

Printed Music in the Provinces: Musical Circulation in Seventeenth-Century England and the Case of Newcastle upon Tyne Bookseller William London

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Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries London was the unrivalled centre of English print production and trade. Yet, while the ‘explosion’ of provincial bookselling was, in the words of John Feather, ‘an eighteenth-century...phenomenon’, a growing body of scholarship has begun to show that there was a burgeoning book trade in some regional urban centres from at least the late sixteenth century.¹ These studies have brought to light important primary source evidence of the early English book trade outside London, illuminating the availability of a range of printed texts via provincial booksellers and

¹ John Feather, *The Seventeenth-Century Book Trade* ([Newcastle]: History of the Book Trade in the North, 1993), p. 20. On the early book trade outside London see John Barnard and Maureen Bell, ‘The English Provinces’, in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by John Barnard, D. F. McKenzie and Maureen Bell, vol. 4: 1557–1695 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 665–86; *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England and Ireland and of Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557–1640*, ed. by R. B. McKerrow (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910); Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Bookseller and Printers who were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London: Bibliographic Society, 1907); C. J. Hunt, *The Book Trade in Northumberland and Durham to 1860* (Newcastle: Thorne’s Students’ Bookshop for History of the Book Trade in the North, 1975); John Hinks, ‘The Book Trade in Early Modern Britain: Centres, Peripheries and Networks’, in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe: A Contribution to the History of Printing and the Book Trade in Small European and Spanish Cities*, ed. by Benito Rial Costas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 101–26; A. Growoll, *Three Centuries of the English Booktrade Bibliography: An Essay on the Beginnings of Booktrade Bibliography since the Introduction of Printing and in England since 1595* (London: The Holland Press, 1964).

stationers alongside some of the distribution networks on which such trade relied.² At the same time, a number of scholars, primarily from literary and historical studies, have examined the ownership of printed books within and beyond the capital. One aspect of this research can be found in modern editions of private library catalogues and inventories and large-scale volumes of transcribed probate inventories that record early modern book ownership.³ These studies tend to focus—no doubt because of the wealth of evidence these contexts provide—on the universities and private libraries of the aristocracy, gentry, and noted bibliophiles. More recently, however, a number of scholars have turned their attention to modes of dissemination, readership, and the reception of specific types of printed text.⁴ These studies have significantly expanded our understanding of the spread of early modern print and have laid the foundations for developing a national narrative of its impact that

² See, for instance, work on the correspondence of London stationer Thomas Chard with his trade contacts in Cambridge: R. Jahn, 'Letters and Booklists of Thomas Chard or Chere (1583–84)', *The Library*, 4th series, 4 (1923), pp. 219–37; D. Paige, 'An Additional Letter and Booklist of Thomas Chard, Stationer of London', *The Library*, 4th series, 21 (1940), pp. 26–43.

³ See, for instance, the *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and early Stuart Book-Lists* project, published in 8 volumes (1992–2014) and searchable online at: <<http://plre.folger.edu/>> [accessed 20 August 2015], and *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. by Elisabeth Leedham-Green, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 1986).

⁴ Catherine Armstrong, 'The Bookseller and the Pedlar: The Spread of Knowledge of the New World in Early Modern England, 1580–1640', in *Printing Places: Locations of Book Production and Distribution since 1500*, ed. by John Hinks and Catherine Armstrong (New Castle and London: Oak Knoll and The British Library, 2005), pp. 15–29; D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and its Readership in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984; first published Methuen & Co., 1981); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

takes account of a geographically and socially dispersed readership beyond the metropolis and its satellite environments.

One aspect of the pre-1700 English print trade that remains largely unexplored, however, is the ownership and circulation of printed music outside London, and the potential role of provincial stationers and booksellers as conduits for such specialist print (and related stationery wares), despite, as we shall see, evidence for the sale of printed music outside London during the period in the northern towns of York and Newcastle. This situation is nevertheless hardly surprising; for much of the period prior to 1700, music printing in England was limited to certain genres, while others—lute, keyboard, consort, and liturgical repertory, for instance—circulated almost exclusively in manuscript through networks of professional and amateur musicians associated, in particular, with the cathedrals, universities and households of the social elite. Indeed, the ‘dissemination of professional composers’ music’ during the Restoration, as Rebecca Herissone has argued, ‘occurred almost entirely via manuscript transmission’.⁵ Printed music, therefore, represented only a fraction of music circulating in seventeenth-century England, not to mention only a very small proportion of the seventeenth-century book trade; there was a hiatus in the development of English music printing between its initial flowering at the turn of the seventeenth century (1588–c.1620) and John Playford’s revival of the trade in the 1650s. This represents a directly inverse trend to the book trade as a whole, which expanded considerably between 1600 and 1640. Given the prevalence of manuscript transmission and the slow development of commercial music printing, seventeenth-century music source

⁵ Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 61.

studies have focussed almost exclusively on manuscripts, dealing primarily with issues of provenance, the identification of music copyists, modes of transmission, and the networks in which they originated and circulated.⁶

As Peter Holman has recently observed, therefore, ‘the study of Restoration music prints now lags far behind the study of manuscripts’.⁷ This is true for the study of early English music printing more broadly; while there is a growing body of work in this field, scholars have tended to gravitate towards questions of production, focusing on authorship, the role of editors, publishers, the music monopoly holders or composers, and the entrepreneurship of particular printers or publishers.⁸ Conspicuously absent from much of

⁶ See, for instance, source studies such as Herissone, *Musical Creativity*; Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Mary Chan, ‘John Hilton’s Manuscript British Library Add. MS 11608’, *Music & Letters*, 60/4 (1979), pp. 440–49; David Mateer, ‘Hugh Davis’s Commonplace Book: A New Source of Seventeenth-Century Song’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 32 (1999), pp. 63–87; Pamela J. Willetts, ‘Music from the Circle of Anthony Wood at Oxford’, *The British Museum Quarterly*, 24 (1961), pp. 71–75.

⁷ Peter Holman, ‘Historically Informed Analysis’, *Early Music*, 42/3 (2014), pp. 464–68 (p. 467).

⁸ See Rebecca Herissone, ‘Playford, Purcell and the Functions of Music Publishing in Restoration England’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63 (2010), pp. 243–90; Stephanie Carter, ‘Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650–1700’, PhD thesis (University of Manchester, 2011); Jeremy L. Smith, ‘From “Rights to Copy” to the “Bibliographic Ego”: A New Look at the Last Early Edition of Byrd’s “Psalmes, Sonets & Songs”’, *Music & Letters*, 80 (1999), pp. 511–30; Philip Brett, ‘Text, Context, and the Early Music Editor’, in *Authenticity and Early Music*, ed. by Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 83–114; Jeremy L. Smith, ‘Print Culture and the Elizabethan Composer’, *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 48 (2001), pp. 156–72; Kirsten Gibson, ‘“How hard and enterprise it is”: Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland’s Printed Books’, *Early Music History*, 26 (2007), pp. 43–89; Kirsten Gibson, ‘Author, Musician, Composer: Creator? Figuring Musical Creativity in Print at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century’, in *Concepts of Creativity in*

this scholarship is the consumer of printed music books as well as exploration of the modes of dissemination that enabled such consumers—especially those remote from London—to access them. A number of studies have, nevertheless, begun to approach printed music books as sources that can provide information about their use and ownership, if not also the distribution networks that facilitated their dissemination.⁹ These studies hint at more fluid relationships between print and manuscript, and their users, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and at a wider geographical and social spread of printed music than has been previously acknowledged.

Seventeenth-Century England, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), pp. 63–86; Alon Schab, ‘Distress’d Sources? A Critical Consideration of the Authority of Purcell’s Ayres for the Theatre’, *Early Music*, 37 (2009), pp. 633–45; Stephanie Carter, ‘Published Musical Variants and Creativity: An Overview of John Playford’s Role of Editor’, in *Concepts of Creativity in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone and Alan Howard (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), pp. 87–104; Alon Schab, ‘Revisiting the Known and Unknown Misprints in Purcell’s Dioclesian’, *Music & Letters*, 91 (2010), pp. 343–56; Jeremy L. Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); D. W. Krummel, *English Music Printing, 1553–1700* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1975); Tessa Murray, *Thomas Morley: Elizabethan Music Publisher* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014).

⁹ Andrew Woolley, ‘Manuscript Additions to a Copy of John Playford’s *Select Musickall Ayres and Dialogues* in the Dolmetsch Library: A Little-known Source of 17th-century English Music’, *The Consort: The Journal of the Dolmetsch Foundation*, 66 (2010), pp. 35–53; David Greer, ‘Manuscript Additions in Early Printed Music’, *Music & Letters*, 72 (1991), pp. 523–35; David Greer, ‘Manuscript Additions in “Parthenia” and other Early English Printed Music in America’, *Music & Letters*, 77 (1996), pp. 169–82; David Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions in Early English Printed Music* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Robert Thompson, ‘Sources and Transmission’, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Henry Purcell*, ed. by Rebecca Herissone (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp.13–64 (p.55); Stephanie Carter, “‘yong beginners, who live in the Countrey’: John Playford and the Printed Music Market in Seventeenth-Century England”, *Early Music History* (in press, November 2016).

Certainly, music publishers articulated their intentions that their books—particularly tutor books aimed at musical novices—circulate beyond the metropolis. In *A New Booke of Tabliture* (1596), for instance, William Barley claimed he had ‘caused sundrie lessons to be collected together’ for those who ‘cannot [...] dwell in or neere the cittie of London where expert Tutors are to be had’,¹⁰ and both John and Henry Playford frequently drew on the same rhetoric during the second half of the seventeenth century. The addition of ‘many new and easie Lessons’ in *Musicks Recreation* (1652) was intended, John Playford claimed, for the ‘encouragement of yong Learners’ and ‘especialy [...] yong beginners, who live in the Countrey, and far from any Master or Teacher’,¹¹ while the inclusion of ‘some Practical Rules and Instructions for Beginners’ in the 1690 edition of *Apollo’s Banquet*, published by Henry Playford, was ‘for the benefit of such Learners as live Remote from any Professed Teachers’; the publisher goes on to stress here, moreover, that ‘several Persons have, only by these Instructions, attained to play indifferently well’.¹² There was undoubtedly an element of judicious marketing in these assertions—such books catered not only for an established audience but sought to expand it. They also suggest that entrepreneurial publishers perceived, or at least sought to develop, a market for printed music outside the capital. By the end of the century, Henry Playford advertised on the title page of *A General Catalogue of all the Choicest Music-Books in English, Latin, Italian and French, both Vocal and Instrumental* that the books it contained were not only available for sale ‘at his Shop in the Temple Change, Fleetstreet’ but could ‘be had [...] in most of the Cities and Publick Places in

¹⁰ William Barley, *A New Booke of Tabliture* (London, 1596), sig. [A3^v]. Italics given in quotations as appear in original texts throughout this article.

¹¹ John Playford, *Musicks Recreation* (London, 1652), sig. A3^r.

¹² Henry Playford, *Apollo’s Banquet* (London, 1690), sig. A2^r.

England, Ireland, and Scotland.¹³ Evidence for the sale of printed music outside London during the seventeenth century, and for the routes through which it was distributed, remains, however, to be thoroughly examined.

Despite the rhetorical and commercial posturing imbued in these prefatory pages—and the limitations of early English music printing—evidence is coming to light that, though a very small and specialized market, printed music was available to at least some consumers well beyond the capital via the regional book trade. The most notable example is the probate inventory of John Foster’s York bookshop (1616), which lists amongst his stock music publications by John Dowland, Richard Alison, Thomas Weelkes, Michael East, and Henry Youll.¹⁴ A less well-known example, as yet untapped by musicologists, is William London’s 1657 *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*, which includes music publications by John Playford and editions of sacred music amongst its over 3,000 titles; according to the title page, the books listed in the *Catalogue* were ‘*all to be sold by the author at his shop in Newcastle*’.¹⁵ These fragments of evidence suggest printed music was distributed far beyond London via the regional book trade from a relatively early stage in its development. This article provides a preliminary exploration of the place of printed music, and the role of the regional book trade, in the complex nexus of musical circulation beyond the metropolis during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Drawing on a range of sources – library and auction catalogues, probate inventories, diaries and household accounts, manuscript

¹³ Henry Playford, *A General Catalogue of all the Choicest Musick-Books in English, Latin, Italian and French, both Vocal and Instrumental* (London, 1695).

¹⁴ John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster’s Inventory of 1616* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1994), p. 28.

¹⁵ William London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (London, 1657), title page.

music and printed editions – we firstly outline the evidence for music ownership in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, as a means of gauging the spread of music beyond the metropolis.¹⁶ Secondly, we offer an overview of the ways in which music circulated during the period, including through the regional print trade. Bringing together evidence from a sample of surviving probate inventories of regional booksellers and stationers, most of which have not been previously examined by musicologists, we survey the presence of music and related stationary in provincial seventeenth-century bookshops. The article concludes with a detailed exploration of London’s *Catalogue*, placing it in the wider context of the trade in music and musical instruments in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Newcastle upon Tyne alongside evidence for recreational music making in the town that would have supported such trade. With the exception of Foster’s inventory, London’s *Catalogue* offers by far the most detailed evidence for the sale of printed music outside London to date, and thus provides a significant insight into this specialized aspect of the seventeenth-century book trade.

Music Book Ownership

There is a wealth of evidence documenting the ownership of music books—manuscript and print—within and beyond London in the seventeenth century, though this evidence is widely dispersed across a range of scholarship and primary sources including bequests, library inventories, sales catalogues, household accounts, probate inventories, personal manuscripts, and ownership inscriptions in printed music books. The most richly documented context for

¹⁶ Our exploration focuses on English owners of music rather than specifically English publications, and includes evidence of the ownership of both Continental and English publications as well as music manuscripts.

music book ownership during the period is the households of the aristocracy and gentry, many of whose collections resided at their country estates. The inclusion of music books in the libraries of the English aristocracy in the first half of the seventeenth century is, for instance, extensively recorded in Lynn Hulse's doctoral research, but can also be found in individual household inventories from the period, such as the 1609 catalogue of Lord Lumley's (c.1533–1609) library at Nonesuch, which contained forty-two musical items consisting mainly of continental music prints alongside a few English prints and music manuscripts.¹⁷ Similarly, Jonathan Wainwright's study of the musical patronage of Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605–1670), reconstructs his large collection of music, which was likewise primarily made up of Italian music publications as well as a variety of manuscripts.¹⁸ Another notable collection cultivated by a gentleman amateur was that of the Norfolk gentleman Edward Paston (1550–1630), whose will records numerous lute manuscripts, 'prickt in Ciphers after the Spanish and Italian fashion and some in letters of A.B.C. according to the English fashion' as well as 'setts of lattin, ffrench and Italian songs [...] pricked as not yet in print' and 'many songs printed and not prickt', which were dispersed across his properties at Appleton, Thorpe, and Town Barningham.¹⁹ The gentleman John Ramsey, of Mount in Surrey, recorded in his diary in the late 1620s a large

¹⁷ Lynn Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c. 1590-1640', PhD thesis (King's College, London, 1992); *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609*, ed. by Sears Jayne and Francis R. Johnson (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1956).

