The trumpet in Scotland from 1488 to 1800

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http://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21954/ou.ro.0000e281

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THE TRUMPET IN SCOTLAND FROM 1488 TO 1800

BY

ALEXANDER McGRATTAN B.Mus.(Hons.), ARCM

VOLUME 2

SUBMITTED TO THE OPEN UNIVERSITY IN CANDIDATURE FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

JANUARY, 1999

AUTHOR'S NO : M79155576
DATE OF SUBMISSION: 29 JANUARY 1999
DATE OF AWARD: 28 MAY 1999
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Chapter 2

INSTRUMENTS

Nomenclature

Trumpet

Various terms deriving from the words 'trompe' or 'trump' were used during the Middle Ages to denote metal lip-vibrated instruments. The English word 'trumpet' derives from the French 'trompette', the diminutive of 'trompe'. Literary and archival sources from the Middle Ages often distinguish between 'trompes' and 'trompettes'.

Iconographical evidence suggests that, prior to the late fourteenth century, straight trumpets of two distinct lengths were commonly used. Etymologically, it would appear that when 'trompes' and 'trompettes' were paired together, the latter denoted the shorter instruments. As Baines notes, however, these terms gradually became analogous, and the shorter instrument was more often referred to as a 'clarion' (see below).1

Tarr states that in England and France the word 'trompe' often referred to a hunting horn.2 In his Scots translation of Virgil's Aeneid (c. 1513), Gavin Douglas refers to a variety of brass instruments. Although the translation from the Latin is relatively free, words such as 'tuba' and 'tubarum' normally appear as 'trumpet' or 'trumpettis',3 whereas those deriving from 'concha' and 'cornua' are translated as 'trump' or 'trumpis'.4

In his Dictionarie of 1611 Cotgrave defines 'Trompe' as 'A Trump or Trumpet; also, a writhe, and brazen Hunter's horn'.5 The words 'tréume' and 'trumbis' appear in entries

1Baines, 1993, p. 87.
2Tarr, 1988, p. 42.
5Dart, 1968, p. 74.
in the Treasurer's accounts of the Scottish royal court for February 1548/9. The entries are cited in *The Oxford English Dictionary* as variants of 'trump'. The glossary to the published volume of Treasurer's accounts defines the terms as 'drum' and 'drums' respectively. From the sixteenth century onwards the word 'trump' in Scots often referred to the Jews' harp.

By the reign of James IV the word 'trumpat' was normally used in the court records both to denote a trumpeter and the instrument, which by the late fifteenth century had assumed its twice-folded format that was to remain standard throughout the period covered by this study. The customary Scots plural ending -is gave the word 'trumpatis'. From the 1530s onwards the term 'trumpetour' (plural, 'trumpetouris') was often used to denote a trumpeter. By the last quarter of the sixteenth century the English word 'trumpet' appears more often, but the earlier terminology is still encountered in seventeenth-century sources. After the removal of the royal court to London, English began to replace Scots in official documents. The Scots terminology survived in less formal writing, however, as seen in the diary of the Edinburgh lawyer John Nicoll. During the eighteenth century, English replaced Scots as the principal written language in Scotland.

*Clarion*

'Clarion' is one of several words deriving from the Latin 'clarus' which was used from the twelfth century onwards to designate a trumpet or a trumpet call. The term 'clarion', or one of its variants, sometimes appear as a substitute for 'trumpet'. More commonly, 'clarions' were mentioned alongside 'trumpets' (or 'trumps'), suggesting that distinct instruments were being referred to. A ballad telling of the defeat of the Scots at

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6TA, ix, pp. 281, 283.
7Jamieson gives for the word 'Trum': 'Apparently, drum.' (Jamieson, 1879-82, s.v. 'Trum.').
8Nicoll, 1836; see the numerous entries in the calendar between 1650 and 1664.
9Definitions for 'clarus-a-um' in *OLD* include 'loud', 'sonorous', 'bright' and 'clear'.
10For example, see 1 August 1503.
the battle of Halidon Hill by the English forces of Edward III in 1333 includes the passage:

This was done with merrie sowne
With pipis, trompes and tabers thereto
And loude clarionis thei blew also.\(^\text{11}\)

Illustrations of trumpet ensembles from the first half of the fifteenth century depict straight trumpets alongside either s-shaped or twice folded trumpets. In most cases the folded trumpets appear to be the instruments of greater length. A fifteenth-century French illustration of a royal procession depicts four trumpeters, two performing on s-shaped trumpets and two on straight trumpets.\(^\text{12}\) The straight trumpets are approximately half the length of s-shaped instruments. Baines assigns the terms 'clarion' and 'trumpet' to the straight and folded trumpets respectively.\(^\text{13}\) Downey suggests that in German-speaking parts of Europe during the fifteenth century, 'clareten', which performed in the high register, were the s-shaped or twice-folded instruments, and 'trumpten', which played the low parts in ensemble music, were straight trumpets.\(^\text{14}\) Although this would have increased the melodic potential of the upper part, there is no evidence that the upper parts of fifteenth-century trumpet ensemble music were played on instruments of greater length than those sounding the lower parts.

\(^\text{11}\)Reese, 1940, p. 409. Reese defines 'clarion' as 'a shorter form of the buisine'. The term 'buisine', deriving from the Latin 'buccina', was a standard term for a long straight trumpet throughout much of Europe during the Middle Ages.

\(^\text{12}\)Reproduced in Bowles, 1983, pl. 31. If trumpets of different lengths were incorporated into a single ensemble, it seems likely that they would have been pitched either a fifth, or an octave apart. In most illustrations that depict both straight and folded trumpets the former are of short length, but an accurate ratio between the two is often difficult to ascertain.

\(^\text{13}\)Baines, 1993, p. 90. Tarr and Dahlqvist also surmise that the shorter trumpets were referred to as clarions during the fifteenth century, on account of their shrill sound (Grove Musical Instruments, s.v. 'Clarino').

\(^\text{14}\)Downey, 1993, p. 313.
Among the instruments illustrated by Sebastian Virdung in his *Musica Getutscht* of 1511 are the 'Clareta' and the 'Felttrumet'. Both instruments are trumpets in the twice-folded format. It appears from Virdung's illustrations that the 'Clareta' was shorter in length and of narrower bore than the 'Felttrumet', but since the instruments are clearly not presented to a uniform scale this is inconclusive. In his trumpet method (written in the 1580s), Bendinelli refers to the 'trombetta antiqua', pitched in F, and provides a table of notes playable on this instrument. Downey identifies the 'trombetta antiqua' as the 'claret' trumpet and the 'Felttrumet', delineated by Virdung, as the 'Italian' trumpet. He suggests that the 'claret' trumpet was often supplied with a 'claret piece' to lower its pitch by a fourth, enabling it to be used in ensemble music with Italian trumpets pitched in C. While this hypothesis is plausible for the regions where the Italian trumpet and Italian-style trumpet ensemble music took hold during the course of the sixteenth century: principally Italy and the territories of the Holy Roman Empire (see Chapter 3), it does not explain the distinction between trumpets and clarions that appear in sources emanating from other parts of Europe.

Accounts of ceremonial events in England and France during the sixteenth century often distinguish between trumpets and clarions; this suggests that in those countries the terms still denoted different instruments. Archival documents from this period do not normally distinguish between players of the trumpet and the clarion; in this respect the list of personnel attached to the English military forces sent to Scotland in 1544 is exceptional. That the designations continued to denote two distinct instruments in France up to the close of the sixteenth century is evident from an account of the consecration ceremonies for Henry IV at Chartres in 1594, which records the participation of 'all sorts of musical instruments, including clarions, oboes, trumpets,

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16 The tutor by Bendinelli is discussed in Chapter 3.
17 Downey, 1984, p. 31. In *Syntagma Musicum II* of 1619, Praetorius remarks that the pitch of the trumpet had been lengthened 'not too many years ago' (see Bendinelli, 1975, p. 10).
18 See Stevens, 1961, pp. 236, 237; and Cazeaux, 1975, pp. 43, 56, 125, 130, 144, 229.
19 See May 1544.
and drums'. Although trumpets and clarions are often paired together, passages such as this (and others cited below) suggest that the instruments did not belong to a single ensemble.

The trumpet (or 'trump') is referred to alongside the clarion in several sixteenth-century Scottish literary works, including four poems by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (c.1486-1555). In The Deploration of the Deith of Quene Magdalene Lindsay describes the preparations being made in Edinburgh in 1537 for the entry of James V's French bride:

Thow saw the peple labouring for thare lyuis  
To mak triumphe with trump and Clarioun.  
...  
Thow suld haue hard the din of Instrumentis,  
Of Tabrone, Trumpet, Schalme & Clarioun,  

In The Historie of ... Squyer, William Meldrum (c.1550) Lindsay narrates episodes in the life of one of friends, including his exploits on the battlefield:

Than fordward raid this Campioun,  
With sound of Trumpet and Clarioun  
...  
Micht no man see ane fairer sicht  
Than clariounis and trumpettis blew  
...  
Than Trumpotis blew & Clariounis  

The Testament of ... Squyer William Meldrum (c.1550) is a sequel to The Historie and includes a contemplative account by Meldrum of his funeral procession:

20Cazeaux, 1975, p. 229.  
21Lindsay, 1931-36, i, pp. 109-10. In the first edition of 1558, published in France, this line appears as: 'To mak triumphe with trium and clarioun' (Lindsay, 1931-36, iii p. 122). Hamer's main source is a version published in Edinburgh in 1568. In a version included in one of the manuscripts consulted by Mackay for his edition of Pitscottie's Historie, the line appears as: 'To mak trywmphe with trumpat and clarioun' (Pitscottie, 1899-1911, i, pp. 373-74).  
22Lindsay, 1931-36, i, pp. 156-58.
Amang that band my baner salbe borne,
Of siluer schene thrie Otteris into sabill,
With tabroun, trumpet, clarioun, and horne.

Mocking the traditional funeral service which would follow, Meldrum proposes celebrating

With organe, Timpane, Trumpet, & Clarion

Lindsay's *Ane Dialogue Betuix Experience and ane Courteour* (c.1553) tells of the clergy making their way to church on their annual feast day

With talbrone, trompet, schalme, and Clafioun.

John Rolland of Dalkeith, in *The Seven Sages* (1560), describes a wedding procession in which the nobility proceeded

With trumpet, schalme, drum, squasche & clarioun.

The entry of Queen Anne into Edinburgh in 1590 is described in a poem by John Burel, which refers to both 'Trumpets' and 'Clarion'.

William Horman, in his text book *Vulgaria*, published in 1519, translated extracts from the writing of Vegetius. The chapter entitled 'De Bellicos' includes the passage 'Tuba directa est / buccina in seipsam æreo fle ctitur circulo'. This is translated as 'A

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23Lindsay, 1931-36, i, p. 191.
24Lindsay, 1931-36, i, p. 193. These passage are discussed more fully in Chapter 3.
25Lindsay, 1931-36, i, p. 273.
26Rolland, 1932, p. 27.
27See 19 May 1590.
trumpette is streyght: but a clarion is wounde: in and out with an hope'. The same passage by Vegetius appears in a manuscript translation dated 1408:

Buccina, the clarioun is in alle thinges as a trompe, saue where the trompe is euene forth right of schap, the clarioun is croked and bowyd bakwarde to the visage of hym that bolwith, and summe then tormed and retorned as double croked.

In the same manuscript an earlier passage reads:

What difference is bitwene trompours, claryoners and hornbloweres.

Baines rejects Horman's definition of 'clarion' on account of the fact that it is from a free translation of Vegetius. Tarr and Reine Dahlqvist concur with Baines on this and discard the earlier source on the same grounds. The importance of these passages lies not in the fact that 'clarion' is equated with the Latin 'buccina' but in the description of the instruments to which the terms are assigned. In neither source does it appear that the instrument referred to as a 'clarion' was a trumpet in either the s-shape or twice-folded form. It seems more likely that they are describing a type of helical horn. Polk has noted that the short straight trumpets ('clarions') possessed characteristics of horn-type instruments, being less ornate than the longer instruments and having a more pronounced bell-flare. Both Lindsay and the anonymous early fifteenth-century translator of Vegetius allude to trumpets, clarions and horns in a single phrase. It can be conjectured that in both instances the horn was an instrument made from animal horn. That metal horns attained nomenclature associated with the trumpet is not

29 MED, s.v. 'clarion.'  
30 MED, s.v. 'clariouner.'  
31 Grove Musical Instruments, s.v. 'Clarino.'; Baines, 1993, p. 90. Tarr previously interpreted Horman's remarks as indicating that in England the clarion was a folded trumpet (Tarr, 1988, pp. 54-55).  
32 Instruments of this type are depicted in a mid fifteenth-century French illustration of a hunting ball (reproduced in Baines, 1993, pp. 148-49).  
33 Polk, 1992, p. 46; Polk, 1997, p. 42.
surprising, since the material in which the instrument was fashioned may well have been more significant than the conicity of the instrument's bore.

In 1593 Claude Desainliens (De Sainliens), a teacher of French in London, published a dictionary of the French language. The entries for 'Clairon' and 'Trompe ou Trompette' are:

Clairon, a horne or trumpet like Corneilis horne: m.
Trompe ou Trompette, a trumpet, fem.\textsuperscript{34}

An earlier text book on the French language, by John Palsgrave, a French tutor at the Court of Henry VIII, was published in 1530. This book gives the French names for a number of musical instruments including:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Claryon trumpet & cleron s ma. \\
... & ... \\
Horne & cor, corne s fe. \\
Horne to blowe with & cor s ma. cornet ma. trompe s fe. \\
Horne to hunte with & cor s ma. \\
... & ... \\
Trumpe an instrument & cleron s ma. \\
Trumpet & trupette s fe busine s fe.\textsuperscript{35}
\end{tabular}

The exact nature of the instruments referred to in this list is difficult to ascertain. It is evident, however, that the English 'Claryon trumpet' was different from the 'Trumpet'. The English terms 'Claryon trumpet' and 'Trumpe', both of which are given in French as 'cleron' may have referred to the same, or a similar instrument. If this was the case, and the instruments termed 'Trumpe' in English and 'trompe' in French were also similar, it is possible that the English 'Claryon trumpet' was related to the 'Horn to blowe with', an instrument evidently distinct from the hunting horn.

\textsuperscript{34}Desainliens, 1593/(1970).
\textsuperscript{35}Palsgrave, 1530/(1969). The book is unpaginated; references cited appear in 'The table of substantyues.'
In his *Dictionarie* of 1611, Cotgrave translates the word 'Clairon' as:

A Clarion; a kind of small, strait-mouthed, and shrill-sounding Trumpet, vsed (commonly) as a Treble vnto the ordinarie one ...\(^{36}\)

This definition is cited verbatim by Thomas Blount in his dictionary of 1656.\(^{37}\) By the seventeenth century trumpet ensembles employed instruments of uniform length and terms such as 'clarin' normally referred to the high register of the trumpet or the treble part in trumpet ensemble music. Jean Nicot, in his *Trésor de la Langue Française* of 1606, states that the term 'Clairon' previously denoted a trumpet of narrow bore which was used for the treble part in trumpet ensembles but now referred to the high register of the trumpet.\(^{38}\) It can be assumed that Cotgrave was referring to an earlier meaning of the term 'clarion' and he may even have used Nicot's dictionary as a source of reference.

The term clarion continued to be used into the eighteenth century to denote the sounding of trumpets. The sole example I have come across of its use in this context in Scottish sources during this period is in an account of laying of the foundation-stone of the New Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh in 1738.\(^{39}\)

*Tubicine*

'Tubicen', the Latin term for a player of the Roman 'tuba',\(^{40}\) was used throughout Europe during the Middle Ages and Renaissance to denote a trumpeter. In Latin documents from the Scottish court during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the terms 'tubicini', 'tubicinis', 'tubecini', 'tubicine' and 'tubicinibus' are used to denote trumpeters. From the reign of James IV until the mid-1550s 'tubicini' and its variants

\(^{36}\)Dart, 1968, p. 74.
\(^{37}\)Blount, 1656/(1969), s.v. 'Clarion.'
\(^{38}\)Nicot, 1606/(1979), s.v. 'Clairon'; *Grove Musical Instruments*, s.v. 'Clarino.'
\(^{39}\)Sec 2 August 1738.
\(^{40}\)OLD, s.v. 'tubicen.'; Baines, 1993, p. 65.
also appear in the Scottish sources as a generic term for players of wind instruments. Entries in the Register of the Privy Seal during the final decade of the reign of James IV, recording the appointment of wind instrumentalists to royal service and letters of passage to instrumentalists to come to Scotland from Italy and Scandinavia, refer to the players as 'tubicinis'. Although it is not possible to determine the instrumentation of each of the groups active at court during this period, it is clear that some of the players referred to as 'tubicini' were trumpeters, whereas others were members of wind bands.

The term 'tubicinis', the normal designation for players of the shawm in sources from other parts of Europe during this period, appears only in the record of appointment of James Drummond, the younger, to the position of 'tube ductilis' in 1556 (see below).

William Dauney, writing prior to the publication of the principal documentary sources, observed that the word 'musician' is written in the margin beside 'tubicinis' in the entry in the Register of the Privy Seal recording the appointment of Henrici Rudeman in 1524. He deduced that "tubicen" was not here meant to imply "trumpeter", it's primitive and more limited signification, but "minstrel". The generic use of the word is made clear in the entry in the Register of the Privy Seal recording the appointment of John Kempt in 1548, in which the appointee is described as 'tubicinis lie shawmarie'. The word 'lie', meaning 'in the vernacular', routinely appears in official Scottish documents of the period to clarify a Latin term.

The editors of the published transcriptions of the Register of the Privy Seal and Exchequer Rolls consistently define 'tubicinis' in the indexes as 'trumpeter'. Most of the accounts recording payment to the wind instrumentalists in the Exchequer Rolls between 1550 and 1561 are given as a summary translation in the published transcripts and refer to trumpeters. The original rolls have been consulted for this period. In each

41Dauney, 1838, pp. 75-76.
42See 9 April 1548.
43DOST, s.v. 'Le, Lie.'
set of accounts the players are described as 'tubicinibus'. Although members of the group received payment on a regular basis for serving as trumpeters, it will be shown in Chapter 4 that the group was not a trumpet ensemble but functioned essentially as a wind band. The instrumentalists continued to be designated 'tubicinis' during the reign of Mary Stewart, but from this period on they served primarily as trumpeters. By the late sixteenth century many of the court documents previously written in Latin began to be written in Scots.

'Draucht' trumpet and 'tube ductilis'

References to a 'draucht' trumpet appear in Scottish sources from the first half of the sixteenth century. The 'draucht' trumpet is mentioned in four entries in the Treasurer's accounts between 1504 and 1507/8 and in two literary works: the translation of Virgil's Aeneid by Gavin Douglas, and The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland by Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie (c.1532-c.1578-92). It is generally believed that the 'draucht' trumpet was a slide brass instrument. Another term thought to mean trombone, 'tube ductilis', appears in entries in the Register of the Privy Seal recording the appointment of Julius Drummond and James Drummond to the principal instrumental group in royal service in 1547 and 1556 respectively. The hypothesis that the terms 'draucht' trumpet and 'tube ductilis' denoted slide brass instruments was postulated in the nineteenth century by Dalyell.45 The editors of the published transcriptions of the Treasurer's Accounts and the Register of the Privy Seal define the terms as 'trombone'. While agreeing that this is the most credible interpretation from the evidence available, Herbert points out that 'the evidence that analogises draucht trumpet with sackbut or trombone is slender' and 'no sixteenth-century British source

44For earlier examples of the use of this term, see 25 August 1509 and 10 September 1524. 'Tubicinibus' was one of the words used in the civic records of Bologna during the early sixteenth century to denote trumpeters in the city's Concerto Palatino (see Gambassi, 1989, p. 133). The addition of the suffix -bus does not appear to have altered the meaning of the word.

45Dalyell, 1849, p. 176.
places *tuba ductilis* or *draucht trumpet* side by side with one of the primary names for a trombone.\(^46\)

Three of the four entries from the Treasurer's accounts cited by Dalyell are included in the published transcripts of the records.\(^47\) The fourth entry, that dated 1 August 1507, is not quoted. This entry, as cited by Dalyell, omits the word 'toy'. Jamieson defines 'toyer (tother)' as 'another'. This word is crucial to our understanding of the term 'draucht' trumpet, since the previous entry in the accounts records payment of quarterly fees to the four Italian minstrels, who, it will be shown later, constituted a wind band. Clearly, the reference to another 'draucht' trumpet implies that a 'draucht' trumpet was included in the existing four-piece wind band. Interestingly, the entry appears not to have been recorded sequentially, but inserted later.\(^48\)

As mentioned above, Gavin Douglas refers to various brass instruments in his translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (c. 1513). In Book VII of *Aeneid*, Douglas translates the passage 'classica iamque sonant, it bello tessera signum' as:

The draucht trumpett blawis the brag of weir.\(^49\)

An early eighteenth-century glossary to Douglas' *Aeneid*, by Thomas Ruddiman, defines 'draucht' trumpet as a trumpet 'which by it's sound draws the Souldiers to their Colours, or Standards.'\(^50\) This definition is cited by Jamieson, who calls the instrument 'the war trumpet'.\(^51\) Craigie similarly defines the term as 'A war trumpet or trumpeter'.\(^52\)

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\(^{46}\) Herbert, 1984, p. 349.
\(^{47}\) See July 1504, November 1504 and 26 February 1507/8.
\(^{48}\) A facsimile of this entry in the Treasurer's accounts is reproduced in Appendix 1.
\(^{49}\) Virgil, 1930, p. 286; Douglas, 1874, iii, p. 126.
\(^{50}\) Ruddiman, 1710. This publication is unpaginated.
\(^{51}\) Jamieson, 1879-82, s.v. 'Draucht trumpet.'
\(^{52}\) *DOST*, s.v. 'Draucht trumpet.'
Pitscottie’s account of the celebrations for the arrival in Scotland of Mary of Guise in 1538, which is the only known reference to 'draucht' trumpets performing at a specific event, supports the hypothesis that the 'draucht' trumpet was a trombone.\(^{53}\) Herbert has noted, however, that Mackay, in his edition of Pitscottie's *Historie*, defines 'draucht' trumpets as 'trumpets drawn in and out' in a note to the text, but as 'a war trumpet' in a glossary to the same work.\(^ {54}\) The mention of 'schallmes draught trumpattis and weir trumpatis' suggests that a wind band and a trumpet ensemble performed in the celebrations. A trumpet ensemble, the members of which were designated 'trumpatour of weyre' at their appointment, was appointed to royal service in 1538. It can be surmised, therefore, that the 'draught trumpattis' and the shawms performed together and constituted the royal wind band.\(^{55}\)

Iconographical sources from various parts of Europe reveal that the trombone did not immediately replace single-slide trumpets as the chromatic brass instrument in wind bands after its introduction around the middle of the fifteenth century and that the latter continued to be depicted into the sixteenth century. As Herbert has pointed out, however, by the time of Mary of Guise's arrival in Scotland in 1538 the single-slide trumpet would have been anachronistic.\(^{56}\)

The term 'tuba ductilis' appears in the Vulgate bible of the fourth century AD. Galpin suggests that the word 'ductilis' referred to the manner in which the metal was forged during construction. The fifteenth-century writer Jean de Gerson alludes to this feature

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\(^{53}\)See June 1538.

\(^{54}\) Pitscottie, 1899-1911, ii, p. 406; iii, 35.

\(^{55}\) The term 'trompettes de guerre' appears in sources from French speaking areas of Europe during the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Archival documents from the Burgundian court from the early fifteenth century onwards often distinguish between a 'trompette des menestrels', who was normally linked to the players of the shawm, and 'trompettes de guerre'. It is generally agreed that the former was a player of a slide brass instrument, most probably a single-slide trumpet, and the latter were players of the fixed-length natural trumpet (see Baines, 1993, pp. 95-96; Polk, 1992, p. 49; Duffin, 1989).

\(^{56}\) Herbert, 1984, p. 351; Herbert, 1997, pp. 69-70.
of the 'tuba ductilis' in his *Tractatus de Canticis*.\(^57\) Sixteenth-century Latin to English dictionaries define 'tuba ductilis' as a 'brass' or 'brasen' trumpet.\(^58\)

The earliest source to identify the 'tuba ductilis' as a slide brass instrument comes from the court at Ferrara and records payment to a player of the 'tuba ductili ... trombonus vulgo dictus' in 1439.\(^59\) In the introduction to *Musica Getutscht*, Virdung describes the modern equivalents to instruments mentioned in the Bible. Referring to the passage in Psalm 97 v.6: 'In tubis ductilibus et voce tubae cornaeae iubilate in conspectu regis Domini', he writes:

> Praise Him in the slide trombone (*in den zehenden Busaunen*) and in the sound of the trumpet [made] of horn.\(^60\)

That the instrument referred to by Virdung as 'Busaunen' was a slide trombone is evident from the illustrations included in the treatise. An entry in the archives of Bologna referring to the recruitment of a replacement for one of the municipal musicians on temporary leave to serve the Pope between 1519 and 1521 and who performed on the 'tibia', 'tuba ductilis' and 'cornu'.\(^61\) A number of seventeenth-century sources indicate that the term 'tuba ductilis' meant trombone.\(^62\)

Since it is almost certain that players of the trombone were employed at the Scottish court from the reign of James IV onwards, the hypothesis that references to 'tuba ductilis' in the Register of the Privy Seal relate to the trombone seems plausible. It will be shown in Chapter 4 that the group to which the players were being appointed was essentially a wind band comprising shawms and trombones but that certain members appear to have served primarily as trumpeters. It is possible that the term 'tuba ductilis'

\(^{57}\)Page, 1978, pp. 346-47.

\(^{58}\)See Elyot, 1538/(1970); Cooper, 1565/(1969), and Thomas, 1587/(1972).

\(^{59}\)Cited in Downey, 1993, p. 315.

\(^{60}\)Virdung, 1993, p. 98.


\(^{62}\)Herbert, 1984, p. 345.
referred to a member of this group irrespective of the instrument, or instruments, he played. The strongest evidence that this was the case is the description of James Drummond, the elder, as 'tube ductilis' in the entry in the Register recording the appointment of his son, James Drummond, the younger, in 1556 to the position of 'tube ductilis' previously held by his uncle, Michael Drummond. The court records suggest, however, that James Drummond, the elder, served exclusively as a trumpeter (see Chapter 4). In the same entry, James Drummond, the younger, is designated 'tibicinis', a word often used to denote the player of a shawm. While it was common for wind instrumentalists to perform on more than one instrument and it is plausible that this player performed on shawm and trombone, the anomaly is noteworthy. Similarly, the office to which Julio Drummond was appointed in 1547 was designated 'tube ductilis', despite the fact that his grandfather, Julian Drummond, who he succeeded, served as personal trumpeter to James V and is mentioned as a player of the shawm in a single entry in the Treasurer's accounts.

In summary, it seems almost certain that the draucht trumpet was a trombone. The fact that the players designated 'tube ductilis' were members of the royal wind band suggests that the term 'tube ductilis' was understood as meaning trombone. It remains open to conjecture, however, whether 'tube ductilis' referred exclusively to players of the trombone or if the designation merely signified membership of the wind band, in much the same way as the term 'sackbut' referred to players of the shawm and trombone in the English court records from the reign of Henry VIII until the early seventeenth century.63

Trumpet making

The Scottish court records list payments to, and the provision of liveries for, trumpeters and wind instrumentalists in royal service. Unfortunately, they reveal nothing about the provision of instruments. Following the removal of the royal court to London in 1603 the officials in Scotland occasionally petitioned for new liveries for the royal trumpeters, but none of this correspondence relates to the supply of instruments. The petition from the Earl of Rothes to the Earl of Lauderdale, Charles II's Scottish secretary, in 1664, requesting silver trumpets for his newly raised troop of Life Guards, is the only document I have come across that refers to the provision of instruments by the royal administration for trumpeters in Scotland.64

Two silver trumpets made in Glasgow during the second half of the seventeenth century by the goldsmiths Thomas McCuir and Robert Brock have survived. One bears the inscription 'THOMAS McCUIR GLESGOWE 1669', and the other, 'ROT BROCK GLASGOW'. The instruments were examined by Eric Halfpenny, who noted a number of features characteristic of English trumpets of the period.65 Whereas several of the English trumpet makers who have been identified also served as royal trumpeters,66 neither McCuir nor Brock held that office in Scotland. No link has been found between the Scottish trumpet makers and their English counterparts and none of the Scottish royal trumpeters were goldsmiths.

That trumpets were made in Scotland during the seventeenth century is not in itself surprising, since the production of silverware was one of Scotland's main cultural achievements of the seventeenth century.67 It is curious, however, that both instruments were made in Glasgow, a city with a less established tradition of the

64See 15 November 1664.
65Halfpenny, 1969.
66See Byrne, 1966.
67Smout, 1969, pp. 183-84.
production of silverware than Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee, and one which did not have strong links with trumpet playing.\textsuperscript{68} The Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh was formed in, or shortly before, 1581. Goldsmiths in Edinburgh had previously belonged to the Incorporation of Hammermen.\textsuperscript{69} In 1586 the Edinburgh goldsmiths were granted authority by James VI to oversee the quality of gold and silverware produced in Scotland.\textsuperscript{70} Surviving correspondence between the Edinburgh goldsmiths and the hammermen of other Scottish burghs attests to the stringency with which this prerogative was upheld.\textsuperscript{71}

Thomas McCuir was admitted as a goldsmith burgess of Aberdeen in 1643 after serving his apprenticeship in that burgh. Six years later he was elected Deacon of the Hammermen, a position which would have afforded him considerable status in the burgh. A measure of his financial success is the fact that he owned land in the burgh in the 1650s.\textsuperscript{72} Around 1660 McCuir moved from Aberdeen to Edinburgh where he served as a journeyman. This is stated in an entry in the Glasgow burgh register, dated 29 December 1664, granting him permission to set up a booth to practise his craft:

\begin{quote}
\begin{center}
in answuer to the supplicatioune given in be Thomas Montcuir, goldsmith, showing that he had servit his prentiship in Aberdein, and that sen syne he had servit four year jurnayman in Edinburgh with dacone [blank], and that now he was atteined to be a perfect craftisman and was of intentioune to transport himselfe to this burgh and tak up ane buith therin, the toune making him burges and gildbrother for his better incuragment, it was concludit that so soon he takis wp ane buith and setles himselfe here he sall be made burges without payment of any fyne, and yt to be holdin as payit, that the benefet therof may redound to him and his childerin, and also promissis wpon his guid behaviour he sall be thereafter admittit gild brother.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{center}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{68} In 1687 five goldsmiths were active in Glasgow, compared to twenty five in Edinburgh (Colston, 1891, p. 36).
\textsuperscript{69} Colston, 1891, p. 27. In other Scottish burghs goldsmiths were included in the Hammermens' guild (Ibid., pp. 36-37).
\textsuperscript{70} Colston, 1891, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{71} Burns, 1892, p. 536.
\textsuperscript{72} James, 1981, pp. 33-34.
\textsuperscript{73} Glasgow Burgh Records: 1663-1690, p. 49; quoted in James, 1981, p. 34.
We can only speculate as to why McCuir moved from Aberdeen to Edinburgh. It is possible that, as a well established silversmith in Aberdeen, he was attracted by the opportunity of economic and social advancement available in Edinburgh. Many of the Edinburgh goldsmiths were involved in banking and speculative ventures in addition to working as craftsmen and were among the most affluent members of the burgess class. McCuir's petition to the Glasgow burgh council may have been prompted by the realisation that gaining burgess-ship in Edinburgh as a goldsmith was more difficult than he had anticipated. Indeed, if it was not for the possibility of eventual entry to the Edinburgh incorporation it is difficult to conceive why he endured the rank of journeyman in Edinburgh for four years after having held a more exalted position in Aberdeen.

The minute-book of the Glasgow Incorporation of Hammermen records the admission of members to the guild from 1616 onwards. The first member registered is a goldsmith by the name of John Kirkwood. Although it cannot be ascertained if he was the sole representative of his craft in the burgh at that time, no further goldsmiths are entered until Thomas McCuir was admitted in 1665. The next goldsmith listed is Robert Brock, who was registered as apprentice to Thomas McCuir in 1673. Between 1667 and 1670 McCuir received various payments from the Glasgow burgh council for supplying items of gold and silverware. Robert Brock was commissioned by the council to produce similar items between 1679 and 1685. A silver quaich and a wine taster by McCuir, which date from his period in Aberdeen, and a set of spoons by Brock are the only examples of their work to have survived, apart from the trumpets. The date of McCuir's death is not known, but it may have been around the time of Brock's admittance to the craft guild, since the former is not mentioned in the

74Lumsden and Aitken, 1912, p. 286.
75Lumsden and Aitken, 1912, p. 288.
76Lumsden and Aitken, 1912, p. 289; Byrne, 1966, p. 79.
77Glasgow Burgh Records: 1663-1690, pp. 95, 100, 140, 494.
79Finlay, 1991, pp. 109, 111, 118, 123.
burgh records after 1670. In 1690 Brock was appointed a baillie of the burgh. He was stripped of office three years later for assaulting the provost and died in November 1698.80

Since we know that Thomas McCuir practised his craft in Aberdeen and Edinburgh before settling in Glasgow, it is possible that he learned the art of trumpet making before settling in Glasgow. The records of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Goldsmiths contain no references to trumpet making; since the Edinburgh goldsmiths held a pre-eminence position among members of their craft throughout Scotland, however, it is possible that trumpets were produced in Edinburgh, perhaps for use by the royal trumpet corps.81 Byrne has noted that seventeenth-century trumpet makers in Britain were not necessarily apprenticed to trumpet makers and that trumpet making generally only accounted for a portion of their work. He surmises that trumpet making was not regarded as being essentially different from other forms of silver work.82 It is worth noting that no references to McCuir or Brock as trumpet makers have been found; if it was not for the fortuitous survival of their instruments there is no documentary evidence that either goldsmith produced trumpets.

