

Music in Country Houses of the English Midlands, 1750–1810

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Birmingham City University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
February 2020

The Faculty of Arts, Design and Media, Birmingham City University
(Royal Birmingham Conservatoire)

Volume 1: Thesis

Abstract

The late eighteenth century witnessed a steady rise of musical activity in England which resulted in London becoming one of Europe's most important centres for music. Amateur participation in music was an integral part of this growth, with public concerts and much of the music publishing industry relying on the patronage of the public. Specifically, the market for amateur music-making was fuelled by the upper classes of the country – the nobility and gentry – who considered music a worthy pursuit and suitable activity for patronage. Whilst music was regarded as a commendable accomplishment for young ladies of class (and for those of aspiring classes), performance by female amateurs rarely took place in a public context. Men participated in music-making on a different plane, in which amateurs performed alongside professionals in public and private contexts.

Professional musicians' involvement in amateur music-making was essential to their livelihood. Indeed, without the amateur market, there would not have been enough work for the hundreds of musicians known to have been active professionally during the late eighteenth century. Whereas London could maintain large numbers of professionals in performance and composition for theatres, pleasure gardens and concerts, and a high concentration of would-be music students, the provincial scene was more limiting for the full-time musician. The Midlands professional musician was likely to have been employed as organist to a church while also travelling many miles to take part in concerts, teach and make music with the nobility and gentry.

Studies of eighteenth-century music history have increasingly focused on the amateur market and on the relationships composers had with their patrons and public. The present study builds on this strand of research by concentrating on music-making from the point of view of the amateur nobility and gentry musician. By examining the archives of several prominent Midlands families, the current study reveals the relationships between these music consumers and the wider musical community. Evidence of the music tuition of gentry sons and daughters will show how these relationships manifested themselves. An exploration of music collections and collecting patterns of nobility and gentry families helps to explain the influence of professional activities in London on the Midlands. The participation of family

members in amateur and professional performances, and their contacts with professionals, and the connections between Midlands and London networks are examined in order to paint a clearer picture of musical life in England.

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Acknowledgements

Dr Shirley Thompson

Dr Carrie Churnside

Professor Graham Sadler

Professor Malcolm Dick, University of Birmingham

Nicola Thwaite, The National Trust

Mark Purcell, The National Trust

Mr and Mrs Philips, Wodehouse, Wombourne

David Morrison, Worcester Cathedral Library

Lichfield Cathedral Archive

Worcester Hive

The Birmingham Library Archive

Gareth Williams, Curator and Head of Learning to the Weston Park Foundation

Michael Guest, Lichfield Cathedral

Dr Penelope Cave

Dr Katrina Faulds

Professor Jeanice Brooks, University of Southampton

Margaret King

Elaine Mitchell

Professor Rosemary Sweet, University of Leicester

Jon Culverhouse, Curator, Burghley House Preservation Trust Ltd

Notes

Currency and Value

Currency is expressed in pounds, shillings and pence, for example: three pounds, six shillings and sixpence = £3.6.6.

One pound (£1) = twenty shillings, expressed as £1.0.0.

One shilling (1s) = twelve pence, expressed as £0.1.0.

One guinea (1gn) = one pound and one shilling, expressed as £1.1.0.

Half a guinea ($\frac{1}{2}$ gn) = ten shillings and sixpence, expressed as £0.10.6.

Using the Retail Price Index, the basic fee of a music teacher for a lesson – £0.5.3. – is equivalent to £37.31 in today's money.¹ An alternative reading, taken from Hume's 'The Value of Money', estimates that between 1660 and 1760 five shillings had the approximate buying power today of between £50 and £75.²

Spelling

The spelling of names and places has been standardized in the main text, but when quoted from original sources the original spelling has been retained. For example, Samuel Hellier's residence – The Woodhouse – is referred to in its modern spelling, The Wodehouse, except in the context of a primary source quote. In quotations from original sources, spelling has not been altered, but modern spelling has been added in square brackets to clarify meaning. Abbreviations of common words such as *the*, *which*, *would* and *that* have been retained from the original sources but rendered in full in square brackets where needed. Abbreviated names have also been given in full using square brackets where relevant.

¹ Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, 'Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present', *Measuring Worth*, 2016.

URL: www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/ [accessed 3 July 2017].

² Robert D. Hume, 'The Value of Money in Eighteenth Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power - and Some Problems in Cultural Economics' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 77, no.4 (Autumn, 2014), pp. 373–415.

Material Cited

A full list of works cited in this study is presented in the bibliography, which divides primary source material into three sections – newspapers, manuscripts, and printed sources – with abbreviations. Primary source material in the footnotes and bibliography is given with its original spelling, capitalization and punctuation. Secondary source titles have been standardized according to the MRHA style guide.³ Newspaper titles are abbreviated after initial use (for example, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* becomes *ABG*). The names of archives and libraries referenced are similarly abbreviated after initial use.

Common Abbreviations

n.d. no date (of publication)
n.p. no place (of publication)
n.pub. no publisher

Newspapers

ABG *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*
BWJ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*
DM *Derby Mercury*
GJ *Gloucester Journal*
JOJ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*

Libraries / Record Offices

DRO Derbyshire Record Office
SRO Staffordshire Record Office
WCRO Warwickshire Country Record Office

³ *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors and Editors* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013).

VOLUME 1

INTRODUCTION

Aims and Objectives

The aims of this study are to evaluate the links between professional musicians and amateur music-making in the English Midlands during the late eighteenth century, and to understand more fully the role music played in the nobility and gentry classes in the English Midlands. It thus seeks to enhance the picture of musical life found in many music history texts that have drawn upon on surviving printed music, biographical information and on accounts of substantial musical and cultural events and institutions such as music festivals and choral societies. By using this existing literature with primary sources presented here for the first time, a better understanding of music-making, the relationship between music practitioners, both amateur and professional, the social function of music and its role in the progressive values of the time can be achieved.

That music-making took place in the houses of the gentry and nobility is no longer a debate, but the question remains as to whether we can get any closer to understanding what forms these took, revealing a subtler picture. Specific questions to consider include the following: Which family members took part, and which instruments did they play? Were there specific reasons for their choice of instrument and to what extent did social rules dictate this choice? How competent were amateur performers, and can their musical proficiency be discerned from the music they purchased or from first-hand accounts. Did musical activities take place solely in families' country houses, and if not, in what capacity and context, and did family members travel far to make music with friends?

Particular areas that I seek to concern the interactions between and within contrasting groups of people. Specific questions explore connections at a broad level as well as at a more detailed one. How did professional musicians interact with their patrons and to what extent did patronage manifest itself? How far did professionals travel to provide

services to their noble and gentry clients? How frequently did they visit, and was geographical location more or less important than any connections within London musical circles? Central to these enquiries are the issues of class and gender in the eighteenth century. What were the gender barriers in music making? Was there a gender bias of repertoire or to women's participation in private and public performances? Finally, this study provides an opportunity to investigate in depth a selection of noblemen or gentlemen in depth to discover how typical their engagement with music was. How far can we go to state what was normal and what was out of the ordinary, and how representative were these people?

The key primary sources I present show the diversity of musical activity within and related to the country houses of the nobility and landed gentry. These sources are not limited to activity in houses of the Midlands; under scrutiny here are also the activities of these families whilst at their London residences, for their pursuit of music did not stop when they left their provincial houses. The focus on this section of society is primarily due to the availability of source material: archives of the families and private papers of individual family members of the nobility and gentry survive in much larger quantities than those of lower classes, and are much more readily available in national, county, institution and private archives. Surviving source materials are not complete enough for me to have discussed every aspect of all the families included in the study: for instance, where information may be known about the music tuition of a family, it might be the case that there was little evidence to show what music they collected or how else music featured in their homes. Therefore, some families will feature more than others in the chapters that follow.

A study such as this draws heavily on existing scholarship dealing generally with music-making in the eighteenth century. However, the numerous biographies of composers and performers, which frequently reveal the additional professional activities undertaken alongside composition, do not necessarily reveal the networks the musicians maintained in these secondary positions, and often leave unanswered questions: who were the composers' patrons? Which composer-musicians regularly taught? Which of these musicians were performers, what proportion of their professional life was devoted to performance or teaching, and where did they perform and with whom?

It is worthwhile at this stage acknowledging existing literature which forms an obvious starting point for a study in this area, simultaneously highlighting aspects which remain to be explored. Cyril Ehrlich's study of the music profession looks at the rise of professional musicians throughout the ages.⁴ He discusses numerous aspects of the music profession and the changing circumstances and roles of its members. Due to the scope of his study – covering the whole profession from earliest time until the mid-twentieth-century – Ehrlich does not investigate any one particular category of musician in much depth, and focuses on the activities of musicians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for which there are many more sources to draw upon than for previous centuries. However, he does deal with the issue of training and apprenticeship, and the various systems that were in place during the eighteenth century through which musicians gained employment, revealing examples of the humble beginnings to the careers of some well-known composers and performers. Ehrlich also describes in some detail the issue of professional musicians performing alongside 'gentlemen amateurs', an central issue which I investigate further in chapter 1. However, there are few discussions of the activities of professionals in the provinces in his study: the examples and case studies are largely London-centric and ignore provincial musical life on the whole.

Richard Leppert's 'Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England' focuses on the time period in question and the relationship between teacher and client, and I draw upon and evaluate this material in chapter 2.⁵ His conclusions regarding the relative incomes of the teachers he examines does not, however, take into account the numerous other activities that many musicians undertook as part of their trade, which is central to an understanding of the activities of these musicians and music-making in its broadest sense. Also of relevance to the discussion of professional musicians of the eighteenth century is Deborah Rohr's *The*

⁴ Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain Since the Eighteenth Century, A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

⁵ Richard Leppert, 'Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England', *Music in the Classic Period: Essays in Honor of Barry S. Brook*. Atlas, A. (ed.) (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985) pp. 133–58.

Careers of British musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans,⁶ in which she draws upon a large amount of data concerning professional musicians: their family and education; travels, both home and abroad; employment opportunities, and patronage. She expands upon Ehrlich’s studies of typical musicians by examining in more detail the many different types of professional musician: church organists and choristers, theatre performers, military musicians, teachers, etc. Like Ehrlich, Rohr concentrates on London (for which there is a great deal more source material available) but, as the title suggests, does not examine the links between professional and amateur musicians. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh’s important addition to the literature on eighteenth-century British music-making contains a number of articles of relevance to the present study.⁷ Peter Borsay’s contribution to this book – ‘Concert Topography and Provincial Towns’ – deals with the location of musical performances: the buildings used for various types of performance and the fashion for private concerts held in music rooms of the gentry; the role of churches and musical meetings; and the distinction between sacred and secular musics and the special place oratorio held during the late eighteenth century.⁸ Among other recent studies of interest are Wollenberg’s “‘So much rational and elegant amusement, at an expense comparatively inconsiderable’: The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century”,⁹ which looks at the somewhat unique case of music-making in Oxford; and Rosamond McGuinness’s ‘Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth century Concerts’, an unusual look at the mechanism behind commercial music-making.¹⁰

⁶ Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850: A Profession of Artisans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁷ Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (eds), *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (London: Ashgate, 2004).

⁸ Peter Borsay ‘Concerto Topography and Provincial Towns’, (eds) in Wollenberg, Susan and Simon McVeigh, 2004, pp. 19–33.

⁹ Susan Wollenberg, “‘So much rational and elegant amusement, at an expense comparatively inconsiderable’: The Holywell Concerts in the Eighteenth Century’ in Wollenberg, Susan and Simon McVeigh, 2004, pp. 243–59.

¹⁰ Rosamond McGuinness, ‘Gigs, Roadies and Promoters: Marketing Eighteenth century Concerts’, in Wollenberg, Susan and Simon McVeigh, 2004, pp. 261–71.

Music in country houses has been the subject of a number of studies over the past decade. Leena Asha Rana's dissertation investigates the motives of landed families for their consumption and attitude to music within the contexts of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹¹ Focusing on the families of two women - Elizabeth Sykes Egerton (1777-1853) and Lydia Hoare Acland (1786-1856) - Rana goes into considerable detail examining the vocal repertory of their respective music collections to show how they contributed towards class identity. Her findings on men's music-making as a source of masculine identity are relevant to this study and will be drawn upon in further chapters.

General historical studies of family and gender have played an important role in informing specific theories that are discussed in this thesis. Women's history studies, and the more recently developed gender history studies, have increasingly challenged the received perception that women of the higher echelons of society were constrained by their status. I draw upon a number of key secondary sources to evaluate these larger themes, and to critique some of the contemporary ideas that I cite. Particularly important is Amanda Vickery's 'Women of the Local Elite in Lancashire, 1750–c.1825' and *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* which help to contextualise the primary sources I refer to concerning the education and role of women in the eighteenth century.¹² Margaret Hunt's *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680-1780*, paints a vivid picture of the section of society which may also be described as 'aspiring', whose members certainly displayed tendencies and desires for the cultural engagement that the nobility and gentry enjoyed through financial freedom. She gives a number of examples which address the role of women in the cultural life of British gentry. These give a further perspective

¹¹ Leena Asha Rana, *Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House*, c.1790-1840 (unpublished doctoral dissertation: University of Southampton, 2012)

¹² Amanda Vickery, 'Women of the Local Elite in Lancashire, 1750–c.1825' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1991); *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2003)

on women's participation in music making by concentrating on socio-financial issues that characterized the period.¹³

A number of significant studies of provincial music-making are relevant to the present study. Pippa Drummond's *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784–1914* is a historical survey that looks at the wider picture of festivals within the musical landscape during the long nineteenth century.¹⁴ It is not primarily concerned with the social context, nor does it discuss the participants of the performances, save for the 'big' names of eighteenth-century British music. More relevant to my study is *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, edited by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman.¹⁵ This collection gives the opportunity of focusing on individual scenarios rather than providing a bigger picture. The most relevant chapters in this study are Cowgill's 'Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax',¹⁶ which is an expansion of her 2000 article in *Early Music*.¹⁷ Here, the author recounts an interesting period in the musical history of Halifax, when disputes arose because of the desire by some factions to modernise in order to keep up with changing musical trends. Both articles discuss the shifting role of music and culture generally within the backdrop of a growing industrial town whose rising middle-classes challenged ideas of sociability, etiquette and taste. Another relevant chapter in *Music in the British Provinces* is Roz Southey's 'The Role of Gentlemen Amateurs in Subscription Concerts in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century'.¹⁸ Southey deals directly with the relationship between

¹³ Margaret Hunt, *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender and the Family in England, 1680–1780* (London: University of California Press, 1996)

¹⁴ Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784–1914* (Oxford: Routledge, 2011).

¹⁵ Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, (eds). *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 87–113.

¹⁷ Rachel Cowgill, "'The most musical spot for its size in the kingdom': Music in Georgian Halifax." *Early Music*, vol. 28, No. 4, (Nov., 2000), pp. 557–75.

¹⁸ Roz Southey, 'The Role of Gentlemen Amateurs in Subscription Concerts in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century', in Cowgill and Holman (eds), pp. 115–28.

professional and amateur musicians within the context of Durham and Newcastle and thus provides a relevant parallel with this study.

These studies provide a useful benchmark with which to compare and contrast the new research presented in this study. The majority of material used to investigate music-making in the Midlands here is derived from previously unexplored musical and archival sources. These primary sources, chiefly gathered from private archives and county record offices, relate to four families and their country estates in the Midlands. Presentation of this material has been divided between chapters 2–4, in order to integrate existing research and new material to give a stronger argument for each of those areas. The majority of this new material relates to the Bridgeman family, the Earl of Coventry at Croome Court, the Vernon family at Hanbury Hall, and the Harpur-Crewes of Calke Abbey. Alongside my focus on these families' activities, I have also drawn on existing research on other individuals and their country houses (for example, Sir Samuel Hellier and the Earls of Exeter), not only to add context, but also to enhance those existing studies further. Two further significant types of source material I have used are local newspapers and lists of subscribers to eighteenth-century musical publications. At the time of writing, the British Newspaper Archive project is not complete, and many eighteenth-century publications are not easily accessible. From the beginning of the research process I undertook manual searching of newspapers on microfilm, recording advertisements and articles relating to music from *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, for the years 1750 to 1800. For these two weekly newspapers, there were 2600 issues each during this period, totalling over 100,000 pages of text. Lists of subscribers are a valuable source that have helped me give much more detail about the musical tastes of the nobility and gentry and the networks between composers and other musicians of the time. My own database of subscribers comprises 175 musical works published between 1745 and 1820 (a total of 29,000 individuals) and a further 25 lists of subscribers to music-related publications (such as treatises or biographies), concerts and opera series, and of persons listed in specialist trade directories.¹⁹

¹⁹ The raw data of these lists of subscribers is not included in the present study but it is my intention to publish a completed database in the future (see Bibliography, Musical Works Cited, below for a more detailed description of this resource).

The first chapter of the present study deals with the different performing contexts for professional and amateur musicians in the Midlands. A comparison of the opportunities for professional performance in London with those of the provinces reveals instances of performers' networks across the region and links with London musicians. A case study serves to illustrate the diverse activities of provincial professional musicians, and their links with amateur performers. The chapter continues by examining examples of amateur music performance from private contexts within the Midland country house to public performances. Chapter 2 investigates the role of music in eighteenth-century education and the influence of social structures on the employment of musician-tutors. After concentrating on music tuition of the gentry and nobility several case studies will illustrate the variety of situations in which music teachers were employed. These examples range from local musicians teaching members of highly noble families, through London-based musicians employed as teachers and musicians in the country residences, to teachers of the daughters of up-and-coming merchants in Birmingham.

In chapter 3, I examine the musical tastes of several Midlands families by exploring surviving catalogues of printed collections in houses, manuscript note-books belonging to identified family members, and evidence for attendance at musical performances. I place such surviving material in the context of the family in question and relate it to the wider trends of taste and style seen in the capital. The fourth chapter focuses further on the private music-making activities of the nobility and gentry, examining surviving evidence from recent research, eighteenth-century literature and new sources. Case studies will again show many different forms of private music-making, and the oft-blurring of lines between the amateur and professional, private and public. Chapter 5 draws together some key threads and presents some conclusions arising from the study about the nature and scope of music's roles within the country house and their inhabitants. It then suggests opportunities for further research arising from conclusions made, and other areas that could benefit from reference to and exploration of the primary source material I have gathered.

Appendices

Volume 2 contains the accompanying appendices to this thesis. Some of these nine appendices present the first modern transcriptions of primary sources that are referred to in specific places in volume 1 (that is, appendices 2-5), whilst others form more general resources that have served as a background research tool. During the course of my research I found it beneficial to create a checklist of musicians who were active in the Midlands, and this forms the basis of appendix 1. The two main sources of information I drew upon were the lists of subscribers to musical publications that are to be found in numerous musical publications within the 1750-1810 timeframe, and references to musical events found in regional newspapers. From the former, the resulting dataset of subscribers amounted to 50,000 individual names, from which I was able to extract names of relevant Midlands musicians (amateur and professional) and observe patterns and connections not immediately discernable from consulting individual lists.

A significant new find that has underpinned much of chapter 3 has been the catalogues of music belonging to the Bridgeman family that date from the early seventeenth century to 1836. The discovery of these catalogues during the earliest part of my research and the subsequent exploration of the hitherto uncatalogued music collection at Weston Park has led to a great deal of insight into music-making by the Bridgeman family. They represent a substantial addition to the subject of music collecting, and I have therefore offered transcriptions of all original catalogues in appendix 6 as well as presenting my own catalogue of the surviving music (appendix 7). The final two appendices in Volume 2 (8 and 9) present a transcription of a music catalogue found at Calke Abbey along with my own catalogue of the surviving music.

Terms of Reference

In this thesis I use the terms ‘nobility’ and ‘gentry’ to refer to a socio-economic class. Terminology such as ‘aristocratic’ or even ‘class’ itself can be confusing and counterproductive, particularly when referring to a society where being seen to be climbing the ladder was as important as actually doing so. The term ‘class’ was not widely used before the nineteenth century when it started to replace ‘rank’ and

‘strata’.²⁰ In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries ‘nobility’ and ‘gentry’ referred to landowners, whether they were members of the peerage or untitled gentlemen whose income came solely from land ownership.²¹ However, the term ‘gentry’ has economic connotations that are pertinent to this discussion of music - an art form which was so often engaged with for social (and ultimately economic) improvement. The Scottish economist and philosopher Adam Smith defined societal classes in economic terms, dividing the populace into three groups: ‘(a) those who live by rent, (b) those who live by wages, and (c) those who live by profit’.²² In his *Wealth of Nations* (1776), he described the class consciousness and class interests of these three social groups as the ‘great, original, and constituent orders of every civilised society, from whose revenue that of every other order is ultimately derived’.²³ As I discuss in the following chapters, music-making in the country houses of England would certainly have involved Smith’s third group – the landed nobility and gentry – but also those of lower social status whose wages allowed some degree of economic freedom; the so-called ‘middling-sort’.²⁴ An alternative phrase might be ‘propertied society’, a term put forward by Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall to include gentry, nobility, professionals and wealthy merchants and the like.²⁵ For it was a person’s economic means that dictated whether they had the finances and time to indulge in music, and it is, therefore, these people I discuss over the course of the thesis.

The want for the perception of wealth led many families to indulge in music and other cultural products where their income was relatively low. Robert Hume’s recent

²⁰ Asa Briggs, ‘The Language of “class” in early nineteenth-century England’, in A. Briggs and J. Saville (eds.), *Essays in Labour History* (London: Plgrave Macmillan UK, 1971).

²¹ David Cannadine, *Class In Britain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998).

²² Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith, vol. II, edited by R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976. p. 265

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks, eds., *The Middling Sort of People: Cultural, Society and Politics in England, 1550-1800*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1994); Hunt, *The Middling Sort*.

²⁵ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Oxford: Routledge, 2002), pp. 18-28.

assessment of the purchasing power of all sections of society in the eighteenth century reveals that ‘no more than about three percent of the families in England and Wales had sufficient income to purchase more than a bare minimum of ‘cultural’ products.’²⁶ From this assessment, we can put into context the musical activities of amateurs, whether they be the Earl of Donegal or a ‘respectable family’; whether they might have subscribed to musical publications, or attended regional concerts or musical meetings; and whether they perhaps participated in these performances.

Harder to define in this period is the status of musicians, be they were ‘amateur’ or ‘professional’. The distinction between them slowly evolved through the eighteenth century: the rise of amateur music-making, which went hand-in-hand with the lower costs of printing in the second half of the seventeenth century, saw the establishment of musical societies which often existed only by organisation and/or strengthening of the ranks by professionals.²⁷ Therefore, a blurring of boundaries between amateurs and professionals is characteristic of this early period. Just as today’s definition of an amateur musician as being unpaid does not assume that they don’t make music alongside professionals (think of the countless amateur orchestras and choral societies who pay their musical director), so too in the eighteenth century the two groups often inhabited the same spheres. When taken as a whole, the competency of amateurs was such that there was often no clear line to draw between them and professionals. The exception was the existence of a subset of the amateur musician, which Stephanie Carter describes as being ‘less musically-educated and who did not have the social connections to be a part of the musically-elite networks’.²⁸ This cohort might be found indulging in music in town taverns or coffee houses whereas the musically-elite amateurs were those I have already identified as falling into the ‘nobility and gentry’

²⁶ Robert D. Hume, ‘The Value of Money in Eighteenth Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power - and Some Problems in Cultural Economics’ *Huntington Library Quarterly*, vol. 77, no.4 (Autumn, 2014) pp. 373–415.

²⁷ Simon McVeigh, ‘London (i) V, 2: Musical Life: 1660-1800: Concert Life’, in Oxford Music Online, Oxford University Press, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.16904>> [accessed 27 August 2002].

²⁸ Stephanie Carter, *Music Publishing and Compositional Activity in England, 1650-1700* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Manchester, 2010), p. 33.

classes. This distinction mirrors that of the realms of music making as being either public or private: the nobility and gentry I discuss below – the musically-elite amateurs – would not have made music in taverns or other public spaces. However, instances of private music-making for this section of society may have the appearance of being public affairs, involving performances to an audience. It is important, therefore, to recognise that private music-making could well have involved family, friends and acquaintances observing, and such public music making was confined to certain circumstances as music meetings and other occasions where charitable concerns were at least as important concern as the spectacle of the performer.

CHAPTER 1: Professional and Amateur Music-Making

1.1. Professional Music-Making Contexts

Our traditional view of music-making in the eighteenth century is influenced by the focus of previous generations of music historians on composers and their music. More is known about the activities of professional musicians in the eighteenth century than of amateurs who made music behind closed doors. While recent biographies of composers and performers have enabled us to glimpse through these doors, the activities that took place in the family music rooms of the nobility, and to a lesser extent, the gentry, were inextricably linked to and reliant on trained musicians who earned their keep teaching, performing and organizing, publishing and selling music.²⁹ The present chapter focuses on these professional activities in the Midlands and investigates how interdependent they were with the amateur music scene. As will become clear, the boundaries between professional musicians and amateurs were controlled by social status yet were often blurred due to the contexts of music-making, whether it be teaching, performing to or with amateurs, or other musical services.

1.1.1. Social Status of Professional Musicians

Musicians in the eighteenth century were regarded as more than mere servant class, and this is largely because of the itinerant and free-lance nature of the profession, in contrast with the numerous institutional bodies of musicians seen on the continent. In England, there were few examples of the continental-style ‘court orchestra’. Rather, music-making requiring larger forces of professional musicians was reserved for the public realms of theatre, opera house and pleasure garden long before the rise of the public concert in Europe. As McLamore has pointed out, the role of professional musicians during the eighteenth century was changing, ‘from that of a paid servant

²⁹ For example, Roz Southey and Eric Cross, *Charles Avison in Context: National and International Musical Links in Eighteenth-Century North-East England* (Oxford: Routledge, 2017); Cheryll Duncan, *Felice Giardini and Professional Music Culture in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Routledge, 2020).

obligated to an individual patron, to a “free agent”, who could seek profits through performance, teaching, and composition’.³⁰

The status of these musicians, although technically professional, are not considered in much depth in McLamore’s study, only that the freelance nature of most musicians, and the clear respectability of many of the more famous performers and composers, meant that the profession occupied a rare position where its members might be described as ‘elevated commoners’. Charles Burney is a notable example of a professional musician who gained acceptance into the upper echelons of society and came to be considered a ‘Gentleman’. This was not due to his achievements as a composer or keyboard performer, but for his literary output and his becoming a man of letters, gaining both Bachelor and Doctor of Music in 1769.³¹ It was perhaps this achievement that cemented Burney’s place in the country’s cultural establishment:

In England, the ministers, the magistrates, the barristers, the physicians, the clergy, the artists, the merchants, and even the military, all in one word, think it a glory to be thought men of letters, and to forget, when they assemble together, every circumstance that appertains to their rank or their occupations.³²

Indeed, it is despite being an organist and teacher – both occupations that were appointments of servitude – that he became successfully ingratiated with the upper classes, in part due to his academic and literary achievements.

³⁰ Laura McLamore, ‘Symphonic Conventions in London’s Concert Rooms, Circa 1755–1790’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1991).

³¹ Kerry S. Grant “Burney, Charles.” *Grove Music Online*. 2001; <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000004399> [accessed 3 July 2017].

³² Johann Wilhelm Archenholz, *A picture of England Containing a description of the laws, customs and manners of England* (London: 1790).

1.1.2. Sources of Evidence for Professional Musicians

Estimating the numbers of professional musicians active in late eighteenth-century England, as a whole is difficult. Whilst there are a good number of sources from the period that list musicians by trade, geographically or by organization, there was no one professional body that encompassed all musicians who may have considered themselves ‘professional’. The Royal Society of Musicians was established in 1738 as a benevolent ³³charity and accepted members on an annual basis. However, its relatively high subscription rate may well have deterred some from joining. A number of rules also restricted the membership of the Society, including the health of the applicant at the time they were being considered for membership:

... the governors shall have a power of admitting such persons to subscribe to this fund as they shall judge not likely to become soon a charge to it and that no person be admitted a subscriber but such as shall be approved of by the said governors or a majority of them.³⁴

Applicants also needed to be ‘a professor of Music’³⁵ for at least one year before drawing benefits, but how this was defined is not elaborated upon in the Society resolutions.

Accounts of trade associations such as the Worshipful Company of Musicians and other livery companies who registered apprentices are also not to be relied upon to give a complete picture of the numbers of active professional musicians, for membership was neither obligatory nor expected in some circles. The two single biggest employers of musicians – the church and the military – only did so to aid their primary, non-musical concerns and therefore surviving records of musicians employed by both were inconsistently kept and highly scattered.

³³ Subscription was initially set at half-a-crown a quarter (10 shillings), then raised, in 1766, to 20 shillings a year. Pippa Drummond, ‘The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century’, *Music & Letters*, vol. 59, No. 3 (July, 1978), pp. 268–89.

³⁴ Quoted in Drummond, 1978, pp. 268–89.

³⁵ ‘Resolution IV’, quoted in Drummond, 1978, pp. 268–89.

Trade and town directories provide another source of professional musicians. *The Universal Director; or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True guide to the masters and professors of the liberal and polite arts and sciences*, published in 1763 by Thomas Mortimer, is one of the earliest examples containing a discrete list of professional musicians. Covering 'London and its environs' only, the list includes organist-composers (for example, Stanley, Worgan, Nares and Boyce), musicians employed by the military who were solo performers (for example, trumpeter Valentine Snow, oboist Thomas Vincent), and prominent theatre and pleasure garden musicians such as Pinto, Giardini and Cervetto. Mortimer's list contains just a handful of singers, including John Beard and Samuel Champness, along with three members of the Chapel Royal. This is a very small representation when considering the number of performers at the theatres, pleasure gardens, and members of royal and cathedral choirs.

In *A Musical Dictionary for the Year 1794*, J. Doane listed 1,287 composers and 'professors of music' as well as sellers of instruments and music, copyists, and paper-rulers.³⁶ There is a blurred amateur-professional boundary in this directory, as Doane included a number of amateurs alongside those with professional positions. Whilst recognizing the rise in music-making practiced by a 'respectable set of Amateurs' in the form of musical societies, Doane, writing in the preface, apologizes for introducing 'so many Amateurs and Performers of inferior note; for some such there undoubtedly must be in so large a collection of names.' Taking 'every care to avoid offence to the Profession' he eschews 'anything which might be construed into a judgment of the abilities on the several persons he has inserted'. Care is taken to include many of the performers associated with the Handel Commemoration Festivals from 1784, (numbering 533), and many provincial musicians such as Charles Hague and William Jackson, both prominent organist-composers in Cambridge and Exeter respectively. Interestingly, in the preface Doane also claimed to be withholding several hundred additional names until their addresses are received, which led Ehrlich to estimate that the number of professional musicians employed in the late eighteenth-century London was 1,500.³⁷

³⁶ J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* (London: R. H. Westley, 1794).

³⁷ Ehrlich, *The Music Profession*, p 3.

It is notable that few women are listed as being professional performers in these directories. Mortimer lists just one: ‘DAVIES, Miss, performs on the [Glass] Armonica, German Flute, &c. *King’s-square-court, Soho*’. 31 years later Doane’s directory lists considerably more (94, both amateur and professional), and the proportion of women to men had risen. We see many more singers listed as members of theatre companies, performers who took part in oratorio performances, concert series and performances at pleasure gardens:

Table 1.1. Female performers listed in Doane’s *A musical dictionary for the year 1794*.

Instrument/Voice	Musicians listed
Singers	81
Keyboardists (harpsichord or piano)	6
Organ teacher	1
Both harpsichord and organ	3
Harp	1
Violin	2

By far the biggest omission from these directories is female amateur musicians. Whereas gentlemen amateur musicians are very numerous in Doane’s directory, there are no women who fall into this category.³⁸

Paid musical ‘servants’ certainly still existed in the eighteenth century; there are numerous examples of a Gentleman’s man-servants being required to play the French Horn, particularly in the 1750s and ‘60s. *The Public Advertiser* carried an advertisement in 1755 from a Gentleman who wanted ‘two young Fellows that play the French Horn, first and second, he will give them twenty Pounds a Year, if they are fit for their Business, and they must wear Livery, and be bound for the Term of three Years’.³⁹ This advertisement for servant musicians clearly defines the role they were to play, and there is no hint that these French horn players were to make music with their gentleman employer. Yet occasionally, such advertisements appear to suggest a

³⁸ This will be expanded upon in chapter 2.

³⁹ *Public Advertiser*, Monday, 18 August 1755.

blurring of the lines between pure musical servants and what might be described as house musicians. Two advertisements for musicians appeared in the *General Advertiser* at the beginning of January 1751:

WANTED,

A Musician, that has been used to play at Assemblies by Book, and that can play upon the Violin, Organ, French-Horn, or Bassoon, by Book; to have a good Character. Such a Person, by applying to Mr. Andrew Millar, Bookseller, opposite Catherine Street in the Strand, will hear of a valuable Place.

WANTED

A Valet de Chambre, that can shave and dress and cut Hair very well ; speak French, Italian, high and low Dutch, and English ; to have a good Character from some Lady or Gent'eman in London, or that is known in London. If he can play upon the French-Horn, or any Musick by Book, he will be more agreeable.⁴⁰

Key in this second advertisement is the applicants' ability to play 'by book'; i.e. to be able to read music rather than by ear, which presumably was not as common with brass players given the ceremonial functions for which they were required. A post-horn player or military bugler learnt their repertoire off by heart, and clearly this skill was not needed by the potential employers of these two musicians, who, no doubt, were to be expected to take part in private concerts or balls. The desire for someone to play 'French-Horn, or any Musick' might suggest that the family employing the musician was more desirous of having any instrumentalist who could make music with them, than the specific skills of a French horn player.

When considering musicians in service such as the French horn-playing footmen 'Valet de Chambre', the picture of music-making in the houses of the nobility and gentry becomes much more interesting. This type of professional musician might not

⁴⁰ *General Advertiser*, Wednesday, 1 January 1752.

ordinarily feature in diaries or letters of the nobility and gentry; bills and receipts relating to the payment of musical servants are not likely to indicate these duties. They are not likely to have owned music that then found its way into the country house library, and the ownership of any instruments they played is not likely to be identified. Only in the case of Sir Samuel Hellier do we see just how involved his servants and estate workers were in music-making, and this example (examined in depth in section 4.5), may not have been as uncommon as it at first seems.

1.1.3. Professional Musicians in the Provinces

For establishing the numbers of musicians living and working outside London in this period, the directories of Mortimer and Doane fall short. Some regional town and trade directories help us identify such people, but due to the wide variety of professional circles, these are far from comprehensive in providing a list of all known local musicians. Many professional musicians active in the Midlands were employed by the church, the largest single employer of musicians until the advent of militias and voluntary corps from the 1780s. In London, professional performers could sustain a living from music as instrumentalists employed at the theatres and playing at balls and other social functions, or as solo vocal performers on the stage and pleasure gardens. The nature of many performing jobs (for example, in theatres, which operated on a seasonal basis) meant many individual musicians were freelancers working across many fields, and there are examples of groups of musicians who acted in this way. For example, in the seventeenth century the twenty-four violins of the English Court, hired themselves out to theatres in the 1670s and 1680s.⁴¹ This scenario was still the case a hundred years later when musicians from the bands of royal households performed at London Pleasure Gardens.⁴²

⁴¹ Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). pp. 143–44, 251–52, 292–353.

⁴² *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Friday, 14 July 1775. An apology appeared in the advert for the ‘REGATT-ITES’ to be performed at the Grand Saloon, Exeter Exchange: ‘The Managers lament the defect in their instrumental band, which should have accompanied the ODE; but their principal leaders were unfortunately engaged without their concurrence that evening, in his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland’s band at Vauxhall ; and deputies,

In the provinces, however, there was far less work to sustain local professionals. Such opportunities were often taken up by prominent church musicians in the region, by musician members of theatre companies, or by London-based touring musicians. The Three Choirs Festival illustrates this situation well; during the late eighteenth century the majority of instrumentalists and singers advertised as singing solo parts and filling the principal seats of the orchestra were London-based professionals, with a few other of these performers were local church musicians.⁴³ Consequently, it was necessary for many such provincial musicians who had fixed appointments as singers or organists in the region's churches and cathedrals, to have portfolio careers that included teaching as well as performing. Their activities across all professional spheres are key to an investigation of music-making among the landed families of the region.

The cathedrals at Worcester, Lichfield and Hereford, and the churches of Tamworth, Coventry, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Stratford and Warwick all possessed organs in the late eighteenth century and were substantial enough establishments to require the post of organist. Some of these institutions had choirs, either a cathedral choral foundation that employed lay-clerks or vicars choral (for example, Lichfield), or which relied on boy choristers from associated churches. An example of the latter is St Philip's (now Cathedral), Birmingham, which received choristers from the Blue Coat School, which in the eighteenth century was located adjacent to the church.⁴⁴ St Philip's was built to accommodate the growing congregation in the parish of St Martin in 1715. An organ was installed later that year, and an organist – Barnabas Gunn – was appointed to serve both churches. There is known to have been an organ

therefore, who had never seen a note of the ODE, were obliged to be procured at a moment's notice'.

⁴³ An example of this situation is given in table 1.4, below.

⁴⁴ Margaret Handford, 'Birmingham', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press,

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03130>> [accessed 3 July 2017].

at St Martin's before this and at various times during the eighteenth century the two churches shared an organist.⁴⁵

In Coventry, Holy Trinity church had an organ as early as 1732.⁴⁶ John Barker (c. 1708–81) was organist, until the position was taken over by Capel Bond in 1752. Bond had been appointed as organist to St Michael's and All Angels, Coventry in 1749, and he continued serving both these posts until his death in 1790. William Woodrousse took over from Bond in 1790, having been described as 'deputy' and 'assistant' organist in Coventry from 1782.⁴⁷ The organists of Birmingham, Coventry, Wolverhampton and Worcester are known to have taught the daughters of the gentry and nobility, and their work in this capacity will be examined later in this thesis.

1.2. Opportunities for Professional Musicians in the Midlands

There were numerous opportunities for professional musicians to earn a living through performance in the Midlands region. Performance contexts included what we might now describe as background or ornamental music, providing music for social balls, public breakfasts and ordinaries, as well as for concerts, music meetings and at pleasure gardens, where the main attraction was the performance itself. Concert life in the Midlands differed from that of London by the scarcity of large theatres in which regular opera and oratorio performances could take place. Such performances could not take place in smaller assembly rooms or town halls. Subscription concerts, and performances at formal gardens, however, took place in the Midlands just as they did in London. Much of the source material used to provide evidence for the contexts for professional musicians' activities in the Midlands comes from provincial newspapers *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Berrow's Worcester Journal* and others.

⁴⁵ Terry Slater, *The Pride of the Place: The Cathedral Church of St Philip, Birmingham, 1715–2015* (Birmingham: published privately, 2015).

⁴⁶ Warwickshire Country Record Office (WCRO), DR0429/406.

⁴⁷ William Woodrousse is described as 'Deputy Organist, Coventry' in the list of subscribers to John Valentine's *Eight Easy Symphonies*, 1782, and 'Assistant-Organist, Coventry' in Valentine's *Thirty Psalm Tunes*, 1784.

1.2.1. Theatres and Pleasure Gardens

Birmingham's Duddeston Gardens (often called Vauxhall Gardens from the mid-1760s) were fashionable pleasure gardens north east of the town. Concerts were presented at the gardens every second Thursday from June to August. There are no surviving detailed descriptions of Duddeston Gardens, so it is speculative what the musical setup was. However, as these gardens sought to emulate the famous Gardens of Vauxhall in London, a useful comparison may be found in a description of them:

Advancing a few steps within the garden, we behold to the right a quadrangle, which, from the number of trees planted in it, is called the Grove. In the centre of it is a magnificent orchestra of Gothic construction, curiously ornamented with carving, niches, &c. [...] In fine weather the musical entertainments are performed here by a select band of the best vocal and instrumental performers. At the upper extremity of this orchestra, is a fine organ; and, at the foot of it, are the seats and desks for the musicians, placed in a semicircular form, leaving a vacancy at the front for the vocal performers. The concert is opened with instrumental music at six o'clock, after which the company are entertained with a song; and in this manner several other songs are performed, with sonatas or concertos between each, will the close of the entertainment, which is always at ten.⁴⁸

The musical entertainments were organized by professional musicians, usually one of the organists in Birmingham's St Philip's or St Martin's churches. During the 1761 season, John Eversman was organist of both these churches and organized the Duddeston Gardens music. Adverts were placed in each edition of Birmingham's weekly newspaper, *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, informing the public of particular performers. A strong link existed between the Gardens and the New Theatre in King Street which involved prominent members of the resident theatre company appearing as soloist in the pleasure garden concerts.⁴⁹ James Kear's 'Company of Comedians

⁴⁸ Various, *Ambulator: or, A pocket companion in a tour round London, within the circuit of twenty five miles* (London: [n. pub.], 1774) pp. 180-81. In later editions the timings of the concerts are stated to be from eight until eleven.

⁴⁹ Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans *A Biographical Dictionary of*

from the Theatre Royal in London' put on productions in Birmingham throughout the 1760s, including Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, *Othello* and *Macbeth*, *Catharine and Petrucchio* (David Garrick's reworking of *The Taming of the Shrew*), George Barnwell's *The London Merchant*, and Garrick's *Miss in Her Teens*.⁵⁰ During the 1761 season, Kear appeared at the Duddeston Gardens concerts alongside his company colleague Polly Young, as the *Gazette* advertisements throughout the season indicate:⁵¹

The Musical Entertainment at Duddeston Gardens, will be on Thursday July 9, 23, Thursday Aug 6, 20. With Singing by Miss Young and Mr. Kear. Particularly a Duet by Miss Young and Mr. Kear.⁵²

The theatre productions took place at the New Theatre, on King Street in Birmingham on Monday, Wednesday and Friday each week from the week after Whitsun until late August. The timing of these performances allowed audiences and performers to attend the Thursday pleasure garden performances. Kear and Young rarely appeared in the plays themselves during this season, but featured prominently in the concert segments and afterpieces that broke up the acts of the drama.⁵³ The entertainment at the New Theatre on 7 August 1761 was *Richard III* (almost certainly Colley Cibber's 1699 adaptation, rather than Shakespeare's original), to which was added Lampe's *The Dragon of Wantley* with James Kear playing the lead male role (Moor of Moor-Hall), and Mary (Polly) Young playing the heroine Margery.⁵⁴ Many of the advertisements for the Birmingham theatre productions indicate when Young,

Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800, 16 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-93). Volume 10, p. 277.

⁵⁰ *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* (from hereafter, *ABG*), Fridays, 6 July, 13th July, etc. 1761.

⁵¹ Polly Young married François-Hippolyte Barthélemon in 1766.

⁵² *ABG*, Friday, 6 July 1761.

⁵³ Licensing Act of 1737 contributed to situation in so-called illegitimate theatres (all those other than legitimate, or Patent theatres in London and a few major provincial cities) whereby spoken drama was limited to extracts and short scenes between melodrama, ballad opera and burlesque.

⁵⁴ This role was originally sung by the character Isa.

Kear and other singers perform songs within the productions (for example, typically ‘In Act 1. Singing by Miss Young’).⁵⁵ So too do they indicate when specific dances are performed, either featuring the dance itself or highlighting performers (for example, ‘In Act 3. Dancing by Mr. Sealey and Mrs. Vivier’).⁵⁶ What is unclear is the extent to which musicians accompanied theatre productions, songs, and dances.

Only occasionally do the advertisements name someone as an instrumentalist, such as that for the production of *The Conscious Lovers* at the Birmingham theatre on Monday, 23 June 1760, which stated ‘In Act 2. A SOLO on the Violin by. Mr. DORMAN’. This was the only time during the 1760 season in Birmingham that an instrumentalist was named, and Dorman is not to be found among the lists of performers at other concerts in the region advertised that year in the Birmingham or Worcester newspapers. It is likely, therefore, that rather than a local violinist brought in for this particular performance, he was a regular member of the company, performing at every production in the theatre. That Mr Dorman was a permanent member of the company is corroborated by a performance on 29 August 1764, which was advertised as being ‘For the Benefit of Mr. Dorman’. Most weeks saw at least one performance advertised as being for the benefit of one or other of the company members. He appears not to have played a solo in this performance, and as no Mr. Dorman is listed as an actor with this company during the season in Birmingham, he must have been a regular member of the accompanying band.⁵⁷ Without further evidence it is difficult to ascertain what else performers like Mr. Dorman did, where else they performed, and how else they interacted with the public, if at all, but it is certainly reasonable to assume that, like vocal soloists such as James Kear and Polly Young, instrumentalists would have taken part in the Duddeston Gardens performances.

Occasionally performers from the Birmingham theatre were to be found further afield than nearby Duddeston Gardens. In 1788, Mr Brown put on the ‘Bewdley Concert’ for his own benefit, which featured ‘Principal Vocal Performers Mr. & Mrs. Marshall

⁵⁵ *ABG*, Friday, 4 August 1760.

⁵⁶ Within a performance of *The Beggar’s Opera*, (*ABG*, Friday, 11 August 1760).

⁵⁷ *ABG*, Friday, 27 August 1764.

From the Theatre Birmingham'.⁵⁸

What is clear is that there were networks between organizations that enabled them to utilize extra performers for their own benefit. As we have seen, there was a close relationship between the Duddeston Gardens and James Kear's theatre company in Birmingham during the early 1760s, with performances timed to make sure that audiences between the two organizations were not split. There is evidence that in organizing concerts at the gardens, John Eversman invited certain theatre performers to give the Gardens concert, an arrangement that continued after his death.⁵⁹

Eversman's successor as organist of St Philip's church in 1765 was Jeremiah Clark, and he took over the organization of concerts at the Duddeston Gardens in 1768, if not before. The season's concerts at the Gardens that year featured Clark playing the violin with 'Vocal parts by Mr Baddely' who, like Mrs Dorman, was also part of the company resident at the theatre.⁶⁰

A clearer example of the crossover between theatre and pleasure garden comes in 1780 when the company at the New Street Theatre included musicians Miss Field and Mr Meadows. They took the solo roles in Arne's *Epithalamium* (a composition from 1736 now lost), which formed part of the performance on the evening of 28 August, and both had roles in other musical pieces in the theatre performances.⁶¹ The previous Thursday, the two had appeared as the featured vocal parts in a concert at Duddeston. This concert also included 'First Violin by Mr. Clark, with a Solo Concerto.'⁶² Meadows appeared as the soloist at a subscription concert in Coleshill

⁵⁸ *ABG*, Friday, 14 August 1788.

⁵⁹ For example, Eversman advertised the forthcoming 1760 Duddeston Gardens season (*ABG*, Friday, 24 May 1760). In subsequent advertisements more detail was given, adding 'With Singing by Miss Young and Miss Price' (*ABG*, Friday, 7 July 1760), and amending this detail to 'With Singing by Miss Young and Mr. Hood' (*ABG*, Friday, 4 August 1760). See previous section.

⁶⁰ *ABG*, Friday, 18 June 1768.

⁶¹ *ABG*, Thursday, 28 August 1780.

⁶² *ABG*, Thursday, 21 August 1780.

the month before, where John Alcock played the first violin.⁶³

1.2.2. Balls, Assemblies and other Public Events

Social balls and assemblies were an integral part of the public social calendar in the provinces. They were among the most important events at which young men and women could meet, and, indeed, were often used as an opportunity for women to be introduced into society. Public balls could be held either in isolation, or in conjunction with larger events such as county assizes, assemblies and race meets. Balls could also be held after concerts, in particular musical meetings such as the Three Choirs Festival. The Race meetings at Lichfield and Chester, for example, finished each day with an evening ball in one of the town inns.⁶⁴ A ball was held on the last evening of the Worcester Three Choirs Festivals of 1764, 1767 and 1770 but was replaced thereafter by a 'Grand Miscellaneous Concert'.⁶⁵ The subscription concerts at Sawyer's Assembly Room in Birmingham (hereafter Sawyer's) saw balls held after many of the fortnightly performances.⁶⁶ They were often presented in the same venue as the main event, and in the case of concerts it is reasonable therefore to assume that musicians engaged to perform in the concert would also have participated in the band for the ensuing balls. However, some balls that were associated with larger events were held at different venues: during the three-day fund-raising festival for the Birmingham Hospital from the 7 to 9 of September 1768 that took place in St Philip's church, balls were advertised as being held at Sawyer's after the performances, it not being allowed for dancing to happen in a place of worship.⁶⁷

Balls were held in large rooms, town halls and other spaces in towns across the country; indeed, during the eighteenth century, assembly rooms were constructed with

⁶³ *ABG*, Thursday, 24 July 1780.

⁶⁴ Lichfield Race Week (*ABG*, Friday, 28 August 1758); Chester Race Meeting (*ABG*, Friday, 1st May 1769).

⁶⁵ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (from hereafter *BWJ*), Monday, 3 August 1764; *ABG*, Friday, 17 August 1767, *ABG*; Friday, 6 August 1770.

⁶⁶ 'Mr Pinto's Concert' (*ABG*, Friday, 15 March 1770).

⁶⁷ Balls were held on 7 and 8 September (*ABG*, Friday, 25 July 1769).

a view to accommodating dancing balls. A notable example is that designed by John Wood the Younger in Bath, completed in 1771. Where a town had no such large purpose-built building, other rooms such as in private houses, Inns, and theatres were used. In Lichfield, the Vicar's Hall – a common hall built on the ground floor – was used for meetings of the St Cecilia Society, including their public concerts, and balls. Worcester had several venues for balls. The Guildhall, built in 1721 had two large, long rooms (ground floor and upper floor). Inns such as the Hop-Pole (Foregate Street) and the large coaching inn, The Crown (Broad Street) also had sizable rooms on the first floor that hosted balls and concerts.⁶⁸ In smaller towns in the region music and dancing took place in inns: The Talbot Inn in Stourbridge, The Castle Inn in Walsall, the King's Arms in Tamworth, and the Red Lion in Wolverhampton feature often in newspapers as hosting public events.⁶⁹

William Sawyer had opened his Birmingham rooms in 1740 to be used for assemblies and balls. After a visit to Birmingham by the Duke of York, in 1765, during which he said that 'the room itself was mean, but the entrance still meaner',⁷⁰ new, grander assembly rooms were constructed at the Hotel in the square at Temple Row.⁷¹ Sawyer and latterly his wife hosted assemblies, balls and concerts from at least the late 1750s.⁷² In 1779, the dancing master James Creshull took over the assembly rooms in the square, and evidently used the premises for a dancing academy. The annual ball for his students was a public showcase for the young men and women he taught, and serves to illustrate just how important dance and music were as accomplishments in

⁶⁸ For example, 'Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music for the Benefit of Mr. and Miss Marshall: held in the Long Room at the Crown' (*BWJ*, Monday, 6 December 1770).

⁶⁹ For example, 'Stourbridge Dancing Assembly, Will be on Monday, the fourth of December, 1786' (*BWJ*, Monday, 23 November 1786).

⁷⁰ Muriel Pendleton, 'From Bullbaiting to Theater and Oratorio Attending: The Cultural Development of Birmingham During the Eighteenth Century' (unpublished doctoral thesis, California State University, 2010), pp. 27–28.

⁷¹ 'Sawyer William, Dancing Master [Square]', *Sketchley's Directory*, 1767, quoted from John Money, *Experience and Identity: Birmingham and the West Midlands, 1760-1800* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977).

⁷² For example, on 12 January 1758 (*ABG*, Monday, 9 January 1758).

this era:

Mr. Cresshull's Ball, for the young Ladies and Gentlemen under his Care, will be on Friday Evening the 7th January, 1785, at his Assembly Rooms, in the Square; consisting of the plain Minuet, Minuet de la Cour and Gavotte, Devonshire Minuet and Rondeau, Allemandes and Cotillions. – The Whole to conclude with a Figure Dance; after which will be a Ball for the Company.⁷³

Unlike music, dance was an essential social skill to be learnt by men and women alike, in order to be exhibited in public. Whereas the practice of music in a public sphere was very much a voluntary affair for the gentry, undertaken by enthusiastic gentlemen amateurs only, dance was a necessary interaction which, if not participated in did not go unnoticed. In Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* Sir William Lucas' observation of dance is met by a typically curt reply from Mr Darcy, whose views are uncharacteristic of the sentiments of the time:

I consider it as one of the first refinements of polished society.
Certainly, sir; and it has the advantage also of being in vogue amongst the less polished societies of the world. Every savage can dance.⁷⁴

Bowling Greens were also common venues for public gatherings that featured music. Greens were often found next to Inns, which themselves had by the eighteenth century developed into important centres of communal life, increasingly taking over the sociable functions of the parish that had formerly been fulfilled by the church and church ground.⁷⁵ It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that music was heard at Bowling Greens, either in the form of a concert, or to accompany the variety of social functions held there, such as public breakfasts, tea drinking and other assemblies.⁷⁶

⁷³ *ABG*, Friday, 27 December 1784.

⁷⁴ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Thomas Egerton, 1813), chapter 6, p. 53.

⁷⁵ Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (London: Longman, 1983) pp. 25–34.

⁷⁶ Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 174–75.

Bowling Greens in eighteenth-century Midlands included Digley's Bowling Green in Worcester (the area to the south of the cathedral, now known as Diglis), a bowling green next to the Golden Lion on New Road in Kidderminster, run by Richard Dovey in the 1760s; and bowling greens in Dudley, Bromsgrove, and Upton-on-Severn. Advertisements for such events printed in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and *Berrow's Worcester Journal* often include references to music, such as 'An agreeable Band of Music will be procured on the Occasion'.⁷⁷ More often than not, a ball was presented in the evening of the breakfast:

Bromsgrove. At the Cross Bowling-Green, will be the Annual Public Breakfast, on Monday, in Whitsun-week; and at two o'clock a good ordinary; also, at nine in the evening, will be a Ball in Healey's Assembly Room, which he is ornamenting and completing in every respect. N.B. An excellent band of music is engaged. Admittance as usual.⁷⁸

In this case, the annual Bromsgrove Whit-Monday public breakfast probably employed musicians throughout the day, so as to provide music in the morning, for the lunch (ordinary) and for evening events. There are no cases during the period 1758 to 1800 where the advertisements for balls, assemblies and public breakfasts list performers by name. However, in many cases the balls were held after more formal concerts where performers are named. These events included benefit concerts and music meetings, where it is reasonable to assume that the instrumental performers employed for the concert would also have been required to play for the evening dancing. William Hanbury describes the dinner after a performance of Handel's *Messiah* at the first musical meeting at Church Langton in 1759:

After dinner suitable toasts were drank, mirth and jollity went round, and some of the vocal performers entertained the company with catches, two-part songs, &c. which was looked upon as genteel in them (They came after dinner, purely to oblige the company in that manner.), and was much liked. Adcock also sounded droll tunes upon his trumpet, in the show way, &c. which

⁷⁷ *ABG*, Friday, 16 May 1768.

⁷⁸ *BWJ*, Monday, 12 May 1785.

occasioned much laughter and merriment: and thus in the most agreeable manner the day was carried on.⁷⁹

1.2.3. Benefit Concerts

Concerts took many forms in the late eighteenth century. Where promoted by an individual musician, the term often used for the occasion was ‘benefit concert’. As we saw in section 1.2.1, benefit performances were often part of the regular theatre season, whereby certain members of the company may have some or all of the proceeds of a performances for their benefit. Concerts, however, were primarily one-off events where the musician in question took financial responsibility for the venue and other musicians engaged. There are numerous examples of benefit concerts taking place throughout the Midlands during this period. Musicians undertaking these concerts were primarily professionals and were often organists of the host town or main town of the locality. These include Anthony Greatorrex of Burton (and with his daughter, Martha), who gave concerts in Matlock Bath, Tamworth, and Burton-upon-Trent at least from 1757 until the end of the century;⁸⁰ Jeremiah Clark of Worcester, who I will examine in more detail below; and other more provincial figures such as Richard Onions, William Crump, and James Radcliffe (Worcester), Frances Lewis (Kidderminster and Stourbridge), Joseph Harris (Stourbridge and Birmingham), William Rudge and son, and James Lyndon (Wolverhampton), Capel Bond (Coventry

⁷⁹ William Hanbury, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Charitable Foundations at Church Langton* (Oxford: 1767). p. 85.

⁸⁰ For example, Anthony and Martha Greatorrex ran the Burton upon Trent subscription concerts in 1788, the advertisements for which also highlighted their instrument selling business: ‘Burton Subscription CONCERT. / The Seventh Night will be on Wednesday / Evening the 5th of next Month, and the Eighth and / last CONCERT and BALL (of this Subscription) will be on / MONDAY Evening the 24th. / Non-Subscribers 2s. 6d. / N.B. Ladies and Gentlemen, by applying to Mr. GREATOREX in Burton, or Miss GREATOREX in Leicester, may be accommodated with the best chosen / HARPSICHORDS, GRAND PIANO FORTES, &c. from / the most approved Makers in London.’ (*Derby Mercury*, Thursday, 21 February 1788)

and Birmingham), John Balam (Walsall), Mr Ames (Stratford-upon-Avon), Mr Swedes (Ashby-de-la-Zouch), and Thomas Hobbs (Birmingham).

Generally speaking, musicians throughout the region put on benefit concerts not more than twice a year. The concerts were often advertised in the local press as simply ‘Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music’ without specific musical works being named. Other than the beneficiary, these advertisements usually did not specify performers. As the eighteenth century progresses these advertisements feature more information about the performers and works performed. The term ‘full band’ is sometimes used to distinguish between concerts that presumably had only a handful of performers and those with larger forces, and therefore served as a method of attracting audiences. More often than not, benefit concerts would finish with a ball, and advertisements indicate as such, as has been discussed above (1.2.3.). We have also seen that balls and assemblies were often organized in conjunction other social events, and the same is true of benefit concerts: timing was crucial, and many coincided with other events in the social calendar – Race Week, Assizes, Whitsun – and there are infrequent instances of more than one benefit concert falling on the same or consecutive days from another similar musical event.⁸¹

Concerts were also promoted by organizations, usually musical societies. Lichfield was home to the St Cecilia Society, which had its roots in the singing men of the

⁸¹ A notable example of this occurred in 1777. William Clark had advertised in the Worcester Journal that ‘on Monday the 31st of this Instant July (being in the Assize Week) will be performed A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music.’ (*BWJ*, Monday, 20 July 1775). After the concert was to be a Ball free of charge to those who had purchased concert tickets.

[Race Week 8-10 Aug] 1775 [Race week 1775 was postponed to 16-18 Aug on account of Oxford Races and Hereford Assize being the same week]

Worcester, July 30, 1775. There will be a Public Breakfast on the Thursday and Friday in the Race Week, at Tom’s Bowling Green ... Music will be in Waiting ... N.B. His New Room is now finished, and genteelly fitted up for the Reception of Company.

[Ref: *BWJ* 15 June, 20 Jul, 3, 17 Aug 1775]

Cathedral and had among its active members John Saville, vicar-choral from 1755 to 1803. The society was evidently very active in the performance of instrumental and vocal music, as they subscribed to a number of musical publications, such as Boyce's *Twelve Sonatas for Two Violins With a Bass*, 1747, Philip Hayes' *Six Concertos with Accompaniments*, 1769, both collections of songs by John Pixell (op 1, 1759 and op 2, 1775) and many of the works by Lichfield Cathedral's own organist John Alcock.⁸² The society gave an annual concert in the Vicars'-Hall, on or around St Cecilia's Day, and promoted a subscription concert series. These concerts did not always have a named musician attached to the adverts, although Jeremiah Clark makes an appearance several times in the mid 1760s, and John Alcock during the 1770s. Given that among their membership they had Lichfield vicars choral, John Saville and Samuel Mence, well-known vocal soloists around the region, it might have been a Society policy not to favour one member over another in their advertisements.

The extent of the concert activities of regional musicians during this time can be seen by collating information from newspaper adverts. A representative year (helped by all copies of three important regional newspapers being extant), is 1758, and presented in table 1.2, below. Although this may not be an exhaustive list, with advertisements conceivably not being taken out in the region's newspapers *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, and *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, it is a good indication of the numbers of these sorts of concerts being held during the year and the musicians who promoted them.

Table 1.2. Benefit Concerts in the Midlands, 1758.⁸³

Date	Place	Beneficiary	Position
March 9	Holywell Music Room	Joseph Jackson	Violinist
April 12	Town Hall, Stratford	Mr. Ames	Organist
April 18	Town Hall, Stratford	Mr. Ames	Organist
April 21	Sawyer's, Birmingham §	John Eversman	Organist
May 15	Town Hall, Bewdley	Francis Lewis	Organist

⁸² John Alcock, *Six Concertos in Seven Parts*, 1750; John Alcock, *Harmonia Festa*, 1791.

⁸³ Information taken from *ABG*, *BWJ*, *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 1758.

May 15	Town Hall, Bridgnorth	Charles & Jeremiah Clark	Lay-Clerk
July 4	Sawyer's, Birmingham §	Richard Hobbs	Organist
July 20	Assembly-Room, Derby	Mr. Denby	Organist
August 23	Holywell Music Room	Joseph Jackson	Violinist
August 24	Town Hall, Wolverhampton	James Lyndon	Organist
September 19	The Talbot, Stourbridge	Francis Lewis	Organist
October 5	Vicar's-Hall, Lichfield	John Saville	Vicar- Choral
October 17	St Mary's Hall, Coventry	Capel Bond	Organist

§ Mr. Sawyer's Assembly Rooms, Birmingham

Of the thirteen concerts in the region, eight were promoted by organists who had posts at the principal church of the town in question, two by a violinist (prominent Oxford performer, Joseph Jackson), and two by lay clerks. When looking at benefit concerts over a number of years, one can detect a variety in practice from musicians: some put on concerts annually at the same time of year; for others, concerts were much more sporadic. Before gaining the position of organist at St Philip's church, Birmingham, Worcester-born organist Jeremiah Clark appeared with his father in benefit concerts during the week or two after Whit Sunday, 1758 and 1759, before moving his performances to the week of the Worcester Assizes in March of 1760 and 1762.⁸⁴

The bigger picture, however, shows a much more even distribution of concerts, both the numbers promoted by various organizations or individuals, and type of event put on. Musicians and musical organizations were clearly accommodating each other's activities, whilst fitting into the calendar of significant events in the civic and church year. Concerts and performances followed an annual pattern, fitting in with church holidays (Eastertide seeing a complete absence of these entertainments). In Worcester and Lichfield these events also included assize weeks, race meetings, and theatre performances. Table 1.3. gives a summary of the concerts that took place in

⁸⁴ *BWJ*, Monday, 1st May 1758; Monday, 7 May 1759; Monday, 6 March 1760; Monday, 4 March 1762.

Birmingham for the years 1758 and 1770, showing an established pattern on a broad scale.

Table 1.3. Summary of Musical Performances in Birmingham, 1758 and 1770.

<u>Birmingham, 1758</u>	
Musical Entertainments at Duddeston Gardens	Fortnightly concerts held on Fridays June-August (6 concerts in 1758). ⁸⁵
Sawyer's Subscription Concerts	Fortnightly concerts, late October-March (9 concerts 1758–59). Balls were held after every second concert.
Benefit Concerts	At various venues, promoted by numerous musicians, held July-October.
<u>Birmingham, 1770</u>	
Musical Entertainments at Duddeston Gardens	Fortnightly Friday concerts, June-August (8 concerts in 1770). ⁸⁶
Sawyer's Subscription Concerts	Fortnightly concerts, (9 concerts, October-March 1769–70). ⁸⁷ Balls were held after the concert on alternative fortnights.
Theatre Performances	Performances at the King Street Theatre two to three times a week from June until August
Benefit Concerts	At various venues, promoted by numerous musicians, held July-October.

Whilst the patterns of concerts and activity of individual musicians seem not to have followed an annual schedule consistently, the types of musical performances one could

⁸⁵ 9 June, 23 June, 7 July, 21st July, 4 August and 18 August. *ABG*, Friday, 31st May 1758.

⁸⁶ Concerts were held on 21st and 28 June, 5, 12, 19 and 26 July, 2, 9 and 16 August *ABG*, Friday, 18 June 1770.

⁸⁷ *ABG*, Friday, 19 October 1769.

attend in the Midlands remained fairly constant between 1758 and 1770. This suggests that there was a natural capacity for musical events that was not exceeded owing to the demand from audiences in the region.

1.2.4. Music Meetings

The most prominent musical events in the Midlands at this time were the ‘Musical Meetings’; two or three-day festivals that featured several performances involving large performing forces hosted in churches, cathedrals and theatres. The most important of these was the meeting of the three choirs of Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester that comprised a three-day festival hosted in turn by each city. These events were established at least by 1722 but probably had roots in post-Commonwealth restoration of music in cathedrals, and the challenges of providing music after a decimated population.⁸⁸ Crucially, the Three Choirs Festival was philanthropic in its aims, raising money for ‘the Widows and Orphans of the poor Clergy of the three dioceses’, and this was an important factor in its patronage by the nobility and gentry.⁸⁹ Everything about these events was larger in scale and ambition than any other musical event in the cultural calendar of the region. The choirs comprised the men of Worcester, Hereford and Gloucester Cathedrals, but were increasingly augmented during this period by other singers from further afield. In fact, the famous singing ladies of Lancashire made an appearance at the 1772 meeting.⁹⁰ Although more local soloists such as John Griffiths, a Lay Clerk from Worcester, were billed as a soloist regularly, celebrities from further afield in the Midlands such as John Saville of Lichfield did not appear at these festivals.⁹¹ Indeed, vocal soloists were

⁸⁸ Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival: A History* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

⁸⁹ *BWJ*, Monday, 11 August 1768. This wording is typical of that used in advertisements during the late eighteenth century.

⁹⁰ Peter Holman, ‘Long movements and Lancashire witches: a century of Handel in the provinces’ conference paper, Leeds University Centre for English Music Study Day: Amateur Music-Making In The British Provinces, 18 June 2014.

⁹¹ Griffiths is first recorded in the Worcester Cathedral accounts (A127: Treasurer’s Book 1781–97) for the years 1777–78 and appeared on advertisements for the Worcester and Gloucester Three Choirs Festivals 1784–94.

usually drafted in from London, and were typically established singers who regularly appeared in opera and oratorio concerts. Instrumental performers likewise were predominantly London performers. Most of the prominent instrumental performers of the day appeared at the Three Choirs Festivals: Abraham Adcock (trumpet), John Crosdill (cello), Felice Giardini, Wilhelm and Johann Baptist Cramer (violin), John Mahon (clarinet), and Johann Christian Fischer (oboe). One suspects that a leader was engaged (and perhaps along with principal second violin and cello) who would in turn recommended *tutti* players, as is often the case in current freelance performances of *ad hoc* concerts. However, advertisements for most years cast doubt on this practice.

In advertisements for the Three Choirs Festivals, a standard phrase that appears is ‘The Performers are desired to be in Town on Sunday Evening, in order to rehearse on Monday the 12th in the Morning, and to dine with the Stewards at the Swan and Falcon the Day following.’ It is unclear from this whether this was a general call for performers who had not yet been engaged, or a reminder to those that had to attend the rehearsals. Given that the pattern of Three Choirs Festival performances was well established during this period (Wednesday to Friday in the first week of September), it seems unlikely that this information needed to be given out to musicians who had taken part on a professional basis already. It is more likely that this was intended to entice additional musicians to swell the ranks – amateur gentry performers.⁹²

1.2.5. Music Services

Professional musicians also engaged in activities other than performing or teaching – the music ‘service’ industries. The role of instrument maker, particularly of organs, harpsichords and pianos, usually included tuning these instruments, as they were seen as too specialist for amateurs to undertake themselves. There are numerous examples of music teachers undertaking harpsichord tuning when they visited the nobility and gentry, which will be covered in depth in chapter 2. When a teacher was not needed, or could not visit regularly to teach, families would employ others to undertake that service. One example of the portfolio career of the professional musician is the

⁹² The practice of amateur performers swelling the ranks in professional concerts will be discussed further, in section 1.4.5.

Worcester organ-builder, James Chew, who was a cathedral lay clerk from at least 1752.⁹³ He was also ‘organ builder, harpsichord maker’, tuned the organs and repaired the harpsichord at the cathedral.⁹⁴ It is likely he was the go-to person for keyboard repairs and tuning in Worcester and the surrounding county.⁹⁵ As a performer, he would have taken part in the Three Choirs Festivals and he is known to have taken part in the 1759 Church Langton performance of the *Messiah* organized by Rev. William Hanbury and directed by William Hayes,⁹⁶ and in Samuel Hellier’s concert to inaugurate the Wombourne church organ in 1768.⁹⁷ The following year he was also paid for tuning the Worcester cathedral organs, and his name appears regularly in the cathedral Chapter accounts. His son, also called James, was a chorister, listed for years 1765–66 and 1766–67; although the account books do not list individual chorister names for subsequent years until 1776–77, it is likely that the ‘Chew’ listed from this time until 1790 is still the father. He was listed in the 1791 *Worcester Royal Directory* as ‘James Chew, organ builder and harpsichord maker, Palace row’ but presumably died later that year, as his name disappears from the cathedral accounts, and he is not listed in the next edition of the *Directory*, published in 1794.⁹⁸ James Chew senior is also known to have tuned and repaired the harpsichord belonging to the Vernon family at nearby Hanbury Hall in 1771.⁹⁹

Worcester was evidently large enough a centre to support more than one keyboard tuner during the 1770s and 1780s, however. James Radcliffe was one of a family of active musicians living and working in Worcester at this time. He was a member of the cathedral choir for the years 1777–78 and 1778–79, with family members Charles and John joining in 1780–81.¹⁰⁰ James probably died in 1794, as he is not listed in the

⁹³ Worcester Cathedral Treasurer’s Book, A57–64 (1752–80), p. 15.

⁹⁴ *Worcester Royal Directory* (Worcester: 1790).

⁹⁵ Worcester Cathedral Treasurer’s Books: A57–64 (1752–80) p. 17.

⁹⁶ *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*: September 18, 1759.

⁹⁷ *ABG*, Friday, 4 October 1768.

⁹⁸ *Worcester Royal Directory* (Worcester: 1790), and *Worcester Royal Directory* (Worcester: 1791).

⁹⁹ Worcester Archives BA7335/24/170. This is discussed in depth below, section 2.3.2.

¹⁰⁰ It is possible that John and Charles were sons of James, but they are not recorded as being choristers in the cathedral treasurer books before listed as lay clerks.

Cathedral account books for the year 1794–95, nor in the *Worcester Royal Directory*, 1794.¹⁰¹ James Radcliffe held a benefit concert ‘of vocal and Instrumental Music’ on 27 November 1781 at Worcester Town Hall (Guild Hall), where the principal vocal soloist was:

Miss Barnes, who has performed with great Applause at Liverpool, Manchester, &c. The first Violin by Mr. Clarke, of Birmingham, Second Violin by Mr. Salmon. The principal Violoncello by Mr. Jones.¹⁰²

Another benefit concert for Radcliffe took place on 11 November 1783 also at the Worcester Guild Hall. The following year he directed a music festival in Kidderminster consisting of a performance of Handel’s *Messiah* in the morning and an evening ‘Grand Miscellaneous Concert’.¹⁰³ Similar performances took place in 1791, with a miscellaneous concert in the Assembly Rooms in Worcester on 12 April and a music festival in Evesham 3–4 May. The Evesham festival followed the pattern similar to the musical meetings of the Three Choirs or in Birmingham; Handel’s *Messiah* in the morning of Tuesday 3, with a concert of sacred music the following evening.¹⁰⁴ One of the Radcliffes advertised their services as a tuner and music copyist in 1787:

Harpsichord, Forte Pianos, Spinnets and other Musical Instruments, tuned and repaired in the neatest manner, on the most reasonable terms, by Mr Radcliffe, near the College gates [*sic.*], who begs leave to Solicit the Patronage of the Nobility, Gentry, &c. in Worcester and its vicinity, as they may depend on their favours being duly attended to. N. B. Music neatly, and correctly copied.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ Worcester Cathedral Treasurer’s Book A127, 1781–97. *Worcester Royal Directory* (Worcester: 1794).