¹⁸ Jonathan Wainwright, *Musical Patronage in Seventeenth-Century England: Christopher, First Baron Hatton (1605-1670)* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), pp. 24–45.

¹⁹ Philip Brett, 'Edward Paston (1550–1630): A Norfolk Gentleman and his Musical Collection', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4/1 (1964), pp. 51–69 (pp. 66–68 and p. 56).

collection of English printed music including editions of music by John Dowland, William Byrd, Robert Jones, Philip Rosseter, Michael Cavendish, Thomas Morley, John Farmer, John Bennett, Giles Farnaby, Nicholas Yonge, Michael East, Thomas Robinson, John Wilbye, and Henry Youll as well as a number of manuscripts,²⁰ and amongst the music collection of Cheshire antiquary Sir Peter Leicester (1614-1678) were editions of William Lawes's *Choice Psalmes* (1648), John Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1655), *Catch that Catch Can* (1658), *Court Ayres* (1655), and Matthew Locke's *Little Consort* (1656).²¹ An index of 485 songs in the hand of Thomas Ferrar of Little Gidding, near Stamford, as identified by Bryan White, also records certain access to, and the likely ownership of, various music publications including editions of *The Theater of Music* (four books, 1685–1686), *The Banquet of Musick* (six books, 1688–1692), *Deliciae Musicae* (Volume One, four books, 1695–1696), *New Songs in the Third Part of [...] Don Quixote* (1696), and the January 1692 edition of the *Gentleman's Journal*.²²

A range of sources illuminate music book ownership amongst urban professionals and gentlemen amateurs, particularly associated with London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The cataloguing of the libraries of noted bibliophiles and music enthusiasts, such as Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) or Narcissus Marsh (1638–1713), highlights the acquisition of extensive

²⁰ David Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, Cambridge Studies in Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 187. Some of this collection might have been amassed during his time at Cambridge (he was admitted to St Peter's Hall in 1601).

²¹ See Carter, “yong beginners, who live in the Countrey”, in press, and *Sir Peter Leicester: Charges to the Grand Jury at Quarter Sessions 1660–1677*, ed. by E. Halcrow (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1953), pp. 151–52.

²² Bryan White, “‘A pretty knot of musical friends’: The Ferrar Brothers and the Stamford Music Club of the 1690s”, in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 1–44 (pp. 26–27).

music collections over a sustained period.²³ Music books are also recorded in private libraries sold-off at auction in the final decades of the century. Amongst the books of Elias Ashmole, for instance, were Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick*, John Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1656) and a 'Musick book ruled 5 lines clean',²⁴ while the auction of the libraries of 'two eminent and learned men deceased' included Playford's *Musical Companion* (1667), John Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres* (1660), and John Hilton's *Catch that Catch Can* (1652).²⁵ The auction of books after the death of the Reverend William Bassett, late rector of St. Swithin's, London, included Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1666),²⁶ while that of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, Prebend of Westminster, contained Charles Butler's *Principles of Musick* (1636).²⁷ The sales catalogue for Ralph Hough, Esquire, included Thomas Mace's *Musick's*

²³ *Catalogue of the Pepys Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge*, ed. by Robert Latham, vol. 4: *Music, Maps and Calligraphy* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989); Richard Charteris, *A Catalogue of the Printed Books on Music, Printed Music and Music Manuscripts in Archbishop Marsh's Library, Dublin* (Clarabricken: Boethius Press, 1982). Marsh's music collection was compiled during his time studying and teaching at Oxford as well as during his ecclesiastical appointment in Ireland.

²⁴ *Bibliotheca Ashmoleana a Catalogue of the Library of the Learned and Famous Elias Ashmole, Esq. ... to be Sold by Auction on Thursday next, the 22th day of this instant February, 1693 [i.e. 1694], at Rolls's Auction House, in Petty-Canon Alley, in St. Paul's Church-yard by Edward Millington* (London, 1694), pp. 12–14.

²⁵ *A Catalogue of two Choice and Considerable Libraries of Books, Latin and English, of two Eminent and Learned Men deceased are to be exposed to Sale by way of Auction, at Mr. Bridge's Coffee-House in Popes-Head Alley, opposite to the Royal Exchange in Corn-Hill, on Monday the 22d day of this instant November, 1680* (London, 1680), pp. 28, 31 and 42.

²⁶ *Bibliotheca Bassetiana, or, A Catalogue of Greek, Latin and English Books in most Faculties being the Library of the Reverend Mr. William Bassett [...] which will be Sold at Auction on Thursday the fourth of February, 1697 by Edward Millington* (London, 1697).

²⁷ *Bibliotheca Hornecciana: or A Catalogue of Valuable and Choice Books [...] being the Library of the Reverend Anthony Horneck, D.D. Prebend of Westminster, and Minister of the Savoy, lately deceas'd* (London, 1697).

Monument (1676), two volumes of *The Gentleman's Journal* (1692), and Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1666) as well as music treatises by Descartes and Butler,²⁸ and the 1687 catalogue on the deaths of 'Mr. Jer. Copping, late of Sion Colledge' and 'Ansel Beaumont, late of the Middle Temple' includes various editions of 'singing psalms', Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Musick* (1684), and Descartes's *Compendium of Musick* (1653).²⁹ The sales catalogue of the concert promoter and small-coal merchant Thomas Britton (1644–1714), now lost but recorded by John Hawkins, likewise included an extensive collection of both printed and manuscript music, although this must have been related to his successful concert series rather than simply for personal use.³⁰

In the universities, Henry Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford (1689), bequeathed his substantial music collection to the college in 1710 as did Richard Goodson Sr, Heather Professor of Music at Oxford from 1682, in 1718.³¹ Records of music book and instrument ownership are similarly found in the probate inventories of students and tutors at both universities as well as citizens of the university towns; according to Michael Fleming, over 12% of probate inventories from the Court of the Chancellor of Oxford University for

²⁸ *A Catalogue of the Library of Ralph Hough, Esq [...] Wich will be Sold by Auction at Tom's Coffee-House adjoining to Ludgate, on Tuesday the 16th instant, and the following days at 3 afternoon by J. Bullord* ([London, 1699?])

²⁹ *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Mr. Jer. Copping, late of Sion Colledge, Gent. and Ansel Beaumont, late of the Middle Temple, Esq; with others* (London, 1687).

³⁰ The sales catalogue is now lost but was reprinted in John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music*, 2 vols. (London, 1853), II, pp. 792–93.

³¹ John Milson, *Christ Church Library Music Catalogue Online*, <http://library.chch.ox.ac.uk/music/>

the period c. 1580–1660 include musical items (music and/or instruments).³² Musical instrument ownership is recorded in Oxford, for instance, for non-academic citizens such as the plumber, Edward Houghton, who owned a pair of virginals or the stone carver, John Jackson, who owned two viols, a gittern, and six other instruments.³³ A similar picture can be found in the records for Cambridge. Among the university community who owned music and instruments we find, for instance, Godwin Walsall, a fellow of Pembroke College (known as Pembroke Hall in the seventeenth century), who at the time of his death in 1608 owned copies of ‘Dowlandes songes in 2 volumes. Sticht’ and ‘benetes songes in 4. partes 4^o sticht’ alongside a lute,³⁴ and Thomas Lorkin, Regis Professor of Physic, who at the time of his death in 1591 owned ‘a cittarn booke’, ‘the psalmes in 4 partes’, a pair of virginals, a lute, and two gitterns.³⁵ It is possible that the Surrey gentleman, John Ramsey, who was admitted to St Peter’s Hall in 1601, might have acquired his music collection—which dates to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century—while resident in Cambridge. Similarly, a Thomas Horsmanden, who signed his copies of William Byrd’s *Psalmes, Sonets, & Songs* (1588) and *Cantiones Sacrae* (1589), has been identified by David Greer as the Thomas Horsmanden from Kent who was Vicar of Goudhurst in Kent from 1613 and Rector of Purleigh in Essex from

³² Michael Fleming, ‘An “Old Old Violl” and “Other Lumber”: Musical Remains in Provincial, Non-Noble England c. 1580–1660’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 58 (2005), pp. 89–99 (p. 93).

³³ Cited in Fleming, ‘An “Old Old Violl”’, p. 99. Houghton’s inventory is given in Oxford University Archives, Arch. Inv. Hypo.B.1, fol. 44 and Jackson’s in Ernest Cheyne (revised by D. M. Barratt), *Probate Records of the Courts of the Bishop and Archdeacon of Oxford 1516–1732* (Cambridge: British Record Society, 1981).

³⁴ E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book Lists from Vice-Chancellor’s Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), I, p. 559 (hereafter referred to as *BCI*).

³⁵ *BCI*, I, pp. 507, 499 and 493–94.

1624. He had matriculated at St John's College, Cambridge, in c.1593 and was elected a Fellow of the college in 1596; it may have been during his time in Cambridge that he obtained his music books.³⁶

Beyond these richly documented, musically active contexts, there is evidence to be gleaned from personal manuscripts and provincial probate inventories of a more socially and geographically diverse range of music consumers. The yeoman Leonard Wheatcroft (1626–1706/7) of the village of Ashworth in Derbyshire, for instance, amassed a substantial collection of books over his lifetime, which was seemingly inherited and then supplemented by his son, Titus, who in 1722 drew up a catalogue of his library. What is remarkable about this library, accumulated by two men of modest status over many years, is not simply the quantity of books they collected (over 380) but also the subject matter. Maureen Bell calculates that after religious texts, accounting for around 50% of the collection, and schoolbooks, accounting for a further 20%, the remaining 30% of the collection was made up of poetry, romance, morality, emblems, heraldry, history, politics, law, popular medicine, science, mathematics, geography, travel, and music—suggestive of leisure reading.³⁷ The musical items consist mainly of printed editions of psalms and hymns (including Playford editions), but also include ‘a 2 part book of my pricking’ and ‘many songs written in a book called Loves delight’.³⁸ The manuscript in which the collection is listed gives historians a

³⁶ Greer, *Manuscript Inscriptions*, pp. 20–21.

³⁷ Maureen Bell, ‘Reading in Seventeenth-Century Derbyshire: The Wheatcrofts and their Books’, in *The Moving Market: Continuity and Change in the Book Trade*, ed. by Peter Isaac and Marry McKay (Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2001), pp. 161–68 (p. 162).

³⁸ *A Catalogue of the Library of Titus Wheatcroft of Ashover*, ed. by Maureen Bell (Chesterfield: Derbyshire Record Society, vol. 35, 2008), p. 88.

detailed insight into the reading habits of two men living remote from London and of relatively humble status. It is possible that the acquisition of books by socially-ambitious people of lower rank such as the Wheatcrofts might have been intended, at least in part, as material symbols of their wealth, status and education, though this was not necessarily the case with Leonard Whatcroft whose ‘pricking’ of music and poetic and prose writings reflect a deeper engagement with poetry and music.³⁹ While the Wheatcrofts were no doubt unusual for the quantity and range of their collection, they were unlikely to be wholly exceptional; knowledge of such collections is inevitably limited, however, by whether or not they were recorded and the subsequent survival of such manuscripts.

Another source of information regarding book ownership is probate inventories, though, as D. R. Woolf has noted, the sampling of wills and probate inventories in the search of book ownership ‘tend[s] to be a frustrating exercise in haystack’ in which ‘the needles are scarcer still if one is hunting for particular types of book’.⁴⁰ Wills, of course, only mention individual items that were bequeathed, while inventories are restricted to items the compiler thought important or valuable enough to catalogue;⁴¹ books, music, and musical instruments may have been present in households but were not necessarily listed. Music, in particular, may not have been recorded in probate inventories since, as Lynn Hulse notes of

³⁹ See Ralph Houlbrooke, ‘Wheatcroft, Leonard’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57645>), [accessed 8 September 2016].

⁴⁰ Woolf, *Reading History*, p. 132.

⁴¹ As Gwendolynn Heley asserts, ‘the rule seems to be that individual choice, along with financial considerations, dictated what was listed’. Gwendolynn Heley, ‘The Material Culture of the Tradesmen of Newcastle upon Tyne 1545-1642: The Durham Probate Record Evidence’, PhD thesis (Durham University, 2009), 2 vols, I, p. 34.

the early Stuart period, it was ‘generally considered ephemeral’.⁴² Recourse to wills and inventories is nevertheless useful for charting the spread of music—geographically and socially—despite the fact that such documents inevitably provide only a partial picture. Individual probate records do occasionally offer evidence of the wider distribution and ownership of music books. Fleming’s analysis of references to musical items (music and instruments) in over 6,500 provincial, non-noble wills and inventories between *c.* 1580 and 1660 finds that about 3% contain musical items (instruments and/or music) of which around 13% include music (print or manuscript).⁴³ At the time of his death in 1601, Thomas Bird of Norwich, for instance, probably a scrivener by trade, was recorded as owning ‘v prick song bookes of certeyne psalmes’;⁴⁴ the Newcastle musician Trestram Hearone, who died in 1584, owned a lute, case, and ‘4. lewte booke[s]’,⁴⁵ and the 1567 inventory of Durham cleric Sir John Welles listed ‘songe books’ amongst his possessions.⁴⁶ The clerk Henry Bury, of Bury in Lancashire, felt his collection of manuscript music important enough to bequeath to Oxford and Cambridge in 1634: ‘my two songe bookes ether of which contayneth all Mr Waterhouse his songs of two p[ar]ts in on upon the plaine songe of Myserere above 1000 waies shalbe geven the one of them to Oxforde the other to Cambridge where I hope they

⁴² Lynn Hulse, ‘The Musical Patronage of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury (1532–1612)’, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116/1 (1991), pp. 24–40 (p. 29).

