We know virtually nothing about the use of instruments by theater troupes in England before the reign of Elizabeth I (1558–1603). Such troupes travelled around the country—and also around the Continent (see below)—playing at inns, marketplaces, and noble houses. They left only scattered records of their existence. During Elizabeth’s reign, however, professional companies became attached to newly built permanent theaters in London, as a result of which their activities become easier to document. At first, the companies consisted largely of adults, playing in outdoor (“public”) theaters. The most famous of these companies was the one that owned the Globe Theatre: the Lord Chamberlain’s, later called the King’s, of which William Shakespeare was a member.

The adult companies were rivalled during the late sixteenth century and seriously challenged in the first decade of the seventeenth by boy companies—principally those of the choristers of St. Paul’s Cathedral (Paul’s Boys) and the Chapel Royal (the Chapel Children/Children of the Queen’s Revels)—playing in indoor (“private”) theaters. The boys seem to have employed a consort of professional musicians capable of playing many different kinds of string and wind instruments, including recorders. Their musical practices included a regular consort of theater musicians, a permanent location for the musicians in the theater, entertainment music before the play and between the acts, and the use of specific instruments to represent or enhance an action, mood, or emotion. Some of these practices were soon adopted by the adult companies when the boy companies were wound down, largely because of trouble over their political satire, in 1608.

The public theater: adult companies

Little is known of the instrumental music of the adult theaters in the late sixteenth century. If such music is mentioned in the stage directions at all, it is almost invariably described only as “Music.” But a few pieces of evidence show that the mixed, or English, consort consisting of treble viol or treble violin, bass viol, lute, bandora, cittern, and flute (recorder in only three surviving sources) may sometimes have been used.

One of the troupes of English actor-musicians in Germany in 1601 possessed the instruments of such a consort and apparently used them for music and dance before and after their plays:

They had with them many different kinds of instruments on which they played, such as lutes, citterns, violins, pipes [Pipen] and the like. They danced many new and foreign dances (not customary in this country) at the beginning and end of the comedies.

Some of the pieces in Morley’s and other mixed-consort collections have theatrical associations. The constituents of this mixed consort seem to be described in Thomas Dekker’s play Old Fortunatus, performed by the Lord Admiral’s Company in 1599 (III.):

Music sounds within . . . .
Athalstane
Here’s music spent in vain, Lords, fall to dancing.
Music sounding still . . . .
Music still: Enter Shadow . . .
Shadow
Music? O delicate warble . . . O delicious strings: these heavenly wire-drawers . . . .
Music ceases.

Such mixed-consort music could sometimes have been provided, as in the travelling troupes, by the actors, some of whom are known to have owned or had access to all the appropriate instruments except the flute or recorder.

Apart from isolated instances, specific instruments began to be named in the stage directions of plays produced by the adult companies only around 1600. The recorder is called for in just one such play before 1610. Was it considered too quiet an instrument to make itself heard in the large outdoor theaters of which William Shakespeare was a member?

1This article is based on parts of two chapters in my recent Ph.D. dissertation, Professional Recorder Players in England, 1540–1740 (The University of Iowa, 1983). For assistance with theater history I should especially like to thank Reavley Gair (Fredericton, New Brunswick), Peter Holman (Colchester, Essex), and Roger Prior (Belfast). A useful popular introduction to theater history during the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline periods is Andrew Gurr’s The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).


4John H. Long, however, points out that “There is some evidence that the Q’uarto 1600 text is that used for a court performance in which one of the choireboy groups may have participated.” See his Shakespeare’s Use of Music: A Study of the Music and its Performance in the Original Production of Seven Comedies, lithoprinted ed. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), p. 48 at n. 121. If this were the case, then the musicians playing the mixed consort could well have been the professional consort employed by the boy companies (see below).

5See Beck, loc. cit.

6The “pipes” performed on the stage by a band of musicians in Shakespeare’s Othello (1603) are probably shawms. (Clown: Why, masters, have you your instruments been in Naples, that they speak ‘i the nose thus?’) John P. Cutts erroneously claims them as recorders. (See La Musique de scène de la troupe de Shakespeare, The King’s Men, sous le règne de Jacques Ier, 2nd ed. [Paris: Editions des Grands Travaux, 1976], p. 105.)
used by these companies? Even in the one play in which it makes an appearance, it is not at all certain that it was actually played.

