this music to life, and some of the dissonances and inversions used by seventeenth-century guitar composers can seem clumsy (as Page acknowledges) when written out as a dry succession of chords. So while the many music examples contained here are useful for the general reader, they can look simple, and sometimes even musically illiterate, needing the hands and mind of a good guitarist to animate them.

Although questions of technique, stringing, and ornamentation are discussed at length, the purpose of this book is *not* to teach the art of baroque guitar playing, nor to delve into the finer details of guitar con-

struction. Rather, it is to offer an unparalleled overview of the role of the guitar in seventeenth-century English society, at an amateur and domestic level, as well as in the hands of virtuosos like Corbetta. It would repay study not only by guitar specialists but by anyone with an interest in music and social history. Despite the occasionally unnerving breadth and depth of his erudition, Page writes in a simple, clear, and refreshingly engaging style, and is always anxious to inform his readers, not bamboozle them. Indeed, rather like the instrument he is writing about, he has a rare ability to convey a subtle and sophisticated message through deceptively simple means.

PAUL SPARKS

YORK, UNITED KINGDOM

**Sabine Katharina Klaus.** *Trumpets and Other High Brass: A History Inspired by the Joe R. and Joella E. Utley Collection. Volume 3: Valves Evolve.* Vermillion: National Music Museum, 2017. Howard Weiner, editor; Mark Olencki, principal photographer. 409 pp., ca. 800 photos, drawings, diagrams, mostly in color. ISBN: 978-0-9848269-5-7; enclosed DVD, ISBN: 978-0-9848269-6-4. \$120 (hard cover).

In 1999, the physicians and brass collectors Joe and Joella Utley donated their collection of over 600 mostly high brass instruments to the National Music Museum in Vermillion. Included in their donation was the endowment for a research institute, The Utley Institute for Brass Studies, and a curatorship. The Institute and the subsequently appointed curator, Sabine Katharina Klaus, conceived an ambitious research program which they planned to publish in five volumes. The third volume is the subject of this review.

The Utleys brought together a fine collection of valve trumpets, cornets, flugelhorns, alto horns, and similar brasses, manufactured between about 1830 and 1930, of which those built prior to about 1845 are quite rare. In that early time, valve instruments were not yet generally accepted, and traditionalists even turned against them, citing inferior sound, sharp turns and angles of the windway in the valves, and poor technical operation. These alleged flaws prompted efforts to develop new variants of valves, windways, and tubing, which made the valve brasses an amazingly heterogeneous group of instruments. It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that the fever of innovation calmed down and standardization of tubing, valves, and bore began.



In volume 3, Klaus follows the concept of the previous tomes and presents a complete history of the valves, offering both a summary of previous knowledge and much new information, particularly about the spread of the new variants and models to other regions and countries. The narrative is based on 104 instruments of the Utley collection, supplemented by references to instruments in other collections. The book, very carefully researched, has greatly extended our knowledge of valve instruments. Klaus adds a 39-page appendix of archival documents kept in the state archives of Berlin and Vienna, including an English translation. The number of basic valve types is small, but there is a host of additional variants and refinements, for example, of external and internal stops and cover plates, cranks, and piston heads. Likewise, the number of linkages between touch piece and valve is not large, but the number of individual variants is. Klaus documents a pedigree of the spread of the high valve brasses from mostly German and Austrian origins to other regions, including France, Belgium, England, Italy, and the United States. She supports her chronicle with about 740 photos of structural details, line drawings, historical documents, mouthpieces, acoustical diagrams, and about sixty bore profiles of bells.

Very much to be appreciated in Klaus's book is that she places connoisseurship on a documentary basis. In other hands, this skill often tends to veer into subjective assessment (most obvious in the violin field) and thus rests on the personal experience of the appraiser. Documentation is the only way to set complex knowledge on an objective, learnable foundation. At its core, connoisseurship is the expertise of authenticating an instrument; attributing it to a maker, school, region, or country; assessing its historical significance; and associating it with the historical context from which it derived. Klaus builds this expertise on meticulous observation of the stylistic and structural characteristics, and on comparison with related instruments, knowledge of trade catalogs, biographical and workshop-related data, etc. Though the shape of stays, finger plates, or linkages may be technologically insignificant, in stylistic respect it is not, because it informs the viewer about the maker's artistic perspective. During the nineteenth century, when many makers assembled components ordered from suppliers, valve sets, bells, and accessories might come from different manufacturers. The researcher has to recognize this and, if possible, identify the actual maker—an expertise that is particularly important for unsigned and undated instruments.

