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AN INTRODUCTION TO RESTORATION KEYBOARD MUSIC I:

Matthew Locke

by Terrence Charlston

This article stems from my fascination with 17th-century keyboard music, particularly that of England during the troubled years of the Civil War and the restoration of the monarchy. Although some of this repertoire has been published, very little is played and, unashamedly, I hope to entice others to explore its many delights and charms. I begin this survey of Restoration keyboard music with Matthew Locke (c.1622–1677) whose ground breaking compendium *Melothesia* will act as the starting point. This remarkable book, the like of which was “Never before Published”, records English keyboard playing as Locke found it in the third quarter of the century and gives a portent of things to come in later generations, namely Blow and Purcell.¹ Within the article I include a discussion of Locke’s musical style, performance practice issues, a complete list of his keyboard music, and its availability in modern editions and facsimiles.

Given Locke’s pre-eminent position in the development of 17th-century English keyboard music, it is ironic that his posthumous reputation has rested on his music for the court and the London theatre. Following the restoration of Charles II in 1661, Locke was charged with rebuilding the royal musical establishment, and in so doing, became the most important composer in the realm. He was responsible for the music at Charles’ coronation, the king’s band of twenty-four violins, the Chapel Royal, His Majesty’s Sagbutts and Cornets, the King’s Private Music and also found time to write masques and stage works.² Prior to the Restoration, Locke excelled in chamber music for viols and began fostering a new, post-virginalist style for keyboard,

culminating in *Melothesia*: the first major collection of keyboard music since Byrd and Gibbons collaborated on *Parthenia* in 1612.

Melothesia contains the first English instructions in the practice of playing figured-bass,³ 61 pieces for harpsichord (22 by Locke himself) and seven of his own pieces specifically for the organ.

Alongside Locke’s pieces there survives a considerable and sophisticated body of Restoration keyboard music that departs from the English virginalist style of the early 17th century. The impressive suites of John Roberts (fl.1650–80), Albertus Bryne (c.1621–68) and John Moss (fl.1662–84), for example, achieve a robust balance between idiomatic techniques and melodic originality and will be discussed in the next article. Although these English players were well versed in European trends (most notably through French dance), their music displays an indigenous style whose idiom remained largely unchanged by the next generation. Seldom heard on today’s concert platform, Commonwealth and Restoration keyboard music is long overdue for a re-assessment. The remarkable achievements of Locke and his fellow players deserve to be more widely known.

The Music

The most important source for the 45 surviving keyboard pieces that can be attributed with certainty to Matthew Locke is his anthology, *Melothesia*, printed in 1673. Although the selling point of *Melothesia* was the inclusion of “Certain General rules for the Playing upon a Continued-Bass”, the bulk of its 84 pages is devoted to original keyboard music: “...A choice Collection of Lessons for the Harpsichord and Organ of all



Ex. 1: [Almain], Suite in D major, bars 1-6. (NYp Drexel 5611)

Ex. 2a: Corant, Suite in C major, bars 1-6. (*Melothesia*, no. 5)

Ex. 2b: Corant in A minor, bars 1-19. (Ob D 219)

Ex. 2c: Corant, Suite in D major, bars 1-6. (NYp Drexel 5611)

sorts." In addition to his continuo instructions, Locke contributes two introductory pieces, four suites (in G Minor, D Major, and two in C Major), a concluding hornpipe to William Gregory's Suite in D minor⁴ and seven organ pieces, the last of which exploits the dialogue possible on a two manual organ. Eight pieces by Locke were added to the 1678 revised edition of *Musicks Hand-maid* and the polemical pamphlet *The Present Practice of Musick vindicated* (1673) contains a single ayre for harpsichord. Thurston Dart felt that two anonymous pieces from the 1663 print of *Musicks Hand-maid* (Apes' Dance and Bondsmans Dance) might also be by Locke. Seven further pieces survive only in manuscript: an almain and a prelude in the British Library, a suite of three dances in D major in a book copied largely by Thomas Heardson now in New York, a corant in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and an organ voluntary from a late 18th century source now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Locke makes a clear distinction between music suited to liturgical/church performance on the one hand ("for the organ", etc.) and domestic music on the other. The liturgical music is often imitative in style, written in the old church modes and lacking the obvious binary structures of dance music. None the less, many of these "organ" pieces can be played perfectly well on plucked keyboard instruments or the clavichord and, conversely, there is plenty of evidence suggesting organs were frequently used in a domestic setting. It is therefore my opinion that many of the pieces under discussion are equally suited to performance on either type of keyboard instrument, depending on what one has to hand.