The most conspicuous feature of the trumpets by McCuir and Brock is the large ball, positioned on the bell, which is pierced in each of its three sections to accommodate the mouthpipe. With this method of construction the ball stabilised the instrument and served a similar function to the block of wood which was positioned between the mouthpipe and bell-section on continental trumpets of the same period. The only other surviving trumpet constructed in this way is the anonymous instrument presented to Queen's College, Oxford, in 1666.83 Halfpenny considers this to be the earliest phase in

80SRO CC 9/7/51, ff. 119v.-120r. The testament-dative for Robert Brock was not recorded until January 1720.
81SRO GD 1/482/1. Although the minute-book commences in 1525, Colston asserts that the guild was not formally constituted until later in the century (Colston, 1891, p. 27).
82Byrne, 1966.
83Halfpenny, 1963, p. 53-54.
a peculiarly British form of trumpet design. On other extant English trumpets of the period the ball is either pierced in its central section and grooved on the outer two sections, or grooved only in its central section. The latter design became standard with English makers during the eighteenth century.

The Scottish trumpets are both highly ornate and were presumably intended for ceremonial use. It has not been possible to establish for whom they were produced. Halfpenny observed that an attempt had been made at some point to repair one instrument using parts from the other and concluded that the two instruments were associated from an early date. Both instruments have survived with what appear to be contemporary mouthpieces; that belonging to the trumpet by McCuir is of brass, while the mouthpiece with the Brock trumpet is of solid silver. They are similar to the mouthpieces belonging to the instrument by Simon Beale of 1667 and the Queen's College trumpet in that they consists of a tubular shank of sheet metal onto which a cast cup was soldered. Consequently, they are virtually devoid of the tapered backbore found with later seventeenth-century mouthpieces cast from a single block of metal.

There is no evidence that trumpets were produced in Scotland after the death of Brock and McCuir until the final decade of the eighteenth century. In 1798 the horn and trumpet maker Richard Curtis moved his business from London to Edinburgh. Curtis traded in the city until 1814 and is listed in Edinburgh trade directories between 1801 and 1808 as a 'Musical Instrument Maker and Music Seller'. None of Curtis' trumpets have survived and his only extant brass instrument is a bass-horn, held in the National Museum of Scotland.

84 Halfpenny, 1969, p. 54.
85 Halfpenny, 1967, p. 79.
88 Waterhouse, 1993, s.v. 'Curtis, Richard.'
The newspaper advertisement of 1799 for the music-sellers Gow and Shepherd reveals that military instruments were imported from London. It seems likely that until the close of the eighteenth century trumpeters in Scotland normally obtained their instruments from London. 

Farmer asserts, without revealing his source, that the 'Trumpet-maker to the Board of Ordnance' around 1800 was a Scotsman by the name of William Napier. This maker is identified by Langwill as William Napier, the London based music publisher. It is highly unlikely that William Napier, the publisher, manufactured trumpets, but it is possible that he supplied instruments to the military. The possibility that William Napier, the Scottish royal trumpeter and trumpet soloist, and nephew of the music publisher, was the individual referred to by Farmer has not previously been considered. No evidence has come to light, however, to suggest that this trumpeter manufactured or supplied trumpets.

89 See 3 August, 1799. Two french horns were procured for the Edinburgh Musical Society by Robert Bremner from the London brass instrument maker George Rodenbostel in 1771 (SRO GD 113/5/210/1/34).
91 Langwill, 1980, s.v. 'Napier, William'; see Chapter 4 for biographical information on William Napier.
Chapter 3

TRUMPETERS IN ROYAL SERVICE UP TO 1603

Trumpeters at the Scottish court before the reign of James IV

The Scottish court records contain references to trumpeters in royal service from the fourteenth century onwards. Prior to the reign of James IV (1488-1513), however, the documentation is scant. Three Scottish trumpeters accompanied Edward I on the first leg of his return journey to England after conquering Scotland in 1304,1 and during the first half of the fifteenth century royal trumpeters were remunerated by the Customars of royal burghs.2 Chronicles, such as that believed to have been written by a visitor from the court of Charles the Bold, which refers to the sounding of trumpets at a joust between Scottish and Burgundian knights at Stirling in 1448,3 complement the documentary sources by shedding light on particular events at the royal court.

A single volume of Treasurer's accounts has survived from the reign of James III. This volume covers the period from August 1473 to December 1474 and records payment to trumpeters at Yule and Pasch (Easter), as well as for travelling on royal business. Payment for liveries for royal trumpeters and four trumpet banners are also included.4

The 'Scottish' trumpeters: 1488-c.1522

Treasurer's accounts have survived for most years of the reign of James IV. During the first half of the reign four trumpeters were normally employed and payments generally mirror those recorded in the accounts from the reign of James III. In addition to

1CDS, iv, p. 476.
3Brown, 1891, p. 34. The delegation from Burgundy was in Scotland to negotiate the terms of the forthcoming marriage of James II to Mary of Guelders.
4TA, i, pp. 14, 49, 57, 61, 68, 69.
attending the King and his officials on journeys around Scotland, the royal trumpeters accompanied embassies to Flanders, Denmark and France.\textsuperscript{5}

In 1489 a portion of the revenue due to the crown from the lands of Ballincrieff was assigned to the trumpeter Thomas Pringle as his annual salary. The following year, similar provision was made for William Carrick from the lands of Strathearn. The practice of assigning income from holders of crown land, or Customars of royal burghs, to the salaries of royal officials and servants, or granting possession of crown land in liferent as a reward for royal service, was established during the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{6} The royal trumpeter Alexander Castlaw was granted land in Stewarton in liferent in 1498.\textsuperscript{7} From 1498 Thomas Pringle received part of his salary in cash and the remainder in barley. Between 1503 and 1508 he received an additional stipend from the customs of Edinburgh. An assignment of the income from the customs of Perth was made in 1502 to John Anderson (commonly referred to as John Trumpet in the accounts) as his annual salary. Additional payments to the royal trumpeters were occasionally made by granting them an 'unlaw' (fine) collected at justice ayres.\textsuperscript{8}

From around the turn of the sixteenth century five or six players are normally recorded as receiving liveries and payments at New Year and Pasch. The report of the ceremony at the arrival of the English entourage for the wedding of James IV to Margaret Tudor in 1503, written by one of the English guests, the Somerset Herald, reveals that the five trumpeters performed as an ensemble. The evidence from the payment records, however, suggests that the trumpeters performed their more routine duties individually or in pairs.\textsuperscript{9}

\textsuperscript{5}See 1494, [17] September 1502; January 1507/8.
\textsuperscript{6}Murray, 1973, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{7}See 23 April 1498 and 7 February 1499/1500.
\textsuperscript{8}See December 1488 and [26] March 1489.
\textsuperscript{9}Polk has noted that trumpeters were often employed in pairs at courts and in cities across Europe from the thirteenth century onwards (Polk, 1997, pp. 41-44).
Several members of a family by the name of Pringle served as royal trumpeters during the reign of James IV.\textsuperscript{10} It is not always possible to ascertain which family member is being referred to in the accounts since numerous entries merely refer to the players by their surname. It is possible that 'Petite Johne' was a member of this family, since his alias is revealed as John Hope at his admittance to the guildry of Edinburgh in 1516/17.\textsuperscript{11} Members of the Pringle family were sometimes styled Hopringill, a name which was often abbreviated as Hope. The appointment of 'Pryngill' as King of Bean for the Uphally Day festivities in 1491 provides an insight into the intimacy of the royal court, at least on certain occasions in the court calendar.\textsuperscript{12}

The expansion of the royal musical establishment during the reign of James IV came to an abrupt halt after the King's death at the Battle of Flodden in 1513. The Treasurer's accounts for the minority of James V do not mention the 'Scottish' trumpeters as a group. One member of James IV's erstwhile trumpet corps, John Anderson, continued to receive his annual salary from the income from the customs of Perth for several years and Petit John established business interests outwith the sphere of the royal court.\textsuperscript{13} What became of the others trumpeters is not known. It is possible that one or more perished at Flodden, along with James IV and a great number of the Scottish aristocracy. It would appear that the precept of 1522 to remunerate John Anderson's successor, George Litilljhone, from the customs of Perth was not adhered to, since he is not mentioned in subsequent accounts from that burgh. Apart from the payment to John Graham from the Receivers-General in 1515 for serving daily in Stirling Castle, the occasional references to trumpeters in the accounts during the minority of James V in which the players are named relate to the group of Italian 'minstrels' that was established on a permanent footing at court during the reign of James IV.

\textsuperscript{10}A member of the Pringle family, probably either Thomas or John Pringle, also served as a drummer at the start of the reign (see May 1489).

\textsuperscript{11}For biographical information on the Hope family, see Hope, [1983].

\textsuperscript{12}See 6 January 1491/2. The Uphally Day celebrations, which were presided over by a specially appointed King of Bean, traditionally involved the king and his courtiers reversing roles with the royal servants.

\textsuperscript{13}See Hope, [1983].
Italian minstrels and Italian trumpeters at the court of James IV

During the final decade of the reign of James IV at least three groups of Italian musicians arrived in Scotland to serve at the royal court. The earliest reference to such a group appears in the Treasurer's accounts for September 1503 and records payment to 'four Italian menstral&. Entries in the accounts for September and October 1503, recording payment to a minstrel to purchase a shawm and 'four lowd menstrales', almost certainly relate to the Italian minstrels. Confirmation that this group formed a wind band is found in an entry in the accounts for March 1505 recording payment to 'four Italien schawmiris'.

The Italian minstrels began to receive regular salaries from the Treasurer early in 1505, shortly before their appointment to permanent positions as royal musicians was recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal. The establishment of a wind band as a permanent fixture at the royal court is of particular relevance to this study, since this group was the precursor to the royal trumpet corps that emerged during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Mention of the Italian minstrels in the Treasurer's accounts first appear less than a month after the wedding of James IV to Margaret Tudor. A group of shawms and sackbuts accompanied Princess Margaret to Scotland but returned to England soon after the wedding. It seems likely that the recruitment of the Italian minstrels was connected to the royal wedding. The Treasurer's accounts testify to the lavish preparations for the event and it is possible that James augmented his musical resources for the occasion. The recruitment of six Italian 'sacquebutes et joueurs d'instruments de hautbois' by Louis XII of France in 1502 may have been a factor in

14See 30 June 1503.
James IV's decision to hire an Italian wind band. Alternatively, the minstrels may have arrived with a papal envoy sometime prior to the wedding. The complete list of visitors to Scotland for the royal wedding has not survived, but a papal blessing was read during the marriage ceremony. Entries in the Register of the Privy Seal recording letters of passage to other Italian wind instrumentalists during the next few years state that they came from Bologna. A family link between one of the members of the original group, Juliano Dromont, and Sebastiano Dormon, who arrived a few years later from Bologna, along with evidence from the records of the city of Bologna, confirm that the first group to arrive also came from that city. A delegation from Rome, travelling to Scotland for the royal wedding, would have passed through Bologna on its journey.

Juliano Richetto, one of the minstrels appointed to a regular position at court in 1505, probably belonged to an established Bolognese family of musicians. A 'pifarus' by the name of Johannes Julliani Richetti was a member of the city's civic wind ensemble in the early sixteenth century. An account book of one of Bologna's governing councils, the Anziani consoli, which lists the annual salaries paid to the civic musicians between 1500 and 1506, records payment to Johannes Julliani Richetti at the birth of a child sometime between 1477 and 1488. Weiss conjectures that this musician was related to a shawm player named Mattio Richetti, who received payment from the civic authorities in 1477.

15Chaillon, 1956, p. 65.
16See 26 January 1508/9. Bernardo Dromen, who arrived from Bologna in 1507, was probably a member of the same family, but this has not been established conclusively.
17Purser erroneously states that the Italians came from Mantua (Purser, 1992, pp. 86-87).
18Gambassi, 1989, p. 131; Weiss, 1987, p. 712. The payment list cited by Weiss records Johannes Julliani Richetti, 'pifarus', as receiving an annual salary between 1500 and 1506, whereas a document cited by Gambassi attests to his membership of the ensemble between 1503 and 1505. Another set of civic records appears to refer to the same player by the name Giovanni Richetto and reveals that he was a member of the ensemble until 1522 (Gambassi, 1989, pp. 612-14).
19Weiss, 1987, pp. 704-5, 712, 713. Weiss identifies two other musicians who may have been members of the same family: Fazio Richetti, a member of the choir at the cathedral of San Petronio in the early 1500s, and Bartolomeo Julliani, the highest paid member of the Bolognese wind band in 1505. That the latter was a member of the Richetto family is speculative, since he is also referred to as 'Bartolomeus Julliani Cestami, trombonus' (Ibid., p. 712).
The second group of wind instrumentalists to receive a letter of passage to come to Scotland, with their 'tubis et instrumentis musicalibus', was not employed on a regular basis at court. This may have been the group of young minstrels referred to in the Treasurer's accounts as players of shawms. It is significant that the letter to Bernardo Dromen, a member of this group, is dated the day after the ceremony of the presentation of the Silver Sword and Hat to James IV. The envoy delivering the gifts, bestowed on the Scottish King by Pope Julius II, set out from Bologna and was headed by Antonio Inviziati, an official of Bologna's papal administration.

Unlike many northern Italian cities, Bologna was not a courtly city, but a commune, ruled during the fifteenth century by members of the Bentivoglio family. From the early fourteenth century eight trumpeters were employed by the municipal authorities of Bologna. In 1417 three pipers and a kettle drummer were added to the civic musical establishment. By the early sixteenth century the musical establishment of Bologna comprised four trumpeters (trombetti), three players of the shawm (piffari), two trombonists (tromboni), as well as a harpist (arpista) and kettle drummer (naccarino), and the city was recognised as an important centre for training wind instrumentalists. Under Bentivoglio rule, music played an important part in the life of the city, and the civic instrumentalists performed in the numerous public festivals; they were also employed by the various religious and secular institutions in the city.

By the reign of James IV links between Scotland and Bologna were well established. The University of Bologna was one of the principal European centres of learning during the fifteenth century. A number of Scotsmen are known to have studied there, and this institution served as the model for the University of Glasgow at its foundation.

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20Burns, 1969. Inviziati was appointed Capitano della Giustizia in Bologna following the overthrow of the governing Bentivoglio family by Pope Julius II in 1506.
21Tarr, 1988, pp. 45, 64.
in 1451. Bologna was also visited by many Scotsmen on clerical and diplomatic missions to Rome.

The Treasurer's accounts for 1511 and 1512 record payment to a group of Italian trumpeters. The players were not officially appointed to royal service, but received regular salaries equal to that of the principal group of Italian minstrels. The Italian trumpeters are not named in the records, but evidence from the English court records suggests that this was the group led by Jennan Restane, which was sent a letter of passage to come from Bologna in February 1507/8. In recording payment to one of the Italian trumpeters in April 1513 it was noted that a member of the group had died and his other two companions had departed to England. Payment records of the English court for the same month list Jenyn Restanes and Benedic Browne as new members of the royal trumpet corps. Jenyn Restanes is not included in subsequent lists of royal trumpeters in England. He may have remained in England, however, since a certain John Reston, described as a born subject of the Emperor, received denization in England in 1537. A trumpeter by the name of Peter Frances Restan is first mentioned in the English court records of 1541. It is possible that this trumpeter was a relative of Jenyn Restane, since the record of his denization in 1542/3 describes him (Peter Restam) as a native of Bologna, 'in the Emperor's dominions'. Benedict Browne (Brume) was granted denization at the same time as Peter Restam and is referred to as a native of Pavia. By 1542 Benedict Browne was Sergeant Trumpeter at the English court and remained in this post until his death in December 1566. Although the Scottish court records do not mention Benedict Browne by name, the circumstantial evidence points to both he and Jenyn Restane arriving in Scotland from Bologna in

\[\text{Jack, 1972, p. 4.}\]
\[\text{Ashbee, 1986-96, vii, p. 205.}\]
\[\text{Ashbee, 1986-96, vii, p. 74.}\]
\[\text{Ashbee, 1986-96, vii, p. 83.}\]
\[\text{Ashbee, 1986-96, vii, p. 87.}\]
\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Ashbee, 1986-96, vi, p. 92. Foreign influences on the English trumpet corps are discussed in Downey, 1996. The Italian origin of Benedict Browne indicates that Continental influences may have been exerted earlier than suggested by Downey.}\]
1508 and moving to the English royal court shortly before the death of James IV in 1513.

The letter of passage sent to Sebastiano Dormon in 1508/9 appears to have been an open invitation to wind instrumentalists from Bologna to come to Scotland. It is not known, however, if other musicians accepted the offer. By 1515 Sebastian Drummond (as he was then styled) had taken up a position in the principal ensemble employed at court.

From 1511 the Treasurer's accounts regularly refer to the Italian minstrels being joined by the Scotsman, George Forest. The terms of Forest's appointment as a 'tubicinis' in 1507 do not stipulate that he was to join the wind band, but the monetary arrangements were similar to those granted to the Italian minstrels two years earlier. It can be conjectured that George Forest was the second player of the 'draucht' trumpet alluded to in the Treasurer's accounts for August 1507, since the payment was recorded a mere two months prior to his appointment. Shire suggests that George Forest may have studied in Italy and that the name 'Forest' derives from the Italian word 'forestieri', meaning 'one come from abroad', which, she contends, was often applied to immigrant musicians.

Several entries in the Treasurer's accounts link the Italian minstrels with a 'More taubronar'. On each occasion, payment is recorded for expenses incurred while travelling on royal business. Numerous other references to a Moorish drummer appear in the accounts around this time. The linking of a drummer with the minstrels reflects the fact that these players travelled with the King and does not necessarily mean that they performed as a single ensemble. Various types of drums that appear to be of

31See Chapter 2 for a discussion of this entry.
32Polk, 1992, p. 83. Polk has shown that from the middle of the fifteenth century, five-part wind bands, comprising three shawms and two slide brass instruments, existed throughout much of Europe.
33Shire, 1996, pp. 120-21.
34See September-October 1504, 25 March 1505. For other references, see TA, ii, p. 451; iii, p. 163.
Muslin origin were used with trumpets in Europe from around the twelfth century onwards.\(^\text{35}\) As mentioned above, a kettle drummer was employed in Bologna from the early 1500s; however, kettle drums were not incorporated into a trumpet ensemble in royal service in Scotland until the second half of the seventeenth century.\(^\text{36}\) Archival and iconographical sources suggest that drums were not routinely incorporated into wind bands during the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries; it is conceivable, however, that they were added for ceremonial occasions and for performing dance music.

**The Italian 'tubicinis': 1513-1560**

The death of James IV in 1513 plunged Scotland into the first of several periods of royal minority which beset the kingdom during the sixteenth century. In the immediate aftermath of the King's death, Queen Margaret was appointed regent. In 1515 she was replaced by the King's cousin, John Stewart, Duke of Albany, who arrived from France to assume power.\(^\text{37}\) The Treasurer's accounts for the minority of James V contrast sharply with those for the reign of James IV. Whereas the latter provide an insight into an exuberant Renaissance court, those for the minority of James V are mainly concerned with matters relating to the government of the kingdom.

During the minority of James V the Italian minstrels appointed to permanent positions at court in 1505 were retained in service, but the long lists of minstrels encountered in the accounts for the final decade of James IV's reign no longer appear. The four Italians rewarded at their departure in 1517 may have been the players previously referred to in the accounts as the 'younger' minstrels. The first extant volume of

\(^{35}\)Drums of various sizes were depicted along with trumpets during the Middle Ages, but small kettle drums, known as 'nakers', appear to have been most prevalent; by the mid-fifteenth century these were superseded by larger kettle drums (Tarr, 1988, p. 47; Polk, 1997, p. 41).

\(^{36}\)See Chapter 4. The Bolognese records do not link the kettle drummer with either the trumpeters or the wind band (Gambassi, 1989, pp. 612-15). A report of civic ceremonies in Bologna at the beginning of the seventeenth century mentions a player of 'Moorish drums' accompanying the eight city trumpeters. (Smithers, 1973, pp. 77-78).

\(^{37}\)The Duke of Albany served as Governor until November 1524 but paid two extended visits to France during this period (1517-20 and 1522-23).
Treasurer's accounts for the minority of James V records payment of the Italian minstrels' monthly allowances. Subsequent accounts record the provision of liveries for the minstrels, but the responsibility for the payment of their regular salaries was transferred from the Treasurer to the Comptroller. The accounts of the Customars of Edinburgh for 1515 include a payment to 'sex histrionibus et tubicinis'. The Comptroller's accounts for the following year record payment to 'histrionibus Ytal is domini gubernatoris'. From 1518 a portion of the income from the crown lands of Garioch and Kintore was assigned to the Italian minstrels' salaries. The list of players in the accounts of Garioch for 1518 confirms that this was the group of Italian minstrels referred to in the Treasurer's accounts. The earliest set of accounts for Garioch to include payment of the instrumentalists' salaries describes them as 'tubicinis et histrionibus Italicis et Scotis'. In subsequent accounts the designation 'histrionibus' is dispensed with and they are normally designated 'tubicinis'. The group is again referred to as 'Italis histrionibus et tubicinibus' at the appointment of Henry Rudeman in 1524.38

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the term 'tubicinis' is translated by the editors of the published transcripts of the court records as 'trumpeter'. The word 'histrionibus' is given in the same transcripts as 'actor'.39 It is possible that in using the term 'histrionibus et tubicinis' the scribe was attempting to find a Latin equivalent to the word 'minstrel'.40 References to 'Italian trumpeters' and 'Italian trumpeters and schawmaris' in the Treasurer's accounts almost certainly refer to this group of players and suggest that their duties extended beyond performing exclusively as a wind band.41 There is no evidence that members of the royal wind band served as trumpeters during the reign of James IV. It can be assumed that the 'Scottish' trumpeters recorded in the Exchequer Rolls during the minority of James V continued to serve in that capacity,

38See 10 September 1524.
39Dictionaries of Classical and Medieval Latin define 'histrio' as 'actor' or 'jester' (OLD, s.v. 'histrio.'); Howlett, 1989, s.v. 'histrio.').
40Murray translates the word 'histriones', which appears in the Exchequer Rolls for 1508, referring to individuals attending the Lords of Exchequer, as 'minstrels' (Murray, 1961, p. 92).
41See 1522, 1530 & 1534.
despite the fact that they are not referred to in the Treasurer's accounts. With the disappearance of these trumpeters from the court records towards the end of James V's minority, the responsibility for performing the trumpeting duties was allotted to the members of the wind band. The group is referred to collectively as 'Italian trumpeters' in the Treasurer's accounts of 1522 and 1534, but the vast majority of references to members of the group as trumpeters mention individuals serving in a solitary capacity, and the evidence that they performed as a trumpet ensemble is scant.

Players of the shawm and trombone are known to have served as trumpeters in certain parts of Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Downey has challenged the perception that sixteenth-century trumpeters were musically illiterate, performed only on trumpet, and fulfilled a ceremonial and military function which was distinct from that of other instrumentalists. He has produced evidence from the Danish court records to show that by the mid-sixteenth century certain Italian trumpeters were able to read music and were proficient on other instruments. In a recent study he has shown that at a number of German-speaking courts the trumpet corps was the sole instrumental ensemble employed and doubled as a wind band.

Entries in the Treasurer's accounts and Exchequer Rolls between 1515 and 1516 appear to allude to a six-part wind band in royal service. The minstrels are named in the Treasurer's accounts for 1515 and include the five previous members of the group plus an individual by the name of Anthone. Anthone received payment as a trumpeter in 1517/18. In the Comptroller's accounts for 1518 he is designated 'tubicini' but listed independently of the five 'tubicinis Italicis'. It is possible that Anthone was the sole remaining member of the Italian trumpet ensemble employed at the royal court.

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42 Polk, 1992, p. 70. Tarr refers to wind instrumentalists doubling on a variety of instruments but confines his discussion to players in municipal service (Tarr, 1988, p. 64).
43 See Downey, 1981.
44 See Downey, 1997(a).
45 See [September] 1515. Polk has noted the existence of six-part wind bands from the late fifteenth century onwards (Polk, 1992, p. 83).
between 1511 and 1512. Anthone is regularly mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts during the reign of James V. He received payment as a fiddle player in 1526, but the vast majority of entries describe him as a 'talbonar'. It seems likely that Anthone did not perform in the wind band but was merely listed alongside its members for the purpose of remuneration.

Although the payment records list the Italian instrumentalists as a group, it is not certain that they routinely performed as a single ensemble. During periods of royal minority the royal court did not always exist as a unified institution. For example, James V resided in Edinburgh for most of his minority with a modest household, while the Governor maintained a separate court. During the regency of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran (1543-1553/4), James Drummond was assigned to the Earl as his personal trumpeter and servant. At around the same time, John Drummond served as trumpeter to the Earl of Lennox. An entry in the Treasurer's accounts for 1515 suggests that the minstrels may have performed duties unrelated to those pertaining to their office. In July 1515 'Auld Juliane, Italiane' received payment of £12 12s. for six thousand tiles, made by him, for building a new furnace in Edinburgh Castle 'for the founding of gunnys'. It is not clear if 'Auld Julian' was Julian Drummond or Julian Richetto. He is more likely to have been the latter, since Julian Richetto died in 1524 and Julian Drummond survived until 1547. From the year before the commencement of James V's reign, Julian Drummond served as the King's personal trumpeter and served consistently in this capacity over the following decade. An entry in the Treasurer's accounts for 1538, recording payment to 'Juliane the shalmer at the kingis grace

46 See April 1513.
47 The final payment to Anthone is recorded in the accounts for 1542, when he is described as the minstrels 'maister' (TA, viii, p. 150).
48 Shire infers that Anthone was a member of the Drummond family (Shire, 1996, p. 120); however, he is not referred to by this name in the court records.
49 See 19 April 1546.
50 See 3 November 1544 and 1545.
51 TA, v, p. 18.
comand to by ane goun [gown], provides the strongest evidence that Julian Drummond did not abandon his activities as a member of the wind band.\(^{52}\)

The description of the office granted to John Kempt in 1548 as 'tubicinis lie shawmarie' - Kempt had previously held office as a trumpeter 'of weyre' (see below) - and the reference to James Savoy as a 'trumpetour and schamar' at his appointment in 1548/9, suggest that members of the group continued to perform as a wind band during minority of Mary Stewart.\(^{53}\) Descriptions of two events at the royal court, one during the reign of James V and the other shortly after his death, attest to the performance of a wind band. In his account of the celebrations in St Andrews at the arrival of Mary of Guise in Scotland in 1538, Pitscottie does not confirm that the players of shawms, 'draught' trumpets and 'weir' trumpets were those in the service of the Scottish King, but this complement of musicians accords with the instrumental forces employed in royal service at that time. The account of the Mass performed at the signing of the Treaty of Greenwich in 1543, by which the infant Queen Mary was betrothed to Prince Edward of England, is contained in a letter from Sir Ralph Sadler, Henry VIII's ambassador to Scotland, to the English King:

> That this Day the Treaties were ratificat and confirmed here in *Edinburgh*, and the Governour, in my Presence, hath renounced and sworn according to the Proprt of the same, which was solemnly done at the high Mass, solemnly sung with Shalms and Sackbuts in the Abbey-Church of the *Holy-rood-house*.

Again, the author does not confirm that the wind players were those belonging to the royal court. Recent research has established that wind instruments were used to accompany singers in sacred music in certain parts of Europe from the late fifteenth century onwards.\(^{55}\) Herbert has argued that the use of wind instruments to accompany

\(^{52}\)SRO E 21/34, f. 32v. This entry is cited, but not quoted in full, in *74*, vi, p. 405.

\(^{53}\)See 9 April 1548.


\(^{55}\)Many of the sources that attest to the inclusion of wind instruments in church are equivocal in denoting whether the voices and instruments combined to perform as a single ensemble; see Brown, 1989, pp. 151-52; Reynolds, 1989, pp. 193-95; Herbert, 1993.
singers in church, although customary on festive occasions at the French royal court during the early sixteenth century, was anathema to English religious practice before the death of Henry VIII.\textsuperscript{56} The fact that the English ambassador referred to the instrumental accompaniment of the Mass perhaps indicates that he regarded the practice as being unusual.

The only evidence to suggest that James Drummond, the elder, performed in the royal wind band is the designation 'tube ductilis' at the appointment of his son to the same office in 1556. It was suggested in Chapter 2 that the term 'tube ductilis' may have been applied to members of the main group of wind instrumentalists irrespective of the instruments they played and their musical role. In 1526 James Drummond was appointed to royal service on similar terms to the Italian minstrels.\textsuperscript{57} He is not listed in subsequent payment lists relating to the group and presumably served in an independent capacity. It seems that James Drummond served exclusively as a trumpeter. At his appointment he is referred to as a 'tubicinis', in contrast to his father, Julian Drummond, who is designated 'Italici musici'. Subsequent to his appointment, James Drummond is not mentioned again in the court records until his recruitment as a trumpeter of 'weyre' in 1538 (see below). He is mentioned in the accounts on a regular basis after the disintegration of the trumpet ensemble and continued to receive his quarterly fee until 1547.\textsuperscript{58} Presumably in that year he was incorporated into the group of wind instrumentalists for the purpose of payment. James Drummond is one of the four members of the Drummond family listed in the charter of 1553 confirming the assignment of their salaries from the lands of Garioch and Kintore. After serving as personal trumpeter to the regent, Earl of Arran, he fulfilled the same role for Mary of Guise from 1554 and appears to have been the leader of the trumpet corps that

\textsuperscript{56}Herbert, 1993. This study was based on accounts of the religious ceremonies performed at the meeting of Henry VIII and Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, and at the declaration of the English king as 'Defender of the Faith' the following year.

\textsuperscript{57}See 9 June 1526.

\textsuperscript{58}See July and August 1547.
emerged during the personal reign of Mary Stewart.\textsuperscript{59} James Savoy is mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts as a trumpeter during the 1550s, and in 1555, along with James Drummond, he accompanied Mary of Guise to justice ayres in the Borders.\textsuperscript{60}

Information on the nature of the group of wind instrumentalists retained in the royal service after the death of James IV up to the reign of Mary Queen of Scots is inconclusive and often ambiguous. By piecing together the fragmentary evidence from the court records and taking into account reports of musical activities centred on the royal court, it can be deduced that the group continued to perform as a wind band. Certain members of the group served primarily as trumpeters; the hypothesis that they constituted a trumpet ensemble during this period, however, is erroneous.

In order to reconcile the conflicting information relating to the wind instrumentalists in royal service recorded in the Exchequer Rolls and the Treasurer's accounts it is essential to comprehend the differences between the branches of crown revenue to which these sources relate. Assignments of salaries from income deriving from crown lands were authorised by warrants granted under the Great Seal or the Privy Seal. Once registered with the Lords of Exchequer, these assignments appeared as allowances against the charge levied upon the holder of the land, or the official responsible for the collection of rents, and remained in force unless altered or annulled by royal precept. Consequently, the allowances tended to be recorded verbatim in subsequent accounts. This explains the consistency in the terminology applied to the instrumentalists in the Exchequer Rolls. As Murray has pointed out, the Exchequer Rolls contain the audited accounts of the individuals charged with providing regular revenue to the crown and the primary concern of the auditors was that the accountant met his personal fiscal responsibility. Thus, whereas the Treasurer's accounts often provide a detailed record of royal expenditure, the accounts of the \textit{Ballivi ad Extra}

\textsuperscript{59}See September 1561
\textsuperscript{60}See August & September 1555.
contained in the Exchequer Rolls provide a secondary record of payment to the instrumentalists.61

The letter appointing James Drummond, the younger, to royal service in 1556 stipulates that payment was to be made by John Leslie of Warderis and his successors, twice yearly.62 The accounts for Kintore submitted in 1521/2 state that a receipt of payment was submitted by George Forest. Since the lands of Garioch and Kintore lie more than one hundred miles north of the principal royal residences at Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Falkland and Stirling, it is not readily apparent through which channels the players received payment.63 The Leslies of Warderis were a prominent family in the North East of Scotland, with close links to the royal court. Alexander Leslie of Warderis, who was granted the lands of Kintore in feuferme in 1473,64 served as Receiver-General to James III. His son, John Leslie, the recipient of the lands of Garioch in feuferme in 1510, served as Provost of Aberdeen.65 In 1546 he was succeeded by his son, Alexander, whose son and successor, William Leslie, served as Falconer to James VI.66

It was noted above that from 1498 Thomas Pringle received part of his salary from the Receiver of the lands of Ballincrieff in money and the remainder in barley. A considerable portion of the income from crown lands was set as payment in kind during the sixteenth century, and it was common for royal servants and officials whose salaries derived from this source of crown revenue to receive part of their payment in kind. The portion of the salaries assigned to the Italian instrumentalists from the lands of Garioch comprised a monetary component in addition to quantities of barley, marts,

61This overview of the workings of the Exchequer during the sixteenth century is derived from Murray, 1961.
62See 3 November 1556.
63The Lordship of Garioch and the Thanage of Kintore were part of the Earldom of Mar. In 1435 the Earldom was annexed to the crown. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries large units of land within the Earldom were let in feuferme (Madden, 1976, p. 394).
64Madden, 1976, p. 395.
65Davidson, 1878, pp. 111, 445.
66Davidson, 1878, p. 445.
capon and fowl. Commodities charged to holders of crown lands in lieu of monetary payments were often 'sold' at the audit. The term 'sold' in this context meant that payment of the commodities was commuted to a cash sum. The accounts of Garioch from 1558 onwards state that the commodities due had been 'sold', from which the trumpeters received full payment of their salaries in money and the remainder was paid to the Comptroller.

