

*The Role of Music in the  
Yorkshire Country House  
1770–1850*

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# Abstract

This thesis is a contribution to the history of domestic musicality and sociability, focusing on the collections and musical practices of four Yorkshire Houses – Harewood House, Castle Howard, Temple Newsam and Nostell Priory – from around 1770 to 1850.

The thesis interrogates the individual case studies of musical activity within the four houses using a framework of the following themes: the changing role of musical patronage and the status of the professional musician; music-making and elite men and women; private and public performance; the role and influence of visiting tutors and performers; the participants in music-making in the house; the genres and composers of music played; the importance of sociability in the country house and the social functions that music fulfilled; the locations within the house where music-making took place; and the relationship that musical instruments had with the design and decoration of interiors and furnishings.

The findings of this thesis, showing contrasting approaches to music-making across the four case studies, are considered alongside other research, to show in what ways music-making in the country house had changed by the end of the eighteenth century, and what relationship music in the domestic, private aristocratic sphere had with contemporary musical trends in the public domain. Comparisons are made with evidence from other houses and aristocratic families to develop and enrich this discussion.

By defining closely the musical activities of the four individual households this thesis aims to show what is unique to the family and what is characteristic of the period and region; and to establish how typical certain practices and levels of musical interest were in comparison to other aristocratic households.

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I dedicate this thesis to my parents Tony and Judy Morrison, who, with excitement and enthusiasm, spurred me on at the outset of this journey, but who are no longer here to see its conclusion.



# Declaration

This thesis is the result of my own work. It has not been previously submitted, in part or whole, to any university or institution for any degree, diploma, or other qualification.



# 1 Introduction: The Role of Music in the Yorkshire Country House, 1770–1850

Music has long played a significant role in the country house and been integral to aristocratic life and self-representation. Historically it has been central to the ceremonial aspects of upper-class life, hospitality and entertainment, and has been an important element in elite recreation, family life and education, assuming a symbolic significance in contemporary ideology concerning gender and class. Aristocratic preoccupation with music-making has influenced country-house planning and helped to stimulate the large-scale publication of sheet music and the production of musical instruments. Aristocratic patronage has impacted upon musicians' careers and musical life in the public domain, interacting with their initiatives towards professional independence, and forming part of a complex web of different sources of patronage. The particular definition of music's role in the elite household changed at different times and determined music's function and where it was played in the house. Furthermore, depending on who was present, a domestic space might alternate between both 'private' and 'public' functions. The 'public' face of 'private' music-making had further implications, for example how musical performance in the 'domestic sphere' impacted concerts in the 'public sphere', resulting in a fluid two-way traffic of influence.

Until recently the role of music in country houses has been a neglected area

of inquiry. Many music collections have remained stored away in archives. Increasing numbers of academics are now recognising the central importance of this field to historical and musicological research. Concerted investigations are revealing a bank of evidence which, when pieced together, will begin to provide a picture of musical activity across a range of houses and geographical regions in the United Kingdom.

The county of Yorkshire is a particularly rich geographical region to investigate owing to the large number of country houses it boasts, several with collections of music dating to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The chronological tranche 1770–1850, which is the focus of this thesis, follows the chapter in York's history when it was a particularly prestigious social centre referred to as the 'Metropolis of the North'.

'What has been, and is,' says Drake, 'the chief support of the city, at present, is the resort to and residence of several country gentlemen with their families in it.'<sup>1</sup> Peter Tillott describes the social situation of York in the early eighteenth century as follows: 'By the 1730s the city was well established as the social capital of Yorkshire and perhaps of an even wider area. That it had become so was probably the result of its long established metropolitan character. As the centre of the province and diocese, as the meeting place for county elections, as the assize town and as regional market, York was clearly the place to which Yorkshiremen would resort to enjoy the expanding social life of the century.'<sup>2</sup> And as Francis Drake points out, 'it was so much cheaper than London ... even less expensive than living in their own houses in the country'. At first, he says, the gentry came into town twice a year at the time of the assizes; but by his time the influx was in August for the races, which maintained an enduring popularity.<sup>3</sup>

From the early eighteenth century York boasted a flourishing musical life and was one of the first northern cities to hold public concerts. On 1 August 1709 The *Daily Courant* published the following advertisement:

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<sup>1</sup> F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), 240, cited in Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 245.

<sup>2</sup> P. Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 245.

<sup>3</sup> Drake, *Eboracum*, 241, cited in Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 245.

York, August the 8<sup>th</sup>. During the sizes will be perform'd a Consort of Musick, by Mr. Holcomb, Mr. Corbet, etc. Who will perform the same in Nottingham ... after the Races are over, viz. All the choicest Songs out of all the new Operas in Italian and English, with their proper Sinfoney's as they are play'd in the Queen's Theatre.<sup>4</sup>

This concert was followed by other performances, which eventually led to the establishment of a series of concerts in 1729–30. These concerts were organised to coincide with the winter seasons, which many of the nobility and gentry spent in York, beginning in October and finishing by the middle of April.<sup>5</sup> The upper classes comprised the main market for the concerts. Griffiths goes on to describe the proliferation of concert series in York during the following decades, recording who performed, the programmes, the venues, and the promoters.<sup>6</sup> In the realms of both private and public performances throughout the eighteenth century musicians remained dependent to some degree on aristocratic influence and financial support. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, despite an increase in the city's population from 12,000 to 27,000, York's social life began to decline, a trend that continued into the nineteenth century. The impact on concert life was a drop in subscribers. It was perhaps this that gave a fresh impetus to the staging of private concerts and music-making in some of the great houses in Yorkshire. Later, the problems leading to the decline of the subscription concerts were to be offset by two developments in the 1820s and 1830s: the flourishing of musical societies and the emergence of the great music festivals together gave new life to public music in York. Both received substantial support from local gentry.

This thesis seeks to examine the social and cultural functions of music in the context of the Yorkshire country house between the years 1770 and 1850, the period most richly represented in the archival and music collections of four great houses in North Yorkshire, Castle Howard, Harewood House, Temple Newsam and

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<sup>4</sup> *Daily Courant*, 1 August 1709, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* In Chapters 2 and 3 I will be examining this evidence more closely to establish which local aristocracy of relevance to this study were involved in subscribing to and promoting concert series in York and in Leeds.

Nostell Priory, all of which are members of the Yorkshire Country House Partnership (YCHP).<sup>7</sup> In the absence of a central register, these houses were selected on the basis of personal contact with the curators of the collections. The starting point was the collection at Harewood House. The decision was then made to focus on houses in Yorkshire and work with the YCHP. Following enquiries to member houses, collections of greater or smaller proportions were discovered, which together have formed a basis for discussion and comparison of this theme. These collections have not been investigated previously. The handlists of sheet and manuscript music I have compiled, and which appear as appendices at the end of this thesis, are rough preliminary lists to provide an overview, prior to further inquiry and research.

## Cultural background

Music has long occupied an important position in the country house. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, it no longer enjoyed its former prestige in English society. The vogue for certain styles and forms of music, for example Italian opera, fuelled anxieties about 'Britishness', about existing power relationships and accepted definitions of gender which expressed itself in misogyny, homophobia and xenophobia. There were also restrictive definitions of masculinity and femininity at work: music was often seen as an appropriate amateur occupation for women but not for men.<sup>8</sup> All of these factors had an impact on music-making in the country house. In such an atmosphere, the musician was extremely vulnerable and musical careers remained dependent on an 'uneven mix of merit and patronage'.<sup>9</sup> While there were now more systems of patronage available to the musician, traditional aristocratic patronage, although more modest than previously, continued to be valued highly.

In the nineteenth century attitudes towards music remained mixed. As Alisa

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<sup>7</sup> The Yorkshire Country House Partnership was established in 1999 as a collaboration between houses in the county and the University of York. The membership now includes more than a dozen houses, and encompasses the departments of History, English, Archaeology, Art History, and Music at the University. Together, the houses and University undertake joint research projects.

<sup>8</sup> D. Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850* (2001), 6–21. These themes are also explored in R. Leppert, *Music and Image* (1998). See also: E. D. Mackerness, *A Social History of Music* (1964).

<sup>9</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 11.

Clapp-Intyre has written, 'music was at once idealised and one of the most contested art forms of the Victorian period'.<sup>10</sup> Advocates of the beneficial properties of music, such as John Ruskin, argued that music possessed ethereal, spiritual qualities. It was valued for its ability to inspire, edify and morally reform; to create community and fuel patriotism; to enhance the domestic sphere. It was believed to be an appropriate occupation and adornment for young women which, associated as it was with a certain economic status, would at the same time improve their marriage prospects. Conversely, certain genres of music were seen by some to be capable of subversion and corruption. Music was believed to possess sensual qualities which were potentially dangerous and performing young ladies were rendered 'vulnerable' under the 'gaze' of a male audience. The commercial aspects of the promotion of music, such as the widespread purchasing of instruments, particularly the pianoforte, and sheet music, provoked anxiety in those who wanted to preserve music's purity and spiritual qualities. These beliefs fuelled the controversy over the value and role of music and raised many questions, for example about female musicians. The values and practices of the aristocratic families were increasingly emulated by an aspiring middle class.

## **Representations of music in the late-eighteenth-century country house**

Visual depictions of aristocratic music-making in the home in the eighteenth century are relatively abundant, as has been demonstrated in the research and writings of Richard Leppert and Adrian Le Harivel.<sup>11</sup> These images include portraits of both elite men and women accompanied by a musical symbol; portraits

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<sup>10</sup> A. Clapp-Intyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs. Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel* (2002), 2; N. Temperley ed. *The Lost Chord, Essays on Victorian Music* (1989).

<sup>11</sup> Richard Leppert has written extensively on the relationship between musical images and musical practice in the eighteenth century in his books, *The Sight of Sound* (1993) and *Music and Image* (1998). His interest, as expressed in the introduction of *Music and Image*, was to discover the 'idea' and significance of music in English upper-class lives, through predominantly visual representations of aristocratic music-making. From a bank of 100 paintings, drawings and prints, Leppert discusses upper-class ideologies of self, class and national identity. Adrian Le Harivel is Curator of British Art at the National Gallery of Ireland. Over the years he has built up a reservoir of musical images from which he lectures on different themes involving music, including one he gave at the National Centre for Early Music (NCEM) about 'Music in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century Country House'. Although it did not draw heavily upon archival material and was not an in-depth portrayal of music in any given location, it was helpful to see the range of images of aristocratic music-making and historic musical instruments, about which he is very well-informed.

of composers like George Frederic Handel or instrument-makers such as Burkat Shudi; conversation pieces of individuals, families and groups of people engaged in music-making; depictions of private concerts or 'musical parties'; illustrations on the front of teaching manuals, designs for harpsichord or organ cases; mythological images found in the decoration of music rooms and other rooms intended for entertainment; and satirical prints and sketches, for example around the subject of music-masters.

Similarly the theme of music in the context of upper- and middle-class public and domestic life frequently appears in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature.<sup>12</sup> For example, in Fanny Burney's novels *Evelina* (1778) and *The Wanderer* (1814) the theme of music, both as entertainment and upper-class sociability and as a female accomplishment, is employed to depict the difficulties of the woman's position in eighteenth-century society. The piano as female accomplishment is a theme taken up by authors such as William Thackeray in *Vanity Fair*.<sup>13</sup> Correspondingly there were those such as Hannah More and Maria Edgeworth who spoke out vehemently against the eighteenth-century obsession with accomplishments.<sup>14</sup>

The reading of novels, especially Gothic romances, was one 'frowned upon' route by which some upper-class girls escaped the confines of the 'domestic cage' to taste the excitement that their domestic lives lacked and provoke emotions not dissimilar to those aroused by music. In Gothic literature, music serves many purposes: it combines with words and the 'picturesque' sounds in nature; it ushers heroes and heroines into each other's presence. A talent for music signals a romantic disposition and moral purity befitting the gothic heroine. It was inevitably of a melancholic kind – 'mournful' or 'plaintive' – its sonorous imagery expressive of the softer, 'blissful,' symptoms of pain. It can also seduce and deceive:

'Now, father what shall I sing? Will you hear the ballad which

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<sup>12</sup> The country house has long been a source of inspiration to writers and occupied a vibrant place in the literary imagination, as Richard Gill's book *Happy Rural Seat. The English Country House and the Literary Imagination* (1972) demonstrates. Likewise *The Improvement of the Estate* (1994) by Alistair M. Duckworth explores the significance and symbolic meanings of landed estates in the writings of Jane Austen. Neither study focuses on the place of music in the country house.

<sup>13</sup> A. Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos, A Social History* (1954), 267–283.

<sup>14</sup> Around 1800 Hannah More wrote a parable *Two Wealthy Farmers, or The History of Mr. Bragwell*.



treats of the gallant Durandarte, who died in the famous battle of Roncevalles?’

‘What you please Mathilda.’

She then tuned her harp, and afterwards preluded for some moments with such exquisite taste as to prove her a perfect mistress of the instrument. The air she played was soft and plaintive. Ambrosio, while he listened felt his uneasiness subside, and a pleasing melancholy spread itself in to his bosom. Suddenly Mathilda changed the strain: with a hand bold and rapid, she struck a few martial chords, and then chanted the following ballad to an air at once simple and melodious.<sup>15</sup>

Gothic literature at the end of the eighteenth century, and especially the work of Anne Radcliffe, *The Magician of Udolpho*, deeply influenced the English poets of the next generation, William Byron and John Keats, and Percy Byssche Shelley, who wrote to Jane Williams:

*Though the sound overpowers,  
Sing again, with your dear voice revealing a tone  
Of some world far from ours,  
Where music and moonlight and feeling  
Are one.*<sup>16</sup>

These lines seem to echo the unity of music, sentiment and nature found in *Udolpho*. In the words of the high Romantic poet, however, this ‘world’ is found in the imagination, and it was in this symbolic realm that the German poets of the period also explored similar sentiments and preoccupations.

Jane Austen was a great admirer of Radcliffe’s writing but her treatment of

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<sup>15</sup> M. Lewis, *The Monk* (1796), 92.

<sup>16</sup> P. B. Shelley, “To Jane: “The Keen Stars were Twinkling”” (1822), *Poetical Works*, Mary Shelley, ed. (1839). Edward and Jane Williams became friends with the Shelleys and lived with them in Lerici in 1822. Apparently Shelley enjoyed Jane’s singing and presented her with a guitar. Several of his last poems are addressed to her.

the theme of music differed greatly. Patrick Piggott's book *The Innocent Diversion* analyses the way that music is utilised by Austen in her novels. Austen understood the significance of music in her culture, and the place of music and amateur music-making in the plots and characterisation of her novels is considerable. Reference is made to Austen's commentary on the place and role of music in society and the educated woman's life in the chapters that follow.

In her book *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs*, Clapp-Intyre discusses the complex engagement of authors George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell and Thomas Hardy with the contradictory tensions in the roles and connotations that Victorian society attached to music and its performance, in particular the ambiguous attitudes towards women and music. These are explored through the different genres adopted by the authors. Of particular relevance to this study is the chapter on 'Female Confrontations with Professionalized Music in Daniel Deronda.'<sup>17</sup> The attitudes treated in these novels and summarised by Clapp-Intyre provide a backdrop to the discussion of music in the life of Georgiana, the 'Victorian Aristocrat' (Chapter 6). Mary Burgan, in her essay 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-century Fiction', similarly surveys contrasting depictions of women and music in nineteenth-century fiction by authors such as Charles Dickens, Wilkie Collins, Mark Twain, Charlotte Bronte, George Meredith and George Gissing, including examples of sublime rapture and feminine musical passion in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Damsel with a Dulcimer* and Dickens' *Rosa Dartle*.<sup>18</sup>

These visual and written portrayals provide vital hints and insights into the prevalence and meaning of private and public music-making and its social and cultural significance. They do not, however, provide a portrait of the specific experiences of individual houses.

## **Conduct literature**

The role of conduct literature in the discussion of upper-class musical practice is also important to consider. The subject of music and domesticity in the eighteenth

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<sup>17</sup> Clapp-Intyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs*, 124–47.

<sup>18</sup> M. Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in nineteenth-century Fiction', in Temperley, ed., *The Lost Chord*, 42–67.

century is closely linked to contemporary notions of conduct appropriate to class, and discussions on 'gender' and 'roles'. Theories and representations of how the latter were perceived are numerous and varied, as writers Amanda Vickery and Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus have shown.<sup>19</sup> For example, while the patriarchal system was generally accepted, there has been considerable disagreement as to the extent to which concepts such as 'private' and 'public' and the notion of 'separate spheres' etc. actually applied to the lifestyle and activities of elite women. There are clear discrepancies between representations of women's roles and responsibilities, for example in periodicals or conduct literature, and what was happening in reality.

In the same way, theories relating to music-making and its appropriateness or not for men and women, issues of amateur or professional, who should play which instruments and in which context, were equally abundant and vehemently expressed in print. Leppert argues that there was a socio-ideological basis to the use of music amongst the upper classes. He demonstrates how visual representations of eighteenth-century domestic music-making in paintings, drawings and prints served to reinforce conventional stereotypes of gender hierarchy and the socially accepted roles and occupations of men and women, which were equally well articulated and expounded in instruction manuals, and courtesy and conduct books. The challenge for historians has been to evaluate to what extent these aggressively held theories were adhered to or influenced practice, and at what point they differed or were disregarded. The fact that these beliefs were widely known and upheld in principle did not necessarily nullify the influence and experience of music-making. Thus, there seems to have existed a real tension between theory, which served primarily to discuss the appropriate use and dangers of music in relation to status and gender, and its practice and felt benefits. Arising from this, an obvious question that is considered in this thesis is how much these theories were born out in practice in the houses and lives of the families under consideration.

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<sup>19</sup> A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (1998); H. Barker and E. Chalus, eds., *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (1997).

## Diaries and journals

When discussing the role of music in elite men and women's lives at the end of the eighteenth century, the absence of detailed commentary and reflection about personal music-making from the individuals themselves is often lamented. Richard Leppert has suggested that 'it is likely that in women's writings about their own lives, through letters, diaries and memoirs, music was so "naturalized" a part of their existence that little comment about it may have seemed necessary.'<sup>20</sup> His conclusion is that it is not possible to draw a precise picture of amateur music-making in elite homes due to the absence of detailed comment in diaries and journals of the period. This thesis is discussed in the light of the archival evidence I have discovered in the houses under investigation.

## Academic research

The academic study of music in the eighteenth and nineteenth century country house is a relatively new field of investigation. As a result, the body of comparative material evidence is slim. Certainly when I began my research eight years ago little had been published on the subject of the continuing role of aristocratic patrons and, specifically, musical activity in country houses in Yorkshire and elsewhere during this period had not been given much detailed consideration. Caroline Wood's short paper on the music collection at Burton Constable near Hull is a rare and useful example of such a study, although she does not seek to contextualise her findings.<sup>21</sup> The catalogue of music belonging to Jane Austen has also been a useful comparative resource.<sup>22</sup> Some pieces of music in other houses have been researched, for example, the music in the chapels at Knole and at Wimpole Hall.<sup>23</sup> Reference is made to aristocratic patrons in Deborah Rohr's *The Careers of Musicians 1750–1850* and in Cyril Ehrlich's *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century*.

Much scholarly research has been carried out on domestic music at court

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<sup>20</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 147.

<sup>21</sup> C. Wood, 'Music-making in a Yorkshire Country House' in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, B. Zon, ed. (1999), 209–24.

<sup>22</sup> I. Gammie and D. McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music* (1996).

<sup>23</sup> R. Sackville-West, *Knole* (1998); D. Souden, *Wimpole Hall*, (1991).

and in some of the larger aristocratic households in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The musical establishments of the Lords Chandos and Burlington in the early eighteenth century are also well documented.<sup>24</sup> Writers such as Amanda Vickery and Amanda Foreman have focused on the social and cultural context in the eighteenth century and issues relating to women in society, although domestic music is not a large focus in these studies.<sup>25</sup> The social and architectural history of houses and the impact of fashion and taste on the evolution of music rooms and spaces for performing music is explored in the work of Eileen Harris and Mark Girouard.<sup>26</sup>

Musicologists Simon McVeigh, David Griffiths, Deborah Rohr, Roz Southey, Jenny Burchell, Rachel Cowgill, Jennifer L. Hall-Witt, Leanne Langley, William Weber, and Susan Wollenberg, amongst others, have been able to construct a picture of musical life in London and the provinces in the public domain at the end of the eighteenth century, outlining the development of Britain's concert life and changes that took place in the music profession as a result of a widening patronage/support base.<sup>27</sup>

The specific economic, social and cultural position of York during this period has been charted by Peter Tillott in the volume on *The City of York*, in the series *A History of Yorkshire in the Victoria History of the Counties of England*. The

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<sup>24</sup> S. Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron* (2007); J. Simon, ed., *Handel: A Celebration of his Life and Times 1685–1759* (1985).

<sup>25</sup> A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (1998); A. Foreman, *Georgiana* (1998). L. Ritchie in *Women Writing Music in Late-Eighteenth Century England* (2008) seeks to widen what may be described as women's musical work and considers alternative ways in which that work may be evaluated.

<sup>26</sup> E. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam. His Interiors* (2001). The description of the work of Adam in a range of houses provides a picture of the contribution of the architect to the design of music rooms and his relationships with his patrons; M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (1978). This demonstrates the impact of architectural fashions and changes on the creation of music rooms.

<sup>27</sup> S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (1993); D. Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality* [n.d.]; D. Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850* (2001); R. Southey, *Music-making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (2006); J. Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle. 1730–1799* (1996); R. Cowgill, "The most musical spot for its size in the kingdom": Music in Georgian Halifax', in *Early Music*, 28, 557–75; R. Cowgill and P. Holman, eds., *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914* (2007); C. Bashford and L. Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture 1785–1914* (2000); W. Weber, *The Rise of Music Classics in Eighteenth-Century England. A Study in Canon, Ritual and Ideology* (1992); S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2004); M. Tilmouth, 'The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England', in C. Hogwood and R. Luckett, eds., *Music in Eighteenth-Century England* (1983).

wider political, economic and social issues have been analysed in depth.<sup>28</sup> Of particular help have been Paul Langford's study *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727–1783*, and Boyd Hilton's *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People? England 1783–1846*, which, while not elaborating extensively on the role of music, have provided nuanced interpretations of key social and political developments with which it has been necessary to interact in the discussion of questions raised in this thesis.

## Current Research

To date no centralised register or database of country house music collections has been created. Much of the music in National Trust historic houses is catalogued online on Copac, although there is currently no comprehensive list of houses with music collections.<sup>29</sup> Likewise, the Yorkshire Country House Partnership (YCHP) has not yet compiled a catalogue of music collections, although in 2002 it launched a four-year project to create a brief list of the books in six country-house libraries in the partnership, which was carried out by David Griffiths.<sup>30</sup> Some music and books about music appear on this list but relatively few (76 hits) and it certainly does not incorporate the major collections of music that are the focus of this study.

In Ireland a project entitled *Music in the Irish Country House* was launched in 2009 at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, under the auspices of the Centre for the Study of Historic Irish Houses and Estates in collaboration with the Department of Music. The aims of the project were described as 'securing and enhancing public appreciation of Ireland's built heritage and landscapes by supporting education, research and scholarly publication on various aspects of Ireland's historic houses and landed estates.'<sup>31</sup> For the initial pilot study carried out by Karol Mullaney-Dignam, the music collections of Birr Castle, Birr, Co. Offaly were investigated. Following this it was decided to investigate three further

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<sup>29</sup> Some National Trust houses that are known to have collections of music or instruments are: Fenton House, Calke Abbey, Blickling Hall, Gunby Hall, Belton House, Kedleston Hall, Lyme Park, Springhill, Stourhead, Killerton and Tatton Park.

<sup>30</sup> The houses that participated in the YCHP Library Project were: Brodsworth Hall, Burton Constable, Castle Howard, Harewood House, Lotherton Hall, and Temple Newsam.

<sup>31</sup> K. Mullaney-Dignam, 'The *Music in the Irish Country House* project: origins and objectives', in T. Dooley and C. Ridgway, eds., *The Irish Country House, Its past, present and future* (2011), 166.

properties in the public sector managed by the Office of Public Works, Castletown House, Co. Kildare, Farmleigh, Phoenix Park, Dublin, and Kilkenny Castle, Co. Kilkenny. The main objectives of the project have been to catalogue the collections of a selection of Irish country houses and to make this information available through the compilation of a searchable online database.

Researchers in Southampton are exploring the possibility of a collaborative project, overseen by Professor Jeanice Brooks, to create a network of researchers and heritage managers to share knowledge and expertise about music in historic houses. The aim is to mount study days, workshops and training events, considering questions of conservation and visitor experience as well as research on the musical activities that take place in the properties. Such a network would provide the basis for a centralised register of country house music collections.

Collaboration with individual researchers has facilitated awareness, and a growing picture of musical activity across a range of houses and geographical regions in the United Kingdom during this period is beginning to emerge. I organised a study day at Castle Howard on *Music in the British Country House* in 2012 that brought together a range of people interested in this field of research. For example, PhD students at Southampton have been investigating different aspects of the music collections at National Trust houses Killerton in Devon and Tatton Park in Cheshire. Both these collections have been catalogued now as part of the Trust's library programme. Leena Rana has worked on vocal music and the concept of elite identity at Tatton Park and Killerton (2013); Penny Cave's thesis 'Piano Lessons in the English Country House 1785–1845' (2013) also focuses on collections at Killerton and Tatton, particularly the keyboard music and the pedagogical practices it reflects. Katrina Faulds has been examining dance and dance music, mainly at Tatton. Her thesis title is 'Invitation pour la danse: Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770–1860' (2014), and her work also includes information on dancing relating to other properties and families. Other recent theses pertinent to this discussion are: Samantha Carrasco's work on 'The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770–1820' (2013), which includes material on the musical life of Winchester, and Michelle Meinhart's PhD dissertation, 'Remembering the "event":

Music and Memory in the Life Writing of English Aristocratic and Genteel Women of the Long Nineteenth Century' (2013).<sup>32</sup> Wendy Hancock has been carrying out research on the music collections at Kedleston Hall which forms the basis of her unpublished paper 'A Musical Family in High Georgian England: the Curzons of Kedleston in the Eighteenth Century'. Peter Holman has written extensively about the viola da gamba, and the collection of music by Carl Friedrich Abel belonging to Elizabeth Herbert, Countess of Pembroke.<sup>33</sup> Jeanice Brooks currently is working on a book, *At Home with Music*, looking at music and domesticity c.1800.

### ***Other studies and conferences relevant to this theme***<sup>34</sup>

- *The Music Room, Workshops on Music and the Domestic Interior*. Seminar series organised by Suzanne Fagence of the V&A in conjunction with the Royal College of Music, 2006–7.
- *Sound, Space, and Object*. Conference at Cambridge, 9–11 July 2009. These papers focused on spaces for music-making in early modern France and Italy and are now published in a volume for the British Academy, edited by Deborah Howard (2012).
- Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, 91, 4 (2010).
- Robert Demaine, in his paper 'Mr White, of Leeds', has written about the Leeds career of John White, although this does not discuss the music collection at Harewood House.<sup>35</sup>
- Tessa Murdoch, 'Music Rooms in Great London Houses 1660–1760', unpublished paper.

The conference and seminar series have been useful in raising generic questions relating to the creation and evolution of music rooms, even though the *Sound, Space, and Object* conference focused on a completely different period and

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<sup>32</sup> These theses were completed when my research was finished and therefore I have not been able to engage with their findings here.

<sup>33</sup> P. Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain* (2010).

<sup>34</sup> A more comprehensive list of works relating to music rooms may be found in Chapter 8.

<sup>35</sup> R. Demaine, 'Mr. White, of Leeds', in R. Cowgill and P. Holman, eds., *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914* (2007).



geographical context, while the V&A series addressed individual questions at specific points within a 400-year span of time so that it was not possible to build up a comprehensive picture of any given period or national context. Some individual house studies are helpful in contributing to the body of evidence. Brooks' discussion of the music collecting habits of the Egerton and Sykes families, and the wider significance of the display of musical items in the Library and Music Room at Tatton Park is thought-provoking. Murdoch's work has been useful in drawing attention to the French influence on the design and vogue for music rooms in London houses in the mid-eighteenth century. However, while certain questions have been raised, it has not yet been possible to draw definitive conclusions about the many factors bearing on the designation of particular spaces for music in country houses due to the limitations of the research, and the fact that relatively few examples of music rooms have been thoroughly examined.

## **The Thesis**

As outlined in the thesis abstract, the primary aim of this research project has been to establish a multifaceted picture of musical practice in four aristocratic Yorkshire country houses at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, setting the architectural and family history of each house in their social and cultural context.

My aim in examining and comparing the collections of four different houses has been to define more closely the musical activities of individual households in order to establish what is unique to the family and what is characteristic of the period and region. It has also been an attempt to establish how typical certain practices and levels of musical interest were in comparison to other aristocratic households, thus contributing to the history of domestic musicality and sociability.

The houses selected hold collections of manuscript and printed sheet music that date to the period under investigation. These collections are supported by other primary evidence, for example diaries, correspondence, concert programmes, play bills, personal and household accounts. From this evidence I consider questions of patronage, relationships between patrons and musicians, private and public performance, the role and influence of visiting tutors and performers, who participated in music-making in the house, music and

domesticity, what genres of music were played/performed, and by which composers; the importance of sociability in the country house, what social functions music fulfilled, where music-making took place, and what relationship musical instruments had with the design and decoration of interiors and furnishings. Issues of status and attitudes towards amateur and professional musicians, gender and sexuality, debates about women musicians and moral preoccupations are also touched upon. I have endeavoured to set this exploration in the wider context of attitudes and preoccupations relating to the role of music during this period.

I have sought to place my findings alongside other research already carried out to show in what ways music-making in the country house had changed by the end of the eighteenth century, what relationship music in the domestic, private aristocratic sphere had with contemporary musical trends in the public domain, and whether it is possible to identify any regional or geographical influences in the choice of music performed. Comparisons are made with evidence from other houses and aristocratic families to develop and enrich this discussion, for example Burton Constable Hall, Chatsworth House, Kedleston Hall, and Lotherton Hall, Sledmere, Fairfax House, Wimpole Hall and Knole.

### ***What I have not sought to do in this investigation***

The focus of this thesis has been to consider music in the historiography of four Yorkshire country houses, 1770–1850. However, this is not a comprehensive social history of music of the period. In this study I have not sought to analyse individual pieces of music, discuss the history and technological evolution of musical instruments, make observations about performance practice, or discuss music publishing, selling and distribution. Neither are existing musical instruments in the houses the focus of this investigation. Although reference is made to continental composers, musicians and practices, I have not been able to make direct comparisons to the collections and nature of domestic music-making on the continent. Due to lack of evidence, it has also been difficult to distinguish clearly between musical practices in the town and country in upper-class homes. Although reference is made to salient social and political factors and their impact and influence on aristocratic music-making, the thesis does not aspire to provide a comprehensive historical analysis of the period.

## **Background: The houses and their families (1770–1850)**

### **Harewood House**

In 1771 Edwin Lascelles (1712–1795), Lord Harewood, and his family took up residency in his showpiece, the newly completed house at Gawthorpe, Harewood House, which was built to designs by John Carr and Robert Adam. The editors of the fifth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew attention to Lascelles' affluence: 'The worthy owner has spared no expense in decorating the principal apartments from designs made by Mr. Adam.'<sup>36</sup> One of the finest rooms was the Music Room, named after its graceful decorative scheme which remains little changed today. In January 1795 Edwin died and his cousin Edward Lascelles (1740–1820), the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood, inherited Harewood, along with the other Lascelles estates.<sup>37</sup> The family archives of Harewood House reveal that the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood had a particular love of music and during his lifetime musical activity in the house seems to have taken on new dimensions. It was at this time that Harewood's long and enduring reputation for its patronage of the arts commenced. Shortly after his inheritance Edward employed John White (1779–1831) to become his director of music, and to oversee all musical activity in his house. White was to enjoy the protection and patronage of both the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl and his successor, his son Henry (1767–1841) and his wife Henrietta Sebright (d. 1841) throughout his lifetime until his death in 1831. In 1841 the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl's son Henry (1797–1857) inherited Harewood. Although it appears that music-making did not continue on such an organised basis during his lifetime, his wife Lady Louisa Thynne (1801–59) was a very proficient musician. It was at this time that the house underwent substantial renovations to accommodate the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl's thirteen children and under the hand of the architect Sir Charles Barry the house assumed its heroic character. Henry was succeeded by his son Henry (1824–92) in 1857.

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<sup>36</sup> J. Woolfe and J. Gandon, eds., *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1771), V, 4–5, cited in Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 67.

<sup>37</sup> Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 108.



Figure 1: Harewood House, the North façade, by Thomas Malton, 1788  
*By kind permission of the executors of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Harewood and the Trustees of the Harewood House Trust*

## Castle Howard

Castle Howard, near York, was built by John Vanbrugh for his patron Charles Howard (1669–1738), the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle, to celebrate his flourishing public life. However, after retiring early in c.1715, he soon withdrew to his estates to live with his three daughters, Mary, Anne and Elizabeth until their marriages. In 1738 he was succeeded by his son Henry (1694–1758), who was responsible for the collection of most of the antique furniture at Castle Howard. Frederick (1748–1825), his son, was only ten when he inherited Castle Howard, bearing the title of 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle for 67 years until his death in 1825. It was he who acquired a large proportion of the Italian paintings from the Orleans collection, a significant contribution to the estate's collection. His son George (1773–1848) succeeded him, marrying Georgiana Cavendish (1783–1858), the eldest daughter of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, in 1801. The couple had 12 children. The eldest son George William (1802–1864) became the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl on the death of his father in 1848. He remained unmarried and lived part of the time with his mother at Castle Howard until her death in 1858. The title continued to be passed down until after

the death of Rosalind, mother of Charles, the 10<sup>th</sup> Earl (1867–1912), when the family estates were divided.



Figure 2: Castle Howard by John Preston Neale, c.1820, from *Neale's Views of the Seats of the Noblemen and Gentlemen*, 1821 edition, in five volumes  
*Reproduced by kind permission of the Hon. Simon Howard*

## Temple Newsam House

Temple Newsam House is located just outside Leeds. It has a long and complex architectural history, and the building and interior decoration underwent many transformations under its various owners. The four-sided courtyard house built by Thomas Lord Darcy (1467–1537) and completed by 1520 was confiscated by the crown and in 1544 given to Matthew 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Lennox (1516–1571), husband of King Henry VIII's favourite niece Margaret Tudor. In 1622, Sir Arthur Ingram (c.1565/70–1642) purchased the manor. He demolished the east wing, rebuilt the south and north wings, only retaining the western part and a few other elements of the original house. His descendants lived here for the next 300 years, becoming Viscounts Irwin in 1661.

In 1746, Henry (1691–1761), 7<sup>th</sup> Viscount Irwin, inherited Temple Newsam and assumed the responsibility to provide for three dowager Viscountesses and a house in need of repair. Among other improvements, he transformed the north wing into a Picture Gallery. With the arrival of Charles (1727–1778), the 9<sup>th</sup> Viscount Irwin, and his wife Frances Gibson (1734–1807) in 1758, a new phase in the house's history commenced. The title became extinct at Charles' death in 1778.

In 1796, Lady Frances Irwin chose the Leeds-based architect William Johnson to complete the series of new reception rooms on the ground floor and new bedrooms and dressing rooms on the first floor, probably created specifically for her daughters and grandchildren. However, although Lady Irwin was a keen supporter and subscriber to the Italian composer Felice Giardini's fortepiano recitals in London, it is likely that she prized her domestic tranquillity too highly to promote private concerts at Temple Newsam. In contrast, her daughter Isabella (1759–1834), Lady Hertford, who was chatelaine of Temple Newsam from 1807–34, organised grand entertainments, which probably would have taken place in the Picture Gallery. In 1834 Lady Hertford died and her sister Frances, Lady William Gordon (d.1841), succeeded. In 1841 it was Hugo Charles Meynell (1783–1869), the eldest grandson of the last Lord and Lady Irwin, who inherited, adding the name Ingram to his own to perpetuate the memory of his mother's family.

However, it seems that his family, who were well-known sportsmen, only visited Temple Newsam in the autumn for the shooting season. It was only in the 1870s that Temple Newsam became more frequently inhabited. The Hon. Mrs Meynell Ingram (1840–1904), widow of Hugo Francis Meynell Ingram, brought new musical life to the house and there are records of concerts and recitals by professional performers in the Picture Gallery.



Figure 3: A Prospect of Temple Newsam by James Chapman, c.1750  
*Leeds Museums and Art Galleries, Temple Newsam*

## Nostell Priory

The 4th Baronet, Sir Rowland Winn (1706–65), inherited Nostell Priory, near Pontefract, in 1722 and was responsible for its extensive rebuilding and alterations. In 1761 his son Rowland (1739–1785), who became 5th Baron of Nostell in 1765, married Sabine (1734–1798), daughter of Baron d’Hervart from Vevey on Lake Geneva. Sir Rowland brought his bride back to England, first to London and then to Yorkshire. They had two children, Rowland (1775–1805), who succeeded his father in 1785 at the age of ten, and the musical Esther (1768–1803), who disgraced herself in the eyes of her family by running off with the Nostell baker John Williamson (c.1773–c.1793) in 1792. Esther’s three children, John (c.1793–1817), Charles (1795–1874) and Louisa (1799–1861), were provided for by their uncle after their mother’s death, and when the 6th Baronet died, the estates passed to John, and the three children changed their name to Winn. Charles succeeded his brother in 1817. In the 1820s a large organ was erected in the Top Hall and by the 1830s this room was known as the music-room. Charles dedicated himself to collecting and interested himself in the house’s history. It is likely that the house received its present name at that time. He was succeeded by his son Rowland (1820–93). Throughout the family storms, music remained integral to each of their daily lives.



Figure 4a: Nostell Priory, the East front with the wing added by Robert Adam to the right  
*National Trust, Nostell Priory and Parkland*

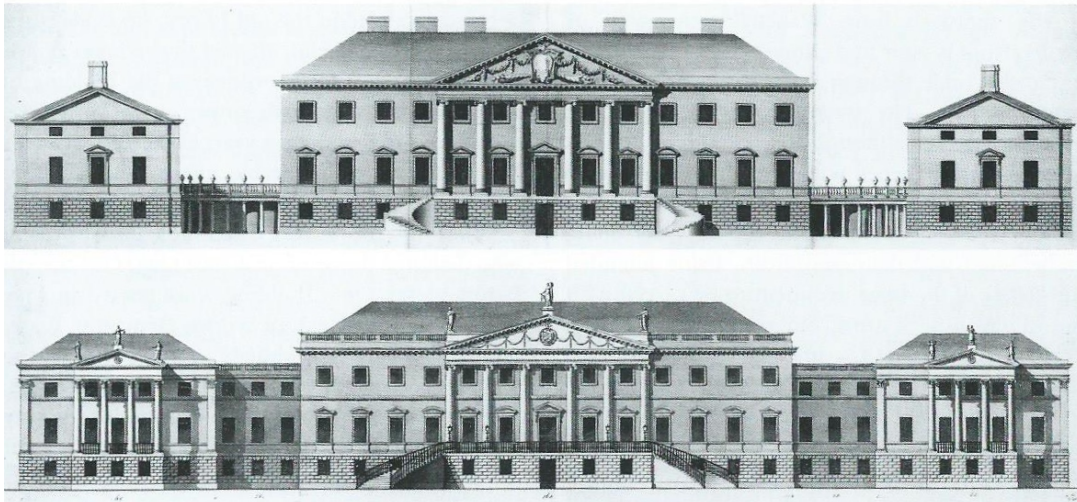


Figure 4b: Nostell Priory, designs for the entrance front by James Paine (above) 1743, and Robert Adam (below) 1777  
*National Trust, Nostell Priory and Parkland*

## Chapter plan

Each chapter of the thesis is built around one or more case studies drawn from the history, collections, and archives of the houses outlined above.

## Introduction

### *Chapter 1: The role of music in the Yorkshire country house, 1770–1850*

## Part I: Musical patronage in the Yorkshire country house

### *Chapter 2: English musical patronage*

This chapter traces the changes that took place during the eighteenth century in the ways that musicians were viewed and received support, in particular by aristocratic patrons both in the private and the public domains. The chapter sets these changes against the backdrop of traditional models of patronage, and seeks to highlight the different factors which contributed to these developments, such as political and social changes, changing concepts of patronage, the expansion of the music profession, the status and careers of musicians, the development of public concert life in London and in the provinces, especially York, and the creation of different ‘taste publics’ and audiences leading to the diversification of musical events.



### ***Chapter 3: Musical patronage in Yorkshire country houses, 1770–1850***

This focuses on how these changes manifested themselves in the types of patronage relationships engaged in by Yorkshire aristocrats at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth, specifically in the direct and indirect patronage of musicians both within the context of upper-class homes and in the public sphere. The career of John White, who was employed by the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Earls of Harewood in 1795 at Harewood House from the age of 16 until his death in 1831, is discussed as a case study of the patron-client relationship in the context of the Yorkshire country house, alongside other (rare) examples of the employment of resident musicians at Chatsworth House and Burton Constable Hall. Other roles assumed by the musician in the Yorkshire country house were those of visiting performer, teacher, or composer. The chapter also surveys more minor forms of both direct and indirect patronage at Castle Howard, Harewood House, and Temple Newsam, such as subscriptions, dedications, the patronage of local music societies and festivals. Other themes that are touched upon include: female patrons, the relationship of amateur and professional musicians, the status of the musician in the country house, and the pursuit of patronage *vs* the struggle for social and professional status. Finally, focusing on the life, work and belief system of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, the chapter discusses the relationship between musical patronage and philanthropy in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as one expression of the new aristocratic ideal of benevolence and responsible leadership, in a climate of growing concerns about the ‘Condition of England’ and the moral and spiritual welfare of the lower classes.

### **Part II: Music and the family in the Yorkshire country house**

This section discusses music and the family in the Yorkshire country house, focusing on the life of Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, including her musical education at Chatsworth, the continued important role of music in her life following her marriage and into old age, and the impact that her personal tastes and abilities had upon her domestic and social environment. Through a survey of Georgiana’s life, the chapter explores the themes of roles and relationships within the country house, the influence of music in the domestic sphere, men and women

and music, music education, debates about accomplishments, music and spirituality. These discussions also refer to the role of music in other Yorkshire households of the period. This section is divided into three chapters (4–6):

#### ***Chapter 4: Lady Georgiana Cavendish – childhood at Chatsworth, 1783–1801***

The first section of this study of the role of music in Georgiana's life considers her childhood and upbringing, her musical education and teachers, the encouragement she received in her musical studies from her family, and the place that music occupied in her daily life.

#### ***Chapter 5: Lady Georgiana Morpeth – marriage, 1801–25***

This section examines Georgiana's musical life following her marriage to Lord Morpeth in 1801. The couple lived at Castle Howard with the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl and Countess of Carlisle. Georgiana would have had few responsibilities compared to her mother-in-law. Between 1802 and 1823 she gave birth to 12 children. This chapter examines how the family's position in the household affected Georgiana's continuation and development of her musical interests and the music education she offered to her children; and how her preoccupation with the duties of motherhood impacted on her pursuit of music. Georgiana's letters to her mother and grandmother, and later those from her children, provide insights into this period, her position in the household, the social structure of the house and the role that music continued to play in her life.

#### ***Chapter 6: Countess of Carlisle – later life, 1825–58***

Frederick the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle died in 1825 at the age of 77. His son George, Georgiana's husband, succeeded him, holding the title until his death in 1848. Georgiana, in her turn, assumed the title and responsibilities of the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle. Georgiana was very active during this period, but her life was greatly troubled by a tendency to depression. Georgiana's life after she became the Countess of Carlisle provides a picture of a woman who, despite her personal struggles and afflictions, sought to overcome them and fulfil her responsibilities to her family and society. Society and attitudes towards music were undergoing dramatic and fundamental changes during this period of Georgiana's life. The

1820s and 1830s were a time of transition between the late-Georgian and early-Victorian periods. This chapter addresses the questions: to what extent was Georgiana's life affected by these changes. Did the new philosophies have any bearing on Georgiana's thinking and practice? What role did music play in her life during this period? I discuss these questions in three sections: music in the 'country' at Castle Howard; music in 'town' and society; and the role of music in Georgiana's personal life, its relationship to her faith and tendencies to depression. Georgiana outlived her husband by ten years, spending much of her time at Castle Howard with her son George, the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, until her death in 1858. The postscript to this chapter discusses Georgiana the Dowager Countess and what role music played in her life and at Castle Howard during this final period of her life.

### **Part III: Music and display in the Yorkshire country house**

In this section I discuss the material culture of music-making in the Yorkshire country house – the collections of music and the architectural spaces, what and where music was played within these households – in an attempt to ascertain what further insights may be gleaned about the owners and their interests and the role that music played in the domestic sphere during this period.

#### ***Chapter 7: Music collections at Harewood House and Castle Howard***

This chapter compares Georgiana's collection of music, still held at Castle Howard, with the contrasting collection of printed and manuscript music housed at Harewood House. As is outlined in Chapter 3, Harewood House provided a picture of organised, structured musical activity, instigated primarily by the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood, whose passion for music led him to employ and train up a young musician to take over the direction of all musical pursuits and concerts in his house. Harewood's existing collection of music probably formed in part the basis for these practices.

By contrast, the sheet music at Castle Howard is largely a personal collection belonging to Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, spanning the various periods of her life. Due to the paucity of the evidence it will not be possible to say definitively whether these collections are representative of wider collecting and

performance practices in country houses of the period. Nevertheless an attempt is made to compare them to each other and link them with contemporary tastes and trends, regionally and nationally. From this discussion, it is possible to ask what insights into the owners and their interests the collections provide. The collections are examined in terms of the range of genres, composers and nationalities represented; changes in the composition of the collections in relationship to wider contemporary tastes and developments in the late Georgian and early Victorian periods; influence of London and the continent; and the instruments for which the music was composed or arranged.

### ***Chapter 8: Music and display in the Yorkshire country house***

This chapter explores the role that music played in aristocratic display, in both the public and domestic spheres, and the setting for it in the Yorkshire country houses under interrogation. The chapter opens with a consideration of the relationship between display and the late-eighteenth century concept of ‘sociability’, and the impact this had on the decoration and interior planning of houses. Music was integral to fashionable entertainment both within the country house and at assemblies, balls and concerts, and the need to entertain large numbers of guests affected where music was played in the house, and in many cases, especially in London, stimulated the creation of designated music rooms.

An examination of spaces for music-making and performance at Castle Howard, Harewood House, Nostell Priory and at Temple Newsam, and the contrasting solutions each adopted at different periods, provides a framework for the discussion of the houses’ ‘private’ and ‘public’ roles, the origin and purposes of designated music rooms and factors determining their inclusion in country-house planning, the relationship of music rooms to neighbouring rooms, other rooms where music was played, the place of musical decorative motifs, and the relationship of particular musical instruments, such as organs, to the decorative scheme of a room.

## 2 English Musical Patronage

### Introduction

The period from the late eighteenth through mid-nineteenth century is often characterised as a time when individual patronage waned and was replaced by more anonymous and collective market forces.<sup>1</sup>

This statement acknowledges that changes took place at the end of the eighteenth century in the ways in which musicians, artists, writers and other creative professionals and artisans were viewed and received support. What were those changes and what brought them about during this period? What impact did they have on the careers of musicians and music-making in Yorkshire and beyond, and what was the relationship between these wider social/cultural developments and musical activity in the context of the Yorkshire country house? This chapter will seek to survey the causes and progress of change in traditional patronage systems during the course of the eighteenth century, providing a social and cultural backcloth to the main themes of this thesis and period under interrogation, 1770–1850. The discussion will focus first on traditional models of patronage at court which were correspondingly imitated by aristocratic households, and will then explore other contributing factors to the changes in the patronage system, especially the growth of the ‘middle classes’ and the development of a ‘consumer’

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<sup>1</sup> D. Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 40.

society. This survey will necessarily be general in the first instance, but will also attempt to portray the particular manifestations of these changes in eighteenth-century York. The chapter will point up the impact of the changes discussed on music-making, both public and private, and the careers of individual musicians. The themes raised here will be developed in the next chapter exploring the nature and role of aristocratic patronage in Yorkshire country houses and beyond in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

## **Patronage systems in the royal households of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries**

Before the eighteenth century the main employers of musicians and other artists were the court, aristocratic houses, the church and the theatres. The musician assumed the status of a servant/employee, who had to be capable of adapting to the political and religious contexts in which he found himself in and the persuasions of his current patron. The monarch was the primary patron, although musicians employed at court often supplemented their incomes by working in cathedrals or theatres as well.

John Brewer has described the status enjoyed by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century monarchs, based on the model of many contemporary European monarchies.<sup>2</sup> Royal courts were seen to be the incarnation of earthly power and centres of culture and refinement. The values of learning and taste were embodied in the courtier, whose cultural skills, including the playing of musical instruments, were used to enhance their standing in the eyes of the monarch. Artistic aptitude equalled prowess. On a larger scale, the cultural magnificence of the court was a statement of power:

The monarch at the apex of court power and centre of its ritual, and the greatest patron of the arts, was the cynosure of this culture, standing ... at the centre of a system of artistic

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<sup>2</sup> J. Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 4.

practice intended to represent his or her sacred omnipotence and monopoly of power.<sup>3</sup>

This expectation led to high investments in the cultural life of the English court of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While there were criticisms of the extravagance of certain monarchs, especially when associated with fear of French influence and Catholicism, which were some of the key factors which eventually led to the Civil Wars, this impulse towards ostentation provided employment for musicians, and the environment and opportunity for the composition and performance of high quality music.

The potential for high quality music-making at court was realised primarily in the Chapel Royal, the company of priests and singers who traditionally accompanied the King on his travels to perform religious offices for him.<sup>4</sup> Henry VIII (1491–1547), himself an able musician, also began the practice of recruiting players of strings and other domestic instruments, whose performance could be enjoyed in more intimate surroundings. This movement towards private chamber music continued in the reigns of his successors and was imitated in the homes of court nobles, providing a precedent for the employment of musicians in a domestic context.

## **Musical patronage under the Stuarts and Hanoverians**

This model of musical patronage was disrupted by the impact of the Civil Wars (1642–49), and after the Restoration, with the crowning of Charles II (1630–1685), the notion of Kingship carried a different, more limited significance. Nevertheless, the court still played an important role in the development of many musicians' careers.

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 4–5.

<sup>4</sup> A. Ashbee and J. Harley, eds., *The Cheque Books of the Chapel Royal* (2000); P. Young, 'The Royal Music', *Music & Letters*, 18, 2 (Apr 1937), 119–27; H. N. Hillebrand, 'The Early History of the Chapel Royal', *Modern Philology*, 18, 5 (Sept 1920), 48–9; J. Stevens, *Music at the Court of Henry VIII* (1962); D. Baldwin, *The Chapel Royal: Ancient and Modern* (1990).

Brewer asserts that subsequent monarchs failed to use the arts to project a distinct view of royalty. James II (1633–1701) restored formality and etiquette but reduced the royal household to half its former size. William III (1650–1702) and Mary II (1662–1694) expanded the court, but due to their preference for domesticity and piety, they were reluctant to play the courtly role. Both had cultivated interests in the arts, William as connoisseur of painting, while Mary was a strong advocate of music. However, there were few court entertainments and neither posed as an arbiter of taste and fashion.<sup>5</sup>

Under the Hanoverians there were to be further changes in both the practice and influence of royal patronage. A significant difference between musical patronage under the Hanoverians and that of their predecessors was that it was more closely linked to the tastes and preferences of individual monarchs and consequently varied in extent and nature. For example, Queen Anne (1665–1714) was a strong supporter of John Blow, William Croft, John Clarke and George Frederic Handel and of the revival of sacred music in Britain.<sup>6</sup> She also enjoyed secular music such as operas and held private concerts in her bedchamber. George I (1660–1727) also appreciated music and gave support to Handel and the Royal Academy of Music.<sup>7</sup> His successor, George II (1683–1760), was less interested in music. Brewer relates that his only cultural interests were martial music, opera and the theatre.<sup>8</sup>

By contrast, the enthusiasm of George III (1738–1820) for Handel's music was almost an obsession. 'While that boy lives, my music will never want a protector,' Handel had observed after meeting George while he was still Prince of Wales.<sup>9</sup> At court, the King supervised the musical programmes for the nightly performances that took place wherever the royal family was in residence. His preference for Handel's music limited the variety of his own concerts and the public ones he patronised. He was a prime mover in the first great Handel Commemorations in the Pantheon and Westminster Abbey, which commenced in

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<sup>5</sup> Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 18–19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>7</sup> J. H. Plumb, *Royal Heritage* (1977), 149.

<sup>8</sup> Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 20; Plumb, *Royal Heritage*, 157.

<sup>9</sup> J. Simon, *Handel A Celebration of his Life and Times, 1685–1759*, 251; W. C. Smith, 'George III, Handel and Mainwaring', *Musical Times*, LXV (1924), 789–95.



1784.<sup>10</sup> He also supported the ‘Concert of Antient Music’ founded in 1776 by gentlemen and aristocrats interested in establishing a performance tradition for an enduring body of great, serious music.<sup>11</sup>

The King’s taste for Handel’s music was emulated by many other patrons and practitioners: ‘His court and country adopted not alone his general but his peculiar taste [for Handel’s music].’<sup>12</sup> This influence extended into the 1800s and to the end of his life. As will be discussed later, Handel’s music is well represented in the Harewood House archive’s collection of printed and manuscript music. The 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood himself owned three volumes of Handel. Music by Handel and advertisements for performances of his music appear in the collections of other Yorkshire country houses, such as Nostell Priory, Castle Howard and Burton Constable. For example, in the Nostell Priory archives there is a notice of a performance of Handel’s *Messiah* held in the church at Wath on Dearne, dated 1798.<sup>13</sup> In 1782 the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle wrote from Kilmore to Caroline Carlisle at Castle Howard: ‘Yesterday I shot in another part of the country still more beautiful than where I first went. A continuation of the same lake, but the shores more varied, and many islands dispersed upon it ... We have singing every night, and to Emily’s great grief very little Handel, which I believe would be too strong a soporific after severe exercise.’<sup>14</sup>

The Handel Commemorations of 1784 provided a new impetus and model for music festivals in the provinces. As assistant conductor, John White of Harewood House was closely involved with training the choruses for the great York Musical Festivals in the 1820s, in which Handel’s music featured prominently and to which the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harewood was a subscriber.<sup>15</sup> Granville Sharp was an example of a Handel enthusiast. In a well-known portrait by Johann Zoffany, he and

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<sup>10</sup> The Pantheon was described by Horace Walpole as being ‘the most beautiful edifice in England’. It was built in Oxford Street by James Wyatt as a grand assembly room for entertainments and masquerades. It was opened in 1772 but destroyed by fire in 1792. Simon, *Handel A Celebration of his Life and Times*, 250.

<sup>11</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 46–7.

<sup>12</sup> ‘Sketch of the State of Music in London’, *QMMR* 14 (1822), 240, cited in Rohr, 44.

<sup>13</sup> WYW1352/1/1/6/1–19.

<sup>14</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Kilmore, autograph letter to C. Carlisle, Castle Howard, 6 Jan 1782, CHA, J15/1/31.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion of the impact of the Handel Commemorations on provincial festivals and especially those in York, and the roles of John White and the Earls of Harewood in the York musical festivals.

his family are gathered on the family barge, *The Apollo*, for one of their celebrated Thames water parties, enjoyed by onlookers, including the royal family. The Sharp brothers, Granville, William and James, also gave fortnightly concerts of sacred music on Sunday evenings. These evenings are reported to have ended with the *Hallelujah Chorus*. Their strong interest in Handel's compositions is evident in the substantial collection of music that has been preserved.<sup>16</sup> The extent to which the King's enthusiasm for Handel's music was adopted by aristocratic patrons will be examined in the following and later chapters, for example in Chapter 7 on Music Collections and Chapter 8 on Music Rooms.

Brewer summarises the situation under the Hanoverians as follows: after 1714 neither the Whig supporters of the new Hanoverian dynasty nor its Tory and Jacobite opponents wanted a cult of monarchy focused on its court. Both parties, however, did want the court to assume the role of patrons of the arts. The Hanoverians were criticised for being uncultured. Musicians, writers and artists still desired royal patronage and for the monarchy to shape national taste. However, while some Hanoverian monarchs were more interested in music than others, their personal projects and enthusiasms were not necessarily channelled into enhancing the court or forming part of a national scheme. The King or Queen operated as private patrons. Brewer points up the unwillingness, or lack of ability, of the Hanoverians to use the arts effectively to create a special sense of kingship.<sup>17</sup> The Hanoverians' relative lack of interest in the arts and their tendencies towards privacy and domesticity led to a decline in royal influence.

However, by this time, the aims of patronage were seen by some to have changed:<sup>18</sup> the object of royal patronage, according to Lord Kames, 'was not the apotheosis of Kingship. Rather, the monarch should help temper the excesses of a rich commercial society by encouraging its members to promote morally edifying fine arts instead of frittering away their wealth on tawdry pleasures and sensual

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<sup>16</sup> Prince Hoare, *Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq.*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1828), I, 207–19, and II, xviii–xxiv; E. C. P. Lascelles, *Granville Sharp and the Freedom of Slaves in England* (1928), 119–26. See also B. Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharpe Family', in J. Wainwright, ed., *R. M. A Research Journal*, 34 (2001).

<sup>17</sup> Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 25.

<sup>18</sup> J. Roberts, ed., *George III and Queen Charlotte: Patronage, Collecting and Court Taste* (2004).

gratification'.<sup>19</sup> This corresponded unsurprisingly with changes that were taking place in the concept and practice of aristocratic patronage during the eighteenth century, later shaping the nature of musical patronage in Yorkshire country houses at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

## **Changes in aristocratic patronage in the early eighteenth century**

As has been suggested, royal example was imitated by the nobility. The changes that occurred in the practice and influence of royal patronage were mirrored in the homes of aristocratic noblemen.<sup>20</sup> By the early eighteenth century private aristocratic patronage on the scale of royal patronage had ceased to exist in England. Correspondingly, the scope of musical patronage had begun to change by this time. This may have been because of the diminished role that the monarchy played in the patronage of the arts; or due to changes in what constituted a socially and politically acceptable display of wealth; or the problem of financial constraints. The early years of the eighteenth century were marked by a flurry of building projects that absorbed all available capital and preoccupied the owners. The next generation - their sons and grandsons - had more time and resources to engage in collecting and other cultural pursuits.<sup>21</sup> From this time we see a shift of interest in the focus of patronage.

### **Collecting and the growth of connoisseurship: changes in the concept of patronage**

After the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the Royal Collection did not regain its former pre-eminence and 'Wealthy noblemen were increasingly called on to fulfil the role in patronage and collecting that had formerly been assumed by the

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 24. Paraphrase of Lord Kames' dedication to George III in 1762 of his *Elements of Criticism*.

<sup>20</sup> D. C. Price, *Patrons and Musicians of the English Renaissance* (1981) and L. Hulse, 'The Musical Patronage of the English Aristocracy, c.1590-1640', DPhil. Diss., King's College, London (1992).

<sup>21</sup> G. Jackson Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, 18.

monarchy.<sup>22</sup> Changes in the traditional patronage system at this time were linked to the growth of the notion of 'connoisseurship' and corresponding ideas about what constituted an appropriate education of a gentleman. This was most clearly demonstrated in a growing preoccupation with collecting, which reached its zenith in the late eighteenth century. The late Gervase Jackson Stops went so far as to say that in the area of collecting, connoisseurship replaced traditional patronage in the way it determined what reasoning and motivations controlled the exercise of patronage.<sup>23</sup> Jenkins helpfully summarises the development of these ideas in her chapter 'Collecting in Context: Collectors and Collections'. The pre-eminence of the Royal Collection was being taken over by an increasing number of collections belonging to private collectors. One motivation for collecting was consistent with the older association of wealth and power with display: the display of works of art was a way for the collector to reinforce his cultural superiority and establish his position among his peers. The purchase and display of a collection also offered the possessor an opportunity to acquire a status he had not inherited. In the case of the Duke of Chandos, status and social standing were to become more closely linked with the possession of 'taste' and 'connoisseurship' than with wealth and hereditary breeding.<sup>24</sup>

## **Virtuoso collections**

However, Jackson Stops argues that the collecting instincts also grew from more didactic roots such as in late-sixteenth-century series of ancestral portraits, which were intended to inspire their descendants.<sup>25</sup> By the late eighteenth century the didactic purpose in connoisseurship became one of the more central motivating factors in patronage. This tendency had also been found in collections formed by 'virtuosos', defined by Henry Peacham as those who were 'knowledgeable in paintings, antiquities, and science, an individual who enjoyed wealth and leisure.'<sup>26</sup> As early as this, Peacham linked 'the qualities of the courtier and the scholar,

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<sup>22</sup> S. Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, 124.

<sup>23</sup> Jackson Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, 16. See also: E. Done, 'Sir Edward Gascoigne, Grand Tourist', *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 77 (1975), 4.

<sup>24</sup> Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, 111–24.

<sup>25</sup> Jackson Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, 16.

<sup>26</sup> Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, 112.

valuing knowledge for its own sake, irrespective of professional success or commercial gain.<sup>27</sup> Thus the virtuoso William Constable of Burton Constable, Hull, a friend of Rousseau and Voltaire, was also passionately interested in botanical specimens and natural history, carrying out early experiments with electricity and air pumps alongside his researches into genealogy and heraldry.<sup>28</sup>

### **The birth of connoisseurship**

Around 1700 virtuoso collections were increasingly viewed with scepticism and even ridicule. This transformation of attitude led to the growth of new types of collections based on other principles. This was a time of greater social mobility and the growth in conspicuous consumption, which enabled and motivated acquisition and collecting on a wider social basis, also gave impetus to the development of new rules by which to distinguish social status. These principles were first formulated by Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Shaftesbury and codified by Jonathan Richardson.<sup>29</sup> Under Richardson's influence, collecting came to be seen as an appropriate occupation for a great man, which could also enhance his status. Richardson encouraged 'collectors towards a competitive display of connoisseurship from which they could gain recognition as cultivated amateurs of the arts'.<sup>30</sup> These attitudes inevitably fuelled the collecting impetus, leading to the creation of significant private art collections and associated questions concerning public access.<sup>31</sup>

The growing emphasis on connoisseurship, interested in the historical progress of the art of painting, a more critical evaluation and increasingly subtle distinctions 'in order to develop a science of taste', became combined with new ideas regarding the nature and education of a gentleman.<sup>32</sup> These were influenced by theories outlined by Shaftesbury and Richardson. As Brewer explains, 'connoisseurship depended upon certain sorts of experience ... Connoisseurs gathered together and displayed their collections in London, but their haunts were

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<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>28</sup> William Constable (1721–1791). *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 115–6.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>32</sup> Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 256.

in the Mediterranean, in Italy and in Greece.<sup>33</sup> Thus the Grand Tour occupied an important role in the education of gentlemen and the development of connoisseurship, serving to sharpen critical faculties and broaden a knowledge and appreciation of classical civilization. Apart from the required study of classical antiquity and the art of the High Renaissance, music – concerts and visits to the opera – were also integral to this experience, even for non-music specialists. As will be discussed, the Grand Tour featured in the education of Yorkshire aristocrats, and their experiences shaped them, their taste and their homes, as can be seen in the collections amassed for example at Castle Howard. Aristocratic women such as Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, also benefited from travels on the continent. The correspondence between Louisa Williamson and her two brothers John and Charles of the Winn family of Nostell Priory, while on the Grand Tour, provides an insight into what was normally experienced by aristocratic young men in the early 1800s.<sup>34</sup>

## **Music and connoisseurship**

Philip Stanhope, the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Chesterfield's letters to his natural-born son, published in 1774, state that amongst the accomplishments of the 'gentleman of parts' should be a thorough knowledge of architecture, music, literature, philosophy, painting and much else.<sup>35</sup> The bias of knowledge in each of these disciplines depended on the interests of the individual. This inevitably led to a greater focus in particular areas of patronage. For example, Lord Burlington's great passion was for music. His mother was also a great enthusiast. Thus the Grand Tour of Burlington was conventional, except in the amount of time spent on musical activities.<sup>36</sup> This demonstrates the new relationship between taste/connoisseurship, personal interest and patronage.

At Temple Newsam, Edward, the 4<sup>th</sup> Viscount Irwin (1686–1714) was an enthusiastic musician and highly proficient at the harpsichord. His 'governor' at Christ's College, Cambridge, wrote of him to the steward at Temple Newsam (26

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>34</sup> See correspondence of Charles and John Winn with their sister Louisa Williamson: 1808–16, WYW1352/1/1/13/1.

<sup>35</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 22.

<sup>36</sup> See J. Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, His Villa, and Garden at Chiswick* (1994), 39.

January 1703): 'Besides my Lord has a music master upon the Harpsichord, which music he begun so soon as he came in Cambridge & plays already very prettily.'<sup>37</sup> On his Grand Tour (1704–9) he bought two harpsichords in Holland 'the finest ever made ... one a double instrument ... made by the best master there ever was'. Edward also is known to have visited the opera in The Hague in 1704 and commissioned the cantata *The Four Seasons* from Giuseppe Montuoli in Lucca.<sup>38</sup>

Sir Edward Gascoigne (1697–1750) was born at Parlington, near Aberford, Yorkshire, and succeeded his father as 6<sup>th</sup> Baronet in 1723. His travels, commencing in 1724, belonged to the early history of the Grand Tour when it was still the privilege of the wealthy. His intentions were 'to enrich the mind with knowledge, to rectify the judgement, to compose the outward manners, and to form the complete gentleman'.<sup>39</sup> His Diary details his experiences, including regular trips to the opera where he heard performances by the singers Faustina Bordoni, Antonio Maria Bernacchi, Francesco Bernardi called Il Senesino, and the oboist Giovanni Battista Sammartini. It is possible that he played a role in encouraging these artists to come to England as he was to see them later in York and London.<sup>40</sup> It seems it was not uncommon for Grand Tourists to bring back to England Italian musicians and provide them with an entrée into London's musical world. This is a realm of aristocratic patronage and influence that is perhaps easily overlooked. Edward's interest in Italian opera was complemented by his admiration of the work of a family of designers of stage sets and theatres throughout Italy called the Bibienas, to whom he refers repeatedly in his Diary.<sup>41</sup>

These examples demonstrate the role of the gentleman connoisseur-patron. He possessed connoisseurship in a particular branch of knowledge and thus became an arbiter of 'taste', having the ability to distinguish and recognise

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<sup>37</sup> A. E. Burbridge, 'Edward, Lord Irwin, and Guiseppe Montuoli', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 101 (1987), 31.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

<sup>39</sup> T. Nugent, *The Grand Tour* (1749), I, Preface, cited in E. Done, 'Sir Edward Gascoigne, Grand Tourist', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 77 (1975), 4.

<sup>40</sup> A footnote in Done's article 'Sir Edward Gascoigne, Grand Tourist', states that on 19 May 1728 Edward contributed a guinea 'towards Faustina's father's picture' and on 9 June, in London, he wrote 'Din: home. Faustina here.' On 18 August 1732, in York, he paid 'to Sri Matrini's concert wife and self 1-1-0', and on 19 August, Senesino the great Italian tenor 'sang in ye great room.'

<sup>41</sup> E. Done, 'Sir Edward Gascoigne, Grand Tourist', 6.

quality. Therein lay his influence. He set the fashion for those who aspired to gentlemanly status. This was seen in different fields of artistic activity including music. Patronage was no longer mere display of wealth and status but demonstration of 'taste', which was more subtle and sophisticated. Also there was a more altruistic motivation for collecting: the education of public taste and protection from indiscriminating pursuit of luxury. Connoisseurship brought with it a consciousness of responsible example. The changing relationship between patronage and connoisseurship had a levelling effect; what counted was equality in intellect and 'taste', rather than social station and rank. For this reason, aristocrats, architects, artists, writers and scholars could now fraternise on equal footing. For example, Walpole was friends with the poet Thomas Gray; and Robert Adam's career was built on friendships he built up with young aristocrats on the Grand Tour during his time in Italy 1754-7, including Sir Rowland and Lady Winn of Nostell Priory.<sup>42</sup>

The Society of the Dilettanti, a convivial place where men of taste could fraternise, was founded by Francis Dashwood in 1733. One of the qualifications was that you had been to Italy, and this applied to aristocrats and artists alike. The notion of the Dilettante grew from the proliferation of amateur gentleman-architects in the early eighteenth century. Architecture was seen to be a desirable accomplishment for a gentleman, a consequence of which was to put gentlemen-architects on the same footing as professionals. This was an interesting modification, which led to a shift in the balance of patron-client relationships. Patronage and influence were now coming from several different quarters. Another forum that cultivated an intimacy amongst cultured and creative noblemen and artists was the Kit Kat Club. It was here that John Vanbrugh met the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle and later received the commission to build Castle Howard in 1699. We will now consider how these changes manifested themselves in the sphere of music.

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<sup>42</sup> Jackson Stops, *The Treasure Houses of Britain*, 18.



## **Music and connoisseurship and patronage**

In a society which equated social standing with connoisseurship in different branches of the arts, music took its place amongst those sought-after attributes of taste. In the realm of music, it appears there were now several elements at work in musical patronage, as seen in the practices of the Lords Burlington and Chandos. Importantly they demonstrated how new concepts of connoisseurship and traditional patronage worked together: both Burlington and Chandos supported a sophisticated musical establishment in their respective houses.<sup>43</sup> Like many other aristocrats, both men patronised Handel among other musicians. Handel himself exemplified contemporary trends and could to some degree be described as a 'self-made man'. Although still reliant upon aristocratic patronage, he was now working for a wider support base i.e all the audiences who frequented his operas, oratorios and concerts. It is also noteworthy that while Burlington was an aristocrat by birth, Chandos was a 'nouveau riche', but both were thought of primarily as men of taste - connoisseurs - and therefore 'equal'. Evidence of their cultural standing was that they were both applauded as 'Apollos of the Arts', although equally their specific taste, for example for Italian opera, came under criticism by some, such as William Hogarth and Alexander Pope.

It is important to note these developments because they are indicative of a subtle movement away from traditional models of patronage. They reveal the new preoccupations, motivations and goals which informed aristocratic patronage and which continued to evolve throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, and were reflected in the practices of Yorkshire aristocrats in their homes and more widely in the public domain.

## **Musical patronage in Yorkshire**

Although most other aristocratic patrons in the early eighteenth century were no longer capable of maintaining a large musical establishment along traditional lines, they nevertheless sought ways to display their cultural prowess and taste in the

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<sup>43</sup> Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, 166–71; Simon, *Handel A Celebration of his Life and Times*, 92–109.

realm of music. This was principally in the employment of individual musicians and teachers, and the staging of private concerts and assemblies in their homes. In the accounts of the Yorkshire houses Temple Newsam and Nostell Priory there are examples of the hiring of musicians and 'waites' at times of festivity and celebration and for dancing in the evening.<sup>44</sup> The *Memoirs* of Catharine Cappe recount the Christmas festivities celebrated at Nostell Priory in the 1760s in the household of Rowland, 4<sup>th</sup> Baronet Winn:

But it was Christmas that the resemblance to the seat of the ancient baron was most striking. At this cheerful season, open house was kept for three days; all the farmers and cottagers upon the estate were invited along with their wives, to dine in the great hall, precisely at two o' clock, where the worthy master of the whole family, (for they all appeared as his children) presided at one long table with the men, and his amiable daughters at a second table with the women. The venerable boar's head, decorated with evergreens, and an orange in his mouth, according to ancient custom, was the centre dish at each table. A band of music played during dinner ... The evening concluded with a dance in which they were permitted to join with the young ladies of the family and their other visitors, of whom there were several from Wakefield, Pontefract and the surrounding neighbourhood. At nine the dancing ceased. <sup>45</sup>

The habit of hiring in musicians, particularly at Christmas time and for celebrations, possibly including worship, was also found in other houses.<sup>46</sup> For example, Sir Edward Gascoigne, 6<sup>th</sup> Baronet, records in his Diary how in December 1730 he paid a man for ten singers, at '9/-6d' each. This payment was repeated in

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<sup>44</sup> Sir Arthur Ingram employed the Leeds Waites on several occasions. In 1639 and 1641 he entertained Charles I. It is possible that the following note refers to the occasion in 1639: 'Paid the trumpeters that sounded in Ingram's garden', 1 April 1639, Pawson Mss., WYL.

<sup>45</sup> *The Memoirs of Catharine Cappe*, 68.

<sup>46</sup> The place of chapels and worship in the country house will be touched upon in Chapter 8.

subsequent years. Sir Edward also records dancing in the evenings and the payment of 'fiddlers' throughout these festivities. Likewise, later in the century at Harewood House, Christmas was a time that required more elaborate musical arrangements. In 1797 the Earl of Harewood paid for musicians and singers including eight singing boys and their outfits, two sets of Morris dancers, and William Gamble, a local fiddler who played for four dances. The singers who took part in these festivities are listed in Harewood's annual accounts and many reappear each year. The Supper that was put on for the singers following these celebrations, as a gift from the Earl, became an annual tradition.<sup>47</sup>

### **Musical patronage in the public arena**

It is possible that the growth of more structured musical performances in the public domain was partially the result of the reduction in larger-scale domestic music-making, as has been mentioned. The role that the aristocracy played in the development of public concert life in the eighteenth century, both in London and the provinces, has been widely discussed in recent years and the burgeoning of concerts in the northern provinces has been the subject of several recent studies, for example by Roz Southey in *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century*, and by David Griffiths in *A Musical Place of the First Quality*. John H. Plumb outlines the disjointed, ad hoc, unstructured nature of the public music scene prior to the eighteenth century:

In Pepys's day London was full of musicians – mainly amateur, although there were of course professional performers and teachers. There was good Church music, occasionally were some fine interludes at the theatre, and Matthew Locke provided some excellent incidental music for Macbeth ... For those who were lucky enough to have entrée to the Royal Palace, Charles II kept a French orchestra, having found the English band unsatisfactory. Those not so lucky had to go to a tavern or coffee house where there

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<sup>47</sup> Harewood Accounts: HAR/ACC/211 [1796–1801]; Household Bills: WYL 250/3/415 [1827].

might be a girl with a good voice singing ballads or traditional songs, and some inns employed a fiddler from time to time. The provinces were, of course, worse off as far as secular music was concerned. Either one made it oneself or waited as Sir Robert Walpole's father did for the visit of a strolling fiddler. Sometimes for a dance it was possible to hire the services of a local amateur. And of course music lovers got together and made music, and this audience, modest in London and small in the Provinces, was catered for by the publication of song books such as Playford's.<sup>48</sup>

Most accounts agree that the earliest records of public concerts in London were those put on by John Bannister in 1672 in the Whitefriars tavern.<sup>49</sup> Griffiths recounts that public concerts increased in London during the early decades of the eighteenth century and then quickly spread to the provinces.<sup>50</sup>

It was in the realm of public music-making that changes in patronage relationships were to become most evident. Weber argues that the influence of the nobility and the patronage relationship was integral to the growth of public concert life. He claims that public concerts grew out of private concerts.<sup>51</sup> The relationship between private and public concerts will be explored more fully later.<sup>52</sup> One connection was that the support that musicians received when invited to perform in an aristocrat's home assisted their success in the public realm. More significantly, perhaps with the diminishing scale of private musical patronage, public concerts provided new possibilities for aristocrats to seek other ways to demonstrate their cultural authority and artistic taste in the promotion of music in the public realm. The notices for concerts in Yorkshire archives testify to the

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<sup>48</sup> See S. Pepys, *The Illustrated Pepys, Extracts from the Diary* (1660), R. Latham, ed. (1979); Plumb, 'The Walpoles, Father and Son', in *Men and Places* (1962), 130, cited in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer & J. H. Plumb, eds., *Birth of a Consumer Society* (1982), 278; Plumb, 'Commercialization of Leisure', in McKendrick, *Birth of a Consumer Society*, 278–9.

<sup>49</sup> According to Plumb, John Bannister called these concerts his 'Public Musicales' and he gave them at his Music School, a room over the George Tavern in Whitefriars: *The London Stage*, pt. 1, W. van Lennep ed., (1965), cxix, cited in Plumb, 'The Commercialization of Leisure', in McKendrick, *Birth of a Consumer Society*, 279.

<sup>50</sup> M. Tilmouth, 'The Beginnings of Provincial Concert Life in England', in C. Hogwood & R. Lockett eds., *Music in Eighteenth Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth* (1983), 1–17.

<sup>51</sup> W. Weber, *Music and the Middle Classes* (1975).

<sup>52</sup> See Chapter 8 on music rooms.

readiness of aristocrats to support local musical events. One such in the Nostell Priory archives advertises 'One performance only at Mr. Dawson's Long Room, Wakefield, Thursday, December the 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1773 [when] Miss Marshall will present her performances of vocal and instrumental music.'<sup>53</sup> Another route was to enter into partnerships with other aristocrats in the subscription of the larger-scale public concert series and new music, which in turn provided musicians with alternative sources of income, giving them greater independence and the opportunity for the further development of their professional status. These and other forms of 'indirect' patronage later practised by Yorkshire aristocrats will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

However, alongside these changes in the understanding and practice of aristocratic patronage in the early eighteenth century, other changes in society were to challenge aristocratic monopoly and influence the scope and direction that aristocratic patronage of music took in the later decades of the eighteenth century, in both London and the provinces, most importantly, the growth of the social and political power of the middle classes and corresponding expansion of a wider patronage base.

### **Impact of social, political and economic changes on traditional aristocratic systems of patronage: The growth of a wider patronage base**

John Brewer, Neil McKendrick and others have described the growth of the consumer society in the eighteenth century and its impact upon politics, culture, the economy and the traditional clientage system.<sup>54</sup> As such it had a significant impact on aristocratic musical patronage, the growth of public concert life and the gradual appearance of a group of self-consciously professional musicians. All of these affected the scope of influence and role that aristocratic patronage played throughout and beyond the eighteenth century and specifically in the lives of Yorkshire noblemen.

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<sup>53</sup> Playbills 1760–1884, WYW1352/1/1/5/19.

<sup>54</sup> N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J. H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982).

The first half of the eighteenth century saw the emergence of a 'middling' group of bourgeoisie, between the patrician elite and the poor, who began to distinguish themselves socially, economically and politically. Significantly, this group consisted not only of men of moveable property, tradesmen and shopkeepers who existed to cater for the wishes and desires of the aristocracy; neither were they exclusively captains of enterprise and industry. Rather they comprised a wide range of backgrounds and occupations. Historians such as Paul Langford and Boyd Hilton have described the complex nature of this grouping and emphasised how difficult it is to define. Langford writes: 'the middle class or "middling sort" was not, of course, a socially self-conscious or particularly coherent grouping. It remained diverse in point of both wealth and activity.'<sup>55</sup>

From a 21<sup>st</sup>-century perspective it is easy to take for granted the presence and growth of the middle classes. Contemporaries such as the Scottish philosopher John Millar, however, considered the changes that occurred in British society following the 1688 Revolution as extraordinary: 'A great body of merchants, moneyed men, and farmers had transformed the face both of urban and agrarian society.'<sup>56</sup> Whom this group comprised was less obvious. Contemporaries spoke of a wide variety of salaries and occupations, which included small farmers in the countryside and a range of businessmen and self-employed tradesmen in the towns, alongside the richer landowners and professional and mercantile groups. The 'middle' bracket was broad, merging different elements of the landed and more metropolitan professional interests, though not in a way that was possible to categorize. Hilton, analysing the structure of British society later in the century, describes some of the different strands of the middling group, largely according to annual income. After the aristocrats (peers) and wealthier landed interest, he places the gentry, upper-middle class/gentlemanly capitalists, many of whom identified with metropolitan values, the professions, business classes, lesser-middle class, and finally the lower middle-classes, all of whom could be said to sit within this broad middle band.<sup>57</sup>

Many factors influenced their emergence and growth in different locations, rendering generalisations difficult. This was partly due to regional variations with

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<sup>55</sup> P. Langford, *Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 55.

<sup>56</sup> Cited in Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People, England 1727–1783*, 61.

<sup>57</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 124–74.

regards to the basic conditions of material life and the fact that social standing was dependent on a range of considerations. It is not possible here to explore in depth all the factors that contributed to these developments, and indeed these have been thoroughly discussed by many writers; however it may be said that the growth of urban life, improvements to the roads and transport system, and later the coming of the railways, all had an impact. The grouping was also defined by other factors such as religion, education, and cultural and intellectual pursuits.<sup>58</sup>

The fact was that a large proportion of the population had begun to earn more than they needed to survive. Historians have pointed to the difficulties of quantifying the numbers of people involved. If in the 1750s it was considered that a salary of £50 would allow an individual to enter the middle ranks, one in five families, divided equally between town and country, would have qualified. However, if the marker was set lower at a salary of £40, double the amount required for subsistence, the numbers would have counted two in five families of the population. Income surplus to requirement offered the possibility of consumer spending. There was a further demarcation between those who paid poor relief and those who received it. However as Langford has also suggested, wealth in and of itself did not necessarily position someone in the middle ranks, for example if they chose to spend their surplus earnings on drinking and leisure, as opposed to the pursuit of social status and material possessions.

The main defining features of the 'middling' group were that they were united by property, wealth and material possessions, they were not restricted to land, and they held to a code of conduct referred to as 'politeness' which came to signify a 'gentlemanly' behaviour and a social standing befitting their newly found prosperity.<sup>59</sup> As Langford points out, it was more common to emphasise the moral character and industry of this group than to analyse its make-up.<sup>60</sup> However, the true conclusion, according to Langford, 'was not a nation of gentry ... but a powerful and extensive middle-class, resting on a broad diverse base of property ...

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<sup>58</sup> See Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People England 1727–1783*, and Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?* Both writers also draw together other different historical perspectives on these themes.

<sup>59</sup> Vickery's scholarly study *The Gentleman's Daughter* (1998) focuses on the lives of women who were classed amongst the 'polite', 'civil', 'genteel', from the ranks of the lesser gentry, the professions, merchants and manufacturers.

<sup>60</sup> Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 61.

It was a revolution by conjunction rather than confrontation.’<sup>61</sup> He adds: ‘The very uncertainty of origins made it easy for polite society to coalesce into a largely consistent mass ... In the last analysis the middle class which benefited so markedly by the economic changes of the eighteenth century was a class defined by material possessions.’<sup>62</sup> Insofar as trading and business were concerned, there existed a tension between those still locked into the old patronage system and those ready to exploit the potential of an emerging, more broadly based, socially heterogeneous market. It was the emergence of this market, based on the growth of consumerism at nearly all levels of society and the corresponding democratisation of taste that made possible the changes that were occurring in the clientage system.

The broadening of the market involved a change in social and economic value and a transformation of the relationship between producers, distributors and consumers. The patricians were a vital part of the clientele – but increasingly, the aristocracy constituted the top end of the market rather than the market ‘tout court.’ They could no longer exercise such complete control or command through their purchasing power and patronage.

One aspect of the social changes that were taking place, and that made so many desirous to embrace a different system, was an increasing dissatisfaction with the client economy. ‘Independence’, as opposed to ‘dependence’ on the clientage system, was desirable as a means of gaining freedom from the economic and political control of the patricians. In order for this freedom to be possible, there needed to be certain conditions: there was a need for alternative resources, a change in the structure of wealth and the recognition that existing sources of wealth could be exploited in a new way. The preconditions for these developments were: the democratisation of taste, bourgeois consumerism and the emergence of a more broadly based market for goods and services.

## **Middle-class leisure**

The commercialisation of leisure, as a result of the growing affluence in eighteenth-century society, became by 1750–60 the basis for what we would now

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 67.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 121.



describe as the leisure industry, and has been discussed by Plumb in his chapter on this subject.<sup>63</sup>

The ability to enjoy leisure and recreation was an important mark of social status and middle-class gentlemen and ladies sought ways of imitating the leisure activities of their social betters, as well as creating their own recreations. Polite society required platforms on which to parade its newly found status. The favourite arenas were the assemblies and spas. Clubs and societies also offered men and women opportunities to distinguish themselves, and to consolidate and build their identities of being not only socially but also morally, intellectually, and culturally respectable. All these activities required servicing and created a range of new markets. Yorkshire society frequently gathered at York for the races, the assizes and the balls and musical entertainment. Significantly these sites of commercialized leisure were not associated first and foremost with the developing bourgeoisie. As Vickery explains, 'they were identified as the principal haunts of the people of fashion, the quality, the beau monde. The presence or the promise of ... nobility guaranteed the popularity of a venue with genteel spectators.'<sup>64</sup> Thus different ranks of people were being brought together, further accentuated by the diverse and overlapping groupings within the middle classes, and together formed a shared market. This was a radical change from traditional models for aristocrats.

The impact of these new circumstances and conditions was that it became possible for tradesmen, entrepreneurs, artisans and professionals – men of middle rank – to find other sources of income/patronage and thus reduce their direct dependence on aristocratic favour. This in turn encouraged initiatives towards professional independence. From the perspective of the musician the growth in middle-class consumerism provided more employment opportunities. Traders were able to participate in subscriptions of music thus increasing the potential for concert subscription; there was more printing and sales of music publications; musical instruments were in greater demand; and musicians increasingly found teaching in middle-class homes as well as aristocratic ones. Middle-class consumerism provided an alternative source of patronage to those unable to

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<sup>63</sup> Plumb, 'The Commercialization of Leisure' in McKendrick et al., eds., *Birth of a Consumer Society*, 265. Plumb comments, 'like all great wars, those of William III and Anne had a profound effect, almost all to the good, on the economic and social life of Great Britain'.

<sup>64</sup> Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 227.

benefit from aristocratic favour.<sup>65</sup> According to Paul Henry Lang, ‘toward the middle of the century almost every town, castle, university and church had its orchestra and many musical associations gathered for weekly musical exercises’. Plumb continues: ‘just as they could not possibly collect Old Masters, but had to content themselves with prints, so too the middle class could not behave like the Duke of Chandos and keep a full scale orchestra at Cannons, along with a resident composer such as Handel or Pepusch’.<sup>66</sup>

Nevertheless, the growth of a middle class who aspired to flaunt their newly found status and increase in disposable income by emulating the cultural pursuits of the upper classes, resulting in the creation of new markets and tastes, presented a challenge to the control, artistic authority, and social exclusivity of the aristocracy. As has been noted, these developments manifested themselves in various ways in the metropolis and in different provincial towns and the impact on public concert life has been interrogated by musicologists and historians already mentioned.<sup>67</sup> Charles Dibdin, author of *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin*, was impressed by the musical appreciation of middle-class people in the north. He wrote: ‘Their manners appear to be simple and unaffected; their conversation is polished, and in their musical pursuits they go my way to work, and praise everything that pleases on reflection.’<sup>68</sup> The position of York in the early mid-eighteenth century will be the focus of this discussion and provide a context in which to consider the transforming role of Yorkshire aristocratic musical patronage in the public domain, which was to continue into the nineteenth century.

## **York in the early to mid-eighteenth century**

In the early eighteenth century York had no manufactures of note. However, it was one of the leading corn markets in the north of England and was important as a

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<sup>65</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 55–6.

<sup>66</sup> P. H. Lang, *Music in Western Civilisation* (1942), 724, cited in Plumb, ‘The Commercialization of Leisure’, in McKendrick et al., eds., *Birth of a Consumer Society*, 280.

<sup>67</sup> For example: in Newcastle, Durham, Oxford, Bath, Leeds and other towns. Weber, in *Music and the Middle Classes*, has also discussed the impact of the middle classes on concert life in Paris and Vienna, comparing manifestations there with developments in London.

<sup>68</sup> *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin* (1788), cited in Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 674.

market centre, buying and selling goods supplied by a significant area around the city. A large proportion of the population was involved in the production and distribution of both the basic requirements of its residents and the luxury commodities and services sought by the gentry. Its trade was carried out by a greater variety of men than it had been before; as Tillott explains, the wealthy merchants who had earlier dominated the scene had been replaced by a range of small merchants, dealers, mariners, brokers and shopkeepers.<sup>69</sup>

## **Social life**

‘What has been, and is,’ says Drake, ‘the chief support of the city, at present, is the resort to and residence of several country gentlemen with their families in it.’<sup>70</sup> Tillott describes the social situation of York as follows: By the 1730s the city was well established as the social capital of Yorkshire and perhaps of an even wider area. That it had become so was probably the result of its long established metropolitan character. ‘As the centre of the province and diocese, as the meeting place for county elections, as the assize town and as regional market, York was clearly the place to which Yorkshiremen would resort to enjoy the expanding social life of the century.’<sup>71</sup> And as Drake points out, ‘it was so much cheaper than London ... even less expensive than living in their own houses in the country’. At first, he says, the gentry came into town twice a year at the time of the assizes; but by his time the influx was in August for the races, which maintained an enduring popularity.<sup>72</sup>

## **Assemblies**

After the races, one of the main forms of entertainment in York was the assemblies, which probably would have been attended by both the local gentry and respectable members of the middle classes. These were primarily a winter entertainment which also became associated with Race Week, probably beginning around 1710 as weekly meetings in the King’s Manor, and consisting of dancing

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<sup>69</sup> P. Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 225.

<sup>70</sup> F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), 240, cited in Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 245.

<sup>71</sup> Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 245.

<sup>72</sup> Drake, *Eboracum*, 241, cited in Tillott, 245.

and card games.<sup>73</sup> According to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, they were well attended in 1713. After that they began to be held in what had been Sir Arthur Ingram's house near the Minster. Around Christmas 1716 Rich's cousin Arthur Ingram of Barrowby wrote to Rich's brother, who was in France, 'My Lord from Templenewsam writes me that he has lately been at York where he has entertained 'em with masquerades, admirable schemes for intrigues'.<sup>74</sup> In 1732 Lord Burlington's Assembly Rooms were built in time for the Race Week and assemblies continued there, although these had declined by 1750. Mr. Winn of Nostell Priory and two Mr. Lascelles presumably connected to the Lascelles family at Harewood House, are included in the list of nobility and gentry who appeared at the Assembly Rooms at York during Race week in 1767.<sup>75</sup> In York assemblies consisted of dancing and cards on Mondays, and an assembly for music on Fridays, which the corporation was considering supporting in 1739. Elsewhere in the city, stage-players acted twice a week until in 1733–4 the corporation encouraged plans to build a theatre on the site of Ingram's property near the Minster in order to continue to draw the gentry and their money to York. The York Waits performed on every occasion both in the Assembly Rooms and at processions; early in the century they took their work seriously enough to send a new recruit to London 'to improve him in the way of music'.<sup>76</sup> Other public assembly points were the Riverside Walk and Gardens as depicted in a painting called *Prospect of a Noble Terras Walk, York* (c.1756).<sup>77</sup> As has been noted already, both the nobility and lesser 'polite' society frequented these sites and participated in public social events.

## Status of York

Tillot reports that in 1763, when the Act to light and clean the streets and regulate the hackney coachmen was obtained, the city was sufficiently confident of its

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<sup>73</sup> Drake, *Eboracum*, 240, cited in Tillott, 245.

<sup>74</sup> Arthur Ingram, Barrowby, autograph letter to Henry Irwin, place unknown, Christmas 1717, Pawson Mss., Letterbook 1717–1747, WYL178.

<sup>75</sup> List of the nobility and gentry who appeared at the Assembly Rooms at York in the Race Week, 1767. Printed plays and tracts, 1765–1776, WYL1352/1/1/5/20.

<sup>76</sup> York Corp. Rec. Ho. Bk. 40f. 160; 43, 205; 45, 247, cited in Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 247.

<sup>77</sup> C. Grignon after N. Drake, *Prospect of a Noble Terras Walk, York* (c.1756), York City Art Gallery.

position to say in the preamble that it was ‘the capital city of the northern parts of England and a place of great resort and much frequented by persons of distinction and fortune.’ It was true that by this time many county families had town houses in the city and that it was frequently the scene of gatherings of more than a merely local importance.<sup>78</sup> It could also boast that it was a minor centre of intellectual and artistic life: notable amongst this group were John Carr architect, Joseph Halfpenny Clerk of Works to John Carr, Francis Place amateur artist, William Peckitt, John Atkinson and Laurence Sterne.<sup>79</sup> This suggests that York society comprised both the neighbouring gentry and a growing population of middle-class polite society, including artistic, literary and, as will be seen, music professionals.

## Religion

As in all provincial towns at this time, religion played an important role in influencing and determining social, cultural and political groupings. Although there is not space here to analyse in detail the religious make-up of York’s population, it may be said that the city’s spiritual life was dominated by the Minster which in turn was mainly made up of Whig churchmen. There seems to have been a close relationship between the Corporation and the Minster. Roman Catholics on the other hand were small in number: in 1764 there were 51 families and 58 individuals in their parishes, probably totalling around 260, and all were subject to the disabilities of nonconformity. Protestant nonconformists numbered 22 families and 31 persons who were termed ‘presbyterian’, 24 families and five persons who were Quakers and six Methodist families. These small groups posed no threat to the established church and it is unlikely that either extremity of Dissenting artistic taste, neither the excess nor the austerity, dominated the city. The economic and social circumstances of York and Yorkshire society, the city’s reputation as the cultural centre of the north, and the consequent participation and presence of an

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<sup>78</sup> Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 247.

<sup>79</sup> L. Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy* was clearly a favourite with the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle as he wrote from Paris in c.1772 to Caroline Carlisle: ‘Nothing is altered in Paris since I was here last, I see the same faces in the same boxes at the playhouses, I believe they have been there ever since ... indeed I think with *Tristram Shandy* that the French instead of being very lively are a very serious dull people, or they never could be contented with doing and seeing the same things all their lives ... Their lives roll on with an insipid sameness.’ CHA, J15/1/2.

aspiring middling group, local gentry and noble families, together created conditions to produce a flourishing public concert life.

## Concerts in York

Due to its position as a prestigious social centre, York was one of the first northern cities to hold public concerts. The following sections will describe the growth of York's concert life and define what specifically Yorkshire aristocrats contributed to these developments.

On 1 August 1709 The *Daily Courant* published the following advertisement:

York, August the 8<sup>th</sup>. During the sizes will be perform'd a Consort of Musick, by Mr. Holcomb, Mr. Corbet, etc. Who will perform the same in Nottingham ... after the Races are over, viz. All the choicest Songs out of all the new Operas in Italian and English, with their proper Sinfoney's as they are play'd in the Queen's Theatre.<sup>80</sup>

This concert was followed by other performances, which eventually led to the establishment of a winter series of concerts in 1729–30, put on by the 'Musick Assembly', who were, it is assumed, the body of subscribers to the concerts.<sup>81</sup> I have not yet discovered the precise make-up of this group and how many were involved, except that a steward of the Assembly was a Reverend Mr. Allett.<sup>82</sup> It is possible that it would have comprised gentlemen amateurs of different ranks.<sup>83</sup> There was a corresponding organisation called the 'Musick Society', which Griffiths surmises referred to the performers who took part in the concerts.<sup>84</sup> From this it becomes apparent that a partnership was required for the effective organisation and performance of public concerts. However, it seems that the Assembly was

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<sup>80</sup> *Daily Courant*, 1 August 1709, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 103.

<sup>81</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 104.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>83</sup> See Chapter 7 for further comment on 'gentlemen amateurs'.

<sup>84</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 105.

responsible for the direction of the concerts, and likely therefore to have artistic control.

It should also be noted that the concerts were organised to coincide with the winter seasons, which many of the nobility and gentry spent in York, beginning in October and finishing by the middle of April.<sup>85</sup> The upper-classes comprised the main market for the concerts. Griffiths goes on to describe the proliferation of concert series in York during the following decades, recording who performed, the programmes, the venues, and the promoters.<sup>86</sup>

### ***Venues***

Concerts in the 1710s and 1720s were held in the same premises as the assemblies already described, one of which was Lord Irwin of Temple Newsam's house next to the Minster. During the August race meeting of 1731 they were held in 'three large rooms in Ogleforth ... when and where criticks in Musick were then pleased to say, It was the only proper place at present in York for a consort of musick'.<sup>87</sup> However, the establishment of public concert series presented the need for a more suitable venue for concerts and this was one of the main reasons for the building of assembly rooms in York and elsewhere. One of the proposals for the building of the Assembly Rooms in York was that they should be used for 'the Monday Assembly, Friday Consort ... [and] the Balls during the races'.<sup>88</sup> Accordingly, the 'Musick Assembly' was one of the main subscribers to the building of the rooms and after their construction, they seem to have become the main venue for concerts over the next 50 years. Advertisements appeared regularly. For example, on 11 October 1749: 'the concert for this winter was opened at the Assembly Rooms, with a more numerous and genteel Appearance than for some years past.'<sup>89</sup> York Theatre was also used as a venue, particularly for oratorio series: 'In Passion Week in 1769, Oratorios were undertaken at the York Theatre, and were particularly well attended. Good profits gave proof, and Mr. Baker, and three adventurers with him

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<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* I will be examining this evidence more closely to establish which local aristocracy of relevance to this study were involved in subscribing to and promoting concert series in York and in Leeds.

<sup>87</sup> *York Courant*, 14 December 1801, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 104.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

<sup>89</sup> *York Courant*, 17 October 1749, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 106.

shared to much advantage: Mr. Norris, and Mr. and Mrs. Pinto (Miss Brett) were engaged.<sup>90</sup> There were oratorio concerts at the Theatre Royal during the Lent assize week of 1770, including Handel's *Samson*, *Israel in Babylon*, and *Messiah*. Thereafter, no further oratorios were performed at the Theatre Royal. In 1771 Handel's *Acis and Galatea* and his *Alexander's Feast* and William Boyce's *Solomon* were performed at the Assembly Rooms.

Other venues were used occasionally, for example the Nostell Priory archives contain a notice for a concert of music for 'Mr. Pugnani' on 27 August 1768 at the Merchant-Taylors Hall in York.<sup>91</sup>

### ***Performers***

According to Griffiths, the concerts in the Assembly Rooms in the mid-1700s attracted first-class performers. In the 1730s and early 1740s these were predominantly Italian musicians, reflecting the fashion in the metropolis. Thereafter the stage was taken largely by English performers, perhaps due to the waning popularity of Italian Opera. Many of the benefit concerts included choral items and it is probable that the Minster choir supplied a nucleus of singers.<sup>92</sup> From this it can be seen that the York concerts self-consciously reflected London upper-class musical taste. This demonstrates the Directors' awareness of both current fashions and of the taste of audiences who would be dividing their time between the metropolis and the country. As has been suggested, some of these musicians were also invited to perform or teach in aristocratic houses, for example, the violinist and composer Felice Giardini performed regularly at Chatsworth House at the request of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire.<sup>93</sup> Thomas Thackray of York, who was one of the leading performers in the Assembly Room concerts, taught Lady Irwin's daughters at Temple Newsam in the 1760s.

### ***Repertoire***

Musical repertoire in the concerts was mainly instrumental. The mainstay of the

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<sup>90</sup> Tate Wilkinson, *The Wandering Patentee; or A History of Yorkshire Theatres from 1770 to the present time, etc.* 4 Vols., cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of First Quality*, 115.

<sup>91</sup> Playbills, WYW1352/1/1/5/19.

<sup>92</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of First Quality*, 113.

<sup>93</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 26.



concerts in York was the concerto. Concerti grossi by Francesco Geminiani from his Op. 2 and 3 were performed in the 1750s. Other continental composers of the concerto who performed in York were Guiseppe Matteo Alberti, Johann Adolphe Hasse, and Sammartini. English Concerti Grossi were very popular. Griffiths lists concertos by James Nares, Handel, William Felton, Charles Avison, Michael Christian Festing, John Hebden and Richard Mudge and John Stanley. Avison's set of *Twelve Concertos*, Op. 9, were subscribed to by John Camidge and Thackray who were two of the leading performers in the Assembly Room concerts in the 1760s. Organ concertos also featured in the concerts, though none were mentioned in advertisements after 1757. Overtures by Handel were particularly popular, as were those by Thomas Arne, Nares and Boyce. The introduction of oratorios in 1765 and 1771 was exceptional. 'By the end of the period works in the *galant* style had been introduced and it would seem that the conservatism in musical taste which was supposed to characterize provincial concerts in the eighteenth century was absent from York.'<sup>94</sup> As Southey has shown, this was also the case in Newcastle during this period.<sup>95</sup> It will be seen that this repertoire was reflected in and was possibly the inspiration for music played in private concerts, for example at Harewood House.<sup>96</sup>

### ***Audiences***

In the early years of the more public enterprises, 'the reins of taste were firmly in the hands of the higher aristocracy.'<sup>97</sup> In general it seems that efforts were made to exclude lower classes by selling subscriptions, controlling subscription lists and keeping prices too high to be afforded by most members of the middle classes.<sup>98</sup> However, it seems that during the period 1730–75 the position of the Musick Assembly was very precarious because of a possible fall in the number of subscribers and an expanding market for musicians' services which allowed them to demand better pay. Another consequence and contributing factor to the

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<sup>94</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of First Quality*, 118.

<sup>95</sup> Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England*, 39.

<sup>96</sup> See Chapter 7 on music collections.

<sup>97</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 12, cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 47.

<sup>98</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 85. The price of the tickets for the York 1791 Music Festival were too high to be afforded by the majority of York residents.

strengthened position of the musician, and which was a threat to the aristocracy, was the development of professional patronage.<sup>99</sup> This was when musicians collaborated to organise their own concert institutions and thereby established a more independent relationship, professionally and musically, with amateur patrons. Until 1778 the subscription concerts in York had been organised by the directors of the Musick Assembly. In 1778 'by the Desire of the Gentlemen Directors', the direction of the concerts was taken on by Thomas Shaw, the leader of the band, and Mrs Mary Hudson who was the leading vocalist. Thereafter the subscription series remained under professional control.<sup>100</sup>

In London many concert series depended on aristocratic patrons but were under professional control. One of the most important professional concerts to develop out of this movement was the Philharmonic Society. In 1813 it was reported that 'the audiences at the Philharmonic are neither the great vulgar nor the small – they are the cognoscenti – if there be any such in the whole realm – they go to hear and to enjoy.'<sup>101</sup> This reflected the thread in public concert life that corresponded most closely to the ideals of connoisseurship discussed earlier in this chapter. Thus it can be seen that in the realms of both private and public performances throughout the eighteenth century, musicians remained dependent to some degree on aristocratic influence and financial support, either for employment in the houses of patrons or for the opportunity to put on public concerts, which paradoxically opened up professional careers and opportunities for employment apart from traditional patronage.

## **Changes in York at the end of the eighteenth century**

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, concert life in York declined. Despite an increase in the city's population from 12,000 to 27,000, there was a reduction in attendance at the concerts by their main audience, the gentry. Although the races remained an attraction, Tillott states that the gentry were staying away from York for a variety of reasons and in increasing numbers.<sup>102</sup> The reasons for this

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<sup>99</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 56–9.

<sup>100</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of First Quality*, 121–2.

<sup>101</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 58.

<sup>102</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of First Quality*, 121. Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire*, 256–7.

withdrawal from York have not been clearly defined but it is significant that it reflected a general trend that has been noted by other historians such as Hilton and Simon McVeigh.<sup>103</sup> It is possible that the gentry were at this time keeping a lower profile and staying at home to avoid the moral judgements or company of the middle classes; or they were perhaps seeking their amusements elsewhere, made more possible by improved transport. 'Traditionally, the county life of the summer – assizes, races, music-meetings, plays, balls – had at least brought the magnates and gentry back for a month or two. The tradition continued, but it was under increasing threat from the tendency of polite society to migrate from London to Bath or Brighton with no more than a fleeting visit to a shuttered house.'<sup>104</sup> The upper-middle classes followed suit. Hilton suggests that because the upper-middle classes looked to London for their values, they detached themselves psychologically from their immediate physical environment. Simultaneously the public assembly points such as the promenades emptied and public events declined as townspeople withdrew to their villas.<sup>105</sup> The impact of this on concert life was a drop in subscribers, a trend that was to continue into the early decades of the nineteenth century. It was perhaps this trend that gave fresh impetus to the staging of private concerts and music-making, motivating an aristocrat such as Lord Harewood in 1795 to employ his own director of music responsible for the organisation of evening concerts at Harewood House.<sup>106</sup>

In this chapter I have sought to describe the changes that occurred in the concept and practice of aristocratic musical patronage throughout the eighteenth century, and how these changes manifested themselves in York, as a prelude to a more focused examination of aristocratic musical patronage in the four Yorkshire houses under interrogation in this thesis. The trends I have outlined here briefly – the impact on musical patronage of the growth of the middle classes, initiatives towards professional independence, and the complexities and interconnectivity of a range of sources of patronage and how they interacted with traditional

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<sup>103</sup> This tendency will be discussed in the following chapter. See McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 47.

<sup>104</sup> Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People*, 104; Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 133.

<sup>105</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 167.

<sup>106</sup> McVeigh suggests that 'the conflict between public patronage of concerts and the desire for social exclusivity resulted in the proliferation of private aristocratic concerts in the last decades of the eighteenth century', McVeigh, *Concert Life*, 47. See Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 47 ff for more on this subject.

aristocratic patronage – will be discussed more fully with reference to the period 1770–1850 in the following chapter.

# 3 Musical Patronage in Yorkshire Country Houses, 1770–1850

## **Introduction**

In the previous chapter I surveyed the changes that took place during the early to mid-eighteenth century in the ways in which musicians, artists, writers and other creative professionals and artisans received support, and how these changes came about. I outlined briefly the impact on musical patronage of the growth of the middle classes, initiatives towards professional independence, and the complexities and interconnectivity of a range of sources of patronage and how they interacted with traditional aristocratic patronage. In this chapter I will be discussing the impact that these trends had on the careers of musicians and music-making in Yorkshire and beyond in the period 1770–1850. More specifically, I will be looking at the nature of the patron-client relationship in the context of Yorkshire country houses, and its influence on musicians' social and professional status, focusing on Harewood House and referring to others to a lesser degree. In this house we see the leading male aristocrat instigating the organisation of structured music-making in his household by employing and training up a young professional musician to oversee evening chamber concerts and teach members of the family. Key questions that will be addressed in this chapter are: what roles existed for the musician in the Yorkshire country house? What was the nature of the patron-client relationship between musicians and their aristocratic employers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? What was the status of the

musician in the country house? Did musicians attain a status and relationship of intellectual/cultural equality with their employers? How did the position of the professional musician differ from that of servants and other employees in the country house? What members of the aristocratic family were involved in patronage?