¹⁰² *BWJ*, Monday, 22 November 1781. The ‘Mr. Clarke, of Birmingham’ was Jeremiah Clark, who had left Worcester in 1765 to take up the post of organist at St. Philip’s church.

¹⁰³ *BWJ*, Monday, 17 June 1784.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Monday, 21 April 1791.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Monday, 8 February 1787.

Key here is Radcliffe's appeal to the nobility and gentry of Worcestershire, as it is clear that he considered them to provide much of his custom. The following year there appeared an advertisement in Berrow's Worcester Journal showing James Radcliffe's services had expanded to include 'Music, vocal or instrumental, taught in the most expeditious method, and after the manner of the most approved masters'.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps this advertisement – an attempt to elevate himself from a mere tuner to that of teacher – was in response to the presence in Worcester of another, peripatetic harpsichord tuner and repairer, W. Gray, who is first mentioned in an advertisement on 28 August 1788, as being from London, and who 'tunes and repairs Harpsichord and Piano Fortes, at 5s. each'. Gray goes on to assure his clients that they may 'depend on his giving satisfaction. His intention is to come from London every six months'.¹⁰⁷

A useful comparison can be made with the activities of harpsichord tuners during this period. Thomas Green, the Hertfordshire based teacher and harpsichord tuner, who rarely travelled more than eight miles to visit his clients, charged five shillings for tuning and teaching in Hertford, but ten shillings and sixpence further afield.¹⁰⁸ The harpsichord maker, Jacob Kirkman, one of the most renowned makers at the time, charged the Leigh family five shillings for tuning at their London home in 1765.¹⁰⁹

James Radcliffe continued his professional activities, including putting on two concerts in Worcester 1789.¹¹⁰ These were successful enough for him to take charge of a Musical Festival in Evesham in 1791. This two-day meeting consisted of a performance of *Messiah* and Grand Miscellaneous Concert on Tuesday, 3 May, with a concert of sacred music the following morning. Featuring a 'Select band of Vocal and Instrumental Performers, from Oxford, Birmingham, Worcester, Gloucester,

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., Monday, 28 February 1788.

¹⁰⁷ *BWJ*, Monday, 28 August 1788. William Gray would later build an organ in St Swithun's church, Worcester, in 1793.

¹⁰⁸ Sheldrick, 1992), p. xix.

¹⁰⁹ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust (SBT). DR18/5/4151a *Jacob Kirkman. Miss Leigh. 1–5–0. Tuning Harpsichord. 7 June 1764.*

¹¹⁰ *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, Monday, 19 March 1789; *BWJ*, Monday, 2 April 1789.

Cheltenham, &c.’, the festival was led by violinist Thomas Bird from Birmingham. His activity in the city and surrounds shows he was very much a freelance musician, fulfilling a number of roles as performer, concert promoter, harpsichord tuner and repairer, and teacher, presumably alongside his daily duties as lay clerk of the cathedral.

Occasionally, such services could be engaged from music shops. William Hall, who ran his ‘Music Ware Room’ in Birmingham’s town centre, offered:

‘Organs, Harpsichords, Piano Fortes, and Spinets, and all other Instruments repaired and tuned in Town and Country, on the most reasonable Terms, by Year, Quarter, or per Time, and Barrels made to Organs of any Size, on the shortest Notice’.¹¹¹

Music shops in the region included J. Farlo’s Music Shop in Bromsgrove, active in the 1790s. He sold violins, violas, violoncellos, bassoons, hoboys, clarinets, German flutes, fifes and all sorts of musical instruments, with every article in the music branch considerably under the customary prices. Musical instruments bought, sold, or exchanged; and instruments let out to hire.¹¹²

Mr. Holl, described in the Worcester Directory of 1794 as ‘printer and bookbinder’, based at 72 High Street, Worcester sold music scores, and ‘several excellent Instruments, consisting of an Organ, Piano Fortes, Guittars, a very capital Patent Flute, by Potter, a Cremona Violin, and a number of common ditto [violins] and a choice assortments of New Instruments of every description, and the latest Publications, Songs, &c.’¹¹³ *Berrow’s Worcester Journal* carried an advertisement for Jeremiah Clark’s forthcoming *Ten Songs*, op 4, in 1791 when the composer was living in Birmingham, indicating that the subscriptions for collection could be taken by Messrs In High-street, Worcester.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ *BWJ*, Monday, 12 October 1778.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Monday, 16 January 1794.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Monday, 10 October 1793.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Monday, 25 August 1791.

1.3. Midlands Professional Musicians

So far in this chapter we have seen that there was a thriving music scene in the Midlands that involved a wide variety of performers in many different contexts. The music-related businesses that served professionals and amateurs in the region reveal the extent to which the nobility and gentry could rely on their needs being catered for whilst away from the capital. The interconnectedness of musicians in the Midlands can also show how they interacted with nobility and gentry amateurs in numerous contexts. The remaining section of this chapter focuses on these connections between professionals in the region, and I offer a case study by way of example of the career, networks and portfolio of a prominent Midlands professional musician, Jeremiah Clark. Most of the Midlands musicians discussed in this thesis are listed in appendix 1, giving a more detailed account of their activities.

1.3.1. Professional Musician Networks

Networks of musicians can be easily examined by looking at advertisements for concerts in the region. As the eighteenth century progressed, the amount of information gleaned from such sources increases considerably, so that by the 1790s audiences were often given a list of all principal instrumentalists as well as vocal soloists. Table 1.4. lists musicians taking part in the Three Choirs Festival of 1794 at Worcester, showing the make-up of the principal performers that year, derived from advertisements placed in the *Hereford Journal* during July and August of that year. It should be noted that this list does not represent the total number of performers, rank-and-file positions being filled by local musicians, professional and amateur.

Table 1.4. Performers taking part in Worcester Three Choirs Festival, 1794.¹¹⁵

‘Principal Performers’ [Singers]		
Trebles	Miss Parke	Maria Frances Parke (London) ¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ *Hereford Journal*, Thursday, 13 August 1794.

¹¹⁶ Roger Fiske, et al. ‘Parke’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20919pg3>> [accessed 21st March 2017].

	Mrs. Shepley	Shipley (Lancashire)
	Master Sale	John Bernard Sale (St George's, Windsor) ¹¹⁷
Alto	Gore	Israel Gore (London, Chapel Royal) ¹¹⁸
Tenor	Nield	Jonathan Nield (London) ¹¹⁹
	Spray	John Spray (Lichfield) ¹²⁰
	Shelton	Joseph Shelton (Worcester) ¹²¹
Basses	Sale	John Sale (jr (London), or sen. (Windsor)) ¹²²
	Griffiths	John Griffiths (Worcester) ¹²³
Instrumental [Performers]		
Violins	Messrs. Cramer and Son	Wilhelm Cramer (London)
		Johann Baptist Cramer (London)
	Brookes	James Brookes (London) ¹²⁴
	Clarke's	Jeremiah Clark (Birmingham)
		William Clark (Worcester)
	Moorhead	[unidentified]

¹¹⁷ *World*, Friday, 12 April 1793.

¹¹⁸ Doane, 1794, p. 26.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 47.

¹²⁰ Lichfield Cathedral Choir

<http://www.cathedralchoir.org.uk/personnel_layvicars_tachbrook.php> [accessed 24 April 2016].

¹²¹ *Ibid*, p. 57; Worcester Cathedral Treasurer Books A57–64 (1752–80) lists George and Joseph Shelton as choristers from at least 1776, and a Shelton is listed in A127 Treasurer's Book 1781–97 from 1782 (from 1791 lay clerks' Christian names used again, confirming Joseph to be the remaining Shelton in the choir).

¹²² Doane, 1794, p. 59.

¹²³ Worcester Cathedral Treasurer Books A57–64 (1752–80) lists John and James Griffiths as choristers from at least 1776, and a Griffiths is listed in A127 Treasurer's Book 1781–97 from 1785 (from 1791 lay clerks' Christian names used again, confirming John to be the remaining Griffiths in the choir).

¹²⁴ Betty Matthews, *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain: List of Members, 1738–1984* (London: Royal Society of Musicians, 1985), p. 28.

	Buckingham	James Buckingham (London) ¹²⁵
Oboes	Parke	William Parke (London)
	Stanley	Stanley (not related to John Stanley)
Flutes and Flageolets	Jackson	Paul Jackson (Oxford) ¹²⁶
	Parke	William Parke (London)
Viola	Coyle	Possibly Miles Coyle (Hereford) ¹²⁷
Violoncellos	Herschel	Alexander Herschel (Bath) ¹²⁸
	Bird	Probably Thomas Bird (Birmingham)
Double Basses	Boyce	William Boyce Jr (London)
	Philpot	John Philpot (Bath) ¹²⁹
Bassoons	Holmes	James Holmes (London) ¹³⁰
	Hands	[unidentified]
Trumpets	Sargant	James Sarjeant (London) ¹³¹
	Cantelo	Hezekiah Cantelo (London) ¹³²
Horns and Trombones	Flack's	John Casper Flack (London) ¹³³ John Flack Jr (London) ¹³⁴
Organ and Grand Piano Forte	Mutlow	William Mutlow (Gloucester)
Single Drums	Shepherd	(William?) Shepherd
Side and double Drums	Ashbridge	John Ashbridge (London) ¹³⁵

¹²⁵ Doane, 1794, p. 9.

¹²⁶ Matthews, 1985, p. 80.

¹²⁷ Organist of Hereford Cathedral (*d.* 1816).

¹²⁸ Doane, 1794, p. 32.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

What emerges from this list is that the majority of the instrumentalists were London-based, and many of them were familiar names from the London concert scene. But what is perhaps more surprising is the seemingly disparate nature of the non-London musicians: Worcester (only three locals listed in this ‘home match’ Three Choirs Festival of 1794), Lichfield, Gloucester, Oxford and Bath. The male singers listed, however, were all associated with cathedral or chapel choirs. This pattern is by no means unique to the Three Choirs Festivals: throughout the late eighteenth century there were a handful of prominent singers from Lichfield, Worcester and Gloucester in particular taking part in concerts all across the region, suggesting an established network of professionals who were not necessarily employed because of their popularity on the London scene, but for a proven track-record of concert and oratorio appearances in the Midlands.

Concerts in the late 1750s and 1760s in Matlock Bath, Derby and Chesterfield also relied on a network of musicians that included the same line-up of instrumental soloist. Two particularly informative advertisements state that:

Mr. Denby, Organist, At the Assembly Room in Derby, On Wednesday the 6th of August, Will be performed, a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music

The First Violin, by Mr. Jones.

Second Violin, Mr. Layland.

Bassoon, by Mr. Scamardine.

Violoncello, Mr. Sharp

The Hautboys, and French-Horns, &c. by the Gentlemen of the Band of Music, belonging to the Royal Cheshire Militia.¹³⁶

Two weeks later in nearby Matlock Bath, Anthony Greateorex organized a benefit concert in which:

Principal Parts will be perform'd by Mr. JONES, First VIOLIN.

Mr. Layland, Second VIOLIN.

¹³⁶ *Derby Mercury*, Friday, 25 July 1760.

A Solo Concerto, and Bassoon Solo, Mr. Scamardine.
 A Solo Concerto, and Hautboy Solo, Mr. F. Sharp.
 A Concerto and Solo on the Violoncello, Mr. J. Sharp.
 A Voluntary and Concerto on the Organ, Mr. [Samuel] Wise.
 German Flute Concerto, Mr. Millar.
 A favourite Duett, for two Bassoons, Mr. Scamardine, and Mr. Greatorex.
 French-Horn Concert.
 The Gentlemen of the Band of Music belonging to the Royal Cheshire Militia,
 will assist in the Concert.
 Miss Patty Greatorex will perform several little Pieces on the ORGAN, and a
 Song in the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, between the Two Acts.¹³⁷

The overlap of performers in these two concerts would suggest a well-organized community of musicians who cooperated for concerts in their region, and certainly were not in competition for audiences.

Moreso than any other provincial centre, Oxford was a centre of music and musicians. With so many professionals living and working in Oxford (most of them organists to college chapels), it is not surprising that we see a degree of self-sufficiency in the concerts in this city. Other centres in Oxfordshire draw upon the Oxford performers for their own concerts. Jonathan Hobbs was organist at St Mary's church in Banbury. His two-day Music Meeting, 30 September to 1 October 1767 included a performance of Handel's *Messiah* and *Dettingen Te Deum*. The principal performers were listed in an advertisement as 'Messrs. Norris, Corfe, Mathews, Maxley, &c. &c. Instrumental, Messrs. Malchair, Lates, Jackson, Higgins, &c.' Malchair was leader of Holywell Music Room band, Norris, Corfe and Jackson prominent vocal soloists of the town.

¹³⁷ Benefit concert for Anthony Greatorex at Matlock Bath, 20 August 1760 (*Derby Mercury*, Friday, 8 August 1760).

In 1778 Northampton musician, Dobney (sometimes referred to as Dabney) came to an arrangement with John Valentine, who he had ‘engaged to attend in M. Dobney’s Place, either for the Purpose of Teaching, or at private or public Concert.’¹³⁸

In some cases, the musical networks involved performance material. William Hayes sets out his charges for providing parts for William Hanbury’s musical meetings held in Church Langton, Leicestershire, Leicester and Nottingham, 1759–63.¹³⁹ His charge for the use of each Handel oratorio performed at the meetings was one guinea.¹⁴⁰

Networks of musicians encompassed personal favours to help one another publish music. Proposals for Leominster organist, George Cheese’s *Eight Songs in Score*, 1796, listed a number of musicians across the country who could receive subscriptions on the composer’s behalf, including ‘Mr. *Ashley*, Pimlico, London; Mr. *Clarke*, Organist, Birmingham; Mr. *Isaac*, Organist, Worcester; [...] Mr. *Coyle*, Organist, Ludlow [...]’¹⁴¹ Here, Cheese’s desire to make his works available to public far outside his local area was realized with the help of colleagues from London and regional centres.

1.3.2. Case Study: Jeremiah Clark

The choice of Jeremiah Clark for this case study was spurred by the lack of information on this prominent musician in modern scholarship. His stature as a published composer alone warranted an investigation into his professional activities. In the following survey I have principally used primary source material in the form of advertisements found in regional newspapers, and documents in Worcester Cathedral Library. Jeremiah Clark spent all his working life in the Midlands and serves as a very good case study for the life of a typical professional musician in the region. His father,

¹³⁸ *Northampton Mercury*, Monday, 22 June 1778.

¹³⁹ William Hayes, *Anecdotes of the five music-meetings, on account of the charitable foundations at Church Langton: in which many misrepresentations, and gross falsehoods, contained in a book [by W. Hanbury] intitled, The history of the above foundations, are fully detected, and confuted, upon indubitable evidence.* (Oxford: 1768).

¹⁴⁰ *Messiah* was performed in 1759 and 1760, with *Esther* and *Judas Macchabæus* added to the 1761 meeting, *Samson*, *Alexander’s Feast*, *Judas Macchabæus* and Hayes’s own *Ode to the Memory of Mr. Handel* performed alongside *Messiah* in 1762 and 1763. (Hayes, 1768).

¹⁴¹ *Manchester Mercury*, Tuesday, 10 February.

Charles Clark, was a Lay Clerk at Worcester Cathedral, and Jeremiah was a chorister there at least from the age of thirteen.¹⁴²

In 1758, when Jeremiah was fifteen or sixteen, he made an appearance alongside his father at a benefit concert in Bridgnorth. The following announcement appeared in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*:

On Whitsun-Monday the 15th of May, At the Town-Hall in Bridgnorth, For the Benefit of Mr. Charles Clark and Son. A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Musick: In which will be perform'd the Shepherd's Lottery, composed by Dr. Boyce, with several select Pieces by the best Masters, and favourite Song call'd Cymon and Iphigenio. N.B. After the CONCERT will be a BALL.¹⁴³

As has been discussed above, it was unusual to have the works to be performed named on the advertisements for concerts: usually the listings state just 'A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music'. Boyce's short pastoral opera, *The Shepherd's Lottery* was first performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1751 and published the following year, and Thomas Arne's *Cymon and Iphigenio*, was work written for Vauxhall, published in around 1750. The latter was popular enough to be performed in London as late as 1773, so it is perhaps not surprising that it was on the billing in this provincial performance.¹⁴⁴ Specific lengthy pieces featuring the country's two most important composers after Handel must have been a selling point. *The Shepherd's Lottery* was still in print in 1765, appearing in advertisements of John Walsh's music shop in the Strand almost every year since the first production.¹⁴⁵ Boyce scored *The Shepherd's*

¹⁴² Worcester Cathedral Library (the sporadic listing of choristers in the cathedral Chapter records makes it impossible to prove any earlier association).

¹⁴³ *ABG*, Friday, 1 May 1758.

¹⁴⁴ A performance took place at the Haymarket Theatre on 1 May that year. 'Simon McVeigh, Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800, database, Goldsmiths, University of London (accessed: 11 February 2016)'.

¹⁴⁵ For example, advertisements in the *Public Advertiser*, Wednesday, 27 November 1765; *Public Advertiser*, Saturday, 7 February 1761.

Lottery for five solo characters with accompaniment consisting of strings and continuo, oboes, a bassoon and horn, which, if performed with a full complement of performers, gives a minimum total of fourteen musicians. Bridgnorth Town Hall – a seventeenth-century oak-framed long room over a stone covered market area – housed balls and assemblies throughout the late-eighteenth century, and, I estimate, could seat an audience of two-hundred people with a group of musicians of this size. With a full house paying the advertised ticket price of two shillings and sixpence, the Clarks' turnover may have been as much as £25.0.0.

The following year, 1759, newspaper advertisements appeared for two benefit concerts on consecutive days for Clark and Son; in Bridgnorth again, and at the Town Hall in Bewdley – a similarly sized public space used for balls and assemblies during the eighteenth century. Later that year, they put on a concert at Worcester's Guildhall that was planned (and advertised as such) to coincide with the Worcester Assizes. The Guildhall, unlike the town hall of Bridgnorth and Bewdley, boasted two very large rooms – a lower hall, and first-storey assembly room – each around two-hundred and sixty square metres. Regardless of the hire cost of the Guildhall, the Clarks evidently felt their event was better off there rather than in the smaller rooms in some of the city's Inns. At all of these concerts was advertised a Ball.

From the 1760s Jeremiah Clark put on such concerts only every 3 or 4 years. The impetus for doing so seems most likely the music scene he found on arriving in Birmingham after his appointment to St Philip's Church, in 1765. Once in the Birmingham area, Clark would have found himself among a number of prominent musicians who were also active in promoting public concerts. These included Richard Hobbs, who was organist at St Martin's in Birmingham, and Coventry organist, Capel Bond; both of whom had put on benefit concerts in 1758 (see table 1.4.) and gave fund-raising concerts in the area over the next decade. Whilst Clark is not directly associated with these or other prominent public musical events over the next thirty years, his name crops up regularly as a performer at events: as a singer, a harpsichordist, a cellist, and most frequently as a violinist. His appearances as a violinist at the Three Choirs Festivals can be verified by the inclusion of his name among the list of prominent performers in the newspaper advertisements. Adverts for the 1791 (Worcester) and 1792 (Hereford) meetings list him after the leader Wilhelm

Cramer, implying Clark was also a violinist.¹⁴⁶ His association with Cramer was possibly not a coincidence, for a review for the 1791 Shrewsbury music meeting stated that ‘The Band is very strong and correct. Mr. Jeremiah Clark leads much in Cramer’s stile’.¹⁴⁷

Soon after his arrival in Birmingham, Clark took over the subscription concerts held at the Duddeston Gardens pleasure grounds. From the late 1760s advertisements show not only Clark as the principal performer, but also names of the singers involved. As discussed above (1.2.1.), these singers were members of the theatre company who were resident at the New Theatre in Birmingham. Clark may also have taken part in music-making at balls and assemblies, but without exception, there are no performers listed in these advertisements, so it is impossible to tell whether this was the case. As we have seen, advertisements for subscription concerts sometimes named the performers, and Jeremiah Clark’s name is found on many of these during the 1770s to 1790s. One example, ‘Mr. Clough’s Concert [...] At the New Assembly-Rooms, Derby’, in 1788, featured Clark as a named soloist along with Lichfield vicar choral John Saville, illustrating the considerable distance Clark travelled to perform.¹⁴⁸

Clark was associated with some of the musical societies of the town. The Philharmonic Society put on a series of ten subscription concerts at dancing master Mr Cresshull’s Assembly Room in the square from the 1780s, with Jeremiah Clark taking the role of first violin, and John Saville of Lichfield taking the solo vocal part.¹⁴⁹ He maintained strong enough links with Worcester that in 1789 he performed his own music in a benefit concert for William Harper. The unusually detailed advertisement indicates he played a violin concerto (possibly his own, although no such composition exists) and

¹⁴⁶ *Hereford Journal*, Wednesday, 7 September 1791; and Wednesday, 1 August 1792.

¹⁴⁷ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 22 September 1791.

¹⁴⁸ *Derby Mercury*, 22 May and 5 June 1788.

¹⁴⁹ *ABG*, 11 December 1780 (advertisement for The Fourth Night of the Subscription Concert and Ball); ‘Mr. Cresshull, Dancing Master, Birmingham’ subscribed to Clark’s *Eight Sonatas*, op 3 (1779).

also performed was also a ‘Song and Chorus in commemoration of his Majesty’s recovery, composed by Mr. Clark of Birmingham’.¹⁵⁰

Such a busy freelance career took a toll on Clark’s career: in 1803 he was dismissed from his post at St Philip’s, precisely because of the excessive number of occasions he deputized his church duties in order to play in concerts.¹⁵¹ He returned to Worcester and became the organist at the Cathedral in 1806, directing the Worcester Three Choirs Festival the following year, and he died in Bromsgrove, in 1809.¹⁵²

Clark published four collections of music during his career; three books of secular songs and one of chamber music. They span most of his career, from his early years at Worcester to years of maturity when he was well established as Birmingham’s most prominent musical figure.

- *Eight Songs with the Instrumental Parts Set to Musick By Jeremiah Clark of Worcester* [op 1] (London: Charles Thompson, 1763)¹⁵³
- *Eight Songs with Instrumental Parts in Score Composed by Jeremiah Clark Organist in Birmingham*, op 2 (London: Straight and Skillern, 1766)
- *Six Sonata’s For the Harpsichord or Piano forte with Accompanyments For Two Violins & Violoncello, Composed & Humbly Dedicated to the Right Hon.^{ble} the Countess of Donegall, by Jeremiah Clarke, Organist In Birmingham*, op 3 (London, 1779)
- *Ten Songs, With instrumental Parts in Score, Composed & most humbly inscribed To The Marquis of Donegall by Jeremiah Clark, Organist, Birmingham*, op 4 (London, 1791)

All four sets were published by subscription, which provides a good opportunity to investigate his influence in more detail. The last two publications were dedicated to

¹⁵⁰ *BWJ*, Monday, 28 May 1789.

¹⁵¹ Slater, 2015.

¹⁵² Slater, 2015.

¹⁵³ No date or opus number, but an advertisement appearing in July announced, ‘This is to acquaint those Gentlemen and Ladies who have subscribed to Mr. Jeremiah Clark’s Songs, That they will be ready to be delivered out by the 8th of August next’ (*BWJ*, Monday, 21 July 1763).

Arthur Chichester, 5th Earl (later 1st Marquess) of Donegall and his wife, Lady Anne Hamilton. *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte*, op 3 was dedicated to Lady Anne, whilst Clark's final collection, *Ten Songs*, op 4, to the Earl of Donegall.

The Donegall country seat was Fisherwick Hall in Staffordshire, four miles from Lichfield and eighteen from Birmingham. The 5th Earl was evidently a keen music collector; he is recorded as subscribing to a number of musical and music-related publications, and he also subscribed to the 1792 season of the Concerts of Ancient Music:

- John Pixell's *A collection of songs*, op 1 (1759)
- Richard Langdon's *Ten Songs* (1759)
- John Alcock's novel *The Life of Fanny Brown* (1760)
- Thomas Hale's *Social Harmony* (1763)
- Edward Miller's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (1765?)
- Capel Bond's *Six Concertos* (1766)
- Clark's *Eight Songs*, op 2 (1766)
- Philip Hayes' *Six Concertos*, (1769)
- Arnold's editions of Handel's *Jephtha* (1769), *Athalia* (1787) and *Giulio Cesare* (1789), William Randall's edition of Thomas Morley's *Plain and Easy Introduction To Practical Music* (1771)
- John Pixell's *Odes, Cantatas, Songs &c*, op 2 (1775)
- Handel's *Thirteen Celebrated Italian Duets* (1777)
- Edward Jones' *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* (1784)
- Maria Barthelemon's *Six Sonatas and Italian songs*, op 2 (1786)

In the 1789 publication of *A companion to the Leasowes, Hagley and Enville; with a sketch of Fisherwick, the seat of the Right Hon. Earl Donegall*, wherein the earl's house and gardens are described, the following short sentence gives us a glimpse at music-making in the

house: 'The Music Rooms, which are elegantly fitted up, contain an excellent collection of instruments, by the first makers.'¹⁵⁴

His daughter, Lady Elizabeth Juliana Chichester (1767–87), and second son Hon. Arthur Chichester (1771–88) are also listed among the subscribers to Clark's op 3, 1779. His father, the 4th Earl, had subscribed to John Alcock's *Six Concertos* (1750) and the connection between the Chichester family and John Alcock goes further. The list of subscribers to Clark's *Eight Songs*, 1760, to which Alcock subscribed, reveals he was 'Organist to the right hon. The Earl Donegal, Vicar Choral of the Cathedral Church of Litchfield, and Organist of Sutton Coldfield.' As the organist to the 5th Earl, John Alcock would have been in a position to serve as family music tutor. Although the earl and Lady Anne had married in 1761, their first three children died in infancy. Their eldest daughter, Elizabeth, was born in 1764 and therefore would only have been old enough for music tuition years later, at a time of Clark's association with the Donegals as evidenced by the dedication to the earl of his *Six Sonatas*, op 3. For this reason, it is unlikely that Alcock's role included teaching, whereas Clark's association with the Donegall family almost certainly involved teaching and possibly music-making. It is also possible, therefore, that Clark also served as organist to the earl after Alcock.

Like the Earl of Donegal, the nobility who subscribed to Clark's op 1 were primarily local families whose country estates were in Worcestershire and surrounding counties. These members of the aristocracy may have been particularly loyal supporters of Clark, and perhaps engaged him as a music teacher for their own daughters. By examining the lists of subscribers to all four of Clark's publications, we can investigate this possibility further. Noblemen most local to Worcester who subscribed to Clark's first book include the Earls of Stamford and Plymouth, barons Lord Foley and Lord Sandys, and baronets Sir Edward Lyttelton and Sir Herbert Packington. Of these six, only the Earl of Plymouth supported Clark throughout his career, subscribing to all four works. Of the rest, only one - Sir Edward Lyttelton - did not subscribe to Clark's op 2, which was published in 1766, shortly after he moved to Birmingham. There was a loyalty towards Clark among these families, either by virtue of him being a local

¹⁵⁴ Anon., *A companion to the Leasowes, Hagley and Enville; with a sketch of Fisherwick, the seat of the Right Hon. Earl Donegall* (London: 1789).

composer, or perhaps by a personal connection as the family music teacher, or just as prominent member of the choir at Worcester Cathedral. Although no advertisement announcing the intention to publish op 2 can be traced, it is likely that this may have been issued prior to Clark's Birmingham appointment on 10 October 1765, and therefore these existing subscribers would not have known that their local composer was to move away soon after. The list of subscribers to Clark's op 3, 1779, reveals that only the Earl of Plymouth remained loyal.

It would appear that there was indeed a personal connection between Clark and these members of the nobility: one that was broken by necessity after his move away from the area. Of course, it is very unlikely that these families only had Clark's music on the shelf in their libraries – after all, much music was published without the need for subscription – but we do know that they went to the trouble of purchasing it in advance rather than picking it off the shelf in a music shop, and made a conscious decision to patronize Clark. The personal connection was evidently important to these subscribers. Of these six noblemen, the Earl of Stamford also subscribed to Wolverhampton-based composer James Lyndon and John Pixell's op 1; Sir Edward Lyttelton also subscribed to Pixell's op 1, but no other local or national composer; the Earl of Plymouth subscribed to both Pixell's works, one other local work (Capel Bond's *Six Concertos* of 1766), Avison's *Twelve Concertos*, op 9 (1766), and a variety of Samuel Arnold's editions of Handel operas and oratorios; Sir Herbert Packington subscribed to Arnold's editions of Handel operas and oratorios, but no other living composer. These last two appear also to have been keen collectors; Arnold's Handel prints were the kind of music publication to be destined for the shelves of the family library rather than the music desk of the family harpsichord, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

Other patterns emerge when looking at the lists of subscribers in Clark's four published works, which may indicate both changes in Clark's personal circumstances and wider social trends. The number of music sellers who subscribed to Clark's works may be seen as an indication of his standing and popularity at the time: by purchasing multiple copies in advance, music sellers clearly anticipated selling all of the copies on to the public. Clark's first two books were subscribed to by booksellers Samuel Gamidge of Worcester and Mr. Matthews of Oxford. The location of the music sellers

for his last two books implies that Clark's reputation had spread wide by the end of his career: op 3 was purchased by four London sellers and one Birmingham seller; op 4 was purchased by sellers in London, Oxford, Liverpool and Birmingham. A higher proportion (and actual number) of named organists are to be found in the later lists; a further suggestion that Clark's standing within his profession increased as his career progressed. This may also explain why there is an increase in the number of female subscribers to his music, as more of his target market – potential pupils – subscribe to his music. The number of female subscribers rises from 12% for op 1 to 27% for op 4. A higher proportion of aristocratic subscribers to opp. 2 and 3 may also suggest that his reputation was still growing throughout this time.

Apart from the circumstantial evidence that Clark provided music tuition to the Earl of Donegal, only the following advertisement from 1781 confirms that he undertook private teaching at all:

MUSIC ACADEMY in Wolverhampton.

To the Ladies and Gentlemen in Wolverhampton, and its Environs.

Mr. Clark, Organist in Birmingham, presents his Compliments and informs them,
That from the frequent Solicitations of several respectable Families in
Wolverhampton, he is encouraged to open an Academy for Music, and purposes, on
Friday the 4th Day of May next, to attend at Mr. Walker's, at the Angel Inn in
Wolverhampton, where he will have a convenient Room to attend his Pupils, vis on
Terms and Days of Attendance.

N.B. Mr. Clark teaches the following Instruments, viz.

The Organ,	Tenor [viola],	Mandoline,
Harpsichord,	Violoncello,	Flute, and
Violin,	Guitar,	Singing. ¹⁵⁵

One can only speculate as to how successful this advertisement was, and whether his Academy resulted in attracting enough business for him to make frequent journeys to

¹⁵⁵ *ABG*, Thursday, 23 April 1781.

Wolverhampton. Indeed, we do not know how frequently subsequent journeys may have been, or whether regular tuition might have been to the homes of the ‘respectable families’ or if he continued to use Mr. Walker’s room at the Angel. If the latter, then it is unlikely that the clientele was of noble class, for whom musicians would ordinarily make visits.

A survey of the career of this provincial composer demonstrates the myriad of connections between the various spheres of music-making in the Midlands in the mid-to late-eighteenth century. Clark’s main job was for the church, yet his activities in public performances were considerable: he organized concerts at the local pleasure gardens in Duddeston, working with theatre singers; he played for grand oratorio performances alongside the top vocal soloists from London’s opera houses; he promoted his own benefit concerts at various points of his career; he played for other people’s concerts, often featuring as the principal performer; he played alongside some of the top performers in the country, and at the end of his life, directed the Three Choirs Festival. While these musical environments might on the surface seem quite distinct from each other, it was clearly the norm for musicians of the late eighteenth century to inhabit many or all in order to maximize their earning potential. The networks that enabled such a diverse scene were complex, well-organized and stretched over many counties.

1.4. Gentleman Amateurs in Professional Contexts

The case study of Jeremiah Clark reveals not only that he had a great number of supporters in the region and beyond, but also that the market for music itself was large. The subscribers listed in his four publications must have represented just a fraction of the musical literate amateurs in the region if we are to compare the names with publications by Clark’s contemporaries such as Capel Bond, John Alcock, John Pixell and these amateur musicians’ activities in private and public spheres must now be investigated.

1.4.1. Gentlemen Amateurs in Professional Contexts

Music was considered in some circles to be as much a science as an art in the late eighteenth century, and this situation had a direct impact on amateurs taking part in

private and public music-making spheres. As we shall see in chapter 2, the reasons for these ideas led to a change in the way music was viewed in society at this time.

The dual position music occupied had a number of consequences, among which included the participation of gentry and minor nobility in public concerts, not as audience, but as performer. This trend is perhaps best exemplified by the establishment of musical clubs and societies throughout the century, which were typically exclusive to some sections of society. These clubs were part of a wider social phenomenon of associations, and became ‘one of the most distinctive social and cultural institutions of Georgian Britain’.¹⁵⁶ The Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club, founded in 1761, was among the most exclusive of these organizations, and its activities illustrate the combination of entertainment and study which characterized the movement. Its formation provided the impetus for the establishment of other catch and glee clubs, in London (notably Anacreontic Society in 1766 and The Glee Club in 1783), and the provinces (including those in Canterbury, Salisbury and Oxford). Many of these societies awarded annual prizes for the best composition, adjudicated by committee under strict rules preserving anonymity.¹⁵⁷ The Catch Club’s prizes in its first years consisted ‘Premium of a Gold Medal of Ten Guineas value, or ten Guineas be given for the best Catch, Canon and Glee, words and Music new, and a Premium of half the value for the second best of each’.¹⁵⁸ These were handsome sums for an exercise to promote the excellence in the composition of these genres, elevating what had been in the seventeenth century a clever yet low form of music composition to a higher, more scientific one. The case of the Catch Club is also relevant because of the relationship amateur members had with professional musicians, through the ‘professional members’ that were allowed (or invited) to join and the professional singers engaged on occasion to perform the ‘Prize Catches’.¹⁵⁹ Professional members during the first decade of the Catch Club’s existence included

¹⁵⁶ Peter Clarke, *British Clubs and Societies, 1500-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹⁵⁷ Brian Robins, ‘The Catch Club in 18th Century England’, *Early Music*, vol. 28, Issue 4 (November 2000), pp. 517–30.

¹⁵⁸ Viscount Gladstone, Guy Boas, and Harald Christopherson, *The Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club: Three Essays towards its history* (London: Cypher Press, 1996) pp. 16-18.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 16.

composers Thomas Arne, William Hayes, Mattia Vento and Felice Giardini, and the singers John Beard, Ferdinando Tenducci and Henry (Theodore) Reinhold.

The simultaneous rise in popularity of the glee at this time focused less on the skill in composition and more on the community nature of the act and sentiments of the texts. Brian Robins notes that glee texts were on topics such as the pastoral, male bonding in friendship, drink, music, philosophy, epitaphs and romance.¹⁶⁰ For this reason, the performance of glees weren't restricted to glee clubs; as these clubs popularized the form through the eighteenth century, the genre made its way into non-musical institutions such as political, agricultural, literary and scientific clubs.¹⁶¹

The musical activities of the social elite extended beyond the private walls of catch and glee clubs. The well-documented activities of the gentlemen composer and entrepreneur John Marsh have shown that public performances often involved gentlemen performers, singing more than just catches.¹⁶² Provincial musical societies such as those Marsh was a member of in Salisbury and Chichester were more public affairs and so did not cater for the nobility, and could often assemble gentlemen, musicians and professionals together for more informal musical gatherings.

Before looking at specific examples of gentry and nobility taking part in public music-making in the region, the context of amateur performing musicians needs to be discussed.

¹⁶⁰ Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006)

¹⁶¹ Leena Rana discusses in depth the music making integral to the anniversary dinners of the Pitt Club, held in honour of Tory William Pitt (see Rana, Leena, *Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c.1790-1840*. (unpublished doctoral dissertation: University of Southampton, 2012).

¹⁶² Brian Robins, 'John Marsh and Provincial Music Making in Eighteenth-Century England' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, vol. 20 (1996) pp. 96–142, and Brian Robins, *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752–1828)* (London: Pendragon Press, 2011).

1.4.2. Public Contexts for Amateur Musicians

Amateur musicians increasingly had a large number of platforms in the late eighteenth century, but social status played a significant part in dictating the contexts. Musical Societies catered for the amateur market well, and many of them are known to have performed in public as well as at the meetings that would take place in private rooms in inns and assembly rooms.

One example of men of lower class than that of gentleman or nobleman partaking in music comes from R.J.S. Stevens' *Recollections* of his father in the 1770s, who was: 'fond of reading and Music; and tho' self taught, arrived at no inconsiderable degree of excellence on the German Flute, on which he breathed in a sweet agreeable manner.' Indeed, it was his father who encouraged the young Stevens' pursuit of music, placing him as a chorister of St Paul's Cathedral.

The rise of glee and catch clubs from the 1760s, particularly spurred by the founding of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, saw public performances of glees by both professionals and amateurs. Public competitions for performances of unaccompanied vocal music became more common place:

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN

To all Performers of
VOCAL MUSIC,

That on Monday the 20th of October, at the Crown-Inn, in the North-Street, Gosport, will be an Assembly of Gentlemen, whom for the encouragement of harmony, will give the following Prizes to such company of Singers as may choose to pleasure them with their performances – viz. –To such company as shall best perform one Song, two Elegies, two Glees, two Catches, and a Cannon, will be given immediately on the decision of the Arbitrators, a Purse of Ten Pounds.

To the company next in excellent a Purse of Five Pounds.

Not less than two Companies can perform for the Prizes, and as the Prizes are all to consist of three Parts the number of Performers are not to exceed two Voices to any part, and may change their Voices for the advantage of the

Pieces.

N. B. No Instrument will be allowed.

Tickets at 3s. 6d. each. – To begin Singing precisely at two o'clock.¹⁶³

These situations are familiar to us today: choral societies, male voice choirs, amateur orchestras give performances regularly. In many of these performances, professionals are engaged to accompany these groups; orchestras accompanying oratorios, or professional instrumental soloists performing concertos with the amateur orchestra. A scenario far from common now is amateurs playing alongside professionals, which was often the default situation in the eighteenth century. Advertisements aimed at the potential audience can often reveal that the concerts were to be performed by both professionals and amateurs

The following advert, from 1778, is typical of the wording used for concerts that show the mixing of professional and amateur performers:

At the Wheat-Sheaf, in Daventry, on Thursday next, the 29th instant, will be A
CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Music.

The Performers from Birmingham, Leicester, Coventry, and Northampton;
assisted by some Gentlemen.¹⁶⁴

Towards the end of the century, advertisements become more explicit (and therefore easier to recognize) with much more detail about performers and works performed.
27 September 1792:

Music. Oundle, Northamptonshire. (For the Benefit of the Sunday Schools)
Will be Performed, in Oundle Church, on Thursday the 27th of September,
1792, [...] Messiah [...] Coronation Anthem
Principal Vocal Performers. Miss Valentine, Leicester, Messrs. Spray,
Litchfield, Clabburn, Peppercorn, and Taylor, Cambridge; Kempson,
Birmingham; Gadsby, Lowick.

¹⁶³ *Hampshire Chronicle*, Monday, 29 September 1777.

¹⁶⁴ *Northampton Mercury*, Monday, 25 October 1778.

Instrumental Ditto.

First Violin. Mr. Hague, Cambridge; Messrs. Scarborough, Cambridge; Marshall, Northampton; Rogers, Sharpe, sen. and jun. Stamford; Valentine, Leicester; Hill, Hagnew, and Farbridge, Huntingdon; Sharpe, St. Neots; and many other Gentlemen Performers who have offered their Assistance on so laudable an undertaking.¹⁶⁵

Advertisements for the 1790 Music Meeting at Ashby-de-la-Zouch could not be clearer about the involvement of amateur gentry involvement in the performances:

‘Principal Performers, Mrs. Shipley, Miss Sutcliffe, Mr. Spray, Mr. Birch, Mr. Patria (first Hautboy from the Opera House) Mr. Hogg, Mr. Benfield. Mr. Masters, and the principal Violin by a Gentleman from London; with many other professional Musicians, and neighbouring Gentlemen, who have kindly promised their Assistance.’¹⁶⁶

Whilst the evidence for amateurs and professionals making music together is plentiful there are few examples to draw upon to help gain an understanding of the numbers of amateurs involved in these public performances. For the concerts to mark the opening of a new organ in Chapel-en-le-Frith in 1778, there are detailed advertisements and also a summary of accounts for the event. The organ, built by Parker of Salford was played by the Leeds-based player Buckley, who, in the advertisement for the concert was who performed a concerto on the organ each day of the performances of *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabæus*. The advertisement for this event boasted ‘the Merit of this able Performer is so well known, and so universally admired, as to render every Encomium on his Abilities unnecessary.’¹⁶⁷ Soloists for the oratorios were evidently the cream of the North of England:

Miss Barns, Miss Harwood, Messrs. Nield, Ogden, Houghton, Travis, and many other eminent and capital Performers from Leeds, Lincoln, Wakefield,

¹⁶⁵ *NM*, Monday, 15 September 1792.

¹⁶⁶ *ABG*, Thursday, 4 October 1781.

¹⁶⁷ *Manchester Mercury*, Tuesday, 23 June 1778.

Sheffield, Manchester, Oldham, Hey Chapel, and other adjacent Places, are engaged for this Performance. Every possible Step being taken to render it far superior to any other Performance of the same kind, that has ever been offered to the Public in this Part of the Kingdom' The CHORUSSES will be filled up, in as grand a Manner as possible, with French Horns, Trumpets, Kettle Drums, and other necessary Instruments.

We are able to look behind the scenes for this concert to understand the implications of their somewhat grand statements in the advert, in the 'Expenses [attending] the Oratorio's Performers &c / July 13 & 14th 1778 at Chapel in le Frith', a document held at the Derbyshire Record Office.¹⁶⁸ A full transcription of this document can be found in appendix 4, with relevant sections highlighted below. At face value this document shows that the orchestra employed for this two-day music meeting during which Handel's *Judas Maccabæus* and *Messiah* were performed consisted of four violins, two cellos, two oboes, two trumpet/horns (one of which was also the first cellist), two bassoons, one timpanist (who also doubled clarinet) and an organist. This band of thirteen professionals was led by the Leeds-based violinist, Jobson, who was not known to have been part of the Midlands professional scene.

Although this example comes from the East Midlands county of Derbyshire, we see a very different makeup of professional musicians, with no hint of the central midlands players discussed elsewhere in this study. This no doubt had to do with the location of Chapel-en-le-Frith, which in the north of the county and the Peak District was much better accessed from the north (Manchester, Leeds) than the south.

The number of singers listed is similarly small, with four (female) 'treble' singers, three counter-tenors, four tenors and five basses. The ticket receipts for the two concerts, written out on the following page of the document, show that just over one thousand tickets were sold or distributed for each of the two performances. Even in this medium-sized country church with a double aisle, an audience of a thousand would

¹⁶⁸ Derbyshire Record Office (DRO), D3453/17/6 (1–12) Agreements, estimates and subscription lists for cost of building organ loft and organ and expenses of oratorios performed at the [Chapel en le Frith] church, 13-14 July 1778.

have filled the space (and one can assume that the promoters would have wanted to sell as many tickets as possible). Would the combined forces of twenty-seven singers and instrumentalists have been normal or expected to perform these grand works? What we cannot tell from this document is how many other performers took part; the amateur gentry who we know filled rank-and-file positions in concerts just like this in the Midlands. It seems likely that in the case of the Chapel-en-le-Frith concerts, the thirteen instrumentalists were joined by amateurs. This theory would explain a number of obvious questions over the instrumentalists: Mr Hague, the first trumpet/horn player, is also listed as playing cello (his fee for playing – five guineas – evidently covered his fee for playing cello, putting him on a level with the principal treble, Miss Barnes, and slightly below the leader, Jobson. Jobson's fee of twelve guineas may be explained by considering that he was also the conductor of the performance, and therefore also probably provided the performance material. Such a sum is comparable to what William Hayes was paid by William Hanbury for the Church Langton music meetings 1759–63.

1.4.3. Musical Societies

The primary vehicle for amateur music-making in public contexts was the musical society. Indeed, it is likely that many of the charity concerts, such as the 1778 performance in Chapel-en-le-Frith discussed above, were organized by the local musical societies.

Regardless of the precise name of a musical society, it seems that voices and instruments often took part in equal measures. The 'Rules and Orders' for Birmingham's Choral Society, in 1769 which met on the first Wednesday of the month at Joseph Cooke's Inn in the Cherry Orchard (adjacent to St. Philip's church), reveal much about the makeup and activities of their meetings:

5th [rule]. There shall be a Box provided with one lock & three keys for containing the Books &c. which shall be under the care of the stewards.

8th [rule]. The monies arising from forfeits, admittances, &c. to be expended in music books & instrument & for such other purposes the Society may be in want of.

15th [rule]. Any member that applies to the Stewards may have any one Book or Instrument belonging to the Society for Practice, which shall be deliver'd in the Club Room by half an hour after Seven o'Clock the next Club night, for the neglect of which he shall Forfeit one Shilling - & if such Book or Instrument be Damag'd it shall be made perfect or Replac'd with a new One.¹⁶⁹

Despite carrying the name 'Choral', which put it in a minority alongside the many other 'Musical' societies, this Birmingham club made use of instrumentalists and singers. Indeed, the subscriptions paid by its members evidently went towards purchasing instruments exclusively for its members. There are no supporting documents showing the membership of the Birmingham Choral Society, so we cannot examine whether its members included gentry (or even nobility). However, related documents, also held in the Library of Birmingham, include 'Accounts of the Chappell Society' dating from 1766, which may have been the forerunner to the Choral Society founded three years later.¹⁷⁰ It is not clear which chapel was referred to here – probably St. Philip's church. Payments made by the Chappell Society that year were for candles (both for the chapel and church), for the clerk (whose responsibility was to administrate), and for handbills (possibly to advertise meetings or concerts). Two names recur – James Kempson, who evidently taught singing to the boys, and Mr Broom, who was almost certainly Michael Broome, the Birmingham printer and publisher who served as parish clerk at St. Philip's where he also taught the choir.¹⁷¹

1.4.4. Noblemen and Gentlemen Amateur performing musicians

The following journal entry from John Marsh hints at the social boundaries in situations where it was appropriate for gentlemen to perform in public only if they were of an acceptable standard of playing:

¹⁶⁹ Birmingham Archives and Heritage, Library of Birmingham: MS 254/10.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid. MS 254/10. The full list of rules is presented in appendix 2.

¹⁷¹ Margaret Handford, *Sounds Unlikely: Six Hundred Years of Music in Birmingham* (Birmingham: Brewin Books, 1992). p. 26.

The annual Musical Meeting, or Festival of St Cecilia now coming on (which I had for some time looked forward to) I was of course solicited to play a Violin in the Oratorios &c. at the Cathedral & Evening Concerts, but declined it at Mrs M'[arsh]'s request & agreed to play a Ripieno Bass instead, wh[ich] would be rather less of an exhibition at so public a Meeting.¹⁷²

Indeed, participation of gentleman in the public concerts in Marsh's Salisbury was extensive and there seems not to have been much difference between these and private concerts. As Brian Robins has observed 'Such a division had not only the benefit of reducing expenditure since expensive professionals and soloists were not hired on such occasions [...] but also allowed a commensurately greater participation by amateurs.'¹⁷³

The example of John Marsh is by no means unique. The capital frequently expected gentry performers to swell the ranks of public concert, as the following advertisement indicates:

SONS of the CLERGY
The Rehearsal of the Music for
The Feast of the Sons of the Clergy will be at
St. Paul's Cathedral on Tuesday the 7th and the Feast at Merchant Taylor's
Hall, on Thursday the 9th of May.¹⁷⁴

The advertisement states where tickets for the Feast could be acquired (but not the price of the tickets). I have not found evidence to suggest that the wives and children of these gentry performers supported them by attending the concert.

¹⁷² John Marsh, *History of my Private Life*, Huntington Library, MS54457. vol. 5, 87–88; quoted in Robins, (2011).

¹⁷³ Brian Robins, 'John Marsh and Provincial Music Making in Eighteenth-Century England' *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 1996, pp. 96–142.

¹⁷⁴ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday, 9 April 1765.

Concert advertisements sometimes reveal an association that the gentry had with performers. At a benefit concert for Mr Smith of Chesterfield that took place in Matlock Bath on Wednesday, 23 July 1760, well-known performers in the region (oboist Francis Sharp and bassoonist Jeremiah Scamardine of Grantham were top billing in a programme that featured concertos and a song ‘To be accompany’d by several Gentlemen Performers. The Whole Band to consist of near Twenty’.¹⁷⁵ In this case, it would appear that these gentry performers had been approached well before the event: it is likely that Scamardine and Sharp were directly involved with preparing the gentlemen, who were drawn from the local music societies.

Fitchew’s benefit concert at the Town Hall in Stroud on Friday, 7 January 1763 was for a ‘Concert of Rough Musick, Performed by a Band of Gentlemen’.¹⁷⁶

1.4.5. Evidence of ‘gentlemen performers’ in Three Choirs and other Midlands Musical Meetings

Even in the most formal and professional of platforms, the meetings of the Three Choirs, there was an important element of the social aspect of the event and the active participation of gentry amateur musicians. The organization of these and other musical meetings must have been no small undertaking, and the absence of substantial records leaves a lot to guesswork as to how many amateurs swelled the ranks and whether there was any quality control or limit on numbers on the non-professionals. The named performers involved in music meetings suggest that there was a network of professionals who regularly made the trip out of London for provincial music festivals, often with the musical director acting as agent. This was certainly the case with William Hayes’ directorship of the five musical meetings organized by William

¹⁷⁵ *Derby Mercury*, Friday, 4 July 1760.

¹⁷⁶ *Gloucester Journal*, Monday, 3 January 1763. ‘Rough Musick’ is likely to refer to a satirical performance or mock parade, although the circumstances in this instance is uncertain. For more information see Stephen Banks, *Informal Justice in England and Wales, 1760–1914* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014).

Hanbury in Church Langton, Leicester and Nottingham, 1759–63. Hanbury himself described the experience in his *History of the Rise and Progress of the Charitable Foundations at Church Langton*, published in 1767:

Here was a list of the very first performers in the kingdom to be at the head of every instrument, together with the best singers that could be collected from the different choirs. These were the chief of our prime hands; and a sufficient number of able and stanch musicians were engaged to fill the other parts. Dr. Hayes's character was well known as a conductor or giver-out of the piece; so that every thing promised to make the whole as complete as possible.¹⁷⁷

Hayes was no doubt engaged by Hanbury for his experience as a conductor, organist, tenor soloist, and all round general enthusiast of Handel's music, but surely because of his prior experience in organizing such events: Hayes had been the director the Gloucester Three Choirs Festivals 1757, 1760 and 1760, and had been professor of music at Oxford since 1741. And, no doubt, it was this pedigree that induced Hanbury to engage Hayes for the Langton meetings. In describing the arrangements immediately prior to the fourth meeting, held in Nottingham in 1763, Hanbury recounted a report 'That Dr. Hayes and the voices with him, dined at Harborough by two of the clock [...]', referring to the vocal soloists he had secured and travelled with from Oxford.¹⁷⁸

The absence of information in Hanbury's *History* about engaging instrumentalists leads to a safe conclusion that these were more mundane matters that were handled locally. When the principal instrumentalists were often named on advertisements to music meetings (alongside the principal vocalists), we can also assume it was the unnamed performers – the rank-and-file – who were surely the focus of attention in most of the festival advertisements using the phrase 'Performers, are desired to attend

¹⁷⁷ William Hanbury, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Charitable Foundations at Church Langton* (Oxford: 1767). Hanbury used the publication to criticise Hayes' conduct in the Church Langton music meetings, to which Hayes responded the following year with his own pamphlet, *Anecdotes of the five music-meetings* (Oxford: 1768).

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 151.

the First Rehearsal' or similar (see section 1.2.4). It is likely that the orchestras in music meetings were populated substantially by local amateur gentlemen.

In all the advertisements for music meetings printed between 1758 and 1808 in either *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, *Pugh's Hereford Journal* and the *Gloucester Journal*, just such a 'rehearsal call' sentence is found twenty-two times.¹⁷⁹ The advertisements get more specific as the century progresses, so that we can glean more information about who these gentlemen amateurs were, and who they were affiliated with in the later festivals. The advertisements for the 1799 Birmingham Festival in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* did not contain the 'performers are desired' sentence, as it is clear that these gentlemen amateurs were taken from a pre-existing organization:

The Gentlemen of the Private Birmingham Concerts will give their Assistance. The Chorusses will be full, supported by the Choral Singers of Birmingham, Lichfield and Worcester, with the Addition of Trumpets, Trombone, and Double Drums.¹⁸⁰

In this example, the somewhat haphazard approach to recruiting rank-and-file instrumentalists from the gentry was replaced by the involvement of a musical society, and perhaps this ensured a degree of commitment and standard of preparation by its amateur members.

The advertisements for the Three Choirs Festivals during the late eighteenth century are detailed enough to state that the amateurs were confined to playing rank-and-file string parts; given that principal string, wind and brass players were usually listed in the adverts, there can not have been gentry performers in principal seats.

We cannot attribute the long-running participation of gentry amateurs in these professional concerts solely to musical reasons. Whilst music meetings provided an excellent opportunity for such gentlemen to rub musical shoulders with professionals – many of them prominent and well known in their field – we must bear in mind the

¹⁷⁹ This includes all Three Choirs Festival performances and music meetings in Birmingham in 1768.

¹⁸⁰ *ABG*, Friday, 2 September 1799.

purely social aspect of this participation. Newspaper reviews of the performances often included the line ‘there was a very great Appearance of Nobility and Gentry’ emphasising the societal aspect of the gatherings.¹⁸¹ In some years the reviews of the meetings would give a list of ‘distinguished personages’ in attendance.¹⁸² A sentence in the review of 1767’s Three Choirs Festival in Worcester reveals there was perhaps an element of rivalry between the three cities as to the number of nobility and gentry attending:

And it is very certain that the Number of Persons of Quality of Distinction, who honoured us with their Company this Meeting, at least equalled, if not exceeded, that of any former, and who expressed the highest Satisfaction at the Musical Performances, and the Order and Regularity with which every Thing else was conducted.¹⁸³

Indeed, many such reviews concentrate on the audience members rather than the performers, so it is understandable that for some gentry amateurs, taking part in such performances were an excellent way of being noticed.

1.5. Conclusions

A number of issues have been revealed in this opening chapter that shed light on the activities of Midlands professional musicians and their patrons. It is clear from the examples I have presented that professional musicians of the Midlands had to be more flexible in the types of employment they undertook compared to their London counterparts. The distances involved in the every-day activities such as teaching, or tuning were considerable to these professionals. In London a rank-and-file musician at a theatre (for example, Francis Hackwood) did not have to travel far to teach their potential clients and to perform at the numerous public performance spaces in the

¹⁸¹ For example, the 1758 Meeting in Worcester (*BWJ*, Monday, 31st August 1758).

¹⁸² For example, *BWJ*, Monday, 19 September 1782, which lists thirty-six earls, countesses, ladys, barons and baronets.

¹⁸³ *BWJ*, Monday, 17 September 1767.

city. Keyboard tuners such as John Broadwood could fit many more visits to houses than his provincial counterparts by virtue of the sheer density of their clientele. Thomas Green in Hertford, about which we know a great deal, travelled up to eight miles from his home to tune his clients' instruments. A similar distance applied to a London tuner would have included potentially hundreds of clients to visit. As I have demonstrated, musicians in the Midlands such as the harpsichord tuner James Chew travelled up to ten miles for their clients (in his case, the Vernon family of Hanbury Hall), and this must have meant their earning potential was significantly less than London colleagues.

The records of John Broadwood's firm of instrument makers reveal just how many more clients it was possible to visit in a day. One day's visits in 1771 included visits to houses in Park Street, Welbeck Street, Cork Street, Albermale Street, and back to Park Street – which, including the half-mile walk from the Broadwood's Soho Square premises, was a total journey of just one mile.¹⁸⁴ The houses in these London streets would most likely have had family members – sons and daughters – desiring tuition, so we might arrive at similar conclusions about the potential profitability of music teachers in the metropolis.

It is no wonder, then, that the provincial musician needed to be far more versatile than their London counterparts. This is why we see the seemingly prominent musical figures I have discussed, such as Elias Isaac, organist of Worcester Cathedral, tuning instruments and carrying out other menial tasks for the Coventry family at Croome Court, and James Radcliffe, lay clerk at Worcester Cathedral, promoting his own concerts and offering tuition and tuning services. It is the case that provincial musicians adopted a number of specialisms and travelled further distances to maintain a livelihood.

I have revealed there to be a similarly disparate pattern of activity in the gentry amateur musicians of the Midlands region. There was a network of instrumentalists who could be relied upon to fill up rank and file seats in music meetings such as those

¹⁸⁴ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Eng. Misc. c. 529 f9r. Date illegible.

in Birmingham and the Three Choirs cities. Sometimes this was achieved by the involvement of musical societies, which often had links with professional musicians; an example of this was the 1778 music meeting in Chapel-en-le-Frith, discussed above, which has come to light from new archive material. At other times there appears to have been an *ad hoc* arrangement, such as the concert in Daventry in 1778 which was ‘assisted by some Gentlemen’, or the Oundle benefit concert of 1792 which, despite advertising a good deal of professionals who were to take part, also indicated ‘many other Gentlemen Performers’ who offered their assistance. There are too many examples of such activity for it to be regarded as unusual; the evidence for the wide diversity and scope points to the conclusion that participation was widespread across the region and reveals a significant degree of interaction between amateurs and professionals. We shall see in chapter 4 that links between professional and amateur music-making extended beyond those seen in these public. The performance of music by professionals and amateurs in private contexts – at the houses of the nobility and gentry – was even more common than the public performances discussed so far.

CHAPTER 2: Music Tuition in the Country House

2.1. Introduction.

In this chapter I expand upon the questions of the role of music in society by highlighting different approaches of men and women to learning music. By examining the position of music education within the social hierarchies of the late eighteenth-century a better understanding of the practical involvement of the gentry and nobility may be gained. I will then introduce new evidence of music education among the gentry and nobility and compare whether or not these examples conform to the models first discussed. This evidence is principally in the form of bills for music tuition in some of the region's important families. Although these case studies predominantly involve persons and families from the Midlands, most reveal connections with other areas, including London where most landed families kept a house. To contextualize these examples, I draw upon examples from primary and secondary sources that concern London or other regional areas. The role music tuition played within the houses is discussed in relation to the varying social and family circumstances in each case study.

2.1.1. Music as a Science and 'Polite' Art

A major influence on the popularity of music at both professional and amateur levels was its position straddling the realms of art and science. Music was considered an art form, and held a position alongside architecture, painting, sculpture, and poetry. Yet, in the eighteenth century, it was also considered to be a science; an enlightenment viewpoint that had its roots in its links with oratory and physics in Classical times, and which remained relevant through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Wellins Calcott, writing in his *Thoughts, Moral and Divine*, 1761 stated that:

Musick is a science that teaches how sound, under certain measures of time and tune, may be produced, and so order'd and disposed, as, either in

consonance, or succession, or both, they may raise various sensations, from the height of rapture even to melancholy or distraction.¹

Calcott's explanation, whilst categorically a scientific one, emphasises music's ability to move the listener's heart. We see the same attitude taken in writings by musicians as well as scientists. Charles Avison, in *An Essay on Musical Expression*, 1753, acknowledges the dual nature of music describing music as 'working both on [man's] Imagination and his Passions'. Avison compares music to science by suggesting that 'A full Chord struck, or a beautiful Succession of single Sounds produced, is no less ravishing to the Ear, than just Symmetry or exquisite Colours to the Eye'.² It is this two-fold status as 'science' and 'polite art' that allowed music to be considered so worthy of study by many sections of society. John Hoyle, writing in *Dictionarium musica*, 1770, commented that 'The study of Music is now become so general among us, that I think it every day receives new vigour and improvement, and you will scarce find any person who does not apply himself to some kind or other of this noble science'.³

Whilst these positive images of music's place in society and education were being offered, practical music-making as opposed to theory and composition (what might be described as 'speculative music') was regarded an inferior pursuit to other curriculum subjects. An examination of music professors at universities reveals that a chair of music was the last professorship to be established at Cambridge – in 1684 – and even then, the incumbent was denied privileges and often needed to seek special permission to participate as an equal. For example, the Cambridge music professor required permission from the Senate House to present degree candidates who themselves did not have a specific academic robe, but made do with those of a doctor of law or of physics. Music by no means held the same status as mathematics, geometry or languages at universities, but it was not a prerequisite to a professional training. In this respect music had more in common with professional skills and trades; the

¹ Wellins Calcott, *Thoughts, Moral and Divine Upon Various Subjects* (Manchester: Joseph Harrop, 1761), p. 202.

² Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression* (London: C. Davies, 1753), pp. 2–3.

³ John Hoyle, *Dictionarium musica* (London: printed for the author, 1770), first page of Preface.

apprenticeship system and private tuition were the most common routes musicians took in order to enter the profession.

The dual position of music in the eighteenth century was further complicated by both factors of gender and social class. The subtleties of these divides need closer inspection in order to further appreciate music-making in country houses.

2.1.2. Music as a Female Accomplishment

By the middle of the eighteenth century, music was firmly cemented in the curriculum for young ladies of the nobility and gentry. Evidence for this can be found in the numerous publications intended for this audience and their parents. One such book is *The Polite Arts, dedicated to the Ladies* by ‘Sig. Cosmetti’, in which the author gives a brief account of the rudiments of music theory almost as in the manner of a ‘dummies guide’.⁴ The focus of Cosmetti’s publication is on the artistic accomplishments that ladies should possess if they are to flourish within the higher circles of society. The intended readership of Cosmetti’s *The Polite Arts* was the upper sections of society – the wives and daughters of gentlemen, gentry and nobility rather than of common working traders or labourers. With aspirations high, however, one should not forget that the notion that women should engage in artistic pursuits in order to better themselves was also felt by lower social classes, even if it could not be so easily acted upon. In Jane Austen’s *Pride and Prejudice* the fictional Mr Bingley explains to Elizabeth Bennet, that in order to be considered ‘accomplished’, ‘A woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages, to deserve the word’.⁵

The assertion that music was a worthy activity for daughters was also made by many educators. Numerous instruction manuals and etiquette books of the period list music as one of the essential accomplishments of a household’s daughters:

Where the fortune is extensive, nothing should be neglected that can improve the manners and adorn the mind. Reading, needle-work, music, dancing,

⁴ Cosmetti, *The Polite Arts, dedicated to the Ladies* (London: [n. pub.], 1767)

⁵ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: T. Egerton, 1813), chapter 8.

drawing, and every other ornamental and useful piece of knowledge are the proper attainments.⁶

Evidence of musical accomplishment being central to courtship can be seen in the diary of John Courtney, 1759–68, who describes several times being invited to hear a young lady, clearly prospecting for marriage. His diary entries of January to March 1761 tell of his unsuccessful courtship of Miss Newsome: ‘She is a very fine girl in all respects. From this day I determined to try my fortune’.⁷ Music featured in most of the couple’s encounters over the following weeks, usually as Courtney waited upon Miss Newsome at her house with her mother and grandmother in attendance. Wednesday, 11 March, ‘This morning went to Miss N[ewsome]’s she played and sung’, is typical of the activities during this delicate time of courtship, which had come to an end within a fortnight. Many authors writing on the education of women from a moral viewpoint echoed these sentiments, albeit with different reasons. Classical scholar and clergyman, John Burton (1696–1771) presented a series of lectures to pupils attending a boarding school for girls, which included ‘those branches of Education, which may be called ornamental’.⁸ Burton’s arguments against the pursuit of music (and also other accomplishments) were that without some musical aptitude in the first instance, it was wasted time and money. This was clearly a comment on the practice of parents pushing their daughters to refine as many accomplishments as possible (in order to raise their eligibility), and he hints at the possible reality of the situation in late eighteenth-century music-making amongst young women, that perhaps many or most of them did not achieve much of an accomplishment in this area:

[...] a good ear is so necessary for improvement in this science, that without it, it is a manifest absurdity to impose on children a task, which they can neither

⁶ H. Cartwright, *Letters on female education, addressed to a married lady* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1777).

⁷ Susan Neave and David Neave (eds) *The Diary of a Yorkshire Gentleman: John Courtney of Beverley, 1759–1768* (Otley: Smith Settle Ltd, 2001), p. 34.

⁸ John Burton, *Lectures on female education and manners* (London: Gillman and Etherington, 1793), Lecture IX, pp. 123–38.

perform with pleasure to themselves, nor credit to their Teachers. It is a waste of time, and useless expenditure of money.⁹

Yet it was precisely because musical proficiency was so time-consuming that it held a secure place among the arts and was highly regarded by the gentry and nobility. Time spent practising music (or needlework, or drawing) was seen by some as a good way to occupy a lady's time. Among the nobility there was less concern over wasted time and money; time was one of the greatest assets noble and gentry families possessed, and music was often seen as an appropriate activity that could fill it and so divert attention from other pursuits, considered by commentators as dangerous:

Music [...] is a very desirable acquisition in any woman, who has time and money enough to devote to the purpose, for it requires no inconsiderable portion of *both*. It will enable you to entertain your friends; to confer pleasure upon *others*, must increase your *own* happiness, and it will inspire tranquility, and harmonize your mind and spirits, in many of those *ruffled* or *lonely* hours, which, in almost every situation, will be your lot.¹⁰

Allaston Burgh, writing in the early nineteenth century, puts this acquisition of musical skills in terms of being a positive distraction and useful alternative to other, less favourable pursuits:

Music is not only a harmless amusement; but, if properly directed, capable of being eminently beneficial to [our] fair Countrywomen. In many instances, it may be the means of preventing that vacuity of mind, which is too frequently the parent of libertinism; of precluding the intrusion of idle and dangerous imaginations; and, more particularly among the Daughters of ease and opulence, by occupying a considerable portion of time, may prove an antidote

⁹ Ibid., pp. 136–37.

¹⁰ Charles Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects*. (Warrington: W. Eyres, 1789), vol. 1, Letter LXVI. For a more detailed study of the 'leisure elites' see Benjamin Heller, 'Leisure and pleasure in London society, 1760-1820: an agent-centred approach' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford, 2009), pp. 50-73.

to the poison insidiously administered by the innumerable licentious Novels, which are hourly sapping the foundations of every moral and religious principle.¹¹

Yet, in all sections of society it was not considered acceptable for ladies to pursue music to the neglect of the array of other accomplishments such as drawing, dancing and needle-work; a rounded education was expected. Charles Allen wrote his 1779 instruction pamphlet in the form of a series of fictional letters of advice from a mother to her daughter. He advocated pursuing music, but not to the exclusion of other accomplishments:

I do not mean that you should apply to your music so as to neglect the other parts of your education; nor do I expect that you should arrive at the highest degree of perfection in this [Music], or in any other accomplishment. It is no shame for a young lady to be outdone in voice or judgement by an opera-singer [...] Perhaps, on the contrary, it would be a shame for her to be equal to any one of these in their respective arts; because, in that case, she must be supposed to have employed more time in it, than is consistent with her learning all the other parts of a *complete education*.¹²

A hierarchy was in place that put these certain accomplishments above those of music, dancing, drawing and the like, which writers such as Allen, Cosmetti and Burton considered chiefly ornamental, and therefore less important than other, more practical subjects such as writing, arithmetic, geography, and needle-work:

¹¹ Allaston M. Burgh, *Anecdotes of Music, Historical and Biographical; in a Series of Letters from a Gentleman to his Daughter*, 3 vols. (London: 1814), vol. 1, pp. vi-vii. Quoted in Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

¹² Charles Allen, *The polite lady: or, a course of female education. In a series of letters, From a Mother to her Daughter* (London: J. Newbury, 1760), pp. 16–19. (The work was reprinted three times and issued in Dublin and Philadelphia).

Now, tho' I would by no means have you to neglect the former, but on the contrary to be daily improving in them; yet I think you ought to apply your chief attention to the latter [...] and for one married lady, that complains of her not having learned to dance, sing, or draw better, there are hundreds who lament that they did not take more pains to improve themselves in writing, cyphering, and other useful arts.¹³

Others warned of ladies spreading their time too thinly over the various subjects they studied. The writer Mary Wollstonecraft urged caution over young women spreading their time too thinly over numerous superficial subjects, lamenting:

Girls learn something of music, drawing, and geography; but they do not know enough to engage their attention, and render it an employment of the mind. If they can play over a few tunes to their acquaintance, and have a drawing or two (half done by the master) to hang up in their rooms, they imagine themselves artists for the rest of their lives [...] The nimble dance of the fingers may raise wonder, but not delight'.¹⁴

Even in that most progressive of texts, *A Description of Millenium Hall and the Country Adjacent*, Sarah Scott's feminist utopian novel of 1762, and the fictional embodiment of the Bluestocking movement, music is seen as a worthy pursuit for women.

However, the encouragement of ladies to pursue music as an accomplishment was far from universally accepted, whether for women of lower and aspiring classes and within the gentry and nobility; indeed, it was seen by some as threatening women's position of 'natural inferiority' and role as wife and mother. Some saw music as a dangerous pursuit that could easily result in elevating women's ornamental function to the point of showing up their spouses, particularly if their talent was displayed too publicly. Erasmus Darwin warned against such behaviour, stating that it is:

¹³ Ibid, p. 110.

¹⁴ Mary Wollstonecraft, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters: With Reflections on Female Conduct, in the More Important Duties of Life* (London: J. Johnson, 1787), p. 25.

[...] perhaps more desirable, that young ladies should play, sing, and dance, only so well as to amuse themselves and their friends, than to practice those arts in so eminent a degree as to astonish the public; because a great apparent attention to trivial accomplishments is liable to give suspicion, that more valuable acquisitions have been neglected. And, as they consist in an exhibition of the person; they are liable to be attended with vanity, and to extinguish the blush of youthful timidity; which is in young ladies the most powerful of their exterior charms.¹⁵

An even more conservative viewpoint of women's education in the middle of the eighteenth century was that any accomplishment a lady may acquire be of secondary importance to the duties towards her husband, family and children. A typical voice can be found in the writings of Francis Forster, who, in an essay *On the Absurdity of our female Education*, writes that:

A young Lady should early be taught, that true female Excellence consists, *not* in being a Mistress of Music – a fine Singer, and Dancer – in being able to read French Novels, and converse fluently with French Libertines – but – in Modesty – Diffidence – Gentleness – good Humour – and a Desire to please.¹⁶

Paradoxically, feminists of the period also warned that the pursuit of music could be at best wasted time. Hannah More, the English religious writer, philanthropist and member of the influential Blue Stockings Society, viewed music (and, indeed, most of the usual ladies' ornamental accomplishments of the eighteenth century) as a distraction; '[...] it does not seem to be the true end of education to make women of fashion *dancers, singers, players, painters, actresses, sculptors, gilders, varnishers, engravers, and embroiderers*'.¹⁷ She goes on to explain that she was:

¹⁵ Erasmus Darwin, *A plan for the conduct of female education, in boarding schools, private families, and public seminaries* (London: J. Johnson, 1797), p. 13.