At this time the typical English keyboard suite or "sett" consisted of three dances; almain, corant and saraband. The most extended of the dances tends to be the almain or almand and it exhibits the greatest variety of moods. It existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but by the middle of the century it had acquired its characteristic single-note *anacrusis*, fuller

semiquaver texture, a penchant for subtle nuances of rhythm and expressive twists of harmony and a slower tempo (see Ex. 1). The corant alternates 3/2 and 6/4 metres like its French counterpart, although it is generally shorter and lighter in character (Ex. 2a). It may also have offered the player an opportunity to make "doubles" or varied repeats in the manner of John Roberts' splendid corants.⁵ An older style of corant continued to be written in 3/4. The A minor Corant is an excellent example in which the vitality of the opening is contrasted with the smooth writing in thirds of the second half (Ex. 2b). In the corant to the D major suite (NYp Drexel 5611), also in 3/4, the typically Lockian interrupted cadence in bar 3 is emphasised further by an octave leap in the melody and the addition of a corona - presumably signifying a pause (Ex. 2c). The conspicuous leap calls to mind the Provençal volta, a dance much in vogue in Elizabethan England. The English saraband conveys a clear sense of rhythm and a predilection for balanced phrases. It was taken faster than continental examples. Notice that the smoothly lyrical Saraband in the D major suite (NYp Drexel 5611) also has fully written-out, varied repeats (Ex. 3).⁶ In addition to the familiar French court dances, we find English country dances, notably the Jigg (Ex. 4), Hornpipe and Rant.

Locke's organ pieces are models of the largely improvised, liturgical music of the time, such as he may have provided for mass at the Queen's chapels until he was replaced by the 'Italian masters', Draghi and Sebenico.⁷ The most old fashioned piece, called prelude, has two parts (treble and bass) with runs and chords typical of the virginalists (Ex. 5). Another, titled "voluntary" in its 18th century source, is in two sections, each with its own theme, the second livelier than the first (Ex. 6a and 6b).⁸ This design of a single movement with two themes grew into two entirely separate movements with later generations, for example in the well known voluntaries of John Stanley. The remaining organ pieces have the instrumental designation "For the

Ex. 3: Saraband, Suite in D major, bars 1-6. (NYp Drexel 5611)

Ex. 4: Jigg, Suite in C major, bars 1-7. (Melothesia, no. 16)

Ex. 5: Prelude in A minor, bars 1-7. (Lb1 Add. 22099)

Ex. 6a: Voluntary in A minor, bars 1-8. (Cfm MS 735)

Ex. 6b: idem., bars 14-19.

Ex. 6c: idem., bars 1-8. Suggestions for ornamentation.

Organ". The most extended piece, "For the Double Organ" requires the alternation of two keyboards in the manner of the double organ pieces by Gibbons and John Lugge (the organist of Exeter Cathedral when Locke was a chorister there). The changes are indicated in the score by 'Great organ' and 'Chaine (a mis-spelling of Chair) organ'. Curiously, this alternation of two keyboards in the manner of solo and accompaniment was most consciously exploited by the Spanish and later the French organists.