Brass instruments are witnesses of the past, documents of the listener's aural preferences that change from generation to generation;

they differ from region to region and country to country, and are always filtered through the subjective assessment of the designer and maker. Organology still lacks an objective methodology of handling this issue: to describe and help interpret the bore and sound of an instrument as a reflection of a particular period, country, region, and maker. Acoustics is only partially suited to this task, because musical sound is by its nature very much a subjective and artistic phenomenon. Otherwise, subjective description of sound has little scientific value. An interesting task, in need of further development, is to identify the means which the maker used to create a musician's tool that speaks well and in tune, and sounds beautifully. Klaus offers bore profiles of the bells and a DVD with sound examples of playable instruments. This is the best we can do today.

A related aspect is to judge where an individual instrument stands in its historical context. The history of valves begins in the 1810s and '20s, simultaneously with the rise of Romanticism in music, and with Beethoven, Weber, and Mendelssohn. The Romantic sound ideal embraced a homogenous, open, and strong sound, requiring chromatic tones to facilitate complex modulations that became ever more important. Only valve instruments were suited to produce these qualities adequately, not the natural trumpets and horns; and new metal technology made it easy to adjust the pitch of low brasses when wider bores came in demand. Both the emergence of valves and Romantic style in music were apparently driven by the same forces, and it was this commonality that drove the evolution of valve brasses.

All in all, Klaus's volume 3 is a work of excellent organological scholarship; it is thought-provoking and the best book on valve instruments now on the market.

HERBERT HEYDE  
NEW YORK

**Douglas Koeppel.** *Woodwinds in Early America.* Wimberley, Texas: Brother Francis Publishers, 2015. 738 pp., 400+ black-and-white illus. ISBN 978-0-692-35447-6. \$150 (hardbound).

Bound in a stately red, printed on high-quality art paper, and weighing more than ten pounds, *Woodwinds in Early America* aspires to the monumental. Douglas Koeppel, a physicist and mechanical engineer by profession, has devoted a half century to collecting and studying woodwind instruments. Readers will discover here an abundance of information pertaining to the origins of woodwind production and use in America,

extensively illustrated with photographs and reproductions of historical documents, maker's marks, and supplementary material, including method books, catalogs, musical facsimiles, and maps.

The introduction implies that the book will be confined to antebellum America, and the records of woodwind manufacture and performance in later parts of the book terminate at 1800. But the author also leads readers on excursions into later periods up to 1900. Indeed, only twenty percent of the makers and instruments described in Part V of the book date from before 1800. Musical activities in New Orleans are given consideration, even though in the eighteenth century the term "America" generally excluded French colonies. Many instrument makers, players, and music dealers active in colonial America were European by birth, and may have brought instruments with them to the New World. As the author points out, American-made products must be considered alongside imported European instruments.

The book is divided into nine parts, each arranged chronologically. After a brief social and political history of select colonies, Part II quotes records of woodwinds from inventories and periodicals. Early performances employing woodwinds and early musical societies are discussed in Parts III and IV. The main focus of the book is Part V, more than 400 pages of articles on individual makers and dealers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with detailed descriptions of specimens of their instruments. In Part VI, Koeppe extends the discussion to four firms active in the nineteenth century: John C. Haynes, Pfaff Brothers, William King, and John Holland. (Anonymous instruments of both centuries are discussed in Part VIII). In Part VII, Koeppe analyzes the design of woodwinds and the technology of production. Parts IX–XIII serve as appendices to earlier sections, treating the development of important orchestras, tutors and method books, major fairs and exhibitions, and performance pitch. The book concludes with a bibliography, list of illustrations, and three indexes.