The instance is Hamlet’s famous lecture to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in Shakespeare’s tragedy (Lord Chamberlain’s Company, 1600; III.i): “It is as easy as lying. Govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb, give it breath with your mouth, and it will discourse most eloquent music. Look you: these are the stops.” Prior to this lecture, Hamlet calls: “Come, some music! Come, the recorders,” and fifty lines later the “good” Quarto text of 1604 has the stage direction Enter the Players with Recorders. He thereupon demands: “Oh, the recorders. Let me see one.” The 1623 Folio text reads Enter one with a recorder and “Oh, the recorder. Let me see.” John Stevens suggests that this alteration “perhaps shows how the scene was presented when the ‘players’ could not all manage to bear their parts.” Stage directions for music are absent, however, and as John H. Long points out, “There is no evidence that the recorder Hamlet uses to illustrate his lecture . . . is actually played upon, other than in words.”

Who were the “players” who brought the recorders in? Although “player” was used to refer to a performer on a musical instrument in Shakespeare's day, the word almost always meant “actor” rather than musician. The players in question, therefore, are likely to have been those who had just been acting a dumb-show and a play-within-a-play before the king earlier in the scene. On the other hand, the dumb-show calls for the music of shawms. These were presumably played by a consort of professional musicians, who would almost certainly have been able to play recorders too. Thus the question remains open.

Although the recorder is called for only once by name in the plays produced by the adult companies during this period, the instrument does seem to have achieved a reputation of being associated with the theater. It is mentioned by the rector of the English Jesuit College in St. Omer, France in the first decade of the seventeenth century:

The music of wind instruments is full of majesty, especially for church services, for the reception of persons of high rank, and for the theater. Such instruments are the shawms . . . and the recorder; but the former is more majestic.

The practice referred to may, however, have been that of the boy companies rather than the adult companies, as we shall explore in the next section. Several modern scholars have also suggested that recorders were used for particular occasions in which the instrument is not mentioned by name, but none of their suggestions seems plausible.

The Private Theaters: Boy Companies

The boys in these companies, as befits their origins as members of choir schools, were trained not only as actors but also as singers and instrumentalists. In addition to performing instrumental music themselves, the boy companies almost certainly employed a consort of professional musicians, capable of switching among violins, cornets and sackbuts, and recorders or flutes as the occasion demanded. In the case of Paul's Boys, the consort probably consisted of men attached to the Cathedral. In four plays produced by this company between 1599 and 1601, three by John Marston and one by Thomas Middleton, the musicians play “cornettas”—presumably a consort of cornets and sackbuts. Reavley Gair suggests that the need to keep down noise at St. Paul’s prompted the company to use cornettas rather than the trumpets commonly used in the adult theaters.

In two of these plays by Marston, who was the theater manager from 1599 to 1603, “still flutes” are also called for.
In Antonio and Mellida (1599; V.ii), they “sound a mournful sennet” for Antonio’s funeral—a fake one, because he promptly resurrects himself. A sennet seems to have been a lengthy, march-like piece, always performed by trumpets in the adult theaters (when the instrumentation is specified in stage directions); the other sennets in this play are performed by the cornetts. In the sequel, Antonio’s Revenge (1600–01; IV.iii), “the still flutes sound softly” for Mellida’s entrance at her trial. During this trial, as Manifold points out, “Mellida appeals from earthly to heavenly justice; Strozto stages his repentence, what strange portent is this?; and Mellida swoons and dies.” The identity of the “still flutes” is not easy to establish: the evidence suggests that they could have been either recorders or flutes.

Recorders—under that name—are alluded to in two plays written for Paul’s Boys by William Percy. First, in The Cuckqueanes and Cuckolds Errants (1601; III.vi):

Periman. That’s a new song now . . . .
Nim. Shift, did’st ever hear better music in thy days, Shift?
Shift. No, by the crowd of Apollo, Nim, have I. Why, sirrha, this now was better to me than a pair of recorders, I avow.
Fig. A pair of disorders, you should have said, gentlemen.

Second, in The Faery Pastorall (1603; I.ii):

Christophel. The Spartans the better to keep their ranks, wounted march to the tunes of their pipes. So we embattelwe ourselves in our march to the wind of our organs likewise.
Atys. Best of all.
Christ. And be it to the tune of Gracchus his recorder.