Keyboard players in the seventeenth century commonly arranged pieces for other instruments and by other composers to suit their own purposes. Indeed, many of Locke's keyboard dances originated as ensemble music, often for the theatre. The Saraband of the D Major suite (NY Drexel 5611), for example, also occurs as the concluding movement of the 10th suite in Locke's *The Little Consort* for three viols. This has prompted my own arrangement of the pavan of the 10th Suite for performance as a prelude or lamentation before the D major keyboard suite.⁹

Style

"Apart from his music, Locke goes down in English musical history as one of the most quarrelsome, acrimonious and abusive men of all time.' Thus wrote Kenneth Long in 1972."¹⁰ Like the man, the style of Locke's keyboard music is an amalgam of several disparate parts. I would not go so far as to say this quirkiness is a direct manifestation of Locke's irascible character but it certainly reflects the wit and excitement of the age in which he lived. Like much later 17th-century English music it both intrigues and upsets the modern ear. To this infectious spirit of independent and peculiar Englishness, Locke adds a veneer of European sophistication such as befits an employee of Charles' fashionably modern court. Locke himself testified to his indebtedness to foreign and indigenous influence¹¹ and mentions Frescobaldi, Froberger and Chambonnières by name alongside the Englishmen John Bull, Orlando Gibbons, Albertus Bryne (his

contemporary and organist of Westminster Abbey) and Benjamin Rogers.

His melodies and counterpoint are frequently inflected by chromaticism. Example 7a-c shows several ways in which the chromatic steps F-Fsharp, B-Bflat and C-Csharp are used in C major. These lend the harmony a richer sonority (in a similar way to the false relation in the so-called "English" cadence) and enliven the melody. The remarkable prelude to the second C major suite devotes its second phrase to this effect (Ex. 8a).¹² The texture of this passage is familiar from Roman keyboard music (particularly Frescobaldi) but the harmony mirrors the *fantastical* effects of Italian violin playing such as we find in the falling sequences quoted from Turini's *Sonata a Tre* (Ex. 8b). Another characteristic is Locke's avoidance of perfect cadences (V-I) in favour of often startling interruptions to chords VI, IV or III (Ex. 9a-c).

Typical of the emerging *Clavecinistes* tradition in France, Locke imitates the sound of the lute by staggering the left and right hand as in Example 10 (a technique learnt from the French lutenists and perhaps the German harpsichordist, J. J. Froberger).¹³ Sonority is further enhanced by overholding notes and, unusually, this is notated in the Saraband of the second C major suite with slur lines or *tenues* (Ex. 11). Amongst the *bizzaria* of Locke's harmonic imagination, the "minor/major" final cadence – a sort of reverse of the Mahlerian fate motif¹⁴ – as manifest in two organ voluntaries (Ex. 12a and 12b) must take pride of place.

Performance

Ornamentation is a particularly vexed question in Restoration keyboard music. Locke includes the symbols (or *characters*, as he calls them) for the *forefall*, *backfall*, *shake*, *forefall and shake* and *beat* in *Melothesia* but offers no guide to their execution (Fig. 1). Similar symbols were used for other instruments such as those for viols by Simpson and for lute by Mace.

Curiously, Locke omits the sign for the *turn*, even though this ornament occurs in

Ex. 7a: Almain, bars 9-11, Suite in C. (*Melothesia*, no. 4)Ex. 7b: Gavott, Suite in C major, bars 13-14. (*Melothesia*, no. 6)Ex. 7c: Almain, Suite in C major, bars 11-15. (*Melothesia*, no. 13)Ex. 8a: Prelude, Suite in C major, bars 4-5. (*Melothesia*, no. 12)Ex. 8b: Francesco Turini *Sonata a Tre* (1621), bars 84-89, ed. Leonhardt (Universal, 1957).Ex. 9a: Almain, Suite in G minor, bars 2-3. (*Melothesia*, no. 8)

Ex. 9b: idem., bar 12.