¹⁶ Francis Forster, *Thoughts on the times, but chiefly on the profligacy of our women, and it's causes*. (London: C. Parker, 1779), pp. 15–16.

¹⁷ Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (London: T. Cadell Jun. and W. Davies, 1799), p. 108.

[...] intimately acquainted with several ladies who, excelling most of their sex in the art of music, but excelling them also in prudence and piety, find little leisure or temptation, amidst the delights and duties of a large and lovely family, for the exercise of this talent, and regret that so much of their own youth was wasted in acquiring an art which can be turned to so little account in married life; and are now conscientiously restricting their daughters in the portion of time allotted to its acquisition.¹⁸

These various commentaries must be viewed in the context that in the eighteenth-century women of all levels of social classes generally had no say in the matter of their engaging in music; whether viewed as an accomplishment to be gained or a pastime to be diverted by. Commentators such as Wollstonecraft and More were not addressing young women themselves, but their parents and guardians. The reality was that women's lives were controlled by social convention to the extent that they had little choice over music, whether they enjoyed it or not. Indeed, Leppert asserts that some women's lack of participation in music once they were married could be explained by their rebellion against music 'in the recognition that its function in their lives was the re-enactment of their oppression'.¹⁹

Evidence that women of lower social rank gave up music once entering the marital home comes from a variety of sources. In Jane Austen's *Emma*, Mrs Elton laments to Emma Woodhouse:

When I look round among my acquaintances, I tremble. Selina has entirely given up music – never touches the instrument – though she played sweetly. And the same may be said of Mrs Jeffreys – Clara Partridge, that was – and of the two Milmans, now Mrs Bird and Mrs James Cooper; and of more than I can enumerate. Upon my word it is enough to put one in a fright. I used to be

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁹ Leppert, 1993.

quite angry with Selina; but really I begin now to comprehend that a married woman has many things to call her attention.²⁰

Here, Austen is acknowledging that despite previous enjoyment or a high degree of music skill, it was often the case that married women did not have time to practice music after marriage.

A typical account of music's role in the context of a female accomplishment comes from Hester Chapone, writer of conduct books, and also a member of the Blue Stocking Society. In her 1773 publication *Letters On The Improvement Of The Mind*, she writes:

As to music and drawing, I would only wish you to follow as Genius leads : you have some turn for the first, and I should be sorry to see you neglect a talent, which will at least afford you an innocent amusement, though it should not enable you to give much pleasure to your friends : I think the use of both these arts is more for yourself than for others : it is but seldom that a private person has leisure or application enough to gain any high degree of excellence in them ; and your own partial family are perhaps the only persons who would not much rather be entertained by the performance of a professor than by yours : but, with regard to yourself, it is of great consequence to have the power of filling up agreeably those intervals of time, which too often hang heavily on the hands of a woman, if her lot be in a retired situation. Besides this, it is certain that even a small share of knowledge in these arts will heighten your pleasure in the performances of others: the taste must be improved before it can be susceptible of an exquisite relish for any of the imitative arts: An unskilful ear is seldom capable of comprehending *Harmony* or of distinguishing the most *delicate* charms of *Melody*.²¹

²⁰ Jane Austen, *Emma* (London: John Murray, 1815), volume 2, chapter 14.

²¹ Hester Chapone: *Letters On The Improvement Of The Mind. Addressed To A Lady. By Mrs. Chapone. With The Life Of The Author* (London: J. Walter, 1773), p. 167.

The issue of filling idle time with suitable exploits for young women is a preoccupation for many at this time. Whilst Chapone's position seems to be that practicing music was an excellent pursuit to alleviate boredom, others saw unfilled time itself as a route to the vice of idleness that needed to be prevented at all costs. Sarah Green's *Mental improvement for a young lady, on her entrance into the world* was written for the boarding school mistress and seminary matron.

How does your worthy father employ himself in the few leisure hours he can spare from his ecclesiastic duties? [...] Did he not, in your younger days, employ himself in hearing you read, in learning to perform on the violin? And that, during your hours of practicing your music, he might accompany you on that instrument? He therefore, you may presume, never allowed himself an idle moment; you are witness he does not now. How does your charming mother employ her time? Did you ever see her idle? Did she not, if a leisure hour offered itself from the strict care she took of her household and beloved children, did she not fly to her harpsichord, and to the employing herself in works of skill and ingenuity? What has been the happy result of such noble perseverance? Are not their lives a series of virtue and content?²²

She goes on to suggest a strict regime would allow those wishing to pursue music the best possible chance of excelling:

Now, in the happy and elegant accomplishments you possess, be careful diligently to practise them all [...] Be an early riser, or you will be ever denominated idle. [...] if you have a few hours before breakfast, always employ them in the practising of music, or studying geography; you will find yourself then most adapted for those sciences [...] never to fail practising your music once in a day, and it is well, when you know of no engagement, to let it be of an afternoon as any time; yet be sure allot one morning in the week entirely to the practice of this charming accomplishment.²³

²² Sarah Green, *Mental improvement for a young lady, on her entrance into the world; addressed to a favourite niece* (London: 1793). pp. 83–85.

²³ *Ibid*, pp. 87–88.

Recent authors have pointed out music's important role in the lives of eighteenth-century women, as accompaniment to dance.²⁴ The huge variety of public social scenarios in which dance featured meant it was impossible for this skill to be overlooked by men and women alike. Many balls were important events in the social calendar and as such became occasions where family alliances were made, marriages were engendered.²⁵ The practice of music could certainly not be ignored if such events were to be a success for sons and daughters alike.

This body of evidence, from many seemingly contradictory sources, that music was viewed as an unnecessary diversion for girls and women, indicates the writers were criticising a status quo that saw women's participation in music as unexceptional. As we shall see, evidence from surviving personal accounts, manuscript music books, and the surviving printed repertoires suggests that the practice of music by women was desirable, widespread and commonplace among the nobility and gentry.

2.1.3. Music as a Male Diversion

Eighteenth-century commentaries on male participation in music are often poles apart from those that focused on women. Music-making for male amateurs of the gentry and nobility was free from the social constraints that saw women's participation confined to the home, or at least to a close circle of family and friends. However, gentlemen were often discouraged from practising music altogether. Several authors warn against gentlemen's involvement, or over-indulgence in practicing music. In his *Sentiments on education*, published in 1777, John Ash warns the reader that 'Though music be a genteel accomplishment, yet the profession, or habitual practice of it, is

²⁴ Audrée-Isabelle Tardif, 'A Cultural History of Social Dance among the Upper Ranks in Eighteenth-Century England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 2002), p. 1.

²⁵ Jeremy Black, *Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2005, 2007), p. 204.

rather beneath the character of a gentleman'.²⁶ Ash goes on to use the well-quoted letter from Earl of Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope, who in 1749 famously warned his son:

There is another amusement too, which I cannot help calling illiberal, that is, playing upon any musical instrument. Music is commonly reckoned one of the liberal arts, and undoubtedly is so; but to be piping or fiddling at a concert is degrading to a man of fashion. If you love music, hear it; pay fiddlers to play to you, but never fiddle yourself. It makes a gentleman appear frivolous and contemptible, leads him frequently into bad company, and wastes that time which might otherwise be well employed.²⁷

Despite this sentiment, which we can assume was not unusual, there is no doubt that amateur male musicians were numerous and male members of the gentry and nobility were often very active in practical music-making.

Fashion played an important part in influencing the instruments men took up. Certain instruments became status symbols after being adopted by significant public figures. The cello, for example, surged in popularity after it was taken up by the young Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales in 1732. Interest in the cello peaked again in the 1780s when George, Prince of Wales (later George IV), played the cello and is known to have 'accompanied the piano on the violoncello with taste and precision' at his mother, Queen Charlotte's 'quartet parties'.²⁸ Such fashions for playing music influenced by celebratory status of the player seems to be in contradiction with the assertions of music's inappropriateness as a gentleman's activity as exemplified by the

²⁶ John Ash, *Sentiments on education, collected from the best writers; properly methodized, and interspersed with occasional observations*. (London: 1777), vol. 1, p. 104.

²⁷ Philip Dormer Stanhope, the Earl of Chesterfield, *The accomplished gentleman: or, principles of politeness, and of knowing the world* (Dublin, 1782). This is a paraphrase of his Letter CXLVIII from *Letters* Volume 2, first published 1775, addressed to his son, who was residing in Italy at the time: 'London, April the 19th, 1749'.

²⁸ James Greig (ed.), *The Diaries of a Duchess: Extracts from the Diaries of the First Duchess of Northumberland 1716–1776* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), pp. 41, 44.

Earl of Chesterfield's statement. Peter Williams, writing in 1785, deals with this paradox when addressing a 'gentleman entering at the university':

Music then is an elegant recreation, and wonderfully congenial to the minds of men, tending to compose those of a *volatile* cast, and to *rouse* the more *melancholy* and *languid*; subsiding the violence of rough and impetuous Passions by fixing the attention on objects of an innocent nature; - and therefore to be considered no weak advocate on the side of Reason.²⁹

Indeed, he goes on to suggest that music would be far more preferable to other, less favourable activities, recalling a 'young man [...] who, whilst Undergraduate, in order to avoid the expense as well as the danger of attending drinking-parties, used to retire every day after dinner into his own *Rooms*, and there pass a couple of hours over two or three glasses of wine, in playing on his Harpsichord, and reading *Virgil*'. Yet, he goes on to warn against practising music to the extent of effeminacy:

I know you have a natural turn that way [music], and have made no inconsiderable proficiency in this agreeable Art: Had not this been the case, it would not be advisable to think of learning it now, for it would be time idly and foolishly thrown away. Though one be not of the same opinion with the *Egyptians* of old, who, as some say, from a supposition that it tends to enervate the Mind, forbid *men* to cultivate or practice Music; yet you should avoid all *effeminacy* in your exercises of this kind, as well as in other things.³⁰

As we have seen with music practised by women, the wealth of contemporary commentary on the negative virtues of taking up an instrument is evidence itself that it was very common for gentry and noble gentlemen to pursue the activity. It would seem that, broadly speaking, women and men were discouraged from pursuing music for the same broad reasons: that the pursuit of it would be deemed a waste of time on a frivolous pursuit. For men, the danger was that it would encourage effeminacy and

²⁹ Peter Williams, *Letters concerning education: addressed to a gentleman entering at the university* (London, 1785), pp. 175–76.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 175–76.

prevent a man from his business duties; for women, it was the vulgarity of achieving excellence on their instrument which would show up their family or husbands. Despite these concerns, it is clear that a great many amateurs – women and men alike – were very proficient, even virtuosic on their chosen instrument. A testament to this is the surviving repertory that was tailored for amateur consumption.

2.1.4. The Amateur Music Market

The pursuit of music by amateurs helped maintain an industry that included music publishers, instrument makers, composers, performers and teachers. Indeed, the fact that London was one of the largest musical centres in Europe was due to a large musically-educated amateur cohort – one which not only attended public performances of operas and oratorios and concerts in theatres, music rooms and at Pleasure Gardens, but which also recreated many of these musical performances in the privacy of their own home.

In the contexts of professional musical performance, music demanded (and demands) audience interaction and so draws parallels with theatre. With plays (and also literature and poetry), the public was able to buy the printed music at the time they saw the play on stage. Music publishers similarly took advantage of the popularity of staged works by publishing operas and songs heard in the London theatres and pleasure gardens. This took the form of anthologies, single song sheets, edited highlights from a particular theatre-piece, or more unusually, in collections of songs from a composer's single larger work. This printed music usually appeared within the same season it was first performed, and often very soon after the production started, thus taking full advantage of the public's thirst for the tunes they had left the theatres humming. Notable examples include Giordani's *The Favorite Songs, Sung this Season by Mrs Weichsell at Vauxhall Gardens [...] Book I*, [1779?], and many other collections of songs from a particular season such as J.C. Bach's two collection of favourite songs sung at Vauxhall.³¹ Sometimes, single vocal pieces were published in magazines. *The Lady's Magazine*, for example, included single songs in many of its monthly issues.

³¹ J.C. Bach, *Second Collection of Favourite Songs Sung at Vauxhall* (London: Welcker, [1769?]).

Along with letters, poetry, essays and notices of births, deaths, marriages and bankruptcies, single songs with keyboard accompaniment or in short score were included in most issues.³² Instrumental music did not have the same rapid turnover as vocal music. But the public's thirst for new music, alongside the developing musical canon, demanded a constant supply of fresh compositions to be added to the repertory.³³

Eighteenth-century printed music, therefore, displays the type and scale of the music-making that took place in the homes of the nobility and gentry much more than it reflects the professional music-making that took place in public circles. Publications not only represented the hits of the day, but also catered for the clearly defined circumstances of the music 'consumer' – responding to the ever-changing tastes of musical styles, popularity of certain musical instruments and gender roles. This aspect will be examined in more depth in the following chapter.

2.1.5. Tutor Books

Unlike plays and poetry, which could be appreciated away from the theatre by public purchasing the printed text, the public needed to be proficient in an instrument in order to perform the music they heard at public performances. The eighteenth century saw a proliferation of tutor books, treatises and instructional methods to guide the amateur in their studies of all sorts of instruments. The most popular instruments at this time included the cello, flute, the English Guittar during the 1760s, and the harpsichord (which was supplanted by the pianoforte at the end of the century as the keyboard instrument of choice). For many amateurs, the choice of instrument was governed by cost. A harpsichord was considerably more expensive than a smaller

³² *The Lady's Magazine* (first published in 1770 by John Wheble) included new songs by Robert Hudson (e.g. 'Tis a maxim I hold', September 1770) with classics from Handel (e.g., 'Softly Sweet' from *Alexander's Feast*, April, 1790)

1790; later imitations, such as

³³ For a further distinction between the emerging musical 'canon' and repertory, see William Weber, 'The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 47, No. 3 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 488–520.

English guittar or flute. The piano was even more costly than the harpsichord, and it was this fact more than any other that drove the development of the much cheaper square piano in the 1760s.³⁴ The majority of examples of music-making in the country house discussed here involve ladies playing harpsichord or harp, and gentlemen playing the cello, violin or flute. For the landed gentry and middle-class families of able means, this was clearly an acceptable expense. Ellen Weeton, a governess working in Lancashire in the 1790s and 1810s, writes to her brother of her efforts to learn the flageolet. Clearly, she had some instruction from her violin-playing brother, as she writes of her progress, with just a tutor book for help:

I often play upon my Flageolet and am very fond of it; [I] have likewise experienced the good effects of it in keeping up my spirits. I am rather at a stop respecting flats and sharps, for my book does not explain the use of these at the beginning of the line in any of the tunes, so I play all the notes natural. If I had not recollected a part of your instructions on the violins, I could not have attempted to play the simplest tune by any directions I now have... I shall make you give me a Lesson or two when I see you.³⁵

Two years later, she reveals something of her progress on the flageolet to her brother:

Mrs. W. thinks of learning to play on the Pedal Harp this Winter, and as I begin to have some ideas of music, we are in hopes to instruct ourselves. I have fought it out on the flageolet without the least instruction, verbal or oral, and do not fear succeeding in some degree.³⁶

Ellen Weeton's desire to learn an instrument in her 30s occurred after she had been working some years as a governess, and before her marriage in 1814 to Aaron Stock, a

³⁴ Richard Maunder, 'J. C. Bach and the Early Piano in London', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 116, No. 2 (1991), pp. 201–10.

³⁵ J. J. Bagley (ed.), *Miss Weeton: Journal of a Governess, 1807–1811* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1969), pp. 71. *Up-Holland Nov 18, 1807. To her Brother, [Thomas Rawlinson Weeton] at Leigh.*

³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 72.

Wigan factory owner and widower. After a period of spinsterhood, her music instruction was for personal gain only, and without the social necessity described above.³⁷ Investment in an expensive instrument was not deemed necessary for a lady whose pursuit of music was for personal satisfaction only. The tutor book Ellen Weeton used was probably *The Preceptor for Bainbridge & Wood's new Patent Flute Flageolet*, one of two methods for flageolet registered at Stationer's Hall during this period and published shortly after the instrument's invention in 1807.³⁸

A survey of tutor books issued during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, outlined in table 6, reveals a wide array of instruments catered for, yet some firm favourites. The list of 72 items contains some new editions of books published before 1789, but not the numerous reprints of some titles. Jacob Wragg's *The Flute Preceptor*, first published in 1792, for example, was reprinted forty times until 1855.³⁹ Also listed are music tutor books and instructional methods entered at Stationer's Hall at the turn of the nineteenth century. This data gives an indication of the market demand for different instruments. This will be examined in more detail in Chapter 3.

Table 2.1. Instrumental and Vocal Tutors and Treatises Entered at Stationers' Hall from 1789 to 1818.⁴⁰

Instrument	No. of books	Instrument	No. of books
Keyboard	23	Double Flageolet	2
Treatises Concerning Harmony and Theory	13	[Spanish] Guitar	1
Thorough Bass Treatises	6	Mandolin	1

³⁷ For a detailed examination of Ellen Weeton see Amanda Vickery, 'Women of the Local Elite in Lancashire, 1750-c.1825' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1991).

³⁸ Albert R. Rice, 'Selection of Instrumental and Vocal Tutors and Treatises Entered at Stationers Hall from 1789 to 1818', *Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 41 (Oct. 1988), pp. 16–23.

³⁹ Jacob Wragg, *The Flute Preceptor*, (London: printed for the author, 1792). Third edition published in London, 1806; fortieth edition published in London, ca. 1855.

⁴⁰ List taken from Rice, 1988.

Flute	4	Drum	1
Violin	4	Fife	1
Singing	5	Cello	1
Harp	4	Bassoon	1
Trumpet or Bugle	3	Harp Lute	1
		Tambourine	1

Tutor books and instructional methods took a variety of forms. Some gave the bare minimum explanation of music theory and notation whilst others went into more detail of instrument-specific techniques and covered topics such as ornamentation. Some, such as the aforementioned *The Preceptor for Bainbridge & Wood's new Patent Flute Flageolet*, had very little in the way of instrument-specific advice apart from a fingering chart. Occasionally, the author seems overly keen to introduce the reader to techniques not needed for the music in their publication: for instance, the preface of W. Gawler's *A Miscellaneous Collection of Fugitive Pieces [...] for the harpsichord or pianoforte*, op 2, 1784, contains some rare explanations of boxed hairpin crescendo and diminuendo symbols, and the 'Shdruchiolo' technique (glissando 'with the back of nail') – neither of which appear in the pieces contained in the book. It is likely that these new techniques were included to satisfy the consumer's need for the latest fashion in performance styles (even though, the latter, Shdruchiolo technique, was surely one for the more advanced player).

In many cases, these tutor books were not intended as self-help manuals for the student without the aid of a music teacher; they were to be used to aid the students' lessons with their masters. James Hook, in his *Guida di musica*, 1810, expressed the hope that his collection of lessons 'will be found convenient to the Master and useful to the Scholar'. Samuel Arnold's *A Set of Progressive Lessons for the Harpsichord, or the Piano Forte*, 1777, were written 'at the particular request of my late worthy Friend Mr. Butler and most of them originally for his particular use as a Teacher on the Harpsichord'.⁴¹ Edward Millar's *Institutes of music, or, Easy instructions for the harpsichord*, intended to be used in schools, goes further than most tutor books by having the prefatory section on

⁴¹ Samuel Arnold's *A Set of Progressive Lessons for the Harpsichord, or the Piano Forte*, op 12 (London: 1777), preface.

the rudiments of theory laid ‘by way of Question and Answer’ between teacher and scholar:

Thus, if twenty young Ladies learn music in the same School [...] instead of one being taught [...] and then another called to take her place, the whole number were collected together, and while one is performing on the Harpsichord, the rest are as usefully employed in learning the Elements of Music.⁴²

The market for music instruction books was evidently large, but as the examples show, a book was no substitute for a teacher. James Nares, writing in *Il Principio, or a regular introduction to playing on the harpsichord or organ*, 1765, suggests that his instruction book could be used by teachers as a guide for their students ‘step by step [...] after which Period the Compositions [...] are so numerous and so excellent that a Master can be at no Loss to satisfy his own Taste or that of his Scholars’.⁴³ As we shall see, Samuel Hellier took great pains to appoint music masters for the members of his amateur orchestra, despite the rural Staffordshire location, and the altruistic (and presumably expensive) nature of the venture.

We have seen evidence for widespread music tuition, of both women and men, across the classes, and reasons why there are so many more tutor books for keyboard compared to those for other common instruments. An examination of surviving printed music can help to reinforce these conclusions, by uncovering specific modifications designed for the amateur musician. This will be looked at in depth in chapter 3, Musical Tastes.

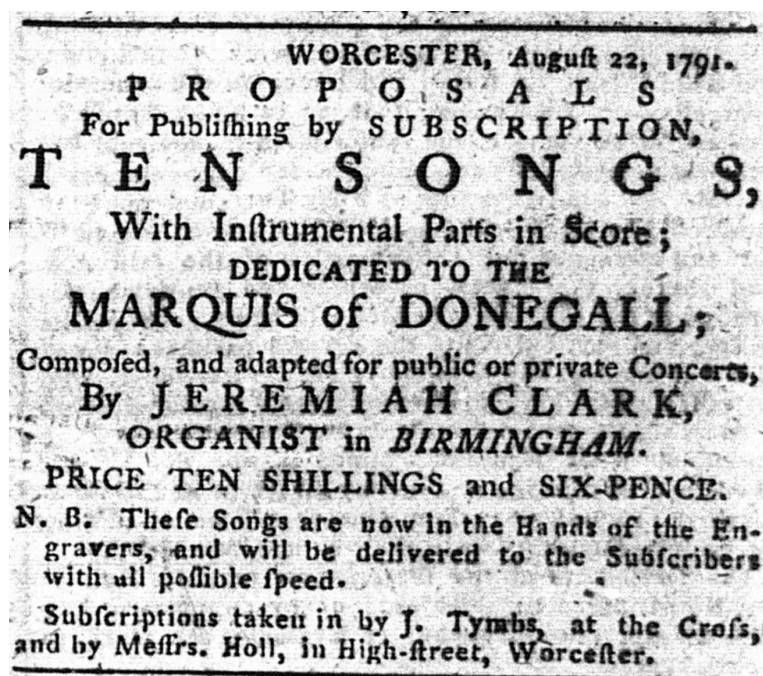
⁴² Edward Millar, *Institutes of music, or, Easy instructions for the harpsichord* (London: [1760?]), preface.

⁴³ James Nares, *Il Principio, or a regular introduction to playing on the harpsichord or organ* (1765), preface.

2.1.6. Subscribers Lists and Dedicatees

Other sources by which to examine musical activities of the country house are the lists of subscribers found in many collections of printed music. These can reveal various connections the composer had with their public, either through reputation or through personal contact by association or as a teacher to the family. Analysis of data from many lists of subscribers can also help establish a pattern of engagement by the amateurs who patronized the composers. Publication by subscription was the only option for many composers wanting to receive income from their compositions but could either not afford to take the risk of paying in advance for it to be printed themselves or did not have a sole patron willing to foot the bill. Ordinarily, advertisements were placed in newspapers in the weeks and months leading up to publication inviting members of the public to subscribe in advance. The following advert, for Jeremiah Clark's *Ten Songs*, op 4, is typical:⁴⁴

Illustration 2.1. Call for subscribers to Jeremiah Clark's *Ten Songs*, op 4.⁴⁵



⁴⁴ Jeremiah Clark, *Ten Songs, with Instrumental Parts in Score*, op 4 (London: 1792).

⁴⁵ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (from hereafter *BWJ*), Monday, 25 August 1791.

The necessity to acquire backers for their publishing ventures had a distinct advantage for composers who were also music teachers. By listing the subscribers, the composer was able to show the purchasing public just how connected they were, and who their clientele was. Indeed, in some advertisements calling for subscribers, the composer indicated the nobility they had already secured.⁴⁶ The custom of listing Nobleman and Gentlemen first in such lists had the bonus showing the composer's connections. The lists served as promotional advertisements that would ideally lead to the composer gaining more pupils and patrons. Subscribing was also a form of professional reciprocity whereby composers supported their colleagues in return for expected future support. Some composers offered financial incentives for subscribing to their music, giving a discount.⁴⁷

We can understand further the relationship between a composer's patron and/or pupil and the genre of music published by looking at the dedicatees of printed music. A short overview of sixty collections of printed music containing dedications published in England and Scotland between 1750 and 1810 reveals that all but a few conform to the gender-specific genre.⁴⁸ Forty of the sixty-nine works studied were collections of 'female' music (keyboard music, both solo and accompanied, songs, etc.), which were dedicated to female patrons. Twenty-six of the works were of chamber music (duets, trios, quartets, concertos, etc.) with male dedicatees. Just three of the total did not conform to this norm, with Samuel Arnold's *Eight lessons for the harpsichord or piano forte*,

⁴⁶ For example, the advertisement for Dublin composer William Heron's *Twelve Songs, with Accompaniment for the Piano Forte*, includes the following: 'This Work has already been honoured by the patronage of her Excellency the Countess of Camden – Their Grace's the Duke and Duchess of Meinster – The Marchionesses of Clanricarde and Waterford – Countess of Carrick, Shannon, Longueville, &c. – Hon. Mrs Beresford – Hon. Mrs. Stopford – Hon. Miss Foster – Mrs. Richard Wynne – Miss Dopping – Mrs. Austin – Earl of Charlemont – Right Hon. Lord O'Neil, &c. &c.' *Dublin Evening Post*, Tuesday, 12 April 1796.

⁴⁷ For example: James Kempson's compilation of *Eight Anthems* was advertised for sale at five shillings, 'after which there will be an Advance' (*ABG*, 5 December 1784); George Cheese's *Eight Songs in Score* was advertised as available to subscribers for five shillings, and to non-subscribers for seven shillings and sixpence. (*Dublin Evening Post*, Tuesday, 12 April 1796).

⁴⁸ Publications were sourced from the British Library Catalogue of Printed Music.

op 7 (1785), Robert Barber's *Six Sonatas for the pianoforte or harpsichord* (1775) and Anton Kammell's *Sei Trii di Violino e Bass* (1766) dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland, Sir John Hussey Delaval and Lady Lucy Mann respectively.

An examination into all surviving prints with dedicatees in order to investigate the specific relationship between author and patron is beyond the scope of this study, but there is much evidence to suggest that the female dedicatees received music tuition from the composers. R. J. S. Stevens' *Ten Songs*, op 2 (1787) was dedicated to Lady Anna Maria Bowes, a pupil of Stevens, who 'very kindly gave [Stevens] Five Guineas for the Dedication; and, at the same time, was graciously pleased to say, "That she lamented she was a Minor, and therefore incapable of behaving with so much generosity to me as she could wish"''.⁴⁹

This type of background information, which reveals the financial transaction for the dedication to Stevens' op 2, is scarce and therefore not reliable enough to use as a rule of thumb for the amount of money changing hands. However, there are numerous instances where a teacher-pupil (or teacher-parent) relationship is found in cases where a publication is dedicated. One such example relevant to this study is to be found in Mattia Vento's *Six Sonatas*, op 4, published in Paris in 1776. This set was dedicated to Charlotte Bridgeman, the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Bridgeman. Charlotte's tuition will be discussed in detail below in section 2.3.4, and the musical tastes of her family in chapter 3. The convenient close proximity of the Bridgeman's London residence (St James' Square) to the King's Theatre, Haymarket, where Vento was director, and the fact that Sir Henry and Vento were members of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club at the same time, would suggest that Charlotte, who was fourteen or fifteen at this time, received lessons from Vento.

⁴⁹ Mark Argent, *Recollections of R.J.S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), p. 57.

2.2. Music Tuition.

In section 2.1, music's role in the lives of sons and daughters of nobility and gentry has revealed a contrast in how it was perceived and participated in by men and women. An investigation into how these classes learnt music can help to uncover more detail of music's role in the late eighteenth century.

2.2.1. Music Education

The sons of the nobility and gentry were either taught by private teachers or sent to boarding schools such as those of Eton, Winchester and Harrow. Typically, eldest sons were subsequently sent up to Oxford or Cambridge, and their younger brothers encouraged to enter the armed forces or the church. Large boarding schools for girls were not as common as those for boys, yet there were numerous small schools that catered for the daughters of middle class and gentry families, both in provincial towns and in London. It wasn't unusual for girls to be sent to school in London: Elizabeth Sykes of Sledmere in Yorkshire, for example, was sent to an exclusive London school for three years between 1793 and 1796 and, judging by the material she collected in music notebooks before and after this period, she continued her music studies in London, whether formally or informally.⁵⁰ The Birmingham edition of the trade directory *The distant traders guide* of 1788 lists four school houses for gentlemen and six for ladies in the town.⁵¹ It was more usual for girls of the upper classes to be taught 'in-house' by governesses, or, for middle classes at small local boarding school, and stopped short of any formal higher education, favouring instead the acquisition of accomplishments such as needlecraft, drawing and general housewifery (as discussed above, section 2.1.2).

In 1775, Birmingham merchant, Matthew Boulton, was considering sending his seven-year-old daughter, Anne, away to school. Having evidently asked the opinion of a friend John Whitehurst to investigate Blacklands School for Girls in Chelsea, quite

⁵⁰ Jeanice Brookes, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 91, No. 4, 2010), pp. 517-18.

⁵¹ Hunter, 1788.

close to what is now Sloane Square.⁵² Whitehurst wrote to Boulton that he had visited the school and while he thought it satisfactory, he was doubtful whether it was right for Anne:

The education of girls appears to me of more real importance than that of boys. And tho' I have a good opinion of Blacklands School I must beg leave to name my own thoughts concerning the education of Miss Boulton as I find myself interested in the welfare of your family. Suppose you were to depart from the common mode and to take the sole care of Miss Boulton's education under your own roof? Where you might daily judge the propriety of her Tutor's conduct. Was I in your Situation I should certainly persue such a plan, as circumstances at present occur to me. Mr Day is not yet return'd, so nothing more is done in the Plan we named to you. Only, it manifestly appears from calculations that £25 per annum will include every species of Education and every other expense whatever, clothes excepted. I mean to include all the branches of Education w[hi]ch in a general way cost £70 per annum.⁵³

Here, Matthew Boulton was advised that a boarding school was not as appropriate for his daughter as a private tutor, a situation that was against the trend at the time. In general, noble families wishing to appoint governesses and teachers did not seek them through newspaper advertisements; rather, personal recommendations were preferred, and it appears from the letter to Boulton (a merchant-gentleman), that this was Whitehurst's suggestion for Anne; an indication of Boulton's wealth and status as much as a preference. Surviving advertisements placed by gentry families seeking governesses often show the skills that were desired by their potential employers. Typical of these is the following:

⁵² 'Social history: Education, private schools', in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 12, Chelsea*, ed. Patricia E C Croot (London, 2004), pp. 190-95. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol12/pp190-195> [accessed 15 May 2019].

⁵³ Birmingham Archives and Heritage, Matthew Boulton Papers, 13 MBP 366/15, John Whitehurst-Matthew Boulton, 30 October 1775. Quoted in Shena Mason, *Hark, I hear Musick! Music and the Boultons of Soho House* (private ms research report) Birmingham, 1999.

A GOVERNESS WANTED,

In a gentleman's family, in this county, a
young person, as GOVERNESS to three young
ladies: - She must be a person of unexceptional
character, of respectable friends and connections,
capable of instructing them in NEEDLE-WORK,
and FRENCH and ENGLISH GRAMMATICALLY.

For further particulars apply to Mr. Brittain,

Bridge street, Chester.⁵⁴

The notable absence of music (and even dancing) in the lists of desired subjects is typical, but not an indication that these subjects were not required. The 'gentleman' in this particular family, who may have been a professional (for example, a doctor, or lawyer), may well have seen music as an accomplishment necessary for his daughters' upward social mobility, but probably less useful for their more realistic destiny of wives to gentlemen within their own social rank. It was possible that such a person capable of teaching these advertised subjects as well as music was so rare as to render advertising music pointless. A more representative indication of subjects taught to young ladies comes from advertisements for boarding schools, but again 'the curriculum was haphazardly serviced'.⁵⁵

The following advertisement appeared in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* alongside nine other advertisements for boarding schools and one specifically for a dancing master, all on the same page. Five of these advertisements list the subjects that were offered, and only the one above mentions music. In the newspapers I have consulted, there are few such advertisements for music teachers compared to those for dancing teachers.

Temple-street, Corner of Queen-street, Birmingham.

MRS. WEBB presents respectful Compliments
to her Friends and the Public, returns her sincere

⁵⁴ *Chester Chronicle*, Tuesday, 13 June 1797.

⁵⁵ Leppert, 1985, pp. 133–58.

Thanks to those who have encouraged her in her Undertaking, and hopes that by an unremitting Attention to her Pupils, she shall merit a Continuance of their Favours. That she may be enabled to do real Justice to the young Ladies entrusted to her Care, she does not purpose taking more than eight Boarders. The Situation of the House is airy, the Rooms large and lofty. – Masters properly qualified for Writing, Dancing, Drawing, Music, and French, will attend on the usual Terms. The School opens again the 18th instant. | July 4, 1791.⁵⁶

More often than not, when music is listed as a subject, advertisements highlight music as a special subject requiring a dedicated teacher, as in the following advertisement for Mrs Morgan’s school in Bromsgrove:

Mrs. MORGAN,
BROMSGROVE.
RESPECTFULLY informs her friends and
the public, that she intends to open a School
for young Ladies, after the Christmass Recess, on the
following terms ;

Board, Washing, English Grammar,	£	s	d
Tambour, Embroidery, &c. per annum	10	10	0
Entrance, with a pair of Sheets	0	10	6
Ditto [Entrance], without ditto [Sheets]	1	1	0
Dancing, per quarter	0	12	6
Entrance	0	10	6
Writing, per quarter	0	5	0
Entrance	0	2	6

Music and Drawing (if required) by approved master.
She relies on her friends for encouragement in

⁵⁶ *ABG*, Friday, 4 July 1791.

this undertaking, and pledges herself that every possible care and attention shall be paid to the pupils committed to her charge.

*** Day Scholars by the week or quarter.

+++ The School will be opened the 20th of January.⁵⁷

Everything about this advertisement suggests that families were sending their daughters to Mrs Morgan to acquire as many accomplishments as possible. Advertisements for music tuition at schools grew in number during the 1790s, due to the popularity of the subject. In some cases, specialist music schools were open for young ladies, such as that opened by Mrs Partridge in Worcester who advertised that:

she has OPENED an ACADEMY, No. 46, Cooken-street, where she Instructs YOUNG LADIES upon the *PIANO FORTE* or *HARPSICHORD*, upon reasonable terms.⁵⁸

In practice, this arrangement was the reverse of the peripatetic nature in the examples of music tutors presented in this study, whereby the young daughters of the town's gentry made appointments rather than being called upon. Partridge was careful to point out that 'Any Lady may be attended at her own house, if required', offering a service that would have been expected by the nobility.⁵⁹

The relative scarcity of advertisements for music teachers might suggest that music was a subject less in demand than dancing at such schools, or at least one that required a more specialist teacher thereby prohibiting every school engaging one. Music teachers working independently of the schools relied on other forms of advertising to attract pupils. As discussed above, teachers who were also composers were able to rely on their own printed music serving as advertisements for their services. Other methods probably included handbills – a rather temporary type of account that, due to their ephemeral nature, do not survive in large quantities.

⁵⁷ *BWJ*, Monday, 1 January 1789.

⁵⁸ *BWJ*, Monday, 5 October 1790.

⁵⁹ *BWJ*, Monday, 2 April 1795.

Occasionally, advertisements offering music tuition were placed in newspapers. Here, the clientele is gentlemen rather than girls:

MUSIC

Harpsichord, and Spinets perfectly tuned.

GENTLEMEN, and others taught upon the German Flute

without the perplexing Prolixity

of a Book ; and in a much shorter Manner than by any

Rule extant, or Method discovered by modern Masters.

Enquire at Mr. Nott's, adjoining to the Bowling-Green, Kidderminster.⁶⁰

We see here the promise of a quick fix for gentlemen wanting to learn their instrument 'in a much shorter Manner than by any Rule extant'. This claim is not seen on comparable adverts aimed at ladies. This situation plays into the desire for men to take part in music but not be seen to be spending too much effort, (discussed previously in section 2.1.3). In the course of my research I have not come across evidence of noblemen receiving music tuition before their teenage years.

The starting age for girls learning music (most often the harpsichord) was usually six or seven, and it often continued until the age of marriage in their early twenties. This tender starting age for music lessons was no doubt seen by parents as important in order for girls to be able to progress to a high enough standard on their instrument. However, this was seen as problematic by some; Pasquali, who in his *The Art of Fingering The Harpsichord*, issued a proposal that:

Children should be first taught on Spinets [...] with narrower Keys than usual; those of the first Size to be so built that the sounding an Octave shall require no wider Stretch than the sounding a Sixth does on an ordinary Harpsichord, and the second Size no wider than the usual Seventh. So that the first Size might serve Children till the Age of Seven or Eight, and the second

⁶⁰ *BWJ*, Monday, 18 January 1781.

Size until the Age of Twelve or Thirteen; then they may be brought to play on the ordinary Harpsichords.⁶¹

The amount of tuition it was normal for the sons and daughters of gentry and nobility to receive is hard to quantify. Hannah More points to the fashion of the time for families of the gentry and nobility to appoint ever increasing numbers of specialist teachers: ‘The science of music, which used to be communicated in so competent a degree [...] by one able instructor, is now distributed among a whole band. She now requires, not a master, but an orchestra’.⁶² In the second edition to *Strictures*, More prints an interesting account from ‘a person of great eminence’, which hints at the extent of music tuition for ladies by the time of her writing in 1800:

Suppose your pupil to begin at six years of age, and to continue at the average of four hours a-day only, Sunday excepted, and thirteen days allowed for travelling annually, till she is eighteen, the state stands thus: 300 days multiplied by four, the number of hours amount to 1200 ; that number multiplied by twelve, which is the number of years, amounts to 14,400 hours!⁶³

Even accounting for inflation through exaggeration, this figure is certainly in the realms of the current thinking that a professional musician needs to have clocked up 10,000 hours of practice.⁶⁴

2.2.2. The Music Teacher Profession.

Examination of surviving printed music provides overwhelming evidence of a thriving amateur music scene participated by the nobility and gentry. We have also seen that

⁶¹ Nicolo Pasquali, *The art of fingering, The Harpsichord. Illustrated with examples in notes. To which is added, an approved method of tuning that instrument* (London, 1765), preface.

⁶² More, p. 79–80.

⁶³ More, p. 80–81.

⁶⁴ The notion that the mastery of a musical instrument or sport needed 10,000 hours was first put forward in Malcolm Gladwell’s *Outliers: The Story of Success* (New York City: Little, Brown and Company, 2008).

tutor books give a good sense of the self-teaching that went on in families who perhaps could not afford a teacher, or just preferred not to engage one. Evidence of teachers' activities is also in abundance, when we consider that most composers in the eighteenth century were also teachers: biographies and histories of music often focus on who composers studied with, in order to understand stylistic influences on their output. Composition, however, was just one branch of the musicians' training, and we must also consider that these prominent figures were usually first-rate practitioners on their instruments or voice, who also mastered this art through tuition from others, and passed on this knowledge by teaching others. Less is known about the teachers who served amateur musicians, or those musicians who composed little or no music of their own. One can gauge the numbers of teachers active in the late eighteenth century by consulting trade directories. Mortimer's *The Universal Director* of 1763, states: 'The list of the Professors of Music contains a variety of masters in the different branches of that science; and as a knowledge of music constitutes one part of polite education, it is hoped it will prove in that respect an acceptable guide to the public'.⁶⁵ He goes on to explain that, 'care has been taken to insert only the Masters and Professors of Music residing in London and its environs, and such as actually teach'.⁶⁶ Presumably there needed to be cut-off criteria to reduce what would be a much larger list of music teachers. Among the ninety-five 'Masters and Professors of Music' Mortimer lists, are some familiar composers – Arne, Boyce, Burney, for example – whilst there are many other well-known performers: the Handelian tenor John Beard, cellist James Cervetto and trumpeter Valentine Snow, to name but a few. Yet, with just five teachers each for cello and flute listed, Mortimer's *The Universal Directory* was surely not a complete list of London-based musicians, or even music teachers who serviced the nobility and gentry.

Doane's *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* gives us many more names from which to discover potential numbers of music teachers during the late eighteenth century.⁶⁷ He

⁶⁵ Thomas Mortimer, *The universal Director; or, the Nobleman and Gentleman's True guide to the masters and professors of the liberal and polite arts and sciences* (London: Mortimer, 1763), p. vi.

⁶⁶ Mortimer, 1763, p. 38.

⁶⁷ J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794*. (London: R. H. Westley, 1794).

takes the trouble to annotate many of the names in the *Musical Directory* with the ‘Societies and Places where persons have performed’, and ‘to distinguish the performers of airs, or principal vocal parts, from the Choral performers, the word *prin* is prefixed [...] while the choral part is denominated *Canto*’. At the end of Doane’s *A Musical Directory*, a concluding *List of the various Musical Societies, Concerts, Bands, Choirs, Theatres, Gardens, &c. with the Manner in which they are referred to in the preceding directory. With some few Particulars relative to each* run to fifty-four such choirs, military bands, theatre and pleasure garden orchestras.⁶⁸ By using these qualifying indicators and including many provincial musicians, the list is transformed into a who’s who of late eighteenth-century performers, which, by its scope cuts across the professional-amateur divide. Although it cannot be considered exhaustive, it includes a good representation of professionals and amateurs from many musical environments across the country. However, Doane does not annotate the names in the directory with teaching positions or credentials; the only indication of a person’s teaching activities is reserved for those few with prominent positions and qualifications (for example, ‘Hayes, Dr Philip, *Organ, Tenor, Ro[yal] So[ciety of] Mu[sicians], Cha[pel] Ro[yal] Ch[oir], Professor at Oxford*’.⁶⁹ As I will demonstrate later in this chapter, the profession of musician was synonymous with that of music teacher, so that there was no need for Doane to indicate this fact. Therefore, the distinction he makes between the principal singers and players on the one hand and chorus members and rank-and-file players must have been seen as important in recognising teachers with credentials.

Occasionally, musicians themselves placed advertisements in an attempt to gain more scholars. Northampton-based violinist Michael Dabney put on subscription concerts in the town during the 1770s. The advertisement for one of these – on 22 January 1771 included the foot note: ‘MUSIC, upon all Kinds of Instrument taught by the said Michael Dabney, upon the lowest Terms.’ Two years later Dabney opened a music shop in the town selling ‘all Sorts of Music, and Musical Instruments, which will be sold as cheap as in London’, and ‘Bands for Assemblies provided on the shortest Notice’. He restates his offer of teaching services, this time giving a list of instruments

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 84.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

he could instruct ladies and gentlemen: ‘Violin, Violoncello, Tenor [viola], Hautboy, Clarinet, Bassoon, German Flute, or Guitar, may be taught, on reasonable Terms.’⁷⁰

Rocke, who described himself as ‘Formerly First Violin to the Court of Hanover’ took out an advertisement in the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, 18 September 1773 announcing that he taught ‘Violin, Hautboy, German Flute, Bassoon, Guittar, and Harpsichord and Vocal Music. He will wait on Ladies and Gentlemen in the Country if required’.⁷¹

A more likely scenario for engaging music teachers than picking a name from a directory such as those published by Mortimer and Doane was by a personal recommendation. Families were to entrust the safety of their daughters to these private teachers and needed to be sure of their moral character and standing, regardless of their reputation as a good performer. However, as there is much evidence that the teacher contributed to the family music-making, whether it was by playing keyboard duets with their pupils or playing violin or viola to open up repertoire possibilities for the party, the teacher’s calibre as a performer was surely an important factor.

As discussed earlier, music teachers were one of many such private tutors who taught the sons and daughters of nobility and gentry. Music, like dancing or painting, was unusual in requiring a specialist teacher for that subject alone, rather a general teacher who offered many different subjects. The nature, extent and frequency of music lessons given by private teachers varied depending on context, the social standing and relative wealth of each family. However, the parents of higher noble classes may have considered that music was not at all a priority skill for their daughter to acquire given that there was already a high probability of an equally noble match for their sons and daughters. Conversely, aspiring families of merchant class, such as Jane Austen’s fictional Bennets, portrayed in *Pride and Prejudice*, would want to foster as many of their daughters’ accomplishments as possible to increase eligibility. As we will see later, many of the Midlands’ prominent musicians, including those with church and cathedral positions, also served as teachers in their locality. Indeed, it has been

⁷⁰ *Northampton Mercury*, (from hereafter, *NM*) Monday, 2 August 1773.

⁷¹ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, Saturday, 18 September 1773.

argued that musicians' performing activities were secondary in importance to their teaching, as the former was a relatively sporadic source of income and the latter a more regular one.⁷²

The regularity of teaching depended on the Season: the social calendar dictated that many wealthy families living in their London residence during the months when Parliament was sitting, between October and June. Some evidence can be seen for tuition to carry on while the family was in London with the same teacher (for example, the case of Francis Hackwood, teacher to Charlotte and Elizabeth Bridgeman, discussed below), and sometimes with a separate, London-based teacher.

2.2.3. Evidence of Music Teachers' Activities.

The Hertford-based musician, Thomas Green, left a detailed series of accounts that contain much useful information about his clients and the regularity with which they were taught or had their instruments tuned and repaired.⁷³ Although he was operating in and around Hertford, he serves as a uniquely thorough example that can be applied to other provincial areas. Green's own *List of Scholars and the time, when they begun, and left off* was probably compiled about 1780 with later additions, giving a list spanning 1743 until 1789. He taught at a number of schools during his career – four boys' schools, and five girls' schools, teaching harpsichord, music, and sometimes drawing. More often than not Green did not list the names of his scholars; the majority of them were taught harpsichord, but some he listed as having taught them 'music', (probably to differentiate between those to whom he taught drawing). It is therefore not often possible to ascertain whether those he taught on different occasions were different pupils. In some schools he taught very few (for example, one or two pupils at a time at 'Mr Worsley at Boarding School Hertford', between 1766 and 1769, and up to seventeen between 1761 and 1790 at 'Mr Carr at Hertford'). Table 2.2 lists Green's pupils, private and at schools, taken from his own accounts.⁷⁴

⁷² Ehrlich, *The Music Profession*, pp. 23.

⁷³ Gillian Sheldrick (ed.), *The Accounts of Thomas Green: Music Teacher and Tuner of Musical Instruments, 1742–1790* (Hertfordshire Record Publications, 1992).

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Table 2.2. Thomas Green's *List of Scholars*, 1743–89

Type of scholar	No. of scholars
Female private pupils, unmarried	52
Female private pupils, married	9
Male private pupils	14 §
Schools, girls	6
Schools, boys	4

§ including one violin scholar.

Thomas Green was evidently a freelance musician, earning his keep from a variety of tuning and teaching jobs; a similar scenario we saw earlier with James Chew and James Radcliffe in Worcester. Green's situation was by no means the rule of thumb for music teachers in England at this time. It was just as usual for teachers to have salaried positions in the church, and the majority of case studies presented later on in this chapter are of church organists who were engaged as teachers by the families in question. A case in point is Barnabas Gunn, who was organist at St Philip's Church (now Cathedral) 1715-30, and again from 1740 until his death in 1753. During this last period of his career in Birmingham, he also served as organist to the main parish church, St Martin's. He supplemented the income from these positions by teaching privately and serving as the Birmingham post-master.⁷⁵ The only known pupil of Gunn was Maria Dolman of Broome in Staffordshire.⁷⁶ Maria's father, Thomas Dolman was rector of Broom, and presumably of modest means. Maria's cousin was the poet William Shenstone, and the two were evidently close, almost certainly as a result of Thomas acting as William's guardian after his mother died. In a letter to Shenstone of February 26, 1750, Maria offers an opinion of Barnabas Gunn, stating 'I think he's a disagreeable Man; very mercenary; always full of Esteem for himself, and of Contempt for all others; and does not consider, that it is almost as glorious to

⁷⁵ Handford, 1992, p. 23.

⁷⁶ The village of Broome is now in county of Worcestershire.

acknowledge Merit in other Persons, as to have it oneself'.⁷⁷ She also describes how, along with reading, music was her preferred distraction in the winter months, and that:

[...] we have two Amusements which never fail us, and those are Reading and Music. In order that we may enjoy the latter in a greater Degree than we have done of late, we have got Mr. G[unn] over sometimes, you know, who has procured us a new Spinnet, and he says, he'll make us proficient in the Art of Music presently, provided we will but be diligent.⁷⁸

The phrase 'we have got Mr. G over' here could refer to either Gunn teaching Maria and her brother, or playing music with her and the family, and possibly both of these activities. At a distance of thirteen miles from Birmingham, Gunn's journey must have been worthwhile financially, even if he had other teaching in the area at the same time. In arranging keyboard instrument hire for the Dolmans, Gunn was clearly acting as more than just a teacher, taking on the role of instrument agent, presumably in order to take full financial advantage of the situation. There are no surviving records of the lessons Dolman received from Gunn (such as receipts), so one can only speculate as to the frequency of lessons and whether Gunn carried out even more extra duties such as making music with the family, tuning their spinet or selling on

⁷⁷ Mr. Hull, *Select letters between the late Duchess of Somerset, Lady Luxborough, ... and others ... In two volumes: [pt.1]*. (London; J. Dodsley, 1778), Letter XXX, Miss Dolman to W. Shenstone. The letter continues, giving confirmation that miss Dolman's 'Mr. G—' is in fact Barnabas Gunn by referring to the pamphlet that William Hayes published anonymously in 1750 in which Hayes suggests that Gunn composed with the aid of a fictional machine called a Spruzzarino that squirted random dots of ink onto manuscript paper. 'I have sent for the Pamphlet that is wrote against Mr. G—'s Compositions. As he's my Master, I have a Curiosity to it. He says, it pulls him all to Pieces. I can't tell what Genius he has for composing Music, but certainly he's a very good Music-Master. As a Companion, I do not much admire him: I think he's a disagreeable Man; very mercenary; always full of Esteem for himself, and of Contempt for all others; and does not consider, that it is almost as glorious to acknowledge Merit in other Persons, as to have it oneself: but he sets good Lessons, so I'll bear with him.'

⁷⁸ Ibid.

printed music. One indication comes in a letter the following year in which she writes to Shenstone of returning home from a concert:

so much enamoured [...], that the Desire I had before of being a Performer in such a one has, if possible, taken a deeper Root. Clarendon calls Ambition a Weed, which, he says, is apt to grow in the best Soils, so I will not be wholly void of it; I will be ambitious of attaining to some Knowledge of two Things, namely, Music and the *French* Language; and in order to do the latter, I believe my Brother and I shall be so very extravagant, as to have a *French* Master attend us at *Broom*, as frequently as we have G—N to teach as [sic.] Music now'.⁷⁹

Maria Dolman's frequent lessons with Gunn suggest a regular fixture, perhaps a weekly visit during which he not only gave lessons but also played alongside with Maria and her family.

2.2.4. Music Teachers' Fees.

The case studies that follow in this chapter give a good indication of the fees paid to music teachers by the Midlands families studied, through surviving accounts and receipts. These can be put into context by examining evidence for music teachers already studied. Richard Leppert conjectures the annual earnings of four musicians he discusses in his article 'Music teachers of upper-class amateur musicians'.⁸⁰ These earnings range from £170.12.6. (an anonymous teacher advertising in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 1768), £210 (from a statement about Italian musicians in London in Joseph Baretti's *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy*, 1768),⁸¹ £525 (Samuel Wesley's comments about fees charges in the late eighteenth century), to Charles

⁷⁹ Hull, 1778, Letter XXIII, Miss Dolman to W. Shenstone, Broom, Oct. 25, 1751.

⁸⁰ Richard Leppert, 'Music Teachers of Upper-Class Amateur Musicians in Eighteenth-Century England', *Music in the Classic Period: Essays in Honor of Barry S. Brook*. Atlas, A. (ed.) (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985), pp. 133–58.

⁸¹ Joseph Baretti, *An account of the manners and customs of Italy; with observations on the mistakes of some travellers, with regard to that country* (London: T. Davis and L. Davis, 1768), p. 54.

Burney's annual teaching earnings 1779–80 which he estimates to have been £735. Added to this list can be the sum of £200 that Handel was paid to instruct the daughters of the Prince of Wales, Princesses Amelia and Carolina.⁸² As one might expect, these wildly different figures for annual income represent musicians of wildly different standing. However, teaching would not have formed the only income from these families, if we take into consideration that musicians took part in music-making with their pupil's musical circle. Although Leppert's observations, that 'few masters with real talent of musical taste could have found satisfaction with their amateur clientele', may stand true, the fact that teachers appear to have had gained additional income from music-making with their students to the performance, publishing or salaried activities, is overlooked in his discussion.⁸³

A major factor in assessing music teachers' income is the amount of travelling they had to undertake. As discussed above in section 1.2.5, Hertford based teacher and harpsichord tuner Thomas Green rarely travelled more than eight miles to visit his clients, charging five shillings for tuning and teaching in Hertford itself, but ten shillings and sixpence further afield. R.J.S. Stevens, states in his *Recollections*, that in 1778 he charged 'two Guineas Entrance, and a Guinea for six lessons'.⁸⁴ In addition to this general rule, Stevens charged clients more if they lived further away from him than most: he recounts how a new client residing in Bemondsey (Stevens lived in Lambeth, two and a half miles away), accepted his proposal of 'Two Guineas Entrance and two Guineas for Eight lessons'. He later recounts charging for individual lessons at 'Five shillings and three pence for each lesson of an hour'.⁸⁵ Stevens' figure of a guinea for six lessons equates to three shillings and sixpence. This figure appears to have been the more usual standard rate for music teaching, as multiples thereof can be found in most bills consulted in this study, and in sources such as Thomas Green's accounts and the case studies below in section 2.3.⁸⁶

⁸² Deutsch, O. E., *Handel: A Documentary Bibliography* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1955), p. 231.

⁸³ Leppert, 'Music Teachers', p. 146.

⁸⁴ Argent, 1992, p. 31.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 34.

⁸⁶ Sheldrick, 1992.

As was discussed earlier, family teachers were rarely engaged by advertising in the local press. Music teachers too were not engaged by families without consideration. R.J.S. Stevens writes about his teaching appointments at the start of his career. A recommendation from his friend ‘Dicky Randall, organist of Dulwich College’ to a Miss Le Cour, who kept a Ladies Boarding School in Dulwich. Later in 1778, his ‘two excellent friends [...] Samuel Pegge Esqre., Page of the presence to his Majesty; and John Cowslade Esqre, Gentleman Usher to the Queen [...] were eager to recommend me as a teacher of Music and singing: and they *did* recommend me to many respectable families’.⁸⁷

2.2.5. Music Teachers’ Commitments.

Few better sources of the extent of music teachers’ activities survive than those of Charles Burney. Despite a very varied career that saw Burney active with composition, writing and travelling, he is said to have ‘continued teaching until he was seventy-eight, by which time he had been at it for no fewer than fifty-five years, with few interruptions’.⁸⁸ Fanny Burney recounts the period when her father was writing the first volume of his *History of Music*, in 1775, stating that he taught ‘from nine to nine almost every day, and has scarce time to write a page a week’.⁸⁹ In 1780 an astonished Samuel Johnson told Mrs Thrale that Burney had taught fifty-seven lessons in one week’.⁹⁰ In December 1783 Burney complained in a letter to his daughter Susan Phillips that he had to pay four guineas a week for a coach, plus seven shillings for the driver, to rush him from lesson to lesson (‘my back aches at the Idea of the number of hours I must fag [pay] for this [convenience]’).⁹¹

Whilst the example of Burney represents an unusually busy music tutor, other prominent musicians were known to have had busy teaching schedules. William Herschel is known to have ‘attended four, five or six private scholars every day’ in

⁸⁷ Argent, p. 30-31.

⁸⁸ Lonsdale, 1965, p. 75.

⁸⁹ The early diary of Frances Burney, 1768–78 quoted in: Lonsdale, 1965, p. 159.

⁹⁰ Lonsdale, 1965, p. 254.

⁹¹ Lonsdale, 1965, pp. 293–94.

1769, a figure rising to seven in 1771. In a memorandum dated 28 March 1772, he states ‘This week gave 39 lessons to ladies, the following week 38, other weeks little less’. This figure rose to forty-six in one week in 1773. By 1782, when his reputation as an astronomer was gaining momentum he continued to teach, ‘Attending scholars by day and astronomical observations at night’.⁹²

The numbers of lessons Burney and Herschel gave seem an impressive total, but what we cannot tell from them is how many separate clients they represent. It could be that both men taught a least two family members at each residence they visited (halving the number of journeys they took); and we do not know how many times each week they visited a particular house.

Examples from the provinces are scarce and do not provide comparable figures from the perspective of the music teacher, but as we shall see in the following case studies, music lessons were not necessarily routine, and depended on the frequency of lessons, the locale of the teacher and family, and the time of year. Jane Austen wrote about her own music teacher – Mr. Meyers – in a letter to her sister Cassandra in 1815, stating that he ‘gives his three Lessons a week-altering his days & his hours just as he chuses, never very punctual, & never giving good Measure’.⁹³

We have seen so far that in many cases, families of the nobility and gentry considered it important for their daughters and sons to receive music tuition from respectable teachers. The following case studies will examine in more depth the relationship between music teachers and their clients with particular emphasis on nobility and gentry families in the Midlands or those who spent a significant amount of time in the region.

⁹² J. L. E. Dreyer, *The Scientific Papers of Sir William Herschel*, 2 vols, (London: Royal Society, 1912), vol. 1. p. xxiii, n. 32.

⁹³ R. W. Chapman (ed.), *Jane Austen’s Letters to Her Sister Cassandra and Others* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 440.

2.3. Music Tuition: Case Studies.

The following case studies use the findings of original investigation using sources not previously utilized for musicological research. Evidence has been taken principally from family archives in county record offices – invoices, account books and letters – augmented by other primary and secondary sources, to help paint a broader picture of the teachers' activities in the context of the families they worked for. The location of the families' houses is spread over four counties – Warwickshire (including Birmingham, in what is now West Midlands), Staffordshire, Northamptonshire and Worcestershire – and in many cases, the family owned or rented a house in London and therefore the discussions will necessarily cover their musical activities in the capital.

2.3.1. Mary Leigh of Stoneleigh Abbey, Warwickshire.

Mary Leigh was the elder sister of Edward, fifth Lord Leigh. She was born in 1736, and in 1749, when she was just thirteen, her parents died. She was placed in the care of a relative, Elizabeth Verney and as a result very little is known of her formative years. The Stoneleigh Abbey papers now held at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford-upon-Avon show that she was apparently living in Kensington Gore, London from 1750.⁹⁴ She remained in London during much of the 1760s and probably the 1770s, although she also had a room at Stoneleigh Abbey, the family estate situated between Warwick and Coventry. When her brother was declared insane in 1774, she assumed joint responsibility for the estate with her cousin William Craven. After Edward's death in 1786, Mary inherited and took on full responsibility for the vast family estates that stretched over nine counties.

The Stoneleigh Abbey archives contain 15,000 documents associated with Mary. Among these are numerous bills for music lessons and associated items such as printed music and instrument hire. Mark Rothery and Jon Stobart's analysis of the changing

⁹⁴ Jon Stobart, "‘So agreeable and suitable a place’: A Late Eighteenth-Century Suburban Villa", paper presented to *British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies 43rd Annual Conference*, St. Hugh's College, University of Oxford, 8–10 January 2014.

consumption patterns of Mary Leigh has demonstrated that three phases of her life account for three very different periods of spending patterns, as she assumed responsibility for the estate and later gained full control of the inheritance and income.⁹⁵

This progression is also reflected in her music activities. Just six bills for music lessons for Mary survive 1750-65, from two different music teachers. Bills from the first of these, Marmaduke Overend, date between 1750 and 1753, when Mary was fourteen to eighteen years of age. Overend was appointed organist of All Saints Church, Isleworth in Middlesex (now West London) from at least 1755 and retained the post until his death in 1790.⁹⁶ He published an *Epithalamium made on the Marriage of [...] King George iii. and Queen Charlotte* in 1761, which was followed the next year by a book of six trio sonatas, op 1. Given Overend's strong ties in London, it is most likely that he attended Mary at the Leigh family London residence in Upper Grosvenor Street, Mayfair, rather than at Stoneleigh.⁹⁷ Mary's second teacher, John Burton lived in Holborn, just two miles from Upper Grosvenor Street.⁹⁸ The surviving bills suggest that Burton taught Mary for five years from 1760. There is a period of six or seven years, 1753-60, for which no bills concerning music are present. Given the large quantity of bills in the collection, and the care with which they were filed, it is likely that the lack of bills relating to music is due to Mary not receiving lessons during this time, rather than the bills being misplaced. However, as Mary was under the care of Elizabeth Verney during this time, at least until her presentation to society, it is possible that tuition did in fact take place, and that bills were presented to and paid by

⁹⁵ Mark Rothery and Jon Stobart, 'Inheritance Events and Spending Patterns in the English Country House: The Leigh Family of Stoneleigh Abbey, 1738-1806', *Community and Change*, vol. 27, Issue 3 (December 2012), pp. 379-407.

⁹⁶ He is listed as 'Organist of Isleworth, Organist' in the list of subscribers to George Berg, *Six concertos in seven parts*, 1755.

⁹⁷ Rothery and Stobart, 2012, pp. 379-407.

⁹⁸ Doane, 1794; Gerald Gifford, 'Burton, John', Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04413>> accessed 1st Apr. 2016.

Verney. Table 2.3 shows the number of documented lessons Mary received between 1750 and 1765 from Marmaduke Overend and John Burton.

Table 2.3. Mary Leigh's Music Lessons, 1750–65.

Year	No. of recorded lessons §	Conjectural average per year. §§	Bill amount	Average per week. §§	Teacher	Source
1750	12	48	£3.3.0*	<1	Overend	DR18/5/3070
1752– 53	44	48	£11.11.0	<1	Overend	DR18/5/3195
1753	28	48	£7.7.0	<1	Overend	DR18/5/3340
1760– 61	84	118	£19.13.9	2–3	Burton	DR18/5/3915b
1761	93	127	£24.8.3	2–3	Burton	DR18/5/3918
1763– 64	114	152	£29.18.6	2–3	Burton	DR18/5/4166a
1765	56	132	£14.14.0	2–3	Burton	DR18/5/4337

§ Number of lessons indicated from surviving bills.

§§ Assuming tuition occurred every week, based on £0.5.3 per lesson.

* Bill total (£3.7.6) includes spinet hire.

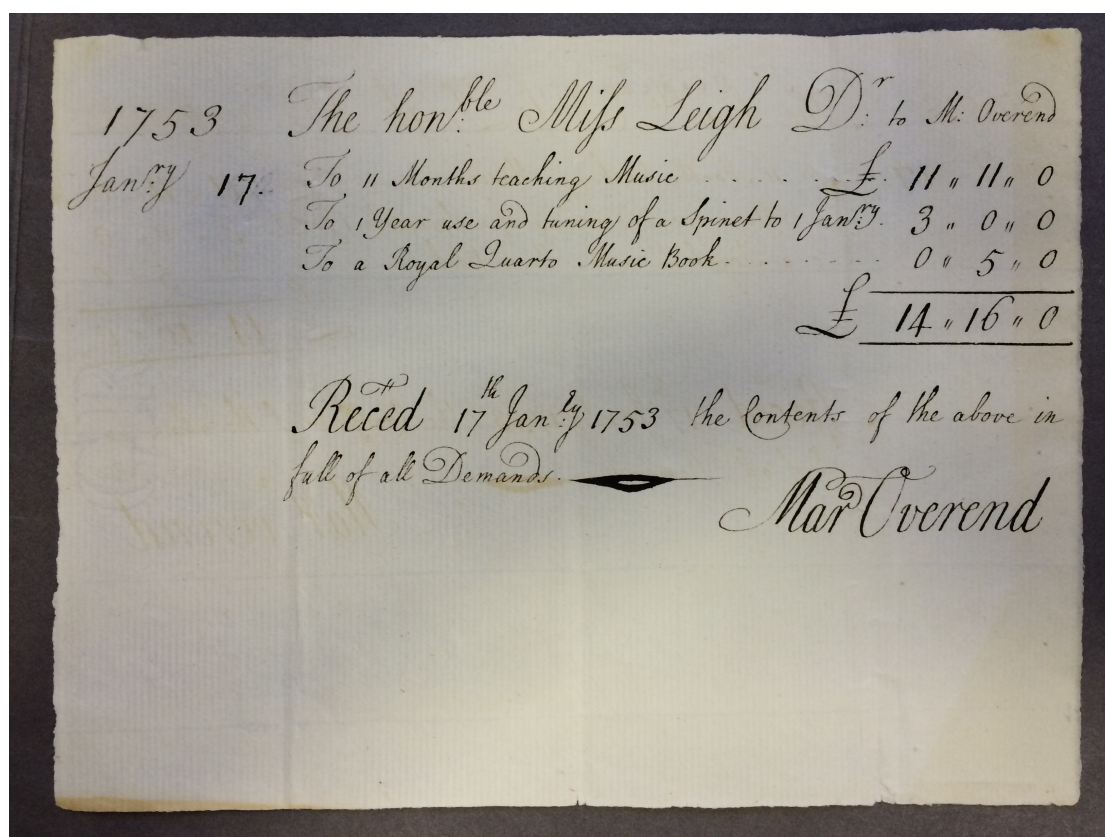
Overend's first bill, dated 19 April 1750, for £3.7.6, does not itemize the lessons given, and was issued for simply '3 months'.⁹⁹ This bill also included hire of a spinet, a rather modest practice keyboard that was probably a second instrument to a larger harpsichord housed at Stoneleigh. We can only make assumptions about the pattern of lessons Mary received and the lack of detail leaves us unsure if Overend visited around once a week, charging three shillings and sixpence, or once a fortnight, charging double this figure owing to the six miles travelled. Only one bill from Overend survives for the year 1750, but it is reasonable to assume that he visited throughout the year – the number of lessons certainly averages out at nearly once a week for the whole period. A comparison of bills for Mary's other teachers would

⁹⁹ SBT, DR18/5/3070.

support this hypothesis. For example, a Joshua Carpenter, listed as ‘tutor’, visited once or twice a week throughout the year, 64 times between January 1751 and January 1753.¹⁰⁰

The next bill from Marmaduke Overend, dated 17 January 1753 for services 1752–53 (indicated in table 2.3), again includes hire of a spinet, and ‘teaching music’, this time for a period of eleven months. Using the standard three shillings and sixpence rate for teachers, we can conjecture that he visited forty-four times during that period.¹⁰¹ In addition to the tuition and spinet hire, Overend billed Mary Leigh for a ‘Royal Quarto Music Book’, presumably so Mary could write down or have written down for her pieces in manuscript, or to assist with her music theory studies.

Illustration 2.2. ‘Mr. Overend[’s account]’ SBT, DR: 18/5/3195.



¹⁰⁰ SBT, DR: 18/5/3198. The subjects Carpenter taught are not indicated, but it is likely to have been a variety of core subjects.

¹⁰¹ SBT, DR: 18/5/3195.

Once Mary came of age, she enjoyed more financial freedom, and the number of music lessons she received duly increased. Her music teacher from this time was John Burton, a well-known harpsichordist and composer whose *Ten Sonatas for the harpsichord, organ or pianoforte*, 1767, was one of the first such to refer to the new piano.¹⁰² As a performer, he sometimes appeared playing concertos in between the acts of productions at the Drury Lane Theatre,¹⁰³ and he is probably the ‘Mr: Borton Clavierist’ Leopold Mozart met at one of Lord and Lady Clive’s private concerts during his London stay with the young Wolfgang 1764–65.¹⁰⁴ The numbers of lessons Mary Leigh received from Overend and Burton, gleaned from the surviving bills, show a remarkable consistency within the distinct periods of her life; from a steady average of one lesson per week from ages thirteen to eighteen, to between two and three lessons per week from ages of twenty-three to twenty-nine. This increase should be seen in the context of her overall spending patterns, which Stobart calculates as £1115 from the years 1750–59, and £1488 for the following decade.¹⁰⁵

The fact that Mary Leigh did not marry means that hers is not a typical example; had she married, she may or may not have continued receiving tuition. The commitment to music tuition that she and her guardian showed, however, is wholly consistent with the pattern seen among women of the nobility. Without a family to care for, and no responsibility for her estate until she was fifty, she no doubt had a little more time for leisure activities.

¹⁰² Gifford, ‘Burton, John’. Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04413>. [accessed 1st April 2016].

¹⁰³ *Public Advertiser*, Monday, 14 March 1757.

¹⁰⁴ Ian Woodfield, ‘New Light on the Mozarts’ London Visit: A Private Concert with Manzuoli’, *Music & Letters*, vol. 76, No. 2 (May, 1995), pp. 187–208.

¹⁰⁵ Jon Stobart, ‘Rich, Female and Single: The Changing Consumption Practices of Mary Leigh, 1736–1806’, paper presented to: *Singles in the Cities of North-West Europe, c.1000–2000*, University of Antwerp, 6–8 March 2013.

2.3.2. Emma Vernon of Hanbury Hall, Droitwich, Worcestershire.

The Vernon family had been associated with Hanbury since the late sixteenth-century. The family accumulated much land and wealth over the next century so that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Thomas Vernon (1654–1721), English chancery lawyer, and Whig MP for Worcester, demolished the family house Spennall Hall and had built a completely new house, styled Hanbury Hall. The house was inherited by Bowater Vernon, Thomas' second cousin, and in turn by Bowater's only son, also Thomas Vernon (1724–71). This Thomas Vernon married Emma Cornwall (1711–77), daughter of Vice Admiral Charles Cornwall, in 1735, and they had one child, Emma Vernon (1754–1818).

In 1773 Emma Vernon married Henry Cecil, (1754–1804), who would become 10th Earl of Exeter in 1793, and 1st Marquess of Exeter in 1801. They lived at Hanbury Hall for the duration of their marriage which was short owing to an affair Emma started with the new curate of Hanbury church, Rev. William Sneyd, in 1785. She eventually confessed this to her husband in May 1789, pleading to be allowed to live with Sneyd, but Henry resisted this. The couple eventually eloped after Henry agreed to Emma having one last meeting with Sneyd in Birmingham, forcing Cecil to return to Hanbury alone.¹⁰⁶ Following a divorce in 1791 the contents of Hanbury Hall were sold by auction. The printed auction-catalogue of the household contents include musical instruments and music-related furniture, revealing some extent of the music-making that had taken place at Hanbury Hall. This catalogue will be discussed more fully in chapter 3.

Documents relating to the Vernon family in the care of Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service provide further evidence of music-making and tuition of the family. Emma received harpsichord lessons at least as early as 1767, when she was twelve or thirteen years of age; the last bills date from 1775, two years after Emma's marriage to Henry. Table 2.4, below, presents data from the music teacher's bills. Emma's teacher was the organist at Worcester cathedral Elias Isaac. Isaac held this position from 1747 until his death in 1793 and conducted the Three Choirs

¹⁰⁶ Andrew Harris, *The Vernons of Hanbury* (n. p. Smashwords Edition, 2012).

performances at Worcester throughout this time, as well as those in Gloucester in the 1770s and 1780s. Isaac's bills are inconsistent in the information they present; some give the number of lessons over a specified period, others just state the outside dates between which he attended on Emma. One bill, dated 24 October 1770, is worded 'E Isaac attended Miss Vernon Forty Six times ending 1st June 1771: £24:3:0', but does not list the individual occasions he visited.¹⁰⁷ The reverse page of this bill, however, contains a list of fish sold to the Vernon family and the dates Isaac brought them to Hanbury. This list includes lamperns (or River Lamprey – Eels), oysters, cod, salmon, John Dory, lobster and smelts, presumably all purchased from the Worcester quayside on the River Severn (within a few hundred yards from Isaac's house). Not only does this list reveal that Isaac was happy to be (and possibly profited from) delivering fish to the Vernons, it helps us pinpoint the regularity of his visits.