Clearly, Percy expected the instrument to be familiar to the theater audience, whether or not it was heard in the produc-

music.” See Sternfeld, op. cit., p. 243.) Apparently such terms cannot be identified with any instrument or group of instruments with any certainty.


“See Gair, op. cit., p. 65.

“Marston’s Antonio and Mellida (1599), Antonio’s Revenge (1600/01), and What You Will (1601), and Middleton’s Blurt Master Constable (1601). In the last, The Spanish Pavane is played on a “pipe,” which in the context is probably not a recorder but a cornett.

Letter to David Lasocki, 16 March 1983.

“The resurrection scene was a popular dramatic effect in later years, initiated by Marston in this play and continued in his Michaelmas Term and The Partisan, but, perhaps modelled on an early Paul’s play, John Redford’s The Marriage of Wit and Science of c. 1568. See Gair, The Children of Paul’s, pp. 84–85, 123–24, 126, 153, 162.


“Manifold believes that “The two scenes from Marston are . . . clearly recorder-worthy. Both the coffin and the ‘miraculous’ resurrection, in the first, and the entire succession of incidents in the second scene, have their parallels among the scenes for which recorders are specified [in Jacobean and Caroline plays] (see below). . . . Marston, partly Italian by blood, and a determined Italophile, is just the man who would use an Italianate phrase if he could. ‘Still flute’ is a flat translation of flauto dolce, i.e. recorder. In Restoration times, other xenophile authors tried to domesticate the French equivalent, ‘flute douce,’ without much success; and in German one sometimes meets ‘still Flöte,’ as a translation either of the French or the Italian term, instead of the native ‘Blockflöte’” (ibid., p. 70). Marston was knowledgeable about music, and his plays are full of musical allusions and references. (See David G. O’Neill, “The Influence of Music in the Works of John Marston,” Music & Letters LIII (1972), pp. 122–23, 293–308, 400–10.) He also spoke Italian fluently (his mother was the daughter of an Italian surgeon); Antonio and Mellida contains some twenty lines in the language. One would therefore expect him to use the correct term for an instrument and perhaps to translate that term from the Italian. But “flauto dolce” does not in fact seem to have been documented until the late seventeenth century. On the other hand, the French term “flute douce” is found in Marin Mersenne, a generation after Marston (1636): “Flutes d’Angleterre, que l’on appelle douces.” (See his Harmonie Universelle, 3 vols. [Paris, 1636]; facsimile ed. François Lesure [Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1963], III, p. 257.) Could “still flute” have been a translation of that instead? Perhaps not, since there seems to be no record of Marston knowing French, or indeed of any expression involving “flute” to refer to the recorder before the Restoration. Marston does call for recorders at a funeral in Sophonisba, his play for the Children of the Queen’s Revels five years later (see below). But that does not help to settle the identity of the “still flute.” He could now have been using the more customary term for the same instrument, or he could have changed his mind about the instrument he wanted to employ. Shapiro (op. cit., p. 253) assumes without comment that the “still flutes” are recorders. Gair (op. cit., pp. 65, 123), following Manifold, says they “were almost certainly recorders.”

Another possibility is that the “still flute” is the normal transverse flute, the word “still” being used to differentiate it from the military type, which was occasionally called “flute” at that time and was known to have been used in plays. Shakespeare, for example, calls for it several times. (See Welch, op. cit., pp. 235, 239–46.) James I decreed that “no drum, trumpet or fife shall sound at any plots . . . without the licence” of the Sergeant-Trumpeter. (See Long, Shakespeare’s Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies, p. 11.) Marston asks the instruments to play a “sennet,” the military associations of which might therefore have suggested flutes rather than flutes if he had not put in the qualifying adjective “still.” A consort of six flutes was still being used at Court at this period.

“Eine ganze Stunde vorher hörte man eine kostliche music am instrumenta,...
by the London Waits. But the addition of other instruments on occasion—as in Marston’s use of the organ for the act-music in Sophonisba—is not out of the question.

**Conclusions**

The period considered in this section stretched from the establishment of the first liveried company in 1574 and the first permanent theater in London two years later, to the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century, when the boy companies were terminated and the King’s Company took over the indoor Blackfriars Theatre in addition to the outdoor Globe. The period saw the increasing use of instrumental music in the theater, both within the drama and during the intermissions between the acts, and the hiring of professional musicians by the companies. Dramatists were beginning to ask for consorts of instruments by name, including recorders in indoor theaters. Marston used recorders in the context of death, and “still flutes” (recorders or flutes) for death and the supernatural—two associations of the recorder that were taken up by dramatists after 1610.