Ex. 9c: Saraband, Suite in C major, bar 15-16. (*Melothesia*, no. 15)Ex. 10: Saraband, Suite in G minor, bars 11-12. (*Melothesia*, no. 9)Ex. 11: Saraband, Suite in C major, bars 21-23. (*Melothesia*, no. 15)Ex. 11: Saraband, Suite in C major, bars 21-23. (*Melothesia*, no. 15)Ex. 12a: For the Organ, bar 42. (*Melothesia*, no. 64)

Ex. 12b: Voluntary in A minor, bar 30. (Cfm MS 753)



Melothesia (but not in one of Locke's pieces).¹⁵ With the exception of the *forefall and shake* which occurs exclusively in Restoration organ music¹⁶, all the ornament symbols can be found in the 'Rules for Graces' attributed to Purcell in *The Harpsichord Master* (1697).¹⁷ The 'Rules for Graces' state that the shake always begins on the upper note while the beat begins on the tone or semitone below, according to key. Interpretations of the ornament signs must have varied between different players just as these and other details often vary between sources. The suggestions in Fig. 2 are drawn, in the main, from the *The Harpsichord Master*.

Further ideas for ornamentation can be found in the viol and lute literature, for example Charles Coleman's table of "Smoothed and Shaked Graces" and Mace's table for the lute (1676). Simpson makes some illuminating observations about when and where to play ornaments:

"Of these fore-mentioned Graces, some are more rough and Masculine, as your *Shaked Beats* and *Back-falls*, and therefore more peculiar to the Bass; Others, more smooth and Feminine, as your *Close-shake* and plain Graces, which are more natural to the *Treble*, or upper parts. Yet when we would express Life, Courage, or Cheerfulness upon the *Treble*, we do frequently use both *Shaked Beats* and *Back-falls*, as on the contrary, smooth and swelling Notes when we would express Love, Sorrow, Compassion, or the like; and this, not only on the *Treble*, but sometimes also upon the *Bass*."

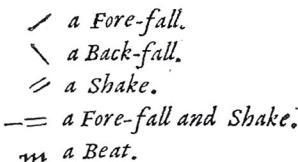


Fig. 1: Ornament Table from *Melothesia*.

By keyboard playing standards, some of these graces may seem rather old fashioned (the *double relish*, for example is a common written out ornament of the virginalist period) but the rich variety and number of

slides, single note ornaments and trill patterns will inspire stylish extemporisation.¹⁸

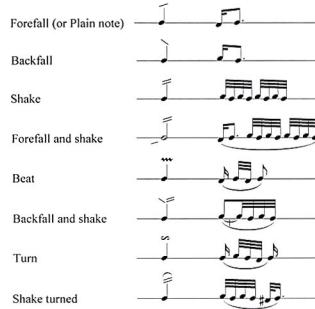


Fig. 2: Ornament table for mid to late 17th century English keyboard music.

Instrumentation

The English harpsichord of the seventeenth century remains a tantalising mystery.¹⁹ Many instruments were imported, mainly from Holland and Italy, but the majority of contemporary instruments would have been English, and most of these from makers in London.²⁰ Bentside spinets were popular in the later seventeenth century and gradually replaced the virginals as domestic instruments of choice. Both were single strung. The English virginals were usually made of oak: heavier than Italian instruments but lighter than the heavy cased Flemish virginals. Spinets are recorded in England from the 1660s and were probably Italian-inspired. As oak became less popular for domestic furniture, they were made of walnut or a soft wood with walnut veneer. The clavichord is also a suitable medium for much of this music.²¹