## **Part 1: Aristocratic musical patronage in the late eighteenth century**

The latest example discussed in the previous chapter of an aristocratic household supporting music on a royal scale was Cannons belonging to the Duke of Chandos in the 1720s. It was considered to be exceptionally grand even by contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, there is evidence of the persistence into the second half of the eighteenth century of private and public aristocratic patronage of musicians and musical institutions, on a national basis and, more specifically, in some of the great houses in Yorkshire. The relationship between patronage and the development of musicians' careers has been discussed by Deborah Rohr in her wide-ranging and thoroughly researched book *Careers of British Musicians, 1750–1850*.<sup>2</sup> In this study she sets out to recreate 'the landscape of musicians' careers and perceptions from 1750 to 1850', traversing the terrain of musicians' economic, social, professional, and artistic goals, and the material and cultural conditions under which these goals were pursued.<sup>3</sup> In this context, the theme of patronage and its changing and widening character are discussed from the perspective of the musician and his various patronage relationships and their evolving role and importance. Rohr identifies seven different sources of patronage: royal, aristocratic, middle-class, professional, church, military, and municipal. The study is useful because of its breadth and the range of data from which she has been able to make concrete observations, and she has been cited by other key musicologists such as Simon

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<sup>1</sup> D. Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, 342, cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 45.

<sup>2</sup> Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 2. Rohr's analysis is constructed upon the basis of a biographical catalogue of almost 6,600 professional musicians working between 1750–1850, drawn from a wide variety of sources that she cites in the introduction.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

McVeigh, Christina Bashford and Ian Woodfield.<sup>4</sup> Her work is helpful for the way that she organises her data and categorises the types of patronage, for example as direct and indirect, and private and public. These terms will be used as tools to facilitate this discussion of aristocratic musical patronage in the Yorkshire country houses under interrogation. Rohr also draws attention to the eighteenth-century definition of patronage: ‘contemporaries used the term “patronage” to refer to any and all sources of financial support for music and musicians. The narrower definition – personal, aristocratic patronage – came to be expressed by the words “connection” and “interest.”’<sup>5</sup> As we shall see, this perhaps provides a more precise understanding of the nature and functioning of late-eighteenth-century aristocratic patronage. Fundamentally patronage was a relationship.

Nevertheless, due to the quantity of data Rohr incorporates she does not elaborate on the careers of individual musicians to demonstrate the interplay of different patronage relationships. By contrast, this chapter will begin by looking in depth at the training and career of one household musician, John White, employed at Harewood House in Yorkshire, which will then be compared to those of two other musicians who were employed in aristocratic houses, Charles Coote at Chatsworth House and Stephen Jay at Burton Constable Hall, near Hull. The case study of Harewood House is an important example of one way that aristocratic patronage was operating at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

Before examining Harewood’s archival evidence in detail, it will be helpful to look at the social and cultural context in order to understand the continuing evolution of aristocratic musical patronage in York during this period and the relationship this had with musical patronage in Yorkshire country houses. As mentioned, York had been important to the provincial noble households throughout the eighteenth century as a source of goods and services, as well as cultural entertainments and fashionable public spaces to assemble and parade. While the cultural life of the city declined after the 1780s, York continued to

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<sup>4</sup> S. McVeigh, ‘The Society of British Musicians’, in C. Bashford and L. Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914*, 149. See also: I. Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys*, 4, and C. Bashford, ‘Historiography and Invisible Muses: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain’, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63, 2 (Summer 2010), 332.

<sup>5</sup> Rohr, *Careers of British Musicians*, 40.

provide the goods required by local aristocrats and the traditional attractions such as the Races continued to draw visitors. An important and illuminating distinction that has been proffered between York and its neighbouring town Leeds was that 'York attracted wealth while Leeds created it. York's population of gentry and professional men, artisans and shop keepers who catered to them, and small merchants and craftsmen supporting agriculture contrast sharply with that of Leeds, a cloth town with an elite of large-scale merchants and a large middling group of cloth-makers, but comparatively few resident or visiting gentry and professional men. The difference in the towns is reflected in their differing audience for and experience of leisure.'<sup>6</sup> Leeds did not have as developed a cultural life as York and it emerged more slowly. Leeds was without a large group of visiting and resident gentry and its merchant elite were slower to partake of commercialised leisure. When they did they spread them out over the year. The main cultural event was the music festival which was based on a provincial model. It is for this reason that the discussion of aristocratic musical patronage in Yorkshire at this period will focus on York, although, as will be seen, White, Lord Harewood's resident musician, contributed to Leeds' musical life and so the town received aristocratic patronage indirectly.

### **York at the end of the eighteenth century: the social and cultural context**

Although the population of York increased from 12,000 to 27,000 between 1775 and 1835, it was commonly agreed by contemporaries that the social standing of the city was continuing to decline in the early years of the nineteenth century. Peter Tillott records how at a meeting, a speaker lamented the passing of 'the late period when the city was chiefly supported by the resident gentry with their families who came to reside as at a metropolis'.<sup>7</sup> Later, in 1833, it was reported to the municipal corporation commissioners that 'everything is going away from us and nothing is coming ... the great advantages and benefits which York possessed

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<sup>6</sup> J. Jefferson Looney, 'Cultural life in the provinces: Leeds and York, 1720-1820' in A. L. Beier, D. Cannadine, J. M. Rosenheim, eds., *The First Modern Society*, 489. This chapter provides an illuminating and sharp analysis of the two towns' cultural lives during this period.

<sup>7</sup> *York Herald*, 21 Sept 1833.



have rapidly flown away from her lately, notwithstanding the increase in population. I don't know that trade has increased at all with it.'<sup>8</sup>

It was asserted by others, such as the boundary commissioners, that York was not declining but increasing in size but the changes 'in habits and manners which have taken place throughout the kingdom in the last half century have been felt more severely in York than in most other places.'<sup>9</sup> Suggested reasons for the decline cited by Tillott were: the price of coal, the division of the city into 30 parishes which was believed to be a hindrance, restrictions on entry into trade, and doubts about the corporation's ability to act as a conservator of the Ouse Navigation.<sup>10</sup>

York continued to be a market centre for the produce from the surrounding area and for the sale of goods and services:

[It is said that] the working population of the city ... is of a description to which a knowledge of the principles of science would be of little or no use. We have no manufactures, we have no complicated machinery in operation; we have no weavers, no dyers, no shipbuilders, no mines. What further, it is asked, can be required by common carpenters, cabinet makers, joiners and masons, by painters, shoemakers, workers in horn, or day labourers in husbandry? ... Yet amidst the multifarious occupations ... in this city, there are surely many to whom a knowledge of some branch of science might be beneficial. Would such knowledge be useless to working jewellers, to workers in steel or brass founders, to tanners, to chemists and druggists, to tillers of the land?<sup>11</sup>

Significantly York employed at least twice as many domestic servants as there were in Leeds, Bradford or Huddersfield in 1831, which suggests that the gentry

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<sup>8</sup> *York Herald*, 30 Nov 1833.

<sup>9</sup> *Rep. Com. Division Counties and Bounds. Boros.* H. C. 141, pt. 6, 171–3 (1831–2), xl, cited in Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 257.

<sup>10</sup> *York Herald*, 30 Nov 1833.

<sup>11</sup> *York Herald*, 25 May 1827.

still occupied an important position in the city despite the decline in certain public entertainments. The gentry may well have turned to other places such as Bath and London for their assemblies and associated pleasures by 1830, probably due to improved transport, and those who maintained town houses in York may have declined in numbers, but they still had their country seats in the surrounding countryside and their orders for goods and services still came to the city. There were in 1823 around 50 seats of the gentry within a ten-mile radius of the city.<sup>12</sup> Upper-class patronage was therefore still important.

### ***Social life in York 1800–1850***

The decline that was noted was reflected in the attendance at public entertainments. For example, during the 1820s the assemblies were reduced to a series of six meetings commencing in December and concluding with a Race Ball in May. Although the newspapers generally focused on the positives, reporting how in 1820 the assemblies had gone on with increased brilliancy and spirit, by 1825 the signs were less encouraging. Tillott comments that rarely did the aristocracy lend their lustre to the so-called 'brilliance'.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1830s the Races, one of the main social attractions for the aristocracy, declined partly due to increased competition from the race meetings at Doncaster. In 1832 it was reported that there was 'great luke-warmness on the part of country gentlemen who let their horses represent them. The Fitzwilliam family ... have withdrawn their support from the meeting.'<sup>14</sup> The Theatre also declined. Apart from the improvement in turnpikes and a better coaching network, which facilitated easier travel to London, by 1807 York's cultural life was being threatened by competition from neighbouring towns such as Wakefield, Halifax, Ripon, Skipton, Hull and Scarborough which provided balls and assemblies, concerts and theatre performances which removed the necessity for gentry to travel to York.

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<sup>12</sup> Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 259.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 267.

<sup>14</sup> J. Fairfax-Blakeborough, *Northern Turf History*, iii, 119 (n.d. c.1831) cited in Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 267.

Tillott asserts that it was not that York ceased to be a social centre, but that the nature of its social life had changed, that is to say it became more geared to the middle classes and less towards the fashionable elite. For the servant-keeping class there was the burgeoning of clubs and societies such as the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, founded in 1822, and the York Mechanics' Institute which opened in 1827. However, while York did not regain its former status as the Metropolis of the North, the city was not entirely devoid of resident or visiting aristocracy: The Yorkshire Club, originally the Yorkshire Union Hunt Club, was established in 1839 for visiting aristocrats. The Races once again became attractive to the gentry in the mid-1800s.

### ***Subscription concerts in York 1776–1835***

As has been mentioned, the concerts throughout this period were in a state of continual financial decline due to the reduced attendance by the gentry who had been the main subscribers. The direction of them was handed over to professional musicians from 1778. The new directors were keen to keep them going. For example, in 1830 it was reported in the *York Herald* that John Camidge 'determined to carry them on ... rather than his native town should be deprived of the attraction which they have for so long a period proved, and that his profession should suffer by the want of that public display of talent which must always influence private exertion and taste.'<sup>15</sup>

Camidge experimented with various schemes to create new audiences and stimulate interest. In 1834 he declared his aim of 'occasionally having during the winter season a musical evening or undress concert', in which the music from the concert the evening before would be repeated but with a lower price for single tickets. This initiative was thought laudable by the *Yorkshire Gazette* which wrote: 'We think this an excellent plan. It will enable a large class of person to attend the concerts, and hear the excellent music usually performed at them, who, from various motives, will not attend the concerts at the Assembly Rooms.'<sup>16</sup> However, this enterprise failed and was not repeated. As Griffiths has pointed out, aside from

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<sup>15</sup> *York Herald*, 4 Dec 1830, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 122.

<sup>16</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 25 Oct 1834, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 123.

the declining subscription series, there were few other public concerts in York during his period. However, one feature was the increase in performances from both visiting native and foreign musicians who were able to tour and perform in different parts of the country due to the improvements in transport. Nicolo Paganini, Ignaz Moscheles and Angelica Catalani came to York in the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

A charity concert of 1829 was reported in the *Harmonicon*: 'York is celebrated for the number and ability of its amateur performers; and on this occasion their best efforts were contributed in the charitable cause. Led and conducted by Dr. Camidge and Mr. Knapton, the band performed Beethoven's symphony No. 1, the overture to Lodoiska (Cherubini), and the Freischutz, in a style that any other orchestra than those of the Philharmonic and Ancient concert might have taken a lesson from.'<sup>18</sup> However, opinions varied and this high praise was not echoed by Moscheles after his experience of performing in York in 1833. Engaging performers of quality proved to be difficult due to the decline in attendances and consequent drop in income. As will be discussed later in the chapter, the problems leading to the decline of the subscription concerts were to be offset by two developments in the 1820s and 1830s: the flourishing of musical societies and the emergence of the great music festivals which, combined, gave new life to public music in York. As has been mentioned, the problem of declining audiences and standards in subscription concerts has in part been attributed to the withdrawal of aristocrats from public concert life and a renewed focus on private concerts. As early as 1795, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood employed a household musician to direct his private concerts and teach members of his family at Harewood House.

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<sup>17</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 127–8.

<sup>18</sup> *Harmonicon* (1830): 27, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 129.

## Musical patronage at Harewood House: the case of John White

### *Music at Harewood House 1771–1795*

In 1771 Edwin Lascelles, Lord Harewood, and his family took up residency in the newly completed house at Gawthorpe, Harewood House, which he had built to designs by John Carr and Robert Adam, and which contained some of Chippendale's finest furniture.<sup>19</sup> It was a showpiece, a statement of Lascelles' intent to rank himself amongst the upper classes. The editors of the fifth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* drew attention to Lascelles' affluence: 'The worthy owner has spared no expense in decorating the principal apartments from designs made by Mr. Adam.'<sup>20</sup>



Figure 5: Edwin Lascelles, Lord Harewood, by Joshua Reynolds, painted during the building of Harewood House, between 1759 and 1771, intended to portray him as a man of Classical values and consequence

*By kind permission of the executors of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Harewood and Trustees of the Harewood House Trust*

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<sup>19</sup> C. Gilbert, 'Chippendale's Harewood Commission', in *Furniture History*, IX (1973), 1–32; A. Stephenson, 'Chippendale at Harewood House', in *Furniture History*, 4 [n.d.], 64; J. Sellars, ed., *The Art of Thomas Chippendale Master Furniture Maker* (2000).

<sup>20</sup> J. Woolfe and J. Gandon, eds., *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1771), V, 4–5, quoted in M. Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 67.

From as soon as it was completed visitors came to view the house.<sup>21</sup> One of the finest rooms was the Music Room, named after its graceful decorative scheme. This remains little changed today. Lyres appear in the carpet; lyres, pipes and trumpets are carved on the marble chimney; the ceiling painting shows Midas presiding over the musical contest between the lyre-playing Apollo and Marsyas, who favoured woodwind.<sup>22</sup> Although, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, the Music Room at Harewood was named after its decoration and not its purpose, its inclusion in the suite of State Rooms at Harewood may suggest that Lascelles was not indifferent to the appeal of music and the importance of its role in the country-house setting.<sup>23</sup> This was consistent with the overall iconographic programme which contributed to the image of Harewood as a villa where the ancient Roman ideal of cultivated leisure on a country estate could be enjoyed.<sup>24</sup> It is not known to what degree the floor plan reflected Lascelles' own interest in music, although the accounts suggest that there was a high degree of musical activity in the house and so it may be assumed that there was a relationship.

It is presumed that the family divided its time between Harewood and its London house in Portman Street, as was the custom. The household accounts reveal that there was regular musical activity throughout the year. Masquerades would have formed part of the family's pastimes and in 1778 there is a record that 'great masquerading' took place at Christmas.<sup>25</sup> There was probably a harpsichord in each house and in 1788 there are recorded payments for the tuning of a harpsichord on January 16, May 20, July 14 and October 13. In October 1791 Mr Warburton is paid '10/-6d' for 'tuning' and 'Smart' is paid 5/- for 'tuning the harpsichord' on 12 June 1792. There are frequent payments to musicians who entertained the Earl and his guests, sometimes several nights in a row. Amongst

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<sup>21</sup> On country-house viewing see J. Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', in *Music & Letters*, 91, 4 (2010), and A. Tinniswood, *A History of Country House Visiting* (1989).

<sup>22</sup> Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 73–6 describes the plans for the Music Room and the execution of the decorative scheme.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 101. At about the same time, Adam provided a music room equipped with an organ, which he also designed, for the 1<sup>st</sup> Lord of Scarsdale at Kedleston Hall who was an ardent music enthusiast. See Wendy Hancock's work on Kedleston Hall and the Curzon family which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

<sup>25</sup> F. F. Foljambe of Aldwark, letter to J. Hewett, 28 Jan 1799, in Bulletin 21 of the Local History Section of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (1981), cited in Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 97.

the musicians named are a William Campbell, Mr C. and William Aurdley; the names Gamble, Garner, William Scott, and Hopkinson also appear in the accounts. The latter seems to have performed for the later Earls of Harewood. From 1792, Aurdley was employed on a weekly basis. On December 8 he was paid one guinea for one week's playing and then the same on the 12, 19, 26 and this continues into 1793. In February 1793 the name of a musician called N. Schafflein appeared in the accounts and, together with Aurdley, he became a regular performer in the Harewood household, probably whilst they were in London. The accounts note payments to Schafflein for '4 times playing at 5/-3d each'. It is possible he was also teaching music to the family, as there are other more substantial bills. Occasionally, singers were engaged, and in January 1790 a man was paid for playing the tabor and pipe, presumably during the Christmas festivities. Other instruments mentioned were the harp, clarinets and a violin. Musicians were also employed to provide 'background' music: there were frequent payments to the 'Musick People' and 'for music at the door'.<sup>26</sup>



Figure 6: Edward Lascelles, 1st Earl of Harewood, by John Hoppner; Edward was cousin and heir to Edwin, inheriting both Harewood House and the family's West Indian plantations in 1795

*By kind permission of the executors of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Harewood and Trustees of the Harewood House Trust*

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<sup>26</sup> Personal accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/203 (1788–1798?) and Harewood accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/212 (1790–1797).

In January 1795 Edwin died and his cousin Edward Lascelles, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood, inherited Harewood, along with the other Lascelles estates.<sup>27</sup> It was at this time that Harewood's long and enduring reputation for its patronage of the arts commenced.

### ***Men and music-making***

In the late-eighteenth century there existed a problematic relationship between upper-class men and music. Although Baldassare Castiglione's *Courtier*, translated into English in 1561 and reprinted in London in 1724, and Henry Peachum's *The Compleat Gentleman*, dated 1622, present the argument that music could be seen as a noble pastime worth cultivating, opinions in the eighteenth century had changed.<sup>28</sup> Richard Leppert suggests that the prevailing attitude could be summed up by the words of John Locke: 'Music wastes so much of a young man's time, to gain but a Moderate skill in it, and engages often in such odd Company, that many think it much better spared: And I have, amongst Men of Parts and Business, so seldom heard any one commended, or esteemed for having an excellency in Musick, that amongst all those things that ever came into the List of accomplishments, I think I may give it last place.'<sup>29</sup> The reasons for this were manifold and in his chapter 'Music, Socio-politics, Ideologies of Male Sexuality', Leppert has outlined his interpretation of what he perceives to be the different contributing factors, including moralistic and religious concerns, connections with effeminacy, association of music with lust, connotations of class and occupation and the desire to separate labour and leisure, concern not to neglect higher responsibilities, an antipathy to French and Italian musicians and associated issues of anti-Catholicism, patriotism and disassociation with professional musicians who provided public entertainment. Vicesimus Knox's opinion was that 'a peer may be pleased with music, without associating with fiddlers; he may be delighted in theatres, without making players his bosom friends.'<sup>30</sup> His writings advocated boundaries:

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<sup>27</sup> Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 108.

<sup>28</sup> Castiglione presented the arguments both for and against a gentleman's pursuit of music.

<sup>29</sup> J. Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*, first published in 1693, by 1801 in a tenth edition, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 17.

<sup>30</sup> V. Knox, *Personal Nobility: or Letter to a Young Nobleman on the Conduct of his Studies* (1793),



He must possess but little mind, who can acquiesce in the society of persons, who, whatever dexterity or agility they boast ... are usually unprepared by education and company to become the familiar confidential associates of hereditary Law-givers, high born and high bred Peers of the realm. There are public places for all amusements, and they are there conducted with the greatest skill: he who is not content with attending these, but chuses to domesticate the performers, evinces that he has no resources in himself; that letters, science politics, have no charms for him; and that he is unworthy the distinctions which the laws of the country allow him, SOLELY because his forefather earned them. You will never be reduced to the wretched necessity of keeping buffoons in your house, if you preserve a relish for rational conversation with persons of sense and character; ... and, above all, if you give your attention to state affairs – the public happiness – the proper province of a real Nobleman.<sup>31</sup>

These views were anticipated by James Puckle writing in 1713: ‘Musick takes up much time to acquire to any considerable perfection ... It’s used chiefly to please others, who may receive the same gust from a mercenary; consequently it is scarce worth a gentleman’s time, which might be better employ’d in the Mathematicks, or what else would qualify him for the service of his country.’<sup>32</sup>

Those who advocated the benefits of music for a gentleman usually focused on the theoretical side of it, the ‘Science of Music’. Others, such as Rev. William Darrell, Henry Peacham and Jean Gailhard, did argue for the moderate inclusion of music in a gentleman’s life, but generally advocating that it should be practised privately.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, it seems that music was at best tolerated and

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356–7, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 20–21.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 357–9, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 21.

<sup>32</sup> J. Puckle, *The Club; or, a Grey Cap for a Green Head ... Being a Dialogue between a Father and Son* (1713; reprint. Ed. London, 1900), 161, maxim no. 797, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 21.

<sup>33</sup> W. Darrell, *A Gentleman Instructed in the Conduct of a Virtuous and Happy Life* (1704), 38–9; H.

excused in the lives of upper-class males by even its strongest spokesmen. At worst it came under a lot of suspicion and received little encouragement. Leppert summarises his view thus: 'At root most writers of conduct literature agreed that music, broadly understood, was essentially unmanly; music was improper for a man because it was unmanly ... the musical gentleman by his interests and actions semiotically deconstructed ... the definition of gender upon which both the society and culture depended.'<sup>34</sup>

These comments and others expressed in courtesy literature were backed up by accounts of diarists and in caricatures by artists such as James Gillray and Isaac Cruikshank. It was against this theoretical background that male amateur aristocratic musicians engaged in music-making. Nevertheless from evidence discussed by researchers such as Christina Bashford and Leena Rana it is clear that a number of aristocrats enjoyed playing, while others listened to and promoted music either by actively patronising musicians or by subscribing to new music and concert series.<sup>35</sup> Some participated in concert series, as Roz Southey has discussed in her work on gentlemen amateurs in north-east England.<sup>36</sup>

The family archives at Harewood reveal that Edward Lascelles, Lord Harewood, had a special love for music and during his lifetime musical activity in the house took on new proportions. His interest in music predated his inheritance of Harewood. He had been living with his family at Stapleton Park, Darrington, near Pontefract and in London during the Parliamentary season. His personal accounts 1790–97 include bills to Longman & Broderip, 'a man from St. Albans' and F. Garbutt for the tuning of the harpsichord and pianoforte, the latter probably having been hired for the London season from a Mr Laskey. Robert Birchall supplied music. There were also payments to his daughter Mary Ann's music-masters: a Mr Edward Watson in July 1790 and 1791, and to Mr Charles Evans on

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Peacham, *Complete Gentleman, The Truth of our Times, and the Art of Living in London*, V. B. Heltzell, ed. (1634), 111; J. Gailhard, *The Complete Gentleman: or Directions for the Education of Youth*, (1678), 2, 52.

<sup>34</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 24–5.

<sup>35</sup> L. Rana, 'The man of the house at music: identity construction in the provinces, c.1790–1840', unpublished paper given at the RMA and LUCEM Study Day: *Amateur Music-Making In The British Provinces*, Leeds University, June 2014. (Her thesis, 'Music and Identity in the English Country House, c. 1790–1840', was completed in 2013); C. Bashford, 'Historiography and Invisible Muses: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63, 2 (2010), 291–360.

<sup>36</sup> Southey, *Music-making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century*, 77–93.

March 1793 and 1794. In April 1793 a gift to Mary Ann's music-master of one guinea is recorded.<sup>37</sup>

It is likely that at this time Mary Ann received occasional lessons while the family were in London, especially as different names are mentioned. It is not known how easy it was to find visiting music teachers in the country or how easy it would have been for a musician to travel around the country, despite improvements to transportation and roads. The subject of music teachers in the provinces in the eighteenth century deserves more systematic research. Dr Andrew Wooley's paper on London musicians and the provinces in the late-seventeenth century assumes that tuition largely took place in London. He cites Henry Playford's preface to the second edition of his *Musick's Handmaid* (1678) in which he writes that 'many of those that bought the former impression of Musick's handmaid were not well satisfied (especially such who dwelt in the country remote from an able master)'. He suggests that even by this time, the 'household' model, wherein the musician/music teacher was employed as a member of the household as one of the servants, was disappearing and being replaced by a more commercially-based system. This was the employment of a musician to teach music over a specific period of time, probably no more than three years. This could be the practice of having a series of lessons with one teacher or inviting a teacher to come to stay for a set period. Wooley also suggests that the method of teaching amateurs could be quite unstructured, again citing Playford, who claimed that his collection could serve for 'the ease of such teachers, who account it too much pains to write down all that is necessary for their scholars'.<sup>38</sup> Sometimes, as has been suggested by Peter Holman, teaching could consist of the 'teacher' simply playing music with his 'pupil' or participating in chamber ensembles.<sup>39</sup> To what extent the methods of music teachers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries had developed is a matter for further research. As will be discussed, Mary Ann's father later made more permanent arrangements for her musical education in the employment of John White.

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<sup>37</sup> Household accounts, 1790–1797, April 1793, WYL250/3/Acs/212.

<sup>38</sup> A. Wooley, 'London Musicians and the provinces in the late seventeenth century: the case of Francis Forcer (1649–1705)', unpublished paper given at the RMA and LUCEM Study Day: *Amateur Music-Making in the British Provinces*, University of Leeds, June 2014.

<sup>39</sup> P. Holman, 'New Light on Music at Wilton House in the 1770s', unpublished paper given at the *Music in the British Country House* seminar at Castle Howard, September 2012.

It may be surmised that Edward played the violin as he later took with him to Harewood House a volume of violin parts bearing his name and address.<sup>40</sup> However, how much he played and with whom is unclear. It is possible he played the violin accompaniments to sonatas for fortepiano played by his daughter. Lascelles was an opera enthusiast and his accounts record payments for tickets and subscriptions to the opera.<sup>41</sup>

After his inheritance, music continued to be a regular feature of town and country life. Whilst in London, he patronised the music suppliers he already knew. He also continued to take advantage of the opportunities London afforded and had regular subscriptions with the Opera and the Concert of Antient Music, the Sunday Concert and contributed to the fund for 'decayed musicians'. From this it is clear that the Earl supported local music suppliers and was an active patron of the two leading aristocratically supported musical institutions, which were criticised by some for their social and cultural exclusiveness.<sup>42</sup> It is likely that it was in London that Mary Ann was also able to receive music lessons from the renowned Signora Cianchettina in 1799 and 1800, demonstrating that he was willing to hire the services of foreign musicians.<sup>43</sup>

### ***John White (1779–1831)***

The name of John White first appears in Harewood's household accounts in April 1795.<sup>44</sup> The Earl's reported intentions to find a leader, teacher and director for his private concerts both reflected his passion for music and was consistent with the growing tendency towards exclusive private aristocratic concerts in the last decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>45</sup> This tendency will be discussed later in the

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<sup>40</sup> Volume 21 in the Harewood music collection. See Chapter 7.

<sup>41</sup> Household accounts 1790–1797, WYL250/3/Acs/212.

<sup>42</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 47.

<sup>43</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/211, 212, 80.

<sup>44</sup> WYL250/3/Acs/212. Sources of biographical information: White's name appears in Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, appearing first in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1904–10), retaining its place into the 5<sup>th</sup> edition published in 1954. The main source seems to have been John Sainsbury's entry on John White in his *Dictionary of Musicians* published in 1824. The information for this was drawn from a letter from Revd Thomas Johnstone of Wakefield (1768–1856). This letter is retained in the Euing Collection at Glasgow University Library, postmarked Wakefield, 18 December 1823, Euing Music Collection, R.d. 88/196. These references are cited in full in R. Demaine, 'Mr White, of Leeds', 184.

<sup>45</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 47.

chapter. His decision to employ the boy musician John White, aged only 16, is an example of private and direct aristocratic patronage, based on an informed interest in music, 'personal taste' following the precedent of the Hanoverians, and a desire to promote music-making in his own home. It was also a means of securing musical entertainment of quality during the months that he and his family were away from the diversions of London.<sup>46</sup> It is an interesting question why the Earl chose to adopt the traditional practice of 'direct patronage'. He was evidently a passionate music-lover, so maybe simply wanted to express this by providing a high-quality training for the talented boy musician, thus enabling him to develop a professional career both in Yorkshire and London, as well as at Harewood. The Lascelles family built Harewood House on the proceeds of the sugar trade. Perhaps patronising a musician was seen by the Earl to be an identification and ranking of himself with the established upper-classes.

After engaging White, the Earl took responsibility for his training. There were precedents for this in earlier aristocratic households, for example at Cannons under Chandos.<sup>47</sup> Rohr also cites the example of mid-eighteenth century musical patron Sir Watkins W. Wynn, who had discovered and trained the singer Edward Meredith:<sup>48</sup> Meredith performed at Wynn's London home as well as at concert series in the provinces, including at York during a two-day music festival held in St Michael-le-Belfrey 22–3 March 1785 and again in 1791.<sup>49</sup> However, receiving the support of a wealthy patron who was willing to pay for private lessons seems to have been a rare privilege at this time. Apart from lessons it seems that White also was to have the benefit of being able to perform under the professional patronage of his teachers and contacts.

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<sup>46</sup> I. Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys*, 23. After the London season 'extended visits to the country were on offer from keen amateur musicians, anxious to enrich what otherwise might have seemed a rather impoverished diet of music-making with family and friends.'

<sup>47</sup> In April 1724 Chandos wrote to the Bishop of London, requesting a place for his page, Monroe, as organist in the chapel in the Banqueting House. He said: 'He was at first my page but finding in him an extraordinary Genius for Musick I made him apply himself to the Study and Practice of it and he hath been so successful in his Improvement under Mr. Handell and Dr. Pepusch that he has become the Young and perfect Master both for Composition and performance on the Organ and Harpsichord.' O. Deutsch: *Handel. A Documentary Biography*, 161, letter from the Duke of Chandos to Gibson, Bishop of London, 7 April 1724, cited in Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, 170.

<sup>48</sup> J. D. Brown and S. S. Stratton, *British Musical Biography* (1897), 279, cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 45.

<sup>49</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 84–5. In 1787, 1798 and 1799 Meredith took vocal parts in the York subscription concerts as well as other concerts. Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 126.

## *White's training*

The Harewood household accounts show that the Earl paid for White's travelling expenses to London and for his lessons from notable musicians of the time. He paid £6.4.0 to Mr Ignazio Raimondi for 'teaching White 15 lessons on the violin & for music'.<sup>50</sup> White also received lessons on the pianoforte from Jan L. Dussek, for singing and the organ from John Ashley and on the harp from Philip Meyer.<sup>51</sup> He also received lessons on the cello from Johan Arnold Dahmen who, though London-based, also worked in Leeds in 1793 and 1794, and may have taught White there at a later date.<sup>52</sup> On May 13 1795 a payment was made to W. Forster for the hire of a 'violoncello' for one month and 8 guineas were paid to Mr Raimondi on June 14 for the purchase of a violin. As White played both these instruments equally well, it is probable that all these outlays in such a short space of time were on his behalf. On June 18 there was a further payment to Ab. & To. Kirkman Harpsichord Makers of £14.18.00, which was possibly for the purchase of a harpsichord.<sup>53</sup> In the same month White received a gift and in August, a payment of £20. Sainsbury related how White was engaged initially for a month; thereafter he received a salary of £50 a year.<sup>54</sup> This salary would have placed White quite low on the table showing 'Patrick Colquhoun's calculation of the social structure of England and Wales, 1801-1803', on a level with artisans and craftsmen who earned an annual income of around £55.<sup>55</sup> The obvious difference would have been White's receipt of free board and lodging in addition to his salary which was high compared to those awarded to other servants employed in the Harewood household. It is interesting to note, however, that Charles Coote, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire's household musician, received £200 per annum by 1837.<sup>56</sup> This corresponds with Colquhoun's table which attributes salaries of £200 to 'Persons employed in theatrical pursuits, musicians, etc'. Recipients of this salary would have been placed in the category of

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<sup>50</sup> Household accounts 1790-1797, WYL250/3/Acs/212.

<sup>51</sup> Blom, *Grove's Dictionary*, IX, 275.

<sup>52</sup> E. Hargrave, 'Musical Leeds in the Eighteenth Century', in *Publications of the Thoresby Society, Miscellanea*, 28 (1923-8): 320-55, 348-9, cited in Demaine, 'Mr White, of Leeds', in R. Cowgill and P. Holman, eds., *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, 186.

<sup>53</sup> Household accounts 1790-1797, WYL250/3/Acs/212.

<sup>54</sup> Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Musicians*, II, 537.

<sup>55</sup> B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 127-8.

<sup>56</sup> Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, C/165: Household accounts for Chatsworth, Chiswick and Devonshire Houses, 1824 to 1846, 1851.

the upper-middle classes.<sup>57</sup> Does this suggest that White's position in the household was that of a servant, albeit one of the better paid, while Coote enjoyed a higher standing? It is interesting to compare these salaries to the wages received by royal musicians during the eighteenth century. Rohr cites the example of C. F. Abel who received £200 a year as chamber musician to Queen Charlotte. However, most other salaries were lower: the leader of the band in 1778 Charles Weidemann received £100 a year, and other instrumentalists of the orchestra such as Samuel Henry Okell in 1800 earned £40 per annum, a wage that was on a level with theatre musicians.<sup>58</sup> This small sample suggests that musicians' wages were generally similar irrespective of whether they were in receipt of royal or aristocratic patronage, or were working in a commercial setting such as the theatre. By contrast, the earnings of opera singers, especially those who had trained in Italy, were very high: for example, Angelica Catalani earned £5,250 in 1807–8.<sup>59</sup>

The fruit of the Earl's patronage was that White enjoyed a varied career which extended beyond his responsibilities at Harewood House.<sup>60</sup> It is probable that White lived as a member of the household for the first eight years that he worked for Lord Harewood. Later, in 1803, he married Mary, daughter of John Sharp esq. of Gilderstone, and settled in Leeds, while remaining in the service of the Earls of Harewood until his death in 1831. This would have given him greater independence and wider musical opportunities. He worked for over 30 years in the Harewood household. It is significant that White was not a conventional musician according to traditional models as his services were still retained after his marriage and after he moved out of the house.

White regularly accompanied the family to London 'though not particularly wanted by them for the fulfilment of any musical department'.<sup>61</sup> John

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<sup>57</sup> B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 127–8.

<sup>58</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 118.

<sup>59</sup> See J. Milhous & R. T. Hume, 'Opera Salaries in Eighteenth Century London', in *JAMS* 46 (1993) 67–8, 76, cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 104. Catalani is recorded as having received £2,500 in 1806–7 and £5,250 in 1807–8.

<sup>60</sup> Most of what is discussed in this chapter has been the fruit of my own independent research; however Demaine has since published an article on White's professional life in the Ashgate volume, *Music in the British Provinces, 1690–1914*, 183–93. His work helpfully highlights White's concert activities in Leeds which will be alluded to.

<sup>61</sup> Sainsbury, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, II, 537.

Sainsbury relates how his object was to gain as much knowledge as possible in his chosen profession. As a professional instrumentalist, in the early years under the Earl's patronage, he performed in many of the principal orchestras in London. This was probably as a result of introductions by his high-class instrumental teachers and a friendship that had developed with Johann Peter Salomon, the violinist.<sup>62</sup> He was required to stand in for the cellists Robert Lindley and Johan Dahmen when they were not able to play. His reputation grew both from his association with his patron and his professional activities and contacts in London.<sup>63</sup> It would be interesting to know how self-consciously he pursued professional development and how much of the impetus came from his patron.

Contemporary reports tell that his contribution to the musical scene in Yorkshire was also significant and wide-ranging. Eric Blom claimed that from 1793 until his death he was said to have been the main organiser and leader of concerts in the West Riding.<sup>64</sup> Between 1798 and 1818 he was playing in several of the major cities in Yorkshire such as Doncaster, Halifax, Hull, Wakefield and Chester and as far north as Edinburgh and Aberdeen. From 1802 to 1810, he was leader of the band in the concert subscription series held in the Assembly Rooms at York.<sup>65</sup> In Leeds his activities were extensive. One initiative that seems to have made a big impact was the benefit concert he arranged in 1808 at the Music Hall in Albion Street. This was clearly very successful as it became a regular fixture in the Leeds musical calendar. The range of performers who came to Leeds reflected the wide network of contacts that he had built up from London and across Yorkshire through his participation in oratorio performances.<sup>66</sup> From this it is possible to catch a glimpse of the impact of Lord Harewood's active encouragement of White's professional career.

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 537.

<sup>63</sup> S. McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (1993); S. McVeigh, *Calendar of London Concerts 1750–1800* [n.d]; S. Wollenberg and S. McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (2004): introduction provides an overview of British musical life of the period. Demaine cites a concert given at the King's Theatre Room, Haymarket on 25 April 1799 in which White may have taken part. It was the Quintet in F minor op. 41 by Dussek, the composer at the piano and a Mr White taking the 'cello part. Cited in Demaine, 'Mr White, of Leeds', 186.

<sup>64</sup> Blom, *Grove's Dictionary*, IX, 275.

<sup>65</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 124.

<sup>66</sup> Demaine, 'Mr White, of Leeds', 188.



White was also an able organist and was engaged to play at Harewood Church. After his marriage in 1803 and his move to Leeds he became organist at St Paul's Church. In 1821 he became the organist at Wakefield Parish Church.

### ***White and the 'York Musical Festivals'***

One of White's most significant contributions to the musical life of Yorkshire was his involvement in the Musical Festivals that were held in York Minster in the 1820s.<sup>67</sup> As has been mentioned, these were modelled on the 1784 Handel Commemoration performances that were held in the Pantheon and in Westminster Abbey.<sup>68</sup> White may have been encouraged by his patron the Earl of Harewood to participate in the festivals due to these associations and the emphasis on Handel's oratorios.<sup>69</sup> If this was true, White's involvement could be seen to have provided an important link between Harewood House and civic performances, and a significant demonstration of aristocratic musical patronage.

The history of festivals in York has been outlined by David Griffiths.<sup>70</sup> The musical festivals were part of an English tradition which grew out of the combination of two elements of musical activity. These were, firstly, the fundraising charitable musical meetings held at different intervals and, secondly, the annual St Cecilia celebrations. The incorporation of oratorios into these events from the mid-1700s increased the length and scope of these meetings so that many took place over two days, with the addition of evening performances. Griffiths reports that from the 1760s a large number of musical festivals were organised as 'speculative ventures' by professional musicians and others. The first musical

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<sup>67</sup> Pippa Drummond has provided a comprehensive survey of the music festival movement, including the York musical festivals, in *The Provincial Music Festival in England 1784–1914* (2011). See also: B. Pritchard, 'The Musical Festival and the Choral Society in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century: A Social History,' DPhil diss., University of Birmingham (1968).

<sup>68</sup> Drummond describes the significance of the Commemoration thus: 'This prestigious London event marked a notable point in the history of the English music festival. In one sense it was the culmination of developments that had taken place within the provincial music meetings during the previous 70 years; in another, it marked a new departure, since the Commemoration exerted a significant influence on the country's music festivals both in the immediate future and for some decades to come.' *The Provincial Music Festival*, 8.

<sup>69</sup> The widespread aristocratic enthusiasm for Handel's music, already alluded to in Chapter 2, will be discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 8.

<sup>70</sup> "The Promotion of Benevolence and the Advancement of Musical Science": Music Festivals in York, 1791–1835', in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 83ff.

festivals in York, in 1769, 1770 and 1785, fell into this category. The first musical festival in York to be held on a lavish scale took place in 1791.

On 24 May 1791 the *York Courant* announced that the 'York Musical Festival, under the patronage and direction of several of the nobility and gentry' of the county of York, would take place in the week beginning Monday 15 August (thus not coinciding with Passion Week). The promoters included the Messrs Ashley, perhaps the John Ashley under whom White later learned to play the organ. The festival took place over four days and included two evening concerts in the Assembly Rooms, on Monday 15 August and Thursday 18 August, and three concerts of sacred music on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday 16–18 August in the Minster.<sup>71</sup> Concerts in the Minster took place in the choir. The performance of *Messiah* was attended by 1800 people, 800 attended the concert in the Assembly Rooms on the evening of 18 August. The cost of the tickets meant that the majority of York residents would not be able to afford to come, as was pointed out by the local papers. A ticket for all of the performances was one and a half guineas; seats for single performances in the Minster were eight shillings in the choir, and five shillings in the side galleries; single performances in the Assembly Rooms were five shillings.

The *York Herald* anticipated that the Festival would attract 'a most brilliant appearance of the first characters in this county', a hope that was realised according to a later report, which asserted that the Festival was attended by a 'more brilliant assemblage of the principal families in this county than we have ever before witnessed here'.<sup>72</sup>

During the 1790s some festivals of long-standing ceased, for example at Salisbury, largely due to the social and economic impact of the French Revolution, and even the Three Choirs Festival scarcely managed to survive.<sup>73</sup> Likewise no further musical festivals were held in York until 1803 and none thereafter until 1816, and neither of these took place in the Minster. In the 1820s a new-found confidence pervaded the festival scene in York. There were festivals in the Minster

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<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>72</sup> *York Herald*, 9 July 1791, *York Herald*, 27 August 1791, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 85.

<sup>73</sup> Watkins Shaw, *The Three Choirs Festival: the official history of the meetings of the three choirs of Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, c.1713–1953* (1954), 28–9.

in 1823, 1825 and in 1828, in which White participated. These festivals could have presaged the commencement of a triennial series in York. However, they were to prove only to be intermittent as the next festival did not take place until 1835.<sup>74</sup>

The scale of the York festivals had a precedent in the Birmingham festival.<sup>75</sup> Evening concerts of the 1823 Festival were performed in the Assembly Rooms. As the ground floor would only seat 1,000 people, a gallery was built to accommodate a further 400. However, the new gallery proved unsuitable for various reasons and so in 1824 some property beside the Assembly Rooms was purchased for the purpose of constructing a new music room at a cost of £2,570.<sup>76</sup> It was decided that the proceeds from the 1825 Yorkshire Musical Festival should be set aside for building costs. The new concert room measured 92 feet by 60 feet in comparison with the 110 feet by 40 feet of the Assembly Room, with an orchestral platform able to hold over 140 performers and a seating capacity of 2,000, due to the increased width of the room. The orchestral platform was not entirely satisfactory and before the 1828 festival its position was moved and it was extended forwards and lowered.<sup>77</sup>

The conductors and orchestral principals in the Minster concerts consisted of leading London performers, the orchestras being rank and file players mainly recruited from the north of England.<sup>78</sup> York provided over one tenth of the instrumental players, including the waits, and players from the Theatre Royal and the barracks. The orchestras in the evening performances were comprised almost entirely of London players. Very renowned players from London came to York including Domenico Dragonetti the double-bass player and composer, and the aforementioned cellist Lindley, who were both well-known throughout Europe. However, the vocal soloists were the main attraction.<sup>79</sup> The programmes included

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<sup>74</sup> Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, 50.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 40, 227.

<sup>76</sup> J. Crosse, *An account of the grand musical festival held in September 1823, in the cathedral church of York, etc.* (1825), Appendix, xxii–xxiii.

<sup>77</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 89.

<sup>78</sup> Drummond cites how the four-day festival began, 'somewhat unusually, with a dinner for "all amateurs and professors" with expenses to be borne by the town's gentlemen'. *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, 5 (1823), 277, cited in Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, 44–5.

<sup>79</sup> In the eighteenth and early-nineteenth century performance, and especially vocal performance, was highly esteemed. Drummond refers to the prevailing cult of celebrity associated with leading vocalists. *The Provincial Music Festival*, 45.

selections from oratorios, and music by Handel dominated the grand selections.<sup>80</sup>

York was considered to be superior to other provincial musical festivals by the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, due to 'the vastitude of the band, the magnificence of the structure, and the assembled majesty of the whole multitudinous congregation in the Minster'.<sup>81</sup> The congregation was made up of 'the exalted, the noble and the wealthy', and received the royal seal of approval at the last festival in 1835 by the attendance of Princess Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent.<sup>82</sup> The spectacle which the concerts in the Minster provided was spoken of enthusiastically by contemporaries:

As soon as the Cathedral was filled ... the appearance of so many elegantly dressed women, the magnificent orchestra, the tasteful decorations of the galleries, and above all the divine building itself, with the sun shedding its light through the windows of stained glass, presented a coup d'oeil which defies description, but may easily be imagined by anyone who has witnessed the splendour of a coronation.<sup>83</sup>

According to *The Times* at the time of the 1825 festival in York, all music and gaiety tended to 'the promotion of benevolence and the advancement of musical science in the country'.<sup>84</sup> Profits from the first three festivals were shared between the York County Hospital and the infirmaries of Hull, Leeds, and Sheffield. Most of the profit from the 1825 and 1828 festivals went to the building of the Festival Concert Rooms. In 1835 half of the proceeds went to the Minster restoration fund and the other half to the four other charities.<sup>85</sup>

Division of opinion after the 1835 festival over the addition of the Minster to the list of beneficiaries may have been one reason for the cessation of the festivals. Other reasons suggested by Griffiths were the social unrest throughout

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<sup>80</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 93.

<sup>81</sup> *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1828), 149.

<sup>82</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 19 September 1835.

<sup>83</sup> *London Magazine*, 13 September 1825, 259, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 97.

<sup>84</sup> *The Times*, 19 Sept 1825, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 98.

<sup>85</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 98.

England in the 1830s, the decline of York as a social centre, the poor choral singing of the 1835 festival, and its lack of financial success. There were no further festivals of importance in York until 1910.

John White was closely involved with all the three festivals which took place in the 1820s. He played principal second violin alongside Nicolas Mori, Johann Baptist Cramer and John Henry Griesbach.<sup>86</sup> As one of the four assistant conductors, his particular responsibility was to bring together and train the vast chorus required for the performances.<sup>87</sup> On 23 July 1823 White attended the Festival Committee where it was resolved 'that the selection and engagement of the chorus singers and subordinate instrumental performers be left to the management of the assistant conductors'.<sup>88</sup>

Following the precedent of the Handel Festivals in London at the end of the eighteenth century, the chorus had to be of a considerable size and York had the largest choruses of all the provincial festivals.<sup>89</sup> Drummond relates that according to advertisements for the 1823 festival, the chorus included the 'celebrated female singers of Lancashire' (a group of singers regularly employed at different festivals), 'the choir of York and several voices from the choirs of Westminster Abbey, Durham, Lincoln, Lichfield and Southwell', suggesting that the cathedral choirs formed the basis of the festival chorus, to which were added local singers from the choral societies.<sup>90</sup>

The *Yorkshire Gazette* attributes the success of the first three festivals, in 1823, 1825 and 1828, to 'Mr. White', who through his connections and knowledge of the choral societies in Yorkshire and Lancashire, was able to draw together 'those splendid choirs'.<sup>91</sup> It also attributes his ability to manage and get the best from the singers to 'his admirable tact and frank good temper'. For the 1825 and 1828 festivals, White rehearsed groups of singers at Halifax, Huddersfield, Hull, Leeds, Sheffield, Wakefield and York. Instead of the one rehearsal of the choral music that was held before the 1823 festival, the large choir was rehearsed three

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<sup>86</sup> H. Cobb, 'A Description of the Grand Musical Festival held in the City of York, September ... 1823 ... comp. by the editor of the *York Courant*' (1823).

<sup>87</sup> The assistant conductors were local organists which was evidence that the festival was organised in the cathedral tradition. Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, 48.

<sup>88</sup> Proceedings of the Committee Meeting July 23 1823, York Minster Library.

<sup>89</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 90.

<sup>90</sup> Pritchard, 'The Musical Festival', 429, cited in Drummond, *The Provincial Musical Festival*, 48.

<sup>91</sup> *The Yorkshire Gazette*, 12 September 1835.

times in the Minster. This greatly improved the quality of the singing so that the *Harmonicum* in 1825 could say, 'the most prominent feature of this wonderful festival choir was that ... they are sure to be conversant with choral music of every description, and ... sing with feeling and precision which [one] must look for in the Metropolis, or any part of the West or South of England.'<sup>92</sup> It is significant that the choral singing in the 1835 festival, which followed White's death, was of a poorer standard.<sup>93</sup> White was also chorus-master (from 1821) for the early Chester festivals, and called upon a number of singers from Yorkshire and Lancashire to reinforce the Chester choir.<sup>94</sup>

### ***White at Harewood House***

White's achievements as musical director at Harewood House were no less significant.<sup>95</sup> The memoirs of Humphrey Repton record a visit to Harewood in 1799. He reports how after dinner:

in passing through the great saloon I had observed a number of music desks with books and instruments as prepared for a concert, and found that every evening there was a band collected from the family and household, some of the servants taking part on various instruments. Lady H played the piano and a gentleman accompanied her on the violin thus forming quite a full orchestra for instrumental pieces, whilst others of the family, or visitors like myself occasionally took parts in a glee, or sung a solo. (Much pain had also been taken in teaching the singers who formed the choir in the local parish church.)<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> *Harmonicum* (1825), 185, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 91.

<sup>93</sup> *The Times*, 30 September 1835, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 92.

<sup>94</sup> Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, 241.

<sup>95</sup> White has often been described by commentators as the Earl of Harewood's musical director but I have found no evidence that he had an official title. In the household accounts he is referred to by his name.

<sup>96</sup> H. Repton, *The Memoirs of Humphrey Repton*, Part 2, BL, Add MS 62112: c.1814. Transcription from Harewood House archives.

It is likely that the gentleman playing the violin was White, who was also responsible for the training and rehearsing of the church choir and band. These consisted mainly of household members and local people, as opposed to professionals from London or abroad. 21 October 1801, Mary Robinson, Baroness Grantham, wrote to her son, Thomas Robinson, 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Grantham, of her visit to Harewood: 'in the Evengs there was musick, performed by a very tolerable set, who were inhabitants of the Village, & practice among one another.'<sup>97</sup> This was also the case during the Christmas festivities. Among the Harewood papers, there exist lists of local singers engaged to perform at Harewood annually.<sup>98</sup>

Traditionally, Christmas time was the period requiring more elaborate musical arrangements. In 1797 the Earl paid for '8 singing boys', 'two sets of Morros dancers', 'William Gamble for fiddler to four dances', 'Hopkinson and son musicians', '8 suits for the singing boys', and 'Mr. White for the singers'.<sup>99</sup> On another occasion the '2 Hopkinsons' are paid 'for music 18 days' over the Christmas period. The singers are listed in White's annual bills and many reappear each year.<sup>100</sup> In 1818 they are referred to as the Harewood Singers. The singers' supper following these celebrations, and paid for by the Earl, became an annual tradition as were the 'gifts' for the singers also paid for by the Earl.<sup>101</sup> As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, sacred music was played in the Gallery on Sunday evenings and regular services were held in the Harewood church beside the House. Other religious festivals would have been celebrated in church and perhaps at public oratorio concerts performed in York during Passion Week, for example.

A particularly spectacular performance was staged at Harewood on 16 December 1816 in honour of the visit of the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia. It is recorded how 'a grand concert in the gallery, under the direction of the noble Earl's principal musician, with his Lord's band, the church choristers, etc. followed; and the glee of the evening was maintained with uninterrupted éclat.' The programme consisted mainly of Handel choruses. 'The concert was full and complete, about

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<sup>97</sup> M. Robinson, Baroness Grantham, autograph letter to T. Robinson, 3<sup>rd</sup> Baron Grantham, 21 October 1801, L30/18/47/8.

<sup>98</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/415.

<sup>99</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/211.

<sup>100</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/411, 415, 421.

<sup>101</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/421.

fifty performers in all. Lord Harewood sent his thanks by Mr. White, the conductor, to the performers, and the Grand Duke expressed his surprise at meeting with so complete a performance.'<sup>102</sup>

Harewood's surviving collection of printed and manuscript music, which dates to that period, provides an idea of the range of music that was being performed and played in the house. It is an amalgamation of music brought into the house by different members of the family, mainly dating from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. The collection consists of 114 volumes of bound printed and manuscript music and will be examined in depth in Chapter 7. It probably formed the basis of the evening concerts under White's direction. The overtures and arias of Handel's oratorios were clearly favourites, in keeping with prevailing taste. The 1<sup>st</sup> Earl had his own personal collection of music, in which Handel featured prominently. There are three volumes of *The Beauties of Handel, consisting of upward of one hundred of his favourite songs, duets and trios*, including arias from *Messiah*. Several of the songs are asterisked in the index, perhaps indicating a favourite or those to be performed. Pencil markings in the scores suggest that a piece of music may have been studied or performed. It would be interesting to know how far Lord Harewood's personal tastes determined the content of his concert programmes or whether they reflected White's choices. White himself was widely known for his Handel performances: 'In Yorkshire we may safely pronounce White to be the favourite and popular leader, particularly in Handel's oratorio music, which may have been greatly cultivated and improved under his direction.'<sup>103</sup> He was also a composer.<sup>104</sup> In Harewood's collection, there are volumes of music belonging to White, and some arrangements written by him, including a setting of Psalm 132.

It appears that Lord Harewood left all things pertaining to music in the hands of his director, as most of the bills relating to the tuning or repairing of instruments, the purchasing of strings, reeds, parchment and music, the payment of visiting musicians and singers were paid by him.<sup>105</sup> These tasks may have been

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<sup>102</sup> Programme from books of Harewood Music Society, quoted in J. Jones, *The History and Antiquities of Harewood*, 189.

<sup>103</sup> Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 538.

<sup>104</sup> Blom, *Grove's Dictionary*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., IX, 275.

<sup>105</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/415.



given to the steward or housekeeper in another household.<sup>106</sup> Some of the music purchased was intended for private use by members of the Earl's family.

As mentioned above White would also have had the responsibility for teaching the female members of the family, possibly including Lady Harewood and her daughter Mary Ann. It is probable that Henrietta's four daughters also received their musical training from him. Amongst the many scores in the Harewood collection is a piano exercise book entitled, *Pianoforte made easy to every Capacity and the Art of Fingering ...* in which, above one piece, is written the instruction 'Bend your fingers' and dated 'Nov 7 1813, F. Lascelles.' There is a book called *Apollonian Harmony: A Collection of scarce and celebrated Glees, Catches, Madrigals, Canzonetts, Rounds*, and an album of Handel's oratorio arias which were being used around 1812–15. Some of these are annotated with fingerings, phrasing and dynamic markings and some are dated and initialled showing which pieces the sisters were learning at particular times. It is significant that these markings resemble the same hand responsible for annotations elsewhere, for example in some of the other instrumental parts and White's own music. White was also engaged to teach by other families in the West Riding: 'His reputation there [in the West Riding] rapidly increased and he may be said to have the patronage of nearly all the noblemen's families within the space of twenty miles.'<sup>107</sup> Unfortunately it has not yet been possible to discover who these families were. His increased teaching load in turn forced him to curtail his performing activities. With reference to earlier comments about music teaching, we see that the 1st Earl of Harewood employed a teacher according to the traditional 'household' model. White was employed to teach all the female members of the family. However, he also carried out his teaching activities in other houses on a more commercial basis visiting several homes in the region. From the little evidence available, it seems that he worked through piano tutor books with his pupils allocating exercises and short pieces to practise at each lesson. On these pieces of music he wrote in fingerings, dynamics, phrasing and ornamentation, exhibiting a high degree of

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<sup>106</sup> At Erddig, near Wrexham, the housekeeper dealt with a wide range of household matters, including 'paying Mr Challinder 10s 6d for tuning the harpsichord,' May 1801, cited in M. Waterson, *The Servants Hall*, 77.

<sup>107</sup> Sainsbury, *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 537. According to the Johnstone letter, White had approximately 150 pupils by this time in the West Riding. However, the families by whom he was employed are not named.

meticulousness. It may be assumed that the tutees also had opportunity to enhance their skills by participating in the evening concerts in the house.

The 1st Earl died in 1820 and was succeeded by his son Henry Lascelles. White continued to enjoy the favour of the Harewood household under the 2nd Earl, fulfilling his responsibilities as before. From the archival evidence and contemporary accounts, it is possible to construct a picture of different facets of musical activity at Harewood House through to White's death in 1831. This survey of White's patronage relationship and career is pertinent to discussions about wider developments in the music profession in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

### ***Summary***

John White enjoyed a great measure of success as a musician, both in his roles as director and teacher for the Earls of Harewood and more widely in London and Yorkshire. The most important contributing factor was the early and abiding patronage of the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood, which in turn brought him under the professional patronage of eminent musicians in the metropolis and gave him introductions to other noblemen's families. He also received patronage from other quarters, directly and indirectly for example, it may be claimed that the prevailing middle-class enthusiasm for subscription concerts also brought opportunities for performance.<sup>108</sup> His own talent, combined with a versatility and ability to undertake a range of different musical activities, meant he was able to maximise the opportunities and supplement his work at Harewood. He used his opportunities and connections to the best advantage. His teaching work widened his sphere of contact and this in turn forced him to undertake less performing. His advancement was a serendipitous mix of merit and patronage from several quarters, the most important being the support of the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl.

Significantly, White did not seek to remain in residence at the House and it is interesting that Lord Harewood did not expect him to. The Earl was always willing to allow him opportunities to develop his own professional career. From a financial point of view, White needed to pursue other opportunities since once he

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<sup>108</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 51–56.

had settled in Leeds, his salary from Lord Harewood was not enough to provide an adequate living. Neither did he ever become wealthy. In a letter dated 17 April 1829 to the Earl's steward Mr Menzies, White politely requests an advance on his half-year's wages in view of the fact that he would be visiting London the following week, 'as money is an indispensable requisite in London'.<sup>109</sup>

It is likely that music continued to have a prominent place in the household of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl. His wife Lady Louisa Thynne was an accomplished musician, as seen from the music belonging to her in the existing music collection at Harewood which will be discussed in Chapter 6. However, there is no suggestion that organised musical activity continued in the same way beyond White's death and no records of payments for music in the late-nineteenth century have yet been found.

Two further examples of houses which practised direct private patronage in the employment of a resident musician are Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, and Burton Constable, Hull.

### **Musical patronage at Chatsworth House**

The 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790–1858) succeeded his father and inherited his title in 1811. His residences included Devonshire, Chiswick and Chatsworth Houses. Significantly he remained unmarried. His mother had died in 1806 and his sisters Georgiana and Harriet did not live with him. As a consequence there were no resident female members of the family to provide musical entertainment in the evenings, although no doubt visitors and the family would have performed whilst visiting. The household accounts suggest nevertheless that music was integral to the Duke's life. For example, there are annual payments in the 1820s for subscriptions to the Decayed Musicians Fund, Misericordia, The Royal Society of Musicians, The New Musical Fund, Ancient Music, and Signori Opera music; to Broadwood & Co. and other companies for the tuning and loans of piano fortes; for acquisitions of music; and subscriptions to the theatre, opera and concerts. The Duke both subscribed to and commissioned certain sets of quadrilles and the music was subsequently dedicated to him.

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<sup>109</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/460.

Individual musicians are named, such as Henry Hopkins, who played at the public breakfasts, John Irving and company, and George Serappa, who was paid for superintending a concert and the vocal performance, presumably at Devonshire House (1827). For larger-scale events, such as balls and public breakfasts, the Duke's accounts record payments to a range of well-known bands that were hired to play on different occasions.<sup>110</sup> These included: Letoff and Adams Quadrille Band, H. Collinet, Micham and Hopkins French Band, Messrs Rainers Tyrolese Minstrels, Thomas Ries and others military band, Legg and Co. musicians from Sheffield for attendance at Chatsworth House twice in January and October 1828, George Hopkins and others, such as the band of the Coldstream Guards who played at a breakfast at Chiswick on 31 May 1828, John Weippert musician for attending in a party night, and Micham and Collinet, the Quadrille Band, for attending a ball. Those who played at the Duke's balls and entertainments profited by publicising their link with him in the publication of their music: 'John Weippert's first set of Vocal Galloppes entitled Warsaw, first performed by his band at his Grace the Duke of Devonshire's Grand Balls given at Devonshire House.'<sup>111</sup>

From around 1830 Charles Coote (1807–1879?) was employed as the Duke's pianist and was to work for the Duke for over twenty years.<sup>112</sup> Coote's name first enters the household accounts at Devonshire House in 1829, when he was paid for playing the pianoforte for a series of performances at Devonshire, Chiswick and Chatsworth Houses. In 1830 he received half a year's wage, £50, and in 1831 this was augmented to a full year's wage of £150. He remained on the payroll, and in 1837 his salary rose to £200 p.a., thus placing him in the middle-class bracket according to Patrick Colquhoun's chart in Boyd Hilton's chapter on 'Class Distinctions, Rentier Capitalism.'<sup>113</sup> This was a much higher salary than the Duke's other servants received. He wrote dance and band music examples of which are found in the collection of Georgiana, the 6th Countess of Carlisle. For the visit of Queen Victoria to Chatsworth in 1842, Coote wrote music that subsequently

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<sup>110</sup> Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, C/165: Household accounts for Chatsworth, Chiswick and Devonshire Houses, 1824 to 1846, 1851.

<sup>111</sup> Volume 54, CHA, J18/77/4.

<sup>112</sup> Little is known about the career of Charles Coote apart from his composition of popular dance music. His son Charles Coote Jnr, also a composer, was noted as being court band director to H. M. Queen Victoria in 1874.

<sup>113</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People?*, 127.

remained in the Chatsworth collection. As will be seen in Chapter 6, later, in 1850, Georgiana borrowed her brother's musician and his band to provide music for the visit of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert to Castle Howard. In his musical survey Nicholas Temperley pays little attention to Charles Coote, apart from noting that the Coote family appears amongst native British composers of dance music; their music, Temperley asserts, 'is quite undistinguished; the scoring is generally coarse but effective.'<sup>114</sup> In this instance, the Duke employed a professional musician to provide regular musical entertainment for the many public events staged at his residences that were central to London's social life.<sup>115</sup> As a pianist, Coote was also able to provide music for smaller, more intimate gatherings. Coote composed and published music that has been found in other country house collections such as at Nostell Priory, for example, the 'Off we Go Polka easily arranged for the pianoforte by William Smallwood'. It is likely that he played with his band at other venues and thus, like John White, had a broader employment basis. Rohr mentions two other musicians who were members of the Duke of Devonshire's private band in the nineteenth century. They were: Henry Lazarus (clarinetist) and George Macfarlane (cornetist and band master), although neither seem to have been resident.<sup>116</sup>

### **Musical patronage at Burton Constable**

In 1827 Thomas Aston Clifford Constable, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet (1808–1870), married his cousin Marianne Chichester (d. 1862), youngest daughter of Charles Joseph Chichester of Calverleigh Court, Devon, uniting two musical families. The couple took up residence at Burton Constable and were joined by Marianne's older, unmarried sister, Eliza, and together they created a household where music and musical entertainment played an important role, as can be seen from the extensive music collection they built up and left for posterity.<sup>117</sup> As well as being enthusiastic and able musicians themselves, the Clifford Constables welcomed to their home and encouraged other musicians and minor composers, some of whom dedicated music to 'Sir Clifford and Lady Constable.' Examples are Mme Oury, née Anna de

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<sup>114</sup> N. Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music', in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 113.

<sup>115</sup> See A. Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society, Fashionable Life and Literature 1814 to 1840* (1983).

<sup>116</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 45. See footnote 21, 195.

<sup>117</sup> Wood, 'The Musical World of the Clifford Constables', 56.

Belleville, daughter of a French nobleman, George Alexander Osborne, Charles de Beriot, Eduoard Wolff and more local composers such as J. Deacon of York and George Crouch of Hull.<sup>118</sup> The Clifford Constables engaged local musicians for some of the more formal musical occasions at Burton Constable and for their theatricals, which included music.<sup>119</sup>

One musician who seemed to enjoy a special and interesting position within the Clifford Constable household was Stephen Octavius Jay. Caroline Wood has outlined Jay's background and musical abilities.<sup>120</sup> She describes him as the steward, the most senior male employee, although it is not certain that this was the case. On the 1851 census return, Jay is listed as a 'visiter' with the status of 'gent'. There are items in the music collection which are signed 'S. O. Jay, R.A.M.' indicating that he was an Alumnus of the Royal Academy of Music, apparently entering to study the violin at the age of seventeen in May 1840 and finishing in May 1843. Wood relates that his name first appears in the surviving playbills at Burton Constable in 1845. The suggestion has been made that his musical abilities were an important factor in his securing a post at Burton Constable. From the collection of music that belonged to him, it appears that he was a proficient guitarist, and his signature appears on a copy of Vincent Novello's *Select Organ Pieces*. In c.1850 he published a composition for the piano, *The Marian Polka*, which he dedicated to Lady Clifford Constable.<sup>121</sup> His relationship with Sir Thomas Aston Clifford Constable seems to have been particularly important: in his will, Sir Thomas made generous provision for 'my friend and secretary Stephen Octavius Jay', ahead of any member of his family, excepting his second wife, Rosina, and his son, Talbot.<sup>122</sup> An additional bequest was made to Stephen Jay in a second codicil to the will, dated November 1870, of a further year's salary and 'also my violin that is marked with the name of Sir Charles Wolsley'.<sup>123</sup> From this it can be seen that the status of Jay at Burton Constable was interesting. Evidently he was primarily a musician and it would appear his relationship with his employer was based on the

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid., 58–9.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., 62–3.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 61.

<sup>121</sup> S. Jay, *The Marian Polka*. London. J. & J. Hopkinson, c.1850. The Burton Constable Foundation.

<sup>122</sup> Wood, 'Music-making in a Yorkshire Country House', in B. Zon, ed., *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, 223

<sup>123</sup> EYCAS/DDCC 134/79.

latter's appreciation of his musical abilities and how they contributed to the musical life of the household. However, beyond this, Jay appears to have enjoyed a more personal friendship with his patron. Further research is required to understand the precise nature of this relationship and Jay's professional activities, both within the Clifford Constable household and beyond.

### **Summary**

A comparison of these three examples is illuminating: Edward, the 1st Earl of Harewood's decision to employ a young musician was consistent with an 'older' practice, reflecting earlier precedents already mentioned, for example at Cannons under the Duke of Chandos, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn who discovered and trained the singer Edward Meredith. According to Rohr, this had become less prevalent by the late eighteenth century.<sup>124</sup> It seems that Edward was self-consciously acting as a 'patron' in the traditional sense, discovering, training and then employing a young musician, rather than simply finding an experienced musician to run his concert programme, which was probably the case at Chatsworth when the 6th Duke of Devonshire employed Charles Coote as his household musician. This latter practice continued routinely into the nineteenth century.<sup>125</sup> Conversely, at Burton Constable, Stephen Jay, a musician trained at the Royal Academy, seems to have been employed ostensibly as a steward, and not as a musician, but was valued primarily for his musical abilities by his employer, who made provision for him in his will. From this it can be seen that while it is likely from the available evidence that there may have been for different reasons a general reduction in traditional aristocratic patronage in the second half of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, examples of it still could be found in various forms.<sup>126</sup> This being the case, the question arises was the continued presence of traditional musical patronage in certain houses more a reflection of the

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<sup>124</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 45.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

<sup>126</sup> See examples cited by Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 45: Joseph Hart was organist for the Earl of Uxbridge c.1820; Edmund Bryan Harper was pianist to the Marquis of Downshire c.1840. On 9 October 1829 Harriet Granville, Countess Gower, writes to her sister Lady Caroline Lascelles of her visit to Cholmondeley Castle. Of Lord Cholmondeley she writes: 'He has a sort of Weippert who plays on the piano-forte and the organ'. Maud, Lady Leconfield, *Three Howard Sisters* (1955), 117. See references in this chapter to John Weippert at Chatsworth House, 96, and at Burton Constable, 111.

interests and commitments of the individual patron than the perpetuation of a traditional model for its own sake?

### **Status of the musician in the Yorkshire country house**

A discussion of these different patronage relationships brings us to the further consideration of the musician's status in the aristocratic household. Rohr's book *The Careers of British Musicians 1750–1850*, addresses the problem of the persistent struggle in which musicians were engaged throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to achieve professional and social status. These problems were mainly to do with how musicians were perceived. 'Musicians laboured under a number of negative attitudes, some of which derived from the real structural problems in the competition for social and professional status: economic hardships, social and educational limitations, membership in an unstable social stratum during a period of sweeping change, and competition from foreign musicians.'<sup>127</sup> Coupled with these obstacles were the views that music had 'no essential social value; that music and musicians were associated with immorality; and that music ... posed a threat to Britishness, to existing power relationships, and to accepted definitions of gender.'<sup>128</sup> Their struggle to overthrow these hurdles and preconceptions in order to establish themselves as respected professionals was the concurrent theme running alongside and interacting with the changes that were taking place in the patronage systems. How do the relationships of the resident musicians we have been discussing with their employers resemble the different ways that musicians were thought of by aristocratic society and their standing in the elite household?

From the examples I have discussed it can be seen that patronage could be expressed in very different ways, and consequently the place that the musician occupied in the household could vary. In her survey of forms of aristocratic patronage Rohr comments: 'Sometimes the musician seemed almost a family member.' She then cites the examples of how Thomas Greatorex was reportedly 'adopted' by the Earl of Sandwich in the 1770s, and George Baker 'entered the

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<sup>127</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 15.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.



family' of the Earl of Uxbridge in the 1780s.<sup>129</sup> It is likely that the word 'family' in this context refers to the traditional definition where the family was understood to incorporate all members of the household, including servants at all levels. In all three cases, the musician was an employee. In the case of John White, he received the benefits of traditional patronage, such as training and the opportunity to accompany the family to London, as well as a wage of £50 a year, which was commensurate with the wages of the better-paid staff. Charles Coote was employed in his capacity as a professional musician to provide music for the Duke's balls and receptions. He again received a salary of £200 equivalent to the salaries of 'persons in lesser civil offices', bordering on gentility.<sup>130</sup> Stephen Jay was employed as steward, the highest-ranking servant, but was valued as a musician, and referred to as 'my friend' by Lord Clifford Constable. From this it appears that these musicians held a respected position in the household, although were still considered to be 'servants'. Perhaps the esteem they received was primarily a reflection of how much their employers valued music and their skills, and therefore related more to the attitudes of the people who were employing their talents than to an inherent and defined notion of the professional and social respectability of musicians. Within the context of the country house, the musicians White and Jay performed alongside members of the family, and indeed other servants and locals were also called upon to participate in evening concerts at Harewood House. From this perspective it seemed that music was a leveller and all members of the household were equal in the combined activity of performing music together. It is likely that Coote had more of an independent professional status. He and his band were expected to provide music for the Duke. Although perhaps visiting female members of the family, intent on engaging in some music-making, may have enlisted his help.

### **Other forms of direct musical patronage in Yorkshire**

Other examples of 'direct patronage' in the form of the employment of music teachers, piano tuners and visiting musicians may be found in the Yorkshire houses under investigation. At Temple Newsam, Frances, wife of the 9th Lord

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<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>130</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 127.

Irwin, was evidently a keen musician, as were her friends the Duchess of Grafton, Lady Susan Stuart and Lady Bingley. She possessed a harpsichord by Shudi and employed Thomas Thackray of York to instruct her five daughters on the English guittar.<sup>131</sup> From 1807 to 1834 Lady Hertford was chatelaine of Temple Newsam and the favourite confidante of the Prince Regent between c.1808 and 1820, frequently entertaining for him. These events could be large-scale musical occasions that required the performances of renowned professional musicians, both male and female who were frequently foreign. The *Morning Post* recorded one such concert:

A Grand Concert of vocal and instrumental music was given. The first part consisted of a sinfonia, the composition of HAYDN; it was followed by a Terzetto, MOZART, by Messrs RAYES, ROSQUELLAS AND NALDI. An aria of CIMAROSA, was succeeded by a Duetto by Madame SESSI and Signor NALDI and ROSQUELLAS was much admired. In the second part a Fantasia on the pianoforte, by Mons KALBRENNER, was deservedly applauded.<sup>132</sup>

At Castle Howard there is little material evidence of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle's interest in music, although it is likely that he entered into his wife's enjoyment of it. There remains in the collection a manuscript book of music belonging to him. As will be seen in Chapters 3–6, music was an integral part of the life of the family and household. Evidence of the regular occurrence of events at Castle Howard incorporating music such as birthday celebrations, Christmas day festivities, servants' balls, and for 'cricket days' can be found in the household accounts of 1826–40.<sup>133</sup> The hiring in of musicians for all these kinds of events was evidently a common practice in other country houses. There was a similar employment of bands and musicians for individual events at Chatsworth and Chiswick during the

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<sup>131</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> Viscount Irwin's harpsichords, bought in Delft in 1704, probably remained at Temple Newsam throughout the eighteenth century and were tuned by T. Haxby of York as seen from household, for example, 18 Feb 1761, WYL100/EA/12/18.

<sup>132</sup> The *Morning Post*, 12 April 1815.

<sup>133</sup> Household accounts, 1826–40, CHA, H1/1/16–18.

1820s for example, for balls and breakfasts. As has been noted, several different bands were listed for the London residences. In January and October 1828 musicians Legg & Co. were hired in twice from Sheffield for events at Chatsworth. Ringers were also paid regularly.

Music-masters were employed by other aristocratic Yorkshire families. The correspondence of Louisa Williamson, granddaughter of the Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baronet of Nostell Priory, reveals that she received lessons on the piano forte, harp and for singing from music tutors at her school in Bath.<sup>134</sup> It is likely that the conscientious Georgiana, 6th Countess of Carlisle, mother of twelve, would have engaged music tutors for her children at Castle Howard, modelling her own thorough education, which had included regular piano and singing lessons from visiting music teachers (see Chapter 4). In her schoolbook of 1798 she records the names of her tutors: 'Mr Bowers', Maria Hester Park and Giacomo Gottifredo Ferrari.<sup>135</sup> The latter two taught Georgiana when the family was in London. Ferrari also visited the family at Chatsworth and Georgiana noted the occasions when she sang and made music with her tutor. It is not surprising that there is a substantial quantity of published music by him in the Castle Howard collection and that some of this was dedicated to Georgiana.<sup>136</sup>

Significantly, the presence of the professional musician in the country house, either as a performer or a teacher, provided an important link between the private and public spheres of aristocratic patronage. Put another way, as Ian Woodfield observes, 'there has probably never been a period in which the public and private spheres of professional musical activity were so closely related ... A substantial element of the concert-going public still consisted of private patrons, whose support was best obtained through personal contact.'<sup>137</sup> From this it is possible to understand the important role that the overlap of private and public

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<sup>134</sup> See correspondence between Charles and Louisa Williamson, 1808–1816, WYW1352/1/1/13/1.

<sup>135</sup> Maria Hester Park was also a composer; the Castle Howard collection contains examples of her published work: 'Set of Glee's dedicated to her Grace the Duchess of Ancaster with the Dirge in Cymbeline inscribed to Miss Yates by Maria Hester Park. Op. 3.' Before marrying, she composed: 'Three Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte composed and humbly dedicated to Mrs. Bagot by Maria Hester Reynolds.' CHA J18/77/4/Vol. 19 .

<sup>136</sup> 'Three Sonatas for the Pianoforte with an accompaniment for a violin ad libitum composed and dedicated to Lady Georgiana Cavendish by G. G. Ferrari, Op. XV'. CHA J18/77/4/Vol. 8.

<sup>137</sup> I. Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys*, 1.

aristocratic patronage played in the careers of professional musicians, as will be discussed below.

### ***Aristocratic musical patronage in the public domain***

Between 1750 and 1790 concert-going played an important role in the aristocracy's social season and most concerts were organised under the direction and patronage of aristocratic patrons. 'The Concerts of Antient Music', patronised by Lord Harewood and other aristocratic subscribers, were one example and became so prestigious that the King attended them.<sup>138</sup> Examples of concert series in London, combining aristocratic patronage and professional direction, were those managed by Johann Christian Bach and Carl Friedrich Abel from the mid-1760s, Salomon in 1780s and 1790s, and the 'Professional Concert' of the same period. Similar concert series took place in York throughout the eighteenth century as has been documented by Griffiths and noted in the previous chapter.<sup>139</sup>

However, in both York and London there were tensions in the professionally directed concerts, which were supported by aristocratic patrons. The higher artistic standards of these performances served to distinguish more clearly differences between amateurs and professionals. It is probable that the relationship between professional musician and amateur patron was delicate. With an increasingly middle-class audience and the musical direction of concerts in the hands of professionals, the question arose as to who were the arbiters of taste. Rohr asserts that the conflict between these perceived consequences of public patronage of concerts and the desire for social exclusivity resulted in a proliferation of private aristocratic concerts at the end of the eighteenth century as aristocratic patronage attempted to regain artistic control.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> W. Weber's *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* traces the development of the taste for 'Antient Music', and its relationship to aristocratic taste, which led to the establishment of the 'Concert of Antient Music' in 1776, where the traditions of performing old works came together as a self-conscious canon focused on the works of Handel. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

<sup>139</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 103–35.

<sup>140</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 47.

### ***Aristocratic retreat from concerts in London and York***

As will be seen, the reality of an aristocratic retreat from public concert life has been acknowledged by several music and social historians. Some reasons for this withdrawal were articulated by an unnamed author writing in 1825 for the *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*:

There are several causes which have no reference to music itself, that are working this revolution. In the first place, the passion of persons of condition is the exclusion of all but those of their own caste from their society and amusements. The same feeling (or the desire of imitating it) afflicts those of the next degrees to a lower gradation than is suspected. Hence every thing which is really open to the public at large, not only affords little temptation to rank and wealth, but is absolutely held in contempt by the possessors of these distinctions. To sit in the pit at the Opera, or in the body of the Argyll Rooms, is somewhat allied to a sense of degradation.<sup>141</sup>

Other more pragmatic reasons to do with the timings of concerts and a preference for informality have been proffered to explain aristocratic preference for private concerts.

Rohr has outlined the negative impact of aristocratic withdrawal from public concert life at the end of the eighteenth century: some concert series dwindled; musicians' careers were affected by aristocratic preference in their private concerts for foreign musicians and foreign music, with the consequent neglect of English music; the habits and practices of foreign musicians in turn undermined the social and professional status of native musicians.<sup>142</sup> As has been noted, these trends were occurring in York as well. Alongside this was the development of a new source of patronage from the expanding middle classes.

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<sup>141</sup> 'Sketch of the State of Music in London', *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* 26 (1825), 209–10, cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 48.

<sup>142</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 48–50.

### ***Impact of middle-class musical patronage***

During this period middle-class patronage took the form of both private and public expressions of support. Some offered personal support to musicians' careers and in the employment of music instructors. They even occasionally hosted private concerts in their homes. Christina Bashford's article on domestic string quartet playing includes an appendix which presents a selection of evidence of domestic chamber-music making in nineteenth-century Britain, including examples of private string quartet parties and small-scale concerts.<sup>143</sup> Although these were likely to have been of a high standard musically, they did not compare to the prestigious private aristocratic concerts. Public 'patronage' was expressed through collective support of a concert institution such as the Castle Society, the Anacreontic Society and the Academy of Ancient Music.<sup>144</sup> Thus a consequence of the public concert series was that it opened the doors to a wider audience and therefore had implications for the social aspects of concert-going as well as questions of taste: 'While wealthy members of the middle class were recognised increasingly as a potential support for concerts, the effectiveness of their efforts was undermined by their own social rather than musical aspirations, and by the loss of aristocratic patrons from public concerts.'<sup>145</sup> In 1818 a concert series called the 'City Concert' was founded by wealthy merchants. It began with 500 subscribers. However, it was shunned by aristocrats, and thereafter it also came to be shunned by merchants, even though the music was excellent.<sup>146</sup> The middle classes were seeking to emulate upper classes with negative impact on concert series and thus musicians' careers. Conversely they could influence public taste adversely by means of indirect patronage. According to Rohr, contemporary musicians, theatre managers and publishers were much preoccupied with audience preferences, which were used as a guide for artistic decisions and professional employment. While the hiring of musicians for private concerts was usually in the hands of professionals, public concerts and theatres relied on managers and impresarios who used audience reactions, such as the number of

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<sup>143</sup> Bashford, 'Historiography and Invisible Muses: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', 335–346.

<sup>144</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 52.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

encores, to guide their choices. McVeigh observes that the vitality of London's concert-life was in decline by the end of the eighteenth century, largely due to a change in public taste and social attitudes.<sup>147</sup> The problem of musical sophistication of audiences from different social and educational backgrounds, and the varying values and skills of performers and composers, added a further complexity to issues of public indirect patronage and questions of taste.

So the challenge was that more of the middle classes had the resources to go to concerts and performances, resulting in a mass influencing of taste and an undesirable mixing of the classes from the point of view of the elite. However, they were not able to truly challenge the influence of the upper classes, and at the end of the eighteenth century few professional musicians or concert series were able to succeed without traditional patronage.

### ***Resurgence***

During the 1790s public concerts declined significantly, in Yorkshire and in the Metropolis. When they re-emerged in the early 1800s the situation became even more complex. As has been noted, the period from 1800 to the mid-1820s was characterised by a growth in the buying power of the middle classes who were able to buy into cultural/musical events, leading to diversification of musical events and the creation of alternative 'taste publics'. This in turn presented a challenge to aristocratic artistic monopoly, combined with a criticism of aristocratic taste, attitudes and conduct. What was the response of aristocrats? What impact did the actions of the nobility have on developments in the British music scene and the careers of professional musicians?

Weber describes the growth of musical activity in the early-nineteenth century as resulting primarily from a dramatic increase in the manufacture of musical instruments and the publication of sheet music for use in both upper- and middle-class homes, two industries which had been growing steadily throughout the eighteenth century. Concert life grew more slowly, and it was not until the mid-1820s that the number of concerts began to rise. During the 1830s and 1840s the

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<sup>147</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 71–3.

number of concerts increased dramatically. Significant factors in this renaissance in Yorkshire were the birth of the musical society and the vogue for Music Festivals.

### ***'Musical revival' in York in the 1820s: Growth of musical societies***

Tillott has attributed the 'musical revival' that occurred in York in the 1820s to the Great Musical Festivals already discussed that took place during this decade and which may have been one of the main contributory factors to the growth of musical societies. While subscription concerts waned, musical societies flourished bringing the upper, middle and lower classes into a new relationship.

Griffiths has outlined the history of the musical societies in York. The first York Musical Society was probably founded in 1767 originally as a gentlemen's club; in the 1830s there were weekly meetings and one anniversary concert which was held either in the De Grey Rooms, the Festival Concert Rooms or the Assembly Rooms. The last meeting of the Society was recorded as having taken place in 1855. Two further musical societies were in existence by this time. They were the York Quintett Society formed in 1824 and the York United Musical Society also established in the 1820s, the latter possibly following a resolution by the committee of management of the 1825 Yorkshire Musical Festival. On 4 October 1824 the committee recommended 'that 10 guineas be applied in such a manner as Messrs. Camidge and P. Knapton think best for the encouragement of a choral society in York', although there is no known direct link with these two societies.<sup>148</sup> The York United Musical Society ceased to exist after 1830 but was soon succeeded by the formation of the York Choral Society (YCH) in 1833. Significantly this was said by the Dean of York to arise from 'the exertions of the middle classes'; the Chairman of the Society, however, claimed that it originated with a 'class of mechanics'. As Griffiths says, the conclusion one can draw is that the Society had a more open membership than its predecessor, the York Musical Society who prescribed in 1825 'that no person in any business or profession shall be deemed admissible as a Member of this Society, unless he be a principal or partner in such

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<sup>148</sup> Archives of the York Musical Festivals, Box 2, unsorted bundles, COLL 1926, York Minster Library, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 91.



business or profession'.<sup>149</sup> The objectives of the York Choral Society were defined as follows:

The object of its establishment was not for the members to have the opportunity of spending an idle hour at the concerts. Neither was it instituted as a means of rational amusement, but for higher purposes, namely, to improve the taste, refine the manners, and elevate not only the intellectual but also the moral character of the members of the society and their fellow citizens.<sup>150</sup>

The Society played the predominant role in the music-making of the city between 1833 and 1869. The conductor of the YCS and the leaders of the orchestra were local musicians, for example William Hardman, a local music seller, who was the main leader of the YCS orchestra from 1833 to 1842. Griffiths describes the difficulties the Society had in finding competent instrumentalists, and between 1833 and 1854 they were supplied by military bands stationed in York. Significantly, after that, players from local towns such as Bradford, Halifax, Leeds, and other West Riding towns were employed as required. The concerts were held in the Merchant Adventurers' Hall, Fossgate between 1833 and April 1836. Afterwards the Society performed in the Festival Concert Rooms. Until 1849/50 tickets were given to members for the use of their families and friends and it is assumed they were low in price. It is interesting to note that prior to 1850 the concerts were patronised by 'middle classes and the lowest orders'. Afterwards, when the decision was taken to set the ticket prices at one shilling for an unreserved back seat and two shillings for a reserved front seat, the 'aristocracy of the county' was also attracted.<sup>151</sup> At this time the Society was the sole provider of

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<sup>149</sup> 'Rules of the York Musical Society', printed copy, bound in the Society's attendance register, (1818-1848), York City Archives, Acc. 30:2, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 147.

<sup>150</sup> Rules of the York Choral Society, printed copy, glued to the front paste-down of the Society's receipt book, (1837-1842), York City Archives, Acc. 31:3, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 147.

<sup>151</sup> Quotations of the Chairman of the YCS at an annual meeting in 1859, reported in the *Yorkshire*

regular concerts in York. Griffiths relates that after 1836 the Choral Society attracted audiences of over 1,000; in the 1850s they had increased to 15,000 and above, equivalent to between three and four per cent of York's population at that time.<sup>152</sup>

From this brief account of the flourishing of the musical societies several observations may be made:

1. The York Choral Society had a middle-class basis;
2. There were improving/moral objectives underlying the formation of the Society;
3. The Society became the primary source of public concerts from the 1830s;
4. Well-trained musicians were hard to come by in York in the 1830s;
5. The development of musical societies raises questions about the nature of the relationship between the new music societies and aristocratic patronage in Yorkshire in the 1830s onwards. It is indicative of the birth of a new patronage relationship based on different criteria: benevolence and the promotion of moral reform. This facet of aristocratic patronage will be explored in greater depth later in the chapter.

### ***Aristocratic public musical patronage in Yorkshire***

How then did Yorkshire aristocrats engage in musical patronage in the public arena? As has been mentioned there is evidence to suggest that the Earl of Harewood's appointment of a household musician to direct his private evening concerts may have in part been a reflection of a more widespread aristocratic withdrawal from public concert life. However, as I have demonstrated, the Earls of Harewood were involved in patronage on a wider basis, buying subscriptions to the aristocratically supported London musical institutions as well as subscribing to more local initiatives, such as the York Musical Festivals.<sup>153</sup> In 1834 the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of

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*Herald*, 13 Aug 1859, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 149.

<sup>152</sup> Tillott, *A History of Yorkshire, The City of York*, 254; Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 149.

<sup>153</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/190 itemises payments in 1804 for subscriptions to the 'opera,' 'the antient music' and the 'sunday concert'. There is a note of a subscription to the 'Concert

Harewood patronised the third performance in the Royal Musical Festival in Westminster Abbey on Saturday 28 June. In York, the proceedings of the Committee of the first Great Musical Festival in 1823 recorded that 'noblemen' were written to asking for their patronage, including the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harewood, Sir Tatton Sykes, Lord Howard of Effingham, William Wilberforce MP, and the Hon. William J. Lascelles MP.<sup>154</sup>

The Earls of Harewood also patronised local musical societies. In 1811 a subscription was paid to the Harewood Musical Society.<sup>155</sup> Lord and Lady Harewood also subscribed to Yorkshire choral concerts, and the Wakefield Choral Society (1823). Their patronage extended to the support of the musicians of the local church: White was responsible for the training up of the choir to perform at Harewood, but this training would also have benefitted the services of the church. They also subscribed to music publications: for example, the 'Rt. Hon. Lord Harewood, Harewood House, Yorkshire' is listed as a subscriber to a collection of music in the Harewood archives, *Four Canzonets and a Sonata ...* by George Frederick Pinto and to *The National Psalmist*, compiled and arranged by Charles Danvers Hackett, published in London in 1839, signed by the author and dedicated to the Lord Bishop of Ripon.

A similar pattern can be seen at other Yorkshire houses. Lady Frances Irwin of Temple Newsam was a keen supporter and subscriber to Felice Giardini's fortepiano recitals; she also subscribed to twenty issues of Thackray of York's *Six Lessons for a Guittar*, Op. 2, in 1769.<sup>156</sup> At Burton Constable Lord and Lady Constable engaged professional musicians for formal occasions, for example, a ball which took place on Monday 5 October 1840. The assembled company danced to waltzes composed and dedicated to Lady Constable by 'Mr. Weippert' who was present with his quadrille band. The ball was a preliminary to the Hull Musical Festival of 6–9 October 1840, of which Lady Constable was one of the lady patronesses. Burton Constable provided hospitality and its owners attended the

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of Ancient Music' for the late Lord Lascelles dated 1815: HAR/ACC/80 [1804–1841].

<sup>154</sup> Proceedings of the Committee of the first Great Musical Festival in 1823 (York Minster Library) state that 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harewood was one of ten aristocrats approached, requesting their patronage of the forthcoming event.

<sup>155</sup> Household accounts, WYL250/3/Acs/421. On musical societies outside London, and their relationship with the aristocratic patron in general see: Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?* (1996).

<sup>156</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 108.

Festival. The Clifford Constables were regular and reportedly generous patrons of several local cultural and charitable events, including musical events in Hull. Sir Clifford Constable was advertised in 1833 as being patron of the Hull Choral Society, founded in 1823.<sup>157</sup> However, his connection with the Society was controversial. Wood cites Dr D. G. Smith's perspective on his involvement:

Sir Clifford Constable, the munificent patron of the society, became also the cause of its undoing. At the beginning choral music was kept well to the fore, the rehearsals were well attended, and the society prospered. Later, a miscellaneous element was introduced and, principally at the instigation of Sir Clifford, star vocalists and other artists were engaged for the concerts. He was never more happy than when dispensing the most regal hospitality of Burton Constable to musicians, some of European fame; and Mario, Lablache, Grisi, Thalberg and many other celebrities thus appeared at the concerts of the Society. But the interest became focused upon them, with the inevitable consequence that chorus singing came to take a subordinate place in its work; so much so, indeed, that its name, the Hull Choral Society, became a misnomer.<sup>158</sup>

However, it is a matter of discussion what impact the introduction of star performers had on the Society: it could be argued that the Society's profile was raised by association both with Sir Clifford Constable and his choice of soloists. According to entries in account books, the family also patronised other musical events such as 'the Philharmonic' and 'the Choral.'<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Wood, 'Music-making in a Yorkshire Country House', 221.

<sup>158</sup> G. H. Smith, *A History of Hull Organs and Organists*, (c.1910), 56–7, cited in Wood, 'Music-making in a Yorkshire Country House', 221.

<sup>159</sup> They also greatly influenced the brass band world. According to Enderby Jackson, Burton Constable was the location in 1845 of the first formal brass band contest to be held in this country, based on examples the family had encountered while abroad. See: E. Jackson, 'The Origins and Promotion of Brass Band Contests', 101, cited in Wood, 'Music-making in a Yorkshire Country House', 224.

The 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle was an active patron of county music events, which he also attended. For example, the Morpeth Musical Festival was given at Morpeth under his patronage and that of other influential people connected with the County of Northumberland. The performance took place in the Court House. There was accommodation for 1000 people without the hall becoming overcrowded. A newspaper report provided a description of the programme, performers and performance, which included arias from *Messiah*.<sup>160</sup> Music festivals were patronised by Georgiana's eldest son George, Lord Morpeth, and reports of his activities also appeared in newspapers.<sup>161</sup> The 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire was president of the Derby Festival in 1810.<sup>162</sup>

These examples demonstrate that both men and women were involved in patronage, both directly and indirectly, privately and publicly. Rohr comments that 'the opportunity to provide patronage of all varieties allowed women to participate in musical life. Royal and aristocratic women especially played important roles throughout this period, sometimes sponsoring their own concert series. Women of the middle classes employed music teachers and bought tickets and printed music.'<sup>163</sup> McVeigh highlights the fact that women played a remarkable role in planning and supporting concerts towards the end of the eighteenth century. They managed both to support many public events, while organising their own private concerts. He reports that a list of weekly concerts in a 1792 issue of the *Morning Chronicle* included 17 concerts, eight of which were organized by royal and aristocratic women. Around 1790 there was even a private concert series known as the Ladies Concert that ran for a few years.<sup>164</sup> The benefit concert was another type of concert in which women could be involved.<sup>165</sup> Aristocratic and middle-class

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<sup>160</sup> Bound transcriptions of letters and speeches mainly relating to Lord Morpeth, George W. F. Howard. CHA, J18/68.

<sup>161</sup> CHA, J18/68. Discussing the role of women in the organization and patronage of festivals, Drummond concludes that 'although titled men were much in demand as patrons, ladies of similar rank were notably absent from these lists.' Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, 262.

<sup>162</sup> Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, 55.

<sup>163</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 42.

<sup>164</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, 48; Wollenberg and McVeigh, eds., *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 7-8.

<sup>165</sup> Benefit concerts, involving both women performers and women promoters, revealed 'the complexity of patronage networks: performers were dependent upon not only moneyed patrons, but also upon the goodwill of fellow musicians' and also could be responsible for promoting themselves. Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, 64.

women were consumers of music lessons, instruments and sheet music.<sup>166</sup> As has been demonstrated in the examples of patronage in the houses discussed, elite women in Yorkshire were active patrons of music during these years.

### **Summary**

From these examples it can be seen that aristocratic patrons in Yorkshire continued to support and encourage musical activity, in their own homes and in the wider community. The private concerts of Lord Harewood may have been symptomatic of the trend towards aristocratic withdrawal from public concerts. However, by the early-nineteenth century he was prepared to join forces with other noblemen and merchants in paying for subscriptions for the York Musical Festivals in York Minster and for specific music publications such as the Pinto compositions. In this he demonstrated an acceptance of the new trend of purchasing subscriptions, lending his influence and financial support and thus enabling and promoting musical ventures in both York and in the Metropolis. His decision to support the York Musical Festivals may also have been an attempt to follow the example of royal backing for the Handel Commemorations in London, and in emulation of George III's taste for Handel's music. In promoting these events he was actively contributing to the wider musical life of Yorkshire. His and Lady Harewood's patronage of local music societies also demonstrated a recognition and valuing of local musical endeavour. In this we also see a collaborative relationship and involvement, not only with fellow subscribers but also with the middle-class members of the music societies, and the local village people who sang in the church choir. He continued to support White to the end of his life, whilst allowing him the freedom to pursue other avenues of professional activity.

Lady Frances Ingram was equally willing to subscribe to public concert series as were the Clifford Constables in the mid-nineteenth century. While Lord and Lady Harewood were willing to lend their support to musical events which remained in the hands of professional direction, Lord Clifford Constable, as far as can be surmised from his initiatives in hiring celebrity performers for the Hull Choral Society, seemed to wish to retain some artistic as well as financial control.

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<sup>166</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 47.

The patronage of local music societies and the great music festivals, with their charitable purposes, tending towards 'the promotion of benevolence and the advancement of musical science in the country', was indicative of a new preoccupation with benevolence and philanthropic patronage.

On Friday 9 April 1858 an unusual event took place. The Clifford Constable family decided to stage a public 'amateur concert' in a Music Hall in Hull. The list of 'distinguished performers' included members of the family and household and friends. It was not intended to be a 'professional like concert' but rather 'a transference of the drawing room of Burton Constable to the Hull Music Hall'.<sup>167</sup> The *Hull Advertiser* of 10 April praised the performers and evening highly. It is not known why the concert took place. Perhaps it was a gesture towards the people of Hull, allowing an insight into and participation in their lives, talents, cultural education and taste. Their publically staged concert, which provided a window into private aristocratic musical activities, demonstrated a willingness to allow the lower-class public in. What did it signify? It could be seen to be consistent with the practice of opening up great houses for public viewing. It was also perhaps a form of accessibility and accountability which in turn might be understood as part of a new development in the aristocratic self-image in the nineteenth century tending towards benevolence and moral responsibility, as well as providing a model of cultural taste.

## **Part 2: Aristocratic musical patronage in the early nineteenth century**

Another important factor in nineteenth-century aristocratic patronage was the new image that the upper classes were seeking to promote of themselves, and which influenced their cultural choices and behaviour. As has been indicated, the structure of society had become increasingly complex during the eighteenth century, with the growth in wealth and status of different elements of the professional and business classes. With wealth came greater power and the moral

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<sup>167</sup> *Hull Advertiser*, 20 and 27 March 1858, cited in Wood, 'Music-making in a Yorkshire Country House', 219.

authority to exert pressure on the upper classes. With this, the middle classes combined religious principle, sobriety and a dedication to hard work and self-improvement. At the same time, the upper classes came under increasing criticism for their immorality and inefficiency, which was perhaps the most vehement during the 1820s and 1830s. As was outlined in the previous chapter, already in the eighteenth century the boundaries and lines of demarcation between different sectors of the middle and upper classes were blurred, constituting a complex web of different combinations of overlapping interests. These have been outlined by Boyd Hilton who has also discussed the changing roles, make-up and perceptions of the upper classes.<sup>168</sup> Whether the changes could be described as ‘aristocratic reaction’, adaptation, or withdrawal is open to debate and Hilton himself surveys the various interpretations that historians have offered of these developments. For example, he cites David Cannadine’s argument that the aristocracy ‘renewed, re-created, re-invented, and re-legitimated’ itself by investing in government stock, turnpikes and canals, and diversifying.<sup>169</sup> Here, Hilton says, ‘the fusion of land and money in a united ruling class is presented as a case of noble families absorbing and therefore still dominating the moneyed interest.’<sup>170</sup> It is arguable that social esteem was still more associated with landed interest than with the financial elite. Nevertheless, it seems that it was the upper-middle classes who were supplying a large proportion of the urban leadership during the period 1780–1830.

A new concept of the professional classes had begun to emerge by the end of the eighteenth century. The traditional route for a recognised profession such as law had been a classical education and the support of an influential patron with the goal of obtaining social status and recognition, leisure and, in some cases, public office. Now the new criteria for advancement in the professions were skill and success; training and testing became obligatory. As Hilton says, from the 1780s the new ideal was based on ‘service to society’.<sup>171</sup> Through increased building work in towns, the differences between architects, builders and craftsmen became clearer. As a result, architects could now rely on reputation as opposed to aristocratic

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<sup>168</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 133–41.

<sup>169</sup> D. Cannadine, ‘The Making of the British Upper Classes’ in Cannadine, *Aspects of Aristocracy: Grandeur and Decline in Modern Britain*, cited in Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 133.

<sup>170</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 133.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.



patrons or contacts in the building trade. However, although the idea of professionalism was strongly adhered to, the reality was weak, and in practice was more a theoretical ideal in the face of commercial exploitation. For example, the opposition of commercial and professional interests can perhaps be seen clearly in the careers of church ministers. Hilton asserts that while the religious revival gave birth to a number of dedicated ministers, there was a corresponding number whose ambition was for wealthy benefices and who sported a taste for fashionable preaching, especially in London. The conclusion was that the commercial ethos was probably stronger than the cult of professionalism and the ideal of 'service to society'.<sup>172</sup>

From the 1780s the combination of several factors served to identify this class of haute bourgeoisie as a self-conscious, like-minded group. This collective identity was based on 'property', wealth, the ability to formulate public opinions independently of aristocratic models, the creation of intellectual clubs and societies and professional and commercial associations with the aim of establishing and placing on a more reputable basis those occupations who wished to be recognised for their skills and training. From this emerged a collective voice which began to be publicly heard and to provide leadership. Hilton summarises the causes thus: 'in a nutshell the American debacle (the South Sea Bubble) discredited the aristocracy and created a moral vacuum, which the moralistic upper-middle classes were able to fill, thanks in part to the fact that the staggering growth of the national debt had placed them as fundholders in a creditor, that is morally superior, relationship to the State.'<sup>173</sup> Significantly, this society made up of earnest and intellectual citizens was not very interested in art and culture, and preferred a more private life above structured leisure in the public domain. Balls were still held by upper-middle-class families in the interest of attracting business and finding husbands for their daughters, but the public open spaces emptied as an increasing number of people chose a more reclusive lifestyle, perhaps in an attempt to separate themselves from the activities of the lower classes. In addition their retreat was probably due in part to the wave of evangelical fervour which

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 151.

swept over society and directed the new elite into more religious and moralistic styles of living.

### ***Victorian philanthropy and reform***

As has been hinted at, the maturation of the upper-middle classes from around 1780 onwards coincided with what was described as the 'evangelical revival', which took place within the Church of England from the 1780s.<sup>174</sup> One fruit was the burgeoning of organisations for social and moral improvement. William Wilberforce was a key figure in this and he inspired much philanthropic activity. The influence of these changes was felt upwards and was expected from the elite. The need for the rich to set a moral example to the poor was expounded in sermons and treatises by spokespeople such as Wilberforce, Hannah More and Thomas Gisborne.<sup>175</sup> The extent to which aristocrats responded to this was variable, although Hilton emphasises the pervasiveness of the new puritanism which permeated society, including the aristocracy.

### ***The 'Condition-of-England question'***

Another factor in the re-shaping of aristocratic outlook was the growing awareness of the extent of social problems among the poor. One of the main causes of political anxiety in the second quarter of the nineteenth century was what became known as the 'Condition-of-England question'.<sup>176</sup> During this period there was a growing awareness that investment in public amenities had been neglected with dire consequences. One conclusion drawn was that 'the 1830s and 1840s may well have been the worst ever decades for life expectancy since the black death in the history of those parishes which were now experiencing industrialisation'.<sup>177</sup> Hilton

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<sup>174</sup> These developments were significant in shaping the mentality and behaviour of both the middle and upper classes. Nevertheless there is not space here to pursue this discussion in depth beyond acknowledging the importance of the impact of the revival of evangelical belief and practice, particularly on philanthropic activity. See Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 174–84.

<sup>175</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 178–9.

<sup>176</sup> T. Carlyle, *Chartism* (1839), cited in Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 573.

<sup>177</sup> S. Szreter and A. Hardy, 'Urban Fertility and Mortality Patterns' in M. Daunton, ed., *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, 1840–1950* (2000), cited in Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 574.

has surveyed the problems and conditions contributing to this situation.<sup>178</sup> While it took much longer to actually begin to rectify the problems, it was significant that there was now a collective understanding and sense of responsibility for the need to address the chronic social issues that had arisen through neglect and industrialisation.

Although it is not possible to discuss in depth the impact of the complex social, political, economic and religious changes on the upper classes, the aristocracy was forced to make some adjustments under the pressure of religion and from the sector concerned for moral change, and from the haute bourgeoisie or upper-middle classes. According to Mark Girouard, as a result of these developments, the upper classes changed their image to become 'more serious, more religious, more domestic, and more responsible', that is to say an image more acceptable to the middle classes.<sup>179</sup> This emphasis on domesticity and morality was also modelled by Queen Victoria and Albert following their marriage in 1840. As a consequence houses were designed with an increasing separation of family and servants' quarters. With the increase in religious devotion, family prayers were revived and there was a resurgence of the number of family chapels being built. Significantly some new music-rooms at this time resembled chapels.<sup>180</sup>

In the 1830s and 1840s Great Halls were built in great number as part of a revival of 'Old English Hospitality' in keeping with the new image being cultivated of the hospitable 'English Gentleman'. Girouard relates how 'hospitalities' at Ketteringham in Norfolk in 1840 included dances for the gentry, dinner for the tenantry and an annual servants' dance attended by family, servants, gardeners, the estate carpenter and the village mistress, and a dinner for local school children. This new attitude could be described as a new benevolence wherein landlords presented themselves as the beau-ideal of the country gentleman. Benevolence and philanthropic activity were integral to this new image.

How did these changes impact on aristocratic musical patronage? How did patronage of musicians and musical events integrate with the new aristocratic preoccupations? In the following case study it will be argued that benevolence and

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<sup>178</sup> Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 573–88.

<sup>179</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 270.

<sup>180</sup> See Chapter 8 on music rooms.

patronage of philanthropic musical activities became an acceptable and appropriate channel for elite men to express their musical interests.

## **A new perspective on musical patronage: the case of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle**

The political and philanthropic career of George Howard, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, has been interrogated in depth by David Gent in his thesis 'Aristocratic Whig Politics in early-Victorian Yorkshire: Lord Morpeth and his World'.<sup>181</sup> As Lord Morpeth, Carlisle was an MP for 17 years; he was defeated in 1841. He was twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and made Knight of the Garter in 1855. His mother, Georgiana, was devoted to supporting her son's political career, which was indeed guided by principles and values received from her throughout his childhood.

As Gent has shown, the basis of Morpeth's work as a politician, landlord and philanthropist, as well as the rest of his life, was his religious belief. As will be discussed in greater depth in Chapters 4 to 6, his mother Georgiana was a devout evangelical Christian who sought to bring up her children to be well versed in the scriptures and all matters of faith and practice. Despite some important modifications in his theological belief, Morpeth did not depart from this early faith. Gent has analysed in the first chapter of his thesis the progression of Morpeth's theological thought and the practical outworking of his beliefs.<sup>182</sup> His main source for this analysis is two volumes of sermons which Morpeth read privately or to assembled family and guests, and especially to his mother: 'Read Channing's sermon on the Evidences of Revealed Religion – good. Breakfasted before prayers and afterwards went to York and back to attend the morning meeting.'<sup>183</sup> Gent pinpoints the main characteristics of his faith as being: an emphasis on sanctification and the practical outworking of his faith out of love for God and others. He writes that Morpeth 'allowed his faith to fill up his heart and dominate all his actions ... the Christian ought to live and breathe the principles of the gospel, so that they became a living "witness for Christ" ... God, he felt, had placed man on

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<sup>181</sup> D. Gent, 'Aristocratic Whig Politics in early-Victorian Yorkshire: Lord Morpeth and his World', unpublished PhD. diss., University of York (2010).

<sup>182</sup> Gent has discussed Morpeth's beliefs in depth in Chapter 1 of his thesis.

<sup>183</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 19 Oct 1843, CHA/J19/8/1.

earth for serious purposes and expected him to live up to a high moral standard.<sup>184</sup> The Bible was Morpeth's guide, added to which he believed in the central importance of self-determination in deciding the condition of the soul and in enabling him to live for the good of others.