⁴³ Fleming, ‘An “Old Old Viol”’, pp. 92–93.

⁴⁴ See the online resource for the Folger project, *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, <http://plre.folger.edu>

⁴⁵ Durham Probate Records: DPR/I/1/1584/H4/1–2.

⁴⁶ Transcribed in *Durham Probate Records Wills and Inventories illustrative of the History, Manners, Language, Statistics, etc. of the Northern Counties of England from the Eleventh Century Downwards*, ed. by J. Raine, Part I (Surtees Society, 2, 1835, reprinted 1967), p. 274.

shalbe safly kept or published in print for the credit of English-men and for the better preserving and contineuance of that wonderfull worke'.⁴⁷ The wills of English merchants working for the Levant Company as far away as Aleppo, moreover, sometimes contained music and instruments, such as that of Josiah Chitty, which included a large parcel of music as well as a bassoon and two violins.⁴⁸

While the evidence is fragmentary, it is clear that music, including printed books, circulated well beyond London during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to a relatively diverse, though small, group of consumers. What is less clear are the routes by which music—printed music books in particular—circulated beyond the centre of production, and how it might have been accessed by such a geographically and socially diverse readership.

Musical Circulation, the Place of Print, and the Provincial Bookseller

'It is possible', as Stephanie Carter has recently argued, 'that the specialist nature of the music publishing trade required different methods of dissemination from the general book trade',⁴⁹ and there is evidence to suggest that at least some printed music was acquired or circulated through the same transmission routes and networks as manuscript music. It is worth noting that many of the music collections cited above—from aristocratic households to those of humbler provincial consumers such as the Wheatcrofts—contained both print and manuscript music, and there was certainly a level of fluidity between the two. One of the

⁴⁷ Cited in Fleming, 'An "Old Old Violl"', p. 94.

⁴⁸ Bryan White, "'Brothers of the String': Henry Purcell and the Letter-Book of Rowland Sherman", *Music & Letters*, 92/4 (2011), pp. 519–81 (p. 521).

⁴⁹ Carter, "'yong beginners, who live in the Countrey'", in press.

most common modes of circulation during the period was through borrowing and copying activity, which is widely recorded in a range of circumstances for a variety of musicians. Recreational musicians such as Roger North (1651–1734) and his brother, Francis (1637–1685), for instance, engaged in borrowing and copying activity as a means of expanding their personal collection, and especially, in their case, as a means of accessing continental music. North notes they would ‘pick up duo’s [...] with all imaginable industry, as well in wrighting as print’, which they would write ‘out in score, for the understanding part, as well as ready performance’.⁵⁰ His brother was particularly fond, we are told, of ‘Italian songs and *recitativos*’ for which he ‘had his first *goust* [...] from some books Mr Willis lent him, which came from Rome, and were of Bicilli and others’ and for his love of ‘Italian *recitativos* of the old style’, North goes on, Francis ‘transcribed a book of Italian songs into a volume of the largest Quarto, and thicker than a Common Prayer Book’.⁵¹ Such activity amongst recreational musicians of a relatively broad social status continued well into the eighteenth century. The Newcastle apprentice hostman Ralph Jackson (1736–1790)—whose diary gives remarkably detailed insight into his musical activities—records the posting, borrowing and copying of music, probably both print and manuscript, for his German flute. In March 1752 he was sent by post a letter from Mr Allen, who had originally given him the flute, including ‘2 or 3 Tunes’ while a few months later he ‘pricked two tunes out of one of Thos. Wilkinson’s

⁵⁰ Roger North, *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695–1728*, ed. and transcribed by John Wilson (London: Novello and Company, 1959), p. 36.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26 and 36.

Books'.⁵² The following year he was sent 'a Musick Book, wth Six Sonatas in it' by his sister, Rachel, which he spent the ensuing days copying out.⁵³

The numerous inclusions in manuscripts of copies of music and/or lyrics taken from printed music books also attest to the pervasiveness and longevity of this practice. That copies appear in sources sometimes originating far from the metropolis also serves to further illustrate the spread of printed music (either through the direct circulation of print or through manuscript transmission and copying activity) into the English regions and beyond. The early seventeenth-century British Library manuscript Add. MS. 15117, is inscribed, alongside horse expenses for his master (including a payment to 'the musitians') while at Newcastle (fol. 1), 'John Swarland his booke' (or 'Strickland') (fol. 1v), and includes copies of songs from publications by Dowland and Alfonso Ferrabosco as well as a transcription of the contents table of Richard Alison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599) and four pieces from Sir William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentacions* (1614).⁵⁴ Add. MS. 15118, which contains the treble and bass parts of songs from publications by Dowland and Thomas Ford, is

⁵² Thomas Wilkinson was a friend of Ralph Jackson. He was a shop-owner who played the bass viol, sang, and had vocal scholars. There are numerous references to Wilkinson in Jackson's diary including the entry on 4 May 1752 that they 'play'd awhile in Mr Wilkinson's Shop'.

⁵³ *Diary of Ralph Jackson*, <<http://greatayton.wikidot.com/ralph-jackson-diaries>> [accessed 15 July 2015].

Entries cited are: 4 March 1752 (Book C); 16 June 1752 (Book D); 14, 15, 19 and 20 March 1753 (Book E).

⁵⁴ *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622*, ed. by Edward Doughtie (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 457, 463, 492, 517, 563 and 592, and Mary Joiner, 'British Museum Add MS. 15117: A Commentary, Index and Bibliography', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 7 (1969), pp. 51–109. Joiner gives the name as 'John Swarland', Price as 'Strickland'. This is a complex manuscript, the exact circumstances of its inception—and the identity of its owner—are yet to be established.

inscribed by, amongst others, a ‘Thomas Shinton of Woluerhamt[on]’.⁵⁵ The Surrey gentleman John Ramsey, who as we have seen owned copies of Dowland’s songbooks, copied lyrics directly from these publications into his manuscript miscellany, noting the source as ‘Mr Jno: Dowland’.⁵⁶ The mid-seventeenth-century manuscript of the Suffolk gentleman Thomas Hamond (d. 1662) includes music from John Playford’s *A Musicall Banquet* (1651) and John Hilton’s *Catch that Catch Can* (1652),⁵⁷ while the violin tune book of the Newcastle hostman Henry Atkinson, begun in 1694/5, includes at least two pieces that appear to have been copied directly from Henry Playford’s *Second Part of the Dancing Master* (probably the 1698 edition), and a number of other pieces in variant form from Playford publications.⁵⁸ A cluster of Scottish sources from the second half of the seventeenth century, moreover, all appear to contain copies of William Lawes’s setting of Robert Herrick’s ‘Gather ye Rosebuds’ taken directly from Playford publications (identifiable as such because of a textual change made by Playford), illustrating the dissemination of Playford publications into Scotland.⁵⁹ John Leyden’s Lyra Viol Manuscript (Bell-White MS 46, Robinson Library, Newcastle University) includes instructions for lyra viol copied from the 1682 edition of

⁵⁵ Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance*, pp. 196–97.

⁵⁶ See *Lyrics*, ed. by Doughtie, pp. 459, 463, 465, 477, 484, 504, 519 and 528.

⁵⁷ Margaret Crum, ‘A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond, a Suffolk Landowner’, *Bodleian Library Record*, 6 (1975), pp. 373–86 (pp. 374–75).

⁵⁸ Northumberland Record Office, Woodhorn, MS MU 207. The two pieces that appear to be copied directly from print are ‘Waa is me what mun I do’ (fols. 57^v–58^r) and ‘Gavatt’ (fol. 99^v) given in Playford as ‘The Mock Match’.

⁵⁹ See *The Complete Poetry of Robert Herrick*, ed. by Tom Cain and Ruth Connolly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), II, pp. 449–50. We thank Ruth Connolly for bringing this example to our attention.

John Playford's *Musicks Recreation on the Lyra Viol*; the copying appears to date to the 1690s and the copyist has been identified as the Glasgow musician Andrew Adam.⁶⁰

Another avenue for acquiring music—both manuscript and print—for those living remote from London was through friends, family, or agents who were either based or regularly travelled there. It is likely that the Stamford music club active in the 1690s and documented in the Ferrar family papers, for instance, relied on a local grocer, who made business trips to London, to procure copies of Corelli's music prior to its print publication in England, while a London merchant who visited the club (date unknown) brought with him 'Corellis 4th Opera of Sonata's'.⁶¹ After his recent arrival in Aleppo, the Levant Company factor Rowland Sherman likewise wrote to a friend in London requesting that 'If Harry [Henry Purcell] has sett to the Harpsechord the Symph[ony] of the mask he made for Priests [*sic*] Ball, I should be very glad of copie of it.'⁶² Printed books were also purchased in London for families residing, at least part of the year, in the country through agents, friends or family. Agents of Sir William Cavendish of Chatsworth (1552–1626), for instance, regularly acquired for the family editions of English and Italian music as well as musical instruments and accessories during their visits to London between 1601 and 1608, while William Byrd and John Cooper procured music from London for Sir William Petre of Ingatestone, Essex

⁶⁰ John H. Robinson, 'John Leyden's Lyra Viol Manuscript in Newcastle University Library and George Farquhar Graham's Copy in the National Library of Scotland', *The Viola da Gamba Society*, 2 (2008), pp. 17–57a, (pp. 22–23 and 57a).

⁶¹ White, "A pretty knot of musical friends", pp. 13 and 17–18.

⁶² As cited in Bryan White, 'Letter from Aleppo: Dating the Chelsea School Performance of *Dido and Aeneas*', *Early Music*, 37/4 (2009), pp. 417–28 (p. 419).

(1575–1637).⁶³ Christopher Hatton acquired his Italian music publications from the London bookseller Robert Martin, whose itemised bill of a large book purchase by Hatton in November 1638 survives and is signed off by George Jeffreys, one of Hatton’s musicians and secretaries.⁶⁴ This practice extended well into the eighteenth century. The detailed accounts of Mary Bowes of Gibside (then County Durham), show that she regularly bought music between 1731 and 1760 through agents based in both Newcastle and London as well as making direct purchases from London booksellers during her London residencies.⁶⁵

Music teachers were another important conduit for the transmission of music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—a high proportion of surviving English lute manuscripts from the turn of the seventeenth century appear to have been compiled as the result of pedagogical activity, for instance⁶⁶—and those who self-published instrumental tutor books, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, likely also sold their

⁶³ Price, *Patrons and Musicians*, pp. 18–19.

⁶⁴ Wainwright, *Musical Patronage*, pp. 28–32 and 118. Robert Martin, a supplier also to the Bodleian Library, specialized in the sale of continental (mainly Italian) prints. See D. W. Krummel, ‘Venetian Baroque Music in a London Bookshop: The Robert Martin Catalogues 1633–50’, in *Music and Bibliography: Essays in Honour of Alec Hyatt King*, ed. by Oliver Neighbour (London: Clive Bingley, 1980), pp. 1–27.

⁶⁵ We thank Roz Southey for this reference. Southey’s ongoing work on the musical patronage of the Bowes of Gibside has been presented in unpublished papers including ‘“The things I had to do”: Making a Living as a Musician in 18-century Newcastle’, The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne (March 2013) and ‘Capital Interests in the North East: The Bowes Family of Gibside and their Musical Activities in London and the North’, Musical Life Outside London, 1500–1800: Networks, Circulation Sources Study Day, Newcastle upon Tyne (October 2014).

⁶⁶ Matthew Spring, *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and its Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 111.

publications directly to pupils as well as relying on the general book trade for wider dissemination and public exposure. The books were certainly devised with pupils—as well as a broader public (and self-advertisement)—in mind. In the address to his scholars in his self-published *Lessons for the Basse-Viol* (1671), for instance, John Moss writes that he had published the book ‘to ease myself of so many tedious Transcripts’,⁶⁷ while Gerhard Diesineer’s [*Instrumental Ayrs in Thre, and Four Parts*], published around 1680, contained music written ‘for the Use and Practice of my Scholars’.⁶⁸ Many of these self-published tutor books include on the title page the author’s address as one of the places at which the books could be purchased.

Alongside informal copying and exchange, or the copying or selling activities of music tutors, another avenue by which music commonly circulated was through professional and commercial copying services. Payments made in the 1570s by Sir William Spring, entrusted with the education of William 3rd Earl of Bath (1557–1623) on the death of his father in 1561, for example, include many to Nicholas Stogers, a parish Clerk at St Dunstan-in-the-West, for copying and music stationery services (‘Rulyng of songe bookes’, for instance).⁶⁹ By the second half of the seventeenth century the Playfords and other music stationers, such as John Carr, were advertising professionally copied manuscripts as part of their commercial services. Henry Playford advertises in *The Banquet of Musick* (1691), for instance, ‘All sorts of *Rul’d Paper* and *Rul’d Books* of several sizes, and all Sets of MVSICK, or

⁶⁷ John Moss, *Lessons for the Basse-Viol* (London, 1671), ‘To his Present and Quondam Scholars’.

⁶⁸ Gerhard Diesineer, [*Instrumental Ayrs in Thre, and Four Parts*] (London, c. 1680), ‘To all Lovers, and Understanders of Music’.

⁶⁹ See Hulse, ‘Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy’, p. 325.

single SONGS fairly prick'd',⁷⁰ while the 1692 edition also carried an advert for John Carr as selling 'all sorts of Musical Instruments and Strings, all sorts of Ruled Paper, Ruled Books of all sizes, and all sets of MUSICK, and Single SONGS and TUNES fairly Prick'd'.⁷¹ It is possible that the Glasgow musician Andrew Adam, who copied from Playford into the Leyden Lyra Viol manuscript, was acting as a professional copyist for private clients—or perhaps pupils—at the turn of the eighteenth century. He has been identified as the copyist of a number of Scottish manuscripts, including Gb-En MS 3296, which is inscribed 'Margaret Sinkler aught this musick book, written by Andrew Adam at Glasgow, October, the 31 day, 1710'.⁷²

In some cases, individual and institutional consumers remote from London appear to have dealt directly with the London trade. The title-page of Henry Playford's 1690 sales catalogue *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books*, for instance, tells us that the books were originally to be sold by auction, but that it had been 'put off' because 'several Gentlemen, Lovers of Musick, living remote from *London*' had a 'Desire for some of this Collection, and could not be there'.⁷³ Alternatively, Playford 'set down [the collection] in Order, with the Rates' so that '*All Gentlemen and Ladies*' desiring '*any of these Collections*' could '*have them delivered*' by '*sending in time the Number and the Price*'.⁷⁴ The catalogue was advertised as being distributed gratis via various London booksellers and an instrument dealer as well as by a

⁷⁰ Henry Playford, *The Banquet of Musick* (London, 1691), sig. A1v.