**French trumpeters and the trumpeters 'of weyre'**

The Auld Alliance between Scotland and France may have resulted in the appearance of French trumpeters at the Scottish court prior to the period covered by this study. A number of French minstrels were employed by James IV, but it is not until the reign of James V that French trumpeters are recorded as serving at the Scottish court. If the designation 'tubicines et musici', applied to the French players in 1533, is interpreted literally, it suggests that their musical activities did not only involve trumpet playing.

In September 1536 James V set sail for France with the intention of marrying Marie de Bourdon. After breaking off his betrothal he proceeded to the court of François I and married Madeleine de Valois, the daughter of the French King, on 1 January 1537. Madeleine died less than two months after arriving in Scotland. In June 1537, the month after James's return from France, an entry appears in the accounts recording payment for provisions for four trumpeters. In May 1538 Cardinal David Beaton led a delegation to France to arrange for James's marriage to Mary of Guise. He was accompanied on this mission by the King's newly formed trumpet ensemble. The marriage of James V and Mary of Guise took place in St Andrews in June 1538. The following month the trumpet ensemble was formally appointed to royal service. Each of the players was described at his appointment as a 'trumpatour of weyre'. Pitscottie refers to 'weir trumpatis' in his account of the celebrations that followed Mary's arrival.

67For details of James V's journey to France, see Bingham, 1971, pp. 100-33.
in Scotland. The designation trumpeter 'of weyre' suggests that the trumpet ensemble was modelled on those that James would have encountered at the French royal court.\textsuperscript{68}

The four trumpeters 'of weyre' were to receive regular salaries and provision of liveries, but, unlike the Italian minstrels, were paid directly from the Treasury. The accounts of Garioch for 1531 list John Drummond, one of the trumpeters appointed in 1538, among the wind instrumentalists. This may have been a scribal error, since Julian Drummond is excluded from this list. William Carslaw may have been a relative of Alexander Carslaw, who served as a royal trumpeter under James IV. John Kempt is not mentioned in the records prior to his appointment in 1538. He may have been related to Alexander and Henry Kemp, who served as Groom in the King's Chamber and Yeomen of the King's Chamber respectively.\textsuperscript{69} A composer by the name of Andro Kemp (fl.1560-1570), who was master of the St Andrews 'Sang Schule' during the reign of Mary Stewart, may also have been related.\textsuperscript{70} Following the death of James V in December 1542 the trumpet ensemble was gradually wound down. The position vacated by John Kempt in 1543 was not filled, and by 1545 James Drummond was the only member of the ensemble receiving his salary.

Payments to groups of French trumpeters are recorded in the Treasurer's accounts during the regency of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran (1543-1554). Trumpeters were attached to the French military forces that arrived in May 1545 under Jacques de Montgomery, Seigneur de Lorges, and June 1548 under the Sieur D'Essé.\textsuperscript{71} The Treasurer's accounts record payments to French trumpeters between 1545 and 1550 for performing in the Governor's residence. The group referred to was probably that which arrived with De Lorge in 1545. It appears that they were temporarily recruited into Arran's service, and provided with liveries in 1546.

\textsuperscript{68}The term 'trompettes de guerre' is frequently encountered in fifteenth-century French sources but appears less often during the sixteenth century.
\textsuperscript{69}See the numerous references in \textit{T4}, v and vi.
\textsuperscript{70}See Ross, 1993, p. 89.
\textsuperscript{71}See 23 June 1543; February 1548/9, and numerous entries up to August 1550.
From wind band to trumpet ensemble: The re-emergence of a royal trumpet corps

The return of Mary Stewart from France in 1561 to assume control of Scotland marks a turning point in the history of the wind instrumental group employed in royal service. During the first few months of Mary's reign the accounts record several payments to groups of trumpeters attending the Queen. Four trumpeters accompanied Mary on her progress through her kingdom at the outset of her reign. Three trumpeters named in the accounts during the reign of Queen Mary held office as royal wind instrumentalists. It is not possible to determine if the 'trumpetouris and hewbois' that received New Year gifts in 1561/2 constituted a single group or two separate ensembles. This is the only reference to 'hewbois' in the court records during the personal reign of Mary Stewart. If the entry relates to the group in regular royal service, it indicates that the players continued to perform as a wind band in addition to serving as a trumpet ensemble. In December 1566 the baptismal celebrations for Prince Charles James (the future James VI) were held at Stirling. The event, which was attended by representatives from the royal courts of France, Savoy and England, and lasted for three days, has been described as the first 'triumphant Renaissance festival' staged in Britain. Lynch argues that the celebrations were modelled on the triumphant fetes held at the French court during the 1550s, which Queen Mary would have witnessed, and in particular the series of festivals held as part of Charles IX's progress through France during 1564 and 1565. Several sources attest to the performance of trumpeters during the celebrations. The group of 'violaris' employed at court during this period would presumably also have performed at various stages in the

72See Cowan, 1975, for details of the Queen's progress.
73This is the only record of royal servants receiving New Year gifts during the six years of Mary's personal reign. It is not possible, therefore, to estimate the number of players receiving payment from the money expended.
75Lynch, 1990, pp.3-4. For details of the festivals of 1564 and 1565, see Graham and Johnson, 1979.
76See 17 December 1566; 19 April 1567; July 1567.
entertainment. None of the surviving descriptions of the celebrations mention the involvement of a wind band and no payments to wind players for serving at the event are recorded in the Treasurer's accounts. It seems unlikely that such a lavish festival would have lacked this standard musical feature of court entertainment, and it is possible that the royal trumpeters also performed as a wind band on this occasion.

Only two appointments to the group between the reign of Mary Stewart and the accession of James VI to the English throne in 1603 are recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal. Both entries are written in Scots and refer to the appointees unequivocally as trumpeters. During the personal reign of James VI the Treasurer's accounts provide clear evidence that the instrumentalists employed in royal service constituted a trumpet ensemble. Livery payments and trumpet banners were provided on a regular basis and information is forthcoming on the duties fulfilled by trumpeters, both in groups and in a solitary capacity.

One of the most spectacular events held at the royal court during James VI's reign in Scotland was the baptism of Prince Henry Frederick in 1594. The detailed account of the celebration contained in the published tract describing the event mentions trumpeters fulfilling their traditional ceremonial role at the various events included in the three-day festival. The reference to 'howboyes and trumpets' performing at the banquet is intriguing. The passage appears to denote a single ensemble, which presumably comprised oboes and trombones. It is possible, however, that a band of oboes and a trumpet ensemble were being alluded to. Even if this was the case, the former may well have included trombones. A wind band was not employed at the Scottish court during the reign of James VI, and it can be assumed that these wind

77 Farmer, 1947, p. 123; see also the references to this group in TA, xi and xii.
78 See 10 July 1576; 2 December 1584.
79 See 30 August 1594. For an overview of the music at the baptismal celebrations, see Purser, 1992, pp. 116-19.
players were either recruited specifically for the occasion, or arrived with one of the visiting dignitaries.

No accounts for the lands of Garioch and Kintore were submitted to the Exchequer between 1561 and 1574. The accounts of 1574, in recording the assignment of the trumpeters' salaries, drop the prefix 'Italian' and those for Garioch describe the players as 'tubicinibus ordinariis domini regis'. The Exchequer Rolls for 1588 reveal that the trumpeters' salaries derived partly from the income from the lands of Garioch and Kintore, and partly from the Lordship of Menteith. The Comptroller's accounts for that year also record the payment from Garioch and Kintore to the trumpeters. This suggests that the money was paid into the Exchequer and disbursed by the Comptroller. Subsequent accounts reveal that this practice was adopted. The Comptroller's accounts for 1593 specify that the trumpeters' salaries derived from the income from Menteith. The Lordship of Menteith was situated in central Scotland, close to the royal residences at Stirling and Linlithgow. The link between the revenue deriving from the lands of Menteith and the assignment of the trumpeters' salaries to the income from the lands of Garioch and Kintore was established in 1565 with the granting of the Earldom of Mar, which incorporated the lands of Garioch and Kintore, to John Erskine (1558-1634). In return for procuring the Earldom, Erskine discharged his liferent on the Lordship of Menteith to the crown. After discovering that the income from the Earldom was less than expected, through the assignment of revenue to the trumpeters' salaries, he was appointed to the newly-created office of Chamberlain of Menteith by way of compensation; the fee pertaining to this office was equal to the assignment due to the trumpeters.

81 See 2 February 1565/6 and 1566. For background information on the Earldom of Mar and the lands of Garioch and Kintore, see Madden, 1976; see also DNB, s.v. 'John Erskine, second or seventh Earl of Mar.'
Throughout the personal reign of James VI in Scotland (1578-1603) the Exchequer Rolls record payment to five trumpeters. The Treasurer's accounts, until 1602, however, indicate that four players were employed in active service. The directive of James VI to the privy council in 1601 concerning his trumpeters likewise refers to four players in service. The players are named in the Exchequer Rolls for 1596 for the first time in over sixty years.\textsuperscript{82} The five trumpeters listed are those that accompanied James VI to London in 1603. Since William Ramsay, Robert Drummond and Archibald Sym travelled to Denmark in 1596, and neither John Ramsay nor Michael Woddel are recorded as serving as trumpeters at specific occasions, it is possible that either of the latter two players held the office of royal trumpet in a nominal capacity and was engaged in other areas of royal service.

From 1582 the annual salary pertaining to the office of royal trumpeter was increased from £38 10s to £46, although this figure varied slightly in subsequent accounts. Between 1585 and 1591 the Treasurer's accounts record payment to four trumpeters for their 'monethlie wages'.\textsuperscript{83} These payments represent the reintroduction of regular livery payments, and the players continued to receive their salaries through the Exchequer.\textsuperscript{84}

\textsuperscript{82}See 1535 \& 1596/7.

\textsuperscript{83}See April 1590.

\textsuperscript{84}The monthly fee of £6 13s 4d represents the total payment to the group, amounting to £80 per annum. This is evident from the total annual outlay of £80 recorded in the Treasurer's accounts (see 1590) but is not made clear in the calendar compiled by Burnett (Burnett, 1992). See also the record of the appointment of Archibald Ramsay (2 December 1584).
Scandinavian trumpeters in royal service

Prior to the reign of James IV important diplomatic and trading links between Scotland and the Scandinavian countries were well established. An entente between Scotland, France and the dominions of Christian I (comprising Norway and Denmark) was formed during the reign of James II (1437-1460), and an alliance between Scotland, France and Denmark was signed during the reign of James IV. Relations between Scotland and Denmark were strengthened by the royal marriages of 1469 and 1589. Trumpeters are recorded as accompanying embassies to and from Denmark during the reigns of James IV and James VI.

A group of instrumentalists in the service of Prince Frederick of Norway (the future King Frederick I) were sent letters of passage to visit the Scottish court in 1509. The designation 'tubicinibus et musicis' is similar to that applied to wind instrumentalists that arrived from Bologna in 1507 and the French group which was in Scotland in 1533. It is not possible to determine if the Scandinavian group constituted a trumpet ensemble, whose members doubled on other instruments, or a wind band. The court records provide no information on the activities of the group while in Scotland and it is not known how long they stayed.

In October 1589 James VI travelled to Norway, with an entourage of around three hundred persons, to accompany his bride, Anne, on her journey to Scotland - the civil wedding took place on 20 August in Kronborg Castle with the Earl Marischal acting as James's proxy. After solemnising the wedding with a church ceremony in Oslo, the couple travelled to Copenhagen, where they remained as hosts of the Danish royal

85 See Introduction.
86 [17] September 1502; 1585; April 1587; 1590; 1596.
87 See 25 August 1509.
88 Stevenson, 1997, p. 22.
89 Stevenson, 1997, p. 36. A contemporary Danish account of the ceremony mentions trumpets sounding at the gate of the church on the arrival of James and Anne (Ibid., p. 92).
family for almost four months. On 1 May 1590 the royal couple arrived at Leith and preparations commenced for the Queen's coronation. A list of the servants that accompanied the king on this trip has not survived. Given that two trumpeters accompanied an embassy to Denmark in 1587 to negotiate the terms of the King's marriage and at least one trumpeter, Nicoll Lyell, travelled with the delegation headed by the Earl Marischal in 1589, it seems likely that James would have been accompanied by trumpeters on his arrival in Denmark. A Danish trumpet ensemble of five trumpeters and a kettle drummer accompanied James and Anne to Scotland. The provision of liveries for the 'tua Dutche trumpeto' in October 1590 suggests that members of the group returned home shortly after the Queen's coronation.

The Drummond family

Throughout the sixteenth century members of a family by the name of Drummond were employed as wind instrumentalists and trumpeters at the Scottish court. Julian Drummond was a member of the wind band that arrived in 1503 and appointed to an official position at court two years later, and Robert Drummond was one of James VI's trumpeters who ventured with him to London in 1603. Ten members of the Drummond family, spanning four generations, can be identified from the records. Those whose family relationship can be established are shown below:

90 See April 1587; 1590; see also Chapter 5 regarding the payment to Nicoll Lyell by the Edinburgh burgh council.
91 The trumpeters were Peter Jürgenn, Vilhelm Rytter, Gert Gertsen, Hans Bagster and Hieronymus Lübeck, and the kettle drummer was Peder Stegemann (Friis, 1947, pp. 111-12).
92 The sum of £700 paid to the Queen's trumpeters may represent a final payment at the time of their departure (see 1591).
Evidence that John Drummond was the son of Julian Drummond is contained in the entry in the Treasurer's accounts for 1543 recording payment of the regular salaries to the 'tua Drummondis brether' who held office as trumpeters of 'weyre', John Drummond and James Drummond, the younger. The sources do not reveal the relationship between Robert Drummond and the other family members, but it can be conjectured that he was a member of the fourth generation of the family and either the son of Julius or James Drummond, the younger. The inclusion of Niniano Drummond in the accounts of Garioch for 1532 was probably a scribal error and the player being referred to was Ninian Brown. It has not been possible to establish the relationship between Julian Drummond and the other two musicians who were almost certainly members of the same family, Bernard Dromen and Sebastian Dormon. The only reference to Bernard Dromen in the court records is his letter of passage to come to Scotland in 1507. On the other hand, Sebastian Drummond, who arrived in Scotland independently of the royal wind band, was a regular member of the group during the reign of James V. Mark Drummond is mentioned in the records on two occasion: in 1544, receiving payment for serving as a trumpeter, and in 1548, when his place in the wind band (presumably upon his decease) was filled by John Kempt. Mark Drummond was probably either the son of Julian Drummond, the elder, or Sebastian Drummond.

93See September 1543.
Whereas a link has been established between Julian Richetti and the musical establishment of the city of Bologna, no trace of the Drummond family has been found in the Bolognese archives. Dalyell claims that the Drummonds were a Scottish family, naturalised in Italy, who returned to their native country during the reign of James IV, but provides no evidence to support this theory. At the appointment of Julius Drummond in 1547 the entry in the Register of the Privy Seal states that Julian Drummond originated from Italy. References to the instrumentalists in the Treasurer's accounts regularly attest to their Italian origin and the fact that the additional member of the group, George Forest, was a Scotsman.

The extent to which members of the Drummond family were favoured at court is evident, not only from the fact that successive generations of family members were employed in royal service, but also from the assignment of land in liferent to James Drummond, the elder, and his son Julius, by James Hamilton, the son of the Regent, Earl of Arran, and, most poignantly, the granting of remission for the crime of manslaughter to James Drummond, father and son.

Drummond, which appeared in a variety of spellings during the sixteenth century, is a common Scottish name and belonged to one of the foremost aristocratic families. The practice of immigrants changing their name to one of Scottish origin was common during the late Middle Ages. Immigrant musicians employed at the English court during the sixteenth century sometimes changed their name in order to conceal their Jewish identity. There is no evidence that the instrumentalists that came to Scotland from Bologna were Jewish. A possible explanation for the adoption of the name

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95 Dalyell, 1849, p. 176.
96 See 19 April 1546.
97 See 26 April 1548 and 10 January 1580/1.
98 Herbert, 1997, p. 69. The Jewish identity of the Bassano family, one of the most prominent musical dynasties active at the English court during the sixteenth century, is discussed in Lasocki, 1995, pp. 92-98. This chapter was written jointly with Roger Prior.
99 The earliest evidence of Jews in Scotland dates from the seventeenth century (Cameron, 1993, s.v. 'Jews.').
Drummond is that this was the closest sounding Scottish name to their Italian family name.

Duties and repertoire

Many of the duties fulfilled by trumpeters in royal service prior to 1603 have already been mentioned in this chapter. To summarise: during periods of monarchical rule, trumpeters attended the king or queen within Scotland and on occasional journeys abroad; they served at important state ceremonies such as coronations, weddings and baptisms, which were often complemented by celebratory events such as banquets and jousts; on a more regular basis they accompanied the monarch to meetings of parliament and performed at inauguration ceremonies of peers; at the publication of royal proclamations they served as ancillaries to heralds. Royal trumpeters served in a military capacity when required and certain members of the corps fulfilled important roles as heraldic emissaries in this line of duty. Other duties included accompanying diplomatic missions abroad and attending upon visiting foreign dignitaries. During periods of royal minority trumpeters were assigned to the regent.

From early in his reign James IV travelled extensively within Scotland, accompanied by his band of trumpeters, to preside over justice ayres. Later in the century the royal trumpeters are recorded as accompanying heralds in the delivery of charges of treason, or proclamations summoning individuals to appear before the monarch or the privy council, under the threat of treason. Burnett states that during the reign of James VI the summons of treason was served by a herald or pursuivant, accompanied by a trumpeter and two messengers of arms as witnesses. While the trumpeters' role in both of these activities was in keeping with their traditional function as attendants to

101 Burnett, 1992, i, p. 16. An act of parliament in 1592 stipulated that charges of treason would be void if not served by heralds and pursuivants (APS, iii, p. 555).
the king and the heraldic officers, it provided a precedent for their involvement in judicial ceremonies following the Union of the Crowns.

No music has survived that can be directly linked to the trumpeters of the Scottish royal court. Three late sixteenth-century manuscripts: a trumpet method by the Italian trumpeter Cesare Bendinelli (c.1542-1617), the chief trumpeter at the Munich court, and music notebooks compiled by Magnus Thomsen (1596-1609) and Hendrich Lübeck (1598), German trumpeters at the Danish court, constitute the earliest substantive sources of trumpet music. These manuscripts record the military signals in use and include a corpus of trumpet ensemble music. All of the ensemble pieces, with the exception of several in Bendinelli's tutor, are noted as a single melodic line, the *Principal*, from which the players improvised the additional parts according to recognised formulae. Bendinelli provides details on the manner in which the ensemble pieces were constructed and performed. Additional information relating to the performance of the ensemble repertoire is provided by Girolamo Fantini in his printed trumpet method of 1638 and by Michael Praetorius. A single *Clarin* part in the range C₅ to A₅ was improvised above the *Principal* (also known as the *Sonata* or *Quinta*) in the range C₄-C₅. Three, or sometimes four, lower parts, each of which was restricted to a single pitch, sounded rhythmic drones.

Downey has categorised the ensemble pieces contained in these sources as trumpet music in the 'Italian style'. References to 'Italian style' trumpet music occur in sources from across much of Europe during the sixteenth century. The 'Italian style' encompassed two categories of trumpet music: monophonic military signals and

102Bendinelli, 1975.
103Transcriptions of the manuscripts by Magnus Thomsen and Hendrich Lübeck, by Georg Schünemann, appear in 'Trompeterfanfaren, Sonaten und Feldstücke', *Das Erbe deutscher Musik*, vii (Kassel, 1936), and Downey, 1983.
105The lower parts are named *Alter Bass*, *Volgant*, *Grob* and *Gladdergrub*, the latter being optional. The *Alter Bass* followed the *Principal* one harmonic lower, and the lower three parts was restricted to a single note: G₃, C₃ and C₂, respectively; see also Tarr, 1997.
homophonic ensemble pieces, described as 'Sonatas'\textsuperscript{106}. This style of trumpet music was developed at Northern Italian courts during the late fifteenth century and introduced to many courts in the German speaking world by Italian trumpeters in their employ during the course of the sixteenth century. A fragment of trumpet ensemble music, consisting of a single high melodic part and an accompaniment of drones, was cited by the composer and theorist Gioseffo Zarlino (c.1517-1590) in his \textit{Sopplimenti Musicali} (Venice, 1588). Downey considers this to be an example of pre-Italian-style trumpet ensemble music.\textsuperscript{107}

Purser has suggested that Italian trumpeters introduced the Italian-style trumpet music to Scotland during the reign of James IV.\textsuperscript{108} It can be assumed that the Italian trumpeters employed at the Scottish royal court between 1511 and 1513, coming from Bologna, were familiar with contemporary developments in trumpet design and playing occurring in Northern Italy. However, it is not clear how representative the ensemble pieces contained in Bendinelli's tutor are of early sixteenth-century Italian trumpet music. As suggested above, two of the four Italian trumpeters that came to Scotland in 1511 moved to the English royal court two years later and that one of these players attained the rank of Sergeant Trumpeter. Downey asserts that the Italian style did not reach England or France until the late sixteenth century and that treble-dominated trumpet ensemble music prevailed in those countries.\textsuperscript{109} It can be conjectured that the trumpeters 'of weyre' appointed at the Scottish court towards the end of the reign of James V and the various groups of French trumpeters in Scotland during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots performed ensembles music in the treble-dominated style.

\textsuperscript{106}Two new signals, set one harmonic higher than the others, are notated by Thomson and Bendinelli (Downey, 1981, pp. 328-29).

\textsuperscript{107}Downey, 1983, i, p. 62; Downey, 1984, p. 31.

\textsuperscript{108}Purser, 1988, p. 12. The source for this assertion is given as Downey, 1984.

\textsuperscript{109}According to Downey, Italian-style military music was adopted in England and France towards the end of the sixteenth century, but Italian-style ensemble music was rejected (Downey, 1983, i, p. 88).
Through their contact with trumpeters of the Danish royal court around the time of James VI's marriage, the Scottish royal trumpeters must have been exposed to Italian-style trumpet ensemble music.\(^{110}\) Whether this style was adopted by the Scottish trumpeters, however, is uncertain. It is shown in Chapter 4 that James VI's Scottish trumpeters attained a pre-eminent position in the English royal trumpet corps after 1603. Information is scant on the type of trumpet ensemble music performed in England during the first half of the seventeenth century. Musical sources from the second half of the century, however, suggest that trumpet ensemble music in France and England developed along separate lines from other parts of Europe and that the style was rooted in the treble-dominated trumpet music of the sixteenth century.\(^{111}\)

It has been suggested that the Scottish royal trumpeters performed with the singers of the Chapel Royal in the Mass in six parts by Robert Carver.\(^{112}\) The hypothesis derives from passages in the work which feature *trumpetum*. This compositional device involved the representation of trumpet calls in vocal compositions and was featured in a number of fifteenth-century works, both sacred and secular. In some instances the vocal line containing the trumpet imitation (normally the tenor or contratenor) is marked with one of the Latin or vernacular terms for 'trumpet'. Ross suggests that the Mass in six parts may have been performed to celebrate the launch of James IV's battleship, the *Great Michael*, in 1511, and notes that payment was made to the royal trumpeters for performing on that occasion; Elliot, however, dates the Mass after 1513.\(^{113}\)

In support of his theory that trumpeters performed in sixteenth-century sacred music in Scotland, Ross cites a passage from *The Testament of Squyer Meldrum* by Sir David

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\(^{110}\) The introduction of Italian trumpeters and Italian-style trumpet music to the Danish royal court is discussed in Downey, 1981.

\(^{111}\) See Downey, 1990; Downey, 1995.


\(^{113}\) Elliot, op. cit., p. vi.
Lindsay of the Mount. In the poem, which is written in the first person, Squire Meldrum, a Fife laird and acquaintance of the author, contemplates the manner in which he wishes his funeral is to conducted:

Se that the thoill na Preist in my Processioun,  
Without he be of Uenus Professioun;  
...  
With ane Bischop of that Religioun,  
Solemnitlie gar thame sing my saull mes,  
With organe, Timpane, Trumpet, & Clarion,  
To shaw thair Musick dewlie them addres.  
I will that day be hard no heuines.  
I will na seruice of the Riquiem,  
Bot Alleluya, with melodie and Game.  

The Mass to which Lindsay alludes was a hypothetical event at which a priest of the 'Uenus Professioun' presided. Meldrum makes it clear that he desires no emblems of the pre-reformed church, either in the funeral procession, or the service, and sets out an alternative manner of solemnising the event. Thus, the passage implies that the use of trumpets in the music of the mass was anathema to Scottish liturgical practice.

The passages in question in Carver's Mass in six parts, like most examples of *trumpetum* contained in the fifteenth-century vocal repertory, is not playable on the natural trumpet. Several writers have suggested that passages of *trumpetum* were performed on a slide trumpet. There is now a consensus among musicologists, however, that they denote vocal representations of trumpet calls rather than actual trumpet parts, a hypothesis alluded to by several fifteenth century writers. Accounts of important ceremonies associated with the Scottish court mention the sounding of trumpets in church. On each occasion, ceremonial trumpet music is alluded to, and there is no evidence that the trumpeters joined forces with singers, or other instrumentalists.

114Lindsay, 1931-36, i, p. 193. This poem is discussed in Chapter 2.  
115For example, see Smithers, 1973, pp. 45-49; Tarr, 1988, pp. 58-60.  
116See Baines, 1993, pp. 84-86; Downey, 1984, pp. 28-30; Polk, 1992, p. 49.
The use of wind instruments in the performance of sacred polyphonic music during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was mentioned earlier in this chapter. The evidence, although fragmentary, points to areas of Northern Europe, in particular the Low Countries, as being instrumental in this development. Initially, it seems that a single cornett and/or trombone player, rather than a full five-piece wind band, was used in this context.\textsuperscript{117} It is possible that a player of the 'draucht' trumpet and/or the cornett participated in performances of sacred polyphonic music at the Scottish Chapel Royal during the reign of James IV. Three of the four entries recording payment to the 'draucht trumpet' in the accounts refer to the player independently of the group of Italian minstrels to which he belonged. Given the small number of entries in question, this may be purely coincidental, but it perhaps indicates that the player's duties included serving independently of the wind band. A French cornett player by the name of Bountas is regularly mentioned in the Treasurer's accounts between 1502 and 1503. One payment was made for playing the 'cornut in the Quenis chamir'.\textsuperscript{118} After an absence of five years, payments to Bountas reappear in the accounts. None of the entries relating to Bountas after 1503 refer to him as a cornett player but normally described him as a 'fidler' or 'menstrale'. An entry in the accounts, dated 15 March 1516/17, records payment of £3 6s. 8d. to 'Bonetamps in the abbay kirle'.\textsuperscript{119} Although the entry falls short of indicating that Bountas performed in a liturgical context, the possibility that he accompanied the singers of the Chapel Royal on cornett cannot be ignored. There is no conclusive evidence that wind instrumentalists joined forces with the singers of the Chapel Royal prior to 1543. An entry in the records of the University of Louvain for 1503/4, referring to 'Robertus de Sto Johanne in Scotia', most probably refers to Robert Carver.\textsuperscript{120} The influence of the Flemish school of sacred polyphony is

\textsuperscript{117}See Polk, 1989; Polk, 1990, pp. 186, 195-96.
\textsuperscript{118}TA, ii, p. 398; see also the other payments in TA, ii.
\textsuperscript{119}TA, v, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{120}St. Johnstone was the name by which the city of Perth was known during the sixteenth century. A note in the Carver Choirbook (En Adv. Ms. 5.1.15.) states that the composer held the position of cantor at the Abbey of Scone (Ross, 1993, pp. 5-6). St. Johnstone was in the diocese of Scone.
apparent in Carver's music and it seems reasonable to assume that he would also have been familiar with the innovative developments in performance practice taking place in that region.
Chapter 4

TRUMPETERS IN ROYAL SERVICE: 1603-1800

The office of Royal Trumpeter

When James VI ascended to the throne of England in 1603 he was accompanied on his journey to London by his five trumpeters in ordinary.\(^1\) These players were subsequently incorporated into the trumpet corps at the English royal court.\(^2\) Positions for five trumpeters were retained as part of the Scottish establishment, and all but one of the players transferred to the English court continued to receive their salaries as royal trumpeters in Scotland until their death. Four trumpeters appointed in Scotland during the period of James VI's reign in England, three of whom were members of the Ramsay family, also procured positions in the English royal trumpet corps (see Table 1).

Table 1. Trumpeters appointed royal trumpeter in both Scotland and England during the reign of James VI and I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Appointed in Scotland</th>
<th>Appointed in England</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Ramsay</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>1604/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Marr</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>1624/25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silvester Ramsay</td>
<td>1612</td>
<td>1619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ramsay</td>
<td>1624</td>
<td>1626</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the same period, three trumpeters, two of whom were related to Archibald Finnie, were appointed solely in Scotland. The evidence strongly suggests that, with the exception of William Marr, the players appointed in both countries served primarily in England.

\(^1\) For an account of James VI's journey to London, during which he was met at York by an English delegation that included 'the Sergeant Trumpeter, with some other of his fellows', see Nichols, 1828, i, pp. 77-78.

The appointment of Andrew Finnie as a royal trumpeter in Scotland in April 1603, soon after the departure of the court, is significant in that he did not fill a position vacated by the decease of one of the existing office holders. He replaced Archibald Finnie in the list of those receiving salaries for the year to 1605, even though the latter continued to receive payment in England until his death in 1607. It seems likely that Andrew Finnie was recruited to fulfil the requirements of the administration in Scotland in the immediate aftermath of the departure of James VI. Robert Ramsay was appointed trumpeter in ordinary in England in 1604/5 in succession to his father, William Ramsay. The position made vacant in Scotland by the decease of William Ramsay was filled by George Ferguson, and Robert Ramsay was not appointed in Scotland until the next vacancy arose three years later. This suggests that a second player was recruited to fulfil the ceremonial requirements in Scotland.

It can be deduced that by 1609 three of the royal trumpeters holding office in Scotland: George Ferguson, William Mar and Andrew Finnie, were serving in Scotland. In 1619 Katherine Maxwell, John Ramsay's wife, collected the salaries for her husband and his brothers, Robert and Silvester, who were presumably serving in England. John Ramsay was in Scotland in 1620 and appears to have remained there until his death in 1626. On his return to Scotland he acted as proxy for his brothers' salaries. It is possible that Silvester Ramsay served in Scotland from 1612 until his appointment to the English trumpet corps in 1619. It seems more likely, however, in view of the fact that other family members were active in England, that he served in the English trumpet corps and that his salary from the Scottish exchequer from 1612 was treated as remuneration for serving in this capacity. Likewise, it is possible that the appointment of Robert

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4Ashbee, 1986-96, iv, pp. 11, 15, 75. Warrants for Robert Ramsay's livery are dated 8 February 1604/5; the Signet warrant, authorising payment of his regular fee, is dated 7 February 1604/5.
5Payment to Silvester Ramsay was not recorded in the Comptroller's accounts until 1616. This may have been due to a delay in the administrative process.
Ramsay in Scotland in 1608, three years after being admitted to the English trumpet corps, involved a temporary transfer to Scotland, but there is evidence that he was in London from 1612 onwards. The appointment of trumpeters serving in England to positions in Scotland may have been an extension of the tradition of appointing musicians to places at the English court that were unrelated to their actual musical role. This practice enabled musicians to be recruited into royal service without having to wait for a position as a player of a specific instrument to become vacant, and the number of players of a particular instrument to be changed without formally restructuring the royal musical establishment. The most likely explanation for players receiving salaries in both Scotland and England is that they served as the King's personal trumpeters, for which they were being generously rewarded.

That James VI's Scottish trumpeters and their descendants attained a prominent position in the English trumpet corps is apparent from the court records from the second decade of his reign in England. From 1614 onwards a group of three 'riding trumpeters' regularly accompanied the King on his travels from Whitehall. John Ramsay is recorded as attending the King on several journeys in 1619. Robert Ramsay was a member of the first group of 'riding' trumpeters named in the records (in 1615) and continued to served in this capacity during the reign of Charles I. In 1644, while the royal court was in exile at Oxford, Robert Ramsay officiated as Sergeant-Trumpeter.

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6Ashbee, 1986-96, iv, p. 36.
7See Holman, 1993, pp. 39-40.
8Ibid.
9During the reigns of James VI and Charles I favoured musicians at the royal court often held more than one 'place' on the musical establishment (Holman, 1993, pp. 45-46).
10Many Scottish courtiers were patronised at James VI's English court, particularly in the highly influential household positions (Cuddy, 1987, pp. 174-77).
11During his period in England, James spent around half his time out of London, either on progresses, or at one of his numerous residences (Cuddy, 1987, p. 193).
12See Ashbee, 1986-96, iii and iv.
None of the trumpeters appointed in Scotland during the reign of Charles I served in the royal trumpet corps in England, but throughout this period trumpeters continued to hold office in both countries. Thus, between 1603 and 1638 the royal trumpet corps in Scotland was gradually re-established; at no time during this period, however, did it operate with its full quota of five players.