**The Recorder in the Jacobean and Caroline Theater, 1610–1642**

This section is concerned with the London theater in the latter part of the reign of James I (1603–1625) and the major part of that of Charles I (1625–1649). After 1610, the adult companies began to use indoor as well as outdoor theaters and took up all the musical practices of the boy companies from the previous decade. Evidence of the use of instruments is now abundant and detailed. It shows that recorders were commonly used by all the major companies and had significant associations for the dramatists. The table (based on a survey by Cutts of plays produced by the King’s Company between 1603 and 1625, and on my own survey of the later King’s plays and those of the other companies) summarizes the use of instruments during this period. (Trumpets are omitted, since they were played by a different class of musicians.) About half the plays name instruments or types of instrumental music.

Only two plays involving recorders seem to have been presented at an outdoor theater: Middleton’s A Chaste Maid in Cheapside (Lady Elizabeth’s Company, Swan, 1613) and the anonymous The Two Noble Ladies (Red Bull Company, Red Bull, 1619–23). All the companies employed a permanent consort of professional musicians (usually six in number) who, though often described as “fiddlers,” could switch among bowed and plucked strings, cornetts (and sackbuts), shawms, flutes (in one instance), and recorders.

**Repertory**

Little is known about the instrumental music played by theater musicians during this period. Sir John Hawkins was aware

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**Instruments in Jacobean and Caroline plays**

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<th>Company</th>
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*Two plays mention the sackbut, which was otherwise played in association with cornetts.*

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**Abbreviations:**

| KC | King’s Company |
| LE | Lady Elizabeth’s Company |
| QA/RB | Queen Anne’s/Red Bull Company |
| QH1 | Queen Henrietta’s Company, 1625-1636 |
| QH2 | Queen Henrietta’s Company, 1637-1640 |
| KR | King’s Revels |
| BB | Beeston’s Boys |
| PC (I) | Prince Charles’ (I) Company |
| Pal | Palsgrave’s Company |
| PC (II) | Prince Charles’ (II) Company |
| Rec | Recorders |
| Sh | Shawms |
| Cor | Cornetts |
| LM | “Loud Music” |
| SM | “Soft Music” |
| Lu | Lute |
| Fl | Flutes |

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28The passage follows a discussion of James Shirley’s 1634 masque The Triumph of Peace but seems to have a more general reference.
32Ibid. Whitelocke’s version is in British Library, Add. Ms 57,236, 210–11;
of the instruments used but was surely making a wild speculation about the nature of the music they played when he wrote: The music was seldom better than that of a few wretched fiddles, hautboys, or cornetts; and to soothe those affections which is calculated to excite, that of flutes [recorders] was also made use of: but the music of these several classes of instruments when associated in the unison, the performance was far different from what we understand by concert or symphony; and upon the whole mean and despicable.26

A clue to the real repertory is provided by Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke:

I was so conversant with the musicians,27 and so willing to gain their favor, especially at this time, that I composed an air myself, with the assistance of Mr. [Simon] Ives, and called it "Whitelocke's coranto," which being cried up, was first played publicly by the Blackfriars music, who were then esteemed the best of common musicians in all London. Whenever I came to that house (as I did sometimes in those days, though not often) to see a play, the musicians would presently play Whitelocke's coranto, and it was so often called for, that they would have played twice or thrice in an afternoon.28

Peter Holman has recently pointed out29 that Whitelocke's piece survives both in the composer's own two-part version (Example 1) and in a four-part setting by Ives, who was one of the London Waits from 1637 onwards.30

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Example 1. "Whitelocke's coranto."

To produce the consort setting, Ives has taken Whitelocke's 'skeleton' and added a second treble of equal range and importance, and below it, a rather subservient tenor. This process seems to have been fairly common in English music between about 1620 and 1640. Several others by Ives in the same manuscript appear to have been constructed in the same way, as do a number of pieces by other composers. The technique is analogous to the way in which masque dances were composed, and probably for the same reason: theatre musicians needed their instrumental music in two stages, in skeleton form for rehearsals, and fully scored for the public performances . . .