⁷¹ Henry Playford, *The Banquet of Musick* (London, 1692), sig. A1v.

⁷² Robinson, 'John Leyden's Lyra Viol Manuscript', p. 23. On the identification of Adam see Evelyn Stell, 'Sources of Scottish Instrumental Music 1603–1707', PhD thesis (University of Glasgow, 1999), p. 43.

⁷³ Henry Playford, *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books* (London, 1690), title-page.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, title-page.

‘Mr. *Dolliff* Bookbinder in *Oxford*.⁷⁵ Likewise, alongside relying on copyist services and informal exchange between networks of cathedral musicians—such as that illuminated in correspondence between Edward Jackson and Daniel Henstridge⁷⁶—cathedrals also bought printed music directly from London. Canterbury Cathedral bought two sets of John Barnard’s *The First Book of Selected Church Music* (1641) from John Playford in 1661, and, as Ian Spink has suggested, copies purchased by Gloucester, Hereford, Lichfield, Salisbury, and Worcester cathedrals were ‘probably’, though ‘not necessarily’, bought directly from him.⁷⁷ There is also evidence to suggest, however, that provincial cathedrals used local stationers for music-related stationery services and supply throughout the period. In the early 1580s the York stationer Anthony Foster was paid £2 4s. for ‘xxxij queres of royall paper at xij^d the quere and for his binding the same into xvij bookes for prickinge of songs for the quere’.⁷⁸ Surviving trade bills and vouchers for Durham Cathedral just over one hundred years later similarly include bills from local booksellers such as William Werdon for ‘mending and putting paper in Anthem books’ or for ‘4 anthem books got by Mr Greggs for ye boys’, from Joshua Hughes ‘For new binding of four books for the organ and quire’, and William Freeman for ‘binding one service book and one anthem book in folio’ alongside various bills

⁷⁵ Henry Playford, *A Curious Collection of Musick-Books*, title-page. Unfortunately we are unable to find any more information about this bookbinder. He does not appear to be listed in the *British Book Trade Index*, <http://bbti.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 22 September 2016].

⁷⁶ See Herissone, *Musical Creativity*, p. 90.

⁷⁷ Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660–1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 76.

⁷⁸ Cited in Barnard and Bell, ‘Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade’, p. [31] 7. Original source: York Minster Library, Fabric Rolls, E.3/57–58, f. 50.

for the supply of ruled paper.⁷⁹ We might also surmise that individual consumers living remote from London, as well as large ecclesiastical institutions, looked to local stationers to supply them with printed music and related stationery services as well as relying on more informal contacts (friends, family or agents) or direct dealings with London stationers.

The most fulsomely documented book trade centres outside London for which evidence of the sale of music prints and stationery can be traced are Oxford and Cambridge, which throughout the period maintained well-established trade links with London; the clear availability of printed music, as well as music stationery, instruments, and accessories, is further supported by extensive evidence, as we have seen, of music and instrument ownership in library bequests, individual probate records, and personal manuscripts originating in the university towns. Letters from the 1580s from the London bookseller Thomas Chard (or Chere) to a Cambridge bookseller, including lists of books supplied via the carrier Thomas Hobson, demonstrate the well-established trading links between London and Cambridge; unsurprisingly included in the lists are numerous editions of psalms in various sizes and a range of bindings.⁸⁰ Books containing music are also recorded in late sixteenth-century probate inventories of stationers and booksellers in Cambridge: alongside various editions of psalm books, the 1578 inventory of John Denys includes ‘2 queris of paper ruled’, which may have been for musical use; the 1588 inventory of Bennet Walker’s stock includes various editions of psalms as well as William Hunnis’s *Seven Sobs of a Sorronfull Soule for Sinne*; and the 1590/1 inventory of Reginold Bridges’s stock includes ‘2 Singing

⁷⁹ David Pearson, ‘Book Trade Bills and Vouchers from Durham Cathedral Library, 1634–1740’, *History of the Book Trade in the North* (September 1986), no pagination, but pages of document 7, 9, 8, and 11 and references to ruled paper on pp. 4, 6, 9, and 10.

⁸⁰ See Jahn, ‘Letters and Booklists’, and Paige, ‘An Additional Letter and Booklist of Thomas Chard’.

psalmes 16^o.⁸¹ The purchase of printed music, music stationery, and viol strings in Oxford in the 1650s is recorded by Anthony Wood; he bought, for example, ‘rul’d paper, 6*d*; and Mr. Mat. Locke’s Ayres, 2*s* 4*d*.’ in January 1656/7 while he notes the purchase of ‘violl-strings, 7*d*.’ in February 1658.⁸² By the end of the century Henry Playford certainly had at least one established trading contact in Oxford as we have seen from the 1690 sales catalogue, and the relationship is again advertised on the title page of *Deliciae Musicae* (1696), copies of which were to be ‘sold at Oxford by Francis Dollife book-binder, who sells all other musick-books’.⁸³ University consumers also supported and accessed printed music through subscription: it is worth noting, for example, that half of the subscribers to Thomas Mace’s *Musick’s Monument* (1676) were members of Cambridge University. During the second half of the seventeenth century, moreover, Oxford-based printers were—albeit infrequently—producing printed editions of music including John Wilson’s *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads* (1660), Pietro Reggio’s *The Art of Singing* (1677), Henry Bowman’s *Songs of One, Two and Three Voices* ([1677], 1678 and second edition 1679), and *Musica Oxoniensis. A Collection of Songs* (1698).

Beyond the university towns, surviving probate inventories of seventeenth-century booksellers and stationers outside London suggest that some stocked music books, or at least books containing music. The nature of the evidence is fragmentary; surviving inventories are spread thinly, both geographically and temporally, and vary widely in the level of detail they provide—some list titles for a high proportion of the stock, some list and value

⁸¹ *BCI*, I, pp. 326–40, ruled paper ‘item 465’, pp. 395 and 488.

⁸² *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. by Andrew Clark, 5 vols, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), I, pp. 211 and 237. On instrument makers and dealers in Oxford see also Michael Fleming, ‘Some Points Arising from a Survey of Wills and Inventories’, *The Galpin Society Journal*, 53 (2000), pp. 301–11.

⁸³ Henry Playford, *Deliciae Musicae* (London, 1696), title-page.

the stock by format and size alone while others value the stock as a whole without any breakdown of the contents. The information that can be gleaned from even the most detailed inventories, moreover, is limited by the fact that it tells us only what was stocked at the time they were taken, and not what might have passed through the bookseller's shop over a longer period or via individual customer requests, nor whether what was in stock at the time was on the basis of popularity and presumed demand or, conversely, due to lack of demand and slow sale (or even a combination). Such inventories, despite these limitations, nevertheless provide some insight into the provincial book trade during the period, especially when read against evidence of book ownership, acquisition and copying activities involving print.

Amongst around 750 listed titles, and 3,373 identifiable individual items,⁸⁴ in John Foster's probate inventory are twenty-five music items (including multiple copies), mainly consisting of collections of English secular song, printed between no earlier than 1597 and no later than 1613, as well as 'singing psalms' and 'psalmes in four parts' (see Table 1 for a full list of music-related contents). The inventory also includes 'Two settes of Ittalian Songes' and, indicating both the sale of continental publications and second-hand music, 'One Sett of Gombartes' and 'One Courtmantian with old prick songes in yt'. Foster perhaps had a ready market for music amongst the clergy and singing men associated with the minster, wider town and surrounding parishes, but amongst his debtors (we cannot be certain, of course, that all owed money for books) were members of the gentry and professions as well as merchants and tradesmen not only from York but also Leeds and the

⁸⁴ Barnard and Bell, 'Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade', p. 22 [46].

surrounding towns and villages.⁸⁵ The breadth of Foster's stock as a whole—including secular vernacular texts suggestive of leisure reading—leads John Barnard and Maureen Bell to observe that the 'inclusion in Foster's stock of these literary and musical books at the expensive end of the market suggests that Yorkshire book buyers participated in the high culture of London and the court'.⁸⁶ While Foster's stock of music books is the most extensive we have found in probate inventories for the period outside London, our analysis of a sample of surviving inventories from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reveals other examples of the stocking of music, or books containing music, by provincial stationers (see Table 2 for a full list of inventories consulted and music-related items).

Unsurprisingly consistent across a high proportion of the inventories consulted was the inclusion of numerous editions of psalms, many of which gave a wide readership access to simple notated music and often a brief introduction to basic musical instruction. Others, however, list more elaborate settings of the psalms and other books intended for a musically literate audience. The 1585 inventory of the stock of London printer Roger Ward's Shrewsbury shop included '42 singinge psalmes alone', 'i pomand[er] with singinge sphalmes', and 'i Singinge sphalmes gylte' as well as 'i lutinge booke', 'i Sitherne booke ruled' (almost certainly a blank ruled manuscript book), and six copies of 'Sorofull songes for sinful sowles' (Hunnis's *Seven Sobs*).⁸⁷ Around 250 books, of a stock of around 1,200 items, are listed by title description in the inventory of the Newcastle bookseller William Corbett (d. 1626); amongst the various editions of psalms listed are 'For psalmes in foure p[art]es',

⁸⁵ Barnard and Bell, 'Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade', pp. 16 [40]–21 [45].

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28 [52].

⁸⁷ Alexander Roger, 'Roger Ward's Shrewsbury Stock', *The Library*, 5th series, 13 (1958), pp. 247–68; transcribed inventory given pp. 250–62.

psalm settings aimed at a relatively musically sophisticated audience.⁸⁸ At the time of his death, Corbett was in debt to ‘John Wright’, ‘John Maigaite’, and ‘John Grisman’ of London, who appear to have been his trade suppliers.⁸⁹ Such London-based trade connections also extended into Scotland. The Huguenot printer Thomas Vautrollier—printer of Byrd’s and Thomas Tallis’s inaugural publication *Cantiones Sacrae* (1575)—was supplying books to Edinburgh stationers and to James VI of Scotland from the 1570s, and was ordered to pay customs on the books he brought into Scotland by Edinburgh town council in 1580.⁹⁰ We also find in the probate inventories of Edinburgh stationers music books that were likely supplied via the London trade, though there is evidence that Edinburgh stationers were also dealing directly with continental book suppliers.⁹¹ The 1577 inventory of the Edinburgh stationer Thomas Bassadyne, for instance, includes various editions of English psalm books as well as ‘tua Lute bukes’,⁹² while Robert Gourlaw’s 1585 inventory includes Hunnis’s *Seven Sobs*.⁹³

⁸⁸ Durham Probate Records: DPR/I/1/1626/C7/1.

⁸⁹ John Grismand (or Gridmond) was a London bookseller, printer, and type-founder between 1618 and 1638, whose business included the printing of ballads, while John Wight (senior) was an active bookseller in London between 1605 and 1658, and the publisher Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* (1609) and Marlowe’s *Faustus* (1609, and later editions). See *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers*, ed. by McKerrow, p. 118 and Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers*, p. 197.

⁹⁰ F. S. Ferguson, ‘Relations between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (–1640)’, *The Library*, 4th series, 8/2 (1927), pp. 146–98 (pp. 152–53).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁹² *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, ed. by Sir. W. Scott, D. Laing and T. Thomson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1836), II, pp. 191–204 (p. 199).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 213. He took up residence and continued his business in Edinburgh in 1584.

Another type of source that can potentially illuminate the circulation of printed music via the provincial book trade are printed catalogues for the sale of books outside London. The 1693 auction catalogue of the Newcastle bookseller Joseph Hall—possibly an auction of unsold stock—includes, for example, an edition of *The Psalter, or, Psalms of David Paraphras'd in Verse set to New Tunes*.⁹⁴ A more unusual catalogue is William London's *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*, which provides further evidence of the likely sale of printed music via a provincial bookseller in the mid-seventeenth century.

William London's *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*

Newcastle bookseller William London published his *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* in 1657, a catalogue of over 3,000 titles 'the like work never yet performed by any', and all of which, he claimed, were 'to be sold by the author at his shop in New-Castle'; another edition was printed in 1658 and a further supplement was published in 1660.⁹⁵ In addition to books London was selling, according to the title page, 'All sorts of Globes, Mapps of the World [...] French and Dutch Pictures and Landskips; Paper of all sorts from 5^s to 5^{lb} a Reame: The best perfumed India, and English Wax, &c.' Relatively little can be gleaned about London's background,⁹⁶ but he had certainly been a bookseller in Newcastle since at least June 1649,

⁹⁴ *A Catalogue of Excellent Books, English and Latin [...] which will be Sold by Auction* (London: Printed for Joseph Hall, bookseller on Tyne Bridge, Newcastle, 1693).

⁹⁵ William London, *A Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England* (London, 1657), title page.