Throughout the period of the Covenanting government (1638-1650) the royal administrative institutions in Scotland were retained and the royal trumpet corps remained in service. Appointments to the corps continued to be made when positions arose and its duties were very much as they had been under regal authority. Less information on the trumpet corps has been forthcoming for the period of Cromwellian rule (1650-1660). Trumpeters were much in evidence in Edinburgh during the occupation, but it is not always clear whether the players referred to in accounts of ceremonial events were attached to the English military forces or members of the former royal trumpet corps. The occupying forces retained the Court of the Lord Lyon as an institution - Cromwell personally crowned a new Lord Lyon in 1658\(^{14}\) - but very little is known of its function during this period. The only appointment to the trumpet corps recorded during the English occupation is that of Dowgall Campbell in 1651.\(^{15}\)

Whereas five players constituted the full complement of royal trumpeters during the reigns of James VI and Charles I, after the Restoration this was increased to six. Records of the appointment of two members of the trumpet corps listed in 1663, John White and John Thomson, have not been traced. It is possible that they were appointed during the 1650s, but the list of warrants passing the Privy Seal and contained in the register for the years immediately following the Restoration is far from complete.\(^{16}\) It is

\(^{14}\)Sir James Campbell of Lawers, who was appointed by Cromwell, was removed from office at the Restoration (Grant, 1945, p. 13; Stevenson, 1914, i, pp. 118-19).

\(^{15}\)See 5 January 1651.

\(^{16}\)A number of warrants which passed the Privy Seal but were not recorded in the register are held in the Scottish Record Office (PS 13). None of these relate to the appointment of trumpeters.
most likely that they were appointed at the revival of the royal trumpet corps after the Restoration. None of the trumpeters appointed in Scotland after the Restoration are mentioned in the English court records and from this time onwards all the members of the Scottish trumpet corps served exclusively in Scotland.

Appointments to the royal trumpet corps were traditionally made for life. From the last decade of the seventeenth century onwards, however, a number of players were appointed to serve for the duration of the monarch's reign. This was expressed in their appointment record as 'during our pleasure only'. Another change to the nature of the office of royal trumpeter occurred in the second half of the eighteenth century when several royal trumpeters resigned from office. This presumably resulted from their inability to carry out their duties, perhaps due to ill health.

According to the English court records of the early seventeenth century, the Scottish royal trumpeters were subject to the authority of the Sergeant-Trumpeter at the royal court in England, whose authority extended over all trumpeters, drummers and fifes 'within England and his Majesties other dominions'. There is no evidence that the Sergeant-Trumpeter exercised authority over the royal trumpeters in Scotland. Entries in the Register of the Privy Seal recording appointments in Scotland stipulate that the players served on equal terms. The only evidence of a hierarchy among the corps is that Alexander Ferguson signed for payment on several occasions on behalf of himself and the other royal trumpeters. It is possible that as the longest serving member of the group, and perhaps the one most familiar with the administrative procedure of the Treasury, he was afforded responsibility for administrative matters pertaining to the trumpet corps.

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17The phrase 'during our pleasure only' was used in documents recording the appointment of royal musicians in England. Holman considers the reason for such appointments difficult to explain (Holman, 1993, p. 43).
18This is expressed at the appointment of Henry Martyn as Sergeant Trumpeter in 1613/14 (Ashbee, 1986-96, iv, p. 40).
19See 6 September 1662; 11 September 1663; 13 September 1664.
Throughout the period of regal union the royal trumpet corps in Scotland was closely associated with the Court of the Lord Lyon, Scotland's court of heraldic jurisdiction. The royal trumpeters were subject to the authority of the Lord Lyon King of Arms, the principal officer of the Court of the Lord Lyon. The authority of the Lord Lyon King of Arms covered the granting of heraldic arms and the organisation of state ceremonies, duties which were presided over by the Earl Marshal and the Lord Chamberlain, respectively, in England.

**Duties**

Between 1603 and 1707 the Scottish parliament provided the most perceptible symbol of regal authority in Scotland and the Riding of Parliament was the most important event in the Scottish ceremonial calendar. The ceremony, which is first mentioned in an act of parliament of 1587, involved the transportation of the regalia of state from Holyroodhouse to the venue for parliament and back, on the opening and closing day of parliamentary sessions respectively. During the reigns of James VI and Charles I parliaments were held infrequently. It is possible that during the early years of the regal union the trumpeters who held office in Scotland but were based in England returned to Scotland for the event in the entourage of James VI's Scottish courtiers.

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20The principal officer of the Lyon Court is the Lord Lyon King of Arms. The Lyon Court comprises six heralds; Albany, Rothsay, Snowdon, Marchmont, Islay and Ross, and six pursuivants; Unicorn, Kintyre, Butc, Dingwall, Ormond and Carrick (Stevenson, 1914, i, p. 47-49).
21See [1681-1707]; see also the letter signed by the royal trumpeters in 1684, in reply to an admonishment for an unspecified misdemeanour at a funeral ceremony (12 March 1684).
22The importance of the ceremonial at meetings of parliament after the departure of the King (see 1606) is evident from the instructions sent to the privy council regarding the manner in which the 'Riding' was to be performed (see RPC, 1st series, vii, p. 221).
23Burnett, 1992, i, p. 23.
24In twenty three of the years between 1603 and 1638 there were no meetings of Parliament or Conventions of Estates. Parliaments continued to be held irregularly until 1689, when it began to meet annually (Brown, 1992, p. 18).
The royal trumpeters continued to attend upon the heralds at the publication of acts of parliament, which, after 1603, were intimated by proclamation at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and, for Scotsmen residing overseas, at the pier and shore of Leith. The royal trumpeters and heraldic officers also performed at proclamations of the privy council and those dispatched from the royal court in London. The importance of the Court of the Lord Lyon in preserving the ceremonial pertaining to regal sovereignty after 1603 was reflected in the elaborate inauguration ceremonies afforded to the Lord Lyon King of Arms and the heraldic officers. These ceremonies, in which the royal trumpeters participated, probably originated prior to the Union of the Crowns.

The records of the Lyon Court provide a wealth of information on funeral ceremonies in Scotland during the seventeenth century. Trumpeters are mentioned as participating in all but a few of the earliest funerals recorded, and the players are named in many of the accounts, revealing that the royal trumpet corps formed the nucleus of the groups employed. Aristocratic funeral ceremonies in seventeenth-century Scotland were lavish affairs, which belied the modest wealth of most Scottish aristocratic families during the period. It was not uncommon for six or more trumpeters to be employed. Lists of expenses incurred for the ceremony, which included payments to trumpeters, are appended to several of the funeral accounts.

Records of appointment to the trumpet corps from 1636 onwards often include performing at funeral ceremonies among the duties pertaining to the office. The role of the trumpeters at funerals will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7. The organisation and marshalling of funeral ceremonies of members of the aristocracy in England was the responsibility of the College of Arms. Royal trumpeters served at

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26 See 15 June 1630; 11 June 1634; c.1661; 25 September 1663 and 27 July 1681.
27 This was first expressed at the appointment of Johnne Phynnie (see 17 February 1636).
28 See also McGrattan, 1995.
royal funeral ceremonies in England during this period, but trumpeters were employed less frequently at funerals for members of the aristocracy. During the course of the seventeenth century heraldic funerals began to decline in popularity in England as torch-light burials at night came into fashion. Significantly, when trumpeters were incorporated into funeral ceremonies in England, there was no mandate directing the royal trumpeters to be employed.

In 1612 the officials of the Lyon Court petitioned the privy council for an allowance as compensation for their loss of earnings from the abandonment of the custom of creating peers and bishops by public ceremony, in favour of preferment by royal warrant alone. The privy council ordered that the heraldic officers should continue to receive a fee irrespective of the manner in which peers were created. No provision for the loss of earnings incurred by the royal trumpeters was made in this resolution. A successful supplication to the privy council on the matter was made by the trumpeters in 1616. That this resolution continued to be adhered to after the Restoration is evident from the payment to the trumpeters in this respect during the 1660s. A degree of opportunism, however, is detectable in the appeal to the Court of Session in 1681 over their claimed entitlement of a fee at the appointment of members of the clergy to the bishopric.

The involvement of trumpeters in judicial ceremonies in Scotland took on added significance during the seventeenth century. It is possible that the royal trumpeters performed a ceremonial role at meetings of the central criminal court during the first half of the century, but there is no evidence that trumpeters performed at court sittings.

31Burnett, 1992, i, pp. 30-32.
32RPC, 1st series, ix, pp. 485-86.
33See 3 December 1616.
34See 6 September 1662; 13 September 1664.
35See 7 June 1681.
in other areas at this time. Until the establishment High Court of Justiciary in 1672 the central criminal court sat in Edinburgh and criminal justice was administered in outlying districts by deputies. It was intended at the establishment of the High Court of Justiciary that annual circuit courts would be held, although few took place prior to the Union of the Parliaments. Payment to four royal trumpeters in 1677 for attendance at the circuit courts and the involvement of heralds in the procession to the Tollbooth of Stirling in 1683 suggests that the royal trumpeters may have been routinely employed in this capacity between 1672 and 1707.

The practice of royal trumpeters accompanying heralds and pursuivants in the serving of writs for treason during the second half of the sixteenth century was mentioned earlier. The records of the proceedings of Parliament throughout the seventeenth century document numerous charges of treason being delivered by heralds and pursuivants. The vast majority of the cases recorded do not mention the participation of a trumpeter, but it is possible that the royal trumpeters were regularly employed in this role. Acts of Parliament in 1661 and 1685 allowed for the execution of summons for treason without heralds and pursuivants, but the custom of the charge being made by an official of the Lyon Court, accompanied by a trumpeter, was still being observed in 1669.

An account of the manner in which the trumpet was sounded at the charging of felons in custody for treason prior to the Union of Parliaments is provided by John Louthian in his legal treatise, published in 1732. Several accounts from the second half of the seventeenth century testify to the manner in which sentences of forfeiture and death for

36 See November 1629.
38 See November 1677; 5 June 1683.
39 See November-December 1634.
40 APS, vii, p. 32; viii, p. 480.
41 See 1669.
42 See pre-1707.
treason were proclaimed, firstly in Parliament or the High Court, and later, publicly, at the market cross. An act of the parliament of Great Britain of 1707 brought the Scottish laws governing acts of treason in line with those of England. Louthian describes the process of indictment for treason after 1707 and makes no mention of the involvement of trumpeters.

The origins of the use of the trumpet to summon felons charged with treason can be traced back to the Scottish custom of bringing rebels 'to the horn'. The expression originally related to all fugitives, but by the seventeenth century it applied specifically to debtors who failed to answer charges brought against them within a specified period of time. The process of 'horning' involved one of the king's messengers reading the letter of charge 'and afterwards blow three blasts with an horn, by which the debtor is understood to be proclaimed rebel to the king'. The entry for 'horn' in The Oxford English Dictionary supports the Scottish origin of the custom. As late as 1740 a charge of 'horning' was issued at the market cross of Edinburgh with 'the usual three blasts of the horn'.

Evidence that trumpeters continued to perform at the passing of the death sentence during the eighteenth century is provided by inclusion of 'The Celebrated Trumpet Tune', in a collection of Scottish fiddle music, compiled by members of the Gow family, and published in the early nineteenth century (Ex. 2). The assertion that the piece was played when the court 'has occasion to Exercise its most painful Duty' can be

43See 13 & 21 May 1661; 1685; 2 July 1695.
44Erskine, 1871, ii, p. 1220.
45This is first referred to in an act of parliament of 1397. See DOST, s.v. 'horn.'
46Erskine, 1871, i, pp. 376-77.
47The wind instrument as used in forms of legal process; e.g. in the Scotch ceremony of proclaiming an outlaw, when three blasts were blown on a horn by the kings messenger; hence to put (denounce) to the horn ... (OED, s.v. 'horn,' 14.a.).
48SRO GD 332/69.
49Neil Gow & Sons. A Fifth Collection of Strathspeys and Reels &c. For the Piano Forte, Harp, Violin & Violoncello. Edinburgh, c.1809. Most of the tunes in the collection to which a composer is attributed are by Neil Gow or his son Nathaniel.
interpreted as referring to the passing of the death sentence. The fact that the statement was written in the present tense suggests that it was still in use during the nineteenth century. Since Nathaniel Gow served as a royal trumpeter on the circuit courts from 1782 until the end of the century, his testimony as to the function of the piece and its antiquity, it being described as 'Very Old', can be considered accurate. It can be assumed that the two-part piece in the key of A major, a key well suited to the Scottish folk fiddle, was originally played in D or Eb, the keys in which most surviving British trumpets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are pitched. Purser suggests that 'The Celebrated Trumpet Tune' was performed by the royal trumpeters at public executions during the eighteenth century. Numerous accounts of executions performed during this period are contained in newspapers, and various sources refer to the procedure at executions during the seventeenth century. With the exception of one execution in 1663, at which the trumpeters of the life guards were present, no references to the use of the trumpet at these events have been found.

Ex. 2

The Celebrated Trumpet Tune

Upon the Circuits in Scotland this Air is played by his Majesty's Household Trumpets attending the Lords of Justiciary, when that high (Solemn) Court has occasion to Exercise its most painful Duty.

51 See 22 July 1663.
The abolition of the Scottish parliament and privy council in 1707 dealt an even more severe blow to Scotland's ceremonial life than the Union of the Crowns had done a little over a century earlier. The royal trumpeters continued to perform at the publication of important royal proclamations, but acts of the parliament of Great Britain were no longer required to be delivered by proclamation. The principal duty of the trumpet corps after the Union of Parliaments was to accompany the High Court of Justiciary on its circuits. The royal trumpeters were often referred to as trumpeters of the Justiciary during the eighteenth century. Until 1747 circuit courts were held in the spring of each year, thereafter they were held biannually. For each session a separate delegation, headed by a High Court judge, was appointed to officiate on the Northern, Southern and Western Circuits. Each circuit was on the road for approximately two weeks and was accompanied by a macer and two trumpeters.

Trumpeters were employed in ceremonies associated with the assizes in England during the eighteenth century, but the evidence suggests that players were recruited locally, by the magistrates of the county in which the court was sitting, and did not travel with the circuit judges. There is no record of royal trumpeters in England attending the assizes or the central judicial courts in London, or of trumpeters performing inside English courts of law.

Personnel

The transfer of James VI's royal trumpeters to England brought to an end a period of almost a century during which members of the Drummond family served as royal wind instrumentalists in Scotland. The two trumpeters by the name of Andrew Finnie

52Erskine, 1871, i, p. 15.
53Assizes were presided over by judges of the High Court who came into each county on circuit twice a year (Beattie, 1986, pp. 4-5). Payment to two trumpeters is included in a list of expenses paid to the late High Sheriff of Lancaster at the trial of rebel prisoners by judges of the High Court (CTB, xxxi, p. 483). A French visitor to England in 1820 noted that trumpeters accompanied the sheriffs of English counties as they escorted the judges into the town for assizes (see Beattie, 1986, pp. 316-17).
appointed during James's reign in England represent the only link between the personnel of the trumpet corps that served in Scotland after the Union of the Crowns and that of the erstwhile Scottish court. The appointment of George Ferguson in 1608 heralded the introduction of a new dynasty of royal trumpeters. Six members of the Ferguson family, spanning three generations, held office during the course of the century. Three of the four members of this family recruited during the first half of the century were servants to members of the aristocracy at the time of their appointments, as were several other trumpeters appointed during this period. The majority of the players recruited between the Restoration and the Union of the Parliaments were recruited from aristocratic service or were employed as trumpeters in the life guards at the time of their appointment. It has not been possible to establish the occupations of several appointees to the trumpet corps during the first half of the eighteenth century, but during the course of that century it became increasingly common for professional musicians to be recruited.

William Marr was the only trumpeter appointed to royal service in both Scotland and England during James VI's reign in England who was not a descendent of one of the trumpeters transferred to the English court in 1603. There is no mention of William Marr in the English court records between his appointment in Scotland in 1609 and his appointment in England in 1624/5. It can be inferred from the records of the Scottish exchequer that he served exclusively in Scotland during this period. In May 1625 William Marr was one of twenty trumpeters (excluding the Sergeant-Trumpeter) to receive mourning liveries for the funeral of James VI and I in London, and he is listed amongst the English trumpeters for the following five years. In 1630 he was granted permission to travel to Scotland for six months and is next mentioned in the English records in 1633. He is included in subsequent payment lists for the English trumpet

56Ashbee, 1986-96, iii, p. 54.
corps until 1642, which may have been the year of his death. It seems likely that William Marr was in Scotland between 1630 and 1633. He served at seven funerals in Scotland between 1628 and 1635, as well as at the inauguration of a pursuivant in 1634. It appears that he travelled between Scotland and the royal court on a regular basis after his appointment in England, perhaps in the service of one of James VI's Scottish officials.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries non-royal trumpeters were regularly employed to fulfil the duties pertaining to the royal trumpet corps. As mentioned above, attendance at funerals was stipulated as one of the royal trumpeters' duties from 1636. The fact that earlier funerals in which the royal trumpeters performed were organised by the Lord Lyon King of Arms and marshalled by the heralds, indicates that they incorporated elements of state ceremonial. The 'Volume of funeral ceremonies' provides a valuable record of the trumpeters who constituted the *da facto* royal trumpet corps between 1623 and 1632. Trumpeters named in this source are listed in Table 2.

Only three of the nine players named in the funeral accounts were royal trumpeters in Scotland at the time of serving in their earliest funeral ceremonies. Three others were appointed after having served in this capacity. George Ferguson and William Marr were appointed to royal service before the earliest funeral recorded in this source and William Marr was the only player named in the account of the funeral procession of George, Earl of Marchel in 1623, the year in which Andrew Finnie was appointed. It is not possible, therefore, to ascertain if these players served in ceremonies organised by the Lord Lyon prior to their appointments as royal trumpeters.

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57See the numerous entries in Ashbee, 1986-96, iii.
58For the earliest example of this, see 11 August 1614.
Table 2. Trumpeters recorded in the 'Volume of funeral ceremonies' and dates of appointments as royal trumpeters in Scotland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trumpeter</th>
<th>Dates of funeral ceremony in which recorded as participating</th>
<th>Appointed royal trumpeter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Ferguson</td>
<td>1629, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632, 1632(2)</td>
<td>1633, 1641, 1608</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Ferguson</td>
<td>1625, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Ferguson</td>
<td>1625, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Ferguson, yr.</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Ferguson</td>
<td>1625</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Finnie</td>
<td>1627, 1632</td>
<td>1623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archibald Laury</td>
<td>1625</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Marr</td>
<td>1623, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632(2)</td>
<td>1609, 1626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mark Smith</td>
<td>1625, 1627, 1628, 1629, 1630, 1631, 1632(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the account of the ceremony at the inauguration of Kintyre Pursuivant in 1634 the players are referred to as 'his Majesties trumpetouris'; however, one of the four players listed, David Ferguson, was not appointed to the trumpet corps until 1641.59

In 1670 those royal trumpeters that were not active as tradesmen in Edinburgh were exempted from paying taxes to the burgh council.60 The fact that few of the royal trumpeters are listed in the Edinburgh burgess rolls suggests that the majority did not attain that rank. Robert Childeris was presumably a journeyman at the time of his appointment as trumpeter to the burgh of Edinburgh in 1649,61 since he was not appointed to the position of burgess, as a saddler, until 1665.62

Hugh Spark, uniquely among the royal trumpeters, served as an officer of the Court of the Lord Lyon. He was appointed Dingwall Pursuivant in 174764 and received payment

59 See 1634.
60 See 14 September 1670.
61 See 9 November 1649.
63 Grant, 1945, p. 6.
for this position until 1761. In 1752 and 1754, prior to his appointment as a royal trumpeter in 1758, he attended the circuit court as a macer. In 1768 Spark was appointed an honorary member of the Holyrood House Lodge. He appears to have passed his position as royal trumpeter to William Napier in 1786 for a fee, but spent his latter years in financial hardship.

Daniel Thomson is the first royal trumpeter known to have performed on the trumpet in concerts and in the theatre in Scotland. That he was capable of performing on a number of instruments is evident from the plan of the St. Cecilia's Day concert of 1695 (see Chapter 6). Daniel Thomson may have been a relative of the royal trumpeter John Thomson, who held office in Scotland until his death in 1682. It is also conceivable that he was related to Albion Thomson, one of the royal trumpeters in England, although no link has been established. A 'musician' by the name of Daniell Thomson was appointed honorary burgess of Aberdeen in 1704. The burgess rolls also record the appointment of the Earl of Moray and the Countess of Mar, along with a number of their servants under the same date. It was common practice for visiting nobles and members of their household to be honoured in this way by royal burghs. A receipt recording payment to Daniel Thomson in December 1706 from the Countess of Moray for services rendered as 'musician in the north' describes him as a 'music master in Edinburgh', and at his appointment to the office of royal trumpeter in 1706 he is referred to as a 'Musitian in Edin'.

64 SRO E 224/6.
65 SRO E 224/5-6.
66 Lindsay, 1935, ii, p. 732.
67 See 28 July 1791. Details of the monetary transaction between Spark and Napier, which appear to have been brokered by the EMS, are found in SRO GD 113/4/164/188.
68 Records of Old Aberdeen, i, p. 280.
69 SRO NRA(S), 'Moray Muniments'. The receipt is in Box 8 (no. 1140). I have not consulted the original document, which is held at Darnaway Castle.
70 See 28 February 1706.
Daniel Thomson was stripped of office in 1716 for assisting in the Jacobite rebellion the previous year on the side of the rebels.\textsuperscript{71} His possible association with the Earl and Countess of Moray may explain why he became caught up in the rebellion. Although the Earl of Moray was not a participant in the uprising, he had spent time in prison in 1689 for his suspected involvement in Jacobite plots. Following the trial of a number of captured Jacobites in Preston, an individual by the name of Daniel Thomson was among those deported to the plantations of Virginia, but it is not known if this was the royal trumpeter.\textsuperscript{72}

It is possible that a manuscript music notebook held in the National Library of Scotland was associated with Daniel Thomson.\textsuperscript{73} The front cover is signed 'James Thomson' in several places and dated 25 November 1702. In the top right corner a reference to 'King Army' is written in a different hand. Two pages into the book the name 'Jos Daniel' appears. The musical portion of the manuscript commences with a fingering chart for the recorder, and includes well known English trumpet-tunes of the period, which are entitled 'Trumpet Tune', 'Trumpet by Mr Shors', and 'Shores trumpet minevit'. The trumpet-tunes are written in F major and Bb major, keys not associated with English trumpet music of that period. Johnson considers the manuscript to have been compiled for recorder or violin.\textsuperscript{74} Although the evidence linking this manuscript with Daniel Thomson is slight, it is conceivable that it was used by the trumpeter as teaching material for those instruments mentioned by Johnson.

A musician by the name of James Garden was appointed to the Edinburgh waits in 1711.\textsuperscript{75} It is most likely that this was the same player who was appointment royal trumpeter twelve years later. A manuscript notebook which contains fragments of

\textsuperscript{71}This is referred to in the record of the appointment of James Marine; see 10 August 1716.
\textsuperscript{72}Dobson, 1984, p. 218.
\textsuperscript{73}En MS. 2833.
\textsuperscript{74}Johnson, 1972, p. 209.
\textsuperscript{75}Edinburgh, City Archives, Council Register, xl, f. 178.
melodies playable on the trumpet or horn and which may have belonged to James Garden is discussed in Chapter 5.

Despite the longevity of the career of James Marine - he served as a royal trumpeter for over sixty years and was on the pay-roll of the Edinburgh Musical Society (EMS) for around forty years76 - few details of his personal and professional life have emerged. He was probably related to the royal trumpeters Francis Marine, the elder and younger.77 Subsequent to his appointment as a royal trumpeter in 1716 and burgess of Edinburgh in 1720,78 the next we learn of James Marine is at his appointment to the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge in 1737. The registration of his membership, in the records of the Grand Lodge, refers to him as a musician. Another royal trumpeter, George Innes, appointed to the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge at the same time as James Marine, was similarly described in his registration.79

James Marine is the first royal trumpeter listed as receiving payment from the EMS,80 but there is no information on the instruments he played at its weekly meetings. A musician by the name of Marine, identified by Johnson as James Marine, was leader of the band of the Canongate Theatre for the 1757-58 season.81 There is evidence to suggest that James Marine also played horn in concerts during the 1750s. This will be discussed in Chapter 6.

76 The first payment to Marine was made in 1745 (Ep EMS Minute-books, i, f. 104). He became a salaried performer two years later and remained in the society's employ until 1786. (Ep EMS Minute-books, iv, f. 58).
77 No information on the Marine family has been found in the Old Parish Records for Edinburgh (held in GRO).
78 See 10 August 1716 and 1 June 1720.
79 Edinburgh, Freemasons Hall, Chartulary, f. 7.
80 That this musician was the royal trumpeter of the same name is evident from the agreement reached in 1749 between Marine and the directors of the society, excusing him from performing in the weekly concert when required to attend the circuit-court (See 25 March 1749).
81 See Dibdin, 1888, pp. 97-99; Johnson, 1972, p. 46.
In their letter to the Clerk to the Signet in 1766, the directors of the EMS reveal that they customarily nominated potential appointees to the royal trumpet corps. Consequently, several professional musicians in Edinburgh were appointed royal trumpeters during the second half of the century, while others attended circuit courts as deputies in the trumpet corps. There is no evidence that the majority of these musicians performed on trumpet other than in this capacity.

The first trumpeter known to have been appointed in this way is Joseph Reinagle, a musician of Austrian origin who arrived in Edinburgh in, or shortly before, 1761. In that year he is first recorded as receiving payment from the EMS. Joseph Reinagle remained on the payroll of the musical society until 1775, the year of his death. An important source of information on the Reinagle family is a letter sent by Reinagle's son, Joseph, to John Sainsbury in 1823, in connection with the latter's forthcoming Dictionary of Musicians. Reinagle, the younger, informs us that his father procured his appointment as a royal trumpeter in 1762 through the influence of the composer Thomas Alexander Erskine, sixth Earl of Kelly. A month before his commission Reinagle was granted credit by the directors of the EMS to purchase 'a quantity of Horns to the value of twenty pounds sterling, which he was to manufacture for the support of his family as the allowance from the society was not sufficient to keep him in this place'. The fact that he was in partnership with a tanner in this venture suggests that animal horn was being referred to and he was not manufacturing brass instruments.

Joseph Reinagle was appointed a member of the Edinburgh waits in 1765. Both Joseph Reinagle, father and son, became freemasons and joined the Canongate

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82 Harris describes Reinagle, the elder, as Hungarian (Harris, 1911, p. 67). In a letter to John Sainsbury (discussed below) Joseph Reinagle, the younger, states that his father was born near Vienna.
83 Sainsbury, 1824, ii, pp. 348-49.
84 Ep EMS Minute-books, ii, pp. 131-32.
85 Edinburgh, City Archives, Council Register, lxxvi, f. 296.
Kilwining Lodge. The records of this masonic lodge are not extant, but their membership is noted at the appointment of Joseph Reinagle, the elder, as an honourary member and Joseph Reinagle, younger, as an affiliated member of Holyrood House Lodge in 1767 and 1780, respectively.86 In his history of Holyrood House Lodge, Lindsay refers to Joseph Reinagle, the elder, as a 'Music Teacher opposite The Linnen Hall, and Trumpeter to the Justiciary Court'.87

In his letter to Sainsbury, Reinagle, the younger, reveals that after receiving lessons on the trumpet and horn from his father, he appeared in public as a concerto player on both instruments, but on the advice of his medical friends, turned his attention to the cello.88 Joseph Reinagle, the younger, was a salaried performer with the EMS between 1772 and 1784, during which time he appeared as soloist on cello and violin. He also led the orchestra for a spell during 1784. The sources do not reveal if Reinagle, the elder, performed solely on brass instruments during his period of employment with the EMS.

Johnson conjectures that Joseph Reinagle, the younger, was born in Edinburgh in 1762 and Krauss states that he was receiving a master's salary from the EMS in 1774, at the age of twelve.89 It is known that the family was resident in Edinburgh by 1761. Reinagle, the younger, informs us that he was born in Portsmouth and served as a midshipman there before moving with his family to Edinburgh.90 This suggests that his date of birth was no later than 1750.

The fact that Joseph Reinagle, the younger, attained the position of royal trumpeter in succession to his father, after his death in 1775, is overlooked by both Johnson and

86Lindsay, 1935, ii, pp. 722-23.
87Ibid.
88Gu R.d. 87/163.
89Krauss, 1990, p. 266.
90Gu R.d. 87/163; cited in Johnson, 1972, p. 63.
Krauss. Krauss states that Joseph Reinagle, the elder, received quarterly payments in this capacity from 1762 to 1785. Although the sources used by Krauss, the 'Treasury Books of North Britain' (SRO RH2/4), do not record the succession of Joseph Reinagle, the younger, to the position formerly held by his father, the younger Reinagle is recorded as attending the circuit court on several occasions in place of his father prior to his appointment. With the exception of a single entry for the Christmas term 1789, the Treasury Books do not record the names of those on the Civil List after 1785; however, the list continued to be included in the records of the Auditors Office (SRO E224).

That Joseph Reinagle, the younger, continued to be included in payment lists of quarterly salaries for the royal trumpet corps after his departure to Oxford in 1784 is curious. In 1792 Reinagle corresponded with Gilbert Innes, from Scarborough, on the possibility of returning to Edinburgh, on condition that the musical society pay him an annuity of £50. He was engaged as leader of the band at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh for the season starting in January 1793; as well as returning to his duties as a royal trumpeter in the Spring circuit of that year, he appeared as a cello soloist in several benefit concerts.

The fact that Alexander Reinagle, the eldest son of Joseph Reinagle, the elder, served in the trumpet corps early in his career has not previously been recognised. Alexander Reinagle moved to Glasgow in 1778, where he establishing himself as a music teacher, composer and concert promoter. In 1786 he emigrated to America and played a key role in establishing regular series of subscription concerts in Philadelphia. He also founded opera-houses in Philadelphia and New York.91

Three members of the Napier family held office as royal trumpeters during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Alexander Napier, the father of the musician normally referred to in the sources as Alexander Napier, senior, was also a professional musician. He was referred to as such at the birth of his sons, William (b. 1740), James (b. 1742) and Alexander (b. 1744). William Napier is the member of the family best remembered today. He moved to London sometime before 1765, where he established a successful music publishing firm and worked as a performer on the violin and viola.

The entry for William Napier in *Grove* states: 'He is first recorded in 1758 as a violinist in the Canongate Playhouse orchestra'. It is likely that the musician employed by the EMS between 1759 and 1763 and referred to in the EMS records simply as Napier, was William Napier.

From the 1760s until well into the nineteenth century members of the Napier family were at the forefront of brass playing in Scotland. The three members of the family who were appointed royal trumpeters before 1800 were also employed by the EMS. Alexander Napier, the elder, began to perform in the society's concerts in 1769. During the 1773-74 season he received payment for playing the French horn and is mentioned in the accounts for 1782 in connection with the purchase of French horn crooks. His brother, James Napier (b. 1742), who served as a deputy in the royal trumpet corps, was employed by the EMS between 1783 and 1787, but the records do not reveal the instruments he played.

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92 GRO OPR 685.1/22, f. 147; OPR 685.1/23, f. 129; OPR 685.1/24, f. 107.
93 *Grove*, s.v. 'Napier, William,' by F. Kidson, H.G. Farmer and P.W. Jones. The source of this assertion is not given. Dibdin gives an account of a dispute between the musicians and the management of the theatre during the 1757-58 season (in which he identifies Mr Marine as leader of the band). The document cited by Dibdin, which lists the members of the band, does not indicate the instruments they played (Dibdin, 1888, pp. 97-99; see also Johnson, 1972, p. 46).
94 Ep EMS Minute-books, iii, ff. 19, 92; iv, f. 16.
95 GRO OPR 685.1/23, f. 129.
Two of Alexander Napier’s sons, William (b. 1765) and Alexander (b. 1769), were the leading brass players with the EMS during the final two decades of the century.\textsuperscript{96} Alexander Napier, the younger, was employed by the society from 1791, having performed regularly in their concerts since 1789.\textsuperscript{97} William Napier became a popular trumpet soloist during the 1790s. Both Alexander, the younger, and William Napier were active in the volunteer movement, as trumpeters with the Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons and with the bands maintained by recently raised volunteer corps. William Napier became embroiled in a legal dispute over payment for a 'French Bugle Horn' and for teaching two boys to play the bugle horn for the Dumfriesshire Cavalry in 1794.\textsuperscript{98} Alexander Napier was involved in training newly established volunteer bands during the 1790s and is referred to by Cranmer as a clarinettist.\textsuperscript{99}

At least two members of the Napier family became freemasons. Alexander Napier, the elder, joined the Holyrood House Lodge in 1761 as an affiliated member, and William Napier was admitted to the same lodge in 1778.\textsuperscript{100} The entry recording Alexander Napier's membership uncharacteristically does not name his 'mother-lodge' and it is not known when he first became a freemason.