A later bill, dated 1st June 1771, also lists fish that Isaac brought to Hanbury from Worcester (see illustration 2.3).¹⁰⁸ Although only twelve occasions were listed when he brought fish over to Hanbury, compared to the 'Forty Six times' he attended for teaching, we can see that some of these fish-related visits were at short intervals. Notable are three visits within an eight-day period in December 1770 (17, 22 and 25) and three visits within a seven-day period in March 1771 (1, 5 and 7). Surely, on some of these occasions, if not all, he undertook some teaching. If so, the average number of visits for this period was approximately 1 ³/₄ per week, or one every four days.

¹⁰⁷ Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service (WAAS), BA7335/24/485. *Mr. Isaac's acct. Oct 24th 1770.*

¹⁰⁸ WAAS, BA7335/24/500. *Mr. Isaac's Acct. 1st June 1771.*

Illustration 2.3. 'Mr. Isaac's Acct. 1st June 1771' (WAAS, BA7335/24/500.)

Mr. Vernons Fish Account					
1770	Lampreys	—	—	0:1:2	
Nov 29	For and John Dory	—	—	0:4:10½	
Dec 17	For Lobster & Oysters	—	—	0:8:3	
— 22	For 4 Oysters	—	—	0:5:0	
— 25	Salmon	—	—	0:6:4	
1771	Jan 9 Oysters	hans: 4½	—	0:2:3	
— 26	For Oysters	hans: 4½	—	0:8:9	
Feb-25	Oysters	hans: 4½	—	0:2:3	
March 1	For and Oysters	—	—	0:6:0	
— 5	Oysters Smelts	—	—	0:4:0	
— 7	Oysters	—	—	0:9:0	
— 15	Smelts 3 doz	—	—	0:6:0	
Apr-25	Salmon	—	—	0:6:5	
				5:5:4:3½	
			E Isaac attended Miss Vernon		
			Forty four times ending the 30 th of		
			May 1771	—	23:2:0
			For three Music Books	—	0:4:0
			23:6:0		
			E Isaac attended Miss Vernon		
			Forty six times ending the 5 th of		
			June 1771	—	24:3:0
			For three Music Books	—	0:4:0
			24:7:0		
			Fish		
			3:4:3½		
			June 1, 1771. Recd of Geo. Brasier		
			The Contents & all Demands Elias Isaac		
			27:11:3½		

Despite the unorthodox nature of his dual role delivering fish and giving music tuition, here is much consistency in the amounts for which Isaac billed the Vernons, and it is possible to ascertain that each of his journeys to Hanbury cost the family £0.10.6. Although this figure is twice the going rate charged by other music teachers, the distance travelled was just over eight miles. The bills are clearly marked that Isaac 'attended Miss Vernon', and there are no indications that her mother received tuition during the same visits, and as Emma had no siblings we have to speculate as to why he charged double. The distance from the centre of Worcester to Hanbury is hardly excessive but if we take the example of Thomas Green, who charged double his rate for clients living out of Hertford, Isaac probably had the same terms. It is possible he undertook the tuning of their keyboards, or perhaps took part in family music-making during his visit, but it is more likely that the double fee was due to the distance. Table 2.4 shows a summary of the harpsichord lessons given to Mary from Isaac between 1767 and 1775. Mary's lessons are most frequent 1769–70, when she was fifteen or sixteen years of age.

Table 2.4. Harpsichord Lessons given by Elias Isaac to Emma Vernon, 1767–75.

Year	Dates	No. of lessons	Average Weekly Lessons	Source [mss refs]
1767	28 Mar	30	1	BA7335/23/ii/205
1769		50	1	BA7335/23/ii/437
1769– 70	26 Aug–10 Oct	72	1 ¼	BA7335/24/485
1770	10–24 Oct	3	1 ½	BA7335/24/485
1770– 71	29 Nov – 1 Jun	46	1 ¾	BA7335/24/500
1771	20 Nov – 7 Dec	5	2	BA7335/24/169

§ Based on average visit fee being £0.10.6.

In addition to music tuition from Elias Isaac, the Vernons paid out for harpsichord and clavichord tuning, and harpsichord hire. One bill, from James Chew of Worcester dated 3 October 1771, indicates he made repairs to ‘Miss Vernon’s Harpsichord, and tune’d her Clavichord &c: at Hanbury’.¹⁰⁹ One can only speculate as to the extent of the repairs undertaken, although as they were carried out in situ, they cannot have involved much more than replacing strings, plectra, or regulation. Likewise, the extent of the work carried out to the clavichord, other than tuning, can only be guessed at. Interestingly, the money owed to him by the Vernons was settled by Elias Isaac (Chew’s superior at Worcester Cathedral), who added the amount £3:3:0 to his own bill the following January.¹¹⁰ This is an indication that Chew’s visits to Hanbury were not frequent, but that there was a healthy professional relationship between himself and Isaac that facilitated this network.

¹⁰⁹ WAAS, BA7335/24/170. *Thomas Vernon Esq; to Ja. Chew*. James Chew is discussed in section 1.2.5.

¹¹⁰ WAAS, BA7335/24/169. *Mr. Isaac’s Bill January 18 1772*.

It must also be noted that on Isaac's bill for 1770, he lists '5 guineas' that he 'gave to the plate at Music Meeting' and another five guineas 'forfeitures' (presumably a fine for not attending the Three Choirs Festival that he paid on the family's behalf).¹¹¹ The date of these items – 12 September 1771 – was the first day of the Three Choirs Festival, held that year at Worcester, conducted by Isaac himself.

It is clear that the Vernons of Hanbury Hall made good use of Isaac's frequent trips to teach Emma. Isaac was a frequent visitor to the Vernon family principally to teach Emma. The relationship was more flexible than just teaching; Isaac was performing other duties for the Vernons such as bringing fish from Worcester or taking money to the Three Choirs Festivals, and the evidence of some collaboration with his colleague James Chew. These extra duties go to show how flexible musicians in Isaac's position needed to be to maximize their earnings when serving the gentry and nobility in the provinces.

2.3.3. Anne Boulton of Soho, Birmingham.

Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) was an important figure in eighteenth-century Birmingham, as a pioneer in manufacturing with the use of factories and as a business entrepreneur. Along with Erasmus Darwin, James Watt and other industrialists, natural philosophers and intellectuals based in the Midlands, Boulton was a member of the Lunar Society, an intellectual dinner club which met on nights of the full moon. Boulton's profile is not a precise match with other families in this study; he did not belong to the landed or titled classes but was an entrepreneur and merchant. Nevertheless, the aspirations of his class meant he had the same attitude towards the role music had in his family; as entertainment, and as a worthy accomplishment for his daughter to acquire in order to help climb the rungs of the social ladder. Early in this chapter was given an example of the choice Boulton had in either sending his daughter Anne (*c.* 1767–1829) to a boarding school in London or paying for home tuition when she was seven years old in 1775. Boulton chose the latter for his only child's education, and the evidence for this and the subjects taught dates from 1781 with a number of bills from teachers. Tuition received included drawing, dancing,

¹¹¹ WAAS, BA7335/24/485. 24 October 1770.

French, History and Geography. Items on bills also included six months' music tuition costing three guineas, tuning the harpsichord for six months (£0.10.15) and 'a music book' for three shillings.¹¹² The three guineas for six months' worth of lessons can be calculated as twelve lessons at £0.5.3, making an average of one lesson every two weeks or more.

However, by 1786, Anne was receiving more formal and regular music lessons from the organist of St Martin's church, Joseph Harris. Table 2.5, below, presents a list of lessons given to Anne by Harris. Lessons at 'The Five Ways', or 'Ladywood Lane' in 1793 and 1794 refer to his own house to the west of the town, which he is listed in directories as having lived in from 1788.¹¹³ Other references to places are Soho (the Boulton's residence north of the town) and Birmingham itself. The two miles distance from Five Ways to Soho House, would not have been considered a long distance to travel for Harris, and calls into question the circumstances surrounding this apparent reversal in protocol: the pupil, Anne Boulton, visited her teacher rather than the other way around. This does appear unusual: as we have already seen, not even Charles Burney received pupils at his own house, instead paying out for renting a coach and driver. Anne is known to have had lifelong problems with her hips and legs, implying a degree of immobility too, so this particular scenario remains unexplained.¹¹⁴ Another anomaly is Anne's six lessons 'in Birmingham' in 1786, which works out as two shillings, seven and a half pence – an awkward sum that requires an explanation to fully comprehend. It is possible that Harris's description of 'in Birmingham' referred to his house but maps of the time show that the parish of Ladywood (which contains Ladywood Lane and Five Ways) was separated from Birmingham by rural land.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Birmingham Archives and Heritage, Library of Birmingham (LoB), Mathew Boulton Papers, box 430.

¹¹³ G. Hunter, *The distant traders guide and residents local directory, for the mercantile town of Birmingham* (Birmingham, T. Chapman, 1788), p. 36.

¹¹⁴ Mason, 1999.

¹¹⁵ Charles Pye, *A Description of Modern Birmingham* (Birmingham: W. Talbot, 1819). Ladywood Lane is now known as Ladywood Middleway.

Table 2.5. Harpsichord Lesson given by Joseph Harris to Anne Boulton, 1786–94.¹¹⁶

Year	Dates of lessons	Cost of lessons	Lesson location	No. of lessons	Average Weekly Lessons §
1786	3 Jan – 30 Dec	£7.17.6	[Soho]	30	
1786	[unidentified]	£0.15.9	‘Birmingham’	6	
The total 36 lessons in 1786:					> 1
1791	24 Mar – 5 May	£1.15.0	[Soho]	5	> 1
1792	11 – 17 Dec	£0.14.0	[Soho]	2	< 1
1793	6 Jan – 28 May	£2.12.6	Five Ways	10	
1793	15 Jan and 7 May*	£1.1.0	Soho	4*	
The total 14 lessons between 6 Jan – 28 May 1793:					> 1
1794	7 Feb – 14 Mar	£2.12.6	Soho	10	2
1794	21 Mar – 26 Apr	£1.15.0	Ladywood	7	> 2
1794	30 Jul – 20 Aug	£0.17.6	‘Miss Eaves’	6–7	< 1
The total 24 lessons between 7 Feb – 20 Aug:					< 1

§ Based on lessons of £0.5.3 each.

* ‘Double Lessons at Soho’

There are too many variables in the dates of lessons Anne received from Joseph Harris to make any safe assumptions: four different locations for the lessons are listed, sometimes ‘double lessons’ were received, and Harris charged a different rate to the standard £0.5.3. What can be seen, however, is the general pattern of roughly a lesson every week.

2.3.4. Charlotte and Elizabeth Bridgeman of Weston Park, Staffordshire.

Charlotte and Elizabeth were the daughters of Sir Henry Bridgeman, 5th Baronet and later 1st Baron Bradford (1725–1800). Sir Henry inherited the Weston Park estate

¹¹⁶ LoB, Ms.3782/13/142/1 and 3782/6/194/59.

after the death of his uncle Thomas Newport, 4th Earl of Bradford, in 1762, and inherited the baronetcy on the death of his father two years later. Henry and his wife Elizabeth Simpson, who married in 1755, had six children, four of whom were born before the family moved to Weston Park. The Bradford papers, held at Staffordshire Record Office, contain many documents relating to Sir Henry and his family, including a few that provide evidence for music-making at Weston Park and the music tuition of his daughters. Weston Park itself also houses the music collection of the family; this hitherto un-explored collection contains over three-hundred prints and manuscripts predominantly from the late eighteenth century. The combination of these two sources helps to provide a detailed account of the family's musical life.

Other examples of tuition in country houses I give in this chapter are evidenced by a series of bills from the relevant teachers. In the case of Weston Park, however, only one bill is to be found relating to music tuition.¹¹⁷ This bill, issued by Francis Hackwood, is unusual because it covers a longer period than most other bills for music tuition settled on account – from early 1782 until March 1783 – and the items listed are diverse, covering much more than just tuition. The whole bill is presented in a transcription in appendix 5, with the lessons extracted to table 2.6, below. Hackwood's pupils were Charlotte (1761–1802) who played the harpsichord and piano, and sang, and Elizabeth (1764–1810) who played the harp, and presumably also sang. It is clear from the bill that Hackwood taught Charlotte and Elizabeth roughly once a week at their London home (17 St James Square) from the beginning of 1782 until late June.¹¹⁸ We have already seen that it is likely that Charlotte was taught by Mattia Vento whilst the family were at their London residence, but as Vento died in 1776 it is a possibility that Hackwood taught the Bridgeman daughters much earlier than the date of this single surviving music bill. This bill reveals that at some point between late June and October 1782 (coinciding with Parliament's recess),

¹¹⁷ Staffordshire Record Office (SRO), D1287/3/12 (R310).

¹¹⁸ F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.), 'St. James's Square: East India and Sports Club', in *Survey of London: Volumes 29 and 30, St James Westminster, Part 1* (London, 1960), pp. 154–59. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols29-30/pt1/pp154-59> [accessed 17 June 2016].

the family was at Weston Park and Hackwood stayed with them for thirteen weeks to teach the girls.

Further information can be gleaned from the Bill, such as Hackwood’s travelling expenses to Worcester, Weymouth and London during the thirteen-week period, (for example, ‘Expenses Weymouth to Weston’), which was doubtless for performing engagements. The Three Choirs Festival took place at Worcester in 1782 (from 11 to 13 September),¹¹⁹ so it is likely Hackwood was among the performers. Presumably, the payment of these expenses by Sir Henry was a condition of Hackwood’s attendance at Weston for close to three months.

Francis Hackwood was a London musician living in the area of Hanover Square who played viola and violin. He is known to have appeared at the Foundling Hospital annual performances of Handel’s *Messiah* during the 1750s, 1760s and 1770s.¹²⁰ He became a member of the Royal Society of Musicians in 1761,¹²¹ and took part in the Handel Commemoration concerts of 1784 as a ‘Tenor Principal’.¹²²

Table 2.6. Harpsichord Lessons given to Charlotte and Elizabeth Bridgeman by Francis Hackwood, 1782–3.¹²³

Dates	Location	No. of visits	Charge per visit	Charge per lesson	Average Weekly Lessons
[Jan-May 1782]	London	22	£5.15.6	£0.5.3 for both	1
20 May 1782	London	1	£1.1.0	£0.5.3 each	1
2 Jun 1782	London	1	£1.1.0	£0.5.3 each	1

¹¹⁹ *BWJ*, Monday, 18 July 1782.

¹²⁰ Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London’s Concert Life, 1750-1784: Felice Giardini and his Contemporaries* (New York: Garland, 1989).

¹²¹ Matthews, 1985.

¹²² Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster-Abbey, and the Pantheon ... in Commemoration of Handel* (Dublin: Moncrieffe, Jenkin, White, H. Whitestone, Burton, and Byrne, 1785), ‘Commemoration of Handel’, p. 19.

¹²³ SRO, D1287/3/12 (R310).

12 Jun 1782	London	1	£1.1.0	£0.5.3 each	1
16 Jun 1782	London	1	£1.1.0	£0.5.3 each	1
23 Jun 1782	London	1	£1.1.0	£0.5.3 each	1
	Weston	[13 weeks]	£27.6.0 ¹²⁴		
[Oct -] 28 Nov 1782	London	9	£2.7.3	£0.5.3	1

Several features of Hackwood's bill need exploring: the easiest equation to discern is for the individual times he attended Charlotte and Elizabeth in May and June 1782; the £0.10.5 charge no doubt is for teaching both girls. The twenty-two visits ('Attendance on Miss Bridgeman & Miss Elizabeth') only equal £0.5.3 per visit. Either Hackwood was charging half the going rate, or it might have been the case that neither Charlotte and Elizabeth had lessons on the same occasion. The third possibility was that in writing on the bill '22 Times' he was counting lessons rather than number of visits to the Bridgeman house. The period he gave '13 Weeks Attendance' at Weston also throws up questions. The £27.6.0 charge for this works out as a neat two guineas a week, and in terms of number of music lessons at the going rate of £0.5.3, it was eight lessons. Bearing in mind that some of the total charge for these thirteen weeks would have been some sort of retainer (it not being worth travelling back to London for any other similarly small sums of teaching work), he may not have taught Charlotte and Elizabeth that many times.

The unusual scenario of a resident music teacher is probably an indication of Sir Henry's desire for his daughters to gain accomplishments prior to finding suitable marriage partners; lessons received during the family's stay throughout the London season were evidently not sufficient. Charlotte was twenty-one during this period of intensive music tuition and by the following year she had in fact married Henry Greswolde Lewis of Malvern Hall near Solihull in Warwickshire. Her sister Elizabeth was eighteen at this time and did not marry until 1794 when she was thirty.

¹²⁴ Two guineas (£2.2.0) per week.

Although no further bills from Hackwood survive, he continued an association with the family, and it is likely that he continued to teach Elizabeth for at least some of the period until her marriage. He may also have continued teaching Charlotte, for she returned to Weston Park after separating from her husband in March 1785.¹²⁵ One piece of evidence to suggest this continued involvement is a *Catalogue of the music left at Weston in Oct 1784 – looked over at that time by Lady Bridgeman and F Hackwood* held in the Staffordshire Record Office.¹²⁶ The items listed in the catalogue include music that belonged to Sir Henry's father (dating from the early eighteenth century and which are also listed on a catalogue dating from that time) and is lacking much of the music associated with Charlotte and Elizabeth such as the pieces listed on Hackwood's bill.¹²⁷ After Charlotte's marriage broke down, she brought her music collection back to Weston save for a manuscript book now held in the Warwickshire County Record Office.¹²⁸ One further catalogue, dated 1790, incorporates most of the titles in the previous versions. These catalogues will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

In the case of the Bridgemans, music was evidently central to family life and an integral part of Charlotte and Elizabeth's education. Their earliest tutor, Mattia Vento, would no doubt have been an excellent appointment. By the mid 1770s Vento was making regular appearances at concerts, and having his Italian operas staged at the Haymarket Theatre, so it was no doubt considerable kudos for the Bridgemans to have such a well-known musician as their music tutor. After Vento's death, one can only wonder why the family decided to appoint a lowly viola player with a comparatively low profile as replacement. One possible reason is that even in 1776 they required a teacher who would be able to commit to the kinds of lengthy periods of stay that Hackwood evidently undertook in 1782. Hackwood's surviving bill may even have been just one of many indicating annual stays at Weston Park.

¹²⁵ WCRO, CR 1291/437 Memoranda book of Henry Greswold Lewis including account of his marriage to Charlotte Bridgeman.

¹²⁶ SRO, D1287/4/2/8 (R117) [Item 2 in the packet].

¹²⁷ SRO, D1287/4/2/8 (R117) [Item 1 in the packet].

¹²⁸ WCRO, CR 1291/474.

2.3.5. Maria and Anne Coventry of Croome Court, Worcestershire.

Croome Court, seat of the Earls of Coventry, is situated seven miles south of Worcester to the east of the River Severn. George William Coventry, 6th Earl of Coventry (1722–1809), was the second but eldest surviving son of William, 5th Earl of Coventry. Having inherited the title and estate in 1751, George set to work improving Croome Court, initially by engaging Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown to redesign the house and parklands. The following March, George married Maria Gunning, the eldest daughter of Irishman John Gunning, and celebrity socialite, who had appeared on the London scene just two years earlier. Maria died in September 1760, aged just twenty-seven, leaving George with three children: Lady Mary (Maria) Alicia (*b.* 1754), Lady Anne Margaret (*b.* 1757), and the future 7th Earl, George William (*b.* 1758). Four years after Maria’s death, George married Barbara St John in 1764, and together they had two sons, John (*b.* 1765) and Thomas William (*b.* 1778).

The Coventry family papers are held at the Worcestershire County Archives. Among the receipts and bills dating from the time of the 6th Earl are a number that reveal something of music-making in the house, including tuition for the two daughters of the earl and Maria Gunning, Mary and Anne before they were married in 1777 and 1778 respectively.¹²⁹ Mary received lessons from a Mr William Pierce in drawing, French, Spelling, Mathematics, and other unnamed subjects, from 1758. Evidence of music tuition can be found in bills dating much later, from 1765 onwards. Unfortunately, there are gaps in the sequence (there are no bills at all for 1769), yet what remains gives a clear idea of regularity of the lessons. The teacher, Charles Rousseau Burney, was the nephew of Dr. Charles Burney, and lived in Barbourne Lodge, Worcester, situated a mile north of the city centre. Charles Rousseau’s father, head of the household, was a musician and his large family included the artists Thomas F Burney and Edward F Burney. An account of the family’s theatrical activities was written by Fanny Burney, Dr. Burney’s daughter, after she stayed in

¹²⁹ Maria married Sir Andrew Bayntun-Rolt, 2nd Baronet, in 1777 (George Edward Cokayne, editor, *The Complete Baronetage*, (Exeter: William Pollard & Co. Ltd., 1900-1909), volume V, p. 123.); Anne married Hon. Edward Foley, in 1778. (Mosley, Charles, editor. *Burke’s Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage*, 107th edition, 3 volumes. Wilmington, Delaware, U.S.A.: Burke’s Peerage (Genealogical Books) Ltd, 2003).

Worcester in 1777, and describes how she took part in two plays the family put on at Barbourne Lodge: *The Way to Keep Him*, by Arthur Murphy, and *Tom Thumb* (probably in the dramatization by Henry Fielding).¹³⁰ Seven members of the Burney family acted in plays. Fanny’s description includes some mention of music in the house: ‘The Overture, you must know, was performed in the passage; for we had no room for an orchestra in the theatre’.¹³¹ Given that the majority of the family Fanny lists was taking part in the drama, the musicians were not family members. Her choice of the word ‘orchestra’ to describe the musicians implies large numbers, which seems unlikely; however, even if they numbered just four or five, it shows how many competent performers there were among their circle of friends.

Charles Rousseau Burney himself must have been a very good musician judging by the fact he was eighteen or nineteen years of age when he started teaching the Coventry children. His recommendation to the earl must have been glowing, or perhaps the earl witnessed a performance first hand and was impressed enough to engage the services of this young man.

As we have seen in other similar situations, the Coventry family engaged their music teacher from the locality of their main country residence, rather than from London. From Barbourne to Croome Court is a distance of nine miles; not nearly as convenient as for the teacher than if a London teacher was engaged during the season.

Table 2.7. Harpsichord Lessons given by Charles Rousseau Burney to Lady Maria and Lady Anne Coventry, 1765–74.

Year	Dates	Recipient	Fee	No. of lessons	Average Weekly Lessons
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¹³⁰ Constance Hill, *The house in St. Martin's street; being chronicles of the Burney family* (London: J. Lane, 1907), pp. 75-86.

¹³¹ Hill, p. 79.

1764	11 Feb-28 Apr ¹³²	Maria and Anne	£10.10.0	40	2 each
1765	[Feb]-11 May ¹³³	Maria	£9.14.0	37	1
1765	28 Dec 1764–11 May ¹³⁴	Anne	£9.14.0	37	1
1766–67	6 Dec 1766–23 May 1767 (24 weeks) ¹³⁵	Maria and Anne	£24.13.6	94	2 each
1767					
1767–68	1 Dec 1767–11 Mar 1768	Maria	£7.17.6	30	2
1768	29 Mar	Maria	£0.5.0	1	1
1767–68	1 Dec 1767–19 Apr 1768	Anne	£11.11.0	44	2
1770	3 Jan-5 May ¹³⁶	Maria		35	2
1770	3 Jan-5 May ¹³⁷	Anne		34	2
1770	?-30 Jun 1770 ¹³⁸	Maria and Anne	£2.2.0	5	½
1771	15 Jan-22 Jun ¹³⁹	Maria	£5.15.6	22	>1

¹³² WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/17 (45) *The Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Coventry's acc[oun]t from Feb 11, 1764 to apr 28 inclusive.*

¹³³ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/17 (35) *The Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Coventry's acc[ount] w[i]th Ch. Burney, to May 11th 1765 inclusive.* The figure £9.14.0 equates to just over eighteen lessons at £0.5.3. It is not clear why Burney arrived at this figure for Maria and Anne.

¹³⁴ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/17 (35) *The Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Coventry's acc[ount] w[i]th Ch. Burney, to May 11th 1765 inclusive.*

¹³⁵ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/17 (16) *The Rt Hon The Earl of Coventry's acct. to Chas Burney May 1767.*

¹³⁶ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/13. *The Rt Honble the Earl of Coventry's acct to C. Burney 1770.*

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/9. *Recd of the Earl of Coventry for attending their young Ladies once at Croom & four times in London, 30th June 1770.*

¹³⁹ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/16. *The Rt Honble Lady Maria Coventry's acct To Ch. Burney, June 1771.*

1772	23 Jan-3 Jul ¹⁴⁰	Maria	£8.8.0	32	1½
1773	18 Jan-1 Jul ¹⁴¹	Maria	£7.12.3	29	1-1½
1774	11 Feb-21 Jun ¹⁴²	Maria	£13.13.0	14	1

For a short period in 1770, Burney attended Maria and Anne at the family's London residence. His bill dated 30 June was for 'attending their young Ladies once at Croom & four times in London', but does not give a start date. Given that the previous bill was dated 5 May, the eight weeks that elapsed before 30 June means an average of one lesson every two weeks, but it is likely that the lessons resumed on a weekly basis once the family has arrived in London. No evidence exists for Charles Rousseau Burney's activities in London during this time.

By examining Maria and Anne Coventry's music tuition received from Rousseau, we can see that Maria received lessons at least from the age of ten until she was at least twenty, and Anne received lessons from the age of seven until at least the age of seventeen. Burney appears not to have charged the double rate his fellow Worcester musician Elias Isaac did when teaching Emma Vernon. One reason for this may be because teaching two daughters, Burney's visits to Croome Court (a distance of nine miles, compared with Isaac's seven miles to Hanbury), earned him twice as much for the trouble of travelling.

2.3.6. John, 1st Earl Spencer and family, of Althorp, Northamptonshire.

So far in this chapter, the examples of music tuition in the country house have been of girls and women. Music was an accomplishment to which men also aspired, as the example of John, 1st Earl Spencer, and Henry Gough, 2nd Baronet will illustrate. The Spencer family was among the wealthiest in the country in the late eighteenth century. John, 1st Earl Spencer (1734–83) was the eldest son of Hon. John Spencer (1708–46)

¹⁴⁰ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/26. *Lady Maria Coventry's Acc[oun]t to C. Burney commencing Jan 23 & ending July 3.*

¹⁴¹ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/28. *Lady Maria Coventry's acc to C Burney Commencing Jan the 18th & ending July the 1st.*

¹⁴² WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/47. *Lady Maria Coventry's acct to C. Burney Commencing Feb the 11th 1774 & ending June the 21st.*

and Georgiana Caroline Carteret (1718–80). Born at the ancestral home of Althorp in Northamptonshire, he inherited the family estates on the death of his father and married Georgiana Poyntz in 1755. He then commissioned the construction of Spencer House in London’s St James, which the family used during the Season, along with Althorp and a manor in Wimbledon. Georgiana was a musician herself; a portrait by Pompeo Batoni features her with an English guitar, and she also played viola da gamba, an unusual choice for a woman.¹⁴³

Evidence for music-making survives in the family papers now held at the British Library.¹⁴⁴ Sixteen bills, dated between 1770 and 1775, provide some details of the extent and scope of music-making of the earl and the countess, and tuition their three surviving children: Lady Georgiana Spencer (1757–1806), the future Duchess of Devonshire; George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer (1758–1834), and; Lady Henrietta Frances Spencer (1761–1821), who married Frederick Ponsonby, 3rd Earl of Bessborough.¹⁴⁵ The 1st Earl received cello lessons from Giacobbe Cervetto, and latterly his son James, both celebrity cellists of their day.¹⁴⁶ Table 2.8 presents the number of lessons taught, transcribed from surviving bills.

Table 2.8. Cello Lessons given to John, 1st Earl Spencer’s by Giacobbe and James Cervetto.

Year	Date	Location	Teacher	Sum	No. of Lessons /visits
1771–72		London	G Cervetto	£15.15.0	29 ¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ Peter Holman, *Life After Death: The Viola Da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (London: Boydell Press, 2010), p. 247. The issue of instruments and gender will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.

¹⁴⁴ London, British Library (LBL), ADD MS 75755.

¹⁴⁵ Lady Georgiana Spencer married William Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire.

¹⁴⁶ Michael Talbot ‘Some Notes on the Life of Jacob Cervetto’ *Music & Letters*, vol 94/2, pp. 207–36., May 2013.

¹⁴⁷ LBL, ADD MS 75755, 24/23. Bill: ‘Mr. Cervetto’.

1773		Althorp	J Cervetto	£65.2.0	62 ¹⁴⁸
1775	8 Dec - 13 Jan	Althorp	J Cervetto	£42:9:8	? ¹⁴⁹

In 1772 Giacobbe Cervetto charged £0.10.6 per lesson for teaching the earl;¹⁵⁰ perhaps this cost (twice the going rate) was due to his fame at the time. At this time, he was probably living in St Paul, Covent Garden at his son's house at 7 Charles Street, a mile's distance from Spencer House in St James.¹⁵¹

A bill from Giacobbe Cervetto the following year was for the substantial sum of sixty-two guineas (£65.2.0), but the text on the bill indicates this figure included the services of his son, James, and in all probability taking part in music-making: 'being in full for attending at Althorp sixty two Days at one Guinea per day for the use of my son by me'. It is impossible to state with any certainty if the sixty-two days were consecutive, or if both father and son were in attendance every day, or if they travelled back to London from Althorp during this period. We saw in the example of Francis Hackwood that he attended the Bridgeman daughters for thirteen weeks, averaging at two guineas per week. Here, the cost for nine weeks is half; perhaps an indication that the distance involved was much shorter, or maybe that Cervetto's duties were not as heavy as Hackwood's (the latter teaching two, the former teaching just one).

¹⁴⁸ LBL, ADD MS 75755, 27/6 & 28/2. Bill: 'Jas. Cervetto for attending at Althorp'.

¹⁴⁹ LBL, ADD MS 75755, 29/6. Bill: 'Jas. Cervetto attend. at Althorp'. It is not possible to ascertain the number of visits or lessons associated with this bill (see main text).

¹⁵⁰ The bill indicates Cervetto has charged the Earl the cost of thirty lessons but only given twenty-nine.

¹⁵¹ Talbot 'Some Notes on the Life of Jacob Cervetto'. Talbot states Cervetto was living in St Paul from 1778. Charles Street was renamed Wellington Street ('Bow Street and Russell Street Area: The former Charles Street'. *Survey of London: Volume 36, Covent Garden*. Ed. F H W Sheppard. London: London County Council, 1970. 195–96. *British History Online*. Web. 14 February 2019. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol36/pp195-196>. [accessed 15 May 2019].

The final bill in this list is for another large sum owed to James Cervetto who ‘attend.[ed] at Althorp [...] 8 Dec[embe]r to 13 Jan [17]75’. Here, the six weeks attendance works out to be just over six guineas per week; the highest rate of all the bills. Without further details, or reference to other bills with more information, one can only guess what kind of service was included in this figure: it could have been for Cervetto and his son, or colleagues to attend for making music; or included travel expenses so that Cervetto could attend to his other duties in London and elsewhere.

At the same time as the 1st Earl was engaging Cervetto for lessons and music-making, he was paying for John Barrett to teach his youngest daughter, Henrietta, the harpsichord. Bills survive from Barrett for various trips he made to tune the harpsichords at Althorp and one, dated 14 January, includes ‘31 Journeys to Althorp to instruct Lady Harriet Spencer at 10s 6d each’. This note not only gives us the number of lessons that Henrietta received, but also Barrett’s fees.

Table 2.9. Henrietta Spencer’s Tuition from John Barrett 1774–75.¹⁵²

Year	Date	Location	Sum	No. of Lessons§	Price per lesson
1775	14 Jan	Althorp	£16:5:6	31	£0.10.6

John Barrett was organist at Northampton and appeared as a harpsichord soloist at a benefit concert in the 1770s and 80s in Northampton.¹⁵³ His journey to Althorp – six miles – might explain why he charged £0.10.6 per lesson rather than the normal sum of £0.5.3. From this one surviving bill relating to Henrietta’s tuition, we can see that Barrett also made ‘6 Journeys to tune the Harp[sichord].’ for three guineas; a figure

¹⁵² LBL, ADD MS 75755. 29/7. Bill, ‘J Barrett for Instructing L[ad]y Harriet £19.16.0’.

¹⁵³ Barret subscribed to John Valentine’s *Eight Easy Symphonies*, 1782, where he is listed as ‘Organist, *Northampton*’, and to Charles Hague’s *An Anthem in score*, 1794. He took part in a ‘Concert for Mr. Chamber and Mr. Gamble’s benefit’, at the theatre (*NM*, Monday, 7 November 1774); a ‘Concert for the Benefit of Mr. Hardy’, Friday, 8 January 1779 at the Peacock Inn, Northampton (*NM*, Monday, 4 January 1779); and a concert at the assembly rooms, Northampton, on Thursday, 15 January 1783 (*NM*, Monday, 13 January 1783).

that also equates to £0.10.6 per visit. No other bills referring to music tuition at Althorp or other Spencer houses survive in the family archives, but this is surely not an indication that Henrietta only received tuition for a brief period until January 1775. The Spencer family will be returned to in chapter 4, when discussing how music-making took place.

2.3.7. Henry Gough, 2nd Baronet, of Edgbaston Hall, Warwickshire.

The Gough family was one of the most prominent and influential in Birmingham during the eighteenth century. The family's estates in Warwickshire and London grew substantially during the eighteenth century and remain to this day in the form of a large property company. Sir Henry Gough, baronet of Edgbaston (1709–74), married Catherine Harpur, daughter of Sir John Harpur, 4th Baronet of Calke Abbey, but she died in 1740, leaving Henry childless. The following year Henry married Barbara Calthorpe, and together they had six children. Henry and Barbara had three daughters: Barbara (who married into another influential Birmingham family, the Spooners), Charlotte (who married Sir John Palmer, 5th Baronet, MP for Leicestershire) and Elizabeth. Their three sons were Henry, Richard and John. Barbara was the last of the Calthorpes, (her brother Henry Calthorpe, having no surviving children), and so, their eldest son (Henry), took the additional surname of Calthorpe by Royal License in 1788 on succeeding to the estates of his father, becoming 2nd Baronet.¹⁵⁴

The family can be seen as representative of the higher nobility, certainly in aspiration, as they were members of the minor nobility and wealthy land-owners. Amongst the archive of documents in the Calthorpe Estates, held at the Library of Birmingham, are family papers of the Goughs, including accounts books and pocket diaries for the years 1770-71, and 1773-74 belonging to Henry, 2nd Baronet. This was the period immediately preceding his coming into the baronetcy and they reveal a very active social life involving attending plays and musical performances in London and

¹⁵⁴ Henry Colburn, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire* (London: Henry Colburn, 1839), p. 163.

Birmingham (described in more detail below, chapter 4). They also show that he played the cello and received numerous lessons from James Cervetto.

Table 2.10. Henry Gough, 2nd Baronet, cello lessons, 1770–74.

Year	Date	Location	Teacher	Sum	No. of Lessons§
1770	24 Mar.	London	‘Cervetto’	£2.2.0	8
	21 Jun.	London	‘Cervetto’	£2.12.6	10
	12 Dec.	London	‘Cervetto’	£2.10.6	9–10
1772	29 Apr	London	‘Cervetto’	£3.0.0	11–12
	1 Jun.	London	‘Cervetto’	£3.3.0	12
	16 Jun.	London	‘Cervetto’	£2.16.9	12–13
1773	22 Mar.	London	‘Cervetto’	£3.3.0	12
1774	11 Jul.	London	‘Cervetto’	£16.16.9	64*

§ assuming lessons were £0.5.3.

* this figure included services other than teaching (e.g. purchase of an instrument).

There are no further indications from the journals as to whether Cervetto was teaching Sir Henry, was engaged to provide a concert at the house or sold him music or instruments. Indeed, the final payment Sir Henry made to Cervetto, for £16.16.9 in 1774, must have included instruments to account for this high figure. It is most likely that Sir Henry’s lessons were received in London only, given how popular Cervetto was as a teacher to other noblemen and gentlemen.

2.4. Conclusions.

The music tuition scenarios I have brought to light in this chapter all conform to the expected norms of the day. The amateurs in question all received music tuition during their mid to late teens and early twenties and in some cases, they started at an earlier age. The evidence I put forward suggests that women continued making music up to and after their marriage. The most compelling example I discussed was Charlotte

Bridgeman, for whom there is a large number of sources that indicate musical activities through her childhood and before, during and after her marriage had ended. Mary Leigh, who did not marry and was financially independent, continued these lessons throughout her life. I have provided evidence that the families of greatest financial means engaged more than one teacher or paid for a residency (for example, the Bridgeman family engaging Francis Hackwood). One exception to the norm is the case of Anne Boulton, daughter of Birmingham industrialist Matthew Boulton. Her music tuition patterns differ from that of the daughters of noble families, but there are many anomalies in this case which cannot be fully explained without more information.

The majority of the women I have discussed in this chapter played and received tuition on the keyboard, a scenario which conforms to previous research in this area. The one exception to this situation is the case of one younger daughter - Elizabeth Bridgeman - who learnt the harp, but still received instruction from a professional musician. The men featured in these case studies played the cello. Their tuition appears to have been a more haphazard affair, taking place seemingly *ad hoc* in London during the season and therefore mixed with many other social engagements. One could conclude, therefore, that women took their music more seriously than the men of these classes, but the expectation of families and society in general that music was an important accomplishment for women outweighs any suggestion of personal preference.

There is evidence to suggest that on occasions where tuition was received at a family's London residence, it was more likely to be given by this 'provincial' teacher rather than engage a local teacher resident to London. This was the situation for Mary Leigh at Stoneleigh in Warwickshire and Emma Vernon at Hanbury Hall in Worcestershire. The Bridgeman family of Weston employed London-based Francis Hackwood, presumably because they could not find a suitable teacher in the relatively remote Staffordshire-Shropshire border. Regardless of the reason, continuity of teacher was enough of a concern for the Bridgemans that they incurred considerable costs for Hackwood to be resident at Weston Park for thirteen weeks.

Exceptions to this are the men: Henry Gough and John Spencer, who, by engaging the celebrated James Cervetto to teach them cello, would not have been able to find teachers in Birmingham or Northamptonshire with as high a caliber.

Table 2.11. Travelling Distances of Music Teachers.

Teacher	Approx. Dates of Tuition	Tutees	Distance Travelled to Residence §	Average fee of a visit
J. Barrett (Northampton)	1775	John Spencer (Althorp House)	6	£0.10.6
Marmaduke Overend (Isleworth)	1750–53	Mary Leigh (Mayfair)	8	[unidentified]
John Burton (Holborn)	1764	Mary Leigh (Mayfair)	2	£0.5.3
Barnabas Gunn (Birmingham)	1750–51	Mary Dolman (Broome, Staffs)	14	[unidentified]
Francis Hackwood (Hanover Square)	1782	Charlotte Bridgeman (St James's Square)	> 1	£0.5.3
Cervetto (Covent Garden)	1770–77	Henry Gough (Gough House, Tite Street)	3	[unidentified]
Elias Isaac (Worcester)	1767–71	Emma Vernon (Hanbury Hall)	7	£0.10.5
Charles Rousseau Burney (Worcester)	1768	Maria Coventry (Croome Court)	9	£0.5.0
Joseph Harris (Ladywood, Birmingham)	1787	Anne Boulton (Soho, Birmingham)	2	£0.5.6

§ Calculated using likely quickest routes at the time.

We cannot rule out that the accounts relating to separate family residences were kept apart from one another and therefore what has survived presents an incomplete picture. However, this is unlikely during the period in question.

Music tuition was one example of how the landed gentry patronised professional musicians. I have shown that in some cases professionals travelled considerable distances to serve their clients, and that distances were not always due to the proximity of a family's country residence to the nearest town or city that supported a professional musician. There appears not to have been a London bias when it came to the choice of music tutor for these families, and that consistency was often the motivating factor when engaging teachers.

CHAPTER 3: Musical Tastes in Performance.

In the following chapter, I examine the musical tastes of several Midlands families using surviving collections and catalogues of printed music in houses, manuscript note-books belonging to family members, and evidence of attendance at musical performances. I put this surviving material into the context of the wider trends of taste and style seen in London and the provinces. For many genres and styles, published music was inextricably linked to trends in amateur performance. It is beyond the scope of this study to chart the correlation between sales of particular genres and subsequent publications of the same by other composers in order to establish whether such changes are wholly audience-driven. It is possible, however, to chart general trends across the second half of the eighteenth century by recording changes in genre and style on a wider scale. A broader understanding arises when we consider why genres change from the point of view of social influences upon the performance scenario.

3.1. Contexts.

An examination of a family's music collection can reveal much about their music-making. The musical tastes of individual family members may be easily identified, along with general trends and fashions for certain instruments and repertoires at the time in question. Music written in manuscript form associated with specific family members – whether written out by its owner or by a professional copyist – is not only key in revealing the tastes of the owner, but also can be used to identify performance contexts. For example, opera arias found in manuscript form with more than just the voice part with keyboard reduction on the same page indicate their performance may have involved more than just a singer and keyboardist (or a solo, self-accompanied singer). Such repertoire is sometimes found in full score with separate parts, or in short-score format with the keyboard reduction and indications of instrumental obbligato lines, suggesting performance by an ensemble of instruments or by an obbligato instrumentalist reading over the shoulder of the keyboard player. Likewise, printed music – whether annotated with the owner's name or not – may also help

identify which members of the household played an instrument or sang and which of their acquaintances might have been involved and can help create a picture of the musical preferences of its owner. Analyses of the scoring of music prints and manuscripts found in a country house collection could also suggest that music-making may have included performers extra to the family, and these persons may have been extended family or friends, or even invited professionals. In the case studies presented in this chapter we will see that these various scenarios were normal: that some individuals had preferred repertoires which included or excluded certain family members or friends on account of the music's scoring, and that some music-making must have relied on a wider circle of acquaintances to enable performance.

The eighteenth century saw a rise in printed music published and collected for purposes of posterity; purchased with the intention of displaying on the shelves of the country house library rather than sitting on the music desk of the harpsichord or piano as a working copy. The market serving the music collector was part of a larger trend establishing the cultural canon of 'classics' that saw the performance of music by certain significant composers, the majority of whom were foreign.¹ Notable examples of this trend include the editions of Handel's works in score edited and published by Samuel Arnold from 1787 until 1797.² These editions were held in particularly high regard by collectors; their status was no doubt elevated because members of the royal family and the highest sections of the nobility also subscribed to them. Subscribers to Arnold's Handel editions had the choice of purchasing the volumes printed on regular paper as well as on more luxurious Imperial Paper; an indication that the volumes

¹ For a detailed discussion of this phenomena, see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology*, Clarendon Press, Oxford (1992). And William Weber, 'The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 47, No. 3 (Autumn, 1994), pp. 488–520.

² Hoskins, Robert. 'Arnold, Samuel' Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. January 01, 2001. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000041499> [accessed 9 January 2019].

were designed to last.³ The idea of patronising ‘ancient music’ was starting to become as appealing as the music itself.

With the gradual distinction between every day music and ‘the classics’ becoming ever sharper throughout the eighteenth century, it is not hard to see why in many music collections of the eighteenth-century country house some music was bound while many works were left in loose sheets, as it would have been purchased from the music sellers. Printed music that survives in family collections having never been bound (such as most of the music at Calke Abbey (section 3.2.2) or Weston Park (section 3.2.5)) suggests that the genres in question were considered too subject to swiftly-changing fashions to justify the expense of having it bound. This would no doubt have been the case for compilations of dance music that were published regularly or individually printed songs typically described as ‘performed this season’.⁴ One might expect more enduring repertoire such as instrumental chamber music not to fall into this category of disposable music, and for it to be bound and housed on shelves, to be played and returned to over many years. However, as in the case of Weston Park, genre was not always the defining factor of whether music was bound. The sheer volume of printed material that makes up some country house music collections would surely itself have contributed to the reluctance by the family to bind some or all of the music due to the costs involved. Equally, there are many examples of music that had been bound with performance in mind, such as part-books containing several prints of the same genre by different composers, implying the music was purchased and subsequently bound with the intention of performing the works.⁵

³ For example, in the list of subscribers to Hande’s *Israel in Egypt*, ed. Arnold (London: 1791) noted ‘Names marked I. P. Subscribe for Imperial Paper’.

⁴ For example, Thomas Jones’s *Ten new Country Dances & three Cotillons for the Harp, Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin ... For the Year 1788*, and similar volumes in other years.

⁵ For example, much of the bound printed work in Samuel Hellier’s music collection (see Ian Ledsham, *A Catalogue of the Shaw-Hellier Collection in the Music Library, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University of Birmingham* (London: Ashgate, 1999).)

3.1.1. Sale and Publisher's Catalogues.

Published catalogues of house sales can be an excellent source in which to determine the musical tastes of the original owner. Such house sales were often the result of a bankruptcy – where items needed to be sold to pay off debts – or the death of the owner, where the beneficiary could not house or did not want more material. They were often advertised in the local newspapers with an indication of the scope or scale of the auction. Auctioneers often issued sale catalogues in advance of the auction, with the invitation to view the items in advance of the sale. Many auctions were limited to furniture and large fixtures rather than printed material such as music, implying that these sales were the result of the owner down-sizing. A music collection may well have been considered a more personal item, taking up relatively little space compared with furniture. The few catalogues that do contain music prints are of relevance to the present study. Lenore Coral's extensive review of music sold at British auction houses between 1676 and 1750 identifies some 1500 separate works, representing every genre of music of the times and a great many composers.⁶ It is reasonable to suggest that the years after this, covering the period of the current study, showed similarly large numbers of publications that were part and parcel of typical domestic music libraries.

Music publisher's catalogues can also help to understand the practices of collecting music that was considered fashionable and the newly emerging classics. An analysis and comparison of catalogues over a period of a decade or more can reveal that some works were in print (or were reprinted) long after their initial publication date.⁷ It can also show the extent to which tastes changed from year to year. By the end of the eighteenth century, the new instrumental genres (string quartets, quintets and trios without basso continuo) became increasingly popular and the market became flooded with music chiefly by continental composers (for example, Haydn, Pleyel, Stamitz and Vanhal), and the turn-over of this section of the musical repertory was quick. By contrast, the staged music of the late eighteenth century became subject to a slower

⁶ Lenore F. Coral, 'Music in English Auction Sales, 1676–1750' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London: University of London, 1974).

⁷ Yu Lee An, 'Music Publishing in London from 1780 To 1837 as Reflected in Music Publishers' Catalogues of Music for Sale: A Bibliography and Commentary' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Canterbury: University of Canterbury, 2008).

pace of change, partly because of the more permanent nature (productions staged over many weeks in some cases and often with revival productions in subsequent years), and also the longevity of some songs more or less advanced by the stars of the stage themselves.

3.1.2. Circulating Libraries.

Circulating Libraries, or lending libraries, were another source of printed music for discerning families, particularly for those wanting to avoid the expense of purchasing music, and the associated optional costs of getting the music bound. If the works in question were subject to swiftly changing tastes, like the increasing market for novels, then it saved the purchaser expense and space. Membership was by subscription, which allowed for books and music to be borrowed for indefinite periods. The intended clientele for circulating libraries was not the noble classes, but certainly included the gentry and emerging middle class: subscription lists for the Macclesfield library in 1779 show that none of the twenty-eight members were gentry; thirty-two of the 429 subscribers of the Leeds Circulating Library in 1785 were gentry; the Circulating Library at Halifax reveal just one titled person of a total of 281, with no members of the gentry; and of the 302 members of the Manchester Circulating Library in 1794, just seven were gentry, using the 'Esq.' form of address.⁸ No doubt it was possible for subscribers to then lend material to friends or poorer relations, so despite amateur music-making in the form of music lessons, purchasing most instruments and attending concerts being prohibitively expensive for the vast majority of the population, there were certainly ways for people of lower income to access printed music. Sharing books and music must have been widespread. Even at the end of the period, we see even relatively cheap items such as newspapers being borrowed.⁹ It is impossible to calculate the readership of these libraries, but certainly the numbers

⁸ *A catalogue of the books in the Circulating Library at Halifax 1786; A catalogue of books, in the Macclesfield circulating library, March 25, 1779; A catalogue of the present collection of books, in the Manchester Circulating library 1794; and A compleat catalogue of the books in the circulating-library at Leeds, 1785.*

⁹ An example from fiction comes in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*, where Fanny Price's father borrows a neighbour's newspaper (vol. 3, chap. 7).

of libraries increased during this period. The Birmingham edition of the trade directory *The distant traders guide* of 1788 lists three circulating libraries in the town; an indication of the growing demand for the service.¹⁰ John Drewry ran a circulating library in the market place in Stafford during the 1790s. One advertisement he placed in the *Staffordshire Advertiser* in 1796 (the year before he was to take over responsibility for printing this newspaper) lists fifty two items of music, along with over sixty individual ‘New Songs’, sold for a shilling or sixpence.¹¹

Drewry’s list reveals that he was catering for the working and aspiring gentry classes, particularly as he lists many tutor books: ‘Instruction’s for the Clarionet, Violin, Hautboy, Bassoon, Common Flute, German Flute, Harpsichord, Piana [sic.] Forte, Spinnet, &c;’ which indicates the sorts of people who would probably not be able to afford private music teachers, and ‘Music Paper – bound and in sheets’, suggesting that the client base was used to writing out their own music, probably noting down new songs and pieces from friends and acquaintances. Drewry also supplied these latest pieces, as he indicated by offering ‘A large assortment of New SONGS’.¹² Individual items listed in Drewry’s advertisement were all recent publications in a wide variety of genres, including marches, piano sonatas, psalmody books and songs, dances, overtures (i.e. symphonies), concertos, glees, and chamber music.

Terms of borrowing for members of circulating libraries were favourable compared to the price of purchasing the material; subscribers paid on average of half a guinea a year to have up to two books on loan at any one time.¹³ Whilst this figure roughly

¹⁰ G. Hunter, *The distant traders guide and residents local directory, for the Mercantile Town of Birmingham* (Birmingham: Smith, 1788).

¹¹ *Staffordshire Advertiser*, Saturday, 15 July 1796.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ For example, Bathoe, *A new catalogue of the curious and valuable collection of books*, 1767.

Subscriptions were ten shillings and sixpence (= half a guinea) to be eligible to borrow two books at a time; Robert Bliss’s library in Oxford, levied a guinea for four books at a time, including any new publications (Bliss, *A catalogue of the circulating library opened by R. Bliss, bookseller and stationer, High Street, Oxford, c.1785*), Meyler’s Circulating Library in Bath charged fifteen shillings for three books at a time (*A catalogue of Meyler’s circulating library, in Orange-Grove, Bath*,

equates to a substantial £100 in today's money, the few restrictions on the numbers of books and music prints eighteenth-century subscribers could borrow meant hundreds of items may be read over the year.¹⁴ If an item was not returned, or was lost, the members paid a charge equal to the price of a replacement copy but no more. We can see an example of this for Welcker's publication of Johann Christian Bach's *A Third Set of Six Concertos*, op 13 was sold for 15 shillings (as stated on the front cover). J. Sibbald offered a Bach's set for loan in *A new catalogue of the Edinburgh circulating library* of 1786, stating the replacement price as 15 shillings (to be paid if the music was lost or returned damaged).¹⁵ Circulating libraries, therefore, were an excellent way for the gentry's thirst for new music to be quenched.

Before examining these general points in the context of specific collections found in Midlands country houses, a discussion of the wider contexts of the repertoires must be had. Some of these genres were in a state of flux during the late eighteenth century; composers were not only adopting continental Classical compositional styles, but also developing existing genres and forms to suit the changing markets for their music. The extent to which composition was influenced by the following distinct social factors should not be underestimated.

3.1.3. Instruments and Gender.

In section 2.1 I explored how men and women in general interacted with music, as participants and audience, and the remainder of the chapter looked at case studies of music tuition in country houses. However, a more detailed discussion of the repertoires associated with women and men is needed to contextualise the studies of

1790); Fisher's Circulating Library charged three shillings a quarter, and he made a point of highlighting the relative cheapness compared to the metropolis which charged four or five shillings a quarter 'in consequence of the advance in the costs of paper and printing' (Fisher, *A Catalogue of R. Fisher's Circulating Library, in the High-Bridge, Newcastle* (Newcastle, 1794).

¹⁴ Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, 'Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present', *Measuring Worth*, 2016. URL: www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/ [accessed 3 July 2017].

URL: www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/

¹⁵ J. Sibbald, *A new catalogue of the Edinburgh circulating library* of 1786, p. 167.

the country house music collections I have researched. Certain repertoires in the eighteenth century were tailored to existing social norms that saw men and women playing specific types of instruments. Most instruments played at the time can be placed into a simple ‘male’ or ‘female’ category. For example, bowed stringed instruments were played by men: the overtly physical action of drawing a bow across the strings considered un-lady-like, and the cello in particular (which the player could not help but spread his legs to play), was certainly considered undignified for females. Surviving paintings of female viola da gamba players, for example, show them ‘at rest’ rather than mid-performance, or else playing with the instrument to the side of both legs (a position awkward to play in and not seen in paintings of male players). Wind, brass and percussion instruments too were the preserve of males; blowing down instruments was seen as masculine, and brass instruments were more commonly associated with military function; a designation coming as much from the instruments’ use to portray combat in musical works as from their actual use in the military.

Along with the harpsichord and piano, the plucked instruments harp and guitar were seen as belonging to a women’s realm. These instruments do not require the same overtly physical exertion as with wind, brass and stringed instruments, and crucially, they are all self-accompaniment instruments that do not require other instruments to accompany and complete the musical experience. Therefore, this element of solitude meant the instruments considered excellent pursuits for young women.

Iconography can confirm these gender stereotypes: most eighteenth-century portraits of women depicting musical instruments feature English guitar, harp or a domestic keyboard (spinnet, harpsichord, piano or square piano, but not organ). Paintings involving men playing or holding instruments (aside from portraits of known professional musicians) feature flute, violin, cello and ensembles of these instruments.

- Thomas Gainsborough (1727–88): *Ann Ford (later Mrs. Philip Thicknesse)*, 1759–60, oil on canvas 197.2 x 134.9 cm, Cincinnati Art Museum, Ohio, USA.
- Joseph Wright (1734–97): *Mrs. Robert Gwilym playing an English guitar*, 1766, Saint Louis Art Museum, USA.
- Francis Cotes (1726–70): *Princess Louisa and Princess Caroline*, 1767, Oil on canvas | 265.0 x 185.9 cm, Royal Collections Trust. This painting shows

George III's two youngest sisters in a musical setting, the 17-year old Princess Louisa holding an English guittar.

- George Romney (1734–1802): *Young Man with a Flute*, late 1760s, oil on canvas, 97.47 × 77.47 cm, Dallas Museum of Art, USA.
- Tilly Kettle (1735–86): *Eleanor Francis Grant, of Arndilly*, 1764–9, oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, USA. Here, Eleanor Grant shares a chaise longue with an English guittar.
- Robert Edge Pine (1730–88): *The Bridgeman Family* [1780?], oil on canvas, Weston Park Foundation. In this portrait of a family discussed in detail in section 4.6, Charlotte Bridgeman is seated at the keyboard, Elizabeth, her sister is playing the harp, whilst their brothers Henry and George are holding a cello and flute respectively.

Illustration 3.1. Joseph Wright (1734–97): *Mrs. Robert Gwillym playing an English guitar*, 1766, Saint Louis Art Museum, USA.



Illustrations in tutor books and music prints themselves also corroborate the findings from formal paintings, showing men and women in these gentry stereotypes:

- Richard Neale, *A Pocket Companion for Gentlemen and Ladies*, 1725. The frontispiece of Volume II shows an illustration of a musical gathering; men are playing the oboe, bassoon, violin and cello, women are singing and playing the guitar and lute.
- *Apollo's Cabinet – The Muses Delight*, 1756. Here a female harpsichordist is accompanying three men standing playing flute and violin and singing.
- Joseph Tacet, *The Compleat Tutor for the German-Flute*, 1780. The illustration here is of a man standing playing the flute.
- James Hook, *Guida di Musica*, op 37, 1810. The title page illustration (see illustration 3.2.) includes three women (singing, playing the harpsichord and harp), and four men (two playing violin, and one each playing cello and oboe).

Illustration 3.2. James Hook, Guida di Musica, op 37, 1810, front cover.



An examination of the numbers and types of tutor books published in the eighteenth century, however, presents an interesting angle on the gender designation of instruments. The list of *Instrumental and Vocal Tutors and Treatises Entered at Stationers' Hall* from 1789 to 1818 compiled by Albert Rice, presented above in table 2.1 gives a strong impression that the tutor book market was dominated by those serving keyboard players (twenty three books published during this period), and it is reasonable to assume that music-making in country houses reflected this.¹⁶ However, this is in marked contrast to the numbers of keyboard-genre prints found in the collections I have studied, which are not significantly higher than those of other instrumental genres.

The fact that there are far more 'female' instrument tutor books naturally leads to the conclusion that amateur music-making was predominantly a female pursuit. But this

¹⁶ Rice, 1988.

picture is also obscured by the socio-economic status of those taking part in music. For gentlemen, music was not as essential a skill to acquire as for women. Men who had the financial means and leisure time to learn an instrument could also afford a private teacher, so that there was no need for tutor books. This scenario is backed up by the lack of evidence of private music teachers selling tutor books to their own pupils: in all the bills from music teachers to their clients where sheet music is itemised, I have not yet come across an instance of a tutor book being sold by a master to his pupil. For ladies, the expense of hiring of a private music teacher could be avoided, or at least reduced, if a good tutor book was purchased, hence the large numbers of tutor books for keyboard instruments compared to those for male instruments such as violin, cello and flute. For the gentry and nobility, with the means to spend the season in London, access to a music teacher was relatively easy whereas in provincial towns and rural areas, teachers could be hard to come by and beyond the financial means of many. Lady Catherine, speaking to Darcy, says: ‘Miss Bennet would not play at all amiss if she practised more, and could have the advantage of a London master’.¹⁷ Austen’s comments here provide us with a fictional yet realistic observation of the lack of tutors in the provinces.

3.1.4. ‘Violoncello or Harpsichord’.

Further evidence for instrument genders influencing eighteenth-century music publications comes from looking at the precise wording used to describe the scoring required for chamber music. In many cases the description of instruments required for eighteenth-century printed music includes the phrase ‘cello or harpsichord’, suggesting that there is a choice between these two instruments rather than for both of them to play at the same time – cello and harpsichord.¹⁸ Chamber music of this kind was always sold without duplicate copies of the parts, suggesting performance with just one of either continuo instrument was a possible expectation, as Holman and Maunder

¹⁷ Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* (London: Thomas Egerton, 1813), chapter 31.

¹⁸ For an in-depth discussion of this issue see David Watkin ‘Corelli’s op 5 sonatas: ‘Violino e violone o cimbalo?’’ *Early Music*, vol. 24(4) (November, 1996), pp. 642–63.

have demonstrated.¹⁹ The nonexistence of large numbers of duplicate copies of the basso continuo part in surviving collections suggests that it was not routine for purchasers to write out a second copy. Of course, this could be easily explained if cellists in the eighteenth century routinely read the music on the harpsichord music desk, sharing one part. Contemporary paintings more often than not show that this sharing arrangement was normal, although one must bear in mind the staging and symbolism of these portraits.²⁰ However, if the sharing of a basso continuo part was the norm it does not explain the ‘and/or’ terminology used.

To investigate these aspects of nomenclature in more depth, I carried out a survey of printed music in The British Library Catalogue of Printed Music and RISM A/I catalogue which yielded in excess of ninety prints published in England between 1750 and 1800 that use either the wording ‘violoncello or harpsichord’ or ‘harpsichord or violoncello’. This number includes works first published earlier in the century such as Handel’s *Seven Sonatas or Trios for two Violins or German Flutes with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op 5, which was first issued by John Walsh in 1739 and published with a new imprint as late as 1790 using the original title wording.²¹ Just three prints issued between 1750 and 1800 use the designation ‘violoncello and harpsichord’ or vice versa that are not works scored for larger forces such as collections of overtures (symphonies) or concerti grossi.

Such a large proportion of examples should be regarded as a deliberate ploy by composers and publishers to assign gender designation in order for the music to be seen as acceptable to be performed within the social norms. Given the gender-specific nature of the most popular domestic instrumental genres – solo or trio sonatas for (male) flutes or violins with basso continuo played by (male) cellists and (female) harpsichordists – a conflict of social acceptability was inevitable. Even in the case of collections of dances or Scottish songs, many of which required basso continuo

¹⁹ Peter Holman and Richard Maunder, ‘The Accompaniment of Concertos in 18th-Century England’ *Early Music*, vol. 28, Issue 4 (November 2000), pp. 636–52.

²⁰ For example: Louis Michel Van Loo, *Sestetto*, 1768; Johan Zoffany, *The Gore Family with George, third Earl Cowper*, [1775?].

²¹ George Frederic Handel, *Seven Sonatas or Trios for two Violins or German Flutes with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, op 5. (London: H. Wright, c. 1790).

accompaniment, there were potentially undesirable situations if the performance required the presence of both unmarried men and women in an intimate domestic setting.

The expectation of the composer to have their works performed with both keyboard and cello accompaniment may have been deliberately overlooked in order to make it clear to the purchasing public that their music was suitable for all social scenarios; that, for example, a flute sonata could be performed by male flautist and male cellist or female harpsichordist, or by all three. By simply suggesting that the work could be performed with either cello or harpsichord, the publication was more suitable for music-making within the close family context (where sisters, brothers, mothers and fathers might perform together) as well as less intimate social acquaintances (where the presence of a female member of the group may have been less desirable). By the mid-1770s composers started dropping the ‘and/or’ nomenclature on chamber works. Trios such as Cramer’s op 1 included figured bass in the ‘violoncello’ part, as did his op 3 trios published by William Napier, in which the cello part is called more vaguely ‘bass’.²² From the title page, these works appear to be string trios, with no ‘and/or’ indication or mention of the ‘thorough bass’ terminology used extensively in the earlier part of the century. Yet the inclusion of figured bass in the cello part does suggest a trio sonata genre. Giardini, Borghi, and Kammell are among other composers who wrote solo trio sonatas for two violins and continuo whilst indicating on the title pages that the scoring was just ‘bass’.²³

3.1.5. Keyboard Duets.

In 1765, the nine-year-old Mozart and his sister Nannerl (Maria Anna), aged thirteen, appeared in London playing a duet of the boy’s composition in a concert. Keyboard duets – for four hands on one instrument, or for two instruments – were a rarity at the

²² Wilhelm Cramer, *Six Sonatas for 2 Violins and a Violoncello*, op 1 (London: Welcker, [1783?]); *Six Trios for two Violins and a Bass*, op 3 (London: William Napier, [1785]).

²³ Antonín Kammel *VI trio, per due violini & basso, li quali si potranno esequire a piena orchestra*, op 6 [1770?]; Luigi Borghi, *Six Solos for a Violin and Bass*, op 4 (London: Broderip & Wilkinson, [1800]).

time. The first publication of such a work in England was Charles Burney's *Four Sonatas or Duets For two Performers on One Piano Forte or Harpsichord*, printed in London by Robert Bremner in 1770. It predates Mozart's duets, K381 in D, written in Salzburg, mid-1772, and K358 in Bb, written in Salzburg, late 1773 to early 1774.²⁴ In the preface to the *Four Sonatas*, Burney claims 'That great and varied effects may be produced by Duets upon Two keyed-Instruments, has been proved by several ingenious composition, some of which have been published in Germany'.²⁵ Further publications of keyboard duets on one keyboard include J.C. Bach's *Four Sonatas and two Duetts for the Piano Forte or Harpsicord ... with accompaniments*, op 15, 1778, Muzio Clementi's *Three Duets for two Performers on One Piano Forte or Harpsichord, and three Sonatas with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin*, op.3, 1779 and J.C. Bach's *Four Sonatas and two Duetts for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a German Flute or Violin*, op 18, 1781.

The close proximity of these publications suggests a significant albeit short-lived demand for such works. The mixed-genre nature of these three collections (an unusual occurrence in the eighteenth century) suggests that the keyboard duet genre was not so popular as to warrant its own exclusive publication. The suitability of such works for use in the family house is not difficult to see: they could be performed if there were two keyboard players in the house and they could be used by the student and teacher in lessons. Burney himself raises this issue in the preface to his *Four Sonatas*, by suggesting that the duets may be 'subservient to two very useful purposes of *improvement*, as they will require a particular attention to *Time*, and to that *clair-obscur* which is produced by different degrees of *Piano* and *Forte*,' and that errors of timings or dynamics will be spotted sooner when another performer is there to serve as a check.²⁶

²⁴ Both published in Vienna, 1783 as op 3.

²⁵ Preface to Charles Burney, *Four Sonatas or Duets for Two Performers on One Piano Forte or Harpsichord* (London: Robert Bremner, 1770). It is unclear which German works he is referring to; they are not the compositions by Georg Christian Wagenseil, whom Burney writes about in *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and the United Provinces* in 1773, having heard his duets the year before, or the aforementioned works of Mozart.

²⁶ Charles Burney, *Four Sonatas or Duets for Two Performers on One Piano Forte or Harpsichord* (London: Robert Bremner, 1770) preface.

Burney's highlighting of the pedagogical benefits of the works is further evidence of the intended audience of amateur keyboard-playing daughters of the nobility and gentry. Burney's duets are carefully written so that each part has an equal role in the music, and that the hands of one player do not have to negotiate crossing over those of the other.

The well-known portrait of the Mozart family, by Johann Nepomuk della Croce – *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart with his sister Maria Anna and father Leopold, on the wall a portrait of his dead mother Anna Maria*, [1780] – shows Wolfgang and Nannerl seated at a keyboard, evidently playing a duet. Interestingly, their hands are shown as crossed in the portrait, with Wolfgang's right-hand placed higher up the keyboard than his sisters left.²⁷ This crossed-hands technique is not called for in the duets of Burney, Bach and Clementi, yet if we are to use Croce's portrait as evidence for this method of performance, it was certainly being used on the continent at the time. The absence of this technique in the works of these composers – two Europeans and an Englishman who had the finger on the pulse of continental trends more than most – may be as much due to social reasons as for those of compositional style and performance. In Abraham Rees's *The New Cyclopaedia* (1819), Dr Burney, writing in the article on *Revelement* (compass) provides us with further evidence that the keyboard duet genre was intended for performance by women, and points to one reason for why this early repertoire does not call for crossed hands:

[...] in the year 1777, when Dr. Burney first composed and published duets 'a quatre mains', or for two performers on one instrument, the ladies at that time wearing hoops which kept them at too great a distance from each other, had a harpsichord made by Merlin, expressly for duets, with six octaves; extending from the octave below double C in the base, to the octave above C in alt. in the treble [c''']. And as duets *quatre mains* have been composed by all the great

²⁷ Johann Nepomuk della Croce: *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart mit Schwester Maria Anna und Vater Leopold, an der Wand ein Portrait der verstorbenen Mutter, Anna Maria*, [1780?].

masters in Europe since that time, instruments with additional keys are now become general.²⁸

A much more pedagogical approach to the keyboard duet is to be found in a few pieces in William Gawler's *A Miscellaneous Collection of Fugitive Pieces [...] for the harpsichord or pianoforte*, op 2, 1784. Among the preludes, dance tunes, songs and variation sets are three pieces 'à Trois Mains', that is: written on three staves. The lines of the top two staves, both using treble clef, do not overlap, which therefore suggests performance by two players. It is clear, therefore, that publications of keyboard duets were mostly written with the social conventions in mind, to be played predominantly by women in amateur performance contexts in the home.

3.1.6. Obligato Keyboard Works.

A more substantial development of keyboard genres than the duet was that of chamber music with obligato roles for the harpsichord, organ and piano. The status of these instruments evolved during the baroque era. The seventeenth century saw them as either a single solo instrument or the sole accompanying instrument in sacred contexts. By the mid-eighteenth century its sonority had been considered the equal of other instruments, rather than a continuation of the confined role of basso continuo. Notable early examples of keyboard instruments having equal status to the violin or flute include the numerous sonatas for harpsichord obligato with violin, and flute, by J S Bach, Mondonville and Rameau.²⁹ The organ concertos of Handel are also early examples of the keyboard instrument being used out of its usual context (as a continuo accompanying instrument in Handel's operas from the late 1730s).

Towards the end of the century, chamber music featuring obligato keyboard parts (as opposed to continuo accompaniment) was published with increasing frequency, owing to the demands of the amateur market. These prints were usually entitled 'sonatas for

²⁸ Abraham Rees, *Cyclopaedia: or, a new Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, vol. 29 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1819).

²⁹ David Fuller 'Accompanied keyboard music', *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 60 (2) (April, 1974), pp. 222–45.

harpsichord [or piano forte] with accompaniment for violin [or flute], and cello', or similar.³⁰ Publications included duos (keyboard with violin or flute), trios (keyboard with violin and cello) and, to a lesser extent, quartets and quintets; scored for keyboard with two violins and cello, and keyboard with two violins, viola and cello respectively. Structurally, these works were unlike the typical baroque trio-sonatas of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries that used basso continuo accompaniment, and quite unlike harpsichord concertos that required mandatory accompaniment by stringed instruments and were structured along the ritornello principle. In many cases, accompanied sonatas with one *ad lib* instrument were published in score format, in contrast to the part-book method used for the majority of eighteenth-century chamber music. This was a practical method that enabled wife and husband to play together, sharing the music from the keyboard music desk. Many of these works for keyboard and violin or flute could function as sonatas for keyboard alone because they were structured so that there was little thematic need for the accompaniment instruments which would ordinarily present thematic content prior to the 'solo' instrument. One such collection is by Exeter composer and organist William Jackson. His *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord Accompanied with a Violin*, published in 1757, contains no such qualifying 'ad libitum' wording on the front cover, yet the prefatory 'Advertisement' provides the performer with a number of directions to insert or omit the violin part when the sonatas were to be 'played as *Lessons*' (i.e. solos).³¹ Indeed, most of the titles of these works do not contain the qualifying words *obbligato* or *ad libitum* that are often found on the title pages of many English 'Concertos in Seven Parts' popular in the 1740s to 1760s, which made them performable by smaller forces. However, the careful wording 'accompaniment' can be seen as a similar distinction and direction of how the music contained therein could be performed. Moreover, the technical requirements of the performers of these 'with accompaniment' works fitted the gender roles of private music-making circles perfectly: the cello and violin 'accompaniment' parts were played by men and were invariably easier than the solo keyboard part played by women. In Jackson's *Six Sonatas* the material is carefully laid out so that the

³⁰ For example, Reynolds (née Park), Hester Maria, *Sonatas for Harpsichord or Pianoforte with accompaniment for the violin* (London: [n. pub.], 1785)

³¹ William Jackson, *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord Accompanied with a Violin* (London: John Johnson, 1757).

technically challenging harpsichord part works well on its own whilst the violin part is more than mere dressing but contains interesting melodic content, which must have been critical for the mutual satisfaction of the husband and wife duo.