⁹⁶ William London may have been the son—or a relative—of the Gateshead apothecary John London, who died in 1665, and who names a William as one of his sons in his will. According to his probate inventory, at the time of his death his 'Wearing Apparrell, Books, Watch, and purse' were valued at £458 and he also owned 'one paire of virginalls and two vialls': [DPR/I/1/1665/L10/1-9](#). Both a William and a John London (the will

when a twenty-one-year lease was made to Rowland Pithie ‘of A Shopp with the Appurtenances, beinge vpon the west side of the Tyne Bridge [linking the towns of Newcastle and Gateshead], in the Tenure or Occupation of William London Bookeseller or his Assignees’, and he was still there in 1652 when his shop is mentioned as standing ‘vpon ye same pillar on thither side of ye sd Bridge’ in relation to the lease of a shop to skinner and glover Jo Heaviside ‘vpon ye East side of ye North end of Tine Bridge’.⁹⁷ The bridge was one of the town’s commercial venues, described by William Gray in 1649 as consisting ‘of Arches, high and broad, having many Houses and Shops [...] upon it’.⁹⁸ William London’s business must have been sufficiently buoyant during the 1650s since he financed, or was listed as the primary retailer, of a number of publications—variously printed in London and by the local printer Stephen Bulkeley (who moved his press between Newcastle and Gateshead).⁹⁹ In addition, London was the author of *The Civil Wars of France* (1655), which he dedicated to ‘the most ingenuous T. H. of Grays-Inne, Esquire’ for ‘the great affections I ow’,

of John London also names another of his sons as John) are mentioned in records relating to Gateshead’s ‘Four-and-Twenty’—the select vestry of St Mary’s Parish Church, essentially a governing body for the parish—and James Clephan takes this to be the bookseller William London. However, there is not any firm evidence to confirm that the bookseller William London is the same William mentioned in either John London’s will or the Gateshead records. See James Clephan, ‘William London, Newcastle Bookseller’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 11 (1886), pp. 227–28 (p. 228).

⁹⁷ *Extracts from Newcastle upon Tyne Council Minute Book, 1639–1656*, ed. by Madeleine Hope Dodds (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle upon Tyne Records Committee, 1920), pp. 110 and 137.

⁹⁸ William Gray, *Chorographia, or, A Survey of Newcastle upon Tine* (Newcastle, 1649), p. 12.

⁹⁹ See Margaret Schotte, “‘Books for the Use of the Learned and Studious’: William London’s *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books*”, *Book History*, 11 (2008), pp. 33–57 (p. 39).

as well as the *Catalogue* and its supplement.¹⁰⁰ His publishing activity with the metropolitan press, and his dedication of *The Civil Wars of France*, suggests he was relatively well connected with the capital.

William London was not the first to produce a general printed catalogue of vernacular books in England. In 1595, the London bookseller Andrew Maunsell published the first two parts of his *Catalogue of English Printed Bookes*; the first part was dedicated to ‘Divinitie’ and the second to ‘Mathematicall, Phisicall, and Chirurgicall’ books (including a sub-section dedicated to music publications).¹⁰¹ A promised third part, ‘Humanity’, was never completed. Maunsell explains his motives for producing the catalogue thus:

That men desirous of such kind of Bookes, cannot aske for that they neuer heard of, and the Booke-seller cannot shew that he hath not: I haue thought good in my poor estate to vndertake this most tire-some businesse [...] Thinking it as necessarie for the Booke-seller (considering the number and nature of them) to haue a Catalogue of our English Bookes: As the Apothecarie his *Dispensatorium*, or the Schoole-master his *Dictionarie*.¹⁰²

He clearly had potential book buyers in mind—the catalogue was, after all, a means of making visible to consumers the array of books on offer—but the *Catalogue* was envisaged primarily as a resource for the bookseller, especially, perhaps, those removed from the busy London centre of the print trade. William Jaggard’s *Catalogue of such English Bookes, as Lately haue bene, and now are in Printing for Publication* (1618) similarly appears to have been aimed at

¹⁰⁰ William London, *The Civil Wars of France* (London, 1655), sig. A4r.

¹⁰¹ Andrew Maunsell, *The Catalogue of English Printed Bookes* (London, 1595).

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, fol. 4r.

fellow stationers and booksellers, with books listed—within the broad categories of Divinity and History—principally by publisher rather than title or author; a method more of use to those in the trade than to consumers whose primary concerns in browsing books would more likely be by topic, title or, increasingly, author.¹⁰³

London's *Catalogue*, in many ways following these earlier precedents, also marked a departure. It was not only produced by a bookseller based far from the centre of the print trade (and in this sense was the first of its kind in England), but was seemingly created primarily with consumers, rather than booksellers, in mind. London's two dedicatory epistles were addressed directly to readers, and were followed by a lengthy essay on the 'Use of BOOKS', intended to set out the 'Value and Benefits of *Learning and Knowledge*'.¹⁰⁴ The first epistle, dedicated to the 'GENTRY, MINISTERS of the GOSPEL AND [...] TO THE *Wise, Learned and Studious* in the Northern Counties OF *Northumberland, B^{ppk} of Durham, Westmerland and Cumberland*', was addressed to the social group most likely to provide the bulk of his customers, while the expanse of the 'Northern Counties' outlined in his dedication effectively positions Newcastle—and thus London's shop—as a regional centre for trade across Northern England (both east and west).¹⁰⁵ The second epistle, dedicated to 'THE MOST CANDID AND INGENIOUS READER', along with the subsequent essay, however, addresses (and perhaps seeks to attract) a wider group of consumers, those 'whom

¹⁰³ William Jaggard, *A Catalogue of such English Bookes, as Lately haue bene, and now are in Printing for Publication* (London, 1618). See Schotte's discussion, "'Books for the Use of the Learned and Studious'", pp. 34–36 and also Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue: From the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800* (Cambridge: The Roxburghe Club, 1965), pp. 125–28.

¹⁰⁴ London, *Catalogue*, sig. C3^r.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. A3^r.

nature ha's adopted to be frank engrossers of all *learning*' but whose access to education, through birth or fortune, is 'stifled, and crush't in their ripe conceptions':¹⁰⁶ '*Learning*, is a thing confin'd, yet not limited,' he goes on, in egalitarian terms, 'for all may be sharers if they contend for it'.¹⁰⁷ The *Catalogue* was, in part, London's response to the proliferation of printed materials onto the market—'though there be a complaint that the world seems opprest with Books,' he writes, 'yet do we daily want them'¹⁰⁸—and in attempting to navigate this outpouring he sought to offer readers '*a Register of Books, which else may be buried with their Authors*' so that 'all [may] know what Books are daily *prest* for their service'.¹⁰⁹ For readers remote from the bookshops of London this '*Register of Books*' would be particularly useful, and it was indeed 'for the advantages of these Northern parts' that London claimed he originally devised the *Catalogue*—it was '*especially for the Meridian of these Counties for which it was calculated*'—although he also unabashedly asserted his hope for its usefulness to '*the Nation*' as a whole.¹¹⁰ It certainly caught the attention of readers beyond the North. In the 1663 edition of *Youths Behaviour*, the Jesuit writer Francis Hawkins (living much of his life on the continent) includes the following definition of 'Catalogue' in his appended glossary: 'a roule of names, or Register, a cataloguing of Books, which Mr. *Londan* Bookseller of *Newcastle*,

¹⁰⁶ London, *Catalogue*, sig. [B2^v] and [D^v].

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, sig. [C4^v].

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. B2^r.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, sigs. B2^r and [B2^v].

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, sigs. B2^r and C^r. London's 'Introduction to the Use of Books' was commemorated as late as 1808 as 'an excellent treatise [that] has never since accompanied any bookseller's catalogue' by Thomas Dibdin in the notes of his edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*. Thomas More, *Utopia*, ed. by Thomas Dibdin (London, 1808), p. 428.

hath published',¹¹¹ and extant copies of the *Catalogue* also appear in various London auction sale catalogues at the end of the century.¹¹²

It was with consumers in mind that London devised his method for listing works. Noting the '*general defect ... in Catalogues*' of listing books by a brief title description, which '*makes many good profitable Books strangers to the World*', London chose instead to provide lengthy descriptive titles: '*the Titles of all Books in this Catalogue*', he writes, '*are at large and so swell the boundary of such a Work*'.¹¹³ By listing works in this way, London intended that readers—especially those remote from the pleasures of browsing in the capital's bookshops—would '*have all books brought to you lying open*' as '*shops open'd in your studies*'.¹¹⁴ In all, 3,482 titles are listed in the 1657 edition with a further 425 titles in the supplement of 1660. Of the books listed, London claimed—in addition to his title page assertion that they were '*to be sold by the author at his shop in New-Castle*'—that he '*only take such as come in my way; I wade no further then I know I can with safety give an account*' and, mirroring Henry Playford's claim for music books some thirty years later, that all '*are to my own knowledg usually sold in most places of repute in the Country*'.¹¹⁵ Whether or not he actually stocked all of the books in his shop, however, has been treated with some caution. C. J. Hunt claims that if London was selling all the books listed, his was 'probably [...] the most extensive stock of any North of England bookseller

¹¹¹ Francis Hawkins, *Youths Behaviour* (London, 1663), sig. [E9^v].

¹¹² See for instance *Bibliotheca insignis* (London, 1693), p. 26; *Bibliotheca instructissima* (London, [1694]), p. 5; *A Catalogue Containing Variety of English Books* (London, 1686), p. 15; *A Catalogue of English Books* (London, 1690), p. 6.

¹¹³ London, *Catalogue*, sigs. C^r and [C^v].

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, sig. [C^v].

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, sig. C^r.

before the eighteenth century’ while Barnard and Bell similarly consider that ‘[i]f the titles listed in London’s *Catalogue*—excluding school books (over half of which were Divinity books)—‘really represented books he had in stock’ then he ‘operated on a larger scale than any other [seventeenth-century provincial bookseller] we have found’.¹¹⁶ It is of course conceivable that London could have enlarged his catalogue by drawing on the newly fashionable adverts placed at the end of books. Margaret Schotte’s survey of advertisements from a selection of publishers compared with London’s lengthy descriptive title listings, however, reveals variants in spelling and word order, as well as ‘substantially more detailed titles on London’s part’; for this reason, Schotte concludes, he ‘almost certainly had copies of the physical books’.¹¹⁷

In the preceding essay to his ‘*Register of Books*’, London outlines the various subjects he deems worthy of study in his economy of ‘knowledge and learning’.¹¹⁸ After establishing that ‘the Book of God’ must be set ‘above all’ he goes on to introduce history, poetry, law, physics, mathematics, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, astrology, optics, architecture, geography, mechanics, navigation, military, painting and heraldry, and music. Following convention, London outlines music’s position as a gentlemanly skill to be practised in moderation alongside other areas of learning and knowledge—‘Let a man be never so well qualified, with the laudable accomplishments of *Fencing, Dancing, Musick, &c*’, he writes, since ‘if *Learning* and *Knowledge* be not mixed, all other Embellishments are clouded, and prove as

¹¹⁶ Hunt, *The Book Trade in Northumberland and Durham to 1860*, p. 60 and Barnard and Bell, ‘The English Provinces’, p. 674.

¹¹⁷ Schotte, “Books for the Use of the Learned and Studious”, p. 38.

¹¹⁸ London, *Catalogue*, sig. [F3^v].

abortive'.¹¹⁹ He then goes on—implicitly drawing on the writings of, amongst others, Henry Peacham, Richard Brathwaite, and Robert Burton—to laud its divine, civilizing, and medicinal qualities.¹²⁰ Music is, he writes, '*the Loadstone of fellowship*', '*a roaring-megge against melancholy*', 'the daily Harmony of Saints and Angels' and, in moderation, '*the bodies best recreation*'. '[F]rom my own experience', he concludes, music 'conduces much to the exhilarating of the spirits'.¹²¹ Moving beyond the essay, London, like Maunsell and Jaggard, divides his *Catalogue* by subject. The 1657 edition lists works under the categories of 'Divinity', 'History', 'Physick and Chyrurgery', 'Common and Civil Law', 'Mathematicks', 'Romances, Poems and Playes', and 'Hebrew, Greek and Latin Bookes', and eighteen music-related publications are listed in the 1657 *Catalogue* spread across the 'Divinity' and 'Mathematicks' sections.

There are fifteen books listed in London's catalogue that contain music notation, and an additional three books containing psalm, hymn or song texts, and yet another book containing hymn texts listed in the 1660 supplement. All nineteen of these books have been listed in Table 3. The fifteen music books provide an up-to-date snapshot of contemporary printed music published in London for sale in Newcastle. Psalm books with music notation (either type-set or engraved) make up the largest single genre of music books in the catalogue with five titles published between 1621 and 1652. These are closely followed in

¹¹⁹ London, *Catalogue*, sig. E^r.

¹²⁰ London seemingly cites (without acknowledgement) from Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1622); Richard Brathwaite, *The English Gentleman* (London, 1630); Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621). While the works of Peacham and Brathwaite from which he appears to cite are included in the catalogue, Burton's popular *Anatomy of Melancholy* is, surprisingly, not listed.

¹²¹ London, *Catalogue*, sigs. H2^r–H3^r.

number by beginner instrumental books, and the genres of music theory, sacred song, secular song, consort music, and music for dancing are all represented. Ten of the titles listed were either published or sold primarily by John Playford, and this is a mostly well-rounded selection of the young publisher's ventures in the music book trade to date. Both Playford's *Introduction to the Skill of Music* and the *Dancing Master*, his most successful publications that saw numerous later editions, are listed along with his earliest instrumental tutor books *A Musicall Banquet* (1651), *A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithren & Gittern* (1652), and *Musicks Recreation on the Lyra Viol* (1652). Ensemble music is represented by *Court-Ayres* (1655) and single-composer collections by Matthew Locke's *Little Consort* and Henry Lawes's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653). Apart from this latter songbook, it is notable that secular song collections are missing from London's catalogue, including the multi-volume Playford anthology *Select Musicall Ayres & Dialogues* (1652, 1653) and multi-edition *Catch that Catch Can* (1652, 1658, etc.),¹²² as well as John Gamble's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1656) published by the author and printed incidentally by Playford's principal music printer William Godbid. The absence of keyboard music (*Parthenia* was reprinted in 1651 and 1655) and secular song in London's catalogue may suggest a male dominant clientele, catering for both musically literate amateurs and complete beginners. London certainly had a decent range of music books in stock, or at least had access to copies during his compilation of the catalogue. An analysis of the music book listings in London's catalogue with the books' full titles, their listings in Playford's own advertisements, and Playford's *A Catalogue of all the Musick-Bookes That have*

¹²² The third part of *A Musicall Banquet* does contain catches, but the majority of the book consists of instrumental music.

been Printed in England, either for Voyce or Instruments (1653),¹²³ adds weight to Schotte's argument that 'London was working primarily from books on his premises'.¹²⁴ As Table 4 demonstrates, there does not appear to be a connection between London's and Playford's catalogue, the latter of which is a single folio sheet listing music books printed between 1575 and 1653 that could easily have travelled from London to Newcastle.¹²⁵ Furthermore, there is little overlap of the words used between London's catalogue items and the corresponding book descriptions in Playford's advertisements, which the publisher printed in the majority of his publications. Many of London's descriptions have substantially more detail, similar to the full title pages, indicating that the Newcastle bookseller certainly had access to copies of Descartes's *Excellent Compendium of Musick* (1653), Playford's *A Musickall Banquet* (1651), Locke's *Little Consort* (1656), William Child's *Choise Musick to the Psalmes* (1656), Henry Lawes's *Ayres and Dialogues* (1653), and Playford's *Court-Ayres* (1655). It is surprisingly unclear if London possessed a copy of the *Dancing Master* from this analysis alone as London does

¹²³ British Library Bagford Collection Harl. 5936 No. 421. A facsimile of this catalogue is between pages 4 and 5 in Lenore Coral, 'A John Playford Advertisement', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 5 (1965), pp. 1–12. Also see William C. Smith, 'Playford: Some Hitherto Unnoticed Catalogues of Early Music', *The Musical Times*, 67 (1926), pp. 636–39 and pp. 701–4. This music catalogue was not the first: Robert Martin, the London bookseller who supplied Christopher Hatton with Italian prints, issued six printed catalogues between 1633 and 1650, of which five contain a list of Venetian music purchased from abroad probably aimed at readers. Krummel, 'Venetian Baroque Music in a London', pp. 1–27.