Koeppe derives most of his historical material from a range of revered secondary authorities, including Oscar Sonneck, Barbara Lambert, and John Baron. He has also drawn heavily from the Performing Arts Citations in American Newspapers database (PACAN). In this minimally interventionist presentation, Koeppe leaves aside drawing conclusions and synthesis, which might oversimplify the complexity of individual case studies. His tabulation of the data leaves scope for readers to draw their own connections regarding the influence of performers on makers and

vice versa, and the relationship between dealers and importers in the burgeoning musical market.

Even with the overwhelming volume of material presented, it is unclear how exhaustive Koeppel has been in the process of collating the information. Not all performers mentioned in the volume appear in the list of "Some Eighteenth-Century Woodwind Performers" in Part III. In an otherwise meticulous account of William Whiteley's workshop and instruments that discusses the evolution of turning styles on the maker's clarinets, I was surprised to find no mention of the remnants of his workshop discovered by Eric Selch and now preserved at the Oberlin Conservatory—surely the most important material remains from any early American woodwind workshop. A list of "Early American Woodwind Tutors" in Part X is subtitled "a sampling of titles in chronological order." This is taken (with due acknowledgement) directly from Thomas Warner's 1974 *Annotated Bibliography of Woodwind Instruction Books, 1600–1830*, a work in need of substantial revision.

Brother Francis Publishers appears to have been set up exclusively for this book, with the author solely responsible for the enterprise. As often happens with self-published books, the mechanics of production—proofreading, formatting, and documentation of sources—would have benefitted from professional assistance. Despite a prominent disclaimer that the author has preferred some British usages in a book otherwise composed in American English, frequent infelicities of style and typographic errors count against its authoritative tone. Documentation is inconsistent, at times incomplete, and even haphazard. Some works are listed in the bibliography, while others are cited only in the endnotes of each chapter. Other details are incomplete or missing. For instance, which "city papers" printed the two-page announcement card of the opening of the St. Charles Theatre in New Orleans in 1835, quoted in its entirety on pp.117–18, is nowhere mentioned. In five tables listing instruments presented in nineteenth-century exhibitions, sometimes priority is given to the instruments, and at others the builder, making the data hard to find and synthesize at sight. In such a large tome, seemingly insignificant details can lead to frustration when attempting to track down references. Accuracy in this area is particularly crucial in a work of historic nature that could serve as a reference work for future generations.

While much of the historical material summarizes the work of other scholars, the strength of the book lies in the case studies of individual

makers and their work found in Part V. In addition to detailed biographical sketches and records of known business dealings, Koeppe provides detailed descriptions of representative specimens held in both major museums and private collections. He grapples with vexing questions of attribution, chronology, and design influences, and lists all known surviving instruments by each maker. In most cases he identifies each instrument's present location. The author has drawn heavily on his own collection, certainly the most important assemblage of American woodwinds currently amassed, with significant representations of the work of Weygandt, Eisenbrandt, Klemm, Peloubet, William Hall, and Firth, Hall and Pond, among others. He has cause to enumerate and discuss over 150 items that he personally owns, including many exceptional and rare items, of which several are worthy of mention here: early 5-key C clarinets by N. Curtiss and Jacob Anthony Jr.; a flute from ca. 1831 by Bacon, Weygandt & Co. with Cuddy's improved rosewood-ivory headjoint and flared clarinet-type bell; double flageolets by Bacon & Hart and C. Toomey; a rare anonymous oboe from the late eighteenth century and another oboe by Christman; other instruments exhibiting original technologies such as the Weygandt flute with four German-silver keys with "tronconique" key heads; a 13-key clarinet with a special register key by John Ashton; a set of 10-key clarinets in C, B-flat, and A by William Rönnerberg in a period case; and the H. Cottier flute awarded a silver medal at the 1851 exhibition of the American Institute of the City of New York.

But the book is far more than a catalog of the author's collection. In addition to physical descriptions of countless instruments, the curious will stumble on fascinating forays into musicological archaeology: the music of early theaters, the history of civic bands, instruments in trade fairs, differences cultivated by English and German émigré craftsmen, and even a brief history of theater lighting.

Research on the history of American music has recently enjoyed a significant rise in interest. Despite limitations and organizational idiosyncrasies, *Woodwinds in Early America* is an invaluable addition to the emerging picture of music as a vibrant part of the history of the American nation.

GEOFFREY BURGESS  
 PHILADELPHIA