William Herschel's *Sei Sonate per il Cembalo, cogli Accompagnamenti di Violino e Violoncello che si possono sonare anche sole*, published in Bath in 1769, is a striking example of the unequal division of labour in these 'harpsichord with accompaniment' works, and is in stark contrast to Jackson's offering. Even taking into consideration the qualification that the sonatas could be played solo, the violin and cello parts are so devoid of content to be really rather dull.

Illustration 3.3. William Herschel: Sonata I, bars. 1–8 (*Sei Sonate per il Cembalo*).

Allegro

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing staves for Violin, Violoncello, and Cembalo. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor) and the time signature is common time (C). The tempo is marked 'Allegro'.

- System 1 (Bars 1-2):**
 - Violin:** Bar 1 has a whole rest. Bar 2 begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *pia.*
 - Violoncello:** Bar 1 has a whole rest. Bar 2 begins with a half note G3, followed by a quarter note A3, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *pia.*
 - Cembalo:** The left hand plays a continuous eighth-note accompaniment. The right hand plays a half note G4, followed by a trill on A4, then a quarter note G4, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *Sfor* at the start of bar 2.
- System 2 (Bars 3-4):**
 - Violin:** Bar 3 has a whole rest. Bar 4 begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *Sfor* at the start of bar 4.
 - Violoncello:** Bar 3 has a whole rest. Bar 4 begins with a half note G3, followed by a quarter note A3, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *Sfor* at the start of bar 4.
 - Cembalo:** The left hand continues the eighth-note accompaniment. The right hand plays a half note G4, followed by a trill on A4, then a quarter note G4, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *Sfor* at the start of bar 4.
- System 3 (Bars 5-6):**
 - Violin:** Bar 5 has a whole rest. Bar 6 begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, Bb4, and A4, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *Sfor* at the start of bar 6.
 - Violoncello:** Bar 5 has a whole rest. Bar 6 begins with a half note G3, followed by a quarter note A3, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *Sfor* at the start of bar 6.
 - Cembalo:** The left hand continues the eighth-note accompaniment. The right hand plays a half note G4, followed by a trill on A4, then a quarter note G4, ending with a quarter rest. Dynamic: *Sfor* at the start of bar 6.

Full keyboard concertos often with the same *ad libitum* designation for the accompanying instruments were also published during the late eighteenth century. The works for solo keyboard and accompaniments by J.C. Bach, Philip Hayes and Karl Friedrich Abel are radically different in style and form from the Baroque ‘Concertos of Seven Parts’ by Bond, Mudge, Alcock and others who were writing essentially to the Handelian model. J.C. Bach, the most prolific composer of keyboard concertos, structured many of the first movements with a double exposition, making an indication in the keyboard part that the first was to be missed out when the work was to be performed by harpsichord alone.³² A bill for music provided by Francis Hackwood for Charlotte Bridgeman includes ‘accompaniments for Bach’s Concertos’, suggesting that these parts could be purchased separately from the solo keyboard part.³³ Hackwood had almost certainly sold Charlotte the aforementioned *A 3rd Sett of 6 Concertos* of J. C. Bach. Although the surviving catalogues of the publisher Welcker do not list the accompaniment parts available for a separate price, it is quite possible that the solo part could be obtained independently, possibly in manuscript from the publisher.³⁴

Mark Argent suggests that publishers at this time were in the habit of issuing concertos of celebrated composers, designated for the harpsichord, despite the original composition being for organ or pianoforte, because the harpsichord was still the

³² For example, Johann Christian Bach, *A 3rd Sett of 6 Concertos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte, With Accompaniments for 2 Violins and a Bass, 2 Hautboys and 2 French Horns ad Libitum*, op 13 (London: Welcker, 1777). All six of the concertos’ first movements have double expositions with the designation ‘solo’ in the keyboard part.

³³ SRO, D1287/3/12 (R310).

³⁴ For example, in: *A Catalogue of Vocal & Instrumental Music Printed & Sold Wholesale Retail by John Welcker at his Music and Instrumental Warehouse*, a single folio listing found at the end of Samuel Arnold’s *A set of progressive lessons for the harpsichord, or the piano forte*, op 12 (London: 1777), or *A Catalogue of Vocal & Instrumental Music* (London: [1780?]). Both catalogues list the work as ‘Bach’s 3^d Concertos with Accompt/ Opera 13th’ with a single price of fifteen shillings. The latter catalogue also lists the ‘1st & 2nd [concertos] each – 10s 6d’.

instrument most frequently found in domestic settings.³⁵ This is also the case for arrangements of overtures (symphonies) such as Abel's *Six Favorite Overtures* [op 1.] *adapted for the Harpsicord or Organ*. London: Longman, Lukey and Co., c. 1770.

The development of genres that catered for keyboardists, and their increasing output through the late eighteenth century, is indication of a steadily growing market largely dominated by female amateur players. The careful wording of collections and the technical demands of such chamber music points to this section of society bearing great influence over the output of works of the time.

3.1.7. Larger Ensemble Music.

The concerto grosso in England, known more usually by a description of the numbers of constituent parts - 'concerto in 7 Parts' - gained popularity after the publication of Handel's op 6 publication and other Baroque works which drew upon the Corelli-Handel style. Examples of English publications using the disposition of two violins and a cello in concertino with an accompanying four-part string ripieno are plentiful: Stanley, Bond, Mudge, Hargrave, Festing, etc. Our understanding of the performance practice of these works has shifted in recent decades; from one of orchestral music where more than one player takes the ripieno parts, to taking the works' description more literally and seeing them as chamber music performed one to a part.³⁶ The flexibility of Corelli's set enabled a variety of performance scenarios; from just the core three concertino instruments being played, through the addition of the ripieno viola part, up to all seven parts being played and the ripieno parts doubled. Only a handful of English publications indicate the potential flexibility of the format (for example, Benjamin Cooke's edition of Alessandro Scarlatti's *vi Concertos in Seven parts, for two Violins & Violoncello Obligato with two Violins more, a Tenor & Thorough Bass*, 1740), yet many of the 'seven parts' publications could be performed by fewer than this number. Flexibility of numbers of instruments was gradually replaced by flexibility of scoring, with the introduction of wind instruments to the works either as *ad libitum* parts or a

³⁵ Mark Argent, *Recollections of R.J.S. Stevens: An Organist in Georgian London* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992).

³⁶ Holman and Maunder (2000).

concerto role. Collections of concertos in seven parts which fall into this category include James George's *Six Concerto's in seven Parts, Four for Violins, one for a German Flute, one for a Violoncello*, published in 1750, Mudge's 1749 set (which included a keyboard concerto), or Weidemann's *Six Concertos in Seven Parts for One and Two German Flutes, Two Violins, a Tenor, with a Thorough Bass for the Violoncello and Harpsichord*, 1746 (essentially concertos for two flutes). The seemingly ill-fitting nature of many of these collections, which often included works with a variety of scorings, was in part reason for this nomenclature being dropped. This is not to say that such repertoire already owned was ignored in performance contexts by amateurs, but by the end of the eighteenth century it is hard to find a publisher's catalogue that includes any sets of concertos in seven parts apart from those 'classic' works of Corelli, Handel and Geminiani from the first half of the eighteenth century.³⁷

The performance of larger-scale instrumental works shifted to the symphony (or, in England 'overture') and the gradual decline in the Concerto in Seven Parts coincided with an increase in popularity of music with obligato keyboard parts. This might seem a purely stylistic choice; a wish by composers to embrace the new continental styles using sonata form, rather than the old-fashioned ritornello form of baroque concertos. Yet, the crucial difference is the technical requirement of the keyboardist who, in the new genres, exchanges realizing the figured bass for playing obligato parts.

³⁷ In *A Catalogue of Music, Printed and Sold by Samuel, Ann, and Peter Thompson*, 1781, the category of music 'For Concerts' lists twenty-four works, of which are of the concerto in seven parts genre (Corelli's op 6, and Geminiani's opp. 2 and 3), with all others being more up-to-date overtures and symphonies. The sale catalogue of *Longman and Broderip, Manufacturers of Musical Instruments, and Music-Sellers to His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales*, July 1788, lists the latest overtures and symphonies by Haydn, Mozart, Stamitz and Kozeluch but no English concerto in seven parts; the *Second Volume of Lackington's Catalogue for 1793* lists 397 works available, with just one concerti grossi (by Festing) available – perhaps an oddity, given that it was first published 50 years previously; and the 1799 sale catalogue for *George Astor, Manufacturer of Musical Instruments and Music-Seller* lists no instrumental music larger than string quartets.

Among the last books to deal with basso continuo for this amateur market are Geminiani's *The Art of Accompaniment*, 1756–57, and Pasquali's *Thorough Bass Made Easy*, 1757.³⁸ But these are late examples that by the third quarter of the eighteenth century are a minority among other pedagogical publications for keyboard. Keyboard tutor books, such as James Nares' *Il Principio*, 1765, do not even mention the subject. And from thereafter, the art of basso continuo is increasingly sidelined into an academic subject aimed at those wanting a thorough grounding in the theory rather than as a practical guide to amateurs. Notable examples are William Shield's *Rudiments of Thorough Bass*, and John Holden's *An essay towards a rational system of music*, 1770.³⁹ The rare late publications that do focus on basso continuo make it clear that the art was becoming a specialism beyond the means of amateurs: By 1800, Joseph Corfe in his *Thorough Bass simplified, or the whole theory & practice of thorough bass, laid open to the meanest capacity* states 'The study of this part of Musical Science has been very often discouraged, not only from the idea of its extreme difficulty, and the appearance of so many figures, which dazzle the eye and embarrass the Scholar, but from the multitude of rule, which burden the Memory'.⁴⁰

It is clear that as the technical requirements of keyboard repertoire increase and move from harpsichord to piano the art of thorough bass becomes sidelined; no longer an essential skill for all amateurs, but the preserve of the professional musician. Considering all of these elements together, it is possible to see a link between new continental styles, the role of women keyboardists, and the decline in basso continuo in shaping the musical tastes of instrumental music in the eighteenth century.

³⁸ Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Accompaniment, or A new & well digested method to learn to perform the Thorough Bass* (London: 1754); Pasquali, *Thorough Bass Made Easy* (London: 1757).

³⁹ William Shield, *Rudiments of Thorough Bass for Young Harmonists* (London: J. Robinson, 1815), John Holden, *An Essay Towards a Rational System of Music* (Glasgow, 1770).

⁴⁰ Joseph Corfe, *Thorough Bass simplified, or the whole theory & practice of thorough bass, laid open to the meanest capacity* (London: 1800).

3.1.8. Vocal Music.

Vocal music occupies a special place in the music collections of the country house. Late eighteenth-century concert life was dominated by vocal music; either in the form of opera or oratorio, or music performed at Vauxhall and other pleasure gardens, or at subscription series such as the Concerts of Antient Music. New works were being presented to the public in large quantities at a rate faster than any other genre. Publishers sought to take full advantage of the public's appetite for the latest songs by ensuring that these works appeared in print before they fell out of fashion, the opera production ended or the particular soloist with whom the works were associated moved on to a new production.⁴¹ Published collections of arias were more popular than a whole opera or oratorio which included choruses, recitatives and symphonies, and this is reflected in the publishers' output. Manuscript copies of individual pieces, therefore, are common in some of the country house music collections I have studied, reflecting the owners' preference for favourite individual pieces rather than preserving whole works. These are either found in loose sheets or in the owners' manuscript books compiled alongside other preferred vocal or keyboard works.

Italian opera was much more exclusive than other dramatic music. Its popularity among the nobility (and derision by all others) was frequently discussed at the time:

The Italian Opera generally commences in the months of December, and shuts in June: the representations are twice, and sometimes three times a week. As the English in general have no great attachment to this exotic entertainment, and are, for the most part, entirely ignorant of the language, this theatre is treated with the utmost contempt by the more sensible part of the people. The nobility alone support it: and merely because – *it is the fashion*.⁴²

⁴¹ For example, Ciampi's *Didone* was produced at the King's Theatre in January and February 1754 (Michael Burden, 'Metastasio on the London Stage, 1728 to 1840: A Catalogue', in *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*, 2007, No. 40 (2007), p. 155) and later that year selections of arias were published Legrenzio Vincenzo Ciampi, *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Didone* (London: J. Walsh, 1754).

⁴² Archenholz, 1790.

Ticket prices for the King's Theatre in the Haymarket were consistent £0.10.6 with cheaper seats in the first and second galleries usually priced five and three shillings respectively. English opera and plays could be attended for a fraction of the price (e.g. theatre productions at Drury Lane and opera at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden could be attended for five shillings for a box, three for the pit, and two and one shilling respectively for first and upper galleries).⁴³ The pleasure gardens were an even more affordable option for seeing live music. The entrance fee for Vauxhall was one shilling on normal nights (raised to two shillings in 1793) and usually £0.2.6 for evenings with special events such as a concert, firework display or ballooning.⁴⁴

Opera repertoire in manuscript form is most often found copied out by women of the country house. Although the men also enjoyed performing vocal music, their genres of choice were glees and catches. Catch and Glee clubs were the preserve of men (a notable example is the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club, formed in 1761).⁴⁵ The popularity of the catch increased throughout the rest of the eighteenth century and was unusual in attracting admiration from all classes. Composer, and clergyman Richard Eastcott summarises this situation neatly, when he wrote of the catch in his 1793 publication *Sketches of the origin, progress and effects of music*:

⁴³ For example, *London Courant and Westminster Chronicle* Saturday, 22 January 1780 advertised these prices for Bertoni's *Quinto Fabio* at the King's Theatre, *The Winter's Tale* at Drury Lane, and Arne's *Artaxerxes* at Covent Garden.

⁴⁴ David Coke, 'Vauxhall Gardens 1661-1859', <http://www.vauxhallgardens.com/vauxhall_gardens_fullchronology_page.html> [accessed 10 January 2018]. Adverts in *Public Advertiser*, Monday, August 27 1770 listed at Ranelagh Gardens an evening of 'most magnificent Firework and illuminations' as well as a 'Concert of vocal and instrumental Music' added to which 'a new Musical Entertainments called The Recruiting Serjeant' (Dibdin), and coffee and tea included, all for £0.2.6. The same paper carries advertisements for entertainments at Vauxhall (one shilling admittance) and a concert of vocal and instrumental music as part of 'Mr Bannister's Night, Marybone Gardens' for three shillings each.

⁴⁵ For an in-depth study of this organisation, see Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006).

The rage which at present prevails, *the mania* of this country, is attended with such strong infection, that all seem to have caught it, from *the noble directors of the catch club*, at the thatch'd house tavern *in the metropolis*, down to *the lowest mechanics, in every little country town*; for while those in the higher walks of life, are accompanying '*Which is the properest day to drink, &c.*' with *burgunday* and *Claret*, the lower orders are making merry with, '*Jack thou'rt a toper, let's have 'tother quart.*'⁴⁶

Publications of catches and glees appeared with increasing regularity towards the end of the eighteenth century. Manuscript copies, however, are not common in the country house collections investigated in this study. This is partly a reflection of the general situation of amateur music-making among the nobility and gentry that saw women much more likely to put pen to manuscript paper, and partly because of the nature of the catch and glee genres which most often appeared in collections rather than of a single composer.

3.1.9. Scoring of Instrumental Music.

Just as it was the design of composers to publish music to be played by different combinations of instruments, so too amateur musicians desired music that was not necessarily specific to their instrument. Such is the case with vocal music in the mid-eighteenth century. Many song collections from this time contain examples of simplified versions of vocal music, whereby a transposed version of the tune without text, usually labeled 'for the flute', is printed immediately below or adjacent to the full song.⁴⁷ Here, it was not intended that the flute should take part in performance of the

⁴⁶ Richard Eastcott, *Sketches of the origin, progress and effects of music* (Bath: S. Hazard, 1793), p. 161.

⁴⁷ Song collections with these flute parts include: Barnabas Gunn's *12 English Songs*, 1751; Henry Roberts' *Clio & Euterpe, or British Harmony*, 1762 (32 out of 142 songs in this three-volume collection contain separate German flute parts); the two volumes that make up the song collection *Calliope, or English Song*, published by Henry Roberts in 1739 contain nearly 400 songs, all but thirty-four contain a separate flute part in a different key to the original song, and seven are indicated as for the 'German Flute'; and William Yates' *A Collection of Songs Sung*

song, but that flautists (gentlemen) – who were not nearly as accomplished as keyboardists or singers (ladies) – could also play the melody in a key and range more suited to the flute without accompaniment or voice. This not only had a musical consequence, but a social one too. It allowed for the comparatively less proficient gentleman flautist to benefit from purchasing the music. In a family scenario, where a gentleman's daughter may have desired the latest collection of songs from Vauxhall or by a popular composer of the day, the father – who most often paid for the music – could see that the purchase would be of benefit to more than just the females of his family.

Some composers appear to have paid special attention to the potential instrumental makeup of family music-making. Tommaso Giordani, for example, published a large number of collections for the amateur market, particularly from the 1780s: sets of 'Progressive Lessons'.⁴⁸ His *Favourite Airs adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte and a German Flute*, [1775?], shows a refinement of the song collections described above that allowed performance simultaneously by flute, keyboard and voice, thereby uniting the family musical scenario of female singer and keyboardist and male flautist. Giordani also issued purely instrumental arrangements of vocal music for 'male' instruments without voice. *Six Trios for a Flute, Violin and Bas. Selected from the favorite Songs, in the Italian Operas* is one such example, presenting trios of two and three movements, each based on one of his own Italian arias.⁴⁹

Many publications of instrumental music enabled a variety of instrumentalists to participate: from the middle of the previous century and by the early eighteenth century it had been common for composers to indicate alternative instruments by

at *Vaux-Hall and Marybone Gardens*, 1770, in which three of the six items have transposed flute melodies. Many other song sheet publications of single works dating from the 1770s, 80s and 90s also contain a separate flute part.

⁴⁸ Notably: *Twelve Progressive Lessons, for the harpsichord, piano forte and organ, composed for the Improvement of Young Practitioners*, op 25 (1780); *Six Progressive Lessons for the harpsichord for piano forte* (1784).

⁴⁹ Tommaso Giordani, *Six Trios for a Flute, Violin and Bas. Selected from the favorite Songs, in the Italian*, (London: 1779).

which their music could be played; violin, oboe and flute (= recorder) were common alternatives. One notable early example from the seventeenth century is Playford's *The Second Part of the Dancing-Master*, 1698, which, unlike the numerous earlier editions of the original *Dancing Master* scored for violin, adds a qualifying 'or flute' on the title-page. In England, these scoring alternatives became commonplace in the eighteenth century and may have been instigated by the publisher rather than the composer. For example, Nicolò Jommelli's *Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or Violins with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello*, published by John Walsh, [1753?], is clearly intended for flutes; the range of the music consistently utilizing the upper register of the flute, with few extended passages written in the first octave, and none written below the range of that instrument. Indeed, the manuscript source of this work does not mention violins at all.⁵⁰ Walsh's edition of Quantz's flute sonatas is the only one of many editions of this collection indicating alternative instrumentation, suggesting that the British amateur market needed accommodating by this scoring option.⁵¹ Collections of folk music, popular throughout the eighteenth century, were also often adapted for performance by a variety of instruments. William MacGibbon's *A Collection of Scots Tunes* was clearly suitable to be performed on a violin, oboe, flute, etc., for MacGibbon is careful to give alternative notes for the flute and oboe where the melody goes below their ranges.⁵²

Whilst these instrumental designations were undoubtedly born out of the publishers' desire to increase sales and profits, the frequency with which these works were produced shows very clear patterns catering for the amateur male performer who wished to participate in performing the popular vocal music of the day. Printed music during this period also charts the changing popularity of instruments. The fashionable instrument for gentlemen changed during the last decades of the eighteenth century, from flute to violin, as the string quartet rose to become the foremost chamber music genre. Using the genre of the accompanied keyboard sonata,

⁵⁰ Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (DK-Kk): mu 9709.2974–2980.

⁵¹ Johann Joachim Quantz, *Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin...* [1732?]. Manuscript versions listed on <<http://haynes-catalog.net/works/show/3614>>.

⁵² William MacGibbon, *Some with Variations for a Violin Hautboy or German Flute. With a Bass for a Violincello or Harpsichord*. (Edinburgh: N. Stewart, [1795?]).

an examination of surviving prints of such works listed in the British Library catalogue of printed music published up to 1830 and RISM A/I catalogue reveals a gradual shift in emphasis from flute to violin. Indications that these works were scored for keyboard 'with accompaniment for flute or violin' gradually receded in prominence during the eighteenth century in favour of those for 'violin or flute' (note, the emphasis on violin, listed before flute). Of the 223 such works in the British Library catalogue, thirty-nine are designated 'violin or flute', and the majority of these are published after 1790. To qualify this statistic, a comparison to other instrumental genres published with similar alternative scoring reveals just eight prints of chamber music (trios, trio-sonatas, quartets, etc.) using the title 'violin or flute'.

Similar examinations of genres and scorings of this time reveal that by the late 1760s the term 'solo', meaning a work for single instrument with continuo accompaniment, was being replaced by 'sonata', a word that was also designated for the trio-sonata. Whilst the interchangeable nature of chamber works for flute and violin was dying out, the specialism of instrumental music increased, so that a work entitled 'sonata for violin', which may have been performed in an all-male context, was a very different proposition from the keyboard sonatas with 'accompaniments for the violin' even though they required the same instruments. Clearly, the proficiency of gentleman amateur violinists was considerable, yet performing circumstances allowed for them to take a back seat role whilst performing with their female counterparts in obbligato keyboard works as discussed above.

3.1.10. Dance Music.

Dance music is also well represented in the country house music collections I have studied. Dance as a form of social participation in the long eighteenth century has been investigated recently by Katrina Faulds, who establishes a similar important link between class and gender, stating that: 'Dance in the country house was significantly associated with the expression of elite values concerning patriarchy, hospitality,

benevolence and luxury display, acting as a tool through which country house owners could sustain and promote patterns of gender and class performance'.⁵³

Whilst there were many collections of eighteenth-century dance music that offered the performer a choice of instruments, many of these have specific scoring suggestions on the title page indicating harpsichord, flute or violin – suggesting that the music would have been performed by ladies playing harpsichord – and many others present the melody in treble clef without a bass line, implying performance by gentleman playing flute or violin unaccompanied. Other publication consisting of single-stave melody was clearly designed for gentlemen, for example James Oswald's *The Caledonian Pocket Companion in seven volumes* [1750–60?], and some even stated so explicitly, such as *The gentleman's pocket companion, for the German flute, or violin* published by Bland & Weller, [1795?], *The gentleman's musical companion*, issued by Hodson & Goulding in 1800, or Gaetano Brandi's *The Man of Feeling; or the Gentleman's Musical Repository for the Flute or Violin* [published 1803?].

This enquiry reveals that the preference for melody instruments played by gentlemen gradually shifted during the last few decades of the eighteenth century, from that which saw flute and violin on equal footing – confirmed in part by the equal numbers of surviving tutor books (see table 2.1) – to the violin almost completely supplanting its woodwind counterpart by the end of the 1820s. Throughout this period, the cello stayed firmly as the bass instrument of choice for gentlemen amateur musicians, as has been discussed in section 2.1.2.

3.2. Collections of Music in Midlands Country Houses.

The following examples of music collections in country houses are by no means exhaustive, but they serve as indicators of what might be considered representative in the region and the rest of provincial England. The circumstances revealed in these

⁵³ Katrina Faulds “*“Invitation pour la danse”*: Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c. 1770-1860’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Southampton, 2015), p. 149.

examples are far from being uniform: the situations of the families are different from one another; some collections were the result of one individual's tastes whereas others came into being through gradual collecting over a few generations. Each collection serves as a mirror of their owner or users and each is therefore invaluable in assessing the music-making that took place in the house, particularly when supporting evidence survives.

3.2.1. Collections of Music I: Calke Abbey, Derbyshire.

The surviving collection of music at Calke Abbey contains works predominantly dating from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, during the lifetimes of the 6th and 7th Baronets. Sir Henry Harpur, 6th Baronet (1739–89) succeeded his father to the baronetcy in 1748 and lived at Calke Abbey, Derbyshire, and at their London house in Mayfair's Upper Grosvenor Street.⁵⁴ He was returned as Member of Parliament for Derbyshire in 1761 and served as High Sheriff of Derbyshire in 1774. Harpur married Frances Greville, second daughter of Francis Greville, 1st Earl of Warwick and Elizabeth Hamilton, in 1762. He was succeeded by his son Sir Henry Harpur (later Crewe), 7th Baronet, who became one of the richest land-owners in Derbyshire on coming into his inheritance.⁵⁵

Calke Abbey has been in the care of the National Trust since 1985. The one hundred and sixty works that make up the music collection in the care of the Trust are distributed between the house library and several store rooms, and are in the process of being catalogued by the Trust.⁵⁶ Access to the collection has allowed me to produce my own catalogue for the purposes of this study, which has resulted in some information that is not otherwise apparent from the National Trust's cataloguing

⁵⁴ F. H. W. Sheppard (ed.) 'Upper Grosvenor Street: South Side', in *Survey of London: Volume 40, the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair, Part 2 (The Buildings)* (London: 1980), pp. 231–38. British History Online <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol40/pt2/pp231-238>> [accessed 2 May 2016].

⁵⁵ Howard Colvin, *Calke Abbey: A Hidden House Revealed* (London: The National Trust/George Philip, 1985), p. 52.

⁵⁶ The catalogue in its current state can be accessed at www.nationaltrustcollections.co.uk.

method. Hidden inside the part books of a collection of Schroeter trios was a single folded sheet entitled 'Catalogue of Sir Henry Harpur Bart Music'. There is no date on this document, but it was certainly made after 1799 (the date of the latest identifiable work on the catalogue: Michael Kelly's *The Music of Pizarro*, 1799) and before 1808, when Henry, 7th Baronet, changed his surname to Crewe. As the 6th Baronet died in 1789, the 'Catalogue' (transcribed in appendix 8) must have belonged to the 7th Baronet.⁵⁷

There are just thirty-seven entries in the catalogue, which include various multiple copies of the same genre (for example, '7 Books of Dances for Different Years' (item 37); or 'Catches & Glees' (item 28)) so that there may have been around fifty items in this collection in total. A curious omission from this Catalogue are the 2 *Marches* by Haydn that were commissioned by Sir Henry in 1794.⁵⁸ Sir Henry had this privately printed, and sixty-two unbound copies remain in the house along with the original printing copper plates. The omission is all the more curious in view of Sir Henry's considerable investment in what we must regard as a vanity project.

Derbyshire Record Office holds a number of catalogues of books at Calke, written in the hands of Sir Henry, 7th Baronet, and his son, Sir Charles, 8th Baronet.⁵⁹ These reveal the two men to be meticulous cataloguers, as both of them had written the exact location and size/format of the book, and their size along with a full description of the work and author. As these catalogues do not list any of the music, it is reasonable to assume that Sir Henry treated the music separately from his books – more like performance material than collectors' items – and that the catalogue described above was the only such document made. Indeed, the majority of the music in the collection is unbound, leading to a conclusion that either he did not consider it worthy of sitting on the shelves in his library, or more likely, that it was in constant use.

⁵⁷ *Derbyshire Record Office* (from hereafter, *DRO*), D2375/271/5.

⁵⁸ Joseph Haydn, *Two Marches, composed by J. Haydn, M.D. for Sir Henry Harpur Bart. And presented by him to the Volunteer Cavalry of Derbyshire, Embodied in the year 1794*. Hob. VIII:1–2.

⁵⁹ *DRO*, D2375/271/1–7.

The 286 items that make up the surviving collection of music at Calke Abbey are listed in appendix 9. It has been possible to identify ownership for many of the items, either by inscription or by a process of elimination.

3.2.2. Collections of Music, II: Weston Park, Staffordshire.

As we have seen from section 2.3.4, the collection of music associated with Sir Henry Bridgeman, 5th baronet, and his family is interesting for the associated supporting evidence for its provenance, ownership and use: Francis Hackwood's bill for 'attending Miss Bridgeman and Miss Elizabeth Bridgeman' included items of printed music that the two daughters played;⁶⁰ a large quantity of music survives at the house; and several surviving catalogues dating from the eighteenth century can be used to ascertain when repertories were used in relation to their owners.⁶¹ A summary of each is presented below with full transcriptions presented in appendix 6 in volume 2.

1. 'A Catalogue of Musick', [1713?]

This catalogue, written on one single side of paper, lists 4 volumes of 43 works containing mostly instrumental concertos. It is implied that there were separately bound books for each of the instrumental forces required, each book containing all the listed works for the 'volumes'. Most of the works listed are concerti grossi, dating from the first decade of the eighteenth century.

2. 'List of the Music', [1784?]

This collection of single-folded quarto sheets, in two hands, indicates composers and their works with page numbers of the bound volumes and part-books the music is to be found in. Additions, possibly in the same hand, have been made using different coloured ink, probably in the same hand. Some titles have had an 'x' added at a later date; possibly an indication of works not accounted for at some later audit. It is likely that the list was made shortly before or after Charlotte Bridgemans' marriage to

⁶⁰ *Staffordshire Record Office* (from hereafter *SRO*), D1287/3/12 (R310).

⁶¹ The manuscript catalogues are all found in the *SRO* under the same call number: D1287/4/2/8 (R117). The printed sale catalogue is found at *SRO* D1287-20-2 (R-707).

Henry Greswolde Lewis (which took place on 15 May 1784), and not before she returned to Weston Park during the early part of 1785.

3. [Catalogue of Music, 1784]

This is a collection of single-folded quarto sheets loosely bound with writing on the recto side of each page. The catalogue is organized by genre, within which composers are listed alphabetically. The first page contains the following description:

‘A Catalogue of the music left at Weston / in Oct 1784 – looked over at that time by / Lady Bridgeman and F Hackwood – / and deposited with this account in ye passage closet / between Sr H Bridgeman’s Bed Chamber & powdring[?] / room.’

The phrase ‘left at Weston’ suggests that the catalogue did not include the items that Charlotte took with her to the marital home.

4. ‘1790 Catalogue of Music’

A collection of single-folded loose quarto sheets. Each side of the pages is used to list works categorized by genre.

5. Sale Catalogue, 1836

This printed document contains an extensive amount of music, and there are hand-written annotations and an accompanying letter from the auctioneer indicating which items were sold. The catalogue is entitled:

Catalogue of Vocal & Instrumental Music, Instruments, &c. Which will be Sold by Auction, by Mr. Watson, At the Mart, Bartholomew Lane, Bank, On Monday, June 13th, 1836, At Twelve o’Clock.

The surviving collection at Weston Park comprises around 250 printed works and seventy manuscript items, revealing the particular interests of various family members dating back to the time of Sir Henry’s grandfather in the late seventeenth century. Of the surviving collection, almost all of the music is in an unbound state; the only bound music books are collections of printed single song sheets. The inscriptions on these

volumes include that of Charlotte Bridgeman, Sir Henry's daughter, who owned a bound volume of vocal music containing sheets of Scottish songs, country dances, and the works of J. C. Bach, Billington, Callcott, Cirilli, Giordani and Gluck (items 80–86, 90, 95, 110–11, 115, 131, and 152–6). The music in this volume dates from the late 1770s until around 1784, the year in which Charlotte married Henry Grewsolde Lewis. What is not found in the Weston Park Music Collection are the pieces that are listed on Francis Hackwood's bill of 1783 (see appendix 5), and it is likely that Charlotte took these with her to her marital home at Malvern Hall in Solihull but did not bring them back after the couple separated.

Hackwood's bill lists a variety of music, some of which was probably intended for male members of the family (quartets and other items of chamber music). Regardless of the intended recipient, it is clear that Weston Park at this time witnessed a wide variety of music-making and the bill is a representative 'snapshot' of the family's musical tastes at this time. There are examples of the latest collections of keyboard works (solo and with accompaniments), English opera, chamber music and works for strings, song collections and Scottish songs.

Table 3.1. Charlotte and Elizabeth Bridgeman's Music acquired from Francis Hackwood, 1782–83.

Original Listing	Price	Composer	Work ⁶²
Stamitz's Sonatas	£0:10:6	Stamitz	
Accompaniments to Bach's Concertos	£0:8:0	J. C. Bach	
Staes Harpsichord Lessons	£0:5:0	Staes, Ferdinand (1748– 1809)	Probably <i>Three Favorite Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano- Forte. With an Accompaniment for a Violin</i> , op 4 (London: J. Cooper, [1785?])

⁶² I have suggested works based on their presence in the surviving Weston Park music collection (see appendix 7) or the four eighteenth-century catalogues (see appendix 6).

Nicollai's D[itt]o	£0:10:6	Nicolai, Valentino (1750–98)	<i>Six Trios for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and a Bass obbligato</i> London: Longman & Broderip [1784]
Deitz's Scotch Airs	£0:10:6	Dietz, Joseph (<i>fl.</i> 1770–79)	
Carters Fair American	£0:10:6	Thomas Carter	<i>The Fair American, a Comic Opera</i> [words by F. Pilon]. ... <i>Opera x.</i> London: Preston, 1782. ⁶³
Rauzini's Airs	£0:10:6	Rauzzini	
Xallon's Lessons	£1:10:6	Xallon	
Staes Opera 5 th	£1:6:6	Staes	
Boccherini's Conversation Pieces	£0:6:0	Boccherini	
Cannales Quartetts	£0:10:6	Cannale	
Pech's Sonatas	£0:7:6	Pech	
Webb's Songs	£0:3:0	Samuel Webbe	
Sheilds Quartetts	£0:10:6	William Sheild	
D[itt]o Songs	£0:3:0	William Sheild	
Noferi's Sonatas	£0:10:6	Noferi	
Boccherini Opera 3 ^d	£0:10:6	Boccherini	
3 Books Scotch Songs	£0:7:6		

After Charlotte's marriage broke down in 1785 she returned to Weston Park.⁶⁴ However, the surviving archive of papers belonging to Henry Greswolde Lewis, at the Warwickshire Record Office contains some of Charlotte's personal effects, including a

⁶³ First performed at the King's Theatre, Haymarket on 11 May 1782. (*Public Advertiser*, Monday, 30 April 1782).

⁶⁴ WAAS, CR299/99/1–2 Deed of Separation, dated 19 July 1785, Signed Henry Greswolde Lewis, Charlotte Lewis, Henry Bridgeman, Orlando Bridgeman.

music manuscript book that clearly belongs to the period of her marriage, 1784–85.⁶⁵ Given the presence of this Malvern Hall manuscript book, it seems likely that Charlotte brought the rest of her music back to Weston Park. Charlotte’s Malvern Hall book is described as ‘A miscellaneous collection of manuscript music – including songs, compositional exercises, melodies for a solo treble instrument, and keyboard music – some of which is ascribed to Charlotte Greswold Lewis, and Lady Lousia Manners.’ The volume contains a number of distinct booklets or single sheets in differing sizes of paper, suggesting that it was bound retrospectively. The flyleaf carries the comment ‘Old music from Maluern Hall / of the Greswoldes & Lewis’, and is therefore presumably a later addition.

Table 3.2. Charlotte Greswolde Lewis (née Bridgeman), music book, 1784–85.

Work	Work	Composer	Notes
<i>Gavot</i>			[D major, keyboard],
<i>Gigue</i>			D major, keyboard – same hand as above
Aria: ‘Infelice ah dove io vado’	from <i>Artaserse</i> , 1772	Tommaso Giordani, 1772	
Small slip inserted between sheets 1 and 2: <i>Tuning Scale</i> instructions for tuning keyboard			
			Keyboard, 2/4, A major
[Continuo exercises]			
<i>La Bergere Des Alpes</i> ‘Reux ce Sazon’			‘C G Lewis’ [French song, vocal plus bass line]

⁶⁵ WAAS, CR 1291/474. A miscellaneous collection of manuscript music.

<i>Song in the 1st Act / Desert Island</i>		Arthur Murphy's <i>The Desert Island</i> produced at Drury Lane 1759–60
<i>Andante</i> [...] at let me shun that thought /sits down by Mr. Vento 'What tho' his guilt my heart hath torn'		
<i>Larghetto</i> [treble line, 6/8, G maj]		
<i>Andante</i> [...] Charlotte <i>Greswold Lewis</i>		French song, vocal and keyboard lines
<i>No. 5</i> [...] <i>Marcia Maestoso</i>		
<i>Plaisir d'amour</i>	Johann Paul Aegidius Martini,	6/8, F major, vocal and keyboard lines
blank page, no staves. Start of a slightly smaller booklet consisting paper cover (front and back with 6 duets for 2 flutes		
Duetto 1		
Duetto 2		
Duetto 3		
Duetto 4		
Duetto 5		
Duetto 6		
'Larghetto [...] Manuscript very old'		[Keyboard piece, [keyboard, G major, extract starting from the middle]
keyboard		
<i>Andante</i> [...] Charlotte <i>Geswold Lewis</i>		French song, vocal/keyboard short score

Qu'il est doux de dire [From
Lucile]

Grétry, André-
Ernest-Modeste,
1769

Raison trop sévère

The wide variety of genres in this manuscript book suggests that these works were not solely for Charlotte but without knowing when the book was bound, I can only speculate as to the ownership of the individual pieces. The presence of the 6 Duettos implies that Charlotte's husband, Henry Greswolde Lewis played the flute (this seems more likely than Charlotte having taken them to Solihull from Weston Park). The slip of paper with harpsichord tuning instructions might have been written out at any time, and by anyone (the handwriting does not match Charlotte's own), but its existence shows there was an expectation that someone at Malvern Hall household tuned the keyboard instrument. Given the close proximity to Solihull parish church (just a few hundred meters), it seems strange that the town organist, Joseph Weston, did not offer tuning services as we have seen done by others in the previous chapter.⁶⁶

Cello music in the Weston Park collection is abundant and includes prints and manuscripts. The thirty-one cello works in manuscript are either duets for two cellos or solos for cello and basso continuo, with one set of arpeggio exercises for unaccompanied cello (WP 11). Some works consist of three or four movements presented in a folded foolscap booklet, whilst others are single movements written on single sheets of manuscript paper. Five distinct hands are represented; most seem to belong to professional copyists, although only two pieces are identified as such. The *Solo* and *Rondeau* by James Cervetto (WP 22 and 23), which are presented in the same booklet, include an inscription on the last page: 'Wrote by James Duckworth – No 5 Catherine Street Strand' (Duckworth was active between 1777 and 1790). Solos WP 1–7, 10, 11, 18, 19, 24–28, and 30 are the work of the same hand; the two minuets of WP 8 and 9, are in another hand, while the two sonatinas, WP 20 and 21 are the work of two further copyists, almost certainly professional.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ See appendix 1, Warwickshire, Solihull.

⁶⁷ See appendix 6, Weston Park Music Collection.

The composers of many of the works have not been identified. The pieces that do bear a name are the solo by Felice Giardini (WP 6), the 2 sonatinas, *Solo*, and *Rondeau* by James Cervetto, (WP 20–23) and the Duet by Carlo Ferrari (WP 30). Only two pieces bear the name of their owner, Henry Simpson Bridgeman: on the front cover of *Hyland Laddie with Variations on the Violoncello* (WP 24) is the inscription ‘Hen. Simpson Bridgeman Paris March 18 1779’, added by his own hand. This inscription is also found on some other manuscripts in the Weston Park collection, including an incomplete set of parts for *Sinfonia a grande orchestra* by Domenico Corri and two string quartets by Gaetano Pugnani. The other cello work bearing Henry’s name is Cervetto’s *Sonatina* in C (WP 22), where the copyist has added ‘For Mr. Bridgeman’ on the front cover. This points to the manuscript being an autograph of the composer. Cervetto lived at No. 34 Haymarket at the time – just a stone’s throw from the Bridgeman London residence in St. James’ Square – so it is also likely that Cervetto was Henry’s cello tutor, as he was to many other aristocratic amateur cellists. No further evidence of this possible relationship has been found, however.

Only one of the pieces in the collection has a concordance with a printed source: James Cervetto’s *Sonatina* in D (WP 21) is contained in *Twelve Sonatinas for a Violoncello and a Bass*, op.4, published in 1781. It is not possible to ascertain whether this manuscript version of the sonatina predates the publication, but it would seem unusual if Henry Simpson Bridgeman had purchased a single sonata in manuscript when he already had a printed version in the music room. It is possible, therefore, that the manuscript version was a pre-publication copy.

Given that Henry Simpson Bridgeman died in 1782, in his 25th year, the cello manuscripts can be dated with some certainty between the late 1770s and 1782. With the Bridgeman family’s frequent journeys to France, one is tempted to suggest that some of the unattributed manuscripts may have been acquired in Paris, where Henry Simpson may have seen a number of virtuoso cellists perform at the celebrated Concerts Spirituel or at private concerts.⁶⁸ Among the performers active in Paris at

⁶⁸ Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert spirituel: 1725–1790* (Paris: Société française de musicologie, 1975).

the time are Jean-Baptiste Bréval and Louis-Auguste Janson, whose works share similarities with the Weston Park pieces.

The manuscript cello music is complemented by printed cello music in the collection by Bononcini, Bréval, Giacobbe and James Cervetto, Chiabrano, Giovanni Battista Cirri, De Fesch, Lanzetti and Pasqualino. Of the two printed works in the collection bearing Henry's name, one points to him being in Paris again in 1781: Jean-Baptiste Bréval's *Six Duos a deux violoncelles*, op 2, is inscribed 'H S Simpson 1781'.⁶⁹ The other, Gaspare Giuseppe Chiabrano's *Sei sonate a Violoncello solo O sia Fagotto e Basso* was published in Paris [1780?] with Henry Simpson dating his copy 1781.

Of particular interest among the cello manuscripts are the arrangements of vocal pieces, which are found in a folded foolscap booklet alongside three dances (WP 12–17). Domingo Terradellas' opera *Mitridate* was performed at the King's Theatre, Haymarket in 1746. 'Non sò se sdegno amore', sung by Giulia Frasi, appeared in print the following year in *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Mitridate*. Thomas Arne's *Artaxerxes*, premiered in February 1762, continued to be revived well into the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ 'If e'er the cruel tyrant love', sung by the character Mandane, was performed by Charlotte Brent in this and subsequent performances. The English entertainment *Galligantus* was first performed at the Haymarket Theatre on 5 February 1759, and at least once more towards the end of that year. *Mrs. Vernon's Hornpipe in the Beggar's Opera* was not in the original 1728 production of Gay's popular ballad opera and seems to have been introduced at the time of Thomas Arne's revival of 1759. The tune appears in *Thompson's compleat collection of 120 favourite hornpipes as performed at the public theatres*, [1775?], entitled simply 'Mrs. Vernon's Hornpipe'. This is a rare

⁶⁹ Grove Music Online states the date of publication of this work is 1783, whereas the Bibliothèque Nationale de France online catalogue dates it at 1777: Barry S. Brook, et al. 'Bréval, Jean-Baptiste Sébastien', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03957>> [accessed 28 June 2017]. The Weston Park copy contains no additional printer or bookseller stamp linking it to English publishers.

⁷⁰ For example, a performance took place on Monday, 6 January at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden 1840 (*The Atlas*, Saturday, 4 January 1840)

example of vocal music transcribed for cello. These arrangements represent both Italian and English opera, the performance of which in amateur contexts was predominantly the preserve of women.

Table 3.3. Attributable Manuscript Cello Works in the Weston Park Music Collection.

Catalogue No.	Composer	Title	Date of original work
12	Terradellas, Domingo (1713–51),	Favorite air in Mitridate Opera. Sung by Sagra Frasi. ‘Non sò se sdegno amore’	1746
14	Arne, Thomas (1710–78)	In Artaxerses. Song by Miss Brent. ‘If e’er the cruel tyrant love’	1762
15	Unidentified	Song in Galligantus. By Mr Dunn. ‘Wanton Cupid sooth my anguish’	1759
16	Arne, Thomas?	Mrs Vernon’s Hornpipe in the Beggar’s Opera	1759
20	Cervetto, James (1748–1837)	Sonatina, Cervetto Junr. [C major]	
21	Cervetto, James	Sonatina, Cervetto Junr. [D major, Sonatina III from Twelve Sonatinas for a Violoncello and a Bass Composed and humbly Dedicated to Thomas Dundas Edqe., op 4, 1781]	
22	Cervetto, James	Solo by Mr Cervetto Junr. [in D major].	
23		Rondeau [in D major]	
30		Duetto a Violoncelli Del Sigre Carlo Ferrari [A major]	

3.2.3 Collections of Music III: The Wodehouse, Staffordshire.

Sir Samuel Hellier was the son of a Staffordshire landowner and barrister who had accumulated estates across Staffordshire and Worcestershire. He was knighted in 1762, after serving as High Sheriff of Worcestershire in 1760. This elevated position allowed him to pursue a range of cultural activities which included opening a charity school and raising money to fund a new organ for the village church. The village in question, Wombourne, was the location of the new family seat. The Woodhouse (in the nineteenth century the spelling changed to Wodehouse) was where Sir Samuel indulged his passions for collecting and gardening. On his death, many of his belongings were left to the Ashmolean museum in Oxford, and the remainder, including his musical instruments and music scores, were bequeathed to Thomas Shaw, who assumed his benefactor's name. The present descendants of Thomas Shaw Hellier loaned the collection of musical instruments to the University of Edinburgh, and the collection of music (known as the Shaw-Hellier Collection) was given to the University of Birmingham in 1999 and catalogued by Ian Ledsham.⁷¹

Hellier's circumstances were so unusual that it will be misleading to use his collection of music as evidence of his own musical tastes. As I will discuss in Chapter 4, Hellier's interest in music was to a great extent influenced by his aspiration for his estate workers and tenants to learn music. This could be regarded as a cheap way of Hellier gaining his own orchestra, or as a genuine desire to educate and elevate his workers. The music he purchased, therefore, was often not for his own use; there are organ voluntaries, which he purchased for his estate manager, John Rogers, to learn and play from; military music for winds; and concertos. What is clear, from his purchasing patterns and by cross-referencing with his own letters, is that he was acutely aware of the changing tastes and trends in London. He bought music and instruments directly from the publishers, music shops and luthiers and also subscribed in advance to music publications.

⁷¹ Ledsham, *A Catalogue of the Shaw-Hellier Collection*. The collection was transferred to the main University archive, Cadbury Research Library in 1986.

The music Hellier subscribed to deserves particular attention as this premeditated purchasing indicates a more personal connection with the work and maybe even the composer, than the music he bought for his band of music. Table 3.4 presents the musical works to which Hellier subscribed.

Table 3.4. Music Publications Subscribed to by Sir Samuel Hellier.

Composer	Work	Date
Lyndon, James	<i>Six Solos for a Violin and Thorough Bass</i>	1751
Alcock, John	<i>The Pious Soul's Heavenly Exercise</i>	1756
Bennett, Charles	<i>Ten Voluntaries, for the Organ or Harpsichord</i>	1758
Pixell, John	<i>A collection of songs : with their recitatives and symphonies, op 1</i>	1759
Walond, William	<i>Mr Pope's Ode on St. Cecilia's Day</i>	1760
Clark, Jeremiah	<i>Eight Songs with the Instrumental Parts [op 1]</i>	1760
Clark, Jeremiah	<i>Eight Songs with Instrumental Parts in Score, op 2</i>	1766
Bond, Capel	<i>Six Concertos in Seven Parts</i>	1766
Hayes, William	<i>Six Cantatas</i>	1769
Hayes, Philip	<i>Six Concertos</i>	1769
Clarke, Edward	<i>A New Anthem</i>	1770

This short list alone shows that his patronage was more for supporting the composer and collecting than it was for him to perform himself. An ode in score, anthems, ensemble music in the form on concertos, small scale instrumental music, solo organ music as well as solo vocal music: such diverse genres and styles show that his were not typical spending patterns. Hellier would not have been able to perform these in a family context at home (having no wife or children), and for many of these pieces a large circle of friends would be needed to perform. I will return to Hellier's music collection in chapter 4 in the context of his performers and orchestra.

3.2.4. Collections of Music IV: Burghley House Music Collection

Burghley House, Stamford, has been the seat of the Earls of Essex since the mid-sixteenth century. Its extensive collections include many hundreds of music prints and

a substantial number of manuscripts dating from the late seventeenth to mid twentieth-centuries.⁷² Of relevance to this study is the music associated with Brownlow Cecil, 9th Earl of Exeter (1725–93), and his nephew, Henry Cecil (1754–1804), 10th Earl, and subsequently 1st Marquess of Exeter. In Chapter 4, Henry is further discussed in relation to his marriage to Emma Vernon in 1773, and it is this connection to the Vernons’ house of Hanbury Hall in Worcestershire that makes the Burghley House collection so interesting. The musical interest of Brownlow Cecil, the 9th Earl, formed a significant part of his private and public life, as he was an active supporter of several musical organisations.⁷³ He was a member of the Noblemen and Gentlemen’s Catch Club from 1774,⁷⁴ and one of the directors of the Concerts of Ancient Music from 1780 until at least 1792.⁷⁵ Many items in the Burghley House Music Collection can be identified as belonging to Brownlow Cecil, either because they bear the 9th Earl’s signature, or contain a book-plate, or include the 9th Earl in the list of subscribers. The following table lists these works – sixty-eight including separate volumes of the same title – along with other items in the collection that were published between 1740 (when Brownlow was fifteen years of age) and his death in 1793 apart from works which bear the signs of ownership of Henry, 10th Earl (which are presented in table 3.6). It is very possible that many other works in the collection belonged to the 9th Earl, but, if this was not the case, they were certainly available to him in the collection. Table 3.5 also includes two works to which Brownlow subscribed but are missing from the collection: Maria Barthelemon’s *Six songs*, op 2, 1786, and John Alcock’s *Harmonia Festi*, 1791.

Table 3.5. Music belonging to Brownlow Cecil, 9th Earl of Exeter.⁷⁶

Composer	Work Title	Burghley House Music	RISM A/I number
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⁷² See Gerald Gifford, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

⁷³ Gifford, 2002, pp. 63–66.

⁷⁴ Gladstone, *et al*, 1996, p. 109.

⁷⁵ No information can be traced regarding the Concerts of Antient Music season for 1793 (the year of Brownlow’s death).

⁷⁶ Gifford, 2002, pp. 63–66.

		Collection accession number	
Abel, Carl Friedrich (1723– 87)	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with accompaniments for a violin or german flute, and violoncello</i> , op 2, (London: printed for the author, 1760)	BH 206	A 105
Bach, Johann Christian (1735– 82)	<i>Six Concert pour le Clavecin</i> , op 1 (London: Welcker, 1763)	BH 282	B 270
	<i>Six Sonates pour le Clavecin</i> , op 2 (London: Welcker, [1765?])	BH 286	B 321
Besozzi, Alessandro (fl.1680–1700)	<i>Six Solos for the German Flute...</i> (London: Edmund Chapman, 1765)	BH 328	B 2460
Boyce, William (1711–79)	<i>Cathedral Music</i> , [3 vols.] (London: printed for editor, 1760)	BH 374–8	
Boyce, William	<i>Fifteen Anthems</i> (London: printed for the author's widow and family, 1780)	BH 380	B 4050
Lord Burghersh (1784–1859) ⁷⁷	<i>La Primavera</i> [1814]	BH 390	
Cooke, Benjamin (1695/1705– 1742)	<i>An Ode on Handel</i> (London: 1785)	BH 450	C 3557
Croft, William (1678–1727)	<i>Thirty Select Anthems in Score</i> , [vols. I and II] (London: John Walsh)	BH 488, BH 490	C 4508
Felton, William (1715–69)	<i>Eight Suits of Easy Lessons</i> , op 3 (London: John Johnson, 1752)	BH 514	F 222
Greene, Maurice (1696–1755)	<i>Forty Select Anthems in Score</i> [vols. I and II] (London: John Walsh, 1743)	BH 668, BH 670	G 3736
Handel, George Frederick (1685– 1759)	<i>Alexander's Feast</i> (London: Randall, 1769)	BH 722	H 1521

⁷⁷ Later the 11th Earl of Westmorland.

	<i>A Second Set of Six Concertos [...] for the Organ or Harpsichord</i> [op 7] (London: Samuel Arnold; John Longman; Broderip)	BH 770	H 1545
	<i>Belshazzar</i> . (London: Wright & co., 1784)	BH 820	H 516
	[Chandos] <i>Anthem</i> ['I will magnify Thee'], (London: Samuel Arnold; John Longman; Broderip)	BH 726	H 1523
	Concerti Grossi /Con Due Violini Violoncello di Concertino/Obligati e (London: John Walsh)	BH 886	H 1241
	<i>Concerti Grossi</i> , op.6 [2 nd edition of above] (London: John Walsh)	BH 888	H 1255
	[Coronation] <i>Anthem</i> ['My heart is inditing'], (London: Samuel Arnold; John Longman and Robert Broderip)	BH 796	H 1562
	<i>Deborah</i> .	BH 784	H 1553
	<i>Deborah</i> , (London: Wright & co.)	BH 822	H 518
	<i>Esther</i> (London: William Randall)	BH 824	H 566
	<i>Giulio Cesare</i> , (London: Samuel Arnold; John Longman and Robert Broderip)	BH 704	H 1512
	<i>Israel in Egypt</i> , (London: Arnold)	BH 754	H 1536
	<i>Joseph</i> , (London: Wright & co.)	BH 830	H 601
	<i>Joshua</i> , (London: Samuel Arnold; John Longman and Robert Broderip)	BH 716	H 1518
	<i>Joshua</i> , (London: William Randall)	BH 832	H 615
	<i>Susanna</i> , (London: Wright & co.)	BH 844	H 939
	<i>Occasional Oratorio</i> , (London: Wright & co.)	BH 846	H 953
	<i>Theodora</i> , (London: William Randall)	BH 852	H 1046
	<i>Thirteen Celebrated Italian Duets</i> , (London: William Randall, 1777)	BH 850	H 1039
W. Harrod [Publisher]	<i>Select Psalms of David</i> , [1789]	BH 928	

Hasse, Johann Adolf (1699– 1783)	<i>Six Concertos for Violins</i> , op.4 (London: John Walsh, [1741])	BH 936	H 12282
Hayden, George (fl. 1710–46)	<i>Three Cantatas</i> (London: John Walsh, 1731)	BH 944	H 2439
Jomelli, Niccolò (1714–74)	<i>La Passione</i> (London: Robert Bremner 1770 or [1790?])	BH 990	J 568
Marcello, Benedetto (1686–1739)	<i>The First Fifty Psalms</i> [8 vols.,] (London: Johnson, 1757)	BH 1086–1100	M 426
Mondonville, Jean-Joseph Cassanéa de (1711–72)	<i>Six Sonatas or Lessons for the Harpsicord</i> (London: John Walsh, 1753)	BH 1136	M 3025
Mudge, Richard (1718–63)	<i>Six Concertos in Seven Parts</i> (London: John Walsh, 1749)	BH 1148	M 7726
Negri, Marc’ Antonio (d.1624)	<i>Gloria</i>	BH 034	Manuscript
Norris, Thomas (1741–90)	<i>Six Symphonies</i> , op 1 (London: Printed for the Author, [1772?])	BH 1160	N 793
Park, Maria Hester (1760– 1813)	<i>A Set of Glees</i> , op 3 (London: Printed for the Author & Sold at Birchall & Andrews, 1790)	BH 1530	P 915
Paxton, Stephen (1734–87)	<i>A Collection of Glees Catches &c.</i> , op 5 (London: Printed for the author, 1782)	BH 1532	P I079
Ricciotti, Carlo ⁷⁸	<i>VI Concerti Armonici</i> (Johnson, 1740)	BH 1230	R 1298
Sammartini, Giuseppe	<i>Six Concertos</i> , op 2 (London: John Walsh, [1760?])	BH 1262	S 693
	<i>Concerti Grossi</i> , op 5 (London: John Walsh, 1747)	BH 1276	S 702
	<i>Six Grand Concertos</i> , op 8 (London: John Walsh, 1752)	BH 1284	S 707

⁷⁸ Ricciotti was a pseudonym for the Dutch nobleman Unico Wilhelm van Wassenaer (1692–1766).

	<i>Eight Overtures and Six Grand Concertos in Seven Parts</i> (London: John Johnson, [1752?])	BH 1278	S 710
Stanley, John	<i>Six Concertos in Seven Parts</i> (London: John Walsh, 1745)	BH 1392	S 4673
[Unascribed]	<i>A Catch</i> ['One kind Kiss before we part'].	BH 120	
[Various]	<i>Select Harmony Fourth Collection. Six Concertos</i> (London: John Walsh, [1740?])	BH 890	H 1260
Handel, Tartini, Veracini			
Vivaldi, Antonio	<i>Vivaldi's Most Celebrated Concertos, op.3</i> (London: John Walsh, 1715)	BH 1448	V 2204
Warren, Thomas [Compiler]	<i>A Collection of Vocal Harmony</i> (London: Welcker, [1775?])	BH 1552	
	<i>A First Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees</i> (London: Welcker, 1763)	BH 1554	
	<i>An Eleventh Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees</i> (London: Welcker, [1765–1780?])	BH 1576	
	<i>A Sixteenth Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees</i> (London: Welcker, [1765–1780?])	BH 1586	
	<i>A Twenty-second Collection of Catches, Canons and Glees</i> (London: Welcker, [1780–90?])	BH 1598	
Webbe, Samuel	<i>The Ladies Catch Book</i> , (Welcker, 1800)	BH 1618	W 307
Wise, Samuel	<i>Six Concertos for Organ or Harpsichord</i> , (London: printed for the author, [1770?])	BH 1476	W 1692

The music that belonged to the 9th Earl is as varied in style as it is in genre. We see the usual volumes of Handel's works in the editions by Samuel Arnold, and collections of catches and glees, reflecting his activity in the Concerts of Ancient Music and the

Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club. Many of the most popular collections of chamber music are present in the collection, for example, J.C. Bach's first two London prints. The genre best represented is large scale instrumental music – concerti grossi and symphonies, with examples by Stanley, Mudge, Handel, Norris and Sammartini. Solo and chamber works for keyboard are also prominent with examples from Abel, Felton and Mondonville.

Without supporting evidence, it would be easy to assume that the 9th Earl's tastes were varied and his proficiency on at least the keyboard and cello, as well as singing saw him playing all of this music himself. However, we do not know if he bought any of the pieces for family members to play or for posterity (as was almost certainly the case with the Handel choral works in score).

Music owned by Henry Cecil, 1st Marquess of Exeter

Henry Cecil was the heir presumptive to his uncle and was brought up in Burghley House. He was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, and various payments made to him during his time in Cambridge survive in the 9th Earl's accounts:⁷⁹

Lord Exeter's Book of Accounts from the 25th Day of March 1771

17 Dec 1771 Paid Jno Merrill for Books for the Honble Mr Henry Cecil
£4:7:6.

Lord Exeter's Book of Accounts from the 25th Day of March 1772 to the 25th Day of March 1773

10 Mar 1773 Paid Richd Sharpe in full for Musick Books for Honble Henry Cecil Esq £5:9:0.⁸⁰

The second of these payments, relating to music, is of prime interest here. Whilst the individual books on this bill are not listed, the total paid gives us a fair idea of the amount of music bought for Henry on this occasion. Pleyel's *Six quartetts*, op 1 (one of

⁷⁹ Burghley House Exeter Accounts (private archives), quoted from Gifford, 2002, p. 42.

⁸⁰ Quoted from Gifford, 2002, p. 43.

the pieces in the collection bearing Henry's signature), was on sale from the publisher for fifteen shillings. Using this figure as an average price for each piece that was purchased, and assuming that the other pieces were quartets or similar works, it is likely that Richard Sharpe's bill to the 9th Earl would have been for a total of seven items of music for Henry.⁸¹ The Richard Sharpe who sold the music is likely to have been the organist of St John's College, Cambridge.⁸² This suggests that, having become proficient in playing an instrument during his formative years at Burghley, Henry continued his musical activities at Cambridge, perhaps becoming a member of The Musical Society in Cambridge. Gifford suggests that he may have played violin, bearing in mind that his uncle is known to have played the cello, and that there are many sets of duets for violin and violoncello found in the Burghley House music collection.⁸³ Some items in the collection bear Henry's name and in one (Thomas Norris *Six Symphonies*, op 1, [1774?]) his name is printed in the subscribers list.

Table 3.6. Music in Burghley House Music Collection owned by Henry Cecil, 1st Marquess of Exeter.

Composer	Work Title	Burghley House Music Collection accession number.	RISM A/I number
Giovanni Giornovich	<i>Duo pour Violon et Violoncel / Ou Pour deux Violons</i> , 1786	BH648	G 2430
Christian Ernst Graaf	<i>Sei Quintetti</i> , op 8, 1768	BH656	G 3328
George Kreusser	<i>Six Quintets</i> , op 10, 1775	BH1040	K 2030

⁸¹ Ignace Pleyel, *Six quartetts for two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello*, op 1 (London: Preston). The title page indicates the price of fifteen shillings.

⁸² Listed as a subscriber to William Boyce's postumously issued *Fifteen Anthems together with a Te Deum, and Jubilate, in Score* (London: 1780).

⁸³ Gifford, 2002, pp. 61.

Thomas Norris	<i>Six Symphonies</i> , op 1 [1774] Inscribed: ‘The Hon. Mr Cecil, St John’s College, Cambridge’	BH1160	N 793
Wenzel Pichl	<i>Sei Divertimenti</i> , op 5, 1781	BH1184	P 2248
Ignace Pleyel	<i>Six Quartets</i> , op 1, 1785/90	BH1190	P 3120
Robert Wainwright	<i>Six Duets</i> , op 2, 1775	BH1466	W 73

§ none of the publications are dated; these have been supplied from New Grove Dictionary of Music, and British Library Catalogue.

In addition to the publications in this list, Henry Cecil subscribed to Richard Eastcott’s *Harmony of the Muses*, 1790.

Gifford believes a number of other similar works in the Burghley House collection that do not bear his signature may well have been owned by Henry. All of the works listed in table 3.6 were published (and presumably purchased) during the period he was married to Emma Vernon. Apart from the aforementioned collection by Norris, the works are all of chamber music: three collections of string quintets, one of quartets and two of duets for violin and cello. These genres suggest that Henry’s early experience of playing chamber music with his uncle influenced his later tastes in music. There are no surviving bills relating to Henry’s music purchases, attendance at performances, or music lessons, either in the Vernon collection at the Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service or in the Exeter Papers at Burghley House. It is therefore impossible to ascertain whether the seven works listed above represent the entire sum of the music he purchased during this time.

Clearly, Henry Cecil, 10th Earl, grew up in a musical environment, with access to the large collection of music already at Burghley House and probably making music with his uncle Brownlow Cecil. His interest in music continued through his years studying at Cambridge, where music was purchased for him, and he continued to acquire music reflecting his interests in chamber music after he married Emma Vernon.

3.3. Reconstructing Private Music Collections.

The music collections discussed so far have provided an excellent opportunity to explore the tastes of the owners, largely helped by supporting documents. Yet, there are many more private collections which can be used to provide supporting evidence for the musical tastes of the nobility and gentry.

3.3.1. George William Coventry, 6th Earl of Coventry of Croome Court.

In the previous chapter, I presented evidence of the music tuition of Maria and Anne, the daughters of George William, the 6th Earl of Coventry and his first wife, Maria Gunning, from the mid 1760s until the mid 1770s.⁸⁴ The bills that Charles Rousseau Burney presented to the 6th Earl reveal that the family also bought items of music from their music teacher. These pieces have been extracted from Burney's bills and presented below in table 3.7.

Table 3.7. List of Music sold to the 6th Earl of Coventry by Charles Rousseau Burney, 1766–73.

Date of Bill	Work	Price
17 May 1766 ⁸⁵	Wagensiel's Sonatines	£0.2.6
	'Song's in Tho.s & Sally' [Arne]	£0.1.6
	'Isabelle et Gertrude, a french opera, for L[ad]y Coventry' [Blaise]	
23 May 1767	'Songs & fancies in the Cunning Man'	£0.6.6

⁸⁴ George William Coventry, 6th Earl of Coventry married Maria Gunning in 1752. After a visit to Paris the couple made soon after their marriage, Maria developed a taste for wearing excessive amounts of *rouge* on her face, as was then fashionable. These cosmetics contained toxic amounts of lead and arsenic and resulted in a fatal dose of lead poisoning and Maria Gunning died in September 1760 at only 27 years of age. The 6th Earl married Barbara St. John in 1764.

⁸⁵ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/17 (29d). Bill dated 4 December 1765 - 17 May 1766.

	<i>The Comic Tunes in Le Devin du Village or Cunning Man [...]</i> <i>For the Harpsichord, Violin, German-Flute, or Hoboy.</i> (London: R. Bremner, 1766) [Burney, after Jean-Jacques Rousseau]	
	‘Overture nella Buona Figliuola’ [by Nicola Piccinini] (London: Bremner, 1767)	£0.0.6
May 1768 ⁸⁶	‘2 Overtures for the Harp[sichor]d’	£0.1.0
27 May 1768 ⁸⁷	‘Vento’s Lessons’ sets 1, 2 or 3 (1764, 65 and 66)	£0.10.6
3 July 1773 ⁸⁸	‘Abels’ Lessons’ op 2, [1761?] or op 5, [1765?]	£0.10.6.
5 June 1773 ⁸⁹	‘Zannith’s Trios’	£0.5.0
	‘Herschals Trios’ (<i>Six Sonatas</i> , 1769)	£0.5.0

From this list we can see many typical ‘female’ works: harpsichord solos and vocal music from Italian and English opera. One item is indicated as being for ‘Lady Coventry’ the 6th Earl’s second wife, Barbara), whereas for the others there are no such indications, so we can assume these were for Maria and Anne. It is possible that other items, such as the opera selections of Rousseau and Arne, belonged to Barbara but as she also subscribed to Arnold’s edition of Handel’s *Athalia* (1787) and *Giulio Cesare* (1789), we might conclude that her tastes did not extend to English stage works.

The instrumental works represented here are also typical of the chamber music played by noble and gentlewomen of the period. The presence of the trios by ‘Zannith’ (a composer as yet unidentified) and Herschel indicate some musical participation from the men of the family; the Herschel’s set is in fact the collection of six harpsichord sonatas ‘with accompaniments’ for violin and cello (*Sei Sonate per il Cembalo, cogli*

⁸⁶ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/17 (8). Bill dated May 1768, for *The Rt Hon the Earl of Coventry’s acct to Ch Burney May 1768*.

⁸⁷ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/17 (8). Bill dated May 1768, for *The Rt Hon the Earl of Coventry’s acct to Ch Burney May 1768*.

⁸⁸ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/26. Bill dated 3 July 1773, for the period 23 January -3 July 1772.

⁸⁹ WAAS, 705:73 BA14450/149/22/28.

Accompagnamenti di Violino e Violoncello che si possono sonare anche sole, 1769).⁹⁰ The fact that there are no other ‘male’ works (string or wind sonatas and trios) on these bills might suggest that the intended recipient of the trios was Maria and Anne’s younger brother, George William Coventry (*b* 1758) who by 1773 would have been of an appropriate age to be learning music. His father too may have purchased these works from Burney, but the absence of similar ‘male’ works in previous bills might indicate that the 6th Earl preferred to procure his music by other means, perhaps direct from London publishers and bookshops.

3.3.2. Collections of Music V: Mary and Edward Leigh of Stoneleigh Abbey.

As we saw in chapter 2, Mary Leigh received instruction on the harpsichord from the early 1750s. No music collection associated with Stoneleigh Abbey survives, but several bills from Mary’s teachers, Marmaduke Overend and John Burton, list music that they sold to her. There are also a few isolated bills addressed to Mary’s brother, Edward, indicating that he had at least a passing interest in music, if not was an active amateur musician. Table 3.8 lists the music bought by Mary from Overend and Burton and from music shops, as listed in bills dating from 1753 to 1764.

Table 3.8. Music Purchased by Mary Leigh.

Date	Work	Seller	Reference
January 17, 1753	‘To a Royal Quarto Music Book’	Marmaduke Overend	DR18/5/3195
March 10, 1753	‘Mr Handel’s 6 Concerto’s’	Overend	DR18/5/3340
June 4	‘Vocal Melody B[ook] IV’	Overend	DR18/5/3340
April 4 1761	‘Geminiani’s Concertos’	John Burton	DR18/5/3918
	‘Pellegrini’s Concetos’	Burton	DR18/5/3918
	‘Wagenseil’s Concertos’	Burton	DR18/5/3918
December 28, 1761	‘Pellegrini’s Sonatas’	Burton	DR18/5/3918
December 28, 1761	‘Copying’	Burton	DR18/5/3918

⁹⁰ See section 3.1.6 for a discussion of this work.

December 28, 1761	‘Richter’s and Abel’s Overtures’	Burton	DR18/5/3918
December 28, 1761	‘Felton’s Concertos, last set’ [<i>Eight Concerto’s</i> , op 7, 1760]	Burton	DR18/5/3918
21 Apr 1762	‘Abel’s Sonatas’	Thompson & Sons at the Violin & Hautboy	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Leclairs Do £0:5:0’ [probably either <i>Six Solos for a Violin with a Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello</i> , op 2 (Walsh, 1755) or <i>A 2d Set of six Sonatas for two Violins</i> , op 3 (Walsh, 1757).	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Dr. Pepusch’s Airs £0:3:0’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘St Marinis of Milian Son Op 5 th £0:5:0’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Corellis Con £0:15:0’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Geminianis 12 Con £1:3:0’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Albertis 10 Con £0:9:0’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Stanleys Con[certos] £0:10:6’ [one of many reprints of <i>Six Concertos in Seven Parts</i> , op 2, originally published in 1745]	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Corellis Son[atas] in Score’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	[Corellis] ‘Con[certos] in Score’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
21 Apr 1762	‘Hellendall’s Con[certo]s’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948

21 Apr 1762	‘Richters Son[ata]s’	Thompson & Sons	DR18/5/3948
18 Jun 1764	‘Campioni’s Sonatas’	Burton	DR18/5/4166A
18 Jun 1764	‘Avison’s 2 nd set’	Burton	DR18/5/4166A
18 Jun 1764	‘Rameau’ [probably <i>A Collection of Lessons for the Harpsicord</i> , op 2, published by Walsh in 1760]	Burton	DR18/5/4166A
18 Jun 1764	‘Bach Sonatas and Rameau Lessons’	Burton	DR18/5/4166A
18 Jun 1764	‘Richter’s 2d Set Overtures’ [Richter’s 2 nd set of Six Favourite Overtures (now lost), 3 rd set published c. 1775]	Burton	DR18/5/4166A

Several interesting features can be seen from this list. It is clear that she collected many of the instrumental ‘classics’ of the time, which included collections by Corelli, Geminiani, Avison and Handel – all of which it is impossible to pinpoint with accuracy which collection the bills refer to, due to imprecise description and the numerous reprints of these works. There are, however, a number of works that can be dated and which suggest Mary was keeping up with the current trends in music: the purchase of Felton’s last collection of keyboard concertos *Eight concerto’s for the organ, or harpsichord, with instrumental parts*, op 7 was published in 1760 and like his previous collections of concertos (opp. 1, 2, 4 and 5) are scored in ten parts (the conventional concerto grosso format of seven string parts, with two oboe parts and the solo keyboard part). The oboe parts are not marked as ‘ad libitum’, but these parts in all five collections are clearly a supporting role, and as the scoring is not indicated on the title page (as was customary) we can assume Felton’s music was as playable in the amateur performance context as other collections of concertos. Rameau’s *Piece de Clavecin* had been issued by Walsh in 1760, having published Leclair’s collections solos and trio sonatas in the 1750s. Mary Leigh’s purchasing of the Leclair direct from Thompson & Sons’ shop perhaps shows a stronger preference to works bought via, and probably under the influence of a music teacher.