There is a very large repertory of Jacobean and Caroline dance music written in the same style. It is tempting to wonder how much of it was actually intended for the theatre.31

Holman goes on to suggest that such four-part dances would probably have been performed on two violins, viola or tenor viol, and bass violin or bass viol, with two theorboes playing from the bass part. Other music by members of the London Waits, including John Adson and Ambrose Beeland, who both worked in the theater, survives in two-part settings;32 some pieces in these sources have titles with theatrical associations.

None of this repertory mentions instrumentation, and, since the music has not yet been surveyed, it is not yet known whether any of it would have been played on recorders. The music used at theaters besides the Blackfriars is also unknown, although it may well have been similar in style.

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**Associations of the Recorder in the Plays**

The authors of Jacobean and Caroline plays called for recorder music in several well-defined contexts, as two previous scholars have pointed out. H. Macaulay Fitzgibbon noted that "funeral scenes and scenes of melancholy or death were often accompanied by sad music, generally played on recorders, as at the entrance of the coffin in Ford's Broken Heart."33 J.S. Manifold made a partial survey and analysis of eight plays that specified recorders34 (I have made a more complete study and discovered seventeen more). He found the instrument mentioned in the following contexts:

- death and mourning in seven plays; hearses and coffins in five; temples or churches in five; prayers in four; gods or goddesses in person in two; resurrections, portents, and miracles in six.

The contexts overlap and interlink; there is no prising them apart. One has to accept the fact that the recorders carry a complex and unusual series of emotional overtones; but where, in this harmonic series, the fundamental may lie, it is very hard to say . . .

The unifying element, if there is one, is the idea of _another world_, the supernatural; benevolent deities, whether Christian or pagan.35

**Music of the spheres**

Manifold was perceptive in suggesting the supernatural as a unifying element in the associations of the recorder. Indeed, in three plays that he did not study, characters liken recorder music to the music of the spheres.36 The subplot of James Shirley's _The Grateful Servant_ (Queen Henrietta's Company, Cockpit, 1629) concerns the reformation of Lodwic. He awakens to music (IV.v):

_Lodwick_

Ha! what music’s this? the motion of the spheres? or am I in Elysium?

An assignation with Belinda has been arranged for him, for which recorder music is provided as an aphrodisiac.

_Belinda_ first be prepared For your first entertainment; these but serve To quicken appetite. Recorders_Lodwick_ I like this well, I shall not use much courtship. Where’s this music? Belinda_Doth it offend your ear? Lodwick ’Tis ravishing.

In the anonymous play _The Two Noble Ladies_, recorders

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[^31]: Yale University Library, Filmer Ms A167a-c; Bodleian d. 220.


[^33]: Ibid., pp. 70-71.

[^34]: Recorders may not have been the only instruments, however, to play music of the spheres. In Fletcher’s _The Propheseis_ (King’s Company, 1662), the heroine commands: ‘Strike music from the spheres,’ and another character refers to it as being played by “these fine invisible fiddlers.” The word “fiddlers” could denote violin music, or it could be being used as a generic term for the theater musicians (in which case they may still have been playing recorders).
herald the two entrances of “the patriarch-like angel” (III.iii, V.i). Cyprian remarks: “Whence comes this sound? this heavenly harmony?”

In William Davenant’s The Cruel Brother (King’s Company, Blackfriars, 1627), recorders play the music of the spheres while a character dies (V.i):

*Cor.*

Oh, oh, oh. *Recorders: sadly*

. . . .

Mercy, heaven. *She dies. Still music above.*

First Courtier.

As she ascends, the spheres do welcome her

With their own music—her soul is gone!

Hah! whither is it gone? O vast suspense!

Madness succeeds enquiry. Fools of nature!

*Cease Rec.*

Death

Davenant’s coupling of dying with recorder music representing the music of the spheres strongly suggests that such a supernatural association is the reason why recorders represent death in several other plays. At the end of The Second Maiden’s Tragedy (King’s Company, 1611), after the death of the Lady, “Recorders or other solemn music play them out” (V.iii). In Nathan Field and Philip Massinger’s The Fatal Dowry (King’s Company, Blackfriars/Globe, 1615–20), recorders play the “solemn music” for the funeral of Charalois’s father (II.i). After the music direction, Panteller proclaims: “See, the young son interred a lively grave.”