His diaries provide insights into his devotional habits. For example, Morpeth refers to prayers and morning services being held in the Chapel at Castle Howard, followed by services in other local churches, such as Coneysthorpe and Slingsby. He wrote:

Morning service in the Chapel, walked to Coneysthorpe in the afternoon with most of the party and afterwards. Mr. Row preached not as well as usual. Finished Melville's sermon on Jacob's ladder to my mother; too forced.<sup>185</sup>

Wrote letters before breakfast. At morning service here we took the sacrament, 18 altogether. Mr Row preached at Coneysthorpe in the evening; I did not much like it.<sup>186</sup>

Service in the Chapel in the morning. Mr. Hodgson preached at Coneysthorpe in the afternoon an excellent sermon on a new commandment I give unto you.<sup>187</sup>

Morning service in the chapel. Mr. Rowe preached well in the afternoon at Coneysthorpe.<sup>188</sup>

Service here in the morning. We all went to Coneysthorpe; the ladies thought Hodgson's sermon much too denunciatory; I think he is too fond of that vein.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Gent, 'Aristocratic Whig Politics', 45–7.

<sup>185</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 29 Oct 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>186</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 12 Nov 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>187</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 25 Nov 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>188</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 10 Dec 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>189</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 24 Dec 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

Mary drove me to Slingsby for Church at 10; the church is neat and well-fitted. The singing not good, Walker's sermon very fair. We took the sacrament. About 50 stayed.<sup>190</sup>

However, faith was more than simply attending church; it involved being 'constantly governed by the motives, sustained by the principles, living, breathing, acting in the invisible atmosphere of true religion.'<sup>191</sup> While based on sincere convictions and integrity of thought, belief and feeling, for Morpeth it was primarily something real, to be lived out, practical.

Gent summarises the impact of Morpeth's faith, that it 'influenced all his spheres of activity. The same spiritual values which shaped his actions as a statesman also inspired his activities as a Yorkshire landlord and philanthropist. Morpeth's faith acted as a unifying force, creating connections between the various areas of his life.'<sup>192</sup>

### ***Benevolence and philanthropic reform at Castle Howard***

In his work as landlord and philanthropist Morpeth demonstrated both his personal convictions and the trends towards benevolence that characterised other nineteenth-century aristocrats. These may all be referred to as gestures of patronage. When at Castle Howard he mixed with a wide spectrum of people. He visited and played host to neighbouring gentry families. On the estate he was preoccupied with the well-being of his tenants, introducing practical, educational and moral reforms. He appeared as a model Victorian paternal landowner. His hospitality was especially warm towards the philanthropic organisations he supported and to the lower-middle- and upper-working-class visitors who, following the growth of rail transport and introduction of the Castle Howard station in 1845, were able to visit the house. The opening up of country houses played an important role in the nurturing of trust in aristocratic character and the proper exercising of responsibilities. Morpeth was renowned for his tireless

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<sup>190</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 25 Dec 1843, CHA/J19/8/1.

<sup>191</sup> CHA, J19/9/15, Commonplace book, 'Your Life is hid with Christ in God' (Caird), cited in Gent, 'Aristocratic Whig Politics', 43.

<sup>192</sup> Gent, 'Aristocratic Whig Politics', 38.

exertions on behalf of a variety of philanthropic causes. The broad range of his concerns and interests is shown in David Gent's list of philanthropic organisations that Morpeth supported.<sup>193</sup> However, one area that Gent does not touch upon in his thesis was Morpeth's love of music and how that too became a means of expressing both his spiritual and philanthropic convictions.

### ***Morpeth's enjoyment of music and dancing***

As will be discussed in Chapter 5, music and dancing were important elements in Morpeth's upbringing. His mother, Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, was particularly musical and her love of music was felt throughout the household. Morpeth became renowned for his love of dancing. Again this is borne out in his diary:

We were 32 at supper ... We had a little dancing in the evening.<sup>194</sup>

Evelyn was married to Ld Blantyre at ¼ before 12 in the church at Trentham, re-opened for the occasion ... The couple went off to Lilleshall ... at two a great luncheon ... after dinner we danced in the steward's room before tea, and a long time afterwards upstairs.<sup>195</sup>

His enthusiasm was frequently witnessed on occasions when the Queen was present and when he proved himself an able partner for her.

From his diary it can be seen that he also enjoyed opera: 'Went to see the Duke of Devonshire at Covent Garden; he is thriving; the opera was The Bouliere, pretty well got up.'<sup>196</sup> However, what is significant is that because Morpeth's whole mind-set was a religious one, he consequently experienced and interpreted music in spiritual terms, and his appreciation of music was expressed in spiritual terms.

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<sup>193</sup> Gent, 'Aristocratic Whig Politics', 38.

<sup>194</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, place unknown, diary entry, 3 Oct 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>195</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Trentham, diary entry, 4 Oct 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>196</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, diary entry, 1 June 1847, CHA, J19/8/15.

For Morpeth music and spirituality seemed to combine, so that for him music evoked spiritual emotion. Some entries in his diary refer to his appreciation of music and its assistance to worship in ecclesiastical contexts:

I went to evening service at the Minster, where Camidge played very well.<sup>197</sup>

Mrs. G\_\_\_\_\_ took me in the open carriage to Chapelthorpe, a quiet country church 4 miles off. The whole service is chanted and sung in the most complete and beautiful manner; it has all been got up by Mr. and Mrs. Wood, late William Lenox, who both appear in the gallery before the organ in the midst of a small band who sing with them, ... the responses in the communion service were especially beautiful, so was one of the singing psalms, she singing alternate lines with the rest of the choir.<sup>198</sup>

On 24 November 1849 he referred in his diary to a performance of *Messiah* which he found a 'real inspiration' and 'beyond describing.'<sup>199</sup> This takes the connection between music and devotion a step further as the impression conveyed is that *Messiah* was a spiritual experience. A further way in which he linked music and spirituality was to use the analogy of an orchestra to describe his belief in religious tolerance, saying that different denominations were like different instruments in an orchestra ... each should pursue its own course, but together they lead to a 'common chorus of praise and adoration.'<sup>200</sup> Finally, in his diary for 29 July 1852 he noted that he 'went to the Missionary Tea-meeting at Coneysthorpe ... Mr G

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<sup>197</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard, diary entry, 19 Oct 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>198</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, [Thornes] House, diary entry, 17 Dec 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>199</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, diary entry, 24 November 1849, CHA, J19/8/1. This entry can be found as well in Lady C. Lascelles, ed., *Extracts from Journals kept by George Howard, Earl of Carlisle, Selected by his Sister, Lady Caroline Lascelles*. Printed for private circulation only, (1870), 70. I am grateful to David Gent for making this known to me.

<sup>200</sup>G. W. F. Howard, 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, *Lectures and Addresses in Aid of Popular Education* (1852), 87.



Hodgson & Mr Carter spoke very well, & altogether when the united hymn rose from that very English rural green it was impossible not to feel much emotion.'<sup>201</sup>

It is possible to see from these references that Georgiana seems to have passed on both her spiritual values and her sensitivity to music to her son. Furthermore in Morpeth, the potent combination of music and spirituality became a force for social good. In this, he demonstrated the legacy that he had received from his mother, which simultaneously reflected new ideology relating to the divine and spiritual character of music and its moral benefits.<sup>202</sup>

### ***Music and spirituality***

In the Victorian period the arts were connected to the consolidation of national identity, coinciding with the re-establishment of peace after the conclusion of the wars, and the assertion of national progress. The period was also characterised by a striving for higher ideals, in keeping with the new middle-class morality, and an emphasis on reformation of society and character. Music was seen to have a unique role in improving people and society spiritually and morally. According to Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, 'Music was at once one of the most idealized and one of the most contested art forms of the period.'<sup>203</sup> The basis for this idealisation lay in Romantic ideology. This had its origins in German philosophical thought which spread throughout Europe making its way to early-nineteenth-century England. Much has been said about British Romantic literature and art, but little about romanticism in British music. Perhaps this is because Romantic ideas had more of an impact upon the way music was viewed by educationalists and reformers than on the music that was composed at the time by British composers.

Clapp-Itnyre outlines the philosophical ideas expressed by German thinkers such as Arthur Schopenhauer and Ernest Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, which idealised music to the extent of placing it above all the other arts. Schopenhauer wrote: 'Therefore music is by no means like the other arts, namely a copy of the Ideas, but a copy of the will itself, the objectivity of which are the Ideas. For this reason the effect of music is so much more powerful and penetrating than is that of

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<sup>201</sup> I am grateful to David Gent for providing these references

<sup>202</sup> See N. Temperley, *The Lost Chord* (1989) and A. Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs and Subversive Songs* (2002).

<sup>203</sup> Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 2.

the other arts, for these others speak only of the shadow, but music of the essence.'<sup>204</sup>

Hoffmann described music as disclosing to man 'an unknown realm, a world that has nothing in common with the external sensual world that surrounds him, a world that he leaves behind him all definite feelings to surrender himself to an inexpressible longing.'<sup>205</sup> These ideas were taken up by Thomas Carlyle: 'Who is there that, in logical words, can express the effect music has on us? A kind of inarticulate unfathomable speech, which leads us to the edge of the Infinite, and lets us for moments gaze into that.'<sup>206</sup> A reviewer for *North British Review* wrote:

Music seems to be the art of our era. Its indefinite character leaves great freedom to the activity of the imagination. It is able to express our modern ideas in their comprehensiveness and generality. The most subjective of arts, it is best suited to give a voice to that spirit of isolation and individuality which is the characteristic of our times. It is therefore the only art in which we not only equal, but far surpass all bygone ages.<sup>207</sup>

According to this view music allows access to a spiritual space, raising it above all other art forms. 'See deep enough and you see musically', wrote Carlyle, 'the heart of nature Being everywhere music, if you can only reach it,' thereby placing music in the romantically ideal world of nature.<sup>208</sup> Clapp-Itnyre summarises: 'In short the rhetoric of intellectual criticism consistently eulogised music in hyperbolic terms that irrefutably set it apart from earthbound art forms and even from the earth itself.'<sup>209</sup>

Once these ideas had been articulated by Victorian periodical writers, they spread widely and music came to be recognised as possessing a unique spiritual

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<sup>204</sup> A. Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation* (1819), 257, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 3.

<sup>205</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann, 1813, cited in L. Plantinga, *Romantic Music*, 14.

<sup>206</sup> T. Carlyle, 'The Hero as Poet', in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, 116–17, 1840, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 4.

<sup>207</sup> Unsigned, in 'National Music', an article in *North British Review*, 20, (Nov. 1853–Feb. 1854), 343, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, xxv.

<sup>208</sup> Carlyle, 'The Hero as Poet', in *On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History*, 117, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 4.

<sup>209</sup> Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 5.

force. It is perhaps as a result of the moralising, improving, utilitarian spirit of the age that the next step was to use music as an agent of reform.

### ***Music as agent of reform***

According to Clapp-Itnyre, many educators saw music as a moral corrective.<sup>210</sup> She quotes John Ruskin who described music as ‘the expression of the joy or grief of noble minds for noble causes,’<sup>211</sup> and Hugh Reginald Haweis who attributed to music ‘the power of actually creating and manipulating these mental atmospheres,’ giving it ‘vast capacities for good or evil.’<sup>212</sup> The latter was feared by many, but this potential in music was seized upon by Christian reformers and used as a means of instigating spiritual reform. Religious ideals were propagated through singing spiritual songs and hymns. Music reminded people of their duty to God and united families and communities in the act of singing congregationally. This alliance between spirituality and music found expression in the burgeoning of choral societies dedicated to the singing of oratorios throughout the country, alongside the development of church choirs and other societies dedicated to the promotion of church music.<sup>213</sup>

The power of music to reform was also recognised by educators who advocated the inclusion of music in the school curriculum. Clapp-Itnyre quotes William Edward Hickson, known as the ‘father of English school music’, who said that music was needed as part of education because it ‘wean[s] the mind from vicious and sensual indulgences ... [and] incline[s] the heart to kindly feelings, and just and generous emotions.’<sup>214</sup> Joseph Mainzer was another important proponent of music education. In his book *Singing for the Million* he extolled the community and conformity achieved by musical instruction, of children ‘pronounc[ing] simultaneously the same words, sing[ing] the same air and thinking the same thought ... uniting in the same promises and chanting the same melodious accents

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<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>211</sup> J. Ruskin, ‘On the Relation of National Ethics to National Arts’, 175, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 18.

<sup>212</sup> H. R. Haweis, ‘Music and Morals’ in *The Contemporary Review*, 89–90, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 18.

<sup>213</sup> Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 19.

<sup>214</sup> W. E. Hickson, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 6.

at the same moment and as if they issued from only one mouth.'<sup>215</sup> The belief in the power of music to unite and to reform morally and spiritually was the basis for the development of the sight-singing movements.

One of the main practical tools used to promote music and thus its influence amongst both children and adults was the Tonic Sol-Fa vocal method. Charles McGuire's book *Music and Victorian Philanthropy* describes the creation of this system in the late 1820s by Sarah Glover, a teacher and the daughter of a Norwich rector, whose desire was to teach the children in her father's parish to sing hymns. Glover's aim was to improve congregational singing and the moral benefits were a happy consequence of the primary objective.<sup>216</sup> The methods outlined in her publications had considerable influence, despite the fact that she had no patron or benefactor to promote her work. They were adopted in the 1840s by John Curwen and his son Spencer, for whom the moral outcomes were of primary importance. They saw in them a means to extending the positive effects of music more widely. Curwen claimed that by simplifying the acquisition of music skills, Tonic Sol-Fa became 'the indirect means of aiding worship, temperance and culture, of holding young men and women among good influences, of reforming character, of spreading Christianity'.<sup>217</sup> This conviction resonated with popular belief in music's powers:

I believe in music as I believe in pictures for the masses. It draws people together; oils the wheels of the social system, and very much facilitates the intercourse between a pastor and his flock ... I am convinced that the influence of music over the poor is quite angelic. Music is the handmaid of religion and the mother of sympathy. The hymns and hymn tunes taken home by the children from church and chapel are blessed outlets of feeling, and full of religious instruction – they humanise households all through the land ... Teach the people to sing, and you will make them happy; teach them to listen to sweet sounds, and you will go far to render them

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<sup>215</sup> J. Mainzer, *Singing for the Million* (1841), iv, vi, cited in Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs*, 6.

<sup>216</sup> C. McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy*, 16.

<sup>217</sup> Cited in *Ibid.*, 19.

harmless to themselves, if not blessing to their fellows.<sup>218</sup>

The claims were that the movement was for the 'masses', that it helped people to become better Protestant Christians, helped the working and middle classes to find contentment, and enabled them to live harmoniously and constructively within the boundaries of their social positioning.

John Curwen took the methods that Glover had applied at a local level to the international community, with great results.<sup>219</sup> He was not the only one seeking to introduce sight-singing methods as a way of bringing the benefits of music to the masses and one of his main competitors was John Hullah.<sup>220</sup> Hullah is of particular relevance to this discussion because the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle as Lord Morpeth was involved in promoting his sight-singing work in London and a corresponding movement led by James J. Gaskin in Ireland.

### ***John Hullah***

In 1839, after the scale of educational problems in England had been revealed, the new Committee of Council on Education set about introducing substantial reforms of elementary education, including the reinstatement of music lessons in schools for the children of the poor. The man who took the initiative in constructing a new educational strategy was the Committee's secretary James Kay. In the absence of a national training college for teachers, he founded a private institution, with the capacity to accommodate a dozen youths. His aim was to introduce the continental teaching methods he had discovered during his three-month tour of Holland, France, Prussia and Switzerland, which he deemed to be superior to those currently utilised at home.<sup>221</sup>

Kay used friends to staff his institution but had to look further afield for a music teacher. Eventually he met Hullah, a composer who had been seeking to

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<sup>218</sup> Cited in *Ibid.*, 2–3, Rev. H. R. Haweis, "Music for the Masses," *Reporter*, (September 1884), 345, cited from Haweis's *My Musical Life* (1884), 118.

<sup>219</sup> The Curwen's methodology, achievements, and the relationship of the Sol-Fa method to other philanthropic movements such as the temperance movement, have been examined in detail by McGuire in *Music and Victorian Philanthropy* (2009).

<sup>220</sup> See B. Rainbow's chapter 'The Rise of Popular Music Education in Nineteenth-Century England,' in N. Temperley, ed., *The Lost Chord* (1989).

<sup>221</sup> See Rainbow, 'The Rise of Popular Music Education', 20–21.

establish a series of singing classes in London based on some courses for adults that were being run in Paris by Joseph Mainzer and G. L. Bocquillon Wilhem. It was the latter's system which, having met Kay, Hullah sought to adapt to English use. Although he was completely inexperienced as a teacher, his efforts had considerable success and were received with enthusiasm. His handpicked boys rescued from the workhouses became known as 'Hullah's Greenbirds' and delighted audiences in London.<sup>222</sup> As a consequence, a singing school for schoolmasters was founded, followed by further classes and a course for singing mistresses.

Rainbow describes how Kay's *Minute* of the Committee of Council on Education, which introduced the Exeter Hall Singing School, aimed not only to publicise Hullah's singing classes but also to argue for the incorporation of music lessons in schools generally. He used persuasive moralistic arguments to make his case, saying that vocal music was an 'important means of forming an industrious, brave, loyal and religious working class'.<sup>223</sup> Rainbow outlines the early progress and success of the singing classes.<sup>224</sup> However, as Rainbow also recounts, the Wilhelm method was to prove deficient, failing to produce real competence in either the average child or his teachers.<sup>225</sup> Although it received official backing from the Committee of Council on Education, twenty years after its introduction Hullah's manual had almost ceased to be used in the classroom and other methods were being employed.

Nevertheless, while the method proved to be inadequate, the influence of the early success of the singing lessons at Battersea and Exeter Hall could be described as ground-breaking. Ten years after the inauguration of the classes, Charles Dickens' *Household Words* spoke of a new attitude to music in the school curriculum: 'Music is becoming a regular branch of popular education ... Already its effects are striking and encouraging. Music – well, badly, or indifferently taught – forms a part of the business of the great majority of schools, national, public, and private, throughout the country.'<sup>226</sup> The impact of these developments was that it

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<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>223</sup> Cited in J. Hullah, *Wilhem's Method of Teaching adapted to English Use* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. 1842; rpt. Ed. 1983), xiv. See Rainbow, 'The Rise of Popular Music Education', 23.

<sup>224</sup> Rainbow, 'The Rise of Popular Music Education', 23–4.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 24–6.

<sup>226</sup> [George Hogarth], 'Music in Humble Life,' *Household Words* 1 (1850), 164, cited in *Ibid.*, 26.

cultivated a generation of adults and children who could sing and were able to participate in large-scale choral events. This stimulated the creation of an expanding number of music societies, providing a reservoir of singers that could be drawn upon for the festival chorus.<sup>227</sup>

### ***The 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle and musical reform***

The 7<sup>th</sup> Earl, prior to his father's death, was a great supporter of the sight-singing movement and proponent of the philosophies on which it was built. His interest was demonstrated in his awareness of and visits to a blind school in York in 1843: 'We ... went first to the blind school [in York] and heard them play and sing, which they do in public every Thursday and remarkably well.'<sup>228</sup>

Later, and still as Lord Morpeth, he became a patron of Hullah's method of musical instruction. In his Diary on 31 May 1847 he recorded a visit to Hullah's singing classes with Elizabeth's husband Francis: 'Drove to London after breakfast ... went with Francis Grey to Hullah's musical classes at Exeter hall – heard one chorus from Alexander's Feast; dressed for Mrs Henderson's concert; excellent music, very full and ... plenty of good company, very pretty house.'<sup>229</sup> On 22 June 1847, *The Times* noted that he laid the foundation of Hullah's New Music Hall at Long Acre (teaching music to the masses), giving a speech on the 'social and religious benefits conferred by a musical education.'<sup>230</sup> Lord Morpeth noted: 'At 5 went to lay the 1<sup>st</sup> stone of a new music hall for Hullah. Number of people but the most difficult place to speak in I have ever experienced ... My speech was well received. I went to the Crown and Anchor where all Hullah's pupils and friends had tea and sang.'<sup>231</sup>

Whilst Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he patronised the career of James J. Gaskin, who was the Irish equivalent of Hullah, and whom Carlisle sent to study under Hullah in London.<sup>232</sup> He thus played an important role in the development of

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<sup>227</sup> The potential disadvantages of the proliferation of music societies were that their more regular activities could undermine and lead to the demise of the triennial festival in some cases. Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, 243–4.

<sup>228</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 7 Dec 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>229</sup> Lord Morpeth, Grosvenor Place, diary entry, 31 May 1847, CHA, J19/15.

<sup>230</sup> *The Times*, 22 June 1847, Page 8, column A.

<sup>231</sup> Lord Morpeth, Grosvenor Place, diary entry, 21 June 1847, CHA, J19/8/15.

<sup>232</sup> J. J. Gaskin, ed., *The Vice-Regal Speeches and Addresses, Lectures and Poems of the Late Earl of*

the sight-singing movement in Ireland, supporting the moral and educational aims of the movement.

Although I have found little evidence of this type of music-related philanthropic work at Castle Howard before 1850, the following entry appears in Morpeth's diary:

Mary drove me to Slingsby for Church at 10; the church is neat and well-fitted. The singing not good, Walker's sermon very fair. We took the sacrament. About 50 stayed. In the afternoon the children from Welburn sang in the Chapel to a squeaking flageolet. We had the benefit of the same sermon. I walked a little ... We had toasted cheese and ale posset for supper, which rather discomposed my Father.<sup>233</sup>

It is interesting to note that there was also a precedent for supporting the vocal training of local charity girls at Chatsworth. There the household accounts reveal that singing instruction was provided for local girls in 1824–6. In 1824 we find: 'Chatsworth household expenses, 4<sup>th</sup> quarter: Instructing the Charity girls at Edensor: £6–0–0.' Also: 'Thomas Holderness for teaching the girls to sing: £2–2–0.' In 1825 and in 1826: 'Chatsworth: Thomas Holderness one year's allowance for teaching the charity girls to sing at Michaelmas: £2–2–0.'<sup>234</sup>

### **Summary**

Charity work had long been the prerogative of the rich, but Morpeth's support of Hullah's method and Kay's beliefs regarding the moral and social benefits of music suggests a new form of musical and philanthropic patronage that was precise, focused and based on personal convictions. This in turn was linked to nineteenth-century concerns regarding social and moral improvement of the working classes and belief in the reforming power of music. His support of the singing school

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*Carlisle* (1865), xiv. Gaskin was author of the book *An Early History of Vocal Music*, (1860); and held private singing classes for gentlemen.

<sup>233</sup> Lord Morpeth, Castle Howard, diary entry, 25 Dec 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>234</sup> Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, C/165: Household accounts for Chatsworth, Chiswick and Devonshire Houses, 1824 to 1846, 1851.



movement was also an indirect way of patronising the great choral festivals, and both had philanthropic goals. Morpeth was not alone in his efforts, although it may be argued, on the basis of his all-pervasive Christian faith and practice, that he bestowed his patronage with exceptional integrity. The bringing together of musical patronage with philanthropy corresponded with new aristocratic ideals and provided an appropriate channel for elite men to express their musical interests.



# 4 Music and the Family in the Yorkshire Country House: The Role of Music in the Life of Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle – Childhood, 1783–1801

## **Introduction**

In the last chapter we explored the nature of the patron-client relationship in the context of Yorkshire country houses 1770–1850, and its influence on musicians' social and professional status, focusing primarily on Harewood House. In this section we will discuss music and the family in the Yorkshire country house, focusing on the life of Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle. Through a survey of Georgiana's life, we will explore the themes of roles and relationships within the country house, the influence of music in the domestic sphere, women and music, music education, debates about accomplishments, and music and spirituality.

## Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle

When discussing the role of music in women's lives at the end of the eighteenth century, the absence of detailed commentary and reflection about personal music-making from the women themselves is often lamented. Richard Leppert has suggested that 'it is likely that in women's writings about their own lives, through letters, diaries and memoirs, music was so "naturalized" a part of their existence that little comment about it may have seemed necessary.'<sup>1</sup> The case of Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle of Castle Howard appears to refute this theory. A study of her life, based on the archival material housed at Castle Howard and Chatsworth House, reveals that in some instances, such documentary evidence exists, and it is possible to construct a picture, however incomplete, of the role and place that music occupied in an elite woman's life at this period.

The archival evidence at Castle Howard consists primarily of a collection of approximately 60 volumes of manuscript and sheet music, the majority of which belonged to Georgiana, spanning the different periods of her life.<sup>2</sup> As might be expected for a young lady, music for the harp, pianoforte, harpsichord and voice make up the vast proportion of the collection. Amongst the manuscript volumes, dating to the 1790s, there is also a considerable amount of music for the 'chitarre francese'.<sup>3</sup> Of the bound printed collection, some volumes are assorted, others are organised by genre, style, nationality, for example music for keyboard, French and Italian songs, concertos, songs and duets, opera arias, piano tutors including exercises and theory. There are full opera scores, dance music, choruses and arias from oratorios arranged for piano accompaniment, for example from *Messiah*, and

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<sup>1</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 147.

<sup>2</sup> The collection has not yet been catalogued; however I have now created a handlist which may be found in Appendix 1 at the end of this thesis. The fact that the collection has not hitherto been catalogued is perhaps indicative of a continuing belief that music does not have the same value as a library and exists for merely practical purposes. There is evidence that this trend is gradually changing with renewed academic interest in country-house music collections.

<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the music for the harp may have belonged to Georgiana's sister Harriet and the guitar music played by Caroline St Jules, her half sister. In *A Galaxy of Governesses* the author Bea Howe writes of 'mock concerts' and 'incessant practising' all over the house: 'One girl on the harp; another on the pianoforte; a third (it was Caro St Jules) on the guitar'. B. Howe, *A Galaxy of Governesses* (1954), 68. I have not yet found evidence to support these accounts and Georgiana may have played these instruments as well. There are also a few unnumbered volumes which belonged to Georgiana's daughters Elizabeth and Mary. The collection will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

adaptations of larger-scale pieces for a chamber setting, for example trios, ensembles and arrangements for keyboard with perhaps a violin or flute obbligato. Some of the music is annotated; other pieces, such as opera scores, were possibly bought out of interest for the collection, or perhaps for the arias. Many of the composers represented in the collection would be unfamiliar to a modern-day audience, but there are others who are better known, for example Jan Ladislav Dussek, Franz Joseph Haydn, Joseph Mazzinghi, George Frederic Handel, and some English composers.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the music, there is supporting archival material, including travel diaries, correspondence, household bills, settings of songs, and documentation relating to Queen Victoria's visit to Castle Howard in 1850.<sup>5</sup> There are also musical instruments in the house, several of which are on display in the Music Room.<sup>6</sup> These various items provide glimpses of musical activity throughout Georgiana's life. Approximately half of them date from before her marriage, to her days as Georgiana Cavendish, or 'Little G' as she was then known to her family, the eldest daughter of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Devonshire. A proportion relates to the period just after her marriage, before her husband Lord Morpeth inherited the title of 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle. A third selection dates to the time when she was the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle. Finally, accounts of events at Castle Howard recorded in the diary of her son the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl and other archival material such as a collection of programmes for evening entertainments dated 1856, help to provide a picture of her life as the Dowager Countess. Thus, Georgiana's life spans four aristocratic 'households'.<sup>7</sup> A study of her musical life therefore provides insight into how music was regarded and practised within each of these establishments. The ensuing three chapters aim to examine each phase in turn and thereby to build a picture of how music featured in the households within which Georgiana lived. This study will first be set within the context of her life and prevailing cultural expectations.

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<sup>4</sup> The music in this collection will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

<sup>5</sup> Most of these documents can be found amongst Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle's papers at Castle Howard, reference J18. The accounts of Queen Victoria's visit in 1850 are found in the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle's diaries, 40 vols, Oct 1843–Aug 1864, CHA, J19/8.

<sup>6</sup> I have not had the opportunity to look at the documentation relating to the instruments. In the Music Room there are two Broadwood pianos, dated c.1790 and 1805, and an English harp, c.1800, which possibly belonged to Georgiana. According to Christopher Ridgway, the name 'Music Room' appeared briefly c.1812 and then disappeared until 1837. Since then, it has continued to be known as the Music Room.

<sup>7</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl's diaries, CHA, J19/8. Programmes for evening entertainments, 1856, CHA, J18/73.

## Life context

Georgiana Cavendish was the eldest daughter of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Devonshire. She was referred to as 'Little G' to distinguish her from her mother the Duchess, who was also called Georgiana. Despite a complicated personal and public life, her mother was devoted to her children and suffered greatly when she was sent abroad, into exile, by her husband for two years.<sup>8</sup> Little G was deeply affected by this enforced separation from her mother. Upon her return, the Duchess was struck by how fearful her 10-year-old daughter had become during her absence. She wrote that she was 'the most interesting child I ever saw and very pretty'. However, 'she never would let me out of her sight could she help it and today she told me I did not know all her faults'.<sup>9</sup> Little G wrote to her grandmother Lady Spencer on 26 April 1795 that she was too young and unworthy to talk about her faith. But 'by endeavouring to strengthen my faith in God may I acquire a settled composed devotion – may it dictate my actions, and may it help me to correct my faults'.<sup>10</sup> This religious sensibility, devotion and desire to please God continued for the rest of her life. Her journals are full of exhortations to herself to live a life more worthy of the love and goodness of her God. While she seems to have taken comfort in the Christian doctrines of salvation and God's grace and mercy to her in Jesus Christ, as can be seen in her poems and prayers, she was conscious of needing to be more deserving and to please. This was an attitude that she also carried towards her parents, always seeking their approbation. She remained devoted to the Duchess to the end of her life and revered her memory, retaining her writings and journals. A portrait of Georgiana by George Sanders, painted c.1815–20, shows her holding a miniature of her mother.

In 1801, Little G married George Howard, Lord Morpeth, later to become the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle. She had 12 children in the space of 21 years and was a

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<sup>8</sup> Following her husband's discovery that Georgiana was expecting an illegitimate child by Charles Grey, she was sent away to Montpellier to give birth secretly. She remained in exile for two years, 1791–3. The child Eliza was nursed first by a foster mother and then sent over to England to live with Grey's parents. Georgiana was never allowed to reveal her identity to the child. The notorious life of Georgiana, the 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire, has been well documented. See A. Foreman, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, (1998); B. Masters, *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire* (1981).

<sup>9</sup> G. Devonshire, autograph letter to G. Spencer, 23 September 1793, Chatsworth, 1183, quoted in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 285.

<sup>10</sup> G. Cavendish, autograph letter to G. Spencer, BL Althorpe, F40, quoted in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 427.

devoted mother. Although she found great comfort in her sense of duty and devotion to her family, as well as to her mother and to her siblings, she suffered from depression for much of her life. Some of her writings seem to suggest that at times she felt very isolated and was fearful of becoming a burden to those around her. Her husband, however, seems to have felt great compassion for the afflictions of his wife, as can be seen in some verses written while he was travelling in 1835.<sup>11</sup>

In spite of her personal struggles, Georgiana fought energetically on behalf of her children, seeking their advancement. Eight of them married into the peerage, three became MPs, and Harriet, who married George Granville, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Sutherland, one of the wealthiest men in England, became confidante to Queen Victoria. Georgiana retained a particularly close relationship with her eldest son, George, the future 7<sup>th</sup> Earl, with whom she continued to live after her husband's death in 1848.

Towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl's life, due to his declining health, Georgiana assumed greater control of the running of Castle Howard, which she exercised with great success. Her letters in later life show an active interest in political and personal affairs, as she wrote to commend or correct and advise ministers, expressing her opinions, and also intervening in personal affairs to give advice or support, writing on behalf of others, seeking their advancement. Following her husband's death, Georgiana remained the dominant woman at Castle Howard, especially as her son the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl was frequently absent on political business.

This cumulative evidence reveals a personality who, probably as a result in part of her unhappy childhood experiences, was anxious and motivated by a desire to please God and her family, particularly her mother. Yet, in her devotion to her husband and family, in furthering their political careers and marriages, and in carrying out her duties as mistress of Castle Howard, she struggled, persevered and battled with depressive tendencies. These characteristics were to have a

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<sup>11</sup> George Howard, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, 'Lines made on the road last year as I came to town 1835 "To wile away the tedious mile/ And sickening fancies to beguile/ I'll think on each lov'd daughter's face/ And try in each their minds to trace ... Next to my memory it seems/ My loved Georgiana's form appears/ Those eyes where pure affection beams, Once bright with smiles, now dimm'd by tears/ That mouth of sweetness that might move/ The coldest heart to joy and love! - Tho' joy and love are hers no more/ Still must she feel her power to bless, To teach his children virtue's love/ To make his parent's suffering less/ To her the blessed task is given/ To point his path from earth to heaven ... For tho you know I've often dwelt/ On sufferings too keenly felt/ One truth I grateful own is plain/ Their mother has not lived in vain". 1835, CHA, J18/66.

bearing on both her enjoyment of and her proficiency in music.

## Cultural Context

A discussion of Georgiana's relationship with music must be placed within the prevailing cultural context. To understand and evaluate her musical life, it is necessary to establish what were then considered to be cultural norms for upper-class English households. In the life of an elite woman in the eighteenth century, the subject of music was linked closely to contemporary notions of education, conduct appropriate to class, and discussions on 'gender' and 'roles'.<sup>12</sup> Recent theories and representations of how women's roles were perceived are numerous and varied, as Amanda Vickery, Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus have shown.<sup>13</sup> For example, while the patriarchal system was generally accepted amongst women, there has been considerable disagreement as to the extent to which concepts such as 'private' and 'public', and the notion of 'separate spheres' applied to the lifestyle and practices of elite women.<sup>14</sup> The conflicting nature of these theories underlines the difficulty in interpreting and marrying the plethora of ideas and evidence available, and there seems to be grounds to believe that representations of women's roles and responsibilities, including theories relating to music, did not necessarily correspond to actual practice. I will now survey some of the ideas that were being voiced in the eighteenth century.

The preoccupation with female education and the prolific nature of conduct literature and periodicals in the late eighteenth century has been well rehearsed.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Gary Kelly defines education as Austen and her contemporaries would have understood it as, 'a process of socialisation and acculturation based on moral self-discipline and designed to fit the individual for a range of related roles in life, according to sex and rank.' Kelly, 'Education and Accomplishments,' in Todd, ed., *Jane Austen in Context*, 252.

<sup>13</sup> See especially A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 1–12. 'Golden age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history', in *Historical Journal*, 36, 2, (1993). H. Barker & E. Chalus, eds. *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England* (1997). See also E. Morgan, 'The Accompanied Sonata and the Domestic Novel in Britain at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century', in *19<sup>th</sup> Century Music*, 36, 2, *Counterpoints: Nineteenth-Century Music and Literature* (Fall 2012), 88–100, for a discussion of representations of the 'new woman' in late-Georgian literature and early-nineteenth-century musical forms such as the accompanied sonata, focusing particularly on the work of composer Maria Hester Park, who will be discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>14</sup> Leslie Ritchie, in *Women writing Music*, challenges these terms and instead proposes that women were engaged in music-making across a wide spectrum of spaces 'ranging from the closet to the stage', which she refers to as a 'performative continuum'. L. Ritchie, *Women writing Music* (2008), 2.

<sup>15</sup> Kelly, 'Education and Accomplishments,' in Todd, ed., *Jane Austen in Context*, 252–61.



These theories provided a framework within which to discuss women's moral, ethical, social, and intellectual education. At the more conservative end of the spectrum of debate, Kelly states, 'their underlying concern was women's role in reproducing the dominant economic, social, political order' which was 'being challenged by radical economic transformation, emergent lower- and middle-class social forces, imperial crisis and global warfare.'<sup>16</sup> There was a wide spectrum of opinion, however, and it was at this time that equal rights for women were being asserted, particularly focusing on the differences in male and female education. Women were excluded from the broad intellectual and moral education offered to men and, alongside their basic schooling in subjects such as numeracy and literacy, household management and religious instruction, they were instead encouraged to develop 'accomplishments'. These were intended to enable women to 'display the cultural distinction that demonstrated social distinction and advanced upper- and middle-class family interests'.<sup>17</sup> The cultivation of 'accomplishments', including music, and their place in a young lady's education were the subject of much debate, especially amongst social critics such as Mary Wollstonecraft, Maria Edgeworth and Hannah More.<sup>18</sup>

Music was considered one of the most important accomplishments because it could be shown off best while actually being 'accomplished'. According to conduct books, dancing, singing and playing music were intended to display the young woman's body and bearing at social occasions to attract a suitor.<sup>19</sup> However, theories relating to music-making and its appropriateness or not for upper-class men and women, issues of amateur or professional music-making, who should play

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 253.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>18</sup> A. Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos*, 280–83. Ruth Solie in "Girling at the Parlor Piano", *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (2004), describes the two-way process of preparing young girls for their future domestic roles as 'girling', a term originally coined by Judith Butler in a talk given in Smith College, U. S. A. in 1994. This process involved the moulding of girls' lives in keeping with the values of society, and their own 'performance' of girlhood, 'both to satisfy familial and social demands on them and ... to satisfy needs of their own either to resist those demands or to reassure themselves about their own capacity to fulfil them'. R. Solie, "Girling" at the Parlor Piano', *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations*, 86. Solie's main focus is the integral role of music and particularly piano-playing in the lives of girls of bourgeois families in the mid- to late nineteenth century, when aristocratic values were increasingly imitated by the aspiring middle classes. The almost formulaic approach to the centrality of piano-playing in training bourgeois girls for their role in the family, and all that the piano came to signify in the domestic context in the nineteenth century, is indicative of the long standing ideology concerning the role of music in upper-class female education.

<sup>19</sup> Kelly, 'Education and Accomplishments,' in Todd, ed., *Jane Austen in Context*, 257.

which instruments and in which context, were complex and abundant and also vehemently expressed in print.<sup>20</sup> Richard Leppert details these views in his book *Music and Image*.<sup>21</sup> His thesis is that there was a socio-ideological basis for the use of non-professional domestic music-making among the upper classes in the eighteenth century. He demonstrates how visual representations of eighteenth-century domestic music-making in paintings, drawings and prints, served to reinforce conventional stereotypes of gender hierarchy and the socially accepted roles and occupations of men and women; these were forcefully articulated in instruction manuals, courtesy and conduct books, sermons and tracts on education.<sup>22</sup> Music had become part of an ideology of domesticity and contributed to its institutionalisation. It was an occupation that kept women busy but non-productive and enhanced a young girl's marriageability. 'It seems to be no unlucky circumstance to the man to whose lot the most accomplished young lady-musician may fall, if she has also been taught the *science of housewifery*, especially if her husband should be of a *true English taste*.'<sup>23</sup> For the female, music was seen as a balm to isolation. But while she was permitted to spend almost unlimited amounts of time playing and practising, the development of her talents was not encouraged. It was to be maintained as a trivial activity. Her pleasure in her accomplishments was not the issue. Theoretically, music was not seen as an 'act of self-expression' but part of 'externally imposed identity'.<sup>24</sup> It defined her from without in terms that were understood socially. It was not meant to reveal anything of her personality and talent.<sup>25</sup>

As such, it was aped by the new rich and aspiring middle classes, but perhaps because this class had not been equipped with the appropriate social awareness and skills, there were other difficulties that might be associated with a girl's music education. Semi-public performance could be problematic: in the case

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<sup>20</sup> See Chapter 3 on men and music.

<sup>21</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, (1988).

<sup>22</sup> See: *The Young Lady's Pocket Library or Parental Monitor (For her own Good, A Series of Conduct Books)*. Introduction by V. Jones, Reprint of 1790 ed. (1995).

<sup>23</sup> J. Hanway, *Thoughts on the Use and Advantages of Music, and other Amusements most in Esteem in the Polite World* (1765), cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 38.

<sup>24</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 159.

<sup>25</sup> Solie discusses the role of piano playing in the emotional lives of young females and how they used the externally imposed discipline of practising to their own benefit. The piano was 'closely related to the diary ... in its status as a confidant and source of emotional rescue'. In this capacity it also posed certain dangers, for example in the temptation to over indulge and in the potential for the cultivation of strong, sexual feelings. Solie, *Music in other Words*, 110, 114.

of a girl lacking talent, it could expose her parents or husband to ridicule. Or, where there was ability, it might encourage a spirit of independence and lack of submission: this could usurp the father's or husband's position by deflecting the beholder's attention away from him, towards herself, thus upsetting the accepted social order. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, there were sometimes problems with music masters, who were often foreign and effeminate, as many satirical prints of the period demonstrate;<sup>26</sup> however, they were tolerated in order that the daughters could acquire the prerequisite musical skills. And, after all that, music was frequently abandoned after marriage, as has been pointed up in the novels of Jane Austen.<sup>27</sup>

Other cultural ideas that are relevant to a discussion of the place of music in the life of an eighteenth century elite woman were the questions of 'taste', in the context of music and more broadly, and what was described as 'polite sociability'. The notion of 'politeness' was seized upon in the eighteenth century as an attempt to bring into harmony the diversity of attitudes, beliefs, and political ideologies that characterised a society undergoing radical transformation.<sup>28</sup> Its origins and philosophical basis and subsequent development have been well charted by John Brewer and other writers, who describe how the language and values of this ideal permeated every aspect of cultural life, including music. It was described in a manual as 'a system of behaviour polished by good breeding and disposes us on all occasions to render ourselves agreeable. It does not constitute merit, it shews it to advantage, as it equally regulates that manner of speaking, and acting, which convey[s] grace and command[s] respect'.<sup>29</sup> Put another way, 'politeness' was 'a code of behaviour that emphasised benevolence, modesty, self-examination and integrity'. It 'was the means by which social improvement could be realised, the passions regulated and conduct refined. "Conversation" and the arts were inextricably linked; decorum, protocol and elegant ease were all linked to an

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<sup>26</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 64.

<sup>27</sup> See Austen's description of Lady Middleton's putting aside of music after her marriage in *Sense and Sensibility*, 67.

<sup>28</sup> A discussion of all the cultural, social and political forces, the impact of international events, particularly the French Revolution, would be necessary to appreciate fully the context within which music-making in upper-class households took place and how it was understood. In this chapter, I am focusing on the shape that cultural ideas assumed as a result of these influences, and particularly how they affected music. For a fuller discussion of the background see B. Hilton, *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?* (2006).

<sup>29</sup> Cited in Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 102.

ethical code of civic virtue.<sup>30</sup> The ideals of politeness were all pervasive and required that a person of fashion achieved a polite identity by regulating and refining his passions, a goal that could be best achieved through the medium of the arts. But in order for it to have value, this politeness needed to be seen by others. 'To render us respectable in a social light, the accomplishments of the mind must be heightened and set off to advantage by proper ornament of the body, and the attractive graces of deportment and the techniques for displaying it to greatest effect.'<sup>31</sup> It is easy to see how, in the context of this discussion, the performance of music, one accomplishment from 'a finely modulated repertoire of accomplishments', contributed to the achievement of the ideal of politeness.<sup>32</sup> Ideally, the performance of music demonstrated a young girl's self-discipline and self-possession in the mastery of technique and her ability to perform before others, her 'taste' and artistic sensibility and expression; it was an evidence of her gentility and refinement, as well as showing off the elegance of her figure and comportment, all within a social setting.<sup>33</sup> Significantly, in addition to the other benefits of a musical education discussed above, it was the desire to achieve this ideal of politeness that most strongly motivated the cultivation of talent. The cultivation of the accomplishment of music required education and practice.

The possession of 'taste', as has been implied, was another facet of this image of politeness, and also a question intensely debated. What was taste and who could possess it? Most theorists argued that the appreciation of the arts was a matter of sense rather than reason, and anyone could possess it: 'The pleasure does not arise from any knowledge of principles, proportions, causes, or of the usefulness of the object; but strikes us at first with the Idea of Beauty: nor does the most accurate Knowledge increase this Pleasure of Beauty, however it may super-add a distinct rational pleasure from prospects of Advantage, or from Increase of Knowledge.'<sup>34</sup> A distinction needed to be drawn between carnal and sensual

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<sup>30</sup> Bryne, 'Manners,' in Todd, ed., *Jane Austen in Context*, 298.

<sup>31</sup> Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 107.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>33</sup> These ideas were perceived by contemporaries as a form of social control, which according to Ritchie, some women resisted and were able to turn to their own advantage. She argues that the centrality and authority of performance, and particularly singers, in eighteenth-century baroque and early-classical music placed women musicians in a strong and influential position both on the stage and in the drawing room. Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, 2.

<sup>34</sup> F. Hutcheson, *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725), cited in Brewer,

feelings and a more dispassionate, disinterested attitude that enabled the spectator to respond sensitively to a work of art. Taste came to be understood to be natural and innate, but something, along with gentility, that required cultivation. These ideas in turn provoked all sorts of questions relating to the status and character of a gentleman.

These ideas are all explored in Austen's novels and we see how, in relation to music, her characters are often distinguished by their possession or lack of taste, contrasted with or alongside execution and technical ability.<sup>35</sup> 'Expression' is another quality she mentions, which seems to refer most to the performer's ability to convey to the audience her own emotional response to the music. When discussing the meaning of these words in her books, Patrick Piggott helpfully points out that the idea of 'taste' in the context of music in the mid-eighteenth century had taken on another meaning. He describes how in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Essay on the True Art of playing Keyboard Instruments* (1759) the word 'taste' is introduced from time to time in relation to the decorative elements in music, and is thereby linked with the notion of choice.<sup>36</sup> Therefore, he concludes that 'an instinctive choice of the best among a variety of alternative possibilities [of dynamics, tempo, decoration, phrasing etc.] is the true meaning of taste when it is used by Austen in connection with music.'<sup>37</sup> This ability to 'choose' well was the result of education nurturing nature.

The quality of someone's choice being the determining factor in whether they possess good 'taste' and the other qualities of gentility brings us back to what was esteemed by many to be the purpose of a woman's education and the true meaning of politeness. In Austen's books, politeness is more than mere outward behaviour; it is closely linked with education and nurture and 'it was a code of behaviour definitive of gentility, a code that could be learned through method in childhood and experience in adolescence.'<sup>38</sup>

The concept of politeness transformed the traditional medieval practice of all-inclusive hospitality into the new exclusive sociability of the well bred, which

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*The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 88–9.

<sup>35</sup> These questions are discussed in relation to specific characters in Austen novels, including Mary Crawford (*Mansfield Park*) and Emma (*Emma*), by Piggott in *The Innocent Diversion*, 94–6.

<sup>36</sup> Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion*, 96.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>38</sup> Bryne, 'Manners,' in Todd ed., *Jane Austen in Context*, 303.

shunned the company of the 'vulgar'.<sup>39</sup> It was not, however, the opposition of 'private' and 'public' spheres, as the so-called 'private' arenas of the home were necessarily 'public', frequented by friends, family and other distinguished guests, to facilitate the practice of polite sociability. It was in this environment that domestic music-making took place.

All of these issues provided the complex theoretical social, cultural and moral backdrop that informed and shaped a woman's education. The challenge for historians has been to evaluate to what extent these aggressively held theories were adhered to or influenced practice, and at what point they differed or were disregarded. While superficially many elite women's lives appear to have conformed to the prescribed practice of the time, the intertwining of theory with the lives of individual women inevitably presents a unique picture in each case.

This is the cultural context against which I discuss Georgiana's musical education and subsequent relationship with music. In this and the following two chapters I examine each phase of her life.

## **1783–1801: Childhood at Chatsworth House**

The first section of this study of the role of music in Georgiana's life will consider her childhood and upbringing, her musical education and teachers, the encouragement she received in her musical studies from her family, and the place that music occupied in her daily life.

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<sup>39</sup> Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 196.



Figure 7: Georgiana, 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire, with 'Little G' as a baby by Joshua Reynolds. The Duchess gave birth to her first daughter Georgiana at Devonshire House in July 1783

*By kind permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement*

### ***The musical influence of Georgiana, the Duchess of Devonshire***

*To Lady Georgiana Cavendish*

*Dear to my bosom, child, companion, friend*

*May health restor'd, its wanted ... impart,*

*May on thy slumbers no harsh streams attend*

*Or fancied storms alarm thy youthful heart.<sup>40</sup>*

*(Georgiana, 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire)*

Probably one of the greatest contributors to 'Little G's' musical and cultural

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<sup>40</sup> Poem continues: Verse 2: Soft be thy sleep for thou canst never hear/Unmov'd when misery pleads, or sorrow grieves/And mayst thou only shed compassions fear/That gently falls for woes thy hand relieves. Verse 3: Soft be thy sleep and may the coming day/Bring health and pleasure on propitious wing/Restoring thee, make every bosom gay/And loveliness and gladness, with thee bring.' G. Devonshire, 'To Lady Georgiana', CHA, J18/67/11.

education was the environment within which she grew up and her relationship with her mother.<sup>41</sup> Georgiana, the 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire, was one of the most celebrated and notorious women of her day, surrounded by eminent artists, writers, politicians and musicians, and this environment must have had a profound influence on the cultivation of the young girl's tastes and talents. An enjoyment and mastery of music, which went well beyond social expectations of the day for upper-class women, seems to have been passed down through the generations. The Duchess's mother, Lady Georgiana Spencer, an exceptionally well-educated and intelligent woman, was a keen amateur composer and musician, who played an important role in encouraging both her daughter's and her granddaughter's musical skills. A portrait of Lady Spencer by Pompei Batoni (dated 1784) shows her holding a sheaf of music and there is a guitar behind her.<sup>42</sup> The Duchess's own education included tuition in harp playing and dance, and she received singing lessons from the composer Thomas Linley.<sup>43</sup> These were accomplishments that were expected of a courtier's daughter. However, as I will demonstrate, the evidence of her adult life suggested that she was more than a proficient musician; she had a high degree of taste and discernment in the music she participated in and the musicians she patronised.

Georgiana's sensitivity to music is evident from a young age. Prior to her marriage to the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, she wrote in her journal during a visit to Paris in 1772:

I had my hair drest very early, breakfasted and danc'd with Mons' Gardel ... The dear Comtesse Amelie played upon her harp. I never heard anything so delightful, so much taste and so much expression – she was not well enough to sing but I heard her at Spa, her voice and harp should go together as

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<sup>41</sup> As mentioned above, Georgiana Cavendish is referred to in this section as 'Little G' to distinguish her from her mother, who will be discussed as Georgiana.

<sup>42</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 7. I have not yet found any music in the Castle Howard collection that belonged to Lady Spencer. However, in her letters to Little G, she mentions various pieces of music she would like her granddaughter to learn, including arias and overtures from Handel's oratorios and particular hymns: G. Spencer, Holywell House, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, place unknown, 7 Aug 1797, CHA, J18/25.

<sup>43</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 9.



they are both touchant jusqu'au larmes.<sup>44</sup>

Foreman's biography details the activities of Georgiana's early years as the Duchess of Devonshire, describing how the daily routine at Chatsworth House included card-playing and musical entertainment in the evenings, often provided by Felix Giardini, the violinist and director of the London opera and a friend of the Spencers.<sup>45</sup> Apparently, at Georgiana's request, he composed pieces for small orchestra, which she and some of her musical guests would perform under his direction.<sup>46</sup> The Duchess hosted house parties to which, amongst her other prestigious guests, she also invited leading musicians. For example, in the summer of 1786 Count Mazinghi, director of music at the Italian Opera, performed with his 'troupe' at Chatsworth almost every night. Georgiana frequently accompanied the entourage on her harp. The impression she made was reported in the *Morning Post*: 'The Duchess of Devonshire's improvement on the harp leaves very few, out of the profession, who are able to dispute the palm of excellence on that instrument. Mazinghi has done much, but her Grace's genius more, towards completing this superior accomplishment.'<sup>47</sup> The famous singer Elisabeth Linley also performed for the Duchess, this time at Devonshire House, and thereby procured an invitation and entrée for her husband Richard Sheridan.<sup>48</sup> The relationship between Georgiana and the poet was to bear much fruit. For example, in Austen's music collection there is a song entitled 'I have a silent sorrow here', from *The Stranger*, with words by Sheridan and music by the Duchess of Devonshire.<sup>49</sup> There are also examples of his work in the Castle Howard music collection. In 1799 Georgiana wrote a song for Sheridan's successful tragedy, *Pizarro*, adapted from a play *Die Spanier in Peru* by August von Kotzebue. Georgiana's song became a success in its own right.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> G. Devonshire (before her marriage), Paris, Journal, 1772, CHA, J18/67/5.

<sup>45</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 26. Giardini was also greatly supported by Lady Frances Irwin of Temple Newsam and her friends, as can be seen from her correspondence. See Chapter 3.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>47</sup> *Morning Post*, 1 September 1786, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 183.

<sup>48</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 46.

<sup>49</sup> Georgiana Devonshire, 'I have a silent sorrow here'. The ms is headed: 'Song from *The Stranger*. The words by R. B. Sheridan esq. The air by the Duchess of Devonshire. Key F major,' [3vv] Book reference no. CHWJA/19/7, 13, in *Jane Austen's Music*, Gammie & McCulloch, 26. (RISM D 2116 [also 2117-2121]).

<sup>50</sup> W. Sichel, *Sheridan*, II, (1909), 276-7, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 323.



Figure 8: Chatsworth House by John Preston Neale, c.1820, from *Neale's Views of the Seats of the Noblemen and Gentlemen*, 1821 edition, in five volumes  
*Reproduced by kind permission of the Hon. Simon Howard*

Her enthusiasm for the performance, composition, and appreciation of music, her patronage of eminent musicians, and the place that music was given in the home, would have provided a model for her children. In addition to this cultural environment and example of musicianship and musical taste, Georgiana's letters to Little G, particularly from 1792 while she was in exile, reveal the kind of encouragement she gave to her daughter's musical development. Although the circumstances that necessitated their being written were tragic, the Exile letters are important because of insights they provide into the young girl Georgiana's musical education and activities, what she felt about them, and how her mother attempted to encourage her.

### ***The Duchess of Devonshire in exile, 1791-3***

The correspondence between the Duchess and Little G reveals how integral music was, not only to their lives, but also to their relationship with one another.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Solie discusses the 'Female Transmission of Musical Responsibility' in the nineteenth century as follows: 'Women's prescribed role as providers of musical – and other emotional – sustenance for

Already in 1789, while she is away in Brussels, two years prior to her exile, Georgiana is discussing and composing music for her six-year-old daughter.<sup>52</sup> She writes on 28 December 1789: 'I send you some musick, and wish you to learn the last of the 4 tunes because I composed it; the second tune is very pretty – it is Madame Nagel the person with whom Miss Williams is, and who plays delightfully, that copy'd them out for you.'<sup>53</sup> Later, during her exile, she associates specific pieces of music with her daughter, writing on 14 December 1791 from Lyons: 'Our great amusement is drawing and I have made myself very happy here in getting a pianoforte and playing your dear sonatina which makes me think you are very near me.'<sup>54</sup> These references presuppose that Little G had begun to play the piano at an early age under the close supervision of her mother, and that she had already made sufficient progress by the age of eight to be able to play the sonatina Georgiana refers to. Music was evidently an activity that they had shared and

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family and community entailed as well their responsibility to teach the skill to the next generation'. This was perceived as part of the 'piano-playing contract' between middle-class women and Victorian society. Solie, "Girling" at the Parlor Piano', 100. In the case of Little G, it could be said that her mother was primary in performing this transmission and that her role was then passed on to subsequent teachers and tutors, although it probably would not have been as clearly intentional as in the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>52</sup> In 1791 Georgiana was sent abroad to give birth to an illegitimate child and remained in exile until 1793. The baby, Eliza, was later sent to England to be cared for by the parents of the father, Charles Grey. During this time Georgiana wrote frequently to her children Little G, Harryo and Hart, but did not see them until she returned home in the autumn of 1793.

<sup>53</sup> G. Devonshire, Brussels, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 28 Dec 1789, CHA, J18/67/10. In a letter to her granddaughter, Lady Spencer asks her to 'copy' a hymn and then comments on her efforts. 3 May and 7 Aug 1797, CHA, J18/25. Copying out music was a common practice due to the difficulties of purchasing it in other forms. Therefore young aristocratic girls like Little G were trained in this skill. In addition to this functional purpose, the transcribing of individual pieces of music, for personal use or to share with someone else, formed part of a prevailing culture of female nostalgia. The piece of music could be imbued with personal and emotional associations, either for the giver or the recipient. As such they could be seen to be forerunners to the souvenir musical annuals which began to appear in 1829 and which have been discussed by James Davies in his article 'Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores c.1830', in the *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 131, 2 (2006), 287–309.

<sup>54</sup> G. Devonshire, Lyons, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 14 Dec 1791, CHA, J18/67/10. Davies, in 'Julia's Gift', discusses the role of musical 'gift-giving' in the mother-daughter relationship from the perspective of anthropology and as an action 'outside of social space' (304). On the one hand he discusses how the gift of a musical annual or a piece of music by a mother strengthened her relationship with her daughter and reinforced parental values, i.e the expectation that the girl will cooperate in the process of her 'girling' in which music plays a significant role; on the other hand he describes the gift as a grace, 'unquantifiable, ineffable, always in the beyond; ... It has no sociology; it can be thought of only in terms of rupture or surplus' (304). As will be seen in the case of Little G and her mother, the exchange of musical gifts did indeed strengthen the musical relationship and sympathies between the two, perhaps also 'entrenching' her mother's role as 'nurturer and matriarch' as Davies describes it. However it seemed to be primarily a way of bringing mother and daughter closer during their enforced separation. Thus they played a role in reconciling and uniting the giver and the recipient, especially important in the Cavendish family circumstances.

enjoyed together from early on in Little G's childhood.

Georgiana continued to send her daughter songs from abroad, taking the opportunity to provide some hints on musical expression, dynamics and tempo. From Moudon she wrote on 30 July 1792: 'I send you a little Italian song which I wrote out myself for you – it is very pretty. The beginning and ending which are nearly like, should be played slow and very piano. The words are foolish like most songs – they are [Italian and English words are written in the original letter].'<sup>55</sup> On 24 January 1793 she sent a Vintage song from Pisa, perhaps reflecting bucolic and Rousseau-esque sentiments:

I send you an air the peasants sing in coming home from the vintage or harvest. Mrs Parkes will make you some variations to it. Remember your chords – remember that in every key you are to play the following chords in going up the octave – 1<sup>st</sup> note, common chord – 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup>, & 6<sup>th</sup> – 3<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup>, 5–6 5<sup>th</sup> its common chord – 6<sup>th</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup> & 6<sup>th</sup> – 7<sup>th</sup> 3] ... I had hoped this was the Vintage song but I see it is only these dreary chords [chords written out – music manuscript]. This is enough of musick dear love, I only wish you to accustom yourself with Mrs Parkes to go up and down the chords and cadences in all the keys – this will give you great facility when you learn to accompany yourself in singing &cc ... I have just recollected how amazingly stupid it is in me to send you chords when you have so much better of Giardini's – but as they are wrote they shall go – and I wish you by yourself often to practise over the chords up and down the octaves in every Key and use yourself to find out the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> of every note.<sup>56</sup>

In this, Georgiana is annoyed with herself for becoming preoccupied with technique and chord sequences. She desires her daughter to enjoy the music and

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<sup>55</sup> G. Devonshire, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 30 July 1792, CHA, J18/67/10.

<sup>56</sup> G. Devonshire, Pisa, autograph letter G. Cavendish, London, 24 January 1793, CHA, J18/20.

appreciate the lovely peasant song she has sent her, but she is also concerned to encourage aspects of technique that will increase her performing ability, 'this will give you great facility when you learn to accompany yourself in singing etc'. The assumption is that Little G will be required to sing for other people. Georgiana also alludes to the late eighteenth-century practice of writing variations on a tune. This letter, and others from Little G, indicate that Georgiana continued to employ her old friend Giardini to teach her daughters.<sup>57</sup>

Georgiana's letters are peppered with encouragements to Little G to work hard at her music. On 12 January 1792 she writes: 'I am very pleased you like singing with Melle Marianne.'<sup>58</sup> On 14 February 1792, from Aigues-Mortes, she says, 'I hope you go on well with the Abbe, with Giardini and with Mariana.'<sup>59</sup> Most powerfully, she reminds Little G of how much pleasure she will be bringing her parents by practising frequently: 'Thank you for saying you will play a great deal on the pianoforte – remember you are cultivating a talent in so doing particularly pleasing to your dear Papa and me.'<sup>60</sup> This will be her strongest motivation.

The whole subject of practising was one that was debated heatedly, especially by those who were anti-'accomplishments' such as More and Edgeworth. Mrs More's comments on the ridiculous extent to which young ladies pushed themselves to acquire a little proficiency in playing the piano was mainly directed at the aspiring middle classes or new rich. In a footnote in her *Strictures on the Modern of Female Education*, dated 14 March 1799, she tells of a 'person of great eminence' who calculated the time spent by a girl in piano practice 'in one instance'. Loesser recounts the incident: 'The child began at the age of six and

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<sup>57</sup> This example of the family building a long-term relationship with a musician does not seem to have been an isolated incident. Other of Little G's teachers, such as Maria Hester Park and Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, who will be discussed later, also seem to have enjoyed this relationship. Given the ambiguous professional and social standing of musicians at that time, this is an interesting point. The fact that there is music in the collections by Giardini, Ferrari and Park further reinforces this notion of on-going collaboration. It is plausible to argue that Ferrari may have taught Little G's daughters, as her relationship with him continued after her marriage. It would be interesting to explore further the nature of these connections and their implications for our understanding of how patronage occurred, as discussed in Chapter 3. The presence of a continuing relationship between a family and specific professional musicians is the subject of Woodfield's monograph, *Salomon and the Burneys* (2003).

<sup>58</sup> G. Devonshire, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 12 January 1792, CHA, J18/20.

<sup>59</sup> G. Devonshire, Aigues-Mortes, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 14 February 1792, CHA, J18/20.

<sup>60</sup> G. Devonshire, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 26 August 1792, CHA, J18/20.

practised four hours daily, omitting Sundays, all the year round (except on thirteen days when she was travelling); thus by the time she was eighteen she had given no less than 14,400 hours of her life to playing scales.’ The final irony is that she marries a man who dislikes music.<sup>61</sup> While Little G was growing up within the system of social expectation and, as will be seen, was obviously prepared to put in the hours required to progress in her piano playing, she seems never to have been conscious of the fact that she was cultivating an accomplishment. Her motivation to please her parents seems to have been matched by their desire for her to enjoy her music-making, as they enjoyed and valued it themselves. While abroad, the Duchess wrote travel journals expressly for her children. It is significant that alongside a wealth of geographical, historical and cultural detail, these contain evocative descriptions of musical moments that she experienced on her travels and wished to share with them for their education and enjoyment.<sup>62</sup>

### ***Little G’s musical accomplishments during her mother’s exile***

In response to her mother’s writings, Little G’s letters during the exile years reveal how much she wanted to please and impress her parents by her efforts to improve in music. It is likely that she understood the significance that music held for her parents, which would have prompted her to work harder. On 4 November 1791, from Devonshire House, she writes:

The first day I went I did not begin very merrily and Papa began the conversation part ... but the next I talked and sang and Papa said I sung “whither my love” the best of any and he seemed very much diverted.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> H. More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, (1799), cited in Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos*, 281.

<sup>62</sup> G. Devonshire, Exile Journals, commenced on day of her departure 3 November 1791, CHA, J18/67/2–4. Like the gifts of music sent to Little G by her mother, these journals played an important role in nurturing the relationship between Georgiana and her children during their years of separation. It is interesting that the themes of loss and absence became the predominant preoccupation of the souvenir musical annuals that appeared after 1829, frequently given as gifts by mothers to daughters with an underlying anticipation of impending parting, as discussed by Davies in ‘Julia’s Gift’; he says ‘leave taking was the central motif of the keepsake aesthetic’, 299.

<sup>63</sup> G. Cavendish, Devonshire House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 4 Nov 1791, CHA, J18/21.

A few months later, on 7 March 1792 from Chiswick House, she writes:

My sister and I are learning a duet together. I hope I have improved in French and musick lately – I am fond of both but I think drawing is my favourite tho' I am more anxious to excel in musick as I know you and Papa wish me to improve in that the most.<sup>64</sup>

On 8 August 1792 she says:

We lead a sad and idle life and accepting reading and writing we do nothing. Selina has sent several times for a pianoforte but we have not yet got it but when it is arrived I will play a great deal if it was only to please you my dear Mama.<sup>65</sup>

On 9 January 1793 from Chiswick House she recounts:

Papa came to see us yesterday. My sister and I played to him. He thought we were improved. I like to have his approbation more than anybodies because I know he means what he says.<sup>66</sup>

She is very conscientious in her practising, even without the discipline of a teacher, and on 2 September 1792 she writes, telling of how 'I always practice half an hour a day and generally a whole one. I intend to practice my old tunes one half hour and the other to learn a new tune'. A footnote from Selina, her governess reinforces this fact: 'Lady Georgiana takes great pains with her musick and goes on well as can be expected considering how many months she has been without regular instruction.'<sup>67</sup>

In Eastbourne she continues to feel the lack of a music master, writing on 27

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<sup>64</sup> G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 7 March 1792, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>65</sup> G. Cavendish, Eastbourne, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 8 Aug, 1792, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>66</sup> G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 9 Jan 1793, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>67</sup> G. Cavendish, Eastbourne, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 2 Sept 1792, CHA, J18/21.

September 1792:

I believe I have recovered a good deal of my musick but though I can pick out easy tunes I feel the loss of a master but I hope I shall improve a great deal at Chiswick where I mean to study the cords as I have got my book of them there.<sup>68</sup>

In December she begins to have lessons with Mrs Park and immediately feels the benefit: 'I have learnt the Polonaise tune with Mrs Park and nearly another long one.'<sup>69</sup>

Little G remains dissatisfied with her progress writing on 15 March 1793 from Chiswick House: 'My sister and I have learnt to play a page of our duet pretty perfect but we do not come on very fast in that we have a great deal of thorough base to practice and besides to keep up our old tunes.' On 26 April 1793 she writes: 'I am now taking a great deal of pains with musick and am learning very pretty lessons. I have begun to play preludes but find them very difficult. I very often practice an hour and a half a day but always 3 quarters or a whole one – you don't know how I wish to improve but am sometimes quite in despair because I do not play as well as I could wish.'<sup>70</sup> At the age of ten, Little G is taking her music seriously and the standard and difficulty of the pieces she is playing is increasing. It is difficult to know at what age she was capable of playing specific pieces of music from her collection. The references to 'thorough base' and 'preludes', however, begin to provide some idea of what she was tackling.<sup>71</sup> The collection contains piano tutors, including exercises and theory and a fun piece called *Juvenile Improvement*, the multiplication tables set to music by John Wall Callcott. Inscribed

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<sup>68</sup> G. Cavendish, Eastbourne, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 27 Sept 1792, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>69</sup> G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 3 Jan 1793, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>70</sup> G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 15 March 1793, CHA, J18/21; G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 26 April 1793, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>71</sup> Thorough-bass was another name for figured bass, a system of harmony that was used by keyboard and sometimes lute players throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where the music had a single bass line with a number of figures above or below it, indicating to the keyboard player which chords to play. A knowledge of thorough-base enabled players to accompany themselves and others. It was therefore a useful element of a young lady's musical education, although how systematically it was taught is not known.



at the top of the page: '*Lady G. Cavendish, From your Ladyship's most dutiful, devoted, Humble Servant J. Greaves.*' Several pieces of music that Little G is encouraged to learn, especially arias and overtures by Handel, are mentioned in her grandmother's letters.<sup>72</sup>

At an early age Little G has also learnt to express her appreciation of the performances of others. On 11 June 1793 she writes: 'I cannot express how beautiful I thought the opera and everybody said there had not been so pretty a one for a great many years – I was delighted with Storache – she sings and acts so finely – I thought the dancing was pretty but really I was quite shocked with their showing their legs so terribly.'<sup>73</sup>

### ***Little G's musical accomplishments after her mother's return in 1793***

*To Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire  
Whether in verse or rhyme thee dearest I address  
My joy at thy return never can express  
The study of my life shall henceforth be,  
To prove myself a daughter worthy of thee.*<sup>74</sup>

(Georgiana Cavendish)

At the end of her exile journal Georgiana wrote on 7 March 1793 from Naples: 'We took leave of Naples by Cimarosa and musick – I confess Naples is my favourite place. It reunites the miracles of art and nature – good company and good musick – and to me it has the additional charm of being the place, where I received the dear summons to return.'<sup>75</sup>

On her return from exile, the Duchess was able to resume her encouragement of her daughter's musical talents in person. When she was able to

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<sup>72</sup> G. Spencer, Holywell House, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 7 Aug 1797, CHA, J18/25.

<sup>73</sup> G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 11 June 1793, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>74</sup> G. Cavendish, a poem to her mother G. Devonshire, possibly on her return from exile c.1792, CHA, J18/66.

<sup>75</sup> Journal 3 – Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire 7 March 1793. At the Temples of Mercury and Diana she wrote of Domenico Cimarosa, 'We had our favourite Cimarosa a good musician in ... he is very fat and ugly but looks so good humoured and sings so well that we are delighted with him – he excels in the lightness of his fingers on the pianoforte and yet it is the fattest fingers you ever saw.' CHA, J18/67/2–4.

experience Little G's playing first hand, she was impressed by her daughter's musicality and 'expression', writing on 20 September 1793, 'je t'ai entendu toucher le clavecin comme un petit ange et comme tu sentis l'expression de ta musique'.<sup>76</sup>

Little G's correspondence with her mother, both during and after the exile years, provides some detail of her studies. However, her schoolbook for the year 1798 reveals a more precise picture of how she employed her time, how frequently and regularly she practised, the names of her music teachers, with whom she sang and performed, and evening entertainments that involved music and dancing.<sup>77</sup> Interestingly, the agenda seems to have been written for herself and not necessarily for the eyes of her mother or teachers. It is factual and describes what she actually achieves more than her desires and intentions.

From the schoolbook it is clear that Little G was indeed disciplined and conscientious, practising daily for stretches of up to two hours, a fact that recalls again Howe's allusion to 'sounds of incessant practising' in the Cavendish household.<sup>78</sup> The year evidently began well, for on the 1<sup>st</sup> January she records '4 hours of music with Mr. Bowers'. Her routine of daily practice continued throughout the year regardless of whether the family was in town or the country and in whichever property they occupied, the implication being that each house was equipped with at least one keyboard instrument. On 21 August she writes that she 'practised a great deal', and this is a regular comment.

The names of two teachers appear more frequently than others. They were Maria Hester Park, referred to earlier in this chapter, and Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari.<sup>79</sup> From the same correspondence, we know that in 1792 the Duchess's friend Giardini was teaching Little G and she was receiving singing lessons from someone by the name of 'Marianne'.<sup>80</sup>

Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari (1763–1842) was an Italian composer and

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<sup>76</sup> G. Devonshire, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 20 Sept 1793, CHA, J18/67/5. 'I heard you touch the keyboard like a little angel, and how you feel the expression of your music.'

<sup>77</sup> Schoolbook belonging to Georgiana Cavendish, 1798, CHA, J18/62/2.

<sup>78</sup> Howe, *A Galaxy of Governesses*, 68.

<sup>79</sup> There is some confusion over the identity of 'Mrs Park'. At this point, I am assuming that she was Maria Hester Park who is recorded to have taught the Duchess and her daughters. O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'Park, Maria Hester', in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (2001).

<sup>80</sup> 'I have learnt 5 or 6 tunes but go on chiefly with the cords. I am now beginning to learn to sing of Mlle Marianne which I like very much.' G. Cavendish, London, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 25 Dec 1791, CHA, J18/21.

theorist. He left Paris for London on 26 August 1792, where he continued to publish fashionable music and quickly became a leading singing teacher, with the Princess of Wales among his pupils. According to Little G's schoolbook, he was employed as her singing teacher by 1798. He mainly taught her in London, coming to the house as often as twice a week. He also visited the family at Chatsworth. On 27 September she records: 'Ferrari came. Sung a great deal.' Over the next few days she speaks of several conversations that she has with him, followed by the phrase 'sung a great deal!' The musician's familiarity with the family and their circle is reflected in the large proportion of music composed by him that appears in Little G's collection.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, there are pieces dedicated to Little G herself and other close family friends. The music in her collection includes: Sonatas for the pianoforte or harpsichord with or without an accompaniment for violin, piano and harp duets, and arias, duets and trios from operas. There is a Scots air with variations on manuscript, which is very messy, probably copied out by either Little G or her sister Harryo.

Maria Hester Park, née Reynolds (1760–1813), was a composer and teacher, who had the reputation of being one of the best female pianoforte players in England at that time. She was evidently a teacher of long-standing, as the Duchess and Little G mention her in their correspondence in early 1793.<sup>82</sup> Lady Spencer seems to have recommended that she teaches her granddaughter, writing, 'I hope you will soon have an opportunity of going on with French and musick. If M. Giardini has not recommended any lady for the latter, I think your friend Mrs. Parkes will be a very good person to go on with for the present.'<sup>83</sup> Mrs Park also taught other members of the aristocracy. She is perhaps a rare example of a woman musician who both taught and performed in public. There are examples of her compositions in the Castle Howard collections.<sup>84</sup> Her biographers Baldwin and

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<sup>81</sup> Ferrari's music was evidently very popular with the family: ' [Harryo] went at twelve yesterday and I gave her a long note to you ... You cannot think how comfortable we were while she was here – We played all our old favourites – and my heart is delighted with Ferrari's duets'. G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, n.d, c.1798, CHA, J18/21/Vol. 98/54.

<sup>82</sup> G. Devonshire, Pisa, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 24 January 1793, CHA, J18/20.

<sup>83</sup> G. Spencer, Pisa, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 10 Dec 1793, CHA, J18/25.

<sup>84</sup> One example is: 'A concerto for the pianoforte or harpsichord' composed and respectfully dedicated to Lady Charlotte Greville and Lady Louisa Grey by Maria Hester Park, Op. VI. The list of subscribers includes: Lord George Henry Cavendish, Lady Georgiana Cavendish, Lady Harriet Cavendish and the Duke of Devonshire.

Wilson describe her music as that of a ‘very competent professional composer’, stating that ‘her sonatas are varied and spirited, while the concerto for keyboard and strings reveals an individual voice, particularly in the final rondo.’<sup>85</sup> Her keyboard sonatas Op. 1 and 2 were published under her maiden name and also appear in Little G’s collection.

According to Little G’s schoolbook, balls and dancing were regular features of life both at Chatsworth and in town.<sup>86</sup> On Tuesday 16 January 1798, Little G writes: ‘we had a very good ball, danced till past four, supped twice and ended with a country bumpkin.’ On 30 October she notes, ‘Ball ... we danced til past three.’ She records times of dance practice and there are frequent entries for country dancing under the heading of ‘exercise,’ especially at Chiswick. On 24 August 1798 they ‘danc’d after breakfast’. This had evidently been such a long established practice that the Duchess in exile in 1792, filled with nostalgia and longing to see her daughters dancing, had written:

In the evenings we have a great deal of musick which you would like I am sure ... night my sister was at a ball at the Duchess of Ancaster for Lady Cholmondeleys birthday. The Carolines danced a courante and it made me think so of you and long for you that it quite overcame me – what I would give to have seen you and Harryo dancing.<sup>87</sup>

She looks forward to when she can dance with her daughters again: ‘When you see Ly Caroline and Miss Hervey say a great deal to them from me. I have desir’d Selina to indulge you in asking them sometimes to tea and to dance with Wilson. I should

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<sup>85</sup> O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, ‘Park, Maria Hester’, in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (2001).

<sup>86</sup> Although reference will be made to dancing in this and the following three chapters, I do not intend to provide an in-depth study of the role of dancing in the lives of aristocrats during this period. This subject is the focus of doctoral research being carried out by Katrina Faulds who has been examining dance and dance music, mainly at Tatton Park. Her thesis title is: ‘Invitation pour la danse: Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770–1860’, University of Southampton (2014), and her work also includes information on dancing relating to other properties and families. Leppert devotes a chapter in *Music and Image*, Chapter 5, 71–106, to this subject, commencing with the words, ‘Eighteenth-century courtesy and conduct writers addressed dancing in the same breath as music.’ His particular interest is to define an ideology of dancing. I will be discussing the dance music in Georgiana’s collection and the adoption of French dances by fashionable society in Chapters 5 and 6.

<sup>87</sup> G. Devonshire, Meudon, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 7 Aug 1792, CHA, J18/20.

like very much to dance with you – I shall learn two very pretty dances of the country to teach you and Harriet – your Aunt and I used to dance them in Montelier.<sup>88</sup>

It is not clear who Little G's dance teachers were in 1798. Her earlier letters, of 1792, refer to a Mr Wilson, probably a local dance teacher.<sup>89</sup> Another name mentioned in the context of dancing was Duval.<sup>90</sup> An undated letter, possibly *c.*1798/99, mentions George Jenkins, who arrives to teach her at Bognor Rocks, during which time he hopes to attract other custom from neighbouring families, distributing what Little G describes as 'a ridiculous card', boasting the Duchess of Devonshire's patronage.<sup>91</sup> Little G's collection contains a large amount of dance music, including music for 'A New Dance' dedicated to her by this same Mr Jenkins, who was a 'Scotch Dance' teacher. Amongst the manuscript music is also the 'Duke of Devonshire's Waltz' by E. Schultz. Her pocket book of 1787 contains a list of popular country-dances such as 'The Enchanted Wood' and 'Harlequin's Vagaries'.<sup>92</sup>

Little G was evidently at ease performing before others, which again seemed to be a feature of everyday life. She had already noted in a letter to her mother on 13 June 1793 from Chiswick House:

Miss Poynty came here and spent last Sunday with us – she sung us several delightful songs – my favourite was one called ... which she promised to write out for me ... musick I have taken most pains about lately and as Mrs Parkes will not be able to attend us soon I shall try while she is ill ... to get all my lessons perfect and by that means shall have a

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<sup>88</sup> G. Devonshire, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 29 January 1792, CHA, J18/20.

<sup>89</sup> 'Ldy Crighton and Miss H came here yesterday to dinner. We had a delightful little dance with Mr Wilson and danced many country dances.' G. Cavendish, London, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 14 February 1792, CHA, J18/21. 'Mr Wilson occasioned a great disappointment for he did not come and we had promised ourselves the pleasure of a dance.' G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 8 March 1792, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>90</sup> On 16 May 1798, she notes, 'danced with Duval'. Schoolbook, 1798, CHA, J18/62/2.

<sup>91</sup> G. Cavendish, Bognor Rocks, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, *c.*1798/99, CHA, J18/21/Vol. 98/83.

<sup>92</sup> Pocket books of Lady Georgiana, 1787, CHA, J18/62/3–8.

great many to play to whoever comes.<sup>93</sup>

In her schoolbook she records that on Friday 20 July 1798 she 'played to some French people'; and at Chatsworth on 23 September she 'played and sung to several people'; 30 in fact! There are references to 'singing in the evening', and on 9 March she is to be 'singing Blue Beard in the evening, 2 songs'. Apart from times of performing, there are numerous references to informal music-making with her aunt, with Eliza and on many occasions with Ferrari:

My dearest M, ... This morning [we?] were out a great deal ... I performed Little Peggy's - to admiration - I practised a great deal and have almost conquered some triangular octagon Hexagonal passages in your first movement of Viotti's grand concerts ... After tea we went up with Eliza and Caroline. We saw the latter's drawings ... and had some music and chit chat till we went. A very pleasant evening.<sup>94</sup>

She also recorded in the schoolbook how she received 'new music' from London and 'songs from Mr. Smith'. On Sunday evenings there were 'hymns and music'.<sup>95</sup>

The Duchess had a number of discussions with Little G on the subject of Sundays and the moral and religious issues relating to music. In February 1796 the Duchess takes her children to the opera and theatre and simultaneously gives them a lesson in charity:

I rather think that if you are well I shall take you to the opera Thursday, all of you ... It is given for the benefit of the seamen's widows killed in the St. Vincent's battle and I think it right to keep the box.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 13 June 1793, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>94</sup> G. Cavendish, Chiswick House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, c.1798, CHA, J18/21/Vol. 98/74.

<sup>95</sup> As seen in the previous chapter this was an activity engaged in at Harewood House on Sunday evenings. See also Chapter 8 on spaces where music was performed in the country house, including chapels.

<sup>96</sup> G. Devonshire, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, place unknown, Feb 1796, CHA,

In 1799, when advising her daughter on the role of public entertainments and what her attitude should be towards them she says:

Publick entertainments have at least this good that they support a number of poor and give cause to employ and exercise industry – I would not wish any young person to arrogate themselves as a judge or to blame those amusements that the wisest and best allow themselves temperately – And also be assured that neither now, or when you are presented shall I ever introduce you to a place I think improper. Of the opera I think otherways – the moral is never bad as in too many English plays. The company is best and you are not exposed to improper intensions as at the playhouse and you have the advantage of the excellence of the music ... No my dear, dear Child – we have no right to arrogate ourselves against custom where there is nothing criminal. But my anxious wish is to warn you from too much interest, giving too much thought about amusement ... Let them never interfere with any duty ... Let them never interfere with Sunday, with your prayers and daily religion.<sup>97</sup>

On the subject of how Sunday should be kept, she, in contrast to some others, thought it appropriate to have music in the evening.<sup>98</sup> For her there was no conflict between piety and music.

I have wrote to Selina and explain'd to her that nobody can have a greater veneration for Sunday and a more serious idea of it than I have; but it was always a peculiar idea

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J18/20.

<sup>97</sup> G. Devonshire, London, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 1798/99, CHA, J18/67/10.

<sup>98</sup> Debates about the appropriate use of the Lord's Day were rife among evangelicals. See Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, and Dangerous People?*, 587–8.

instilled into me by my dear Father, that it was also a very cheerful day and this was my mother's opinion so much that she avoided cards, she had musick on Sunday evening both in the country and the town – I know many other people think otherways, but this is my opinion, that after the Duty's performed nothing is more innocent.<sup>99</sup>

As has been noted, this was also the position adopted at Harewood House. However, in the wake of the 'evangelical revival' this was a point on which others differed, including Selina Trimmer, Little G's governess.<sup>100</sup>

Little G's schoolbook of 1798 indicates the frequency of her musical activity and her enthusiasm for it – she sung or played 'a great deal'. Music – singing, playing and dancing – was a regular and normal feature of life both in town and country. The evidence I have been discussing also reveals the strong influence that the Duchess had on her daughter. It is clear that Little G's efforts to improve in music were prompted by her desire to please her mother, who was also responsible for the cultivation of her taste and sensibility to music. The two were very close and this influence was to remain with Little G throughout her life.<sup>101</sup>

Following Little G's presentation at court on 22 May 1800, her mother organised a series of balls to mark her 'coming out' and was pleased to observe how many compliments her daughter received for her 'unpretentious manner and elegant dancing'.<sup>102</sup> Lady Jerningham wrote of a lavish breakfast the Duchess held at Chiswick:

I am returned from the *Breakfast*, I found it extremely pleasant and was very much amused. We go there a little after three, and were told the Duchess was in the Pleasure

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<sup>99</sup> G. Devonshire, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, place unknown, 1798/99, CHA, J18/67/10.

<sup>100</sup> See Hilton on the 'Evangelical Revival', *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?* 174–84.

<sup>101</sup> When in March 1806 the Duchess died, Georgiana wrote, 'Oh my beloved, my adored departed mother, are you indeed forever parted from me – Shall I see no more that angelic countenance or that blessed voice – You whom I loved with such tenderness, you who were the ... best of mothers, Adieu – I wanted to strew violets over her dying bed as she strewed sweets over my life but they would not let me.' CHA, J18/20/96, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 390.

<sup>102</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 333.



Ground. We accordingly found her sitting with Mrs Fitzherbert by an urn. Several Bands of Musick were very well placed in the garden, so that as soon as you were out of the hearing of one Band, you began to catch the notes of another; thus Harmony always met your ears. This sort of continued concert has always a pleasant effect on my nerves ... After the eating and quaffing was over, the young ladies danced on the Green. Lady Georgiana Cavendish (a tall, Gawkey, fair Girl, with her head poked out and her mouth open) dances however very well.<sup>103</sup>

Despite this, the Duchess could write to her mother Lady Spencer: 'she is so much admired – it is said they are glad that at last a civil Duchess's daughter is come out'.<sup>104</sup> Dancing partners were observed for signs of interest and significantly it was in the context of these occasions that Lord Morpeth, son of the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, became identified by the Duchess as a potential suitor for Little G. Interestingly, he had already had opportunity to observe her dancing, as she had recorded in her schoolbook on Wednesday 4 April 1798: 'my Aunt and Lord Morpeth came, the latter looked at us while we danced a boree'.<sup>105</sup> Foreman recounts how 'the family went to Chatsworth in the autumn so that Little G would be able to mix with her possible suitors in a more relaxed setting'.<sup>106</sup> It is certain they would have had the opportunity to listen to and observe Little G's performances on the pianoforte, which she had become so accustomed to giving, despite her natural shyness.

At one level this would have been seen to be the culmination of all the training and education she had received during her childhood and young adulthood. From the resulting engagement it could be said that the Duchess's efforts to shape and educate her daughter had been a success, equipping her with the necessary social graces and accomplishments to make her marriageable and to

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<sup>103</sup> Castle, *Jerningham Letters*, I, 192–3. Lady Jerningham to Charlotte Bedingfeld, July 1800, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 334.

<sup>104</sup> G. Devonshire, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Spencer, place unknown, 2 June 1800, Chatsworth, 1519, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 333.

<sup>105</sup> Georgiana Cavendish's schoolbook for 1798, CHA, J18/62/2.

<sup>106</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 336.

be able to cope in society despite her natural diffidence and shyness. Her musicianship was an important aspect of her social training, enabling her to exhibit not only proficiency but taste, sensibility and expression in her musicality, self-possession in performance, and an ability to operate in the arena of 'polite sociability'. Little G makes an engaging contrast to Austen's Emma Woodhouse, of whom her creator wrote:

[She] did unfeignedly and unequivocally regret the inferiority of her own playing and singing. She did most heartily grieve over the idleness of her childhood – and sat down and practised vigorously an hour and a half.<sup>107</sup>

It is likely that through her own efforts and the encouragement and influence of her mother, Little G achieved a greater 'degree of excellence' than was conventionally and culturally required.

The question remains: to what extent was this fashion led and set by the Duchess of Devonshire and her daughters at the highest level of society? May it be supposed that something that they pursued with passion and enjoyment for its own sake was aped by contemporaries and families seeking to gain a foothold in genteel circles including those represented in the novels of Austen? For Little G what seemed predominant was the motivation of pleasing her parents and excelling in her chosen art; for those young girls that followed there was the burden of an obligation to conform and command certain skills on which in part their suitability for marriage would be judged.

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<sup>107</sup> Austen, *Emma*, 239.

# 5 The Role of Music in the Life of Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle – Married Life, 1801–25

## A New Bride at Castle Howard

This chapter will examine Georgiana's musical life following her marriage to George Howard (1773–1848), Lord Morpeth on 21 March 1801.<sup>1</sup> The events leading to Georgiana's betrothal to Lord Morpeth have been recounted by Amanda Foreman.<sup>2</sup> She tells of the family's relief just before Christmas 1800 when, during Morpeth's stay at Chatsworth, together with his rival the Duke of Bedford, he summoned the courage to propose to Georgiana and was accepted. The courtship had been awkward due to Georgiana's shyness and the difficulty of discerning her feelings. Her mother wrote: 'It is impossible to explain exactly the state of things here. It is no fancy of mine, but Hare and D of D who have no doubt of his intentions, and she certainly *retards* the declaration, but yet she seems to like his society.'<sup>3</sup> Following the betrothal the Duchess still had reservations as she worried that his disregard for religion would upset her daughter, and he had a liking for

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<sup>1</sup> 'Little G' will be referred to as 'Georgiana' from this point onwards.

<sup>2</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 336–8.

<sup>3</sup> G. Devonshire, Chatsworth, autograph letter to G. Spencer, place unknown, 19 Dec 1800, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, 5<sup>th</sup> Duke's Group, 1539.

gambling. However, the other members of the family approved and Lady Spencer wrote: 'I see much to hope and think well of this marriage – especially if one thinks of what might have happened surrounded as she is by Fosters, Lambs, and a D of Bedford.'<sup>4</sup> Georgiana herself seemed happy, as the Duchess recounted in her letters to her friends Charles and Mary Grey.<sup>5</sup>

Subsequently the Duchess took her daughter to London to buy her trousseau and the marriage was fixed for 21 March 1801. I have not yet found records of the marriage ceremony, where it took place, or what music was played during the service. Given the tastes of Georgiana and her mother, it would almost certainly have been a well-informed selection and performed by top-class musicians, perhaps those already known to the family, such as Felix Giardini and his band. There could also have been a celebratory ball. Unfortunately the marriage of Georgiana's parents, the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, does not offer a precedent on which to construct a picture of what might have happened at Georgiana's wedding, as it took place in secret in a parish church in Wimbledon Park and only five people were present.<sup>6</sup>

Several weddings are described in Georgiana's letters in later life, including that of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. However music, if mentioned at all, is only referred to in generalised terms, as contributing to the 'spectacle' of the occasion. The music at a wedding that took place in Mannheim on 23 February 1843 is described by Georgiana thus: 'A full choir of music struck up and we passed thro' the body of the church having on each side of us the whole society of the place in full dress – the sight certainly was brilliant.'<sup>7</sup>

After their marriage, Georgiana and Lord Morpeth moved to Castle Howard in Yorkshire to live with Morpeth's parents. A new suite of rooms had been prepared for them in the West Wing of the house.<sup>8</sup> The Frederic Howard, the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle (1748–1825) and his wife Margaret Caroline (d. 1824) lived in the

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<sup>4</sup> G. Spencer, Althorp, autograph letter to the 2nd Earl Spencer, 23 Dec 1800, BL Althorp, G282, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 336–7.

<sup>5</sup> G. Devonshire, Chatsworth, autograph letter to C. and M. Grey, 20 Dec 1800, CHA, J18/67/9.

<sup>6</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 20–21.

<sup>7</sup> G. Carlisle, Mannheim, autograph letter to [unknown recipient], 27 Feb 1843, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.105.

<sup>8</sup> These rooms were mostly completed in the 1790s, and the entire end of the house was finished in 1811 following the decoration of the Long Gallery by Tatham. Morpeth and Georgiana remained in the West Wing following the death of the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl in 1825.

East Wing and so it was appropriate that the next generation should be housed in the West Wing, forming almost the equivalent of two separate courts. Nevertheless, the correspondence suggests that the two parts of the family were frequently together.

Thus, during this period of her life, Georgiana lived as a married woman in the household of her husband's parents. Lord Carlisle seemed to enjoy keeping his family close to him, not wanting them to leave the house, a fact that was bemoaned by Harryo, Georgiana's sister, when she was waiting for her sister to come to her for the birth of her first child: 'We shall be in town Sunday or Monday. You must make haste. Lord C[arlisle] never was near nine months gone with child and must learn to make allowances.'<sup>9</sup> From London she pleads, 'Are you coming piece of perfection, friend, sister, midwife, physician? Oh G, G, you must not put it off – il [Lord Carlisle] sera bientôt console and I never should.'<sup>10</sup>



Figure 9: George Howard, Lord Morpeth, later 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, by John Wright, c.1795, miniature painting  
*Reproduced by kind permission of the Hon. Simon Howard*

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<sup>9</sup> H. Granville, Coleshill, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 27 Sept 1810, cited in V. Surtees, ed., *A Second Self, The Letters of Harriet Granville 1810–1845*, 38.

<sup>10</sup> H. Granville, Stanhope Street, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 1 Oct 1810, cited in V. Surtees, ed., *A Second Self, The Letters of Harriet Granville 1810–1845*, 38.

It is significant that at this time Georgiana would have had few responsibilities compared to her mother-in-law, although a good deal of time was employed in the care and upbringing of her children. Between 1802 and 1823 she gave birth to twelve children, who were all raised at Castle Howard. How did the family's position in the household affect Georgiana's continuation and development of her musical interests and the music education she offered to her children? How did her preoccupation with the duties of motherhood impact on her pursuit of music? Georgiana's letters to her mother and grandmother, and later those from her children, provide insights into this period, her position in the household, the social structure of the house and the role that music continued to play in her life. But before these are explored, it is important to understand first something of the prevailing attitudes towards music at Castle Howard prior to Georgiana's arrival; and secondly, more generally, the cultural context that surrounded Georgiana and her family, in particular with reference to her position as a married woman.

## **Music and the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl**

Frederick Howard, the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, was clearly a cultured man. He was a writer and there are references to him sending copies of his plays, poems and a tragedy to various people, including one to the British Museum for which he received a written acknowledgement on 23 July 1800.<sup>11</sup> The archival evidence also suggests that the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl and his wife appreciated music and participated fully in elite cultural entertainment. For example, the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl's accounts show payments for regular subscriptions to the opera for himself and Lady Carlisle.<sup>12</sup> There is also a payment for a subscription to 'The Sunday concert' on 28 April 1790, £12.2.6. On 13 December 1794 six subscriptions for Lady Carlisle's box No. 103 were paid for at the King's Theatre for the ensuing season. At home the following payments are recorded to Broadwood and Son Musical Instrument Maker for the pianoforte: 17 February 1797, £30.15; 29 December 1797, £60.00; 1 July 1791, £28.00.

His children evidently received music and dance lessons, as there is a string

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<sup>11</sup> Secretary of the British Museum, London, autograph letter to F. Howard, 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, place unknown, 23 July 1800, CHA, J14/1/591.

<sup>12</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle's accounts, CHA, J14/81.

of music masters mentioned in the accounts (1775–99). Payments were made to various masters and tutors, including on 28 August 1778 to Valloiy, Dancing Master, £4–10d; Mr Hoberechts, Musick Master, was paid £41.15.6 on 4 August 1796; Mr Olivier Musick/Dancing Master; Mr Nandini, (or Nardini?), Musick Master; Mr Bolton, Musick Master. In 1786 payments were made to a French master for his daughters Lady Caroline and Charlotte and for Lord Morpeth, and in 1793 payments went to dancing, drawing, Latin, and geography masters.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Earl also makes mention of music in his correspondence. From Kilmore he writes to his wife:

Yesterday I shot in another part of the country still more beautiful than where I first went ... You must be brought to see it. We have singing every night, and to Emily's great grief very little Handel, which I believe would be too strong a soporific after severe exercise.<sup>13</sup>

### **The caged bird sings**

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a woman's relationship with music and the place and significance it occupied in her life became more complex after she married, due to the interplay of conventions regarding appropriate conduct within marriage and the importance of upholding traditional hierarchical roles and fulfilling social expectations. As seen in the previous chapter, prior to marriage, musical education was intended to render young elite women more marriageable. Girls were encouraged to develop and hone their musical abilities sufficiently to be able to perform acceptably before a select gathering of potential suitors. However, given this utilitarian view of music, the 'question arose over what a female was to do with music once she learned it, especially once she reached adulthood', and especially after she had married.<sup>14</sup> After marriage, the role and function of music in a woman's life, at least according to contemporary writers, became more ambivalent.

Music was seen by some contemporary authors as a balm to isolation for

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<sup>13</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Kilmore, to M. C. Carlisle, Castle Howard, 6 Jan 1782, CHA, J15/1/31.

<sup>14</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 38.

the married woman, inspiring tranquillity and harmonising the mind and spirits during those '*ruffled or lonely* hours, which, in almost every situation, will be your lot'.<sup>15</sup> Writers advocated that women should keep music-making as a casual pastime. A woman was cautioned to treat it, 'carelessly like a Diversion, and not with Study or Solemnity, as if it were a business, or yourself overmuch affected by it'.<sup>16</sup> Writers advocated a restriction on the development of talent so that a woman would not compete with her husband in public:

It is 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 degree as to astonish the public; because a great deal of 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.<sup>17</sup>

Courtesy writers argued that the woman who became an accomplished musician, performing in public, 'signalled a variety of changes' in her relationship with her husband and society.<sup>18</sup> She became visually prominent and this suggested that she was out of control, leading a life that was not defined by the responsibilities and regulations of the home. Richard Leppert comments that 'A well bred woman who took music too seriously constituted a threat to social boundaries.'<sup>19</sup>

At the same time, the moderate and unremarkable practice of music within the home became recognised by some as a symbol of domesticity, resonant with associations of acquiescence to the limits of the domestic role; in this case, music

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<sup>15</sup> Rev. J. Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects*, I (1729), 234, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 39.

<sup>16</sup> Anon. female author, *The Whole Duty of a Woman, or a Guide to the Female Sex. From the Age of Sixteen to Sixty*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (1701), 48–9, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 39.

<sup>17</sup> E. Darwin, *Plan of Female Education*, 13, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 39.

<sup>18</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 39.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.



was employed to affirm and maintain conservative values and the fundamental ideologies of the social status quo amongst the upper classes. The inclusion of a musical symbol in a portrait was intended to signify status and a life of quality, and the dialectics of musical harmony were used as a metaphor for domestic harmony. Leppert explores the symbolism further, devoting a chapter to demonstrating how the depiction of music-making within elite portraiture was often used as a visual metaphor to denote the patriarchal relationship within the family unit.<sup>20</sup> In his discussion of Arthur Devis' (1712–1787) portrait of the Rookes-Leeds family, he demonstrates how Devis establishes biological hierarchy by the treatment of spatial relationships between the sitters.<sup>21</sup>



Figure 10: Edward Rooke-Leeds and his Family, of Royds Hall, Low Moor, Yorkshire, by Arthur Devis, c.1763–5  
*Cottesbrook Hall, Northamptonshire, Collection Macdonald Buchanan*

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., Chap. 8, 176–200.

<sup>21</sup> A. Devis, *Edward Rookes-Leeds and his Family, of Royds Hall, Low Moor, Yorkshire (c.1763–5)*, Cottesbrooke Hall, Northampton, Collection Macdonald-Buchanan, reproduced in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 178.

The family is portrayed on the estate in the open air. The father is positioned standing on one side of the painting whilst the rest of the family are seated on the other side. The effect, according to Leppert, is to create a world of separate spheres, male and female. His interpretation of the painting is as follows:

We look at the women as does Edward. This effect not only establishes the women's dependence on him, but also reifies them as estate property complementary to the lands Devis so attentively renders behind Edward Rookes-Leeds. His standing apart emphasises both his separateness and importance and diminishes all other persons by comparison. The vista behind Edward is vast, open, bright: that behind the women closed in shadow. The women are bunched in a slightly circular pattern that echoes their spatial arrangement in a drawing room; they are represented as displaced. Having been summoned for their portraits into the outdoors they bring with them precisely those tasks that are appropriate to the indoors: reading, needlecraft and music ... The women are less 'sources' ('helpmeets') of his power than confirmations of it. Their lavish, light-reflective gowns are visual proof of his success as are the female accomplishments they so self-consciously 'present' in characteristic conversation-piece catalogue fashion.<sup>22</sup>

Here Leppert shows how the depiction of domestic music-making could be understood as a symbol of confinement and dependence in relation to the maleness of the external world. Further emphasis was given to this symbolism by the inclusion in a portrait of the image of a caged bird above or in the same room as a woman playing a musical instrument. According to Leppert, 'the most striking signifier of male domination of women in eighteenth-century portraits was the emblematic caged bird.'<sup>23</sup> For example, Devis' portrait of the Rev. Thomas D'Oyley

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 178-9.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 183.

and his wife Henrietta Maria shows him handing his wife a letter. Behind him is a one-manual harpsichord. Above her head is a birdcage. Leppert claims that 'metaphorically it stands for the wife: cared for, attended to and protected by the husband, but not free. There are actually two birds [in the picture], one real and caged, the other in free flight serving as a decorative device on the cord suspending the cage. The second bird, free but not real, represents the antithesis of reality: the woman's cage is her home – blank wall space, closure.'<sup>24</sup> Thus, the caged bird could be interpreted as being symbolic of a woman's confinement within her domestic surroundings.<sup>25</sup>

Leppert applies this interpretation to the realm of music as follows: 'Women were the sex trained in music, yet the limitations of their social freedom ensured that their skills would seldom have influence.'<sup>26</sup> Related to this was the issue of the use of time. Leppert claims that 'music's domestic function ... was to kill time'. By the late eighteenth century, he asserts, music-making was seen as part of a life ritual, and its lack of productivity and non-developmental nature was seen by men as being useful, ensuring women's use of time was non-productive and hence advantageous to men.<sup>27</sup> However, paradoxically, Leppert also argues that these ideological considerations were threatened by the tangible pleasure that music provided to both sexes and the important compensatory role it could occupy in the lives of both men and women.<sup>28</sup> How closely these theories matched reality may be only partially assessed by the examination of individual case studies, such as the role that music played in the life of Georgiana Morpeth.

At the other end of the spectrum, women often did not continue to play music after marriage. According to Leppert, this was a practice that was prevalent in England from as early as the late sixteenth century.<sup>29</sup> It is a theme that appeared in literature, drama and conduct writing of the late eighteenth century. Similarly, it was a phenomenon that Jane Austen commented upon directly in her novels. In *Sense and Sensibility* (1811) she relates:

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<sup>24</sup> A. Devis, *Rev. Thomas D'Oyley and his Wife Henrietta Maria*, (1743–4), British private collection, reproduced in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 185.

<sup>25</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 193.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 199.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

In the evening, as Marianne was discovered to be musical, she was invited to play. The instrument was unlocked, everyone prepared to be charmed, and Marianne, who sang very well, at their request went through the chief of the songs which Lady Middleton had brought into the family on her marriage, and which perhaps had lain ever since in the same position on the pianoforte, for her Ladyship had celebrated that event by giving up music, although by her mother's account she had played extremely well, and by her own was very fond of it.<sup>30</sup>

Likewise, in *Emma* (1815) Mrs Elton, while expressing her enthusiasm for music clubs, laments the trend of abandoning music amongst her married friends:

I hope we shall have many sweet little concerts together. I think, Miss Woodhouse, you and I must establish a musick club, and have regular weekly meetings at your house, or at ours. Will it not be a good plan? If we exert ourselves, I think we shall not be long in want of allies. Something of that nature would be particularly desirable for me, as an inducement to keep me in practice; for married women, you know there is a sad story against them, in general. They are but too apt to give up music ... When I look round among my acquaintance, I tremble. Selina has entirely given up music – never touches the instrument – though she played sweetly. And the same may be said of Mrs. Jeffereys – 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 quite angry with Selina; but really I begin now to comprehend that a married woman has many things to call her attention. I

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<sup>30</sup> Austen, *Sense and Sensibility*, 67.

believe I was half an hour this morning shut up with my housekeeper.<sup>31</sup>

The tendency is also discussed by Maria Edgeworth (1767–1849) in her conduct book, *Practical Education*:

As soon as a young lady is married, does she not frequently discover, that 'she really does not have the leisure to cultivate talents which take up so much time.' Does not she complain of the labour of practising four or five hours a day to keep up her musical character? What motive has she for perseverance ... She will then of course leave off playing, but continue very fond of music. How often is the years thus lost forever!<sup>32</sup>

This sentiment is expressed more humourously by a playwright: 'I daresay this passion for music is but one of the irregular appetites of virginity: you hardly ever knew a lady so devoted to her harpsichord, but she suffered it to go out of tune after matrimony.'<sup>33</sup>

Leppert suggests several reasons why women may have been tempted to give up music after marriage, although as he points out, elite women always had time on their hands. He offers other reasons, such as the absence of musical interests either on the part of the wife or new husband, the preoccupation with more trivial activities, and the hypothesis that 'women rebelled against music in the recognition that its function in their lives was the re-enactment of their oppression' which he claims is hinted at by Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–97) and Hannah More (1745–1833).<sup>34</sup> That the tendency to give up music after marriage was well established, and not merely fictitious or theoretical, is borne out by the fact that much later in 1820, the 5<sup>th</sup> Lord Carlisle referred to the practice when discussing music with his granddaughter Harriet, as she reported to her mother in a letter:

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<sup>31</sup> Austen, *Emma*, 279.

<sup>32</sup> Edgeworth, *Practical Education*, 8.

<sup>33</sup> [G. Colman], *The Musical Lady* (1762), 6, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 44.

<sup>34</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 44–5.

Gd papa is I think well and in good spirits and particularly kind. I walked long and alone with him in the Gallery (the others having walked out). He talked much of musick. Yours and Lady Granville's [Harryo] that he admires so much. He regrets that so many married women should give it up as well as drawing. He means to establish celibacy in his family among his granddaughters, at least such is his advice. He could not make me agree.<sup>35</sup>

Significant to this discussion is the fact that, contrary to what appears to have been common practice, Georgiana did not abandon her music after her marriage.<sup>36</sup> According to her father-in-law, she continued to play and to a standard he admired. The following section will consider the question of whether her music-making was changed and affected by her new role and position in the household.

## **Georgiana and music at Castle Howard**

From the moment Georgiana arrived at Castle Howard in 1801, music continued to occupy an important place in her life and others seem to have associated it with her. Shortly after her arrival, she wrote to her mother: 'I think we shall be so comfortable here, I only dread being ill. I long for my pianoforte and books which are not yet come but which I expect every day.'<sup>37</sup> She also brought her music collection with her from Chatsworth, and appears to have continued to add to it, as a large proportion of it relates to the period following her marriage to Lord Morpeth.<sup>38</sup> This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

As noted above, Georgiana would have had few responsibilities and calls on

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<sup>35</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Hardwick?, 14 Dec 1820, CHA, J18/13/40.

<sup>36</sup> Increasing evidence is emerging of aristocratic women who did not abandon music after marriage. For example, after her marriage to Wilbraham Egerton and their removal to Tatton Park, Elizabeth Sykes continued to acquire and presumably play music. See J. Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, 91, 4, (2010).

<sup>37</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, Chatsworth?, n.d, CHA, J18/21/Vols 99/24.