In addition to these specific works purchased from Mary's tutors, a few other bills dating after 1764 show an ongoing commitment to her music collection. She made a large order for book-binding from the London music dealer, John Shove in 1764. Judging from the types of music found in table 3.8 and noting the absence of the typical house library volumes of collected works of Handel, etc., it is likely the items she had bound were partbooks of concerto collections, or keyboard collections.

Bought music from John Shove [music seller and book binder, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden]: The Hon Miss Leigh Dr to John Shove.

48 Music Books Half Bound & Lett[ere]d at 1 shilling 6d each. £3:12:0

2 Ditto Sew'd in Marble Paper £0.0.6⁹¹

Evidence of her tastes can be gleaned through the music to which she subscribed, which is not referred to in the family bills. The presence of both her and her brother's name in the list of subscribers to Capel Bond's, *Six Concertos in Seven Parts*, 1766, suggests more that there might have been a personal connection between the Coventry-based composer and the Leigh family. The six miles distance between Stoneleigh Abbey and the centre of Coventry would not have been prohibitive for Bond to visit the family, if the examples of Elias Isaac and the Vernon family, or Charles Rousseau Burney and the Coventry family are anything to go by. Mary's older brother, Edward Leigh (who was later to be pronounced insane) purchased music during this time, his bills also held in the Stoneleigh Abbey papers at the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. Edward conformed to the stereotypical patterns of a male music collector:

William Boyce. Three guineas being the Two first Payments for One Sett of the Correct and Complete Body of English Church Music, which I promise to deliver agreeable to the printed Proposals. Feb 19th 1763.⁹²

⁹¹ SBT, DR18/5/4146. Bill dated May 31st, 1764.

⁹² SBT, DR18/5/4146.

This payment was for the second and third volume of Boyce's *Cathedral Music*, published in 1768 and 1773 respectively. This is confirmed by the appearance of his name in the list of subscribers for these volumes. The following year he purchased sets of 'classic' works, by Handel and Marcello from John Walsh:

October 22nd, 1764: John Walsh, Rt Hon. Lord Leigh

Oratorio Joshua in Score: £6.6.0

Marcello Psalms B[oun]d in 8 Vol[ume]s £9.9.0

Solomon £0.10.6⁹³

It is not certain whether Edward Leigh himself played an instrument, but his tastes conform to the norms of the time, with an interest in the emerging canon of classics rather than contemporary Italian and English operas and oratorios. His name is to be found in the list of subscribers to numerous other music collections: Capel Bond's, *Six Concertos in Seven Parts*, 1766, Jeremiah Clark's *Eight Songs*, op 2 (1766), Philip Hayes' *Six Concertos*, 1769, Valentine's *Eight Easy Symphonies*, 1782.

Mary's tastes too were as one would expect from a young woman, yet her independence is shown by her purchase of new French music (Leclair and Rameau) with a fondness for the collections of traditional genres such as concertos in seven parts by Handel, Avison and Geminiani.

3.3.3. Henry Gough, 2nd baronet of Edgbaston.

Henry Gough, 2nd baronet of Edgbaston, was an amateur cellist and an enthusiastic collector of music. His musical tastes show that he was not just a collector of the classics; most of the music he purchased was practical and nearly always involved the cello. His mother and father, Henry Gough, 1st baronet, had already subscribed to some collections of music, including:

- John Pixel's *A collection of songs*, op 1, 1759
- Bond's *Six Concertos of Seven Parts*, 1766

⁹³ SBT, DR18/5/4284.

- Pixel's *Odes, cantatas, songs* &c, op 2, 1775 (to which his father also subscribed, listed as 'The late Sir Henry Gough, Bart.').
- Jeremiah Clark's *Six Sonatas*, op 3, 1779

It is perhaps no coincidence that these three composers were local to the Midlands. Pixel was well-known to the family being the vicar of Edgbaston, and Clark had been appointed as organist of St Philip's, Birmingham in 1765. Capel Bond in fact had a connection to the Gough family: Henry, 1st baronet's daughter Barbara married Isaac Spooner; Isaac's sister Ann married Bond in 1768, and so was Henry 2nd baronet's brother-in-law.

Henry's pocket books for the years 1770–74 list his expenses on music lessons, cello repairs and sundries, and the performances he attended. Many of his purchases were from Cervetto directly and were made on the days when he received lessons (see table 2.10). The music he purchased is listed in table 3.9, below.

Table 3.9. Music purchased by Henry Gough of Edgbaston, 1770–79.

Date	Listing	Music	Price
6 Jan. 1770	'Musick'		£2.10.0
	'D[itt]o' [Musick]		£1.1.0
2 Apr. 1770	'Cervetto for his Book'		£0.10.6
29 Apr. 1770	[Cervetto] For some Musick		£0.6.0
25 Jun. 1770	'Cervetto's Solos'		£0.5.0
8 Apr. 1772	'Airs for Violoncello'		£0.2.0
29 Apr. 1772	[Cervetto] 'For some Musick'		£0.6.0
3 Jun. 1772	'Musick'		£1.6.0
	'D[itt]o' [Musick]		£0.4.0
26 Dec. 1772	'Musick'		£1.5.6
22 Mar. 1773	'[Cervetto] For Kammells Quart[c]t'		£0.10.6
28 May 1773	'Cervetto for Viol:[oncello] Musi[ck] &c'		£17:1:0.
7 Jun. 1773	'Kammells Trios'		£0.10.6

	'D[itt]o [trios?] Smith's omitted'	£0.10.6
28 Jun. 1773	'Cervetto for Mus[ick] &c.'	£2.2.0
16 Feb. 1774	'For Musick'	£1:2:6
13 Aug. 1774	'D[itt]o to Musick'	£0.10.6
30 Aug. 1774	'Dr [or 'D?'] George for [...] Book for Musick'	£0:2:0
1775	Subscribed to John Pixell's <i>Odes, cantatas, songs</i> &c, op 2	
1779	Jeremiah Clark's <i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord of Pianoforte with Accompanyments for Two Violins & Violoncello</i> , op 3	

Whilst there is a lack of detail for many of the specific items purchased, we can at least see that the identifiable works are chamber music, all of which including a part for the cello. Kammell's trios (*A Second Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins & a Bass*, op 3, 1769), and quartets (*Six Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello obligato*, op 4, 1770), also do not contain a keyboard, suggesting that Henry's musical circles did not include the women in his family – his mother, and two sisters who in 1770 were both married.

3.3.4. Godfrey Bagnall Clarke of Derbyshire.

Godfrey Bagnall Clarke (c. 1742–74), of Sutton Scarsdale Hall in Derbyshire, was elected to Parliament in 1768 to represent Derbyshire, winning a contested election to beat Sir Henry Harpur, Baronet, whose music collection is discussed above.⁹⁴ He died unmarried, and his estates all passed to his sister, who by the following May evidently arranged for her brother's books to be sold at Christie's.⁹⁵ The sale catalogue lists 1640 books including twenty-seven entries of music. These twenty-seven entries equate to around 105 printed items when one considers the descriptions of the works

⁹⁴ Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke (eds), *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754–1790* (London: Boydell & Brewer, 1964), vol. 1, p. 216.

⁹⁵ James Christie, *A catalogue of the valuable, well chosen and elegant library, of Godfrey Bagnall Clarke* (London: 1775).

that were probably bound together. The number of musical works was much higher, when we take into account item 27 ‘A very large Parcell of Manuscript Music’. The majority of the works are to be considered ‘male’ music: string chamber music and larger works such as concertos in seven parts and overtures. It is possible that upon his death Clarke’s sister removed much music that was of interest to her own or her family (vocal and keyboard music). Yet if she did take this material, she left behind some definite ‘female’ works: ‘Sixteen Italian Opera and Song Books, by Vento, Jomelli, Barthelemon, Piccini, Astorga, &c.’ and various harpsichord volumes that were not too old-fashioned to be undesirable, so this scenario seems unlikely. The music dates from the early 1750s to late 1760s; the absence of music prior to this suggests that it was purchased by Clarke rather than acquired from his parents.

It is clear from the way that the catalogue entries group together several works that much of the collection was bound in part-books.

Table 3.10. Music Collection of Godfrey Bagnall Clarke.

Christie’s Catalogue Lot No.		Sale price	Date of publication
1.	‘Martini’s eight Overtures and six Concertos.’ [Sammartini, <i>Eight Overtures and Six Grand Concertos</i>]	£0.2.0	1756
2.	‘Ricci’s six Sonatas, Opera 4 th .’ [<i>Six sonates à clavecin, violon, et violoncello-obligato</i> , op 4 (London, c. 1768)]	£0.2.0	c. 1768?]
[2.]	‘Barbandt ditto [six Sonatas], 1 st .’ [<i>Six Sonatas for Two Violins, two German Flutes or two Hautboys, with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsicord</i> , op 1 (London, c. 1752)]		1752
[2.]	‘Astorga’s six Violin Solos.’ [<i>Six sonates à violon et basse</i> , op.1 (London, c. 1767)]		1767
3.	‘Ricci’s six Quintettis.’ [<i>Six quintetti à plusieurs instrumens obbligés</i> , op 5 (London, c. 1768)]	£0.2.6	1768
[3.]	‘Flacton’s six Sonatas’ [<i>Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Violoncello or Harpsichord</i> , 1758]		1758

[3.]	‘Astorga’s Six Violin Solos.’		Same as above
4.	‘Ricci’s six Quintettis.’	£0.3.6	
[4.]	‘Reinard’s six Sonatas.’		
[4.]	‘Astorga’s six Solos.’		
5.	‘Hasse’s twelve Concertos in six Parts.’ [<i>Six Concertos in Six Parts</i> , op 6 (London, c. 1745)]	£0.3.6	1745
[5.]	‘Stanley’s six ditto [Concertos] in seven Parts.’		
[5.]	‘Astorga’s six solos.’		
6.	‘Ricci’s six Quintettis.’	£0.4.0	c. 1768?]
[6.]	‘Zappa’s six Sonatas.’ [probably <i>Sei Trio a Due Violini e Basso</i> , op 2 (London, 1767)]		
[6.]	‘Astorga’s six Solos.’		
7.	‘Schwindle’s six Simphonies.’	£0.15.6	
[7.]	‘Select Harmony in Parts, by Handel, Tarting, &c.’		
8.	‘Vivaldi’s twelve Concertos.’	£0.10.6	
[8.]	‘Wodizka and Davis’s Solo.’		
9.	‘Smith’s six Quartettos.’	£0.10.6	
[9.]	‘Kammell’s ditto [Quartetts].’		
[9.]	‘Rimin’s six Solos.’		
10.	‘Smith’s six Quartettos.’	£0.3.0	
[10.]	‘Ricci’s six Sonatas for Violincello.’		
[10.]	‘Galliard six Solos for ditto [Violincello].’		
11.	‘Arne, Green, Hasse, and Vinci’s Overtures.’ [<i>Arne: 6 Overtures [...] in Seven Parts</i> (London, 1745)]	£0.6.6	
[11.]	‘Kammell’s six Concertos.’		33
12.	‘Two Sets of Concerto, by Hasse and Martini.’	£0.2.6	
[12.]	‘Alcoc’s six Concertos.’		
13.	‘Bezozzi’s six Sonatas.’	£0.2.6	
[13.]	‘Allessandri’s ditto [Sonatas].’		
[13.]	‘Martini’s ditto [Sonatas] and Tessanni’s Duets.’		
14.	‘Concertos by Vivaldi, Alberti and Correlli.’	£0.6.6	
[14.]	‘Geminiani’s twelve Solos.’		
15.	‘Pugnani’s Quartettos and Quintettis.’	£0.6.6	
[15.]	‘Zerep’s Sonatas.’		
[15.]	‘Astorga’s Solos.’		

[15.]	‘Ferrari’s ditto [Solos].’		
16.	‘Martini’s six Concertos, Opera Quinta.’	£0.3.0	
[16.]	‘Bianchini’s Solos.’		
[16.]	‘Ferrari’s ditto [Solos].’		
17.	‘Duets by Campioni, Battino, Barbandt, De Giardino, &c.’	£0.8.0	
18.	‘Schmid’s six Harpsichord Sonatas.’ [<i>Six Sonatas, for the Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Violoncello Obligatto</i> , op 1 (1766)]	£0.8.0	
[18.]	‘Stanley’s Solos, Abel’s Overtures.’		
[18.]	‘Heck’s Lessons.’		60
[18.]	‘Pasquali’s ditto [Lessons]. And three others.’		
19.	‘Opera of Cymon, Beggar’s Opera, Orpheus, Jubilee, Daphne, and Amintor, &c.’	£0.10.6	
20.	‘Dr. Boyce’s Ode, and Anthem Song Book, by Worgan, Heron, Arnold, Arne, Barldon, Oswald, and Hayes.’	£0.8.0	
21.	‘Schmid’s Harpsichord Sonatas.’	£0.13.0	80
[21.]	‘Bach’s two Overtures, &c.’		
22.	‘Brickenstoch’s Solos, Davis’s ditto.’	£0.5.0	
[22.]	‘Rimini’s Instructions.’		
[22.]	‘De Giardino and Avolio’s Duets, &c.’		86
23.	‘Sixteen Italian Opera and Song Books, by Vento, Jomelli, Barthelemon, Piccini, Astorga, &c.’	£0.12.0	102
24.	‘La Buona Figliuola Opera, a compleat Score, by Signor Piccini, 3 vols in Manuscript.’	£0.5.6	
25.	‘La Passione Oratorio, a compleat Score by Jomelli.’	£0.5.0	
26.	‘Minuet and other Music Books.’	£0.3.6	
27.	‘A very large Parcel of Manuscript Music.’	£1.7.0	

Given Clarke’s domestic circumstances, having no family to make music with, it is perhaps surprising to find so much large-scale instrumental music in his collection. Works such as the 1758 publication of Sammartini’s *Eight Overtures and Six Grand Concertos*, and Kammell’s *Six Concertos*, suggest he was able to muster at least half a dozen musical acquaintances for performance. Smaller-scale chamber music are predominant in the collection; string quartets and quintets, string trios and solo sonatas are in abundance. The presence of harpsichord music (e.g. books of sonatas

and lessons by Pasquali, Heck and Schmid) point toward Clarke himself owning and playing the instrument, perhaps principally as a continuo player.

3.3.5. Anne Boulton of Soho, Birmingham.

In chapter 2 we learnt of Anne Boulton's music tuition with Birmingham organist and composer Joseph Harris. Evidence of the music owned by Anne Boulton is scarce, coming only from the two surviving bills for lessons from Joseph Harris. Items of music listed on his bill of 1786 comprises:⁹⁶

- Ode Philr de Rosier
- Song Haris
- D[itt]o [Song] Messiah
- 2 D[itt]o [Songs] Messiah

listed under his visit on Feb 11, and on his November visit:

- Song Non temer⁹⁷
- D[itt]o 2 [Songs] Messiah

Thomas McGeary suggests that the Ode may have been one of Harris' own compositions; a manuscript poem, or a musical setting of one, on the death of the pioneering balloonist Jean-François Pilâtre de Rozier (1754–85), reflecting the interest of the Boultons and the Lunar Society in balloons.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ LoB, Ms.3782/13/142/1.

⁹⁷ The printed song *Non temer bell'idol mio . . . sung by Sigr. Pacchierotti*, a bravura aria from *Demofonte*, a pasticcio arranged and/or composed by Ferdinando Bertoni (first performed, King's Theatre, 28 November 1778) (RISM: *Einzeldrucke* b2380).

⁹⁸ Thomas McGeary, 'Joseph Harris, Birmingham Organist (1744–1814), and his Messiah Manuscript', *Early Music*, vol. 39, No. 2 (2011).

Harris' bill for the years 1791–94 include the following music:⁹⁹

- 1791: Pleyels Sonatas¹⁰⁰
 Harris's Songs and Quartetts Bound and lettered
- 1792, Feb 13 Song Idalide Italn¹⁰¹
- 1793 Overture Artaxerxes in Duo¹⁰²
 Clementi's Duett¹⁰³
- [1793] Feb 12 God save the King Variat. ns & a Song¹⁰⁴
 Pleyels Sonatas 1.st Sett¹⁰⁵
 A Song in the Pirat[e]s¹⁰⁶

Harris' own 'Song and Quartetts Bound and lettered' refers to two separate items: his *Six Quartettos for the harpsichord, organ, or piano-forte, two violins, & violoncello*, op 2 published in 1774, and his later collection of songs, *Twelve Songs*, op 3, published around 1783.

⁹⁹ LoB, Ms.3782/6/194/59.

¹⁰⁰ One of several printed sets of Ignaz Pleyel's keyboard sonatas (RISM: *Einzeldrucke* p3586–3985).

¹⁰¹ The printed song *Ah che nel petto io sento. Sung by Madam Mara at the King's Theatre, Pantheon in the opera of Idalide* [1791?]; an arrangement of 'Nel cor più non mi sento' from Giovanni Paisiello's *Molinara*. Giuseppe Sarti's opera *Idalide*, first performed on 14 April 1791 at the Pantheon Theatre.

¹⁰² The printed sheet music, *The Favorite Overture in the Opera of Artaxerxes Adapted for Two Performers on One Harpsichord or Piano Forte*; overture to Thomas Arne, *Artaxerxes* (first performed, Covent Garden, 2 February 1762).

¹⁰³ One of several publications of a duet for single keyboard, four hands, from Muzio Clementi's opp. 3, 6 or 14; probably *A Favorite Duett for Two Performers on One Piano Forte or Harpsichord*, op 6 [1795].

¹⁰⁴ Probably one of several publications of J. C. Bach, *God Save the King, with Variations* [1790].

¹⁰⁵ One of several printed sets of Pleyel's keyboard sonatas or sonatinas.

¹⁰⁶ One of many arias from Stephen Storace, *The Pirates. An Opera in Three Acts* (London: Joseph Dale, 1792).

Harris' bills of 1793 show he sold Anne Boulton a duet by Clementi for £0.2.6., more Pleyel Sonatas and a *song in the Pirates*, which may have been a print or manuscript copy made by Harris or purchased from a London music shop

Anne Boulton's musical tastes are highly typical of the time: secular vocal music and keyboard works are abundant, both new works and classics such as those from Handel's *Messiah*. The presence of Harris's own works is expected in the collection of his pupil. Anne also subscribed to music by other local composers. She is almost certainly the 'Miss Boulton, Handsworth, ditto [Staffordshire]' who subscribed to Jeremiah Clark's 1791 collection of *Ten Songs*, and possibly 'Bolton, Miss, Birmingham', who along with 'Bolton, Mr., Birmingham' subscribed to the anonymously authored *Odes, Songs, and Marches*, 1807.

Thomas Lister of Armitage Park, Staffordshire

Thomas Lister (1772–1828), a minor Staffordshire gentry resided at Armitage Park near Rugby in Staffordshire. A tantalising glimpse of his musical interests comes from a sale catalogue of his library, put up for sale by his son, Thomas Henry Lister, in 1839.¹⁰⁷ We can presume that the music dates from between around 1790 and 1828.

Under the category for Music is listed the following:

- 1 Ten volumes of music, half-bound
- 2 Ten ditto ditto
- 3 Ten ditto ditto
- 4 Ten ditto ditto
- 5 Ten ditto ditto
- 6 Ten ditto ditto
- 7 Ten ditto ditto
- 8 Ten ditto ditto
- 9 Ten ditto ditto
- 10 Ten ditto ditto

¹⁰⁷ Stafford, William Salt Library, pbox/ARMITAGE/2

- 11 Lot of Music, in sheets
- 12 Ditto ditto
- 13 Ditto ditto
- 14 Ditto ditto

This seemingly unhelpful list does reveal something of Thomas Lister's musical tastes. Notable is the proportion of manuscripts to printed collection, suggesting that Lister may have been as active in collecting specific new works as Henry Simpson Bridgeman was in collecting the thirty manuscript cello pieces. If the manuscripts were penned by Lister himself, rather than procured from music shops direct from musicians or teachers, his commitment in time and effort shows a dedication to music rarely seen in male amateurs of the nobility and gentry. The half-bound volumes making up the majority of Lister's collection, number one hundred in total. These may well have been individual part books (containing a number of works of the same genre) rather than individual pieces, so the total number of pieces may have been much greater than one hundred.

The Earls of Dudley, or Himley Hall, Staffordshire

Himley Hall, seat of the Earls of Dudley until the early nineteenth century was put up for sale in 1924 and the catalogue of books to be sold contained a number of items of music, described as 'Music (Old), *half calf, etc.*' or similar. Whilst we have no evidence to suggest the music was old enough to be relevant to the present study, a sizable portion of the titled books in the catalogue date from the eighteenth century.

Table 3.11. Music belonging to the Earls of Dudley (later Viscounts Dudley and Ward) of Himley Hall, Staffordshire, Sale catalogue, 1947.¹⁰⁸

Lot no.		No of items
1584	Music (Old), <i>half calf, etc.</i>	[1] <i>parcel</i>
1586	Music (Old), <i>morocco, half morocco, etc.</i>	26
1587	Music (Old), <i>morocco, half morocco</i>	22
1588	Music (Old), <i>morocco, half morocco, etc.</i>	20

¹⁰⁸ Stafford, William Salt Library, Sc A/2/9. 'Sale Catalogue of Library, 1924'.

1589	Music (Old), <i>half morocco, cloth, etc.</i>	16
1658	Music (Old), <i>bound and sewn</i>	3 parcels
1659	Music (Old), <i>bound and sewn</i>	3 parcels
1679	Handel (G. F.) Works, with fine mezzotint portrait and other portraits, folio, <i>half calf</i> , 1718, etc.	39
1680	Manuscript Music, the whole collection of the Catch Club are contained in these volumes, all the pieces bearing the name of Francis Ireland, are composed by Dr. Hutcheson, of Dublin, about 1784, etc., folio, <i>half calf</i> , 12; and various, 9	21
1681	Music (Old), folio, half bound, etc.	38
1682	Music (Old), folio, half bound	36

The auctioneers evidently thought it meaningful to add the description of lot 1680, although why this is the case is not known. Similar to the previous example of Thomas Lister of Armitage Park, the list is not detailed enough to delve deeply into musical tastes of the Earls of Dudley. The presence of Handel work (Lot 1679) is not surprising, but the fact that it is one of only two lots to list the composer says more about the reputation of English eighteenth-century music alongside Handel in the early twentieth century. More significant is the indication of bindings of the music; Morocco binding confirms no expense was spared in the presentation of these works whereas half-bound items and those merely sewn are more in line with the materials found house libraries at The Wodehouse, Weston Park or Calke Abbey.

3.4. Attending Performances.

Musical tastes and preferences for performing certain styles and genres of music by the gentry and nobility can be further understood by examining the types of performances they attended. Taking part in private concerts and musical gatherings (as will be discussed in chapter 4) would not usually incur expenses, save those for associated travel (for example, the hire of a carriage or post-chaise). As Benjamin Heller has

revealed in his discussion of ‘Time use in London, 1757-1820’, the social elite often mixed business and pleasure in their schedules in order to maximize their leisure time, making precise routines difficult to discern.¹⁰⁹ It is often impossible to work out from surviving account books whether travel expenses were for attending private musical performances or other events. Even if an account book entry states that the travel cost was incurred for a (public) ‘theatre’ it is not often possible to narrow this down to play, opera, oratorio or other entertainment, particularly where the event was in London during the season. However, where the musical event in question was ticketed, such associated expenses can often be found in the papers of the nobility and gentry. Cross-referencing this information with newspaper advertisements and listings can reveal the exact event in question, thereby allowing a subject’s music tastes in live performance to be recorded.

In the late eighteenth century, tickets for single subscription or benefit concerts tended to be £0.10.6., with oratorios being five or six shillings. Occasionally, concerts could warrant higher prices, such as the Handel Commemoration performances in 1787, which had an eye-watering ticket price of 1 guinea (£1.1.0) per concert, and even the general rehearsals on the days running up to the performances were ticketed for half a guinea each.¹¹⁰ Ticket prices for opera in London were also £0.10.6 and remained constant throughout this period.

These prices were echoed in the provinces too; Birmingham’s King Street theatre had opened in 1751, being the town’s first purpose-built theatre.¹¹¹ The King Street Theatre advertised its plays with ticket prices of £0.3.0 (for boxes), £0.2.0 (pit), and one shilling (gallery).¹¹² When a new theatre was opened on New Street in 1774, the ticket prices for theatrical works were reduced to £0.2.6 (boxes), £0.1.6 (pit), and £0.1.0 (gallery), the lower prices for boxes and the pit presumably being the a result of competition for audiences at the King Street theatre. Worcester’s theatres in the

¹⁰⁹ Heller, Benjamin, ‘Leisure and pleasure in London society, 1760-1820: an agent-centred approach’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Oxford, 2009), pp. 49-59.

¹¹⁰ *World and Fashionable Advertiser* Friday, 18 May 1787.

¹¹¹ Victor J. Price, *Birmingham Theatres, Concert and Music Halls* (Studley: Brewin Books, 1988).

¹¹² *ABG*, 15 July 1759; *ABG* 12 June 1769; *ABG* 2 August 1779.

King's Head yard and on Angel Street also charged the same admission prices of three, two and one shillings respectively for boxes, pit and gallery seats.¹¹³ Admission prices for concerts at London's Vauxhall Gardens were one shilling until 1792 when they were raised to three shillings.¹¹⁴ Birmingham's Duddeston Gardens also charged one shilling but no comparable price rise was seen for the rest of the century.¹¹⁵ Table 3.12 shows ticket prices for typical musical events held in London and Birmingham for the year 1784. In cases where tickets sold were for a series of subscription concerts, an average price per concert is shown alongside the advertised price of the whole series.

Table 3.12. Concert, Opera and Theatre performances in London, 1784.

Date	Event	Venue	Price
10 Mar	Hanover Square Grand Concert	Hanover Square Rooms	£6.6.0 for 12 concerts (£0.10.6 average) ¹¹⁶
1 Mar	Pantheon entertainments	Pantheon	£0.5.0
28 Feb	Italian Opera: Rauzzini's <i>L'Eroe Cinse</i> .	King's Theatre, Haymarket	£0.10.6 (box) £0.5.0 (pit) £0.3.0 (gallery) ¹¹⁷
10 Mar	Oratorio: Handel's <i>Samson</i>	Theatre Royal, Haymarket	£0.5.0 (box) £0.3.0 (pit) £0.2.0 (1st gall.) £0.1.0 (2nd gall)
10 Mar	Oratorio: Handel's <i>Samson</i>	Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	£0.5.0 (pit) £0.3.6 (1st gall.) £0.2.0 (2nd gall)

¹¹³ *Berrow's Worcester Journal* (from hereafter *BWJ*), 8 July 1779; *BWJ* 24 May 1781.

¹¹⁴ *Public Advertiser* (from hereafter, *PA*) Saturday, May 14 1791. Entrance to the opening event of the season was advertised as 1 shilling. *Morning Herald*, Saturday, 2 June 1792. 'A Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music' was presented this night, with the Duke of York's Band performing between the acts and after the concert. Admittance was three shillings.

¹¹⁵ *ABG* 2 August 1779. 'Mr. Steven's Benefit, at Vaux-hall [...] Tickets, at One Shilling each.'

¹¹⁶ *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser* (from hereafter *MHDA*), Tuesday, 9 March 1784.

¹¹⁷ This performance also advertised the word books (libretto) for sale at £0.0.6.

24 May	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music	Ranelagh Gardens	£0.2.6 ¹¹⁸
16 Jun	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music. 'The Band under the Direction of Mr. Cramer.'	Almack's Room	£0.6.0 ¹¹⁹
11 Jul	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music.	Vauxhall Gardens	£0.1.0 ¹²⁰

By comparison, table 3.13 shows a representative selection of public events in and around Birmingham for the same year. It should be noted that 1784 was the year in which the Birmingham Musical Meeting became established as a triennial event; the six performances held between 22 and 24 September were additions to the normal calendar of events in Birmingham.

Table 3.13. Concert, Opera and Theatre performances in Birmingham and its environs, 1784.

Date	Event	Venue	Price
11 May	Benefit Concert: Jeremiah Clark	Birmingham Hotel	£0.3.6 ¹²¹
29 Jun	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music, Dilettani Musical Society	Birmingham Hotel ¹²²	£0.3.6 (gentlemen) £0.2.6 (ladies)
6 Jul	Oratorio (Handel's <i>Messiah</i>)	St. Mary and All Saints, Kidderminster	£0.3.0
2 Aug	Theatre (<i>Hamlet</i>) and Opera (Arne's <i>Thomas and Sally</i>)	New Street Theatre	£0.3.0 (boxes) £0.2.0 (pit) £0.1.0 (gallery)

¹¹⁸ *MHDA*, Monday, 24 May 1784.

¹¹⁹ *MHDA*, Monday, 14 June 1784.

¹²⁰ *Morning Herald*, Tuesday, 11 Jul 1786.

¹²¹ *ABG*, Thursday, 3 May 1784.

¹²² *ABG*, Thursday, 28 June 1784.

22 Sep	Birmingham Music Meeting: Handel and Boyce anthems	St Philip's Church, Birmingham	(free admittance) ¹²³
22 Sep	Birmingham Music Meeting: Grand Miscellaneous Concert	New Street Theatre	£0.7.6 (boxes) £0.5.0 (pit) £0.3.6 (gallery)
23 Sep	Birmingham Music Meeting: Purcell, Hayes and Handel	St Philip's Church, Birmingham	£0.5.0
23 Sep	Birmingham Music Meeting: Grand Miscellaneous Concert	New Street Theatre	£0.7.6 (boxes) £0.5.0 (pit) £0.3.6 (gallery)
24 Sep	Birmingham Music Meeting: Oratorio: <i>Goliah</i>	St Philip's Church, Birmingham	£0.5.0
24 Sep	Birmingham Music Meeting: Grand Miscellaneous Concert	New Street Theatre	£0.7.6 (boxes) £0.5.0 (pit) £0.3.6 (gallery)
3 Nov	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music	Town Hall, Tamworth	£0.3.0 ¹²⁴
19 Nov	Benefit concert ('Mrs Smith')	Vicar's Hall, Lichfield	£0.3.6 ¹²⁵

The highest ticket prices for events in the town were for the Birmingham Music Meeting 'Grand Miscellaneous' concerts held in the theatre. Still, these prices were lower than similar concerts in London. Even concerts out of the ordinary were cheaper than the London price of £0.10.6; Jeremiah Clark's benefit concert on 11 October 1798, 'being the Anniversary of Admiral Lord Duncan's Victory over the Dutch Fleet', could be attended for £0.5.0 for boxes, £0.3.6 for the pit or £0.2.0 for seats in the gallery. This concert featured Maria Poole 'from London' – a familiar face in London theatres and pleasure gardens from the late 1780s, whom the capital's

¹²³ *ABG*, Thursday, 5 September 1784.

¹²⁴ *ABG*, Thursday, 1st November 1784.

¹²⁵ *ABG*, Thursday, 8 November 1784.

audiences would usually have paid five shillings to see.¹²⁶ The Three Choirs Festivals – even more star-studded – charged £0.5.3.¹²⁷

In provincial centres theatrical performances were usually hosted in purpose-built theatres and included whole or part English opera, or stand-alone musical items. Yet there are also many instances where such productions took place in assembly rooms. Performances of Italian opera outside London were extremely rare. This clearly has an impact on the clientele that may, after the performance, have gone on to purchase music to perform themselves. Surely it was either London-based gentry or the nobility, who usually had houses in London, that would be able to afford the higher prices for opera and were therefore interested and able to purchase the music. This is reflected in advertisements for music in the Midlands compared to the metropolis. Adverts in London newspapers are for all manner of music, representing all genres: books of psalmody, anthems in score, instrumental music, opera arias, oratorio arias and pleasure garden songs. Adverts for music in Birmingham and Worcester, on the other hand, are markedly different in the absence of any mention of opera. William Hall's Music Ware Room (warehouse) next to the Birmingham Hotel offered music and instruments for sale. One long advert, placed in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* on 12 October 1778 listed newly published chamber music, organ works and solo music for guitar and harpsichord, as well as individual songs from Handel's oratorios for three pence, sixpence or one and a half pence each (thirty-four in total).¹²⁸

Newspaper advertisements for concerts often addressed 'the Nobility and the Gentry', confirming the dominance of the highest sections of society on the concert scene in England. Milligan attributes the success of the Concerts of Ancient Music to King George III's interest in the old styles of music epitomized by the works of Handel,

¹²⁶ Maria Poole first appeared on the London concert scene at a Vauxhall Gardens' 'Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music' on Saturday, 19 May 1787 (Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800*, database, Goldsmiths, University of London [accessed: 21.07.18]).

¹²⁷ *BWJ*, 1st September 1790. Ticket prices are rarely indicated in advertisements for Three Choirs Festival meetings.

¹²⁸ *ABG*, Thursday, 12 October 1778.

stating that the nobility and gentry's 'loyalty to the king parallels loyalty to the older music chiefly written by natives, in comparison to the newer Galant styles that were more closely associated with foreign composers such as J.C. Bach, W. Cramer, Giardini and Clementi.¹²⁹

John Marsh perceived that elderly people were chief supporters of ancient music. The Concert of Ancient Music was first organized in 1776 by the Earl of Sandwich, and in 1785 the King patronized the series. Hostile sentiment towards the rising popularity of foreign styles led to comments such as those from the second Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, who in his *Musical Reminiscences of an old Amateur* stated that he had:

lived in what I consider as one of its most flourishing periods, now, I lament to say, at an end. So great a change has taken place within a few years, that I can no longer receive from it any pleasure approaching to that which I used to experience. The remembrance of the past is therefore infinitely more agreeable than the enjoyment of the present, and I derive the highest gratification music can yet afford me from hearing again, or barely recalling to mind that formerly gave me such unqualified delight. This pleasure can no longer be expected from professors, at least the Italian, but many English amateurs retain like myself the love for the good old style, and for the compositions of those masters which modern caprice has thrown aside as obsolete, but which must ever be considered by real judge as superior to the fantastical and trifling frippery of the modern school.¹³⁰

The popularity of Italian opera and of the continental styles was highest among the nobility, and to a lesser extent the gentry class; the merchants and bankers of the middle classes who considered attending public events as an opportunity to be conspicuously visible, and as a way of affirming their newly acquired position on the social ladder. The apparent polarity of musical styles – between old and new, native

¹²⁹ Thomas B. Milligan, *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983).

¹³⁰ Richard Mount Edgcumbe, *Musical Reminiscences of an Old Amateur Chiefly Respecting the Italian Opera in England for Fifty Years From 1773 to 1823* (London: W. Clarke, 1827).

and foreign, the nobility and middle class – was not as clear-cut as the statement by Earl of Mount Edgcumbe might suggest. As the following case studies of individual members of the Midlands nobility reveal, there was an interest in the classics and the continuation of the Handel school as well as a hunger for the newer continental styles.

3.4.1. Mary Leigh of Stoneleigh Abbey.

We have already seen evidence of the tuition Mary Leigh received over a large part of her life, firstly from Marmaduke Overend (during her younger years in London), and then from John Burton (after she had inherited Stoneleigh in Warwickshire). The same archival sources reveal something of her musical tastes, both in the performances she attended and the music she played at home. Whilst the few items of music she is known to have owned are insufficient to reconstruct her private music collection and warrant a separate study, they are worth noting here in the context of the performances she attended.

An untitled list of expenses between December 1758 and April 1759 suggests she had come out to society that season and was embarking on the social events of the calendar.¹³¹ Three items on one side of the paper are for ‘Dinners’, ‘dressing hair’, and ‘Servants for Parcels’. The reverse of the bill lists expenses for attending plays, operas and concerts:

Table 3.14. Mary Leigh’s Music expenses to 22 May 1759.¹³²

Date	Expense	Amount	Notes
30 Dec 1758	‘Opera’	£0.10.6	Mingotti’s <i>Demetrio</i> , Haymarket ¹³³

¹³¹ SBT, DR18/5/3848 [no info] £5.10.6. Opera expenses, 22 May 1759.

¹³² SBT, DR18/5/3848 (selected from a larger list).

¹³³ Michael Kelly, *Reminiscences of Michael Kelly of the King’s theatre, and Theatre royal, Drury lane* (London: Henry Colburn, 1826).

17 Feb 1759	‘Opera’	£0.11.0	Cocchi’s <i>Il Ciro Riconosciuto</i> , Haymarket Theatre ¹³⁴
12 Mar	‘Opera’	£0.11.0	Pasticcio directed by Cocchi ¹³⁵
24 Mar	‘Opera’	£0.11.0	Cocchi’s <i>Il Ciro Riconosciuto</i> , Haymarket ¹³⁶
4 Apr	‘Oratorio’		Handel’s <i>Messiah</i> , Theatre Royal, Covent-Garden ¹³⁷
26 Apr	‘Musick St Margarets, Church’	£0.10.6	
7 May	‘Ranalagh’	£0.2.6	Advertised at a ‘Concert of Music’ that evening ‘To be continued Mondays, Wednesday and Fridays till further notice’ ¹³⁸
9 May	‘Ranalagh’	£0.2.6	Concert ¹³⁹
12 May	‘Opera’	£0.11.6	David Perez’s ¹⁴⁰ <i>Il Farnace</i> , Haymarket ¹⁴¹
14 May	‘Concert Mingotti’	£0.10.6	Benefit concert for singer Regina Mingotti ¹⁴²
22 May	‘Marybone’	£0	
n.d.	‘Vauxhall’	£0.2.0	

¹³⁴ Piero Weiss, ‘Cocchi, Gioacchino’ *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06014>> [accessed, 1 April 2016].

¹³⁵ Helen Berry, *The Castrato and His Wife* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

¹³⁶ Piero Weiss, ‘Cocchi, Gioacchino’ *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/06014>> [accessed, 1 April 2016].

¹³⁷ *PA*, Wednesday, 4 April 1759.

¹³⁸ *PA*, Monday, 7 May 1759.

¹³⁹ *PA*, Monday, 7 May 1759.

¹⁴⁰ Mauricio Dottori and Paul J. Jackson. ‘Perez, David’, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. <<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21306>> [accessed, 1 Apr 2016].

¹⁴¹ *PA*, Saturday, 12 May 1759.

¹⁴² *PA*, Monday, 14 May 1759.

In just five months Mary attended the opera five times, a performance of Handel's *Messiah*, two miscellaneous concerts and pleasure gardens four times (two of which definitely included musical performances). This shows that Mary was not only engaging fully with the social calendar but that music played a significant part in her life.

3.4.2. Sir Henry Bridgeman, 1st Baron Bradford, and family.

As we have seen in chapter 2, Sir Henry Bridgeman valued music highly; he himself played the flute, his eldest son played the cello and his two daughters received intensive tuition from London-based musician Francis Hackwood. The surviving collection of music at Weston Park, and evidence of a larger body of works which belonged to his family members, is an indication of the extent of practical music-making at the house.

There are numerous small pieces of evidence that reveal specific musical performances in London that members of the family attended. The earliest of these comes from Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman's diary of 1766, which reveals her own active social life as a mother of six children under nine years of age. This surviving pocket diary contains frequent references to attending concerts and the opera, visiting pleasure gardens, and making music at home. The earliest, a simple entry for 4 May that year, tells us that on the day her husband left for a trip to Paris, she 'Went to the opera'.¹⁴³ Despite the unspecific nature of this entry, the opera in question can be identified as Giordani's *L'eroe Cinese*.

Later journals written by Lady Elizabeth show she attended many performances, both private and public. Operas, subscription concerts and pleasure garden performances were attended by Elizabeth, as well as private performances at the houses of friends and acquaintances.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ SRO, D1287/19/2A (P/1159). 'Journal of Elizabeth Bridgeman, 1766' p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ SRO, D1287/19/2 (P/1159).

‘I went after with Mrs Hatford[?] & Mrs Codrington to ye concert at D: of Y’
 [Duke of York’s]
 ‘went to ye concert at night with Mrs Myddleton & after to Ranelagh’
 ‘in ye Evening went to Ranelagh with Lady M: Cornwallis Mrs Codrington &
 Miss Stainforth’
 ‘[...]in ye Evening went to Lady Plimouths Concert very good Company.’
 ‘Friday stay’d at home doing Business & Singing Catches till three of clock’

A few notes listed in the diary section of Lady Elizabeth’s Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas of 1783 indicate her cultural activities.¹⁴⁵ At this time, her children were grown up; her eldest son, Henry Simpson Bridgeman, had died the previous year, and her two daughters, Charlotte and Elizabeth, were yet to be married. On 17 February she arrived in London from Weston Park, and for the next few months she lists activities such as operas and concerts in her diary.

Table 3.15. Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman’s attendance at performance, 1783.

Date	Event	Notes
25 Feb	‘Opera’	Pasquale Anfossi’s <i>Il Trionfo della Costanza</i> , at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket
26 Feb	‘Concert’	Subscription concert at Hanover Square
5 Mar	‘Concert of L J Coch’s [?]’	[no concert listed in London Newspapers of this day, 4 or 6 March]
24 Apr	‘Opera’	Pasquale Anfossi’s <i>I Vecchi Burlati</i> , at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket.
26 Apr	‘Opera’	Ferdinando Gasparo Bertoni’s <i>Il Convinto</i> , at the King’s Theatre, Haymarket

¹⁴⁵ SRO, D1287/19/1 (P/1196). ‘Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas. E Bridgeman 1783’.

30 Apr	'Concert'	Subscription concert at Hanover Square
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Here we see she that attended a wide variety of performances; most often Italian opera and subscription concerts. The absence of oratorio performances from the above list should be noted. The next year for which we have evidence of Lady Elizabeth's attendance at performances is 1786, when she attended private concerts:

1786.

'Sunday May ye 14th [...] the party did not break up till past 10 o'clock when I went to a small musical party at L[a]dy Lilliarts[?] where I heard Mrs Sheridan sing devinely, to Marlbro' House Mrs Sarbridge, I, Ambassadors & Lady Essex came home between 12 & one o'clock & sup'd afterwards [...]'¹⁴⁶

There are also frequent references to Lady Bridgeman going to the opera whilst in London during the 1780s. Her social circles are further revealed in some of the diary entries:

Saturday Morn May 27th [1786] P[ai]d Visits and went into ye City – Orlando¹⁴⁷ dined at home & staid at home ye whole day with a pain in his jaws I went to the Opera at Night in the D[uc]h[es]s of North[umberla]nd¹⁴⁸ box & with her tickets afterwards to Mrs Storthaps[?] party when I saw Miss Seymour for the first time after her arrival – Curtseyed & spoke Northy & St Lege sup[pe]d with Us, went to bed late.

Elizabeth and family attended some of the most prominent musical events of the year. Her diary entry for 31 May 1786 describes attending one of the Handel commemoration performances:

¹⁴⁶ Charlotte and Elizabeth Bridgeman, daughters of Lady Elizabeth and Sir Henry.

¹⁴⁷ Orlando Bridgeman, oldest surviving son of Lady Elizabeth and Sir Henry, later 1st Earl of Bradford.

¹⁴⁸ Frances Burrell (1752–1820), Duchess of Northumberland, second wife of General Hugh Percy, 2nd Duke of Northumberland.

‘Wednesday Morn May ye 31st [1786]
 Eliz[abeth] and I went to the Music in Westminster Abb[e]y – we sat in the
 Managers box immediately under their Majesties Box – our ticket signd By
 L[or]d Fitwilliam[. Madame] Mara sung [...] Mrs Maddocks came home with
 us to Dinner – I stayd at home in ye Even[ing]: Miss Pelham came Eliz went
 to a little Dance at L[a]dy Beachamps

This rather brief account of attending the first concert of the 1786 Grand Musical Festival organized by the Royal Society of Musicians is interesting. The event, three concerts held over a week at Westminster Abbey, was one of the highlights of the London musical calendar.¹⁴⁹ Madame Mara (Gertrud Elisabeth Mara) was just one of several top performers on the bill for that concert. It also featured Elizabeth Billington, herself a star of the stage. More emphasis is put on where Elizabeth Bridgeman was sitting than on the music, but this is typical of the commentary of these social occasions.

The same pocket book reveals that Lady Elizabeth attended many further performances, including the opera with her youngest daughter, performances at Westminster Abbey, and visited Ranelagh. The activities in this particularly social time in 1786 are presented in table 3.16.

Table 3.16. Musical Performances attended by Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman, 1786.

Date	Event	Details
31 May	Concert	Grand musical festival, in Westminster-Abbey
1 Jun	Opera	Grand musical festival, in Westminster-Abbey
3 Jun	Concert	Grand musical festival, in Westminster-Abbey – Handel’s <i>Messiah</i>

¹⁴⁹ Royal Society of Musicians (London: 1786) Concert Programme: *Grand musical festival, in Westminster-Abbey. First performance, Wednesday, the 31st of May, 1786.*

5 Jun	Concert and Dancing	Concert in honour of the King's birthday, Vauxhall Gardens ¹⁵⁰
6 Jun	Opera	Antonio Salieri's <i>La Scuola de Gelosi</i> at the King's Theatre ¹⁵¹
10 Jun	Opera	Tarchi's <i>Virginia</i> at the King's Theatre. ¹⁵²
12 Jun	Concert	Private concert at Carlton House, residence of the Prince Consort
	Ranelagh	
14 Jun	Ball	
20 Jul	Concert	Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music, Vauxhall Gardens ¹⁵³

From this table we can see the wide variety of music that Lady Bridgeman heard. Clearly, she favoured Italian opera to the English theatrical performances (at this time, the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket hosted productions of English dramas such as *The Beggar's Opera*). She attended three out of the four concerts making up the Grand Musical Festival at Westminster Abbey. This festival, for the benefit of the Royal Society of Musicians featured all-Handel performances; either in the Grand Miscellaneous format, featuring a variety of vocal and instrumental chamber and large-scale pieces, or whole works: *Israel in Egypt*, and *Messiah*.

Evidence of other members of the Bridgeman family attending performances is sporadic because of the available sources. In an 'Account Book of Sir Henry Bridgeman', September 1782 – Feb 1783, items of the everyday expense are listed, such as payments for ferry boats and coaches, money he 'gave away' or 'lost at cards', and tickets for attending plays and concerts. Relevant entries are listed in table 3.17.

¹⁵⁰ *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Monday, 5 June 1786.

¹⁵¹ *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, Monday, 5 June 1786.

¹⁵² *Morning Herald*, Monday, 12 June 1786.

¹⁵³ *PA*, Thursday, 20 July 1786. Lady Bridgeman's diary entry for this day reveals she went 'to attend a Concert for the benefit of the 2 Lindlays one aged 11 the other 9 years old wonderful proficient one on the violin the other on ye Violincello'.

Table 3.17. Sir Henry Bridgeman's expenses for attending performances, 1782.¹⁵⁴

Date	Event	Amount	Details
28 Sep	'Ball at Weymouth'	£0.8.0.	
30 Nov	'Opera'	£0.10.6	Either Ferdinando Gasparo Bertoni's <i>Medonte</i> directed by Giardini at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, or Gay and Pepusch's <i>The Beggar's Opera</i> at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane
2 Dec	'Play'	£0.5.0	Either Nathaniel Rowe's <i>The Fair Penitent</i> , playing at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, or Congreve's <i>The Mourning Bride</i> , playing at the New Theatre-Royal, Covent Garden
10 Dec	'Opera'	£0.10.6	Ferdinando Gasparo Bertoni's <i>Il Convito</i> at the King's Theatre
12 Dec	'Opera'	£0.10.6	Ferdinando Gasparo Bertoni's <i>Medonte</i> directed by Giardini at the King's Theatre, Haymarket

The first entry is interesting, for it surely cannot be a mere coincidence that one of the items on the bill Francis Hackwood presented to Sir Henry in March 1783, for services 1782–83, is for 'Expenses Weymouth to Weston £0:5:0'. It is likely that one of the conditions of Hackwood's employment for thirteen weeks to teach Charlotte and Elizabeth included being 'released' to carry out professional performing engagements. Perhaps on this occasion, it was Hackwood accompanying his employer.

Unlike his wife, Sir Henry did not leave detailed records in the form of pocket diaries or journals. The account books such as the one for 1782 above are also rare, so we can only guess whether the number of concerts and plays Sir Henry attended in this year was typical. We know that his attendance at the opera was not as sporadic as the

¹⁵⁴ SRO, D1287/3/13 (P/112).

list above suggests, since he subscribed to a box at the King's Theatre during the 1780s and 1790s, as shown below in table 3.18.

Table 3.18. Sir Henry Bridgeman and family, subscriptions to opera and concerts.¹⁵⁵

Date	Family member	Series	Evidence
1769	Sir Henry Bridgeman	King's Theatre	surviving opera subscription token: Front Box, No.17
1782–83	Sir Henry Bridgeman	King's Theatre	surviving opera subscription token: Box, No.61
1786	Sir Henry Bridgeman	King's Theatre	Box No.31
1787–88	Sir Henry Bridgeman	King's Theatre	Box No.31
1787	Sir Henry Bridgeman	Royal Society of Musicians Festival	Recorded in list of subscribers. ¹⁵⁶
1788	Sir Henry Bridgeman	King's Theatre	Recorded in 'List of Subscribers' ¹⁵⁷
1789	Sir Henry Bridgeman	King's Theatre	
1792	Sir Henry Bridgeman	Concerts of Antient Music	Recorded in 'A List of Subscribers' ¹⁵⁸
1794	Sir Henry Bridgeman	Concerts of Antient Music	Recorded in 'A List of Subscribers' ¹⁵⁹
1795	Sir Henry Bridgeman (now 'Lord Bradford')	Concerts of Antient Music	Recorded in 'A List of Subscribers' ¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Opera tokens are part of the Weston Park collection.

¹⁵⁶ Concert programme, *Grand Musical Festival in Westminster-Abbey. Third Performance 1787*. Sir Henry is recorded in the 'List of the Benefactors and Subscribers to a fund for the support of Decayed Musicians, and their Families', p. 7.

¹⁵⁷ *A correct list of the subscribers to the boxes at the King's Theatre* (London: 1789).

¹⁵⁸ *Concerts of Antient Music, under the patronage of their Majesties; as performed at The New Room, King's Theatre, Haymarket* (London: 1792).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1794.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1795.

1795	Hon. Elizabeth Bridgeman	Concerts of Antient Music	Recorded in 'A List of Subscribers' ¹⁶¹
1796	Sir Henry Bridgeman (now 'Lord Bradford')	Concerts of Antient Music	Recorded in 'A List of Subscribers' ¹⁶²
1797	Sir Henry Bridgeman (now 'Lord Bradford')	King's Theatre	Recorded in 'A List of Subscribers' ¹⁶³
1799	Sir Henry Bridgeman (now 'Lord Bradford')	Concerts of Antient Music	Recorded in 'A List of Subscribers' ¹⁶⁴

The family commitment to patronising London opera and subscription concerts was such that even after Sir Henry's retirement from public life in 1794 (after which he elevated to Baron) they remained active. It is also likely that Sir Henry continued his membership of the Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club after this time although as the club's records do not indicate when members left, this is not certain.

3.4.3. Henry Gough, 2nd Baronet.

Discussed in chapter 2 were Sir Henry Gough's cello lessons with James Cervetto. It is clear from the amounts paid to Cervetto that Sir Henry received a good deal of tuition from this most sought-after cellist. The pocket books Henry kept for recording these expenses give a valuable insight into Henry's activities as he travelled to and from Edgbaston (Birmingham) to London, Oxford and other towns for recreation. It should be mentioned again at this point, that the years 1770–74 were those immediately preceeding the death of Sir Henry's father and therefore before the burden of the Gough estate was put of Henry's shoulders.

During 1770, Henry made trips to Buxton for thirteen days, which included 'Excursions from Buxton' to other unnamed towns. He visited Worcester for the Races and the Three Choirs Festival, and spent time in Leicester, Kettering, and Oxford. His trips to London saw him attend seasonal entertainment; plays in March,

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 1795.

¹⁶² Ibid., 1796.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 1797.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 1799.

April and May, Pleasure Gardens in the warmer months (April 30 to July 28). He attended thirteen plays, five operas, and two oratorios in London this year, and attended concert performances at the Sawyer's subscription concerts in Birmingham, the Oxford Musical Society concerts, and Bath subscription concerts, totaling thirteen.

His commitment to the Oxford concerts was such that he subscribed to the 1770 season, paying a guinea for the weekly Monday evening performances at the Holywell Music Room.¹⁶⁵ He also made numerous trips to pleasure gardens; London's Ranelagh and Marylebone gardens, and Birmingham's Duddeston gardens. When comparing dates of his opera visits with those listed in London newspapers, he attended the first London production of Gluck's *Orfeo* twice, as well as Guadagni's *La Buona Figliuola* in June. Oratorios he attended were either Handel's *Messiah* or *Samson* at the Drury Lane theatre, or Samuel Arnold's *The Resurrection* at Covent Garden. Concerts he attended included a performance of *The Twin Rivals* and *Daphne and Amintor* at the Bath Theatre, for Mr Harper's benefit,¹⁶⁶ and one of the Bach-Abel concerts 'for Signora Guglielmi's benefit', where *L'isola disabitata* was performed.¹⁶⁷ His visits to the pleasure gardens in London and Birmingham frequently coincided with concert performances. Five of the seven trips to Ranelagh that summer were on days when a concert was advertised in the local newspapers; some were highlighted as more special occasions, such as one on Monday, 25 April 1770:

In the Rotunda will be a Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music; and in the Garden will be distributed several Sets of Wind and other Instrumental Performers, consisting of Horns, Clarinets, Bassoons, Trumpets, Kettle Drums, &c. &c. These will play till Half past Nine,

¹⁶⁵ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Saturday, 24 March 1770. 'Articles of Subscription, for the Support of the Musical Society'. Annual subscription was one guinea, entitling each subscriber entrance to the weekly concerts for one shilling, whereas non-subscribers paid two shillings. Henry paid one shilling for all the Oxford Musical Society concerts, showing that he was a subscriber.

¹⁶⁶ *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Thursday, 17 May 1770.

¹⁶⁷ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Friday, 4 May 1770. It is unclear who the composer of this setting of a Metastasio libretto was in this case.

when Mrs. Baddeley and Mr. Bannister will sing some favourite Songs in the Orchestra near the Canal ; and during the Firework, which begin exactly at Ten. The whole band will perform several select Pieces of Music.¹⁶⁸

Even the three occasions on which he attended the smaller Marylebone gardens (22, 26 and 28 June) seem to be as much for the music as for any other reason; on each of these occasions he saw Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona* with Samuel Arnold's additions.¹⁶⁹

In 1772 we see similar patterns in Henry Gough's visits to theatre and concerts:

Table 3.19. Henry Gough, 2nd Baronet's Concert and Opera expenses, 1772.¹⁷⁰

Date	Expense	Amount	Notes
[Birmingham]			
13 Feb	Tea at Concert	£0.1.6	Probably a subscription concert for which he had already paid
[London]			
30 Mar	Fischer Concert	£0.10.6	Concert ¹⁷¹
3 Apr	Oratorio	£0.10.6	Either <i>Messiah</i> at Covent Garden, or <i>Acis and Galatea</i> at Drury Lane
4 Apr	Opera, Supper &c	£0.14.6	
11 Apr	Opera	£0.10.6	
22 Apr	Tea at Ranelagh	£0.1.0	[Concert]
25 Apr	Chair Hire & Opera	£0.13.0	
27 Apr	Ranelagh w[i]th Coach Hire &c	£0.8.0	[Concert]

¹⁶⁸ *PA*, Monday, 25 June 1770.

¹⁶⁹ 'Simon McVeigh, Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800, database, Goldsmiths, University of London (accessed: 22 April 2016)'.

¹⁷⁰ LoB, MS 2126/EB 18/e. The Complete Pocket Book ... 1772.

¹⁷¹ 'Simon McVeigh, Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800, database, Goldsmiths, University of London (accessed: 22 April 2016)'.

29 Apr	Ranelagh	£0.3.6	[Concert]
2 May	Opera	£0.10.6	
4 May	Ranelagh with Coach Hire &c	£0.7.0	[Concert]
6 May	Ranelagh	£0.3.6	[Concert]
11 May	Ranelagh w[i]th C[oach] Hire	£0.8.6	[Concert]
13 May	Ranelagh	£0.3.6	[Concert]
15 May			

In 1773 he attended two performances at the newly opened Pantheon assembly rooms on Oxford Street and subsequently paid for subscription tickets the following year.¹⁷² This is perhaps a sign that he was keen to be seen in new potentially fashionable places, as much as to see what was on offer. Here, Henry would have been surrounded by music; the rooms boasted a ‘band of music in the ball room upstairs every night, for cotillions’.¹⁷³

In subsequent years, as Henry’s personal income increased, so too did his spending on recreational activities such as attending concerts, pleasure gardens and plays. In 1770 his total income was £307.6.0 rising to £402.7.6 in 1774.

¹⁷² *Lloyd’s Evening Post*, 15 March 1773. No programme details have been traced for this concert.

¹⁷³ *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Tuesday, 10 December 1771. ‘Plan for opening the Pantheon’.

Illustration 3.2. MS 2126/VOL/556; Pocket Book for 1774.

		M A R C H has xxxi D A Y S.								
10th Week]		Account of Cash			Received			Paid.		
		L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
7	Ball: bro ^r over	97	16	1/2				1	3	
	M. & M									
	Chair Hire								2	6
	David's Board Wages								10	6
8	Coach Hire								2	6
	Books								5	6
	M ^{rs} Linkhard's Bill								9	10
	David a Bill							2	10	5 1/2
	Table							3	4	
	Careless a Bill including							6	12	
	Dinner <i>Ruffed</i>							1		
	Chair & Coach Hire								2	6
	Supper								2	6
	Opera								5	
9	Chair & Coach Hire								2	
	Breslaw								5	
10	Chair Hire								6	6
11	Dinner							1	2	
	Chair Hire								2	
13	J. M							1	1	
	Chair Hire								5	
	Hair dressing								4	
		97 16 1/2			19 14 9 1/2					
		19 14 9 1/2								
		78 1 3								

The duration of his stay in London also increased throughout these years, resulting in less frequent visits to the Duddeston gardens and the Birmingham subscription concerts at Sawyers in the Square. Table 3.20 shows overall trends in his attendance at events.

Table 3.20. Henry Gough's attendances at events 1770, 1772–74.

	1770	1772	1773	1774
Opera	5	5	12	17
Oratorio	2	1	5	4
Concert	19	6	11	14 ¹⁷⁴
Pleasure Gardens	11	28	21	27
Play	13	6	4	12
TOTAL	50	46	53	77

The general trend in his spending patterns shows an overall increase in attendance, but a proportional decrease in the number of plays and concerts he attended in favour of visits to pleasure gardens and the opera.

3.5. Conclusions.

Musical tastes among noble and gentry classes of the late eighteenth century were interconnected with the social functions of the music and the wide variety of occasions which saw music being performed. For the upper classes, attending public and private concerts was often as much about socialising as it was about the music: either being seen at an event or being seen to take an active role in the music-making. We have observed numerous instances where, when finances permitted, musical events were

¹⁷⁴ This figure includes Pantheon tickets at two lots of £1.1.0, three lots of £0.10.6. The organisers sold tickets in pairs, making Henry's attendance eight. Another entry, Tuesday 25 April for £15.15.0, is marked as simply 'Concerts'. It seems unlikely that this large amount was a subscription for just one single series.

attended frequently, several times a week during the season. A particularly notable example of this is apparent in the activities of Henry Gough, who attended events (as well as kept up frequent private cello lessons) whilst in the period of relative financial freedom before the burden of responsibility once his father died.

In Henry Gough's case, it is likely that his attendance at musical events was an activity undertaken without his family – the period in question although lack of evidence prevents confirmation. However, attendance at public and private performances was a family activity in many cases or at least involved mother and daughters.

Men and women's tastes were different from one another, with a male emphasis on collecting the 'classics', string music and concertos, and a female emphasis on Italian opera, keyboard music (often with obbligato instruments). If the numbers of surviving manuscript books written out and owned by amateur men and women musicians are an indicator of tastes, the vast majority of such activity was undertaken by women.

And, these books written out by women and girls of country houses were generally full of vocal and keyboard music. The gentlemen of the families generally preferred to collect printed music (or, preferred not to write out their music by hand); as much an indication of the financial dependency of women at this time.

CHAPTER 4: Music-Making in the Country House

4.1. Introduction.

As we have seen, music-making among the gentry and nobility took a wide variety of forms. The contexts for musical performance sometimes involved professionals performing alongside amateurs in public and in private. Within the family home musical performance could be a solitary activity or involve two or more family members, and sometimes would include more than just the immediate family. Music was considered a suitable social activity between families and friends, and it was also acceptable in some circumstances for professionals to make music with family members and for acquaintances of the opposite sex to make music together. Mobility was an important factor in music-making among the nobility and gentry, which meant that it was sometimes organized in advance as well as on an *ad hoc* basis. This chapter explores in more detail the circumstances surrounding music-making in the houses of the gentry and nobility, starting with a discussion of the social activity of this kind of music-making from contemporary observations.

4.1.1. Music-making as a social function among the gentry and nobility.

We cannot rely as heavily on contemporary personal descriptions of the purpose of music-making, as we can on the numerous formal discussions about music's place in society covered previously in this study. However, the evidence for the varying contexts in which the nobility and gentry made music is plentiful from descriptions in letters and diaries, which by their nature speak of the events that could be more or less ordinary. Such extraordinary events discussed in these sources include important social gatherings at which music played a role. Music was certainly at the centre of many private gatherings, serving as the focus of the evening; the excuse for an event that was as much about people meeting each other as it was about the music itself.

The prolific diarist of the late eighteenth century, Hester Thrale, describes a number of musical soirées she attended but rarely went into detail about the music that was performed or the performers who took part. In her entry of 17 January 1789, Thrale

writes: ‘Mrs. Siddons [...] mentioned our concerts, and the Erskines lamented their absence from one we gave two days ago, at which Mrs. Garrick was present and gave a good report to the *Blues*’.¹⁷⁵ Here, Thrale’s short description reveals a lot about the function of her musical gatherings she gave; name-dropping that Mrs Garrick (wife of David Garrick) attended and had reported favourably to her fellow members of the Blue Stocking Society. She does not reveal if she took part in the concerts she hosted, and it is clear that they were organized to facilitate the gathering of the society, akin to a private game of cards for men’s socialising. The apparently insignificant concert Thrale reports on suggests that the event itself was not an unusual or rare event in her social circles.

Author Fanny Burney also describes music-making in private in a diary entry for 4 June 1780, where she describes attending a concert at the house of an unnamed acquaintance. ‘We found such a crowd of chairs and carriages we could hardly make our way [...] The two rooms for the company were quite full when we arrived, and a large party was standing upon the first floor landing-place.’¹⁷⁶ After a lengthy account of non-musical events at the concert – descriptions of the other guests that she encountered – she turns her attention to the music:

You may laugh, perhaps, that I have all this time said never a word of the music, but the truth is I heard scarce a note. There were quartettos and overtures by gentlemen performers whose names and faces I know not, and such was the never ceasing rattling and noise in the card-room, where I was kept almost all the evening, that a general humming of musical sounds, and now and then a twang, was all I could hear.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ A. Hayward (ed.), *Autobiography Letters And Literary Remains Of Mrs. Piozzi (Thrale) Edited With Notes And An Introductory Account Of Her Life And Writings* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, And Roberts, 1861). ‘Blues’ refers to the Blue Stocking Society.

¹⁷⁶ Frances Burney, *The Dairy And Letter of Madame D’Arblay With Notes By W. C. Ward, And Prefaced By Lord Macaulay’s Essay*, vol. 1 (1778-87), p. 367.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 369.

Specific reference to gentlemen performers she was not already acquainted with suggests that on this occasion there were no professionals present. Burney's musical upbringing, presumably surrounded by good quality music-making, meant it was perhaps inevitable that she was disappointed not to have heard the concert close. We must not, therefore, assume this sentiment was universal: clearly, at the same time this concert was proceeding, the numerous people playing card games in another room had little interest in listening intently to the music. Another easy assumption to make is that Burney's account was a description of a normal, perhaps 'every-day' musical gathering. However, the fact that such a gathering warranted her commentary suggests these events, with numerous guests crowding the host's property, were not the norm for amateur musical performances. I suspect that this was a normal scenario for such large gatherings that went under the title 'concert', but that Burney's keen interest in music was the reason she chose to comment on it in these terms. Indeed, concerts she (and presumably her father Charles) hosted with invited performers are described with the music in focus, such as the following in 1775:

Accordingly, last week we had another Music Meeting. Our party consisted of Mr. Bruce, Mrs. and Miss Strange, Mr. Nesbit, who is a young man infinitely *fade*, Mr. and Miss Bagnall, Dr. Russel, a physician who is but lately returned from Aleppo, where he met Mr. Bruce, and Mr. Solly, another great traveller who was acquainted with Mr. Bruce at Grand Cairo and Alexandria.¹⁷⁸

Burney lists seven guests at this private music party, but she does not mention how many of her own family were present, and this is not possible to guess from previous letters from this time. By her description of some of the guests, giving qualifying statements about who they are, we can assume these to be mere acquaintances, rather than friends met with on a frequent basis. Details about the music they performed are also lacking, and we can only guess at the repertoire performed that evening, whether it was a succession of small-scale works for harpsichord and voice, or if it were chamber music or concertos. Frances Burney was to attend a great number of private concerts after she accepted the post of Keeper of the Robes to Queen Charlotte in

¹⁷⁸ Fanny Burney, *Early Diary of Frances Burney*, 3 April 1775.

1785. It is much more likely that these concerts featured professional musicians from the Queen's own band, probably to the exclusion of amateurs.¹⁷⁹

If the example of Burney may seem unrepresentative, given her musical background, Thomas Twining represents an altogether less ordinary scenario. The extent to which music served as a means for social mobility can be seen in the letters of Twining, who in his published letters reveals a lasting friendship with Charles Burney:

To Dr. Burney. Colchester, February 15, 1791.

We have lately had very comfortable fiddling here; indeed, the best dilettante fiddling I ever had to do with. My friend Mr. Tindal is come to settle (for the present, at least) in this neighbourhood. He is going to succeed me in the curacy of Fordham. He plays the fiddle well, the harpsichord well, the violoncello well. Now, sir, when I say 'well,' I cannot be supposed to mean the wellness that one should predicate of a professor who makes those instruments his study; but that he plays in a very ungentleman-like manner, exactly in tune and time, with taste, accent, and meaning, and the true sense of what he plays; and, upon the violoncello, he has execution sufficient to play Boccherini's quintettes at least what may be called very decently.¹⁸⁰

Remarkable here is Twining's implication that as Tindal played in an 'ungentleman-like manner'; that gentlemen amateurs usually did not play in tune and in time or with taste and meaning. It provides further reasons for the small outputs of solo violin and cello music when compared to concerted music, as discussed in section 3.1.

¹⁷⁹ Another notable concert was hosted by Lord and Lady Clive that saw a young Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart perform. The venue for the concert was the Clives' sumptuously furnished town house in Berkeley Square. See Ian Woodfield, 'New Light on the Mozarts' London Visit: A Private Concert with Manzuoli', *Music & Letters*, vol. 76, No. 2 (May, 1995).

¹⁸⁰ Thomas Twining, *Recreations and Studies of A Country Clergyman Of The Eighteenth Century Being Selections From The Correspondence Of The Rev. Thomas Twining, M.A.* (London: John Murray, 1882), p. 143.

Twining's letters reveal numerous similar encounters with fellow amateur musicians. Occasionally, he reports a less ordinary musical meeting, such as the following encounter with Martha Greatorex in Northampton described in a letter to his brother on July 23 1792:

Yesterday I preached here [=Northampton] in the morning, and [...] went with my landlord to Cotesbatch, and [...] after a great treat on the harpsichord by Miss Greaterex [*sic*], who was come thither, luckily, to teach. The good people were so civil as to press us to drink tea with them, so after dinner we all went and had a very pleasant afternoon, and I took my fiddle and accompanied (do you hear, Richard?) Miss G. and the two Miss Marriotts, who play well, very well indeed. I assure you this was a treat to me, especially as it was quite unexpected.¹⁸¹

Thomas Twining had earlier described his brother as having 'performed extremely well upon the violin before he went to Cambridge, and during his residence there bore a conspicuous part in the oratorios, and at other musical meetings'.¹⁸² Twining was a true dilettante with a genuine desire for quality music-making and respect for professional musicians such as Martha Greatorex. His standards were evidently higher than what was normal for amateur gentlemen musicians.

Occasionally descriptions of private music-making among the nobility and gentry are detailed enough to specify which instruments the company played. The diary of John Courtney, a gentleman of Beverley in Yorkshire, is a rare example in this respect. His diary spans nine years from 1759 and is full of references to his making music at home and among friends. The entry of Thursday, 8 January 1761, describes one of the larger of the private music gatherings he hosted:

This evening had a little concert at our house. Ten performers vizt: First fiddle – Mr Smith; Second Fiddles – Master Raguenae, Master E Raguenae, Mr Enter; German Flutes – Mr Feanside, Mr Cox, Mr Tong; Violoncello – Mr

¹⁸¹ Twining (1882), pp. 160-61.

¹⁸² Twining (1882), pp. 2-3.

De Monet; Harpsichord, Thor[ough] Bass – J Courtney; Voice – Mr Raines.¹⁸³

This all-male gathering implies an almost exclusively male repertoire was performed on this occasion: instrumental chamber music and concertos, with songs. His entry of Thursday, 10 September 1761, describes the largest of his concerts:

This afternoon Governor Dawson, a merchant of great eminence in London, one Mr Wilson, Captain Smith, and Ensign Harding of Colonel Duncombes Militia now here, Ensign Smith of East Riding Militia, Mr Raguenau and his family, Mrs Dawson and Misses and Miss Belt drank tea with us, and we had a little concert, vizt: Voice — Miss Raguenau; First fiddle — Mr Smith; Second — Master Raguenau; Violincello — Mr De Montet; Mandolina — Miss Marianne Raguenau; Harpsichord, Thor[ough] Bass — John Courtney.¹⁸⁴

The implications here are that there were at least fourteen people present at this gathering, maybe up to seventeen presuming Courtney's mother and children were present:

Performers:

Voice: Miss Raguenau

First Violin: Mr Smith

Second Violin: Master Raguenau

Violincello: Mr De Montet

Mandolin: Miss Marianne Raguenau

Harpsichord: John Courtney

Audience: Governor Dawson, Mr Wilson, Captain Smith, Ensign Harding, Mr Raguenau and his family, Mrs Dawson and Misses and Miss Belt.

¹⁸³ Neave and Neave, 2001, p. 33.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

It is clear to see that the gender stereotypes of the day were being conformed to: the unmarried women singing and playing plucked stringed instruments (in this case, the mandolin), and the men playing stringed instruments. Courtney himself played the harpsichord, which may be seen as unusual (the chances that any of the women present at their gathering could play are high), but he is careful to indicate that his role was ‘Thor Bass’ rather than soloist, the basso continuo part rarely being taken by women. With this line-up we cannot narrow down the repertoire too much, as they would have been able to perform trio sonatas, concerti grossi (without the viola part), most vocal repertoire and more flexibly-scored music such as dances or Scottish songs.

The extent of concert life in John Courtney’s Beverley shows that private music-making of this kind was normal. The reports of concerts that Courtney attended at the houses of others are not nearly as descriptive as those he hosted. Often Courtney’s music-making was with two or three of his friends, or occasionally he is treated to a musical performance by the daughter of an acquaintance (clearly part of courtship). Indeed, it is likely that the only reason larger parties of music did not seem to take place within his or others’ houses is the issue of space. In 1762, Beverley acquired new Assembly Rooms, and Courtney was involved early with the establishment of a subscription concert series.¹⁸⁵ The first of these took place on Friday, 19 February 1762, with twenty-six subscribers present.¹⁸⁶ With this scenario – of a subscription concert taking place in a public venue clearly arising from music-making in a more private context – we can see clear links between private music-making and the establishment of amateur music societies. It is likely that other musical societies at this time came about after formalizing what had already taken place in private houses.