Perhaps the most eminent musician to hold office as a royal trumpeter during the eighteenth century was Nathaniel Gow. It is to Gow that we are indebted for preserving 'The Celebrated Trumpet Tune'. Nathaniel Gow studied cello and trumpet with members of the Reinagle family. Following in his father's footsteps, he became a professional folk-fiddler and formed a band which was popular in London.\textsuperscript{101}

\textsuperscript{96}For their dates of birth, see GRO QPR 685.1/3, f. 372; OPR 685.1/33, f. 50.
\textsuperscript{97}Ep EMS Minute-books, iv, f. 135. In a petition to the directors of the EMS in February 1791 Alexander Napier, the younger, drew attention to the fact that he had performed for the society without remuneration for over two years (SRO GD 113/4/164/81).
\textsuperscript{98}I am grateful to Dr Tristan Clarke of the Scottish Record Office for providing me with this information (SRO CS 22/774, no. 2).
\textsuperscript{100}Lindsay, 1935, jii, pp. 709-10.
\textsuperscript{101}Johnson, 1972, p. 128.
asserts that, apart from working as a royal trumpeter, Nathaniel Gow did not earn his living from classical music. In fact, Nathaniel Gow was employed by the EMS from 1782 until the organisation's demise. In making a request for an increase in his salary of £5 in 1785 he pointed out that he had gone to great lengths to improve his knowledge of the 'Violin, Violincello, Tenor [and] Double Bass'. In 1796 he entered the music retail trade in partnership with another royal trumpeter, William Shepherd. Both Gow and Shepherd were appointed burgesses of Edinburgh as music sellers in 1799. According to Baptie, William Shephard was also a violinist and composer.

Although he was not employed by the EMS, Daniel Dewar is mentioned in the society's accounts on several occasions during the 1780s, in connection with the purchase of boxes for double basses. Baptie states that Dewar was a violinist in Nathaniel Gow's band and a composer of reels. It is possible that he performed for the EMS without payment in return for receiving his commission as a royal trumpeter. Daniel Dewar's son, John, was appointed royal trumpeter in 1814, following the death of John Sutherland. From early in the nineteenth century, John Dewar was employed in the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, first as a violinist, and later as a conductor and composer.

The practice of non-royal trumpeters serving as deputies in the trumpet corps was continued during the eighteenth century. Table 3 lists the players who attended circuit courts in this capacity.

102Ibid.
103SRO GD 113/4/157/476.
104Farmer, 1947, p. 296.
105Edinburgh Burgesses: 1761-1841, p. 67. Nathaniel Gow was appointed guild-brother in 1828 (Ibid.). See also 1799.
106Baptie, 1894, p. 168.
107Ep EMS Minute-books, iv, ff. 70, 82, 88.
108Baptie, 1894, p. 42.
109SRO PS 3/14, f. 55.
110Baptie, 1894, pp. 42-43.
Table 3. Attendance at circuit courts by non-royal trumpeters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dates attending circuit court (prior to appointment where applicable)</th>
<th>Date of appointment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>James Cairns (Gairdyn)</td>
<td>1720-22</td>
<td>1723</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Sutherland, younger</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Briggs</td>
<td>1769-86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Reinagle, younger</td>
<td>1770(-75)</td>
<td>1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Napier</td>
<td>1771</td>
<td>1772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Murray</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogilby Sutherland</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Reinagle</td>
<td>1773-74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Gardner</td>
<td>1779, 1784</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Napier</td>
<td>1780-85</td>
<td>1786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Miller</td>
<td>1782-99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Napier</td>
<td>1783, 1797</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Shepherd</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel Dewar</td>
<td>1787</td>
<td>1789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Napier, younger</td>
<td>1790-92</td>
<td>1792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abraham Mackintosh</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kennedy</td>
<td>1792-96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Dewar</td>
<td>1795-99</td>
<td>1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Purdie</td>
<td>1799</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the players listed served as deputies in the trumpet corps before being appointed royal trumpeters. Several of those that did not attain a position in the corps were almost certainly related to royal trumpeters; besides James Napier, who was mentioned earlier, these are John and Ogilby Sutherland, and Alexander Shepherd.

John Sutherland, the younger, and Ogilby Sutherland each served on only one circuit. On both occasions they travelled on the same circuit as John Sutherland, the elder.

Alexander Shepherd, likewise, attended one circuit only. On that occasion three

111 A trumpeter by the name of James Napier was appointed royal trumpeter in 1823, following the death of William Napier (SRO PS 3/14, f. 281). This may have been James Moore Napier, the son of Alexander Napier, the elder, who was born in 1774 (GRO OPR 685.2/8), or even a member of the next generation of the family. It is possible that the deputies by the name of James Napier, listed in 1783 and 1797, were different members of the family: Alexander Napier, the elder's brother and son, respectively.
deputies were employed in the trumpet corps, one of the absent trumpeters being William Shepherd.

Two members of the Edinburgh waits, James Miller and Andrew Gardner, served as deputies with the trumpet corps during the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Musicians by the name of James Miller were appointed to the waits in 1759 and 1778 - most probably father and son. It is likely that the later appointee was James Miller, the bassoonist for the Edinburgh Musical Society during the 1780s, and the deputy in the trumpet corps. The earliest reference to Andrew Gardner is his appointment to the Holyrood House Lodge as an affiliated member in 1761. Gardner received lessons on the double bass from Joseph Reinagle, paid for by the EMS, during the 1774-75 season. He was appointed to the Edinburgh waits in 1781, and made a burgess of the burgh in the same year.

Most of the other trumpeters that attended circuit court on an occasional basis were professional musicians. An exception may have been David Bridges (Briggs) who deputised on most circuit sessions between 1769 and 1786 without procuring an appointment. It has not been possible to identify this trumpeter conclusively. An individual referred to as 'Bro. Briggs' was paid one guinea by the Holyrood House Lodge in Edinburgh in October 1767 for 'attending the Lodge with two French Horns on St. Andrew's day last.' Payment to musicians for performance at lodge meetings was normally only made to non-freemasons, but the term 'Bro', an abbreviation for 'brother', was routinely used to refer to fellow freemasons. The most likely explanation is that the horn player referred to was a member of another masonic lodge. A merchant

112 Edinburgh, City Archives, Council Register, lxv, f. 284; xcvi, ff. 161-62.
113 Ep EMS Minute-books, iv, f. 1.
114 Lindsay, 1935, ii, p. 651.
115 Ep EMS Minute-books, iii, f. 103.
116 Edinburgh, City Archives, Council Register, ci, f. 132.
118 Lindsay, 1935, i, p.173.
119 Lindsay, 1935, ii, p. 609.
by the name of David Bridges was appointed burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh in 1774, but there is no evidence that this was the same individual. ¹²⁰

Other deputies in the trumpet corps worked as professional folk musicians or in the music retail business. Abraham Mackintosh (b. 1769) was the son of Robert Mackintosh (c. 1745-1807) from Perthshire, a professional folk violinist and composer, who spent most of his professional life in Edinburgh. Abraham followed in the footsteps of his father and composed dance music. ¹²¹ Robert Purdie was appointed burgess of Edinburgh in 1809 as a 'music seller'. The following year his business was established in Princes Street, Edinburgh. ¹²²

It is difficult to establish the standing of the royal trumpeters in economic terms, since it is unlikely that the income from serving in the trumpet corps would have comprised their total income. While the remuneration pertaining to the office of royal trumpeter remained fixed throughout the eighteenth century, the second half of the century saw a substantial rise in both wages and the price of staple commodities. ¹²³ The annual salary of a royal trumpeter, without other income, would have placed him in the income bracket of a journeyman. ¹²⁴ Considering the modest demands on their time, it is reasonable to assume that positions as royal trumpeters were highly sought after. During the second half of the eighteenth century trumpeters occasionally augmented their earnings by attending more than one circuit in a given session. This was possible since the dates of the three circuits did not always coincide. ¹²⁵ At first, only royal

¹²¹ Baptie, 1894, pp. 111-12; Johnson, 1972, p. 62.
¹²³ Hamilton, 1963, p. 377; cited in Smout, 1969, p. 373. Based on the income of artisans, and members of the agrarian and industrial labour force, Hamilton calculated that average wages doubled between 1750 and 1790, whereas the price of oatmeal, the staple food of the Scots, rose by just over fifty per cent during the same period.
¹²⁵ The dates of forthcoming circuit courts were advertised in the Edinburgh newspapers.
trumpeters served on more than one circuit, but by the 1780s this practice had become more common and involved several players who did not hold office.\textsuperscript{126}

Since royal trumpeters were engaged in a wide range of commercial ventures, it is difficult to generalise on the typical income bracket to which they belonged. The evidence suggests that certain royal trumpeters who also worked as tradesmen or merchants were relatively prosperous. Appeals for charity from the family of a deceased trumpeter, however, provide a glimpse of the severe hardship faced by a vast section of the population and from which their royal position did not render them immune.\textsuperscript{127} The inability to work through old age or infirmity could also lead to desperate circumstances. A request to the treasurer of the EMS by Hugh Spark in 1791, regarding money owed to him for selling his commission as royal trumpeter to William Napier, may have exaggerated his plight. Nevertheless, the petition reveals that this former officer of the Lyon Court was, in his latter years, living by modest means.\textsuperscript{128}

Petitions to the directors of the EMS were made by Alexander Napier, the elder, in 1791, when he was unable to work through having dislocated his shoulder. In view of his loyalty to the society over a period of twenty five years, Napier requested that he should not forfeit part of his salary.\textsuperscript{129} It is not known if his request was accepted. Again, it is likely that the petitioner exaggerated his domestic circumstances, but the correspondence illustrates the severe financial hardship faced by professional musicians who were unable to work through ill-health.

\textsuperscript{126}See 1782 and 1785 (James Miller), 1789 (Daniel Dewar), 1795 (John Kennedy), and 1797 (John Dewar and James Napier).
\textsuperscript{127}See c.1720.
\textsuperscript{128}See 28 July 1791.
\textsuperscript{129}SRO GD 113/4/164/82 & 156.
Chapter 5

THE TRUMPET OUTWITH ROYAL SERVICE:
CEREMONIAL AND MILITARY

Trumpeters in municipal service

During the Middle Ages trumpets and horns were used as signalling instruments by watchmen in many European towns and cities. From the mid fourteenth century onwards civic authorities began to employ bands of shawms, which by the middle of the fifteenth century often included a slide brass instrument. By the late fifteenth century evidence emerges that many municipal wind players were proficient on a variety of instruments and that some fulfilled duties as trumpeters. A number of the larger municipalities maintained a band of trumpeters in addition to a wind band. The musical establishment of one such city, Bologna, was discussed in Chapter 2.

Attempts to restrict the use of trumpets outwith courtly establishments were made by monarchs and the higher nobility, most notably the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. As Polk has noted, however, several German cities which were granted Imperial permission to maintain trumpeters did not do so, while others appear to have employed trumpeters without authorisation.

There is no evidence that trumpets or horns were used by watchmen in Scottish burghs. From the fifteenth century onwards many Scottish burghs employed a minstrel (often termed 'piper') and a drummer, whose duties included performing through the

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1 For a succinct overview of the use of brass instruments during the Middle Ages and the development of wind bands, see Polk, 1997. See also Tarr, 1988, p. 64.
2 Polk has identified other Italian and German cities that maintained trumpeters during the late Middle Ages, and a number of French cities are known to have employed trumpeters (Polk, 1992, p. 48; Smithers, 1973, pp. 228-30). At least one 'trompette ordinaire' was employed in Lyon throughout the sixteenth century, and additional trumpeters were regularly recruited to serve on specific occasions (Dobbins, 1992, pp. 124-25, 292-94).
streets at specified hours. During the eighteenth century the instruments played by municipal pipers in Scotland included the oboe, fife and bagpipes. Outside Edinburgh, where a wind band was recruited for specific events during the sixteenth century and a band of waits was later employed, instances of more than one piper in the service of a Scottish burgh are rare.

As far as can be ascertained, Scottish monarchs did not impose restrictions on the use of trumpets by civic authorities or individuals. It was noted in Chapter 3 that Customars of royal burghs remunerated royal trumpeters during the early sixteenth century but that this was probably not for serving the municipalities. Edinburgh is the only Scottish burgh that employed trumpeters on a regular basis during the period of this study. The earliest extant accounts for the burgh date from the 1540s, and payments to trumpeters are recorded from the following decade onwards. None of the players mentioned in the accounts during the sixteenth century were appointed to an official position as burgh trumpeter. A single trumpeter was often engaged for specific events, but extra players were recruited for important civic ceremonies. In 1580 the council purchased a trumpet for the burgh's use. Most of the trumpeters employed in Edinburgh were royal trumpeters. During the 1550s and 1560s James Drummond is the player most often named in the records. The sources do not reveal if this was James Drummond, the elder or younger. It is possible that both players served the burgh, since the entry relating to the celebrations on St. Giles Day 1555 indicates that James Drummond performed in a wind band.

4See Johnson, 1972, pp. 95-97.
5Two 'comone menstralis' were employed in Aberdeen by 1500. In 1545 a third minstrel was appointed in Aberdeen and the trio were instructed 'to play thre partis' (Municipal Statutes, pp. 34, 36). Minstrels recorded in the records of the Edinburgh Incorporation of Hammermen as receiving payment for taking part in Corpus Christi Day celebrations in Edinburgh during the 1490s include the 'comone piparis' of Edinburgh and 'ye child at playd on ye grct bumbart [bombard]' (Mill, 1927, p. 226).
6See also 21 March 1592/3.
7See 6 September 1555. The instruments played by James Drummond, the elder and younger, are discussed in Chapter 3.
The trumpeter Jacques Hog, who served the burgh in 1555 and 1555/6, was probably the trumpeter referred to as 'James Hog' in the royal Treasurer's accounts for 1547/8. He may have been one of the French trumpeters that arrived in Scotland in 1545. Although Hog is grouped with two other minstrels in the burgh accounts for 1555, it can be inferred from the reference to them performing 'trumpet and quhyssill respektiue' that he served independently, as a trumpeter. Two other trumpeters, James and Jhonn Wedell, were remunerated for serving the burgh during the 1560s. James Wedell, who first received payment in 1560, is listed as a member of the royal trumpet corps in 1565 but may have been admitted considerably earlier. No trace of Jhonn Wedell has been found outwith the burgh records. It can be assumed that he was a relative of James Wedell, but the relationship has not been established.

In 1569 the royal trumpeter Nicoll Lyell was appointed burgess and guild-brother of Edinburgh on condition that he served the burgh as trumpeter, without remuneration, when not engaged in royal service. The entry in the burgess-rolls recording Lyell's appointment states that he was to perform at proclamations of the burgh council, as well as at walpinshaws (weapon-showings) and fairs. Two other royal trumpeter were appointed burgesses of Edinburgh during the sixteenth century, John Hope in 1516/17 and James Savoy in 1557/8. As mentioned in Chapter 3, John Hope appears to have developed commercial interests in the burgh after being admitted burgess. The record of James Savoy's admission to the guildry does not refer to him having a trade. The designation 'Italian tubinnator' is curious. James Savoy does not seem to have been of Italian origin; perhaps the designation reflected the fact that he was a member of the royal wind band, to which the label 'Italian' was still being applied in certain court records. The fact that he received free entry to the guildry renders the hypothesis that he served as burgh trumpeter plausible. It should be noted that payments continued to be made to James Drummond after James Savoy's appointment as burgess.

See October 1565 and November 1565.
The date of Nicoll Lyell's appointment as a royal trumpeter is not known, but he is listed in the Treasurer's accounts between 1568 and 1572/3. Presumably he died during the 1570s, since he was not listed as a member of the royal trumpet corps in 1581. A trumpeter by the name of 'Nicoll' received payment from the Edinburgh burgh council for travelling to Denmark in 1589 with the delegation sent to perform James VI's marriage by proxy; the ship on which the party travelled was partly financed by council. This may have been the royal trumpeter Michael Wedell, since he is referred to in a single entry in the Comptroller's accounts for 1599 as Nicoll Wedell.

In 1649 Robert Childers was appointed to an official position as trumpeter to the burgh of Edinburgh. In the record of his appointment he is described as a saddler. At his appointment as a royal trumpeter in 1661, Childers is referred to as 'trumpeter burgess' of Edinburgh. Curiously, however, he did not become a burgess (as a saddler) until 1665. Two other royal trumpeters, John Ferguson and Leon Van Hesta, became burgesses and guild-brothers of Edinburgh, 'gratis', during the second half of the seventeenth century. Neither are recorded as serving as burgh trumpeter. Since four trumpet banners were produced for the burgh in 1678 and two sets of trumpeters' liveries were contained in the burgh's magazine in 1706, it is possible that these players served as burgh trumpeters when required.

The only other Scottish burgh to employ an official trumpeter was Glasgow. The entry recording the appointment of Wallace to this position in 1675 states that his duties were to include serving in the militia and implies that he was not the first player to hold the office. A previous burgh trumpeter in Glasgow may have been Alexander Ferguson, who was appointed Burgess, 'gratis', in 1644 and may have been the royal trumpeter by that name. Two other trumpeters who became burgesses of Glasgow

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9See 1590; see also Stevenson, 1997, p. 19.
10See 9 November 1649 and 1 July 1661; Edinburgh Burgesses: 1406-1700, p. 105.
11See 1 December 1678 and 1 February 1706.
12See also 1683.
during the 1640s were probably admitted in an honorary capacity, as servants of visiting dignitaries.\textsuperscript{13} The Aberdeen burgh records for 1664 include a solitary payment to a trumpeter, but there is no indication that this or any other trumpeter held an official post in the burgh.

By the beginning of the reign of James IV, Holyrood was the principal seat of the Scottish monarchy. Holyrood was situated in the burgh of the Canongate, which by the late fifteenth century was conglomerate with Edinburgh. As the largest and commercially most important burgh in Scotland, Edinburgh constituted an important political force.\textsuperscript{14} Civic ceremonies in Edinburgh often highlighted the close ties between the municipality and the royal court.

The merger of civic and royal ceremonial was most evident in royal entries. As was the case elsewhere in Europe, a royal entry did not necessarily take place on the first occasion on which a monarch or royal dignitary entered a town but was a 'carefully planned and executed symbolic and ceremonial entrance'.\textsuperscript{15} The entry of Margaret Tudor into Edinburgh in 1503 was described in detail by the English Somerset Herald, but his account does not indicate the extent of the civic administration's involvement in the event.\textsuperscript{16} Sir David Lindsay alludes to the participation of the civic authority in the preparations for the planned entry of James V's first wife, Madeleine, into Edinburgh in 1537.\textsuperscript{17} Bartley has argued that the 'Triumph and Play' presented in Edinburgh in 1558 in honour of the marriage of Queen Mary to the Dauphin was essentially a royal entry.\textsuperscript{18} The earliest actual entry for which documentary evidence is available,

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[13]{See 14 July 1645 and 6 August 1646.}
\footnotetext[14]{Wormald regards Edinburgh as the capital of Scotland from the reign of James III onwards (Wormald, 1981, p. 14).}
\footnotetext[16]{See 1 August 1503.}
\footnotetext[17]{See Chapter 2.}
\footnotetext[18]{Bartley, 1981, p. 26. Bartley suggests that Mary of Guise probably acted as proxy for her daughter in the ceremony.}
\end{footnotes}
however, is that of Mary Stewart into Edinburgh in 1561. James Drummond received payment for performing at the ceremony in 1558, but the burgh accounts relating to the Queen's entry in 1561 have not survived. It can be conjectured that the royal trumpeters participated in these events and that the four players rewarded for performing at James VI's entry into Edinburgh in 1579 were those in the King's service. The burgh accounts do not record payments to trumpeters for the entry of Queen Anne into Edinburgh in 1590, but the royal trumpeters presumably took part. 19

The Aberdeen burgh records refer to preparations being made for the entries of Mary Stewart in 1561/2 and James VI in 1580. The records contain no details of expenditure for either of these occasions, but, regarding the earlier entry, they refer to the Queen having previously been received by other burghs including Edinburgh and Dundee. 20 In addition to the occasions already mentioned, trumpeters received payment from the Edinburgh burgh council for performing at the appointment of honorary burgesses, at events associated with meetings of parliament and for serving in military forces raised by the burgh. 21

During the reign of James VI important royal events were celebrated in Edinburgh with civic banquets. Trumpeters received payment for serving at banquets held in celebration of the baptism of Princess Elizabeth in 1597 and in honour of the Queen's brother on his visit to Scotland the following year. 22 At the banquet organised by the burgh council in 1630 to celebrate the birth of Prince Charles (the future Charles II), the royal heralds and trumpeters officiated. It is likely that they also served at the banquets presented on the King's return visit to Scotland in 1617 and at the time of Charles I's Scottish coronation in 1633. Accounts of the festivities accompanying these banquets attest to the sounding of trumpets but do not identify those involved as the royal trumpeters. After the Restoration the anniversary of the monarch's birthday was

19 See 19 May 1590.
21 See 1557/8; 1544; 2 June 1578.
22 See 1598
celebrated in royal burghs throughout lowland Scotland. Prior to 1707 the Scottish parliament and privy council often stipulated to burgh councils the manner in which this and other events of national importance were to be celebrated. The privy council also instructed civic authorities on the ceremonies to be observed at the delivery of important proclamations. For example, the royal heralds and trumpeters were appointed to officiate at the publication of a proclamation sent to the Edinburgh burgh council by William of Orange in 1689. Following the abolition of the Scottish parliament and privy council in 1707, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh was entrusted with the delivery of certain important proclamations, such as those announcing the accession of monarchs. The royal trumpeters and heralds also served at these ceremonies.

The ceremony of 'riding the marches' was performed in royal burghs throughout Scotland from the Middle Ages onwards. The event involved an inspection of the burgh boundaries by the magistrates and burgesses and was traditionally held during the Halloween fair; in some burghs it was referred to as the 'riding of the fairs'. This is the event alluded to in the Edinburgh accounts for 1 November 1566, in which James Drummond performed. It can be assumed that John Wedell took part in the ceremony the previous year. By the late sixteenth century the marches of most burghs were ridden only once every few years and the custom appears to have waned during the seventeenth century. In Edinburgh the ceremony was revived during the last quarter of that century. Accounts of the riding of the marches in Edinburgh in 1718 and Musselburgh in 1732 attest to the participation of three trumpeters, and 'trumpets and hautboys', respectively. The ceremony continued to be performed in many Scottish

23 See Whatley, 1992, pp. 172-73. The custom of civic authorities celebrating the monarch's birthday was established in England during the late sixteenth century (Ibid., p. 173). For the instructions sent to the Aberdeen burgh council at the birth of Prince Charles, see 4 June 1630.
24 See June 1630 and 1 January 1689.
25 Stevenson, 1914, ii, pp. 475-79; see 1714, 1727, 1760.
26 See November 1565.
burghs into the nineteenth century. Further research in the Edinburgh city archives may well uncover details of the involvement of musicians in these later ceremonies.28

A band of waits was recruited in Edinburgh in 1607 but appears to have been disbanded shortly after.29 Another group, comprising four English players of 'cornets and sackbotts', was instated in 1675.30 In 1696 two professional oboists in Edinburgh were granted permission to teach this band to perform on 'French hautboyes' and the 'double curtle'.31 It seems that the waits subsequently adopted these instruments. The group was employed throughout the eighteenth century, but Johnson suggests that the office of leader of the Edinburgh waits existed as a nominal position for several decades prior to its abolition in 1804.32 More research into the duties and personnel of the Edinburgh waits during the eighteenth century is required, but is outwith the scope of this study. An index to the burgh records, compiled in the nineteenth century and held in the Edinburgh city archives, lists twenty two musicians who were appointed to the waits between 1711 and 1800. Several royal trumpeters who served as waits were mentioned in Chapter 4. Most of the others members were professional musicians based in Edinburgh. Newspaper accounts of civic ceremonies occasionally refer to the participation of the 'City music', but the waits do not appear to have fulfilled a regular commitment to the burgh.33 The entry in the council register recording the appointment of Joseph Reinagle to the waits in 1765 suggests that two of the directors of the Edinburgh Musical Society, William Douglas and William Tytler, were influential in procuring him the position.34 Thus, it seems that the directors of the musical society held influence over the dispensation of civic patronage, just as they were influential in filling vacancies in the royal trumpet corps, thereby subsidising professional musicians in their employ.

28Several Scottish towns continue to perform an annual 'riding'.
32Johnson, 1972, p. 98.
33See 29 March 1763.
34Edinburgh, City Archives, Council Register, Ixxxi, f. 296.
Trumpeters in aristocratic and military service

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of the principal Scottish aristocratic households employed a trumpeter. Although the aristocracy formed a powerful political body within Scotland, few of its members possessed the resources to maintain households on the scale of the more affluent of their English or Continental counterparts. None of the documentary sources attest to more than one trumpeter in the employ of a Scottish nobleman. An anonymous early seventeenth-century chronicle, in describing the opulent lifestyle of Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, the tyrannical overlord of the Northern Isles, refers to three trumpeters in his service. As well as fulfilling a ceremonial role, trumpeters employed by the aristocracy were often assigned domestic duties. In times of conflict they could also be called upon to serve in a military capacity. The ability of local magnates to exert their ancient feudal rights to raise armies prevailed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Prior to Union of the Crowns the privy council occasionally authorised payment for the establishment of military forces, but monarchs normally relied on the network of private armies mustered by crown vassals for military support. The aristocracy played a crucial role in attempts by central government to establish a national army during the periods of religious and political unrest that beset Scotland during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries aristocratic service was the most common route through which players were admitted to royal service.

Following the removal of James VI to London in 1603 a troop of guards was raised in Scotland. The trumpeter employed in this troop may have been Andrew Finnie. A gradual trend towards establishing a national army during the seventeenth century was

35 See c.1600.
36 Altenburg alludes to trumpeters on the Continent continuing to fulfil extra-musical duties during the eighteenth century (Altenburg, 1974, pp. 28-29).
37 Lee, 1980, p. 29; see 1603.
hindered by a lack of finance. The army raised by the Covenanting government during the 1640s benefited from the return to Scotland in the late 1630s of many officers and professional soldiers who had served in the Thirty Years War (1618-1638) under Christian IV of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.\(^{38}\) It is not known whether Scottish trumpeters served on the Continent during the Thirty Years War, but the number of Scottish soldiers involved - at one stage Gustavus had upwards of ten thousand in his ranks - renders this likely. It is also possible that foreign trumpeters active in Scotland during the second half of the seventeenth century had served under Scottish officers on the Continent.

Prior to the Reformation many Scottish soldiers served in France as members of the Scots Men-at-Arms (Gendarmes Écossais) or the Scots Guards (Compagnie Écossaise). Both companies were formed early in the fifteenth century and were granted precedence over the other French cavalry companies by Charles VII. Surviving muster rolls reveal that the companies were primarily composed of Scotsmen but that their trumpeters were French.\(^{39}\)

The account of a competition between trumpeters in the forces accompanying Charles II to Scone for his coronation in 1651 provides a unique insight into military trumpeters performing in a recreational context. The same chronicle yields rare details of entertainment in the household of highland chieftains, such as that presented by Lord Lovat, head of the Clan Fraser, in which his German trumpeter Hans Adams performed.\(^{40}\)

The muster rolls of the cavalry troops disbanded in 1667 list several trumpeters who are named in other sources. John Thomson and John Ferguson may well have been royal trumpeters, and the above mentioned Hans Adams was in the service of Lord

\(^{38}\)Mitchison, 1983, p. 46; see 30 March 1639 and 1643.
\(^{39}\)See Forbes-Leith, 1882.
\(^{40}\)See 3 January 1672 and entries in the Calendar under 1669; see also Purser, 1992, p. 129.
Lovat by 1669. It is tempting to speculate that David Drumond was a member of the Italian family of wind instrumentalists, but it should be noted that following the departure of Robert Drummond to London in 1603, no member of the family served as a royal trumpeter in Scotland.

In 1661 a troop of Life Guards was raised in Scotland, under the command of Lord Newburgh. Troops of cavalry raised by Lord Middleton, the Captain-General of the forces, in 1661 (disbanded in 1663), and his successor, the Earl of Rothes, in 1664 (disbanded in 1676), were referred to as a second troop of Life Guards. Muster rolls of the Life Guards are extant from 1682 until 1703. Many of the trumpeters employed in the Life Guards also served as royal trumpeters. Thomas Bartleman, the only trumpeter of the troops of Guards raised in 1661 that has been identified, is not known to have served in the royal trumpet corps. In Table 3 trumpeters named in the muster rolls of the Life Guards are listed, as are the years in which trumpeters to the guards were appointed to the royal trumpet corps.

With the exception of John Ferguson, all the players listed in both sets of records served in the Life Guards prior to their appointment as royal trumpeters. Paul Tulzier (Toolen) was appointed royal trumpeter before the date of the earliest muster roll but is referred to as a trumpeter of the Life Guards at his appointment to the royal trumpet corps. Admission to the royal trumpet corps did not involve trumpeters relinquishing their position in the Life Guards. Leon Van Hesta served as a kettle drummer in the Life Guards before being appointed trumpeter in ordinary, and the kettle drummer Christopher Petit is described in a petition to the privy council as a trumpeter of the

41 See 1669 and 6 January 1672.
42 See 1664. The Earl of Rothes served as Lord High Commissioner to Parliament from 1663 and succeeded Middleton as Captain-General of the forces in 1664 (Dalton, 1989, pt. 1, pp. 5, 11).
43 See 20 July 1663. As noted in Chapter 4, records of appointment were not always recorded in the Register of the Privy Seal during the 1650s and 1660s. The six members of the royal trumpet corps are listed in the Calendar under 11 September 1663, and it is possible, although unlikely, that Bartleman had been replaced by that date.
44 See May 1672.
A period of almost thirty years separates the admission of Thomas Weir to the Life Guards and the appointment of the trumpeter of the same name to royal service. It is possible that Thomas Weir, the trumpeter in the Guards, was the father of the royal trumpeter.  

Table 4. Trumpeters of the Life Guards who served as royal trumpeters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Listed in muster rolls of the Life Guards (including number of rolls in which listed)</th>
<th>Appointed royal trumpeter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paul Tulziers</td>
<td>1682 [served prior to 1672] (2)</td>
<td>1672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Shand</td>
<td>1682-1688 (14)</td>
<td>1686</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William White</td>
<td>1682-1688 (14)</td>
<td>1682/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholemew Cossens</td>
<td>1682-1688 (14)</td>
<td>1683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hendrie Antonius (kettle-drummer)</td>
<td>1682-1686 (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Ferguson</td>
<td>1684-1686 (5)</td>
<td>1662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew Lamb</td>
<td>1686-1698 (6)</td>
<td>1687</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leon Van Hesta (kettle-drummer)</td>
<td>1686-1687 (4)</td>
<td>1690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christopher Petit (kettle-drummer)</td>
<td>1688 (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Petit (kettle-drummer)</td>
<td>1698 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Marine</td>
<td>1698-1703 (14)</td>
<td>1702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Bailie</td>
<td>1698-1703 (14)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Osbourne</td>
<td>1698 (3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Rasine</td>
<td>1698-1702 (7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Shore</td>
<td>1701-1702 (5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Reid (kettle-drummer)</td>
<td>1701 (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Reid (kettle-drummer)</td>
<td>1701-1703 (9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Thomas Weir]</td>
<td>1702-1703 (6)</td>
<td>[1730]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Marine, the younger</td>
<td>1702-1703 (6)</td>
<td>1709</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is possible that James Shore was a member of the Shore dynasty of trumpeters from London. No references to James Shore have been traced in the English court records. He may have been in Scotland for several years prior to serving in the guards, since a trumpeter by the name of James Shaw is mentioned in the Greyfriars burial records for

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45 See 14 August 1690.

46 Thomas Weir, the royal trumpeter, died in 1769. If this was the same player that served in the guards, it can be estimated that he was at least in his mid-eighties when he died.
1697, at the burial of his child. Variations in the spelling of the London trumpeters' name include Shaw.

Resistance to the episcopal system of church government, which was established in Scotland at the Restoration, led to the formation of a network of militia regiments under the control of local magnates and civic authorities. The ordinances governing the establishment of the militia stipulated that a trumpeter was to be recruited for each troop of cavalry.

During the 1790s the threat of a Napoleonic invasion resulted in the formation of numerous regiments of Volunteers throughout Britain. Many of these regiments formed military bands (see below), and trumpeters fulfilled their traditional role in volunteer cavalry regiments. The recruitment of William and Alexander Napier as trumpeters to the Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Light Dragoons demonstrates that professional brass players who were prominent in the concert life of the city were not averse to serving in a military capacity, albeit in a role that was primarily ceremonial and did not result in armed conflict.