The organ pieces would have been performed liturgically on the larger instruments of the Smith and Dallam type. The upheavals of the Civil War had seen the widespread destruction of church organs and the diarist, Pepys, had not heard one until he was 27.²² The main builders of the Restoration period came from abroad and brought with them innovations such as reeds, mixtures and the cornet stop, which they combined with indigenous characteristics particularly the lack

of any pedalboard and the English preference for wooden stopped diapasons.²³

Throughout the seventeenth century, organs remained popular in private homes and public places and "harpsichord music" was an equal candidate for performance on organs, at least in a domestic and secular setting. Chamber organs were made in the form of a small chest or table organ and Smith's ingenious chamber organ design consisted of a chest with double doors in the manner of a domestic cupboard which sat on a stand or table.²⁴ It had one manual and four stops made entirely of wood.²⁵ The claviorganum (an organ and harpsichord combined in one instrument) was also known in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries. Keyboard instruments were tuned in meantone temperament with modifications to accommodate unusual modulations.²⁶

I hope this article and musical examples will encourage readers to discover Locke's music for themselves at the keyboard: it is well worth the effort. But in case I should get above myself, let Locke himself have the last word:

"By these directions, the Ingenious Practical Student...will (in my opinion) acquaint himself with *All that's teachable*, as to the matter of *Ayr*; the rest intirely depending upon his own Ingenuity, Observation, and Study."²⁷

Terence Charlston, 2005.

Table 1.
The keyboard music by Matthew Locke

Main Source with number in source and title	Key /final	Title and ascription in source	Harding number ⁱ	Brookes number ⁱⁱ
Printed Sources				
<i>Melothesia 1673</i> ⁱⁱⁱ				
1 Prelude ^v	C	p.1, Title: "Prelude M.L."	74	1908
2 Saraband ^v	C	p.2, Title: "Saraband. M.L."	75	1907
Suite in C Major				
3 Prelude	C	p.3, Title: "Prelude. M.L."	76	
4 Almain	C	p.4, Title: "Almain. M.L."	77	
5 Corant	C	p.5, Title: "Corant. M.L."	78	
6 Gavott	C	p.6, Title: "Gavott. M.L."		
7 Country Dance	C	p.7, Title: "Country Dance. M.L."	79	
Suite in G Minor				
8 Almain	g	p.8, Title: "Almain. M.L."	80	
9 Saraband	g	p.10, Title: "Saraband. M.L."	81	
10 Virago	g	p.11, Title: "Virago. M.L."	82	
11 Rundo	g	p.12, Title: "Rundo. M.L."	83	
Suite in C major				
12 Prelude	C	p.13, Title: "Prelude. M.L."	84	
13 Almain	C	p.14, Title: "Almain. M.L."	85	
14 Corant	C	p.15, Title: "Corant. M.L."	86	
15 Saraband	C	p.17, Title: "Saraband M.L."	87	
16 Jig	C	p.18, Title: "Jig. M.L."	88	
Suite in D major				
17 Prelude	D	p.19, Title: "Prelude. M.L."	89	
18 Almain	D	p.20, Title: "Almain. M.L."	90	
19 Corant	D	p.22, Title: "Corant. M.L."	91	
20 Saraband	D	p.23, Title: "Saraband. M.L."	92	
21 Rant	D	p.14, Title: "Rant. M.L."	93	
25 Horne Pipe	d	p.42, Title: "Horne Pipe. M.L." Concludes the Suite in D minor (Almain-Corant-Saraband) by William Gregory.	94	
62 For the Organ	e	p.73, Title: "For the Organ. M.L."	67	
63 For the Organ	F	p.74, Title: "For the Organ. M.L."	68	
64 For the Organ	a	p.76, Title: "For the Organ. M.L."	69	
65 For the Organ	d	p.79, Title: "For the Organ. M.L."	70	
66 For the Organ	G	p.80, Title: "For the Organ. M.L."	71	
67 For the Organ	a	p.81, Title: "For the Organ. M.L."	72	
68 For a Double Organ	d	p.82, Title: "For a Double Organ. M.L. Finis."	73	