<sup>38</sup> Vols 23–38, CHA, J18/ 77/4.

her time at the beginning of her marriage and so may have had several motivations for this, including her own pleasure, a means of constructively using her time and the entertainment of others in the household. The example of her mother's unabated enthusiasm for and patronage of musicians must have made it seem natural for Georgiana to maintain and develop her own musical skills. In 1802 the *London Chronicle* contained a report of the Duchess's patronage of the acclaimed harpist, Mademoiselle Morelle:

In the evening her Grace attended a musical party, under her patronage, at the King's Head, for the Benefit of Mademoiselle Morelle, a celebrated performer on the harp. The company consisted upwards of 300 distinguished characters. She is a charming performer, and a graceful figure. A small stage was erected for her, at the upper end of the room which is lofty. Her performance consisted of a military slow movement, Rondo, Sonata, with Cramer's Grand March, followed by Mazzinghi's favourite sonata in G. with several airs, by the Duchess's particular desire. The evening went off with great éclat and was succeeded by a Ball, which continued to a late hour.<sup>39</sup>

When married, Georgiana seemed unquestioningly to have continued her studies, including music, as can be seen from her letters to her grandmother: 'I have been leading the most quiet life possible – the mornings are hot, and after my normal studies which consist in a little music, a little Italian and reading some of the latter part of Hume's history, I go at about one o'clock to Bayes Wood.'<sup>40</sup> However, perhaps she was transcribing less music than previously: 'Will you my dear Grandmama give the enclosed to Sarah – I promised to write it out for her, but as I have done it from memory only, I'm afraid it is not without faults as I am so unaccustomed to write music it is ill done.'<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *London Chronicle*, 5–7 October 1802, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 342.

<sup>40</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, place unknown, 21 Aug 1801, CHA, J18/26/66.

<sup>41</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, place unknown, 13 Aug 1801, CHA,

As already indicated, music appears to have been something that the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl and Lady Carlisle enjoyed. They frequently encouraged Georgiana to play and sing: 'They make me play a great deal and even sing and Hearz [?] is so fond of hearing me, he listens with profound attention.'<sup>42</sup> 'I have played a good deal here for they are very fond of hearing musick ... We go on very quietly without many additions to our society ... It was Lord M's birthday last Thursday and we went to the servants' dance. Little Henry performed with the fat housekeeper.'<sup>43</sup> She continued to play duets with her sister in private and in public, with the possible intention of attracting a suitor for her. 'Lord Stafford [?] was delighted with her [Harryo] playing last night and we are practising some duets which we intend should have a great effect.'<sup>44</sup> But while music seems to have been important to her own pleasure, she did not always enjoy the task of providing background music for the assembled company: 'In the evening people read and play at billiards and I am frequently doomed to the pianoforte.'<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, this kind of entertaining was a spur to practising: 'I practice a good deal just now, imagine me with my little bit of a voice singing duets with Mr. Cosnarah [?] – but they force me and *entre nous* except him there is not any good judge here.'<sup>46</sup>

These comments point up the distinction that existed between providing background music and 'performing' concert style for family and guests. It seems that Georgiana did not enjoy being 'forced' to do either, especially when there was an absence of taste and appreciation.

The Music Room at Castle Howard became known as such some time after Georgiana came to live there, probably c.1812. The 1790 Broadwood piano, currently on display in the room, is probably similar to the one she brought with

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J18/26/65.

<sup>42</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, Chatsworth?, nd, CHA, J18/21/Vols 99/24. This is possibly a reference to the virtuoso and popular musician Henri Herz, (1803–1888), an Austrian pianist, composer and teacher who was active in France, especially in the 1830s and 40s. He toured the European continent and may have visited Britain. S. D. Lindeman, 'Herz, Henri', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrell (2001).

<sup>43</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, London?, 20 Sept 1801, CHA, J18/26/80.

<sup>44</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, 18 Sept 1804, CHA, J18/21.

<sup>45</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, London?, 25 Aug 1801, CHA, J18/26/66.

<sup>46</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, Chatsworth?, 29 Aug 1801, CHA, J18/21. The question of taste and the lack of or presence of true appreciation of music was discussed in Chapter 4. See Leppert, *Music and Image*, and Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos*.



her from Chatsworth.<sup>47</sup> Her children refer to the room in their letters to their mother: 'I wrote yesterday to George with an account of yesterday's proceedings. I will try to give you one of the evenings. William and Edward went to dessert. We were called at after 8 and found the ladies sitting in the Musick Room.'<sup>48</sup> Later, following Blanche's death Georgiana recalls memories of her daughter drawing in the Music Room: 'the most prominent of the dear souvenirs of her ... the Music Room where she drew ... with Liz and Fanny also drawing.'<sup>49</sup>

The prominent use of the Music Room from this period suggests that music and its role in the life of the family took on a greater significance at Castle Howard after Georgiana's marriage to Morpeth and her arrival at the house. The theme of where music was played and performed at Castle Howard and in other country houses will be discussed more fully in Chapter 8.

## **Georgiana's children and music**

Lady Morpeth gave birth to six girls and six boys, over the period of 21 years. Unusually for the time, all her children survived infancy, although two of them, Blanche and Frederick, died in early adulthood.

Georgiana seemed to have enjoyed the prospect of domestic bliss; even prior to giving birth she wrote: 'I have always heard in what light my Aunt Spencer appears in her own family and think it must be a great pleasure to you to witness their domestic happiness – and how superior that is to every other engagement my heart tells me every instant.'<sup>50</sup> She seemed to have enjoyed an affectionate relationship with her husband: 'We go on very quietly without many additions to our society – dearest Lord Morpeth is very well and instead of being less kind to me is really I think more so than the first day we were married.'<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> The exact provenance is not known of the Broadwood Grand Piano (1790) on display in the Music Room. There is a list of musical instruments currently held in the collections of the four houses under investigation in the appendices at the end of this thesis.

<sup>48</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Chatsworth, n.d., CHA, J18/12/24.

<sup>49</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, Devonshire House, 30 July 1840, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.33.

<sup>50</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, Chiswick, 7 July 1801, CHA, J18/26/61.

<sup>51</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, place unknown, 20 Sept 1801, CHA, J18/26/70.



Figure 11: Georgiana, Lady Morpeth, with two of her daughters Caroline, later Lady Lascelles, and Harriet, later Duchess of Sutherland, by John Jackson, c.1808, commissioned from the artist and first recorded at Castle Howard in 1812

*Reproduced by kind permission of the Hon. Simon Howard*

Her children enjoyed a warm and tender relationship with their mother: 'Dearest mama here in solitude or at Chatsworth in the midst of gaiety I shall not cease

regretting you who cheer the former and increases the latter and the happiness of your affectionate Harriet.<sup>52</sup> With some of them she had to exert more forceful disciplinary measures, as was the case of Mary, about whose behaviour she kept a journal for a time.<sup>53</sup> The three eldest daughters were married in the years 1822–3 and Georgiana did all that was required to prepare them for their weddings, which followed swiftly after their engagements. In her pocket diary for 1823, she recorded Caroline's engagement: July 2: 'Mr. Lascelles proposed to C.' July 4: 'C. accepted.' July 5: 'Doubt and unhappiness.' July 6: 'Settled and happiness.' August 9: 'Caroline's wedding day.'<sup>54</sup>

Georgiana was a devoted mother and remained in close contact with her children during times she was away from them and after their marriages. They seem all to have had different characters and interests and this comes through in their correspondence with their mother. An examination of Georgiana's letters also reveals what kind of education and musical training she passed on to them. Although it is not intended to discuss educational theory and practice in the early nineteenth century in detail, a brief survey of trends will provide a context for the discussion of the education of Georgiana's children.

The eighteenth century was a period of change in practice and thinking about education.<sup>55</sup> In the eighteenth century England had neither a Ministry of Education with a State policy, nor a national system of education. However, although neither the State nor the church undertook to provide such a system for boys, both saw that some form of education was required to provide training for future civil servants, the clergy and the liberal professions. For this reason the Grammar schools and Universities at Oxford and Cambridge existed. The old Grammar Schools included the nine great public schools, Winchester, Eton, St. Paul's, Shrewsbury, Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Harrow and Charterhouse. According to Hans, these public schools supplied almost a third of the elite in England in the eighteenth century, Eton and Westminster taking the highest numbers. However, this provision was wholly inadequate to the country's

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<sup>52</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/13/23.

<sup>53</sup> G. Morpeth, 'Journal about Mary', 19 Oct 1829–26 Nov 1829, CHA, J18/62/9.

<sup>54</sup> Cited in Maud Leconfield ed., *Three Howard Sisters*, revised by John Gore (1955), and A. Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society. Fashionable Life and Literature from 1814 to 1840* (1983), 118.

<sup>55</sup> See N. Hans, *New Trends in Education in the Eighteenth Century* (1951).

need for educated men. Furthermore, while Eton could claim such high numbers, its popularity was based more on its social prestige than its educational achievements. The fact that Eton was not a model school has been well documented.<sup>56</sup> It is not surprising that these schools were viewed with distrust.

From the beginning of the century, following John Locke's (1632–1704) publication of *Some Thoughts concerning Education* in 1693, many writers became preoccupied with the debate over the merits of home education above school education. Writers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and Richard Lovell Edgeworth (1744–1817) expounded the virtues of home education, which could tailor training to the individuality of the pupil and combine all facets of education in equal balance. There ensued a series of treatises to parents and tutors about how home education should be carried out, simultaneously offering much moral advice for the pupil. Letters on the *Improvement of a Mind addressed to a young Lady* by Mrs Hester Chapone (1727–1801) in 1774 is one example.

It is not clear to what extent conservative gentry were affected by these theories, though Whig gentry may have read Rousseau and Locke. Nevertheless home education prevailed, for practical and theoretical reasons. Tuition in a range of subjects was provided either by a resident teacher or by visiting tutors.

The wide spectrum of theory and opinion on the subject of girls' education has been charted in detail by Josephine Kame in her book *Hope Deferred*. The education of women had no clearly defined aims beyond the acquisition of accomplishments and a few foreign languages. Upper-class women were not required to cultivate their intellectual faculties and any sound knowledge of 'useful arts and sciences' was the preserve of boys only. Hans points out that the educational provision for girls by the state was worse than for lower-class boys. The only means of education available to women were private boarding schools and home education. The boarding schools varied greatly, some having only a limited curriculum, while others were more ambitious. Home education ranged from the hiring of several different masters, to a resident governess, or education by a father or mother or older brother, depending on the means of the family. Women such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), Elizabeth Montagu

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<sup>56</sup> Hans, *New Trends in Education*, 19.

(1720–1800), Elizabeth Carter (1717–1806), Mrs Chapone and More spoke out against the paucity of women’s education and the over-emphasis on the acquirement of accomplishments.<sup>57</sup> Edgeworth published her *Practical Education* in 1798, which focused on the early stages of education, in keeping with Rousseau’s theories. In *Elementary Principles of Education* (1801) Elizabeth Hamilton (1768–1816), strove for ‘its object the cultivation of the faculties that are common to the whole human race’ and not to promote the education of ‘people of rank and fortune’. Wollstonecraft issued *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1786), and *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). All these writers deplored the seeming aim of women’s education as a toy for men, and argued for a scientific training for both sexes. The pioneers of reform in education sought to introduce these subjects into boarding schools for girls, but it appears this was achieved only at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>58</sup>

It is difficult to know how much these theories affected the education of Georgiana’s daughters.<sup>59</sup> As has been mentioned, upper-class girls usually were educated at home under the guidance of their mother and/or a governess. Otherwise they may have been sent to a boarding school. Louisa Williamson (1798–1861), later Louisa Winn of Nostell Priory, was educated at Miss Hill’s school in Bath where she learnt to speak French and Italian, draw flowers and landscapes, play the harp and the piano, and sing and dance. While she does not seem to have been an outstanding musician, she persevered, reporting of her progress in letters to her brothers who were away on the continent. In one letter she wrote: ‘I have just begun to learn singing which I am very fond of so if you will only learn of some famous squalling signor it would be very agreeable as we might then sing together, particularly as I have no sister to sing with.’<sup>60</sup> They in return encouraged her and acquired a set of ‘Real Roman’ harp strings at her request.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Kame, *Hope Deferred*, 102–19.

<sup>58</sup> Hans, *New Trends in Education*, 207–8.

<sup>59</sup> At the end of a letter to her grandmother, Georgiana asks, ‘Have you read Lady Mary W. Montague’s letters? They have been a great amusement to me during my confinement – and her account of her solitary life in the 4<sup>th</sup> volume is quite interesting tho’ I think she was on the whole more clever than amiable.’ G. Morpeth, London, autograph letter to G. Spencer, Holywell?, 18 July 1803, CHA, J18/26/96.

<sup>60</sup> L. Williamson, Boynton, autograph letter to J. Williamson, place unknown, 18 July 1816, WYW1352/1/1/13/2.

<sup>61</sup> L. Williamson, Bath, autograph letter to J. Williamson, place unknown, 22 April 1816,

In their early years, Georgiana herself seems to have taken responsibility for all her children's education. In a letter to her grandmother on 22 December 1805, she recounted her methods and indicated that she sought advice from her old governess Selina Trimmer:

I can assure you I do not entirely neglect George's education if it is already worthy of that name. He has a regular set of lessons and by means of giving him red, white or black wafers according as he does very well, pretty well or very bad (which has never yet happened) he is grown very fond of spelling and is so intelligent that I think he will not have great difficulty in it. He then repeats a verse of Watt's hymns – at present he only knows the 'little busy bee' – and then puts the map of England together which he can do by himself and knows all the capital towns – he is anxiously expecting one of Europe – Caroline is a great deal with me too but not equally studious and as she does not like her book at present I do not force it upon her – I think they learn much more easily when they are a little older – I intend to write very soon to Selina to tell her, her last letter was of great use to me and that I have since followed her advice in teaching George.<sup>62</sup>

At a later date she related her views on education to her son-in-law, William, Lord Burlington:

I must tell you some of my ideas about education ... I think it a great object not only to make them study – but to give them the love of study – also – to give them something between study and positive amusement (be that last in the younger ones' play, or in the elder ones' exercises) – to form

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WYW1352/1/1/13/2.

<sup>62</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, place unknown, 22 Dec 1805, CHA, J18/26/10.

their taste – to let them read some works of taste and imagination – I think Clifden’s was too great a change from seclusion and lessons, to freedom and dissipation – Dearest Georgiana had been averse to letting him go to a good play of Shakespeare’s – but is that the best way of preventing a love of theatres – He had to work harder with Muzzy to make up for some slight loss of time or relaxation – but did that give a greater taste or love for the pursuit of knowledge?<sup>63</sup>

Earlier on, the boys seem to have received tuition from visiting tutors and from their father. For example, Georgiana wrote to her mother-in-law: ‘George is very well and seems very happy here – Marsh was very much pleased with him and did not think him at all spoilt which I am sometimes a little afraid of his being – They used to do Latin together – but he is now gone and that task is left to Lord Morpeth.’<sup>64</sup>

When they were old enough, the boys were sent to school. It is known that George, the eldest, went to Eton and it may be assumed that the younger boys followed suit.<sup>65</sup> By contrast, Georgiana’s girls were left under the supervision of a resident governess. As has been mentioned, Georgiana herself had been educated by a resident governess, Miss Trimmer, with whom she remained in friendly contact after her marriage.<sup>66</sup> It is probable that this was the model on which she based the education of her own daughters. The following advertisement is an example of what was commonly expected of a governess:

WANTED to be A companion and Go-ness to a Young Lady, a

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<sup>63</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to W. Lord Burlington, place unknown, 27 Nov 1848, Chatsworth, 2.126. Here Georgiana was referring to her daughter, Georgiana. It is not clear whether Muzzy was the teacher or the pupil.

<sup>64</sup> G. Morpeth, Bure Cottage, autograph letter to C. Carlisle, Castle Howard, 30 July 1809, CHA, J15/1/56.

<sup>65</sup> This was clearly following the precedent of Lord Morpeth’s own education. His father records payments to the Revd Mr Raikes for Hon. Mr. Howard’s schooling and bills were paid for board and tuition for his sons at Eton, (e.g. 15 May 1797). 6 Feb 1822 Blanche wrote to her Grandmother Carlisle: ‘Willy and Edward are not yet gone to school but I believe they are going this week or next.’ CHA, J15/1/65.

<sup>66</sup> Selina Trimmer is cited by Kame as an example of a governess who enjoyed a good relationship with her employers and was treated as a friend of the family. Kame, *Hope Deferred*, 134. See also Bea Howe, *A Galaxy of Governesses*, 59–68.

middle aged single lady, a native of England, and a protestant, of unexceptional morals and character, attested by persons of undoubted credit and veracity; she must have had a virtuous and useful, as well as polite and ornamental education; must be a mistress of the French tongue, and of her needle; if she is conversant in music, and drawing, still the more agreeable.<sup>67</sup>

It is likely that governesses would not have possessed very developed musical skills and, according to Leppert, only occasionally did advertisements appear in which musical concerns were more central, as in copy from London's *Daily Advertiser* in 1771:

WANTED, A governess in a gentleman's family, a native of France, and a Protestant, who understands musick perfectly, and to teach French grammatically.<sup>68</sup>

The spiritual and moral education of a girl seems to have been of first importance. Trimmer's concern for her pupil's spiritual welfare came through in several of the letters, for example when the young Georgiana discussed with her mother her governess's fears about attending public performances.<sup>69</sup> Even after Georgiana's marriage, she continued to exert a moral influence on her. Georgiana wrote to her grandmother in 1805, 'I read two chapters of the Bible every day as Selina begged me.'<sup>70</sup>

The relationship between the children and the governess seems also to have been important. The fact that Georgiana herself had a close relationship with Miss Trimmer and that she is mentioned in the letter provided a precedent as well as underlining the significant position of the resident governesses in the

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<sup>67</sup> *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* (London), issue no. 12,419 (21 Dec 1768), 2, col. 4, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 51.

<sup>68</sup> *Daily Advertiser* (London), issue no. 12,535 (27 Feb 1771), 2, col. 2, cited in Leppert, *Music and Image*, 227.

<sup>69</sup> G. Devonshire, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 1798/99, CHA, J18/20.

<sup>70</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, Holywell House?, 22 Dec 1805, CHA, J18/26/10.



household. As has been noted, Trimmer had a reputation for living as one of the family in the home of her employer.<sup>71</sup> This was perhaps even more crucial at the times that Georgiana was absent due to her poor health. In 1809 Georgiana wrote:

I am very much obliged to you my dear Lady Carlisle for your accounts of my children and for going to see them – I hear from Miss Trimmer that nothing has given Miss Dunn so much pleasure as ‘Lady Carlisle’s condescending manner’ to her – I am very anxious for them to go on well and to find that she has a good method with them – it is of much consequence that they should like her and that she should be deserving of their affection which I really am in hopes that she is – I dare say I shall find them much improved in their little lessons but that is of much less consequence than the weaning them by degrees from the nurses and servants with whom from my being so often unwell they had lived a great deal too much.<sup>72</sup>

It would appear from the letters that Georgiana exchanged with her daughters, in which they recounted their activities and lessons, that perhaps they were later taught by a French governess, who they referred to as ‘Mad’elle’. This woman appears to have taught them their first lessons in music and to speak and write in French, as Caroline’s letters to her mother demonstrate. For example, she quoted an extract from her journal:

Samedi: j’ai bien fini mon cahier et ma leçon de musique aussi ... J’ai été très insouciante à table. Mad’elle n’a pas été si contente de moi. Dimanche: J’ai bien appris mon cantique, et mad’elle a été contente de moi. Je suis la plus heureuse des

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<sup>71</sup> See chapter 3 entitled ‘The Eighteenth Century Governess’ in B. Howe, *A Galaxy of Governesses*, 52–78.

<sup>72</sup> G. Morpeth, Bure Cottage, autograph letter to C. Carlisle, Castle Howard, 30 July 1809, CHA, J15/1/56. Miss Dunn was one of the children’s governesses. I have not been able to discover more about her.

filles et je la serois plus si j'etais bonne, je veux certainement devenir, et j'espere aussi que mad'elle est la plus heureuse des gouvernantes. Lundi: J'ai assez bien appris mes lecons et bien ecrit avec Mr. Turner mais non pas avec mad'elle, et bien fait ma lecon de musique. Mad'elle a ete contente de moi.<sup>73</sup>

These concerns and accounts were repeated frequently in her correspondence to her mother. Her routine seemed to include daily lessons in music. On Sunday she reported how she had 'bien appris' her 'cantique'.

It has been noted that Ferrari's relationship with the Cavendish family continued to be strong after Georgiana's marriage. He could have continued to teach Georgiana and her sister at this time, and perhaps her children, just as Georgiana had been taught by the old family friend, Mrs Park. However, it would appear from the evidence that this was not the case, as he was not mentioned in any correspondence. Instead, Caroline spoke of another tutor, Mrs Stirling, and expressed the expectation that this lady would be succeeded by a 'finishing master': 'My dear Mama I have been taking my lesson of musick with Mrs Stirling. She says I play with execution, quite enough of it but that now I want Time, Taste and Expression and she says that she hopes to make me have them this year and that after that I can have a finishing master.'<sup>74</sup> She also referred to a Mrs Knight: 'Mrs Knight has brought us a collection of waltzes there is one by Mozart which is very pretty, a Swiss one, a Venetian, another, and a Dutch minuet by Hummell.'<sup>75</sup>

The practice of employing a string of music tutors was highly criticised by Hannah More, a woman who, as previously mentioned, was famous in her own day as an author of religious works and who argued for high moral standards in girls'

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<sup>73</sup> C. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, 29 Sept., CHA, J18/11/13. Translation: 'Saturday: I've finally finished my exercise book and my music lesson ... I was very careless at table. Mlle was not very happy with me. Sunday: I've learned my song very well and Mlle was pleased with me. I am the happiest of girls and I would be happier if I were good. I do want to be good and I hope that Mlle is the happiest of governesses. Monday: I learned my lessons fairly well and wrote well for Mr. Turner, but not for Mlle, and did my music lesson well. Mlle was pleased with me.'

<sup>74</sup> C. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Park St., 1 Feb 1816, CHA, J18/11/33.

<sup>75</sup> C. Howard, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 9 Dec 1816, CHA, J18/11/36.

education:<sup>76</sup>

The science of music, which used to be communicated in so competent a degree to a young lady by one able instructor, is now distributed among a whole band. She now requires, not a master, but an orchestra. And my country readers would accuse me of exaggeration, were I to hazard enumerating the variety of musical teachers who attend at the same time in the same family; the daughters of which are summoned, by at least as many instruments as the subjects of Nebuchadnezzar, to worship the idol which fashion has set up. They would be incredulous were I to produce real instances, in which the delighted mother has been heard to declare, that the visits of masters of every art, and the different masters for various gradations of the same art, followed each other in such close and rapid succession during the whole London residence, that her girls had not a moment's interval to look into a book; nor could she contrive any method to introduce one, till she happily devised the scheme of reading to them herself for half an hour while they were drawing, by which means no time was lost.<sup>77</sup>

While there does seem to have been an employment of different teachers for 'various gradations of the same art' in the Castle Howard household, there does not seem to have been evidence of an obsession with acquiring accomplishments at the expense of other more solid learning. It is significant that Georgiana herself, apparently encouraged by her grandmother, continued to educate herself after she married and even after she had given birth. After describing how she taught her son George she wrote: 'you will perhaps wish to know if I quite forget my own education in his, but I do continue to read a little – and I find there has been great sympathy between Haryo and me and that we have been reading the reign of

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<sup>76</sup> Kamm, *Hope Deferred*, 98–101, 105–8.

<sup>77</sup> More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 1, 82–3.

Henry 8<sup>th</sup> at the same time – it came in very well for me after Leo the 10<sup>th</sup>.<sup>78</sup> In other letters she spoke about her lessons in arithmetic and astronomy with Mr Marsh.<sup>79</sup>

It is likely that Georgiana took a lively interest in her children's music education, just as her mother had encouraged her. She may even have overseen their progress in music herself. Significantly her music collection from this period contains music appropriate for beginners. A volume of piano music contains *Twenty five preludes composed as exercises in the major and minor keys, with their respective scales more or less extended calculated to improve both hands in running passages* by Therese (?) Jansen. This is marked in ink with the initials 'C. H and G. H. 15<sup>th</sup> June', referring to her two eldest daughters, Caroline and Georgiana. *Twenty-eight sonatinas with preludes and two easy duets for the pianoforte composed and arranged from the works of the most esteem'd authors* by Thomas Haigh are annotated with pencil markings, along with other pieces in this album. From the presence of these handwritten dates and annotations, it may be assumed that this music was played by her daughters and that Georgiana herself assisted them.<sup>80</sup>

Her children were equally conscientious in their studies when away from their mother, according to their reports of how they occupied themselves. Caroline wrote: 'we are all day in the garden. We go there in the morning directly after breakfast at nine o'clock and only go out of it to practice each of us an hour and then to have our dinner.'<sup>81</sup> Harriet likewise described their routine: 'We are now to ride only three times a week (owing to Blanche's riding) but another arrangement is to be made when our darling sister is with us and Georgy and we mean to bring forward the notion of putting it off an hour later which would surmount every difficulty such as your breakfast, our musick and Blanche's riding.'<sup>82</sup> Their letters included accounts of music-making for their own, their guests and the family's pleasure. Caroline recounted: 'Georgiana is much improved in her looks. Louisa

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<sup>78</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, Holywell, 22 Dec 1805, CHA, J18/26/10.

<sup>79</sup> G. Morpeth, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Spencer, Holywell, 11 Sept 1803, CHA, J18/26/97.

<sup>80</sup> Volume 29, CHA, J18/77/4.

<sup>81</sup> C. Howard, Chiswick, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, c.1812, CHA, J18/11/2.

<sup>82</sup> H. Howard, place unknown, autograph letter to C. Howard, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/13/17.

and her sung and played the whole evening,'<sup>83</sup> and 'Blanche sings every evening with Mademoiselle Dernier chez nous. Vous ne savez pas a qu'il y'a' a Swiss song, she repeats her English hymns to me every morning.'<sup>84</sup> Similarly Harriet reported:

I saw Grandpapa for the first time yesterday since his attack he does not look well but says his gout is better. He does not dine yet upstairs and Grandmama stops with him in the evening so that there is nobody but Lady Julia and Henry. We played to them last night Caro and Georgy the 'Heavens are telling' which they liked very much. They are now both drawing.<sup>85</sup>

On another occasion she related:

Your boys arrived here between five and six yesterday all looking very well ... William burst first into the room in the middle of the Occasional Overture. They drank tea with us and afterwards came down to the drawing room.<sup>86</sup>

The girls were able to appreciate the music and accomplishments of other people too, for example Miss Gregg, who represented what was still considered to be requisite in an accomplished, polished young lady of society:

Miss Gregg is quite une charmante personne and I do not wonder at the boy's enthusiasm for what can inspire it better than an aimiable, cheerful, equal, young woman adorned of all the accomplishments that make a person the ornament of society and prove I am sure an inexhaustible mine of pleasure to herself and to her home. Her drawings

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<sup>83</sup> C. Howard, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/11/24.

<sup>84</sup> C. Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 9 Dec 1816, CHA, J18/11/36.

<sup>85</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/13/20.

<sup>86</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, 17 Dec 1820, CHA, J18/13/44.

are quite Mr Burgess's and yet there appears something in them that you would know they were a woman's. Her playing is beautiful all that the efforts of the best masters, especially such a one as Mr Cranmer, issue to produce on a person like Miss Gregg. She will be quite de notus for a few days.<sup>87</sup>

As had been the case in Georgiana's upbringing, dancing was an essential part of the girls' education and balls continued to be of great interest to them. Leppert devotes a chapter in *Music and Image* to this subject, commencing with the words 'Eighteenth-century courtesy and conduct writers addressed dancing in the same breath as music.' The practice was redolent with socio-ideological significance, and moral and cultural ambivalence: writings outlining the benefits and dangers abounded.<sup>88</sup> For all Georgiana's children it was an activity that afforded much pleasure and enjoyment and appeared to be something that the whole family participated in. This light-hearted account by Harriet, which focuses on each individual dancer's comportment and physical appearance while dancing, probably resonated with some of the concerns of courtesy book writers.<sup>89</sup> She wrote:

After some few delicate [observations?] about the impropriety of dancing we began and they went off very well. Mrs. Clifford our fiddler being kind enough to play all the evening. Richard Smith dances pretty well and is very good looking, the father also enjoying it as much if not more. Mr. Compton very well, excessively like the ... Count F.... but with a wild look in his eyes. Uncle Devonshire as usual beautifully graceful and easy, Caro and Georgy both went alike ----- I thought they looked well and it becomes the former particularly her face en profil looking very queen-

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<sup>87</sup> H. Howard, place unknown, autograph letter to C. Howard, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/13/17.

<sup>88</sup> I will be discussing the dance music in Georgiana's collection and the adoption of French dances by fashionable society in Chapter 7.

<sup>89</sup> See Leppert, *Music and Image*, 71–106.

like. I am afraid this is a very frivolous letter.<sup>90</sup>

## **A musical inheritance**

To what degree did her family imbibe and embrace the musical education that Georgiana had provided and passed on to them? Georgiana's daughters had different characters and interests, and seem to have enjoyed music to varying degrees. Correspondence from her four oldest daughters, Caroline, Georgiana, Harriet and Blanche, reveals their own preferences and, in their discussions with Georgiana about musical instruments, acquisitions, their own music-making, and the passing on of information and anecdotes that they know will be of interest to her, they demonstrate an awareness of their mother's musical interests.

### ***Caroline Howard (1803–1881)***

Caroline was Georgiana's second child and first daughter, and she appears to have shared her mother's musical interests. Her letters contain many references to the educational progress of both herself and her sister Georgiana: 'While I play on the piano', she wrote, 'Georgiana writes English and French dialogues and sometimes her calligraphy.' The letter went on to recount how the two sisters pass the time.<sup>91</sup> For instance, she expressed her disappointment: 'After all "See the Conquering Hero Comes" has been practised a little in vain as the harmonious concert will not take place. Mr. Sloane in spite of his efforts has no violoncello for there is none to be got at York.' She made reference to her mother's personal music collection: 'We shall not be able to take your music with us to Chatsworth but it will be sent to London in the wagon,'<sup>92</sup> and informed her mother when the harpsichord needed tuning: 'Maman notre [or votre?] Clavecin a besoin d'etre accorde. Mad'elle a envoye chez l'homme. Nous avons commence un nouveau duo.'<sup>93</sup> Another time she reported, 'Mr Gregg told me to tell you that he has got a grand pianoforte for you

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<sup>90</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/13/22.

<sup>91</sup> C. Howard, London, autograph letter to G Morpeth, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/11/16.

<sup>92</sup> C. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, 2 Jan 1818, CHA, J18/11/37.

<sup>93</sup> C. Howard, Chiswick?, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard?, 12 Jan 1813, CHA, J18/11/18. 'Mother, your piano is in need of tuning. Mlle sent for the piano tuner. We began a new duet.'

from Stodart', and alluded again to her mother's interest and knowledge: 'Nous avons ete chez Miss Ellis et Miss Parma prenait sa lecon de l'harpe. Sa maitresse est une vieille Francaise qui prend du tabac. Elle jouait une air d'un opera des petits matelots. Vous connoissez les paroles.'<sup>94</sup>

In 1823 Caroline married William Saunders Sebright Lascelles (1798–1851), 3<sup>rd</sup> son of Henry, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harewood (1767–1841). Lord Harewood was very musical and, after her marriage, Caroline continued to send accounts to her mother of the musical evenings at Harewood House, which were discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>95</sup> She makes reference to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl's three daughters: 'Lady Louisa, Harriet and Fanny sing in the evening. She has bought a great deal of new musick and has a rather pretty voice. She is a delightful person.'<sup>96</sup>

### ***Georgiana Howard (1804–1860)***

Georgiana received the same musical education as her sisters and was able to play: 'We have begun to play the overture to the Lady of the Manor and Georgiana plays the treble.'<sup>97</sup> Nevertheless her interests seem to have been more literary than musical. In her letters to her mother she included accounts of plays and books she was reading, for example *Macbeth*. She commented: 'We still like Patronage very much; although I believe it is usually reckoned rather dull.'<sup>98</sup> She did however share her mother's and grandmother's enjoyment of the theatre and appreciation of good singing:

You must think we are become great frequenters of the theatre, we're going again tonight to see the Exile – as for the new actrice as Juliet I did not like her much; her voice is

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<sup>94</sup> C. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, 30 Dec 1812, CHA, J18/11/1. 'We were at Miss Ellis' and Miss Parma was having her harp lesson. Her mistress is an old French woman who also smokes tobacco. She played an air from an opera about little sailors. You know the lyrics.'

<sup>95</sup> 'In the evening there is generally musick.' C. Lascelles, Harewood, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, 25 Aug 1823, CHA, J18/11/58.

<sup>96</sup> C. Lascelles, Harewood to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 26 Oct 1823, CHA, J18/11/53.

<sup>97</sup> C. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, 9 Nov 1814, CHA, J18/11/27.

<sup>98</sup> G. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, Nov 30 1819, CHA, J18/12/57. *Patronage* (1814) is a four-volume fictional work by Maria Edgeworth, exploring the different forms of patronage in all strata of Irish society. The writing, while highly rated, veers towards the didactic, which may have prompted Georgiana's remark.



most dreadfully whining and she does it in too playful a way. There is however some merit in her acting but after seeing Miss O'Neil in the same part, it is impossible to be easily satisfied; Macready's acting was very fine – I never saw Young look so well as in Prospero, his voice is magnificent; the singing was beautiful. Miss Stephens and Miss Hallarde sound so well together and it is seldom we hear two such beautiful voices. Miss Trece is very pleasing and she looked ... pretty as Ariel.<sup>99</sup>

Georgiana married George James Welbore Ellis, 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Dover (1797–1833) in 1822.

### ***Harriet Howard (1806–1868)***

As was hinted at above, Harriet's feeling for music seems to have expressed itself as a special enjoyment of dancing and balls. In the following letters she describes a birthday ball and alludes to the wide range of dances that were engaged in.<sup>100</sup> The impression is of sociable activity and good exercise enjoyed by a circle of friends and family. She also acknowledges the part played by her mother in training her daughters in this vital social activity:

Yesterday being Blanche's birthday there was a ball in the evening. She was looking very well with a pink flounce, and pink shoes, she was in very good spirits and danced and went through all the figures very well. Charles was also there, and in high glee; we danced the Boulinger at the end, which amused him so much that he laughed out quite loud; we also had one quadrille 'la poule' it being the only one our fiddler knew; there was nobody there but the people in the house, George I believe contrived to dance with everyone.

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<sup>99</sup> G. Howard, Park Street, London, autograph letter to 5<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, Castle Howard, n.d., CHA, J18/12/58.

<sup>100</sup> These will be mentioned with Georgiana's dance music in Chapter 7.

William and Edward were both in good spirits.<sup>101</sup>

Thursday we danced. Mrs. Night played to us. The *–achilles?* went off very well, the minuet passablement but the gavotte most horribly. Mrs. Night had not any gavotte. We found one but I do not believe it is the same as yours for we were quite put out and were not at all in good time. But dearest Mama do not be in a fuss for we certainly shall not forget any of them after all the good practice we have had with you and which I hope we will resume soon.<sup>102</sup>

In her letters Harriet also revealed her awareness of more sober considerations:

We are anxious to hear about the Carlisle Ball and how George performed but I suppose there were no quadrilles. Do not you think it is a shocking thing giving balls at this time of the year when so many families are plunged into the deepest sorrow and so many souls preparing for the great voyage of eternity. I am sure this thought would take off almost all the pleasures of a ball.<sup>103</sup>

Is Harriet referring here to winter and the higher frequency of illness and mortality during these cold months?

Harriet married George Granville, 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Sutherland (1766–1861) in 1823. As lady-in-waiting to the young Queen Victoria, her love of balls was put to good use at court, especially as the Queen herself greatly relished dancing. Her correspondence of the 1840s, and that of her brother George and mother, contains many descriptions of balls and dances in the presence of the Royals.

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<sup>101</sup> G. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, Jan 12 1819, CHA, J18/12/48.

<sup>102</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/13/15.

<sup>103</sup> H. Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard?, n.d, CHA, J18/13/8.

### ***Blanche Howard (1812–1840)***

Blanche had a special place in her mother's heart after her early death in 1840. There are not many references to music in her letters but her comments reveal her involvement: Around 1820 she wrote, 'I spoke to Grandpa about the piano but he says the other man is not to be found.'<sup>104</sup> Later she said, 'I cannot write much now as besides the excuse of having nothing to say I have that of having a great deal to do as I must finish the music which I enclose to Papa for Lady Emmeline and I am going to write to Georgiana.'<sup>105</sup> She married William Cavendish, 7<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire (1808–1891) in 1829.

### ***Summary***

From this it can be seen that each of the older daughters embraced music to the degree they were interested and it took on a different form in each, as it became woven into the fabric of their individual lives. The musical interests of Georgiana's younger daughters Elizabeth (1816–1891) and Mary (1823–1892) will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **Georgiana and society**

After the Peace of Amiens in 1802, English aristocrats, including Georgiana, began to venture abroad until the renewal of hostilities brought them all home again. In April 1814 Napoleon abdicated and there was much elation amongst the nobility and an outbreak of festivities and celebrations all over London and Paris.

Georgiana's position as daughter of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire placed her at the forefront of society, and as a frequent visitor to Devonshire House, home of her father, and then of her brother after their father's death in 1811, she would have continued to live at the centre of fashionable society. The Silver Fork novels, written between 1814 and 1840, depicted the fashions and habits of this beau monde society, a valuable source of information for the nouveaux riches who

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<sup>104</sup> B. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, c.1820, CHA, J18/16/12.

<sup>105</sup> B. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, place unknown, n.d, CHA, J18/16/15.

sought to enter this world.<sup>106</sup> Alison Adburgham's introduction to her book *Silver Fork Society* places the novels alongside contemporary commentaries and it is conspicuous how frequently the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire occupied a prominent position in the accounts of masked balls and assemblies both in London and Paris. This in turn provides a flavour of the kind of world that Georgiana's life touched. An account of the masked ball given by the members of Watier's Club on 1 July 1814 in honour of the Duke of Wellington, and which was reputedly the most talked-of event of the season, was provided by Harriette Wilson in her *Memoirs*:

At last we arrived, and were received at the first entrance room by the Dukes of Devonshire and Leinster, dressed in light blue dominoes. They were unmasked, this being the costume fixed on for all the members of Watier's Club. No one else was to be admitted but in character... The members were as attentive to us as though they had all been valets and bred up to their situations like George Brummell, who, by the by, was the only exception. Instead of parading behind our chairs to enquire what we wanted, he sat teasing a lady with a wax mask, declaring that he would never leave her till he had seen her face.<sup>107</sup>

The dandy Thomas Raikes referred to the young Duke 'as the magnus Apollo of the drawing room in London' and who was 'at the head of the invitations'.<sup>108</sup> Likewise in Paris, he was noted by Emma Mount Edgcumbe as being amongst the English aristocrats who took apartments in the summer of 1815, following the Battle of Waterloo.<sup>109</sup>

Georgiana's cousin Caroline Lamb also featured much in the novels and gossip of the time, fuelled by her flagrant behaviour throughout her affair with

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<sup>106</sup> The Silver Fork novels, written between 1814 and 1840, depicted the fashionable world of the beau monde and thus provide insights into this society. The genre received considerable appraisal at the time but has been much overlooked since. See Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society* (1983).

<sup>107</sup> Cited in Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society*, 7.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

Byron and her own literary contribution, the novel *Glenarvon*.<sup>110</sup> Society considered her to have gone too far and even the Cavendishes had difficulty in welcoming her at Devonshire House. Harriet's comments after a visit to see her were incredulous:

I was received with rapturous joy, embraces and tremendous spirits. I expected she would have put on appearance of something, but to do her justice she only displayed a total want of shame and consummate impudence, which, whatever they may be in themselves, are at least better or rather less disgusting than pretending or acting a more interested party.<sup>111</sup>

Significantly, although Georgiana would have attended balls and assemblies that were hosted at Devonshire House and other prestigious houses, not much of this seems to have preoccupied her at this period of her life, which was largely given over to her children. In 1803, however, she visited France, and in her correspondence from Paris she commented on the balls she attended and on particular dances, both French and English, and her enjoyment of them. She confessed to being unable to resist joining in, even though she carried a secret – she was pregnant.<sup>112</sup>

## Conclusion

After her marriage in 1801, music clearly continued to play an active part in Georgiana's everyday life, a fact that was borne out in letters to her mother, grandmother and daughters, all of whom recognised the significance of music in her life. In the Music Room at Castle Howard she played and sang for her parents-in-law, guests and family. There she also oversaw her children's music education,

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 13–19.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>112</sup> G. Morpeth, Paris, autograph letter to H. Cavendish, 1 Feb 1803, CHA, J18/21.

and continued to add to her music collection, which was transported to the different locations at which the family stayed. Her children's correspondence reflects the legacy that Georgiana passed on to them. However, while it appears that she continued to value music highly, she was greatly occupied during this period in bearing and rearing 12 children, which meant that in practice she had much less time to devote to music-making. In this sense, getting married and raising a family had a significant impact on the role music occupied in her life, as literature and theorists predicted. However, music and the keyboard were not left untouched, and she did not give up playing. Nor was there any lack of interest on the part of herself, her husband or her family.<sup>113</sup> Her probable reduction in musical activity at this time was no 'act of rebellion against oppression', which some writers felt was the symbolic meaning of female music-making. Nor was it merely a time-killer. Instead, Georgiana's playing brought pleasure both to herself and to those around her. Moreover, it did not lack influence: her love of and ability in music were recognised by all who knew her. Music and music-making were woven into the fabric of her personality and daily life. Music was part of her identity and what defined her.

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<sup>113</sup> Lord Morpeth's interest in music will be touched upon in Chapter 6.

## 6 The Role of Music in the Life of Georgiana, 6th Countess of Carlisle – Later Life, 1825–58

27th psalm – 13th verse

*I trusted that my future life  
Should with thy love be crown'd  
Or else my fainting soul had such  
With sorrow compassed round.  
God's time with patient faith expect  
And He'll inspire thy breasts  
With inward strength: do thou thy part  
And leave to Him the rest.*

Georgiana Carlisle<sup>1</sup>

### **An Earl and a Countess**

Frederick the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle died in 1825 at the age of 77. His son George, Georgiana's husband, succeeded him, holding the title until his death in 1848.

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<sup>1</sup> G. Carlisle, Religious writings, CHA, J18/74

Georgiana, in her turn, assumed the title and responsibilities of the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle. Georgiana was very active during this period, as already mentioned, but her life was greatly troubled by a tendency to depression. This may have been due to a number of factors: the difficulties and separation from her mother during her childhood, the impact of continual pregnancies over 21 years, her own temperament, and later the loss of two children in 1833 and 1840. Her fragile nerves and depressive disposition were acknowledged in her husband's and children's writings to her and about her. Nevertheless there is evidence that she exerted herself, taking measures to help herself by disciplining her practical and devotional life. Georgiana's private writings, and the prayers she composed, focused on her need for God to help her bear her pain and trials, and enable her to keep more effectively the 'rules' for living she set herself. These included rigorous exercise and dietary regimes.

Let me try henceforth to make my existence as useful and my life as cheerful as I can – let me never lose a moment (compatibly with my health) for trying either to gain some knowledge, or do some good or make some improvement or even to amuse myself with a view to the prevailing tendency and defect of my mind – let me consider how much time is lost in unavailing despondency – and make use of the resources of amended health give me – there is almost always something to vex and annoy one in every situation and always something to fear – when we appear the lowest we may be near relief and happiness as alas when we seem the highest we may be near affliction. Dismiss then useless anxiety oh my soul – and as the best preservative improve the passing moment as much as you can.<sup>2</sup>

She took her duties as mother and wife very seriously and it was in the execution of these responsibilities that she found the greatest comfort. She was devoted to

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<sup>2</sup> G. Morpeth, 'Written in despondency when Ld Carlisle was ill with the gout, London ... March the 6<sup>th</sup>', CHA, J18/63.



her husband and made it her goal to please him: 'When I die, my vanity and ambition would be gratified if it could be inscribed on my stone, Here lies one whom her Husband once loved with passion.'<sup>3</sup> She worked vigorously to secure for all her daughters advantageous matches, and energetically supported her son George's political career.

In the 1840s Lord Carlisle's health declined and Georgiana took more control of running the Castle Howard household. The records indicate that she was responsible for the redecoration of many of the interiors, and was fastidious in her attention to detail. Her busy involvement with estate business was matched by her active interest in public affairs. Much of Georgiana's correspondence in later life relates to political affairs, writing to commend or correct and advise government ministers, expressing her opinions, and also intervening in personal affairs to give advice or support, and writing on behalf of others, seeking their advancement.<sup>4</sup> For example, an undated letter to Granville Leveson Gower demonstrates the value she gave to serious occupations, compared to a preoccupation with society and amusement, amongst which music could be grouped:

I think it may be useful at the beginning to say one word of advice as I should have done formerly to one of my own sons – I think you have some dangers from being fond of society and amusement but only keep these as subordinate and not the first objects – you will enjoy them still more from having some more solid and serious occupation to fall back upon – your having wished to come into Parliament showed a higher ambition than that of being amused at Paris.<sup>5</sup>

Georgiana's life after she became the Countess of Carlisle provides a picture of a woman who, despite her personal struggles and afflictions, sought to overcome them and fulfil her responsibilities to her family and society. In this chapter I will

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<sup>3</sup> G. Morpeth, place unknown, autograph letter to her husband George Morpeth, place unknown, 1 September 1819, CHA, J17/1.

<sup>4</sup> I have not had the opportunity to look at all of Georgiana's later correspondence. Of the portion I have examined, a sizeable amount relates to public affairs.

<sup>5</sup> G. Carlisle, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Leveson Gower, place unknown, CHA, J18/61/60.

discuss what role music played throughout this phase of her life.

## **Georgiana, the Victorian aristocrat**

As was shown in Chapter 3, society and its attitudes towards music were undergoing dramatic and fundamental changes during this period of Georgiana's life. The 1820s and 1830s was a time of transition between the late-Georgian and early-Victorian periods. To what extent was Georgiana's life affected by these changes? Did the new philosophies have any bearing on Georgiana's thinking and practice? What role did music play in her life during this period? I will discuss these questions in three sections: music in the 'country' at Castle Howard; music in 'town' and society; and the role of music in Georgiana's personal life, its relationship to her faith and to her tendencies to depression.

### **Music in the 'country' at Castle Howard**

Georgiana as 6th Countess of Carlisle was now the leading female at Castle Howard. What role did music have in the house under her jurisdiction? Did she continue to play? As was shown earlier, Georgiana's interest in music was acknowledged and recognised by her parents-in-law and by her children. Correspondence, quoted below, shows that her love of and ability in music was recognised beyond the realm of the family and home. Although I have not found any direct references in her letters to her own performance, she continued to add to her music collection during this later period of her life. The Music Room continued to be known as such, as there are references to it in correspondence dating from 1840 and 1843.

Until 1840 several of her children would have either lived at home or been frequently there. George, Frederick, and William George remained unmarried, while Edward and Charles both married in 1842. Of the girls, it was Elizabeth who seems to have persisted most with her music. Mary had written to her mother in 1831 that 'Lizzy has got a piano today. I am going to finish the history of England

today.<sup>6</sup> It was perhaps music that drew together Elizabeth and the Hon. Rev. Francis Richard Grey (d. 1890), son of Viscount Howick. After Elizabeth's marriage to him in 1840, her mother wrote to her brother, the 6th Duke of Devonshire, in 1841, 'Liz and Francis are gone to sleep at Ravensworth tonight on their way to Howick. Liz is becoming quite proficient in music – and accompanies Francis – in something I cannot.'<sup>7</sup> The implication of this is that Georgiana continued to encourage and enjoy the music-making of her children, even beyond their marriages. Furthermore her comments imply that she still played, though apparently not to the same standard as her daughter. This interest in the progress of her married daughters in music is likewise displayed towards her daughter Caroline who had married into the musical household of Lord Harewood. In 1843, Georgiana wrote, '[Mrs Arkwright] liked Caroline's voice last night and sang a little herself.'<sup>8</sup>

It is likely that Georgiana encouraged and enjoyed listening to the singing and playing of other visiting younger women, such as her nephew's prospective wife. On 13 May 1845 Georgiana wrote to her brother, the Duke of Devonshire, quoting from a letter from their sister about Harry and Miss MacLavish:<sup>9</sup>

I think our dinner went off very well – the young people looked extremely happy ... Harry as if he had thrown care behind him – she looked very pretty ... all were pleased with their look of happiness ... after dinner she sang beautifully – there is much play of face during this and it improves her beauty – her eyes becoming quite liquid blue – at the end of the song she gives a look to Harry as if she said it was all for him – thought her prettier than I had thought her before.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> M. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Carlisle, place unknown, c.1831, CHA, J18/19/50.

<sup>7</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to 6th Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth, 26 Jan 1841, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.50.

<sup>8</sup> G. Carlisle, Trentham, autograph letter to Duke of Devonshire, place unknown, 22 March 1843, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.106. Music composed by Mrs Arkwright appears in Georgiana's collection. CHA J18/77/4/Vol. 52.

<sup>9</sup> The identity and relationship of this couple is not clear. Was Miss MacLavish Lady Trellesley's niece? See G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to Duke of Devonshire, place unknown, 4 Jan 1844, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.109.

<sup>10</sup> Harriet Granville, quoted by G. Carlisle, Castle Howard in autograph letter to Duke of Devonshire,

The couple were welcomed by Georgiana at Castle Howard as she reports in a letter to her sister:

I have only a line of thanks for your kind letter ... and to tell you of the arrival of our young couple and of my happiness in liking her very much ... she comes in like a gay vision at our tea time in my old sitting room and talks very pleasantly to him [Lord Carlisle] ... then I take her to the music room and whilst Liz reads to him – and she sings to us delightfully – an Ave Maria!<sup>11</sup>

Georgiana's youngest daughter Mary remained at Castle Howard until 1852, when she married Rt Hon. Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton (d. 1869). There is little mention of her musical talents in the correspondence I have seen. There is, however, an album of organ music belonging to Mary in the collection, which seems to indicate a high degree of competency. The inventory for 1825 recorded the presence of an organ at the top of the Grand staircase; perhaps this was where Mary played.<sup>12</sup>

As already stated, Georgiana's interest in music was acknowledged and recognised not only by her parents-in-law and by her children but also beyond her family and home. Her correspondence in the 1830s with the Rev. Francis Grey, Elizabeth's future husband, reveals Grey's appreciation:

My dear Lady Carlisle,  
A thousand thanks for the verses which Richard brought – in return I send you a hymn of Moore's which I think quite beautiful. When I come to town in April I will bring you the music to Grosvenor place. I stay here till Monday, when I

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place unknown, 13 May 1845, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.111.

<sup>11</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to H. Granville, Chatsworth, June 1843, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.113.

<sup>12</sup> 1825 inventory, CHA, H2/11/1. See Chapter 8 for a discussion of where music was played at Castle Howard.

return to Acton and Richard to town.<sup>13</sup>

I shall bring with me 'Oh sweetly' and 'Tis Time this heart should be' and Miss Hamilton's song 'Oh the merry days' for you. We have had a good deal of music, vocal and instrumental. Georgiana has got the most beautiful new harp that was ever seen, or heard. I never heard anything like the tone.<sup>14</sup>

I send you two little duets which Georgiana [his sister] and I sing together. I think that they are pretty and that you perhaps will like them, therefore I send them, 'tho there is not much in them. Moreover they give me a very good excuse for writing a line to you ... [Georgiana] wishes me to tell you that she is much obliged to you for taking the trouble to copy out some of *Glenfinlas* [?] for her – I hope you have not forgot your promise to me, to write out your song for me. I generally manage to devote half an hour every evening to music, and it will be a good opportunity for me to learn your song if you will send it.<sup>15</sup>

The letters convey their mutual enjoyment in sharing songs, including ones possibly written by Georgiana herself. She in her turn acknowledged her appreciation of this musical relationship in some lines written in 1855, near the end of her life, during a period of sickness:

*On Mrs. Howard's and Francis's coming to play and sing to me  
every evening (I think in April)*

They come to cheer, to sooth, to bless,  
To give a music never known before,  
To make each pain and suffering less  
And raise the well known sounds I most adore.

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<sup>13</sup> Rev. F. Grey, Acton, autograph letter to G. Carlisle, Castle Howard?, c.1830s, CHA, J18/18/69.

<sup>14</sup> Rev. F. Grey, Acton, autograph letter to G. Carlisle, Castle Howard?, 6 Sept 1836, CHA, J18/18.

<sup>15</sup> Rev. F. Grey, Acton, autograph letter to G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, 14 Nov 1836, CHA, J18/18.

For Di with light and skilful hand  
Can strike the magic chords to feeling dear,  
And has besides at her command  
That mellow voice I always love to hear.

Continue then my soul to raise,  
And to your kindness be it given  
By notes of peace and songs of praise  
To lead my drooping thoughts to heaven.<sup>16</sup>

### **Country music, special days, holidays and servants' balls**

Although there is little material evidence of Lord Carlisle's interest in music, it is likely that he entered into his wife's enjoyment of music. There remains in the collection a manuscript book of music belonging to him.<sup>17</sup>

That music was an integral part of the life of the family and household is hinted at in Blanche's letter to her mother, 'I cannot write much now as besides the excuse of having nothing to say, I have that of having a great deal to do as I must finish the music which I enclose to Papa for Lady Emmeline and I am going to write to Georgiana.'<sup>18</sup>

However, more evidence of the regular occurrence of events at Castle Howard incorporating music can be found in the household accounts of 1826–40.<sup>19</sup> Musicians were hired for Lord Carlisle's birthday celebrations, Christmas day festivities, servants' balls, and for 'cricket days' (August 1845). '[Morpeth] was cured of all his ailments – except a slight sprain of wrist ... and now one of his foot also, from dancing at the Inn here – a cricket ball on Twelfth Night.'<sup>20</sup> As was noted in Chapter 3, this was evidently common practice in other country houses.

Songs were often composed to mark political successes including those of

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<sup>16</sup> 'Verses, or doggerel lines made since I have been unwell or Reminiscences of the Years – 1855', G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, CHA, J18/64/7.

<sup>17</sup> CHA, J18/77

<sup>18</sup> B. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, 17 Sept c.1825, CHA, J18/16/15.

<sup>19</sup> Household bills and personal sundries, 1 Jan 1826–13 June 1840, CHA, H1/1/16.

<sup>20</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, place unknown, 9 Jan 1847, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.117.

Georgiana's son George. In April 1835 some lines entitled *The Young Minstrel of the North* appeared in a newspaper to mark Morpeth's success in the January elections. Apparently, Georgiana set the lines to music. On learning this, the author of the lines wrote to the Countess, enclosing two further stanzas and the suggestion of an alternative tune. This was Joseph Mazzinghi's ballad air, *Allen-a-Dale*, which she proposed for popular use, while Georgiana's music could continue to be sung in 'polite circles.' The letter, music and words remain amongst Georgiana's papers.<sup>21</sup>

Near the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl's life, Georgiana wrote to her brother of the momentous occasion of the opening of the railroad to the accompaniment of the band:

Our railroad opened today – splendid sight – longest train ever seen I believe. 36 carriages, 600 travellers at least – band of music – sequestered valley, wood and river – numbers of huzzains – beautiful day ... But brother pray tell me why it seemed to me beautiful to see the great monster come into those peaceful regions – we all know a train of engines are not beautiful – yet I should say nothing but 'it is beautiful'... the station ... it is only just rising and I do not now when it will be completed – but when it is, it will be very pretty called the Castle Howard – our own stone.<sup>22</sup>

Georgiana continued to add to her music collection during this period. The content of the collection is discussed in detail in Chapter 7. The presence in Georgiana's collection of music of several different genres by nineteenth-century composers and poets implies that Georgiana kept abreast of developments in contemporary musical taste, and remained active in purchasing sheet music for her personal use. Most of it is inscribed with her name and bound in volumes, which is primary evidence indicating her continued interest in musical activity. Although it is possible that she spent less time making music, it is probable that she continued to

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<sup>21</sup> *The Young Minstrel of the North*, words and music, 27 April 1835, CHA, J18/65/11.

<sup>22</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, place unknown, 8 July 1845, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.114.

play and sing, though perhaps to a lesser degree of competency than earlier in her life. As will be seen, it is clear from the music collection that dance music was much in demand at Castle Howard and the family's other residences, and no doubt was played to provide entertainment for the young people.

### **Music in 'town' and society**

As was established earlier, Georgiana lived near the forefront of London fashionable society. Her diaries dating from 1831–2 refer to balls, assemblies and concerts held at Devonshire House.<sup>23</sup> Of one occasion she wrote to her sister: 'I know my brother wrote to you all about his Dinner and Dance which was indeed an amusing one – never were such times for the elderly married ladies – who were all in requisition – and Harriet feels quite at her ease and youthful in dancing when she sees as she does sometimes. Ldy Jersey, L. Magnolia, Duchess of Somerset led out.'<sup>24</sup>

Georgiana was frequently in the presence of the Royals. Her letter to her sister describing the wedding of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert provided a glimpse into this glittering society:

Oh such a day as yesterday was! not a fine one alas – at a ¼ past 10 Ld C, Mary and I set out to go to the Chapel Royal to the marriage, Liz having set out before with Lady Sarah Villiers – she looked very nice I thought – well enough for Lady Mary Wood (to whom she went to shew herself afterwards) to write word to Francis that she would tell him the only thing that Liz wld not, that she looked 'perfectly lovely' – we were shown into a pew where we found my brother just arrived – and where there were besides first Elizabeth and Evelyn looking lovely, then Mary, then the Duchess of Hamilton, then the Duke of Wellington, Duke of Bedford, my brother, me, Lord Carlisle, Ld Anglesea and Ld

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<sup>23</sup> G. Morpeth's Diary, 1831, CHA, J18/62/18.

<sup>24</sup> G. Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, autograph letter to H. Granville, place unknown, 21 March 1840, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.7.



Westminster and there we sat for near 2 hours before the ceremony began, but we had various arrivals to amuse us and the pleasure of seeing the Household in a Gallery above, opposite to us – then various ladies and gentlemen, and in the Royal closet the Corps Diplomatique ... In the evening Mary and I went to Stafford House – which looked beautiful from the Park – brilliantly lighted up – we found no one but the Duke and his girls – and Morpeth – but Harriet came hence from Dinner (which they say was splendid) in time to receive the Duke of Sussex and the Cobourgs – she receiv'd on the staircase – there was a band of music – tea in rooms below and refreshments in the White and Gold Drawing Room above – the Duke of Wellington and Peel both came – Lady Dours looked very handsome in her diamonds – poor little Lady Fitzalan not at all so ... Adieu my dearest love – my letter has been like a bad newspaper acct – but I was tired and not quite well today which must plead its excuse.<sup>25</sup>

Her letters to her brother and sister contained anecdotes about the Royal couple, including many social occasions involving dancing:

Last night was Lady Lansdowne's Ball – a beautiful one ... Mary looked nice I think on the whole and danced a good deal – 8 quadrilles – she missed one, as when she was going out with Leveson to dance one, the Queen sent for him. Billy goes on the same to her, danced and took care of her to supper ... [Sarah] has the greatest admiration for Prince Albert – he looked very sleepy last night sometimes – yet danced with several Beauties and Duchesses – my brother danced with the Queen and the Duchess of Somerset.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> G. Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, autograph letter to H. Granville, place unknown, 11 Feb 1840, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.3.

<sup>26</sup> G. Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, autograph letter to H. Granville, place unknown, March or April 1840, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.8.

Georgiana's daughter Harriet, Duchess of Sutherland, became Mistress to the Robes to Queen Victoria. Her son George, Lord Morpeth, also enjoyed a familiar relationship with the Queen and there are accounts of him dancing with her. One was on the occasion of the Queen's visit to Chatsworth in 1843, as the guest of Georgiana's brother the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire. It is likely that Georgiana was present too. Morpeth recorded the event in his diary and the following extracts provide a flavour of the atmosphere and how music was used to embellish the occasion.

At 10 we ... to the Ball-room, where about 80 of the county were assembled. The room had been very prettily got up by Mr. Grace. The Queen danced the first Quadrille with the Duke, the 2<sup>nd</sup> with me, did not dance the 3<sup>rd</sup>, waltzed with the Prince and a country dance with Leveson. We then went to supper (?), 16 in the Music Room with the Queen.<sup>27</sup>

The Duke and I were alone for prayers, which he thought would strike the Queen as a small party if she came, but she did not ... [The great house is illuminated] ... The moment of the Queen's driving in into the midst of the building, with the band playing was striking and stage-like.<sup>28</sup>

The Duke had wished the Queen to go to Edensor Church, but she resisted & prevailed, & service was in the chapel at [?] ... It was evening service. Mr. Wilmot preached a very uncompromising sermon of the 2<sup>nd</sup> advent. [Later] afterwards she walked in the statue gallery; the Queen listened to a little of the sacred music, but I am told did not seem to care much for it.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> George, Lord Morpeth, Chatsworth, diary entry, 1 Dec 1843, CHA/J19/8/1.

<sup>28</sup> George, Lord Morpeth, Chatsworth, diary entry, 2 Dec 1843, CHA/J19/8/1.

<sup>29</sup> George, Lord Morpeth, Chatsworth, diary entry, 3 Dec 1843, CHA/J19/8/1.

[At her departure] The band played on the arch as she went. Albert is not in very general favour, I always think him very pleasing and amiable; his manner borders on too much solemnity, and he might be reckoned by some inclined to be pedantic. His bent is evidently statistical and mechanical ... We danced a quadrille upon the Darius mosaic to Coote and his band of 4.<sup>30</sup>

The Duke's resident musician Charles Coote, and his band, provided the musical entertainment for this occasion. In 1850 the Dowager Countess Georgiana requested that they be hired for the Queen's visit to Castle Howard.

### ***Concerts and the opera***

The proponents of British music looked to the Royals with good reason. Both the Queen and Prince Consort were musical. Both played the piano and enjoyed playing duets together, though apparently the organ was Albert's favourite instrument. The Prince entirely reorganised the Queen's private band into a string orchestra and they gave evening concerts at Buckingham Palace and at Windsor. Several eminent musicians played at these concerts, including Felix Mendelssohn who became a firm friend of the royal couple, and who esteemed the Prince's musical abilities highly. His *Elijah* was first performed in England before audiences including the Queen herself.<sup>31</sup> The couple seemed to enjoy music by both Italian and German composers. Burton cites an account of a concert at Buckingham Palace attended by Sir John Cam Hobhouse, later Lord Broughton de Gyfford (1786–1869), and his daughter. He reported: 'I heard Mario, Grisi and Tambourini sing ... Lord Ripon talked a good deal with me on Board of Control business until General

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<sup>30</sup> George, Lord Morpeth, Chatsworth, diary entry, 4 Dec 1843, CHA/J19/ 8/1. Coote wrote a set of Quadrilles to mark the occasion of the Queen's visit: 'No. 1 Chatsworth – A set of Quadrilles performed at the grand ball given in honour of The Queen's Visit to His Grace, the Duke of Devonshire, 1<sup>st</sup> Dec 1843, composed expressly for the occasion, arranged for the pianoforte and humbly ded. To Her Most Gracious Majesty The Queen by Charles Coote, pianist to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.' Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, A set of Quadrilles composed by Charles Coote for Queen Victoria's visit to Chatsworth in 1843.

<sup>31</sup> Clapp-Intyre, *Angelic Airs*, 80.

Bowlby came up and said, "If you please, the Queen wishes you not to talk."<sup>32</sup>

In contrast to the difficulties experienced by concert promoters at the end of the eighteenth century, the 1830s and 1840s experienced an explosion of public concert life that was unrivalled in any other area of cultural life. It even superseded the publishing and literary world. Unlike the tightly controlled musical institutions such as the opera, concerts seemed to meet many social and cultural needs.<sup>33</sup> These developments were the result of the complex interplay of different sociological factors already alluded to.<sup>34</sup> Between 1750 and 1790, concert-going played an important role in the aristocracy's social season in London and most concerts were organised under the direction and patronage of aristocratic patrons.<sup>35</sup> The Concerts of Antient Music, patronised by Lord Harewood and other aristocratic subscribers, were one example and became so prestigious that the King attended them.<sup>36</sup> During the 1790s concerts almost disappeared completely, for the reasons discussed in Chapter 3, and when they re-emerged in the early 1800s, the nobility retained preeminence in the cultural sphere. Following the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, a period of peace and economic stability began. This enabled a wider spectrum of people to gain a higher standard of living and created the conditions for a boom in cultural development. William Weber describes the effect on musical activities as resulting primarily in a dramatic increase in the manufacture of musical instruments and the publication of sheet music for use in the home, two industries that had been growing steadily throughout the eighteenth century. Concert life grew more slowly, and it was not until the mid-1820s that the number of concerts began to rise. However, during the

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<sup>32</sup> Lord Broughton, *Recollections of a Long Life* (entry, 3 May 1847), cited in Burton, *The Early Victorians at Home*, 214.

<sup>33</sup> Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, 17–18.

<sup>34</sup> The different factors influencing the growth of concert life in the nineteenth century are discussed in depth in Weber's book, *Music and the Middle Class*. Some of these developments were explored in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>35</sup> A discussion of the development of concert life in the eighteenth century and the role that Yorkshire's aristocracy played in this was discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. As mentioned previously, the development of concerts in the northern provinces has been the subject of several recent studies: See R. Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (2006); D. Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality* (1994).

<sup>36</sup> Weber's *Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England* (1992) traces the development of the taste for 'Antient Music', and its relationship to aristocratic taste, which led to the establishment of the 'Concert of Antient Music' in 1776, where the traditions of performing old works came together as a self-conscious canon focused on the works of Handel. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7 on the Yorkshire music collections.

1830s and 1840s, the number of concerts increased dramatically.

Despite this expansion in London's concert life, I have not found any accounts of Georgiana's attendance at specific public concerts, although her music collection suggests she was familiar with the music that was being performed publicly at that time. In 1842, however, she wrote of a private concert: 'The Stabat Mater was very fine at Lansdowne House last night.'<sup>37</sup> Private concerts took place throughout the nineteenth century and there continued to be a very close relationship between private and public concerts.<sup>38</sup>

Georgiana clearly remained a keen opera-goer, recording, for example, visits to the theatre and opera with her children, by herself and with other friends and her brother in her diary of 1831–32. Later in 1851 she wrote to her son-in-law William Cavendish, Lord Burlington: 'Evelyn and Di Howard profited by your kindness in sending me the opera box – we had a few people at dinner which prevented my being able – they were enchanted by *Norma*.'<sup>39</sup>

Opera-going in the early nineteenth century was seen by contemporary critics as an elite activity engaged in by the subset of the nobility known as the 'beau monde' as a means of furthering social connections. Jennifer L. Hall-Witt's essay 'Representing the Audience in the Age of Reform: Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera in London' discusses how particular social, political, and intellectual developments from the 1820s to the 1850s, such as the Reform Bill, fed into and shaped critics' perceptions and representations of elite opera-goers.<sup>40</sup> She suggests that the movement for political reform politicised the public image of the aristocracy, creating a stereotype that was then taken up and used by music critics. She shows how critics contrasted the listening experiences of the beau monde with another ideal type of audience, which consisted of the middle classes, or amateurs, musicians, and connoisseurs.<sup>41</sup>

The upper classes were criticised for conversing throughout the

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<sup>37</sup> G. Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, autograph letter to 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth?, 7 July 1842, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2. 85/6.

<sup>38</sup> Weber, *Music and the Middle Class*, Chapter IV, 53–84.

<sup>39</sup> G. Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, autograph letter to W. Cavendish, place unknown, 6 June 1851. Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.132. *Norma* is an opera by Vincenzo Bellini, first produced at La Scala in Milan in 1831.

<sup>40</sup> J. L. Hall-Witt, 'Representing the Audience in the Age of Reform: Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera in London,' in C. Bashford and L. Langley, eds., *Music and British Culture, 1785–1914*, 121–144.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

performances, for their lack of interest in composers, their preoccupation with singers and popular arias, and their love of modern Italian opera. Their lack of taste and behaviour was set against the more serious attitudes of the ideal other type of audience who wished to listen quietly and attentively, and who valued the music of the German school of composers. As William Harrison Ainsworth remarked in 1842, 'We find that the deep, earnest, sublime music of Handel and Mozart is appreciated, night after night ... by crowded audiences consisting of the humble classes of society; while the clattering noise of Donizetti is provided constantly as the appropriate entertainment for the ears of the higher classes.'<sup>42</sup> Against this, Hall-Witt sets the elite's own commentaries on their activities and experiences at the opera. She demonstrates finally that, while there were some similarities between the way that both parties talked about upper-class opera-going habits, there were differences in interpretation and opinion as to the validity and meaning of elite behaviour. For example, it was not surprising that elite women paid attention to a singer's performance as most of them were familiar with singing technique. To demonstrate this, Hall-Witt cites Lady Bunsen's comments on Jenny Lind's singing in Bellini's *La Sonnambula*:

The long-sustained, ever-varied, piano-passages – in which the softest, lowest tone was as distinct as the sharpest and loudest: the long-continued rich, soft piano-shake, followed by a long swelling note, without any appearance of taking a breath – in short, the whole of her singing was *song*, without any admixture or imitation of instruments. I should think hers the perfection of 'voce di petto' – almost without recurrence to *falseto*.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, the elite were very familiar with popular Italian operas, probably having heard them in private concerts as well as attempting to sing the arias at home themselves.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> W. H. Ainsworth, 'The Gentleman's Tiger (No. II): Our Stall at the Opera,' (no. II, concl.), *Ainsworth's Magazine*, I (1842), 254, cited in J. L. Hall Witt, 'Representing the Audience in the Age of Reform: Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera', 129.

<sup>43</sup> Letter dated 8 July 1848 in A. J. C. Hare, *The Life and Letters of Frances, Baroness Bunsen* (1879), 115–16, cited in J. L. Hall Witt, 'Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera', 134.

<sup>44</sup> Hall-Witt refers in a footnote to a collection of printed programmes of private concerts in the box

The opera house also could be a means of further instruction. The character Lady Glenmore, in the novel *The Exclusives*, comments: 'It is very delightful to me to go to the opera; and the perfect finish of the singing of professional people teaches me to improve my own.'<sup>45</sup> An interest in performance of well-known arias did not necessarily reflect a lack of serious interest and taste. It was also understandable that socialising was seen by aristocrats as being culturally significant in the cultivation of social networks, and important for the political advancement of sons and finding good marriage partners for daughters.<sup>46</sup> Finally, sources show that audience behaviour was changing by the 1840s and 1850s, and that a culture of quiet listening was gradually developing.<sup>47</sup>

Alongside this was the impact of the growth of wider audience bases, including more broadly defined elite groups, which meant that the opera hall was no longer a central meeting place for select members of a single upper class. Hall-Witt cites Henry Chorley who, in comparing opera in 1834 to that in 1862, noted that 'a certain air of private society, where known persons are sure to be found in known places, which used to distinguish the opera, has all but departed from it'. As a result, 'the non-subscribers are now of as much consequence to the treasury as the habitual frequenters of the theatre.'<sup>48</sup>

It is clear that Georgiana went to the opera throughout her life and was part of this aristocratic audience. Her comments on these visits as a girl and younger woman conveyed some of her impressions. Georgiana seemed to have taken pleasure in visiting the opera: 'I hope I shall hear Mrs Billington who sings again at Drury Lane. I liked the opera very much the other night.'<sup>49</sup> However, her writings also reveal her sense of the social dimension of opera-going, and it was usually combined with other social activities like a dinner. She too had received singing lessons and was able to discriminate between good and poor performances. Her music collection is evidence that she was very familiar with Italian opera arias,

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'Private Houses in London' in the Department of Portraits and Performance History at the Royal College of Music (134). This would be worthy of further investigation.

<sup>45</sup> Lady C. Bury, *The Exclusives* (1830), iii, 61–2, cited in Hall-Witt, 'Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera in London', 134.

<sup>46</sup> See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the importance of sociability.

<sup>47</sup> Hall-Witt, 'Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera', 137.

<sup>48</sup> E. Newman ed., *Thirty Years of Musical Recollections* (1972), cited in Hall-Witt, 'Critics and the Elite at the Italian Opera', 137.

<sup>49</sup> G. Morpeth, Claremont House, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, place unknown, n.d., CHA, J18/21/Vols 99/12.

although she also possessed arias from operas by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and vocal and piano music by other German composers.

There are few comments in her letters on the particular operas, performances and artists that Georgiana saw to enable one to evaluate her responses to and thoughts about the music she was hearing. However, there are numerous musical references in her travel journals. During the years 1838–39, Georgiana travelled in Europe. Her journals, like those of her mother, contain descriptions and record her reactions and reflections upon what she was seeing. They also include comments about the music they hear and experience.<sup>50</sup> What do they tell us about her interest and knowledge?

At Genoa on 20 November 1838 Georgiana went to the opera: ‘I made a visit to Madame de Bugnole at the Palace and she came to us very soon afterwards with the Marquis de Bugnole – they lent us their opera box – Ld Lyttleton dined with us and went to it with my girls.’ These comments, like her earlier ones, do not reveal anything about what she saw or her reactions to the opera. However, in Naples she reported how on 14 May: ‘in the evening we went to the opera at San Carlo which is the most beautiful theatre I ever saw – and part of the representation of *Bellisario* was touching and well sung.’ Again, in Munich on her birthday, 12 July, she recorded briefly her impressions of the performance: ‘Went to see the Palace. After our 5, 0 clock dinner we went to the opera which was the *Sonnambula* – the House is rather a fine one – adjoining the Palace – the orchestra appeared to me very good and the principal female singer, who came from Dresden was good – not first rate.’ After a visit to some friends’ home in Rome she was more specific, expressing her enjoyment of and interest in certain Italian songs: ‘We dined with the Chas Percys – in the evening Mrs. Percy sung to us – *Ruth* ... and some very pretty Italian airs – I liked particularly one of Bellini’s that he composed just before leaving England.’<sup>51</sup>

Her comments on the music in the churches offer further insights. Although they are not very detailed, they reveal her ability to discriminate between good and poor performances. From Paris she wrote: ‘on Sunday 21st October [1838] I went to church with my sister – the music was very pretty – particularly “Thro’ all

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<sup>50</sup> G. Morpeth, travel journals, 1838–9, CHA, J18/62/10–12.

<sup>51</sup> Entry for 18 March 1839. *Ruth*, composed by Miss Eliza Davies, is in Georgiana’s music collection: CHA J18/77/4/Vol. 45. G. Morpeth, travel journals, 1838–9, CHA, J18/62/10–12.



the changing scenes of life.” In Lucca she noted on 25 November: ‘Sunday. We went to the cathedral which is a very old one at the time of Vespers – I was disappointed in the music which was very bad and quite out of tune and the singing, as much as I could judge, was careless.’ On the 25 January 1839 she ‘went to Vespers and took Miss Hastings and Mrs. Wood – the music in the churches has generally disappointed me but there was a fine soprano voice that sung very well.’ Two months later on 9 March she noted: ‘after this he sat me down at St Peter’s where I heard the Vespers which I thought very fine – the chorus of the Amen – and another in which they held the notes alternately magnificent.’ The vocabulary she employed was limited, perhaps using ‘pretty’ to describe music that was more melodic and lighter, in contrast to the more serious and loftier devotional music of the mass which she termed as ‘fine.’ She was in Rome for Easter and discussed the ‘Misereres’ she expected to hear, revealing her knowledge and appreciation of the compositions:

Palm Sunday will be a replica of Candlemas, palms taking the place of candles. Wed, Thurs, and Friday are the Misereres, both in St. Peter’s and the Sistine, Allegri’s in the Sistine being “the Miserere” par excellence but I cannot say on which day that is likely to be – on the other days they are the Misereres of Bai and Bainsi, all very fine. In St. Peter’s the Misereres are of more modern composition.<sup>52</sup>

Something else of interest comes through in her comments about the way she experienced music in these continental cathedrals: this is the close relationship that she seemed to feel existed between music, art and devotion. This points to another dimension of the role that music played in her life, the relationship between music, public and private, and her faith and emotional life.

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<sup>52</sup> G. Morpeth, travel journals, 1838–9, CHA, J18/62/10–12.

## Music and Georgiana's personal life

In 1840 Georgiana's daughter Blanche died. Her correspondence during the following months reveals the depth of her grief. Writing to her sister from Castle Howard she confessed:

I have certainly my dearest love felt still more le cœur navre since I have been here – place signifies little – and the country is more soothing, less repugnant to one's feelings than London – but whatever one is perhaps one knows it better in the country – one has more time to take it all in – and as dear Lord Burlington says the more fully aware the extent of one's wretchedness.<sup>53</sup>

At another time, on a visit to Chatsworth, she wrote to her brother:

I stopped under the tree where I used to look up when a girl and to think, 'what will be my destiny.' I have seen the dearest, most beloved raised to the pinnacle of human happiness – and I have seen her taken away – but I hope I can say with sincerity Blessed be the name of the Lord!<sup>54</sup>

Georgiana's personal life was characterised by her devotion to God and by her tendency towards depression, and both were intertwined. As has been noted, much of Georgiana's life during this period, and earlier, was troubled by depression, probably due to a number of factors. Her depression may have begun in the early 1800s, although she was described as being introspective and nervous as early as 1793 following her mother's return from exile abroad.<sup>55</sup> Her depression of spirits was recognised by herself and by all her family. In 1835 her husband

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<sup>53</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to H. Granville, Paris, 30 July 1840, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.32.

<sup>54</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to Duke of Devonshire (abroad), 16 Oct 1841, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.78.

<sup>55</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 285.

expressed his sad concern for Georgiana in the following lines about his daughters and wife.

*Lines made on the road last year as I came to town 1835*

To wile away the tedious mile  
And sickening fancies to beguile  
I'll think on each lov'd daughters' face  
And try in each their minds to trace ... Caroline ...  
Next to my memory it seems  
My lov'd Georgiana's form appears  
Those eyes where pure affection beams,  
Once bright with smiles, now dimm'd by tears  
That mouth of sweetness that might move  
The coldest heart to joy and love! –  
Tho' joy and love are hers no more  
Still must she feel her power to bless,  
To teach his children virtue's love  
To make his parent's suffering less  
To her the blessed task is given  
To point his path from earth to heaven ...  
For tho you know I have often dwelt  
On sufferings too keenly felt  
One truth I grateful own is plain  
Their mother has not lived in vain.<sup>56</sup>

On another occasion he wrote:

Heard ye you shriek that rends the troubled air,  
The awful voice of horrible despair,  
Now reason falters and convulsive pain  
Throbs in the heart and riots in the brain  
Now silent all and returning grief

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<sup>56</sup> Unbound poetry – composed, copied, or collected by Georgiana, J18/66.

In piteous groans demands in vain relief –  
Hush my G---a, fly those dread alarms  
And seek refuge in your M---h's arms  
Recline that languid head and lull to rest  
The impassioned heavings of that throbbing breast.<sup>57</sup>

Her children sought to encourage her:

I am so happy to hear the good account of Willy ... he must be grown much stronger. How I wish you could also dear mama; at all events do not despair of it, and pray do not be low about yourself. We all long to see you again, but when will that be? I suppose you cannot know yet.<sup>58</sup>

They were aware of her capacity for deep feeling and sensitivity. On receiving the news of the 5th Countess of Carlisle's death, Harriet wrote back to her mother:

I have just received your letter and regret that I have little time to tell you how deeply I feel its melancholy contents ... You do not mention Papa's gout and Gd Papa was better than you expected. His letter yesterday was very heartbreaking. Your being there must be a great satisfaction to him as it ever is to all of us who are absent from you. Your arrival at CH must have been terrible. How I feel for you who feel so deeply.<sup>59</sup>

Georgiana herself wrote much about her battle with depression. One interesting musical analogy of how she presumably saw herself is found in the following poem wherein she likened herself to a broken and adandoned lyre:

Thy lyre is like to me – neglected

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<sup>57</sup> Lines by Lord Morpeth, CHA, J18/65/10.

<sup>58</sup> G. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, 28 Nov 1819, CHA, J18/12/55.

<sup>59</sup> H. Howard, Hamilton Place, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 30 Jan year?, CHA, J18/13/8.

A useless burthen now it stands  
By all who once admired – rejected  
The scorn and sport of vulgar hands ...  
But now for all its charm is o'er  
Of former talent but the token  
Its sweetest sounds are heard no more  
Its chords are, as my heart is – broken.<sup>60</sup>

The lyre, once an object of delight and capable of giving pleasure, prized and cherished by its owner, is now cast aside, a 'useless burden', with broken strings. The poem speaks of a broken heart and abandonment by a lover; but the picture also conveys her sense of brokenness and her fear that she was a 'useless burden' to those around her. She was very preoccupied with her health and thought frequently about death. However, as was observed earlier, she exerted herself and attempted to overcome these tendencies:

You have no real disease: do all that is right for your general health. Rouse and exert without fatiguing yourself. Consider the great objects you have to fulfil in life and do not for shame dwell incessantly on yourself. Pursue your course with resolution. Do not expect to be free from all disagreeable sensations immediately but hope much from time and perseverance. Consider how much better you are already in many respects for what you have done – your disease is general nervousness to a great degree it is true, but may not you hope much from the means you have already tried with success and should now follow up with greater perseverance – the feeling of inconceivable depression is a kind of fainting.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Collection of unbound poetry composed, collected, copied by Georgiana, CHA, J18/66.

<sup>61</sup> G. Morpeth, Chatsworth, 30 Oct 1819, CHA, J18/63.

## The relationship of music to Georgiana's faith

Georgiana's greatest solace in her suffering was the help, perspective and comfort she found in God. The Castle Howard archives contain many of her prayers and writings about her faith. These express her dependence on God to help her to cope with her trials and to fulfil her responsibilities to her husband and children:

Thou who alone knowest how much I am afflicted with the trial which thou hast sent me, and with what despair it has filled my heart, grant me thy grace so to bear it if it is not thy will to withdraw it, that my affliction may not be unprofitable, nor my sorrow vain and that when it may be thy pleasure to relieve me I may show forth my thankfulness not only with my lips but in my life may I be able to do my duty by my dear Husband and children, not .... the one with my complaints nor neglecting the others but endeavouring to withdraw my thoughts as much as possible from what so much engrosses them and not to be made insensible by my sufferings of the real inestimable blessings I possess.<sup>62</sup>

It was established in Chapter 3 that the mid-nineteenth century was characterised by greater sobriety, an increased sense of morality, and a concern for personal and social reform, firstly amongst the middle classes but then infiltrating the upper classes. Religion was very important in early Victorian England and during this period the church diversified and came to encompass a wide range of beliefs and practices. The Established Church now had three wings, which have been termed high, broad and low. The characteristics of these sectors and the emergence of other non-conformist groupings, as well as the state of the Roman Catholic Church at this time, has been well documented.<sup>63</sup> Most broadly, the period has been described as being swept up in the wave of an 'evangelical revival'.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> G. Morpeth, Park St. [London], 11 March 1811. CHA, J18/74.

<sup>63</sup> L. Picard, *Victorian London*, (2005), 343–59; E. Miall, *The British Churches in relation to the British People*, (1849); Rev. C. M. Davies, *Orthodox London, or Phases of Religious Life in the Church of England* (1873) and *Unorthodox London*, (1873 and 1875).

<sup>64</sup> See Hilton on 'The Evangelical Revival', *A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?*, 174–184.

It is always difficult to discern in such movements to what extent the increase in church attendance and outward expressions of religiosity is matched by genuine personal faith on the part of the practicers, and to what extent these changes are determined by wider social factors. It is also easy to label individuals in an attempt to define and categorise.<sup>65</sup> Burton claims that 'a genuine religious faith played a great and motivating part in many lives'<sup>66</sup> Certainly it was a period of extraordinary spiritual awakening, as accounts of the non-conformist Baptist preacher Charles Haddon Spurgeon testify.<sup>67</sup> The Queen and Prince Albert were both very devout. Victoria's beliefs have been described as 'broad'.<sup>68</sup> Writing of her daughter's religious education she said:

I am quite clear that she should be taught to have a great reverence for God, for religion, but that she should have the feeling of devotion and love which our Heavenly Father encourages His earthly children to have for Him, and not out of fear or trembling; that the thoughts of death and an after life should not be represented in an alarming and forbidding view, and she should be made to know *as yet* no difference of creeds, and not to think she can only pray on her knees, or that those who do not kneel are less fervid and devout in their prayers.<sup>69</sup>

Georgiana had been brought up by her mother, grandmother and Selina her governess to be disciplined in her devotions, which could almost be seen as being synonymous with doing her duty. As a girl, Georgiana wrote how she was reading two chapters of the Bible each day as Selina had urged her to.<sup>70</sup> In her schoolbook

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<sup>65</sup> In David Gent's unpublished thesis, 'Aristocratic Whig Politics in early-Victorian Yorkshire', 41, he describes Georgiana as a 'thorough-going Evangelical'. However, as will be seen, her comments on music and her appreciation of services even within such Catholic strongholds such as St Peter's, Rome suggest an emotional sympathy with other forms of worship, even while doctrinally she adhered to a strongly protestant theology of salvation.

<sup>66</sup> Burton, *The Early Victorians at Home*, 34.

<sup>67</sup> Picard, *Victorian London*, 353-4.

<sup>68</sup> Burton, *The Early Victorians at Home*, 36.

<sup>69</sup> H. M. Queen Victoria, *Leaves from the Journal of our life in the Highlands (1848-1861)*, A. Helps ed., (entry, 4 September 1842), cited in Burton, *The Early Victorians at Home*, 36.

<sup>70</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Spencer, place unknown, 22 Dec 1805, CHA,

she kept records of her devotions. However, her mother's approach was not severe, as was seen in the discussions she had with Georgiana on the appropriateness of playing music on Sundays.<sup>71</sup> It is clear from her writings that over time Georgiana developed a deep personal faith, which was real and robust enough to sustain her throughout her life. Although she retained a strong sense of her duty to God and her family, she did not have any sense of fear of future punishment or retribution if and when she failed, as she felt she did frequently. Rather she viewed heaven and the after-life as something to be looked forward to, which gave sense and purpose to her present sufferings and where she would meet God her Saviour and be like him. It was not merely that in heaven she would be released from the pain and trials she experienced on earth, but she had the expectant hope that she would meet, 'see', and be able to worship her Saviour without the constraints, 'clouds', of her depression. It was this that gave her joy and which helped her to persevere:

After all, it is not beautiful things nor a beautiful world that make people happy – it is loving and being loved; and that is the reason why I am happy in the thought of heaven. I shall, if He receives me, I shall be with my Saviour; I shall see Him and know Him, without any of the clouds that come between here. I am often forgetting and displeasing Him now – never serving Him well nor loving Him right. I shall be glad to find myself where all that will be done with forever. I shall be like Him!<sup>72</sup>

The following lines, which employ the image of a vessel being tossed around on tempestuous waters, provide further insight into the depth of her faith, which she described as an anchor in the midst of the turbulence of life's storms.

*What is Faith?*

Faith is the glance of weary souls,

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J18/26/10.

<sup>71</sup> Her school book of 1798 records 'hymns and music' on Sundays, CHA, J18/62/2.

<sup>72</sup> G. Carlisle, Religious writings, CHA, J18/74.



On Him whose star-like form  
Is seen while life's dread ocean rolls  
beneath the angry storm.

Faith is the cable's strength to keep,  
Midst loudest wildest blasts  
The vessel safely on the deep  
Where hope her anchor casts.

Faith is the helm by which to steer  
To an eternal rest:  
And held by Jesus ev'ry fear  
Subsides within the breast.<sup>73</sup>

This was the hub of Georgiana's faith. In terms of outward expression, she was faithful and regular in her devotions on a Sunday, attending a neighbouring church or the chapel at Castle Howard. In her letters she frequently commented on the content of the sermon and her papers contain notes on different passages of the Bible.

### **The Chapel at Castle Howard**

It would be reasonable to assume that some services at Castle Howard would have been held in the Chapel. The family was Anglican and it may be supposed that the services followed the same liturgical pattern. However, little has been discovered about the original chapel, whether or not it was consecrated, if there was a resident chaplain, whether any services took place there or if it was mainly used for family prayers and devotions. It is unclear exactly how 'high' or 'broad' the services would have been. In a letter to her son-in-law, William Cavendish, following Blanche's death in 1840, she recounted her memories of her daughter in the Chapel, and referred to the 'Holy Service'.<sup>74</sup> In his diaries, the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl refers to

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<sup>73</sup> Shortened version. CHA, J18/66.

<sup>74</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to W. Cavendish, Holker, 26 July 1840, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.31.

prayers and morning services being held in the Chapel at Castle Howard.

As has been noted, Georgiana's music collection contains many examples of sacred music, anthems and hymns for different ecclesiastical occasions.<sup>75</sup> Contemporary composers of church and cathedral music are both represented in her collection.<sup>76</sup> There is also a translation of Giovanni Battista Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, probably by Georgiana. Whether these pieces might have been performed in the Chapel at Castle Howard, and by whom, will be considered in Chapters 7 and 8.

There are many indications in her writings that the role that music played in worship was important to her. The following poem, found amongst her papers, can be understood to express her feelings about the relationship between music and praise:

*Poetry, Painting and Music*

T'is sweet to enliven an hour  
By culling from Nature's wild field  
The young bud of Fancy's bright flower  
Which to genius such odour can yield ...  
But more sweet o'er the lyre *to fling?*  
The hand which can strike the loud chord  
The bold swelling anthem to sing  
To heav'n and earth's highest Lord.<sup>77</sup>

These sentiments were borne out in her comments about different church services she attended: '[Lord Carlisle] went to church with us – it is a delightful service, with beautiful music, and all done with so much feeling and devotion.'<sup>78</sup> In Florence she noted the expectation with which she visited some of the great

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<sup>75</sup> Among Georgiana's papers are the following: 'Hymn before Morning Service', Words by the Rev'd W. Mason, Musick by Dr. Burney', and 'Hymn before Evening Service', CHA, J18/66.

<sup>76</sup> There are also many aspects of the sacred music in Georgiana's collection that warrant closer analysis. For example, the music by contemporary composers, of whom Bernarr Rainbow comments, 'The enduring achievements of church musicians working outside the cathedrals in the nineteenth century lay in rediscovery and reform rather than extended composition, in the provision of music for congregation rather than choir.' B. Rainbow, *Music in Britain*, 144. An examination of this material would provide a further dimension to understanding the place of music in Georgiana's devotional life.

<sup>77</sup> From E. Dillon, 'Musings', CHA, J18/65/13.

<sup>78</sup> G. Carlisle, autograph letter to H. Granville, Trentham, 28 Oct 1840, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.40.

churches: 'Monday 24 Dec. I went to bed early that – might go to see the ceremonies and hear the music at the Annunziata which – described as very fine.' She described her pleasure at discovering music on Christmas day in the Duomo: 'Xmas day. In the afternoon we went to hear Vespers at the Duomo – they were going on and there was music in a chapel.'<sup>79</sup> In this she did not seem to be discriminating between Anglican and Roman Catholic liturgy and service styles, surprising perhaps in an evangelical. The emphasis was more on the 'atmosphere' of worship, what will assist and inspire worship, in which music plays a large part. This is consistent with her comments on St Peter's in Rome in 1839, the magnificence of which inspired her less than more sober buildings she knew:

The beauty, the magnificence filled me with wonder – but I thought it less calculated to inspire religious awe than I perhaps expected – there is so much colour, of gilding, of splendour – it is the finest temple man ever raised; but it does not according to my impression assist devotion like the old Gothic buildings, or even as some recent ones do, such as the Duomo at Florence or even Santa Maria Novella ... On the whole I should say the beauty, the magnificence is almost greater, the solemnity less than I expected – but in saying that I expected this solemnity I am perhaps only recording my own ignorance.

Likewise, on 1 August 1839 she commented on her experience in Antwerp, focusing on the combined effects of art and architecture, and on the music's role in assisting worship:

Went to hear the Vespers at the Cathedral – it was beautiful and reminded me of dear Italy from the union of the enjoyments that the fine arts can give. The organ and the voices tho' not first rate were sufficiently good to raise the feelings.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> G. Morpeth, travel journals, 1838–9, CHA, J18/62/10–12.

<sup>80</sup> G. Morpeth, travel journals, 1838–9, CHA, J18/62/10–12.

## ***Summary***

From an understanding of Georgiana's faith and how it supported and helped her in her personal trials, and the important role that music played in the expression of that faith, it may be concluded that at a very personal and emotional level, music was for Georgiana both a solace in suffering and an inspiration to worship. This subjective link between music and spirituality, while undoubtedly based on real and well-defined beliefs, bore some resemblance to prevailing Romantic ideology.<sup>81</sup> In her son it was even more pronounced. As was discussed in Chapter 3, Georgiana seems to have passed on both her spiritual values and her sensitivity to music to her son, George Morpeth, in whom music and spirituality seemed to combine. For him music evoked spiritual emotion, and thus he experienced and interpreted music in spiritual terms.

## **Epilogue: The Dowager Countess, 1848–58**

Georgiana outlived her husband by 10 years, remaining at Castle Howard until her death in 1858. Her son George was now the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle. What role did music play in Georgiana's life and at Castle Howard during this final period of her life?

The 7<sup>th</sup> Earl had been an MP for 17 years; he was defeated in 1841. He was twice Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and awarded a Knight of the Garter 1855. Georgiana was fully committed to supporting her son's political career and maintained a close relationship with him throughout her life especially following the death of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl. As a consequence of his political career the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl was frequently absent from home.

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<sup>81</sup> See section on the spiritual meaning of music in the nineteenth century in Chapter 3.



Figure 12: Georgiana, the Dowager Countess of Carlisle, by Robert Thorburn, commissioned from the artist in January 1853 and sat for at Stoke Park, home of Henry Labouchere

*Reproduced by kind permission of the Hon. Simon Howard*

Georgiana herself visited other houses and was often in London as may be seen from the Chatsworth correspondence.<sup>82</sup> Georgiana's youngest daughter Mary

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<sup>82</sup> See Chatsworth correspondence. Chatsworth House archives has a large number of letters written by Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle: 45 letters in the '5<sup>th</sup> Duke's Group', written between 1783 and 1810; 598 letters in the '6<sup>th</sup> Duke's Group', written between 1811 and 1839; 157 in the '2nd Series' of letters, written between 1840 and her death in 1858.

remained at home with her mother the longest. In 1852 she married Henry Labouchere, Lord Taunton, who had been widowed in 1850 and who had three young daughters from his first marriage. Mary apparently formed good relationships with the girls. It is likely that Georgiana would have spent a considerable amount of time receiving visits from her family and their children and visiting them in their houses or in the family homes in London and at Chatsworth. It is probable that the younger people would have entertained the mothers and grandmother and any assembled family and company, following the example and cultural pattern of Georgiana and the Cavendishes.

The special relationship between Georgiana and the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl has already been noted, as has the way in which he imbibed his mother's faith and love of music. The following quotation again reinforces the close link between music and spirituality in the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl's mind, which was discussed at length in Chapter 3:

Mrs. G\_\_\_\_\_ took me in the open carriage to Chapelthorpe, a quiet country church 4 miles off. The whole service is chanted and sung in the most complete and beautiful manner; it has all been got up by Mr. and Mrs. Wood, late William Lenox, who both appear in the gallery before the organ in the midst of a small band who sing with them, ... the responses in the communion service were especially beautiful, so was one of the singing psalms, she singing alternate lines with the rest of the choir.<sup>83</sup>

## **Continued cultural life**

Georgiana's life at this time continued to include visits to the opera and lectures. In 1851 she wrote: 'Evelyn and Di Howard profited by your kindness in sending me the opera box – we had a few people at dinner which prevented my being able – they were enchanted with Norma. It is within the limits of possibility that I may

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<sup>83</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Thornes? House, diary entry, 17 Dec 1843, CHA, J19/8/1.

appear there as Mrs. R. Cavendish this evening.’<sup>84</sup> In another letter of the same period and amidst descriptions of the hopeless state of someone’s health and the anticipation of death, she mentions going to ‘Thackeray’s lecture on Pope’.<sup>85</sup> She remained mindful and interested in social and cultural events even if she was not able to attend them herself: ‘Give my kindest love to Lucy and all – I was glad to hear she enjoyed her ball at Haddon and the illuminated fountains at Chatsworth must have been beautiful ... I hope I shall hear somehow how Cavendish liked Dickens’ play.’<sup>86</sup>

### **A royal visit: Queen Victoria comes to Castle Howard in 1850**

Seven years after the royal visit to Chatsworth, Queen Victoria and Prince Albert received an invitation to stay at Castle Howard. An account of this event has been compiled by Judith Oppenheimer, former archivist at Castle Howard. It is based on correspondence between the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle and his agent John Henderson and on extracts from the Earl’s diary. It commences with Albert’s acceptance of the Earl’s invitation on 27 July 1850:

We cannot refuse your kind invitation and ... we shall with pleasure stay two nights with you ... We shall leave [...] on Tuesday 27 August and reach Castle Howard that evening ... The smaller your party and the less of pomp and ceremony the better the queen will like her stay under your roof.<sup>87</sup>

Much of the account focuses on the elaborate preparations and improvements to the house undertaken in order to get ready for the visit of such important guests. This included the installation of gas lighting in the Great Hall and State rooms.

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<sup>84</sup> G. Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, autograph letter to W. Cavendish, place unknown, 6 June 1851, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.132.

<sup>85</sup> G. Carlisle, Grosvenor Place, autograph letter to W. Cavendish, Burlington House, 20 June 1851, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.134.

<sup>86</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to W. Cavendish, Chatsworth, 29 Aug 1852, Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, Second Series Correspondence Group 2.141.

<sup>87</sup> Prince Albert, place unknown, autograph letter to 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard, 27 July 1850, CHA, J19/1/111/8.

Everyone was involved in the preparations. The housekeeper at Castle Howard, Charlotte Parker, wrote to Lady Carlisle on 5 August: 'As her Majesty is coming to Castle Howard I take the liberty to write to your Ladyship to name a few things necessary to be had – New chintze covers for the Music Room, the old ones are very much faded and worn, long muslin curtains would be a great improvement to this room and to the Drawing Room as well as the rooms upstairs.'<sup>88</sup>

While Georgiana and Mary were staying at Chatsworth with Uncle D, they were able to glean much useful information from him about the Queen's visit to Chatsworth in 1843. Indeed the Duke had compiled a book about the occasion which he lent to his sister. One of the main achievements of the visit however was the procurement of the services of Coote and his band as mentioned. The correspondence records Georgiana's 'idea' as she wrote to her son to ask 'whether you would like me to ask my brother to lend him to you for Castle Howard', and the conversations between Georgiana and her brother and with Mr. Coote himself. The Duke and Coote both emphasised the need for at least five players in order for the Queen not to hear them 'to disadvantage'. Georgiana wrote to her son enclosing a note from Coote with his recommendations and expenses. The five instruments suggested are an interesting combination according to modern ideas: they were the pianoforte, harp, clarinet, 'cornet a pistons' and a violoncello. He also recommended the flute as a possible additional instrument. He summarised the expenses as being ten guineas per player and £20 travelling expenses. It appears that the flute was eventually included according to the accounts. The Earl agreed and Georgiana wrote 'I am delighted that you accede to the idea, and it will certainly be a very great addition.'<sup>89</sup>

The royal train arrived at 6pm on the appointed day to the sound of the band of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dragoon Guards playing the National Anthem.<sup>90</sup> During the dinner

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<sup>88</sup> G. Carlisle, Castle Howard, autograph letter to 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, place unknown, CHA, J19/1/48/83.

<sup>89</sup> G. Carlisle, Chatsworth, autograph letters to 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, place unknown, CHA, J19/1/48/81-2.

<sup>90</sup> Prior to the event Captain Warre wrote to John Henderson: 'Capt. Warre has been requested by Lord Carlisle to send the bearer and corpl of 2 Dr. gds to JW Henderson, who will have the goodness to point out where the billets are to be obtained for the Escort and Dragoon Guards and the band from 27 till 29'. The Escort consisting of 2 officers, 2 sergeants and 12 Dragoons will arrive at Castle Howard before noon tomorrow (tues) and the Band consisting of 2 sergts, 15 dragoons – will arrive with the Guard of Honour by the 4 o'clock train. The guard will return the same – but the band will remain and be at Lord Carlisle's orders as long as he may require it.' from Captain Warre, 26 August



that evening there was no music on account of Louis Philippe's death the previous day. However, after coffee in the Orleans Room the royal party went into the Music Room and listened to Coote and his band. According to Oppenheimer, the second evening passed smoothly with Coote's band playing especially well. On the third evening, following the departure of the Queen and her family, Lord Carlisle threw a ball for his neighbours and tenants, again employing the services of Coote's band.<sup>91</sup> From this account it may be seen the important contribution that music provided by Coote and his band made to the entertainments for the royal visit in 1850. The credit for this initiative may be entirely attributed to Georgiana who foresaw the need for high-class musical entertainment and recognised the qualities of her brother's musicians as being suitable for the occasion.

There is not much evidence of band music at Castle Howard apart from on special occasions, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, whereas bands had been frequently hired by the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire until he employed Coote as a permanent member of staff.<sup>92</sup> In this instance it seems that Chatsworth provided a model for Castle Howard, unsurprising given the continuing close relationship between the bachelor Duke and his sister Georgiana and her family who referred to him as 'Uncle D'.

### **'Evening entertainments'**

In the Castle Howard archives there is an extensive collection of programmes entitled 'programmes for evening entertainments', mainly relating to the year 1856, near the end of Georgiana's life.<sup>93</sup> They seem to have been dated to a few times each month. Each programme consists of between four to six pieces of music (songs) written out on cards and beautifully decorated and painted by hand. The collection exhibits a very wide knowledge of music, as might be expected. It begins with a Christmas Day programme (1855) with a hand-painted holly border and lists: 'Christmas Hymn, Cathedral Chimes, Cerite Rossini, and the Hallelujah Chorus'. On March 14 there is an 'Invalid Programme Castle Howard March 14,

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1850, CHA, J19/21/33/144.

<sup>91</sup> 7th Earl of Carlisle, Castle Howard, diary entry, 27–8 August, 1850, CHA, J19/8.

<sup>92</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>93</sup> Programmes for evening entertainments, CHA, J18/73.

1856. Accompaniment of cough, sneeze and pocket handkerchief! The programme for March 20 appears to have been the work of her son the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl: 'The Frame sketched – and the songs selected by the Honble George Howard, Will you go to Sheriff Muir, Rob Roy Mc Gregor, O Stately Stood the Baron's Ha, the Chevalier being void of Fear.' On 'March 21 Sacred Melodies, Good Friday 1856'. It is unknown whether they were actually performed or whether Georgiana was amusing herself during periods of sickness by creating and decorating these programmes. Nevertheless it is indicative of her enduring interest in music and suggests that the tradition of evening musical entertainments was well established, and may have continued until the end of her life at Castle Howard. Presumably at that time it would have been her daughters or her granddaughters who performed.

## **Conclusion**

From this chapter it is possible to conclude that music continued to play an important role at this time in Georgiana's life. She continued to add to her music collection, which implies that she still played to some degree. As will be seen in Chapter 7, the music and composers represented in her collection reflected her personal interests and tastes. The repertoire of Italian vocal music, dance and drawing room music also reveals that she was in touch with developments in the early-Victorian public music scene, both in England and on the continent. It is likely that she purchased music in London and in Paris, as well as locally in York. She participated in Victorian high-society life, often in the presence of the Royals. She attended balls and the opera. At home, she continued to encourage and enjoy listening to her daughters and other young women perform. Her love of music was acknowledged by friends such as the Rev. Francis Grey, who wrote to her of specific pieces of music and who came to play to her when she was unwell. More fundamentally, music played an important role in the expression of her faith. This was her legacy to her son, in whom the potent combination of music and spirituality became a force for social good.

Georgiana's love of music persisted until the end of her life. She continued to take a lively interest in public cultural events, including opera, even when she was unable to participate herself. Her initiative and recommendation that Coote and his band performed at Castle Howard on the occasion of the royal visit

demonstrated an awareness of the necessity and important contribution music would make to such an event. Towards the end of her life, in the quietness of home at Castle Howard, she would amuse herself by composing programmes of music for evening entertainments. Perhaps she no longer played but it may be supposed she continued to enjoy the performances of others. It is likely that her creative invention of programmes, drawing upon her rich musical knowledge, spilled over into the drawing room, where she must have encouraged daughters and granddaughters, suggesting music to play and songs for them to sing, and enjoying their dancing and frolics.



# 7 Music Collections at Harewood House and Castle Howard

In the previous chapters we explored the role of music in the Yorkshire country house through different relationships: firstly, through an examination of changes in the patron-client relationship seen primarily at Harewood House; and secondly, through the family relationships of the aristocratic home, focusing on the musical education and life of Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, and on the role that music played in the domestic sphere at Chatsworth House and Castle Howard. In this chapter I will be examining the collections of music that belonged to and were played in these households in an attempt to ascertain what further insights into the owners and their interests the collections provide.

## Introduction

As has been established, the study of music in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century country house is a relatively new field of investigation. To date no centralised register or database of country house music collections has been created.<sup>1</sup> However, collaboration with individual researchers has facilitated awareness and the sense that together we are building up a bank of evidence which, as we piece it together, will begin to provide a picture of musical activity

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<sup>1</sup> See Chapter 1 for details of current research on country-house music collections.

across a range of houses and geographical regions in the United Kingdom during this period.

PhD students at Southampton have been investigating different aspects of the music collections at National Trust Houses Killerton and Tatton Park. The catalogue of music belonging to Jane Austen has also been a useful comparative resource.<sup>2</sup> Collections in other houses have been researched by other people: work has been carried out at Kedleston Hall, Boughton House, Knole, Wimpole Hall, and Laurence Sterne's Shandy Hall.

In this chapter I will be focusing on the collections of bound printed and manuscript music at Harewood House and Castle Howard dating from the 1790s to 1850.<sup>3</sup> The Yorkshire houses Temple Newsam, Nostell Priory and Kirklees Abbey have individual songs or manuscript books in the archives that belonged to different family members.<sup>4</sup> There is a substantial music collection at Burton Constable Hall which was brought to the house in 1821.<sup>5</sup>

Harewood House and Castle Howard hold two contrasting collections. At Harewood House we are presented with a picture of organised, structured musical activity. The principal initiator was Edward Lascelles, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood whose passion for music led him to employ and train up a young musician to take over the direction of all musical pursuits and concerts in his house. Harewood's existing collection of music probably formed in part the basis for these practices.

The sheet music at Castle Howard is largely a personal collection belonging to one elite woman, Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, spanning the different periods of her life. Due to the paucity of the evidence it will not be possible to say definitively whether these collections are representative of wider collecting and performance practices in country houses of the period. Nevertheless an attempt will be made to compare them to each other and link them with contemporary

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<sup>2</sup> I. Gammie & D. McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music* (1996).