¹²⁴ Schotte, "Books for the Use of the Learned and Studious", p. 38.

¹²⁵ According to James Raven, many catalogues in London in the 1650s arrived in Newcastle by coastal ship. James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 61.

not name it by its title, but the popularity of the book, even at this early date, may have justified the lack of its full title.

The likelihood that London either stocked or had direct access to the music publications listed in his *Catalogue* is further supported by considering the evidence for a market for literate recreational music making amongst Newcastle's citizens. Music making is recorded amongst the town's mercantile elite from at least the mid-sixteenth century. Acts for the behaviour of apprentices entered into the Order Book of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle, for instance, attest to the Company's anxieties to curb what was perceived to be the anti-social, and perhaps morally suspect, musical activity of its apprentices. The 'Act for the Apperell of Appryntyses' entered in 1554 notes that 'neuer amonge apprentizes and Chiefelye of this said feoloshipe, hathe bene more abused and inconvenient behauour than ys of them at this daye frequented'; included in the long list of abuses is the 'vse of gittens by nyght'. Masters, the Act continues, are not to permit their apprentices to 'daunse. dyse. Carde. or mvm. or vse any gyttens'.¹²⁶ An updated version of the Act in 1603 ordered that no master or mistress should allow their apprentices 'to daunce, dice, carde, mum, or use anye musicke eyther by night or daye in the streetes', while in 1697 it was stipulated that 'noe apprentice, until he hath served seaven yeares, shall be permitted to goe to either fencing or danceings shooles, neither to any musicke houses, lottery, or play houses'.¹²⁷ The manuscript tune-book of Newcastle hostman Henry Atkinson (begun in

¹²⁶ Extract taken from *The Merchant Adventurers' Book of Orders*, TW: 988/1, fol. 27 (14 November 1554) and transcribed in *Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle upon Tyne*, ed. by J. J. Anderson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 24–25.

¹²⁷ Transcribed in *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, ed. by F. W. Dendy, Part II (Surtees Society, 101, 1899), pp. 22 and 25.

1694/5), which as we have seen contained music transcribed from Playford publications, provides further evidence of recreational music making amongst this social group—not least since it contains music transcribed by around eight copyists indicative that Atkinson was one of a community of active musicians—and the diary of the apprentice hostman Ralph Jackson demonstrates the continuity of such activity amongst Newcastle’s mercantile community well into the eighteenth century.

Wills and probate inventories also demonstrate the ownership of musical instruments amongst the town’s citizens. Pairs of virginals are recorded from at least the late-sixteenth century in the inventories of gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, hostmen, barber-surgeons, bakers and brewers and a cordwainer.¹²⁸ Viols appear in the inventories of the town’s gentlemen and lawyers, and the Gateshead apothecary John London owned two as well as a pair of virginals,¹²⁹ while violins are listed in the inventories of attorneys and a hostman.¹³⁰ Seventeenth-century coastal port books for Newcastle also reveal shipments of virginals from London (not to mention numerous shipments of paper, stationery wares, and

¹²⁸ See, for instance, Durham Probate Records: DPR/I/1/1587/J3/3-13; DPR/I/1/1596/G4/7-12; DPR/I/1/1660/S2; DPR/I/1/1667/C15; DPR/I/1/1668/D1; DPR/I/1/1673/B24/3; DPR/I/1/1685/B6; DPR/I/1/1686/M11; DPR/I/1/1665/L10; DPR/I/1/1664/R21; DPR/I/1/1669/M6; DPR/I/1/1664/A11; DPR/I/1/1676/S14; DPR/I/1/1678/R6; DPR/I/1/1680/H7; DPR/I/1/1676/F2; DPR/I/1/1670/Y2; DPR/I/1/1671/W30.

¹²⁹ See DPR/I/1/1665/B9; DPR/I/1/1665/L10; DPR/I/1/1680/O1; DPR/I/1/1685/B6; DPR/I/1/1671/W30.

¹³⁰ DPR/I/1/1686/M11; DPR/I/1/1674/H16; DPR/I/1/1690/B5.

books servicing the Newcastle stationery and book trade).¹³¹ Just as book ownership alone does not prove literacy, musical instrument ownership cannot be taken as absolute evidence for musical skill, let alone musical literacy, but given the status of the majority of owners we can expect that at least some would have perceived musical skill as socially desirable. The inclusion in Newcastle's parish registers of music teachers—such as William Smith (d. 1646), who is described as a 'musician' and 'virginals teacher', and Joseph Ells (active between at least 1656 and 1675) who gives his profession as 'music teacher'—moreover, implies some level of demand for tuition during the mid-seventeenth century.¹³²

That there was at least a sufficiently large musically literate audience in the town by the final decades of the seventeenth century is also suggested by the first publication including musical notation bearing the name of a Newcastle publisher—George Stuart's *A Joco-Serious Discourse in two Dialogues, between a Northumberland-Gentleman, and his Tenant a Scotchman, both old Cavaliers*—which was printed in 1686 for 'Benjamin Tooke, at the Ship in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and John Story, in New-castle'.¹³³ The *Discourse*, dedicated to Sir Henry Brabant, Mayor of Newcastle, is not primarily a music publication, but does contain the lyrics and music for four songs and the lyrics alone for a further three songs, two of which include the titles of popular tunes to which they were to be sung.¹³⁴ In the prefatory dialogue

¹³¹ The National Archives, E190/196/1: 1673–1674 (Coastal): 'inwards' entry for 5 January 1673/4 and E190/198/3: 1678–1679 (Coastal): 'inwards' entry for 8 October 1679.

¹³² Parish Registers of Newcastle, St Andrew's, 1597–1687 (William Smith died 29 May 1646). Parish Registers of Newcastle, All Saints' (Allhallows'), 1600–1687 (Joseph Ells's daughter was baptised in 1659).

¹³³ George Stuart, *A Joco-Serious Discourse in two Dialogues* (London, 1686).

¹³⁴ The tune given on pages 72–73 to the lyrics 'An, ta, ra, sounds the tow'ring Trumpets' is found in three contemporaneous keyboard manuscripts: GB-HAdolmetsch, II. e. 17, p. 63 (1680s); AY, D/DR10/6a, fols.

between the ‘CENSORIOUS READER’ and the author, the reader questions the use of ‘for the most part [...] old and Common Tunes’ to set Stuart’s lyrics; ‘Because I would have them readily Sung’, Stuart replies, ‘I have known many Witty and Loyal Songs lost, before Country People have found their Tunes’.¹³⁵ The decision to include notation for four of the seven songs is therefore interesting, since it would have required the services of a specialist printer, not to mention additional expense, and neither Tooke nor Story appear to have published any other books containing musical notation.¹³⁶ Its inclusion in a book co-published by a bookseller in Newcastle is indicative that by the 1680s booksellers outside London were able to access the specialism of type-set music printing (via the London presses) and, furthermore, that they thought it commercially viable to do so.

With the beginnings of newsprint in Newcastle in the second decade of the eighteenth century musical activity in the town—and especially the possibility of purchasing music and related stationery, instruments and accessories via local businesses—comes into much sharper focus. A 1712 edition of the *Newcastle Courant*, for instance, advertised not only a musical concert at ‘Mr. Harris’s Dancing-School in *Westgate* [...] *Newcastle*’, consisting of ‘*Opera-Tunes, Italian-Solio’s, Sonata’s, Overtures, &c.* upon the following Instruments, *viz. Spinett, Trumpet, Hautboy, Violins, Bass-Viols, Bassoon &c*’, but also the move to Newcastle of the

[3^v–4^r] (c. 1703–1706); Chog, M 1471, pp. 173–4 – apparently this is now at the British Library as part of the Christopher Hogwood estate but is still awaiting a MS number (1680s). We thank Andrew Woolley for bringing these concordances to our attention.

¹³⁵ Stuart, *A Joco-Serious*, sig. [A3^v].

¹³⁶ Tooke did later co-publish a dramatic text, including lyrics, with Henry Playford, though it did not contain notation.

instrument maker Ralph Agutter (who extensively advertised his services in the *Newcastle Courant* over the summer of 1712):

*Ralph Agutter, Musical-Instrument Maker of London, who makes and mends Instruments, as fine as any Man in Europe, who also changeth and selleth Old Instruments as well as New, at very reasonable Rates, is to be found at William Loggan's Whitesmith in the Great-Market in Newcastle upon Tine.*¹³⁷

Agutter, related to the Northumberland family of the Jenisons, had been long-active in London as well as Edinburgh, and, according to an advertisement in the *London Gazette* of 23 September 1695, also sold music: 'Twelve Sonatas, (newly come over from Rome,) in 3 parts, composed by Signeur Archangelo Corelli [...] are to be had fairly prick'd, from the true original, at Mr. Ralph Agutter's, Musical Instrument maker, over against York Buildings, in the Strand, London'.¹³⁸ Instrument makers were also likely conduits for music during the period (note the distribution of Playford's 1690 catalogue via a London instrument maker as well as booksellers), and the same was true in Newcastle, certainly by the eighteenth century if not earlier. The 1724 advert for the new premises of William Prior, who had been active since at least 1699, makes plain the range of musical wares available from his specialist shop:

¹³⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 19 May 1712, p. 4.

¹³⁸ See Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 199; Peter Holman, 'A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi: An Italian in Edinburgh and Dublin', in *Music in the British Provinces*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 61–86; advertisement cited in Roger North, *Memoirs of Music: Now First Printed from the Original MS. and Edited, with Copious Notes*, ed. by Edward F. Rimbault (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 129.

AT the sign of the Musical Instruments in the Side, Newcastle upon Tine, liveth Wm. Prior, lately removed from Gate-side, who makes and sells all Sorts of Musical and Mathematical Instruments, Musick, Books, Tunes and Songs, Bows, Bridges and Strings, and any Sort of Turn'd-work, at reasonable Rates: He also makes and sets Artificial Teeth so neatly, as not to be discovered from Natural ones.¹³⁹

General booksellers, too, however, continued to sell not only music, but also music stationery and instrument accessories, such as strings, as can be seen in a surviving bookplate (c. 1740) of the 'book-binder', James Fleming, who, situated like William London had been almost a hundred years earlier on the Tyne Bridge, was selling, amongst general books and stationery wares '*Paper-books*, Ruled or not Ruled [...] Musick-books of all sorts, [and] Fiddle-strings'.¹⁴⁰ That music, stationery, and instruments were widely available in Newcastle from both stationers and musical instrument dealers is also recorded in Ralph Jackson's diary in which he recalls buying paper 'for writing musick on' (March and April 1753) and 'a Psalm Book with the Tunes pricked to all the Psalms' (July 1752) from Robert Akenhead's shop and 'some Musick' from 'Mr Harthornes' (July 1756) as well as going with a friend to buy a German Flute from William Prior (May 1752).¹⁴¹ What London's *Catalogue* hints at for the

¹³⁹ *Newcastle Courant*, 1 February 1724, p. 11. Southey gives Prior as active from at least 1699, *Music-Making*, p. 220.

¹⁴⁰ William S. Mitchell, 'A Signed Binding by James Fleming, Newcastle, c. 1740', *The Library*, 5th series, 15/1 (1960), pp. 58–60 (p. 59).

¹⁴¹ See Ralph Jackson's diary, (Book D), Newcastle, May 1752–October 1752 and (Book E), Newcastle, November 1752–August 1753 and March 1756–August 1756.

seventeenth century, eighteenth-century local newsprint, and the survival of Jackson's diary, confirms for the eighteenth: fashionable musical culture—including printed music—was readily available to consumers in Newcastle via local booksellers, stationers, and instrument dealers.

Conclusion

While printed music represented only a small proportion of the English print trade in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its audience was limited to those with specialist musical knowledge and the financial means to purchase it, the evidence presented here suggests that it was nevertheless disseminated widely beyond the capital to a relatively diverse audience. Means for acquiring, or accessing, printed music were multifarious for those living beyond the reach of the London book trade: engaging in exchange and copying activity; relying on family, friends and agents with London connections; accessing music via music tutors or professional copyists; or perhaps on occasion dealing directly with London suppliers. At least some printed music, and music stationery, was also available via the burgeoning regional book trade. The nature of the probate inventories of booksellers' stock, the main source of evidence for the presence of music in the regional book trade, is, however, fragmentary; surviving inventories vary greatly in terms of geographical and temporal spread and the level of detail provided. Such inventories—even when providing descriptions of the majority of stock—only ever give a snapshot of individual booksellers' stock at a particular moment in time and are unable to reveal whether what was stocked was due to perceived demand and popularity or slow sale, nor can they illuminate the extent to which consumers might have acquired specialist print such as music via local booksellers on request—assuming they had access to catalogues such as Maunsell's, Playford's, or

London's—rather than directly from their stock. Examples such as Corbett, Ward, and Foster, however, clearly demonstrate the availability of printed music via provincial booksellers from the late sixteenth century and at least some perception, therefore, of demand amongst their customers.