Musicks Hand-maide 1663/1678 ^{vi}						
38	The Simerons Dance	G	Title: "The Simerons Dance By M' Locke"	100	1906	
39	An Antick Dance	G	Title: "An Antick Dance By m' Locke"	101	1903	
64	Alman	G	Title: "Allman By M' Math: Locke"	102	1900	
65	Saraband	G	Title: "Saraband By M' Math Locke"	103	1912	
66	Ayre	F	Title: "Ayre by M' Locke"	104	1889	
67	Saraband	F	Title: "Saraband by M' Locke"	105	1910	
68	Ayre	C	Title: "Ayre by M' Math Locke"	106	1899	
69	Saraband	C	Title: "Saraband by M' Math Locke"	107	1911	
<i>The Present Practice of Musick vindicated 1673</i>						
	An Entry for the harpsicord ^{vii}	F	p.10, Title: "The Second Example for the Harpsicord / An Entry."	97		
Manuscript sources						
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 735						
	[Voluntary]	a	f.147, Title: "Voluntary. Matthew Lock."			
London, British Library, MS Add. 22099						
	Prelude	a	f.2, Title: "[blank] Mr. Lock." "Prelude" in index.	96		
London, British Library, MS Add. 31403 and Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. MS 1179 ^{viii}						
	[Almain]	G	f.57v, Title: "[blank] M' Lock." No title in index.	66		
New York, Public Library, MS Drexel 5611						
	Suite in D major					
	[Almain]	D	p.140, Title: "[blank] M' Lock."	98	1897	
	Corant	D	p.141, Title: "Coranto."		1901	
	Saraband	D	p.142, Title: "Saraband M' Lock"	99	1909	
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS.Mus.Sch.D.219						
	Mr Locks Saraband ^{ix}	F	p.25, Title: "Mr Locks Saraband."		[=1910]	
	Mr Lock's Corant ^x	a	p.37, Title: "Mr Locke's Corant."	95	1902	
Uncertain attribution						
Musicks Hand-maide 1663						
53	Apes Dance	C	Title: "Apes Dance"		1904	
54	The Bondman's Dance	D	Title: "The Bondman's Dance"		1905	

Table Footnotes:

i Rosamond E. M. Harding, *Thematic Catalogue of the works of Matthew Locke* (Oxford, Blackwell, 1971).

ii Virginia Brookes *British keyboard music to c. 1660* (Oxford, 1996).

iii MELOTHESIA: / OR, / Certain General RULES for Playing / UPON A / CONTINUED-BASS. / With / A choice Collection of LESSONS for the Harpsicord and Organ of all Sorts: / Never before Published. / All carefully reviewed by M. LOCKE, Composer in Ordinary to His Majesty, / and Organist of Her Majesties Chappel. / THE FIRST PART. / London, Printed for J. Carr, ...1673.

iv Concordance with Royal College of Music, London Mus ms 2093, f. 21v, "A preludium", attributed to Child in table of contents.

v Concordance with Royal College of Music, London Mus ms 2093, f. 21, "A preludium", attributed to Child in table of contents.

vi *Musicks Hand-maide Presenting New and Pleasant Lessons for the Virginals or Harpsycon*. London, 1678.

vii Candace Bailey *Seventeenth-Century British Keyboard Sources* (Harmonie Park Press, Michigan, 2003), p.107.

viii Concordance with Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. MS 1177, f. 39r–38v, bound upside down within the MS.

ix Concordance with *Musicks Hand-maide*, no.66 (from *Cupid and Death*, Third Entry).

x Concordance with Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. MS 1179, see Bailey (2003), p.107.

Table 2.
Modern editions and facsimile editions of keyboard music by Matthew Locke