<sup>3</sup> This study will not focus on the musical instruments currently in the collections, as most are not indigenous to the houses under investigation. A list of these instruments may be found in the Appendix 3.

<sup>4</sup> The late-eighteenth-century collection of music manuscript books from Kirklees Abbey, formerly belonging to the Armitage family, is currently held at Spelman's Bookshop, Micklegate, York.

<sup>5</sup> The Burton Constable music collection is extensive, containing over 2000 items, and has been catalogued as part of the Leeds Museums & Galleries cataloguing system. The collection belonging to Leeds is part of the 1992 agreement between the National Heritage Memorial Fund, Leeds Museums and the Chichester-Constable family when the Burton Constable Foundation was initially set up.

tastes and trends, regionally and nationally.

## Harewood House

Harewood's surviving collection of printed and manuscript music provides an idea of the range of music that was being performed and played in the house at the end of the eighteenth and during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In contrast to the Castle Howard collection, the Harewood collection is an amalgamation of music brought into the house by different members of the family, dating from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-1800s. It consists of 114 volumes of bound printed and manuscript music. Although several volumes bear the owner's name, there are many that do not and so it is not entirely clear to whom they belonged or when they entered the collection. Of the named volumes, there are five volumes that bear Lord Harewood's name; three volumes belonging to Henrietta Sebright; eight belonging to her daughter Miss Harriet Lascelles; five belonging to Lady Louisa Thynne; and one belonging to Elizabeth Lascelles, which seems to be a compilation of music belonging to different owners at different dates.<sup>7</sup> Some volumes seem to have formed part of the 'house' collection as they bear the title 'Harewood House'. It is not known whether the collection, or collections, are complete, or if some parts have been lost.

Much of the collection consists of volumes of parts for chamber music: principally concertos, trios, accompanied sonatas, and some quintets and quartets, mainly for strings and keyboard, but also incorporating flutes and reed instruments. There is music for solo harpsichord and piano forte, including some duets and piano tutors, relatively few collections of songs, mainly Italian opera arias and duets, dance music, sacred music such as psalms and hymns and organ voluntaries, and a few opera scores. Significantly there is no guitar music and only one volume of harp music, whereas one might expect to find more in an elite

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<sup>6</sup> This collection of 114 volumes of printed and manuscript music is uncatalogued. My preliminary hand lists of both the Harewood House and Castle Howard collections are included as appendices.

<sup>7</sup> In July 1845 Henry Thynne, Viscount Lascelles (1824–1892), married Lady Elizabeth de Burgh (1826–1854), the eldest daughter of the Marquess of Clanricarde and granddaughter of the Prime Minister George Canning.

household where young ladies were developing musical accomplishments.<sup>8</sup> One explanation is that much of the music belonging to the women may have left the house with their daughters at the time of their marriages. The works of George Frederic Handel occupy a prominent place in the collection. Other composers that appear include a high number of eighteenth-century Italian and a few German and Austrian composers.<sup>9</sup> The English music of John Garth of Durham and Charles Avison of Newcastle is particularly well represented.

The instrumental music in the Harewood collection can be divided into three categories: 1) 'Ancient music', referring not only to music by specific composers, but also to genres favoured by 'ancient music' enthusiasts, for example baroque trio sonatas; 2) Music described as 'new'/modern dating from the 1760s, such as pieces in the *galant* style and examples of music by Avison and Garth, as well as numerous Italian composers; 3) nineteenth-century repertoire: dance music, opera scores, more technically difficult piano music such as that belonging to Lady Louisa Thynne.

### **Who was responsible for creating the Harewood collection?**

The fact that the majority of the collection consists of instrumental parts suggests that it may have been built up by an experienced musician. However, much of it dates to the mid- to late eighteenth century (earlier than the period under investigation) and was therefore 'old' music by the time John White was directing the Earl's concerts. Can we therefore attribute the creation of the collection to him? If not to him, to whom else? What reasons can we find to explain the presence of particular composers and genres in a collection belonging to a later generation of owners? In answer to these questions and on closer examination, it may be discovered that the acquisition, assembling and content of the collection provides a complex picture, not only of the musical tastes and interests of the inhabitants of Harewood House, but of wider musical trends at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

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<sup>8</sup> Castle Howard, Temple Newsam and Burton Constable have music for either guitar or harp. Significantly none of the volumes can be linked directly with Lady Harewood, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl's wife, although it is known that she played the pianoforte. (See Repton's comments in Chapter 3).

<sup>9</sup> See Appendix 2 for a list of names of composers and works represented in the Harewood House collection.



One of the earliest volumes in the collection is a manuscript book with the name 'Miss Chaloner 1756' handwritten on the inside cover, which presumably belonged either to Anne Chaloner (who married the 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Harewood in 1761) or to her sister Mary. The book contains pieces written out by hand for the keyboard by composers such as Domenico Alberti, Francesco Geminiani, John Stanley and Arcangelo Corelli, as well as including a minuet entitled 'Miss Penton's minuet'. There is also a duet or sonata for violin and keyboard by Jean-Philippe Rameau. From the back of the book, turned upside down, there are pages of chords in both minor and major keys, and exercises, including 'major tones' with cadences, fingerings for chords, 'flat 5<sup>th</sup>', resolved 'palping chord' and 'leading note'.<sup>10</sup> This practice of including exercises for the piano, voice and harp in manuscript books was common amongst young girls as part of the discipline of seeking to improve and perfect their musical skills. Apart from this volume that clearly came from her family, there is no evidence to suggest that Anne contributed any other music to the collection. Although there are other volumes of sonatas by Corelli (Vol. 27) and Rameau (Vol. 29), these were intended for groups of instruments and so are likely to have formed part of the instrumental ensemble collection.

It is possible that some of the collection could have been brought together by Edwin, 1st Lord Harewood, as, for example, there are records of payments for 'opera books' and repairs of harpsichords and violins in 1791–2.<sup>11</sup> However, the existing collection at Harewood probably formed the basis of the evening concerts arranged for his successor Edward the 1st Earl. To what extent therefore was he responsible for assembling the existing collection of music? There are records of him purchasing music both in London and locally, before and after his inheritance. Given his strong interest in music, he may have been overseeing music-making at his old home Stapleton Park. It is possible that the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl brought a collection of music with him from his previous residence: the address, 'No. 42 Wimpole St.', is inscribed on the front of a volume of parts for 1<sup>st</sup> violin for 'overtures, concertos etc.' (Vol. 21). According to the label, it was one of a set of eight volumes which were presumably bound at the same time for the price of £21.2.0. From this we can surmise that he played the violin.

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<sup>10</sup> I have not yet been able to ascertain what the term 'palping chord' refers to.

<sup>11</sup> Household accounts, 1791–2, WYL250/3/Acs/203.

The part of the collection that seems to have belonged to him incorporates two volumes of Italian opera arias (Vols. 75, 109), which seem to have been bound at the same time in 1812.<sup>12</sup> It would appear that there were originally three volumes in this set as the label on the inside of the first volume says: ‘Three Books The Earl of Harewood 1812 Vol. 1<sup>st</sup>’ (Vol. 109). Several of the arias are asterisked in the index suggesting that they were favourites and perhaps performed. The accompaniments vary: most are arranged for piano forte and voice; some have a harp accompaniment; there is a ‘favorite guitar air’ from *La Caccia d’Enrico IV* by Vincenzo Pucitta; occasionally the setting is for an instrumental ensemble, as in the aria *Del mio sen la dolce calma* from the opera *Sidegero* by Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi.

Once the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl had received his inheritance and moved into Harewood it is likely that he would have overseen concerts and music-making, perhaps purchasing music for performance personally. After White joined the household, these responsibilities gradually would have been handed over to him, although initially he would have been receiving training under the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl’s patronage. Unsurprisingly there is a body of music in the collection that either belonged to or was used by White. One of his responsibilities was the training of the Harewood church singers and he played the organ during the services. The sacred music in the collection includes a book of Cambridge Chants (Vol. 11), sets of organ voluntaries (Vol. 12 and 13), and a volume of psalms, including one written by White (Vol. 40). There are piano forte overtures by Haydn and others inscribed with White’s name on the title page. These are annotated in pencil. There is a volume of songs and dance music with dates, including Four Canzonets and a sonata by George Frederic Pinto (Vol. 106). A volume of Handel’s overtures (Vol. 3) has White’s name on the title page. Several of these seem to have been performed in the 1820s as they are individually dated.

The overtures and arias of Handel’s oratorios were clearly favourites of the 1st Earl of Harewood, in keeping with prevailing taste. There are three volumes of *The Beauties of Handel, consisting of upward of one hundred of his favourite songs, duets and trios ...* including arias from *Messiah* which bear the Earl’s name (Vols. 24, 25, 26). Several of the songs are asterisked in the index and annotated, perhaps

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<sup>12</sup> Binding is another large subject that I will not be able to explore in the context of this discussion.

indicating a favourite or those performed. Pencil markings in the scores suggest that a piece of music may have been studied or performed. Other Handel music belonging to other members of the family or the House include the volume of Handel's overtures (Vol. 3) mentioned above; volumes 12 and 13 contain arrangements of Handel Voluntaries for the organ by John Marsh; volume 16 is a collection of Handel arias belonging to Miss Lascelles. There is also a record of the purchase or binding of Handel's overtures for the organ for £1.11.6. in 1823.<sup>13</sup> It would be interesting to know how far the personal tastes of Lord Harewood and his successor determined the content of his concert programmes. Written accounts of larger scale concerts at Harewood confirm that Handel's music occupied a major position in the programmes (1816).<sup>14</sup> As was seen in Chapter 3, White was reputed for his ability to conduct Handel's oratorios.

## **Handel**

Handel's music was extremely popular in the eighteenth century. The interest in Handel commenced as an enthusiasm for his Italian operas and ended by elevating his music to the status of a national ritual on a level with religious liturgy, encapsulating moral, political and cultural taste. Passion for his music is a recurring theme in this study, as will be explored further in the following chapter on Music Rooms, and infused the musical tastes and cultural identities of aristocrats throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century.

In addition to the popularity of his Italian operas, Handel's reputation in England was based on his consistent patronage by the Court and the support of other important patrons such as the Earl of Burlington and the Duke of Chandos. His later and enduring appeal was derived from his creation of the peculiarly English version of the oratorio, otherwise described as 'sacred drama'. It was this form and what it came to signify that was to represent so many different interests of the British population and thus in the decades following his death become a powerful tool for uniting the nation in the face of both internal and external

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<sup>13</sup> Household accounts, 1823, WYL250/3/Acs/428.

<sup>14</sup> See description of the concert staged in honour of the Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia in 1816 in Chapter 3.

political instability.<sup>15</sup>

### ***English oratorio***

The decline in enthusiasm for Italian opera forced Handel to experiment with other musical and dramatic forms. Although he had previously written two oratorios, *La Resurrezione* and *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno* which were performed in Rome, his English oratorios – settings of biblical stories in English – were seen to be a new departure which Handel during the 1730s fashioned and developed, making the form his own contribution to dramatic art in London. They were relatively simple to stage and could be performed in the theatre, although this remained a delicate matter as was witnessed in Handel's attempts to stage his *Messiah* in London in March 1743.<sup>16</sup> The poet Anne-Marie Fiquet du Bocage, commented after a visit to London on 1750:

The Oratorio, or pious concert pleases us highly. English words are sung by Italian performers, and accompanied by a variety of instruments. Handel is the soul of it: when he makes his appearance, two wax lights are carried before him, which are laid upon his organ. Amidst a loud clapping of hands he seats himself, and the whole band of music strikes up exactly at the same moment. At the interludes he plays concertos of his own composition, either alone or accompanied by the orchestra. These are equally admirable for the harmony and the execution.<sup>17</sup>

The organ concertos were to receive substantial admiration too: in 1735 Mrs Pendarves described them as 'the finest thing I have ever heard in my life.'<sup>18</sup> In the light of their popularity, Handel published *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord and Organ* (1738) and *Twelve Grand Concertos* (1740). Their appreciation and

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<sup>15</sup> See R. Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (1995).

<sup>16</sup> A month before the performance Jennens wrote 'there is a clamour about town, said to arise from the Brs [Methodists] against performing it.' Cited in J. Simons, *Handel: A Celebration of his Life and Times*, 198.

<sup>17</sup> Anne-Marie Fiquet du Bocage, (1750), cited in Simons, *Handel: A Celebration of his Life and Times*, 157.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

reputation perhaps explains the enthusiasm for the organ amongst aristocrats and the vogue for installing them in private music rooms, as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 8 on music rooms.

Of the oratorios, *Messiah* and *Judas Maccabeus* were to be the most frequently performed. Mainwaring described the oratorio as 'more suited to the native gravity and solidity of the English', Charles Burney proclaimed that 'his oratorios ... being in our own language, have chiefly endeared him to the nation'. While Hawkins concluded that Handel's knowledge of the scriptures was such that 'the sublime sentiments with which they abound would give opportunities for displaying his greatest talents'.<sup>19</sup> From these comments it is easy to understand why Handel's oratorios were to have such a broad nationalistic, moral, and religious appeal, which was to be used to advantage after his death by the Concert of Antient Music (formed in 1776) and the organisers of the 1784 Handel Commemoration.

### ***Handel and Ancient Music***

It is noteworthy that Lord Harewood, like many of his aristocratic friends, was a regular subscriber to the Concert of Antient Music. This raises the question of how much the building of the collection was influenced by the criteria of 'ancient music' supporters and whether this explains how certain pieces of music came to be there.

It may be seen that several of the composers represented in the Harewood collection, other than Handel, were those favoured by the advocates of 'ancient music' in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Concert of Antient Music was a movement founded in 1776 by a group of aristocrats who for political and sociological reasons, amply outlined by William Weber in *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England*, sought to establish a canon of music that came to be termed 'musical classics'. Weber begins:

The English invented the idea of musical classics.  
Eighteenth-century England was the first place where old

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 157.

musical works were performed regularly and reverentially, where a collective notion of such works – ‘ancient music’ – first appeared. This began at the turn of the eighteenth century, when works by Henry Purcell, Arcangelo Corelli, the Elizabethan masters, and indeed a whole host of English and Italian composers remained in performance. Nowhere else, even at the Paris Opera, where the works of Jean Baptiste Lully and his successors remained in use, did repertoires of old music develop as extensively as in England. The interest in old music grew to such an extent, in both performance and published commentary, that by the 1780s we can speak of a musical canon in England: a corpus of great works from Tallis to Handel that was studied, performed systematically, and revered by the public at large.<sup>20</sup>

Interest in old music developed in several different contexts. The performance of a body of ‘ancient music’ from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries began in the Academy of Ancient Music in 1726, but without any idea of forming a common canon. In 1776 the newly formed ‘Concert of Antient Music’ sought to promote a repertoire of concerts principally from the earlier decades of the eighteenth century, but which also drew upon music that had begun to be revived in different performing traditions, for example Henry Purcell’s theatre music, and Corelli’s concertos which became core repertoire in the provincial music societies. It was through the formation of this concert series that a unified canon began to emerge.<sup>21</sup>

One of the main goals of the Concert of Antient Music was educative.<sup>22</sup> The term ‘ancient’ was redefined by the Concert to include more contemporary

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<sup>20</sup> Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, vii.

<sup>21</sup> It was the same board of noble directors that organised and staged the unprecedented Handel Commemoration of 1784.

<sup>22</sup> Weber writes: ‘The repertoire [of the Concerts of Antient Music] spanned the deep changes in style that took place between the 1730s and 1760s. It in effect showed the audience how music had evolved from the style of Handel into that of Pergolesi, then Hasse, and finally Jommelli, a gradual transition seen in a variety of genres ... The programmes helped listeners come to grips with this great transformation ... Furthermore, choosing the best numbers from an opera or an oratorio was respected as a necessary and valid process of music criticism.’ Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, 171.

repertoire than had been favoured by the Academy of Ancient Music, the definition for 'ancient' now being any music that was more than 20 years old. The repertoire favoured by the Concert of Ancient Music was based on a learned tradition; it also had a 'modern classical' component which drew upon the works of Purcell and Corelli and those who wrote in the Corellian tradition, such as Geminiani, and the prevalence of the Italian school, in particular the music of Pergolesi and Giuseppe Sammartini. The only native Englishman other than Purcell whose works were performed repeatedly was Charles Avison. This was thus an international repertory reflecting the vogue for Italian music. While patriotism and the unification of the elite classes was high on the agenda of the movement, expressed in the development of a national musical tradition in support of the music of Purcell and Handel, this remained subordinate to the presiding cosmopolitanism of taste. Weber asserts that the music of Handel, which combined continental influences with English forms, was critical in integrating the Italian and British elements in the repertory.<sup>23</sup>

As has been mentioned one of the most prominent contributions of the Concert was the promotion of the great festivals based around the oratorios of Handel, and the enthusiasm for and the wider inclusion of his music in concert programmes generally. The tables in Weber's book show that 328 works or excerpts of works by Handel were performed during fifteen seasons (1776–90), compared to 218 by other composers. A similar ratio can be seen in the frequency of performance too.<sup>24</sup> What then were the reasons for the centrality of Handel's music in this movement? The personal taste of the Directors of the Concert, several of whom were Handel fans, played a large role in this emphasis. These were the Earl of Sandwich, Joah Bates, and Watkin Williams Wynn.<sup>25</sup> However, his music also seemed to fulfil many of the prerequisites for this position: Firstly, his large-scale choral suited the music festival tradition. The annual music festival tradition, which had grown up around the performance of Purcell's *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, was the main social basis upon which Handel's sacred works and oratorios became established at music meetings. The oratorio tradition also fulfilled a desire for

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 173.

<sup>25</sup> Further details of their support of Handel's music and initiatives are outlined in Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, 149, 152, 155.

sacred works, and the taste for a moral and religious tone adopted by the nation.<sup>26</sup> The oratorios thus drew together sacred and secular elements and could be performed anywhere, thereby pleasing everyone. 'On a certain plane Handel's oratorios served as celebrations of the successful partnership of state and society.'<sup>27</sup>

The Concert of Antient Music was to do with social position and a specific avenue of musical taste. Weber summarises how this developed in the second half of the eighteenth century: 'The first and second halves of the century contrast greatly to the extent to which 'ancient music' became identified with the ruling classes as a whole. During the first half, taste for old music was bound up with religious and political conflicts within the country's elites, and as a result the two hierarchies of class and taste did not conform. But after the middle of the century, the nobility and the people that depended on it came to exert a cultural hegemony within musical life. In the 1784 Handel Commemoration, the new framework of musical classics reinforced social status and political power in a brilliant and successful manner.'<sup>28</sup>

By the 1790s the Concert of Antient Music had risen to a position of cultural authority. This date coincides with the beginning of our period and Lord Harewood's establishment of concerts at Harewood House with the help of John White. How much did the vogue for 'ancient music' influence the collecting interests of the occupants of Harewood? It is clear that Lord Harewood shared the prevailing taste for the music of Handel and that this influenced the choice of repertoire for his evening concert programmes. Other composers that may have been in the collection due to the fact that they were classified as 'ancient music' were Giovanni Battista Noferi, Corelli, Rameau and Avison. It is possible that there was more music by Handel in the collection which has since been lost. White was involved in the organisation of the music festivals in both York and Leeds and the Lords Harewood were subscribers to the York festival. As has been noted, concert programmes at Harewood House had largely Handelian repertoires.

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 3, 14.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 14.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 20.



### ***Ancient Music in York***

Another source of influence outside of London was the provincial concert series. David Griffiths relates that in York music from earlier periods was performed alongside new music from about 1776. He records that concerti grossi by Avison, Corelli, Geminiani, and Handel were performed frequently between 1813 and 1822, especially at the Great Musical Festivals in the Minster, inspired by the Handel Commemorations in London. Apparently Corelli's 'Christmas Concerto' was the most popular. Griffiths quotes the *Yorkshire Gazette* which wrote in 1821: 'We are glad to find that the 8th concerto of Corelli (which we were afraid had been forgotten) met with the applause it so evidently merits.'<sup>29</sup> The next year the performance of a concerto grosso of Tomaso Giovanni Albinoni was met with similar enthusiasm: 'We were glad to hear Dr. Camidge introduce it ... as we know that it is too much the fashion to neglect many of the excellent compositions of the school.'<sup>30</sup> It is likely that the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Earls of Harewood patronised and attended some of these performances.

Nevertheless, it appears that enthusiasm for 'ancient music' was not sustained in the north-east: in York, after the subscription concerts were taken over by John Camidge and Philip Knapton at the end of the 1822 season, instrumental music of the old school was no longer performed, and in Newcastle a similar situation prevailed. It seems that the most receptive audiences for 'ancient music' were in London and places London audiences frequented such as Bath.

### ***Gentleman amateurs***

As has been seen, the Ancient concerts became identified closely with the nobility: the series was directed by a board of gentlemen, most of whom were peers. Due to the high number of gentlemen involved in running and attending these concerts and identifying themselves with the repertoire, it is perhaps not surprising that one characteristic of at least a proportion of the music was that it was suitable for performance by gentleman amateurs. Put most simply, these were gentlemen and ladies who had a genuine passion for music and who involved themselves in local

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<sup>29</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 3 March 1821, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 133.

<sup>30</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 16 February 1822, cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 133.

musical activities, in private musical societies where they mainly performed among other amateurs, but also on stage in support of professional bands.<sup>31</sup>

The level of skill of gentlemen amateurs was understandably not as great as that of professionals. This may explain why they came to put a particular value on simplicity; and this in turn may explain why particular composers such as Corelli became established in the canon of classics. Joseph Warton commented:

Those who have studied the works of Corelli among the *modern-ancient*, and Handel in the present age, know that the most affecting of the former owe their excellence to *Simplicity* alone; and that the latter understands it as well, and attends to it as much, though he knows when to introduce with propriety those niceties and refinements which, for want of propriety, we condemn in others.<sup>32</sup>

While it is likely that Corelli's concertos were performed by professionals in the concert series, the cult for Corelli's music developed more strongly among amateurs. Correspondingly the music societies in provincial towns and cities were very important in the development of a Corellian tradition. It can be argued that Corelli's concertos, as opposed to Antonio Vivaldi's works, remained in use in large part because amateurs could master them relatively easily. According to Weber, 'the concertos lent dignity to amateur players at a time when professionals were out-distancing them greatly in technical facility'.<sup>33</sup> Some societies brought in professionals for those parts that demanded greater virtuosity. Conversely, the performance of music that was technically straightforward meant that professionals could call upon gentleman amateurs to swell the ranks of the orchestral sections. Another by-product of the enthusiasm of the music societies for Corelli's music was the impact on the music publishers: they provided one of the chief markets for music publishing in England, and they usually played Corelli's concertos from printed parts.<sup>34</sup> Corelli's music appears in the Harewood Collection

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<sup>31</sup> See R. Southey, *Music-making in North-East England*, 77–93.

<sup>32</sup> J. Warton, *The World*, 26 (28 June 1753), 137, cited in Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, 75.

<sup>33</sup> Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, 83.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 83. See note about music publishers in York later in this chapter.

(Vol. 27).

This introduces another dimension to our discussion of the Harewood collection. It will be seen from what follows that other principles of acquisition, apart from the possible vogue for 'ancient music', came into play. This was the important principle that the music could be performed by amateurs.

## **Avison and Garth**

### ***Charles Avison (c.1709–70)***

It has already been mentioned that the music of Charles Avison features prominently in the Harewood collection and was also favoured by the promoters of 'ancient music'. It is interesting that though Avison's music took its place in the canon of 'old works', Avison himself was not a great advocate of 'ancient music'. His concerns were different and it may be due to these other priorities that his music was of interest to the Harewood household and other gentlemen amateurs.

Avison was baptised on 16 February 1708/9 at St John's Church in Newcastle. From very inauspicious beginnings, he developed a significant professional career, which he chose to pursue and focus in the north-east and especially in Newcastle. His compositions and writings had a much wider impact, however, and he continued to maintain contact with the wider, national, musical community, for example introducing the region to the works of the celebrated composer Rameau.<sup>35</sup> In Newcastle he collaborated with the professional musical community, frequently employing singers from the cathedral choir as soloists.<sup>36</sup>

Avison's musical practice serves as a useful example, and even a model, of how professionals and amateurs worked together and how music was adapted to and arranged for groups of mixed ability players, as would probably have been the case at Harewood House.

According to Roz Southey in *Music-making in North-East England during the eighteenth century*, the bands that performed in the Newcastle subscription concerts were not likely to have been large, probably under 20 performers. Avison himself recommended that 21 was an ideal size. His band was a string band. The

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<sup>35</sup> Southey, *Music-making in North-East England*, 17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

names of performers who are recorded as having taken part suggest that, in a small musical community, versatility was a prerequisite for the success of the concerts. For example, some of the singing men from the cathedral were required to perform as both vocal and instrumental soloists. It is probable that these professionals would have taken the lead roles in the band: leader, section principals and harpsichordist (Avison himself directed the band from the harpsichord). The small professional community was augmented by gentleman amateurs, who, having the leisure to cultivate an interest and level of ability in playing a musical instrument, were in a position to assist the performances. These amateurs were rarely named, wishing to keep their identity concealed. Southey concludes: 'the mix of amateur and professional players cannot always have been an easy one, and a professional musician who directed such a band must have exercised a great deal of tact to deal with players who were not only his social superiors but who probably paid him.'<sup>37</sup>

Other outside professionals that he drew upon included Felice Giardini, Noferi and Johann Peter Salomon. It is likely that these musicians would have fulfilled a similar role in country house concerts, augmenting a gathering of amateur musicians made up of family, friends and members of the household.<sup>38</sup> Significantly the music of both Noferi and Giardini appears in the Harewood collection.

The central interest of this discussion is the repertoire chosen by Avison for performance at his concerts, although of this not much is known. According to Southey, his concerts in 1751 included music by Rameau. Avison had a complete set of the composer's works which he adapted to suit the abilities of the Newcastle band, and, apparently took this programme to Durham.<sup>39</sup>

Many of Avison's own compositions were written for the Newcastle concerts, including the well-known set of concertos of 1744 which were based on music by Alessandro Scarlatti. According to Southey, 'their concerto grosso style – with relatively simple and easy to play band parts and more difficult solo parts for his professional principals – was ideally suited to his mixed amateur/professional

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<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>38</sup> See I. Woodfield, *Salomon and the Burneys* (2003).

<sup>39</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 62.

band with its wide range of abilities.’<sup>40</sup>

Composers that Avison favoured would probably have included Corelli and Geminiani but not Vivaldi and Nicola Porpora, based on his opinion of these composers and their suitability for performance by the Newcastle band. For example, the music of Vivaldi is much more technically demanding for the section players of the orchestra. Neither he nor his friend Garth performed much music by Handel, demonstrating their divergence from the canon of music esteemed by the ‘ancient music’ enthusiasts. Maybe this was something to do with the appetite of the Newcastle audiences for ‘new’ music. As has been mentioned, the passion for ‘ancient music’ which flourished in London and places that London audiences frequented such as Bath never caught on in Newcastle. Indeed Avison was praised for the fact that ‘he has supplied our concerts with new music, for more than 20 years’.<sup>41</sup> This is a little puzzling, because, while Avison was clearly not an enthusiast for Handel’s music, his own style and preferences resembled music valued by ‘ancient music’ enthusiasts, for example the value of simplicity and restraint, as opposed to embellishment and virtuosity. Yet Avison himself was very progressive in his ideas, as he demonstrated in his writings.<sup>42</sup>

Avison’s music seems to have fulfilled two interests: firstly, the taste for ‘ancient music’; secondly, a certain simplicity and suitability for amateur performance. McGuinness and Johnstone add: ‘Almost alone among his contemporaries, his concertos went on being played long after his death, and there were some still to be found in programmes of the Concert of Antient Music as late as even 1812.’<sup>43</sup>

### ***John Garth (1721–1810)***

The other English composer whose music appears prominently in the Harewood collection is Avison’s great friend John Garth of Durham. He was a cellist, composer, teacher and concert promoter. Garth’s music was more progressive and

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<sup>40</sup> Southey, *Music-making in North-East England*, 37. See also A. J. B. Hutchings, *The Baroque Concerto*, 252–68. See H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century* for more extensive discussion of Avison’s music, 54–60, 347.

<sup>41</sup> Southey, *Music-making in North-East England*, 39.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>43</sup> R. McGuinness and H. D. Johnstone, ‘Concert Life in England 1’, in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century, The Blackwell History of Music in Britain*, 59.

written in a more modern style than Avison's. It would be interesting to know whether the music by Avison and Garth was collected at the same time or whether the cello sonatas in particular were added to the collection at a later date by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harewood, himself a cellist. Although in the case of Avison and some of the other 'ancient' composers who remained in circulation for a long time it was common for their music to be purchased decades after their deaths, Garth's music does not seem to have obviously fallen into this category. Was it therefore purchased as 'new' music, c.1760, after which it went out of vogue? Or perhaps where there was a particular interest on the part of the collector, it was still common practice to buy 'old' works. Certainly Garth's dates overlapped with both the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl and his musical director. Although Garth's compositions were no doubt more 'difficult' than Avison's, the Newcastle band was capable nevertheless of tackling it and did so when performing in Durham.<sup>44</sup> Garth also wrote organ voluntaries for performance in church.<sup>45</sup>

Music in the Harewood collection by Garth includes a series of 'sonatas for the harpsichord, piano forte and organ with accompaniments for two violins and a violoncello' op. 2, published in 1768 and sold by John Haxby in York (Vol. 17). The list of subscribers included Mr Camidge, organist of the Cathedral York, Mr Giardini, and the Right Hon. Lady Elizabeth Howard. These and others in the collection were accompanied sonatas, including the kind that Avison developed for keyboard, with three assisting instruments supplying sustained harmony for the majority of the time. This form will be discussed later in the chapter.

Both Avison and Garth were called upon by the nobility and gentleman amateurs to engage in private music-making. The diary kept by William Herschel during his early years in England contains many musical references. He often played at the homes of his acquaintances: one diary entry from 1761 for example refers to 'A long stay [at Halnaby, Co. Durham] to accompany Lady Milbank who was an excellent performer on the harpsichord. I had now the honour of being of the musical party with Mr. Avison and Mr. Garth to entertain the Duke of York, the King's brother, who played the violoncello and accompanied me in several solos.'<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Southey, *Music-making in the North-East England*, 89.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>46</sup> S. Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 317.

Whether they were ever invited to perform at Harewood House is unknown. From what we know of the two composers it is perhaps easy to see why their music was included in the Harewood collection: they wrote for and had experience of playing alongside gentlemen amateurs such as the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl who at Harewood House required music suitable for amateurs to play. It is likely that Avison and Garth's music would have been performed in York and London, although the two musicians themselves chose to focus their careers on the north-east, and would have been known to both the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl and his musical director. It is probable that it was they who purchased this music, although, as has been noted, Henry, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl was a cellist and continued to sustain a musical establishment at Harewood following his father's death in 1820.

### **Ensemble music, suitable for small numbers of amateur players**

We have discussed how the music that can be associated with the school of 'ancient music' and seen to draw its influence from Corelli, and the musical arrangements of Avison, and to some extent of Garth, are united by their suitability for small ensembles of amateur players. Apart from them, other composers represented in the collection were known to have written music specifically for amateurs. For example, some of Antonin Kammel's compositions were intended for non-professional groups. Most of his works were published in London, 1770–77. Also Valentino Nicolai, Johann Franz Xaver Sterkel and Georg Christoph Wagenseil are other examples of composers who wrote music for a range of capabilities. The discussion of the works of these composers brings us to consider another facet of the collection, which, like Avison and Garth's music, does not seem to have belonged to anyone in particular but formed part of the House collection which was used for ensemble playing and evening concerts. The great proportion of this music was the work of continental composers.

### ***Continental instrumental music***

The large number of composers of instrumental music represented in the collection, many of whom were Italian but also including German, Austrian, French

and Spanish, is striking.<sup>47</sup> That there are a plethora of Italian composers is not surprising given the fashion for cosmopolitan and particularly Italian music in the eighteenth century. Instrumental music from abroad was both published and imported in great quantities.<sup>48</sup> A significant number of the composers date from the mid to second half of the eighteenth century there are fewer from the nineteenth century. The majority seem to have been violinists, writing for a combination of stringed instruments and harpsichord, later the piano forte or organ. The most popular forms seem to have been the trio and the accompanied keyboard sonata, though there are also many 'concertos' and some quartets and quintets.<sup>49</sup>

It will be illuminating to consider these forms and their place in the Harewood collection in a little more depth. They present a complex picture of the overlap between former baroque/'ancient music' genres and developments in 'new'/modern music, simultaneously reflecting the collecting and performance interests and tastes of the occupants of Harewood House.

Several of the Harewood volumes are labelled 'TRIOS' and contain collections of trios, sonatas and concertos. At first it is tempting not to distinguish between the different types of Trio, but a closer look reveals some important differences. Broadly these ensembles in the Harewood collection may be divided as follows:

1. Trios: three instruments;
2. Trio sonatas: three instruments and continuo;
3. Accompanied sonatas: keyboard accompanied by up to three instruments;
4. Concertos: keyboard with the accompaniment of three or more instruments;
5. Quartets by Jean-Baptiste Davaux, Haydn and Carl Friedrich Abel;
6. Quintets by Haydn, Andreas Romberg arrangements of symphonies

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<sup>47</sup> It will not be possible to discuss each composer in the body of the text but a list may be found in the appendices.

<sup>48</sup> According to Sadie, publishers' lists contained at least five continental works to each one by a British composer. Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 321.

<sup>49</sup> See R. R. Kidd, 'The Sonata for Keyboard with Violin Accompaniment in England (1750-1790)', DPhil. diss., Yale University (1967).



for flute, two violins, tenor and cello (and bass and piano forte), and quintets by Francesco Zanetti consisting of three violins, cello, and a bass ripieno (harpsichord) (Vol. 54).

### ***Trios***

The earliest trio sonata forms, for two instruments and continuo, are represented in the collection by composers such as Giardini, Antonin Kammell, and Noferi (Vol.18). They were probably influenced by Corelli and fall within the baroque genre favoured by the advocates of 'ancient music'. As has been noted, Corelli was the most dominant influence in the first half of the eighteenth century, as Avison commented in 1752: 'The immortal Works of Corelli, are in the Hands of every one; and ... from him many of our best modern Composers have generally deduced their Elements of Harmony.'<sup>50</sup> According to Johnstone, the first of Corelli's works to be published in Britain, opus 5, came out in 1700, but the earlier trio sonatas had already been circulating in manuscript previously to this, influencing taste in composition and performance.<sup>51</sup> Although the popularity of the trio sonata had waned on the continent by 1760, this form enjoyed a late lease of life in Britain, which is probably why such music continued to be purchased and played in the second half of the century. This 'late flowering' has been attributed to several possible causes: the taste for the 'ancient style', the time-lag created by the English Channel, and innate conservatism.<sup>52</sup> Another probable reason for its popularity was its suitability for domestic use and performance by amateurs.

### ***The galant style***

The later manifestation of the trio sonata genre was the sonata for three instruments and continuo, many examples of which began to show the influence of the *galant* style. This was, in the words of Roger Fiske, 'the trivialization of music, a lightening of texture, an avoidance not only of counterpoint, but also of the shapely bass lines and that polarization of the outer parts which is so characteristic of the

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<sup>50</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, 'Music in the Home I,' in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 173.

<sup>51</sup> R. Fiske, 'Concert Music II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 205.

<sup>52</sup> Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 324.

High Baroque'.<sup>53</sup> The music of Pergolesi was characterised by this style. The fad for the latter's music in Italy following his death in 1736 was brought to England by noblemen returning from their grand tours. Pergolesi's characteristic style was a 'discreet and up-to-date *galant* style: useful for performance by small forces and related to secular music in a direct but unshowy manner'.<sup>54</sup> Thus they had the potential and secondary attraction of being fitted for performance by amateurs. This style is evident in much of the instrumental music in the Harewood collection and was probably the reason for its appeal and acquisition.

Following the death of Handel and the arrival in Britain of Carl Friedrich Abel in 1759, this 'new' style of music was received with great enthusiasm and caused an explosion in music publishing. The form that was to prove most popular was the new ten-minute symphony which became known as the 'overture'. Examples of this form in the Harewood collection are by Anton Filtz and Period (Vols. 35, 36), Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (Vol. 53), and Giovanni Battista Sammartini (Vol. 54).<sup>55</sup>

The *galant* style had Italian origins, specifically in the music of Giardini who settled in England in the middle of the eighteenth century. However, it was to be extended by the Germans who arrived, as has been noted, at the end of the 1750s: Abel in 1759, Johann Christian Bach in 1762, Franz Xavier Richter also in the late 1750s. The works of these composers are all represented in the collection (Vols. 22, 20, 59).

### ***Sixth Earl of Kellie***

It is interesting that the first British composer to whole-heartedly embrace the new *galant* style was Thomas Alexander Erskine, sixth Earl of Kellie (one of the few native composers in the collection), whose set of 'six overtures in 8 parts and a thorough bass for the harpsichord' appears in the Harewood collection (Vol. 114). John Gregory observed in 1766: 'The present fashion is to admire a new stile of composition lately cultivated in Germany ... The great merit of [Lord Kellie's]

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<sup>53</sup> Fiske, 'Concert Music II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 205.

<sup>54</sup> R. McGuinness and H. Diack Johnstone, 'Concert Life in England I', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 65.

<sup>55</sup> The forename of the composer 'Period' is not known.

compositions who first introduced that species of music into this country ... first seduced the public Ear.<sup>56</sup>

During his Grand Tour the Earl of Kellie stayed on the continent for three years c.1752–5, mostly in Mannheim, playing the violin in the orchestra of Johann Stamitz, whose music also appears in the Harewood collection.<sup>57</sup> Burney described this orchestra as ‘the best disciplined in Europe’ (i.e. rehearsed), whilst acknowledging that some of its stylistic innovations were of Italian origin: ‘Though these symphonies seemed at first to be little more than an improvement of the opera overtures of Jommelli, yet, by the fire and genius of Stamitz, they were exalted into a new species of composition.’<sup>58</sup> The distinctive characteristic of this orchestra’s performance style was the use of dynamic effects. Although the crescendo may first have been developed in Italy, it was at Mannheim that it became renowned as a musical technical device. Likewise Stamitz employed sudden contrasts between *forte* and *piano* to achieve dramatic effects. It is interesting to note that other Mannheim ‘Periodical’ overtures appear in the collection, for example by Filtz (Vols 35, 36).

This ‘modern’ style found its way into other forms of music including ensemble music of all varieties. It was these influences that differentiated the later trio sonatas from the earlier ones, although the transition was gradual, and varied from composer to composer. For example, in a trio by Juan Oliver y Astorga (Vol. 84) there is a combination of the baroque genre with the progressive *galant* style. There are other examples in the Harewood collection. However, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between these trios and the accompanied sonata. Superficially they look similar. For example, the keyboard trio by Ernst Eichner in the Harewood collection has a predominant keyboard part with the violin accompanying and the cello part doubling the keyboard bass line, an arrangement not dissimilar to the accompanied sonatas with three instruments.<sup>59</sup>

It is interesting to note that according to Griffiths York was fast to adopt the works of composers writing in the *galant* style. Overtures by Abel were already

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<sup>56</sup> J. Gregory, *A Comparative View of the State and the Faculties of Man* (3<sup>rd</sup> edn, 1766), 146, cited in Sadie, ‘Music in the Home II’, H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 322.

<sup>57</sup> ‘Trios a une flute ou deux violons et violoncello’ by K. Stamitz (Vol. 84).

<sup>58</sup> C. Burney, ii, 945, cited in R. Fiske, ‘Concert Music II’, in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 206.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Six trios for harpsichord or piano forte and violin and violoncello’ by E. Eichner (Vol. 114).

being performed in York in 1762, one year after they were published in London. From 1764 overtures and sinfonies by J. C. Bach were performed, while between 1763 and 1775 there were performances of similar works by Filtz, Francois Joseph Gossec, Niccolo Jommelli, Nicolo Pasquali, Gaetano Pugnani, Stamitz (probably Johann) and Friedrich Schwindl, among foreign composers, and by the native composers Samuel Arnold, John Collett and Kellie.<sup>60</sup> These dates suggest that either Edwin Lascelles, Lord Harewood, or the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl could have purchased this music and brought it to Harewood. The suggestion is that music in the *galant* style was well-known in the north and to York inhabitants and probably would have been made available by York music suppliers.

### ***The accompanied keyboard sonata***

This was the predominant late eighteenth-century form. Its most popular form was the sonata for keyboard accompanied by the violin (or occasionally the flute), and there are several examples of these at Harewood. It has been suggested by Sadie that the earliest specimens printed in England were Giardini's *Sei sonate di cembalo con violin o flauto traverso*, Op. 3 of 1751.<sup>61</sup> However, Rameau's *Pieces de Clavecin en concerts* (for harpsichord, violin or flute and second violin or bass viol) were published a little earlier by Walsh in England in 1750. Interestingly, as has been mentioned, Anne Chaloner's volume of manuscript music (Vol. 43) contains a piece for keyboard and violin by Rameau. There are also six trios for two violins or violoncello and piano forte composed and dedicated to the Duchess of Devonshire by Giardini (Vol. 18). The popularity of the sonata for the keyboard and violin increased dramatically during the 1780s. Examples in the Harewood collection include sonatas by Nicolai, Wagenseil, Leopold Kozeluch, A. Praty, Thomas Haigh and Pinto (Vols 110, 111, 106).

Sonatas for keyboard accompanied by violin and cello (trio accompanied sonatas) could be mistaken for 'trios'. Examples in the collection are by Abel (Vol. 22) and Sterkel (Vol. 113).

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<sup>60</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 118.

<sup>61</sup> Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 337.

Amongst the English contributions to the collection's ensemble music, there are examples of the sonata for keyboard with three assisting instruments (two violins and a cello) supplying sustained harmony for the majority of the time. This specifically English genre had a localised vogue in the north-east. The creation of the form has been attributed to Avison, and other composers in the north-east followed suit, including Garth. This was a complete innovation which prevailed in the north-east of England but which had neither a past nor a future.<sup>62</sup> This form of sonata should be distinguished from the keyboard concertos with two violins and a cello in the collection, such as those by J. C. Bach, Johann Samuel Schroeter and F. Schumann (Vol. 114), which, though domestically designed, derived from a different orchestral tradition. Another example in the collection is by Pellegrini (Vol. 107). It is also different from examples by continental composers such as Johann Schobert and Giardini which appear to be similar but are 'formally and stylistically unrelated to the English genre'.<sup>63</sup>

The Harewood collection is extremely continental. In addition to Italian, German and English music written in the 'modern' *galant* style, there is also music of Viennese provenance by the composers Ditters, Johann Baptist Vanhal and Haydn, which introduce yet another stylistic element that was prevalent in England in the 1770s and 1780s.

### ***French music***

French music is also represented, and to a surprising degree. According to Sadie, French music had virtually no influence on English composers in the 1760s and little was found in publishers' catalogues. Nevertheless by the end of the century it had found its way into the Harewood collection. Late-eighteenth century French composers who appear in the collection are Pierre Dalvimare harpist and composer, Davaux violinist and composer, Antoine Marcel Lemoine and Valentino Nicolai composer and pianist. Davaux was particularly well-known for his *symphonies concertantes*. These were alternatives to the symphony and the solo concerto and were scored for several solo instruments, usually two principal violins and strings, perhaps pairs of oboes or horns and sometimes a third solo

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<sup>62</sup> Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 348.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 348.

instrument such as viola, cello, or flute.<sup>64</sup> His *symphonie concertante* for 2 violins obbligato, Op. V in the Harewood collection (Vol. 62) was popular in France but not favoured by London publishers. It is therefore surprising that it found its way to Harewood, suggesting that it was perhaps purchased in France by a discerning member of the family. By contrast Nicolai's compositions were first published in London from around 1776 and then from 1782 on the continent. Volume 110 in the collection contains his six sonatas for harpsichord or piano forte with an accompaniment by violin, Opus V–XI. His keyboard concertos were noted for their simplicity and lack of technical demand suggesting they were written for amateur players. Charles Chaulieu wrote virtuosic piano music which Lady Louisa Lascelles, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Countess, owned and played.

The token Spanish composer in the collection Juan Oliver y Astorga appeared in London as a virtuoso violinist in 1767. His six sonatas for two German flutes (transverse flutes) or two violins and a bass Op. 3 in the Harewood collection were written in 1769 and were dedicated to his patron Willoughby Bertie, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Abingdon.

## **Acquisition and owners**

From this brief survey we see that the Harewood collection comprises a wide range of composers, mainly continental but including some principal English composers such as Handel (for this discussion), Avison, Garth and the Earl of Kellie. The instrumental collection seems to combine a range of influences such as the taste for 'ancient music' and the music of Handel, cosmopolitan instrumental music of the modern *galant* style, the Viennese school, and some French music. The question of when the music was bought, and by whom, remains. Apart from the volumes belonging to Lord Harewood and a few inscribed with family names, the majority of the instrumental music we have surveyed, which forms the largest portion of the collection, is not clearly linked to any person in particular. As has been indicated, music classified as falling within the canon of 'ancient music' continued to be printed for decades following the composer's death. It was therefore available to be purchased by anyone throughout the period under

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<sup>64</sup> B. S. Brook, J. Kolk, D. H. Foster, 'Davaux, Jean-Baptiste', in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. (2001).

interrogation. This may also have been the case with the instrumental music of some of the mid- to late-eighteenth century composers. It is arguable from the dates of the majority of the Italian composers, that the bulk of the instrumental music could have been acquired in the last couple of decades of the eighteenth century and into the 1800s by the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl and by White on his behalf. However, it is also possible that other members of the family were responsible for bringing music to Harewood. The remaining volumes of music not yet discussed are linked to specific owners, and thus reflect individual tastes and musical abilities.

***Henry, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harewood, (1767–1820) and Henrietta Sebright (d. 1841)***

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl's musical interests are often overshadowed by those of his father, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl, and the musicality of his wife Henrietta Sebright. In fact White continued to serve under the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl for a further eleven years following the death of the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl, and there are accounts for the purchase of music and musical supplies throughout the 1820s until White's death in 1831.<sup>65</sup> A bill dating to 1823, already mentioned, itemises several pieces of music that were clearly bought by White on behalf of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl.<sup>66</sup> I have not been able to link up many of the items on the bill with music in the remaining collection at Harewood because the titles are too generalised. The voluntaries could refer to Volumes 12 and 13 and there are many quadrilles in the collection. One item refers to the binding of an album of Handel's overtures for the organ (Vol. 3). However, the bills clearly demonstrate that in the 1820s the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl was actively purchasing music both for his daughters and for the musical life of the Harewood household.

Some of the instrumental music may have been brought to Harewood by Henrietta Sebright who married Henry, 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Harewood in 1794. Henrietta was the daughter of Sir John Saunders Sebright, 6<sup>th</sup> Bart of Beechwood.<sup>67</sup> Although reputedly lacking in beauty, she was acknowledged by Queen Charlotte to have been 'well educated; as I hear, is possessed of many talents, and has behaved with

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<sup>65</sup> The accounts show that music supplies were purchased from William Hardman and Samuel and Philip Knapton in 1829 and 1831. The organ and pianos continued to be tuned regularly. Household accounts, 1829, WYL250/3/Acs/446.

<sup>66</sup> Household accounts, 1823, WYL250/3/Acs/428.

<sup>67</sup> M. Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 9.

great attention to her mother'.<sup>68</sup> Henrietta was a talented artist and was clearly a proficient musician, judging by the music that she brought with her to Harewood House. These included indexed manuscript books containing Italian arias, French and English songs and piano forte (Vol. 4) and harpsichord scores. Some of the Italian opera music in her collection, however, suggests more sophisticated performances involving a wide range of instruments and voices. Some of the music for piano forte reflects fashionable taste, for example the *Battle of Prague* by Franz Kotzwara, (although interestingly even these popular pieces are arranged for piano with violin accompaniment and not merely for solo piano).<sup>69</sup> The settings of opera arias are for ensembles of several voices and instruments, for example 'Al suon soave' in *La Bella Pescatrice* by Guglielmi for five voices, two violins, viola and cembalo. Other solo arias and duets are accompanied by a range of both stringed and wind instruments: for example, the duet 'Crudele! perche finora' by Mozart, which was inserted in the performance of Guiseppe Gazzaniga's opera *La Vendemmia* in London in 1789, is arranged for two violins, viola, two flutes, two corni, fagotti and cembalo (Vol. 5). This collection of favourite numbers from contemporary Italian operas with accompaniments by chamber ensembles contrasts with the other instrumental music in the Harewood collection.

Henrietta's four daughters probably received their musical training from White. Apart from the pieces mentioned previously in Chapter 3, there is a volume entitled *Divine Amusement, a selection of Psalms and Hymns as sung in all the principal Churches and chapels and dissenting congregations* by J. Curtis, inscribed as belonging to 'Miss Lascelles 1812' (Vol. 6). The hymn accompaniments are marked up with fingerings and some are marked with a cross. It would seem that at least one of the daughters was learning to play hymns, perhaps for the times of devotion on Sunday evenings. It was evidently the possession of a young girl as there is a doodling of an unnamed man on the inside cover. There are four volumes of *Apollonian Harmony: A Collection of scarce and celebrated Glee's, Catches,*

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<sup>68</sup> Cited in *Maids & Mistresses* exhibition guide for Harewood House (2004).

<sup>69</sup> Franz Kotzwara was a Bohemian instrumentalist and composer whose music was published in London from c.1775. 'Few composers can have become so famous on account of one single work to quite the same extent as Kotzwara with his *Battle of Prague*, published first in Dublin in c.1788. Its fame reached America, where in Boston it was described as the indispensable climax to every concert.' Gammie and McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music*, 38; R. R. Kidd, 'Koczwara, Frantisek' (F. Kotzwara), in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2001).



*Madrigals, Canzonetts, Rounds*, which belonged to Lady Harriet Lascelles (Vols. 7–10) and an album of Handel’s oratorio arias which were being used around 1812–15 (Vol. 16). Again, some are annotated in pencil with ornaments and dynamics. The collection also contains another volume belonging to a more mature Harriet Lascelles. The gold-embossed label on the front bears the words ‘Moise in Egitto Harewood House’ and inside is the name ‘Harriet Lascelles May 1822’. This is the French edition of Gioachino Rossini’s opera in Italian (Vol. 28).

### ***Lady Louisa Thynne (1808–1859)***

It is likely that music continued to have a prominent place in the household of Henry, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Harewood (1797–1857). His wife, Lady Louisa Thynne, daughter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquess of Bath, was an accomplished musician. In his *Memoirs*, Thomas Moore records several instances of music-making with Lady Louisa:

18<sup>th</sup> [Oct. 1818]. She [Mrs. F. Lewis] and I, and Lady Louisa Thynne, sung ‘The Bird Let Loose’, (from my ‘Sacred Songs’), and it went beautifully.<sup>70</sup>

19<sup>th</sup> [August 1824] Set off in my pony carriage to go to Longleat ... Company at dinner ... Lascelles and Lady Louisa ... Sung, Lady Louisa joining me in some things.<sup>71</sup>

[20<sup>th</sup>] Had music again in the evening; Lady Louisa sung ‘Dost thou remember’ with me very sweetly.<sup>72</sup>

Although there is no suggestion that organised musical activity continued beyond White’s death and no records of payments for music in the late-nineteenth century have yet been found, five volumes of music belonging to Louisa exist in the collection. The first contains three Italian ariettes and two duets for soprano and tenor dedicated to Lady Louisa Thynne (presumably before her marriage) by

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<sup>70</sup> T. Moore, *Memoirs, Journal and Correspondence of Thomas Moore*, London, 1853–1856, in 8 vols., ii, 195.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, iv, 232–3.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

Signora Angelica Catalani (Vol. 2); two opera scores (*Der Freischutz* by Carl Maria von Weber, and the *Barbiere di Siviglia* by Rossini) (Vols. 41, 42) which are inscribed with her name, Lady Louisa Lascelles, and there is a volume of virtuosic piano music by a range of nineteenth-century composers, mainly unknown today, including Henri Herz, Charles Chaulieu, and Friedrich Kalkbrenner who seems to have belonged to the 'London Piano School' (Vol. 91).<sup>73</sup> Herz and Kalkbrenner in particular were known for their virtuosity, alongside Liszt and other composers such as Ignaz Moscheles and Auguste Bertini. It is clear that this difficult piano music belonging to Lady Louisa was played as it is marked up with fingerings, dynamics and phrasing.

An additional song inserted into this album and transcribed on a separate piece of manuscript paper is inscribed 'Louisa Isabella Lascelles' and dated 1849. The final volume that appears to contain some music belonging to Lady Louisa is a miscellaneous collection of loose sheet music including dance music, hymns and songs (Vol. 93). One song with three verses in manuscript form appears to have been written by Lady Louisa herself, as it is inscribed with the words 'Harewood 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb. Sunday 1850. L. I. L' and there are doodlings on the page. There also appears to be music in this volume belonging to Elizabeth de Burgh (1826–1854), wife of Henry, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Harewood (1824–1892), (Vol. 94).

### **Summary**

The Harewood collection is rich, varied and reflects the musical tastes of several owners, as well as consisting of a body of instrumental music intended for ensemble playing by an assortment of amateur musicians in the evening concerts directed by John White. It was probably assembled over a period of almost 100 years by the different inhabitants of Harewood, but primarily by the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl and his musical director White. In its disparateness it contrasts strongly with the collection of music at Castle Howard, belonging primarily to Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle.

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<sup>73</sup> N. Temperley, 'Piano Music: 1800–1870', in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain, The Romantic Age*, 400–414.

## Castle Howard

In contrast to the Harewood collection, the collection at Castle Howard is primarily that of a single individual. The archival evidence at Castle Howard consists of a collection of approximately 60 volumes of manuscript and sheet music, the majority of which belonged to Lady Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle.<sup>74</sup> The collection seems to span her entire lifetime, representing the four households she was part of, thus presenting a fairly complete picture of her musical interests and taste over a period of around 60 years (1790s–1850s). Approximately a third of the collection (Vols. 1–22) dates from before her marriage, when she was Georgiana Cavendish, or ‘Little G’ as she was then known to her family, the eldest daughter of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke and Duchess of Devonshire. A proportion (Vols. 23–45) relates to the period just after her marriage, before her husband Lord Morpeth inherited the title in 1825. A third section (Vols. 46–57) dates to the time when she was the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle and Dowager Countess.

My intention is to survey briefly the two earlier parts of the collection and discuss the later section in greater detail, simultaneously providing some insights into music collecting in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

### Georgiana’s music collection, 1783–1801

As mentioned in Chapter 4, music for the harp, piano forte or harpsichord and voice make up the vast proportion of the early collection. Amongst the manuscript volumes, dating to the 1790s, there is also a considerable amount of music for the ‘chitarre francese.’ Of the bound printed collection, some volumes are assorted, others are organised by genre, style, nationality, for example music for keyboard,

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<sup>74</sup> There are also three volumes of organ music (unnumbered) that bear the name of Georgiana’s youngest daughter Mary, and one, possibly two, (Vols 58, 59), which contain music belonging to Elizabeth, another daughter. Georgiana’s volumes also include some pieces with her sister Harriet’s name inscribed on them. The guitar music clearly belonged to Georgiana but may also have been played by her half sister, Caroline St Jules. Perhaps unusually, this music was not distributed amongst the younger women of the family but was kept together, maybe in keeping with the wishes of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl, at Castle Howard following Georgiana’s death. It is also possible that music coming into the House after 1858 may have been bound with some of Georgiana’s collection at a later date, as there are at least two pieces which appear to have been published in the 1860s (see Vol. 48). As mentioned previously, the collection has not been catalogued but a preliminary hand list is included in the appendices.

French and Italian songs, concertos, songs and duets, opera arias, and piano tutors including exercises and theory. There are full opera scores, dance music, and adaptations of larger-scale pieces for a chamber setting, for example trios, ensembles and sonatas for keyboard with perhaps a violin or flute accompaniment. Some of the music is annotated, other pieces, such as the opera scores, possibly were bought out of interest for the collection, or perhaps for the arias. Many of the composers represented in the collection would be unfamiliar to a modern day audience, but there are others who are better known, for example Jan Ladislav Dussek, Haydn, Joseph Mazzinghi, Handel, and some English composers.<sup>75</sup>

Some of the music is clearly dated, for example the arrangement for piano forte and voices of the opera *Lodoiska*, a musical Romance in three acts. At the top of the front page is the inscription, 'Georgiana Cavendish, Devonshire House Nov. 4<sup>th</sup> 1794' (Vol. 19). Whether this refers to the date of purchase or whether it was when a performance of the opera took place at Devonshire House is not known. Either way, the date positions it in the collection's chronology and Georgiana's repertoire.

An interesting feature of this part of the collection is the high proportion of music for the harp. Although there are no references in letters, or even her schoolbook of 1798 to Georgiana playing the harp, it is possible that she learnt as a matter of course during her childhood at Chatsworth. We know that her mother was a reputed harpist and perhaps it was she who taught her daughter alongside her sister Harriet.<sup>76</sup> The music in the collection includes some Venetian airs, duets by Giovanni Bianchi, Scotch ballads by Francois-Hippolyte Barthelemon, a collection of canzonets by William Shield, 'Longman and Broderip's selection of music for the Pedal harp intended for the use of performers in general, by a variety of composers', and a 'musical miscellany for the harp or harpsichord' composed by Edward Jones, harpist to the Prince of Wales, and dedicated to the Queen (Vol. 22).

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<sup>75</sup> Georgiana's grandmother wrote to her in 1797: 'A thousand thanks for the hymn, I have – it out very well and I think the musick is mighty well written for a first attempt but it appears to me that you have left out two lines – and I hope you will without delay put the last sweet stanza to musick and get Mr Bowers to write out the whole for me. – I am so glad to find you are studying Handel's musick with him – pray learn the overture in Ariadne – and a few of my favourite songs especially – Pious Orgies – Let me wander not unseen – Farewell ye limpid streams – Angels ever bright and fair – Comfort Ye – etc etc.' G. Spencer, place unknown, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, Chatsworth, 7 August 1797, CHA, J18/25. See appendices for full list of composers.

<sup>76</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 183.

Several of the vocal pieces are arranged with an accompaniment either for piano forte or harp, for example two French songs *Chanson des deux Savoyards* and *L'Amour est un Enfant Trompeur*, and the canzonets with an accompaniment for the piano forte or harp composed by Baldini in Rome in 1797. Several of these songs have alternative accompaniments for guitar or German flute.

There are also works for voice and harp by Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari, Georgiana's music teacher.<sup>77</sup> These include: '1<sup>st</sup> duett for the harp and piano forte or for two piano fortes op. XIII', and a second duet dedicated to Lady Jane Dundas Op. XX, and 'Four sonatinas for the pedal harp. The three first with an accompaniment for the violin, the last with an accompaniment for the piano forte ad libitum composed and dedicated to Miss Duncombe, Op. 16' (part for the harp).

Other music by Ferrari in the early part of the collection includes accompanied sonatas, such as 'Three sonatas for the piano forte or harpsichord with an accompaniment for a violin ad libitum op. VIII' and 'Three sonatas for the piano forte with an accompaniment for a violin ad libitum composed and dedicated to Georgina [Georgiana] Cavendish op. XV' and several opera arias and duets with accompaniments for an ensemble of instruments or adapted for the piano forte. Several pieces of music are dedicated to members of the family, such as the ariettes for voice and piano forte dedicated to Miss Caroline St Jules.<sup>78</sup> This piece is inscribed 'Georgiana Cavendish' at the top of the frontispiece and dated 1796. The '6 Ariettes, 6 duetts and 6 canons for 3 voices' are dedicated to The Right Honorable Lady Elizabeth Foster, who married the Duke after the 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess's death. There are also works for the piano such as 'Thema with six variations for the piano forte by G. G. Ferrari and the favourite rondo (adapted) that was performed at the Haymarket concert on Monday 27 April by Sigr. Viotti. Op. XIV.' Three of the variations are marked up with fingerings. It is also interesting to note that this piece was printed privately for the author and could be acquired from him at No. 18 Great Marlborough Street, London. There are also numerous sonatas for the piano forte (Vol. 9).

Maria Hester Park, née Reynolds, Georgiana's piano teacher, was an English composer and teacher. Unusually for her time, she played the harpsichord and

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<sup>77</sup> See Chapter 4 for more detail about Ferrari's life and relationship with Georgiana's family.

<sup>78</sup> Caroline St Jules was the daughter of the 5<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire and Lady Elizabeth Foster (Bess).

piano in public concerts, and taught music to elite young women, including the 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire and her daughters. It is reported that she played for Haydn, and in October 1794 he sent 'for Mistris Park a little sonat'.<sup>79</sup> Her 'concerto for the piano-forte or harpsichord Op. VI' reveals an individual voice and was composed and respectfully dedicated to Lady Charlotte Greville and Lady Louisa Grey. Again this was printed for the author. The list of subscribers includes: Lord George Henry Cavendish, Lady Georgiana Cavendish, Lady Harriet Cavendish and the Duke of Devonshire. There is also a 'Set of Glees dedicated to her Grace the Du[c]shess of Ancaster with the dirge in Cymbeline inscribed to Miss Yates by Maria Hester Park. Op. 3.' Her 'Three Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano forte, Op. 2' were written when she was only ten years old. The third sonata is annotated in pencil.<sup>80</sup>

Another woman composer who features in the early part of the collection is Catharine Ellis, whose 'Eight Canzonets, with an accompaniment for the harp, piano forte, German flute, and violoncello' is dedicated to the Prince of Wales. As we shall see in the later parts of the collection, Georgiana seemed to have a special interest in female composers.

Other music dedicated to Georgiana includes 'A new Dance for the Piano forte, Harp, Violin, or German Flute dedicated to the right honourable Lady Georgiana Cavendish composed by George Jenkins, Teacher of Scotch Dances'. The piece is entitled *Lady Georgiana Cavendish's Dance* (Vol. 10).

There is an entire volume of violin parts for the accompaniment of the keyboard sonatas. It is probable that Georgiana would have played the harpsichord or piano forte in these sonatas, raising the question of who would have played the part for the violin. It could possibly have been Giardini, or another visiting professional musician, or perhaps her brother Hartington. According to prevailing attitudes, the assumption is that it would have been a man.

The collection shows the strong influence of Georgiana's mother. Apart from the substantial quantity of music for harp, there is a variety of music composed by Giardini. We know that Giardini was patronised by the 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire and other gentry, including Lady Irwin of Temple Newsam and her

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<sup>79</sup> O. Baldwin and T. Wilson, 'Park, Maria Hester', in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, eds., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (2001).

<sup>80</sup> See Chapter 4 for further information about Maria Hester Park and her relationship with Georgiana's family.

friends. From the exile correspondence, it seems likely that Giardini taught Little G at some stage, as the Duchess refers to a set of chords that he had written out for her.<sup>81</sup> Music in the collection by him includes sonatas for the harpsichord with accompaniments for a violin or with violin and viola or violoncello, a duet for violin and tenor (viola), the Overture to *Astarto* for the harpsichord or piano forte. There is also music dedicated to the Duchess of Devonshire: *Romance No. 7*, and other works: the cantata '*Let not age*', and an Aria accompanied with a violoncello and two tenors obbligato (violoncello, viola 1 & 2, voice, cembalo). The song *Toll, toll the Knell* by Stephen Storace has the Duchess's name inscribed on the reverse side of the page: 'her grace the Duchess of Devonshire Hardwick'. The 'serious opera' *La Regina di Golconda*, arranged for the piano forte, is dedicated to the 'Dutchess of Devon'.

As might be expected there is music for debutantes: Volume 20 incorporates numerous solfege and theory exercises; Volume 10 contains Juvenile music and simple pieces for piano forte and voice. Sacred music is also substantially represented: Volume 10 contains 'Bland's Collection of Divine Music Consisting of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems. For one, two, three and four voices. The basses figured and proper harmonies annexed for the organ and harpsichord.' There are also several individual hymns and psalms.

Along with the arrangements for the accompaniments for opera arias which involve a range of instruments (Vol. 12), there are several concertos in the collection such as Dussek's 'Grand Military Concerto for the piano forte with an accompaniment for violins, viola, oboe, flutes, clarinets, horns and bass', though these could be played without the accompanying instruments and 'Viotti's celebrated new Grand Concerto in G, adapted for the piano forte ... with accompaniments for violin, alto, bass etc. by I. L. Pleyel ... N.B. This concerto may be played without accompaniments' (Vol.16). There are many pencil annotations on the latter.

There are also quintets for piano forte, two violins, tenor and violoncello by Daniel Steibelt (Vol. 22), which raises the question of whether Chatsworth or Devonshire House maintained a regular resident band at this earlier period of Georgiana's life.

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<sup>81</sup> G. Devonshire, Pisa, autograph letter to G. Cavendish, London, 24 January 1793, CHA, J18/20.

## Georgiana's music collection, 1801–25

Georgiana's music collection continued to expand throughout the period following her marriage, when she moved to Castle Howard. Many of the genres and composers represented are not dissimilar to the earlier part of the collection, which she brought with her from Chatsworth. There are still several pieces for harp, perhaps implying that Georgiana continued to play the harp at Castle Howard. One, *Gia un dolce Raggio. A favourite song adapted for the harp with variations*, is by a female composer, Agnes M. Campbell. Another female composer who appears in the collection is Harriet Abrams. Her set of twelve songs, dedicated to the Queen, is dated 1803 and printed for herself by Lavenu and Mitchell. Each song is signed at the top of the page by the author.<sup>82</sup> The presence of these songs in the collection, along with compositions by other female composers, suggests that Georgiana maintained an interest and patronised the work of women musicians, perhaps influenced by her mother's example.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Duchess of Devonshire composed music, which was performed publicly. On 17 March 1784 she went to the opera *La Reine de Golconde* which apparently included a piece composed by herself.<sup>83</sup> In 1799 she was invited by Richard Sheridan to write a song for his new tragedy *Pizarro* and the song became a success in its own right.<sup>84</sup> She was also well-known for her patronage of women artists, for example Perdita, whose first appearance on stage as Juliet the Duchess arranged in 1776; and Mrs Sarah Siddons, who wrote: 'My good reception in London I cannot but partly attribute to the enthusiastic accounts of me which the amiable Duchess of Devonshire had brought thither, and spread before my arrival. I had the honour of her acquaintance during her visit to Bath, and her unqualified approbation at my performances.'<sup>85</sup>

There are several pieces by Miss Eliza Davis, a harpsichord-

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<sup>82</sup> Leslie Ritchie explores the compositional work of Harriet Abrams and other female composers in *Women Writing Music*, discussing their song writing under the categories of charity, the pastoral and patriotism. She comments 'Eighteenth-century British women seem to have been concerned to use narrative musical genres to comment upon and shape social attitudes concerning issues of gender, religion, love and charity, nature, national identity – all of the constituent elements of social harmony.' *Women Writing Music*, 22. Little has been discovered about Georgiana's composing activities, although her mother wrote short pieces for her daughter and, as mentioned above, some of her songs were published and performed and became well-known.

<sup>83</sup> Foreman, *Georgiana*, 140.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 323.

<sup>85</sup> T. Campbell, *The Life of Mrs Siddons* (1832), I, 89, cited in Foreman, *Georgiana*, 174.



player, singer and composer. These are *Ruth*, references to which appear in Georgiana's correspondence, and three songs called *Oh when wilt thou return*, *Whom have I in Heaven*, *My Father's at the Helm*.<sup>86</sup> The first is a setting of some words written by Mrs Felicia Hemans, whose work also appears in the last section of the collection. It is noteworthy that Miss Davis' compositions are all on sacred themes, which may have been another reason for Georgiana's liking for them. They were all printed in Dublin.

There are two other songs with words written by Mrs Hemans in this second part of the collection: *The Rhine Song* is adapted to a German national melody by Haydn, and *The Pilgrim Fathers*, 'A ballad', is set by her sister. The copy of *The Rhine Song* contains a list of other songs written by Mrs Hemans, twelve of which had guitar accompaniments.

There is a large emphasis on piano music, Italian and French vocal music, including operatic arias and scores by Rossini and Mozart, and music from ballets, principally French. There are choruses and overtures from oratorios by Handel and Haydn, including *Messiah* and *The Creation*, arranged for the piano forte. Again, a substantial proportion of the music is composed by Ferrari, her former music teacher, implying that the strong relationship between Georgiana and her family and the composer continued following her marriage.<sup>87</sup> They continued to purchase, play and subscribe to his compositions. There is music by the German composer Simon Mayr who wrote theatrical music. English vocal music is also strongly represented: one volume contains a number of glees and part-songs, including some based on Shakespearean songs, and others composed by Johann Christoph Pepusch and Thomas Arne. It is interesting that the composers responsible for the arrangements of glees and part-songs in Georgiana's collection included a range of writers, most of whom were probably eighteenth-century composers, although Henry Bishop and John Braham were well-known in the

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<sup>86</sup> On Monday 18 March 1839 Georgiana wrote in her travel diary: 'We dined with the Chas Percys – in the evening Mrs Percy sung us *Ruth* 3 times – and some very pretty Italian airs – I liked particularly one of Bellini's that he composed just before leaving England'. Volume II: 17 Feb. 1839–28 May 1839, CHA, J18/62/10–12.

<sup>87</sup> This included: 'A concerto for the piano forte with accompaniment for two violins, viola, bass etc.' composed and dedicated to the Right Honourable Lady Giorgina [Georgiana] Morpeth by G. G. Ferrari, Op. 41, and 'Divertimentos for the piano forte and pedal harp with an accompaniment of two French horns and tamburino ad libitum'. Composed and dedicated to Lady Harriet Cavendish by G. G. Ferrari, Op. 24, CHA, J18/77/4.

nineteenth century.<sup>88</sup>

It is possible that Georgiana may have purchased a large quantity of the French music, published in Paris, while visiting France in 1803.<sup>89</sup> Unsurprisingly, the music collection includes both the old English country-dances and reels, and the newly fashionable French quadrilles and waltzes, arranged for piano forte. One collection, *Twelve waltzes for the piano forte and an accompaniment for a tamburino and triangle composed and dedicated to Mrs. Mayhew* by Muzio Clementi, may have been the style of music that lent itself to the enthusiastic playing to which Harriet Granville alluded in a letter to her sister in 1811: 'We do everything with extreme uncton. We play upon the piano-forte, harp guitar, triangle and castagnettes with all our might, all singing at once,' although Harriet was not referring here to dance music.<sup>90</sup> At Castle Howard, it is likely that Georgiana would have been called upon to play for evening dance entertainments. For example, at one time when Lord Carlisle was ill and had been treated, she wrote: 'When we were easy about him we amused ourselves and papa very well with music and dancing.'<sup>91</sup>

In addition to the music by Handel arranged for piano forte, there are other examples of 'ancient' music such as Pergolesi's *Gloria in Excelsis*, 'performed at the concerts of Antient Music', and John Dryden's *Ode on St Cecilia's Day, But bright Cecilia raised the wonder high*, and *As from the Power of Sacred Lays* for solo and chorus, composed by Handel and arranged by Dr John Clarke.

## **Georgiana's music collection, 1825–58**

Georgiana continued to add to her music collection during this later period of her life, and it may therefore be assumed that she continued to play, although we do not know for exactly how long.

It is significant that Georgiana's music collection dating to this period

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<sup>88</sup> The art of writing music for part-singing burgeoned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, following the formation of gentlemen's clubs, which promoted convivial singing. The musical style employed by the composers did not change significantly during that period. See Michael Hurd's essay on 'Glees, Madrigals and Part-songs' in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 242–65.

<sup>89</sup> G. Morpeth, Paris, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, 14 Jan 1803. CHA, J18/21.

<sup>90</sup> H. Granville, Trentham, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, 6 Oct 1811, cited in V. Surtees, ed., *A Second Self*, 42.

<sup>91</sup> G. Morpeth, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Devonshire, Chatsworth?, n.d., CHA, J18/21/Vol. 98/2.

reflects the taste and musical climate of the early- and mid-Victorian period, implying that she continued to keep abreast of and buy contemporary music. Her collection also reflects her own areas of musical interest and preference: for example, there is a large proportion of music written by women composers such as Mrs Robert Arkwright (Miss Frances Kemble), Miss Margaret Lindsay (later Mrs J. W. Bliss), Mrs Groom, Miss Kennedy Erskine and Mrs Murray Gartshore; and settings of poetry written by women, such as Mrs Felicia Hemans, Miss Mary Brandling and Mrs Caroline Southey. There is evidence too that she patronised composers known personally to her, for example Charles Coote, her brother's resident musician. The scope and content of this part of the collection will be examined now in greater detail.

### ***Dance music***

Private music collections demonstrate most clearly the close relationship between the public and domestic arenas. For example, dance music, composed primarily for public performance, was then reproduced in arrangements appropriate for use within the home. In the early decades of the eighteenth century, dancing performed in public arenas remained a socially segregated activity, although the dances were similar at all levels of society. For example, according to Temperley, the *country dance* remained the 'staple' for aristocratic balls, as well as the servants' balls that are alluded to in Georgiana's accounts and letters.<sup>92</sup> Other popular dances were the French country-dance (contredanse), the cotillion, an early version of the waltz, and Scottish and Irish dances. These are all represented in Georgiana's early music collection, which also contains examples of country-dance music, much of which were new arrangements for old dance figures, using combinations of the violin, flute, harp or keyboard.

By the 1820s the German waltz and the French quadrille had become increasingly popular in fashionable society, and both appear in Georgiana's collection of this period. These dances came from Paris and became the subject of much controversy. Captain Gronow recalled that in 1814, 'the dances at Almack's were Scotch reels and the old English country-dance; and the orchestra, being from

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<sup>92</sup> Household accounts 1 Jan 1826–13 June 1840, CHA, H1/1/16.

Edinburgh, was conducted by the then celebrated Neil Gow. It was not until 1815 that Lady Jersey introduced from Paris the favourite quadrille, which has so long remained popular ... The “mazy waltz” was also brought to us at about this time; but there were comparatively few who at first ventured to whirl around the *salons* of Almack’s.<sup>93</sup>

The waltzing craze is described by Alison Adburgham in her book *Silver Fork Society*, which depicts fashionable aristocratic life during the period 1814–40. She portrays the impact of the new dances on fashionable society in the words of the dandy Thomas Raikes:

No event ever produced so great a sensation in English society as the introduction of the German waltz in 1813. Up to that time the the English country dances, Scotch steps, and an occasional Highland reel, formed the school of the dancing master, and the every recreation of British youth even in the first circles. But peace was drawing near, foreigners were arriving, and the taste for continental customs and manners became the order of the day. The young Duke of Devonshire, as the magnus Apollo of the drawing-room in London, was at the head of these invitations ... In London, fashion is or was then everything. Old and young returned to school, and the mornings which had been dedicated to lounging in the Parks, were now absorbed at home in practising the figures of a French quadrille, or whirling a chair round the room to learn the step and measure of the German waltz.<sup>94</sup>

Adburgham claims that Raikes was incorrect to say that the waltz was introduced in 1813, for Miss Berry is reported to have written in her Journal on 5 April 1811, ‘At three o’clock went to Devonshire House, to a practising of waltzes, as it was

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<sup>93</sup> R. H. Gronow, *The Reminiscences and Recollections of Captain Gronow ... 1810–1860*, 2 vols. (1892), I, 32–3, cited in N. Temperley, ‘Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music’ in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 111.

<sup>94</sup> T. Raikes, *Journal*, cited in Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society*, 8.

called. It was, in fact a morning dance, with a cold dinner in one of the back drawing-rooms – the dancing in the saloon.<sup>95</sup> Lord Byron, who was unable to dance because of his club foot, wrote in 1813 a poem *The Waltz: An Apostrophic Hymn*, mocking the intoxicating effects of this dance, wherein the couple circled, held in one another's arms in unprecedented intimacy.

Scotch reels, avaunt! and country dance, forego  
Your future claims to each fantastic toe!  
Waltz, waltz alone, both legs and arms demands,  
Liberal of feet, and lavish of her hands;  
Hands which may freely range in public sight  
Where n'er before – but – pray 'put out the light'.<sup>96</sup>

There was also a form of waltzing called 'Country Dance Waltzing' or 'Waltz Country Dancing', which was performed in figures and not in another person's arms. Either way, it is interesting that there exists much waltz and quadrille music in Georgiana's music collection and that it was her brother who seemed to be at the centre of the new craze in fashionable society. How much Georgiana participated in these practice sessions or morning dances is not known, but her close relationship with her brother and frequent presence at Devonshire House would suggest some level of involvement. It has been seen from her earlier correspondence how fond she was of dancing.<sup>97</sup>

The quadrille was less controversial. Temperley describes this dance as 'a set of movements, generally five, each with its own rather elaborate figures and steps; it was danced by four couples in square formation. The most popular set was the one originally introduced by Lady Jersey, consisting of five figures: Le Pantalon, L'Ete, La Poule, Le Trenis, La Finale.' Examples of these appear in Georgiana's collection. Temperley goes on to say that 'the only essential features of the dances were the two beats of each bar and the 4- and 8-bar phrases; simple and

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<sup>95</sup> Miss Berry, *Journal*, 5 April 1811, cited in Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society*, 8.

<sup>96</sup> Lord Byron, *The Waltz: An Apostrophic Hymn*, 1813, cited in Adburgham, *Silver Fork Society*, 9.

<sup>97</sup> See her letters from Paris, for example a letter to her sister: 'I could not resist dancing one Anglaise and it did not do me any harm. I am assured here that nobody would suspect my secret.' G. Morpeth, Paris, autograph letter to H. Cavendish, place unknown, 1 Feb 1803, CHA, J18/21.

compound time were used interchangeably for the same figures.' Thus, he concludes 'it was easy to make a set of quadrilles out of the most popular tunes of an opera'.<sup>98</sup> For example, sets of quadrilles selected from operas by Vincenzo Bellini, Weber and Gaetano Donizetti by John Weippert may be found in Georgiana's collection. There are also examples from well-known ballets of the period. Others were named after individuals or events. Weippert's 50th set of quadrilles, dedicated to the Duke of Devonshire, also in Georgiana's collection, are each named after the Duke's houses, for example Chatsworth, Devonshire House, and Chiswick House. Another novelty imported from abroad and which features in the Castle Howard collections was the *Galop*, a simple dance in a fast 2/4 time which appeared in London at the King's ball at St James Palace in 1829. This also could be based on dances or airs from operas and ballets.

From this it can be seen that Georgiana was very much at the head of or keeping up with current fashions in dance forms. In addition, most of the well-known names in the production and performance of dance and band music of this period are represented in Georgiana's collection. The new dances in the Victorian period were all of continental origin. They were described by Temperley as having a 'folk origin in a foreign country; [they] appealed ... to aristocrats for their lively character, first in Vienna or Paris, then in London'.<sup>99</sup> Georgiana's collection contains sets of quadrilles and waltzes by Weippert, Philippe Musard and Johann Strauss. A very small amount was produced by British composers: the names of Charles Coote and F. G. Tinney appear in Georgiana's collection.

The sheet music indicates where and by whom this dance music was played. The group Messrs Collinet, Michanard, Musard, and Weippert's band, and the band of Johann Strauss are mentioned, and the favourite location was Almack's, which is described by Temperley as being the most fashionable of London's Assembly Rooms, whose distribution of tickets was determined by socially exclusive lines, and the 'balls of the nobility'.<sup>100</sup> The Duke of Devonshire is named as one who commissioned certain sets of quadrilles and the music is subsequently dedicated to him.<sup>101</sup> In the Duke's accounts can be found payments to a range of well-known

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<sup>98</sup> Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music' in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 111.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>101</sup> 'John Weippert's first set of Vocal Galloppes entitled Warsaw, first performed by his band at his

bands which were evidently hired to play on different occasions at the Duke's residences.<sup>102</sup>

The connection between the music and the person it was written either for or by, evidently gave Georgiana an added interest and prompted her to include it in her collection. A composer of interest to her was the above-mentioned Charles Coote, who was employed as her brother's pianist and whom she later hired to play at Castle Howard during the Queen's visit in 1850. These connections have been discussed in Chapters 3 and 6.

Dance music was played at the new promenade concert series, which commenced in London in the 1830s and then spread to the spas and resorts. It is significant that arrangements of this music, performed first at concerts and balls, quickly found its way into private music collections such as Georgiana's, as arrangements for the piano forte or harp. As was discussed earlier, this commercialisation of music through the mass production of printed sheet music was another characteristic of the period, much berated by idealists.

### ***Printed sheet music for the drawing room***

Although sheet music had been in demand in aristocratic homes throughout the eighteenth century, the increased market for what Temperley describes as 'drawing room music' in the early Victorian period was driven largely by the middle classes, who aspired to emulate the leisured status of the upper classes. As has been seen, music had long been recognised as a desirable accomplishment of an elite young lady. Aristocratic homes housed instruments and libraries of music requisite for the development of these accomplishments. Increasingly, the possession of a piano, employment of a music master and the acquisition of sheet music were esteemed by members of the middle classes as indicators of wealth and social standing. Consequently there was an increasing demand for music that was not technically demanding, suitable for amateurs of modest ability. The music collections of the elite and middle classes did not differ greatly. Temperley classifies this genre of music under the heading of 'popular and functional music',

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Grace the Duke of Devonshire's Grand Balls given at Devonshire House,' Vol. 54, CHA, J18/77/4.

<sup>102</sup> Devonshire Mss., Chatsworth, C/165: Household accounts for Chatsworth, Chiswick and Devonshire Houses, 1824 to 1846, 1851.

distinguishing it from 'art music'. At the same time he recognises the similarities between the two genres. 'The consumers [of drawing room music] recognized the high social status of the musical language of European art music, and they wanted a kind of music that audibly partook of that status ... [But] because they and their audiences looked on music as a social, not an intellectual accomplishment, and used only as an ornament to an occasion whose primary function was nothing to do with music, drawing-room music was [both] intellectually [and technically] undemanding.'<sup>103</sup> This had obviously long been a characteristic of aristocratic female education; however, it is likely that the widespread adoption of music as an indicator of social standing by the middle classes and the *nouveaux riches* required the further formulation of a style of music appropriate for this forum.

The two main categories of drawing-room music were piano music and ballads and songs. Georgiana's later collection contains music written and arranged for the piano and much vocal music. How closely do the examples reflect the trends stimulated by the widening market?

According to Temperley, Paris set the fashion for drawing-room music, and Victorian ladies, who were the primary consumers of sheet music, took their lead from there. Even music that was published in London was often given a French title, as was much German music.<sup>104</sup> Georgiana's collection includes a selection of pieces for piano with French titles. Publishers received an abundance of music from the continent, for example vocal music from Paris, Milan and Naples and instrumental music from Vienna, Leipzig or Berlin.<sup>105</sup> Georgiana's collection reflected contemporary fashions. The composers of piano music were mainly foreign. The collection includes a volume of 'select airs' arranged for the piano as solo pieces or duets, including short pieces from Italian operas such as Bellini's *La Sonnambula*, airs and variations from ballets, fantasias, romances and preludes adapted to the different capacities of learners by William Dance, and one sonata by Dussek for the 'grand or small piano forte', although in general sonatas were considered to be too serious for drawing-room entertainment.<sup>106</sup> It is noteworthy

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<sup>103</sup> Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music', in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 119.

<sup>104</sup> Georgiana's version of 'Regrets' by Franz Schubert, originally a setting of German poetry, was published in Paris, in French. An English translation has been written above the music, probably by Georgiana. Volume 56, CHA, J18/77/4.

<sup>105</sup> Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music', in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 120.

<sup>106</sup> See E. M. Forster, *A Room with a View* (1908). Lucy Honeychurch's passion for playing the



that while Georgiana was acquiring 'new' music, she retained her earlier collection of music and is likely to have continued to play it.

Her vocal-music collection is very interesting, and perhaps here it is possible to see more of Georgiana's own preferences coming through. It includes airs, songs, and Italian vocal music. Temperley points out that it is perhaps in vocal music that we see best the intimate relationship between public performance and private consumption.<sup>107</sup> It seems that this relationship, which had been developing throughout the eighteenth century, was cultivated more purposefully in the early Victorian period for commercial purposes. Temperley describes the process by which public performance was used to introduce and promote new ballads for use in the home: 'A well-established procedure was to publish a song with a piano accompaniment, and at the same time to launch it in public by having it sung by a famous singer with orchestra.'<sup>108</sup> He goes on to describe how these ballads could be presented haphazardly into any public performance, even at an inappropriate moment in an opera, almost resembling a modern commercial break. In due course, 'ballad operas' and 'ballad concerts' were to be launched with the purpose of bringing new songs to the public.<sup>109</sup> To enhance the possibility of success, publishers paid well-known singers a 'royalty ballad' to perform the new song. This exposure demonstrated where the general public's taste lay and the lack of enthusiasm for music with any innovation. It was this, Temperley claims, that came to distinguish the ballad from high or serious art.<sup>110</sup> The Victorian ballad was one of the most characteristic musical expressions of its age, and Temperley surveys helpfully the wide range of popular ballads and some of their features.<sup>111</sup>

An essay by Geoffrey Bush defines ballads as primarily a commercial proposition. Words were chosen for their wide popular appeal, as a peg on which to hang a good tune. However, 'as soon as a composer starts to pay attention to the words – to interpret the meaning and the emotional nuances of the poem he is trying to set – a song becomes a dual work of art; it cannot be judged on the merits

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'serious' music of Ludwig van Beethoven is much frowned upon by her family and friends.

<sup>107</sup> Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music', in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 121.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>109</sup> These were distinguishable from the ballad operas of the eighteenth century by composers such as John Gay. See Temperley, 'Ballroom and Drawing-Room Music' in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 122.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 131.

of the music alone, but on the sum of both its parts.’<sup>112</sup> In the art song, the quality of the text was important and should be matched by the composer’s corresponding treatment of the words. Georgiana’s collection contains many interpretations of high-class poetry alongside settings of words by unknown writers, frequently female. It appears that the composers were a combination of those recognised to be of a higher calibre, and a mixture of unknown male and female composers, who produced settings of both good and lesser-quality poetry. Songs of interest that appear in Georgiana’s collection include:

- A series of songs based on Sir Walter Scott’s *The Lady of the Lake*, adapted to the music by Mr Wilson. The Wilsons from Manchester, father and two sons, are described by Richard Middleton as being a family of ballad writers.<sup>113</sup>
- Franz Schubert’s *Ave Maria*, in imitation of Ellen’s hymn from the *Lady of the Lake*, the English version by Thomas Oliphant.
- Other songs based on the poetry of Alfred Tennyson, Lord William Byron, Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Moore and a range of female writers such as Miss Mary Brandling and Mrs Caroline Southey. The composers also include many women: Miss M. Lindsay, Mrs Groom, Miss Kennedy Erskine, and Mrs Murray Gartshore.
- Thomas Moore’s poem *The Garland* set to music by Felix Barthold Mendelssohn is an example of an art song.

Some composers, such as J. L. Hatton, produced songs of artistic merit whilst at other times writing for the ballad market. Many of the most popular songs of the Victorian era were taken from the Romantic operas of composers such as Henry Bishop, William Vincent Wallace and Michael Balfe, and the works of these composers are represented in Georgiana’s collection. Several of Mrs Hemans’ songs would reward greater investigation. For example, *The Sands o’ Dee* is

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<sup>112</sup> G. Bush, ‘Songs’, in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 266.

<sup>113</sup> See R. Middleton, ‘Popular Music of the Lower Classes’, in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 70, 72, 73, 76.

described as a ballad set to words by the ‘composer of *The Captive Knight*’.<sup>114</sup> Temperley rates this song as worthy of having a permanent place in the repertory, saying that it ‘allows Kingsley’s poem to speak for itself instead of seeking to illustrate the tragedy with a series of melodramatic or picturesque effects’.<sup>115</sup> There is also a volume entitled: *Arkwright Songs*. This collection of songs by Mrs Robert Arkwright (formerly the actress Frances Crawford Kemble) includes settings of Romantic and other poetry by writers such as Tennyson, William Wordsworth, Thomas Campbell, John Lockart, and some women poets, such as Mrs Hemans.<sup>116</sup>

A volume of miscellaneous music that Georgiana owned includes several anthems on sacred themes, arranged for piano or organ and voice, by Victorian composers such as John Pratt, Vincent Novello, and William Horsley, which may have been used in worship services in the chapel. Significantly Pergolesi’s *Stabat Mater*, arranged for piano forte by John Clarke-Whitfield, has an English translation of the words written above the music, probably by Georgiana. Some pieces reflected the fashionable taste for Italian vocal music, including arias from operas by Giacomo Meyerbeer and Donizetti, whilst others are more in keeping with the vogue for ‘ancient’ music, for example, arias from earlier operas by Christoph Willibald Ritter von Gluck and Handel, arranged for the piano forte by Bishop ‘for the concerts of Antient Music’.

The presence in Georgiana’s collection of music of several different genres by nineteenth-century composers and poets implies that Georgiana kept abreast of developments in contemporary musical taste, and remained active in purchasing sheet music for her personal use. It is clear from the music collection that dance music was much in demand at Castle Howard and the family’s other residences, and no doubt was played to provide entertainment for the young people. Perhaps the greatest interest, however, is the role the collection plays in bridging the gap

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<sup>114</sup> The evocative poem *The Captive Knight* was written by Felicia Hemans (1793–1835) and set to music by her sister, according to the inscription on the sheet music. It is possible that Hemans’ sister also composed a setting for the poem *The Sands o’ Dee*. Mrs Hemans received patronage from a young age from the Right Honorable Viscountess Kirkwall.

<sup>115</sup> Bush, ‘Songs’, in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 273.

<sup>116</sup> Robert Arkwright and his wife Frances lived at the family seat Sutton Scarsdale Hall in Derbyshire. Mrs R. Arkwright is listed as one of the subscribers to the publication of Felicia Dorothea Browne’s (Hemans) poetry. It is probable that Georgiana knew of her work due to her living in close proximity to Chatsworth House. She was also well-known as the actress Frances Kemble.

and demonstrating the interrelationship between the domestic and public spheres of Georgiana's life, and how the two realms linked and influenced each other.

## **Publishers and publishing**

A postscript to this discussion is the influence of the growth of publishing on the availability of music for domestic consumption, and correspondingly the impact of the demand for such music on the need to supply it. This is a vast subject and has been discussed from different angles by writers such as John Brewer, and other cultural historians of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries such as Krummel and Sadie.<sup>117</sup> It is not my intention to discuss in depth the influence of local, London and continental publishing houses on the collections under investigation. However, some questions are significant for this discussion. For example, where did the families under interrogation buy the music they played in their homes? How did changes in taste and stylistic and technical developments in music composition, which were made known in concert halls and opera houses, and available through the medium of music publishers, influence what was played in the elite household?

A few general remarks will suffice: Sadie outlines the growth of music publishing after 1750 and the multiplication of publishing houses in London and the development of connections with their European counterparts, to the extent that works were often published at the same time in different centres. Some of the names of firms which appear in the Yorkshire collections are: Longman and Broderip, John Bland, Robert Birchall, Corri, Dussek and Co, and J. Dale. The greatest demand was for chamber music, instrumental and vocal, which in 1760s catalogues took up approximately three times the amount of space that was devoted to orchestral and operatic music, keyboard music remaining the largest category, evidently for domestic use.<sup>118</sup> There was a large demand from Music Societies for instrumental parts, which must have stimulated the printing and reprinting of both new and earlier music. It would be easy to assume that only new

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<sup>117</sup> Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*; Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*; D. W. Krummel, 'Music Publishing', in N. Temperley, ed., *Music in Britain*, 46–59.

<sup>118</sup> Sadie, 'Music in the Home II', in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 315.

music was purchased during this period, but the beginning of the establishment of a canon of 'ancient music', coupled with the high demand for works suitable for amateur performance, in particular Corelli's concertos, implies that mid-eighteenth-century chamber music was being reprinted, thus making available a range of earlier music to elite families who wished it to be played in their private concerts.

It is likely that different members of the Lascelles family and the Countess of Carlisle would have acquired much of their music from London sellers and perhaps from European centres. However, we know that they also patronised local suppliers. According to Griffiths, the number of provincial music and publishers listed by Humphries and Smith put York in fourth place after Oxford, Bath and Cambridge.<sup>119</sup>

One of the main music-sellers and publishing houses in York was Thomas Haxby, who opened the first music shop in York in 1756:

This day is opened (at the Organ in Blake Street, York) a music shop; where gentlemen, ladies, and others may be furnished with all sorts of musical instruments and cases; bows, bridges, strings, and wire; music, vocal and instrumental, books of instruction; blank books, ruled paper etc. ... N.B. Instruments repaired, and kept in order in town and country.<sup>120</sup>

Although publishing was limited, Haxby's name appears on the imprint of three compositions, one of which was the *Six Lessons for the Guitar*, composed by local musician and teacher Thomas Thackray (published in 1765), to which Lady Frances Ingram of Temple Newsam was a subscriber.

In 1788 Haxby announced he had 'disposed of his stock of printed music, and every other article in the musical branch, to Mr. S. Knapton'.<sup>121</sup> Samuel

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<sup>119</sup> C. Humphries and W. C. Smith, *Music publishing in the British Isles from the beginning until the middle of the nineteenth century: a dictionary of engravers, printers, publishers and music sellers, with a historical introduction*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1970) cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 217.

<sup>120</sup> See Griffiths' chapter (X) on music publishing and selling in York, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 209 ff. *York Courant*, 29 June 1756.

<sup>121</sup> Cited in Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 221.

Knapton was a practising musician in York and played the violoncello in the Yorkshire Musical Festivals of 1823, 1825, and 1828 in York, which White was involved in organising. Interestingly he announced his intention to go into partnership with his son and with White:

Samuel Knapton ... has this day commenced a partnership with his son, Philip Knapton ... Messrs Knapton have also, in conjunction with Mr White, of Leeds, formed a separate establishment, under the firm of Knapton, White, and Knapton, for the printing and publishing of music; every arrangement has been carefully made to ensure the beauty and accuracy of their editions, which, in the first instance, will consist of a series of useful and popular works for pupils.<sup>122</sup>

According to Griffiths, the works published by this firm were popular, and composed and arranged by local musicians, as seems to have been the case with most of the music published in York between 1750 and 1850.<sup>123</sup> In 1819 John Robinson opened a music shop in Stonegate, York and was to publish two pieces of music. The Knaptons were succeeded by William Hardman in 1829 who continued in business until his death.

It is probable that sheet music and supplies were acquired from these sellers by the Lascelles and Carlisle families while they were in Yorkshire. James Hook's *The Hours of Love, properly adapted for the voice, piano forte, violin, German Flute or guitar*, in the Castle Howard collection, was printed in London for Longman and Broderip, but labelled as being 'sold at Knapton's Music Shop, Blake Street, York'. There are receipts in the Harewood archives of purchases from William Hardman, and Samuel and Philip Knapton. However, from the research undertaken by Griffiths it would seem that they were not responsible for publishing much new music apart from some by local composers. Indeed it appears that some works by the local composer Philip Knapton were printed in

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<sup>122</sup> *York Courant*, 22 August 1820.

<sup>123</sup> Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality*, 221.

London, such as *Marie – A Tyrolese Air with variations for the piano forte* composed by Philip Knapton, printed by Messrs Goulding, D’Almaine Potter and Co., 20 Soho Square (Vol. 23).

A final point of interest on the subject of music publishing concerns subscription lists. When seeking to have his music published a composer could approach either a publisher to buy and publish it, have it printed at his own expense, or seek financial support from subscribers. Several of the works in both of the collections have lists of subscribers, including aristocrats (men and women), gentlemen, music sellers, and professional musicians. These lists in turn provide some indication of what types of music different subscribers were prepared to invest in. Sadie, after an analysis of seventeen lists from English chamber works published between 1730 and 1790, came up with the following observations: titled subscribers usually represented between 8 and 15 per cent of the whole, those entitled to the label ‘Esq.’ 15 to 18 per cent, male subscribers far outnumbered female for music in the older forms (solo sonatas and trios for example), while for the new forms involving an obbligato keyboard part, the reverse was true.<sup>124</sup> Thus this bears out the assumptions that keyboard music was the preserve of the female, while the violin music belonged to the era when the skilled gentleman amateur violinist prevailed. A point of interest is that in the new accompanied sonata the role of the violinist is greatly reduced to that of an accompanist, thus placing the male (violinist) and female (on the keyboard) amateur musician in a different musical relationship, perhaps reflecting changing attitudes towards the appropriateness of music-making on the part of men, and the symbolic significance of music for women in the domestic realm in the late eighteenth century.

## Conclusion

This survey has shown the contrasting natures of the two major Yorkshire music collections under interrogation. As has been pointed out, the Harewood collection is an amalgamation of music belonging to different family members, either brought to the House or bought for use in the House. The volumes that can be linked to

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<sup>124</sup> Sadie, ‘Music in the Home II’, in H. Diack Johnstone and R. Fiske, eds., *The Eighteenth Century*, 315.

certain individuals reflect the musical interests and abilities of their owners. The greatest part of the collection seems to have belonged to the 'House' and to have been purchased for the purpose of ensemble playing and evening concerts: it was therefore of a standard suitable for amateur musicians to perform. Although the music had a specific function and purpose in the life of the Household, it may be said that it nevertheless reflected the tastes and interests of those who acquired it. These were probably primarily the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Earls and their musical director John White. In this respect it could be argued that the bulk of the collection, in particular the instrumental music both of the ancient school and of a more cosmopolitan character, largely reflected male taste, which is an interesting consideration at a time when music in the home was considered the woman's domain. It is true that the women in the household, including the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl's wife, were very musical and possessed their own collections of music. It is likely that they would have played the piano forte or the harpsichord part in the accompanied sonatas and trios and sung. But it is significant that there is for example relatively little music for the harp. White's accounts also show purchases of music suitable for his pupils, the young ladies of the household and for performance in church.

The volumes belonging to the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess at Castle Howard are the product of a lifetime's collecting and music-making on the part of one elite woman. The earlier part of the collection contains music for piano forte, harp and voice suitable for a young girl's musical development. It reflects the influence of her mother and includes music by her music teachers, Giardini, Ferrari and Hester Park. The second part builds upon the earlier repertoire, while beginning to show the development of Georgiana's personal interests, especially in the relatively high number of women composers in the collection. The music of her former music teacher Ferrari continues to feature prominently. The last section includes a large proportion of dance music, including music by her brother's resident musician at Chatsworth, Coote, reflecting current fashions, and an interesting range of drawing-room songs, again reflecting a pronounced interest in women song-writers and composers, for example Mrs Arkwright.

There are many overlaps with the Harewood collection in terms of composers of music for the piano forte, music by Handel, opera scores and arias, and a significant number of accompanied sonatas for keyboard and violin. However, although some excerpts from operas were scored for ensembles of



instruments, and there are sufficient examples of music for multiple instruments to beg the question as to whether Chatsworth maintained a resident band, the piano forte arrangements for these pieces were capable of standing alone and so were not dependent on the presence of other supporting instruments. However, it is probably true to say that Georgiana's collection shows a more clear relationship with her life and the development of her personal musical interests than the music in the Harewood collection, the majority of which seems to have been acquired for the more functional purpose of providing music for evening entertainments.

It does not seem possible to assert that the collections reflect any regional influences, apart from the fact that some music was purchased in York; though even the music of local composer Philip Knapton was sold in London. All of the music in the collections could have been purchased in London or another European centre. It is possible that the music of Avison and Garth was better known or more frequently performed in the north-east, although we know that both performed in London too, and Avison's was obviously well-known to the 'ancient music' school. Personal connection as opposed to geographical influence seemed to play a large part in the inclusion of certain composers and pieces of music in Georgiana's collection.

Although we have only been able to study two collections in depth, it is hoped that their differences and similarities demonstrate both the shared cultural and social context they are set within and linked to, and the individual character and story of each.



## 8 Music as ‘display’ in the Yorkshire Country House

*They gradually ascended for half a mile, and then found themselves at the top of a considerable eminence ... and the eye was instantly caught by Pemberley House ... She had never seen a place for which nature had done more, or where natural beauty had been so little counteracted by awkward taste ... On applying to see the place they were admitted to the Hall ... The rooms were lofty and handsome, and their furniture suitable to the fortune of the proprietor; but Elizabeth saw, with admiration of his taste, that it was neither gaudy nor uselessly fine; with less of splendour, and more real elegance, than the furniture at Rosings.<sup>1</sup>*

Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*

### Introduction

In the previous chapter we discussed the music collections built up by aristocratic families in Yorkshire houses, focusing particularly on Harewood House and that belonging to Georgiana the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle. In this chapter I will be considering the role that the performance of this music played in aristocratic display and the setting for it in the Yorkshire country houses under interrogation.

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<sup>1</sup> Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, 267–8.

This will lead to a discussion about spaces for music-making and performance, their private and public roles, the origin and purposes of designated music rooms, and factors determining their inclusion in country-house planning. I will be mentioning the relationship of music rooms to neighbouring rooms, other rooms where music was played, the place of musical decorative motifs, and musical instruments as works of art and pieces of furniture. An attempt is made to build on the research already undertaken and examine the spaces for music in the Yorkshire houses under interrogation in the context of their architectural history and development, and in relation to the social and cultural context and different influences at play, the taste and inclinations of their owners, and the relationship of the architects with their patron. The findings in the individual houses will be linked with developments in other houses, and common themes drawn out. While the interrogation will focus on the houses under investigation, I will seek to broaden it, although inevitably, as in the previous studies mentioned, it will be limited. It is hoped that this final chapter will bring new evidence to this debate whilst simultaneously opening up the discussion of this neglected topic.

## Display

A preoccupation with 'display' was integral to aristocratic living, and the creation of aristocratic palaces was intended to reflect the nobility, grandeur, wealth and status of its occupants. Modelled on the courts, this initially found its highest expression in the ceremonial aspects of the elite household. It was part of a self-conscious creation of an image. This ambition was inherent in the conception, design and furnishing of houses and was expressed in all aspects of elite domestic life. Elite homes served a dual purpose: aristocratic families lived there in their private domestic lives but also in the knowledge that they were self-consciously on display. In the country house there was a crossover of two worlds, the 'private and public', which may be understood as two overlapping spheres.<sup>2</sup> Hospitality and entertainment for the benefit of tenants, visiting nobles, and even royalty were an important element of country-house life, when the family and their home,

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<sup>2</sup> A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 7. The concept of spheres was touched upon in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

household and possessions were on 'display', and the hosts were engaged in a form of elaborate 'performance'.

It is not surprising therefore that historically music has played an important role in aristocratic display. How this role was expressed changed from period to period and so therefore did the function of music and where it was played in the house. Furthermore, depending on who was present, a domestic space might alternate between 'private' and 'public' functions. The 'public' face of 'private' music-making had further implications, for example for how musical performance in the 'private sphere' impacted concerts in the 'public sphere', resulting in a two-way traffic of influence.

### **Private and public**

Before proceeding further, it will be helpful to define some of the terms mentioned. Christina Bashford in her article 'Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth Century England', uses the term 'private sphere' to 'indicate domestic social life: a realm characterised by informality and intimacy, albeit a way of living that was not based exclusively on the family unit, and that could extend to friendship circles that attached to households.' In contrast she defines the term 'public sphere' 'to indicate the larger, more formal, social world in which ideas were circulated and discussed collectively, and opinions formed. In terms of musical culture, this meant the formation of widely accepted ideas about music, particularly through commercial concert giving and concert going ... That said, distinctions of public and private are inherently problematic: for instance for much of the nineteenth century, "public concert" did not designate events open to the entire population, but rather performances limited to those who lived in the main cultural centres and who had the requisite wealth, leisure and interest to attend them'.<sup>3</sup> Bashford's definitions are helpful, but she is right to point out the inherent difficulties.

The distinctions between 'public' and 'private' are further complicated by the notion of overlapping worlds which was woven into the fabric of country-

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<sup>3</sup> C. Bashford, 'Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth Century England', in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63, 2 (Summer 2010), 293. This has parallels in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century court and the distinctions between the privy chamber and more 'public' court events, which were, however, never really open to the public.

house life. The idea of domestic music falling into a neat category of 'private' entertainment within the aristocratic household fails to reflect the very 'public' nature of the elite lifestyle even within the home. Music played in the context of country-house entertainments before an audience of invited guests could rightly be described as 'public' entertainment. This can be seen clearly in the ceremonial aspects of country house life, but in the eighteenth century it became more complex when this public aspect took on a different emphasis and was defined by the notion of 'sociability'.

New patterns of entertainment in the eighteenth century such as concerts, assemblies and balls were to have an impact on country-house design, and on the planning of interiors. At this time, the elite preoccupation with display expressed itself in a new interest in interiors.

### **Interiors, display and sociability: 1730–70**

The conversation piece, portraits of two or more people usually engaged in a domestic activity in an interior, reflected a new emphasis on domestic sociability and the need to perform to a new code of social conduct: politeness.<sup>4</sup> As will be discussed in further detail, polite sociability was played out in public and domestic spaces which allowed for the assembly of large numbers of genteel people.<sup>5</sup> The fashionable forums of sociability were assemblies and balls and these took place in specially designed interiors such as the Assembly Rooms in York and often in private houses. The requirement to receive crowds of guests necessitated changes in the interior planning of houses. A sequence of interconnected reception rooms was now the prerequisite to being able to entertain and accommodate visitors. Conversation pieces both celebrated and satirised this preoccupation with domestic interiors, the satires providing a critique of the dangers of sociability and the superficiality of politeness.<sup>6</sup> The preoccupation with sociability and the entertainment of large numbers of guests was to have an impact not only on the

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<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 2. See also: H. Grieg, 'Eighteenth-century English Interiors in Image and Text', J. Aynsley and C. Grant, eds., *Imagined Interiors*, 116. See also: J. Brewer, *Pleasures of the Imagination* (1997), A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter* (1998), M. Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (1980), P. Langford, *A Polite and Commercial People. England 1727–1783* (1989).

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of eighteenth-century 'sociability' see Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter*, 25–9, 203–4.

<sup>6</sup> Grieg, 'Eighteenth-century English Interiors in Image and Text', 127.

decoration of rooms but also the internal planning of houses and in particular the state/reception rooms. This in turn impacted on where music was played.