London's *Catalogue* provides further evidence of the perceived market for, and likely sale of, printed music in the English regions during the seventeenth century. Conceived as a 'Register of Books' for print consumers, especially those as remote from London as northern England, the *Catalogue* is representative of what one provincial bookseller believed to be of interest to his readers and potential customers. The lengthy title descriptions—beyond anything he would have found by simply relying on book advertisements or printed catalogues—also suggests that it was highly likely that London stocked the books he listed, or, at the least, the books listed had passed through his shop during the compilation of the *Catalogue*. London's business was seemingly extensive, but it was not entirely exceptional for seventeenth-century Newcastle, which had an established and sustained book trade from at least the late sixteenth century and was, as Barnard and Bell have suggested, probably on a scale comparable to York.¹⁴² The extent of Newcastle's book trade becomes ever more apparent with the beginnings of newsprint in the early eighteenth century. As Helen Berry observes, advertisements from the 'earliest issues of the [Newcastle] *Courant*' act as 'a reminder of the early flourishing of the book trade in the North East'; indeed, the 'highly developed network of booksellers in the North East facilitated the rapid distribution of fashionable literature emanating from London' reflecting 'both high demand and ease of

¹⁴² Barnard and Bell, 'The English Provinces', p. 672.

purchase'.¹⁴³ Printed music—and fashionable musical culture more broadly—was part of this distribution network, and it is clear from London's *Catalogue* that perceived demand and ready accessibility were established by at least the mid-seventeenth century. While the 'explosion' of provincial bookselling may be an 'eighteenth-century ... phenomenon', it seems likely—certainly in the case of Newcastle—that the thinner nature of evidence for the seventeenth century obscures the extent to which there were also strong elements of continuity in the development of the book trade, and the place of printed music within it, from the seventeenth into the eighteenth centuries.

¹⁴³ Helen Berry, 'Promoting Taste in the Provincial Press: National and Local Culture in Eighteenth-Century Newcastle upon Tyne', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 25 (2002), pp. 1–17 (p. 7).

Table 1. Musical References in John Foster's 1616 Inventory

Item	Identification	Notes
'two psalmes in four parts'		various editions up to 1616.
'Two Settes of Allison's'	Richard Alison, <i>An Howres Recreation in Musicke, apt for Instrumentes and Voyces</i> (London: John Windet assignee of William Barley, 1606)	
'five singinge of psalmes in 16'		various editions up to 1616.
'One Courtmantian with old prick songes in yt'		
'One Pilgrims Solace'	John Dowland, <i>A Pilgrimes Solace</i> (London: [by Thomas Snodham] for M[atthew] L[ownes] I[ohn] B[rome] and T[homas] S[nodham] by the Assignment of William Barley, 1612)	
'One Downehams first booke'	John Dowland, <i>The First Booke of Songes or Ayres</i> (London: Peter Short, 1597)	Further editions in 1600 (Short), 1603 (Thomas Adams for E[mma] Short), 1606 (Humphrey Lownes) and 1613 (Humphrey Lownes) - it is unknown which specific edition was in Foster's stock.
'Three Settes of Eastes'	Michael East, <i>Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. Parts: Apt for Viols and Voices</i> (London: Thomas Este, 1604); and/or <i>The Second set of Madrigales to 3. 4. and 5. parts: apt for Viols and Voices</i> (London: John Windet, assignee of William Barley, 1606); and/or <i>The Third Set of Bookes: VVherein are Pastorals, Anthemes, Neopolitanes, Fancies, and Madrigales, to 5. and 6. Parts: Apt both for Viols and Voyces</i> (London: Thomas Snodham, 1610)	Unclear if listing refers to all three editions or three copies of one edition.

'One Sett of Gombartes'

Numerous Venice editions
1539-1550 of Nicolas Gombert
from the presses of Scotto and
Gardano.

'Two Settes of Ittalian Songes'

'One Wilkes first set'

Thomas Weelkes, *Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. Voyces*. (London: Thomas Este, 1597)

Probably the first edition, but
may refer to *Balletts and Madrigals
to Five Voyces, with One to 6.
Voyces* (London: Thomas Este,
1598; reprint 1608); *Madrigals of
5. and 6. Parts, Apt for the Viols
and Voices*. (London: Thomas
Este, 1600); or *Ayeres or
Phantasticke Spirites for Three
Voices* (London: [John Windet
for] William Barley, 1608).

'One Youles of three partes'

Henry Youll, *Canzonets to Three Voyces*
(London: Thomas Este, assignee of William Barley, 1608)

'With five of other sorts'

Under the heading 'Sticht
Bookes in folio. Musick.'

Sources: Robert Davies, *A Memoir of The York Press, with Notices of Authors, Printers, and Stationers, in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (Westminster, 1868), pp. 342–74; John Barnard and Maureen Bell, *The Early Seventeenth-Century York Book Trade and John Foster's Inventory of 1616* (Leeds: Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 1994), pp. 55 [79]–95 [119].

Table 2. Provincial Booksellers and References to Music Stock, 1500-1700¹

Bookseller	Location	Known Trading Years	Type of Source	Year of Source	Musical References	Notes
<i>Booksellers in England, outside London</i>						
John Denys	Cambridge	-1565–1578	inventory	1578	Item 30: ‘42 singinge psalmes alone’	523 entries, some with multiple copies. Numerous psalm books listed. Item 465 records ‘2 queris of paper ruled’.
Roger Ward ²	[Shrewsbury]	?1575–?1597	inventory	1585	Item 101: ‘i lutinge booke’ Item 102: ‘i Sitherne booke ruled’ Item 245: ‘i pomander with singinge sphalmes’ Item 299: ‘Songes and sonettes’ Item 364: ‘Songes and sonettes’ Item 365: ‘6 Sorofull songes for sinful sowles’	Ward was a London printer who appears to have had a shop in Shrewsbury. 520 items listed, many with multiple copies. Inventory is torn or badly worn in places. Numerous psalm books listed. The ‘lutinge booke’ may be one of the two Le Roy books published in England or John Alde in 1565/6 <i>The Sequence of Lutynges</i> . The ‘Sitherne booke rules’ is almost certainly manuscript ruled paper bound to use for notating cittern music due to the specific staves required for cittern tab. ‘Songes and sonettes’ (Items 299 and 364) probably refer to Richard Tottel, <i>Songs and Sonnets</i> (1559, 1565, 1567, 1574, 1585), which contains no music but the lyrics were commonly set to music. The ‘sorroful songes’ and ‘handfull of honeysuckles’ are probably both parts of William

¹ Other booksellers for whom there is no clear evidence of having music-related books in stock: John Dorne (Oxford, 1520), Thomas Gilbert (Norwich, 1693), John Browne (Manchester, 1612), William Bowdler (Gateshead, 1619), Thomas James (Norwich, 1629), John Allen (Leicester, 1638) and John Awdley (Hull, 1644).

² Alexander Roger, ‘Roger Ward’s Shrewsbury Stock’, *The Library*, 5th ser., 13 (1958), pp. 247–68. A full transcription of the inventory is given on pp. 250–62.

					Item 366: '2 handfull of honeysuckles' Item 508: 'i Singinge sphalmes [sic] gylte' Item 539: 'i boxe for ballates'	Hunnis, <i>Seven Sobs of a Sorronfull Soule for Sinne</i> (London, 1583; or 1585). The 'box for ballates' may refer to ballads, but it is listed with equipment.
Bennet Walker ³	Cambridge	?1566–1588	inventory	1588	Item 71: 'Seaven Sobbes'	116 items listed, some with multiple copies. Only three folios of the inventory survives. Numerous psalm books listed. Hunnis, <i>Seven Sobs</i> (1583; 1585; or 1587).
Reginold Bridges ⁴	Cambridge	1590	inventory	1590	Item 146: '2 Singing psalmes 16o'	300 items listed, all by name except for the odd one such as '14 Dozen of old books'. Numerous psalm books listed.
Michael Hart ⁵	Exeter	1593–1615	inventory	1615	Item 80: '4 unperfitt & one perfit psalmes in quiers'	4,500 books listed worth just over £100, only 30 listed by identifiable titles. Similar in scale to John Foster (York, 1616). Hart was the son of a shoemaker in Exeter and was an apprentice to a stationer in London. Only other psalms listed are '1 parcell of psalmes & geneoligy' (Item 50).
John Foster	York	-1607–1616	inventory	1616	19 music books listed	see Table 1

³ George J. Gray and William Mortlock Palmer, *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Printers, Binders and Stationers of Cambridge from 1504 to 1699* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1915), pp. 72–76.

⁴ *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, ed. by Leedham-Green, I, pp. 484–92.

⁵ Ian Maxted, 'A Common Culture?: The Inventory of Michael Harte, Bookseller of Exeter, 1615', in *Devon Documents in Honour of Margery Rowe*, ed. by Todd Gray (Tiverton, 1996), pp. 119–28.

William Corbett ⁶	Newcastle	-1626	inventory	1626	Item 28 (in east shop): 'For psalmes in foure partes'	100 entries listed for the east shop, and 54 entries for the west shop. Majority are listed by title, and many have multiple copies. Numerous psalm books listed.
Robert Booth ⁷	Warrington	-1648	inventory	1648		239 separate books and tracts, the majority listed by title and with multiple copies, as well as entries such as '38 Ould Bookes severally prized'. Numerous psalm books listed, and 'Ruled paper' (Item 160).
Richard Mountford ⁸	Warwick	1640–1677	inventory	1677		233 volumes listed, few with titles, including 'eleven Psalters', 'some other smal bookes' and 'old bookes'. Total value of shop stock including 'wax, pencils, pastbord, parchment, shop bookes and lumber', £5 15s. 11d.
Roger Williams ⁹	Hereford	1695–1707	inventory	1695	Item 122: 'Barton Himms'	272 volumes in inventory, with 173 titles, valued at £27 13s. 7d. William Barton, <i>A Century of Select Hymns</i> (London, 1659), or <i>Two Centuries of Hymns and Spiritual Songs</i> (London, 1670); both of which contain hymn texts but no musical notation.

Booksellers in Scotland

Thomas Bassadyne ¹⁰	Edinburgh	1577	inventory	1577	'tua Lute bukes' (iiiiis a piece)	140 items listed, many with multiple copies. Numerous psalm books listed. Possibly Adrian Le Roy, <i>A Brief and Easy Instru[c]tion to Learne the</i>
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⁶ *William Corbett's Bookshop*, <<https://corbettsbookshop.omeka.net>> [last accessed 12 February 2016].

⁷ W. H. Rylands, 'Booksellers and Stationers in Warrington, 1639 to 1657, with the Full List of the Contents of a Stationer's Shop There in 1647', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 37 (1888), pp. 67–115.

⁸ P. Morgan, 'The Warwick Bookseller: Richard Mountford, 1677', in *The Past in Warwick: Tudors to Victorians*, ed. by N. Alcock (Coventry, 1955), pp. 31–35.

⁹ F. C. Morgan, 'A Hereford Bookseller's Catalogue of 1695', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 31 (1942), pp. 22–36.

¹⁰ F. S. Ferguson, 'Relations between London and Edinburgh Printers and Stationers (-1640)', *The Library*, 4th ser., 8 (1927), pp. 145–77, (p. 167). A full transcription is available in *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, ed. by W. Scott, D. Laing and T. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1836), II, pp. 191–204.

						<i>Tablature vnto the Lute</i> (1568), or <i>A Brieffe or Plaine Instruction to set all Musicke of Eight Diuers Tunes in Tablature for Lute</i> (1574).
John Ross ¹¹	Edinburgh	1574– 1580	inventory	1580	‘twentie-sevin Psalme buikis with noittis, half bund half vnbund’	Printer and bookbinder. 21 items (including bookbinding equipment) listed, mostly with multiple copies. Numerous psalm books listed, including ‘thre hundreth litill Psalme buikis, vnbund’.
Robert Gourlaw ¹²	Edinburgh	1583–5	inventory	1585	‘Sevin Sobbis’ ‘buik of Ballattis, blak, tua’	240 items listed, some with multiple copies. Numerous psalm books listed. Hunnis, <i>Seven Sobs</i> (1583; or 1585).
Henry Charteris ¹³	Edinburgh	1568– 1599	inventory	1606		Printer and bookseller. 42 items listed including ‘certane printed paperis’, many with multiple copies. Numerous psalm books listed, including ‘Psalmes, quhairof iij ^c xx prented at Londoun’.

¹¹ Ibid., II, pp. 204–7.

¹² Ibid., II, pp. 209–17.

¹³ Ibid., II, pp. 223–39.

Table 3. Music-related books listed in William London's *Catalogue*

sig.	Catalogue listing	Publication	Publication details	Notes
William London, <i>Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England</i> (London, 1657)				
L2	Mr Barton. A Book of Psalms in metre, close and proper to the Hebrew, plain and easie to the times; with musicall Notes, Arguments, Annotations and Index. 12o.	William Barton, <i>The Book of Psalms in Metre [...] Plain and Easie for the Tunes. With Musicall Notes.</i>	London, Printed by Matthew Simmons, for the Companie of Stationers, 1644	further editions 1645-1654. Possibly the 1644 publication as this has 'plain and easie for the tunes' in the title, which is absent in other editions. Includes type-set printed music of psalms.
L2	Book of Psalms: with the Hymns Evangeiicall and Song Spirituall, composed into 4 Parts by sundry Persons, with such severall Tunes as have been and are usually sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France and Netherlands. 8o.	Thomas Ravenscroft, <i>The Whole Booke of Psalmes with the Hymnes Euangelicall, and Songs Spirituall Composed into 4. Parts by Sundry Authors, to such Seuerall Tunes, as haue beene, and are vsually Sung in England, Scotland, Wales, Germany, Italy, France, and the Nether-lands</i>	Printed at London: For the Company of Stationers, 1621.	
[M4]	Dr Featlies [...] Ancilla pietatis, or the Handmaid to private devotion, containing Instructions, Hymnes, and Prayers, fitted to the daies of the week, and Feasts, and Fasts of the Church. 12o.	Daniel Featley, <i>Ancilla Pietatis, or The Handmaid to Private Devotion</i>	London, Printed by Will: Hunt for Nicolas Bourne, and are to be sold by Tho: Eglesfield, at the Brazen Serpent in St Pauls Churchyard, 1656.	hymn texts only. 8 editions pre-1676; closest editions to London catalogue date are 1640 and 1656.