Military and municipal wind bands

Around the middle of the seventeenth century bands of oboes were adopted by military units on the Continent. In England a band of six 'hoboys' was appointed to the Horse Grenadier Guards in 1678, and by the end of the century a number of infantry regiments maintained bands of this type. It is not known if Scottish regiments

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47Paton, 1902, p. 583.
48For biographical information on the Shore dynasty of trumpeters, see the numerous entries in Ashbee, 1986-96, i, ii, v, viii; see also Tarr, 1988, pp. 133-36. Herbert has drawn attention to the fact that trombone players by the name of Shaw are mentioned in the records of Durham Cathedral between 1664 and 1680. He noted that the final reference to one of these players, Matthew Shaw, is dated 1680 and that Matthias Shore was admitted Sergeant-Trumpeter at the English Court in January 1681/2, but he was unable to prove this was the same person (Herbert, 1990, pp. 610, 615).
49See 25 June 1672 and [1680]. On the formation of the militia, see Brown, 1992, pp. 29, 32, 40.
adopted oboe bands during the seventeenth century, but, as mentioned above, double-reed instruments were introduced to the Edinburgh waits during the 1690s. The addition of horns or a trumpet to the oboe band appears to have first taken place in Saxony and Prussia during the first quarter of the eighteenth century.51 Bands of oboes and trumpets were active in Scotland during the 1720s and 1730s. Information on the addition of trumpets or horns to the oboe band in England is scant, but by the mid-eighteenth century horns were often employed in military bands.52 A March in D major, for trumpet, two oboes and basso continuo, is included in the second version of Il Pastor Fido by G.F. Handel (1734).53 A two-part version of the same march was published in 1758 with the title 'Dragoon's March'.54 Regiments of dragoons employed bands of oboes from early in the eighteenth century.55 Clearly, by the 1750s the march was being performed by military bands. Whether Handel's original scoring reflects contemporary military band instrumentation, as implied by Dahlqvist, however, is difficult to ascertain.56

In Scotland, the Royal Company of Archers employed a band of 'hautbois' and a piper at one of its meetings in 1714.57 The augmentation of the band employed by the Archers to include trumpets in 1726, and trumpets and horns in 1732, illustrates the transformation of military bands that was taking place around this time.58 It is possible that the band of trumpets and oboes that performed in Musselburgh in 1732 was the same as that employed by the Archers, since there is no record of a band of waits being maintained in Musselburgh.59 It is also possible that this was the band of Edinburgh.

51Grove, s.v. 'Military band.'
52Farmer, 1950(a), p. 28.
54Warlike Music, Being a Choice Collection of Marches & Trumpet Tunes for a German Flute, Violin, or Harpsichord By Mr Handel, S' Martini, and the most Eminent Masters ... (London; Walsh, 1758), p. 74.
55Farmer, 1912, p. 54.
57Paul, 1875, p. 57. The Royal Company of Archers was not an active military unit; from its foundation in 1676 it served a purely ceremonial function.
58See 1726 and 10 July 1732.
59Musselburgh is situated approximately five miles from Edinburgh.
waits. There is no evidence that the trumpet or horn was used by the Edinburgh waits, but a tentative link exists between the waits and the Royal Company of Archers.

Included in Robert Bremner's *A Collection of Airs and Marches* (Edinburgh, c. 1760) is a version of the D major common-time movement from Handel's *Water Music* for two treble instruments and bass, entitled 'The Archers March'. A version of the same piece is contained in a manuscript music notebook held in the National Library of Scotland. The manuscript contains a miscellany of songs, marches and minuets, many of which are recorded as fragments of a few bars in length. The dates 1710, 1729 and 1735 appear at different places in the manuscript, as do the names John Gairdyn and James Steuart. John Gairdyn may have been related to James Gairden, the royal trumpeter. A musician by the name of James Garden was appointed to the Edinburgh waits in 1711. James Steuart may have been the musician by the name of James Stewart, appointed to the Edinburgh waits in 1732. The contents and fragmentary nature of the manuscript suggest that it may either have been an exercise book of a apprentice musician or a source of reference for a player accustomed to performing his repertoire from memory.

A version of the same movement from Handel's *Water Music* was adopted by the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club of Annapolis in America. The melody was included in the club's Anniversary Ode of 1751 with the title 'Grand Club March against Sir Hugh Maccarty' and was reputedly performed as a processional march on the French horn. The Tuesday Club was formed in 1745 and existed for eleven years. Of the club's eight founding members, four were Scotsmen. It seems likely that the March was adopted by the Tuesday Club through the influence of its Scottish members.

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60 En MS. 3298.
61 Johnson identifies the author of the manuscript as James Gairdyn (Johnson, 1972, p. 209).
62 Edinburgh, City Archives, Council Register, xl, f. 178.
63 Edinburgh, City Archives, Council Register, liv, f. 183.
64 Snedeker, 1997, p. 155.
By 1751 two horn players appear to have been regularly recruited by the Royal Company of Archers to attend its meetings. A military band may have been employed by the Company later in the century, since a fragment of a 'March of the Scottish Archers' is included in a late nineteenth-century music textbook as an example of military band scoring from a century earlier. The instrumental parts in this extract are restricted to the notes of the harmonic series. It is possible, therefore, that the piece was originally performed on trumpets or horns.

Trumpeters were employed in masonic ceremonies performed at the laying of foundation-stones of the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh in 1738 and 1740. Two 'band[s] of French horns' and a band of 'Hautbois' were employed in the procession to the laying of the foundation-stone of the Merchant's Exchange in Edinburgh in 1753. The same musical forces were utilised the following year for the procession to the annual feast of the Grand Lodge. At the procession for the laying of the foundation-stone of the North Bridge in 1763 'a body of about thirty of the brethren ... sung the whole way several fine airs, accompanied by French-horns, &c.' From the 1770s onwards military bands routinely served in 'public' masonic ceremonies. It is also around this time that details first emerge of masonic ceremonies held at the laying of foundation-stones in England and in other countries to which freemasonry had spread.

Eighteenth-century military bands were maintained as private bands by officers of a particular regiment. In addition to serving a ceremonial function and providing entertainment for their patrons, military bands, and bandsmen, were often active outwith the military sphere. Military bands in Scotland provided entertainment in the

66Paul, 1875, p.85.
67Greig, [1895-96], v, p. 76; quoted in Farmer, 1912, p. 62. The march is scored for 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 trumpets, 2 horns and bassoon.
69CM, 22 October 1763.
theatre and concert hall before, and between the acts of, the main performances, and also occasionally presented their own concerts.\textsuperscript{71} Military bandsmen were employed by the Edinburgh Musical Society from 1767 onwards and also by musical societies in other Scottish towns.\textsuperscript{72}

Most eighteenth-century military bands were small: they normally comprised between four and six players. The band depicted in the contemporary engraving of the laying of the foundation-stone of the New College of Edinburgh in 1789, which comprised four players, is probably representative of the majority of military bands of the period.\textsuperscript{73} Only three of the instruments - a clarinet, bassoon and horn - can be identified in this illustration. During the 1790s larger bands were sometimes raised by volunteer corps.

Whereas horns were often included in military bands in pairs from the mid eighteenth century onwards, when the trumpet was included, a single player was most often employed.\textsuperscript{74} One trumpeter and two horn players were among the eleven members of the band of the Edinburgh Royal Volunteers in 1794, the year of its formation.\textsuperscript{75} The instrumentation of the band of the Aberdeen Volunteers, which Alexander Napier was engaged to teach in 1796, is not known.\textsuperscript{76} An advertisement for a teacher for the band of the Perth Volunteers in 1795 states that it comprised four clarinets, two bassoons, two French horns and a bass drum.\textsuperscript{77} Following the disbandment of a number of volunteer corps at the temporary cessation of hostilities with France in 1802, several advertisements for complete sets of military band instruments appeared in newspapers.

\textsuperscript{71}Dalyell cites reference to a concert given by the band of the 58th Regiment in Edinburgh in 1786, in which the trombone was featured (Dalyell, 1849, p. 178). I have examined the main Edinburgh newspapers for 1786 and found no reference to this concert; however, the band of the 58th Regiment was active in Edinburgh that year. Regarding the concerts presented by the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, see Chapter 6.

\textsuperscript{72}Ep EMS Minute-books, iii. The Montrose Musical Society employed military bandsmen in 1793 (CM, 4 April, 1793).

\textsuperscript{73}The illustration, by David Allan, is reproduced in Fraser, 1989, p. xvi.

\textsuperscript{74}Farmer, 1954, p. 52; Lomas, 1989.

\textsuperscript{75}See 1794.

\textsuperscript{76}See Sinclair, 1907, pp. 57-58.

\textsuperscript{77}CM, 17 October 1795.
The instruments on offer in one advertisement included 'Two Horns, full mounted' and 'One Trumpet'.

Advertisements for military music, arranged for piano and dedicated to a particular regiment, regularly appeared in newspapers during the 1790s. A sizeable corpus of music for military band from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was also published in full score. *A Collection of SCOTTISH Music Consisting of Twelve Slow Airs & Twelve Reels AND Strathspeys* by J.G.C. Schetky, the leader of the band of the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, comprising twelve 'Airs' and twelve 'Reels and Strathspeys', is scored for two clarinets, two flutes, two horns, one trumpet and bassoon. The trumpet is included only in the 'Reels and Strathspeys': nine of the dances are scored for a trumpet in Eb and the other three, for a trumpet in F. Horns pitched in Bb, Eb or F are included in all of the twenty-four pieces.

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Chapter 6

CONCERTS AND THEATRE

The earliest concerts: c.1695-1728

On 22 November 1695 a concert of vocal and instrumental music was presented in Edinburgh in honour of St. Cecilia. A document, which is effectively a programme of the concert, lists the participants in each item performed, and was published in an article by William Tytler almost a century later. Tytler states that the programme was obtained by William Douglas, the treasurer of the Edinburgh Musical Society, from James Chrystie of Newhall, one of the performers in the concert. The document provides a unique insight into the concert life of late seventeenth-century Edinburgh. Johnson suggests that the first public concerts in Edinburgh were presented in November 1693. In the 1695 concert programme, James Chrystie is referred to as 'Preses', a term used to denote the president of a learned society. This suggests that by 1695 the event was organised by a formal society which presented at least one annual concert.

The music performed in the Edinburgh concert of 1695 shows a strong London influence. An annual concert was held in London in commemoration of St. Cecilia's Day from 1683 onwards. The fact that a St. Cecilia's Day concert took place in Edinburgh is not in itself surprising, considering the close links that existed between Scotland and England during the seventeenth century. Of particular interest to this study is the inclusion in the concert of solo items for trumpet, performed by Daniel Thomson.

1Tytler, 1792. The concert programme is reproduced in Appendix 3.
2Johnson, 1972, p. 11.
3Johnson, 1972, p. 33.
4This was organised under the auspices of a musical society established specifically for the event (see Husk, 1857).
The final decade of the seventeenth century represents a watershed in the history of the trumpet in England. During this period the trumpet shed its purely ceremonial and military functions and became firmly established in 'art music'. It is apparent from the music performed in the St. Cecilia's Day concert in Edinburgh that Daniel Thomson was familiar with the developments taking place in England. Between 1680 and 1682 the Duke of York (the future James VII and II) was resident at Holyrood Palace. It seems likely that James was attended by trumpeters throughout his time in Scotland, since it was on the journey to accompany his wife back to England in 1682 that his ship ran aground off Norfolk with the loss of trumpets and kettle drums at sea.\(^5\) It is possible that Daniel Thomson became acquainted with the English trumpeters during the Duke of York's residency at Holyrood and maintained these contacts after their return to London. Alternatively, he may have accompanied Scottish noblemen on visits to the royal court.

The Edinburgh concert of 1695 included three pieces for trumpet: sonatas by Barrett and Finger - presumably John Barrett and Godfrey Finger - and a piece referred to as '2 Trumpets'. The only known work for trumpet by John Barrett is a sonata for trumpet, oboe and strings, included in British Library Add. MS 49599. Godfrey Finger is represented in this collection with four sonatas that call for one or two trumpets, one of which is scored for trumpet, oboe and continuo. It is possible that the two sonatas performed by Daniel Thomson were those included in this manuscript.\(^6\) The piece referred to as '2 Trumpets' is curious, since Daniel Thomson is the only trumpeter listed. The word 'Tunes' is printed directly above the title, at the top of this column, but does not appear in a similar position on the first sheet of the document. It is feasible that this was a printing error and the title should read '2 Trumpet Tunes'.

\(^5\)Ashbee, 1986-96, i, pp. 200, 349.
\(^6\)For a discussion of this manuscript, see Smithers, 1967, and Smithers, 1973, pp. 194-204.
The concert programme provides a lucid illustration of players changing instruments during the course of a concert to fit the requirements of the various pieces performed. Daniel Thomson is listed as one of the 'Basses' in 'Torrelli's Sonata for 4 violins' and among the players of the 'Plain Part' in the 'Chacoon'.

Tytler provided biographies of the principal participants in the concert, including Daniel Thomson:

Daniel Thomson was one of the King's trumpets, and was said to have understood music, and to have been a good performer of the obligato, or solo parts, in the trumpet songs of Purcell's Opera of Dioclesian, Bonduca, and other theatrical pieces then exhibited on the stage. The two-part song of *To Arms*, and *Sound Fame thy brazen trumpet*, accompanied with the trumpet, were long great favourites with the public.

William Tytler (1711-1792) was an Edinburgh lawyer and a noted antiquarian. For many years he was one of the leading figures in the Edinburgh Musical Society. In his biography of several of the participants he refers to having been familiar with their playing in his early years. Although this could not have been the case with Daniel Thomson, it is reasonable to assume that, through his contacts in the musical life of the city, his assertions are the accurate testimony of colleagues who heard the trumpeter perform.

Daniel Thomson stands as a solitary figure in the introduction of brass instruments to concerts in Scotland. It can be assumed that he continued to perform as a solo trumpeter until his departure from the scene following his involvement in the Jacobite rising of 1715. Information on the musical life of Edinburgh during the first quarter of the eighteenth century is scant and no immediate successor to Daniel Thomson has been traced.
Concerts: 1728-1800

The Edinburgh Musical Society was formed in 1728 by a group of amateur musicians who for several years previously had held regular meetings at the Cross Keys Tavern in the city. Until its demise in 1798 the EMS occupied a central position in the concert life of Edinburgh and provided the model on which musical societies were constituted, on a smaller scale, in other Scottish towns and cities. At its formation the EMS had seventy members and employed several professional musicians. As the century progressed, the membership increased, as did the number of professional players employed, and an increasing number of non-performers were admitted as members. The weekly meetings were, especially in the early years, essentially private affairs, but from the outset a number of 'Lady's concerts' and an annual St. Cecilia's Day concert, for which members were entitled to purchase tickets, were presented each season. The only clues to the music performed at meetings of the society before the middle of the century can be gleaned from references in the minute-books to the purchase of music.\(^7\)

From the middle of the century onwards the EMS presented several oratorio performances each season. Notices of these concerts were normally published in the newspapers, but the work to be performed was rarely indicated. Benefit concerts were granted annually by the society to its principal performers, advertisements for which often provided details of the programme. During the last quarter of the century, concerts presented by visiting musicians and in aid of charitable bodies became a regular feature of the concert life of the city.

In 1742 Francesco Barsanti published his *Concerti Grossi* op. 3 in Edinburgh. The first five concerti in this set are scored for two horns, oboe, kettle drums and strings, and numbers six to ten, for one trumpet, two oboes, kettle drums and strings. The concerti

\(^7\)Purchases listed in the first year's accounts include concertos and sonatas by Geminiani, Corelli and William McGibbon, a violinist employed by the society (Ep EMS Minute-books, i, f. 7).
are of particular importance to this study, since they were the only solo works for trumpet or horn published by a Scottish-based composer during the eighteenth century.

Barsanti arrived in London from Italy in 1714, along with Francesco Geminiani, and was employed as an oboist and recorder player at the King's Theatre. In 1735 Barsanti moved to Edinburgh where he was employed by the musical society. He received payment from the EMS in June 1741 'for concerto pr. order and receipt £1-1-0' and the same amount in 1743 as 'his second Moyity for his concertos ...' It is tempting to assume that Barsanti composed the *Concerti Grossi* in response to the musical forces at his disposal in Edinburgh. It is possible, however, that the stimulus for the concerti lay more in a desire to attract outside interest prior to his planned departure from Edinburgh in, or soon after, 1743 than to provide music for his colleagues in Edinburgh. Several concert-giving bodies, besides the EMS, are listed as subscribers to the set. These include 'The Philharmonick Society of Musick of Wednesday at the Crown and Anchor in London' (three sets), 'The Charitable Society of Musick in Dublin' (two sets), 'The Philarmonick Society of Musick in Dublin', as well as the musical societies of Newcastle upon Tyne and Rippon. Barsanti visited Dublin at least once, in 1740; interestingly, a subscriber to the *Concerti Grossi*, 'James MacFarlane of Dublin, Esq.', has been identified as a trumpeter.

There is no documentary evidence that trumpeters performed in EMS concerts during Barsanti's residence in the city. References to kettle drums first appear in the minute-books of the society in 1740, and it has been suggested that Barsanti played kettle drums in performances of his concerti in Edinburgh. In view of the association of trumpets and kettle drums, it seems reasonable to conjecture that the trumpet was

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8 *Grove, s.v. 'Barsanti, Francesco.'*
9 *Boydell, 1988, p. 297. His name is written on the trumpet part of the set in the Mercer's Hospital music collection, held in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.*
10 *Sharman, 1989, pp. 6-7. The accounts for 1740 record payment to Barsanti for mending the kettle drums. The final mention of the composer in the minute-books is in an entry dated 15 May 1743, concerning the purchase of his kettle drums (Ep EMS Minute-books, i, ff. 88, 98).*
featured in EMS concerts during the 1740s and that Barsanti's *Concerti Grossi* were performed in Edinburgh during that decade.

Barsanti's trumpet writing bears comparison, stylistically, with that of English composers of the period. The trumpet parts in the *Concerti Grossi* do not ascend beyond the thirteenth partial of the harmonic series and, like most English trumpet music of the period, contain no non-harmonic notes. The role of the trumpet alternates between that of participating in the melodic dialogue of the concertino group, particularly in fugal movements, and providing harmonic and rhythmic support to the oboes.

By the late 1740s the involvement of brass instruments in orchestras in Scotland is unequivocal. A list of items belonging to the EMS, inserted at the beginning of the second volume of minute-books, which records the business of the society from 1747, includes 'a pr French horns with Crooks' and kettle drums. The reference to two trumpets in the theatre orchestra in 1748 is the earliest evidence of the use of trumpets in an orchestral context subsequent to the formation of the EMS.

Fortunately for this study, the inclusion of trumpets, kettle drums and french horns in a concert was, from around the middle of the century onwards, often deemed worthy of mention in newspaper advertisements. This situation prevailed, albeit to a lesser extent, until the end of the century. During the 1750s the french horn acquired a highly fashionable status and was regularly featured as a solo instrument. French horns were also included in the orchestras employed in pleasure gardens in Edinburgh. This popularity was undoubtedly due in part to the appearance in the city of several visiting foreign players of the instrument.

12 See CM, 21 June 1750.
13 The EMS accounts for the 1754-55 season record payment to 'Mr Charles Frenchhorns for playing in the Concert' (Ep EMS Minute-books, ii, f. 68). A benefit concert for 'Messieurs Charles's from
Music for French horns featured prominently in benefit concerts for James Marine between 1753 and 1755. Marine's benefit concert in 1753 was presented 'By the Desire of the Most Worshipful Grand Master of all the Free and Accepted Masons in Scotland'; the programme included 'A Symphony for French Horns, composed by Mr. Horner' and 'A Concerto for French Horns, composed by Mr. Bennigar'. The following year's concert opened with 'An Overture for six French Horns by Mr. Horner'; later in the programme a 'Concerto by Signor Hasse, for French Horns' was performed, and the evening ended with 'the 4th of Corelli's Grand Concertos'. His benefit concert in 1755 included an 'Overture for French Horns' and a 'Symphony for French Horns'.

The catalogues of music belonging to the EMS, dated 1765 and 1782, provide a valuable insight into the music performed at the society's meetings prior to the period covered by the plan-books. The vast majority of the items listed in the catalogues were published after 1750 and the accounts of the EMS, which have survived from the late 1740s onwards, provide details of the acquisition of much of this music. The catalogues record the location in the library of each set of parts or score held. A separate column records the location of horn parts. This invariably differs from that of the parts for the other instruments. It is possible that these pieces were performed, on occasions, without horns. This hypothesis is supported by the Edinburgh lawyer Hugo Arnot, writing in the 1770s, who states that horns and kettle drums were occasionally

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14 EEC, 22 January 1753.
15 CM, 7 March 1754. It has not been possible to identify the composer Horner, or the overture. 'Herners 7 Concertos M.S.' is listed in the EMS catalogues of music. In 1751 payment was made for copying 'in the Society's Books Seven Concertos by Horner &c. for French Horns, Violins, Hautboys &c.' (SRO GD 113/5/208/100).
16 CM, 27 February 1755.
added to the orchestra employed by the EMS. Music containing horn parts was included in the vast majority of concerts recorded in the EMS plan-books, and brass players were among the salaried performers of the society throughout the second half of the century. Although some of these players are known to have performed on instruments other than the trumpet or horn, it seems reasonable to assume that they would have played horn in those works that called for the instrument. The separation of the horn parts in the library may have come about as a result of the music being regularly borrowed by members of the society, presumably for performance in a domestic setting. In such performances, horns may well have been considered superfluous.

The catalogue dated 1765 includes items acquired after that date which were added cumulatively. Consequently, very few items are included in the catalogue of 1782 that are not listed in the earlier source. All the works that included trumpet parts are listed in both catalogues and, significantly, none of these were first published after 1765. The number of items identified as having trumpet parts is far exceeded by those calling for horns. Seventy-nine instrumental works, or sets of works, are indicated as containing horn parts in the earlier catalogue. Several horn concertos are listed, but the vast majority belong to the symphonic repertoire which was introduced to London from the Continent shortly after Handel's death and became firmly established there with the arrival of C.F. Abel and J.C. Bach in 1759 and 1762 respectively. A standard eight-part orchestration, which included two horns, was adopted in much of this repertory. The role of the trumpet in most of the works identified as containing trumpet parts is essentially soloistic and rooted in the Handelian style.

18In 1736 the directors of the EMS decided to recall the music on loan to its members in order to draw up a catalogue (see Johnson, 1972, p. 35).
19See Jones, 1978.
The following entries in the 1765 catalogue refer to works which included trumpet parts:

Arnes Artaxerce [Overture]
Barsantis 10 Concertos op: 3d
Bate's 6 Concertos for Trumpets &c. op: 2d
Boyces 8 Symphonys op: 6th
[Corelli's] 4th: Concerto, the horns & Trumpet by Pasquali
Handels 65 Overtures
Handels Musich for the Royal fireworks found in handels overtures
Handels Water Musich found in handels overtures [listed among the 'Overtures': no horns parts indicated]
Humphries 12 Concertos --- 3d
Mudges 6 Concertos
Pasqualis 12 Symphonies & Overtures

Besides the Concerti Grossi by Barsanti, the catalogues contain several mid eighteenth-century sets of concertos by English composers in which the trumpet is included as a concertino instrument in one or more concerto. The earliest collection in this category is the XII Concertos in Seven Parts op. 3 by John Humphries. The first concerto in this set calls for two trumpets, kettle drums and strings, and the twelfth, is scored for one trumpet and strings. The first concerto of the Six Concertos in Seven Parts by Richard Mudge is scored for trumpet, two violins, cello and strings. Two trumpets and kettle drums are included in the second and sixth of the concertos by William Bates, all of which contain parts for two horns. Negotiations between the directors of the EMS and William Bates in 1758, with a view to recruiting the composer as a performer of the harpsichord, which proved fruitless, are recorded in the society's minute-books.\(^{20}\) There are no recorded performances of trumpet concertos in Edinburgh during this period. It should be noted that concertos calling for one or two trumpets only constitute part of these sets. Significantly, however, the

concertos by John Humphries were referred to as 'Humphries Concertos For Trumpets &c.' at the time of purchase, and those by Bates are similarly listed in the catalogues.

Eleven collections of overtures from Handel's operas and oratorios were published in London by John Walsh between 1727 and 1758. In 1751 the EMS purchased 'Handel's Overtures 5th 6th 7th 8th 9th & 10th Collections'. The earliest extant set of accounts for the society, from 1748, record payment in February 1747 for 'Handel's 6 Overtures 9th collect'; the Six Overtures for Violins &c. in Eight Parts ... Ninth Collection, which includes the overture to The Occasional Oratorio, was published by Walsh in 1746. The overture to Atalanta is included in two different collections bearing the designated 'Sixth Collection': Six Overtures for Violins &c. in Seven Parts ... Sixth Collection (London, 1737), and Six Overtures For Violins, French Horns &c. in Eight Parts ... Sixth Collection (London, c.1740). The only other work included in both collections is the overture to Pastor Fido. The overture to Atalanta, which is scored for solo trumpet and strings, was a popular showpiece for London trumpeters throughout the remainder of the century. A performance of the overture took place in Manchester in 1745, but no Scottish performances are recorded during the eighteenth century.

The first documented performance of the overture to The Occasional Oratorio in Edinburgh was in 1753, when it was included in a benefit concert. Also presented in this concert was Handel's 'Overture in Ariadne, for two French Horns'. The overture to The Occasional Oratorio is scored for three trumpets, kettle drums, two oboes and strings. The EMS plan-books reveal that the overture was performed twice in 1769 and every year between 1782 and 1786, often on several occasions each season.

21 See 26 December 1757.
23 SRO GD 113/5/208/85.
24 Smith, 1960, p. 296.
26 EEC, 22 March 1753.
Although the inclusion of trumpets is not mentioned in these sources, the work was regularly referred to in newspaper advertisements for concerts, which almost invariably note that it was to be performed with trumpets and kettle drums. Handel's 'Musick for the Royall fire Works' was purchased by the EMS in 1750, the year after its first performance in London.²⁷ The eleventh collection of overtures, which contains five overtures and the Coronation Anthem Zadok the Priest, was obtained by the society in 1759.²⁸

In 1752 the Italian violinist and composer Nicolo Pasquali arrived in Edinburgh. During the next five years, until his death in 1757, Pasquali was one of the most prominent musicians in the city. The year before his arrival in Edinburgh, Pasquali's Raccolta di overture was published in London.²⁹ Two trumpets, two horns and kettle drums are included in the Overtures No. 1, 9 and 11 from this set, and the Overture No. 5 calls for one trumpet and one horn; two horns are also included in the Overture No. 3. At a benefit concert in 1754, 'conducted by Signor Pasquali', several of the composer's symphonies were performed, one of which was described as his 'Tenth Symphony'.³⁰ The fact that Pasquali was paid by the EMS for adding trumpet and kettle drum parts to the '4th Concerto of Corelli' - presumably the Concerto No. 4 in D from Corelli's Concerti Grossi op. 6 (Amsterdam, 1714) - suggests that his symphonies involving brass instruments were popular in Edinburgh at that time.³¹

²⁷SRO GD 113/5/208/75. Listed in the same set of accounts is 'Handels 6 Songs for french horns'. This can be identified as Six Celebrated Songs made on purpose for French Horns Perform'd in the several Operas Compos'd by Mr Handel. in 7 Parts viz. Two French Horns or Trumpets, two Violins, a German Flute, Tenor & Bass, London: I. Wallsh, c.1731.

²⁸SRO GD 113/5/208/481. The date given by Smith for the publication of Handel's Overtures XI Collection for Violins &c. in 8 Parts is 1758. The EMS purchased Handel's '60 Overtures' in 1755 (SRO GD 113/5/208/200). Smith gives c.1758 as the publication date for the collection entitled Handel's Sixty Overtures From all his Operas & Overtures for Violins in 8 Parts. He states, however, that advertisements for 'Sixty Overtures' as early as 1749 possibly refer to another edition of the collection (Smith, 1960, pp. 297, 300).

²⁹N. Pasquali. Raccolta di overture, e symphonie, per due violini, e un basso ... con un alto viola, trombe, corni da caccia e tymbali de rinforzo nella I, III, V, IX, XI ... (London, 1751). A later edition was entitled XII Overtures and Symphonies For Two Violins, Tenor and Bass (London, c.1760). A note on the title page of this edition confirms that the brass parts are optional: 'The Ripieno Parts of the I, III, V, IX & XI. may be Perform'd by Two Trumpets, Two French Horns & Kettle Drums'.

³⁰See CM, 18 February 1754.

³¹See April 1755.
It is possible that the arrangement of Corelli's concerto had its first public hearing at Pasquali's benefit concert in 1754, since the concluding item was a 'Grand Concerto of Corelli'. The 'Full Piece with Trumpets, French Horns, Kettle Drums, &c.' performed at Pasquali's benefit concert the following year was probably either the Corelli concerto grosso or one of Pasquali's symphonies. Unfortunately, Pasquali's arrangement of the Corelli concerto grosso was not published and no manuscript source of the work has survived. The arrangement was still in the Edinburgh concert repertoire in 1767, and Corelli's *Concerto Grosso* No. 4 was performed at Marylebone Gardens in London, with 'additional parts for Trumpets, French Horns, and Kettle Drums ... by the late ingenious Sg. Pasquali' during the 1770s. The concerti of Corelli were regularly featured in EMS concerts during the period covered by the plan-books, but it is not known if Pasquali's arrangement was still being performed at this time.

In December 1753 the Directors of the EMS wrote to Handel, requesting copies of several of the his unpublished choral works. Hamilton lists the performances of Handel's choral works mentioned in the society's minute-books and plan-books; from the former it can be ascertained that six were first performed between 1753 and 1760: *Acis and Galatea* (1753), *Alexander's Feast* (1753), *Deborah* (1754), *Judas Maccabaeus* (1755), *Samson* (1758), and *Messiah* (1760). Three performances of the oratorio *Solomon* by Handel are cited by Hamilton (1757, 1758 and 1761). The work performed on these occasions was most likely the serenata *Solomon* by William Boyce. This work, which calls for two trumpets in one aria and in the final chorus, was very popular in London throughout the 1760s. Neither the EMS minute-books, nor

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32 CM, 3 January 1754.
33 See 17 January 1755.
34 See 5 February 1767.
36 Hamilton, 1964, p. 22.
37 Ibid.
the newspaper notices of the performances, mention the composer of the work performed. The music for Boyce's *Solomon* was purchased by the EMS from Robert Bremner in 1756,39 and is listed in the society's catalogues.

Three trumpets are scored for in *Deborah* and *Judas Maccabaeus*, while *Messiah* and *Samson* call for two trumpets; *Acis and Galatea* and *Alexander's Feast* are scored for a single trumpet. Trumpet arias are included in four of the oratorios. 'The Trumpet Shall Sound' from *Messiah*, 'Let the bright Seraphim' from *Samson* and 'Revenge Timotheous Cries' from *Alexander's Feast* are in D major; the aria 'With honour let desert be crowned' from *Judas Maccabaeus*, in A minor, is the only example of Handel writing for the trumpet in the minor key.

Many benefit concerts presented in Edinburgh during the second half of the century were large scale events, advertised as concerts of vocal and instrumental music. Popular in these concerts were Handel's Coronation anthems, and the choruses 'Hallelujah' and 'Worthy is the Lamb' from *Messiah*.

The song 'Rise glory rise' from the opera *Rosamond* by Thomas Arne was included in a benefit concert in Edinburgh in 1769.40 This is the only known performance of a song with trumpet obligato in an Edinburgh concert other than an oratorio performance prior to the last decade of the century. The song was performed on a number of occasions during the interval at theatrical performances in London during the 1750s. The advertisement for the performance in Edinburgh implies that more than one trumpeter was involved. The manuscript full score of the opera calls for one trumpet in this song, along with two oboes, kettle drums and strings.41 There is no record of *Rosamond* being staged in Scotland. Since the programmes of relatively few concerts

39 SRO GD 113/5/208/321.
40 See 15 February 1769.
41 Lbl Add. Ms 29370. *Rosamond* was first performed in London in 1733 (Grove, s.v. 'Arne, Thomas Augustine').
are known before late in the century, it is possible that the above mentioned trumpet arias by Handel were also performed in non-oratorio concerts from the 1750s onwards.

'Let the Bright Seraphim' from *Samson* was performed on a number of occasions by Mrs Corri and William Napier during the 1790s. The song 'The Volunteers Fly to Arms', which was popularised by the same soloists later in the decade, was an adaptation of 'Let the Bright Seraphim'. The song was published in Edinburgh in a version with a violin obligato that integrates the melodic material of the trumpet part with the semi-quaver figuration of the original violin part. The first page of this publication is reproduced in Appendix 4. There is no record of 'The Volunteers Fly to Arms' being performed outside Edinburgh.

It has not been possible to identify the 'Bass Song, with Trumpets' by Johann Georg Christoff Schetky, the German cellist and composer who resided in Edinburgh from 1772 until his death in 1824. Very little of Schetky's music has survived and none of the songs included in his *Six Songs* (Edinburgh, c.1790), the only extant collection of his songs, stylistically or textually suggest the inclusion of trumpets.

The popularity of *Te Deum and Jubilate* (1694) by Henry Purcell, in which two trumpets figure prominently, in London throughout the eighteenth century is evident from the numerous editions of the work that appeared in full score. Its first recorded performance in Scotland was in the New Episcopal Chapel in Edinburgh in 1774, under the direction of the chapel's organist, Stephen Clark. The work was performed at Clark's benefit concert in St. Cecilia's Hall the following year. Purcell's 'Te deum' is included among items purchased by the EMS from Robert Bremner in 1757.