### ***Brettingham and the new design for Norfolk House***

By the mid-eighteenth century new solutions were required to adequately accommodate the large parties of guests it was now fashionable to receive. The formal plan of the house (1630–1720) no longer worked. Girouard helpfully describes the steps towards the solution which was to be encapsulated by Matthew Brettingham at Norfolk House, London:

The first step ... was to open up the state apartment on occasions to general company ... The next stage was to throw the whole apartment open for assemblies, with card-tables in the withdrawing room and the guests parading through the unoccupied bedchamber and closet to admire their fittings and decorations. The stage after that was to increase the number of rooms in the state apartment, so that it could accommodate a big assembly or assembly-ball. The final stage was to hive the state bedchamber off from the apartment, leaving just a sequence of reception rooms.<sup>7</sup>

Brettingham's contribution was to design for Norfolk House, St James' Square, in 1750 a circuit of reception rooms organised around a top-lit central staircase. This was based on a plan he was already working on at Holkham in Norfolk.<sup>8</sup> Each room had its own colour and decorative scheme providing a sequence of visual experiences for the visitor. The largest room, the 'great room' or 'great drawing room', was positioned after four preceding rooms, and was followed by the state bedroom, dressing room and closet.

William Farrington attended the opening assembly at Norfolk House and described his impressions in detail. He was apparently much impressed by the 'vast crowd and the great blaze of diamonds' and by the way 'every room was

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<sup>7</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 194.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 195.

furnished with a different colour, which used to be reckoned absurd, but this I suppose is to be the standard'.<sup>9</sup> He also described how the company was received by the Duchess in the room after the ante chamber, at the top of the staircase which was the white and gold music room.

Tessa Murdoch has described in detail how the decoration for this and the other rooms was influenced by the style and decoration of houses and music rooms in Paris, and has argued that the French court at Versailles influenced early examples of music rooms in London. The Norfolk House Music Room was decorated between 1753 and 1756 with woodwork by the French carver and gilder Jean Cuenot, and the nine heads on the pelmet boards and pier glasses were taken from engraved designs by Jean Berain who was designer at the court of Louis XIV. It was painted in white paint with gold decoration in imitation of the decoration at Versailles and the Paris salons. However, while the Paris models were clearly used for the performance of music, there are no records of music being played in the Norfolk House Music Room. It was named after the decorative scheme only and was apparently a favourite room for the reception of guests.<sup>10</sup> The relationship between sociability and the creation of a circuit of reception rooms is in keeping with the theme of display, and the inclusion of a music room as part of the new design brings to the fore the concept of music as display.

### **Music as Display: definitions of music-making**

There is a strong similarity between the painting of conversation pieces and musical performance: both require an audience or spectator. When discussing the place of music in country-house display, it is necessary to consider how the concepts of 'public' and 'private' apply to music-making in the domestic domain and further draw distinctions between 'music-making', 'performance', 'playing' and 'background music'. These activities may be defined by whether an audience was present or not, and whether one was playing for oneself, the family, or guests.

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<sup>9</sup> D. Fitzgerald, *The Norfolk House Music Room* (1973), 48–9, cited in Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 196.

<sup>10</sup> T. Murdoch, 'Music Rooms in Great London Houses', unpublished paper. I am grateful to Tessa for sending me her paper.



These terms also introduce the possibility of both 'private' music-making and 'public' performance taking place in the same domestic setting, and raise the question as to whether different spaces were required for the different functions?

Bashford offers some definitions for these terms too, drawing upon Christopher Small's explanation of 'music-making'. Small describes this as 'musicking' which centres on the act of musical participation and the special social and artistic experience it generates. Small defines the verb 'to music' as meaning to 'take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing'.<sup>11</sup>

The word 'performance' implies that 'music-making is intentionally presentational: i.e. that it unfolds before an audience and with the aim of providing an unbroken rendition of the music in question ... Domestic music-making presents us with a continuum of activities ranging from private musicking for its own sake to the formally more organised private subscription concert, with "ad hoc" performing at a small social gathering fitting somewhere in between. In addition, distinguishing what constitutes an informal private concert can be difficult, with boundaries liable to be blurred, particularly when domestic music took place with a few listening bystanders, or when it developed spontaneously into a 'play-through' to other members of the household or social gathering.'<sup>12</sup> In this may be perceived the notion of overlapping 'public' and 'private' spheres, which has already been touched upon.

Bashford also cites Thomas Turino who makes further distinctions helpful to this discussion. Turino distinguishes between presentational performance ('situations where one group of people ... prepare and provide music for another group') and participatory performance ('a special type of artistic practice in which there are no artist-audience distinctions, only participants and potential participants performing different roles') although in the case of the latter, 'the "primary goal" is to maximize the number of people involved in a performance capacity'.<sup>13</sup>

A range of musical activities are known to have taken place in Yorkshire

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<sup>11</sup> C. Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Bashford, 'Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth Century England', 304.

<sup>13</sup> T. Turino, *Music as Social Life* (2009), 26, cited in *Ibid.*, 304.

country houses: informal gatherings of close family members, private concerts for special guests, musical soirées, private theatricals involving music for both family and guests, background accompaniment for social gatherings or dinners, playing for personal pleasure of practice, dancing and balls, both public and private. Many of these could be described as 'presentational performances' connecting with notions of display and the public face of country-house life; others could be termed as private 'musicking' or music-making. The term 'participatory performance' offers the potential for an overlap of both private and public musical activity.<sup>14</sup>

### **Concerts, sociability and display**

According to Simon McVeigh, 'Music had long been a way of advertising social status: it had the advantage of involving both conspicuous spending and pretension to good taste.'<sup>15</sup> As with other activities in the public sphere, the social significance of the various concert series and how they helped to define the prestige, wealth and taste of their audiences, was of great importance, overriding other considerations.<sup>16</sup> McVeigh continues: 'Music [was] cultivated not so much for its commercial potential as for its role in defining a less tangible cultural status and leadership ... The entire system was built on the "exclusive principle"'.<sup>17</sup> In this way the concert series an aristocrat patronised became part of his self-representation in the public domain, and thus concert-going formed part of aristocratic display. Consequently, when the enthusiasm for modern orchestral repertoire began to reach wider audiences, fuelled by Joseph Haydn's visit to London and the arrival of his symphonies, aristocrats were forced to respond. McVeigh describes how the first reaction of the aristocracy was to withdraw from public concert life and focus on private concerts.

While concerts in aristocratic houses both in London and the country were a feature of upper-class life during most of the eighteenth century, for varying reasons as has been discussed already in Chapter 3, there was towards the end of

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<sup>14</sup> These definitions provoke further questions such as the issue of 'performance', sexuality and the 'male gaze' (see A. Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs*, 37–8) and debates about women musicians, professional and amateur, and the appropriate domain for women performers.

<sup>15</sup> S. McVeigh, *Concert Life In London from Mozart to Haydn*, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Outlined by McVeigh, *Concert Life In London*, Chapter 2, 11ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

the century an upsurge of more formal private concerts in London as an alternative to public concerts. Charles Burney noted that by 1789 large-scale private concerts were 'frequently given by the nobility and the gentry at their own houses'.<sup>18</sup> According to a newspaper report of 1783, most 'Ladies of Character and Rank' avoided public entertainments; instead 'private Houses are opened for the Ladies, and the most elevated and accomplished among the Gentlemen'.<sup>19</sup> Although the assertion of another paper was that the company was 'select not numerous', it is recorded that some of these concerts featured an entire orchestra as well as celebrated performers, which must have required a considerable amount of space.<sup>20</sup> The concerts were intended to provide an alternative to public entertainments; as such, their form and content were often similar to public subscription concerts. Whole series of concerts were put on by individual households, for example by Sir Watkin Williams Wynn at his home in 20 St James' Square. McVeigh points to two specific rivals to the public subscription concerts, the 'Ladies Concert' and the 'Grand Private Subscription Concerts', also known as the 'Sunday Concerts' or the 'Nobility Concert'. These took place in various houses. The scale of the events was impressive. In 1787 the series was apparently attended by 400 of the 'flower of the nobility and gentry', the orchestra was 'The Professional', and there were royal patrons too.<sup>21</sup> It would be interesting to know where exactly these concerts took place and which rooms in the individual houses were large enough to accommodate them. Did they indeed take place in the music room? In Sir Watkin Williams Wynn's house the music room was positioned next to a larger room. Opening the doors into this room increased the space available to stage such events.<sup>22</sup>

The second response of the aristocracy was to cultivate an alternative musical culture. In this the Concert of Antient Music assumed a distinct role, contributing to the redefinition of the aristocracy as responsible guardians of the nation in a powerful statement of artistic leadership. As was discussed in Chapter 7, the music of Handel was central to this movement. McVeigh describes the

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<sup>18</sup> Burney, *A General History of Music*, II, 1, 13–14.

<sup>19</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 47.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>22</sup> E. Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 275.

developments as follows: 'The favoured composer was Handel, and his supposed centenary in 1784 provided an excuse for an elaborate Commemoration on a massive scale, which gave public expression to this leadership ... Thus it was by no means a disadvantage to the instigators that the Commemoration sparked off a popular bout of Handel-mania which contributed as much to the rage for music as Haydn's symphonies over the next decade'.<sup>23</sup>

Both of these developments will be seen to have had an impact on the subject of this discussion, providing a new impetus to play music in houses, shaping the creation of demarcated spaces for music-making, and affecting how music in aristocratic households contributed to elite display and defined status and taste. The citations above refer to trends in London, although we have already seen how the taste for ancient music infiltrated the music collection at Harewood House.<sup>24</sup> Part of this investigation will be to consider the cross-over of influences between town and country and the metropolis and the provinces, and whether the creation of spaces for music-making in Yorkshire country houses was related to developments in London.

The four Yorkshire Houses under interrogation demonstrate four different solutions and approaches to the choice of and designation of particular spaces for the performance of music, private and public. A comparison of these houses and consideration of the varying factors that determined where music was played provides an illuminating discussion of country-house spaces and rooms. However, before examining each house more closely in turn, it will be helpful to review the current state of scholarship.

## **Music rooms in country houses: scholarship**

Jeanice Brooks contends that:

Despite sustained scholarly and popular interest in country-house history, the role of specially designated Music Rooms has been little studied. Many stately homes today have a music room, often with an instrument (although it may have no provenance

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<sup>23</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in London*, 7.

<sup>24</sup> See Chapter 7.

related to the house) and scores used as room dressing. However, these spaces were often originally designed as parlours, drawing rooms, libraries or studies ... and were not converted to purpose until the late nineteenth century or after. The inclusion of a specially conceived Music Room in great houses was rare before the middle of the eighteenth century, but became increasingly common thereafter.<sup>25</sup>

It is true that relatively little academic research has been devoted to this subject, and as a consequence what has been attempted has not yet been linked up to provide a coherent picture of this topic, especially in relation to eighteenth- and nineteenth- century British country houses. Nevertheless, the subject has stimulated considerable interest and has been discussed from different angles and to varying degrees in the following seminars, conferences, publications and unpublished papers:

1. *The Music Room, Workshops on Music and the Domestic Interior*. Seminar series at the V&A Museum, London organised by Suzanne Fagence in conjunction with the Royal College of Music, 2006–7.
2. *Sound, Space, and Object*. Conference at Cambridge, 9–11 July 2009. These papers focused on spaces for music-making in early Modern France and Italy and are now published: Howard, D. ed., *The Music Room in early modern France and Italy: Sound, Space and Object*. Proceedings of the British Academy, 176 (2012).
3. Brooks, J. 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, 91, 4 (2010).
4. Girouard, M. *Life in the English Country House* (1978). This shows the impact of architectural changes on the creation of music rooms.
5. Harris, E. *The Genius of Robert Adam. His Interiors* (2001).
6. Murdoch, T. ed., *Boughton House, The English Versailles* (1992).
7. Hancock, W. 'A Musical Family in High Georgian England: the Curzons of

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<sup>25</sup> J. Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, 91, 4, (2010), 528.

Kedleston in the Eighteenth Century', unpublished paper.

8. Murdoch, T. 'Music Rooms in Great London Houses 1660–1760', unpublished paper.

These studies attempt to address such issues as:

- The evolution of music rooms as definable spaces
- The influence of the architectural context: acoustics, heating, furnishings and lighting
- The impact of changes in musical taste and technology on interiors
- The impact of music retailing on the creation of music rooms – performance, storage, display
- Music rooms as gendered spaces
- The role of music in family relations and its influence on which room is used for music-making
- The influence of women on the design and use of music rooms, and the integration of music into country-house life
- The impact that the changing design and use of music rooms had on country-house design

The conference and seminar series have been useful in raising generic questions relating to the creation and evolution of music rooms, even though the *Sound, Space and Object* conference focused on a different period and geographical context, while the V&A series addressed individual questions at specific points within a 400-year span of time so that it was not possible to build up a comprehensive picture of any given period or national context. The individual house studies are very helpful in contributing to the body of evidence, and the description of the work of Adam in a range of houses provides a picture of the contribution of the architect to the design of music rooms and his relationships with his patrons. Tessa Murdoch's work has been helpful in drawing attention to the French influence on the design and vogue for music rooms in London houses in the mid-eighteenth century. However, while questions have been addressed, it is hard to draw definitive conclusions about the many factors bearing on the designation of particular spaces for music in country houses due to the limitations of the research, and the fact that relatively few examples of music rooms have been

thoroughly examined.

It is also known that music was played in other spaces not specifically designated music rooms: How should we think about those rooms? Were they 'thought' of as 'music rooms' by their owners, even if they were not named as such, or were they spaces where a range of different activities took place, music being just one of them? Changes in uses of other rooms such as libraries could also have an impact on where music was played and instruments and music stored, as has been discussed by Brooks.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the questions I will be seeking to address in the following case studies are:

- Which rooms were used for music-making? How did this change in different periods?
- What factors determined the choice of a particular room for music-making?
- Were 'music rooms' purpose-built?
- How did their design relate to their position in the overall architectural and decorative scheme?
- What was the relationship of music rooms with other rooms? Were acoustics a factor?
- What continental influences (e.g. France) had a bearing on the design of music rooms?
- Did the purpose of the musical activity influence the choice of space? For example, was the music-making intended solely for personal edification, or for informal family gatherings, or for performance and the more formal entertainment of a wider audience of visitors?
- Was there a relationship between the size of room and the number of people playing and listening?<sup>27</sup>
- How far did the personal interests of owners determine the creation of designated music rooms?
- To what degree did the architects influence the inclusion of music rooms into the architectural scheme?

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<sup>26</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House', 513–35.

<sup>27</sup> A useful discussion would be to compare developments in country houses with the architecture of ecclesiastical buildings where there might be a clear relationship between the purpose, architecture, acoustics and musical performance.

- How did the eighteenth-century preoccupation with ‘collecting’ and the acquisition of artefacts relate to the design, display and storage of instruments and printed and manuscript music, and their relationship with nomenclature and spaces for playing music?<sup>28</sup>
- How did books (and music books) contribute to country house display? In what ways were music rooms and libraries used as loci for the creation and display of collections?<sup>29</sup>

## When is a Room a Music Room?

A discussion of music rooms must first address the question: What is a music room? In her paper ‘When is a Room a Music Room? Sounds, Spaces and Objects in Non-courtly Italian Interiors’, Flora Dennis asks:

What defines a music room? Should we retrospectively call those rooms in which musical performances regularly took place ‘music rooms’, or should we instead be faithful to the nomenclature of the time, considering only self declared music rooms as examples of the type? Given the extent to which rooms can have multiple names, and those names frequently change with time, how feasible an enterprise is this?<sup>30</sup>

Several means have been used by scholars to determine where music was played in a house.

## Inventories

Inventories have been one source consulted to ascertain both the presence and

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<sup>28</sup> Brooks has discussed the question of how the ‘activities of young women in domestic settings contributed to developing notions of musical heritage’, in ‘Musical Monuments for the Country House’, 513.

<sup>29</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 180.

<sup>30</sup> F. Dennis, ‘When is a Room a Music Room? Sounds, Spaces and Objects in Non-courtly Italian Interiors’, in D. Howard, ed., *The Music Room in early modern France and Italy: Sound, Space and Object*, 38.



level of musical activity, and where exactly musical activity took place. These investigations have been instructive in some cases but misleading in others. For example, the circumstances in which inventories usually took place, i.e following a death, on the imminent sale of a house or to settle a dispute of ownership, were not very typical and usually were not necessarily a settled time in the family's history. Many instruments and music were portable and may have been moved to different rooms or removed from the house altogether (especially if the instruments were hired, as for instance, is known to be the case at Temple Newsam).<sup>31</sup> The inventory would have been carried out speedily and meticulously by professional appraisers in consultation with family members or their stewards. Musical instruments and music were not always the focus of an inventory and so not necessarily recorded. A comparison of some early- to mid-eighteenth century inventories is illuminating and throws up interesting questions:<sup>32</sup>

1. Montagu House, Bloomsbury, London 1709 and 1733. In the 1709 inventory only 'a paire of harpsicalls' in the steward's closet is listed. In the 1733 inventory a harpsichord and frame are noted which have been moved from Room 30 to Room 53 (it is not known which rooms these were). It is likely that this is referring to the removal of musical instruments from one room to another for storage purposes, perhaps following a death.
2. In the early eighteenth century, Boughton House, Northamptonshire had a 'Musicke Room' but the 1709 inventory does not suggest any musical instruments were found in it. In the 1718 inventory 'drums and sticks' are recorded. This seems to be a very early example of a music room, perhaps earlier than the one at Cannons in Middlesex. However, it is not known whether the room was used for music-making, or if the instruments had been removed from it.
3. The 1746 inventory for Montagu House, Whitehall, London lists a 'stand used for Musick books' in Room 10, which was a bedroom, possibly a servant's bedroom. In the Evidence Room was a 'leather trunk with musick books that belonged to Julie; 2 cases with 3 violins'. Again, this seems to

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<sup>31</sup> 'Feby 3 1779: To the Hire of a Harpsichord to the 29<sup>th</sup> June £4: 4: 0', WYL100/EA/12/5.

<sup>32</sup> The following accounts are reproduced in T. Murdoch, ed., *Noble Households, Eighteenth-Century Inventories of great English Houses: a tribute to John Cornforth* (c.2006).

refer to the storage of instruments and music.

4. The 1772 inventory for Ditchley, Oxfordshire seems to have taken account of musical instruments: in the Library and closets are listed: 'a single harpsichord by Mahoon, a little old spinet, a bass viol and case, a violin, bow and case'. In the saloon: 'a fine-toned single harpsichord, by Mahoon, and a mahogany Stool'. In the Musicke room was 'a German flute, by Stanesby, and 2 small music stands'. In this example the musical instruments were where they would be expected to be. Significantly there was at this date a designated music room and the library was also a location where musical instruments were housed as became more common in the late eighteenth century.
5. At Kiveton, Yorkshire, the 1727 inventory lists on the Great Staircase an 'organ in a case painted olive and gold', in the dining room, '1 large piece of musick', in 'ye chappel' were found '3 old broken stands', and in the dressing room and closet was '1 Harpsical'. Again, instruments were recorded as being in rooms where they probably would have been played, including the chapel. As will be seen, the practice of installing an organ on the 'Great Staircase' was not uncommon.

It seems that initially printed and manuscript music was of less interest and not usually considered to be part of the main collection. This changed when in the late eighteenth century there was a growth of interest in music manuscripts, perhaps related to the more antiquarian, historical appreciation of music reflected in the works of Charles Burney and John Hawkins.<sup>33</sup>

## **Floor plans**

Floor plans are useful for determining the names of rooms at any given date in a house's history. It is likely that in some cases the names of rooms changed over time according to variations in the use of the room. A 'Musick Room' may only have been called a music room for a certain period of time. Also, did the fact that a room was labelled a 'Musick Room' necessarily mean that music was played in that

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<sup>33</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House', 523.

room, or was it part of a fashionable plan popular at the time of design and construction, or did it refer to the decorative scheme, or was it a space for storing or housing musical instruments, for example an organ?

### ***Other potential sources of evidence***

Pictorial evidence, such as conversation pieces and prints, may provide some insights, although many scenes of domestic music-making were depicted taking place in an interior that may have been at least partially imaginary or generalised. At the very least they highlighted music-making as a social activity drawing a family or small group of people together and might give some idea in which room music might be expected to be played. As far as I know there are no existing images of music-making in the Yorkshire houses under consideration, although there is a picture of music being played in the Long Gallery at Burton Constable c.1840.<sup>34</sup>

Written accounts also allude to the existence of a music room or a room used for music-making as in the following extracts, which simultaneously serve to illustrate the changes that had occurred in country-house life during 30 years with regards to music-making:

#### *Carton, the Duke of Leinster's house in Ireland, 1779*

The house is crowded – a thousand comers and goers. We breakfast between ten and eleven, though it is called half past nine ... After breakfast Mr Scott, The Duke's Chaplain, reads a few short prayers, and we then go as we like – a back room for reading, a billiard room, a print room, a drawing room, and whole suites of rooms, not forgetting the music room ... There are all sorts of amusements: the gentlemen are out hunting and shooting all the morning. We dine at half-past four or five – go to tea, so to cards about nine ... play till supper time – 'tis pretty late by the time we go to bed.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> The picture, currently displayed at Burton Constable Hall, depicts Lady Clifford-Constable, her son Talbot and her sister Eliza Chichester.

<sup>35</sup> Cited in B. Fitzgerald, *Emily, Duchess of Leinster* (1949), 166.

### *Osterley in 1809*

They went to dinner and the drawing-room in which we were received, and in which they always sit, is 10 or 11 feet high, and I think much broader than the gallery at Althorpe. It is 130 feet long, and yet by means of two large chimney pieces, and a profusion of sofas, chairs and tables of all sizes, a billiard table, books, pictures, and a *pianoforte*, it was as comfortable and as well filled as a small room would. All the rest of the house is of a piece with this room – immense, magnificent, and very comfortable.<sup>36</sup>

### ***Influences and precedents for music rooms and spaces for music-making***

Before discussing music rooms in Yorkshire houses in the eighteenth century, it will be helpful to examine briefly how these issues were resolved in houses of earlier periods.

Before the eighteenth century the main purposes of music-making in the formal house were to enhance ceremony and for entertainment. Music was integral to the spectacle and ceremony associated with a great man's establishment and was reflected in the architectural plan. According to pictorial and written accounts, it appears that music probably would usually have taken place in the Great Hall, Great Chamber, in smaller ante rooms, musicians' galleries and possibly in the family chapel.

In sixteenth-century houses, the Great Chamber was the ceremonial pivot of the house and, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the height of its magnificence and splendour. The prominent place accorded to music in Great Halls can be seen from the incorporation of musical decoration in the friezes and furniture of some houses dating to this period, for example in the Great Hall at Gilling Castle, Yorkshire.<sup>37</sup> Here the frieze focuses mainly on the arboreal family trees of the Yorkshire society who were received there but in one corner are six musicians who are seated at a table with their music next to them. In less wealthy

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<sup>36</sup> Sarah Lady Lyttleton, *Osterley c.1809*, cited in Mrs H. Wyndham, *Correspondence of Sarah Lady Lyttleton* (1912), 75, cited in J. Hardy and M. Tomlin, *Osterley Park House*, (1985), 107. (My italics).

<sup>37</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 89.

households the question might be posed as to whether the musicians who appear in the decoration were intended to evoke the presence of music in the absence of live musicians? A table dating to the 1560s at Hardwick, though probably originally from Chatsworth, is richly inlaid with musical instruments and sheet music, with the psalm 'Oh Lord in thee is all my trust' set to four parts.<sup>38</sup>

It is possible to glean an idea of the original atmosphere of the Great Hall from contemporary sources, such as George Whetstone's *An Heptameron of Civil Discourses* (1582).<sup>39</sup> This depicts the magical spectacle of the Hall at the height of the masque and the integral role of music in the creation of this special atmosphere:

Coming out of my lodging somewhat timely, I entered the great chamber with as strange a regard, as he that cometh out of a house full of torch and taper lights, into a dark and obscure corner: knowing that at midnight (about which time I forsook my company) I left the place, attired like a second paradise: the earthly goddesses, in brightness, resembled heavenly creatures, whose beauties dazzled men's eyes more than the beams of the sun; the sweet music recorded the harmony of angels, the strange and curious devices in masquers seemed as figures of divine mysteries. And to be short the place was the very sympathy of an imagined paradise.

Later, the Gallery also became a status symbol and supplemented the Great Chamber as a location for pastimes such as music, masques and games. In the Gallery at Apethorpe, Northamptonshire is an overmantel. This is carved with King David playing the harp and underneath is an inscription:

Rare and ever to be wished may sound here  
Instruments which faint spirits and muses cheer

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 94.

Composing for the body, soul and ear  
Which sickness sadness and foul spirits fear.<sup>40</sup>

### ***Early examples of music rooms***

Murdoch has drawn attention to what must be one of the earliest references to a music room. She recounts how John Hingeston, Keeper and Repairer of his Majesty's organs was paid to remove the organ situated in the Queen's Chapel, St James's Palace and for 'remounting the same in the new musique room'.<sup>41</sup> As has been mentioned the Boughton House inventory for 1709 mentions a 'Musicke Room' (as distinct from the Music-Gallery which was named thus in the nineteenth century) but there are no references to musical instruments.

### ***Cannons***

This was one of the most important musical households in the early eighteenth century outside the court. The Duke of Chandos maintained an orchestra of 16 musicians who played in both the chapel and the music room. The plan of the ground floor of Cannons from the 1725 inventory positions the 'Musick room' beside the dining room in keeping with earlier traditions of entertainment associated with the Great Hall and musicians playing throughout feasts.<sup>42</sup>

The French influence has already been mentioned in connection with Norfolk House. The extent of this influence and how it interacted with other factors will be discussed further.

## **Spaces for music-making in Yorkshire country houses**

Although the period under consideration commences at the end of the eighteenth century, it is not possible to discuss designated spaces for music-making at any given time without examining the architectural evolution of the houses under interrogation. A discussion of the four Yorkshire houses will reveal changes and

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>41</sup> See J. A. Sadie, *Companion to Baroque Music*, 293, cited in Murdoch, 'Music Rooms in Great London Houses', unpublished paper.

<sup>42</sup> S. Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, 33.

also will link the development of new spaces for music-making with earlier traditions. Comparisons will highlight fashionable trends and the personal divergences of the individual owners and architects. The architectural history of Temple Newsam begins in the sixteenth century, after which it was the setting for at least three centuries of music-making until its sale to the council in 1922. Due to its extensive history it will be examined last and this discussion will begin with the design and construction of Castle Howard in the early 1700s.

## Castle Howard

Castle Howard was built by John Vanbrugh for his patron the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle on the ceremonial principle. As Saumarez summarised it: 'For the third Earl of Carlisle, building Castle Howard was a means of demonstrating the status of his family, his metropolitan connections and his position at Court, his knowledge of continental architecture, and his interests shared with fellow members of the peerage.'<sup>43</sup>

The original ground plan for Castle Howard, which was adapted by Vanbrugh from Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, did not make provision for a music room.<sup>44</sup> The 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl's primary intentions for the house were that it would be seen as an instrument of power and self-aggrandisement, a demonstration of political and personal prestige.<sup>45</sup> It is perhaps an important point to consider that despite its aspirations to ostentation and grandeur, plans for Castle Howard did not include a music room, although music would no doubt have played an important role in its self-presentation. Conversely, a chapel was planned but not built. As will be demonstrated, houses of this period did not usually incorporate a preconceived music room, though chapels were more common in new houses. For this reason, it is not easy to ascertain precisely where music was played in the house at the time of its creation. However it is illuminating to consider the principles of late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century room-planning outlined by Mark Girouard, and there are examples of music-making in other

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<sup>43</sup> Saumarez, *The Building of Castle Howard*, 32.

<sup>44</sup> C. Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, (1715), 63, cited in Saumarez, *The Building of Castle Howard*, 62.

<sup>45</sup> Saumarez, *The Building of Castle Howard*, 115.

houses of this epoch which provide some insights.<sup>46</sup>

### ***The formal plan***

The houses of the period c.1630–1720 were constructed around the Palladian influenced formal plan which prioritised symmetry. As Girouard points out, the English interpretation of this concept was to envisage a central great chamber above a hall below, enabling the owner to dine in state in the great chamber above his subordinated household. However, the organisation of the rooms on either side, on one side the grander rooms designed to receive visitors of state and, on the other, the accommodation for the family, did not always adapt as well to a symmetrical formula. The plan also posed new problems for the architect, for example the main staircase to the upper floor now had to be fitted into the hall, which rendered it impractical for eating. As a consequence the hall became a superb room of entry, as was to be the case at Castle Howard.

After the Restoration the formal plan became widely fashionable, concurrent with trends on the continent. The English model was most influenced by the French version, particularly in the adoption of French names for the rooms: the great chamber became known as the *Saloon*. The suites of rooms on either side of the central pile were now called *appartements*. During these transitions, decisions had to be made as to the function of the hall. A country-house hall, Isaac Ware pointed out, was more than a waiting room for ‘people of second rank; it serves as a summer room for dining ... and it is a good apartment for the reception of large companies at public feasts’.<sup>47</sup> In between times it tended to host a range of activities, including music. The presence of music galleries above the hall facilitated the playing of music at all times of the year, as in the Elizabethan hall at Longford Castle in Wiltshire where a musicians’ gallery was installed in 1678. The presence of a minstrels’ gallery was a throw-back to an earlier tradition, one that was adopted at Knole when the fifteenth-century Great Hall was altered by the 1st Earl of Dorset in 1605 and 1608 to include an ornamented oak screen below a minstrels’ gallery where the Earl’s private orchestra would have played during

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<sup>46</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 120–62.

<sup>47</sup> I. Ware, *Complete Body of Architecture* (London 1756), 335.



dances and feasts.<sup>48</sup> At Blenheim, also the work of Vanbrugh, a triumphal arch leads from the hall to the saloon. Between them, below the arch, Vanbrugh created a balcony from which musicians would have played during mealtimes. According to Girouard, this balcony originally opened onto both rooms.<sup>49</sup>

As has been mentioned the Great Chamber became known as the Saloon, and it was in this one room that dinners, balls and suppers took place in the same evening. At the Earl of Portland's house in St James' Square in 1711, an entertainment is recorded to have taken place, commencing at 6pm in the evening and continuing until 5am. After the meal, the guests were invited to Lady Portland's apartment where they listened to a symphony performed by 20 singers and musicians from the opera. During this time, the saloon was prepared for the ball which was to follow.<sup>50</sup> The significance of this is that the main room for entertainment was multi-functional and its name, Saloon, did not specify its use for particular entertainments, although this would have been understood by contemporaries. The main function of the room was formal dining, and as such was conceived as the ceremonial centre of the house. In this example music is recorded as being performed in one of the apartments, probably in the largest withdrawing room, though again this function is not indicated in the nomenclature. In this context it can be seen that music was linked to the ceremonial function of the house. Castle Howard was built on the same principle.

At Chatsworth House, one of the houses Vanbrugh consulted while preparing plans for Castle Howard, the central upper room was designed as an 'ante-room'. According to Roger North, such an arrangement was 'the perfection which one would desire, and if understood easily obtained because it fits the humour of a front, whereof the middle windows may serve the ante-room, and on either side the chambers.' The central room 'need not have a chimney, because it is for passage, short attendance or diversion. Music is very proper in it. And it is scarce known what a life is given to the upper part of a house, when it is conveniently laid out and adorned.'<sup>51</sup> It seems, in this example, music would have been conceived as background entertainment as people passed through or lingered

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<sup>48</sup> R. Sackville-West, *Knole* (2012), 12.

<sup>49</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 158.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 147–8.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

en route to another room. As he implies, music in this context would have animated the centre of the house, and would have probably been heard further off in the apartments, especially if the doors remained open.

Girouard's examination of a range of houses built or adapted during this period demonstrates the variety of decisions to be made and solutions that were found by designers of formal houses. For example, should the saloon be put on the first floor, or on the level of the hall? Should there be two state apartments, or only one, which was balanced by a family apartment?<sup>52</sup>

At Castle Howard, also designed on the principle of the formal plan as described above, the saloon is situated behind the main hall on the ground floor, not above it, and the two suites of rooms, 'ye Grand Apartment In ye West Wing' and 'My Lord's Apartments', extended outwards from these two central spaces. It is possible that any musical entertainments would have taken place in the saloon, either with a seated audience or to provide 'background' music which could be heard in the state apartment rooms. However, saloons were by this time rarely used for eating in. Instead meals were served in a separate dining room, sometimes accompanied by an orchestra either within or just outside the room.<sup>53</sup>

Places where music for more formal occasions could have been played at Castle Howard at this period were the upper balconies overlooking the entrance hall. I have no particular archival evidence of occasions when music was played from these balconies, but in the context of more formal or grand occasions, prior to the completion of the Long Gallery, it would have been the most likely place for the positioning of musicians looking down on the impressive baroque hall above which the great dome towers.

However, although the interiors of the Hall and State rooms at Castle Howard were extremely grand, it appears, according to Saumarez, that, 'the life that the third Earl of Carlisle was to lead in them was comparatively modest, not dedicated to the rituals of lavish entertainment'.<sup>54</sup> There appears to have been little formal entertaining necessitating music. Later in his life, the Earl became

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 151.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 203–4. As has been mentioned, the Music Room at Cannons seems to have functioned in this way. It was situated next to the dining room as a kind of ante room, so that music could be heard throughout the meal, though not as a concert, but as an accompaniment to the dinner. In this it differed from music rooms of the mid-eighteenth century.

<sup>54</sup> Saumarez, *The Building of Castle Howard*, 114.

disillusioned with the in-fighting at Court and withdrew to the isolation of his country residence where he lived quietly with his three daughters. Thus 'instead of Castle Howard being used for the purposes for which it was originally intended, as an instrument of power and self-aggrandizement, a demonstration of personal and political prestige, it became an expensive retirement home and, as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu described it, a nunnery for 'Lord Carlisle's unmarried daughters ... One senses a curious irony in comparing the lavishness of the Castle Howard interiors with the third Earl's life of modest domesticity, of gossip and conversation, and long winter evenings without company, as he grew old and lame.'<sup>55</sup>

Nevertheless, the three daughters of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl were accomplished: the household accounts note that payments were made for a new spinet and for a music master.<sup>56</sup> It is likely that music-making would have taken place in one of the withdrawing rooms, or perhaps in a dressing or sitting room used by the daughters close to their sleeping quarters.

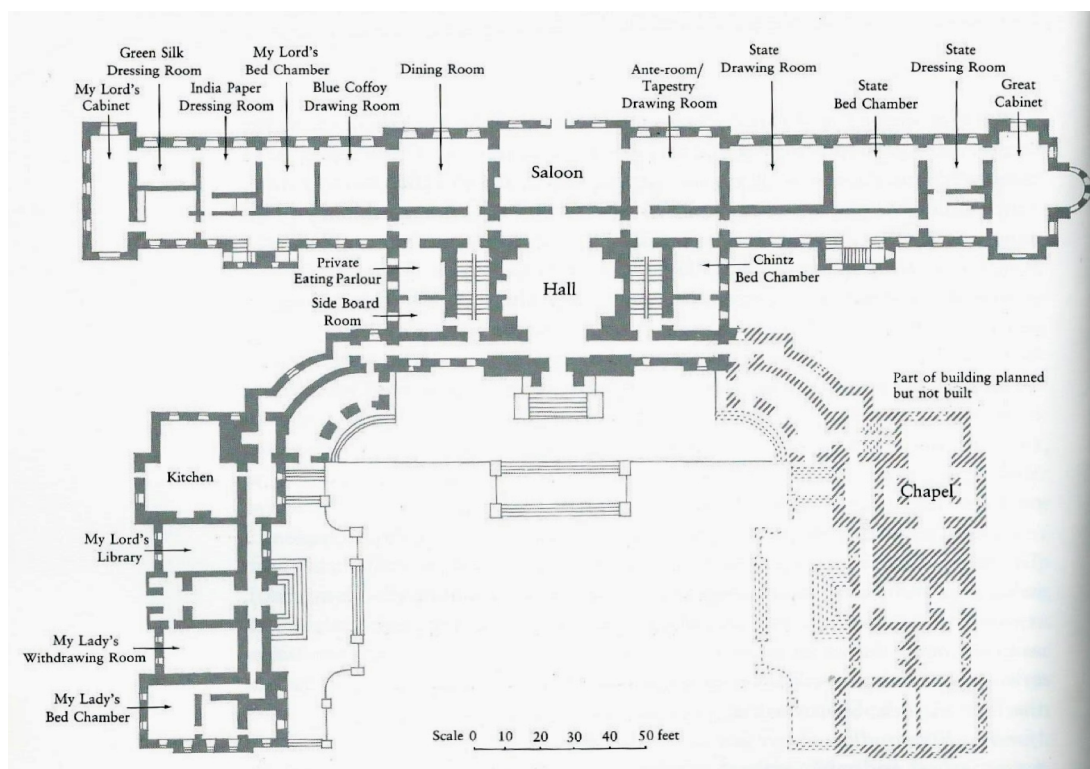


Figure 13: Ground floor plan for Castle Howard adapted from Colen Campell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, I, 1715; a Chapel was planned but was not built; the Tapestry Drawing Room was to become the 'Music Room' during the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess's lifetime

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>56</sup> Neville Ridley Household Books, 1691-1714, CHA, H1/1/3-6.

### ***The 4th Countess of Carlisle***

Isabella, the 4th Countess of Carlisle, was renowned for her enthusiasm for music and concerts. When she was at Montpellier, 'she owned a harpsichord [and] she enjoyed attending and holding concerts, and had a discerning ear. On more than one occasion she copied down a "scrap of a song" and sent it to England, requesting in return she be sent the latest songs or minuets, "for I live with so many musical people here".'<sup>57</sup> She was clearly accomplished and probably had learnt to play to a level that surpassed polite pastimes. As Ridgway explains, her artistic skills 'constituted real accomplishments, practical disciplines that were put to regular use'.<sup>58</sup> And to these accomplishments, she added other intellectual interests and skills. It is likely therefore that she would have had a keyboard instrument at Castle Howard and would perhaps have kept it in a withdrawing or ante room. Apparently she was also well-known for her love of concerts in England. In 1758 George Montagu had reported 'a great concert at my Lady Carlisle's'.<sup>59</sup> It is likely that this was in London as it was fashionable to host private concerts at this time, but it is also possible that in her capacity as the 4<sup>th</sup> Countess she hosted smaller musical events at Castle Howard. Where would these have taken place? The location would have been determined by the size of rooms. It is likely that her entertainment would have involved smaller numbers of visitors than in London.

### ***Lady Georgiana Morpeth***

As has been demonstrated in Chapters 4 to 6, it appears that the 5th Earl and Countess of Carlisle were fond of music. It is likely that this would have been small-scale music-making that probably would have involved their daughters and especially Lady Georgiana Morpeth who came to live with them in 1801, as I have not yet found any records of more formal musical entertainments. By this time the ceremonial aspects of country-house living had been replaced by a greater emphasis on sociability and informality, although it is not known how soon this

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<sup>57</sup> C. Ridgway, 'Isabella, fourth Countess of Carlisle: No Life by Halves', in R. Larsen, ed., *Maids & Mistresses*, 39–40. Source: Isabella's letter book containing 48 transcribed letters, dated between 25 Oct 1771 and 6 Jan 1773, CHA, J13/1/3.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>59</sup> G. Montagu, place unknown, autograph letter to H. Walpole, place unknown, 4 May 1758, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (1937–83), 48 Vols, ix, 219, cited in Ridgway, 'Isabella, fourth Countess of Carlisle: No Life by Halves', note 29, 49.

impacted upon life at Castle Howard.

Since the death of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl there had been attempts by his successors to complete the West Wing. Amongst other rooms, this wing contained the Long Gallery and new dining room. However, by the time that Lord and Lady Morpeth moved to Castle Howard, only some of the bedrooms had been completed and were able to be used by the newly-weds. The interior decoration of the West Wing was carried out between 1801 and 1812 by Charles Heathcote Tatham. The Long Gallery was originally conceived as a space to display sculpture and painting but by 1796 the lack of a suitable eating room for large dining parties prompted the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl to improvise. He later wrote: "The pressing want of a larger eating room has made me decide to take one division of the gallery, and fit it up for that purpose, when it is so used it will have a temporary separation form the circular part in the middle, at other times the comfort of the long walk will not be destroyed."<sup>60</sup> After the interior decoration had been completed in 1812 these problems were resolved. The Gallery remained a display space but its function began to be expanded to house books when the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl installed four large bookcases into the Octagon in 1825. Although no references to music being played in the Long Gallery during the life of the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl have been found, it is possible that this could have taken place perhaps during dinners, due to the close proximity to the New Dining Room. Any dances or balls that took place would probably have happened here, especially following the completion of the room, at which time Georgiana's children would have been growing up. References to dancing are plentiful in the correspondence of the young girls with their mother.<sup>61</sup>

It was after the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess, then Lady Georgiana Morpeth, came to live at Castle Howard, that the present Music Room became known as such, though it is not clear when exactly this name was adopted. It was part of the suite of rooms originally conceived of as the State Rooms, at which time it was described as a drawing room. There is a record of it being referred to as the Music Room in about 1812. The picture is slightly confusing as there is also a reference to it as being the billiard room in the same year, or perhaps just before 1812 and therefore before it became known as the Music Room. References to the room appear in Georgiana's

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<sup>60</sup> The 5<sup>th</sup> Earl's Reminiscences, CHA, J14/65.

<sup>61</sup> See Chapter 5.

correspondence with members of her family throughout her life. Harriet wrote to her mother: 'I wrote yesterday to George with an account of yesterday's proceedings. I will try to give you one of the evenings. William and Edward went to dessert. We were called at after 8 and found the ladies sitting in the Musick Room.'<sup>62</sup> Although it appears in this example that the room was being used as a sitting room, the prominent use of the Music Room from this period indicates that music and its role in the life of the family took on a greater significance at Castle Howard after Georgiana's marriage to Morpeth and her arrival at the house. How much was this a concession to current fashions? This development is comparable to the decision in 1801 to rename the Gallery at Boughton House as the Music Gallery. It is likely to have been a decision taken by a family who were known to be very musical.<sup>63</sup>

Until 1837 the Music Room at Castle Howard was referred to alternately as the Blue Drawing Room (1822 and 1831), and the Billiard Room (1825 and 1833). From 1837 it is described consistently as the Music Room until 1850, from when it is again referred to as the Blue Drawing Room, until 1930 when it regained its former status as the Music Room. It is easy to understand why its name should change regularly as it did not appear on the original floor plan as a designated music room, but was first intended to be used as a Drawing Room. As has been discussed, drawing rooms were frequently rooms where a keyboard instrument might be stored and where small groups of family members and friends gathered, making it a favoured space for informal, intimate music-making.

### ***Castle Howard inventories***

The 1825 inventory taken on the death of the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl refers to the room as the Tapestry Room. This inventory is useful in that it provides an indication of the location of some musical instruments at that date. It recorded the presence of an organ at the top of the Grand Staircase; in the Tapestry Room there was a 'large forte-piano', a 'round mahogany stand' and a 'mahogany musick book stand'. As might be expected, in the upper storey in the new (west) wing, in 'the young ladies sitting room' was a 'harpsichord and stool', and in the young ladies sitting room in

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<sup>62</sup> H. Howard, Castle Howard, autograph letter to G. Morpeth, Chatsworth, n.d., CHA, J18/12/24.

<sup>63</sup> J. Cornforth, 'Boughton: Impressions and People', in T. Murdoch, ed., *Boughton House*, 24.

the old (East) wing was a 'pianoforte and music stool'. The inventory also records that an 'old pianoforte' was stored in the 'Picture room', later referred to as a 'lumber room', which seemed to be a storage room for a wide range of unused furniture and objects.<sup>64</sup>

This suggests that a keyboard instrument was kept in one 'public' room (the Tapestry Room was one of the suite of state rooms), although this room would probably have been used for personal recreation or intimate gatherings of family and friends as it is not large. It is possible that people could have listened from the drawing room beside it if the door was left open, as in some of the London houses that Robert Adam designed in the mid-1700s, and so it is an example of a room that could have had both a 'private' and 'public' function.

The inventory on the death of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl taken on 26 March 1849 was towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess's life. There is no mention of an organ at the top of the Grand Staircase. The inventory refers to the 'Music Room' as having a 'Grand Pianoforte by Broadwood', (perhaps the one that Lady Georgiana brought with her from Chatsworth), a 'dwarf mahogany music stand', and a 'maple book stand'. In the closet adjoining Lady Mary's Room was an 'old music stool' and 'Bidet'. Again in a Housemaid's Closet was another 'old music stool'. In the Lumber Room were a 'guitar and case', 'three pianofortes', a 'painted stand and stool' and a 'barrel organ'. On the bookshelves in the Drawing Room were '20 volumes of music and literature – various sizes'.<sup>65</sup> There are no musical instruments recorded in Lady Mary's Room, neither are there any in the Chapel or the Long Gallery. The mention of volumes of music in an inventory seems to have been rare. Did this signify a greater estimation of the social and cultural worth of printed music or a change in where they were stored? Or having been bound, had they now found a place amongst the book collection?

The inventory taken on 26 March 1849 for No. 12 Grosvenor Place, Belgrave Square, again following the death of the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl, shows that the only evidence of musical activity in the house was a 'mahogany framed music stool' in the Front Drawing Room. It is possible the reason for the absence of musical instruments, particularly a keyboard instrument, was that they were hired when

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<sup>64</sup> Castle Howard, 1825 inventory, CHA, H2/11/1.

<sup>65</sup> Castle Howard, 1849 inventory, CHA, H2/11/3-4.

the family were in residence.

In the inventory taken on January 1865 on the death of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl, the Music Room was still being referred to as such and retained the 'mahogany Grand Pianoforte by Broadwood' and '1 mahogany music stand' listed in the 1849 inventory. The room is recorded as having a lot of additional furniture in it, as befitted the period, and *seems* to have been used as a sitting room. As in the earlier inventory music stools were used for other purposes and were found in a bedroom and the Old Lumber Room, and a 'mahogany 4 tier music stand' was listed as being in a dressing room. The Lumber Room seems to have been cleared of the three pianofortes stored there in 1849, although an 'old mahogany Grand Pianoforte' is listed in being in Room 25 (possibly near the chapel entrance). The only other things in the room were an 'old chair' and 'drugget'. The books in both the Drawing and Music Rooms were enumerated but not described individually.

It is possible that this room, first described as a drawing room but now known definitively as the Music Room, could have been a place where informal music-making to whatever degree had always gone on, for example during the lives of the 4<sup>th</sup> Countess and 5<sup>th</sup> Earl and Countess. Perhaps it was when the function became more prominent during the life of the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess that it became more closely identified with music. Significantly, and in contrast to other music rooms discussed, the name referred to its function as opposed to any defining decorative scheme. However, did the change in name also reflect the influence of changing fashions, which had eventually reached Castle Howard? The inclusion of a designated music room became more fashionable after the mid-eighteenth century. Later a new emphasis on the moral and spiritual value of music in the early Victorian period corresponded with the creation of purpose-built music rooms resembling chapels. These trends may have had an impact on how the Music Room at Castle Howard was perceived. Equally it is likely that the room retained its name due to the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl's allegiance to his mother and his own appreciation of music's artistic and spiritual significance.

## **Country-house chapels**

Another possible space for the performance of music at Castle Howard and other Yorkshire country houses was the chapel, which will now be discussed briefly. Chapels were common in seventeenth-century country-house planning, for



example at Ham House in Richmond-upon-Thames. There were many precedents in late-seventeenth-century formal houses.

Annabel Ricketts' masterly book *The English Country House Chapel* traces the development of the country-house chapel from before the Reformation through to the post-Restoration period at the end of the seventeenth century. She considers the spiritual and social significance of the private chapel and how this is reflected in their architectural design, their positioning in relation to the rest of the house, their liturgical orientation and decoration and fittings. She also discusses issues such as the regulation and control of private chapels against the backdrop of the political and religious climate in which they were built. All of this forms a very interesting and important background to the consideration of chapels in eighteenth-century country houses, and a discussion of how the design and role of the private chapel evolved subsequently warrants much further research and consideration. However, our concern here is the country-house chapel as a potential space where music might have been played and I will discuss the specific examples where there is evidence of this happening.

Prior to the Reformation, it would have been common for country-house chapels to have choir stalls and desks for singers: these would be either members of the household, in which case they would have been provided with vestments and lodgings, or singers who were hired in. At Thornbury Castle in Gloucestershire '22 settles of Wainscot' were provided for the choir, which consisted of 18 singing men and 9 boys. Colley Weston, Northamptonshire, Margaret Beaufort's household in the sixteenth century, included choirboys who had separate accommodation in the house as at Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire.<sup>66</sup> The medieval Easton Neston, in Northamptonshire, which was updated in 1511, contained rooms for singers and a chaplain, although there is no evidence of a chapel.<sup>67</sup> At The Vyne, Hampshire there is little evidence of gentlemen of the chapel or singing boys and it is possible here that singers may have been hired in.<sup>68</sup> At Rushbrooke Hall, Suffolk, on attending Jermyn's funeral, the merchant Henry Machyn recorded in his diary that Jermyn possessed a 'godly chapel of singing men' at Rushbrooke.<sup>69</sup> In

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<sup>66</sup> Ricketts, *The English Country House Chapel, Building a Protestant Tradition* (2007), 252.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 250.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 298–9.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 28

Elizabethan post-Reformation houses, household choirs were abolished and the emphasis was on prayer, preaching and readings from the Bible. In terms of the use of space, the priority was that the entire household would be enabled to gather for devotions. The chapel was no longer seen as an appropriate vehicle for display and ostentation.

Following the succession of James I, there was a revival of the practice of consecrating private chapels and the chapel in the house re-emerged as a sacred space. Ricketts describes the chapel fittings at this time as utilitarian necessities and in this category was the re-appearance of musicians' pews, which emphasise the renewed role of music in the liturgy at this time. Early-sixteenth-century Langley Hall in Shropshire, of which only the chapel survives, has a large box pew that was perhaps meant for musicians, while the fifteenth-century chapel at Rycote Park, Oxfordshire, has a musicians' gallery above the family pew.<sup>70</sup> Likewise in the chapel, c.1670s, at Tabley Hall, Cheshire, singers were positioned in a gallery above the family pew.<sup>71</sup> Ricketts points out that such private chapels were probably following the practice of some parish churches in using dismantled rood lofts for singers, and it is unlikely that singers occupied a Western gallery in a private chapel before the Restoration.

The earliest chapel associated with the Yorkshire houses under discussion was one at Temple Newsam. It has had a long history and several changes have occurred, which will be discussed later. The first mention of a chapel is in an inventory of 1521, when it was apparently situated on the first floor in the west or south wing. According to an inventory of 1565, the chapel was no longer in use. It was after Sir Arthur Ingram bought the house in 1622 and undertook extensive rebuilding that the correctly orientated, double-height chapel was constructed at the East end of the North wing, possibly replacing its sixteenth-century predecessor.<sup>72</sup> An organ was transferred from the chapel at the Ingrams' earlier house, Sheriff Hutton Park in 1631, which later also lost its coloured glass to the new chapel. From this brief summary, it may be seen that music was played during the services at this time. Inventories of 1660 and 1666 indicate that the chapel was still in use after the Restoration, and apparently due to the religious and political

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 288–9.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 296–7.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 297.

climate of the time, it is likely that music remained an integral part of country-house chapel life in the late seventeenth century.

As has been mentioned, Castle Howard was originally designed to include a chapel in the West Wing. However, the masons first began work on the offices and courtyard on the east of the kitchen wing and this part of the house was not built until later in the eighteenth century. Consequently, the family chapel was initially located on the basement level in the south-east Wing. Was it consecrated at this time? Did it have a family chaplain? There are records of chaplains in 1758 and 1824. William Cleaner was appointed as chaplain to Isabella Carlisle on 29 October 1758, and Henry Edward John Howard was appointed as chaplain to the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl on 2 March 1824 possibly due to the Earl's sickness and impending death.<sup>73</sup> Was there music played in the chapel? If we compare Castle Howard with other houses with chapels of the period, we might deduce that there could have been music played in the chapel services. We know that Vanbrugh visited Chatsworth in preparation for his work at Castle Howard and so would have seen the stunning Protestant chapel built by the 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Devonshire between 1687 and 1693. The present chapel at Chatsworth was rebuilt on the site of the original chapel dating to c.1551–77. According to Ricketts, 'soon after the accession of James II in 1685, Devonshire withdrew from London and began to plan the rebuilding of Elizabethan Chatsworth. From 1687 he created a large, double-height, rectangular, integrated chapel, orientated to the West and with a simple family gallery at the liturgical West end.'<sup>74</sup> The superbly decorated interior, with walls and ceiling painted by Louis Laguerre and for which Antonio Verrio supplied an altarpiece for the highly sculpted reredos, was described by Walpole as 'magnificent'.<sup>75</sup> It was intended to promote specifically Protestant ideas to counteract the Catholic messages conveyed in the recently built royal chapels of Windsor (1684) and (1686). The Chapel does not have an organ, although there may have been some resident or visiting choristers at this time.

From the evidence of the Hall that Vanbrugh created at Castle Howard, it is possible that stylistically his chapel would not have been dissimilar to the one at Chatsworth. It would be interesting to ascertain, however, whether Vanbrugh in

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<sup>73</sup> CHA, R1/5/1 and R1/5/2.

<sup>74</sup> Ricketts, *The English Country House Chapel*, 239.

<sup>75</sup> Walpole, *Journals of Visits to Country Seats, etc.*, (1982).

partnership with the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Carlisle would have been influenced by the significance of Chatsworth's overtly Protestant decorative scheme. Unlike in the chapel at Chirk Castle (c.1618–c.1633) for which music manuscripts have been discovered, I have not yet found any evidence of music played here.<sup>76</sup> There are, however, precedents of music-making in other country-house chapels of this period. The most well-known one was Cannons. Sacred music was played in the chapel at Cannons after it had been consecrated in 1720. It is likely that the players would have been the same who performed in the house, for example during dinner.<sup>77</sup>

At Wimpole Hall, the baroque interior of the Chapel was created for Lord Harley in the 1720s. The Chapel was designed by James Gibbs and decorated by Sir James Thornhill. The earliest drawings date from 1713. According to David Souden, it might have been inspired or conceived in conscious rivalry to the chapel at Cannons. Like the Duke of Chandos, Lord Harley had a music master, Dr Tudway, and an orchestra which performed in the chapel. According to Souden, although the chapel was largely completed by 1724, the anthem composed by Dr Tudway for the consecration of Lord Oxford's chapel was not performed, according to a note on the score, which tells that the service was never held.<sup>78</sup> Was the chapel used as a concert/performance space or was the music an accompaniment for prayers? Did the orchestra pre-date the chapel and if so where did it play? Was music only played in chapels that were consecrated?

At Castle Howard at the latter end of the eighteenth century, the room beyond the North end of the Long Gallery was being used, according to the visitor William Hervey, as 'a very large dining room with double rows of pillars at each end'.<sup>79</sup> In 1796 the Duke of Rutland noted how the room had become a chapel, containing one of the 5<sup>th</sup> Earl's most recent purchases, *The Death of the Virgin* by Carlo Saraceni. By 1837 this painting served as the altarpiece in the Chapel, reflecting a religious position more akin to Anglican high church. The Chapel

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<sup>76</sup> See P. le Huray, 'The Chirk Castle Partbooks', in *Early Music History*, 2 (1982), 17–42.

<sup>77</sup> Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, 169–70. Jenkins writes, 'By the end of 1721 [his band] numbered at least twenty-two performers including six violinists, an oboist, a bassoonist, a trumpeter, a flautist, a cellist, a viola player a double bass player and three trebles, a male contralto, two counter tenors, one tenor and two basses.'

<sup>78</sup> D. Souden, *Wimpole Hall* (2002), 77.

<sup>79</sup> Cited in guide notes.

remained in this form throughout the lives of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Earls and was not altered until 1870–75. It seems that it was consecrated as the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl records in 1843 that communion was taken in the chapel: ‘At morning service here we took the sacrament, 18 altogether.’<sup>80</sup> It is not known whether music was used for family prayers and services, although there is a small amount of sacred music in the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess’s music collection.

At Harewood House, family prayers would have taken place in the Gallery with the assembled household. Sacred music would have been played in the adjacent church or in the Gallery on a Sunday. Repton’s memoirs of 1799 recount how:

On the Sunday evening when only sacred music was performed a few of these [singers from the church] were permitted to join the concert. At the close of the full chorus of one of Marcello’s psalms, a clear counter tenor voice with a most harmonious trill gently swelled out as other voices seemed to die away! The effect was magical... And when it had ceased, Lady Harewood, observing my surprise and delight, explained the mystery. Sounds proceeding from the voice of Mr. Wilberforce who cannot be persuaded to sing, except when innate harmony is slowly drawn forth and made vocal by his Maker’s praise. It had therefore been hinted to the other singers, to watch whether he joined in the chorus and drop their voices by degrees that his notes might be distinctly heard.<sup>81</sup>

There is the possibility that the Circular Dressing Room in the State Rooms at Harewood may have served as a small family chapel, until the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl and his wife moved in. It seems then to have become corridor space. Mauchline relates that in the autumn of 1844 ‘the alterations indoors were in hand; part of the work done by

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<sup>80</sup> 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, Chatsworth, diary entry, 12 Nov 1843, CHA/J19/8/1.

<sup>81</sup> H. Repton, *The Memoirs of Humphrey Repton*, Part 2 [extract]. BL, Add Ms 62112: c.1814. Transcription from the Harewood Archives.

the carpenters was “preparing and fixing frame and cove to form lobby to Temporary Chapel”.<sup>82</sup>

## Harewood House

It was in 1771 that Edwin Lascelles, Lord Harewood, and his family took up residency in the newly completed house at Gawthorpe, Harewood House, which he had built to designs by John Carr and Robert Adam.

As with most building projects, arriving at a satisfactory plan with which the patron was satisfied took time and was not straight forward. Neither is it clear when the idea to include a music room was adopted and by whom it was proposed. The process is outlined by Mauchline in her book on the history of Harewood.<sup>83</sup> After rejecting the plans submitted by William Chambers, Edwin Lascelles in 1758 commissioned John Carr of York. The commission comprised the Stables, House, Farm and Model Village. According to Eileen Harris, Carr’s plan was for an extended villa comparable to Colen Campbell’s Wanstead III, a two-storey main block over a rusticated basement, with a hall and saloon on the central axis and two rooms separated by staircases on each side, flanked on both fronts by low wings linked to a slightly taller, single-bay pavilion enclosing open courts. Although I have not seen this plan, there were a series of amendments to the plan which have been reproduced: Adam’s plan of the principal floor showing the alterations he made in 1758 to Carr’s plan; Carr’s revised plan of the ground floor c.1759; an undated plan by Carr which represents the compromise that was reached between Carr’s conservative Palladian model on the east and Adam’s Neo-classical design for the west side of the house. Building of the house based on this plan occurred between 1759 and 1762. However, due to some structural failure in the curved walls of Adam’s court, only three years after it had been built, Adam’s work was demolished and Carr was commissioned to rebuild the west side in conformity with his own design for the east. A revised plan of 1762 by Adam of the west side shows this reconstruction. It appears that the loss of Adam’s semi-circular court made available space to create two further rooms at each end of Gallery, thus resulting in an unusually long parade of state rooms in the west wing.

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<sup>82</sup> M. Mauchline, *Harewood House* (1992), 127.

<sup>83</sup> Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 7–85.

According to Harris, Adam was keen to divide this *en filade* into two suites of rooms on the north and south fronts, each consisting of a drawing room, or ante room as the music room was first called, and a dining room which opened into the Gallery, which was now integral to the state apartment. This division of space is shown in Carr's plan of the Principal Floor as published in *Vitruvius Britannicus* 1771. In this plan the ante room on the north side is now named the Music Room.

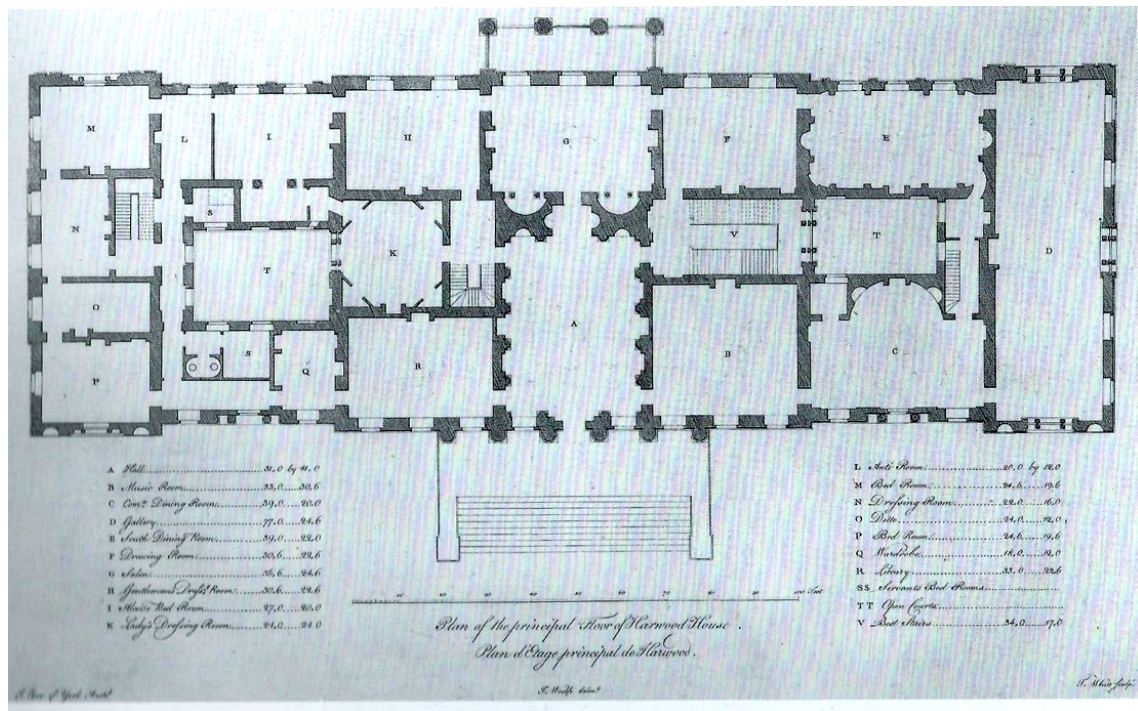


Figure 14: Ground floor plan of Harewood House as executed, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, V, 1771; the plan shows the Music Room (B) situated to the right of the Hall (A)

Following the failure of the lunette-shaped court, Adam was no longer involved in the planning of the house, which thereafter must be attributed solely to Carr. However, Adam was recalled in 1765 to undertake the decoration of all the interiors, which amounted to 17 rooms. It is probably at this point that the Music Room assumed its current name, reflecting its decoration rather than its purpose. It is clear that throughout the consideration of different plans and revisions, a Music Room was never a requirement of the owner or proposed by the architects. Unlike several of Adam's other clients, Lascelles did not own an organ for which he needed to create a space. It is possible that Adam's experience in other houses fuelled his creative ideas for the decoration of this room with musical motifs. In the

words of Mauchline, 'Music is its ornamental theme and symbols of the art pervade the room like a refrain.'<sup>84</sup> As has been mentioned, the house was habitable from 1771. The Gallery was completed in 1772.

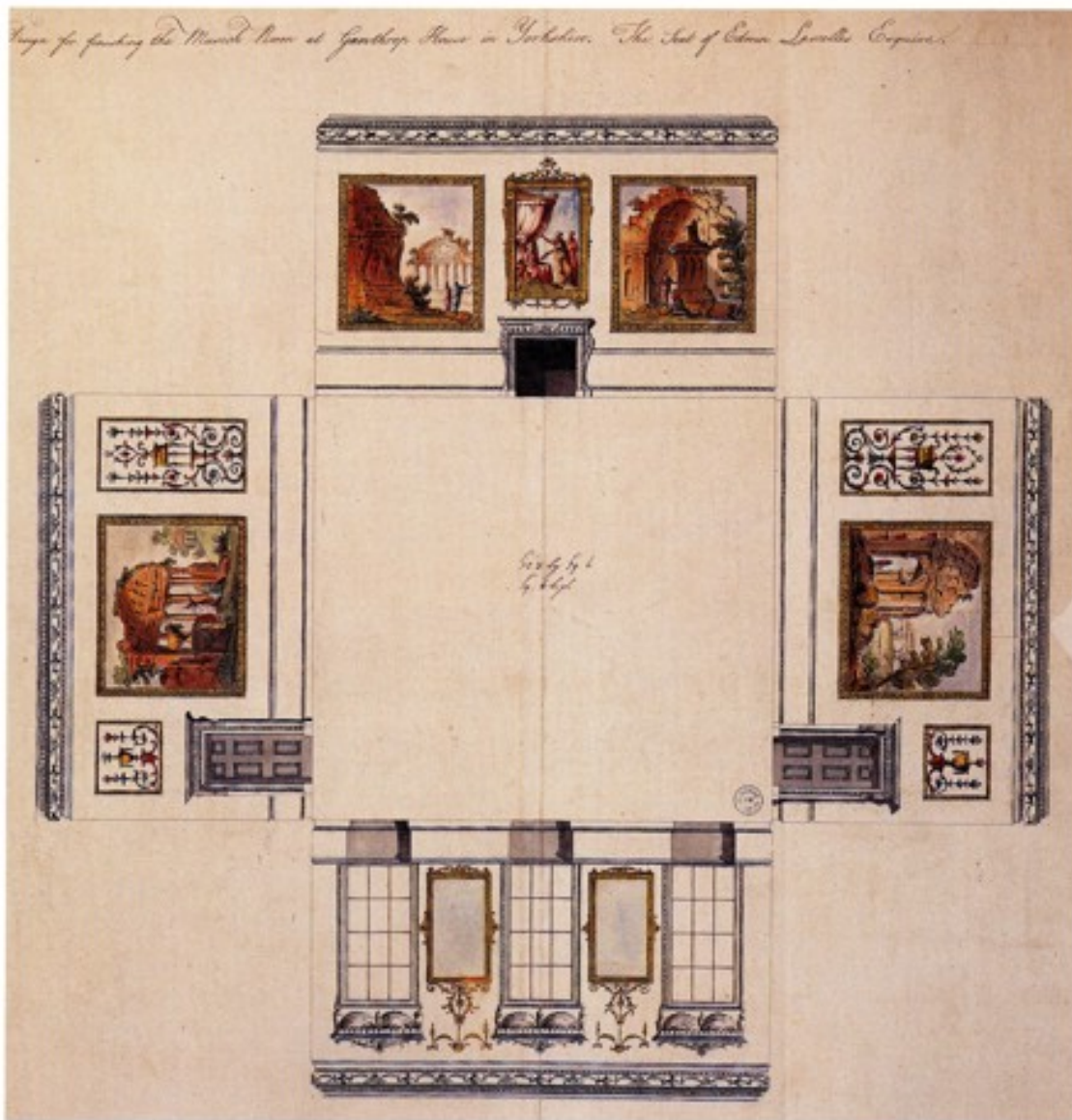


Figure 15: Plan and laid-out wall elevations of the Music Room at Harewood House by Robert Adam, c.1765  
*Adam drawings, Vol. 14: 118, Sir John Soane Museum*

From the time of its completion, visitors came to view the house.<sup>85</sup> The Music Room was one of the finest rooms, named after its graceful decorative scheme. This remains little changed today. Lyres appear in the carpet; lyres, pipes

<sup>84</sup> Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 73.

<sup>85</sup> On country-house viewing see Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House', 515, and A. Tinniswood, *The Polite Tourist: A History of Country House Visiting* (1998).



and trumpets are carved on the marble chimney and the ceiling painting shows Midas presiding over the musical contest between the lyre-playing Apollo and Marsyas, who favoured woodwind.<sup>86</sup>



Figure 16: The Music Room at Harewood House (present day)  
*By kind permission of the executors of the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Harewood and the Trustees of the Harewood House Trust*

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<sup>86</sup> Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 73–76, describes the plans for the Music Room and the execution of the decorative scheme.

Although the Music Room at Harewood was named after its decoration and not its purpose, its inclusion in the suite of State Rooms at Harewood may suggest that Lascelles was not indifferent to the appeal of music and the importance of its role in the country-house setting.<sup>87</sup> This was consistent with the overall iconographic programme that contributed to the image of Harewood as a villa where the ancient Roman ideal of cultivated leisure on a country estate could be enjoyed.<sup>88</sup>

As was discussed in Chapter 3, Edwin was succeeded by his cousin Edward who became the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood in 1812 and who was extremely interested in music. References to music-making and concerts from this period seem to indicate that the Gallery was the main location for music-making and dancing, as its position fitted well into the pattern of the eighteenth-century ball, following as it did a series of rooms to receive guests on their arrival.<sup>89</sup> It is likely that more informal playing, practising and music lessons would have taken place in the drawing room or in private sitting rooms. In an inventory of 1801 there is a record of a harpsichord and stool in the Breakfast Room.

This practice was probably continued during the lifetime of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl, a keen cellist, and his wife Henrietta Sebright and the floor plan remained largely unchanged. Henry was involved in politics and local administration, and later he became the Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding of Yorkshire.<sup>90</sup> Mauchline describes how Harewood House enabled him to maintain the hospitality that was expected of him and relates how the young Princess Victoria spent a weekend there in September 1835. 'After "a very splendid luncheon which was served up in the music room ... the Princess was too much fatigued to join the party" which set off to tour the grounds by carriage. By six o'clock in the evening she had sufficiently

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 73. Another music room, which seems to have derived its name from decorative elements as opposed to its function, is the music room at Chatsworth. It became known as the music room when the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire (1790–1858) brought the Violin door here from Devonshire House. Hitherto the room had been a withdrawing room. On 1 December 1843 Lord Morpeth wrote of Queen Victoria's visit to Chatsworth: 'We ... to the Ball-room, where about 80 of the county were assembled. The room had been very prettily got up by Mr. Grace. The Queen danced the 1<sup>st</sup> Quadrille with the Duke, the 2<sup>nd</sup> with me, did not dance the 3<sup>rd</sup>, waltzed with the Prince and a country dance with Leveson. We then went to supper, 16 in the music room with the Queen.' CHA, J19/8/1.

<sup>88</sup> Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 101.

<sup>89</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 201.

<sup>90</sup> The political career of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl has been described in Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 179.

overcome her lethargy to face a dinner of the most sumptuous kind which was served to 130 people gathered in the Gallery with the gold and silver plate much in evidence.<sup>91</sup> As at Chatsworth, the Music Room at Harewood seems to have been used for dining and entertaining on special occasions.

Extensive alterations were carried out after the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Harewood and his wife Lady Louisa Thynne took up residency at Harewood in 1841. Although many changes were brought about, the Music Room remained unchanged and it is likely that the Gallery continued to be used for entertainment and dancing.

## Nostell Priory

Sir Rowland Winn, 4<sup>th</sup> Baronet, inherited Nostell in 1722. He was only sixteen and so the management of the estates was left in the hands of his uncles while he finished his education and undertook a Grand Tour. In 1727 he returned to Nostell enthused by all he had experienced and keen to make plans to rebuild the house.

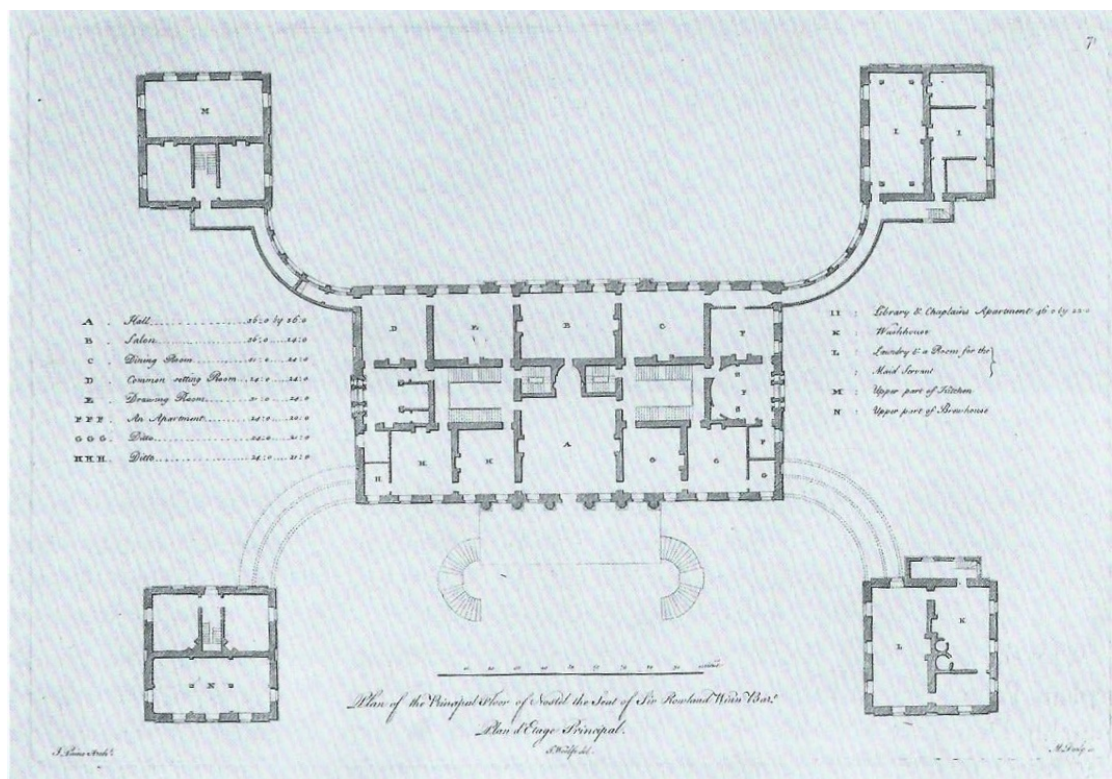


Figure 17: Plan of the principal floor of Nostell Priory by James Paine, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, IV, 1767

<sup>91</sup> J. Jones, *The History and Antiquities of Harewood* (1859), 190–1, cited in Mauchline, *Harewood House*, 121.

According to contemporary sources, Sir Rowland Winn engaged Colonel James Moyser of Beverley to design a new house to replace the medieval Priory at Nostell in Yorkshire, and building began in 1736.<sup>92</sup> It was inspired by Andrea Palladio's Villa Mocenigo and comprised a central block and four pavilions linked by quadrants. The precise date of Moyser's involvement at Nostell is not known and there are no remaining drawings. It is therefore difficult to ascertain how much his designs were altered by James Paine who took over the building of the house in 1736, continuing until the 4<sup>th</sup> Baronet's death in 1765. Paine's letters to Sir Rowland suggest that the decoration of the interior commenced in 1747. By 1750 the house was not yet habitable but Bishop Pococke was impressed by its plan: 'The most convenient I have ever seen, there are two great stair cases, one (north) leading to the apartments in the attick storey of the family, the other (south) for strangers.'<sup>93</sup> The principal private and state apartments are on the piano nobile, symmetrically arranged on either side of a central hall and saloon. Catherine Cappe makes mention of Christmas celebrations in the Hall in her *Memoirs*:

But it was Christmas that the resemblance to the seat of the ancient baron was most striking. At this cheerful season, open house was kept for three days; all the farmers and cottagers upon the estate, were invited along with their wives, to dine in the great hall, precisely at two o'clock, where the worthy master of the whole family, (for they all appeared as his children) presided at one long table with the men, and his amiable daughters at a second table with the women ... A band of music played during dinner ... The evening concluded with a dance in which they were permitted to join with the young ladies of the family and their other visitors ... At nine, the dancing ceased.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 196–211.

<sup>93</sup> R. Pococke, *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke*, ed. J. J. Cartwright. Camden Society, (1888), I, 63, cited in Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 197.

<sup>94</sup> C. Cappe, *Memoirs of the late Mrs. Catharine Cappe* (1820), 68.

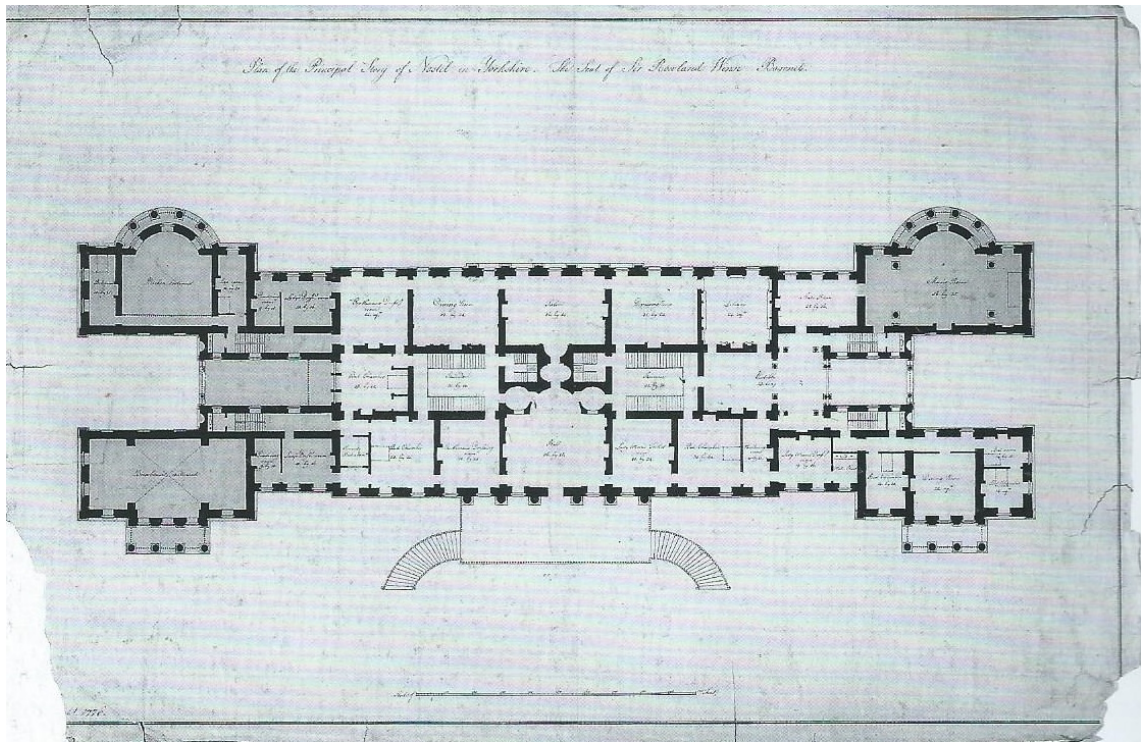


Figure 18: Plan of the principal floor of Nostell Priory by Robert Adam, 1776; the spacious Music Room (in the Northern wing) and other shaded areas were not executed  
*National Trust, Nostell Priory and Parkland*

It is significant that the new floor plan made no provision for a music room. However, what is now referred to as the state bedroom Paine originally conceived as a drawing room, possibly even a music room. The ceiling is decorated in the rococo style and contains musical elements – putti playing musical instruments, including a lute, cello, flute and violin. It is has been suggested that the latter could be a real violin that was encased in plaster, the bow protruding from the surface of the ceiling. Music may have been played in this room for a short while and perhaps the decoration was a gesture towards this function, or an allusion to the liberal arts and Sir Rowland’s status as a cultivated gentleman.

Another house with musical motifs in the ceiling is Fairfax House in York built in 1762. The strapwork in the ceiling is linked to medallions of musical instruments and to a musical score, bearing the names ‘Amelia’ and ‘Belina’. Apparently the musical score has been found to be an exact copy of ‘a favourite dialogue’ published in the *Universal Magazine* in 1758.<sup>95</sup>

This practice of incorporating a replica of a real score bears some

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<sup>95</sup> Fairfax House guidebook [n.d.], 33.

resemblance to what was done with the violin in the ceiling at Nostell. It would be interesting to discover other examples of this practice. Significantly it seems that both these rooms were used for entertainment and probably music-making, the decoration in the room reflecting the activities that went on in them, and being reminiscent of musical decorative friezes in earlier Great Halls such as at Gilling Castle. However, whatever Paine's original intentions may have been, Adam redecorated the Nostell drawing room with Chinese wallpaper in 1771 and it was furnished as a state or best dressing room.

30 years after building had begun, only half of Nostell Priory was habitable and the two northern pavilions remained unbuilt. In 1765 the 4<sup>th</sup> Baronet died and was succeeded by his son the young Sir Rowland who, on returning to Nostell, decided not to continue with what he considered to be Paine's old-fashioned rococo decoration, but rather have the interiors finished in the latest neo-classical style by Adam, who was then working for Edwin Lascelles at Harewood.

By 1776 the interior decoration of Nostell was nearly finished. The library was the first room that Adam completed and was keenly overseen by the 5<sup>th</sup> Baronet. The theme of the nine paintings set high in the upper walls is classical learning, while the panel above the chimney piece represents *Minerva presenting the Arts of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture to Britannia*. As at Kedleston and Osterley, the room reflects the owner's desire to be seen as connoisseur of the arts and sciences. As Girouard says, it was not enough for the aristocrat to be literate; he needed to be cultivated and 'culture became an essential part of the image of a worthy ruling class.'<sup>96</sup> Part of this self-representation was seen in the choice of books and objects on display. Although no musical instruments are recorded to have been displayed in Nostell's library, the collection does include a substantial number of books about music.

The relationship between storage and display and self-presentation can be detected in other houses: At Castle Howard volumes of music were stored on the bookshelves in the Drawing Room, arguably in the feminine domain, potentially contributing to the image of feminine cultivation and accomplishments. At Tatton Park at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Elizabeth Egerton's bound music was stored in the Music Room. 'The imposing collection of bound music books

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<sup>96</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 180.

provided both a historical and a material backdrop for music-making by female amateurs that took place in the room.<sup>97</sup> At Kedleston provision was made in the organ stool for the storage of music. In an 1820 watercolour of the Library at Tatton Park, a harpsichord can be seen in the foreground which Brooks suggests may have been replaced in the music room by a more up-to-date pianoforte. She suggests that placing the musical instrument in the library, seemed to relegate it to a place in the house's historical collection, with all the accompanying good connotations of old music and the display of taste and status.<sup>98</sup>

Although at Nostell, the 5<sup>th</sup> Baronet's interest in music is not overt, there are small glimpses of this in the family archives: there is a bill dated 8 August 1768 for 'stands making for music books' by Thomas Wilkinson for £0.14.0, and marked, 'Rec'd 28<sup>th</sup> August 1768 in full'.<sup>99</sup> Also a bill from 'Freres Dassier, Geneve' dated 19 May 1769 for the purchase of 'sundry items including a violin', probably for Sir Rowland himself.<sup>100</sup> Amongst his wife Sabine's papers there are copies of songs and even a rough piece of music manuscript marked 'Mr. Winn's favourite minuet'.<sup>101</sup> There are numerous playbills and concert notices which indicate that the 5<sup>th</sup> Baronet was an active patron of local musical events.<sup>102</sup>

Paine had begun work on the Saloon in 1765. Adam remodelled the room between 1767 and 1776. The decoration of the Saloon, carried out by Joseph Rose the Younger, was a pattern of contiguous circles, which, according to Harris, resembled the ceiling in the great drawing room at Bowood House in Wiltshire in 1763, and the ceiling of the music room at Home House (1775).<sup>103</sup> It is likely that music would have been played in this room, which was the principal state room, and it would have been used for large gatherings and dances. Is it significant that the decoration corresponds to that of the ceiling of the music room at Home House? The Saloon currently houses a burr-walnut and marquetry two-manual harpsichord made by Jacob Kirckman in 1766 belonging to Sabine, 5<sup>th</sup> Lady Winn, bought for her by her husband in September 1767 for £91.10. This was originally

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<sup>97</sup> Brook, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House, 533.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 534.

<sup>99</sup> Bill, 8 August 1768, WYW1352/1/4/40/23.

<sup>100</sup> Bill, 19 May 1769, WYW1352/1/4/52/3.

<sup>101</sup> Score, WYW1352/1/4/30/12.

<sup>102</sup> Notice of a performance of Handel's *Messiah* to be held in the church at Wath on Dearne 1798, WYW1352/1/1/6/1-19 (part) (retained at Nostell Priory).

<sup>103</sup> Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 205.

kept in Lady Winn's private sitting room, referred to by Adam as 'Lady Winn's Blue Dressing Room' in the 1760s. This was a beautifully feminine room where she could play for herself or close family. It was decorated with figurative panels in the ceiling executed by Antonio Zucchi, including the oval in the centre of Cupid and Venus and the medallions in the four corners of putti at play. In the nineteenth century it served as a family sitting room and is now the Little Dining Room. In the Saloon there is also an ebonised and parcel gilt harp made by Barry of London, which was bought by John Winn, brother of Charles, for his sister Louisa in the early nineteenth century.

During the nineteenth century the Saloon became a sitting room in accordance with contemporary country-house fashions, although still occasionally used for big family gatherings, such as a party to celebrate the marriage of Charles Winn's eldest son Roland to Harriet Bumeres in 1854.<sup>104</sup> The family doctor reported, 'The return of the Bridal Pair from their honeymoon abroad a gay ball was given at Nostell at which Mrs. Wright and I were present and where I first saw a "Tempete" danced merrily around the Saloon.'<sup>105</sup>

The Tapestry Drawing Room was designed by Adam from scratch and may have been somewhere that music was played, opening out as it does into the Saloon. It is interesting that it is the only room where there is concrete evidence that Lady Winn was involved with the decoration and furnishings. Its rich colours and textures contrast markedly with the more masculine schemes of the Saloon, Hall and Library, which also characterise the decoration of Adam's music rooms in other houses.

The present Upper Hall was Adam's masterpiece at Nostell, 'different from anything yet executed' by him and which he was keen to see decorated under his own eye.<sup>106</sup> But this did not happen. Winn decided to do without reliefs, spoiling the effect of the sculpture hall intended by Adam, which perhaps would have been comparable to that at Newby Hall.

There would not have been any further need of Adam were it not for the birth in 1775 of the Winns' second child, Rowland. On 7 March 1776 Sir Rowland

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<sup>104</sup> Girouard, 'The Arrival of Informality: 1770–1830', *Life in the English Country House*, 213–44.

<sup>105</sup> S. Raikes and T. Knox, *Nostell Priory* (2007), 25.

<sup>106</sup> R. Adam, place unknown, autograph letter to R. Winn, place unknown, 27 September 1771, WYW1352/C3/1/5/2/9.



wrote to Adam:

We are in great want of a Sett of appartments for our young family... and are at a loss tho we have so large a House of how to find them. We are likewise in want of offices before we can pull down the old Building which I much wish to do this year so that the Ground about it may be levelled & lay'd out.<sup>107</sup>

Adam's floor plan of 1776 included a vast music room (56 x 25 feet) divided in three by columnar screens with an organ at the north end, preceded by an ante room. It was positioned at the end of the sequence of state rooms proceeding from the Saloon. Although this was never built, it is significant that it is part of the plans that Adam prepared for Winn, although it is difficult to deduce definitively whose idea it was. By this time, Adam would have been involved in the design of several music rooms. He seemed to have had so many commissions that ideas for each house must have fed into the design of others he was working on.

At the time of Sir Rowland's death in November 1784, the family wing was still a shell and remained so until Rowland 1<sup>st</sup> Baron St Oswald succeeded in 1875. In the meantime, Charles Winn, the nephew of the 6<sup>th</sup> Baronet, who inherited the estate in 1817, employed Thomas Ward to redecorate many of the rooms on the principal floor in the 1820s.

Between 1819 and 1821, Ward worked on the Top Hall. It seems that Winn had aspirations that it should become some kind of music room. His interest in music is reflected in his accounts, which record payments in 1815 for flute lessons. There are also payments to the Waites in 1837, becoming increasingly frequent after 1857.<sup>108</sup> He was also a member of the catch club, as there is a printed list of its members dating to 1827.<sup>109</sup>

Consequently in the 1820s a large organ was installed, which dominated the Hall throughout the nineteenth century. In the 1830s it was referred to as the

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<sup>107</sup> R. Winn, place unknown, autograph letter to R. Adam, place unknown, 7 March 1776, WYW1352/C3/1/5/2/13.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Winn's personal account books, 1837, WYW1352/1/1/12/30.

<sup>109</sup> WYW1352/1/1/12/51.

'Music Room'.<sup>110</sup> From the archives it appears that in 1851 Winn was in the process of negotiating the purchase of a new organ, presumably to replace the 1820s instrument in the 'Music Room'. There are several letters relating to this transaction. In the first he was unwilling to commit himself to the purchase of a new organ from Mr Forster until he could be sure he had a purchaser for the organ he already possessed. He asks Forster and Andrews, organ builders of Hull, if they can 'make a fair allowance for my organ' or 'find a purchaser for it', then he will be 'quite ready to purchase yours'.<sup>111</sup> A subsequent letter dated 8 June 1851 expressed his desire for the organ to be installed before Mr and Mrs Cross left Nostell Priory at the end of the month. In recommending the firm to St Mary's church Sheffield, he wrote: 'I can speak with confidence to their skill and ability as organ builders having myself an instrument of their making of considerable compass, which for sweetness of tone is not I am persuaded to be surpassed by any other organ builders in or out of London, indeed it has been greatly admired by everyone who has heard it. I feel therefore confident that should Messrs F & A be entrusted with the building of the organ in question they will fully justify the preference extended to them over other candidates. Apologising for thus troubling you ... C. Winn.'<sup>112</sup>

In conclusion, it is interesting that while it was Adam who incorporated a large-scale music room in his plans of 1776, the idea of creating a space for music seems also to have been in Paine's mind in his conception of the drawing room. This may have been in keeping with fashion, or perhaps the desire for a music room came from the 5<sup>th</sup> Baronet himself. Winn was also evidently interested in music and instigated the installation of an organ in the Top Hall, thus identifying it as a designated space for music, borne out by the fact that it became known as the Music Room in the 1830s.

## **Kedleston Hall**

Nostell was one of Paine's first commissions after completing his studies. It is

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<sup>110</sup> S. Raikes and T. Knox, *Nostell Priory*, 12.

<sup>111</sup> C. Winn, Nostell Priory, copy of letter to Forster and Andrews, Hull, June 1851, WYW1352/1/1/12/47.

<sup>112</sup> C. Winn, Nostell Priory, autograph letter to Forster and Andrews, organ builders, Hull, 8 June 1851, WYW1352/1/1/12/47.

interesting to consider his and Adam's work for Nathaniel Curzon, 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Scarsdale (1726–1804). In 1759 Paine was brought in by Curzon to take over the supervision of the construction of Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire. The house was based on designs by Brettingham and inspired, like Nostell, by the unbuilt Villa Mocenigo. Paine was responsible for building the garden pavilion to the north-west and the laying out of the two southern pavilions, though these were never built. By 1761 he had been superseded by Adam, who became 'Surveyor to the main body of his Lordship's house', the garden and family pavilions having already been completed.<sup>113</sup>

The working relationship between the architects and their patron is interesting, especially in the conception and evolution of the music room. As far as is known, Paine's original plans did not provide for a specifically designated music room.<sup>114</sup> It was Lord Scarsdale who decided that he wanted to create a suite of three state rooms on the east front in which to display his extensive picture collection, each room devoted to a different art – music, painting and literature and each with an appropriate architectural order: Corinthian for the withdrawing room, Ionic for the music room, and Doric for the library.<sup>115</sup>

In the room dedicated to music, Lord Scarsdale planned to display Luca Giordano's impressive *Triumph of Bacchus* and the great Snetzler organ which he had bought in 1758. Was this Adam's idea or Curzon's?<sup>116</sup> The decoration and layout of the room was determined by the positioning of these two objects. However, it became clear that the organ, of church proportions, for which Adam had designed a monumental case, was too big for the room. An attempt was made to relocate it to the gallery of the chapel, although this does not seem to have worked, and then Adam's revised plan c.1764–5 introduced (or re-introduced?) a music-gallery in the south-east pavilion with special provision for a large organ, flanked by a room for the organ bellows and a closet for music-books. It is not known why this solution was not adopted. Perhaps it was on financial grounds.

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<sup>113</sup> Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 22.

<sup>114</sup> There are some implications in the Kedleston guidebook that Brettingham's original designs did allow for a music gallery in the south-east pavilion, but it is not explicit and I am waiting to see a copy of Brettingham's plan. If this was the case, the gallery did not appear in Paine's plan.

<sup>115</sup> See W. Hancock's 'A Musical Family in High Georgian England: the Curzons of Kedleston in the Eighteenth Century' on the musical interests of the Curzon family.

<sup>116</sup> On Robert Adam and music see L. Libin, 'Robert Adam's Instruments for Catharine the Great', in *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 355–67.

The conclusion was that the large organ was sold back to Snetzler, and a smaller, older organ was bought and installed in the music room in its place. Adam designed a simplified version of the first case, which did not compete with the pictures as it would have done originally. The music room was the overture to the with-drawing room.

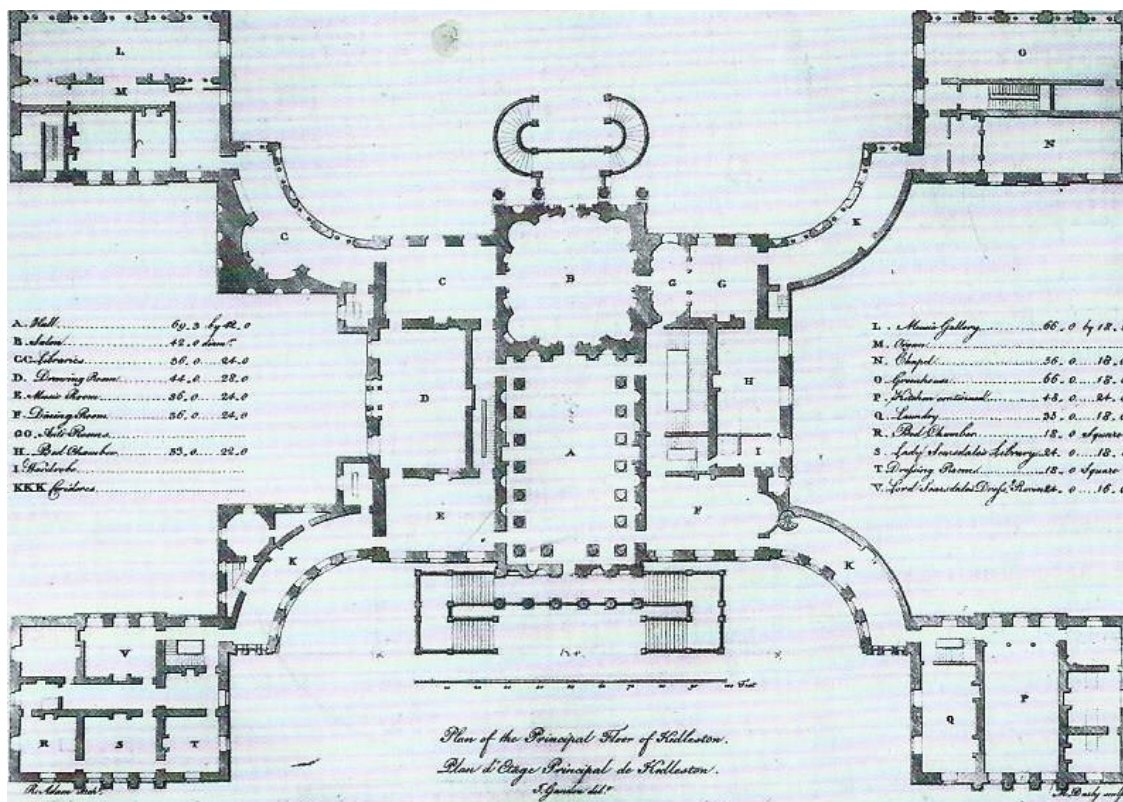


Figure 19: Plan of the principal floor of Kedleston Hall by Robert Adam, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, IV, c.1764–65; the plan shows the presence of both a Music Gallery (L) and a Music Room (E); this scheme was not adopted

This sequence of events, although not entirely clear, suggests that the music room was Lord Scardale's idea, based on his desire to provide an appropriate setting for his pictures, and to create a suite of rooms devoted to each of the liberal arts. It was also motivated by the need to find somewhere to install and display his organ. After this was seen not to fit, a smaller one was purchased in its place, presumably to distinguish the room as the music room. The organ was clearly intended to be played, as Adam made provision for storage of music, as is seen in this extract cited by Wendy Hancock:

I am afraid it would pinch the Other [West] End of the Music room to put a Closet in it for Musical Books; But I think you

might find a pretty large space in the Pedestal of the Organ which would contain a great many Books, & be more convenient as one could reach the Books from the chair when they sit to play, And this would prevent both thining the Wall opposite to a Nich on the Hall, & any Crowding which another Door would occasion.<sup>117</sup>

However, was the performance of music a subsidiary motivation to Lord Curzon's overriding concern to create a Temple of the Arts? Hancock has outlined the musical activities of the Curzon family, and argues that Lord Scarsdale was genuinely interested in music, demonstrated by his purchase of a harpsichord in 1759, purchase of music between 1757 and 1765, and the creation of a catalogue of music in 1765. However, there are many questions: Why did the collecting stop in 1765? Does the collection reflect a gentleman's taste in music or a lady's? Handel's music was fashionable and chimed with Lord Harewood's taste. Music for voice and keyboard (usually a woman's domain) also appears in the catalogue. Was his wife's music the basis for the collection? Was the music intended to be part of the 'display' – a collection of music to adorn the music room? Are there any records of performances? To what degree were his acquisitions of both the organ and music collection motivated by a desire to be seen to be a connoisseur of all the arts – in keeping with concerns about 'display' – as opposed to the desire to perform music? Who would have played the organ? Was there a fashion for collecting organs at this period? Was it a status symbol? Was the music room conceived and built to accommodate an existing organ as seems to have been the case at Sledmere?<sup>118</sup>

### ***Organs and music rooms***

Although there were many historical precedents for the installation of organs in elite houses, it is possible that this new vogue for organs, and consequently for music rooms to accommodate them, reflected the great passion for Handel's music

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<sup>117</sup> R. Adam, place unknown, autograph letter to N. Curzon, Kedleston, 10 May 1760, cited in W. Hancock, 'A Musical Family in high Georgian England', (unpublished paper).

<sup>118</sup> It is perhaps significant that Sledmere was worked on by the architect Samuel Wyatt, who was Adam's assistant at Kedleston.

that swept the country in the eighteenth century. According to John Mainwaring, Handel's first biographer, patronage of Handel conferred considerable status on the patron, 'the having of such a Composer, was an instance of real magnificence such as no private person, or subject; nay, such as no prince or potentate on the earth could at that time pretend to.'<sup>119</sup> Thus his patronage by both Lord Burlington (1715–17) and the Duke of Chandos, 'the Apollo of the Arts', at Cannons (1717–19) in the context of these artistic households was seen as the apex of musical taste, and perhaps set the precedent for other aristocrats who wished to show their veneration and support of the composer by the purchasing of organs reflecting the new vogue for Handel organ concertos. Added to this, organs were also seen as art forms: organ cases were designed to correspond with the prevailing decorative scheme and architecture, and were also conceived of as pieces of furniture. From both these perspectives an organ was indeed comparable to a status symbol. Handel's music, including organ compositions, features prominently in Curzon's music collection and at Harewood House. Significantly, these aristocratic patrons also were associated with the Concert of Antient Music and were promoters of the Handel Commemorations, with all the social and cultural prestige these institutions conveyed. The 'catalogue of Household Furniture belonging to the late Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart, dec. At his late residence adjoining Ranelagh House, Chelsea' up for auction on 19 April 1777 lists organs in the Common Dining Room, the Bow Room, and the Library.<sup>120</sup> As was noted, Adam also designed a vast music room with an organ for Nostell Priory in 1777, although this was never built. Later however, after her husband's death, Lady Winn purchased an 'eighteen keyd organ with four stops, three barrels and plain gilt front' on 5 June 1790, costing a total of £26–19–0.<sup>121</sup> It is interesting that she made this purchase whilst having lost all interest in the building work. Perhaps she bought it in memory of him? However, it is not clear where this organ was installed.

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<sup>119</sup> J. Mainwaring, *Memoirs of the Life of the late George Frederic Handel* (1760), 96.

<sup>120</sup> WYW1352/1/1/5/20.

<sup>121</sup> Bill for an eighteen-keyed organ, 5 June 1790, WYW1352/1/4/45/8.



Figure 20: Design for the organ case at Kedleston Hall by Robert Adam, 1762  
*Adam drawings, Vol. 25: 2, Sir John Soane Museum*

### ***Other Adam commissions***

Adam worked on several other houses which may be compared to his work at Harewood, Nostell and Kedleston. Lansdowne House was the private palace of Berkeley Square in London which was begun by Adam in 1762 for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Bute and completed for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl of Shelburne who moved into the House in August 1768.<sup>122</sup> A large drawing room was built for the Earl of Bute as an ‘Organ

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<sup>122</sup> Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 119.

Drawing Room' with a vast organ recess in the centre of the south wall. Apparently Bute's instrument was one of the most expensive and reputed mechanical barrel organs of the time, for which Adam designed a pedimented case. At Luton Hoo Adam completed a 'new design' for a large Palladian House for the Earl of Bute in 1766.<sup>123</sup> Its elevations were modelled on Paine's c.1759 for Kedleston. The Earl asked for more book space and the New Design was opened out in a plan dating 1767. The range of rooms to be included were five book rooms occupying almost the whole of the East front and part of the south, three drawing rooms and a '4<sup>th</sup> Great Drawing Room as Picture and Music Gallery' with two separate rooms for the organ bellows, a chapel, billiard room and a range of bedrooms and dressing rooms and closets.<sup>124</sup> A revised plan of 1771 incorporated the idea of a central circular tribune which was designed to act both as a ceremonial vestibule and as a music-room, with Bute's renowned organ stood against the north wall and the barrels hidden in the triangular closets and corridors.<sup>125</sup>

At Newby Hall Adam's 'design for finishing the four sides of the Hall' c.1769 shows a prominent architectural organ case on the north wall in outline. It is likely that the case was designed by someone else and was already in situ when Adam was asked to complete the decoration of the room. It is perhaps interesting that Adam was to incorporate paintings of classical ruins similar to those in the music room at Harewood House in his decoration of the three remaining walls.<sup>126</sup>

Another impetus for the design of organ cases was their decorative function. Organ cases were perceived as furniture and architecture as well as an integral part of a musical instrument. Thus their contribution to country house 'display' was manifold and corresponded to the practice of displaying instruments and the attention given to the design of harpsichord and pianoforte cases.<sup>127</sup> Adam was to design organ cases for Kedleston, 1760, 1762, Luton Park, 1763, Burghley House, 1770, St. James's Square, 1772, Great Saxham Hall, 1775, and Cumberland House, Pall Mall, in 1781.<sup>128</sup> However, this work was not exclusive to Adam: other

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<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 246 and 249.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 246–7.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 227. See also Newby Hall guidebook (2004).

<sup>127</sup> Leppert, *The Sight of Sound*, 119ff.

<sup>128</sup> Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*; L. Libin, 'Robert Adam's Instruments for Catharine the Great', in *Early Music*, 29 (2001), 355–67.



architects who built organ cases included James Wyatt, James Arthenian Stuart, William Kent and William Chambers.

Nonetheless the number of music rooms and designs for organ cases that Adam produced does pose the question as to how much he influenced patrons in their planning. This was certainly a legitimate question with respect to the creation of the sumptuous music room at Home House, St James's Square, London. According to Harris it was not clear from whom the idea came to treat the first drawing room as a music room. However, as in other Adam music rooms the focus of the room was an organ. According to Harris, the room was unparalleled in Adam's own work. It aimed to outshine Wyatt's work at the Pantheon and according to contemporaries it succeeded. As an example of decorative display it was outstanding. Nevertheless, the music room, as in other houses of this period, took its place in the sequence of rooms acting as a prelude to the most important room, the great drawing room. Thus it retained its position in the parade of rooms, whilst providing a stage for the elaborate musical entertainments, which were also integral to new concepts of sociability.<sup>129</sup>

### ***Temples of the Arts and Sciences***

Adam was employed at Osterley Park House from 1761 to complete the villa and park. In its conception as a Pantheon of the Arts and Sciences it is comparable to both Harewood House and Kedleston. This preoccupation is reflected throughout the house: in the Hall are two statues at the south end which represent Minerva, goddess of the arts, and Apollo, god of poetry and music. Sir Isaac Newton appears in a grisaille medallion above the door. These themes are also reflected in the decoration of the Library, and the Antechamber (Tapestry Room). The interior walls of the Doric garden temple in the Pleasure Gardens bear medallion portraits of British Worthies representing the Arts and Sciences, the architect Colen Campbell and again Sir Isaac Newton, revealing a certain harmony with the aspirations of Curzon who penned the words:

Grant me ye Gods, a pleasant seat  
In attick elegance made neat

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<sup>129</sup> 'Home House', Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 297–315.

Fine lawns, much wood, and water plenty  
(of deer, and herds not scanty)  
Laid out in such uncurb'd taste  
That nature may'nt be lost but grac'd  
Within doors, rooms of fair extent  
Enriched with decent ornament  
Choice friends, rare books, sweet musick's strain  
But little business: and no pain  
Good meats, rich wines that may give birth  
To free but not ungracious mirth  
A lovely mistress kind and fair  
Whose gentle looks disperse all care.<sup>130</sup>

Likewise the Duchess of Norfolk enjoyed the allusions to the Arts and Sciences in her Music Room at Norfolk House; later in 1795 when Nash remodelled Buckingham House, he added a bow-fronted drawing room on the garden side, the ceiling of which was decorated with panel reliefs representing Eloquence, Pleasure and Harmony. Although this room became known as the Music Room, as at Harewood House and Norfolk House, the name referred to its decoration and associations with the arts and was not used for musical performance. It can be argued that this desire to evoke the Arts and Sciences also prevailed at Nostell, as may be seen clearly in the design of the library.

## Temple Newsam

Temple Newsam House has a long and complex architectural history, and the building and interior decoration underwent many transformations under its various owners. In 1927 Edmund Pawson and Sidney Kitson published the fruit of extensive research which sought to establish the main stages in the house's architectural evolution. This has been supplemented by more recent research and written up in articles published for example in the *Leeds Arts Calendar*.<sup>131</sup> As the

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<sup>130</sup> Nathaniel Curzon's notebook, cited in the Osterley Park guidebook (1985), 104, and in J. Hardy, 'Robert Adam and the Furnishings of Kedleston Hall', in *The Connoisseur*, July 1978, 196–207.