[O3v]	Bp King [...] The Psalms of David in Meter. 12o.	Henry King, <i>The Psalms of David from the New Translation of the Bible, turned into Metre, to be Sung after the Old Tunes used in Churches</i>	London, Printed by S.G. and are to be sold by Humphrey Moseley, at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1651.	or new edition 1654. type-set notation at end of book.
[O4]	Psalterium Carolinum, the Devotions of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings rendered in verse, set for Three Voices, and an Organ, or Theorb by Dr Wilson, Musick Professor of Oxford. folio.	John Wilson, <i>Psalterium Carolinum. The Devotions of His Sacred Majestie in his Solitudes and Sufferings, Rendred in Verse. Set to Musicke for 3 Voices and an Organ, or Theorbo</i>	London, Printed for John Martin and James Allestrey, and are to be sold at the Bell in St. Pauls Church-yard, 1657.	
[Q3v]	Mr Rouse [...] David's Psalms in Meter In 8o. 24o.	Francis Rouse, <i>The Psalmes of David in English Meetre</i>	London: Printed by James Young, for Philip Nevill, at the signe of the Gun in Ivie-lane. 1643.	psalm texts only
[R2v]	Dr Sclator [...] The Psalms of David in four Languages, and four Parts, set to the Tunes of our Church. 8o.	William Slater, <i>The Psalms of David, in Fowre Languages, Hebrew, Greeke, Latin, and English, and in 4 parts, set to the Tunes of Our Church, with Corrections</i>	London, Printed by Peter Stent at the white house in Guilds[?], [1652].	this is a second edition; date of original edition unknown. engraved music and text
Dd4	M. Descartes. An excellent compendium of musick, with necessary and judicious animadversions thereupon, by a person of honour illustrated with figures. 4o.	Renatus Des-Cartes, <i>Excellent Compendium of Musick</i>	London, Printed by Thomas Harper, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to bee sold at his shop at the signe of the Princes Armes in S. Pauls Church-Yard, and by Thomas Heath in Coven [sic] Garden., 1653.	

Dd4	A musicall banquet, set forth in three choice varieties of musick. 4o.	John Playford, <i>A Musicall Banquet</i>	London, Printed by T.H. for John Benson, and John Playford, and are to be sold at their Shops in Dunstons Church-Yard, and in the Inner Temple, neare the Church Doore, 1651.	
Dd4	A brief introduction to skil of Musick by song or voyall. 8o.	John Playford, <i>A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>	London Printed 1654 Sould by Jo: Playford at his shop in the Inner Temple	the second edition, published in 1655, was entitled <i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick</i>
[Dd4v]	Mr Dock. His little consort of three parts, containing, Pavans, Ayres, Corants, and Sarabrands for Voyalls or Voyalins, in two varities, the first 20. for too Trebles and a Basse, the last 20. for Treble, Tenour, and Base, to be performed alone, or with Theorbo's and Harpsicon. 4o.	Matthew Locke, <i>Little Consort of Three Parts</i>	London, Printed by W. Godbid for John Playford, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Inner-Temple in Fleetstreet, 1656.	
[Dd4v]	Mr Child. Choice Musick to the Psalms of David, for three voices with a continuall Basse, either for Organ or Theorbo. 8o.	William Child, <i>Choise Musick to the Psalmes of David</i>	London Printed for John Playford and are to bee sold at his shopp in the Inner Temple 1656.	
[Dd4v]	A Book of Dancing, in plain rules for country dances, with tunes to each dance, with tunes for French corants, with pleasant tunes for Treble-Violin, for beginners. 8o.	John Playford, <i>The Dancing Master</i>	London, Printed for John Playford at his shop in the Inner Temple near the Church Door. 1653.	this is the first edition to include 'to be playd on the Treble Violin' on the title page.

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| [Dd4v] Musick Recreation, or choice tunes for the lyra voyall. 4o. | John Playford, <i>Musicks Recreation: on the Lyra Viol</i> | London, Printed for John Playford, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Inner Temple, 1652. | |
| [Dd4v] Ayres and Dialogues, for one two or three voices, by Mr Lawes, servant to his late Majesty in his pub. and private Musick. folio. | Henry Lawes, <i>Ayres and Dialogues</i> [...] <i>The First Booke</i> | London, Printed by T.H. for John Playford, and are to be sold at his Shop, in the Inner Temple, near the Church door, 1653. | |
| [Dd4v] New and choice tunes for the Cittern, with lessons for Gittern, &c. 4o. | John Playford, <i>A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern & Gittern</i> | London, Printed by T.H. for John Benson and John Playford, and to be sold ar their Shops, in St. Dunstans Church-Yard, and in the Inner Temple, near the Church Doore. 1652. | |
| [Dd4v] Court aires; Or Pavins, Almains, Corants and Sarabands of two parts; Treble and Base, for voials or Vyolins in consort, to the Theorbo, Lute or Virginals. 4o. | John Playford, <i>Court-Ayres</i> | London, Printed for John Playford, at his Shop in the Temple, 1655. | |
| [Ee4v] Mr Curews Poems, with a masque. 8o. | Thomas Carew, <i>Poems with a Maske</i> [...] <i>The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes Gent: of the Kings Chappell, and One of His Late Majesties Private Musick.</i> | London: printed for Humphrey Moseley and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Princes Armes in St. Pauls-Church-yard, 1651. | song texts only, no notation |
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William London, *A Catalogue of New Books, By way of Supplement to the former* (London, 1660)

[A4]	Mr Barton, a Century of select Hymns, collected out of Scripture, to be sung in five or six Tunes, commonly known and practised. 12o.	<i>William Barton, A Century Of Select Hymns. Collected out of Scripture. All to be Sung in Five or Six Tunes commonly known and practized.</i>	London, Printed by T.R. for Francis Eglesfield, and Thomas Underhill, in S. Pauls Church-yard, and Francis Tyson at the three daggers near the Temple in Fleetstreet., 1659.	hymn texts only
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Table 4. Comparison of items listed in London's catalogue with Playford's advertisements and full title-page details

William London, <i>A Catalogue</i> (1657)	John Playford's advertisements in books (-1658)	Full Publication Titles
<p>M. Descartes. An excellent compendium of musick, with necessary and judicious animadversions thereupon, by a person of honour illustrated with figures. 4o.</p>	<p>'Renartes DesCartes his <u>Compendium of Musick</u> in English.' (advertised in 1653 catalogue only)</p>	<p>Renatus Des-Cartes Excellent Compendium of Musick: with Necessary and Judicious Animadversions Thereupon. By a Person of Honour. London, Printed by Thomas Harper, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to bee sold at his Shop at the Signe of the Princes Armes in S. Pauls Church-Yard, and by Thomas Heath in Coven Garden. 1653.</p>
<p>A musicall banquet, set forth in three choice varieties of musick. 4o.</p>	<p>'<u>A Musicall Banquet</u> Containing <u>three</u> severall varieties of <u>Musick...</u>' in <i>Musick and Mirth</i> (1651), otherwise '<u>A Banquet of Musick, set forth in three</u> severall varieties of Musick' (<i>Second Book of Ayres and Dialogues</i>, 1655)</p>	<p>A Musicall Banquet, Set forth in three choice Varieties of MVSICK. The first Part presents you with Excellent new Lessons for the Lira Viol, set to severall New Tunings. The second a Collection of New and Choyce Allmans, Corants, and Sarabands for one Treble and Basse Viol, composed by Mr. William Lawes, and other Excellent Authours. The third Part containes New and Choyce Catches or Rounds for three or foure Voyces. To which is added some few Rules and Directions for such as learne to sing, or to play on the Viol. LONDON, Printed by T.H. for John Benson, and John Playford, and are to be sold at their Shops in Dunstans Church-Yard, and in the Inner Temple, neare the Church Doore, 1651.</p>
<p>A brief introduction to skil of Musick by song or voyall. 8o.</p>	<p><u>A brief Introduction to the skill of Musick</u>, for <u>Song</u> and <u>Violl</u>, by J.P.' in <i>Introduction</i> advert 1654. 1655 onwards 'An <u>Introduction to the skill of Musick for Song and Violl...</u>' or '<u>A New Introduction to the Skill of Musick</u>' or '<u>An Introduction to the skill of Musick</u>, Vocal and Instrumental'.</p>	<p>A Breefe Introduction to the Skill of Musick for Song & Violl by JP. London Printed 1654. Sould by Jo: Playford at his shop in the Inner Temple.</p>
<p><u>Mr Dock</u>. [<i>sic</i>] His little consort of three parts, containing, Pavans, Ayres, Corants, and Sarabands for Voyalls or Voyalins, in two varities, the first 20. for too Trebles and a Basse, the last 20. for Treble, Tenour, and Base, to be performed alone, or with Theorbo's and Harpsicon. 4o.</p>	<p>'<u>Mr Matthew Lock his Little consort of Three parts for Two Trebles and a Bass, for Viols or Violins</u>' (<i>Ayres and Dialogues</i>, 1658) or '<u>Mr Matthew Lock his Little Consort of Three parts, Pavans, Almains, Corants and Sarabands, for Two Trebles and a Bass, for Viols or Violins</u>' (<i>Select Ayres and Dialogues</i>, 1659 and onwards).</p>	<p>MATTHEW LOCKE HIS LITTLE CONSORT OF THREE PARTS: CONTAINING PAVANS, AYRES, CORANTS and SARABANDS, for Viols or Violins. In two severall Varieties: The first 20 are for Two Trebles and a Basse: The last 20 for Treble, Tenor & Basse. To be performed either alone or with THEORBO'S and HARPSECORD. TREBLE and TENOR. LONDON, Printed by W. GODBID for JOHN PLAYFORD, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Inner-Temple in Fleetstreet, 1656.</p>
<p><u>Mr Child</u>. Choice Musick to the Psalmes of David, for three voices with a continuall Basse, either for Organ or Theorbo. 8o.</p>	<p>Playford always refers to this publication in his advertisements as '<u>Mr. William Child's Set of Psalmes for three voyces</u>'</p>	<p>Choice Musick to the Psalmes of Daud for Three Voices with a continuall Base either for the Organ or Theorbo Composed by William Child Batchelor in Musick and Organist of Windsor. London Printed for John Playford and are to bee sold at his shop in the Inner Temple 1656.</p>
<p>A Book of Dancing, in plain rules for country dances, with tunes to each dance, with tunes for French corants, with pleasant tunes for Treble-Violin, for beginners. 8o.</p>	<p>'A New Book, Entitled, the <u>Dancing Master</u>, or <u>plain</u> and easie <u>Rules for the Dancing of Countrey Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance</u>, to be played on the <u>Treble Violin</u>' (catalogue, 1653), otherwise 'The English <u>Dancing Master...</u>' or 'The <u>Dancing Master</u>, or <u>plain</u> and easie <u>Rules for the Dancing of Country Dances</u>'.</p>	<p>The Dancing Master: or, plain and easie Rules for the Dancing of Country-Dances, with the Tunes to each Dance. To which is added the Tunes of the most usual French Dances. And also other New and Pleasant English Tunes for the Treble-Violin. London, printed by W.G. and are sold by J. Playford and Z. Watkins at their shop in the Temple, 1657</p>

Musicks Recreation, or choice tunes for the lyra voyall. 4o.

'Musicks Recreation, or choice Lessons for the Lyra Violl to severall new tunings' (1653 catalogue), otherwise 'Musicks Recreation, or a choice Collection of Excellent Lessons for the Lyra Violl'/'Musicks Recreation containing 117 Choice Lessons for the Lone Lyra Violl'

Musicks Recreation: ON THE LYRA VIOL. Being a **choice** Collection of New and Excellent Lessons **for the Lyra Viol**, both easie and delightfull for all yong Practitioners. To which is added some few plain Directions as a Guide for Beginners. London, Printed for John Playford, and are to be sold at his Shop in the Inner Temple, 165[2]

Ayres and Dialogues, for one two or three voices, by Mr Lawes, servant to his late Majesty in his pub. and private Musick. folio.

'A Book of Ayres and Dialogues for 1, 2, and 3 Voyces, by Mr. Henry Lawes' (catalogue 1653), otherwise 'The first Book of Ayres and Dialogues in fol. For 1 2 and 3. Voyces, by Mr. Henry Lawes'

AYRES AND DIALOGUES, For One, Two, and Three Voyces. BY HENRY LAWES Servant to his late Matie in his publick and private Musick. The First Booke. LONDON, Printed by T.H. for John Playford, and are to be sold at his Shop, in the Inner Temple, near the Church door. 1653.

New and choice tunes for the Cittern, with lessons for Gittern, &c. 4o.

'A New Booke of Lessons and Instruction for the Cithern, and Gittern' (1653 catalogue), otherwise 'Also a New Booke of plaine and easie Instructions, and Lessons for the Citharen'

A Booke of **New Lessons FOR THE CITHREN & GITTERN** Containing many New and Excellent **Tunes**, both easie and Delightfull to the Practitioner; With plain and easie Instructions, teaching the right use of the hand, and the perfect tuning of both Instruments, never before Printed. Loudon, Printed by T. H. for John Benson and John Playford, and to be sold at their shops, in St. Dunstans Church-Yard, and in the Inner Temple, [near the church door, 1652]

Court aires; Or Pavins, Almains, Corants and Sarabands of two parts; Treble and Base, for voials or Vyolins in consort, to the Theorbo, Lute or Virginals. 4o.

'Court Ayres, containing Almains, Ayres, Corants, and Sarabands, for two parts, for a Treble and Basse Violl or Violin, never before Printed' (1655 *Introduction*); also 'Court Ayres, of 2 Parts, containing Pavans, Almains, Ayrs, Corants, and Sarabands, for a Treble and Basse Viol or Violin, to be performed in consort to the Theorbo, Lute or Virginall' (1655, *Ayres & Dialogues*)

COURT-AYRES: OR, Pavins, Almains, Corant's, and Sarabands, of two parts, TREBLE & BASSE, for VIOLS or VIOLINS. Which may be performed in Consort to the Theorbo Lute, or Virginals. BASSE. LONDON, Printed for John Playford, at his Shop in the Temple, 1655.