¹⁸⁵ A P Baggs, L M Brown, G C F Forster, I Hall, R E Horrox, G H R Kent, and D Neave. ‘Beverley, 1700-1835: Social Life and Conditions’, *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 6, the Borough and Liberties of Beverley*. Ed. K J Allison. London: Victoria County History, 1989. 131–135. *British History Online*. Web. 1 November 2018. <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/east/vol6/pp.131-135>> [accessed 30 November 2017].

¹⁸⁶ Neave and Neave, 2001, p. 52. Courtney had refused to loan his harpsichord for this concert just two days before it was due to take place.

What these general examples show is that music-making in the country house was not always confined to a close circle of family members, or that it took place solely within the country house itself. Indeed, as an important social activity, music-making served an important function in uniting friends, family and acquaintances, both in the home and elsewhere. The presence of professionals in this ‘private’ music-making adds yet another strand to the complexity of the society scenario. The following section first investigates examples of professional musicians visiting the houses of Midlands nobility and gentry, before looking in depth at the scenarios of specific families.

4.2. Visiting Teacher-Performers.

From Twining’s description of playing alongside the well-known harpsichordist Martha Greateorex, it is not clear whom Greateorex was teaching, or whether she was paid for her music-making with Twining. However, this example illustrates that such professionals were not averse to performing in private when they were engaged to teach. Many of the Midlands families investigated as part of this study are known to have employed music teachers. In the majority of these cases, evidence suggests they also participated in music-making at the houses of their pupils. We can safely assume that Martha Greateorex, who at this time (1792) was the organist of St. Martin’s Church (now Cathedral), Leicester, was visiting Cotesbach to teach. It is likely, therefore, that Twining was invited to Cotesbach specifically due to the presence of Greateorex, as perhaps were also a number of other acquaintances of her client.

In chapter 2 we saw that in many of the numerous examples of visiting music tutors, their services included making music with the family members. For example, Elizabeth Dolman’s letters to her uncle William Shenstone in the 1750s strongly suggests that Barnabas Gunn’s visits to the Dolman family included music-making as well as instruction.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ See section 2.2.2.

From surviving bills associated with various families discussed in the previous chapters, we have seen the regularity of musicians' visits to country houses and how far they were prepared to travel. Distances of six-to-eight miles were not so unusual outside London, and in most cases, musicians attended from the nearest town big enough to host a professional musician: Northampton to Althorp (the Spencers), Worcester to Hanbury (the Vernons), and Worcester to Croome (the Coventrys). These provincial musicians exclusively taught women the keyboard and singing. Male instruments were served by London musicians such as James Cervetto.

4.2.2. James Cervetto.

Cervetto's activities as a teacher have been discussed in chapter 2. As the teacher of Sir Henry Gough, 2nd baronet, Earl Spencer in the early 1770s, and Henry Simpson Bridgeman in the late 1770s and early 1780s, it is likely that he took part in music-making within these families. Table 2.10 showed that Henry Gough had frequent and numerous lessons with Cervetto during his residence in London between 1770 and 1774. Although there is no specific evidence that the two made music together on these occasions, Henry Gough's account book entries are unclear enough for it to be possible that the meetings may have included general music-making. Indeed, the lines between teaching and performing with a pupil must have been somewhat blurred: iconography is not helpful when it comes to portraying cello lessons (a gentleman or nobleman being taught was not the subject of a portrait), and whilst most paintings of ladies being taught the harpsichord, piano or guitar portray the music tutor as standing away from the keyboard, it is unlikely that a string-playing tutor would assume a similar, removed position and not use his instrument in the teaching process.

The repertoire for cello at this time certainly lends itself to performance by pupil and tutor. In the Weston Park music collection, numerous pieces for two cellos as duet or as an accompanied soloist would have been ideal for such a teaching scenario. Henry Gough's brief note 'Cervetto' in his account books may indicate that he received lessons, played cello duets with his music master, or that he hosted a musical party with friends and acquaintances with Cervetto as the professional, star attraction.

James Cervetto's music features prominently in the music collection at Weston Park. Both printed and manuscript pieces that belonged to Henry Simpson Bridgeman survive and are itemised in the Weston Park Music Collection catalogued in Volume 2 of this thesis, appendix 7. In chapter 3, I described these pieces in the context of Henry's musical tastes, which proved that he was eager for new cello repertoire. Unfortunately, there is no corroborating evidence of Henry's musical activities; no account books or diaries that give a hint as to his teacher. Yet the existence of a previously unknown sonatina for two cellos in Cervetto's own hand strongly suggests that Henry received lessons from Cervetto and that the sonatina was written for him.¹⁸⁸ The technical demands of this sonatina, written with Henry in mind, and the other manuscript cello works shows that he was a very accomplished performer. Even if we were to assume that Henry only played the basso continuo part in the more challenging cello sonatas found in the collection, the remaining fourteen works for duet, which make equal demands on the two cellists, suggest that Henry really was an excellent player. Furthermore, his duet partner had to be equally accomplished, pointing to Cervetto himself being one likely duo partner in this music-making scenario. House inventories from this time, discussed in detail below in section 4.6.3, only ever list one cello at Weston Park, suggesting that only Henry Simpson Bridgeman played that instrument at the house and thus had to rely on visiting acquaintances to play his cello repertoire or wait for a lesson with Cervetto in London.

James Cervetto was also the teacher of John, first Earl Spencer, as discussed in section 2.3.6. In 1773, both James and his father, Giacobbe, were paid to be in attendance at the Spencer country home in Althorp for sixty-two days. This extraordinary length of time to be in employment almost certainly did not require the two to be present in Althorp for the whole period: it is much more likely that the arrangement allowed Earl Spencer a degree of exclusivity on Cervetto and son, and may have involved attendance at the family's London residences in Wimbledon and St James's. London newspapers reveal that James was named as a soloist in just one concert in 1773; a benefit concert for a Mrs Evans at Mr Hickford's room on March 15 where he appeared alongside Vauxhall Gardens veteran Frederika Weichsel, Thomas Linley

¹⁸⁸ Catalogued in Volume 2 as WP 20. This sonatina is similar in style and form to James Cervetto's *Twelve Sonatinas for a Violoncello and a Bass*, op 4, (London: 1781).

and Thomas Vincent.¹⁸⁹ This single appearance, compared to the sixteen appearances as a soloist in 1775, seems to corroborate that his professional activities were limited by the commitment to Earl Spencer.

4.3. Henry Cecil of Hanbury Hall, later 10th Earl of Exeter, of Burghley House.

Henry Cecil's uncle, the 9th Earl was a cellist, and it is likely that the two played together during the years before Henry's marriage to Emma in 1773. As discussed in section 2.3.2, Henry's wife received harpsichord tuition from Elias Isaac, organist of Worcester Cathedral, and once married continued to be active in music-making. Although we have no records of Henry's tuition, he was evidently a proficient musician, to judge by the technically demanding music of the printed items that bear his name in the Burghley House Music Collection.¹⁹⁰ Henry was the heir presumptive to his uncle and was sent to Burghley House when still a young child. Some documentary evidence exists of music-making during Henry's formative years, in the large collection of music at Burghley House. The music in the collection that bears Henry's name (discussed in section 3.2.6) indicates that he played a stringed instrument and focused his attention on chamber music genres. It may be possible that, that like his uncle, Henry played the cello, or perhaps violin. No surviving bills for music lessons exist at Burghley from Henry's time, but evidence of music-making in the period that Henry inherited the house suggests a highly active musical life in the house.

Before his inheritance, however, Henry's situation was radically different and far from comfortable. After Henry's wife, Emma, eloped with Rev. William Sneyd in 1789, which eventually resulted in the couple's divorce in 1791, Henry was nearing financial ruin and sold the contents of Hanbury Hall at a public auction. The sale took place

¹⁸⁹ Simon McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750-1800*, database, Goldsmiths, University of London (accessed: 11 February 2016).

¹⁹⁰ Gifford. See section 3.2.1 for a detailed discussion of the Burghley House music collection.

over eight days in September and October 1790. The surviving printed sale catalogue includes a number of instruments and other music-related items, extracted in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Hanbury Hall musical items sold at auction, 1791.¹⁹¹

On p. 43 (<i>Sixth Day's Sale</i>, listed under 'No. XLI. Hall and Stair-case')	
Lot 92	'Exceeding handsome brass pillar musick stand, with sconces'
Lot 97	'Mahogany musick desk, a cherry tree reading ditto [desk]'
On p. 50 (<i>Seventh Day's Sale</i>) No. XLVI Breakfast Parlour.	
Lot 65	'Mahogany screw musick stool, leather seat, brass nailed'
Lot 66	'Mahogany large music stand, small ditto'
On p. 56 (<i>Eighth Day's Sale</i>, listed under No. LI 'Passage to Library')	
Lot 54	'An exceeding fine toned violoncello and case'
Lot 55	'A ditto ditto'
Lot 56	'One tenor and violin'
Lot 57	'Hautboy'
Lot 58	'Elegant guitarr and case, by <i>Clause</i> and Co. London'
Lot 59	'A Ditto'

Henry's own instrument (assuming he parted with it along with the rest of the contents of the house) was probably Lot 54: 'An exceeding fine toned violoncello and case'. It is perhaps surprising, therefore, to see a further cello listed, along with a violin, viola and oboe – instruments not connected with Henry or Emma. It is unlikely that a gentleman amateur wanted to be proficient on more than one instrument: therefore, these are presumably instruments reserved for musical house visitors. Would amateurs be fussy enough to always insist on playing their own instrument, which they would need to take with them for when suitable occasion arises? If so, music-making would need to have been organised well in advance of visiting friends. It is possible that the existence of these spare instruments in country houses is evidence for the more formal activities of a musical society, rather than just symptoms of music-making between family and friends.

¹⁹¹ WAAS, 705:7/3/ii/3. 'Catalogue of the household furniture, pictures, prints, and other effects of the Hon. Henry Cecil'. Printed, 1790.

In one case, it is possible to pinpoint the dates an instrument was used. The ‘English Guittar’ maker Clause (or Claus) arrived in England some time before 1783, and the earliest surviving instruments date from this year onwards.¹⁹² It is likely, therefore, that this instrument (Lot 58) was purchased for Emma Vernon to play. There is no guitar music in the collection at Burghley, which suggests that this instrument and the music associated with it was solely Emma’s concern, and that she left the instrument after her elopement with Rev. Sneyd.

Most of the music ascribed to Henry in the Burghley House collection was purchased during his years of marriage, when he was living at Hanbury. Henry and Emma had no children surviving infancy, so we know that any music activities in the house involving visiting musicians after the couple married was solely for the couple’s own amusement rather than for the tuition of children.

In December 1793, Henry’s uncle, Brownlow Cecil, 9th Earl of Exeter, died, and Henry inherited the vast Cecil estates, moving to Burghley House with second wife Sarah and his young family. Documents in the Burghley archives relating to music from the 1780s and 1790s reveal that the house saw much music-making. As this period includes the last ten years of the 9th Earl’s life, and the first few years of Henry’s residence at Burghley, we can easily compare the musical activities of the house under the two earls. Table 4.2 presents various bills relating to music performances at Burghley from 1784 to 1796:

Table 4.2. Payments to Musicians at Burghley House, 1784–96.

Date	Description	Sum
[Oct] 1784	‘Cha[rle]s Rogers for attending concert at Burghley and tuning harpsichord’	£7.1.0
18 Jan. 1785	‘Cha[rle]s Rogers and others attending balls and concerts at Burghley’	£13.0.0

¹⁹² Panagiotis Pouloupoulos, ‘The Guittar in the British Isles, 1750-1810’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Edinburgh, 2011), p. 573.

14 Oct. 1785	‘Charles Rogers and others for tuneing of harpsichords and attending concerts at Burghley when the Musick Company was there in August’	£18.14.6
17 Feb. 1786	‘Cha[rle]s Rogers and others for attending concerts and balls at Burghley in full’	£13.13.0
17 Feb. 1786	‘Ditto for Musick paper and for tuneing harpsichords’	£2.13.6
22 May 1787	‘Cha[rle]s Rogers attending balls and concerts at Burghley and for tuning the harpsichord and piano forte thirteen times’	£23.14.6
10 Dec. 1787	‘Cha[rle]s Rogers and others for attending Balls and concerts at Burghley in full’	£10.16.6
5 Aug. 1788	‘Benjamin Christian for paying Mr Rouse for tuneing the organ at Burghley’ ¹⁹³	£2.2.0
14 Feb. 1789	‘Cha[rle]s Rogers and others attending balls and concerts at Burghley in full’	£25.16.0
23 Mar. 1790	‘Ditto for balls and concerts at Burghley’	£14.10.0
3 Dec. 1790	‘Robert and William Gray for a new organ etc and putting up at Burghley (£50 paid by his Lordship)’ ¹⁹⁴	£74.9.10
10 Mar. 1791	‘Charles Rogers tuning harpsichords, Piano Forte etc etc for strings for same and for him and others at concerts etc at Burghley in full’	£14.1.0
16 Jan. 1792	‘Benjamin Christian for binding 21 vols of music’	£5.5.0
10 Jan. 1793	‘Messrs Schram’s Musicians for attending at Burghley 8 weeks and travelling expenses from London and back’	£59.17.0
21 Jan. 1793	‘Charles Rogers, musician, attending balls and concerts at Burghley in full’	£12.2.0
22 Mar. 1794	‘Charles Rogers attending concerts at Burghley and subs to concerts and assembly at S[tamford]’	£4.14.0
22 Mar. 1794	‘L[or]d Sandys, the late Earl’s sub to the Opera House’	£52.10.0
7 Jun. 1794	‘F[rancis]. Sharpe attending concerts at Burghley’	£0.10.0

¹⁹³ Mr Rouse is probably John Rouse, active from this time until at least 1808, and maybe related to the firm R. W. Rouse, active *c.* 1847–93.

¹⁹⁴ This instrument is currently located in the Burghley House Chapel. The case is harpsichord style; the label reads: ‘Robert and William Gray / New Road Portland Road London 1790’.

11 Nov. 1794	‘Sub[cription] to the new musical fund’	£1.1.0
2 Jul. 1796	‘Cha[rle]s Rogers for music on Lord Burghley’s birthday’	£1.11.6
27 Jul. 1796	‘[Ditto], musician’	£3.8.0

The table reveals a great number of occasions when visiting musicians attended the house. Although the descriptions are brief, most reveal enough to speculate what went on at Burghley. The name Charles Rogers appears most frequently in these accounts; thirteen times between 1784 and 1796. Rogers was a musician living in Stamford who is known to have promoted annual subscription balls and concerts at the Town Hall from at least 1780, and was one of the directors of the Stamford Grand Musical Festival in 1803.¹⁹⁵ Francis Sharp, who was engaged at Burghley first in 1794, was also a Stamford resident who promoted concerts at this time.¹⁹⁶ Both Rogers and Sharp, local musicians, attended the Cecil family at Burghley for concerts and music-making with some regularity, whereas the Schram brothers of London were engaged on a seemingly more regular basis, likely to have been for a visit longer than one day. Charles Rogers’ bills imply that he attended the family on more than one occasion for each of the bills (‘concerts’) and brought with him several other musicians. Whereas their attendance at Balls implied that these professional musicians were performing without the involvement of gentry amateurs, the ‘concerts’ may have been the semi-private events at which professionals and amateurs made music together. Information gleaned from diaries or appointment books may show that Rogers and other professionals were part of the private music-making or more public events hosted by the earls. Indeed, it seems curious that no evidence of a musical society in Stamford has come to light, suggesting that Burghley House may have hosted such an organization, the responsibility falling to the earls. The presence of numerous collections of ‘concertos in seven parts’, overtures and other concertos in the Burghley House music collection would point to the family hosting larger musical parties, possibly under the guise of a music society.

¹⁹⁵ *BWJ*, Monday, 8 July 1803.

¹⁹⁶ See appendix 1, Rutland.

The Schram musicians listed in January 1793 as ‘attending at Burghley 8 weeks’ were residents of London at least as early as 1790, when they were listed in Doane’s *A musical directory for the year 1794*.¹⁹⁷ If we compare this to Francis Hackwood’s bill of 1783 to Henry Bridgeman, in which he charges thirteen weeks attendance for £27:6:0. (two guineas per week), then it is probable that the three Schram brothers also charged two guineas per week – a total of £50.8.0, leaving nine guineas (£9.9.0) for travelling expenses and/or other related activities. As with the case of Frances Hackwood attending the Bridgeman family at Weston Park, it is difficult to gauge the extent of the Schrams’ activities whilst at Burghley House. There are no records showing the precise events that the Schrams took part in, or even how many times they were required to perform each week. It is likely that the residency took place out of the season, when it was more likely that the 10th Earl was not required to sit in the House of Lords, and when musicians were less fully employed in the capital’s theatres and pleasure gardens.

Music-making at Burghley also took place during the intervening time, albeit on a more private scale, as the household bills show that the harpsichord, organ and piano forte were tuned regularly. Charles Rogers’ bill dated 22 May 1787 reveals he had attended Burghley House on thirteen separate occasions for tuning the harpsichord and piano-forte. Presuming that these thirteen occasions were subsequent to the date of Rogers’ previous bill (17 February 1786), the average number of visits was once every week.

¹⁹⁷ Doane’s listing for the Schram brothers indicates ‘Schram, M. *Violin*, Con[cert of Ancient Music], Oper, Abb[ey = Westminster, grand Performances in]’. lived at ‘No. 20, *Panton-St. Haymarket*.’; and ‘Schram, S. *Violin*, Con[cert of Ancient Music], Abb[ey Westminster, grand Performances in]. – Ditto [No. 20, *Panton-St. Haymarket*.]; Schram, *Violoncello*, Acad, Con[cert of Ancient Music], Oper[a = Haymarket Theatre]. No. 7, *Half Moon-Street, Piccadilly*.

4.4. Sanderson Miller's Circle.

Sanderson Miller was an important figure in the eighteenth century, chiefly remembered today for his contribution to architecture and landscape design. His social activities included meeting and making music with prominent members of the nobility, and so Miller is an interesting case in the present study as a gentleman whose networks included the nobility. He was born in 1716 at Radway, a village on the Oxfordshire and Warwickshire border a few miles north-west of Banbury. His parents were lesser gentry (probably merchants or land-owners) but like Lancelot 'Capability' Brown, Miller became sought after by landed class because of his skill and progressive ideas (Brown, inventing the English estate garden, Miller at the forefront of the Gothic revival). Miller's surviving diaries, from 1749–50 and 1756–57, are held at the Warwickshire record office.¹⁹⁸ As well as being of interest to historians of architectural and garden design, his diaries contain many references to music-making, and are thus of significance when looking at the circumstances surrounding domestic music-making in the mid-to-late eighteenth century. Miller played the flute and often made music with friends and family at his own home, in the folly he constructed to the south of Radway village and in the houses of family and friends. As far as we can tell from his diaries, he did not take part in more formal musical activities such as public musical meetings or music societies.

Miller's musical circle included the composer Richard Mudge, whose name occurs throughout the diaries. Mudge is primarily known through his collection of *Six Concertos in seven Parts*, published in London in 1749, Mudge's only published work (although a handful of manuscripts survive). Mudge at this time was rector of Little Packington, a Warwickshire village between Birmingham and Coventry next to the Great Packington estate of the Earls of Aylesford. Lord Guernsey, the future 3rd Earl of Aylesford, Heneage Finch was also a part of Miller's circle and an influential contact, responsible in part for a number of Miller's important commissions in the

¹⁹⁸ William Hawkes (ed.), *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway* (Stratford-upon-Avon, The Dugdale Society, 2005).

county and beyond. Miller's musical acquaintances also included Lord North (1st Earl of Guildford, father of prime minister Lord North), Deane Swift (1746–1815) (great-nephew and biographer of Jonathan Swift), and Sir Edward Turner, 2nd Baronet (1719–66) of Ambrosden, Oxfordshire, and a member of parliament.

Sanderson Miller's activities are described in two typical entries in his diaries from 1749 and 1756:

October 15th 1749

Letters from Mr Lyttelton and the Dean. With workmen. Wrote to Mrs Knight. Miss Legges, Miss North, Mrs Whyle dined here, and Mudge. With workmen at the Mount. Music with John Miller etc. Mr Hoare and his wife went away.

He was joined by four friends for dinner on this occasion and made music with John Miller, (Sanderson's cousin), and one assumes with Miss Legges, Miss North, Mrs Whyle and also Mudge. Many entries show that he made music whilst away from home:

October 13th 1756

Up at 6. With the gardener etc. about the drains etc. Came out at 8 with Mr Mourdaunt and Talbot. Rode to Shenstone's, and walked round the place. Lady Baltimore, who was going to Trentham, stopped to see the cascades with us. Rained great part of the way to Birmingham. Went to Mr Mudge's and Mr Smith's. Mudge went with in to the Castle. Dined there. Rain. Got a post-chaise and went with Talbot to Warwick in four and a half hours. Went into the new Hall, where the assizes were held the first time. Conversation with Sir Charles Morduant.

Here we can see the somewhat hectic schedule Miller sometimes kept: a trip of forty miles to William Shenstone's house, *Leasowes* in Halesowen, in the morning (where he was advising); eight miles into Birmingham where he met Richard Mudge (who, by this time, was also serving as the curate of St Bartholemew's, the now demolished chapel of ease for St Martin in the Bull Ring); in the afternoon travelled to Warwick to

see the new Shire Hall, for which he was the architect. Carrying his flute would not have been a significant extra burden on such a trip; indeed, it is tempting to suggest that he rarely left his house without it.

Drawing upon the numerous surviving letters written to Sanderson Miller, we start to see how complex his network was, and how music was a prominent part of his social calendar.¹⁹⁹ In September 1764, Miller and his wife probably attended the Three Choirs Festival in Worcester. Deane Swift wrote to Miller in August 1764 inviting his family to Worcester:

Upon Wednesday, the 5th of September we are to have a most famous Band of Musick at our Cathedral, with Balls and other Amusements until the end of the week. If you and your Lady would be so kind as to partake of this Entertainment, which really will be very magnificent, as the three Choirs of Gloucester, Hereford and this place are to unite upon the Occation, we should be most highly obliged to you for your Company[...].

Letters from Lord North suggest they made music together, Miller playing the flute. North lived at Wroxton Abbey, a mere six miles distance from Miller's house at Radway. In a letter of Sunday, October 8 1749 reports that Miller was 'inclined to be so obliging as to bring your flute when Mr. Barham comes here on Tuesday, and pass the evening with us.'²⁰⁰

It is unknown which instrument Lord North played. Miller evidently attended oratorio performances in London, apparently missing the first performance of Handel's *Susanna* in 1748, but probably attending *Solomon*, as a letter from Sir Edward Turner suggests:

¹⁹⁹ Lilian Dickins and Mary Stanton (eds), *An Eighteenth-Century Correspondence, Being the Letters of Deane Swift, Pitt, The Lytteltons and the Grenvilles ... and Others to Sanderson Miller, esq., of Radway* (London: John Murray, 1910).

²⁰⁰ William Hawkes (ed.), *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway* (Stratford-upon-Avon, The Dugdale Society, 2005).

Will not the sedate Raptures of Oratorical Harmony attract hither an Admirer of the sublime in music? Why was not *Susannah* attended by the Elder of Radway? *Solomon* is the next new piece (for so Guernsey informs us, and Handell always verifies the Prophecys of Guernsey) that will be exhibited.²⁰¹ Glorious Entertainment! Divine Efficacy of Music!²⁰²

Heneage Finch, Lord Guernsey (later the 3rd Earl of Aylesford), corresponded with Miller frequently from the period of the first diaries, and there are a number of references to music-making which reveal both the role music had in Miller and Lord Guernsey's friendship, and the important role Richard Mudge took in the musical network. Lord Guernsey wrote to Miller on 3 December 1752, saying that:

[...] Musick is now banished from Packington, Mudge has been here but once since we came from London to stay above a night, & only once in that way, so that I have now no opportunity of that sort of Entertainment.

Richard Mudge's involvement with Miller and the Aylesfords lasted until 1756, the year in which Mudge became the rector of Bedworth. The dozen or so references to Mudge during these years do not always indicate that they made music together, but that Mudge was clearly part of a wider circle of acquaintances for which music was important. This network included locals and family such as:

- Edward Hughes (1751–1802) vicar of Radway and Ratley, who played the flute.²⁰³
- Miller's cousin, John.²⁰⁴
- Lord North (Francis North, 1st Earl of Guilford) of Wroxton Abbey,

²⁰¹ Lord Guernsey, Heneage Finch, 3rd Earl of Aylesford.

²⁰² Letter from Sir Edward Turner to Sanderson Miller, February 2, 1748. Lord Guernsey, Heneage Finch, future 3rd Earl of Aylesford, 1715–77.

²⁰³ William Hawkes (ed.), *The Diaries of Sanderson Miller of Radway* (Stratford-upon-Avon, The Dugdale Society, 2005). Letters, 18th October 1756, 24 December 1756.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., Letters, 5 September 1750, 29 October 1756.

Oxfordshire, five miles south of Radway.

- Sir Charles Morduant, 5th baronet, who resided at Walton, Warwickshire, a distance of seven miles from Radway.
- Mr John Dewes (Sir Charles Morduant's brother-in-law), who lived at Wellesbourne Hall, a distance of eight miles from Miller's Radway house.
- Richard Jago, vicar of Harbury, near Leamington Spa, eight miles from Radway.²⁰⁵
- Richard Hoare of Tackley near Blenheim, twenty miles from Radway.

Miller made music with other acquaintances such as fellow Oxford alumnus John Foster Barham, his legal advisor Charles Talbot, Inner Temple (1745) and Middle Temple (1750); and his brother William Talbot, vicar of Kington.²⁰⁶ Musical acquaintances further afield included:

- Mrs Lyttelton (Elizabeth Rich, George Lyttleton's 2nd wife), of Hagley Hall.²⁰⁷
- Lady Carlisle (Isabella Byron, wife of Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle).²⁰⁸
- Colonel Henry Seymour Conway.²⁰⁹
- Anne and Elizabeth Legge, daughters of Lord North's second wife Elizabeth.²¹⁰

Whilst Miller's letters do not reveal any details of the musical connections with these acquaintances, the variety of people – family, friends and the relative diversity of their social classes – and the differing locations implies that music was an essential part of his social life. To have been involved in music-making with all these people (actively or perhaps passively) suggests music was central to him and to his acquaintances.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., Letter, 12 August 1750.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., Letter, 24 August 1750.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., Letters, 12 August 1750, 20 August 1750.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., Letter, 21st July 1756.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., Letters, 12 August, 20 August, 7 September, 27 September 1750.

²¹⁰ Ibid., Letter, 8 October 1749.

4.5. Sir Samuel Hellier.

Samuel Hellier's circumstances are unique in the current study. He did not marry and therefore had no children, so did not employ visiting music teachers to teach his children or wife to play the harpsichord or to sing. His music collection reflects these circumstances to some degree, thus making a useful comparison between Hellier and other families is harder to make. However, not only was he himself a keen musician, playing violin and harpsichord, but he also purchased music and instruments for the use of his estate and house workers, thereby facilitating music-making and creating his own 'Musicall Band'.²¹¹ He engaged musicians to teach them and put on performances at his house and in the wider community.²¹² These numerous factors have required a discussion of the interlinking aspects in one place rather than in separate sections in the previous three chapters.

Hellier's residence, The Wodehouse, in the Staffordshire Parish of Wombourne situated between Wolverhampton and Stourbridge, is currently owned by distant relatives of Hellier's sole beneficiary, Rev. Thomas Shaw-Hellier, and still houses the family papers dating back to the fifteenth century.²¹³ Among these papers are letters from Sir Samuel Hellier to his estate steward, John Rogers, written between 1766 and 1784, the year of Hellier's death. The letters alone give fascinating insights into the workings of a country estate and Hellier's passions for his garden, house and music. In the case of music, his letters have been of secondary importance in previous studies of the large collection of musical instruments (now on permanent loan to Edinburgh University Collection of Historical Musical Instruments) and a collection of printed and manuscript music (deposited at the University of Birmingham's Special Collections). Studies of Hellier's musical instruments have been carried out by Frew

²¹¹ For a discussion of servants being encouraged to learn instruments for the benefit of the gentry employers see Roz Southey, 'Gentry, Servants and Musicians: A Network of Subscribers in North-East England', in Simon Fleming and Martin Perkins (Eds.), *Music by Subscription: Composers and their Networks in the British Music-Publishing Trade, 1676-1820* (London: Routledge, forthcoming, 2021).

²¹² Hellier to Rogers, 29 June 1769.

²¹³ Original spelling 'Woodhouse'.

and Myers, most extensively in ‘Sir Samuel Hellier’s “Musicall Instruments”’, in which the letters are used to authenticate the surviving instruments and shed light on how Hellier went about procuring them.²¹⁴ Hellier’s other chief passion – gardening – is examined in considerable detail by Diane Barre, who studied the letters to reconstruct The Wodehouse garden in the late eighteenth century.²¹⁵ Percy Young’s series of articles exploring Hellier’s music collection focused on the manuscript pieces which were acquired during his degree studies at Oxford and which showed that he was in close connection with Handel copyists.²¹⁶ By using the letters in conjunction with knowledge of his collections of instruments and music, it is possible to gain further insight into the everyday music-making that went on at The Wodehouse, the connections Hellier made in London during his active period establishing the band of music, and the contacts made in Worcestershire and surrounding counties in securing teachers, engaging professional performers and liaising with local musicians to enable his ambitions.

4.5.1. Samuel Hellier – The man and his music.

Hellier was orphaned at the age of fourteen and thereafter was looked after by three guardians. He attended Exeter College, Oxford, from 1753, where he studied law.²¹⁷ He was admitted to the Inner Temple the following year and had lodgings by the Temple from this time until his death in 1784, spending his working life in London. Hellier was knighted and created High Sheriff of Worcestershire in 1762 and was created Doctor of Civil Law in 1763.²¹⁸ Despite becoming an orphan at a relatively tender age, Hellier’s father clearly had an influence over his passion for

²¹⁴ Catherine Frew and Arnold Myers (2003) ‘Sir Samuel Hellier’s “Musicall Instruments”’, *Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 56 (June 2003), pp. 6-26.

²¹⁵ Diane Barre, ‘Sir Samuel Hellier (1736–84) and his Garden Buildings: Part of the Midlands ‘Garden Circuit’ in the 1760-70?’ *Garden History*, vol. 36, No. 2 (Winter 2008), pp. 310-27.

²¹⁶ Percy Young, ‘The Shaw-Hellier Collection’, in *Handel Collections and Their History* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), pp. 158–70.

²¹⁷ Joseph Foster, *Aumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715–1886*, vol. 2 (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1888) p. 642.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

music. The ‘Hellier’ violin by Stradivari was reputedly bought by Hellier’s father directly from the maker during a visit to Cremona. The violin stayed in the collection at The Wodehouse but it was sold some time in the mid-nineteenth century.

Whether as a result of his having no family or despite it, Hellier’s musical activities went much further than participation. No doubt his lack of dependents freed up his capital and time to be spent on philanthropic causes that were centered on ‘his people’, his estate tenants and the residents of the wider Wombourne parish. Hellier’s desire to educate through music and to advance the lives of the lower classes is exemplified in his ‘Band of Musick’, in which he persuaded employees to take part, purchased instruments and sundries for them, arranged performances and established links with regional and London professionals.

His surviving music collection shows that very few items were bound during his lifetime. It is thus clear that he was not just a passive consumer who collected the musical classics of the day for display in his library, although, as Barre has demonstrated, he had lower economic means than his ambition demanded, so the lack of book bindings might have been for simple economic reasons.²¹⁹

A curious fact of Hellier’s situation is that whilst he was clearly passionate about The Wodehouse gardens and music, it is hard to find evidence that he enjoyed living there at all. He was often at odds with his neighbours and the Wombourne parishioners: in 1763 he referred to his part of the country as being ‘divested of all society at least what is rational’, going on to explain to his estate manager ‘I cannot associate with the Rusticks and of all other kinds is out of the question’.²²⁰ In 1781 he wrote ‘I have so very little Comfort of being down there [Wombourne] and being so ill used, & my Things stole from me I almost determine never to come into the Country any more’.²²¹

Although his inheritance and income were modest, Hellier had clear ambitions that

²¹⁹ Barre, 2008, pp. 310-27.

²²⁰ Hellier to Thomas Hatrell, 11 April 1763, quoted in Barre, 2008.

²²¹ Hellier to Rogers, 7 May 1781.

The Wodehouse could rival the estates of the neighbouring nobility and gentry. This is particularly the case with his garden, which at times he prohibited certain people from visiting, whilst actively encouraging others. Being absent from the country for much of the year (seemingly more so than other members of the nobility), Hellier sometimes had to receive visitors by proxy. The following letter, for example, illustrates his eagerness to show off his gardens to his landed neighbours:

John. I wrote to you by Last nights Post with Positive order's not to let the Wood be shewn to any body w[hat]ever - I have by to Days Post rec[eive]d a Letter from ye old Lady²²² intimating her Concern t[ha]t L[or]d Stamford did not see it & t[ha]t He had wrote to him desiring he w[oul]d come over again to see it. - Now I desire you w[oul]d take one of my Horses immediately upon receiving this & go over ^ Directly do not delay it ^ same morning to Envill ask to see L[or]d Stamford & Present my Complim[en]ts to his Lordship ^ t[h]at you had just rec[eive]d a letter from me that ^ I am Extremely Concern'd he was refused a Sight of the Wood but t[ha]t it was a general order given by me t[ha]t nobody sh[oul]d see it in my absence & t[ha]t the Servants not knowing who his Lordship was Occasion'd the blunder.²²³

The Lord Stamford referred to by Hellier was George Grey, 5th Earl of Stamford of Enville Hall, a large country house at a distance of seven miles southwest of The Wodehouse. In terms of his status in the county, Hellier was not a high-ranking gentleman. His immediate neighbour to the south was Lord Dudley of Himley Hall (heir to the Dudley earldom), and other local important titled landowners included George Lyttleton, 1st Baron Lyttleton at Hagley Hall, both were improving their houses and gardens during this time. Even the poet William Shenstone at The Leasowes near Halesowen, ten miles east of The Wodehouse, was famous for his garden, so it is not surprising to read in Hellier's letters his general concern (almost distress) over what the county gentry and nobility thought of him.²²⁴ The grounds of Enville Hall in the 1780s boasted a grotto, cascades, Gothic gateway and boat-house

²²² Hellier's mother.

²²³ Hellier to Rogers, 25 May 1769.

²²⁴ Barre, 2008.

by the lake, a chapel and other smaller buildings in the grounds, whilst The Leasowes, conceived by William Shenstone in the 1750s, featured *Virgil's Grove*, the *Temple of Pan*, and cascades.²²⁵ Whilst it is clear that his neighbour's gardens were in many ways superior to Hellier's, one might see that his exploits in music were in response to his neighbours cultural exploits.

There is little evidence that Hellier himself made music at The Wodehouse, but a good deal to suggest that he enjoyed music-making while he was in London. In some letters to John Rogers, he asks for specific pieces to be sent down to London, such as Capel Bond's recently published *Six Concertos in Seven Parts*, to which Hellier had subscribed: 'I find some Musick Books were sent by Mr. Eller of Birmingham & given to Mr. Dalton for me[.] I desire they may be immediately got from Dalton & sent [...] as they are much wanted I ought to have had them two months ago'.²²⁶ The story of these particular music books continued for two further weeks. On 14 March he reported to Rogers 'The concertos came safe but I order'd five Setts only 4 came but I know those were all that were sent to you. [...] I wrote to Mr. Bond of Coventry also to Mr. Eller [at] Birmingham & abundance of Plague and trouble I had for it was handed ab[ou]t from one to another (indeed I am always served so) & last of all Dalton had them [...] had they been only for myself I w[oul]d not have cared but Ld. Piggot & Mr. Ward were concern'd'.²²⁷ In this case it seems that the set was to have been a gift or loan for Lord Pigot, who lived nine miles to the north of Hellier in Patshull Hall, almost certainly a fellow musical acquaintance.

Occasionally Hellier's letters to Rogers contain accounts of his concert attendances. In 1773 he wrote 'I have just returned from Oxford where I was very highly Entertained[.] The finest show of nobility & Ladies I almost ever saw and the band of Musick beyond my expectations & the whole most remarkably grand.'²²⁸ Hellier was listed in a newspaper review as one of the prominent attendees at the 1766 Three

²²⁵ Anon., *A companion to the Leasowes, Hagley and Enville; with a sketch of Fisherwick, the seat of the Right Hon. Earl Donegall* (London: 1789).

²²⁶ Hellier to Rogers, 28 February 1767.

²²⁷ Hellier to Rogers, 14 March 1767.

²²⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 12 July 1773.

Choirs Festival at Gloucester that year, and it is likely that he attended meetings at Worcester and Hereford in other years.²²⁹

A New Organ for Wombourne Church

The earliest surviving letters from Hellier to Rogers date from late 1766. They show that at the time Hellier was arranging for an organ to be built for Wombourne parish church, and he was evidently acting as an intermediary between the organ builder, Abraham Adcock, and the church. In fact, it is clear from letters throughout 1767 that Hellier had already purchased an organ from Adcock for his own garden Music Room, erected in 1760.²³⁰ Adcock was more well known throughout the 1750s and 60s as being a virtuoso trumpeter than an organ builder. He took part in the Foundling Hospital *Messiah* performance of 1754,²³¹ and was a regular performer at various festivals in the Midlands.²³² In December 1766 Hellier wrote to Rogers having just visited Adcock's workshop: 'He has drawn a [...] Grand Gothic Arch which will inclose the organ [...] and be truly magnificent'.²³³ He later described the instrument in more detail as having:

Fine ivory keys. The stops which it will contain are on the Loud or Full organ as follows (Vizt.) Stop't Diapason, Open Diapason, Principle, Cornet, Sesquialtra Bass, Trumpet throughout; Soft Organ, Stop't Diapason, and Principle. The Cornet will be a lively one as it is the stop constantly used when a psalm is given out, and then when they begin to sing, the Full organ all the stops.²³⁴

²²⁹ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Saturday, 20 September 1766. A report on the Three Choirs Festival lists nobility and gentry present, including Hellier.

²³⁰ Barre, 2008, p. 132.

²³¹ Otto E. Deutsch: *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955), pp. 750-51.

²³² For example, on 18 September 1759 in a concert organized by Capel Bond 'A Concerto on the Trumpet by Mr. Adcock' (*ABG*, Friday, 27 August 1759); he appeared at every Three Choirs Festival between 1758 and 1764.

²³³ Hellier to Rogers, 25 December 1766.

²³⁴ Hellier to Rogers, 11 January 1767.

He encouraged John Rogers to practise so that he could play the organ when it was to be installed, by Easter 1767, and for a performance later on that year. We know that John was not an experienced organist, since letters throughout this year include numerous requests for him to practice: 'With regard to the Organ, it will be now got ready Directly, and in Passion week will bring it down and fit it in Wombourn Church [...]'.²³⁵ It would appear that Adcock had already started making the organ by early January 1767, and was due to finish it in time for the start of Holy Week (April 19), but, as he continues, it is evident that a Faculty had not yet been sought: 'In the meantime I desire you would speak to Lawyers Banton or Lombard to have the Faculty got ready out of Lichfield Court to give by Leave to Erect it, or we shall wait for it, so Pray, hasten it now'.²³⁶

The granting of a Faculty from the ecclesiastical consistory courts to approve constructions and alterations to churches was by no means a certainty, so Hellier was taking a risk to have delayed this application before commissioning Adcock to build the organ. Further evidence of Hellier's impatience overriding normal procedure can be seen in later passages in this same letter, revealing that Adcock had not even been given specific measurements for the new instrument:

Both yourself & Mr Jordon mention the Organ standing against the steeple, but both of you forget to send the dimensions and height [...] 'Tis Indifferent to me what part of the church it stands in, - if placed quite right, it should stand in the arch of the Chancel but so as we have it in the Church it's no matter where it's fixed, Tho[ugh] Mr. Honeybourne's Objections²³⁷ have no sort of weight, for The Great Organ in the Cathedral at Canterbury is placed Sideways & so is the Organ in St John's College Oxford & 20 other Places.²³⁸

By comparing the Wombourne parish church to the chapel of St John's College,

²³⁵ Hellier to Rogers, 3 January 1767.

²³⁶ Hellier to Rogers, 19 April 1767.

²³⁷ Rev. Honeybourne, vicar of Wombourne.

²³⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 19 April 1767.

Oxford, or to Canterbury Cathedral, shows Hellier striving for the very best (a trait that appears throughout the letters). Given his financial circumstances, it also suggests that he had ideas of grandeur beyond his means.

The last segment in this letter concerning the organ continues: '[...] Pray take Care to be Perfect in the playing of the Te Deum, Messiah, etc, as we shall call upon you to perform Easter Monday or in the week after the opening of the organ, & Remember to get every Person's name down & what he Subscribes towards the organ'.²³⁹ It is clear that Hellier was also dealing with the financing of the organ, which was done in a usual manner – by public subscription. Here we also have the first mention of Rogers acting as organist for a specific performance, which will be discussed below.

Adcock suffered ill health during this time and the resulting delays to the organ meant that it was not ready for Easter 1767 as Hellier had first envisaged. 'Now I must unavoidably Disappoint you for unexpected business detaining me here so that I cannot be with you at Easter nor can you have the Organ so soon for Poor Mr. Adcock is Confined to His Room with a severe Fit of the Gout'.²⁴⁰ When the organ was nearing completion, Hellier visited Adcock again to hear the instrument, describing it to Rogers: 'Tis a noble chorus and the Diapasons speak free & fine [...]'.²⁴¹ In letters dating 21 and 28 April, Hellier discusses with Rogers with the fine details of transporting and installing the organ, which was to take Adcock eight days. Even at this late stage, Hellier's mind was not yet fixed regarding the organ's first official performance:

As Mr adcock is Down suppose we Raise Ten Instrumental Performers & Do Te Deum Jubilate & Coro[natio]n anthem[. If] you may keep your People in Practice we can do it & Mr. adcocks Trumpet w[i]th the full Organ will be very great.²⁴²

²³⁹ Hellier to Rogers, 19 April 1767.

²⁴⁰ Hellier to Rogers, 7 April 1767.

²⁴¹ Hellier to Rogers, 21st April 1767.

²⁴² Hellier to Rogers, 28 April 1767.

It is unlikely that this inaugural performance took place in May 1767, immediately after Adcock installed the organ. Hellier's next letter, written on 21 May after his return to London continues with matters of the first performance as if nothing had thus far happened, and he continues with planning on and off until the performance eventually took place the following year.

But the organ matters were certainly not settled by the time of the inaugural concert in 1768: five years later, in a letter of 21 May 1772, Hellier writes: 'I beg of you to hurry ye organ money - Adcock will be quite outrageous, so shall Expect it in a very few Day's'.²⁴³ The following April the organ is still not paid for, and judging from Hellier's letter to Rogers, Adcock had taken legal steps to retrieve the money from Hellier:

Notwithstanding that Every Effort has been made in receiving the money, & writing to that vile Scoundrel, that Base Ungrateful Wretch Adcock; yet, this very morning he had the affrontery to serve me again with a Copy of a Writt for Wombourne Organ. I'll spend a 1000L but I will most severely Trounce him.²⁴⁴

Adcock died a few months later, at the end of 1773, and no more of the matter is discussed in the letters, although the bill was eventually paid to Adcock's widow in 1774.²⁴⁵ The whole affair of the new organ reveals Hellier's impatient character – a recurring trait – and habit of falling out with the villagers, which led him by 1781 to make the previously recounted remark about 'Rusticks'.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Hellier to Rogers, 21 May 1772.

²⁴⁴ Hellier to Rogers, 17 April 1773.

²⁴⁵ A receipt held at The Wodehouse reads: 'Received January 27, 1774, of John Marsh Esqr [Hellier's neighbour] the Sum of fifteen Pounds being Money by him collected of the Parishioners of Wombourn towards paying a Remainder of Money due to my late Husband Mr Abraham Adcock for an Organ by him set up in the parish Church of Wombourn – Received by me Rebecca Sarah Adcock. £15:0:0.

²⁴⁶ See chapter Hellier to Thomas Hatrell, 11 April 1763.

4.5.2. Hellier's Musical People.

Many of the letters Hellier wrote to John Rogers contain references to the musicians in Hellier's Band. Some were evidently known well to Hellier – John Rogers himself and his two brothers Daniel and Samuel, for example – whilst it is clear that others have been recruited by Rogers during Hellier's stay in London and so are not known (at least by name).

Performers in Hellier's Band of Musick identified in his Letters to John Rogers.

- John Rogers (Wodehouse Estate Steward): Organ.
- Daniel Rogers (brother of John): Horn, Trumpet.
- Samuel Rogers senior (brother of John): Oboe, Violin
- Samuel Rogers junior: Spinnet
- Ned Peter: Oboe.
- Master Bowater: Clarinet.
- Jonah Cartwright: Bassoon, Horn

John Rogers

As we have already seen, Hellier intended his estate steward, John Rogers, to play the new organ of Wombourne Church. It is unclear from the letters whether Rogers had any prior experience in playing the organ by the time Hellier was arranging for the organ to be made by Adcock. One clue as to the competency of Rogers' organ playing coming in January 1767:

I believe I shall send Stanley's Voluntaries for ye Organ w[hi]ch if I do you must Practice them. I Propose a Voluntary on the Organ after the Psalms, then sing an anthem or Psalm w[i]th organ before the Communion Service as the Parson goes into his Pulpit[,] & after Church Play the People out that's ye way.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁷ Hellier to Rogers, 15 January 1767.

Three days later, having looked more closely at the Voluntaries, Hellier changed his mind about the suitability of the organ pieces:

I have looked over Stanley's Voluntaries & fear they are too Difficult for you at Pres[en]t so have not sent them But w[oul]d have you apply to Mr. W[illia]m. Bond at W[olver]hampton (as you are to Commence Organ Soon) & have him to write you Down Two or Three Easy ones to shew the Trumpet Stop, the Cornet, & the French Horn with is Done by Playing ye. French Horn manner with the Stop & open Diapasons & has a pretty effect. Have sent a Book which I make you a Present off for that Purpose full of Ruled Paper & a new Song which is much admired here.²⁴⁸

At this point, in January 1767, the organ had not even been completed, but it seems likely that Rogers was to practice on Hellier's own chamber organ, housed in the garden Music Room at The Woodhouse. One wonders about the transaction between Rogers and William Bond; would Rogers send the 'Ruled Paper' to Bond with a covering note? Or was he to visit Bond in Wolverhampton? Did Bond expect payment for such a service, which on the face of it seems hardly a specialist job?

By the end of March, Rogers had evidently approached William Bond for the voluntaries and had reported his progress on them to Hellier. Hellier replied on 28 March: 'Am glad you can play the Trumpet Voluntary Mr. Bond gave you, But one will not be enough you must learn several some for the Flute stop, some for French Horns, yet is by Playing in the Horn manner upon the two diapasons only & has a sweet effect.'²⁴⁹ Whether or not Rogers did receive help from Bond (or any other professional organist), it is clear from letters in May and June 1767 that Hellier was becoming concerned about Rogers' ability to play the music: 'I desire you would lose no Time in putting in Practice of Te Deum & the Coronation Anthems, because Summer goes on apace & the Time of Performance approaches'.²⁵⁰ The following month he writes further instructions on this matter: 'You'll observe that this Te Deum

²⁴⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 18 January 1767.

²⁴⁹ Hellier to Rogers, 28 March 1767.

²⁵⁰ Hellier to Rogers, 21 May 1767.

you are now Learning will not do to sing so well by it self, but must have instruments play with the voices, & then it's beyond all the Musick I ever yet heard'.²⁵¹ We might read into these comments that Rogers was expected to gather other members of the band to rehearse the work.

Still, by the July of that year, the enquiries as to Rogers' progress were being made: 'You mention nothing of the Te Deum how it goes on & w[ha]t progress is made. How goes on the Organ can you Play. Has Mr. Adcock wrote yet let me know'.²⁵²

It was not until October of the following year that the organ was installed and inaugurated with the concert that Hellier had planned. An advertisement in the *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* announced:

On Thursday, the 10th October 1768, will be performed at the Parish Church of Wombourn, near Wolverhampton, with Voices and Instruments, the Grand Te Deum, composed by Mr. Handel. And Purcell's Jubilate; Also Part of the Messiah, and a Concerto of the Organ: To conclude with the Coronation Anthem. The principal Vocal and Instrumental Parts by Messrs Price, Saville, Adcock, Clarke, Jones, Chew, Tambourin, &c. The Music to be conducted by Mr. Capel Bond of Coventry. Prayers to begin precisely at Eleven o'Clock. Tickets at Three Shillings each, to be had of Mr. Geast in Dudley, at the Talbot Inn in Stourbridge, of Mr. John Rogers in Wombourn, and of Smith and Bridgewater, Printers, in Wolverhampton.²⁵³

The players listed here include many of the region's leading performers for the Wombourne concert: Thomas Price of Gloucester, James Chew of Worcester and John Saville of Lichfield made regular appearances in provincial music meetings such as the Three Choirs Festival and performances in Birmingham, Coventry and Wolverhampton.²⁵⁴ It should also be noted that Abraham Adcock is listed – a sign

²⁵¹ Hellier to Rogers, 9 June 1767.

²⁵² Hellier to Rogers, 28 July 1767.

²⁵³ *ABG*, Friday, 4 October 1768.

²⁵⁴ See appendix 1 for details of these performers' professional activities.

that his relationship with Hellier had not completely broken down by this point, despite having not received full payment for the organ they were inaugurating. Given the calibre of performers Hellier had assembled, it seems odd that the inexperienced Rogers was to have played such a prominent role, unless it was Hellier's intention all along to include some his Band of Musick. We do not know for certain if Rogers took part in this performance; the absence of letters to Rogers after 4 September suggests Hellier had returned to The Wodehouse, and therefore we do not know if, on hearing Rogers at the organ, Hellier decided to engage the services of a local professional such as William Bond or William Geast, the organist at Dudley.

Hellier's letters in September that year indicate that he had agreed to loan his kettledrums to Geast for a concert on Monday, 5 September, in Dudley Town Hall.²⁵⁵ Geast is not mentioned in the advertisement for this concert, which suggests he was the promoter rather than a prominent performer.²⁵⁶ The advertisement lists 'First Violin by Mr. Clark, of Birmingham', and lists in the repertoire to be performed 'some Songs and Chorusses from Handel's Oratorios', which makes sense of Geast's intention to use timpani for this occasion. A misunderstanding about the date of the concert, which Hellier was expecting to be on Tuesday 6th, led him to write to Rogers with some urgency on Sunday 4 instructing him to take the drums to Dudley in time for the concert:

Mr Geast never so much as hinted t[ha]t he wanted the Drums so how c[oul]d I tell? He only asked me to come [to the performance]. If t[hi]s comes too late you must apologise to him. I depend intirely on his help & assist[an]ce for our music so you must keep him in good humour & please him - for otherwise we cannot have a Perform[an]ce.²⁵⁷

This revealing letter implies that Geast was to have helped Hellier with the Wombourne performance in October. The professional networks implied here are comprehensive, and no doubt Rogers benefited from Hellier's association with two of

²⁵⁵ Hellier to Rogers, 4 September 1768.

²⁵⁶ *ABG*, Friday, 22 August 1768.

²⁵⁷ Hellier to Rogers, 4 September 1768.

the region's organists.

One interesting feature of the letters is the way in which, over time, Hellier becomes less formal with Rogers, and their relationship becomes more like a friendship than that of 'servant and master'. Hellier becomes more forthcoming with personal matters and describes in detail some of the cultural events he has witnessed in London – this is certainly not information which a mere house servant needs to know. On two occasions Hellier planned for Rogers to visit him in London. Writing in February 1769:

I am pleased to hear out of the Country with regard to your Coming to Town. I would have you be here upon Ash Wednesday precisely. ... Then you'll be ready for the Play on Thursday, and the very first Oratorio on Friday, when you will see it in very great Perfection, & the King & Queen & Royal Family all Present.²⁵⁸

Taking his estate manager (a lower status than manservant) to London society events must have caused at least a mild stir. In musical circles there was a certain amount of mixing between the gentry class and professional musicians – provincial performances often 'put up' with gentlemen amateurs filling the ranks of professional orchestras. But the mixing of the classes in the context of attending concerts was rare.

Daniel Rogers

Daniel was John's brother, probably his junior. He was probably the Daniel Rogers who is listed in the Wombourne Parish records as the husband of Sarah and father of Mary who was baptized 13 July 1765.²⁵⁹ The instructions given to Daniel via Hellier's letters to his brother suggest that he is a general worker who is involved with maintaining house and garden, although as Hellier refers to 'old Daniel', or just plain 'Daniel' and well as 'your brother Daniel', there may have been more than one worker of that name. He seems to have been a very accomplished performer on the

²⁵⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 4 February 1769.

²⁵⁹ Wombourne Parish Records, from Private correspondence, March 2015.

horn – so much so that at one point Hellier requests he learn a particular concerto: ‘I w[oul]d have y[ou]r Bro[the]r Learn t[ha]t French Horn Concerto w[hi]ch I gave him in E Flatt’.²⁶⁰ Although the French horn was a more usual brass instrument in orchestras of this time, it was the trumpet that pleased Hellier the most. Although there is no specific mention of trumpeters in 1767, the inaugural performance of the organ required three trumpet parts and, indeed, Hellier’s own manuscript copies of the Coronation Anthems include these three parts.²⁶¹ We cannot tell for certain who played them, but it is likely to have been professionals rather than Daniel Rogers, for a year later Hellier discusses his wish that Daniel start learning the trumpet with Mr Eller, a Birmingham musician who had been visiting The Wodehouse in order to instruct Hellier’s staff :

I do not altogether hold with Mr. Eller about Laying aside Trumpets, so far I am from his Opinion that to be able to Play almost as well as the finest Performer in England, in that Case undoubtedly the Scholar should stick to one Instrument & never Vary. But on the other hand a man may play two & even three Different Instruments & play very agreeably & well too upon each of them & as your Brother has so good an Ear & Taste for the Trumpet & as it’s so glorious an Instrument & so useful & so great a favourite of mine, I cannot consent to his leaving it out. But get Mr. Eller to Teach him to shake &c. [trill] & let him practice both Horn & Trumpet.²⁶²

Evidently, the demand to get Mr Eller to teach Daniel the trumpet did not go down well with him, for a few weeks later Hellier writes: ‘I Do not quite understand Mr. Eller’s backwardness in Teaching your brother the Trumpet, but I know he is adamant. However your Brother may stick to his Horn & towards the end of summer an Opportunity may offer to get him some Instructions for the Trumpet’.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ Hellier to Rogers, 30 April 1772. There are too many horn concertos in the Hellier music collection to make a positive identification of this work.

²⁶¹ Items 127 – 161 in the Shaw-Hellier Collection catalogue (Ledsham, 1999).

²⁶² Hellier to Rogers, 18 March 1769.

²⁶³ Hellier to Rogers, 1 April 1769.

Hellier had his own way later that year and got Daniel Rogers to learn the trumpet after all. Hellier's confidence in Daniel's musical ability paid off, for within a year Daniel was evidently more proficient than 'the old trumpeter who lives in Stafford'.²⁶⁴ In 1770 Daniel was seconded to Hellier's neighbour, John Marsh, who had been appointed High Sheriff of Staffordshire for that year. The High Sheriff's responsibilities included ceremonial duties for which a trumpeter was required. Bearing in mind that Hellier had served as High Sheriff of Worcester in 1762, one gets the sense from these letters that he was overly helpful toward his neighbour as much to earn favour as to keep up with the establishment. In one of the lengthier letters to Rogers, dated of 26 March 1770, Hellier writes about Marsh's imminent appointment:

I suppose Mr. High Sheriff is busy in getting everything ready [...] Pray, send me word what sort of a figure he makes and what gentlemen attend him. If I have time I will send a few easy tunes for your brother to learn before he goes. Half a dozen will serve, with good management, both assizes.²⁶⁵ (He may learn them all in half an hour as well as last year's). Lest he should not be acquainted with what he is to do on this occasion, here follows directions.²⁶⁶

What follows is a lengthy description of the trumpeter's duties, which include playing whilst on horseback to and from the courthouse, memorizing tunes and how to negotiate holding the instrument with ceremonial banner and tassels. The trumpet described earlier, used by Daniel Rogers, is almost certainly the surviving instrument by John Christopher Hofmaster, a German-born maker who settled in London at least by 1751.²⁶⁷

Other performers in Hellier's workforce include John Rogers' other brother, Samuel, who played the violin. It is unclear if he was an absolute beginner at the time he is first

²⁶⁴ Hellier to Rogers, 25 March 1770.

²⁶⁵ Assizes, or the courts of assize, were periodic courts, usually held quarterly, that heard the most serious cases in the county.

²⁶⁶ Hellier to Rogers, 25 March 1770.

²⁶⁷ Frew and Myers, 2003.

mentioned in the letters, but early in 1768 Hellier was in the process of procuring Samuel a new instrument. ‘The Violin he wants [I] shall not forget but as I expect you here in Lent shall send it down by you at your Return’.²⁶⁸ From this statement we have the distinct impression that Hellier’s desires to form a Band were met with enthusiasm. ‘How does your Brother like his Violin?’, writes Hellier in March that year.²⁶⁹ Samuel was still playing in 1770 when Hellier informs John that he has ‘[...] sent an Ivory mute for y[ou]r Bro[the]r Sam’s Violin’. Samuel had a son, who Hellier thought had musical potential: ‘I would fain have you instruct y[ou]r Bro[the]r Sam’s Little Boy or some Boy who has genius on the spinet?’²⁷⁰

References to other specific performers are scarce, and we cannot ascertain who played the cello, viola or double bass in Hellier’s band. Repertoire and instruments are more often discussed in Hellier’s letters, so we see that the band certainly consisted of strings as well as the wind instruments associated with specific people already discussed.

4.5.3. Hellier’s Performances.

The first performance of Hellier’s orchestra was to have been at Easter 1767 to inaugurate the new organ. Owing to Adcock’s ill health the organ was not in fact installed until 10 May, and the proposed concert didn’t take place until the September or October the following year. Hellier’s clear desire to have Handel’s Coronation Anthems, *Dettingen* Te Deum and parts of *Messiah* (a programme which is an exact copy of many Three Choirs or other provincial festival performances at the time) was not fulfilled at the first concert, but by the time of Hellier’s return to London he had clearly rearranged the date of the performance. It appears that Hellier intended there to be further performances along the same lines as his 1768 concert. Evidence in the letters is scarce, but it does suggest that similar events were planned and took place.

One such concert was scheduled for 1769, when Hellier was looking for

²⁶⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 28 January 1768.

²⁶⁹ Hellier to Rogers, 15 March 1768.

²⁷⁰ Hellier to Rogers, 29 June 1769.

reinforcements for his orchestra. He wrote to Rogers:

‘[...] if the Dudley people will heartily join us - which they promised to do (& Let Mr. Jordan be spoke to, to know their final resolution,) - then I will cheerfully go on with our intended musical Performance. But it cannot be had at Easter for it is a Dead time of the year so that we should Loose money by it, and it cannot be had in July, for that’s the Time the grand Musical Meeting at Oxford. It must be in September or not at all’.²⁷¹

The Dudley people Hellier speaks of were probably the members of ‘The Musical Society, and Singers, at St. Edmund’s Church, Dudley, Worcestershire’ who subscribed to John Alcock’s 1771 publication of *Six and Twenty Anthems*.²⁷² No other information on this music society can be found, although no doubt William Geast was involved with this group who associated themselves with the parish church where he was organist. We do not know if Hellier’s musical people helped out at other performances in the region, but it is clear that as time went by the orchestra was getting better and that people were coming to hear them, whether in rehearsal or concert. Hellier was prompted to write to Rogers in March 1769: ‘I beg, they will not Play for anybody (Except Practice) till I hear them myself altogether’, implying that their reputation had resulted in attracting spontaneous audiences in Hellier’s absence.²⁷³

We have no correspondence from Hellier written whilst at The Wodehouse nor any journals or bills, so his day-to-day life in the country remains cloudy. There are few mentions of specific performances, and no details about the practicalities of music-making, such as how often or where they rehearsed. The garden Music Room, constructed before the date of the first letters, was a small, detached building. A surviving drawing by J. Hughes of 1773 shows the building to have internal dimensions no bigger than 16' x 12', which, when the organ is accounted for, would not have left much room for an orchestra unless performances took place with some of

²⁷¹ Hellier to Rogers, 14 February 1769.

²⁷² John Alcock, *Six and Twenty Anthems* (1771).

²⁷³ Hellier to Rogers, 18 March 1769.

the musicians outside.²⁷⁴

A much more likely location for performances is the stable block to the east of the house, constructed in the early 1760s. The two-storey red-brick building was divided into three sections, designed to house horses in the right-hand section and carriages in the middle. The left-hand section is a double-height room approximately 15' by 40'; plenty of room for musicians and audience. It features a gallery which seems to have been big enough for about ten musicians, although at the time of my visit to The Wodehouse this area was inaccessible.

The orchestra's performances were not necessarily to be restricted to the stable or the parish church. Hellier had ambitions that the orchestra would accompany him on his boat: 'Mr. Envill is in Town. He Call'd of me & we Discoursed much on Musick. We intend - if you people will but be diligent & practice hard - to Sail Down the navigation & so on to Bristoll this Summer, with my Boat & all our musical hands &c, &c'.²⁷⁵ It is not clear whether this event took place in the summer of 1770, but musical boat parties are certainly not unknown during this period.²⁷⁶

4.5.4. Hellier's Instruments.

Hellier is very clear about the ownership of the instruments he purchased. He undoubtedly intended some to be loaned to members of the Band, while others he bought for himself only. In some cases, he made a gift of certain instruments to orchestra members.

'I have also sent two hautboy's both exceeding good ones that both w[i]th yr. Brothers name wrote on the paper I make him a Present of to Encourage him & the Reed cane but he must Procure some Reeds to suit his Lips from Mark

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Hellier to Rogers, 4 March 1769.

²⁷⁶ The musical parties held on the *Apollo*, a barge owned by Granville Sharp and his family in the 1770s, is captured in Zoffany's portrait *The Sharp Family*. For a detailed description of this painting see appendix 3.

Beaman at W[olver]Hampton. The other Hautboys I Bo[ugh]t for myself But will Lend it y[ou]r people to learn upon & when I come into the Country will take this myself & make them a Present off an other w[hi]ch I have by me'.²⁷⁷

This almost casual generosity of Hellier may well have been misinterpreted by his musicians, one possible reason for the disappearance of some items. In April 1781, he wrote to Rogers complaining:

I by no mean's am Satisfied with loosing my Flutes out of the Studdy. It never could be Theives that took it for the things could be of no sort of use to any Person but a Musical man & surely none of that Order would be guilty of so great a meanness - However I desire you w[oul]d Diligently search again Every Place you can think of.²⁷⁸

Perhaps as a result of these missing instruments, at some point between early 1768 and 1781, Hellier created a catalogue. This list, and its relevance to the surviving collection of instruments, plus a posthumous inventory made in 1788, has been discussed in detail by Frew and Myers.²⁷⁹ The list may be summarised as follows:

- Strings: 4 Violins, 1 Viola, 3 Cellos, 1 double Bass, 1 Kit²⁸⁰
- Winds: 2 Flutes, 1 Flute, 2 Piccolos, 2 Oboes (January 1767), 2 Clarinets (before January 1768), 3 Bassoons (1 February 1768, another after July 1770), 1 Pipe & Tabor
- Brass: 2 Horns (1 January 1767, 1 March 1767), 3 Trumpets (at least 2 before January 1768, and possibly before December 1766), 1 serpent (April 1768)
- Keyboards: 1 Organ, 1 Harpsichord (before December 1766)
- Percussion: Triangle, Common drum, Tambourine, Kettle drum (before February 1767)

²⁷⁷ Hellier to Rogers, 18 January 1767.

²⁷⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 12 April 1781.

²⁷⁹ Frew and Myers, 2003.

²⁸⁰ A dancing master's violin.

These instruments were purchased by Hellier over a number of years, and it is apparent that he had already purchased some prior to the first surviving letter of December 1766. We cannot rule out the possibility that some workers had their own instruments and that those bought as presents (such as the oboe given to one of Rogers' brothers) are not included in the above list, but this seems unlikely given that Hellier was careful about matching specific instruments with named workers. There are also numerous references to the instruments being kept in the house, as in the following extract from a letter of July 1767:

Do not let any one meddle w[i]th the Organ Except y[ou]r self does it Remain in good Tune. Theres one of the Council Mr. Bearcroft can play charmingly if ye Gentleman Calls Tempt him to play & there is a Violin he can get at.²⁸¹

Was the gentleman Mr Bearcroft to play the violin with Hellier's band in his absence, or perhaps he wanted to play the organ or one of Hellier's violins? Two of the items in Hellier's inventory are described as 'Two Violins in a Mahogany Case. Foreign. [One by Nicolas Amatus Cremonen: 1646. Antonius Stradiuarius Cremonensis 1679.]', the latter being the instrument which Hellier's father had purchased 'about the year 1734, from the maker himself'.²⁸² It seems unlikely that the Stradivari and Amati violins would not be referred to specifically if Bearcroft desired to see and play them. A more likely scenario is that these two instruments were not loaned to the workers to play but were reserved for Hellier himself or at least gentlemen performers who made music with Hellier when he was in the country.

Purchasing instruments for his band was not always an easy or speedy process. Hellier writes in June 1767, 'I shall soon have a bassoon', but this was not in fact ready until the following January.²⁸³ And in March 1770 we read that there was still a need for that instrument: 'I have not forgot the man that wants to Learn a Bassoon, but you

²⁸¹ Hellier to Rogers, 28 July 1767.

²⁸² Quoted in Catherine Frew and Arnold Myers (2003).

²⁸³ Hellier to Rogers, 27 June 1767.

must give me Time to get instruments'.²⁸⁴

Even after the instruments had been successfully delivered to The Wodehouse, they could cause the musicians problems. Clarinets that Hellier had purchased from Caleb Gedney were evidently proving too much for the players.²⁸⁵ '[...] if you make no use of the Clarinetts let them be bro[ugh]t home & put in my Room'.²⁸⁶ It becomes apparent that the oboes Hellier purchased for Samuel Rogers were lacking reeds, since he wrote later to John Rogers:

'As to the Hautboy Mark Beaman at W[olver]Hampton is t[he] man & to him I recommend you for Reeds to Play w[i]th as he but can suit your Lip & they must be made accordingly or no fine smooth Tone can be had from t[he] instrument'.²⁸⁷

The advice may not have been heeded, for a few weeks later Hellier returns to the subject:

As to the learners on the hautboy unless they get the proper tone of the instrument it will be impossible for them to play well. This must be done by the Reed & care must be taken to get the best Reeds they can to suit them well to their lips as for instance a soft Reed may suit one man & an other cannot play at all w[i]th it and one too Hard is as bad the other way. They must observe to fix the Reed fast & firm in the Hautboy for the least air getting between will cause a variation in the Tone & I expect they will Break two or three dozen of Reeds before they come at the True method.²⁸⁸

These instruments were kept in the house rather than the Music Room or stable

²⁸⁴ Hellier to Rogers, 8 March 1770.

²⁸⁵ Caleb Gedney (1729–69) was apprentice to Thomas Stanesby junior, from 1741 until 1750.

²⁸⁶ Hellier to Rogers, 17 May 1768.

²⁸⁷ Hellier to Rogers, 15 January 1767.

²⁸⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 17 February 1767.

block. Hellier instructs Rogers regularly to look after the instruments. ‘Pray Let Good Fires be made very often in the Parlour to air my Harpsichord & Violins’ is typical of the instructions given on this matter.²⁸⁹

4.5.5. Instrument Tutors.

The above example of the purchasing of oboe reeds shows us that Hellier was perhaps a man who did not plan much in advance. It is not surprising that he initially expected his musicians to learn the instruments for themselves and from each other. It is not impossible that a teacher was engaged from the outset, prior to the first surviving letter, December 1766, but Hellier’s detailed questioning and explanations of matters concerning the instruments never includes a music tutor. From 1767 to 1772, however, there are numerous references to tuition and instances of professional musicians being engaged to teach the workers. Organists William Bond of Wolverhampton and William Geast of Dudley have already been discussed in connection with Rogers learning the organ, but Hellier relied on a number of other regional professionals to help him equip the members of the band with suitable skills.

Mr Eller, of Birmingham

Eller was active as a music teacher in Birmingham during the 1760s and is mentioned in Hellier’s letters from January 1767 to February 1771. Although he is not listed in the trade and town directories of Birmingham for the period, evidence of his activities aside from his involvement with Hellier can be gleaned from other sources. He may have been the ‘George Eller Esq;’ who subscribed to Festing’s *Six Solos for a Violin and Thorough Bass*, op 7 (1747) or the ‘Eller, Esq;’ who subscribed to Charles Barbant’s *Six Sonatas for Two Violins, two German Flutes or two Hautboys, with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsicord*, op 1 (1752), but the first definite reference to him is as a subscriber to Jeremiah Clark’s *Eight Songs* in 1760, where he is listed as ‘Mr. Eller, of Birmingham’. This year his name is attached to a newspaper advertisement concerning the recruitment of ‘Six young Men to learn the French-Horn, and one that is capable of teaching it’ for General Eliott’s

²⁸⁹ Hellier to Rogers, 29 May 1770.

Light-Horse.²⁹⁰ Eller was one of four contacts for potential recruits to enquire to, listed as ‘Mr. Eller, (Teacher of the Horn) in Mount-Pleasant, Birmingham’.²⁹¹ A glimpse into Eller’s other activities appears in Hellier’s letters of 1767 when he advises John Rogers that the oboists and horn players may get help from Eller ‘as he goes Every month to the assembly at Stourbridge’. This assembly was periodically advertised as having a Ball implying musicians were present.²⁹² For Hellier, however, Eller was much more than just a teacher of the French horn:

I have also wrote to Mr. Eller & hope he will soon come over to Instruct our Instrumental Performers - he said he knew a man who could instruct on the Clarinet at Shrewsbury. Pray talk to him about it & get that man to come.²⁹³

A few months later, we read that Eller’s suggestion came to fruition: ‘By all mean’s get the young man from Birming[ha]m to Teach ye Clarinet I hope they will be able to joyn in Concert by the Time I come down so as to play several pretty things Tollerably Exact & as they Sh[oul]d be.²⁹⁴ The following week we see the negotiations being undertaken to procuring the services of the clarinet teacher:

It is always satisfactory to me when an Opportunity offer’s to be of service to our people on which acc[oun]t I receive the news of the Clarinet Master being come with [page torn]. - does he play on anymore Instrument than one [page torn] of our people does he instruct let me know - I think five Guineas Quite too much money indeed Considering ^ it is leisure time of the year ^ he has his board &c found him for nothing on this acc[oun]t I desire you w[oul]d endeavour to get him for Four G[uineas].²⁹⁵

²⁹⁰ *ABG*, Thursday 18 February 1760. This regiment became succession, the 15th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons, and was later renamed 1st (The King’s Royal) Regiment of Light Dragoons.

²⁹¹ *ABG*, Thursday 18 February 1760.

²⁹² *BWJ*, 22 January 1761.