<sup>131</sup> *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 51 (1963).

house was inhabited throughout the many different periods discussed in this chapter, it is reasonable to expect that its owners would have followed contemporary fashions in the evolving use of rooms. As far as can be deduced, at no time was a room built or set aside specifically for music. However, there is considerable archival evidence to suggest that music featured prominently at different times and the inventories in particular are helpful in indicating where music-making might have taken place.

The four-sided courtyard house, built by Thomas Lord Darcy in 1488, was confiscated by the crown and in 1544 given to Matthew Earl of Lennox, husband of King Henry VIII's favourite niece Margaret Tudor. Apparently Temple Newsam was almost like a royal palace at this time and the earliest references to music date to this period. An inventory of 1565 records:

*In the Great Chamber: one pair of virginals; in the New Gallery: a pair of old organs; in the Low Wardrobe: one Lute; in the Musiciansz chamber: two bedstedes, a letteron (a reading desk or music stand) [entry incomplete].*

These entries indicate that music-making and entertainment, supplied by household 'musiciansz', took place in the public Great Chamber, as well as in the devotional spaces of the house, the New Gallery probably referring to a gallery above the chapel. The house was a catholic stronghold and the chapel would have been in constant use by all of the household. Lord Darnley was apparently a skilled lutenist; it is not surprising then that a lute is found in the more intimate space of the Low Wardrobe.

In 1622, Sir Arthur Ingram purchased the manor. He demolished the east wing, rebuilt the south and north wings, only retaining the western part and a few other elements of the original house. The original Great Hall and Chapel were incorporated into the new structure. The Chapel was located at the east end of the north wing on the ground floor. The design and decoration of the chapel has been discussed in detail by local experts such as Christopher Gilbert as well as Ricketts

for whom it is clearly an important piece of surviving evidence.<sup>132</sup> With regards to music, it is of interest because as early as September 1631 a great organ, which had been made in 1625 by George Brownless of York, was transported from Sheriff Hutton for the chapel at Temple Newsam.<sup>133</sup> The furnishings of the completed chapel are recorded in an inventory of 1666, drawn up on the death of Henry, 1<sup>st</sup> Viscount Irwin, although interestingly the organ is not mentioned.<sup>134</sup> It appears that Ingram did not employ in-house musicians and instead used the Leeds Waites, a band of local musicians, especially during Christmas festivities.

Sir Arthur Ingram also kept 'a fair, stately organ' in his palatial house in York:<sup>135</sup>

1665 Inventory:

*Upon the stair case ... a large organ 006 13 04*

*In the Wardrobe ...*

*A paire of small organs [i.e a single instrument] 001 06 08*

There is further evidence of where music might have been played in the early eighteenth century in the 1714 inventory:

*in ye chamber next dressing room ... one pr. of Harpsickells*

*and in ye Great Dining Room ... a pr. of Harpsickells*

These were possibly the pair of harpsichords, which were bought by Edward, 4<sup>th</sup> Viscount, in 1704 in The Hague during his Grand Tour (1704–9), probably made by the Ruckers family in Antwerp. His 'governor' John Haccius wrote on 26 August 1704 describing them as, 'the finest ... that ever were made ... one is a double

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<sup>132</sup> Gilbert, 'Light on Sir Arthur Ingram's reconstruction of Temple Newsam 1622–38', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 51 (1963). Ricketts, *The Country House Chapel*, 142–3 and other references.

<sup>133</sup> Sherriff Hutton was Ingram's first country house, finished about 1623. Following the completion of Temple Newsam, the latter became Ingram's main country residence, as evidenced by the removal of the organ and many of the furnishings to the new house in 1631.

<sup>134</sup> The chapel is not mentioned in subsequent inventories. In 1796 the Chapel was converted into a kitchen by Lady Frances Ingram and the house was without a chapel until 1877 when Mrs Meynell Ingram converted the early-Georgian library, situated above the original site of the chapel, at the end of the Picture Gallery, into a private chapel, wherein the present organ was installed in place of a two-storey chimneypiece.

<sup>135</sup> Surtees Society, 18, 4, cited in A. Wells-Cole, 'Some Keyboard Instruments Associated with Temple Newsam', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 66 (1970), 12–14.

clavier ... made by the best master that ever was'.<sup>136</sup> They were tuned by Thomas Haxby, according to bills dating to 1760, and probably survived at Temple Newsam until the 1770s. They were possibly played either privately or for a select circle in a room next to the dressing room, and for entertainment in the dining room.

In 1710 Edward may have commissioned the building of a new organ for Temple Newsam from Father Smith (now at Sproatley, East Riding).<sup>137</sup> This is likely to have been installed in the Great Hall, according to a reference in the 1808 inventory.

Inventories provide interesting insights and suggest possible locations for music-making, but are not comprehensive. Significantly no musical instruments are mentioned in the inventories of 1702, 1734, 1736 and 1740,<sup>138</sup> and there are no further inventories following 1808 until the sale of the house and contents in 1922. However, other archival evidence suggests that music continued to play an important role in the household.

### ***Family history***

In 1746, Henry 7th Viscount Irwin inherited Temple Newsam and assumed the responsibility to provide for three dowager Viscountesses and a house in need of repair: 'with three law suits entailed upon me and an old house over my head. Ye gallery side has been so neglected that ye middle window has left ye main wall & ye brick work is crack'd from top to bottom. Ye workmen say it must be immediately pulled down or it will come of it self and do more mischief.'<sup>139</sup> Among other improvements, he transformed the North wing into a Picture Gallery which in 1996 was restored to its original magnificence. This addition would have increased the choice of spaces for music-making, especially larger-scale performances.

With the arrival of the 9<sup>th</sup> Viscount Irwin and his wife in 1758, a new phase in the house's history commenced and a series of plans for the rebuilding of the

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<sup>136</sup> J. Haccius, Delft, autograph letter, to J. Roades, place unknown, 26 August 1704, cited in A. E. Burbridge, 'Edward, Lord Irwin, and Guiseppe Montuoli', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 101 (1987), 31.

<sup>137</sup> This attribution, originally recorded by W. L. Sumner in *The Organ* (1952, 140, with a query), remains unchallenged and is discussed in A. Wells Cole, 'Some Keyboard Instruments associated with Temple Newsam', in *Leeds Arts Calendar*, 66 (1970), 12.

<sup>138</sup> A. Wells Cole, 'Some Keyboard Instruments associated with Temple Newsam', 14–15.

<sup>139</sup> Cited in Temple Newsam guidebook, 51.

South wing were offered by several different architects, including Robert Adam and Carr of York. Following her husband's death, Lady Irwin chose the Leeds-based architect William Johnson to complete the series of new reception rooms on the ground floor and new bedrooms and dressing rooms on the first floor, probably created specifically for her daughters and grandchildren.

Lady Frances Irwin was an enthusiastic musician throughout her life. Her accounts list acquisitions of guitar strings and sheet music, including some opera scores, along with a 'metallic harmonica and case' and instrument described as a 'faggotini', probably a small bassoon, bought for one of her daughters. She both owned and hired instruments, and her harpsichords, at least one of which was made by Burkat Shudi, were tuned regularly.<sup>140</sup> Her five daughters received lessons on the English Guitar from Thomas Thackray of York, described as a 'composer of minutes and country dances in honour of local personages'; one of these was an air adapted for guitar entitled 'Templenewsham'. From this evidence and a household of young ladies, it is probable that there would have been much music-making in the house. Where would the lessons have taken place? Where would the harpsichord and guitars have been kept? It is interesting to speculate what would have happened if she had employed Adam to undertake the new building work. Would there have been a new music room at Temple Newsam? It is significant especially given her musical interests that she chose not to commission Adam. Why did she not wish to include a designated music room in her building plan? In the event, a number of rooms could have been utilised for the storage of instruments and music and music-making: a Drawing Room/or parlour, Frances Lady Irwin's Boudoir, the dressing rooms or perhaps the girls' private sitting room in the south wing. In the inventory taken a year after her death in 1807, instruments were recorded as being located in the following rooms:

*4<sup>th</sup> Room Great Hall ... A large organ in a mahogany case with gilt pipes a barrel in ditto of large diameter and made also as a finger organ with bellows*

*Parlour Ground floor ... a large double-keyed harpsichord by*

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<sup>140</sup> '1779 Feby 3 To the hire of a Harpsichord to the 29<sup>th</sup> of June £4: 4: 0. John Broadwood'. WYL100/EA/12/5.

*Shudi in a walnut case ...*

*8<sup>th</sup> room Miss Gordon's ground floor... a small piano forte by*

*Shudi in a mahogany case.<sup>141</sup>*

These records again suggest that the organ would be played in the Great Hall, which was probably the only suitable place to install the great organ and not uncommon in the eighteenth century, as has been discussed in relation to Adam's work. More intimate music-making perhaps took place in the parlour, possibly the Terrace Room, which was an ante room to the Dining Room, and in the room of Frances Gordon, the daughter of Lord and Lady William Gordon, Lady Irwin's second daughter, for her personal use and entertainment.

However, although Lady Irwin was a keen supporter and subscriber to the Italian composer Felice Giardini's fortepiano recitals in London, which she discussed enthusiastically in letters to her two closest friends Lady Grafton and Lady Stewart, it is likely that she prized her domestic tranquillity too highly to promote private concerts at Temple Newsam.<sup>142</sup>

In contrast, her daughter Lady Hertford, who was chatelaine of Temple Newsam from 1807–34 and the favourite confidante of the Prince Regent in c.1808 and 1820, organised grand entertainments.<sup>143</sup> It is probable that large-scale concerts would have taken place in the Picture Gallery, as the Great Hall, rebuilt by Lady Frances in the 1790s, now functioned mainly as an elegant vestibule to receive visitors.

Lady Hertford engaged in a programme of redecoration in the 1820s. This included the transformation of the 'Best Dining Room' of her mother's time, used as an alternative to the Great Hall and Breakfast Room, into the Blue or Chinese Drawing Room. It is this room that most resembles a music room at Temple Newsam. The Prince of Wales had given Lady Hertford a gift of Chinese wallpaper

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<sup>141</sup> Temple Newsam Inventory 1807.

<sup>142</sup> 'I leave you to Ranelagh and all its charms, while I am contented to secure health and tranquillity in a most quiet sphere, without being troubled with the pangs of envy or tortured with political horrors, a bright day, serene air and merry children make up the sum of my enjoyments and really when my half is here fill my soul with delight and pleasure. I work, I read, I talk and all without the trouble of making believe as you are all forced to do in London from morning to night.' Lady F. Irwin, Temple Newsam, autograph letter to Lady S. Stewart, place unknown, 8 April 1766, National Archives 30/29/4/2 (Granville Papers) 107–216.

<sup>143</sup> See Chapter 3.

following a visit in 1806, which she hung in the late 1820s. It was embellished by the addition of birds cut from John James Audobon's volumes *The Birds of America*, to which she subscribed. The effect was to create a very exotic interior, further enhanced by early eighteenth-century French carvings and later boiseries. The influence of the early nineteenth-century 'Louis' style can still be seen in the mirrors in the pier and above the fireplace. Integrated into this decorative scheme is a Broadwood cabinet upright piano c.1827 with a painted Chinese textile front, Japanese export lacquer decoration on the columns and borders, and Louis XV-style legs. These decorative elements are found elsewhere in the room, for example in the secretaire opposite the piano. Underneath one of the mirrors there is a pier table in the Chinese style incorporating musical motifs in the marquetry top. The unidentified sheet music is in the style of Johann Sebastian Bach or Dietrich Buxtehude. The table is from the workshop of the cabinet-maker Pierre Langlois, renowned for his French style and floral marquetry. In between the Library and the Chinese Room there is a small lobby/passageway which is also decorated with the Chinese wallpaper and there are more musical motifs below the mirror. The incorporation of these musical emblems and the piano into the overall decorative scheme for the room seems to be an example of musical instruments being conceived primarily as pieces of furniture to correspond with and embellish the interior. This approach is reminiscent of Adam's integration of his designs for organ cases with the decorative schemes of the rooms in which they were located. As far as I know, the Chinese Room was never referred to as a music room, the musical elements being subsidiary to the exotic theme of the wallpaper, but in its capacity of a very beautiful and feminine drawing room, it is likely that music was played there, certainly on the piano and possibly with other instruments such as a harp. (There are currently two small lyre harps on display in the room.) It was perhaps also used by Lady Hertford's successors.





Figure 21: The Chinese Drawing Room, Temple Newsam (present day), showing the incorporation of the 1827 Broadwood Piano into the overall scheme of Chinese wallpaper, musical motifs and Louis XV style decoration  
*Leeds Museums and Art Galleries, Temple Newsam*

It is interesting to compare the contributions of Lady Irwin and her daughter to the refurbishment of Temple Newsam in the context of discussions regarding the influence of women on the design and use of music rooms, and how that impacted on country-house planning. One chose not to create a special music room, while the other transformed a dining room into an exotic drawing room suitable for music-making, whose furnishings combined musical motifs with Chinese wallpaper and French Louis XV decoration. This beautifully feminine room also contrasts dramatically with the earlier strongly masculine Adam interiors commissioned by their owners as settings for organs, arguably the most masculine of instruments. Even this cannot be uniformly applied, as there are examples of magnificent organs commissioned by women such as Lady Home for their music rooms.<sup>144</sup>

Louisa Meynell Ingram (c.1820–1870), daughter to Hugo Charles Meynell Ingram (1783–1869), was an accomplished, musical young lady, judging by her

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<sup>144</sup> Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam*, 302.

album of music manuscripts from c.1838.<sup>145</sup> These included arrangements of popular songs, arias from well-known operas, and pieces for the piano. However, her father did not inherit Temple Newsam until 1841 and it seems that the family, who were well-known sportsmen, only visited Temple Newsam in the autumn for the shooting season. These visits would have entailed intensive hospitality which no doubt would have required music, perhaps in the Picture Gallery or Chinese Drawing Room. Perhaps Louisa used the piano in this room or an instrument in another sitting room or dressing room to amuse herself when she visited? It was only in the 1870s that Temple Newsam became more frequently inhabited. The Hon. Mrs Meynell Ingram, widow of Hugo Francis Meynell Ingram, brought new musical life to the house and there are records of concerts and recitals by professional performers in the Picture Gallery.

### **Burton Constable Hall**

Before concluding this study I would like to discuss briefly music-making and spaces for performance at Burton Constable Hall, Hull. Although this section relies heavily on research undertaken by Caroline Wood, it is valuable to our discussion because the Hall is a Yorkshire House, it reinforces some of the observations already made, and also provides some insights into some of the solutions/practices adopted at the end of our period, the mid-nineteenth century.

Although there is little information relating to musical activity in the eighteenth century at the Hall, an inventory of 1791 locates a harpsichord and a table-top organ in the Great Hall, suggesting that this was the preferred space for music-making. The organ, by George Pyke of London, dates from around 1750 and is still at the Hall. It is interesting that these dates correspond with the interest in organs already mentioned in relation to the Adam music rooms of the same period. Another inventory was taken about 100 years later and 25 years after the family had left the Hall. This, interestingly, records the presence of several instruments in the library: a violin, a guitar, described as 'very fine', a small harp, a tambourine, a mahogany grand piano by Erard, and two cases of violin and harp strings. This too corresponds with the practice previously described of storing or displaying

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<sup>145</sup> From the Library of Temple Newsam, Leeds Museums and Galleries (Temple Newsam).

musical instruments in the library, although the significance of this may have changed from the self-conscious attempts to promote impressions of connoisseurship in the early nineteenth century. Secondly, the later inventory notes the presence of a theatre in which were found a 'gilt harp', a base fiddle in green case and a 'double base fiddle', along with music stands, chairs and stools. The description was as follows: 'The orchestra filled with music-stands covered with crimson cloth brass nailed.'<sup>146</sup> Wood has explained how the theatre consisted of a bedroom and a dressing room converted for the purpose during the 1840s: one of the rooms served as the auditorium, and the other formed the stage and the fly-tower.

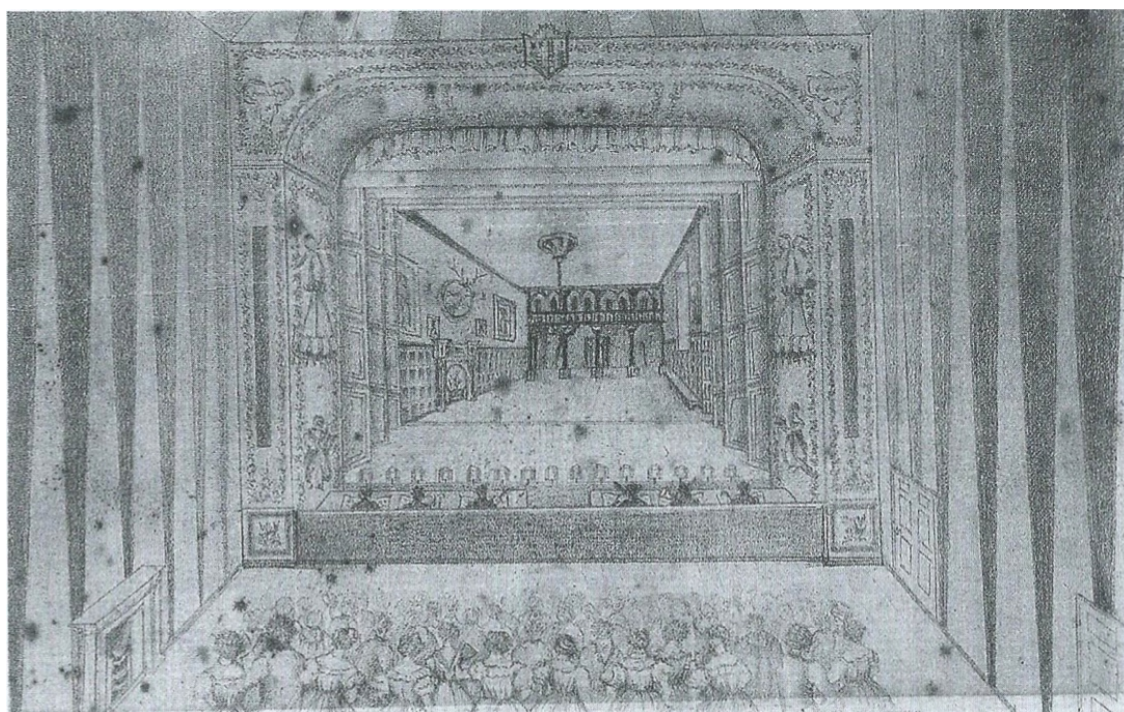


Figure 22: The Theatre, Burton Constable Hall, c.1850, showing the inclusion of a 'pit' for musicians, artist unknown  
*Burton Constable Foundation*

Clearly the theatre was intended to be used for the production of amateur theatricals, which were a phenomenon of upper-class life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as Jane Austen points up in *Mansfield Park*. The Castle Howard and Nostell Priory archives also contain examples of plays and sketches

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<sup>146</sup> There also exists an anonymous lithograph of the theatre c.1850, reproduced in C. Wood, 'Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. Z. Bennett, 217.

but the fashionable pastime was evidently more highly developed at Burton Constable and taken very seriously.<sup>147</sup> However, as the inventory implies, music also formed part of these productions, though the extent of this is not clear from the playbills. From other accounts of dramatic productions, it might be expected that the play would be interspersed with musical interludes, as can be seen from some of the playbills amongst the Nostell Priory family papers: indeed, the inclusion of music in public theatre productions was a way of avoiding the licensing problem.<sup>148</sup> According to a newspaper account in the *Hull Advertiser*, 17 February 1843, 'Theatricals at Burton Constable' ended 'with a quadrille. Mr Giles's excellent band was in attendance for the occasion.'



Figure 23: Music-making in the Gallery, Burton Constable Hall, c.1840, artist unknown  
*Burton Constable Foundation*

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<sup>147</sup> Amateur theatricals in country houses is a vast area of research which overlaps with discussions about music in country houses and invites collaboration with researchers of this field, for example networking with the group 'Research into Amateur Performance and Private Theatricals' (RAPPT).

<sup>148</sup> Nostell Priory playbills, WYW1352/1/1/6/1-19 (part).

It is unknown if concerts took place in the theatre. The lithograph c.1840, referred to earlier, shows music-making in the gallery. One of the women is depicted as playing the guitar.<sup>149</sup> The room is portrayed as being heavily furnished with tables and chairs and lampstands. It seems likely that unless the furniture was cleared away this would only have served as the location for informal music-making. It is likely that the balls and dances also took place in the gallery, but again would have required some reorganisation.

As in some of the other houses already discussed, another possible place for musical performance was the chapel. Wood recounts how the family remained staunchly Catholic. There had always been a chapel in the house, and in 1840 the billiard room was converted into a private chapel. However, it is not known how much music was played there. Wood lists the sacred music in the collection; and while it is limited, it could nevertheless have been used, otherwise it would be difficult to explain why volumes such as *The Catholic Music-Book* and three Latin masses are in the collection. Significantly some excerpts from Carl Heinrich Graun's *Passion* and choruses from Handel oratorios have been arranged for three voices, presumably in keeping with available singers. It is also possible this music could have been kept for reference purposes or used in the chapel in the village of Marton within the estate grounds, rebuilt by the family following the Act of Parliament of 1789 which lifted some of the restrictions on Catholic places of worship.

As was mentioned previously, on Friday 9 April 1858 members of the Burton Constable household and friends gave a concert in the Music Hall in Hull. The whole conception of this event was quite novel and is interesting in the light of our discussions regarding aristocratic performance/display and the interplay of private and public, and of the two-way traffic between music-making in the domestic sphere and concerts in the 'public' arena. So far this has been understood in terms of aristocratic support for public concerts and the influence of aristocratic patronage of musicians performing at private concerts. In this instance, instead of professional musicians being invited to play in the elite houses, the aristocratic family moved out of their home to perform in the public domain. It was discussed avidly in the *Hull Advertiser* for 20 and 27 March 1858. As Wood recounts, the first

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<sup>149</sup> Reproduced in Wood, 'Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House', 214.

of these articles stated that it was not to be a 'professional like concert' but was to see 'a transference of the drawing room of Burton Constable to the Hull Music-hall'. This was to be achieved through fitting up the stage with 'the richest furniture and the choicest articles of vertu'. In addition 'the distinguished party are to take their place precisely as if they were at home; the vocalists are to group themselves around the piano, and the instrumentalists are to place themselves to a similar way, with a careful avoidance of all appearance of singing or playing to an audience; and thus it will be, for those who go to hear and to see, neither more nor less than the spending an evening with the aristocracy'.

MUSIC HALL, JARRATT-STREET, HULL.

AN  
**AMATEUR CONCERT,**  
OF  
Vocal and Instrumental Music,  
WILL TAKE PLACE  
**ON THE EVENING OF FRIDAY, APRIL 9, 1858,**  
BY THE FOLLOWING DISTINGUISHED AMATEURS  
STAYING AT  
**BURTON CONSTABLE,**  
Who have most kindly consented to give their services:

LADY WOLSELEY,  
MRS. GAGE, MRS. GOLDSMID, MISS STANDISH, MISS CHICHESTER,  
LADY CLIFFORD CONSTABLE,  
MAJOR GAGE, COLONEL STEPHENS,  
SIR CLIFFORD CONSTABLE,  
MR. MORANT, MR. JAY, MR. CHARLES SEARLE, MR. FARSEIDE,  
SIGNOR GUGLIELMI FELICE,  
MR. ROSIER, MR. TALBOT SEARLE,  
&c.

When the accompanying Programme will be performed, interspersed with Vocal Pieces, including Duetts and Trios, particulars of which will be duly announced:

SYMPHONY No. 1	.....	Beethoven
DUETT	"Don Juan" for Piano-Forte and Violin	Wolf & Vieuxtemps
SOLO	Concertina	Blagrove
TRIO	"Op. 35" Piano-Forte, Violin, and Violoncello	Hummel
SOLO	Piano-Forte	Osborne & Leopold de Meyer
OVERTURE	"Figaro"	Mozart

*The Doors will open at Seven and the Concert commence at Eight o'Clock.*

Plans of the Music Hall are now at Mr. FAGE'S, George-Street, for securing the limited number of STALLS at 7s. 6d. each, and the RESERVED SEATS (numbered) at 6s. each.

ROBERT BOWSER, SECRETARY.

The Annual Charity Ball will take place on Monday, the 12th April.

Figure 24: Handbill advertising the Concert by the Distinguished Amateurs of Burton Constable at the Music Hall, Hull, 1858  
East Riding of Yorkshire Archives and Local Studies Centre

The following week the newspaper remarked on the quality of the performers, 'the distinguished amateurs' and the 'class of music selected', which was to be 'of the highest order and such as is only attempted by first-class musicians'. Despite the success of the concert it was an event that does not seem to have been repeated. While this incident raises many questions regarding amateur vs professional, and public vs private performance, with all the nuances of this terminology, what is significant is that here we see an example of aristocratic musical display being taken into the public domain.<sup>150</sup> The newspaper report following the performance was overflowing with praise: 'Last night was the first time in Hull that the highest accomplishments of the mind – the richest products of a highly cultivated and refined taste were, by persons of undoubted rank and station, made subservient to the claims of charity' ('the permanent education of the poorest class of poor children in the Borough of Hull'). The stage and the programme as well as the individual performances were described in full, concluding that 'it was a complete triumph for Sir Clifford and Lady Constable ... Late as was the hour – half past eleven o'clock – when the concert terminated there was an evident feeling of regret that it should be at an end'.<sup>151</sup>

## Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter several questions were raised regarding the role of music as display and following on from that what the setting for music was, and the conception and design of music rooms and other spaces where music might have been played. The examples of the houses discussed have demonstrated how some of the factors influencing these developments and decisions were worked out in practice. I have also reflected on the interplay of the public and private faces of country-house music-making, and how that may be defined by a range of terms accordingly, for example 'music-making' vs 'performance.'

It has been argued that historically musical performance has always been associated with elite display of taste and status and has always been provided with

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<sup>150</sup> Perhaps reminiscent of the Sharp family who performed on their barge *The Apollo* on the River Thames each summer from 1755.

<sup>151</sup> *Hull Advertiser*, 27 March 1858, cited in Wood, 'The Musical World of the Clifford Constables', 66.

a space in elite households, whether or not a room was designated to that purpose. In the Elizabethan and Jacobean house this was expressed primarily through the ceremonial functions of the household. By the mid-eighteenth century the emphasis on sociability, the necessity to provide entertainment for large numbers of guests, and an enfilade of rooms in which to receive them, corresponded with an increasing number of designated music rooms in country house design. In the early nineteenth century, the tendency to incorporate a number of activities into a single room, such as the saloon, perhaps rendered the music room as a defined space less integral to country-house life, or conversely its own function was modified and it was transformed into a sitting room in which musical instruments were stored and played, in keeping with the new taste for informality and elegant domesticity. Equally, the function of the library expanded as it became a locus for artistic and intellectual pursuits such as music-making and the resting place for keyboard instruments, such as at Tatton Park. Of the music room at Tatton Park, Brooks writes 'in its flexibility of use and its potential to evoke everyday solitary or family activity as well as magnificent entertainments, the room demonstrates how easily music lends itself to 'projections of cultivated leisure in which ostensibly private activities are given a public face. If music had been functioning this way in elite self-representation for some time by 1800, the Georgian country house provides a striking example of the material side of this role.'<sup>152</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century the spiritual and moral significance accorded to music provided a new stimulus to the creation of music rooms, many of which resembled chapels. The studies of Yorkshire houses have highlighted the different locations each favoured for the performance of music at different periods of their histories. As has been seen, each history is unique and the ways in which music rooms and spaces for 'musicking' were perceived were varied and complex.

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<sup>152</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House', 531.



## 9 Conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to establish a picture of musical practice in four aristocratic Yorkshire country houses at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries (1770–1850), and to consider music in the historiography of these houses within their social and cultural context.

My intention in interrogating the collections of four different houses has been to define more closely the musical activities of individual households in order to establish what is unique to the family and what is characteristic of the period and region. It has also been an attempt to establish how typical certain practices and levels of musical interest were in comparison to other aristocratic households, contributing to the history of domestic musicality and sociability. The case studies and themes discussed in this thesis have highlighted the individual approaches to music-making that characterised each house and its owners. These are summarised as follows.

### **Individual stories**

#### **Harewood House**

At Harewood House we are presented with a picture of organised, structured musical activity which was more developed than the musical practices of neighbouring Yorkshire houses, and which was reminiscent of systems of patronage employed at the Court and aristocratic houses in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The principal initiator was Edward

Lascelles, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood whose passion for music led him to employ and train up a young musician John White to take over the direction of all concerts and musical pursuits in his house. Harewood's existing collection of music probably formed in part the basis for these practices, as the greater proportion of it consists of parts for instrumental ensemble music. Archival evidence reveals that White was responsible for teaching the female members of the family; training the church choir; organising and directing both the informal and more formal concerts at the House; overseeing all the Christmas musical events, including the recruitment of singers, furnishing them with gowns and then organising the singers' supper and gifts to the musicians following the Christmas activities; for the hiring, maintenance, tuning and repair of instruments; keeping accounts and paying bills for music and other musical provisions. More broadly, the Earl's patronage enabled White to establish a professional career in London and Yorkshire, facilitating his involvement with the Great Music Festivals in both York and Leeds in the early 1800s, which involved the training of choirs from all over the region to take part in the large-scale choral concerts. His teaching experience at Harewood also opened the doors to a clientele of other Yorkshire families. Throughout his life until his death in 1831, White enjoyed the protection and patronage of both the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl and his son Henry. As both the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl and his wife were musical, it is likely that musical activity continued in the House, possibly under the auspices of Henrietta Sebright, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lady Harewood.

In 1841 the 2<sup>nd</sup> Earl's son Henry inherited Harewood. Although it appears that music-making did not continue on such an organised basis during his lifetime, his wife Lady Louisa Thynne was a very proficient musician and examples of the technically difficult piano music she played remain in the collection. Thus the survey reveals that there was a high level of musical activity at Harewood throughout the period under investigation.

## **Castle Howard**

As has been seen, the collection at Castle Howard is largely a personal collection built up by one elite woman, Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, throughout her lifetime.

### ***Lady Georgiana Cavendish – Childhood at Chatsworth, 1783–1801***

The first section of the study of the role of music in Georgiana's life considered her childhood and upbringing, her musical education and teachers, the encouragement she received in her musical studies from her family, and the place that music occupied in her daily life.

From the archival evidence, it is evident that music was part of the air that the young Georgiana breathed; it was part of the fabric of everyday life, something she enjoyed, worked at, took for granted, assumed. Her upbringing exposed her to high-class performances and musicians and she possessed a large and wide-ranging collection of music. Georgiana's betrothal to Lord Morpeth would have been perceived as the culmination of all the training and education she had received during her childhood and young adulthood. From the resulting engagement it could be said that the Duchess's efforts to shape and educate her daughter had been a success, equipping her with the necessary social graces and accomplishments to make her marriageable and to be able to cope in society despite her natural diffidence and shyness. Her musicianship was an important aspect of her social training, enabling her to exhibit not only proficiency but taste, sensibility and expression in her musicality, self-possession in performance and an ability to operate in the arena of 'polite sociability'. It is likely that through her own efforts and the encouragement and influence of her mother, Georgiana achieved a greater 'degree of excellence' than was conventionally and culturally required.

### ***Lady Georgiana Morpeth – Married Life, 1801–25***

After her marriage to Lord Morpeth in 1801, music clearly continued to play an active part in Georgiana's everyday life, a fact that was borne out in letters to her mother, grandmother and daughters, all of whom recognised the significance of music in her life. In the Music Room at Castle Howard she played and sang for her parents-in-law, guests and family. There she also oversaw her children's music education, and continued to add to her music collection, which was transported to the different locations at which the family stayed. Her children's correspondence reflects the musical legacy that Georgiana passed on to them. Significantly, her daughter Caroline's marriage into the Lascelles family provided a link between the two musical households, as she wrote of the evening concerts at Harewood House

in which she participated. However, while it appears that Georgiana continued to value music highly, she was greatly occupied during this period in bearing and rearing twelve children, which meant that in practice she had much less time to devote to music-making. In this sense, getting married and raising a family had a significant impact on the role music occupied in her life, as literature and theorists would have predicted. However, music and the keyboard were not left untouched, and she did not give up playing. Nor was there any lack of interest on the part or herself, her husband or her family. Her probable reduction in musical activity at this time was no 'act of rebellion against oppression', which some writers felt was the symbolic meaning of female music-making. Nor was it merely a time-killer. Instead, Georgiana's playing brought pleasure both to herself and to those around her. Moreover, it did not lack influence: her love of and ability in music were recognised by all who knew her. Music and music-making were woven into the fabric of her personality and daily life. Music was part of her identity and what defined her.

### ***Countess of Carlisle – Later life, 1825–58***

Georgiana was very active during this period, but her life was greatly troubled by a tendency to depression. Georgiana's story after she became the Countess of Carlisle is a picture of a woman who, despite her personal struggles and afflictions, sought to overcome them and fulfil her responsibilities to her family and society. However, music continued to be very important to Georgiana at this time. She continued to add to her music collection, which implies that she still played. The music and composers represented in her collection reflected her personal interests and tastes. The repertoire of Italian vocal music, dance and drawing room music also reveals that she was in touch with developments in the early-Victorian public music scene, both in England and on the continent. It is likely that she purchased music in London and in Paris, as well as locally in York. She participated in Victorian high-society life, often in the presence of the Royals. She attended balls and the opera. Her travel diaries of 1838/39 demonstrate that she derived much enjoyment from listening to music. At home, she continued to encourage and enjoy listening to her daughters and other young women perform. Her love of music was acknowledged by friends such as the Rev. Francis Grey, who wrote to her of

specific pieces of music and who came to play to her when she was unwell. More fundamentally, music played an important role in the expression of her faith and a solace during her bouts of depression. This was her legacy to her son, in whom the potent combination of music and spirituality became a force for social good.

Georgiana outlived her husband by 10 years, remaining at Castle Howard until her death in 1858. She divided her time between the different family homes and Castle Howard and devoted her life to supporting her son George who was now the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle. At the end of her life she was still engaged in creating a collection of programmes for evening entertainments mainly relating to the year 1856. They are evidence of her enduring interest in music and suggest that the tradition of evening musical entertainments was well established, and may have continued until the end of her life at Castle Howard, though presumably at that time it would have been her daughters or her granddaughters who performed.

Georgiana's private writings, however, focus on her need for God to help her bear her pain and trials (her tendencies to depression), and enable her to keep the 'rules' for living she set herself more effectively, particularly in relation to her responsibilities as mother and wife. Likewise, much of Georgiana's correspondence in later life (that I have had the opportunity to look at) relates to political and personal affairs. Perhaps it is in this sense that in women's writings about their own lives, 'music was so "naturalized" a part of their existence that little comment about it may have seemed necessary'.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Temple Newsam***

Although Temple Newsam does not hold substantial collections of printed and manuscript music, it is possible to trace from archival sources that music played an important role in the house's history. During the period under investigation there are records of extensive music-making by some of the women of the Temple Newsam household, such as Lady Frances Irwin, wife of the 9<sup>th</sup> Lord Irwin of Temple Newsam, and her five daughters. She remained an enthusiastic musician after her marriage. Lady Irwin's accounts list acquisitions of guitar strings and sheet music, including some opera scores. She both owned and hired instruments

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<sup>1</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, 147.

and her Harpsichords were tuned regularly. Her five daughters' education was given over to various music and drawing masters, including York musician Thomas Thackray, who gave lessons on the English Guittar. In 1769 Lady Irwin subscribed to the publication of twenty copies of his composition *Six Lessons for a Guittar*, Op. 2. Lady Irwin and her friends seem to have embraced music as something more than a time-filler. They continued to play, and their patronage of musicians and composers, both locally and in London, was important to the encouragement of professional careers. However, it is likely that she prized her domestic tranquillity too highly to promote private concerts at Temple Newsam. In contrast, her daughter Isabella Lady Hertford, organised larger-scale entertainments which probably would have taken place in the Picture Gallery. She was also responsible for the creation of the beautiful and feminine Blue or Chinese Drawing Room, the room that most resembles a music room at Temple Newsam. Evidence of the continued importance that music played in the domestic life of Temple Newsam can be seen in Louisa Meynell Ingram's (c.1820–1870) music album, dated 1838. Spaces in the House for music-making, formal and informal, varied during different periods.

### ***Nostell Priory***

Sabine, the wife of Sir Rowland Winn, 5th Baron of Nostell, was evidently musical and, like Lady Irwin, continued to pursue her interest in music after her marriage. Her husband too seems to have appreciated music. It was he who asked Robert Adam in 1776 to design a family wing incorporating a vast music room with an organ at the north end, although this was never executed.

Their daughter Esther was a talented pianist and was praised highly for her competency in music. After her elopement with the baker John Williamson to Manchester, she struggled to maintain her former interests. Her husband was proud of his wife's accomplishments and when away wrote, 'My dear love, I am very glad that you get so fast forward with your music as I shall take very great pleasure in seeing your little fingers go. It will please me very much and I shall

expect you to play me a good many tunes when I come back.’<sup>2</sup>

Louisa Williamson, their daughter, was educated at Miss Hill’s school in Bath where she learnt to play the Harp and piano, and sing and dance. Her brothers encouraged her and acquired a set of ‘real Roman Harp strings’ at her request. Her Harp, a gift from her brother John, is now on display in the saloon. The stories of Esther and her daughter Louisa do not conform to the conventions of English country house society, but they demonstrate how both set themselves to acquiring and maintaining the education and accomplishments that were deemed appropriate to their birth. Charles Winn succeeded to the title in 1817. In the 1820s a large organ was erected in the Top Hall and by the 1830s this room was known as the music-room, indicating the continued presence of music in the household.

## General themes

As well as the individual stories and approaches to music-making that characterised each house and its owners, the case studies and themes discussed in this thesis highlight the general trends in the role that music played in elite Yorkshire households at the end of the eighteenth century. However, what can be said about the findings and their significance is necessarily limited by the range of archival evidence available in each case.

Research has revealed that the families of all these houses participated in the patronage of local and London-based musical societies and concert series, music festivals and opera, and that they subscribed to new music. The services of local musicians for special occasions and of local music suppliers were widely engaged. Of the four houses investigated, only Harewood employed a resident musical director, although as has been mentioned, Lady Frances Irwin supported and used the services of local composer and teacher Thomas Thackray. There is evidence that the women in each house participated in music-making with varying degrees of skill and enthusiasm. The most complete picture of how music was woven into the personal and domestic life of an elite woman is the example of

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<sup>2</sup> J. Williamson, place unknown, autograph letter to E. Williamson, place unknown, 23 July 1794, WYW1352/1/4/50/9.

Georgiana, 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle, whose musical tastes and activities exerted a powerful influence on her household.

Although music-making was not generally considered to be the province of elite men in the late 1700s, the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood was clearly an enthusiast, and it is likely his interests were more widely shared than is commonly thought for example, Sir Rowland, like other of his contemporaries, planned the building of a vast music room. His successor Charles Winn played the Violin and later created a music room out of the Upper Hall at Nostell Priory. There is evidence to suggest that the 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle shared his wife's interest in music, though to a less developed degree. For their son the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl, music and spirituality combined, finding expression in both devotion and philanthropy.

Of the four houses, only Harewood House and Castle Howard continue to hold substantial collections of music. A few songs in manuscript appear in the Nostell Priory and Temple Newsam archives. Louisa Meynell Ingram's music album, dated 1838, also remains at Temple Newsam. The discussion in this thesis has focused on the music collections at Harewood and Castle Howard. Although it has been seen that there were several overlaps in terms of composers and genres of music, they are noteworthy for their differences, the Harewood collection consisting largely of instrumental music for organised ensemble playing, while the Castle Howard collection is the fruit of one woman's lifetime of collecting.

As has been pointed out, the Harewood collection is an amalgamation of music belonging to different family members, either brought to the House or bought for use in the House. The volumes that can be linked to certain individuals reflect the musical interests and abilities of their owners. The greatest part of the collection seems to have belonged to the 'House' and to have been purchased for the purpose of ensemble playing and evening concerts, therefore of a standard suitable for amateur musicians to perform. Although the music had a specific function and purpose in the life of the household, it may be said that it nevertheless reflected the tastes and interests of those who acquired it. These were probably primarily the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Earls and their musical director White. In this respect it could be argued that the bulk of the collection, in particular the instrumental music both of the ancient school and of a more cosmopolitan character, largely reflected male taste, which is an interesting consideration at a time when music in the home was considered the woman's domain. It is true that the women in the household,



including the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl's wife, were very musical and possessed their own collections of music. It is likely that they would have played the Piano Forte or the Harpsichord part in the accompanied sonatas and trios and sung. But it is significant that there is relatively little music for the Harp, for example. White's accounts also show purchases of music suitable for his pupils, the young ladies of the household and for performance in church. One explanation is that it is possible, and even probable, that the music belonging to the women left the house with their daughters at the time of their marriages.

The volumes belonging to the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess at Castle Howard are the product of a lifetime's collecting and music-making on the part of one elite woman. The earlier part of the collection contains music for Piano Forte, Harp and voice, suitable for a young girl's musical development. It reflects the influence of her mother and includes music by her music teachers, Felice Giardini, Giacomo Gotifredo Ferrari and Maria Hester Park. The second part builds upon the earlier repertoire, while beginning to show the development of Georgiana's personal interests, especially in the relatively high number of women composers in the collection. The music of her former music teacher Ferrari continues to feature prominently. The last section includes a large proportion of dance music, including music by her brother's resident musician at Chatsworth, Charles Coote, reflecting current fashions, and an interesting range of drawing-room songs, again reflecting a pronounced interest in women song-writers and composers, for example Mrs Robert Arkwright.

There are many overlaps with the Harewood collection in terms of composers of music for the Piano Forte, music by Handel, opera scores and arias, and a significant number of accompanied sonatas for keyboard and Violin. However, although some excerpts from operas were scored for ensembles of instruments, and there are sufficient examples of music for multiple instruments to beg the question as to whether Chatsworth maintained a resident band, the Piano Forte arrangements for these pieces were capable of standing alone and so were not dependent on the presence of other supporting instruments. However, it is probably true to say that Georgiana's collection shows a more clear relationship with her life and the development of her personal musical interests than the music in the Harewood collection, the majority of which seems to have been acquired for the more functional purpose of providing music for evening entertainments.

Although each house had a designated space for music-making, varying solutions were adopted at different periods of their histories. Only Harewood boasted a preconceived Music Room, designed by Adam, although the music rooms at Castle Howard and Nostell Priory acquired their names at a later date in keeping with their new function. The thesis raised several questions regarding the role of music as display and, following on from that, what the setting for music was, and the conception and design of music rooms and other spaces where music might have been played. The examples of the houses discussed have demonstrated how some of the factors influencing these developments and decisions were worked out in practice. The interplay of the public and private faces of country-house music-making, and how that may be defined by a range of terms accordingly, for example 'music-making' vs 'performance', has been explored.

## **Findings that relate to the wider country-house context**

Attempts have been made throughout this investigation to make comparisons with other elite houses both in Yorkshire and further afield and to relate the practices of the four houses to their cultural, social and geographical context. Although it has been possible to point to certain trends, the paucity of evidence has made it difficult to make definitive observations and so conclusions can only be tentative and partial.

### **Patronage**

From the evidence available it appears that few aristocrats at the end of the eighteenth century had the means to employ a musician and maintain a private orchestra. Those who did adopted different approaches. At Burton Constable, Stephen Jay was valued for his musical abilities but was officially employed as a servant in the household. At Chatsworth House, the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Carlisle employed the established musician and composer Charles Coote as his household musician, responsible for engaging players for specific occasions. Musicians Henry Lazarus and George Macfarlane were also members of the Duke's private band. At Harewood House an older model of patronage seems to have been utilised: this involved the cultivation and training up of a young musician for the role of musical

director in the household but also extended to the encouragement of his career more widely. The practice of providing support and training for individual musicians was not uncommon, as can be seen in the case of George Meredith, the protégé of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, and probably others. It was the combination of the deliberate cultivation of talents with the employment of the individual in the household which seems to have been more unusual at the time and reminiscent of earlier practices. However, it seems that even the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Harewood did not employ a full household band similar to the musical establishments maintained by the Lords Burlington and Chandos. Instead White drew upon the talents of members of the household and family and of local singers for the Earl's evening concerts. There are many instances of beneficial relationships with musicians, such as that of the teacher and composer Ferrari with the Cavendish family. Giardini was also a favourite of the Duchess of Devonshire and was supported by many other members of the aristocracy. Johann Peter Salomon was sought after to enhance the musical entertainment at country-house weekends such as those described in the letters of Susan Burney, Lady Frances Irwin employed Thackray, to whose compositions she subscribed.

***Was traditional patronage on the decline in the second half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?***

In his chapter on the 'Moral House 1830–1900', Girouard asserts that at this time 'upper-class patronage largely disappeared and so did upper-class sinecures'.<sup>3</sup> How true was this?

The position of writers and publishers provides an interesting commentary on the changing nature of patronage in the latter half of the eighteenth century. What parallels were there in the musical world? Dustin Griffin begins his chapter on 'The Persistence of Patronage' with the statement: 'it is commonplace in studies of literary patronage to report that the patronage system sharply declined – or even died – sometime around 1755'.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Carlyle is quoted as writing, 'at the time of Johnson's appearance on the field, Literature ... was in the very act of passing from the protection of Patrons into that of the Public;

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<sup>3</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 270.

<sup>4</sup> D. Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 246.

no longer to supply its necessities by laudatory Dedications to the Great, but by judicious bargains with the Booksellers'.<sup>5</sup> The implication was that one system of patronage was being replaced by another. Other commentators he quotes also insist on the end of the age of patronage but suggest that there was a period of limbo or interregnum before the marketplace took over: 'The patron was gone, and the public had not come.'<sup>6</sup>

Griffin goes on to argue, on the basis of evidence, that reports on the decline, even the death, of patronage c.1750, are derivative and exaggerated. He also makes the case that the patronage system was very much in place in the second half of the eighteenth century and provided some sort of support to virtually every writer of stature of the period. Finally, he argues that although it did not decline, patronage took some new forms, and what characterises the latter half of the eighteenth century was not the supplanting of the patron by the bookseller, but the contestation of the still-powerful patronal authority by the bookseller, as well as by all the other participants in the literary system.

The argument that the patronage system persisted in a healthy fashion to the end of the century and beyond is supported by the high hopes that, with the accession of George III, patronage would increase.<sup>7</sup> Griffin also demonstrates by a brief survey that virtually every writer of any significance participated in the system in some way, as recipients of support either from private patrons or from the ministry. He also suggests that the widespread evidence for subscription lists is indicative of the persistence of patronage. 'Subscription has ... been described as a kind of democratized patronage, whereby a large number of patrons may, for a relatively small outlay, find their names listed among the subscribers'.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, he argues, it might be said that although patronage had become more disparate, more patrons were participating in the system than ever before. Increasingly patronage was felt to be the responsibility of merchants, professionals and manufacturers,

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<sup>5</sup> T. Carlyle, 'Review of J. W. Croker's 1831 edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*', in *Fraser's Magazine*, 5 (May 1832), 396–8, cited in Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 246.

<sup>6</sup> O. Goldsmith, *Collected Works*, I, 89, cited in Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 247.

<sup>7</sup> Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 258.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 267. In his footnote Griffin explains that subscribers were considered as 'patrons' by 1772. See *Letters concerning the Present State of England*, (1772): 'The public may be called the patron, when authors make their appeal either in printing by subscription, or publishing on their own account', 327.

and not only of the nobility.<sup>9</sup> There was a 'social cachet to be gained from vicarious association with the more noble supporters'.<sup>10</sup> However, it was 'not so much that the social centre of gravity (and cultural authority) was shifting downward, but that members of an increasingly wealthy and self-confident middle class were aping the manners of their betters and aspiring to move up'.<sup>11</sup>

According to Griffin, the language of dedications also upheld the patronage system; however, they simultaneously reflected the changes that were occurring in the system. For example, Johnson's dedications retain the notion that the patron has a certain authority over literature, but now this authority is shared with the author. This was conveyed in the tone and stance of the dedication.

### ***Patronage contested***

Griffin's conclusion is that at the end of the eighteenth century the system of patronage was intact but undergoing change.<sup>12</sup> These changes were:

1. The increase in the number of patrons (including subscribers) meant that patronage was no longer solely in the hands of a few noble patrons but was more spread across more ranks and occupations.
2. New institutions were beginning to take over some of the traditional roles of patronage, for example, The Society for the Encouragement of Learning.<sup>13</sup>
3. Other forms of collective support such as salons and clubs were assuming some responsibility for promoting British culture which had previously belonged to the aristocracy and government. These were still encouraged to exercise this role and to some extent did so.

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<sup>9</sup> Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 268.

<sup>10</sup> F. J. G. Robinson and P. J. Wallis, *Book Subscription Lists. A Revised Guide, Fourth Supplement* (July 1981), iii, cited in Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 268. Griffin explains in his footnote that it was common for subscribers to be listed by rank within each letter: 'The nobility and the gentry precede the clergy, and the tradesmen conclude the entry, normally with the book trade in the rear', vi. Lennox, when promoting a subscription, apparently thought that her acquaintance would be 'proud of standing in the same list with the Queen'. *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, II, 202, cited in Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 268.

<sup>11</sup> Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 268.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 275.

However, Griffin asserts 'an implicit challenge to the cultural authority of the aristocracy was being made, and such a challenge is perhaps the most significant feature of the patronage system in the latter half of the eighteenth century'.<sup>14</sup>

Griffin describes the strains and tensions involved in the transition from one economy to another and how the changeover was not complete by 1800. There was a coexistence of aristocratic patrons with others in the market place 'jostling' for supremacy and authority. They still maintained some control and authority, if not all.<sup>15</sup> There is evidence that some private patrons withdrew to an extent, for different reasons: for example, it is likely the Duke of Chandos reduced his role due to financial hardship and failures in the South Sea Bubble and other investments. Others may have perceived that the reputation for 'magnificence' no longer had the same appeal as previously. In the realm of literature, some criticised the 'great' for an absence of intellectual ability: according to Griffin, Oliver Goldsmith satirically speculated that the 'great' found it too difficult to cultivate a taste for poetry: 'to read poetry requires thought, and the English nobility were not fond of thinking'. Goldsmith added that they took up first music and then painting, 'because in this they might indulge a happy vacancy and yet still have pretensions to delicacy and taste as before!'<sup>16</sup>

However, there is much evidence to suggest that patrons continued to give support, although their status within the literary world had changed by the end of the eighteenth century. After 1750 all participants in the literary world advanced claims for their own literary authority and contested each other. Traditional patronage was challenged on all fronts: economic, cultural and even in the courts with respect to rulings on literary copyright.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless the system remained in place and became a mixed system of patronage and market. The patronal system persisted but was resisted.

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>16</sup> O. Goldsmith, *Collected Works*, II, 148, cited in Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 278.

<sup>17</sup> Griffin, *Literary Patronage in England, 1650–1800*, 282.

### ***Reasons for the persistence of aristocratic patronage of music***

From the examples of aristocratic musical patronage in Yorkshire houses discussed in this thesis, it can be seen that, in the musical world, aristocrats remained involved in encouraging and supporting musical endeavour, seeking at the same time to maintain a measure of control and authority over 'taste', and who shared that taste. Their contributions also reflected back on themselves and served to enhance their status: these were motivations that had originally prompted men of wealth to patronise the arts and music in imitation of the court. However, by the early nineteenth century these motivations had undergone subtle changes and became more complex. Due to the mix of social, political, religious and economic pressures in the early part of the century aristocrats wished to be viewed differently, they thus cultivated an image of the responsible model landlord, characterised by the qualities of moral and religious seriousness, being seen as lovers of their families and domesticity, and as hospitable and benevolent. As has been discussed with reference to the 7<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle, in some cases this manifested itself in acts of philanthropic and benevolent patronage, which also became an appropriate channel of musical patronage.

Correspondingly, there were mixed attitudes amongst musicians towards traditional patronage relationships. As Rohr says: 'Shifting social and economic conditions combined with foreign competition made the patronage system extremely complex.'<sup>18</sup> Rohr's chapter on 'Patronage' describes the different sources of patronage and their evolving role and importance during this period, and the implications of each type of patronage relationship for musicians' social and professional status. While there were more potential sources of patronage in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and more opportunities, it could be argued that the musician's position was more precarious, being dependant on his ability to adapt to and manage new social, economic and cultural conditions. This insecurity of musicians' professional and social status in the new climate led many to continue to value aristocratic patronage.

The professional and social status of the musician was therefore affected by the contrasting types of patronage relationships he was working within: his

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<sup>18</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 61.

status might be either a dependent status-by-association in a traditional patronage relationship, or the professional status and respectability of an independent musician.<sup>19</sup>

There was also a need for musicians to maintain a clear understanding of the patron-client relationship: 'Although generally persons of inferior birth and fortune, [musicians] suddenly become objects of public applause, and are called at once in to the presence of rank and affluence, into an intercourse so close and immediate as to implicate a familiarity most dangerous to their habits, unless they are scrupulously guarded by that general self-knowledge, which includes also the knowledge of the relations in which we stand to those who surround us'.<sup>20</sup> Musicians generally preferred the treatment they received from aristocratic patrons to that of the middle class.

### **Summary**

Changes were going on at two levels at least: there was a reduction in direct royal and aristocratic patronage, and at a political/economic level there was a move towards greater independence of the middle classes. The examples of musicians, writers and publishers show that the move from dependency to independency was by no means clear-cut or progressed in a straight line, or that the former was perhaps ever completely superseded. There seems to have been a continuation, overlapping and coexistence of different support systems. Also, it was not necessarily true that aristocratic patronage was always undesirable. The example of Wedgwood shows a redefinition of aristocratic patronage and its desirability.<sup>21</sup> There is perhaps a need to redefine the word patronage in terms of 'influence' and 'support' with corresponding degrees of 'dependence' and 'independence'. There continued to be benefits of the traditional patronage system for both the patron

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>20</sup> 'Letter on the Character of Musicians', in *QMMR* 3 (1818), 288, cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 60–1.

<sup>21</sup> Wedgwood was an example of an entrepreneur who nevertheless valued and used the system of patronage to his own advantage, without being completely dependent on it. See N. McKendrick, J. Brewer and J. H. Plumb, eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society. The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982), 100–145. Royalty and the nobility were still the arbiters of taste and continued to confer prestige. They were the fashion setters, and their influence filtered down through the ranks of society.



and for the musician: it was mutually beneficial and each conferred a certain status by association on the other. Changes in the aristocrat's position in and relationship to society may have resulted in a greater emphasis on indirect patronage of musicians and institutions and philanthropic channels of support.

Rohr claims that the polarisation between personal patronage and market competition is overdrawn. 'Musicians' careers reveal a much more subtle and complex range of personal, professional and financial arrangements than can be subsumed under these categories ... Furthermore the shift from personal patronage to market competition was gradual and musicians combined many different types of patronage throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'<sup>22</sup> The career of Harewood's musician John White is a vindication of this claim.

Raynor too writes: 'Court patronage did not end in the lifetime of Beethoven, as a result of the Napoleonic Wars or for any other reason. From Weber, through Spohr and Wagner to Brahms, Richard Strauss and, as late as 1913, Reger, important composers were in court service. The customary simplification, that the courts were no longer able to support music, is really untenable. The lesser aristocracy lost their power of patronage, the greater did not.'<sup>23</sup>

Aristocratic patronage was therefore still highly influential, the preferences and tastes of individual aristocrats working both for and against the musician. The absence of aristocratic patronage could have a negative impact, for example on a concert series/opera series. As mentioned in relation to the career of Salomon, there was a necessity for the musician to possess both talent and social graces in order to succeed in aristocratic circles.

As can be seen from the Harewood House and Burton Constable case studies, there was still a heavy reliance on direct and indirect aristocratic patronage and connection, which continued well into the nineteenth centuries. Aristocratic patronage continued to be an important and prestigious source of support for both for individuals and musical institutions.

However, it was now both possible and necessary for the musician to look for other sources of income. A wider support network had the benefit of giving the musician a greater degree of independence but his income was more piecemeal. It

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<sup>22</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 40.

<sup>23</sup> H. Raynor, *A Social History of Music*, 351.

entailed a necessity for flexibility and mobility on the part of the musician and underlined the insecurity and vulnerability of the musician trying to make his way.

### ***Patronage versus the struggle for social and professional status***

Rohr argues that patronage systems and foreign competition prevented musicians from gaining control over the market for music. British concert life was extremely fragile and could not be looked upon as a primary source of employment and income.<sup>24</sup> McVeigh asserts that there was nothing inevitable about the development of public concerts and that the evidence suggests that musicians avoided them if they were able.<sup>25</sup> Many saw them as a means of increasing their reputation in order to 'infiltrate the traditional orbit of aristocratic patronage'.<sup>26</sup>

However, a more fundamental problem was that musicians were unlikely to achieve professional status apart from aristocratic influence due to the persistence of cultural beliefs that challenged music's social value and musicians' respectability.<sup>27</sup> Thus, paradoxically, the quest for a form of professional status and independence apart from traditional patronage systems, in some cases, had a negative impact on the careers of musicians. It was association with royal or aristocratic patrons that provided the status that musicians found hard to achieve by other means.<sup>28</sup> For example, concert series initiated and run by professional musicians provided opportunities for professional patronage and employment. However, though under professional direction, they were often still dependent upon aristocratic patrons. Consequently they declined in the 1790s when aristocratic patrons returned to promoting private concerts.

In the 1820s, success in musical careers was still determined by musicians'

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<sup>24</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 11.

<sup>25</sup> McVeigh relates that Francesco Geminiani promoted one major concert series in 1731–2 and a few concerts in Dublin and London but, according to Burney, he was 'seldom heard in public during his long residence in England. His compositions, scholars, and the presents he received from the great, whenever he could be prevailed upon to play at their houses, were his chief support'. F. Mercer, ed., *A General History of Music*, 2 vols (1935), 2, 992, cited in McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 9–10.

<sup>26</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 15–21. In her conclusion, Rohr identifies the long-standing association of music with femininity as being the most undermining cultural perception of this period, 180.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

ability to obtain patronage, often from individuals whose musical choices sometimes depended on social as much as musical criteria.<sup>29</sup> As in the literary sphere, musicians had to contend with the problem of declining tastes and levels of education among patrons, another frustration of the patronage system. This again fuelled the tension of simultaneous dependence on traditional patronage and the desire to resist it. Another area of contention was how far commercial factors were allowed to drive the organisation of concert series. McVeigh asserts that the naked pursuit of commercialism would 'seriously have damaged both a musician's reputation and his standing with patrons'.<sup>30</sup>

John Ella's concert series, the Musical Union, relied on the social and professional status of a few elite musicians and cultivated patrons. According to Rohr, it was successful for several reasons: 'First it welcomed wealthy, preferably aristocratic patrons as fellow connoisseurs of fine music. Second it rejected public audiences and public taste by aiming for a small, dedicated audience who would listen to less familiar, less accessible chamber music. And finally, it buttressed these policies by inviting only the most able and best-known performers,' including foreign musicians.<sup>31</sup> However, these concerts were successful only for a few elite musicians and failed to solve fundamental problems.

Ironically, by 1843 some musicians were vociferously advocating a return to aristocratic patronage, as can be seen in H. J. Banister's *Domestic Music for the Wealthy; or, A Plea for the Art and its Professors*.<sup>32</sup> Along with this went a recognition of the need to overcome problems of low social status and lack of social graces:

An hour each evening is appropriated to the professor's performance. He enters, and mixes unconstrainedly with a circle of which, by adoption, he has become a member. He has had the sense, since the establishment of his connection

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 169.

<sup>30</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 10. See also J. Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts?: Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester, and Newcastle, 1730–1799* (1996).

<sup>31</sup> McVeigh, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, 176.

<sup>32</sup> H. J. Banister, *Domestic Music for the Wealthy; or, A Plea for the Art and its Professors*, in *Eighteen Letters* (1843), cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 173–4.

with the family, to improve his general attainments by diligent self culture; for, being a man of sensibility, a consciousness of inferiority had originally made him sad, uneasy and awkward. That day is departed; he has won general esteem by his good conduct and understanding; and, for his professional attainments and services, is looked up to as a patient instructor, the skilful illustrator, and the source of continual gratification to all.<sup>33</sup>

This extract displays a continued dependence on an anachronistic and idealised personal patronage relationship and the persistence of social over professional aspirations. During the eighteenth and into the first half of the nineteenth centuries, the music profession continued to be beset by problems relating to the lack of definition of the social and professional status of the musician.

### **Female accomplishment and the gentleman amateur**

This thesis has highlighted the musical education, practices and interests of Georgiana, the 6<sup>th</sup> Countess of Carlisle's life, revealing that in some instances, sufficient documentary evidence exists to make it possible to construct a picture, however incomplete, of the role and place that music occupied in an elite woman's life at this period. This may also be said, to a lesser extent, of the women of the other families under consideration. Studies of elite women in other houses currently under investigation by other researchers will reveal different variants, for example at Tatton Park and Killerton.

Likewise, received wisdom from courtesy literature regarding the appropriateness of music-making for aristocratic men is challenged both in this investigation (especially in the chapters on patronage and music rooms) and in the work of others, for example Wendy Hancock's research into Lord Curzon's music collection at Kedleston Hall. The question of male aristocrats and music is the

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<sup>33</sup> H. J. Banister, *Domestic Music for the Wealthy*, 27–28, cited in Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians*, 174.

subject of Southampton student Sheila Thomas's PhD research.

From this study it may be seen that while, superficially, many elite men's and women's lives appear to have conformed to the prescribed practice of the time, the intertwining of theory with the lives of individuals presents a unique picture in each case. A further question could be asked: instead of demonstrating conformity to social expectation, to what extent did the musical education and life of an elite woman such as Georgiana and her family provide a model for contemporary theorists and other upper-class families?

## **Music collections**

In this thesis I have focused on the collections of bound printed and manuscript music at Harewood House and Castle Howard dating from between the 1790s to 1850. The musical instruments currently in the houses have not been investigated in depth. The Yorkshire houses Temple Newsam, Nostell Priory and (the former) Kirkstall Abbey have individual songs or manuscript books in their archives that belonged to various family members. There is a substantial music collection at Burton Constable Hall, which was brought to the house in 1821.

It has also been noted that PhD students at Southampton have been investigating aspects of the music collections at National Trust Houses Killerton and Tatton Park. The catalogue of music belonging to Jane Austen has also been a useful comparative resource. Collections in other houses have been researched by others: Kedleston Hall, Boughton House, Knole, Wimpole Hall, and Laurence Sterne's Shandy Hall. Together a bank of evidence is being built up, which will facilitate a more extensive discussion of the similarities and differences between individual collections.

Although I have only been able to study two collections in depth, I have endeavoured to demonstrate both the shared cultural and social context they are set within and linked to, and the individual character and story of each. It does not seem possible to assert that the collections reflect any regional influences, apart from the fact that some music was purchased in York; though even the music of local composer Philip Knapton was sold in London. All of the music in the collections could have been purchased in London or another European centre. It is possible that the music of Avison and Garth was better known or more frequently performed in the north-east, although we know that both performed in London too

and Avison's was obviously well known to the 'ancient music' school of thought. Personal connection as opposed to geographical influence seemed to play a large part in the inclusion of certain composers and pieces of music in Georgiana's collection.

## **Music Rooms**

In the context of this thesis it has been possible to reflect more widely on the question of music rooms and spaces for music-making in country houses during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The studies of Yorkshire houses have highlighted the different locations each favoured for the performance of music at different periods of their histories. As has become evident, each history is unique and the ways in which music rooms and spaces for 'musicking' were perceived were varied and complex. One aspect that has not been properly considered is the question of acoustics and the bearing that had on the choice of space. Although this question was considered in the studies of the early modern French and Italian music rooms, I have not found references to 'acoustics' in the houses I have been studying, or in relation to any other British house. However, it may be imagined that the large country-house galleries and halls would have been greatly appreciated for their resonance and the sounds that could be produced where wooden and stone surfaces were predominant. The subject of where music was stored has not been explored in depth either.

More generally, with regards to the impetus to create designated music rooms in country houses in the mid- to late eighteenth century, I suggest that there were a variety of factors and influences at work which may be listed as follows:

1. Music rooms as a reflection of 'taste', connoisseurship and status.
2. Influence of French architectural taste, most clearly seen in the design and decoration of the Musick Room at Norfolk House.
3. Influence of sociability and the need to provide a sequence of rooms for the entertainment of guests.
4. The return to private concerts and the need for a space to stage them, especially in London.

5. The taste and interests of individual owners, whether they had a particular passion for music or wanted their home to be known as a Temple of the Arts, and whether they wished to be known as a connoisseur of the arts.
6. The interests and influence of particular architects such as Adam, and possibly James Paine and James Arthenian Stuart.
7. The enthusiasm for Handel's music that swept the country in the eighteenth century, particularly amongst aristocrats, combined with the status and taste associated with 'old music' and with the Society of Ancient Music. This was perhaps materially expressed in a new vogue for organs, which became a kind of status symbol, and thus in a room in which to accommodate them. It is also conceivable that whereas an aristocratic household might previously have been able to maintain its own private orchestra, now the acquisition of an organ, replacing the need for an orchestra, and the creation of a room for the performance of music, were the alternative means by which a nobleman manifested the status and taste associated with music.
8. The relationship between a defined space for music as an element of interior design and new concepts of 'elite domesticity'.<sup>34</sup>
9. Influence of women and feminine accomplishments on the design and creation of music rooms: compare Lady Hertford's Chinese Drawing Room at Temple Newsam to the strongly masculine Adam interiors built as settings for organs. Although it is tempting to classify these latter interiors as overtly masculine, it is noteworthy that the Music Room at Home House belonging to Lady Home was built around a magnificent organ designed by Adam. Likewise, Elizabeth Countess of Hume's house in Portman Square was built according to neo-classical principles and was equipped with a chamber organ.<sup>35</sup>
10. The differences between London and country life: it is arguable that a fashion for music rooms might have taken root more easily in London in the

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<sup>34</sup> Brooks asserts that 'Tatton Park's design emphasizes a form of elite domesticity, increasingly privileged in the early-nineteenth century, in which the concepts of enduring knowledge and beauty were attached to notions of modern comfort and daily life.' Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House', 534.

<sup>35</sup> Murdoch, 'Music Rooms in Great London Houses', unpublished paper.

building of new town houses and where there was a demand for private concerts than in the country where perhaps established houses were more difficult to adapt and the need was less pressing.

11. The practice of visiting and viewing houses in the eighteenth century made possible the circulation of architectural and interior design ideas, especially as many were reproduced in printed catalogues.

It is easy to imagine that the trend for private concerts could provide a stimulus to constructing music rooms. However, although we know of a few such rooms built in London houses such as Lansdowne House, 20 St James' Square (the home of Sir Watkin Williams Wynn), Home House by Adam, and Spencer House by James Athenian Stuart, we do not have evidence enough to be able to attribute the increase solely or mainly to the demands of private concerts. It is conceivable that such events could have taken place in saloons or drawing rooms. It is also arguable that the aspect of the fashion for music rooms which was imported from France, as Tessa Murdoch has discussed in relation to Norfolk House, had nothing to do with the impulse to hold private concerts, as there is no evidence of actual musical activity in the Music Room at Norfolk House. It is also significant that three of the London houses with Music Rooms listed above were designed by the same architect: Robert Adam. Perhaps it was he who took the 'fashion' for music rooms to country houses in the provinces? Also it should be remembered that, while music rooms became more fashionable after the mid-eighteenth century, many houses did not have designated rooms for music and it is significant that not all Adam houses had music rooms.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis has demonstrated that the case-studies and themes discussed reflect both general trends in how music was employed in Yorkshire country houses at the end of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, and the individual approaches that characterised each house and its owners. Thus, although it has not been possible within the limitations of this interrogation to draw a definitive overall picture of music-making in elite households in Yorkshire



or more widely during this period, the study contributes substantially to a new and growing field of academic knowledge.



# Appendix 1: The Castle Howard Collection

## *J18/77 – Music Manuscripts*

### *Album 1: Lady Georgiana Cavendish – [n.d.]*

1. Arpeggio. Per Chitarra Francese, Del Sig. G. Rovedino.
2. 'Alonzo and Imogine'. Song.
3. 'Baletto', 'Surgetto', 'Contra danza'. [Guitar]
4. 'Allamanda per due Chitarre'. Falla da Guiseppe Rovedino, 1799.
5. Minuetti e contradanze.
6. 'The Horseguard's Penelope'. Song.
7. Rondoncino. Per Chitarre del Sig. Guiseppe Rovedino, 1799.
8. Balletto. Composto da Guiseppe Rovedino per Chitarre Francese.
9. Sonata. Per due Chitarre Prima Seconda, 1799.
10. 'Son perfetta Cacciatrice'. Song.
11. 'Lunghi da me che fai'. Song.
12. 'La Imorfiosella'. Song.
13. Arietta del Sig. G. G. Ferrari. Ridotto per Chitarre Francese da Guiseppe Rovedino, 1799. Song.
14. Arpeggio.
15. Arietta del Sig. G. G. Ferrari. Ridotto per Chitarre Francese da Guiseppe Rovedino, 1799. Song.
16. 'Senti Cara Ninetta'. Duetto [for two voices] per Chitarre Messo da Guiseppe Rovedino. Song.
17. 'Sotto al Albero. Che Fioriva'. [Guitar and voice].
18. 'Here's a Health'. Song.
19. 'Je quittait la Montagne'. French Air for Voice and Spanish guitar.
20. 'Crazy Jane'. Song.
21. 'Son Ferito'. Song.
22. 'Io vengo Data Guerra'. [Guitar and voice].
23. 'I have a secret sorrow here'. [Piano Forte, chitarra, bass and voice].
24. 'Quattro et quattro'. Song.

***Album 2: Georgiana Morpeth – [n.d.]***

1. Waltz.
2. Walzt par Musard.
3. La Belle Blanche – La Poule.
4. L'Elizabeth.
5. 'When first you courted me I own ... Donald'. Song.
6. 'Waters of Elle'. Song.
7. 'Panthalon' – 'L'Aretheuse'.
8. 'L'Eté' – 'La Cleopatra'.
9. 'La Galatée' – 'La Poule'.
10. 'La Trénise' – 'l'Hyperion'.
11. 'Finale' – 'L'Imogène'.
12. 'Towtycroit'.
13. A Greek Air.
14. Cashmerian Air.
15. 'La Plaisanterie'.
16. 'Farewell! But whenever you welcome the hour'.
17. 'Lascia ch'io pianga la crude sorte'. Aria by Handel.

*Upside down at back of book:*

- Octave Chant.  
Grand Chant single.  
'La Jocunde' (pasturella).

***Album 3: Georgiana Carlisle – Sept 29<sup>th</sup> 1826***

1. Chants and psalms.
2. 'Te Deum'.
3. 'O be Joyful'.
4. 'La Magushma'.
5. The Dirge in 'Guy Mannering'.
6. 'Preghiera in Otello' – Desdemona (extract).
7. Waltz by Beethoven.
8. 'Roland the Brave'.
9. Walzt by Weber.
10. Quadrille sur la 'Dame Blanche'.
11. Dances: 'La Durnie', 'La Holstein', 'La Poule'.

12. Quadrille Favouri de la 'Dame Blanche' – 'Le Menestral'.
13. Quadrille No. 1. 'Le Nouveau Seigneur Pantalon'.
14. Quadrille No. 2. 'La Georges Ete'.
15. Quadrille No. 3. 'Cette Train si jolie'.
16. Quadrille No. 4. L'Overture Pastourelle'.
17. Quadrille No. 5. 'Les Montagnard Finale'. P. Chapezhuit.
18. Gallop.
19. 'There be none of Beauty's Daughters'. Song.
20. 'La Muette de Portici'.
21. 'The Son of God is gone to War'. [Possibly composed by Georgiana?]
22. Lochart. Ancient Spanish Ballads. 'Rise up, rise up Zarife'.
23. 'Beth Gelent'. W. Spencer. [Ten verses].

## ***J18/77/4 – Printed Music***

### ***Volume 1***

1. Six Venetian Airs (7–12)  
 Arranged as Duettos (or for a single voice). With original poetry. Adapted with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte.  
 London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
  - i) Air 7 'Senti Cara Ninetta'.
  - ii) Air 8 'Cangia Quel Tuo rigore'.
  - iii) Air 9 'Irene Dove Irene'.
  - iv) Air 10 'Senza Costrutto o caro'.
  - v) Air 11 'Misera son Tradita'.
  - vi) Air 12 'L'Amor che sento Dentro delpetto'.
2. Six Duettos, for two voices, or a single one (ad libitum) with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by G. Bianchi. Words by Mestatasio.  
 London. Printed by the author. [n.d.]
3. The Favorite Trio 'Ah se re se giusto sei' ... in the opera of 'Ines de Castro' by F. Bianchi and the favorite Song 'Io parto ti lascio' ... in the same opera. London.  
 Printed for the author by Mr. Broderip's & Co. [1799]
4. 'Che a parti mi vuoi crudele'. A favorite Song in the second act in the opera of 'Elfrida' by G. Paisiello. London. Rt Birchall. [1798]
5. 'Solitarie Amiche Pianti'. A Duett in the comic opera of 'La Scuola de Maritati' by G. Ferrari. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1800]

6. 'Guisto Ciel'. The favorite Duet ... in the serious opera of 'Merope' by F. Bianchi. London. L. Lavenu. [1797]
7. The Songs, Duets etc in the favorite opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi. Bk. II. London. G. Goulding. [c.1800]
8. 'Ah Voi Numi'. A favorite Duett ... in the serious opera of 'Antigona' by F. Bianchi. London. L. Lavenu. [1796]
9. 'Deh non Ferite, oh Dei'. The favorite Trio ... in the serious opera of 'Merope' by F. Bianchi. London. L. Lavenu. [1799]
10. The favorite Air 'Comely swain why sit'st thou so', sung in the comic opera of 'Cymon' by J. Playford. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
11. 'Hapless Primrose'. A favorite Ballad sung by Master Welsh in the musical drama of 'The Smugglers' by T. Attwood. [London]. Longman & Broderip. [1796?]
12. 'Address to Contentment' from Lady Manner's Poems. Set to music and respectfully inscribed to the R. H. Lady Mary Taylor by W. Dance, Musician in Ordinary to His Majesty. London. Printed by L. Lavenu for the author. [1798]
13. 'The celebrated Death Song of the Cherokee Indians'. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
14. 'Juvenile Improvement'. No. 1 Arithmetic. Multiplication table set to music by J. W. Callcott. [London]. [Printed for the author]. 1797.
15. 'Durandarte and Belerma', A pathetic Scotch Ballad with an Accompaniment for the Harp by F. H. Barthelemon. London. Longman & Broderip. [1797]

## **Volume 2**

1. Journal d'Ariètes, Scènes et Duos traduits, imités ou parodies de l'Italien par D. C. Amateur dédiés à S. A. R. Monseigneur Le Comte D'Artois. No 69. Duo del N. Piccinni. A Paris. Chez Mr de Roullède. [n.d.]
- 2–11. Feuille de Terpsichore 'Air de Lisbeth'. Musique de F. A. van Hulst Grétry. Accompagnement par Gros. 13e Année, No. 23. A Paris. Chez Cousineau. [n.d.]
12. Romances avec Accompagnement de Forte-Piano ou Harpe mises en musique par Mlle de Rey dédiées à Mr Garat. Oeuvre 3e. A Paris. Chez l'auteur. [n.d.]
  - i) 'Romance'.
  - ii) 'Le Voile Chanson'.
  - iii) 'Romance'.

13. Six Romances avec Accompagnement de Forte-Piano paroles de divers Auteurs. Mises en musique par H. Domnich. Oeuvre 1er. A Paris. Chez les frères Gaveaux. [1800?]
14. Romances avec Accompagnement de Forte-Piano ou Harpe mises en musique par Mlle le Rey dédiées à H. F. M. Langle. Oeuvre 2e. A Paris. Chez l'auteur. [n.d.]
  - i) 'Romance'.
  - ii) 'Chanson'.
  - iii) 'La Simplicité Amoureuse'.
15. Three French songs with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte. [M. A. Champignelles] [n.d.]
  - i) 'Pour chasser de sa souvenance'.
  - ii) 'Pour moi l'amour n'a plus d'ailes'.
  - iii) 'Ah Lisette es tu folle de me laisser mourir'.
16. Huit Romances nouvelles avec Accompagnement de Forte Piano formant deux suites par A. Boieldieu dédiées à son ami Longschamps auteur des paroles de la première suite. 2em suite. A Paris. Chez Le Duc. [1810]
  - i) 'Romance'.
  - ii) 'Soldat qui gardes ces creneaux'.
  - iii) 'Charmant objet dont la tendresse a si longtemps'.
  - iv) 'Ai trop caché le feu qui me dévore'. Romance en Duo.
17. Ve Recueil de six Romances avec Accompagnement de Forte Piano composées par A. Boieldieu. A Paris. Chez Le Duc. [n.d.]
  - i) Ie Romance 'Desirs brulans volupté pure besoin d'amour'.
  - ii) Iie Romance 'Mais Réponds moi méchante'.
  - iii) IIie Romance 'Ah que je sois heureux d'être aimé'.
  - iv) IVe Romance 'Petits oiseaux le printemps vient'.
  - v) Ve Romance 'Unique objet de ma tendresse'.
  - vi) VIe Romance ' Dans ces affreux desserts ou le profound'.
18. VIe Recueil de six Romances paroles de divers auteurs mises en musique par A. Boieldieu dédiées à son amie. A Paris. Chez le Duc. [n.d.]
  - i) 1re Romance 'Quand aux genoux de l'aimable minette'.
  - ii) 2me Romance 'Charmants oiseaux, charmantes tourterelles'.
  - iii) 3me Romance 'Loin de toi cher objet que j'adore'.
  - iv) 4me Romance 'On tente peu quand l'amour est extrême'.
  - v) 5me Romance 'Je l'ai perdue hélas ma Felicie'.
  - vi) 6me Romance 'Zelmire a trahi ma tendresse'.

19. VIIIe Recueil de Romances avec Accompagnement de Forte Piano dédiées à Mde de Castres par A. Boieldieu. A Paris. Chez Le Duc. [n.d.]
  - i) Ire Romance 'Tant doux plaisir que j'ai perdu'.
  - ii) Iie Romance 'Ce lieu n'est il donc plus le même'.
  - iii) IIIe Romance 'Les Plaintes d'Ariane'.
  - iv) IVe Romance 'C'en est donc fait, je te rend les armes'.
20. Nouvelles Romances avec Accompagnement de Forte Piano ou Harpe. Par A. Boieldieu. A Paris. Chez Le Duc. [n.d.]
  - i) 1re Romance 'O mon amante ma Zélie c'en est fait'.
  - ii) 2me Romance 'Cruels regrets qui tourmentent ma vie'.
  - iii) 3me Romance 'Veux tu dans l'hiver de la vie trouver'.
  - iv) 4me Romance 'Fuyez, fuyez de mon âme attendrie'.

### **Volume 3**

1. 'Non vi chiedo eterni Dei'. A favorite Song ... in the opera of 'Ines de Castro' by F. Bianchi. London. L. Lavenu. [1797?]
2. The Favorite Prayer 'Grand Dio, Che Regoli' ... in the opera of 'Ines de Castro' and the Favorite Duett 'Togliti agli occhi miei' ... in the same opera by F. Bianchi. London. L. Lavenu. [1799]
3. The Favorite Duett 'E non Giunge ca me non vola' ... in the opera of 'Ines de Castro' by F. Bianchi. London. L. Lavenu. [c.1799]
4. Duetto 'La Cidarem la Mano' in the opera of 'Il Don Giovanni' by W. A. Mozart. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
5. 'Vieni o sonno'. A Favorite Terzetto ... in the intermezzo of 'Li Due Svizzeri' composed and adapted with a Piano Forte Accompaniment by G. G. Ferrari. London. Printed for the author. [c.1799]
6. 'Viva le belle Giovani'. A favorite Song in the intermezzo of 'Li Due Svizzeri' by G. G. Ferrari. London. Printed for the author. [1799]
7. 'Tristarella tu non m'intendi'. A Duett in the intermezzo of 'Li Due Svizzeri' ... by G. G. Ferrari. London. Printed for the author. [1799]
8. Six Italian Canzonets with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp composed at Rome in the year 1797 by [A]. Baldini. London. Cianchettini. [1800?]
9. 'Catch' by [?]. Steventon. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
10. 'The Evening of the Chase'. A Glee for three Voices. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
11. 'Mark with what Grace the Rose Tree shews'. The poetry written and the melody composed by J. Rannie. London. Longman & Broderip. [1795?]



12. 'A Shepherd once had lost his Love'. A favorite Song ... in the opera of 'The Cherokee'. Music by S. Storace. London. J. Dale. [1795]
13. 'There preys within this constant Breast.' A new Song written by R. Ridley with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte and Harp composed and dedicated to Miss Dalton by Signora [?] Cianchettini. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [c.1800]
14. 'Crazy Jane!' A favorite Ballad set to music by H. Abrams with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte, words by G. Lewis. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
15. 'Perhaps it is not Love'. A favorite Ballad written by Shenston. 'Set to music by Mr Charles Wesley never before published'. London. Printed for the author. [c.1790]
16. 'Chief of the Windy Morven'. A Glee from Ossian for two Trebles and a Bass with an Accompaniment for two Performers on one Piano Forte by J. W. Callcott. London. Printed for the author. May 11 1799.
17. 'Adeste Fideles'. The favorite Portugueze Hymn on the Nativity with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte. London. Rt Birchall. [1799]
18. 'The Sicilian Mariner's Hymn' for two Voices and Forte Piano. [n.p.] [n.d.]
19. 'Durandarte and Bellerma'. A pathetic Scotch Ballad with an Accompaniment for the Harp by F. H. Barthelemon. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [1800?]
20. The Song 'To Welcome Mirth and Harmless Glee'. The Favorite Duett in the opera of 'The Stranger' composed by T. Shaw. London. Longman & Broderip. [1798]
21. 'While the Moonbeams all bright' written by J. Rannie. Music by J. Ross, organist of St Paul's, Aberdeen. London. Printed for the author by Longman & Broderip.
22. 'O Strew the Sweet Flower' as altered from the Old Scottish Ballad by J. Rannie. Composed by J. Ross. London. Printed for the author by Longman, Clementi & Co. [1797?]
23. A Collection of Canzonets and an Elegy with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp composed by W. Shield. London. Printed for the author by Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
  - i) 'Ye balmy Breezes gently blow' poetry by J. Rannie, music by Skarrat.
  - ii) 'When every Charm of Life is fled' poetry from Mr Pratt's gleanings.
  - iii) 'Hope and Love' poetry by W. Pearce.
  - iv) 'T'is only no Harm to know it you know' poetry by J. O'Keefe.
  - v) 'When Evening spreads her modest Grey' poetry by J. Taylor.
  - vi) 'How canst thou smile at my Despair' poetry from the 'Pindariana'.
  - vii) 'The poor Flower Girl' poetry by Mr Holcroft.
  - viii) 'Graceful, wise and fair' poetry by D. Swift.
  - ix) 'Gentle Mary of the Tweed' poetry by J. Rannie.
  - x) 'The old Shepherd and his Dog' poetry from the 'Pindariana'.

- xi) 'Shakespeare's Love's Lost'. An Elegy sung at the tomb of a young virgin.
- 24. Page of manuscript:
  - i) Modo di stepeggiure a: 4= [?]
  - ii) Minuetto
- 25. Two pages of manuscript: 'I have a secret sorrow here'. [For voice, piano forte, chitarra, basso]
- 26. Two pages of manuscript: 'Thy fatal Shafts unerring move' with an Accompaniment for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte. [A Favorite Air sung at Vauxhall] J. Oswald [1757]? or P. Hayes [1792]
- 27. Two pages of manuscript: 'La Smor Fiosella'. [voice and piano forte]
- 28. Two pages of manuscript: 'Scots Air with variations' by G. G. Ferrari. From the opera of 'The Joyfull Widower'.

#### **Volume 4**

1. Rondo, Canzonetta and Duetto with the Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by Chevalier de Montlivault. London. Printed for the author. [1796?]
  - i) 'Se tu m'ami'.
  - ii) 'Perche mei ben mio perche quando fon vicino a te'.
2. Duetto. 'Tutto da voi dipende'. Con Chitarra Francese, e Basso. Del D. G. Paisello. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [1790s?]
3. Duetto serio. 'Credi la mia ferita' con recitativo 'Nell' Efrida' del D. G. Paisiello. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [1792?]
4. Tre Sonate per Cembalo, o Piano Forte, con Violino o Flauto obbligato. Composte e dedicate a sua eccellenza La Sigra D Maria Caracciolo de G. M. Zucchinetti. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [1790?]
5. Violino, o Flauto obbligato [parts for violin or flute]. Tre Sonate per Cembalo, o Piano Forte, con Violino o Flauto obbligato del G. M. Zucchinetti. [In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi?]
6. Sinfonia 'Nel Matrimonio Segreto' del D. Cimarosa. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [1795?]
7. Sinfonia 'Nina, Pazza per Amore' per Cembalo, o Piano Forte, con Violino del D. G. Paisiello. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [1790s?]
8. Sinfonia del Roland per Cembalo, o Piano Forte con Violino a piacere del D. N. Piccinni. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [n.d.]
9. Sei Rondo. Per Cembalo, o Piano Forte del I. Pleyel. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [n.d.]

10. Sonate à 4 mains pour le Forte Piano par I. Pleyel. A Vienne. Chez Hoffmeister. [n.d.]
11. Tre Sonate per Cembalo o Piano Forte del I. Pleyel. Opera A. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [n.d.]
12. Fantasia in Rondo per Cembalo o Piano Forte del M. Jarnovick. In Napoli. Presso Luigi Mareschalchi. [n.d.]
13. XII Variationi per il Forte-Piano composti, e dedicati all Signore W. A. Mozart ... per G. Lipawsky. Opera 1. A Vienne. Chez Hoffmeister. [n.d.]
14. Trois Sonates pour le Forte Piano et Violon composés par M. J. Freystaedtler. A Vienne. Chez Hoffmeister. [n.d.]
15. III Sonates pour le Forte Piano ou Clavecin composées par F. A. Hoffmeister. Oeuvre 7. A Vienne. Chez Hoffmeister. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 5***

1. The Grand Military Concerto for the Piano-Forte with Accompaniment (ad libitum) for Violins, Viola, Oboe, Flutes, Clarinetts, Horns and a Bass ... composed and dedicated to Miss Beauchamp by J. L. Dussek. Op. 40. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [WM 1798]
2. Dussek's Grand Concerto composed for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniment for two Violins, two Flutes, two French Horns, Tenor and Bass. Dedicated to Miss Cornelia Collins by the author. I. L. Dussek. Op. 22. London. Printed for the author. [WM 1802]
3. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by J. Haydn. Op. 41. London. J. Bland. [n.d.]
4. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with or without the additional keys. And an Accompaniment for a Violin or Flute in which are introduced Favorite German Airs, composed and dedicated to Miss Charlotte Wrottesley by J. L. Hoberecht. Op. XI. London. Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine. [n.d.]
5. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Bass ad libitum. In which are introduced the Airs of 'Thou soft flowing Avon' – a Favorite German Waltz, and 'Wind gentle Evergreen'. Composed and dedicated to Miss Welch by J. B. Cramer. Op. XVIII. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
6. Air with Variations for the Piano Forte by W. A. Mozart. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [1798]
7. Air avec Variations pour le Piano Forte à quatres mains composé par W. A. Mozart. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [1798]

8. Three Sonatas for the Harp or Piano Forte and an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin, and two French Horns ad libitum (in which are introduced favorite Airs) composed and dedicated to the Miss Rigges by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 30. London. Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine. [WM 1802]
9. 'Adieu' – a favorite Duet composed by M. Kelly as sung in 'Lionelle and Clarissa' arranged for the Piano Forte by I. L. Dussek. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 6 (parts for Violino)***

1. Trois Sonates pour le Piano Forte avec Accompagnement de Violon & Violoncelle composées et dédiées à Madame Schroeter par J. Haydn. Op. 73. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1805]
2. Trois Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte avec Accompagnement d'un Violon et Violoncelle obligés composés par J. K. Sterkel. Op. 30. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
3. Trois Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte avec Accompagnement d'un Violon et Violoncelle obligés par J. F. Sterkel. Op. 32. London. Printed by Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
4. Manuscript: 'Ferrari's 4 sonatas' [part for violino]
5. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin composed and respectfully dedicated to Miss Eyre of Grove Nottinghamshire by L. Hoberecht. Op. 8. London. Printed for the author by Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
6. Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello in which are introduced for the subjects of the adagios and last movements, select Scotch Airs and favorite pieces composed by I. Pleyel. London. J. Dale. [1794–98]
7. Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte with or without the additional keys and an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin composed by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 18. London. G. Goulding. [Between 1787 and 1798]
8. Three Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello dedicated to I. Pleyel composed by H. G. Lentz. Second set. Op. 9. London. Printed for and sold by the author. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 7***

1. Six Italian Ariettes with Accompaniment for Piano Forte composed and dedicated to Miss Caroline de St. Jules by G. G. Ferrari. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]

- i) 'Invocazione a Morfeo'.
  - ii) 'La Colera'.
  - iii) 'L'Ingenua'.
  - iv) 'Le Donne Discrete'.
  - v) 'L'Indiferente'.
  - vi) 'L'Enimma'.
2. The Songs, Duetts etc. in the favorite opera 'La Bella Arsene' composed by J. Mazzinghi. Book 1. London. G. Goulding. [1795]
    - i) The Favorite Overture.
    - ii) 'No Il Mio Core Troppo Fier' in 'La Bella Arsene' by [?]. Monceni.
    - iii) 'Nel Sguardi Ritrosi' in 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi.
    - iv) 'Parmi Omai Nel Ciel Regnar'.
    - v) 'Liberta Desio Dell'Alma' in 'La Bella Arsene' by [?]. Monceni and J. Mazzinghi.
  3. The Songs, Duetts etc. in the favorite opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi. Book 2. London. G. Goulding. [1795]
    - i) 'Nel Ben Sen Del Mio Tesoro' in 'La Bella Arsene' by Rosselli.
    - ii) 'Scena ed Aria' by J. Mazzinghi.
    - iii) 'A spasso il tristo umor' by [?]. Monceni.
    - iv) 'Ascoltate Quel chio son' by J. Mazzinghi.
    - v) 'Sa Verrete Colle Buone' by J. Mazzinghi.
    - vi) 'Come Puo Quel Tuo Bal Core' by J. Mazzinghi.
  4. 'Marche des Nouveaux Alcides'. 'Par l'auteur de la Romance France autrefois si fortunée' dédiée à la Nation Anglaise. [n.d.]
  5. Romance dédiée à la Nation Anglaise par le Chr. De Royer. London. Se trouve chez l'auteur. [n.d.]
  6. 'Une petite fillette. Chanson des deux Savoyards' [by N. Dalayrac] with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp. London. Dale's Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
  7. 'L'Amour est un Enfant Trompeur' for the Piano Forte or Harp. London. Dale's Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
  8. 'Come my Bonny Love'. A Duet with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte [by E. S. Biggs]. London. Rt Birchall. [1794]
  9. Manuscript: 'Poor Mary' for Violino primo and secondo, cembalo and voice.
  10. Song by M. Arne (title cut off) 'Oh Nelly na longer thy sawny now mourn' (first line), with accompaniments for two German flutes, Violins or Guittars. [n.d.]
  11. 'The Negro Boy, who was sold by an African Prince for a metal watch' by E. Miller. London. J. Dale. [n.d.]

12. 'An Adieu to the Rocks of Lanrow'. Written by Miss Seward and set to music by W. Hayes. London. Messrs. Thompsons. [1792]
13. 'La Carmagnole'. A popular French air with an accompaniment for the Piano Forte London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1795]
14. 'Nina'. A favorite French Song [by N. Dalayrac] adapted with Accompaniments for the Harp or Harpsichord by E. Jones. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787]
15. Duetto 'Vive Alina Sol Per te' in 'La Regina di Golconda' by V. Rauzzini. London. [1784]
16. 'Io Parto Mio Bene' in the opera of 'I Due Gobbi' by F. X. Sussmayer. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1796]
17. 'L'er vivere contento' in the opera of 'I Due Gobbi' by F. X. Sussmayer. London. Mr Viganoni by T. Skillern. [1796]
18. 'Il Riso – A Canone' in the opera of 'La Scuola dei Maritati' by V. Martin y Soler. London. Printed for the author. [1795]
19. 'Donne Donne' in the opera of 'I Contadini Bizzari' by C. Pozzi. London. Printed for the author. [1794]
20. 'Con un Moio' in 'Gli Schiavi per amore' by B. Mengozzi. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787]
21. 'Amare Tacere' in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per amore' by B. Mengozzi. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787?]
22. 'Donne Donne chi'oi crede' in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per amore' by B. Mengozzi. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787]
23. 'Dove ridotto a fono' in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per amore' by G. Paesiello. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787]
24. 'Piche Cornacchie e nottole' in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per amore' by G. Paesiello. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787]
25. 'Chi mi mostra' in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per amore' by G. Paesiello. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787]

### **Volume 8**

1. A Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello by A. Gyronvetz. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
2. Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord in which are introduced, for the subjects of the adagios and last movements, select Scottish Airs with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello by I. Pleyel. London. Preston & Son. [WM 1796, 95]

3. Krumpholtz Favorite Harp Concerto adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano-forte by J. L. Dussek. J. B. Krumpfholz. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1790]
4. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with or without the additional keys and an Accompaniment for a Violin or Flute composed and humbly inscribed to Her Serene Highness the Margravine of Anspach by J. Mazzinghi. Op. XVI. London. G. Goulding. [c.1800]
5. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum composed and dedicated to Lady Georgiana Cavendish by G. G. Ferrari. Op. XV. London. Preston & Son. [1796]
6. Thema with six Variations for the Piano Forte by G. G. Ferrari. Op. XVI. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
7. Haydn's Quartetto Op. 72 ... arranged as a Sonata for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for Violin and Bass, ad libitum ... dedicated to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales by J. L. Dussek. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1800?]
8. The Favorite Grand Piece called 'The Battle' adapted for the Piano Forte by the author with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello ad libitum by I. Raimondi. London. Printed for the author. [1791]
9. Minuetto con XII Variazioni per il Piano Forte con Accompagnamento d'un Violino by I. Pleyel. London. Printed by Mr Harington. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 9***

1. Ist Duett for a Piano Forte and Harp or two Piano Fortes composed and dedicated to Miss Laura and Lavinia Breton by G. G. Ferrari. Op. XIII. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. V. Martin y Soler's Grand Overture to 'Henry the Fourth' adapted for Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin. J. P. A. Martini. London. Rt Birchall. [WM 1813]
3. Overture de 'Blaise et Babet'. [By N. Dezede]. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [1800]
4. Overture de l'opera de 'Panurge' par A. E. M. Gretry arrangée pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte par Mr Holland. London. Birchall & Andrews. [n.d.]
5. Trois Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte avec Accompagnement d'un Violon et Violoncelle obligés composées par J. F. Sterkel. Op. 30. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
6. Four Sonatinas for the Pedal Harp. The three first with an Accompaniment for the Violin the last with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte ad libitum composed

- and dedicated to Miss Duncombe by G. G. Ferrari. Op.16. London. Lewis, Houston & Hyde. [1795?]
7. Trois Sonates pour le Piano Forte composées et dédiées à Madame la Comtesse Pauline de Meternich par G. G. Ferrari. Op. X. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
  8. Trois Sonates et six Ballets pour le Piano Forte composées et dédiées à M. Clement Cobelli par G. G. Ferrari. Op. XII. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
  9. Three new Marches composed by K. Kambra. London. Printed for the author. [c.1793?]
  10. A New German Waltz for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Variations by K. Kambra. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
  11. Six Duetts for two Voices with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by B. Asioli dedicated to H. Highness the Margravine of Brandenburg, Anspach and Bareath. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
  12. Eight English and Italian Canzonetts and Duetts, composed by W. A. Mozart with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte by D. Corri, dedicated to Mrs Campbell, Lady of Lieut. Col. I. Campbell of the Loyal Cheshire Fencibles. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
    - i) Canzonetta 1 – ‘The Inconstant – L’Inconstant’.
    - ii) Canzonetta 2 – ‘Adieu – La Partenza’.
    - iii) Canzonetta 3 – ‘The Flattering Tale – L’Abbandonata’.
    - iv) Canzonetta 4 – ‘The Resolution – La Fuga’.
    - v) Canzonetta 5 – ‘Last Adieu – La Partenza’.
    - vi) Canzonetta 6 – ‘Delusion – L’Incanno’.
    - vii) Canzonetta 7 – ‘Merrily Sung – L’Allegro’.
    - viii) Canzonetta 8 – ‘Fairy Revels – Ilballo delletaete’.
  13. Six Italian Canzonetts with English translations ... with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp. The Italian by Del Ponte, the English by W. R. Lawrence. Composed and dedicated to Miss Miller by V. Martin y Soler. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1795?]
    - i) Canzone 1 – ‘L’Avviso Amorofo – The Lover’s Advice’.
    - ii) Canzone 2 – ‘Il Deliro D’Amore – The Delirium of Love’.
    - iii) Canzone 3 – ‘La Remembranza – The Remembrance’.
    - iv) Canzone 4 – ‘Tirsie Nice – Thrysis and Nice’.
    - v) Canzone 5 – ‘L’Addio – The Farewell’.
    - vi) Canzone 6 – ‘La Capricciosa – The Capricious Fair’.



## **Volume 10**

1. The original music in *Macbeth* as composed by M. Locke arranged from the score and adapted for Piano Forte by B. Jacobs (organist of Surrey Chapel). London. F. Linley. [n.d.]
2. 'Soft Downy Sleep' A much admired Pathetic New Song written by Mr Williamson set to music by J. Worgan. London. Printed for the author by Longman & Broderip. [1797]
3. Christmas Box containing the following bagatelles:
  - i) 'Goosy, Goosy Gander'.
  - ii) 'See Saw Margery Daw'.
  - iii) 'Little Jack Horner'.
  - iv) 'Hey Diddle Diddle'.
  - v) 'How does my Ladie's Garden Grow?'
  - vi) 'Hot Cross Buns'.
  - vii) 'Three Children sliding on the Ice'.
  - viii) 'Hushabye Baby upon the Tree Top'.
  - ix) 'Who comes here, a Grenadier'.
  - x) 'See Saw Saccaradaw'.
  - xi) 'Make a Cake, make a Cake Baker's Man'. Set to music by J. Hook. London. A. Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse. [WM 1800]
4. The Favorite Juvenile Song of 'Heigh Diddle Diddle' by J. Drol. London. Printed and sold for the author by R. Wornum. [1790?]
5. Duo No. 3 'Juvenile Amusement'. [n.p.][n.d.]
6. Trio No. 4 'Pomposo'. [n.p.][n.d.]
7. 'Willy's Rare and Willy's Fair' sung by Mrs Wrighten at Vauxhall [by J. Hook] [London] [1780?]
8. 'The Death of Poor Cock Robin' composed and sung by Master Welsh. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
9. 'No Flow'r that Blows' in the opera of 'Selima and Azor' set by T. Linley. London. Published by authority. [1780]
10. 'And they're a nodding'. A favorite Scots Ballad for two voices. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
11. 'Toll Toll the Knell' a favorite Song in the opera of 'Mahmoud' by S. Storace. London. J. Dale. [1797]
12. 'Haydn's Master and Scholar' adapted for a single Performer on the Piano Forte or Harpsichord. [London. c.1785?]

13. 'Dear Object of each fond Desire'. A Ballad. Written by W. Pearce composed by W. Shield. [Dublin. J. Lee. 1780?]
14. 'Gentle Breezes.' A celebrated Air by [J. C] Bach. [London. n.d.]
15. 'The Fickle Fair.' A Canzonet by T. Giordani. [London. 1760?]
16. 'Myrtilla's Answer.' A favorite Cantata. Composed by J. Stanley. [London. n.d.]
17. 'The Rising Aurora'. Composed by Mr Stephenson of the Cathedral Dublin. [n.p.][n.d.]
18. 'Under the Greenwood Tree'. A favorite Song in 'As you Like It'. The music by T. Arne. [London] [n.d.]
19. 'To Cupid.' The words by a person of quality. The music by A. Scarlatti. [London] [n.d.]
20. 'Mirth Admit Me of Thy Crew'. Words by J. Milton. Music by G. F. Handel. London. Rt. Birchall. c.1805.
21. 'The Tender Adieu'. Adapted to the admired Movement in J. Haydn's favorite Overture. [London] [n.d.]
22. 'Fairest Isle'. A Duet by H. Purcell. [London] [n.d.]
23. 'Happy Hour'. A celebrated French Air. [London] [n.d.]
24. 'O'er Desart Plains'. A celebrated Irish Air. The words by W. Shenstone. [n.p.][n.d.]
25. 'Rural Enjoyment'. A favorite Trio. [London] [n.d.]
26. 'Romance' No. 7. Composed and dedicated to her Grace the Dutchess [Duchess] of Devonshire by F. Giardini. [London] [n.d.]
27. 'The Captive'. A Canzonet written by the H. Bate set to music by W. Shield. With an Accompaniment for a Forte Piano, Harp, or Harpsichord. London. William Napier. [1782]
28. 'Come My Fairest'. [Composer unknown]. [London] [n.d.]
29. 'Colin and Phyllis'. A pastoral Dialogue. [Composer unknown]. London. W. Wheatley. [1760]
30. Duetto from the pastoral Dialogue 'Colin and Phyllis'. London. W. Wheatley. [1760?]
31. 'Duncan and Victory'. Written and composed by C. Dibdin and sung by him in his new Entertainment called 'The Sphinx'. London. Printed and sold by the author. [1797]
32. 'Young Lubin was a Shepherdboy'. A favorite Song by T. Linley. London. S. A. & P. Thompson. [1781]
33. 'No Flow'r that Blows'. Sung by Mrs Baddeley in the opera of 'Selima and Azor' set to music by T. Linley. London. Published by Authority. [c.1780]

34. 'It was Summer. The Banks of the Dee'. A favorite Song. [Words by J. Tait to a tune called 'Langolee']. London. [c.1780?]
35. 'My Sheep I neglected'. A favorite Song set to music by W. Tibbs, Organist of Richmond Surrey. London. Longman & Broderip. [1786?]
36. 'Let not Age'. A favorite Cantata. Sung by Mrs Weichsell at Vauxhall by T. Giordani. London. Maurice Whitaker. [1773]
37. No. 14 Juvenile Amusement. [London. To be had at Dr Arnold's? 1797?]
38. 'Address to Contentment' from Lady Manner's Poems set to music and respectfully inscribed to the Right Honourable Lady Mary Taylor by W. Dance, Musician in Ordinary to His Majesty. London. Printed and sold for the author by L. Lavenu. [1798]
39. 'Tell me thou Soul of her I love.' A Ballad. The words from Thomson's Odes. Music by W. Dance. London. Printed and sold for the author by L. Lavenu. [1798?]
40. 'The Sun that Walks'. A serious Glee. Composed and dedicated to the Hon. Mrs Barrington by J. Lord the Elder. London. Printed and sold for the author by Rt Birchall. [c.1795]
41. Bland's Collection of Divine Music consisting of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems. Words chiefly from Dr Watts. J. Bland. No. 1. London. J. Bland. [c.1795]
  - i) 'Christmas Hymn.' Being the 5th composition by Mr Webbe. Words by Dr Watts. Hymn 136.
  - ii) Psalm XXXIV.
  - iii) Psalm XXIII.
  - iv) 'The God of Abraham praise'.
  - v) 'Jesus and shall it ever be a mortal man ashamed of thee'.
  - vi) 'Lo He comes with clouds descending'.
  - vii) 'My soul before Thee prostrate lies'.
  - viii) 'The spacious Firmament on high.' Words by Dr Addison.
  - ix) Solo composed and sung by Mr Printer at the Chapel of the Foundling Hospital. 'Soon as the Evening shades prevail'. 2<sup>nd</sup> verse reset by F. Linley, Organist of Pentonville Chapel.
42. Bland's Collection of Divine Music consisting of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems. J. Bland. No. 4. London. J. Bland. [c.1795]
  - i) 'A new Hymn for Good Friday' by F. Linley.
  - ii) 'A new Easter Hymn' set by F. Linley.
  - iii) 'Hear my prayer O God' and chorus. Anthem for two voices by J. Kent.
  - iv) 'The Lord my Pasture shall prepare'. Psalm XXIII by Mr Oswell.
  - v) 'To God the only wise, our Saviour, our King'. Hymn LI.

- vi) 'Ye Sons of Adam vain & young'. Hymn LXXXIX.
  - vii) 'Sicilian Mariners' Hymn'. English words by Webbe.
  - viii) 'Lord with united Heart & Voice'. Psalm IX.
43. Bland's Collection of Divine Music consisting of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems. J. Bland. No. 3. London. J. Bland. [c.1795]
- i) 'Guide me O thou great Jehovah'.
  - ii) 'Shine Mighty God on Britain'. Hymn by A. Carr.
  - iii) 'The Glorious Armees of the Sky'. A New Hymn. Words by Mrs Rowe.  
Composed by B. Carr.
44. Bland's Collection of Divine Music consisting of Psalms, Hymns and Anthems. J. Bland. No. 12. London. J. Bland. [c.1795]
- i) 'Anthem for Christmas Day' by J. Peene. Written by J. Heely.
  - ii) 'New Year's Hymns' by F. Linley. Words by T. Dutton.
  - iii) 'Still let me sing'. Christmas Hymn by F. Linley. Words by T. Dutton.
45. Treizième Recueil de 36 Ariettes d'Opera Par année avec premier, second Violon et la Basse Continuo sous le Chant. Bruxelles. Chez Mrs Vanypen et Mechtler ou l'on souscrit pour cet ouvrage.
- i) No. 1 'Duo de Nina'. Mois de Juillet 1787.
  - ii) No. 2 'Ariette de Deux Sylphes'.
  - iii) No. 3.
  - iv) No. 4 'Ariette de Deux Sylphes'. Mois d'Aout 1787.
  - v) No. 5 'Ariette du Barbier de Seville'.
  - vi) No. 6 'Ariette de Richard Coeur de Lion'.
  - vii) No. 7 'Ariette de Penelope'. Mois de Septembre 1787.
  - viii) No. 8 'Ariette'.
  - ix) No. 9 'Ariette de la Dot'.
  - x) No. 10 'Duo du Roi Theodore'. Mois d'Octobre 1787.
  - xi) No. 11 'Ariette de Didon'.
  - xii) No. 12 'Ariette de deux Sylphes'.
  - xiii) No. 13 'Ariette de Tarare'. Mois de Novembre 1787.
  - xiv) No. 14 'Ariette d'Alexandre aux Indes'.
  - xv) No. 15 'Chanson du Comte d'Albert'.
  - xvi) No. 16 'Ariette d'Azémia'. Mois de Decembre 1787.
  - xvii) No. 17 'Ariette et duo de 'Alexandre aux Indes'.
  - xviii) No. 18 'Air de Dettes'.