<i>Melothesia</i>	Facs.	Matthew Locke <i>Melothesia</i> , Broude (New York, 1975).	
	Mod. Ed.	Matthew Locke: (ed. Hogwood) <i>Melothesia</i> , (OUP, 1987).	
<i>Musicks Hand-maide</i>	Facs.	<i>Musicks Hand-maide</i> , Broude (New York, 1975).	
	Mod. Ed.	<i>Musicks Hand-maide</i> , ed. Dart (Stainer and Bell, 1969).	
<i>The Present Practice of Musick vindicated</i>	Facs.	Matthew Locke: <i>The Present Practice of Musick vindicated</i> , Broude (New York, n.d.).	
<i>Manuscript sources</i>	Mod. Ed	Matthew Locke: (ed. Charlston) <i>Thirteen Pieces</i> (Hebden Bridge, 2004).	
Other Eds.		Matthew Locke (ed. Kooiker): <i>Keyboard Suites. Transcribed and edited from Melothesia</i> (1968). Matthew Locke (ed. Dart): <i>Keyboard suites</i> (Stainer and Bell, 1959). Matthew Locke (ed. Dart): <i>Organ Voluntaries</i> (Stainer and Bell, 1957). <i>Faber Early Organ Series</i> , Vol. 3, ed. Cox (Faber, London, 1986). <i>English organ music</i> , Vol. 2 ed. Langley: (Novello, London, 1988).	

1 See, for example, the F major suite by John Moss, nos. 54–57 compared with Purcell's suite in the same key.

2 "Matthew Locke," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (2001) and Matthew Tilmouth, "Matthew Locke, 1622–77, A tercentenary note," *Musical Times*, 118 (1977): 295–7.

3 Locke may have been pipped at the post by William Penny a few years earlier, although no copy of Penny's treatise has survived.

4 William Gregory (fl 1651–87) was a viol player and singer in Charles II's Private Musick and a colleague of Locke. He was an acknowledged teacher in London and among the musicians who followed Cromwell's body to the grave.

5 (*Melothesia*: nos. 28 and 29). Also by Roberts see Och MS 1177 (fol. 11r).

6 See Locke's didactic Saraband in *Melothesia* (no.2).

7 From his near-contemporary, Roger North, we know that Locke retained this responsibility until the end of his life. In 1671 the services moved from St. James's to the old Somerset House where Locke suffered the indignity of being obliged to play a small chamber organ while the 'Italian masters' Giovanni Battista Draghe and Giovanni Sebenico, used the great organ.

8 See also *Melothesia*, nos. 63 and 64.

9 This can be found in *Matthew Locke Thirteen Pieces for Harpsichord and Organ* . ed. Charlston. (Hebden Bridge: Peacock Press, 2004), 4.

10 Kenneth Long, *The Music of the English Church* (1972/1991), 249. Locke's irascible temperament is well documented (the Dean and Chapter at Exeter had reason to admonish the 18 year-old Locke for brawling) and he was clearly capable of sustained and vitriolic assault upon those who roused his temper. See Murray Lefkowitz, 'Matthew Locke at Exeter' *The Consort* xxii, no.22 (Summer, 1965), 5–16. About the time of his move to Somerset House, he entered a bitter, public attack on Thomas Salmon for his proposal to abolish clefs in favour of a four line notation in which the bottom line was always the note G.

11 See Locke's published reply to Thomas Salmon, *Observations upon a Late Book...* (Playford, 1672).

12 Although he confessed little admiration for foreign musical practitioners and other "New Air-Mongers" (*Melothesia*, p. [8]), this prelude betrays Locke's debt to the French unmeasured prelude (*prélude non-mesuré*): a style in imitation of the lute playing, perhaps learnt from the many French lutenists whom came to London with Charles II.

13 See footnote 9 above.

14 Mahler Symphony no 6, 1903–6.

15 *An Ayre* by William Thatcher (no. 38).

16 See Geoffrey Cox, *Organ Music in Restoration England* (New York: Garland, 1989) and H.Diack Johnstone: 'Ornamentation in the keyboard Music of Henry Purcell and his Contemporaries', *Performing the Music of Henry Purcell*, ed. Michael Burden, (Oxford, 1996).

17 Also found in some editions of Purcell *A Choice Collection of Lessons* (1697), and other publications in the early 18th century.