In Shirley’s The Traitor (Queen Henrietta’s Company, Cockpit, 1631), recorders sound before “the body of Amidea [is] discovered on a bed, prepared by two gentlewomen” (V.iii). Recorders also play during Calantha’s funeral devotions for Ithocles in John Ford’s The Broken Heart (King’s Company, Blackfriars/Globe, 1625–33; V.iii):

An altar covered with white; two lights of virgin wax [upon it], during which music of recorders; enter four [attendants] bearing Ithocles on a hearse, or in a chair, in a rich robe, and a crown on his head; place him on one side of the altar. After him, enter Calantha [crowned and attended] . . . Calantha goes and kneels before the altar; the rest stand off, the women kneeling behind. *Cease recorders during her devotions. Soft music.* Calantha and the rest rise, doing obeisance to the altar.

Manifold points out, however, that in two of the plays he studied the funerals are fake, and the same is true of another play from this period. In Thomas Middleton’s A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, “recorders dolefully playing” announce such a mock funeral (V.iv). “Recorders within” play for a procession for another mock funeral in Massinger, Middleton, and William Rowley’s The Old Law (?King’s Company, ?1618; II.i):

Evander.

Hark, whence these sounds: What’s that?

First Courtier.

Some funeral it seems, my lord.

*Enter funeral procession.*

In The Wasp or Subject’s Precedent (King’s Revels Company or Queen Henrietta’s Company, 1636–40), recorders play the solemn music for the funeral (II.i) of Gilbert, Baron of Claridon, who later returns disguised as the Wasp.

Manifold also suggests that because in the two plays he studied “the corpses come to life later, with good dramatic effect,” recorders have an additional association with “miracles”—in other words, the supernatural element. This is not necessarily true: for one thing, Marston used “still flutes” for a mock funeral and recorders for a regular funeral (see above); for another, it was essential that the audience believe the funeral was real.

Gods

In another association with the supernatural, recorders often marked the entrance, exit, or simply the presence of a god. In Thomas Dekker and John Ford’s The Sun’s Darling (Lady Elizabeth’s Company, Cockpit, 1624), recorders announce each entrance of the Sun in his temple (I.i, III.iii, III.iv, V.i). On the first occasion, the recorder players actually appear on the stage:

*Enter Recorders*

*Priest*

Hark the fair hour is come; draw to the altar.

. . . .

*The Sun above.*

In Thomas Heywood’s Love’s Mistress, or the Queen’s Masque (Queen Henrietta’s Company, Cockpit, 1634), Psyche demands “And let me hear some music: loud, and still.” The recorders present the “still” music and at the same time cover Cupid’s exit while he orders: “Home, home; more music there, I must to rest” (II.i). In Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher’s The Maid’s Tragedy (King’s Company, Blackfriars, 1610), “recorders play” for a wedding masque of gods and goddesses: Night, Cynthia the moon, Neptune, Aeolus, and a corps-de­ballet of Sea-gods (I.ii). But the association of recorders with love (see below) seems more important here than their connection with the gods.

The supernatural element, as Manifold notes too, is also represented by portents from the gods. In Fletcher and Shakespeare’s Two Noble Kinsmen (King’s Company, Blackfriars, ?1613), recorders are played during a sacrifice and herald a portent (V.i):

*Enter Emilia in white, her hair about her shoulders, [and wearing] a wheaten wreath.*

The wreath, made of silver containing incense and sweet odors, “vanishes under the altar; and in the place ascends a rose tree, having one rose upon it”; later “is heard a sudden twang of instruments, and the rose falls from the tree.” Recorders are used during another sacrifice and portent in Bona­duca (King’s Company, 1611–14; III.ii), a play of the same period by Fletcher alone. The musical directions, however, are found only in the 1647 folio and may therefore represent a later performance.

*Messenger*

Prepare there for the sacrifice, the Queen comes.

Music.

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8 The American Recorder

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Gerard Eades Bentley writes that “there is no clear evidence as to the ownership of the play” but suggests that Massinger may have revised it for the King’s Company. See his The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, 7 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941–68), IV, p. 891.
Enter the Druids (singing), the Daughters . . . Bonduca, Caratacê, Nenius and the rest following . . . . A flame arises

Car.
I sacrifice unto thee [divine Andate].

Bon.
It flames out.
Music
Car.
Now sing ye Druids.
Song
The instruments playing the music are not named until the end of the scene when a stage direction reads: Exeunt Recorders.