²⁹³ Hellier to Rogers, 25 January 1769.

²⁹⁴ Hellier to Rogers, 18 March 1769.

²⁹⁵ Hellier to Rogers, 8 April 1769.

A week later, we find confirmation of the clarinet tutor's involvement: 'I am glad the man to Teach the Clarinets is arrived'.²⁹⁶ Interesting in this episode is the implication that the clarinet tutor stayed in Wombourne ('he has his board &c found him for nothing'), if not in The Woodhouse itself or in the estate grounds, then somewhere in the village. The figure of four or five guineas for a period to be in attendance at The Woodhouse can be compared to the other examples of residential tutors in this study. Giacobbe and James Cervetto charged half a guinea each per week for the two of them to be in attendance to Earl Spencer at Althorp in 1773; Francis Hackwood charged the equivalent to two guineas a week for the thirteen weeks he was in attendance at Weston Park in 1782. Therefore, we might assume that Eller's residency costing Hellier four or five guineas would have lasted anything from a few days to two and a half weeks.²⁹⁷ In reality, however, this provincial musician (whose rates were presumably lower than the London-based Cervettos) may have been in attendance for longer than this.

After 1769 Eller's name is largely absent from the letters. This might imply that Eller made no further visits to The Woodhouse, yet sporadic mentions in Hellier's letters over the next five years more likely indicate otherwise. Comments by Hellier such as 'I saw Mr. Eller a Day or two ago he talks of coming down so you will see him ab[ou]t next week' suggests that Eller was still regular visitor to teach the estate workers.²⁹⁸ No further mention of him is to be found in Hellier's letters from 1775 onwards so it seems that his role as music teacher at Wombourne had come to an end by this time.

4.5.6. Makeup and Repertoire of Hellier's Band of Musick.

From the discussions of instruments in section 4.5.4 it was concluded that Hellier's 'Band of Musick' did not contain more than one person per string part. This can be corroborated by the absence of multiple string manuscript parts in the sheet music

²⁹⁶ Hellier to Rogers, 1 April 1769.

²⁹⁷ Assuming Hellier paid the clarinet tutor four or five guineas, the lowest rate (Cervetto's ½ guinea, or £0.10.6 per week) implies Eller taught for eight or ten days; the highest rate (Hackwood's two guineas, or £2.2.0 a week) would equate to two or three days' tuition.

²⁹⁸ Hellier to Rogers, 24 July 1773.

collection. In fact, the presence of so much military band music would suggest that this was the group's usual repertoire. Hellier, writing to Rogers in January 1769, gives an explanation of the music he had sent for the musicians:

I have likewise sent you some very pretty Marches ^ as a present ^ in 4 Parts & in the first Violin Part have made a X those Tunes w[hi]ch I think the best particularly[.] The 13th which is an excellent one[.] I have also sent Down eight small Musick Books one for each Performer Viz: 1st Horn; 2d Horn; First Hautboy; 2d Hautboy; First Bassoon; 2d Bassoon; First Clarinet; 2d Clarinet[.] Pray Let them be better'd so & keep them Clean & w[he]n Mr. Eller comes They will be ready for him to Instruct them.²⁹⁹

Curiously, there are no pieces in the Shaw-Hellier Collection matching this specific instrumentation and it would be hard to adapt much music for this combination owing to the presence of a viola part in most of the orchestral music. A more usual combination for wind bands of the time was a quintet consisting two treble parts (clarinets, oboes, or even violins), two horn parts and a bass usually played by bassoon or cello. Hellier purchased numerous prints and acquired a number of manuscripts of music in this combination, for example the four collections of *XXIV Favourite Marches in five Parts as they are Perform'd by His Majesty's Foot and Horse Guards* published by C. and S. Thompson between around 1765 and 1771.³⁰⁰ In a letter dated 8 March 1770, Hellier gives a hint as to the extent of the arranging and re-orchestrating that would have been necessary for performance by wind players. After berating Jonah Cartwright for apparently bruising (=denting) a French horn, he explains that he is to send a new

²⁹⁹ Hellier to Rogers, 21 January 1769.

³⁰⁰ These are: *XXIV Favourite Marches in five parts as they are performed by His Majestys Foot and Horse Guards. Set for two violins, German flutes or hautboys, and two French horns and bass* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [1765?]); *A Second Collection of xxiv. Favourite Marches in 7 Parts [...] Set for two Clarinetts Violins German Flutes or Hautboys and two French Horns and Bass* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [1771]); *A Third Collection of Twenty four Favourite Marches in 5 parts [...] Set for two violins, Hoboys, or German Flutes, Two French horns and bass* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [1771]); *A Fourth Collection of Twenty four Favourite Marches in 5 parts [...] Set for two Clarinetts Violins German Flutes or Hautboys and two French Horns and Bass* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [1770?]).

horn in F shortly so that he can play a concerto:

The Concerto I sent you have all its Parts those ever was any more[.] But it was not intended for Clarinets[;] only for Violins, Horns, Hautboys [&?] Bases but as it is in F. I sent it. you may make it out very well & let ye Clarinetts take either the Violin or Hautboy Part w[hi]ch seam's best[.] the Organ must make the best shift it can.³⁰¹

We do not know if clarinets were to replace violins in the performance of this concerto or to augment the ensemble. Even without violins, there would need to be a viola present for a complete performance. The letter confirms that the ensemble was to have included organ, hence the venue was presumably Hellier's garden Music Room, as discussed above in section 4.5.3.

It is not possible to date the horn concerto in F referred to in Hellier's letter of 8 March 1770. Most of the manuscript parts in the Shaw-Hellier Collection of music are undated, but the band music could easily date from 1760 onwards if we assume that it was collected at the same time of the dated printed repertoire. One set of manuscript parts to Dibdin's *Jubilee March* was no doubt copied out from the published score that Hellier owned, printed shortly after the Shakespeare Jubilee held in Stratford, 1769, and the subsequent Drury Lane production later that year.³⁰² The manuscript parts give the scoring of 2 oboes, 2 horns, 2 bassoons and timpani. Like the aforementioned horn concerto, Hellier's Band of Musick may have included an organ in this performance, suggested by the existence of the printed version of the *Jubilee March* which contains a convenient keyboard reduction.

The surviving evidence from Hellier's letters, the musical instruments available and the collection of music suggests that at the core of his Band of Musick were wind instruments. They played the wind ensemble repertoire found in manuscript and print in the collection, but much of the orchestral music could be performed by replacing

³⁰¹ Hellier to Rogers, 8 March 1770.

³⁰² Charles Dibdin, *Jubilee March as performed in the Grand Procession at Stratford upon Avon and the Grand Procession in the Jubilee at DRURY LANE*, (London, [1769]).

violins with clarinet. We know from Hellier's performances of Handel in Wombourne church that string players were on hand, but given that the musical members of his workforce are only ever referred to as wind or brass players in his letters (there is no mention of anyone specific playing one of his stringed instruments) it is reasonable to presume that strings were drafted in specially on these occasions.

4.5.7. Demise of the Band of Musick.

Even before Eller seems to have ended his association with Hellier, there are hints in the letters that all was not going to plan with his orchestra. In August 1772, he wrote to Rogers: 'I suppose our Musical people never Play at all now', and similar concerns were raised in following years:

'I sh[oul]d like a Tripp on the water if our musical people are willing but from their long neglecting to Practice I suppose they intend Laying Musick entirely aside & from Disuse of it they will find it awkward when they come to play again'.³⁰³

We might suppose that by 1774 Hellier's Band of Musick had disbanded. Yet, Hellier continued to collect music, much of which could have been performed by the orchestra.

This demise no doubt had something to do with Hellier's absence from The Wodehouse for much of the year, having to oversee their practice and tuition at arm's length. Financial pressures too presumably played a part in the eventual demise of the project. Brief but not infrequent comments to Rogers about collecting rent from tenants reveal that Hellier was spending beyond his means.³⁰⁴ However, it appears that Hellier's personality may have been as much of the problem as his financial constraints. His relations with the residents of the village (where presumably many of his workers lived) were tense for much of the time, especially with regard to the new

³⁰³ Hellier to Rogers, 13 September 1775.

³⁰⁴ Barre discusses his concerns for using expensive building materials for the garden works. (Barre, 2008, p. 310.)

church organ in the late 1760s and the village charity school – another of Hellier’s pet projects that came to nothing.³⁰⁵

Although he was immensely proud of what he had achieved in Wombourne, Hellier must have been aware that an orchestra of semi-trained amateurs was really not on a par with the private orchestras of the Earl of Burlington, or of the Duke of Chandos earlier in the century. His motives were in part philanthropic: the enrichment of the lower social classes by the gentry at this time was mainly limited to financial aid to purchase food, setting up schools and hospitals, or distributing copies of the Book of Common Prayer, whereas in this instance the idea of cultural enrichment comes into play. Although his orchestra was not a purely altruistic exercise, Hellier’s personal interest in the musical and cultural education of his workers – particularly that of his estate manager John Rogers – reveals a social attitude that seems much more in keeping with the early twentieth than the late eighteenth century.

4.6. The Bridgeman Family.

Of all the case studies presented in this thesis, that of the Bridgeman family of Weston Park represents the most comprehensive picture of music-making of a noble family. In this family we see a greater diversity of performance contexts than is the case, for example, of Samuel Hellier. Music-making varied within the family and involved different members in their own smaller circles at different periods. Section 2.3.4 discussed evidence of surviving bills from music teachers that indicated how frequently Sir Henry and Lady Elizabeth’s daughter’s received tuition. Chapter 3.2.5 focused on

³⁰⁵ The school is first discussed by Hellier on 3 January 1767 and during the next few months he writes about raising subscriptions and a location for the building. His endeavour comes to an end in 1770; he writes to Rogers on 1 July: ‘John. It is with real Concern I read the first part of y[ou]r Letter w[hi]ch mentions the final end of the Charity School - W[ha]t can I do more than I have already done? It cannot be suppos’d t[ha]t I will entirely support the School & cloth the children at my sole expense nor w[oul]d it be just or Equitable t[ha]t the whole Parish sh[oul]d prey on the vitals of one individual & let the rest go scot free.’

the surviving music collection to reveal personal tastes of some gentry and nobility men and women, while the surviving pocketbooks and journals of Lady Elizabeth show how active she and her family were in attending operas and concerts whilst staying at their London residence in St James' Square. A number of other factors can help shape our understanding of the extent and variety of music-making at Weston Park.

By 1765, when George, the last of Sir Henry and Lady Elizabeth's six children, was born; their eldest – the cello-playing Henry Simpson Bridgeman – may well have already started music lessons. Some twenty years later, Robert Edge Pine captured Sir Henry and Elizabeth's family as they had always conceived it to be: with music at the centre, the daughters showing off their accomplishments, in a homage to Handel (see Illustration 4.1). This portrait should be seen as allegorical rather than as an accurate representation of the family's music-making, yet it is tempting to believe that instances of the whole family performing together did occasionally take place.

There are very few indicators of the music-making in which the family took part. Although Lady Elizabeth's diaries reveal many occasions of her attending concerts with her family, her diary entry Friday, 29 June 1766 provides one of the rare instances in which she reports of informal music-making at Weston: 'Friday stay'd at home doing Business & Singing Catches till three of clock'.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ SRO, D1287/19/2 (P/1159).

Illustration 4.1. Robert Edge Pine (1730–88): *The Bridgeman Family* [c. 1780].



4.6.1. Weston Park Theatre.

Although we see from this diary entry that Lady Elizabeth did occasionally partake in family singing and that she owned a harpsichord, her chief passion was theatre. In the 1770s she was the driving force behind the construction of a theatre next to the house in which public performances by the family were presented. Aspects of this activity are well documented in the form of manuscript play scripts, lists of plays performed and miscellaneous poetry and prose, all in Elizabeth's hand. It is not known if the theatre was part of the original concept of the architects Paine and Brown; it may have been a later development spurred by a general public interest in private theatres during the 1770s, as will be discussed below.³⁰⁷

The documents in the Bradford collection relating to the theatre are all in Elizabeth's hand. One such document relates to the prologue and epilogue to *Tandred and*

³⁰⁷ No evidence of the theatre has been found, but it is thought to have been demolished to make room for other estate buildings constructed late eighteenth century.

Sigismunda for a performance in the theatre and represents the first play that was presented there. An additional epilogue to the same play is indicated as having been ‘spoken at the opening of the Theatre at Weston’.³⁰⁸ This first theatrical production took place on 11, 13 and 15 September 1775. A detailed report of the event appeared the following week in the *Derby Mercury*:

DERBY, [Thursday,] September 21 [1775].

We hear from Weston in Shropshire, the Seat of Sir Henry Bridgeman, that on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday last, were performed in an elegant little Theatre, lately erected in that Place at the sole Expence of Sir Henry, the Tragedy of *Tancred and Sigismunda*, with the Comic Opera of the *Padlock*; in both which Pieces the Characters were filled as follows: — *Tancred*, Mr. Bridgeman; *Siffredi*; Sir J. Wrottesley; *Osmond*, Capt. Pigott; *Rodolpho*, Mr. O. Bridgeman; *Sigismunda*, Hon. Miss L. Courtnay; *Laura*, Miss Pigott. — *Don Diego*, Sir Henry Bridgeman; *Leander*, Mr. O. Bridgeman; *Mungo*, Mr. J. Bridgeman; *Leonora*, Lady Wrottesley; *Ursula*, Miss Bridgeman. The Audience on the first Night, was, through the Condescension of Sir Henry, composed chiefly of his own Tenants and their Friends, on the second Night, of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the Towns of Birmingham and Shrewsbury; and the Company which was extremely brilliant on this last Night, consisted of the Nobility and Gentry in the County and Neighbourhood, who discovered the utmost Approbation, and acknowledged that the Ladies and Gentlemen supported their respective Parts with great Ease, Elegance, and Propriety. — A superb cold Collation³⁰⁹ was served up after the Conclusion of the Entertainment on each Evening; and the distinguished Visitors departed, expressing the highest Satisfaction at the polite and unremitting Endeavours of Sir Henry and Lady Bridgeman to render the Evening perfectly agreeable. — The Theatre, which was universally admired, was fitted up under the Direction of Sig. Columba, Painter to the Opera-House, London.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ SRO, D1287–19–6.

³⁰⁹ Collation = small meal.

³¹⁰ *Derby Mercury*, Friday 22 September 1775.

An investigation into the non-family players in these performances leads to an interesting picture of the Bridgeman's networks of friends and neighbours:

- Sir John Wrottesley, 8th Baronet (1744–87), was the son of Sir Richard Wrottesley, 7th Baronet of Wrottesley Hall. His estate was nine miles south-east of Weston towards Wolverhampton;
- 'Lady Wrottesley' was Honourable Frances Wrottesley née Courtenay (*d.* 1828), wife of Sir John Wrottesley, 8th Baronet;³¹¹
- 'Miss L. Courtenay' was Lucy Courtenay (1748–86), the younger sister of Frances Wrottesley;
- 'Captain Pigott' was Admiral Hugh Pigot (1722–92), brother of George, 1st Baron Pigot who lived at Pattshull Hall, ten miles to the south of Weston. Hugh Pigot had married Frances Wrottesley, sister of Sir John Wrottesley, 8th Baronet in 1769;
- 'Miss Pigot' was probably Hugh and Frances' daughter (*c.* 1769–1835);
- 'Miss Bridgeman' was Charlotte Bridgeman, Sir Henry's eldest daughter;
- 'Mr O Bridgeman' was Orlando Bridgeman, second son, later 1st Earl Bradford;
- 'Mr J. Bridgeman' was John Bridgeman, third son;
- 'Mr Bridgeman' refers to Henry Simpson Bridgeman, the cello-playing eldest son, who was to die in 1783.

The only members of the Bridgeman family missing from the list were Sir Henry's youngest children, George and Elizabeth, who were around nine and eleven years old respectively at the time of these performances.³¹²

The players for this first theatrical production consisted members of three noble families connected by marriage, living locally to the Weston Park estate. The Sir John

³¹¹ The Wrottesley and Bridgeman families both subscribed to a number of publications by local composers including Jeremiah Clark's *Eight Songs*, op 2, 1766, and John Pixell's *Odes, Cantatas, Songs &c.*, op 2, 1775.

³¹² Elizabeth Diana Bridgeman, 1764–1810; George Bridgeman, 1765–1832.

Wrottesley, his wife, sister-in-law and her husband and daughter joined five of the Bridgeman family (youngest children, Elizabeth and George did not take part), neatly assigning one each of the principal parts of both *Tancred and Sigismunda* and *The Padlock*. The Bridgemans took all but one of the singing roles required in *The Padlock*, perhaps an indication of the family’s unusually high proficiency in performing.

An undated list of productions in Lady Bridgeman’s hand reveals the family took part in (or at least planned) a total of five productions:

Table 4.3. List of Plays performed 1775–77, in Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman’s hand.³¹³

Tancred & Sigismunda with the Padlock
[James Thompson’s <i>Tancred and Sigismunda</i> was first produced at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane in 1745, with a further production in 1768; there are six main characters; <i>The Padlock</i> , a comic afterpiece opera by Isaac Bickerstaff and Charles Dibdin, was first produced in 1768; five main characters.]
Desert Island with Edgar & Emiline
[Arthur Murphy’s <i>The Desert Island</i> (after Metastasio), 1760; four main characters. Details of <i>Edgar & Emiline</i> have not been traced.]
Tancred & Sigismunda with three weeks after Marriage
[Arthur Murphy’s <i>Three Weeks After Marriage</i> was first produced 1776, eight main characters.]
False Delicacy with Polly Honeycombe
[Hugh Kelly’s <i>False Delicacy</i> was first produced in 1768; ten main characters. George Coleman’s <i>Polly Honeycombe</i> was first produced in 1760, with revivals every year in London throughout the 1770s and 1780s. There are five main characters.
Platonic Wife with the Padlock
[Elizabeth Griffith’s <i>The Platonic Wife</i> was first produced in 1765; twelve main characters.]

Bridgeman’s’ performances coming relatively soon after the original productions is surely an indicator of a family who regularly attended the theatre in London. As we

³¹³ SRO, D1287/19/6/18.

saw in section 3.5.2, evidence of Lady Elizabeth's visits to plays, concerts, operas and oratorios suggests a pattern of frequent trips. The latest play on this list is *Three Weeks After Marriage*, which was first performed at the Drury Lane Theatre in 1776.³¹⁴

We have a further account of the Bridgeman's theatrical productions, again from the *Derby Mercury*, which reports on the last of the productions itemised on Lady Bridgeman's list, which took place on Thursday, 7 August 1777:

Extract of a Letter from Birmingham, August 11

On Thursday last an Evening of dramatic Entertainments was given at Weston, in Shropshire, the Seat of Sir Harry Bridgeman, Bart. The Theatre, which is exceedingly elegant and commodious, was crowded with a most brilliant Assembly of the first People of Distinction from this, and the adjoining Counties. The Play was the *Platonic Wife*. The Part of Lord *Frankland* by Mr. Bridgeman, that of Lady *Frankland* by Miss Bridgeman, and *Mademoiselle Fontaigne* by Miss E. Bridgeman. It is no forced Compliment to the respectable Performers here mentioned, to say, if the Piece had originally been as well performed at the Theatre-Royal, its Fate on the Stage would have been reversed if only from the singular Merit of the Actors. Miss E. Bridgeman's Frenchwoman was inimitable. The musical Entertainment of the *Padlock* succeeded it, which was thus cast: *Leander*, Mr. Orlando Bridgeman; *Don Diego*, Mr. Pendegrass; *Mungo*, Mr. John Bridgeman; *Ursula*, Miss E. Bridgeman; and *Leonora*, Miss Bridgeman. You, who are a competent Judge of dramatic Performances, would have been astonished at the very capital Representation of this musical Piece. It was impossible to determine which Character to admire most, as I am convinced the Opera was never Half so well got up before, or accompanied by a more correct Orchestra. — Miss Bridgeman gave us so graceful a Leonora, that I fear I shall never have Fortitude enough to encounter a London Representation of that Character again; and as to Voice, believe me, hers is Melody itself! I need not, after this, inform you, that the Performers all met with repeated Bursts of Applause from their brilliant and

³¹⁴ Robert Welch, 'Three Weeks After Marriage', *The Concise Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

numerous Auditors. After the theatrical Entertainments were over, the Company withdrew from the Theatre to Supper, and afterwards to the Ball-Room, where they danced till Five o’Clock in the Morning, and then retired in Raptures, as you may well imagine, with their Evening’s Entertainment, &c. &c.³¹⁵

Here, we notice that the youngest daughter, Elizabeth (then twelve or thirteen), took the singing role of Ursula in *The Padlock*, which her elder sister had played two years earlier. Perhaps remarkable is that both young daughters played leading parts in the preceding play, *The Platonic Wife*. Their brothers Orlando and John again played the same parts (Leander and Mungo, respectively). Sir Henry, Lady Bridgeman and Henry Simpson Bridgeman are not listed in the above report, but as the *The Platonic Wife* calls for thirteen roles, it is possible they too acted on this occasion.³¹⁶

Clearly, by the description in the review – that this performance of *The Padlock* was ‘never accompanied by a more correct Orchestra’ – the orchestra must have comprised more than just a keyboard. Even considering that those family members who may not have been singing in *The Padlock*, an ensemble consisting Sir Henry playing flute or violin, Henry Simpson playing the cello and Lady Bridgeman playing harpsichord would have fallen short from being described in such glowing terms.

Could the family have called upon local professionals such as the company who performed *The Padlock* at Shrewsbury Theatre in June of 1775 and again in October that year?³¹⁷ This theatre hosted a company during September 1775, presenting productions on Friday, 8 September and then from Monday, 23 September.³¹⁸ The convenient gap – long enough for musicians to travel to Weston Park for the Bridgeman’s performances of 11, 13 and 15 September, but probably too short to be engaged in another company’s production at a different theatre – makes for a

³¹⁵ *Derby Mercury*, Friday, 15 August 1777.

³¹⁶ Advert for Drury Lane performance, *Public Advertiser*, Thursday, 31 January 1765.

³¹⁷ *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, Saturday, 17 June 1775.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Saturday, 2 September 1775; Saturday, 23 September 1775.

compelling argument that professional musicians were recruited by the family to support their productions, at least on this occasion.

It is also possible that the performers engaged by the Bridgemans were the local musicians of Staffordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire. Given that no other supporting evidence exists for these links in the Bradford Papers, this seems less likely.

Unfortunately, the Weston Park music collection includes no performance material for *The Padlock*, nor is there mention of it in the catalogues dating from this time although it could well have been one of the ‘21 Books of English songs of operas 5 of w[hi]ch unbound’ listed in the catalogue of 1784 (see Volume 2, 1.3.). Charlotte had written out a number of vocal items in manuscript parts, so it is conceivable that these were the parts prepared for the Weston Park production of *The Padlock* that have since been lost. If so, this suggests that the performance would have utilized a number of musicians rather than relying on a keyboard accompaniment.

No further documentary evidence for productions of plays and operas at Weston has been traced, yet the *Northampton Mercury* of 11 November 1776 carried an illuminating report mentioning the theatrical efforts of the Bridgeman family, and hints that theirs was not at all an isolated case:

Since the Theatrical Resignation of Roscius, the Rage for Dramatic Entertainments in private Families has increased astonishingly; scarce a Man of Rank but either has, or intends to have his petite Theatre, in the Decoration of which the utmost Taste and Experience are lavished: Oldfield Bowles, Esq; of North-Aston, Oxfordshire, finding his Theatre in his Mansion-House too small, has lately converted a large Barn into a very spacious and elegant one, which he and his Company are now fitting up, in a capital Style; a new Tragedy, written by a Mr. Taylor, is now in Rehearsal, which they mean to perform in Public the latter End of this Week.

Mrs. Hobart is getting up the Comedy of the *Wonder* at her Theatre, in which she is to perform the Part of *Violante* herself, and to speak a very lively

characteristic Epilogue written by Mr. Garrick, who, it is whispered, means to join this Groupe of polite Strollers in the Character of *Don Felix*.

Lord Plymouth's Company, in Worcestershire, shine in the Tragic, and Sir Harry Bridgeman in the Comic Opera Style.³¹⁹

If one is to believe the extent to which these families went to imitate all the fineries and extras of the London theatres, there would have been many musicians involved.

4.6.2. The Temple of Diana Octagonal Music Room.

Soon after Sir Henry Bridgeman inherited the title and estate in 1764, he engaged architect James Paine to undertake alterations to the house and Lancelot 'Capability' Brown to redesign the parkland. The house and gardens at Weston were modernised by a re-ordering of the house rooms, the building of a Roman Bridge on the main approach and the construction of the Temple of Diana in the grounds. The Temple was designed to be a multi-purpose garden building, and features an Orangery, a circular Tea Room and an Octagonal Music Room (see Illustration 4.2).

Illustration 4.2. Music Room, Temple of Diana, Weston Park.³²⁰



³¹⁹ *Northampton Mercury*, Monday, 11 November 1776.

³²⁰ Photo credit: Weston Park Foundation.

The Music Room is not a large room space. With a floor area of approximately 20m², there cannot have been room for many people, assuming that a harpsichord or other keyboard instrument was *in situ*.³²¹ It is clear that this space was not intended to be a formal performance area; the music-making that took place there was purely for the benefit of those who took part. The only reference to the Temple music room being used for its intended purpose comes from Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman, who, writing in her pocket book of 1787, made a list of items to be taken from the house to the temple, presumably for an event or maybe just the start of the warmer summer season. This list includes the short sentence: ‘- my Harpsichord to be taken’.³²² It is likely that Lady Elizabeth’s harpsichord (or indeed any of the house’s instruments) were only taken to the Temple for specific occasions rather than for an extended period.

4.6.3. Instruments at Weston Park.

Two house inventories of Weston Park made in 1777 and 1784 include a number of instruments and music accessories. These items are presented below in tables 4.4 and 4.5. In addition to these inventories, the sale catalogue of 1836 (see 3.2.2., above, for description) also contains a number of instruments. The first of these inventories has been annotated to a considerable degree, indicating where furniture has been removed or moved to another room. The annotations show that a harpsichord and two violins had ‘Gone to London’, taken to the family’s London residence sometime after the inventory was made. But this short note is crossed through, suggesting that the harpsichord had subsequently returned to Weston.

³²¹ I am grateful to the Weston Park Foundation for allowing a thorough examination of the Temple’s Round Room and Octagonal (Music) Room.

³²² SRO, D1287/19/1 (P/1199) Pocket Companion and Almanack 1787 belonging to Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman.

Table 4.4. ‘Inventory of the Household Goods and Furniture In Weston Hall, taken the 22nd of May 1777’.³²³

Room/Item	Notes (made by another hand)
Hall	
A large Organ	
A mahogany Desk to the Organ	
Library	
One Harpsichord	<i>Gone to London</i>
A mahogany Fiddle Case with two Fiddles	<i>Gone to London</i>
A mahogany Music Stand	
Best Stair Case Hall	
A Barrel Organ	<i>removed on to the head/ of the Best Staircase</i>
Miss Bridgeman’s dressing Room now Sir Henry’s Little Dress[in]g Room	
A Forte Piano	

The second surviving inventory is undated, but the absence of the Forte Piano in ‘Miss Bridgeman’s dressing room’ listed in the 1777 inventory suggests that it was made between May 1784 and early 1785, after Charlotte’s wedding to Henry Greswolde Lewis but before she returned to Weston after the couple’s separation.

Table 4.5. ‘Inventory’ of the Household Goods and Furniture In Weston Hall, [1784?].³²⁴

Room/Item
Hall
One Violincello & Case
A Box containing two Barrels for the / Hand
Organ
Library
One Harpsichord
One Mahogany Fiddle Case
One Mahogany Music Stand
Sir Henry’s Dressing Room

³²³ SRO, D1287/4/1 (R/71).

³²⁴ SRO, D1287/4/1 (R/73).

One Music Stand

Passage Room to Yellow Room

One Music Stand

The final indication of the instruments owned by the family dates from fifty years later and so outside the scope of this study. It is worth noting that among the instruments listed that could not have dated from the late eighteenth century (the 16-keyed clarinets and 8-keyed flute) are a piano (item 97) that could well have been the same instrument as the ‘Forte Piano’ listed in the 1777 inventory, and a cello (item 98) that may have been the same instrument as listed in the 1784 inventory.

Table 4.6. Instruments listed in ‘Sale Catalogue’ of 1836.³²⁵

96	A GRAND CABINET PIANO FORTE, of 6 ½ OCTAVES
97	AN ORGANIZED PIANO FORTE, WITH 4 STOPS, IN INLAID CASE
98	A RICH TONED VIOLONCELLO
99	Two Clarinets B & C, 16 brass keys, Gutteridge’s patent
100	Two ditto
101	An Ebony Patent Flute, 8 silver keys, by W. H. Potter
102	A Military Trumpet
103	Ditto Bugle

The significance of these inventories is what is not listed. Given the evidence of music-making examined in previous chapters, it is perhaps surprising that there are not more instruments. The 1777 inventory lists many items in the Temple of Diana, but no instruments were permanently housed there. Both the main rooms, the Round Room and Octagonal Room appear to have been full of furniture: in the latter was kept ‘Four painted Chairs with matted Seats’ and ‘2 Side Boards Mahog a Mahogy Table w[i]th 2 drawers’ along with other smaller items.³²⁶ This suggests that music was only an occasional activity and that Lady Bridgeman’s note in her 1787 journal that the harpsichord was to be taken to the temple indicates an extraordinary event.

³²⁵ SRO D1287-20-2 (R-707).

³²⁶ SRO, D1287/4/1 (R/73).

Some other striking aspects of the first two inventories merit further discussion. If the family portrait painted by Robert Edge Pine [c. 1780] is to be taken at face value, Elizabeth was the harpist of the family, but no harp is listed in the inventories. We know from Francis Hackwood's bill of 1783 that he hired a harp for the family, and it appears that this arrangement was long term. Furthermore, there is only one item of printed music in the Weston Park music collection that includes harp in the title page instrumentation (Edward Jones' *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards* of 1784), and no other music print is scored for 'piano forte or harp', or similar designation. One cannot rule out the possibility that Elizabeth did not yet own a harp when the first inventory was compiled in 1777 (she turned thirteen that year), or that the instrument was in the Bridgeman family's London residence when the 1784 inventory was compiled. It is also conceivable that Elizabeth played simple keyboard music on her harp, or that her harp music was included among the numerous untitled pieces listed in the catalogues. Just as her older sister took her music to her marital home in 1784, it is likely that Elizabeth took her music and instruments with her after her marriage in 1794 – after the second house inventory was made in 1784 and the last music catalogue was compiled in 1790.

The second inventory includes a cello and case, where there was no mention of one in the 1777 inventory. The simplest explanation would be that Henry Simpson (the cellist of the family) most often had his instrument at their London residence, if not permanently, then during the Season; after his death in 1782, the family did not sell the cello. Neither inventory lists a guitar even though there are a number of guitar works in the collection dating from Sir Henry's time. His mother, Anne, had died in 1752 and all six of the works which were suitable for guitar date from after this time, suggesting that Lady Bridgeman was the owner of the music and therefore had an instrument to play it on. Two of the printed collections that could have been played on the guitar – *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn-Tunes* [...] *Properly set for the Organ, Harpsichord and Guittar*, published by John Phillips [1762?], and *Gramachree Molly with variations for the harpsichord or piano forte, also for the German flute, violin or guittar*, published in London by Straight & Skillern, [1775?] – are generic works that do not lend

themselves immediately to the guitar.³²⁷ The inclusion of guitar in the suggested instrumentation of these works was purely to make the works more appealing to contemporary tastes. The remaining four are much more typical of guitar publications. One is tempted to suggest that as Lady Bridgeman's facility on the instrument improved, so too did her thirst for more technically challenging repertoire such as Robert Bremner's 1760 publication *Twelve Scots Songs for a Voice or Guitar with a Thorough Bass*, James Oswald's *Twelve Divertiments for the Guitar*, 1758, David Rutherford's *A Curious Collection of the most Celebrated Country Dances & Airs* (n.d.) and the rather more ambitious collection of *Six Sonatas or Solos for the Guittar and Bass*, op 2, 1765, by Zuckert.³²⁸ There is very little evidence that Lady Bridgeman played another instrument at all, and it would be easy to conclude that she played only a minor role in family music-making compared to that of her husband, eldest son and daughters. Yet an entry in her journal for Thursday, 29 January 1778 suggests that she was a competent keyboard player and was recording the less ordinary detail of one evening's music-making when she 'playd thorough base'.³²⁹

Given that there are many works in the surviving music collection requiring more than just the instruments that the family played, and evidence of a great deal more, we may conclude that the music-making among the Bridgemans was diverse.

Numerous chamber works dating from the early 1760s onwards were probably purchased by Sir Henry himself. These includes trio sonatas by Androux: *Six Trios for Two German Flutes or Two Violins with A Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* [1762], Boyce's *Twelve Sonatas for Two Violins; With a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord* (1762), Joseph Eyre's *Eight Sonatas in Three Parts* [1765?], a set which Sir Henry subscribed to, Maximilian Humble's *Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord* (1769), Barsanto's *Six Sonatas*, op 6 (1769). Smaller scale music such as Campioni's

³²⁷ *A Collection of Psalm and Hymn-Tunes As they are performed at the Magdalen and Foundling Chapels, Properly set for the Organ, Harpsichord and Guittar by Several Eminent Masters* (London: John Philips, [1762?]).

³²⁸ Zuckert, *Six Sonatas or Solos for the Guittar and Bass, Dedicated to The Right Honourable the Countess of Northumberland*, op 2 (London: 1765).

³²⁹ SRO, D1287/19/1 (P/1210), Almanack of Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman, 1776.

Divertimento da camera: Six duets for a violin & violoncello or harpsicord, op 7 (1765), or Giovanni Battista Sammartini's *Six Easy Solos for a German Flute or Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord*, (1765).

The works listed here were certainly all purchased by Sir Henry after the death of his father, and most likely before his eldest son, Henry Simpson Bridgeman (born 1757), was proficient enough to play the repertoire. They show a pattern suggesting specific instrumental makeups. The smaller repertoire, including works for solo instrument and continuo, could easily have been performed within the family's close circle. However, the standard trio-sonatas repertoire would have required instrumentalists in addition to Sir Henry's young family, as would the larger repertoire of concertos and overtures in the collection belonging to his father and grandfather.

Larger scale music in the Weston Park Music Collection likely to have been purchased by Sir Henry includes Hargrave's *Five Concertos*, [1765?], Weideman's *A Second Set Six Concertos in 8 Parts for Two German Flutes, Two Violins, Two French Horns, a Tenor, with a Bass for the Violoncello and Thro' Bass for the Harpsicord*, op 7, 1765.

To judge from the repertoire of the collection and from instruments owned by the family present, are that a significant amount of the music could not have been performed without the help of fellow musical amateurs: extended family, neighbours and acquaintances.

4.6.4. Music-Making with Acquaintances.

There are no surviving diaries from any of the Bridgeman family that refer to musical making at their country house in Weston, or that imply that they hosted music-making occasions with people outside their immediate circle. A number of pocketbooks and journals belonging to Lady Bridgeman from 1781 account for music-making whilst the family was visiting other houses. A typical example of their general social commitments follows; chosen because of its references to family and friends who took part in the Weston theatrical performances 1775-77 (see above, 4.6.2).

Dec. ye 7th [1781] – Charlotte staid at this time a few days at Wrottesly – Sir H and I went to Enville for one night Monday ye 12th then next went with ye Pigots to a play at Bridgnorth & slept at Patshull. Mr & Mrs Jones arrived the same day at Weston. Harriet did not go to ye play – Sir Robt. Pigot with his Sons came to Weston for a week Sir Harry & Sir Robt. Pigot went to Himley for a night and the first went to Wynnstay.³³⁰

Although no music appears to have been played or attended during the period being written about by Lady Bridgeman (except the Bridgenorth play), it is a good indication of the Bridgeman family's social networks. From this letter we can see that Charlotte stayed at nearby Wrottesley Hall, the home of Sir John Wrottesley, who had taken part in the Bridgeman's first theatre production in 1775. Sir Henry and Lady Bridgeman visited Enville Hall, home of George Grey, 5th Earl of Stamford, followed by a trip to the theatre at Bridgnorth with Sir Robert Pigot (1720–96), brother of George, 1st Baron Pigot, and Hugh, who also took part in the 1775 Weston theatre production. Finally, Sir Henry and Sir Robert went on to stay at Himley Hall, home of John Ward, 2nd Viscount Dudley and Ward. As we will see from further examples, these seemingly ordinary visits often involved music-making, with guests and hosts taking part.

Specific reference to music-making is found towards the end of Lady Bridgeman's journal, in 1786:

Wednesday Morning ye 10th December [1786] [...] Orlando dined at home family party in ye Evening I call'd on Lady Bergmayne[?] & afterwards by appointment on Lady Charlotte Tuftons party then The Heaton family and amusement hearing her Ladysh[ip]: play Solos upon the organ went to bed at one o'clock.³³¹

³³⁰ SRO, D1287/19/1(P/1215), 'Journal of Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman', early 1781 to July 1786.

³³¹ Ibid.

This represents a typical day for Lady Bridgeman in terms of socialising, with multiple appointments at friends and acquaintances, this time while the family was based at their London residence.³³² From the following letter, which also mentions music as one of the day's activities, one can see the variety of activities and people Lady Bridgeman saw:

Friday Aug 4th [1786] – I staid at Home all Morn: PS: called the Girls went to Devon[shire] House Miss Gither's[?] & some shops – party at Dinner L[or]d Belgrave L[or]d Darnley P:S: St Leger & Chappelow Salpiess[?] came in the Eve we had music till supper – to which only St L[eger] staid – Orl[ando] & Geo[rge] went out but return'd to supper.³³³

For some weeks in the August of that year the family went north visiting Derbyshire, staying in Hassop, Chatsworth and Middleton, near Matlock. Although it is unclear where they stayed, it was evidently close to Chatsworth House, the country estate of William Cavendish, 5th Duke of Devonshire. The two families socialised a lot during the Bridgemans' stay in the area:

Wednesday Morn 16th [August 1786] staid at home after dinner Charlotte & I rode to Hassop and from thence to Chatsworth Park Gate came home after dark found Sr H[enry] & Eliz[abeth] at Tea. Even[ing] passed with music.

Their association with the Cavendish family evidently continued for a few weeks. A few days later she writes that they 'went to Middleton Church [...] after rode to Chatsworth showery day – dined drank tea music & passed as usual'.³³⁴ On the following Monday, the Bridgeman family received the duke and duchess (Lady Georgiana Cavendish) at their residence and 'walkd Into the Walks';³³⁵ they saw the

³³² Lady Charlotte Tufton (*d.* 1803), daughter of Sackville Tufton, 7th Earl of Thanet (1688–1753).

³³³ SRO, D1287/19/1(P/1209).

³³⁴ *Ibid*, Sunday, 20 August 1786.

³³⁵ *Ibid*, Monday, 21 August 1786.

duke's family again on Friday, 1 September and on most days the following week, either meeting with the duke and duchess or the 'Old Lords' (uncles of the duke):

‘Sunday Morn ye 10th [1786] – I, the Girls [Charlotte, Elizabeth] and Boys [George, Orlando] went to Chatsworth got there about one o clock where we found L[ad]y Spencer, Lady Clermont L[ad]y E Fortser[?].

These seemingly close connections to one of the wealthiest families in the country suggests an extensive network of acquaintances in which, crucially, music played an important part.

After the Bridgeman family returned to Weston in the first week of September 1786, Lady Bridgeman continued to record their social life in her diary. During the summer and autumn of 1786 music is mentioned as an evening activity an average of four times a week. Occasionally, she gives us a few more details about the music-making, mentioning works or specific performers: ‘Sunday Morn Nov ye 12th [1786] [...] we dined between five & 6– & had some quartettos in ye Evening made out with ye addition of Little Rudge from Wolverhampton’.³³⁶

‘Little Rudge’ was William Rudge junior of Wolverhampton, who took over from his father as organist of the town after his death in 1781.³³⁷ As well as a church musician, William was an impresario, putting on a ‘Grand Miscellaneous Concert’ at the Wolverhampton Theatre in 1790, which featured prominent London musicians.³³⁸ For the Bridgemans, however, he was in the role of visiting professional making music in private with the family. One can easily draw parallels between Rudge and the Bridgemans, and Mudge and the Aylesfords, where Mudge was clearly missed for his

³³⁶ Ibid, Sunday, 12 November 1786.

³³⁷ Rudge junior appears to have been introduced to the public at a benefit concert for his father, the advertisement for which stated that between the 2 acts of the concert ‘will be introduced A CONCERTO on the Harpsichord, by Mr. RUDGE’s SON, a Child who, for his delicate Finger, and early Taste for Music, will astonish the Lovers of Harmony with Pleasure and Surprise.’ (*ABG*, Thursday, 2 October 1780).

³³⁸ *Wolverhampton Chronicle*, 15 September 1790.

musical skills in the social circle shared with Sanderson Miller, discussed above in section 4.4. Lady Bridgeman's account of 'quartetos in ye Evening' is more evidence that the menfolk in the family were string-players. In 1786, after the cellist Henry Simpson Bridgeman had died, the remaining sons (Orlando and George) and Sir Henry himself were evidently limited in their choice of repertoire.

There is enough consistency in some of Lady Bridgeman's journals to attempt a quantitative survey of the family's music-making. In a diary covering six months between 21 August 1788 and 23 February 1789, Lady Elizabeth reveals she played music twenty-three times (equivalent to once a week) but there is good reason to assume that the actual figure was much higher, when we consider entries such as the one for 2 December: 'day passed as usual namely Music & Cards', or the entry for the evening of Tuesday, 7 October: 'it passd as usual in Music etc'. Other entries mention music only when there was something out of the ordinary to report, such as an occasion in 1778, discussed above, when Lady Bridgeman 'play'd thorough base'.³³⁹

Returning to Francis Hackwood, Charlotte and Elizabeth's teacher, his bill of 1783 does not make it clear enough his own involvement in music-making with the family. His residence at Weston for thirteen-weeks in 1782 only reveals that he was teaching, but surely his presence would have encouraged the family to make good use of him for music-making, just as a few years later they were to invite William Rudge jr to Weston for music.

Before leaving the Bridgeman family, there is one other scrap of evidence to discuss. So far, we have not encountered evidence of the participation of servants or other amateur musical staff employed by the family. Only the Weston Park theatrical performances in the 1770s hint that non-gentry musicians may have played, but it is more likely that professionals were employed for these productions. There is no suggestions in the source materials of French horn-playing footmen or a 'Band of Musick' along the lines of Sir Samuel Hellier apart from the presence of scraps of manuscript paper with parts for a short country-dance entitled *Liddle Coddle*.³⁴⁰ Bearing

³³⁹ SRO, D1287/19/1 (P/1210), Almanack of Lady Elizabeth Bridgeman, 1776.

³⁴⁰ SRO, D1287/4/2/8 R120.

the inscription ‘Lord Bradford with Mr. Hackwood’s Compliments’, the piece must have been presented to Sir Henry after 1794 when Henry Bridgeman was made a Baron. The twenty-eight-bar piece is scored for two flutes, two clarinets, two horns, two trumpets and two bass instruments (although the flauto secondo and basso primo parts are missing). This unusual combination of instruments exceeds the number seen in publications of military music at this time, such as Christopher Friedrich Eley’s *Twelve Select Military Pieces for Two Clarinettes, two French Horns and a Bassoon, with a Trumpet ad Libitum. Perform’d by the Band of the Coldstream Guards* (London: Longman & Broderip; for the author [1789-94]), a copy of which is in the Weston Park music collection (WP 90). This short piece, and the presence of military music such as the Eley pieces, points to there being a small ensemble at Weston during the 1780s and 90s. How much Hackwood had to do with this, what function the band played, and what part the family took is beyond the scope of this study but would certainly enhance our knowledge of the music-making in this country house.

Illustration 4.3. Liddle Coddle; ‘Lord Bradford with Mr. Hackwood’s Compliments’. Clarinet Primo Part.³⁴¹



4.7. Mary Leigh.

Chapter 2.3.1. discussed the tuition of Mary Leigh of Stoneleigh Abbey. In Mary’s case, tuition occurred over many years, during the time when she was the ward of

³⁴¹ SRO, D1287/4/2/8 R120.

Elizabeth Verney and her subsequent years of relative independence before she assumed joint responsibility for the Stoneleigh estate in 1774. She shared this responsibility with her cousin William Craven, who had since the early 1760s helped with estate matters as a consequence of the insanity of her brother, Lord Thomas Leigh. A memorandum of 1763 shows alterations that were to be made at Stoneleigh Abbey, which included furnishing a room with an organ, for which Thomas White was paid £100.³⁴² The installation of the organ coincides with the period that Mary was receiving lessons from London based harpsichordist John Burton. Section 3.3.2. presented a list of music known to have been owned by Mary, as evidenced by bills and receipts. The list showed that Mary collected a lot of music that would have been associated with male performers: collections of solo concertos, concertos in seven parts, etc., with a few prints of sonatas with basso continuo or accompanied keyboard sonatas. If the house organ purchased in 1763 was to be used for solo repertoire, there is only William Felton's *Eight Concerto's*, op 7, 1760 on the list of music suitable. It is likely that the house possessed a harpsichord (we know that Mary had hired a spinet for her London residence) and that the music room contained both this and the organ: an ideal arrangement for performing many of the concertos in seven parts that she had purchased. Without further information such as diary entries or evidence of Mary's connections with other amateur musicians, it is not possible to comment any further on her music-making activities.

4.8. Spencers of Althorp.

As discussed in section 2.3.6, the 1st Earl Spencer received cello tuition from the celebrated performer and teacher James Cervetto. We have seen numerous examples in this study where the music tutor serves multiple roles, such as tuning harpsichords, selling music and manuscript paper. Cervetto is no exception to this pattern, as we have already seen in his encounters with Henry Gough (section 2.3.7) and with Earl Spencer. Yet the presence in the Spencer archives of other bills relating to music paints a picture of a musical community that served the nobility and gentry – teachers and performers as well as instrument makers and music sellers. A bill for the period 21

³⁴² SBT, DR18/3/47/52/6.

July 1773 until 28 April 1775 from Thomas Smith, 'Musical Instrument Maker', amounted to £7.2.10. Twenty individual entries are listed on this bill, including:

3rd September 1773: 'For Glueing 2 Cases & Strings'

13th October 1773: 'For 2 Sets of Violincello Strings. Bass strings, Able [*sic*] Sonatas, Strings for a Violin, Mending the bass in the belly & sides, etc'

19th August 1774: 'For mending a case'

13th November 1774: 'For Kammels Trios'³⁴³

These items show the earl to have been an active player, buying chamber music and spare strings for his cello. His purchasing violin strings and paying for repairs to a bass suggests that other family members were equally involved. Even if the violin and bass in question were not played by a specific family member but were instruments to be kept in the house for musical parties, the implications are considerable. The double bass might not be commonly associated with amateurs – there was even less significant repertoire for the bass than for the viola in the eighteenth century. But its use by the Spencers points towards their musical circles having member(s) willing to play an instrument that was not their 'first study' and suggests a private music-making that replicated professional performances more faithfully than has often been assumed. Earl Spencer continued the professional relationship with Thomas Smith the following year, as we can see from a further bill for musical sundries.³⁴⁴

23rd July 1771, For a tennor forth 2 Lengths³⁴⁵

5th October 1771 For Glueing a basso a corner & 2 strings

7th November 1771 For 6 first strings, For 1 second, For 1 third & 1 forth

11th December 1771 For New having a basso bow & portridge [portage]

The implication here is that Smith sold strings for the Spencer family's 'tennor' (= viola), repaired the bass (again), and provided a bow for the instrument and sold the earl many spare strings, presumably for his cello. These two bills from Smith indicate

³⁴³ LBL, ADD MS 75755 27/22.

³⁴⁴ LBL, ADD MS 75755 24/27. 'Thos Smith Musical Instrument Maker, 28th April 1775'.

³⁴⁵ Lengths = strings.

a busy schedule of musical activity among the earl and his family, and further bills from visiting musicians help complete the picture of music-making. One of the earl's teachers, James Cervetto was required to make a great many visits both to Althorp between 1773 and 1775, as discussed in full in section 2.3.6. He gave concerts during some of these visits and took part in the family music-making during others; a bill dated 23 January 1774 reveals he gave two concerts and provided his services 'To a morning that my Lady Spencer had some musick'.³⁴⁶

The evidence from piano tuners' bills leads to a conclusion that music for the Spencers was an integral part of the home, even if 'the home' comprised three large mansions. The family had a harpsichord at Althorp in Northamptonshire and both a harpsichord and piano at Spencer House in St James', London; but Wimbledon Manor also housed a harpsichord.

Between July 1771 and September 1773 the London piano makers Shudi and Broadwood made nine visits to the Spencer's two London properties, which suggests a regular attendance to tune their keyboard instruments.³⁴⁷ The regularity of the visits makes it easy to recognize special occasions when the family may have hosted a concert, as on 30 June 1773 when the firm tuned the Wimbledon harpsichord, just a week after their previous visit.

4.9. Henry Gough, 2nd Baronet of Edgbaston.

Music-making by bachelor Henry Gough is indicated in his pocket account books dated 1770 and 1772–74. They reveal that he purchased a bass in 1770 and bought new strings for it later that year. He no doubt already owned a cello, at least by the start of this year, so one conclusion is that, rather like earl Spencer, Henry Gough had

³⁴⁶ LBL, ADD MS 75755 20/18. This bill, for a total of £3.13.6 also lists 'Bach's Harpd Lessons; Garth's Ditto [Harpd Lessons]'.

³⁴⁷ LBL, ADD MS 75755 21/6. 'Shudi Broadwood for tuning ye harpsichord, £3:9:0.'

enough musical acquaintances to include someone willing to play the bass.³⁴⁸ He may very well have played the instrument himself: the new strings were purchased on 6 January whilst he was at home in Edgbaston; on 13 February he purchased another, during his stay in Oxford. Only four months later did he buy another bass, for £5.7.6., together with a case for the instrument for a shilling and strings for a further shilling.

Unlike most of the other examples discussed in this thesis, there is no evidence that any other Gough played a musical instrument. His father, the first baronet, had subscribed to a number of musical publications, including John Pixell's *A collection of songs*, op 1 (1759), Capel Bond's *Six Concertos in Seven Parts* (1766), and Pixell's *Odes, Cantatas, Songs &c*, op 2 (1775).³⁴⁹ The Pixell subscription is not surprising, considering that he was the local vicar and St Bartholomew's Church, Edgbaston, is 500 ft from Edgbaston Hall.³⁵⁰ Sir Henry's subscription to Capel Bond's collection could similarly have been prompted by personal connections, since his daughter, Barbara (brother of Henry, 2nd Baronet), in 1770 had married Isaac Spooner, a prominent Birmingham citizen, whose sister Ann had married Bond two years previously.

Despite these factors, which may imply that their patronage of Pixell and Bond was through personal loyalty rather than purely from a desire to acquire their music. We might assume that Barbara received harpsichord lessons from Pixell, but there is no evidence confirming this. Henry's pocketbooks (discussed in relation to his musical tastes in 3.3.3.) revealed no identifiable music that could have involved his sister. However, as Barbara was married by the time of the first pocketbook of 1770, his purchasing may have reflected the fact that the family's keyboard player was no longer

³⁴⁸ WAAS, MS 2126/3/6/2-6. 'Pocket Diary and Account Books of Henry Gough, 2nd Baronet'.

³⁴⁹ Sir Henry Gough, 1st baronet, died in 1774; the entry in the List of Subscribers in Pixell's *Odes, Cantatas, Songs &c*, op 2, reads 'The late Sir Henry Gough, Bart.'

³⁵⁰ St Bartholomew's is now known as Edbaston Old Church; Edgbaston Hall is owned by Calthorpe Estates, a company derived from the Gough family, now used as a clubhouse for Edgbaston Golf Club.

in residence. We have to return to Henry Gough junior to look for more evidence of the family's music-making.

Much of Henry's musical activities, including his cello lessons with James Cervetto, took place in London. Most of these expenses relating to music – purchasing music, strings, and repairs – were incurred whilst he was in London. However, some payments were made during periods he was in the country. For example, in 1772 he spent the first part of the year in Edgbaston and travelled to London on the 29th of March, where he stayed until late June. The music-related expenses he made whilst at home were:

Feb 15: Fiddle Strings: £0:0:4
July 22: Fiddle Strings: £0:1:6
Aug 15: Fiddler: £0:2:6
Aug 27: Bass Strings: £0:1:0;
Nov 9: a Violoncello Strings: £0:0:6³⁵¹

A similar pattern is seen in 1774, this time these expenses include 'Fidlers: £010:6.' paid on 4 August.³⁵²

He continued his father's patronage of local composers by subscribing to a number of collections of music by regional composers. Thomas Norris's *Six Symphonies*, op 1, published in 1774 attracted numerous subscribers from among nobility, helped no doubt by Norris's regular appearances at the Oxford Musical Society concerts, which Gough subscribed to. In 1770, Gough arrived in Oxford on Thursday, 10 May and bought a subscription ticket for a guinea to that year's Musical Society series, despite having missed the first six concerts to the 1770–71 season.³⁵³ The next scheduled concert was the following Monday (a programme that included 'Burney's Anthem'

³⁵¹ LoB, MS 2126/EB 18/e. 'The Complete Pocket Book, ... 1772'

³⁵² LoB, MS 2126/VOL/557. 'Pocket Book for 1774.'

³⁵³ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Saturday, 24 March 1770. 'Articles of Subscription for the Support of the Musical Society'. The concerts took place each Monday evening and the series ran from Lady Day (26 March).

and Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*) and featured Norris as a principal vocal performer. Curiously, Henry's pocketbook expense entry for Saturday 12 shows that he paid Norris a guinea.³⁵⁴ Although the nature of this expense is unclear, it is tempting to suggest that Sir Henry was paying a bill from Norris for private music-making. Given that Henry's visits to Oxford in 1770 added up to over two months, it seems likely that he would have called upon the services of a local professional, just as he clearly did when he paid James Cervetto.

Like his father, the first baronet, Henry Gough also subscribed to the publication of Pixell's op 2 (1775). Notable too is his subscription to the *Six Sonatas*, op 3 (1779) of Jeremiah Clark, who by this time had been organist of St Philip's, Birmingham and had been a leading musical figure in the town for ten years. Might Clark have been paid for music-making with the Goughs at this time? In the absence of accounts for the years after he inherited the baronetcy in 1774, this question must remain unanswered.

Sir Henry's membership of the *Noblemen and Gentlemen's Catch Club* for 1784 shows his musical interests were not restricted to the cello and string music. Thomas Norris had been a professional member of that organization since 1770, so it would be easy to conclude that his encounter with Sir Henry that year in Oxford was to take part in private vocal performance rather than instrumental.

³⁵⁴ *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, Saturday, 12 May 1770.

CHAPTER 5: Conclusions

During the course of this study I have presented evidence of a wide variety of music-making in the houses of noble and gentry families of the Midlands and uncovered a number of pervasive themes. This variety reflects the diversity of domestic and social situations, financial circumstances and the ages of family members, and the geographical location of their properties. However, there are many aspects of music-making that remain relatively constant between the families I have focused on; for example, the relationships between the family musicians and the professionals they interacted with through performance, teaching and composition.

One of the more important issues occurring throughout the study has been the gender bias governing the choice of instruments played by the family members studied, and the issues affecting the mixing of amateurs and professionals in concert performances. The presence of two opposing sides of the argument for women's participation in music in itself is documented in chapter 2, and we have seen that such activity was common. The examination of the musical tastes and the works produced to satisfy the demands of women and men has shown that women's participation was extensive. Thus, Lady Bridgeman not only played the harpsichord, but on at least one occasion 'playd thorough base', accompanying other members of her family. In this context she is likely to have been playing continuo parts for solo and trio sonatas, and therefore making music with the men in her family and among her friends. Mary Leigh's spending patterns on sheet music, as discussed in chapter 3, revealed that the likely scenario for music-making at Stoneleigh Abbey was that both she and her brother Edward relied on many guests with which to make music. In the case of the Bridgeman family of Weston Park I showed connections between the surviving music and the individual family members to highlight the distinct gender boundaries of musical genres. Charlotte Bridgeman obtained manuscripts of recently composed pieces, writing out the music in her own manuscript books and acquiring instrumental parts for individual arias. In her case, music-making continued after her marriage, and we have evidence that her preference for new music continued as she copied out songs and keyboard pieces at her married home.

If we are to judge the technical skills of amateurs by the music they played, there must have been a very wide range of abilities among nobility and gentry musicians. In chapter 2 I proposed that the relatively high number of keyboard methods compared with other tutor books was owing to the lack of demand for those for string and wind instruments, given that these instruments were normally taught by private tutors. Beyond the stage of beginner, we still see a wide variety of technical requirements represented in printed music. Accompanied sonatas quite often had easier string parts than keyboard parts, suggesting that in this intimate music-making scenario, which would typically involve a female keyboardist and male string players, the women were more proficient. Yet, the late eighteenth century witnessed a general rise in technically challenging music for all instruments, and much of this can be found in the music collections of the Midlands country house, suggesting that these families aspired to a high technical proficiency. The examination of music collections in chapter 3 revealed aspects of music-making beyond that of the musical proficiency of the family members. Collections of printed music that were bound together by genre indicates that the music that was purchased primarily for the purpose of performance. By binding together part books of a number of collections with the same scoring, the owners referred to their music by scoring and genre rather than composer. Catalogues of music at Weston Park show that their collections were organized in this way, enabling works of the same genre to be more easily located.

Music publishers' sale catalogues during this time provide hints for the contexts in which the music may have been performed. For example, Thompson's catalogue of music, 1781, lists 'Overtures, Symphonies, Concertos, &c. in Parts' under a general heading 'For Concerts', implying that the succeeding categories – 'Violin Music' ('Quartets for Violins, &c.'; 'Trios for two Violins and a Bass'; 'Duets for two Violins', etc.) were for more exclusively for home consumption. There is scope for further study of surviving catalogues of circulating libraries ascertain the proportion of 'classic' material compared to new music. The question of amateur musicians' proficiency also fits in here, and it would be of significant value to chart the emergence of virtuosic music designed for the amateur market.

An examination of surviving accounts of instrument makers and service providers may also help us to understand music-making among the gentry and nobility. The Broadwood firm, which serviced and tuned the Spencer family instruments in London, kept detailed records of their activity tuning keyboard instruments in the capital. The Broadwood archives are as yet an untapped resource that may prove highly useful in mapping the networks of nobility and gentry customers in London. Further research into these documents may well help to shed light on the music-making activities in the country homes of aristocratic families and reveal if instruments were transported between properties or if multiple instruments were purchased to enable music in all of a family's properties.

Music-making was a peripatetic activity for many of the families discussed in this study: I have shown that music tuition and family music-making took place in both country house and London residences. Some families, like the Spencers of Althorp, had musical activities taking place in all three of their houses, as evidenced by records of harpsichord and piano tuning. In many cases I have shown links between families and individuals in the region. Some connections are wide-ranging socially and far-reaching geographically, such as Sanderson Miller's circle, which included the Earl of Aylesford in Warwickshire, William Shenstone in Staffordshire and amateur composer Richard Mudge. The Bridgeman family's circle of friends included other performers near and far from Weston. There is every reason to believe that the family hosted informal concerts at their London house during the season, as we have seen was common for other families.

The example of the Bridgeman family also shows us that professional musicians maintained a significant standing in the family. Until his death in 1776, London musician Mattia Vento had taught the daughters Charlotte and Elizabeth, and after his death, Francis Hackwood was appointed to take over their music tuition. At the same time, the girls' eldest brother, Henry Simpson Bridgeman, was getting to grips with challenging repertoire under the guidance of the prominent cellist James Cervetto. Henry's collection of printed cello music is comprehensive, containing almost all of the prints available during his time. Furthermore, he had a sizeable collection of cello music in manuscript: indeed, my work on this project included the discovery of twenty new pieces. The combination of the printed and manuscript cello

music, therefore, must represent the largest surviving collection owned by a single person in eighteenth-century England. The manuscript cello works, most of them unique, have now been published in a critical edition, making this important source easily available for closer study as well as bringing the music to a wider audience.¹ The Bridgeman family also maintained links with musicians local to Weston. Lady Bridgeman's diaries suggest that music-making was a common, almost daily occurrence during their visit to Chatsworth in the 1780s. The catalogues made during Sir Henry's lifetime show that his family's musical tastes were varied, and the surviving music suggests that they kept abreast of the latest music to be heard on the London stage.

The case study of Sir Samuel Hellier shows how musical networks may also have included instrument makers and professional performers. The acquisition of numerous instruments for his Band of Musick, and the commissioning of a sizable organ from the London builder Abraham Adcock for the village church was as a result of Hellier's direct personal dealings with woodwind, brass, stringed instrument and organ makers in London. His own musical circle included his country neighbours George Pigot and Lord North, and his music collection reveals he had an interest in both classics and new styles and genres of chamber music, as well as the ensemble music he intended for his band.

Evidence of gentry involvement in public music-making has come from a variety of sources. The various rehearsal calls printed in newspapers prior to musical meetings are a key piece of evidence, as discussed in chapter 1. The extent to which these amateurs travelled to take part in performances may be further understood through future, closer cross-referencing of accounts and diaries with the public performances in question. More research needs to be undertaken to gauge the extent of participation in London by nobility and gentry with provincial estates.

¹ Perkins, Martin (Ed.) *Weston Park Cello Music* (Frome: Septenary Editions, 2018). A recording of some of the manuscript cello pieces has also been produced: *Weston Park Cello Music*, Musical & Amicable Society (Barn Cottage Records, bcr020, 2018).

The examination of regional professional musicians has revealed that many of them had peripatetic portfolio careers: important musical figures in the Midlands such as Jeremiah Clark and Elias Isaac, organists of Birmingham and Worcester, were performers, composers and teachers, and evidence has shown that many such musicians travelled great distance to serve their clients.

The full extent of the professional activity of Midlands musicians has become clearer through the present study. The use of newspapers to find evidence of the performing activities of musicians has helped to paint a vivid picture of certain individuals' working lives, such as that of Jeremiah Clark. Despite the wide range of services provided by professionals, we see a great deal of consistency in their costs. A standard fee for a musician to charge for visiting a client, regardless of the service (harpsichord tuning, teaching, etc.), was £0.5.3. However, a longer distance for the tutor to travel would warrant a fee of exactly double this rather than by a percentage. This can be seen from visiting music teachers such as John Barrett travelling six miles from Northampton to Althorp House, or Elias Isaac's eight miles between Worcester and Croome Court. Harder to discern are the reasons behind the amounts charged by resident musicians. In the cases of Francis Hackwood, Giacobbe and James Cervetto, and Mr Eller, the full extent of services they provided to their clients (Bridgeman, Spencer and Hellier respectively) is not known, and their prime activities – as music teachers to the daughters of nobility, teachers and performers to noblemen, and teacher to estate workers – are too varied for closer comparison.

However, what is now much better understood is the extent of the professional networks that existed in the region and interlinked with the capital. Many of the public performances discussed in chapter 1 would not have been possible without the variety of connections that could facilitate engaging vocal soloists from the regional cathedral towns and London, the raising of an orchestra boosted by local gentry amateurs, and use of performance material and instruments from specialists in the area.

Future Research

In the course of the preceding paragraphs, I have already highlighted instances where there is scope for further research. There are also a number of broader aspects of music-making which are ripe for further investigation, but which fell beyond the scope of this study. For instance, the extent to which composers had contact with their patrons is something only known in the context of a few composer-centred studies. Investigating broader musical networks through the printed music collections which composers dedicated to their patrons may reveal further aspects of the relationship between professionals and amateurs. Such relationships may be more complicated than a simple transaction and could have involved professionals taking part in amateur music-making or, at the very least, a connection of teacher and pupil. These might be relatively minor composers such as Gaetano Quilici, who published *Six Italian songs, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord, dedicated to the Right Hon. Humphry Morice*.² Sir Humphry Morice became a member of the Catch Club in 1764 and so it is likely he was an amateur singer who engaged Quilici as a teacher or professional performer. Maria Hester Parke's *Sonatas for the harpsichord or piano forte*, dedicated to the Countess of Uxbridge in 1784, is another of a great many of prints that suggests a connection between patron and composer.³ In this example, the female composer and dedicatee may reveal a different relationship and a different set of music-making circumstances to one between men.

My research has revealed that amateur brass and wind players among the gentry and nobility were rare. The presence of music with horn and wind parts points to the possibility that men of these ranks played these instruments. Music such as Abel's *Six overtures in eight parts*, 1780, is found in the collections at Calke Abbey and Weston Park, and the popularity of this collection with the amateur market – both individuals and musical societies – suggests that brass instruments were being played by some sections of the gentry or aspiring classes. In his *Eight Easy Symphonies For two Violins, two Hautboys or German Flutes, two French Horns, a Tenor and Thorough Bass*, 1782, John Valentine went

² Gaetano Quilici, *Six Italian songs, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord* (London: 1765).

³ Maria Hester Park, *To the Countess of Uxbridge, These Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte [and violin] are Dedicated*, op 1 [London: 1785].

further in accommodating the growing demand for music with horn parts.⁴ In chapter 1 I discussed the scenario of house servants playing the horn, taking on a dual role of signaling and taking part in ensemble music, but more work could be done to establish who played these parts in private amateur contexts and musical societies.

A significant strand of research which I intend to take forward from this thesis involves the completion of a dataset of subscribers to musical publications from the earliest known publication to 1820. These lists, numbering over 730, will yield approximately 150,000 names of amateur and professional musicians, and will open up possibilities for more study of amateur music making during this period. My checklist of references to musical activities in regional newspapers, 1750-1810 has also resulted in a significant amount of data which will be valuable in future research in the area.

It is clear that there is still much to be learnt about music-making in the eighteenth-century English country house, and many more potential avenues to be explored. However, the focus of the present thesis on the activities of a small number of families has nevertheless already brought to light many new examples of amateur musical activity in this context and has thus added significantly to our understanding of this phenomenon. The fact that it has made available for the first time a significant amount of documentary material means that it should provide a firm foundation and, indeed, a clear impetus, for further research.

⁴ John Valentine, *Eight Easy Symphonies*, op 4. According to the title page, the music contains 'Solos for the Different Instruments Interspersed through the Whole, being an Introduction to playing in Concert, Designed for, & Dedicated to, all Junior Performers and Musical Societies'.

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A wide variety of primary sources were consulted for this thesis and are listed below. Many of these were only accessible via online databases whilst some other sources such as manuscript and printed material were obtained through direct consultation with the original in archives and libraries. The London newspapers referred to throughout this study have all been digitized, but for the majority of the local publications used (e.g., *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* and *Berrow's Worcester Journal*) I transcribed the information from microfilms. Basic details of the newspapers consulted are given below followed by full addresses of the archive libraries and record offices I visited to consult and transcribe material.

Digitized collections and online databases have greatly assisted my research. These resources include:

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers (accessed via Gale Cengage Learning; <https://www.gale.com/intl/c/17th-and-18th-century-burney-newspapers-collection>)

The British Newspaper Archive (<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>).

British Periodicals (accessed via ProQuest)

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Clergy of the Church of England Database (<http://theclergydatabase.org.uk/>).

Google Books (books.google.com)

Internet Archive (<http://www.archive.org>)

International Music Score Library Project, Petrucci Music Library (<https://imslp.org>)

Musical Festivals Database (<http://musicalfestivals.org/>)

National Pipe Organ Register (<http://www.npor.org.uk/>)

Newspapers

Abbreviations for the commonly used titles are on page 12.

<i>Aris's Birmingham Gazette</i>	Weekly, printed on Thursdays
<i>The Atlas</i>	Weekly London newspaper, printed on Saturdays
<i>Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette</i>	Weekly, printed on Thursdays
<i>Berrow's Worcester Journal</i>	Weekly, printed on Mondays
<i>Chester Chronicle</i>	Weekly, printed on Mondays
<i>Derby Mercury</i>	Weekly, printed on Fridays
<i>Dublin Evening Post</i>	Published three times a week
<i>Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser</i>	Weekly London newspaper
<i>General Advertiser</i>	Weekly London newspaper printed on Wednesdays
<i>Gloucester Journal.</i>	Weekly, usually printed on Mondays
<i>The British Chronicle, or Pugh's Hereford Journal</i>	Weekly newspaper printed on Thursdays
<i>Jackson's Oxford Journal.</i>	Weekly newspaper printed on Saturdays
<i>Lloyd's Evening Post.</i>	London newspaper printed on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays
<i>Morning Herald.</i>	Weekly London newspaper printed on Mondays
<i>Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser</i>	Daily London newspaper
<i>Morning Post and Daily Advertiser</i>	Daily London newspaper
<i>Manchester Mercury</i>	Weekly, printed on Saturdays
<i>Northampton Mercury</i>	Weekly, printed on Mondays
<i>Public Advertiser</i>	Weekly, printed on Tuesdays
<i>Shrewsbury Chronicle</i>	Weekly, printed on Saturdays
<i>Stamford Mercury</i>	Weekly, printed on Thursdays until 1783, and Fridays from 1784
<i>Wolverhampton Chronicle</i>	Weekly, printed on Wednesdays
<i>Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer</i>	Printed three times a week
<i>World and Fashionable Advertiser</i>	Weekly, printed on Friday

Manuscript Sources

Individual manuscripts consulted for this thesis are cited in the footnotes to the main text. Presented below are the full details of the archive libraries and record offices from which the manuscripts were sourced.

Birmingham Archives and Heritage, Library of Birmingham, Centenary Square,
Broad Street, Birmingham, B1 2ND

British Library, Manuscript Collections, 96 Euston Road, London, NW1 2DB

Derbyshire Record Office, New Street, Matlock, Derbyshire, DE4 3FE

Gloucestershire Archives, Clarence Row, Alvin Street, Gloucester, GL1 3DW

Lichfield Cathedral Library, Visitors Study Centre, The Old Registry, The Close,
Lichfield, WS13 7LD

Oxford University Archives. Bodleian Library, Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG

Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, The Shakespeare Centre, Henley Street,
Stratford-upon-Avon, CV37 6QW

Staffordshire Record Office: Eastgate Street, Stafford, ST16 2LZ

Staffordshire and Stoke-on-Trent Archive Service: William Salt Library,
19 Eastgate Street, Stafford, ST16 2LZ

Warwickshire County Record Office, Priory Park, Cape Road, Warwick, CV34 4JS

Wolverhampton Archives and Local Studies, Molineux Hotel Building,
Whitmore Hill, Wolverhampton, WV1 1SF

Worcestershire Archive and Archaeology Service, The Hive, Sawmill Walk,
The Butts, Worcester, WR1 3PB

Worcester Cathedral Library, The Chapter Office, 8 College Yard,
Worcester, WR1 2LA

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Concerts of Antient Music, under the patronage of their Majesties; as performed at The New Room, King's Theatre, Haymarket (London: 1795)

Concerts of Antient Music, under the patronage of their Majesties; as performed at The New Room, King's Theatre, Haymarket (London: 1795)

Concerts of Antient Music, under the patronage of their Majesties; as performed at The New Room, King's Theatre, Haymarket (London: 1796)

Concerts of Antient Music, under the patronage of their Majesties; as performed at The New Room, King's Theatre, Haymarket (London: 1797)

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A great many eighteenth-century musical works have been cited in this study.

Reference to compositional features such as style or instrumentation have generally been of secondary importance to the biographical information these collections hold such as lists of subscribers or prefatory material by the composer or author. Many more musical works are referred to in the appendices which I have not included here.

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