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42 See 9 February 1798.
43 CM, 2 April 1774.
44 EECP II March 1775.
45 SRO GD 113/5/208/321.
The duet and chorus 'To Arms' and 'Britons Strike Home' from Purcell's music for *Bonduca* (1695) were performed in London oratorio concerts of the early 1780s and remained popular in concerts programmes until the end of the century. The duet 'To Arms', mentioned by Tytler as one of Daniel Thomson's showpieces in the early years of the century, is in C major and contains an obligato part for trumpet. Purcell marked the 1st violin part of the choral sections of 'Britons Strike Home' as to be doubled on trumpet and oboe. At a 'Public Concert' of the EMS in 1782 the 'Duet & Chorus Britons Strike home' was performed alongside excerpts from Handel's *Acis and Galatea*. During the 1790s 'Britons Strike home' was regularly performed with audience participation in the theatre, either between the acts or after the entertainment, and clearly accorded with the patriotic mood of much of the material presented in the theatre during that decade. It is unlikely that Purcell's instrumentation would have had much bearing on performances such as these. The chorus was included in *The Battle of Verden*, a compilation of instrumental and vocal items, 'selected and composed' by Joseph Reinagle, with the accompaniment of trumpets and kettle drums, during his return visit to Scotland in 1793. A newspaper review of Reinagle's concert states that 'The audience joined the band in "Britons strike home", and "God save the king"'.

The overture to the opera *Artaxerxes* by Thomas Arne attained considerable popularity in Edinburgh during the second half of the eighteenth century. The music for *Artaxerxes* was purchased by the EMS in 1763 and the overture was obtained in 1764. The full score of the opera, published in 1762, includes parts for two horns, two trumpets and kettle drums in the overture. The opera includes the trumpet song 'The Soldier T'ird of Wars Alarms'; this was a popular item in London concerts into the nineteenth century. It is not known if the song was performed in Edinburgh, but an arrangement by Domenico Corri, 'as a lesson for the harpsichord', was published there.

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46 McVeigh, 1993, p. 112.
47 CM, 16 March & 4 April 1793.
48 SRO GD 113/5/208/16/40; GD 113/5/208/17/38.
by Corri and Sutherland c.1790. Several editions of the overture to *Artaxerxes* were published before the end of the century, four of which have been consulted in the course of this study. 50 The only edition found to contain parts for trumpets and kettle drums is the set of parts published by Longman & Co. c.1770; copies of this edition, however, have been found with the trumpet and kettle drum parts wanting. It seems, therefore, that for performances in the concert hall the trumpet and kettle drum parts were considered optional. There is no record of the inclusion of trumpets in the orchestra for Edinburgh performances of this overture.

Symphonies by Joseph Haydn were first performed in the EMS concerts in the early 1780s and quickly became standard repertoire. 51 During the final decade of the century Haydn's symphonies were frequently included in benefit concerts, as were those of his pupil and rival in the London concert scene, Ignaz J. Pleyel. It is not possible to identify all the symphonies by Haydn listed in the EMS plan-books, but several are referred to by the title of printed editions. 52 Trumpet parts exist for around a quarter of Haydn's symphonies composed prior to his *London* symphonies. Many discrepancies exist between different versions of many of these works concerning the trumpet parts. Haydn's Symphony No. 73, which is referred to by the title 'La Chasse' in the EMS plan-books and newspaper advertisements of the 1780s and 1790s, is an example. Trumpets and kettle drums are included in the last movement of the original version of this symphony; an edition published in London by Forster c.1783, appears to have been


51The first recorded performance of a Haydn symphony in London was in 1773, but it was during the early 1780s that their popularity grew. By 1786 many of Haydn's symphonies were available from London publishers (McVeigh, 1993, pp. 94, 122, 265).

52For example, the work referred to as 'Symphony Haydn No3 in D', performed on 22 July 1785 (Eu EMS Plan-books, iii, f. 66r), was probably the Symphony No. 75 in D: a set of printed parts of this symphony, issued by Bland in London c.1784, bears the title 'Sinfonia III'. This was a reprint of an edition by Hummel (Amsterdam and Berlin, c.1782). Both sets include parts for two trumpets and kettle drums. These were not included in the earliest manuscript sources of this work but were probably added by Haydn at a later date (see Landon, 1955, pp. 723-24).
a reprint of a Viennese edition of 1782, both of which omit the trumpet and kettle drum parts.53

An entry in the EMS plan-books for 23 April 1784 records the performance of an 'Overture Haydn in D with Kettle Drums'.54 Haydn included kettle drums in only one symphony that does not contain trumpet parts: Symphony No. 53 in D (L'Imperiale).

It was after the success of this symphony in London in 1781 that Haydn's music rose to prominence. It is possible, therefore, that the 'Overture' in D by Haydn was the Symphony No. 53.

Numerous advertisements for concerts in Edinburgh during the second half of the century announce that either kettle drums, or french horns and kettle drums, were to be added to the orchestra. Kettle drums were rarely scored for independently of trumpets in eighteenth-century orchestral compositions.55 The pairing of kettle drums and horns was common in Scotland and was not restricted to works originally scored for both instruments. For example, at a benefit concert in 1756 Handel's 'Overture in Ptolemy [sic] with French Horns and Kettle-Drums' was performed.56

Symphonies by Thomas Alexander Erskine, Earl of Kelly, were occasionally advertised as to be performed with french horns and kettle drums, as was a 'Dead March' by Kelly, performed at a funeral concert for one of the EMS directors, William Douglas, in 1771.57 None of Kelly's extant orchestral works include trumpet parts, but horns were routinely employed. No kettle drum parts have survived for any of Kelly's

54Eu EMS Plan-books, iii, f. 40v.
55During the interval of a performance of an oratorio by Karl Barbandt at the Little Theatre in London in 1756, 'A Great Concerto with Clarinets, French Horns and Kettle Drums, composed by Mr. Barbant' was presented (Fiske, 1986, p. 304).
56CM, 21 February 1756. The overture to the opera Tolomeo by Handel (1728) was scored for two horns, oboe and strings.
57For example, see CM, 2 February 1767; CM, 4 January & 15 February 1769. A copy of a printed programme for the funeral concert is appended to Eu EMS Plan-books, i. A draft plan of the music to be performed in this concert, contained in the plan-book, lists the 'Dead March in Saul' [by Handel] (see Johnson, 1972, pp. 83-84).
compositions. A 'Scotch Song' entitled 'Lochaber', 'arranged into a chorus for four voices, with kettle-drums. - By Signior Corri.' was included in Mrs Corri's benefit concert in 1784.58 The abandonment of the traditional link between trumpets and kettle drums represent an idiosyncratic feature of orchestral performance practice in Scotland. Thus, it cannot be inferred from references to kettle drums, such as in an advertisement for a concert in 1786, at which a 'Grand Overture, with Kettle Drums' by Handel was to be performed,59 that the work contained trumpet parts.

The work described as 'Martini's Grand Overture, with Kettle Drums, Trumpets, &c' in advertisements for concerts in 1794 and 1795 can be identified as the overture to the opera Henry IV by J.P.A. Martini.60 This overture was popular in London during the 1790s.61 At a concert in Edinburgh in March 1794 'Martini's Grand Overture to Henry V. With French Horns, Kettle Drums, &c' was performed.62 This was almost certainly a misprint and work alluded to was probably Martini's overture to Henry IV. The overture is scored for a large orchestra, including two horns, two trumpets and kettle drums. An edition published in London c.1787 bears the inscription 'Trompette & Timbale ad Libitum' on the title page.63 The trumpets play a prominent role in the overture and are given several soli passages in alternation with fanfare motives, during which the first trumpet part ascends to C₆, four bars from the end of the piece. The soli trumpet passages are printed as trumpet cues in the horn parts. Thus, in performances with trumpets, the passages marked 'Solo Trompette' would be omitted by the horn players, who would resume playing at the 'Solo Corni' indication.

The EMS accounts record regular payments for issues in the Periodical Overture series published by Robert Bremner between 1763 and 1783. The overtures in this

58CM, 4 February 1784.
59CM, 20 February 1786.
60See 10 July 1794; 10 March 1795.
62CM, 17 March 1794.
63J.P.A. Martini. Ouverture et Entreacte d'Henry IV a Grande Orchestre ... London: Longman and Broderip, [1787].
series remained popular through to the end of the century. It is not certain that the '35th Periodical Overture, with Kettle Drums & Trumpets', performed in 1795, was from this collection, since several Parisian publishers also issued series of periodical overtures (or symphonies) during the second half of the eighteenth century. The Periodical Overture No. 35, published by Bremner in 1772, was a reprint of the Symphony No. 3 in C from Six Simphonies a Grande Orchestre op. 12 by François Joseph Gossec, which is scored for the customary eight-part orchestra. Gossec's Six Simphonies appeared in several Paris editions, one of which, published by Boyer in 1788, included parts for two trumpets. Assuming that this was the work performed in 1795, it would appear that either Boyer's edition was being used in Scotland or the trumpet and drum parts had been obtained from the Continent separately. It is also conceivable that the extra parts were composed by someone in Edinburgh who was aware of the increased forces employed for performances of the work elsewhere.

For a series of subscription concerts presented by Natale Corri in 1801, an advertisement noted that 'The Public will ... have an opportunity (for the first time in this city) of hearing the full Pieces complete in all their parts'. Details of the orchestra to be employed, which included two horns, two trumpets and kettle drums, were also given. Three symphonies of Haydn, including the 'Military' Symphony (No. 100), were to be performed in three of the six concerts, from manuscript parts; according to the advertisement, they were to receive their first Edinburgh performances. Although it is necessary to treat such assertions with caution, it is very likely that these were the first

64 See 24 March 1795. The same work is presumably being referred to in the advertisement for the concert on 22 July 1795.
65 Jones, 1978, p. 64.
66 The 'Six Simphonies' op. 12 by Gossec was first published in Paris c. 1769. See the thematic index in Jones, 1978, p. 77.
67 This edition is first listed in a catalogue of music published by Boyer of Paris in 1788 (Johansson, 1955, ii, Facsimile 100).
68 Cranmer, 1991, p. 53. The London symphonies were first published on the Continent between 1795 and 1800, and in London between 1800 and 1805. Landon does not rule out the possibility, however, that John Salomon had the symphonies published in London around 1795 (Landon, 1955, p. 746).
Scottish performances of Haydn's *London* symphonies. Two horns, two trumpets and kettle drums are included in all twelve symphonies in this set.

The popularity of theatrical pieces with a military theme towards the end of the century was reflected in the repertoire for the concert hall. The Edinburgh-based singer and composer Peter Urbani composed *The Siege of Gibraltar* in 1785 in imitation of the afterpiece with that title by William Shield, which was popular in London and presented at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, in 1783. The work by Urbani received several performances in 1785 and 1786, and the overture was performed at a concert of the EMS in April 1786.

*The Battle of Prague* by Franz Kotzwara was originally written for piano and enjoyed phenomenal popularity during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries throughout Europe and America. The work was first performed in Edinburgh 1792 and became an extremely popular item in benefit concerts. In almost every advertisement for performances in Edinburgh the employment of trumpets and kettle drums is mentioned. *The Battle of Prague* was first published in Dublin c.1788 and appeared in numerous editions, some of which include obligato parts for violin, cello and drums. No trumpet parts were published, but it is clear to see where they could have been employed. The piece has been described as a 'programmatic sonata'; it depicts, in a highly explicit manner, the events of the battle. Passages representing trumpet and bugle calls, bearing designations such as 'Bugle Horn Call for the Cavalry', 'Trumpet, Light Dragoons advancing', and 'Trumpet of Recall' abound. Other passages depict the sound of canons, 'Flying Bullets' and the 'Cries of the Wounded'.

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69 See 26 April 1785; 8 August 1786. Johnson wrongly states that Farmer is mistaken in assigning *The Siege of Gibraltar* to Urbani and not William Shield (Johnson, 1972, p. 48; see Farmer, 1947, p. 306).

70 EMS Plan-books, iii, f. 77v.

71 Grove, s.v. 'Kotzwara, Franz.'

72 Ibid.
There is no evidence that the trumpet was featured in concerts in cities in Scotland other than Edinburgh. The Aberdeen Musical Society was the most important concert-giving body outside Edinburgh. A list of music belonging to the society c.1755 includes 'Handel's Oratorios 1st Collectn [sic]', 'The fire Musick unbound', 'Barsantis Concertos in ten part' and 'Pasquali's Overtures'.

Two french horns and a pair of kettle drums were owned by the society in 1755. The first documented concert programme dates from 1758 and included 'A French-Horne Piece'. The society appears to have regularly employed horn players during the second half of the eighteenth century, and two horn players (Messrs F. and W. Walker) were among the salaried performers engaged for the 1790-91 season. It is not known if these players doubled on trumpet.

It was not until the final quarter of the eighteenth century that concerts were regularly presented in Glasgow. During this period, several series of subscription concerts were given in the city, as were performances by visiting musicians from Edinburgh and further afield. One of the first promoters of subscription concerts in Glasgow was Alexander Reinagle, who was mentioned in Chapter 4 as a deputy in the royal trumpet corps. Farmer refers to a concert in Glasgow, but provides no date, in which overtures were accompanied 'with French Horns and Clarionets'. An examination of the Glasgow newspapers of the period may yield further information on concerts in the city, and it would not be surprising if programmes similar to those presented in Edinburgh were occasionally given.

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73 Johnson, 1972, pp. 215-16. Johnson suggests that this last entry was probably added to the list after 1755.
75 Ibid., p. 61.
76 Ibid., pp. 67, 71.
77 Farmer, 1945, p. 110.
The role of music in the Edinburgh theatres during the eighteenth century has received very little attention by scholars. Johnson asserts that the theatre did little for classical music in Scotland and that seasons of opera were short and occurred at irregular intervals. He acknowledges that ballad operas such as The Beggar's Opera and The Gentle Shepherd were performed in Edinburgh during the first half of the century and that English operas were first given in 1751, mentioning the production of The Dragon of Wantley by Lampe, presented that year. He also refers to performances of Italian opera given 1763, cited by Dibdin in his history of the theatre in Scotland. Johnson is correct in the statement that the theatre in Edinburgh did not support operas written by the city's resident composers. What he fails to take fully into account are the productions that had originally been performed at one of the two theatres in London devoted to presenting dramatic and operatic works in English, Covent Garden and Drury Lane. This vast repertory is analysed in a study by Roger Fiske.

Between 1737 and 1767 the performance of plays in unlicensed theatres was prohibited. Edinburgh had no licensed theatre during this period. In order to present theatrical works in the city it was necessary to advertise that they were to be performed 'gratis' after a concert of music. The only theatrical venue in Edinburgh at this time was known as the Canongate Concert Hall. Newspaper advertisements rarely provide details of the music to be included in these performances. It is likely that the main function of the orchestra employed in 1748, in which two trumpets were included, was to perform instrumental music before and between the plays. That trumpeters were active in the theatre at this time is significant, since it is during the late

78 Johnson, 1972, p. 47.
80 The term 'English opera' is used in this study to cover a variety of theatrical forms, including ballad opera, comic opera and after-piece. These labels were applied with a certain flexibility to works in English incorporating music and drama.
81 Fiske, 1986.
1740s that evidence of the performance of English operas in Edinburgh first emerges, and several of those presented around the middle of the century contain prominent trumpet parts.

The arrival of John Frederick Lampe and Nicolo Pasquali in Edinburgh, in 1750 and 1752 respectively, had a marked effect on music in the Edinburgh theatre. Both Lampe and Pasquali were experienced composers of theatre music before arriving in Edinburgh and had been engaged as joint leaders of the orchestra of the Theatre Royal in Dublin (known as 'Smock Alley') in 1748. In that year the orchestra was increased to twenty-two players. Lampe has been credited with introducing English operas to Scotland. His popular ballad opera The Dragon of Wantley was first performed in Edinburgh under the direction of the composer. This work contains one of the most demanding trumpet parts written by a British-based composer during the entire century. Lampe died less than a year after settling in Edinburgh. In June 1752 Pasquali was engaged to conduct the 'Opera's and other Musical Entertainments' in Edinburgh, almost certainly as Lampe's successor.

An advertisement for a performance of Romeo and Juliet at the Canongate Concert Hall in January 1751 noted that the production was to include 'the Funeral Procession of Juliet ... attended with solemn Musick'. Music for the funeral scene of Romeo and Juliet was provided by Thomas Arne for a production at Covent Garden on 28 September 1750. A rival production of the play opened at Drury Lane on the same night, which by the 3 October included a musical setting of the funeral scene by William Boyce. The version of the funeral music performed in Edinburgh in 1751 is not recorded, but it was most likely that by Arne. One of the singers taking part in the Edinburgh performance was Mrs Lampe, wife of the composer John Frederick Lampe,

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83Harris, 1911, pp. 265-67; Johnson, 1972, p. 52.
84CM, 18 June 1752.
85CM, 17 January 1751.
and sister of Thomas Arne's wife. Less than two weeks before the Edinburgh 
performance of *Romeo and Juliet* a newspaper notice advertised that the 'Masque of 
COMUS' by Arne was in preparation at the Canongate Concert Hall and was to be 
conducted by Mr Lampe.⁸⁷

The 'Solemn Dirge' by Arne opens with a funeral march for two 'muffled' trumpets, 
kettle drums and a bell (Ex. 3), with the direction:

> At the Beginning of the procession the Trumpetes advance with the Kettle 
Drums and sound the following Solemn notes between which the Bell tolls, till 
they are off the Stage.

![Ex. 3](image)

In the music for the funeral scene by William Boyce the trumpet fulfils a less dramatic 
role than in the setting by Arne: a tolling bell introduces the setting of the dirge, which 
is scored for trumpet, two oboes, two violins, 'Tenor viol', four part chorus and 
continuo.⁸⁸ The music, like the trumpet aria 'With honour let desert be crowned' from 
*Judas Maccabaeus* by Handel (mentioned above), is in the key of A minor. The 
trumpet is treated melodically, within the contrapuntal texture of the setting, although 
the writing, for an instrument pitched in D, is less complex than in the aria by Handel.

An advertisement for a performance of *Romeo and Juliet* at the Canongate Concert 
Hall in 1755 noted that the production was to include 'The Funeral Procession of 
JULIET ... with a SOLEMN DIRGE, as set to Musick by SIGNOR PASQUALI'. The

⁸⁷*CM*, 7 January 1751.
⁸⁸W. Boyce. 'Rise, rise, heartbreaking sighs', *A Dirge for Romeo and Juliet* (Ob MS. Mus. c. 3).
date of composition of the work by Pasquali has not been established. A report of theatrical performances in Hereford contained in the Gloucester Journal for 6 February 1753 states that Pasquali's music had been included in a recent performance of Romeo and Juliet. It is conceivable, therefore, that the 'Dirge' was written prior to the composer's arrival in Edinburgh in June 1752. Even if Pasquali had composed the work soon after the first performance of the settings by Arne and Boyce, it is unlikely that this was the music performed in Edinburgh in January 1751. The text of the 'Solemn Dirge' by Pasquali is based on that used by Arne and the work was published in full score c.1771. The piece is in the key of Eb and does not call for trumpets. The two-part vocal setting is accompanied by a bell pitched in Bb, two violins and continuo. Pasquali's music was included in a performance of Romeo and Juliet in Edinburgh in 1772. Advertisements for the play in both the Edinburgh and London press frequently refer to the funeral procession being accompanied by music, but rarely state the composer. It is not clear if Pasquali's music continued to be included in Edinburgh performances of the play after his death in 1757, or if its performance in 1772 represents a revival of interest in the work following its publication.

Advertisements for the theatre appear regularly in the Edinburgh newspapers from the middle of the century onwards, but rarely state whether a production included music or was purely dramatic. It can be deduced that the theatre orchestra in 1748 comprised ten players - although, the fact that attention was drawn to its instrumentation in a newspaper notice suggests that this may have been considered larger than usual - and that nine players were employed during the 1757-58 season. It is doubtful if the orchestra increased in size significantly during the course of the century, but advertisements occasionally note that it was to be enlarged for a particular production.

89Haywood, 1960, p. 184.
90Johnson states that Pasquali arrived in the autumn of 1752 (Johnson, 1972, p. 54).
91N. Pasquali. The Solemn Dirge in Romeo and Juliet (London, c.1770).
92CM, 23 November 1772.
93The calendar compiled by Armstrong is a valuable tool for identifying the dates of Edinburgh theatrical productions (Armstrong, 1968). Unfortunately, on the rare occasions that information on the musical content of a work is contained in advertisements, this is generally omitted by Armstrong.
The most problematic issue relating to the performance of theatre music outside London concerns orchestration. Very few of the musical works performed in the London theatres were published in full score. Of those that appeared in print, the vast majority were published as vocal scores. These vary considerably in the extent to which instrumental designations are marked. As Fiske has pointed out, if the operas were performed with orchestral accompaniment, then either the instrumental parts were arranged from the vocal score, in which case the orchestration was likely to have differed significantly from that of the original London production, or manuscript sets of parts were hired from the London publisher; no evidence of the latter practice has been found, even though sizeable orchestras were employed in theatres in the larger provincial centres. Advertisements for the Edinburgh theatres often went to great lengths to publicise the lavishness of productions and promote the fact that famous actors and singers from London were to appear. It seems highly unlikely therefore, particularly in light of the availability of a pool of professional musicians in Edinburgh, that the musical provision would have fallen significantly short of that presented in London.

The role of the trumpet in English theatre music of the eighteenth century requires further study. The inclusion of trumpet songs in a number of the operas listed reflects the continued popularity of Handel's trumpet arias throughout the second half of the century. The trumpet was featured as a solo instrument in several overtures from late in the century in a manner distinct from its role in contemporary orchestral music written for the concert hall. *The Battle of Hexham* (1789) by Samuel Arnold is one such opera; the overture, which is in three movements and was printed for 'Piano Forte, Harpsichord &c.', concludes with a Rondo in which the principal subject is marked 'Trumpet solo'. The opera received several performances in Edinburgh.

between 1789 and 1794. Since there is evidence that trumpeters were performing soloistically in concerts in Edinburgh during the second half of the eighteenth century, it is most likely that the trumpet songs contained in theatrical works were included in the performances in the Edinburgh theatre. The hypothesis that trumpeters were employed in the theatre helps to clarify the enigma of players performing virtuosic parts on the trumpet in concerts only very occasionally, with an otherwise apparent lack of an outlet for them to perform in a soloistic capacity.

An advertisement for a performance of the comedy 'All in the Wrong' at the Theatre Royal in January 1793 states that after the play, _The Battle of Prague_ was to be given by a 'full Band'. This suggests that an orchestra was employed even when the main work in the programme was a dramatic production. It was also common for music to be presented between and after the acts of operatic productions. After a performance that included Shield's afterpiece _The Flitch of Bacon_ at the Theatre Royal in 1793, the trumpet song 'Let fame sound the brazen trumpet' from _Fontainbleau_ by William Shield was performed.

During the final two decades of the eighteenth century theatrical works with a military theme became popular. Trumpets and drums, and military bands were often used in these theatrical pieces to provide special effects and add to the spectacle of the performance. For the revival of Michael Arne's opera _Cymon_ in London in 1791 the military element was highlighted. Around half the music for the production was from Arne's original score; additional material included two marches by Thomas Shaw for military band, which were published in full score. The production of _Cymon_ in Glasgow in 1792, the advertisement for which states that the opera was 'on at the

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95 Armstrong, 1968. The overture was performed by the London trumpeter John Sarjant at Vauxhall Gardens in August 1791 (Cudworth, 1967, p. 38).
96 CM, 24 January 1793.
97 CM, 2 February 1793. _Fontainbleau_ was presented at the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, in 1785 (Armstrong, 1968).
98 Fiske, 1986, pp. 512-13
King's Theatre in the Haymarket, and the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh, likewise included martial music.\(^9\) The theatrical season in Glasgow each summer was presented by the company of the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh.

For performances of *The Surrender of Calais* by Samuel Arnold at the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh in 1792, kettle drums were borrowed from the EMS.\(^10\) Advertisements for the production reveal that it was to include 'The Military Processions and Original Chorusses, accompanied by Martial Instruments'.\(^11\) It can be assumed that trumpets would also have been used in these performances. 'A New Historical Pantomime, intermixed with Songs and Spectacle, called The Siege of Valenciennes', performed at the New Theatre in Edinburgh in November 1793, was typical of the entertainments on a military theme presented on the stage during that decade.\(^12\) Advertisements in the Edinburgh newspapers shortly before this performance announce the forthcoming publication of a work by Natale Corri for piano-forte or harpsichord with the same title.\(^13\) The following year, the music was performed in Corri's benefit concert in an arrangement for a full band that included trumpets, bassoons and kettle drums.\(^14\) Like much of Corri's output, the music for this piece has not survived.\(^15\)

Although the Edinburgh Musical Society was the driving force behind the advancement of classical music in eighteenth-century Scotland, the theatre provided a source of employment for professional musicians on a scale that has previously not been acknowledged.

\(^9\) See 13 June 1792.
\(^10\) SRO GD 113/4/164/77, 89.
\(^11\) *EEC*, 9 February 1792. The published vocal score of *The Surrender of Calais* (London, n.d.) contains a number of passages which are indicated as being trumpet parts.
\(^12\) *CM*, 9 November 1793. The New Theatre had recently opened in competition to the Theatre Royal.
\(^13\) *CM*, 17 October & 2 November 1793.
\(^14\) See 4 March 1794.
\(^15\) A work entitled *The Siege of Valenciennes*, attributed to M.P. King, was published in London c.1794 for piano-forte or harpsichord, with an obligato part for violin. (*BUC*, ii, p. 951).
Players

The identification of trumpeters who performed in concerts and in the theatre in Scotland during much of the eighteenth century is problematic. The records of the EMS rarely reveal the instruments played by the musicians in its employ and, prior to the final decade of the century, newspaper advertisements rarely announce the names of performers taking part in concerts.

Daniel Thomson, the trumpet soloist in the St. Cecilia's Day concert of 1695, and William Napier, who appeared with Mrs Corri in performances of Handel trumpet arias during the 1790s, are the only players who can be identified as trumpeters performing in specific concerts. The only other trumpeter for whom evidence of him performing in concerts exists is Joseph Reinagle, the younger. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Reinagle appeared as a trumpet and horn soloist early in his career, before concentrating on the cello and violin. It is significant that none of these players confined their musical activities to playing the trumpet; it was noted earlier that Daniel Thomson also performed on stringed instruments, and William Napier referred to himself as a horn player in the orchestra of the EMS (see Chapter 4, and below). Throughout this period, it was common for professional musicians to be adept on more than one instrument. The practice was not confined to provincial cities such as Edinburgh but was prevalent in major musical centres such as London. The most common doubling for brass players was horn and trumpet, but some of the leading brass players in London also played stringed instruments professionally.106

Despite that fact that few of the professional musicians who held office as royal trumpeters or served as a deputy in the trumpet corps are known to have played brass

106Several musicians are listed in London directories of 1763 and 1794 as players of trumpet and violin (Langwill, 1949, pp. 37-43). Leading trumpeters of the period were among those that played more than one instrument; for example, John Hyde doubled on trumpet and violin, and Thomas Harper, the elder, played trumpet and horn. Trumpeters active in Dublin during the second half of the century also played horn and violin (Boydell, 1992, p. 45).
instruments in concerts, the possibility that any of these individuals performed in this capacity cannot be ruled out. Of particular interest are those musicians who are either known to have performed on horn, or for whom evidence linking them to that instruments exists.

It was suggested in Chapter 4 that James Marine performed on trumpet and horn in concerts around the middle of the eighteenth century. The evidence linking James Marine to brass playing is far from conclusive. The prominence of horn music in his benefit concerts (discussed earlier in this chapter) and the fact that he was the only royal trumpeter employed by the EMS before the middle of the eighteenth century, however, makes him a likely contender to have been one of the trumpet and horn players who performed Barsanti's *Concerti Grossi* during the 1740s. It is also possible that he was one of the trumpeters employed in the theatre orchestra in 1748 and that he performed the obligato trumpet parts in the first performances of the Handel's oratorios premiered in Scotland during the 1750s. The hypothesis that James Marine was a french horn player is supported by a letter from William Napier to the directors of the EMS, dated 1791, in which he refers to himself as 'First Horn' of the musical society. In the letter, Napier reminded the directors that he had performed for the society for over ten years, the first two without payment, as a deputy for James Marine, and that he had been promised a salary equal to that paid to Marine on the latter's eventual demise.

The directors of the EMS, in their letter of 1766 to the Lords of Justiciary in defence of their right to nominate appointees to the office of royal trumpeter, implied that the practice was well established. We know that Joseph Reinagle, the elder, received his position in the royal trumpet corps in 1762 through the influence of the Earl of Kelly, but there is no record of any royal trumpeter appointed between the establishment of the EMS and the appointment of Reinagle performing in the society's concerts. Three
trumpeters were admitted into royal service during this period: George Innes (1740), Hugh Spark (1758) and Thomas Goldie (1761). Both George Innes and James Marine are described as musicians in the record of their appointment to the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge, registered with the Grand Lodge in 1737. This designation, and his association with James Marine, suggests that George Innes may have been one of several brass players active in concerts around the middle of the century whose identities have been elusive. Just as the directors of the musical society regarded the royal trumpet corps as a source of patronage to either supplement or replace the salaries paid to its employees, it is possible that brass instrumentalists who were not required to attend the society's meetings on a weekly basis performed without remuneration when required, in return for attaining the office of royal trumpeter.

It is not known how influential the directors of the EMS were over the recruitment of deputies to the royal trumpet corps. It is possible that the society procured the services of musicians by affording them this form of patronage. If the long-serving deputy in the trumpet corps David Bridges was the musician referred to as 'Bro. Briggs', who received payment for attending St. Luke's Lodge of Edinburgh with 'two French Horns' on St. Andrew's Day 1767, his musical activities clearly extended beyond performing on trumpet in a ceremonial capacity. The possibility that he performed for the EMS without receiving payment cannot be ruled out.

There is no evidence that any of the trumpeters active in Edinburgh during the late seventeenth or eighteenth centuries gained recognition outside Scotland. Music festivals, similar to those held in a number of provincial English cities during the late eighteenth century, were presented in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1778, 1781, 1791 and 1796. Several musicians from Newcastle and Edinburgh took part in these events, but

108 The appointment of Joseph Reinagle, the elder, as a royal trumpeter in 1762 coincided with his temporary exclusion from the list of salaried EMS performers. The accounts for the 1760-61 and 1761-62 seasons list payments of £9. 10s. and £6. 7s. respectively to Reinagle. In subsequent accounts his annual salary rose from £3 in 1765 to £8. 6s. 8d. in 1768.
109 Lindsay, 1935, i, p. 173.
the brass players were invariably recruited from London, as was customary with festivals held elsewhere in England.\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{110}At a festival in Newcastle in 1842 a trumpeter by the name of Mr Napier from Edinburgh played second to Mr Harper. This was most likely William Maxwell Napier, who was active as a trumpet soloist in Edinburgh at that time and who was appointed royal trumpeter in 1825 (SRO PS 3/14, f. 376).
Chapter 7
THE FIRST AND LAST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET:
SYMBOLISM AND CEREMONIAL PRACTICE

Throughout the period covered by this study the trumpet was used primarily as a military and ceremonial instrument. In both capacities its function was both utilitarian and symbolic - it was used to convey military signals and declamatory fanfares, and provided a visual and aural symbol of status and authority for persons of the highest orders. This symbolic association of the trumpet can be traced back to its earliest known use in the ancient world. References to the trumpet in the Old Testament attest to its role as a symbol of kingship and reveal that it was sounded by priests at sacred ceremonies.¹ In Roman times, besides fulfilling its traditional military function, the trumpet was employed in religious ceremonies and at funerals.² The use of trumpets in funeral ceremonies has been traced back to the Etruscan civilisation of c.500-400 BC.³

Scottish sources provide detailed information on the role of the trumpet in funeral ceremonies and in ceremonies associated with the administration of justice, areas of the trumpet's ceremonial usage which have received scant attention by scholars. In an earlier study, dealing with the role of the trumpet in funeral ceremonies in Scotland during the seventeenth century, I provided an overview of the role of the instrument at funerals in various parts of Europe and showed that the trumpet was employed in funeral ceremonies in a manner which was distinctly different to its usual ceremonial function. The sounding of trumpets at the passing of verdicts in judicial proceedings

¹Joshua, 6:4-20; II Chronicles, 5:12-13. In Numbers, 10:2, God instructs Moses to make two trumpets out of silver and use them to call the Israelites to Assembly.
²OLD, s.v. 'tuba', 'tubicen' and 'tubilustrium.' Trumpeters performed at the 'tubilustrium', the religious festivals held on 23 March and 23 May, at which sacred trumpets were purified.
³Baines refers to the depiction of trumpeters in funeral procession in Etruscan tomb murals from the fourth and fifth centuries BC, and also on Roman monuments (Baines, 1993, pp. 60, 65). The discovery of two trumpets in the tomb of the Egyptian pharaoh Tutankhamun (d.1331 BC) suggests a possible earlier funereal association of the trumpet (see Smithers, 1989, pp. 14-15).
prior to the seventeenth century is referred to in a recent study by Tarr, but the role of the instrument in this capacity has not been studied in detail. 4

The funeral accounts contained in the sources emanating from the Lyon Court record the order of the processions with which the corpse was transported to the burial site and occasionally also describe the ceremony at the interment. The participation of trumpeters is attested to in all but a few of the earliest ceremonies documented.

Almost all the participants in the Scottish funeral ceremonies can be identified as fulfilling a symbolic role associated with one of two motifs central to the occasion: triumph and mourning. These motifs can be traced back to funeral ceremonies of the Middle Ages, both in Scotland and across Europe. The personal achievements of the deceased and the distinction of the family were honoured by a display of heraldry and military accoutrements in which the officiating heralds took a leading role. The passing of the individual was solemnised with the wearing of black mourning attire by numerous individuals and the covering of horses, and items such as banners and the coffin with black cloth.