Love
Recorders are also associated with love. Sometimes the supernatural element is present: in Heywood’s Love’s Mistress, or the Queen’s Masque, recorders twice herald the entrance of Cupid, representing love (I.iii, III.ii). On another occasion, recorders presage love between mortal and immortal. In Thomas Nabbes’ Microcosmus: A Moral Masque (Queen Henrietta’s Company, Salisbury Court, 1637), Physander, the mortal, awakens in a supernatural world (II.i–ii). As recorders sound, he proclaims:

What admiration works upon my sense!
I hear and see such objects as would make
Creation doubtful whether she were perfect
Without these parts. Into what strange delights
I’m hurried on the sudden? ha!

This heralds the next scene, “being a perspective of clouds . . . where Bellamina sits between Love and Nature.” A song follows, during which Love presents Bellamina to Physander as his bride.

In other plays, however, the love represented by recorders is clearly worldy—between man and woman, whether they are married, are about to be married, or would like to be married. In Beaumont and Fletcher’s The Maid’s Tragedy, as we have seen above, recorders play for the wedding masque of Amintor (a noble gentleman) and Evadne. Ironically, they make a clear statement of love while Evadne gives her first hint that her forthcoming marriage is only one of convenience:

Melantius
Sister, I joy to see you, and your choice;
You looked with my eyes when you took that man;
Be happy with him.

Recorders
Evadne
Oh my dearest brother
Your presence is more joyful than this day
Can be unto me.

In Richard Brome’s The Antipodes (Queen Henrietta’s Company, Salisbury Court, 1638; originally intended for Beeston’s Boys, Cockpit), “a solemn lesson upon the recorders” sounds for the procession of two newly reconciled married couples (V.ix).

In Henry Glapthorne’s The Lady’s Privilege (Beeston’s Boys, Cockpit, 1637–40), recorders are used twice to herald the entrance of virgins; the first time they signify love, the second time they accompany a song and dance for a wedding (IV, V). Doria is a prisoner awaiting the death sentence.

Enter the Druids (singing), the Daughters . . . Bonduca, Caratacê, Nenius and the rest following . . . . A flame arises

On another occasion, recorders twice herald the entrance of Cu...
How cold I sweat! A hog’s pox stop your pipes! Music
The thing will wake. Now, no, methinks I find
His sword just gliding through my throat. What’s that?
A vengeance choke your pipes! Are you there, lady? . .
Stop, stop those rascals! Do you bring me hither
To be cut into minced meat? Why, Dinant!

Din.
I cannot do withal;
I have spoke, and spoke; I am betrayed and lost too.

Cler.
Do you hear me? do you understand me!
Plague damn your whistles! Music ends

Lam.
’Twas but an oversight;
They have done; lie down.

Cler.
’Would you had done too! you know not
In what a misery and fear I lie;
You had a lady in your arms.

Din.
I would have. The recorders play again

Champ.
I’ll watch you, goodman ‘Would-have!

Cler.
Remove, for heaven’s sake,
And fall to that you come for.

Lam.
Lie you down;
’Tis but an hour’s endurance now.

Cler.
I dare not;
Softly, sweet lady. God’s heart!

Lam.
’Tis nothing but your fear; he sleeps still soundly.
Lie gently down.

Cler.
Pray make an end.

Din.
Come, madam.

Lam.
These chambers are too near.

Champ.
I shall be nearer. Exeunt Dinant and Lamira.

Well, go thy ways; I’ll trust thee through the world,
Deal how thou wilt: That, that I never feel,
I’ll never fear. Yet, but the honor of a soldier,
I hold thee truly noble. How these things will look,
And how their bloods will curdle! Play on, children;
You shall have pap anon. Oh, thou grand fool,
That thou knew’st but thy fortune! Music ceases

In two plays, recorders are used in a context in which both
love and death are depicted. In Glatthorne’s The Lady Mother
(King’s Revels, Salisbury Court, 1635), recorders play while
Hymen and the lovers enter to ward off death (V.i). For Glatthorne,
apparently, the power of love—and the association of
recorders with it—was greater than that of death. In Shirley’s
The Cardinal (King’s Company, Blackfriars, 1641), just as the
wedding masque is to begin (III.ii), recorders sound and the
masquers bring in the body of D’Alvarez, who has just been
murdered by the bridegroom, Columbo.

Entrances
Recorders are also used in a context not discussed by Mani-

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