18 For fuller discussion of compound ornaments and other ornamentation patterns see Kah-Ming Ng's exemplary article on Baroque ornaments in *The New Grove* (2001) and my edition of Locke's manuscript pieces; Locke (ed. Charlston) *Thirteen Pieces* (Hebden Bridge, 2004).

19 Boalch lists 45 makers working in England in the 17th century but only four harpsichords, 20 virginals and about 40 bentside spinets survive.

10 Three of the four surviving English harpsichords date from the early part of the century: a small, double strung instrument by Jesses Cassus; the large 1622 John Hasard harpsichord at Knowle which may have used metal plectra and had the very unusual disposition of one unison stop and two sets of four-foot strings; and the largely rebuilt (and possibly Flemish) 1623 harpsichord now at Hatchlands. One post-Restoration harpsichord survives: a single manual instrument by Charles Hayward dated 1683, a decade after Locke's death. It is one of only a handful of English harpsichords with a round tail and is made of walnut with two sets of unison strings, a lute stop, a short scale and a compass FF/GG-d'''. Mace describes a harpsichord by John Hayward (d. ca.1667) voiced to imitate the sound of different lutes with pedals, newly invented, to make registration changes and open doors enclosing the instrument for expression effects during performance (*Musicks Monument*, .235–6).

21 Concerning the existence of two Allemands 'fitt for the Manicorde' see Christopher Hogwood (ed.) *'fitt for the Manicorde'* 58 pieces from M 1471 (Edition HH, 2003). Locke himself used dynamic contrasts in his theatre music (*The Tempest*) and the marking 'softly' was used by the John Roberts in one of his Almands (NYp Drexel 5611, p.25), see Candace Bailey *The Keyboard Music of John Roberts* (Broude Trust).

22 Samuel Pepys, *Diaries* 8 July, 1660.

23 Little is known of the organs Locke played in the Queen's catholic chapel at St James Palace or Somerset House. We can surmise that they would have been built along the lines of Smith's organ for Christ Church, Oxford (1680). This instrument had two keyboards and split keys for some of the G-sharp and D-sharp notes and the compass of the Great organ extended down to GG. The two divisions were spacially separated, the Chair Organ case being behind the player on the gallery rail. As the century progressed, the chair division was often brought within the main Great Organ case, as in the extant organ in Adlington Hall (1693), which exhibits characteristics of both Smith and his rival, Harris. The Adlington organ has marks typical of Smith on some pipes and inside the windchest, and the top half of the case could be from Smith's organ for St James' Piccadilly. The stop list and 'borrowing' of one stop between the two divisions is closer to the Harris style. Much of the pipework and action survive in their original state.

24 See Thomas Mace *Musicks Monument*, 242–5.

25 Four very similar instruments survive today. James II purchased a travelling organ in 1688 for his private chapel in Houndslow Heath with one manual and four or five divided stops. Another chamber organ, now in Compton Wynnyates has characteristic Dallam/Harris marks on its pipes. See Stephen Bicknell: *The History of the English Organ* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 194.

26 The Almand in London, British Library, MS Add. 31403 requires both A sharp and B flat.

27 *Melothesia*, p. [9]. Locke goes on to say:

"For to teach Number and Distance only, which is all that hitherto has been produced, (and the last, God wot, that 'tis a shame to mention it) is a down-right cheat, and may with as much reason be applied to a Carryers Trotting-Horse, or a *Jocky*'s Hand-Galloper, as to any that has been only so instructed: and indeed, in some sense with more: For these Laborious Animals *know*, when they come to their *Inn* or *Post*, and with Joy cry, *Clink in the Close* (as the Learned Essayer would once have had it for the viol.) But those Deluded Mortals, after all their Labour and Expense, remain as Completely Ignorant of what they've done, that when they come to hear any of their own conceptions, they cunningly whisper their dear Pedagogue, *Master, is this Mine?* After which, having received a gracious *affirmative Nod*, they patiently retire; but with what content, I believe 'tis not hard to guess; they being thereby assured, they were as wise the first day they began, as at that instant..."