The earliest funeral recorded in the 'Volume of funeral processions' in which the participation of trumpeters is attested to is that of Patrick, Earl of Kinghorn, in 1616. Two groups of three players, the second of which was 'Cled in Dule' (dressed in dark attire), were placed at different points in the procession. At many of the funerals four trumpeters were in attendance, and at the funeral of Sir Thomas Otterburn of Redhall in 1618 they are described as 'sounding the Mort Sound'. Four trumpeters, proceeding in pairs, are portrayed in two almost identical rolls depicting a Scottish funeral procession of the early seventeenth century (see Illustration 1). The heraldry delineated has been interpreted as being intentionally vague and it is believed that the rolls were

4Tarr, 1997, p. 84.
used as sources of reference for the preparation and marshalling of funerals. A note on one of the rolls referring to the funeral of the Marquis of Huntly in 1636 suggests that it was used on that occasion; however, the costumes depicted appear to belong to a slightly earlier period. Only the first pair of trumpeters are shown playing their instruments and a note on one of the rolls reads: 'the ane tua to relive the vther tua'.

This suggests that the pairs of trumpeters performed in alternation to produce continuous musical provision for the procession.

The account of the funeral of the Earl of Home in 1619 describes the role of the trumpeters in the procession in more detail and provides the earliest evidence of trumpeters fulfilling two contrasting roles. A lone trumpeter on horseback, dressed in the livery of the deceased and sounding militaristic trumpet calls (expressed in the account of the Earl of Home's funeral as 'Sounding and Denouncing war'), rode at, or near, the front of the procession. Groups of trumpeters, dressed in mourning attire and sounding 'a mort Sound', were positioned later in the procession. This practice was adhered to in most of the subsequent funerals documented. In many of later accounts the groups of trumpeters are describes as proceeding on foot. The lone trumpeter at the front of the procession and the groups of trumpeters that followed were inextricably linked to the triumph and mourning motifs respectively.

The earliest reference to an open trumpet relates to the player on horseback at the front of the funeral procession for Alexander, Earl of Linlithgow, in 1622. The trumpeter fulfilling this role in later funeral processions is often described as an open trumpet. At the funeral of the Countess of Wigton in 1636 'A trumpett, open' preceded 'Four trumpetts in mourning, crosse 2 and 2 in order'. Accounts of later funerals regularly describe the trumpeters proceeding on foot and dressed in mourning attire as crosse trumpets.

5See Innes, 1943.
6See c.1600.
The word *closse* is defined in dictionaries of Old Scots as 'shut' or 'closed'. Farmer refers to the *open* and *close* trumpets at the funeral of the Duke of Rothes and considers the latter designation a reference to muted trumpets. The practice of muting trumpets at funerals in various parts of Europe has been traced back to the sixteenth century. In certain geographical areas this involved the use of trumpet mutes to dampen the sound, while elsewhere the trumpeters were silenced at various points in the funeral ceremony.

The funeral procession for the Duke of Rothes was illustrated in the series of engravings, which includes a depiction of the procession at the opening of the Scottish parliament in 1685 (see Illustration 2). The engravings, which date from the early eighteenth century and were later published in Edinburgh by Alexander Kincaid, have been attributed to Roderick Chalmers. It has been suggested that Chalmers copied the drawings of the Rothes funeral from an earlier source, since Captain John Slezer intimated his intention to publish illustrations of the event in 1696. Although the unknown provenance of the original set of drawings renders an assessment of its value as a historical source difficult, the fact that it appears to represent a near contemporary delineation of the procession is significant. In the engraving the lone trumpeter in livery and on horseback, and the pairs of trumpeters in mourning attire and on foot have the captions 'An open Trumpet' and 'Close Trumpets' written above them respectively. The position of the word 'open', above the main caption, indicates that it was added after completion of the text. The fact that trumpet mutes are not depicted in the illustrations

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7 See Jamieson, 1879-82, s.v. 'closse.'
8 Farmer, 1947, p. 205.
10 En Adv. Ms. 31.4.22.
11 Kincaid, [1780]. Roderick Chalmers served as Herald Painter and Ross Herald between 1724 and his death in 1746 (Grant, 1945, p. 13).
12 See Laing, 1836, p. 323. The illustrations were to be included in a proposed book, entitled *Ancient and Present State of Scotland.*
renders the hypothesis that the expression 'closse' trumpets referred to muted trumpets worthy of re-examination.

Several funeral accounts mention 'closse mourners'. The word closse in this context has been defined as 'nearly related'. It appears, however, that the term did not only apply to family members but had wider significance and denoted a clearly defined symbolic role within the funeral rite. In a seventeenth-century manuscript by Sir James Balfour the trappings to which the various degrees of the nobility were entitled at their interment are described. A Gentleman was to have 'Moorners bot not closse', and an Earl, 'A closse moorner, and viii assistant closse moorners'. At the funeral of the Marquis of Montrose a horse in 'close Mourning' was also included in the procession. It seems almost certain that the 'closse trumpets' were associated, symbolically, with the 'closse mourners'.

The description of the lone trumpeter at the head of the funeral procession as an 'open trumpet' can likewise be viewed in terms of the trumpeter's symbolic role in the ceremony. The visual display of the deceased's family heraldry, highlighted by declamatory trumpet calls from the 'open' trumpet, can be considered analogous to the delivery of an 'open proclamation'. References to an 'open proclamation' are encountered regularly in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scottish sources. The word 'opin' (open), in this context, is defined as 'performed publicly or without concealment'.

In view of the fact that muted trumpets were utilised in funeral ceremonies in various parts of Europe, and the ambiguity in the terminology - the words 'open' and 'closse'

13 DOST, s.v. 'closse.' The citation from the account of the funeral of the Countess of Niddisdail given by Craigie was taken from the nineteenth-century collection of Balfour's works (Balfour, 1837) in which the word 'closse', is misspelt as 'cosse'. The dictionary contains no entry for 'cosse'.

14 En Adv. Ms. 34.4.16. (Nos. iii & iv).

15 For example, see 24 July 1638 and 16 September 1685.

16 DOST, s.v. 'Opin,' 4.
are antithetic, both in relation to the application of mutes, and their symbolic allusions - the proposition that the military calls and the music performed at the graveside was performed on the unmuted trumpet, and the solemn music, on the muted trumpet, with its less sonorous timbre, cannot be dismissed. In my opinion, however, the designations *open* and *closse* referred to the manner in which the trumpeters provided an aural and visual manifestation of the principal symbolic motifs that permeated the ceremony.

Heraldic funerals continued to be performed during the eighteenth century, but it is doubtful if any on the scale of the obsequies for the Duke of Rothes in 1681 were again witnessed in Scotland. The employment of trumpeters sounding a 'dead march' in the funeral procession for the Duke of Douglas in 1761 is perhaps atypical of funerary customs for members of the aristocracy of that period, but confirms that the trumpet continued to provide ceremonial music with distinct funereal associations during the eighteenth century.

The tradition of trumpeters performing at funeral ceremonies was retained during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at funerals of freemasons. The English masonic periodical publication *The Free-Masons' Magazine* for 1794 describes the ceremony observed at the funerals of freemasons 'According to Ancient Custom'. For members of the third degree, 'drums muffled, and trumpets covered' and 'choristers, singing an anthem' were to perform in the procession. *The Constitution and Laws of the Grand Lodge of Scotland*, published almost a century later, states that 'If convenient, martial music (drums muffled, and trumpets covered.)' was to be included in funeral processions for freemasons. The genesis of freemasonry and the main developments in the 'craft' during the seventeenth century occurred in Scotland. During the eighteenth century, however, the lead in its proliferation and further development was

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17 See July 1761.
19 Lyon, 1881, p. 109.
provided by the masonic movement in England, particularly after the establishment of the Grand Lodge of England in 1717. The similarities between the funeral processions described in sources published nearly a century apart suggest common traditions of ceremonial practice between the two countries. It seems likely, therefore, that trumpets and drums were employed at funerals of freemasons in Scotland during the eighteenth century.

Sir David Lindsay provides clues as to the format of a pre-Reformation funeral procession in *The Testament of Sqyuer Meldrum*. The poem, which dates from the early 1550s and is written in the first person, tells the life story of one of Lindsay's friends, the Fife laird William Meldrum. It ends with a contemplative account of the form of ceremony envisaged by Meldrum for his funeral. Instead of the traditional funeral procession, involving members of the clergy and incorporating the usual religious imagery, his was to have a martial theme and, as mentioned earlier (Chapter 2), the music in the procession was to be provided by 'organe, Timpane, Trumpet, & Clarion'.

Objections to ostentatious funeral ceremonies were made by church leaders in Scotland after the Reformation of 1560. These were expressed in *The Book of Discipline*, which was produced by several of the church's leaders, including John Knox, as a guide to the doctrine and form of worship to be adopted by the newly formed church. *The Book of Discipline* was presented to, but not ratified by, a Convention of Nobles in 1562. The rejection of heraldic funerals was in keeping with the ideology of reformed churches in other parts of Europe. In 1562 *The Book of Common Order*, which had been produced for the English Church of Geneva, was printed in Edinburgh. In December 1562 this book was endorsed by the General Assembly of the Church of

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20Lindsay, 1931-36, i, p. 193.
21Knox, 1846-64, ii, pp. 249-50; Reid, 1974, p. 196.
22Reid, 1974, pp. 205-6.
Scotland and adopted for use in services of the sacraments, marriages and burials.\textsuperscript{23} The book decreed that at funerals the corps should be brought to the grave without ceremony, after which a sermon could be given in church by the minister 'if he be present, and required'.\textsuperscript{24} It is unclear how effective the church was in controlling what was perceived as excessive ceremonial at funerals during the late sixteenth century. By the early seventeenth century the format of heraldic funeral ceremonies that was to persist until the latter part of that century was established; however, there appears to have been a reduction in the number of heraldic funeral ceremonies performed during the 1640s, when Scotland was ruled by the Covenanting government.

The funeral ceremonies recorded in the Scottish sources include those for Roman Catholic and Presbyterian nobles, and, after the Restoration, bishops of the Episcopal Church. Significantly, no discernible differences in the format of the ceremony performed for members of the various religious denominations are apparent. Elaborate funeral processions continued to be performed throughout Protestant regions of Europe after the Reformation. Protestant funerals were rich in symbolism, but devoid of the most conspicuous religious imagery of those performed in Catholic areas. It is apparent, therefore, that funeral ceremonies fulfilled a social function which transcended differences in religious doctrine and practice. Thomas Innes of Learney argues that the symbolism permeating Scottish funeral ceremonies derived from a much older pagan funerary tradition.\textsuperscript{25}

Many of the Scottish funeral accounts of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and several from the second half of the century,\textsuperscript{26} mention the sounding of trumpets at the interment. References to trumpets sounding 'a bone vale' or 'a bone vale and joyful

\textsuperscript{24}The Book of Common Order is printed in Knox, 1846-64, vi, p. 333. The date of ratification by the General Assembly given in this edition of Knox's works is 1564.
\textsuperscript{25}Innes, 1943, p. 162.
\textsuperscript{26}See 1664, 1679.
resurrection' as the corpse was lowered into the grave or placed in a vault at a number of the early funerals allude to the trumpet fulfilling a role with religious connotations at this point in the ceremony. 'Bone vale' can be translated from the Latin as 'fond farewell'.²⁷ Jamieson defines the word Bone as 'prayer' and vale [To vail] as 'to make obeisance, to bow'.²⁸

The use of musical instruments in religious services was rejected by John Calvin on the grounds that the practice represented the infiltration into worship of a custom devised by man. To church reformers the Bible was considered the Word of God and religious practices were only accepted if sanctioned in the Bible. The sounding of trumpets at the point of interment in the Scottish funeral rite represented the sounding of the 'last trumpet' at the resurrection of the deceased, referred to in 1 Corinthians 15:52 and 1 Thessalonians 4:16. In his exposition on the First Book of Corinthians, John Calvin interprets the reference to the sounding of the 'last trumpet' as being metaphorical:

In 1 Thess. iv. 16, he [St. Paul] connects together the voice of the archangel and the trump of God. As therefore a commander, with the sound of a trumpet, summons his army to battle, so Christ, by his far sounding proclamation, which will be heard throughout the whole world, will summon all the dead.²⁹

The belief in having been called to the service of God was central to the thinking of John Knox, who frequently referred to his preaching as 'blowing the master's trumpet'. In his biography of Knox, Reid links the 'trumpeter theme' to theologian's sense of calling and the martial spirit of Calvinism:

He [Knox] believed that he was called in the same way that Jeremiah and Amos, his two favorite prophets, were commissioned to bring God's word to Israel. He

²⁷OLD, s.v. 'bonum, bonus' and 'valco.' 'Bonum' is defined as 'good' and 'valco', as 'Goodbye'. The funereal association of the latter is alluded to in the contextual description, 'in taking leave of the dead'. ²⁸Jamieson, 1879-82, s.v. 'Bone' and 'vale, To vail.' ²⁹Calvin, 1848-49, ii, p. 59.
was to blow the trumpet of Zion, summoning men back to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord.30

In The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, published in Geneva in 1558, John Knox delivered his most blistering attack on the divine right of female rulers.31 One of a series of woodcuts included in the publication depicts Knox and Christopher Goodman, his fellow minister in Geneva, blowing trumpets at Mary of Guise and Queen Mary of England.32 The religious association of the trumpet with the Word of God is highlighted by the depiction of open Bibles on the trumpets banners.

The centrality of the trumpet metaphor to Presbyterian ideology during the periods of religious conflict of the seventeenth century is clear from the utterance of the Cameronian prisoner at the passing of his condemnation to death.33 The trumpet metaphor was adopted by seventeenth-century English Puritanical writers.34 The analogy between the power of the trumpet and that of the printed book to convey the Word of God resulted in the incorporation of the word trumpet in the title of many religious publications.35

The association of the trumpet with the voice of God retained its resonance during the eighteenth century and is alluded to in the writing of Robert Burns. In the poem The Holy Fair (c.1785) the reference to the sound of the Lord's trumpet adds venom to the Presbyterian minister's denunciation of the secularisation of the annual celebration of communion. By the late eighteenth century this event, which often extended over two days, had taken on the atmosphere of a carnival:

30Reid, 1974, p. xiv.
31Reid, 1974, pp. 146-47.
32See Knox, 1846-64, iv, p. 362.
33See 1681.
34For example, John Bunyan, in The Pilgrim's Progress (London, 1678).
35See Sprunger, 1994, p. x.
But now the Lord's ain trumpet touts [sounds],
Till a' the hills are rairin [roaring],
And echoes back return the shouts;
Black Russell is na spairin:
His piercin words, like Highlan swords,
Divide the joints an marrow;
His talk o Hell, whare devils dwell,
Our vera 'sauls does harrow'
Wi fright that day!\(^{36}\)

Burns draws on the association of the trumpet with death in *Tam Samson's Elegy* (1786), a poem written as an epitaph to one of his friends:

Owre monie a weary hag [bog] he limpit,
An ay the tither shot he thumpit,
Till coward Death, behint him jumpit,
Wi deidly feide [enmity];
Now he proclaims wi tout o trumpet:
'Tam Samson's dead!'\(^{37}\)

The tone of the passage is essentially secular, but there is little doubt that the religious association between death and the sound of the trumpet would not have been lost on contemporary readers.

There is no evidence that the role of the royal trumpeters at justice ayres and at the delivery of charges of treason during the sixteenth century was other than in keeping with their traditional ceremonial role as ancillaries to the heralds. At the pronouncement of the death sentence in trials for treason during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in the delivery of charges of treason to felons in custody prior to the Union of Parliaments the trumpet fulfilled a symbolic role in the judicial process. It could be argued that the symbolic association is that of the trumpet with death. It is significant, however, that trumpeters did not normally perform at executions. To have

\(^{36}\)Burns, 1993, p. 138. 'Black Russell', referred to in the verse, was the Rev. John Russell of Cromarty (1740-1817).

done so would have evoked an association with eternal life, something that would have been deemed inappropriate for a condemned man.

The sounding of trumpets in trials for treason represented the authority of God over the execution of monarchical law. Like Knox's metaphorical blowing of his master's trumpet, the origins of this practice lie in the biblical allusions to the trumpet sounding the Word of God. The concept of the divine right of kings was embraced to varying degrees by seventeenth-century monarchs. James VI considered the monarch's role to be that of 'God's lieutenants upon earth'. In a speech in 1610 he espoused his views on the authority of God in matters relating to the administration of justice:

> God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake, at his pleasure; to give life or send death, to judge all and to be judged nor accountable to none ... And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising, and casting down; of life and of death, judges over all their subjects, and in all causes, and yet accountable to none but God only.

Since the crime of treason was an act of treachery against both the monarch and God, the use of trumpets to denounce such a crime provided a powerful image of the divine sovereignty of the monarch and the justice system.

In the 'Post Scriptum' to his seminal work on the history of the trumpet, Smithers stressed the importance of the symbolism of the trumpet in explaining its raison d'être and identified this as an area requiring further research. The Scottish sources provide a valuable insight into the manifestation of the trumpet's funereal and religious connotations in its ceremonial usage. The role of the trumpet at funerals and in the processes of judicial administration in Scotland, though idiosyncratic in certain

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38 An apparent anomaly exists between the belief in the divine right of kings and the assertion by the leaders of the reformed churches that they were 'God's trumpeters'. This is particularly true in Scotland, in light of the frequent clashes between the Church and the policies of individual monarchs during the seventeenth century. That the two did not conflict is testament to the strong sentiment for the concept of royalty that prevailed in Scotland throughout the period (see Mitchison, 1983, p. 70).

39 Smith, 1984, pp. 397-98.

40 Smithers, 1973, pp. 242-43.
respects, exemplify the manner in which its use was determined by, and a manifestation of, symbolic associations which were prevalent throughout Europe. In the words of Smithers:

'The trumpet shall sound' has more than superficial sensual significance; it takes in an entire world of associations. It has no less significance for us today than it had when first addressed to the people of Corinthia. For the trumpet is more than a musical instrument: it is an idea, a concept, with deeper allegorical associations.\footnote{Smithers, 1973, pp. 242-43.}
GLOSSARY

Aire [justice]. An itinerant court of justice.
Alhallow evin. Halloween.
Barses. An enclosure for judicial combats or tournaments.
Boll. A measure of capacity or weight which varied for different commodities.
Chalder. A measure of capacity or weight. For grain, a chalder was equal to sixteen bolls.
Compt. Account.
Croce. Cross (market-cross)
Complicis. An associate, companion.
Demyss. A gold coin worth 14s.
Dutche. German, Dutch.
Habilllements. Apparel.
Ilk. Each, every.
Kirk. Church
Marrowis. Partners, companions.
Mart. A cow or ox.
Newar. New year
Pasche. Easter
Skyre Thursida. The Thursday before Easter.
Tabernaris. Drummer.
Tother. Other.
Tyrement. Interment, burial.
Unicorn. A gold coin worth 18s.
Uphalie day, Vphaly day, Uphaliday. The first day after the termination of the Christmas holidays. 6 January.
Illustration 1

Trumpeters in an early seventeenth-century Scottish aristocratic funeral procession (Edinburgh, National Museums of Scotland). Reproduced with the permission of the National Museums of Scotland.
Illustration 2

Trumpeters in the procession at the funeral of John, Duke of Rothes, 1681, from an illustration by Roderick Chalmers, herald painter to James VII and II (En Adv. Ms. 31.4.22.). Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.
Appendix 1

Extract from the Royal Treasurer's accounts for 6 August 1506-6 September 1507 (SRO E 21/8, f. 70r.). Reproduced with the permission of the Scottish Record Office.
Appendix 2

Entry in the Register of the Privy Seal, recording the appointment of Joseph Reinagle, the younger, to the office of H.M. trumpeter in ordinary (SRO PS 3/10, f. 335).

Marginal note: 'Commission To Joseph Reinagle younger To be One of His Majesty's Trumpeters in ordinary'

Registed the 30th Decemr. 1775.
George &c. Whereas We Considering That the place & Office of One of Our Trumpeters in ordinary in that part of Our Kingdom of Great Britain called Scotland is now vacant & at Our Royal Gift and Disposal by the Demission of M'r Jospeh Reinagle late One of the said Trumpeters, And We being well informed of the Loyalty & Qualifications of Joseph Reinagle the younger Son of the aforesaid Joseph for the said Office Therefore Witt ye Us to have Nominated Constituted & Appointed Likeas We by these presents with the Advice & Consent of the Lord Chief Baron & remanent Barons of Our Exchequer in Scotland Nominate Constitute & Appoint the said Joseph Reinagle the younger to be One of Our said Trumpeters in Ordinary during all the Dayes of his Lifetime Giving & Granting to him during the Space aforesaid the said Office with all Fees Casualties Liberties Privileges and Immunities thereto belonging to be by him enjoyed as fully & freely as the said Joseph Reinagle the Elder or any others Our Trumpeters have enjoyed or lawfully might have enjoyed the same And especially the yearly Fee or Salary of Sixteen pounds Sixteen Shillings & Four pence money of Great Britain payable & to be paid to the said Joseph Reinagle the younger during the space aforesaid at such time or times as the Salaries of Our other Trumpeters have been and now are in Use to be paid Given at Our [Court] at St James's and Under Our Privy Seal of Scotland at Edinburgh the Twenty Seventh Day of March 1775 In theFifteenth year of Our Reign Per Signaturam &c.
Appendix 3

Programme of the St. Cecilia’s Day concert presented in Edinburgh on 22 November 1695 (printed in Tytler, 1792).

The Order of the Instrumental Music for the Feast of St Cecilia, 22d November 1695.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Second Violin</th>
<th>Flute</th>
<th>Hautbois</th>
<th>Bassett</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pitmedden</td>
<td>Ja. Hamilton</td>
<td>Lord Elcho</td>
<td>Will. Carfe</td>
<td>James Christie of Newhall</td>
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<tr>
<td>Will Cooper</td>
<td>Adam Craig</td>
<td>Jo. Falconer of Fefso</td>
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<td>Tho. Brown</td>
<td>Henry Burn</td>
<td>Jo. Ruffell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sir Jo. Pringle</td>
<td>John Stewart</td>
<td>Sir Al. Hamilton</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mat. McGibbon</td>
<td>Fra. Toward</td>
<td>Mr Ro. Gordon</td>
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<td>4th Flute</td>
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<td>Jo. Middleton</td>
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Of the Fashionable Amusements, &c.
in Edinburgh in the last Century:

<table>
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Solo by Adam Craig; 
by John Middleton.
Grande Chorus.

(Signed) JAMES CHRYSTIE of Newhall, Passes.
Appendix 4

Facsimile of the first page of 'The Volunteers Fly to Arms' (Edinburgh, c.1795). Reproduced with the permission of the National Library of Scotland.

THE VOLUNTEERS FLY TO ARMS

A Song Adapted to the Music of "Let the bright Seraphim" by

HANDEL.

Sung by Mrs. Corri in St. Cecilia's Hall, Edinburgh.

Printed by Corri Dussek & Co. Music Sellers to their Majesties and their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Dukes of York, No. 37 North Bridge Street Edinburgh and No. 67 & 68 Dean Street Soho London. Where every thing New in the Musical Line may be had. Price 1/.

Accomp. for a Violin

Harp or

Piano Forte

Andante

Let our brave Volunteers midst alarms

With firm intrepid courage fly to Arms

Let our brave Volunteers midst alarms midst alarms with
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²This was published anonymously. A note in the catalogues of Lbl and En states that the work is sometimes erroneously attributed to Alexander Lawrie, to whom it was dedicated.
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*CM*  

*CDS*  

*CHOP*  

3The first three papers in this book were originally published in *Scottish Review* 10 & 11 (1887 &1888).
CSPD  

CSPS  

CTB  

CTBP  

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*6This volume serves as an index to SRO CC 8/8.*


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RGS


RPC


RPS


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14 Reprint of a tract published in Edinburgh in 1687, which bears the imprint 'Exactly reprinted, conform to the old copy, printed in London, in the year 1603'.

15 Reprint of a tract published in London in 1603.
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MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Edinburgh, City Archives

Council Register

Vol. 17  1648-1653
Vol. 20  1658-1661
Vol. 40  1711-1712
Vol. 54  1732-1733
Vol. 75  1758-1759
Vol. 81  1765-1766
Vol. 96  1777-1778
Vol. 101  1781

Edinburgh, Court of the Lord Lyon

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The Lyons register of processions, letters of precedency, testifications, and forfaultures [1681].

Edinburgh, Freemasons Hall

Chartulary and List of Lodges and Members from Institution of Grand Lodge 1736 to 1762, 2 vols.

Edinburgh, General Register Office (GRO)

OPR 685.1 - Old Parish Registers: The Parishes of Edinburgh

OPR 685.1/22  Births 1739-1741
OPR 685.1/23  Births 1741-1743
OPR 685.1/24  Births 1743-1746
OPR 685.1/31  Births 1762-1765
OPR 685.1/32  Births 1766-1768
OPR 685.1/33  Births 1769-1771
OPR 685.1/37  Births 1780-1786

OPR 685.2 - Old Parish Registers: St. Cuthbert's Parish

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Adv. Ms. 20.6.1. Erskine, Sir Alexander of Cambo. 'Instructions to officers of arms.'


Adv. Ms. 33.2.11. Balfour, Sir James. 'Registir of interments and Funeralls Since the Yeir of our Redemptione 1620.' Printed in Balfour, 1837.

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Adv. Ms. 34.4.16. Balfour, Sir James. Rolls containing theological, heraldic and historical material. Nos. iii & iv contain notes on funerary trappings and the order of a funeral procession.


MS. 2833 Book of English and Scottish tunes.

MS. 3298. The Gairdyn manuscript.

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16This is an eighteenth-century copy of a seventeenth-century manuscript containing copies of documents relating to heraldry (En Adv. Ms. 31.3.18.).
Edinburgh, Public Library (Ep)


The Edinburgh Musical Society. EMS Library catalogue, 1782 (qYML 28 MS).

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office (SRO)

CC RECORDS OF THE COMMISSARY COURT

CC 8/8 Edinburgh: Register of Testaments

CC 8/8/93 20 February 1730 to 25 August 1731
CC 8/8/119/1 4 January 1762 to 24 May 1763
CC 8/8/122/1 4 January 1771 to 26 June 1772

CC 9/7 Glasgow: Register of Testaments

CC 9/7/51 25 February 1717 to 18 February 1723

State Papers

E RECORDS OF THE EXCHEQUER

E 21 Accounts of the Treasurer: 1473-1635

E 21/8 6 August 1506-6 September 1507
E 21/24 2 October 1530-6 September 1531
E 21/28 26 September 1533-2 October 1534
E 21/34 24 March 1537/8-24 September 1538
E 21/65 1 May 1586-1 May 1587
E 21/67 1 May 1588-1 November 1590
E 21/70 1 November 1592-17 March 1595/6
E 21/71 17 March 1595/6-6 August 1597
E 21/76 1 October 1601-1 January 1604
E 21/77 1 January 1604-1 August 1605
E 24  Accounts of the Comptroller: 1491-1635

E 24/24 1602-1603  E 24/36 1617-1618
E 24/25 1603-1604  E 24/37 1618-1619
E 24/26 1604-1605  E 24/38 1620-1621
E 24/28 1606-1607  E 24/39 1621-1622
E 24/29 1609-1610  E 24/40 1622-1623
E 24/30 1611-1612  E 24/41 1623-1624
E 24/31 1612-1613  E 24/42 1624-1625
E 24/32 1613-1614  E 24/43 1625-1626
E 24/33 1614-1615  E 24/44 1626-1627
E 24/34 1615-1616  E 24/45 1627-1628
E 24/35 1616-1617  E 24/47 1629-1630

E 26  Treasury Accounts: 1635-1700

E 26/1 1 November 1635-1 November 1636
E 26/4 1 November 1636-1 November 1641
E 26/11 1 July 1667-1 May 1682

E 28  Treasury vouchers: 1635-1707

E 28/50 Fees, pensions etc., from H.M. Receivers 1661
E 28/51 Fees, pensions etc., from H.M. Receivers 1662
E 28/52 Fees, pensions etc., from H.M. Receivers 1663
E 28/82 Fees and pensions, Martinmas 1667
E 28/508 Fees and pensions, Martinmas 1698

E 34  Miscellaneous papers and accounts relating to the Royal Household

E 34/52/26 Papers relating to Charles I's visit to Scotland and coronation, 1633. Note of things required for H.M. Trumpeters.

E 38  Exchequer Rolls: 1264-1708

E 38/432 Accounts of Ballivi ad extra, July 1550
E 38/445 Accounts of Ballivi ad extra, August 1555
E 38/447 Accounts of Ballivi ad extra, November 1556
E 38/451 Accounts of Ballivi ad extra, August 1558
E 38/454 Accounts of Ballivi ad extra, October 1560
E 38/455 Accounts of Ballivi ad extra, August 1559
E 38/457 Accounts of Ballivi ad extra, August 1561
E 100  Army Muster Rolls

E 100/6/3-29  Muster rolls of H.M. Life Guards: 1682-1703

E 224  Entry books of Establishment lists, etc. 1709-1866

E 224/1  June 1709-July 1718
E 224/2  July 1718-August 1728
E 224/3  June 1728-July 1735
E 224/4  October 1735-December 1744
E 224/5  December 1744-October 1753
E 224/6  October 1753-June 1762
E 224/7  June 1762-January 1770
E 224/10  July 1783-April 1788
E 224/11  April 1788-May 1792
E 224/12  May 1792-October 1795
E 224/13  October 1795-July 1798
E 224/14  July 1798-June 1801

PS  RECORDS OF THE PRIVY SEAL

PS 1  Register of the Privy Seal; Old Series: 1488-1651

PS 1/7  [1522]-1527 (earliest granting 1522)
PS 1/21  1547-1548 (earliest granting 1545)
PS 1/22  1548-1549 (earliest granting 1543)
PS 1/28  1556-1557 (earliest granting 1554)
PS 1/74  1603-1606 (earliest granting 1596)
PS 1/76  1607-1609 (earliest granting 1599)
PS 1/78  1608-1610 (earliest granting 1597)
PS 1/82  1612-1614 (earliest granting 1608)
PS 1/94  1622-1624 (earliest granting 1617)
PS 1/96  1624-1625 (earliest granting 1622)
PS 1/99  1626-1627 (earliest granting 1625)
PS 1/104  1632-1633 (earliest granting 1630)
PS 1/107  1635-1637 (earliest granting 1632)
PS 1/109  1639-1642 (earliest granting 1635)
PS 1/112  1643-1644 (earliest granting 1641)
PS 1/113  1644-1646 (earliest granting 1642)
PS 1/116  1649-1651 (earliest granting 1648)
PS 3  Register of the Privy Seal; English record: 1660-

PS 3/1  1661-1666  
PS 3/2  1666-1675  
PS 3/3  1675-1685  
PS 3/4  1685-1695  
PS 3/5  1695-1701  
PS 3/6  1701-1711  
PS 3/7  1711-1731  
PS 3/8  1731-1757  
PS 3/9  1757-1768  
PS 3/10  1768-1782  
PS 3/11  1782-1789  
PS 3/14  1811-1829

PS 6  Minute books

PS 6/3  15 August 1580-April 1615; equivalent volumes: PS 1/47-83  
PS 6/4  15 April 1615-July 1651; equivalent volumes: PS 1/84-116

PS 13  Warrants relating to the Register of the Privy Seal; English Register

PS 13/1A  1661-1663  
PS 13/2A  1668-1707

PS 13/11A/1790/56  
PS 13/11A/1793/1

Gifts and Deposits (GD)

GD 1/482/1  Minute Book of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh, 1525-1738.

GD 16/52/7  Airlie Muniments. Papers relating to the army, militia and police.

GD 18/2820  Clerk of Penicuik Muniments. Petition by Mary Duncan to the Barons of Exchequer [c.1720].


GD 85  Inventory of Nasmith Writs.
GD 113/4/164/44-217, 254-68
GD 113/4/165/962-98
GD 113/5/208, 209, 210, 316, 408
GD 124/10/61
GD 124/15/115
GD 135/2267
GD 172/329
GD 214/582
GD 332/69

Innes of Stow Papers. Documents relating to the Edinburgh Musical Society, 1783-1792.
Innes of Stow Papers. Documents relating to the Edinburgh Musical Society and some miscellaneous papers.
Innes of Stow Papers. Documents relating to the Edinburgh Musical Society, 1746-1797.
Mar and Kellie Muniments. Description of the form of the coronation of Anne of Denmark, Queen of Scotland, at Holyrood house [17 May 1590], including the order of processions.
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Henderson of Fordell Papers. Receipt by Alexander Ferguson.
Professor R.K. Hannay's Papers. Receipted account for sums due by H.M. Solicitor to the trumpeters for proclamations, 1677.

Miscellaneous Papers (RH)
RH 2/4
RH 2/4/415-533
RH 9/1/38
RH 15/76/15

Volume containing accounts for recovering, embalming and interring the remains of James, first Marquis of Montrose, 1662; misc. funeral accounts, 1665-1725; and funeral letters, 1649-1684, 1740.
Correspondence and other papers concerning payment of accounts due by the Royal Edinburgh Volunteers, 1795.
NRA(S), 'Moray National Register of Archives (Scotland). 'Catalogues of Muniments' the Moray Muniments, Darnaway Castle.'

Edinburgh, University Library (Eu)


The Edinburgh Musical Society. EMS Library catalogue, 1765 (La. III. 761.).

Glasgow, University Library (Gu)