- xix) No. 19 'Ariette de Tarare'. Mois de Janvier 1788.
- xx) No. 20 'Rondo' del F. Bianchi.
- xxi) No. 21 'Duo de Dettes'.
- xxii) No. 22 'Duo d'Azémia'. Mois de Fevrier 1788.
- xxiii) No. 23 'Ariette de Dettes'.
- xxiv) No. 24 'Ariette de Tarare'.
- xxv) No. 34 'Duo de la Dot'. Mois de Juin 1788.
- xxvi) No. 35 'Ariette de Renaud D'Ast'.
- xxvii) No. 36 'Ariette d'Oedipe à Colone'.

### **Volume 11**

1. Storace's Collection of Harpsichord Music No. 6 containing:
  - i) A Sonata with Accompaniment for Violin and Violoncello by F. A. Hoffmeister. 1788.
  - ii) A Sonata à Quatre Mains by J. B. Vanhal. [1788?]
  - iii) A Trio for Piano Forte, Violin and Violoncello by S. Storace. 1788. London. S. Storace and sold by Birchall & Andrews. 1788.
2. Sonata in G by N. J. Hullmandel (for keyboard and violin). [London]. 1788.
3. Concerto in B flat for Piano Forte, Strings, two Oboes and two Horns by J. B. Vanhal. [London]. 1787.
4. Arietta con Variazioni by J. Haydn (for keyboard). [London]. 1788.
5. 'A Concerto for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord' composed and respectfully dedicated to Lady Charlotte Greville and Lady Louisa Grey by M. H. Park. Op. VI. London. Printed for the author. [1795?]
6. Trois Sonates pour le Piano-Forte avec Accompagnement d'un Violon et d'une Basse composées et dédiées à Mad<sup>lle</sup> Louisa Frith par Louis von Esch. Op XIII. London. Longman & Broderip. [1794]
7. 'Overture de Blaise et Babet'. [by N. Dezede. P. F.]. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [1800?]
8. 'A Compleat delineation of the Royal Procession to St Paul's on the 19 of Decr. 1797'. Music for the Piano Forte composed expressly on the occasion by J. L. Dussek to which is added the form of the church service with part of the Vocal Music sung at that celebrity the March and Organ Piece by Mr Attwood the Sanctus by Mr Hudson etc. London, Edinburgh. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1798]
9. Fourteen Favorite Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum by I. Pleyel. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800?]
10. 'The Celebrated Overture' by J. Haydn. London. J. Dale. [c.1800]

11. Pleyel's Fourth Quartet from the Set adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord.  
By I. Pleyel. London. Longman & Broderip. [1788]
12. The First Sonata from Mons<sup>r</sup> Schobert's Op. the 5<sup>th</sup> for the Harpsichord. J. Schobert.  
London. J. Bland. [n.d.]

### **Volume 12**

1. The Favorite Songs in the opera of 'Didone'. [A pasticcio]. London. R. Bremner.  
[1775]
2. The Favorite Songs in the Opera of 'Astarto'. [A pasticcio]. London. R. Bremner.  
[1776]
3. Recueil D'Airs et Duos Italiens avec Accompagnement de Harpe ou Piano Forte  
dédiés à la Signora Buone Parte par S. Garat. Paris. Chez Sieber Rue Egalite. [n.d.]
4. 'Jo Sans Capriccioletto' by G. G. Ferrari. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
5. 'Deh se pieta Ritrova'. Rondo with Recitative in the opera of 'Il Burbero di Buon  
Core' by G. G. Ferrari. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
6. 'Torna deh Torna ancora Cavatina' in the opera of 'Ipermestra' by G. G. Ferrari.  
London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
7. The Favorite Songs as sung by Sigr Tenducci at the Pantheon & Mr Abel's Concert  
by T. Giordani. London. John Preston. [c.1785]
8. Select Italian Ariettes in the opera of 'L'Eroe Cinese' by V. Rauzzini. No. 1. London.  
Longman & Broderip. [1782?]
9. The Favorite Song sung by Sigr Pacchiarotti in the opera of 'Alessandro Nell Indie'  
by G. F. Handel. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
10. A Favorite Italian Ariette composed and sung by N. Sampieri in the Theatre  
Imperial. Vienne. London. Printed for author. [n.d.]
11. Select Italian Ariette in the opera of 'L'Eroe Cinese' by V. Rauzzini. No. VIII.  
London. Longman & Broderip. [1782?]
12. Sigr Manzoletto's Favorite Song, in the opera of 'Alessandro nell' Indie' by T.  
Giordani. London. Longman & Broderip. [1780?]
13. 'Si soffre una tiranni'. A Favorite Rondo in the opera of 'La Schiavia' by A. Tozzi.  
London. J. Bland. [c.1780]
14. A Favorite Song sung by Sgra de Amicis in Milan and by Sgra Balconi at Bach's  
Concert. By G. Paisello. [London] [n.d.]
15. Rondo sung by Sigr Cotenza by J. L. Naumann. [London] [n.d.]
16. The Favorite Rondo as sung by Sigr Tenducci. No.13. London. J. Bland. [n.d.]

17. The Favorite Songs in the opera of 'La Contadina in Corte' by A. Sacchini. London. William Napier. [n.d.]
18. The Songs, Duetts etc. in the favorite opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi. Book II. London. G. Goulding. [1795]
  - i) 'Nel Ben Sen Del Mio Tesoro' in the opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by Sigr<sup>r</sup> Rosselli. Words by Sigr<sup>Da</sup> Ponte.
  - ii) 'Scena ed Aria' in the favorite opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi.
  - iii) 'A Spassio il Tristo Umor' in the favorite opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by [?]. Monceni.
  - iv) 'Ascoltate quel chio son' in the opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi.
  - v) 'Se Verrete Colle Buone' in the opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi.
  - vi) 'Come Puo Quel Tuo Bal Core' in the opera of 'La Bella Arsene' by J. Mazzinghi.
19. 'La Regina di Golconda' by V. Rauzzini. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
20. Aria accompanied with a Violoncello and two Tenors obligato by F. Giardini. No. 4. [London] [n.d.]
21. Select Italian Ariettes in the opera of 'L'Eroe Cinese' by V. Rauzzini. No. II. London. Longman & Broderip. [1782?]

### **Volume 13**

1. No. 3 Le Mélange. 'Moll I'th Wad'. Arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte by J. Haigh. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
2. No. 9 Le Mélange. 'Go to the Devil & Shake Yourself'. A favorite country-dance arranged as a Rondo by J. Haigh. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
3. No. 13 Le Mélange. The Favorite Movement ... in 'The Drama of the Castle Spectre'. Adapted for the Piano Forte by T. Lyon. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
4. A second Duet for the Harp and Piano Forte or for two Piano Fortes by G. G. Ferrari. Op. XX. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
5. Handel's Water Music adapted for the Harpsichord or Organ. G. F. Handel. London. Longman & Co. [n.d.]
6. A new Edition of Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ by G. F. Handel. London. H. Wright. [ca.1795]
7. Handel's celebrated 'Coronation Anthem'. Set for the Voice and Harpsichord. London. H. Wright. [c.1785]
8. Longman and Broderip's Selection of Music for the Pedal Harp. London. Longman & Broderip. [ca.1795]

9. Trio for the Piano Forte, Flute or Violin and Violoncello by I. Pleyel. Op. 29. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
10. Three Trios for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Violoncello obligato by P. J. Frike. London. J. Blundell. [n.d.]
11. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with obligato accompaniments for the Flute or Violin and Viola da Gamba or Tenor by T. Giordani. Op. XXX. London. John Preston. [1782]
12. Sonata No. 1 for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and Tenor or Violoncello by F. Giardini. [London] [n.d.]
13. Twelve Select Scots Reels for the Piano Forte or Violin and Violoncello. London. F. Linley. [n.d.]
14. 'The Duke of York's March' (for keyboard). Lambeth. H. Andrews. [c.1800]
15. Duetto for a Violin and Tenor by F. Giardini. No. 3. [London] [n.d.]
16. Sonata for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin by F. Giardini. No. 8. [London] [n.d.]
17. Overture to 'Astarto' by F. Giardini. London. W. Napier. [n.d.]
18. 'Clarkes Ground'. An excellent Lesson with Variations for young Practitioners etc. London. T. Skillern. [n.d.]
19. A favorite Capriccio for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by N. Sampieri. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
20. 'The Duke of York's new March' by W. A. Mozart arranged for the Piano Forte. London. Preston & Son. [c.1795]
21. A Favorite March in the serious opera of 'Evelina' by A. Sacchini. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1810]
22. 'The Duke of York's March' adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord. London. Preston & Son. [c.1790]
23. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with the Accompaniment of a Violin obligato by J. Giorgi. Op. IV. London. J. Skillern. [n.d.]
24. The Favorite Overture to the opera of 'Harlequin & Quixotte' by W. Reeve. London. G. Goulding. [1797]
25. The Favorite Overture to the opera of 'The Round Sower'. Accompanied on the Harp. Composed by W. Reeve. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
26. Overture to the opera of 'An Escape into Prison' by W. Reeve. London. Longman & Broderip. [1797?]
27. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin. In which are introduced several favorite Airs by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 19. London. G. Goulding. [1795 or 1805?]



28. Sonata No. 1 for Piano Forte del J. Reichardt. 5me Année. 6 variations. [London?]  
[n.d.]

### **Volume 14**

1. 'L'Amour Vangé'. A Grand Ballet ... with several airs of C. Bossi's arranged for the Piano Forte by J. L. Dussek. London. Printed for Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
2. 'Little Peggy's Love'. The Favorite Scotch Ballet composed by C. L. Didelot. The Music by C. Bossi. London. Longman & Broderip. [1796]
3. 'Les Trois Sultanes' [ballet] by Sigr Onorati. Arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp ... by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 20. London. G. Goulding. [1796]
4. The Favorite Divertissement. 'The Bouquet' composed by Sigr Onorati as danced at the King's Theatre. Selected and composed by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 22. London. Printed by G. Goulding. [1796]
5. 'The Royal Independent Volunteers March' by J. Dale. Printed for the author.
6. 'Minuetto Militare' by L. Boccherini (manuscript p. 26).
7. Six Marches, six Quick Steps and two Concertos Militare for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by T. Giordani. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
8. A Duetto for the Harp and Piano Forte or two Piano Fortes by J. L. Dussek. Op. XXVI. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
9. The Favorite Hornpipe, danced by Madame del Caro, for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with eight Variations by K. Kambra. London. Printed for the author. [1795]
10. 'Lady Georgiana Cavendish's Dance'. A new Dance for the Piano Forte, Harp, Violin or German Flute by G. Jenkins. [London?] Printed for the author. [n.d.]

### **Volume 15**

1. Trois Sonates pour le Piano Forte avec Accompagnement d'un Violon et Violoncelle by J. Haydn. Op. 37. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1784?]
2. Trois Sonates pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte avec Accompagnement d'un Violon et Violoncelle obligés par J. F. Sterkel. Op. 32. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
3. 1st Duett for a Piano-forte & Harp or Two Piano Fortes by G. G. Ferrari. Op. XIII. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
4. Four Sonatinas for the Pedal Harp, the three first with an Accompaniment for the Violin, the last with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte ad libitum, by G. G. Ferrari. Op. 2. London. Lewis, Houston & Hyde. [1795]

5. 'The Waterman'. A Favorite Air arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte by W. Dance. London. Printed by Dale for the author. [1795]
6. Twelve Progressive Lessons for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by J. L. Dussek. Op. 32. Book 1. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1796]
7. Deux Sonates pour le Forte Piano ou Clavecin by L. Hoberecht. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
8. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin by L. Hoberecht. Op. 8. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
9. Theme with six Variations for the Piano-Forte by G. G. Ferrari and the Favorite Rondo that was performed at the Haymarket concert by Sigr Viotti. Op. XVI. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
10. Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello, in which are introduced for the subjects of the adagios and last movements Select Scotch Airs and Favorite Pieces composed by I. Pleyel. London. J. Dale. [1794–98]
11. Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte with or without the additional keys and an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 18. London. G. Goulding. [between 1787 and 1798]
12. A Grand Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte by I. Pleyel. London. Corri Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
13. A Favorite Sonatina for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte with an Accompaniment for the Violin ad libitum by K. Kambra. London. A. Bland & Weller's. [1793]

### **Volume 16**

1. Three original Sonatas in which are introduced the favorite Airs ... with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Bass either obligato or ad libitum by I. Pleyel. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [c.1795]
2. Pleyel's celebrated concertante in E flat adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin. London. Preston & Son. [c.1795]
3. Three Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello by H. G. Lentz. Second set. Op. 9. London. Printed by the author and for Longman & Broderip.
4. [G. B.] Viotti's celebrated new Grand Concerto in G as performed at his concert at Hanover Square. Adapted for the Piano Forte with or without additional keys, with Accompaniments for Violin, Alto, Bass etc. ... by J. L. Dussek. London. Corri, Dussek etc. [1802?]

5. 'Paul et Virginie' the Favorite Grand Ballet by Onorati. The music by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 17. London. G. Goulding. [1795]
6. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with or without additional keys and an Accompaniment for a Flute or Violin by J. Mazzinghi. Op. XIII. London. G. Goulding. [c.1800]
7. The Grand March in 'Alceste' by C. W. Gluck arranged for the Piano Forte by J. L. Dussek. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1795]
8. A Favorite Symphony for the Piano Forte by J. Haydn. [London] [c.1780]
9. The Favorite Overture to the celebrated Tragic Dance of 'Médée and Jason' by C. W. Gluck. London. Hugh Andrews. [1783?]
10. Sonata for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello by J. Haydn. London. Preston & Son. [1800?]
11. A Favorite Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin and a Violoncello by J. Haydn. Op. 68. London. Longman & Broderip. [1805?]

### ***Volume 17***

1. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum by J. L. Hoberecht. Op. III. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
2. 'The Battle of Rosbach' composed for the King of Prussia by K. H. Graun. London. Longman & Broderip. [1790?]
3. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte ... in which are introduced the 'Fife Hunt', a Scotch Reel, and the National Air as Rondos with an Accompaniment for a Violin or Flute by J. L. Dussek. Op. 25. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
4. Comtesse Becker's favorite Rondo by Mr Schufter, the Variations by K. Kambra. London. J. Bland. [n.d.]
5. Le Tout Ensemble pour le Forte Piano ou Clavecin avec Accompagnements très humblement dédié aux amateurs de musique par l'editeur. No. 4. Cet Ouvrage contient les plus belles pièces des maîtres suivans: Mozart, Hoffmeister, Pleyel, Kozeluch, Haydn, Sterkel. A Londres. Chez J. Bland. [1790,1792]
6. Sonata for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violincello by A. Gyrovetz. London. Preston & Son. [n.d.]
7. [G. B.] Viotti's favorite Pollacca arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte by J. L. Dussek. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1795?]
8. The Favorite Hornpipe. In Commemoration of Lord Howe's Victory on the 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1794 arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte and for the Violin & Flute by J. L. Dussek. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1794?]

9. No. 8 Bland's Collection of Duets for two Performers on one Harpsichord or Piano Forte. London. J. Bland. [n.d.]
10. No. 10 Bland's Collection of Duets for two Performers on one Harpsichord or Piano Forte by the following eminent Composers ... London. J. Bland. [n.d.]
11. Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte or Harpsichord by L. Kozeluch of Vienna. Opera XIX. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1790]
12. Three original Duets for two Performers on the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by I. Pleyel. Op. XX. London. Longman & Broderip. [1790]
13. No. 7 Bland's Collection of Duets for two Performers on one Harpsichord or Piano Forte by the following eminent Composers ... London. J. Bland. [n.d.]
14. No. 14 Bland's Collection of Duets for two Performers on one Harpsichord or Piano Forte by the following eminent Composers ... London. J. Bland. [n.d.]

### **Volume 18**

1. 'Lodoiska'. A Musical Romance in three acts by S. Storace. London. J. Dale. [WM 1805]
2. 'The Pirates'. An opera in three acts by S. Storace. London. J. Dale. [1795?]
3. 'The Haunted Tower'. A comic opera in three acts by S. Storace. London. Printed for the author. 1789.
4. 'Sprigs of Laurel'. A comic opera consisting of German, Scotch, Irish and English Airs one by a Nobleman and others by Handel, Anfossi & Shield. Poetry by J. O'Keefe Esq. London. Longman & Broderip. [1793]

### **Volume 19**

1. Six Ariettes, six Duets and six Canons for three Voices by G. G. Ferrari. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. 'Lodoiska'. A Musical Romance by S. Storace. London. J. Dale. [1805?]
3. Set of Glees by M. H. Park. Op. 3. London. Printed for the author. [1790?]
4. Eight Canzonets, with an Accompaniment for the Harp, Piano Forte, German Flute, and Violoncello by Mrs Ellis. London. Printed for the author by Henry Holland. [ca.1787]
5. Six Grand Marches for a Military Band and adapted for Piano Forte or Harp by I. Raimondi. London. Printed for the author. [1795]
6. Three Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by M. H. Reynolds [née Park]. Op. 2. London. Printed for the author. [ca.1790]

7. *Differentes petites Pièces faciles et agréables pour le Clavecin ou Piano Forte* by J. Haydn. Op. 44. London. Longman & Broderip. [1787]

### **Volume 20**

1. *Solféges du nouvelle méthode de musique divisées en deux parties*. A Paris. Chez Mr Labry. [n.d]

### **Volume 21**

1. *A Selection of Irish Melodies with Symphonies and Accompaniments* by J. Stevenson and characteristic Words by T. Moore. Dublin. W. Powers. [1808?]
2. *A New Edition of the favorite 'Burletta of Midas' adapted for the Harpsichord, Voice, German Flute or Violin*. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
3. *A New Edition of 'Artaxerxes' a serious opera* by T. Arne for the Voice, Piano Forte and Violin. London. Rt Birchall. [1801]
4. *A Series of sacred Songs, Duets and Trios*. The Words by T. Moore. The music composed and selected by J. Stevenson and Mr Moore. London. J. Power. [1816]
  - i) 'Thou art, oh God' – unknown.
  - ii) 'This World is all a fleeting Show' – J. Stevenson.
  - iii) 'Fallen is thy Throne' – G. B. Martini.
  - iv) 'Who is the Maid' (St. Jerome's Love) – L. van Beethoven.
  - v) 'The Bird let loose' – L. van Beethoven.
  - vi) 'Oh! Thou who dry'st the Mourner's Tears' – J. Haydn.
  - vii) 'Weep not for those' – C. Avison.
  - viii) 'The Turf shall be my fragrant Shrine' – J. Stevenson.
  - ix) 'Sound the loud Timbrel' (Miriam's song) – C. Avison.
  - x) 'Go, let me weep!' – J. Stevenson.
  - xi) 'Come not, oh Lord!' – J. Haydn.
  - xii) 'Were not the sinful Mary's tears' – J. Stevenson.
  - xiii) 'As down the sunless Retreats' – J. Haydn.
  - xiv) 'But who shall see' – J. Stevenson.
  - xv) 'Almighty God!' (Chorus of Priests) – W. A. Mozart.
  - xvi) 'Oh fair! Oh purest! (Saint Aug. to his sister)' – T. Moore.
5. *A Selection of popular National Airs* by J. Stevenson, the Words by T. Moore Esq. London. J. Power. 23 April 1818.
  - i) 'All that's bright must fade!' – Indian.
  - ii) 'A Temple to Friendship' – Spanish.

- iii) 'Dost thou remember?' – Portuguese.
  - iv) 'Fare thee well! Thou lovely one' – Sicilian.
  - v) 'Flow on, thou shining River!' – Portuguese.
  - vi) 'Oh! Come to me, when Daylight sets' – Venetian.
  - vii) 'Oft in the stilly Night' – Scotch.
  - viii) 'Reason, Folly and Beauty' – Italian.
  - ix) 'Should these fond Hopes' – Portuguese.
  - x) 'So warmly we met' – Hungarian.
  - xi) 'Thou Evening Bells' – The Bells of St Petersburg.
6. 'Hear my Prayer'. A favorite Anthem for two Voices by J. Kent. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
  7. 'Nel cor più non mi sento'. The much admired Air of Paisiello's as sung in the opera of 'Il Fanatico per la Musica' by Madame Catalani with her own Variations arranged by G. G. Ferrari. London. M. Kelly's Opera Saloon. [c.1810]
  8. Selections from the 'Beauties of Purcell'. Adapted and arranged with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. Clarke. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
    - i) 'Full fathom five thy Father lies' – Soprano or Tenor and Chorus: 'See nymphs hourly ring his knell'.
  9. The favorite Quartetto of 'Where the Bee Sucks' in 'The Tempest'. Harmonized by Mr Jackson. Arranged by J. Davy. London. Rt Birchall. [1821?]

## **Volume 22**

1. A Musical Miscellany, for the Harp or Harpsichord, consisting of Pastorales, Notturnos, Military Airs, and Sonatas by E. Jones. London. 1797.
2. A Quintetto for the Piano Forte, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello by D. Steibelt. Op. 31. London. Longman & Broderip. [1797]
3. A Favorite Concerto for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by L. Kozeluch. No. 2. London. J. Bland. [1790?]
4. Trois Sonates pour Piano Forte ou Clavecin. Dont la première est avec Accompagnement de Violon obligé par D. Steibelt. Oeuvre 4e. London. Longman & Broderip. [1800?]
5. Haydn's celebrated Grand Military Symphony [XII] adapted for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Violoncello ad libitum. London. Printed for Mr Salomon the Proprietor. [1820?]
6. The celebrated Overture composed by J. Haydn adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1785]

7. Britannia – An allegorical Overture in Commemoration of the Signal Naval Victory obtained by Admiral Duncan over the Dutch Fleet the 11<sup>th</sup> of October 1797 composed for the Piano Forte by D. Steibelt. London. Longman & Broderip. [1797]
8. A Second Duett for the Harp and Piano Forte or for two Piano Fortes by G. G. Ferrari. Op. XX. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
9. 'Concerto by Dussek' (handwritten).
10. Tre Sonate per il Piano Forte by G. L. Dussek. Op. 35. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
11. Dussek's 2<sup>nd</sup> Grand Concerto in F for the Piano Forte with additional keys arranged likewise for those without. Op. 27. By the author. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
12. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for Violin and Bass ad libitum in which are introduced the Airs of 'There was a jolly Miller', 'Viva Tutte le Vezzase', 'Perche Vezzosi rai' by J. B. Cramer. Op. XII. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [n.d.]
13. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for the Violin and Violoncello ad libitum by J. B. Cramer. Op. 15. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
14. Cramer's second Grand Concerto for the Piano Forte with or without additional keys. J. B. Cramer. Op. XVI. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 23***

1. A Concerto for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for two Violins, Viola, Bass etc. composed and dedicated to the Right Hon. Lady Giorgina [Georgiana] Morpeth by G. G. Ferrari. Op. 41. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
2. Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord in which are introduced for the subjects of the adagios and last movements select Scottish Airs by I. Pleyel. London. Preston & Son. [n.d.]
3. The Favorite Hornpipe in the Ballet of 'Le Marchand d'Esclaves ou la Fête du Serail' arranged for the Piano Forte with an Introduction and Accompaniment for the Flute ad libitum by F. J. Klose. London. Chappell & Co. [1816]
4. 'Marie'. A Tyrolese Air with Variations for the Piano Forte by P. Knapton. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [WM 1816]
5. Petits Airs and Rondos tirés des compositions des F. Gyrovetz et arrangés pour le Piano Forte avec Violon ad libitum par J. André. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
6. A favorite Irish Melody with Variations and an Introduction for the Piano Forte by G. Kiallmark. London. Goulding & Co. [1820s]
7. 'Gia in dolce Raggio'. A favorite Song adapted for the Harp with Variations by A. M. Campbell. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]

8. Grand Sonate pour le Harpe par F. Dizi. London. Printed for the author by Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
9. Two Harp Sonatas with Accompaniments for Violin and Bass by J. L. Dussek. Op. 34. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [1797]
10. Three Favorite Airs with Variations and a March by M. M. Marin. Op. 13. London. Printed for the author by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis. [1802?]
11. 'Les Pensées d'Amour' with six Variations for the Harp and a German Flute Accompaniment obligato by F. Dizi. No. II. London. Monzani & Co. [n.d.]
12. Ouverture de 'Augustine et Benjamin ou le Sargines de Village' arrangée pour le Forte-Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon par A. Trial. A Paris. Chez Imbault. [c.1801]
13. 'Lison Dormoit'. A favorite French Air arranged with six Variations for the Flute with an Accompaniment ad libitum for the Piano Forte by C. Nicholson. No. 7. London. Clementi, Collard, Davies & Collard. [1825?]
14. List of music composed and published by C. Hummell & Son. [n.d.]
15. XV Divertimentos for the Piano Forte and Pedal Harp with an Accompaniment of two French Horns and Tamburino ad libitum composed and dedicated to Lady Harriet Cavendish by G. G. Ferrari. Op. 24. London. Rt Birchall. [1800?]
16. The Favorite Airs from the Grand Persian Ballet 'Le Serrail' arranged for Piano Forte by [?]. Rossi. M. Kelly's Opera Saloon. [n.d.]

### **Volume 24**

1. From the Vocal works of G. F. Handel arranged with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte by J. Clarke. 'Hallelujah Chorus' from his 'Messiah'. London. Whitaker & Co. [1825?]
2. From the Vocal works of G. F. Handel arranged with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte by J. Clarke. 'For unto Us a Child is Born' from his 'Messiah'. London. Whitaker & Co. [1825?]
3. From the Vocal works of G. F. Handel arranged with a separate Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte by J. Clarke. 'So will'd my Father, now at rest' from 'Judas Maccabeus', 'Disdainful of Danger'. London. Button & Whitaker. [c.1825?]
4. The Celebrated 'Coronation Anthem' by G. F. Handel. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1785?]
5. Overture to the 'Occasional Oratorio' by G. F. Handel. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
6. Overture to 'Otho' by G. F. Handel. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1785?]
7. Overture to 'Samson' by G. F. Handel. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1785?]



8. Two Airs by W. A. Mozart and J. J. Rousseau arranged with Variations for the Piano Forte by J. M. Cramer. London. Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis. [n.d.]
9. 'The Praise of God'. A favorite Chorus from the 'Creation' composed by J. Haydn arranged for the Organ or Piano Forte by J. F. Burrowes. London. Clementi & Co. [WM 1821]
10. 'The Heav'ns are telling', a Grand Chorus from 'the Creation' composed by J. Haydn. Arranged for the Organ or Piano Forte by J. F. Burrowes. London. Clementi & Co. [1821]
11. [J]. Haydn's favorite 'Grand Military Symphony No. 12' adapted for two Performers on the Piano Forte. London. Rt Birchall. [WM 1811]
12. Duo 'Hymn des Marseillois' et 'Air Militaire' by L. von Esch. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [n.d.]
13. A Favorite Duet for the Piano Forte composed by L. van Beethoven. Op. 6. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
14. A Grand Duet for the Harp and Piano Forte by A. Boieldieu. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
15. Rondeau for the Piano Forte composed at the age of 6 years ... by P. Cianchettini. London. Cianchettini & Sperati. [n.d.]
16. Sonata for the Piano Forte composed at the age of 7 years ... by P. Cianchettini, surnamed Mozart Britannicus. London. Cianchettini & Sperati. [n.d.]
17. A Duet for two Performers on the Piano Forte in which is introduced Mozart's favorite Air of 'Vedrai Carino' by T. Haigh. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
18. Two Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin and Violoncello by Sig<sup>ra</sup> Cianchettini. Op. 4. London. Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine. [n.d.]
19. L'Heure de Minuit'. Serenade. Duo par L. von Esch. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [1804]

### ***Volume 25***

1. 'Izra'. A favorite Ballet composed by Mr Degville [D'Egville]. Composed and adapted for the Piano Forte by C. Bossi. London. Monzani & Cimador. [n.d.]
2. 'Alonzo the Brave and the Fair Imogine'. A Grand Ballet composed by Mr C. L. Didelot. The music entirely new, composed by C. Bossi & V. Federici adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
3. 'Barbara and Allen'. A favorite Ballet composed by I. D'Egville. London. Broderip & Wilkinson. [1801?]

4. The Overture, Songs, Duets, Choruses and appropriate music in the Grand Pantomimical Drama called the 'Gorsair' or the 'Italian Nuptials', composed and adapted to the action by S. Arnold. Arranged for the Voice and Piano Forte. Op. 51. London. Wigley & Bishop. [n.d.]
5. The much admired Ballet of 'Don Quixotte ou les Noces de Garneche' composed by F. Venua. Op. 10. Wilkinson & Co. [n.d.]
6. 'Figaro ou les Noces du Comte Almaviva'. A Grand Ballet by I. Duport, the music composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by F. Venua. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
7. C. L. Didelot's much admired Chinese Ballet entitled 'Ken-Si and Tao'. Composed by C. Bossi. London. M. Kelly. [1801]
8. 'Paphos Assiégé par les Scythes'. A grand anacreontic Ballet composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by C. Bossi. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
9. The Favorite Airs from the Ballet of 'La Dansomanie' composed by J. Latour. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
10. The Favorite Ballet of 'La Fille Sauvage ou le Pouvoir de la Musique'. The music composed and arranged for Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute ad libitum by M. C. Mortellari. The Ballet by I. D'Egville. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
11. The music of the Grand Mythological Ballet in three acts called 'Achille et Deidamie' composed by P. Winter and arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp with a Flute and Tambourine Accompaniment by Fiorillo. The Ballet composed by J. D'Egville. London. M. Kelly. [n.d.]
12. 'Alfred le Grand'. Ballet historique en trois acts de la composition de Mr Aumer. Mis en musique pour M. le Comte W. Robert de Gallenberg et plusieurs Airs nouveaux de G. Dugazon. Arrangé pour le Piano Forte par G. Dugazon. A Paris. Boieldieu Jeune. [1822]

## **Volume 26**

1. 'Fantaisies de Terpsicore' par G. G. Ferrari. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. 'Air du Cabriolet Jaune'. Paroles du C. Ségur, musique du C. Tarchi, chanté par C. Martin. Arrangé pour Piano Forte par H. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Imbault. [c.1810?]
3. Overture et Airs de 'Maison à Vendre', musique de N. Dalayrac. Arrangés pour le Piano Forte par A. E. Trial. A Paris. Chez Imbault. [n.d.]
4. No. 7 'L'Amant et le Mari'. Opera comique en deux actes. Paroles de M. M. \*\*\* Musique de F. Fetis. A Paris. Chez Mme Benoist. [1820]
5. No. 2 'L'Amant et le Mari'. Opera comique en deux actes. Paroles de M. M. \*\*\* Musique de F. Fetis. A Paris. Chez Mme Benoist. [1820]

6. No. 8 No. 2 'L'Amant et le Mari'. Opera comique en deux actes. Paroles de M. M. \*\*\*  
Musique de F. Fetis. A Paris. Chez Mme Benoist. [1820]
7. 'Le Myrthe'. Romance à deux Voix. Paroles de L. Hussinet. Mise en Musique par V.  
Castelli. A Paris. Chez Pérès. [n.d.]
8. 'Aux Beaux Yeux'. Romance. Paroles de M<sup>r</sup> Th. de B ... Musique de V. Castelli. A  
Paris. Chez Pérès. [n.d.]
9. Ouvertures et Airs du 'Délire'. Musique de Berton arrangée pour le Piano Forte par  
H. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Imbault. [n.d.]
10. Ouverture et Airs de l'Actrice chez elle'. Musique de Dalayrac arrangée pour le  
Piano-Forte par H. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Imbault. [n.d.]
11. Recueil de Douze Romances avec Accompagnement de Harpe qui peut jouer sur le  
Piano Forte par M. Ed. de Marin. Hambourg. Bei Jean Auguste Bohme. [n.d.]
12. 3<sup>e</sup> Recueil de Romances avec Accompagnement de Piano Forte par P. Wacher. A  
Paris. Chez Imbault. [n.d.]
13. Six Romances avec Accompagnement de Clavecin ou Piano Forte par P. Wacher. A  
Paris. Chez Imbault. [n.d.]
14. 'Infelice! Ove son?' The favorite prison scene in the opera of 'Sidagero' by P. C.  
Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
15. 'Il Tuo Destino Ingrata'. The favorite Duett in the serious opera of 'Mitridate'  
composed by S. Nasolini. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
16. Italian Catch and Glee. [n.p.] [n.d.]
17. Three Italian Ariettes with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by F. Sor.  
London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
18. 'Ecco il soggiorno oh Dio' – Recit<sup>vo</sup> e 'Fra tante angoscie e palpiti' – Cavatina in the  
opera of 'La Cenerentola' composed by [?]. Carfa. Arranged by C. M. Sola. London.  
Birchall & Co. [ca.1825]
19. 'Seconda amico Cielo'. The favorite Duett in the grand opera of 'Castone e Bavardo'.  
The poetry by S. Vestris. Composed by G. Liverati. London. Printed for the author.  
[1815?]
20. 'Con quell occhietto languido'. A favorite Duett composed by P. Winter. London. Rt  
Birchall. [n.d.]
21. Six Italian Notturnos with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by F. Blangini.  
London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
22. Six Notturnos for two Voices, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp  
by F. Blangini. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
23. Eight Italian Notturnos for two Voices, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte  
by F. Blangini. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]

24. Three Notturnos for two Voices, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by F. Blangini. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
25. Nine Italian Notturnos for two Voices with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by F. Blangini. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
26. 'Oh Cara Armonia. Se Potesse un suono equal'. Due Duettini. Nel opera 'Il Flauto Magico' del W. A. Mozart. London. G. Walker. [n.d.]
27. 'Se fiato in corpo avete'. Duetto in the opera of 'Il Matrimonio Segneto' by D. Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1825]
28. 'So li lascio'. Duetto in the opera of 'Il Matrimonio Segneto' by D. Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [WM 1827]
29. 'Dal tuo stellato soglio'. Preghiera for four Voices in the oratorio of 'Mosé in Egitto' by G. Rossini. London. [n.d.]

### **Volume 27**

1. 'Semiramide'. Opera Seria in due atti. Composta é Ridotta per il Cembalo da G. Rossini. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [1824]

### **Volume 28**

1. Partition del 'Turco in Italia'. Musique de G. Rossini arrangée pour le Forte Piano. A Paris. Chez Carli. [1830?]

### **Volume 29**

1. The Favorite Venetian Air 'Donne l'amor' & 'Ça m'est egal ou l'egoistë' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. T. Craven. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
2. 'Praise the Lord, ye Heavens adore him'. A favorite Hymn by J. Haydn. London. Rt Birchall. [1801?]
3. Sixième Concerto pour la Harpe avec Accompagnement de deux Violons, deux Hautbois, deux Cors, Une Flute, Taille et Basse. Composé par M. Krumpholz. Oev. IX. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
4. 'Hours of Harmony'. Consisting of the most favorite and popular Airs foreign and English composed by the most eminent masters, arranged in an easy stile and properly fingered for the use of juvenile performers. London. G. Walker. [n.d.]
5. The favorite Airs in the celebrated Ballet of 'Nina, ou la folie par Amour', the music composed by [?]. Persuis arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute ad libitum by F. J. Klose. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]

6. No. 33 'Le Mélange Croppies lie down'. A favorite Irish Air. Arranged as a Rondo by T. Haigh. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
7. Twenty-five Preludes composed as exercises in the major and minor keys, with their respective scales more or less extended, calculated to improve both hands in running passages by L. Jansen. Op. 12. London. G. Walker. [n.d.]
8. Twenty-eight Sonatinas with Preludes and two easy Duetts composed and arranged from the works of the most esteemed authors by J. Haigh. London. Preston. [n.d.]
9. Untitled piece.
10. The Twelfth Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
11. The Fifteenth Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
12. The Seventeenth set of Quadrilles. The subjects taken from 'La Gazza Ladra' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
13. The Eighteenth set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
14. The Twenty-third set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
15. The Twenty-fifth set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
16. A Selection of the most approved Highland Strathspeys, Country Dances, English and French Dances, with a Harpsichord and Violoncello Bass, by J. Anderson. London. John Anderson. [n.d.]
17. Seven Country Dances for the Piano Forte. No. 6. London. G. Walker. [n.d.]
18. Walker's Collection of favorite Dances for the Piano Forte or Violin. No. 17. London. G. Walker. [n.d.]
19. 'Sir David Hunter Blair'. A favorite Reel arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte with or without the additional keys by Latour. London. Bland & Wellers. [c.1805]
20. 'The Hours of Love' containing 'Morning and Noon, Evening and Night' properly adapted for the Voice, Piano Forte, Violin, German Flute or Guitar by J. Hook. London. Longman & Broderip. [1790?]

### ***Volume 30***

1. Paine of Almack's fifth Set of Quadrilles containing the favorite airs of 'L'Elegante' ... and 'Le Favorite' ... to which is added the 'Echo Waltz' and the Emperor

- Alexander's favorite Polonoise arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin.  
London. Falkner's. [n.d.]
2. Paine of Almack's sixth Set of Quadrilles containing 'La Nouvelle Favorite, La Fauvette', 'L'Amulette', 'La Charmeuse' arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin. London. Falkner's. [n.d.]
  3. Paine of Almack's seventh Set of Quadrilles containing 'La Pauline', 'La Parmesane', 'La Bassana', 'La Carrillard de Brantignez' arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin by F. J. Klose. London. Falkner's. [n.d.]
  4. The Lancer's Quadrilles. Third Edition containing 'Les Graces', 'La Dorset', 'Lodoiska', 'La Native' and 'Les Lanciers' to which is added 'A New Waltz' by Spagnoletti and the 'Stop Waltz'. Dublin. I. Willis. [c.1820]
  5. 'Les Hussars'. A third Set of New Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp by J. Hart. London. Phillips & Mayhew. [WM 1820]
  6. A Set of Quadrilles selected from the favorite Airs in 'Don Giovanni' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Hart. London. Printed for the author by Whitaker & Co. [n.d.]
  7. A Favorite Set of Scotch Quadrilles composed of the most admired Airs as performed by 'Gow's Band'. London. Falkner's. [n.d.]
  8. 'The Leipsic Waltz' and five new Cotillions by C. Böheme. London. Chappell & Co. [1815?]
  9. Twelve Waltzes for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Tamburino and Triangle by M. Clementi. London. Longman, Clementi & Co. [n.d.]
  10. Twelve New Waltzes for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute and Violoncello (ad libitum) by B. Sperati. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
  11. Twelve Waltzes for the Piano Forte by M. Stirling. London. Printed by Messrs Phipps & Co. [n.d.]
  12. Waltzes composed for and performed by the Band of Messrs Michau, Musard & Collinet. Arranged by P. Musard. Book 1. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
  13. 3<sup>rd</sup> Set of An Admired Collection of New Waltzes composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
  14. 4<sup>th</sup> Set of An Admired Collection of New Waltzes composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
  15. Musard's 7<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
  16. Musard's 8<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
  17. A Collection of Strathspey Reels with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord by N. Gow. Edinburgh. Printed for the author. [1784]

18. A 3<sup>rd</sup> Book of Sixty-eight Ten? Reels and Strathspeys. Also above forty old famous Reels for the Violin and Piano Forte with a Bass for the Violoncello or Harpsichord compiled and composed by R. Mackintosh. Edinburgh. J. Hamilton. London. Longman & Clementi. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 31***

1. A favorite Set of Quadrilles selected from the celebrated Ballet of 'Le Carnaval de Venise' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Challenger. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]
2. A favorite Set of Quadrilles selected from the celebrated Ballet of 'Nina' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Challenger. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]
3. The thirteenth Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
4. No. 1 'Les Soirées de Famille'. A Collection of New Quadrilles arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute (ad libitum) by P. Musard. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
5. No. 2. 'Les Soirées de Paris' containing the most favorite Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
6. Second Set of New Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by [?]. Michau. London. Chappell & Co. [1820?]
7. Sixth Set of an admired Collection of New French Quadrilles including favorite ones from 'Don Giovanni' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
8. Seventh Set of an admired Collection of New French Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
9. Ninth Set of an admired Collection of New French Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
10. Eleventh Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
11. Twenty-fourth Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Musard (The second set from 'La Donna del Lago'). London. J. Power. [n.d.]
12. Quadrille for the Piano Forte ... composed and selected from 'Il Don Giovanni' by P. Musard. London. Rutter & McCarthy. [n.d.]
13. Musard's fourteenth Set of Quadrilles. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
14. Second Set of Quadrilles by C. Böhmer. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
15. Third Set of Quadrilles by C. Böhmer. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]

16. Paine of Almacks First Sett of Quadrilles ... to which is added the celebrated 'Prince Frederick of Prussia's Waltz' arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin. London. H. Falkners Opera Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
17. Paine of Almack's Second set of Quadrilles ... including the celebrated 'Sauteuse' to which is added the favorite 'Tyrole' and 'Polish' waltzes. London. H. Falkner's Opera Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
18. Payne's Second Set of Quadrilles ... including the celebrated 'Nouvelle Pastorelle' to which is added the favorite 'Tripoli Tripola Dance' all arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin. London. C. Christmas's Opera Music Saloon. [1814?]
19. Paine of Almack's Third Set of Quadrilles ... to which is added the 'Augsburg' and 'Manheim' waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin. London. Falkner's Opera Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
20. [Another set of Quadrilles but without title page].
21. Paine of Almack's Fourth Set of Quadrilles ... to which is added the 'Brussels' and a 'Russian' waltz arranged for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin. London. Falkner's Opera Music Warehouse. [n.d.]

### **Volume 32**

1. 'The May Fly' by J. W. Callcott. Composed 8 Dec 1800. London. Printed for the author. January 1801. [n.d.]
2. 'Pimmalione Azione Teatrale' by B. Asioli. Op. 7. London. Rt Birchall. [1800?]
3. 'The Beggar's Opera' with the additional Alterations and new Basses by T. Arne for the Voice, Harpsichord and Violin. London. Muzio Clementi & Co. [n.d.]
4. Four Duets. The two first with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, the last two for the Harp by B. Asioli. Op. 10. London. Rt Birchall. [1806?]
5. Epitaph. 'Forgive Blest Shade' by J. W. Callcott. London. Printed for the author by Lavenu & Mitchell. [c.1805]
6. Six Ariettes by B. Asioli. Op. 11. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
7. XVIII Favorite Tyrolian Waltzer for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment of a Violin, and Tamburino (ad libitum) by G. G. Ferrari. Op. 26. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
8. 'Danse Cosaque' with twelve Variations for the Piano Forte by G. G. Ferrari. Op. 34. London. Printed for the author. [1815?]
9. Tre Canoni a tre Voci coli Accompagnamento di Piano Forte by B. Asioli. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]



10. A Russian Air with twelve Variations for the Piano Forte by G. G. Ferrari. Op. 29.  
London. [Printed for the author] [1800?]
11. VI Favorite Italian Canzonetts with a Piano Forte Accompaniment by G. G. Ferrari.  
London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
12. Six Favorite Italian Ariettas, one Duett and one Hymn by G. G. Ferrari. London.  
Printed for the author. [n.d.]
13. Six Chansons Italiennes avec Accompagnement de Piano Forte par G. G. Ferrari.  
London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 33***

1. Stanza written by Count Jules de Polgnac in the Temple at Paris during his  
confinement in the same appartments of the late Queen of France set to music by  
G. G. Ferrari. London. [Printed for the author] [n.d.]
2. 'Auld Robin Gray'. A favorite Scotch Song adapted with Variations for the  
Harpsichord or the Piano Forte by G. Masi. Naples. Luigi Marescalchi Vico. [ca.  
1795]
3. The Grand Dramatic Romance of 'Blue Beard or Female Curiosity'. The Words by G.  
Coleman the Younger. The Music composed and selected by M. Kelly. London.  
Preston's Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
4. To the Queen with Her Majesty's most gracious permission this work is  
respectfully inscribed by Her Majesty's most faithful, obedient and humble servant  
H. Abrams, Park Lane, 1803. London. Printed for the author by Lavenu & Mitchell.  
[1803]
  - i) 'Nanine, or the Emigrant'.
  - ii) 'The Eolian Harp'.
  - iii) 'The Emigrant's Grave'.
  - iv) 'The Gamester'.
  - v) 'The Felon'.
  - vi) 'The Gaoler'.
  - vii) 'Hope'.
  - viii) 'Address to Death'.
  - ix) 'William and Susan'.
  - x) 'Love out of Place'.
  - xi) 'The Farewell'.
  - xii) 'A Ballad of the Eighteenth Century'.

5. 'Capi d'Opera' – Being a selection of III Favourite duetts by P. Martini, III Favourite Duetts by F. Durante, XII Pieces for 1,2 and 3 voices extracted from the celebrated Psalms of B. Marcello. London. G. G. Ferrari. [n.d.]
6. A Russian Air with twelve Variations for the Piano Forte by G. G. Ferrari. Op. 29. London. [Printed for the author] [1800?]

### **Volume 34**

1. 'A voi ritorno alfine' – Recitativo. 'Crudo sorte!' – Terzetto in the opera of 'Ricciardo e Zoraide' by G. Rossini. London. Birchall & Co. [c.1825?]
2. 'Regna il terror nella città'. Coro in the opera of 'Il Tancredi' by G. Rossini. London. Birchall & Co. [1820]
3. 'Oh Patria! Dolce e ingrata Patria' – Recitativo. 'Tu che accendi questo core' – Cavatina in the opera of 'Il Tancredi' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1820?]
4. 'M'abbraccia Argirio' – Scena, e 'Ah! sedi mali miei' – Duetto in the opera of 'Il Tancredi' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1820?]
5. 'Fiero incontro' – Recitativo, e 'Lasciami! non tascalto' – Duetto in the opera of 'Il Tancredi' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1820?]
6. 'Pui dolci e placide'. Coro in the opera of 'Il Tancredi' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1820?]
7. 'Dunque io son.' Duetto in the opera of 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia' by G. Rossini. London. Rt. Birchall. [c.1825?]
8. 'Ah qual colpo inaspettato' e 'Litti, zitti, piano, piano'. Terzetto in the opera of 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1825?]
9. 'All idea di quell metallo'. Duetto in the opera of 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1825?]
10. 'Don Basilio! Cosa Veggo!' e 'Buona sera mio Signore'. The celebrated Quintetto in the opera of 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia' by G. Rossini with an Accompaniment for Piano Forte adapted by N. Naldi. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1825?]
11. 'Ai capricci della serte'. Duetto in the opera of 'L'Italiana in Algeri' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [WM 1820]
12. 'Se inclinassi a prender moglie'. Duetto in the opera of 'L'Italiana in Algeri' by G. Rossini. London. Goulding D'Almaine Potter & Co. [c.1820?]
13. 'Pappataci! Che mai sento!' Terzetto in the opera of 'L'Italiana in Algeri' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1820?]
14. Partizione della 'Donna del Lago'. Opera semi-seria in due atti by G. Rossini. A Paris. Chez Carli. [n.d.]

15. 'Non più mesta accanto al fuoco'. Aria in the opera of 'La Cenerentola' by G. Rossini.  
London. Rt Birchall. [c.1820?]
16. 'Di piacer mi talza il cor'. Aria in the opera of 'La Gazza Ladra' by G. Rossini.  
London. Rt Birchall. [c.1820?]

### ***Volume 35***

1. A Venetian Canzonet as sung at the Nobilities Concerts by Mesdlles de Lihu.  
London. Printed for the Mesdlles de Lihu.
2. 'Damon la destra o cara'. A Favorite Duett in the opera of 'Alessandro e Timoteo'  
by V. Federici. London. L. Lavenu. [1800]
3. 'Dopo cento affanni'. The Favorite Duett in the opera of 'Calypso' by P. Winter.  
London. M. Kelly. [1810?]
4. 'Ai mali tuoi ristoro' in the opera of 'Calypso', and 'Provi gleffetti incognito' the  
Favorite Quartett in the same opera by P. Winter. M. Kelly. [1803]
5. 'Senti Senti L'Augelino'. The Favorite Duett in the opera of 'Capriccio Dramatico'  
by D. Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [1820?]
6. 'Pietoso dioche vedi'. The Favorite Preghiera in the opera of 'Sidagero' by P. C.  
Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
7. 'Alma grande eccelso excel'. The Favorite Cavatina in the opera of 'Sidagero' by P.  
C. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
8. The chorus of 'Quale orror' in the opera of 'Vergine del sole' arranged as a Glee for  
three Voices with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, Harp or Violin. The  
Recitative and the Rondo 'Caro padre caro bene' in the opera of 'Vergine del sole'  
all adapted by C. M. Mortellari. London. M. Kelly. [1805?]
9. 'Ame pui non resta speranza de calma'. The Duett in the opera of 'Calypso' by P.  
Winter. London. M. Kelly. [1803?]
10. 'Oppressa mi sento'. Scena e Rondo in the opera of 'Merope' by S. Nasolini. London.  
Rt Birchall. [1802?]
11. 'Le Donna la dolce il core'. Pollacca in the opera of 'La Scuola de Maritati' by V.  
Martin y Soler. London. J. Dale. [1795]
12. 'Serpendo dentro il petto'. A favorite Song from the opera of 'La Testa Riscaldata'  
by F. Paer. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
13. 'Caro sposo a te vicina'. A favorite Duett in the opera of 'Sidagero' P. C. Guglielmi.  
London. R. Birchall. [1809?]
14. 'E'cesso di Contento'. The Favorite Pollacca in the opera of 'Fernando in Mexico' by  
Portogallo. London. Rt Birchall. [1803?]

15. Canzonetta with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte by T. Latour.  
London. Printed for the author by Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
16. 'L'affetto Mio tu vedi'. A favorite Song in the opera of 'Merope' by S. Nasolini.  
London. R. Birchall. [1802?]
17. 'Papa'. A favorite Canzonetta in the opera of 'Il furbo contro il furbo'. The melody  
by A. Catalani. The Accompaniments by G. G. Ferrari. The words by Buonaiuti.  
London. Adolfo Ferrari. [c.1810]
18. 'Se ti perdo o caro bene'. The favorite Rondo in the grand serious opera of 'La  
Clemenza di Scipione' by P. C. Guglielmi. M. Kelly. [1805?]
19. 'Tu di quest anima'. The favorite Cavatina in the opera of 'Il fanatico per la Musica'  
by G. S. Mayer. London. Rt Birchall. [1820?]
20. 'E Nel tuo nel mio bicchiero'. The favorite Canon in the opera of 'Cosi fan Tutte' by  
W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
21. 'Rendimi il figlio o barbaro'. The favorite Duett in the opera of 'Fernando in Mexico'  
by Portugallo. London. Rt Birchall. [1803?]
22. 'Oh quanto l'anima' in the opera of 'Il ritorno di Serse' by G. S. Mayer. London. Rt  
Birchall. [1820?]
23. The favorite Recitative and Song 'Digli che non pavento' in the opera of 'Sidagero'  
by P. C. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
24. The favorite Recitative and Air 'Del mio sen la dolce calma' in the opera of  
'Sidagero' by P. C. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
25. 'Pace Riposo Calma'. A favorite Trio as sung in the serious opera of 'Mitridate' by S.  
Nasolini. London. L. Lavenu. [1802]
26. 'Batti batti O bel Masetto'. A favorite Song in the opera of 'Il Don Giovanni' by W. A.  
Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
27. 'Beg l'occhi amobile'. A favorite Air by S. Nasolini. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
28. 'A compir Già vò l'impresa'. Recitative and Air with a Violin obligato in the opera of  
'La Vendetta di Nino' by P. C. Guglielmi. Arranged for Piano Forte with ornaments  
by D. Corri. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [c.1795]
29. 'Chi dice mal d'Amore'. The favorite Song in the opera of 'Il fanatico per la Musica'  
by G. S. Mayer. London. Rt Birchall. [1820?]
30. 'Per Pieta bell idol mio'. A favorite Cavatina in the opera of 'Artemisia' by D.  
Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1810]
31. 'Ah Chisà'. The favorite Trio in the comic opera of 'Il Barbier di Seviglia' by G.  
Paisiello. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
32. 'Che Gioja che contento'. A favorite Polacca by G. B. Viotti. London. Monzani &  
Cimador. [c.1795?]

33. 'Audace che chiedi'. A favorite Duett in the opera of 'Sidagero' by P. C. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
34. 'Infelice! Ove son?' The favorite prison scene in the opera of 'Sidagero' by P. C. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
35. Three Italian Duetts and a Notturmo with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by F. X. Sterkel. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1810]

### ***Volume 36***

1. The Favorite Airs from the Ballet of 'La Dansomanie' arranged for the Piano Forte by T. Latour. London. Rt Birchall. [WM 1810]
2. The Music of the Grand mythologic Ballet in three acts called 'Achille et Deidamie' by P. Winter and arranged for the Piano Forte by Fiorillo. The Ballet composed by J. D'Egville. London. M. Kelly. [1805]
3. 'Le Prince Troubadour, ou la Double Epreuve'. Grand Ballet in three acts composed by A. Vestris. The music by F. Venua. London. L. Lavenu. [1815?]
4. 'Figaro, ou les Noces du Comte Almavira'. A grand Ballet by L. Duport. The music composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by F. Venua. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
5. 'La Chaumière Hongroise, ou les Illustres Fugitifs'. The much admired Hungarian Ballet by C. L. Didelot. The music composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment ad libitum by F. Venua. London. Falkner & Christmas. [1805?]
6. 'Vologes'. A grand Ballet by M. Gallet, the music entirely new by P. Winter and adapted for the Piano Forte. London. M. Kelly. [1803]
7. 'Pas des cinq and pas des deux' in the Ballet of 'Le Mariage Secrèt' by F. Fiorillo. London. Rt Birchall. [1808?]
8. 'Izra'. A favorite Ballet composed by J. D'Egville. The music entirely new, composed and adapted for the Piano Forte by C. Bossi. London. Monzani & Cimador's Music Warehouse. [1802?]
9. 'Osian ou les Bardes'. A grand Ballet by J. D'Egville. Overture and music composed and arranged for the Piano Forte, and Piano Forte and Harp, by F. Fiorillo. London. Mr. Kelly's Opera Saloon. [n.d.]
10. 'Hyppomene et Atalante'. Grand Ballet by J. D'Egville. Music by J. D'Egville. London. Monzani & Cimador. [1800]
11. 'J. Contadini Tirolesi'. A favorite Pastoral Ballet. The music composed by F. Venua. The Ballet by Rossi. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]

12. 'The Katchell'. A grand Russian Divertissement Ballet by C. L. Didelot. Music composed and arranged for the Piano Forte and Flute by F. Fiorello. London. Rt Birchall. [1813]
13. The favorite Pas de Deux in the Ballet of 'Alzire' composed and arranged for the Harp with an Accompaniment for the Flute by F. Dizi. London. C. Mitchell. [1807?]
14. 'The Caliph of Bagdad'. A grand romantic Ballet by M. Vestris. The music composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad libitum Accompaniment for the Harp by F. Lanza. Op. 6. London. J. Power. [WM 1808]

### **Volume 37**

1. No. 1 de 'Jean de Paris'. Trio. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano Forte ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie.
2. No. 2 de 'Joconde'. Romance Chantée. Opera comique en trois actes. Paroles de Mr Etienne. Musique de N. Isouard arrangée pour Piano ou Harpe par H. Herdlizka. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
3. No. 3 de 'Joconde'. Paroles de Mr Etienne. Musique de N. Isouard arrangée pour Piano ou Harpe par H. Herdlizka. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
4. No. 4 de 'Joconde'. Musique de N. Isouard. 'Boscarella'. Duett. Arrangée pour le Piano ou la Harpe par H. Herdlizka. A Paris. Chez Boscha Père. [1814?]
5. No. 6 'Joconde'. Paroles de Mr Etienne. Musique de N. Isouard. Duo. Arrangée pour Piano ou Harpe par H. Herdlizka. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
6. No. 7 'Joconde'. Paroles de Mr Etienne. Musique de N. Isouard. Duo. Arrangée pour Piano ou Harpe par H. Herdlizka. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
7. No. 8 'Joconde'. Paroles de Mr Etienne. Musique de N. Isouard. Duo. Arrangée pour Piano ou Harpe par H. Herdlizka. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
8. No. 9 'Joconde'. Paroles de Mr Etienne. Musique de N. Isouard. Trio. Arrangée pour Piano ou Harpe par H. Herdlidska. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
9. No. 12 'Joconde'. Paroles de Mr Etienne. Musique de N. Isouard. Duo et Quatuor. Arrangée pour Piano ou Harpe par H. Herdlizka. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
10. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris'. No. 2 Air and Trio de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]

11. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris'. No 3. Duo de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
12. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris' No 4. Air de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
13. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris' No 6. Duo de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
14. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris' No 7. Air de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
15. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris' No 8. Romance (trio) de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
16. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris' No 9. Duo de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
17. Thèmes des Morceaux de 'Jean de Paris' No 10. Air de 'Jean de Paris'. Paroles de Mr St Just. Musique de A. Boieldieu. Accompagnement de Piano ou Harpe par L. Jadin. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1815?]
18. Chanson de Table du 'Caliphe de Bagdad'. Musique de A. Boieldieu arrangée par l'auteur avec Accompagnement de Piano Forte. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [n.d.]
19. Air du 'Caliphe de Bagdad'. Musique de A. Boieldieu arrangée par l'auteur avec Accompagnement de Piano Forte ou Harpe. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [n.d.]
20. Romance du 'Caliphe de Bagdad'. Musique de A. Boieldieu arrangée par l'auteur avec Accompagnement de Forte-Piano. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan et Cie. [n.d.]
21. 'Ma Zetulbé'. Rondo Italian et Français dans le 'Calife de Bagdad' del V. Martin y Soler avec Accompagnement de Violon ou Flûte. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [1810?]
22. French Song arranged for two Voices by Mesd<sup>lles</sup> de Lihu. London. Printed for the Mesd<sup>lles</sup> de Lihu. [n.d.]
23. Marches arrangées pour le Piano par F. Paër. A Paris. Chez Naderman. [n.d.]
24. No. 7 'De Nouveau Seigneur le Village'. Duo. Paroles de MM. Musique et Accompagnement de A. Boieldieu. A Paris. Chez Mme Duhan & Cie. [n.d.]
25. 'The Marseilles March'. London. Smart's Music Warehouse. [n.d.]

26. *Grandes Marches executées dans les Galeries du Museum au moment de passage de leurs 'MM', 'JJ' et 'RR' le jour de la Benediction nuptiale de leur Mariage.*  
Composées et arrangées pour le Piano par F. Paer. A Paris. Chez Imbault. [1810?]

### **Volume 38**

1. 'Alexis'. A Cantata by J. C. Pepusch arranged (and a new Accompaniment added to the last Movement) by J. Clarke. London. Rt Birchall.
2. 'Where the Bee Sucks' by H. Purcell in 'The Tempest'. Harmonized as a Glee for four Voices by W. Jackson of Exeter. London. G. Walker. [WM 1815]
3. 'Where the Bee Sucks'. Song of Ariel in 'The Tempest' by [H. Purcell]. London. G. Walker. [1775?]
4. 'Tell me where is Fancy Bred'. A Duett with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp. Words from Shakespeare composed by J. Stevenson. Liverpool. H. Hime. [WM 1806]
5. 'The Chough and Crow to roost are gone'. The celebrated Gipsen Glee in 'Guy Mannering'. Arranged for three Voices, the words by J. Baillie, the music by H. R. Bishop. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [1823?]
6. 'O Lord Have Mercy Upon Me' by G. B. Pergolesi. London. G. Walker. [c.1820]
7. 'Haste Thee Oh God'. An Anthem from the 70<sup>th</sup> Psalm by the Revd W. L. Bowles. London. Printed for the author by James Peck. [n.d.]
8. 'Home! Sweet Home!' in 'Clari, or the Maid of Milan'. Composed and partly founded on a Sicilian Air by H. R. Bishop. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [WM 1821]
9. 'Mid Pleasures and Palaces!' ['Home! Sweet Home!'] The additional stanza, with Flute and Piano Forte. London. Goulding & Co. [1821?]
10. 'With a Friend and a Wife'. A favorite Duet. The words by C. Dibdin. The music by J. Braham. London. J. Dale. [1802]
11. Two favorite Scotch Airs for the Voice with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte, and a French Air with Variations for the same. All with an Accompaniment for Flute or Violin ad libitum by P. J. Meyer Sen<sup>r</sup>. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
12. 'The Bay of Biscay O!' in 'Spanish Dollars or the Priest of the Parish' by J. Davy. London. Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis. [n.d.]
13. 'In the rough Blast heaves the Billow' in the comedy of 'Fashionable Friends' by M. Kelly with Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp. London. M. Kelly. [1803?]



14. 'Yes, yes be merciless'. The favorite Song in 'Pizarro' by G. W. Chard. The words by R. B. Sheridan. London. Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine. [1799]
15. 'Orra Moor'. A favorite Canzonet composed with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp by J. Hook. London. Printed for the author by Clementi & Co. [c.1799?]
16. 'Oh Nanny wilt thou fly with me'. A favourite Song [with violin and piano forte accompaniment] by T. Carter. London. Rt Birchall. [1805?]
17. 'The Friend and Pitcher'. A favorite song in the opera of the 'Poor Soldier'. London. G. Walker. [c.1800?]
18. 'With lowly Suit and plaintive Ditty. No Song no Supper' by S. Storace. London. G. Walker. [c.1800?]
19. 'The Heavy Hours'. Set by W. Jackson of Exeter. [London] [c.1800]
20. 'The Parting Kiss'. Set by J. Oswald. [London] [1775?]
21. 'Johnny and Mary'. A favourite Scots Song. [by W. Shield] [Glasgow. J. Steven] [c.1810]
22. 'Yes Youth beloved, my Henry dear'. The words by G. Ridgeway. Composed by W. J. Rhodes. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
23. 'Goodmorrow to your Night Cap' in the opera of the 'Poor Soldier'. London. G. Walker. [c.1800?]
24. 'Gramachree Molly'. London. G. Walker. [1770?]
25. 'In the Dead of the Night' in the 'Wedding Day' adapted for the Piano Forte. London. G. Walker. [1807?]
26. 'Little Jane of the Mill'. A Favorite Ballad in the Popular New Opera of 'Family Quarrels'. Composed by J. Braham. Written by T. Dibdin Junior. Arranged for the Piano Forte by D. Corri. London. D. Corri. [1802?]
27. 'Sigh no more Ladies'. A Favorite Duett by R. J. S. Stevens. London. W. Walker. [WM 1807]
28. 'Beware of Love' in the opera of 'The Travellers, or Music's Fascination'. Composed by D. Corri. Written by Mr Cherry. London. D. Corri. [c.1803]
29. 'Alonzo and Imogine' composed and adapted for one or two Voices and Piano Forte by J. W. Callcott. Printed for the author. [1800]
30. 'Pious Orgies' from 'Judas Maccabeus' by G. F. Handel. London. G. Walker. [1808?]
31. 'Haste thee Nymph' from 'L'Allegro' by G. F. Handel. [London. G. Walker] [1808?]
32. 'Mild as the Moonbeams'. The favorite Quartetto in the opera of 'Artaxerxes' by J. Braham. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [1815?]

33. 'Vive Le Roi'. The Favorite Duett in the comic opera of the 'English Fleet'.  
Composed by J. Braham. The words by T. Dibdin. London. Goulding, D'Almaine,  
Potter & Co. [1813]
34. 'The Gypsy Prince'. A comic opera in two acts by M. Kelly. London. M. Kelly. [1801]
35. The Overture, Songs, Duets, Trios and Choruses in the highly popular musical  
entertainment of 'Brother and Sister' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte  
by W. Reeve and H. R. Bishop. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [1817]
36. 'Rob Roy MacGregor'. A musical Drama composed and compiled from old Scottish  
Airs by J. Davy. London. W. Hodsoll. [WM 1819]. Including the songs:
  - i) 'O my Love's like the red Rose'.
  - ii) 'A Highland Lad my Love was born'.
  - iii) 'A Famous Man is Robin Hood'.
  - iv) 'Auld Lang Syne'.
  - v) 'We part to meet you more'.
37. The original music in 'Macbeth' as composed by M. Locke. Arranged from the score  
and adapted for the Piano Forte by B. Jacobs. London. G. Walker. [WM 1822]

### **Volume 39**

1. 'The Bay of Biscay'. In the opera of 'The Spanish Dollars or the Priest of the Parish'  
by J. Davy. London. Clementi, Banger ... [n.d.]
2. Two Catches by S. Webbe: Canon, and Round: on a 'Parish Clerk'. [London] [n.d.]
3. 'Sicilian Mariner's Hymn'. Round and Glee. English words by S. Webbe. [London]  
[n.d.]
4. 'No Danger, my Love, is now near thee'. Duett in the melodrama of 'Bobinet the  
Bandit, or the Forest of Montescarpini'. Adapted to a favorite Waltz of W. A.  
Mozart's by J. Addison. London. Published for the composer at Falkner's Music  
Warehouse. [1816?]
5. 'Maggie Lawder'. A celebrated Scotch Air with Variations for the Piano Forte or  
Harpsichord by P. Gardiner. London. A. Bland & Weller's. [WM 1801]
6. 'Maggie Lawder'. London. A. Bland & Weller's. [1801?]
7. 'Glee' by T. Ford 1620. London. Rt Birchall. [1800?]
8. 'Glee by Nicholas Freeman 1667'. N. Freeman. Fictitious composer. [London]  
[1790?]
9. 'Will you come to the Bow'r'. A song with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by  
T. Moore. London. Clementi & Co. [1800?]

10. 'Hear, hear my Prayer'. A favorite Anthem for two Voices by J. Kent. London. Rt Birchall. [1803?]
11. A Favorite Christmas Hymn. 'Christians Awake Salute the Happy Morn'. Adapted for the Voice, Piano Forte or Organ. [Music by J. Wainwright]. London. J. Dale. [1795?]
12. 'When Time who steals our Years away'. A Ballad by T. Moore. [London]. Printed for J. & T. Carpenter. 1802.
13. 'See the conquering Hero comes' from the oratorio of 'Judas Maccabeus' by G. F. Handel. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
14. 'Oh dear Smile'. A Ballad by T. Moore. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
15. 'Ye Banks and Braes'. Duett, the Accompaniment by P. A. Corri. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
16. 'Come unto these yellow Sands'. A favorite Song from 'The Tempest' by H. Purcell. London. Rt Birchall. [1800?]
17. 'Blow gentle Gales'. Glee for five Voices in the opera of 'The Slave' by H. R. Bishop. London. Goulding d'Almaine. [n.d.]
18. 'Tyrolese Song of Liberty'. A National Air, arranged with English words by T. Moore. London. J. Power. [WM 1817]
19. 'Oh remember the Time'. A Spanish Air, arranged with English words by T. Moore. London. J. Power. [WM 1829]
20. 'Oh Nanny wilt thou fly with me'. A favorite Song by J. Carter. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
21. 'O Yes I can love'. The celebrated Duett in the grand operatic romance of 'Cymon'. Arranged from the Bohemian Waltz by Miss Hughes, the poetry by G. Manners. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
22. 'Love my Mary dwells with thee'. A favorite Duet. The music selected from the ancient ballads with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. Stevenson. Words by T. Moore. London. J. Powers. [WM 1809]
23. The favorite 'Bird Duet' in the comic opera of the 'Cabinet'. Words by J. Dibdin and the music by J. Braham. London. J. Dale. [c.1805]
24. 'Roy's Wife of Alldivaloch'. A favorite old Scots Song arranged for the Piano Forte, Voice, Violin or Guitar. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
25. 'The Manly Heart'. A favorite Duett for two Voices with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
26. 'The Beautiful Maid'. A favorite Ballad in the comic opera of the 'Cabinet'. The words by J. Dibdin. The music by J. Braham. London. J. Dale. [c.1805]
27. 'The Red Rose'. A Glee for four Voices by W. Knyvett. London. Rt Birchall. [1809]

28. 'Hear me Soldier hear me'. The Ghost Song in the opera of 'The Travellers, or Music's Fascination'. Composed by D. Corri. Written by Mr Cherry. London. D. Corri. [n.d.]
29. 'Life let us cherish'. A favorite Ballad by W. A. Mozart. London. A. Hamilton. [ca.1800]
30. 'Life let us cherish' with Variations for the Piano Forte by W. A. Mozart. London. A. Hamilton. [ca.1800]
31. 'A Canadian Boat Song' arranged for three Voices by T. Moore. London. James Carpenter. 1805.
32. 'Goodnight'. A Ballad by T. Moore. London. James Carpenter. 1803.
33. 'Nobody coming to marry me'. A Ballad with Accompaniment for the Piano Forte. London. Monzani & Co. [n.d.]
34. 'Hymn to Sleep' for two Voices by P. J. Meyer Senior. [London] [1810?]
35. 'The glad Trumpet sounds a Victory' in the opera of 'The Travellers, or Music's Fascination' composed by D. Corri. Written by Mr Cherry. London. [D. Corri] [1806?]
36. 'Ply the Oar Brother', The Boat Glee. In the drama of 'Veroni, or the Novice of St Mark' written and the Melody composed by M. G. Lewis. Harmonized and arranged by M. Kelly. London. Kelly's Opera Saloon. [n.d.]
37. 'Oh Lady Fair!' A Ballad for three Voices by T. Moore. London. J. & T. Carpenter. 1802.
38. Sequel to 'Oh Lady Fair!' Part-song by T. Moore. London. James Carpenter. 1804.
39. 'Said a Smile to a Tear'. J. Braham's celebrated Piano Forte Song in the opera 'False Alarms'. London. Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine. [Between 1806 and 1810]
40. 'By those Eyes'. A Favorite Duett with an Accompaniment for Pedal Harp or Piano Forte by H. Leander. London. Rt Birchall. [1815?]
41. 'Oh stay sweet Fair!' an answer to T. Moore's favorite Ballad of 'Oh Lady Fair'. Composed with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. A. Stevenson. The words by G. P. Esq. London. Clementi. [1802?]
42. 'Bring me an Urn of Work Divine'. An anacreontic Duett by E. Phelps. London. W. Turnbull. [1806?]
43. Six Canzonets with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. G. Graeff. Op. 13. London. Clementi. [1801?]
44. 'Let me wander not unseen' in 'L'Allegro il Penseroso'. London. Rt Birchall. [1800?]
45. 'The Catherine'. A favorite Melody of Lady Catharine Stewart's and arranged as a Duet by J. Stevenson. London. Powers. [n.d.]

46. 'The Thorn' sung by Mr Incledon in his new Entertainment called 'Variety'.  
Composed by W. Shield. Words by R. Burns. London. Goulding, Phipps &  
D'Almaine. [1803?]
47. 'The Visionary'. A favorite Song. The words by W. R. Spencer. The music by G. G.  
Ferrari. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
48. The Music of 'Pizarro'. A Play. Music composed and selected by M. Kelly. London.  
M. Kelly. [1799]
49. 'Yes! Yes! Be Merciless! Thou Tempest dire'. Written by R. B. Sheridan. Composed  
by M. Kelly. London. M. Kelly. [1802?]
50. Six Canzonets by G. G. Ferrari. London. Printed for the author by Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
51. 'Artaxerxes'. A serious opera by T. Arne. London. J. Dale. [1810?]

### ***Volume 40***

1. 'Nozze di Figaro' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1810?]

### ***Volume 41***

1. 'La Clemenza di Tito' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [WM 1813]
2. 'Cosi fan Tutti' by W. A. Mozart. Overture and vocal score. [London] [c.1800]
3. 'Il Core vi dono'. Duetto Buffo by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800]
4. 'Prendero Quel Brunnettino'. A favorite Duet by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall.  
[c.1800?]
5. Some loose leaves of paper including: 'A Rondo' (1859) and 'The Prince of Wales  
Day'.

### ***Volume 42***

1. 'I Puritani'. Opera en trois actes. Musique de V. Bellini arrangée pour Piano seule. A  
Paris. Chez Pacini. [n.d.]
2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Book. Favorite Airs selected from V. Bellini's opera of 'I Puritani'. Adapted for  
the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute (ad lib) by W. H. Callcott.  
London. Cramer & Co. [n.d.]
3. 'Norma'. Opera de V. Bellini arrangé pour Piano seule. A Paris. Chez Pacini. [c.1835]
4. 'Il Pirati'. Opera de V. Bellini arrangé pour Piano seule. A Paris. Chez Pacini. [n.d.]
5. 'La Sonnambule'. Opera en deux actes. Musique de V. Bellini. Arrangé pour Piano  
seule par l'Auteur. A Paris. Chez Launeo. [n.d.]

### **Volume 43**

1. Select Airs from G. Donizetti's admired opera of 'Lucia di Lammermoor'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment (ad lib) by E. Perry. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
2. Select Airs from G. Donizetti's favorite opera of 'Anna Bolena'. Arranged for the Piano Forte by M. Truzzi. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
3. Favorite airs selected from G. Donizetti's opera of 'Lucrezia Borgia'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for Flute (ad lib) by W. H. Callcott. Book 1. London. C. Lonsdale. [n.d.]
4. 'Lucia di Lammermoor'. Opera serie by G. Donizetti. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
5. Overture du 'Barbier de Seville'. Musique de G. Rossini. [Paris?] [n.d.]
6. Favorite pieces selected from the celebrated 'Stabat Mater, ou Il Conte Ugolino' (Italian version by M. Maggioni) by G. Rossini. Arranged for the Piano Forte with Accompaniments (ad lib) for Flute, Violin and Violoncello by W. H. Callcott. Book 1. London. C. Londale. [n.d.]

### **Volume 44**

1. 'Tutto è sciolto: Oh di funesto'. Scena ed Aria nell'opera 'La Sonnambule' del V. Bellini. London. T. Boosey & Co. [1831?]
2. 'La mia Canzon d'Amore' – Recitative, e 'A una fonte afflitto e solo' – Romanza. In the opera of 'I Puritani' by V. Bellini. London. R. Mills.
3. 'Quel cor Tradisti'. Duetto in the opera of 'Norma' by V. Bellini. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
4. 'Ebben si aduru' – Recitativo e 'Tu vedrai la sventurata' – Aria in the opera of 'Il Pirata' by V. Bellini. London. Lonsdale & Mills. [1830?]
5. 'Meco tu vieni o misera' in the opera of 'La Straniera' by V. Bellini. London. Lonsdale & Mills. [1832]
6. 'Agiol di Pace all'ani'. Terzettino in the opera of 'Beatrice di Tenda' by V. Bellini. [London] [1835?]

### **Volume 45**

1. 'La Chasseur Noir'. 'Freischütz'. Opera Romantique en trois actes. Composé et arrangé pour le Piano Forte par C. M. Weber. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [1824]
2. 'Give that Wreath to me'. A Ballad by J. Stevenson. London. Willis & Co. [c.1835]

3. 'My Heart's in the Highlands' by H. Phillips. London. Mori & Lavenu.
4. 'When Midst the Gay I meet'. A Canzonet by T. Moore. London. J. Power. [1825?]
5. 'Ruth' by Miss E. Davis. Dublin. Marcus Moses. [n.d.]
6. 'Oh When Wilt Thou Return'. The words by Mrs Hemans. The music by Miss E. Davis. Dublin. Marcus Moses. [n.d.]
7. 'Whom have I in Heaven'. Sacred Song by Miss Davis. Dublin. Marcus Moses. [n.d.]
8. 'My Father's at the Helm'. Sacred Song by Miss Davis. Dublin. Marcus Moses. [n.d.]
9. 'Thro the Night's dark Shadows stealing'. Serenade. Words by W. H. Ollivier. (English and Italian). Music by F. Schubert. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1839?]
10. 'The Pilot'. A Ballad written by T. Haynes Bayley. Composed by S. Nelson. London. Mayhew & Co. [1830?]
11. 'On yonder Rock reclining'. A favorite Song in the opera of 'Fra Diavolo'. The music by D. F. E. Auber. Written and adapted to the English Stage by Rophino Lacy. London. S. Chappell. [c.1835]
12. 'Softly sighs the Voice of Evening'. The favorite Recitative and Air from the second act of the celebrated melodrama of 'The Freyschutz, or Demon of the Forest'. The poetry translated from the German by W. McGregor Logan. The music by C. M. von Weber. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [c.1843]
13. 'The Rhine Song'. The words by Mrs F. Hemans. Adapted to a German National melody by J. Haydn. London. Willis & Co. [1831?]
14. 'The Pilgrim Fathers'. A Ballad. Words by F. Hemans. The music by her sister, H. Hughes. London. Willis & Co. [1831?]
15. 'A Health to the Outward Bound'. A Glee for three Voices by the Hon. Mrs C. Norton. London. Willis & Co. [1835?]
16. 'The Lover to his Mistress'. A four-part Song by J. Bennett (d.1614). Arranged by T. Oliphant. London. Cramer, Addison & Beale. [1840?]
17. 'Before Jehovah's awful Throne' by Rev. M. Madan. London. J. Lawson. [1830?]
18. 'Gloria in Excelsis' by G. Pergolesi. [London] [1840?]
19. 'But Bright Cecilia raised the Wonder high' – Recitative and 'As from the Power of sacred Lays' – Aria. Dryden's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day'. Composed by G. F. Handel. Arranged by J. Clarke. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 46***

1. John Weippert's First Set of Quadrilles selected from V. Bellini's celebrated opera 'Beatrice di Tenda' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1835]

2. John Weippert's Quadrilles selected from G. Donizetti's celebrated new opera 'Belisario' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. Chappell's. [1836]
3. 'Lucia di Lammermoor Quadrilles'. Musard's 1<sup>st</sup> Set on favorite subjects from G. Donizetti's celebrated opera 'Lucia di Lammermoor'. Arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp by P. Musard. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1838]
4. 'Lucia di Lammermoor Quadrilles'. Musard's 2<sup>nd</sup> Set on favorite subjects from G. Donizetti's celebrated opera 'Lucia di Lammermoor'. Arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp by P. Musard. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1836]
5. Musard's XLVI<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles composed at the command of His Grace The Duke of Devonshire and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib Accompaniment for the Flute, dedicated to His Grace The Duke of Devonshire by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
6. 'Le Bon Garçon'. A favorite Set of Quadrilles performed by the Band of Johann Strauss arranged for the Piano Forte. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
7. Coote's first set of Waltzes selected from Ricci's admired opera 'Un'avventura di Scaramuccia' arranged for the Piano Forte by C. Coote. Published by Charles Olliver. [1838?]
8. 'La Sydney'. Coote's second Set of Waltzes selected from Ricci's admired opera 'Un'avventura di Scaramuccia' arranged for the Piano Forte by C. Coote. Published by Charles Olliver. [1838?]
9. 'Apollo Walzer' componiert von Johann Strauss für das Piano Forte. London. R. Cocks & Co. [n.d.]
10. 'Elizabethan Waltzer'. An admired set of Valses for the Piano Forte composed by J. Strauss. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
11. John Weippert's Waltzes entitled 'La Tortura' or first Set selected from V. Bellini's celebrated opera 'Beatrice di Tenda' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. Chappell's Musical Circulating Library. [1836]
12. Two Waltzes for the Piano Forte including the favorite Polacca from 'I Puritani' arranged by J. Weippert. London. Cramer, Addison & Beale. [n.d.]
13. The Vienna Walzes arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [n.d.]
14. John Weippert's first set of Vocal Galoppes entitled 'Warsaw'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with Vocal Accompaniment by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [n.d.]
15. John Weippert's admired Set of Galoppes from the favorite opera 'Le Postillon de Lonjumeau' arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [n.d.]
16. 'La Magicienne'. Second Set of Waltzes for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Cornet as performed by F. G. Tinney. London. C. Ollivier. [n.d.]



17. Four admired Valses for the Piano Forte by J. Strauss. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1840?]
18. Four admired Valses for the Piano Forte by J. Strauss. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1840?]
19. Four admired Valses for the Piano Forte by J. Strauss. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1840?]
20. Four admired Valses for the Piano Forte by J. Strauss. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1840?]
21. 'The Beauties of Johann Strauss'. A Collection of Popular Waltzes for the Piano Forte. Set 1. London. R. Cocks & Co. [c.1840]
  - i) 'Charmant Walzer', Op. 31.
  - ii) 'Tivoli – Rutsch – Walzer', Op. 39.
  - iii) 'Pfennig Walses de Vienne', Op. 70.
  - iv) 'L'Iris, Walses favorites', Op. 75.
  - v) 'Les Roses, Walses favorites', Op. 76.
  - vi) 'Les Etincelles, Walses favorites', Op. 79.
22. 'The Beauties of Johann Strauss'. A Collection of Popular Waltzes for the Piano Forte. Set 1. London. R. Cocks & Co. [c.1840]
  - i) 'Charmant Walzer', Op. 31.
  - ii) 'Tivoli – Rutsch – Walzer', Op. 39.
  - iii) 'Pfennig Walses de Vienne', Op. 70.
  - iv) 'L'Iris, Walses favorites', Op. 75.
  - v) 'Les Roses, Walses favorites', Op. 76.
  - vi) 'Les Etincelles, Walses favorites', Op. 79.
  - vii) 'Alexandra Walzer'.
  - viii) 'Elisabethan Walzer'.
23. 'The Beauties of Johann Strauss'. A Collection of elegant Waltzes for the Piano Forte. Set 1–18. London. Chappell's. [c.1840]
24. Galop from Meyerbeer's celebrated Opera 'Les Huguenots' for the Piano Forte by J. Strauss. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1840]
25. 'Pas Syriens'. The admired Valses in the popular Ballets arranged for the Piano Forte by P. Ghallemborg. [London] [n.d.]
26. The admired 'Cachucha' danced by Md<sup>lle</sup> Duvernay. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
27. 'Galop de Giselle'. Ballet composé par A. Adam. A Paris. Chez Meissonnier. [n.d.]
28. 'Pas des Vendances' dans 'Giselle'. Composed by A. Adam. A Paris. Chez Meissonnier. [n.d.]

## **Volume 47**

1. Select Airs from V. Bellini's admired opera of 'La Sonnambula' arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte under the immediate direction of the author. London. T. Boosey & Co. [1835?]
2. Select Airs from the opera of 'Norma' arranged as Duets for two Performers on the Piano Forte by V. Bellini. (Book 1). London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
3. The Favorite Airs from V. Bellini's opera of 'Norma' arranged for the Piano Forte by L. Truzzi. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
4. Select Airs from the opera of 'Norma', arranged as Duets for two Performers on the Piano Forte. Composed by V. Bellini. (Book 2). London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
5. Select airs from V. Bellini's admired opera of 'Norma' arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte by A. Diabelli. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
6. Favorite Airs in two Books selected from G. Donizetti's opera of 'Lucrezia Borgia'. Arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute (ad lib) by W. M. Calcott. (Book 1). London. R. Mills. [n.d.]
7. Favorite Airs in two Books selected from G. Donizetti's opera of 'Lucrezia Borgia'. Arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute (ad lib) by W. M. Calcott. (Book 2). London. R. Mills. [n.d.]
8. Favorite Airs (in two Books) selected from G. Donizetti's opera of 'L'Elisire d'Amore' arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for Flute (ad lib) by W. Watts. London. R. Mills. [n.d.]

## **Volume 48**

1. Wilson's Songs in 'The Lady of the Lake'. 'Lay of the Imprisoned Huntsman.' Song. The Music adapted to the poetry by Mr Wilson as sung in his 'Night with Sir Walter Scott'. J. Wilson. London. R. Addison & Co. [1848]
2. Wilson's Songs in 'The Lady of the Lake'. Norman's Song – 'Heath this Night must be my Bed'. Music adapted to the poetry by Mr Wilson as sung in his 'Night with Sir Walter Scott'. J. Wilson. London. R. Addison & Co. [1848]
3. Wilson's songs in 'The Lady of the Lake'. Blanche's Song – 'They bid me to sleep'. Music adapted to the poetry by Mr Wilson as sung in his 'Night with Sir Walter Scott'. J. Wilson. London. R. Addison & Co. [1848]
4. Wilson's songs in 'The Lady of the Lake'. Alice Brand – 'Ballad'. Music adapted to the poetry by Mr Wilson as sung in his 'Night with Sir Walter Scott'. J. Wilson. London. R. Addison & Co. [1848]

5. Wilson's songs in 'The Lady of the Lake'. Coronach. Song. 'He is gone on the Mountain'. Music adapted to the poetry by Mr Wilson as sung in his 'Night with Sir Walter Scott'. J. Wilson. London. R. Addison & Co. [1848]
6. Wilson's songs in 'The Lady of the Lake'. Boat Song – 'Hail to the Chief'. Music adapted to the poetry by Mr Wilson as sung in his 'Night with Sir Walter Scott'. J. Wilson. London. R. Addison & Co. [1848]
7. Wilson's songs in 'The Lady of the Lake'. Ellen's Song – 'Soldier Rest! Thy Warfare O'er'. Music adapted to the poetry by Mr Wilson as sung in his 'Night with Sir Walter Scott'. J. Wilson. London. R. Addison & Co. [1848]
8. 'Ave Maria!' In imitation of Ellen's Hymn [Hymn to the Virgin] from 'The Lady of the Lake'. Music by F. Schubert. Poetry adapted to the music by Mr Wilson. The English version by T. Oliphant. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [1848?]
9. 'The Farewell' by Miss M. Brandling. London. J. Alfred Novello. [n.d.]
10. 'Forget Thee!' Ballad written by the Revd. H. Moultrie. Composed by W. T. Wrighton. London. Brewer & Co. [n.d.]
11. 'Hills of Annesley'. A Duet by W. R. Bexfield. (The words written by Lord Byron). London. R. Cocks & Co. [c.1830?]
12. 'Carols for Christmastide' set to ancient melodies by Rev. T. Helmore. Words by Rev. J. M. Neele. London. J. Alfred Novello. [n.d.]
13. Vocal music in Dryden's Dramatic Opera of 'King Arthur, or The British Worthy' composed by H. Purcell, 1691. Selected and adapted from the original score by J. Clarke. Principally from Clarke's 'Beauties of Purcell' in 2 Volumes. London. C. Lonsdale. [n.d.]
14. 'The Reaper and the Flowers'. A Song. The Words by H. W. Longfellow. Set to music by Zeta. London. Leader & Cock. [1850]
15. 'Agathe' by F. Abt. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [c.1850?]
16. 'Excelsior!' by Miss M. Lindsay. Published for the authoress by R. Cock & Co. [n.d.]
17. 'Repentance'. Poetry by Sir W. Raleigh. Composed by Mrs Groom. London. C. Lonsdale. [n.d.]
18. 'My Lady Sleeps'. Serenade by Miss Kennedy Erskine. London. A. W. Hammond. [n.d.]
19. 'Tell me ye winged Winds'. Song. Words by C. Mackay. Composed by C. Goodban. London. C. Lonsdale. [1845]
20. 'River River'. The words by Mrs Southey. Music by Mrs Murray Gartshore. Edinburgh: Hamilton Muller; London: Addison & Co.; Leipzig: Peters. [1850?]
21. 'If Thou must sing tonight'. Words by J. E. Carpenter. Music by E. Land. London. R. Cocks & Co. [n.d.]

22. 'The Days that are no more "Tears, idle tears"' by A. Tennyson. Music by J. Barnett. London. Chappell's. [c.1865?]
23. 'Why do Summer Roses fade?' Written by J. E. Carpenter. Composed by G. Barker. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1860?]
24. 'Le Chemin du Paradis'. Romance. Musique de J. Blumenthal. London. Schott & Co. [c.1850?]
25. Gems of German Songs with English Words. 'Birds Swiftly flying'. A. F. Lindblad. London. Ewer & Co. [1843?]
26. 'Yes! Let me like a Soldier die' in the grand opera 'Maritana' by W. Vincent Wallace. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [1845]
27. 'La Campana delle sera' by C. Pinsuti. London. R. W. Ollivier. [n.d.]
28. 'The Sands O'Dee'. A Ballad. Music by the composer of 'The Captive Knight'. London. Chappell's. [n.d.]

### **Volume 49**

1. Introduction and Variations on a popular French Air with a Finale alla Marcia by C. Coote. Published for the author by Leoni Lee. [n.d.]
2. 'Le Brigand de Terracine'. The admired Airs de Ballet. In the popular Ballet 'Le Brigand de Terracine'. Arranged for the Piano Forte by A. Pilati. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1837?]
3. 'Una Paloma Blanca'. Air Espagnol à deux Voix avec des Paroles Espagnoles et Françaises. Composed by M. Rophino Lacy. London. Birchall & Co. [1835?]
4. Sept Variations pour le Piano Forte sur l'air 'Vien qua Dorina Bella'. Composed by C. M. von Weber. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1833]
5. Select Airs from G. Meyerbeer's opera 'Les Huguenots' arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad libitum Flute Accompaniment by A. Adam. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
6. Capriccio for the Piano Forte on the Protestant Choral in G. Meyerbeer's celebrated opera 'Les Huguenots' by A. Adam. Op. 100. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1836]
7. Trois Divertissements from 'The Huguenots' by C. Schuncke. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
8. No. 1 of Five Airs de Ballet from G. Meyerbeer's opera 'Robert le Diable'. Arranged as brilliant Rondos for the Piano Forte by J. Herz. London. S. Chappell. [n.d.]
9. No. 2 of Five Airs de Ballet from G. Meyerbeer's opera 'Robert le Diable'. Arranged as brilliant Rondos for the Piano Forte by J. Herz. London. S. Chappell. [n.d.]

10. No. 3 of Five Airs de Ballet from G. Meyerbeer's opera 'Robert le Diable'. Arranged as brilliant Rondos for the Piano Forte by J. Herz. London. S. Chappell. [n.d.]
11. No. 4 of Five Airs de Ballet from G. Meyerbeer's opera 'Robert le Diable'. Arranged as brilliant Rondos for the Piano Forte by J. Herz. London. S. Chappell. [n.d.]
12. No. 5 of Five Airs de Ballet from G. Meyerbeer's opera 'Robert le Diable'. Arranged as brilliant Rondos for the Piano Forte by J. Herz. London. S. Chappell. [n.d.]
13. 'Gems à la Pasta'. A dramatic Fantasia in which are introduced the favorite Airs ...  
Composed by I. Moscheles. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
14. The celebrated Cantata, 'Adelaida', with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte composed by L. van Beethoven. London. Metzler & Co. [n.d.]
15. 'Charmes à l'Opera'. A Dramatic Fantasia for the Piano Forte by L. Devereaux.  
London. Mayhew & Co. [n.d.]
16. Sonata for the Grand or Small Piano Forte with additional keys by J. L. Dussek. Op. 24. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
17. 'Isle of Beauty Fare Thee Well'. Romanza. The Melody by C. S. Whitmore with an Introduction and Variations for the Piano Forte composed by G. Kiallmark. London. D'Almaine & Co. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 50***

1. 'The Huguenot Quadrilles' from 'Les Huguenots' by G. Meyerbeer. Arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp by J. Weippert. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1836]
2. 'The Railway Quadrilles' by T. Hallwood arranged for one or two Performers on the Piano Forte. Liverpool. Hime & Son. [c.1845]
3. 'Coote's Quadrilles' selected from G. Donizetti's opera 'Don Pasquale'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Cornopean Accompaniment by C. Coote. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
4. Coote's Polkas arranged for the Piano Forte by C. Coote. London. Chappell. [1846?]
5. A Set of Brilliant Polkas arranged as Duets for the Piano Forte by C. Coote. London. Chappell. [1846?]
6. Ethiopian Quadrilles, on Airs performed by the Seranaders, for the Piano Forte [duet] by C. Coote the Elder. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [1846]
7. The 'Blind Mice Polka' by C. Coote. London. Jullien & Co. [n.d.]
8. Overture in the admired opera of 'Guillaume Tell' for the Piano Forte by G. Rossini. London. D'Almaine & Co. [n.d.]
9. Select Airs from G. Rossini's 'Guillaume Tell'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment ad lib for the Flute by J. F. Burrowes. Book 2. London. D'Almaine & Co. [1835?]

10. Select Airs from G. Rossini's 'Guillaume Tell'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment ad lib for the Flute by J. F. Burrowes. Book 1. London. D'Almaine & Co. [1835?]
11. Select Airs from G. Rossini's 'Guillaume Tell'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment ad lib for the Flute by J. F. Burrowes. Book 3. London. D'Almaine & Co. [1835?]
12. Select Airs from G. Rossini's 'Guillaume Tell'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment ad lib for the Flute by J. F. Burrowes. Book 4. London. D'Almaine & Co. [1835?]
13. Felicien David's Oriental Ode-Symphona 'The Desert' in three parts. Arranged for the Piano Forte by E. Rimbault. Part 1: Entrance to the Desert. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
14. Felicien David's Oriental Ode-Symphona 'The Desert' in three parts. Arranged for the Piano Forte by E. Rimbault. Part 2: Night. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
15. Favorite Airs in W. Balfe's opera of 'The Bohemian Girl'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment by J. F. Burrowes. Book 5. London. Chappell. [n.d.]
16. Preludes for the Piano Forte in various Keys adapted to the different Capacities of Learners by W. Dance. London. Cramer, Addison & Beale. 1826.

### ***Volume 51***

1. John Weippert's 1st Set of Quadrilles from the Grand Russian Ballet 'Beniowsky' including the much admired Mazurka music by N. C. Bochsa. Arranged by J. Weippert. London. D'Almaine & Co. [n.d.]
2. John Weippert's Arcadian Waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1835]
3. John Weippert's Castilian Waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. Published by J. Weippert. [n.d.]
4. 'Danse à la Russe' from 'Beniowsky' composée et arrangée pour le Piano Forte par N. C. Bochsa. A Londres. D'Almaine & Co. [n.d.]
5. 'Fröhsinn mein Ziel'. Admired set of Waltzes performed by Collinet's Band. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
6. John Weippert's much admired Terpsichorean Waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. Published by J. Weippert. [n.d.]
7. John Weippert's celebrated Russian Waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. [n.d.]

8. A Collection of Waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte by G. Rossini. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]
9. 'Valse à la Guilietta Grisi' adapted to the popular melody of 'Guardate che Figura'. Arranged for the Piano Forte by E. Perry. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
10. 'Zephyr et L'Amour'. Valses brillantes composées par A. Marshan. Op. 53. A Londres. Chez T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
11. The Celebrated 'Galop' from the opera of 'Lestocq' or ... by H. Herz. London. D'Almaine & Co. [n.d.]
12. 'L'Assemblée des Graces'. Valses brillantes pour le Piano Forte par A. Marshan. Op. 56. London. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
13. Musard's 2<sup>nd</sup> Set of Galoppes Favorites. P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
14. Musard's 16<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. J. Power. [c.1822?]
15. Musard's 19<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. J. Power. [c.1822?]
16. Musard's 24<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [WM 1828, 29?]
17. Musard's 25<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [WM 1828, 29?]
18. Musard's 26<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [WM 1828, 29?]
19. Valses de Lord Liverpool containing the favorite new 'Stop Walz' or Musard's 29<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
20. 'Les Roses' or Musard's 44<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. Printed by the author and Collinet. [c.1830?]

## ***Volume 52***

1. 'If you're waking call me early', or 'The Queen of the May'. Poetry by A. Tennyson. Composed by Mrs R. Arkwright [Frances Crauford Arkwright]. Arranged by T. Cooke. London. C. Lonsdale. [1841]
2. 'Roland the Brave - a Legend' by T. Campbell. Music by Mrs R. Arkwright. Arranged by T. Cooke. London. [1827]
3. 'I hear the Chimes of the Village Bells'. Ballad by Mrs R. Arkwright. London. [n.d.]
4. 'The Lament for Schuil Donald's Daughter'. The poetry written by the Hon. Mrs Norton. Composed by Mrs R. Arkwright. London. [n.d.]
5. Six Songs. Words selected from Poems by Mrs Hemans, Mrs Opie, Sir Walter Scott, W. Spencer and T. Moore. Music by Mrs R. Arkwright. London. [n.d.]
6. A Set of six Ancient Spanish Ballads. Historical and romantic words by J. Lockhart. Composed by Mrs R. Arkwright. London. [n.d.]
7. A Set of Songs. Words. Poems by Mrs Hemans, Lord Byron, T. Campbell, the Rev. Mr Pierrepont. Music by Mrs R. Arkwright. London [n.d.]

8. A Set of six Songs. Words from the Poems of Lord Byron, T. Campbell, W. Wordsworth, Mrs Arkwright and Miss Twiss. Composed by Mrs R. Arkwright. London. [n.d.]

### **Volume 53**

1. A Collection of Anthems selected from the works of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Clari, Leo and Carissimi with a separate Arrangement for the Organ or Piano Forte. Arranged by J. Pratt. London. Coventry & Hollier. [n.d.]
2. 'Lord Remember David' adapted to the air of 'Rendil Sereno al ciglio' in the opera of 'Sosarmes' by G. F. Handel, arranged by J. Clarke. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
3. 'Caro Mio Ben' by T. Giordani, arranged by M. Rophino Lacy. London. C. Lonsdale. [n.d.]
4. 'In that Day shall this Song be sung in the Land of Judah'. An Anthem by G. J. Elvey. London. J. Surman. [1857]
5. 'Bow Thine Ear O Lord'. Anthem by W. Bird. Organ part by V. Novello. London. J. Alfred Novello. [n.d.]
6. 'Holiest! Breathe an Evening Blessing'. An Ancient Italian Chorale. Words by J. Edmeston. Arranged by W. Shore. London. J. Alfred Novello. [1857?]
7. 'Hymn to the Mediator'. Adapted from the German. Composed by F. Curschmann. London. Chappell. [n.d.]
8. Six two-part Songs for female Voices with Accompaniment of the Piano Forte by F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy. Op. 63. London. Ewer & Co. [n.d.]
9. 'Beviam! Che tutto spiri'. Aria sung by Mario [G. Mario Piozzi] in 'Le Prophète' by G. Meyerbeer. London. Chappell. [c.1849?]
10. 'Pour tant d'Amour ne soyez pas ingrate'. Cavatina in the opera of 'La Favorite' by G. Donizetti. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
11. 'The Garland' by T. Moore. Music by F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy. London. J. J. Ewer & Co. [c.1841]
12. 'Where e'er you walk' by G. F. Handel. Arranged with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by W. Horsley. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
13. 'Come Live with me and be my Love'. Pastoral Song by G. Barker. London. E. Ransford. [1844?]
14. 'Leave us not'. Words by Mrs Hemans. Music by Zeta. London. Published for the Proprietor by Cramer, Beale & Co. [1850?]
15. 'The Dewdrop and the Tear' written by J. Reynolds music by J. W. Hobbs. London. Duff & Hodgson. [n.d.]



16. 'Thou art gone from my Gaze'. Poetry and Music by G. Linley. London. R. Addison. [1845?]
17. 'Total Eclipse' by G. F. Handel. Arranged with an Accompaniment for Piano Forte by W. Horsley. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
18. 'No Tocaran Camparas'. Spanish Chant for Solo and Chorus arranged by H. Bishop. London. C. Lonsdale. [n.d.]
19. 'Smiles of the Past' by the Honorable Mrs Norton. Arranged by C. Coote. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
20. 'Bird of the Wilderness'. Composed for and sung by Mr Lockley by J. L. Hatton. London. R. Addison. [n.d.]
21. 'A Fireside Song'. Words by H. F. Chorley. Written by W. V. Wallace. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [1850?]
22. 'What are the wild Waves saying?' A Duet. Written by J. E. Carpenter. Music composed by S. Glover. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1850?]
23. 'The Emigrant Ship'. The poetry by M. F. Tupper. Music by H. Phillips. London. Addison & Hodson. [1845?]
24. 'Love me if I live'. Words by B. Cornwall. Music by Mrs G. A. À. Beckett. London. Office of the Music Book. [1855?]
25. 'Phyllis is my only Joy'. Music by J. W. Hobbs. London. R. Addison & Co. [n.d.]
26. 'Break, break, break'. Words by A. Tennyson. Composed by Miss E. Davis. Dublin. Marcus Moses. [n.d.]
27. 'River, Little Shining River'. Poetry by Mrs Southey. Music by Miss D. Coats. London. J. & J. Hopkinson. [n.d.]
28. 'Le Chant d'Ondine. "Ecoute Pêcheur"'. Song, written and adapted to an Air from the Ballet of 'Ondine' [by C. Pugni] by Mrs Murray Gartshore. Edinburgh. Hamilton & Müller. [c.1845]
29. 'Prince Charles Lament'. Scottish Song. The music composed by 'A Lady'. Edinburgh. Paterson & Roy. [c.1840]
30. 'There's a good Time coming'. A Song by C. Mackay. Music by H. Russell. London. R. Addison & Co. [c.1855?]
31. Favorite Airs from G. Verdi's admired opera 'Ernani'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment ad lib by W. H. Calcott. Book 1. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
32. Favorite Airs from Verdi's admired opera 'Ernani'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment ad lib by W. H. Callcott. Book 2. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]

33. Favorite Airs from G. Meyerbeer's Grand Opera 'Le Prophète'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment ad lib by W. H. Callcott. Book 1. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
34. Favorite Airs from G. Meyerbeer's Grand opera 'Le Prophete'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment ad lib by W. H. Callcott. Book 2. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
35. Favorite Airs from Meyerbeer's Grand opera 'Le Prophete'. Arranged for the Piano Forte with a Flute Accompaniment ad lib by W. H. Callcott. Book 3. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
36. 'La Pluie de Perles'. Valse brillante pour le Piano par G. A. Osborne. Op. 61. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
37. Deux Romances pour le Piano by W. V. Wallace. Op. 25. London. Martin & Co. [n.d.]
38. Chantes National des Croates pour le Piano par J. Blumenthal. A Londres. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
39. 'Te Deum et Jubilate', for the Morning Service. For Soli & Chorus with Organ Accompaniment by F. Mendelssohn Bartholdy. London. Ewer & Co. [1847]

#### **Volume 54**

1. Musard's 1<sup>st</sup> Set of Quadrilles on the 'New Moses in Egitto' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
2. Musard's 2<sup>nd</sup> Set of Quadrilles being the First of 'Masaniello ou La Mulette de Portici' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
3. Musard's 3<sup>rd</sup> Set of Quadrilles or 'La Somnabule' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
4. Musard's 4<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles entitled 'Queen Elizabeth's Court' by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
5. Musard's 7<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles or 2<sup>nd</sup> Set from 'Masaniello ou La Mulette de Portici' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
6. Musard's 8<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles from Auber's Admired Opera 'La Fiancée' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]

7. Musard's 9<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles from Auber's Admired Opera 'Le Maçon' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
8. Musard's 11<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles, or 2<sup>nd</sup> Set from 'La Somnabule', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
9. Musard's 29<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles, entitled 'Les Polonaise', composé sur les plus jolis Chants Nationaux Polonois, as Performed at ... and the Court of France ... composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830]
10. The 29<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles as Performed ... at the Nobilities Balls ... also at the Assembly Rooms of Bath, Cheltenham, York etc. etc. composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [c.1825?]
11. The 33<sup>rd</sup> Set of Quadrilles, composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [c.1825?]
12. The XXXVIII Set of Quadrilles, composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. First Set from 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia'. London. J. Power. [c.1825?]
13. The XL1st Set of Quadrilles, composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [c.1825?]
14. Musard's XLVIIIth Set of Quadrilles, from Herold's admired opera 'Marie', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1830?]
15. Musard's 50<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles, on 'Le Jubile' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1825-1827]
16. Musard's 2[nd] Set of Quadrilles from J. F. F. E. Halévy's popular Opera 'La Juive', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
17. Musard's 3[rd] Set of Quadrilles from J. F. F. E. Halévy's popular Opera 'La Juive', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
18. Musard's 10<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles, on Auber's Opera of 'Acteon', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. D'Almaine & Co. [1836]

19. Musard's 11<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles, entitled 'Vienna', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. D'Almaine & Co. [c.1836]
20. A New Set of Quadrilles, Selected from Rossini's Grand Opera 'The Siege of Corinth', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an ad lib. Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. I. Willis & Co. [n.d.]
21. 'Quadrilles des Nations' arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Harp by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [n.d.]
22. Weippert's 50<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles selected from Rossini's celebrated Grand Opera 'Guillaume Tell' ... to which is added an Admired Waltz composed and arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp ... dedicated to His Grace The Duke of Devonshire by J. Weippert. London. Goulding & D'Almaine. [c.1830]
23. John Weippert's admired Set of Quadrilles selected from Donizetti's Opera 'Elixir D'Amour', arranged for the Piano Forte ... dedicated to His Grace The Duke of Devonshire by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [c.1835]
24. John Weippert's 1<sup>st</sup> Set of Vocal Galoppes entitled 'Warsaw', first Performed by his Band at his Grace The Duke of Devonshire's Grand Balls given at Devonshire House, arranged for the Piano Forte (with Vocal Accompaniment) by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [c.1840?]
25. John Weippert's 2<sup>nd</sup> Set of Union Quadrilles with the Celebrated National Finale arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. Goulding & D'Almaine. [c.1835?]
26. Weippert's Admired Set of Waltzes entitled 'Les Charmes de Seville', arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [c.1840]
27. J. Weippert's 1<sup>st</sup> Set of Admired Almack Waltz's, entitled the 'Parisians', arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. J. Weippert. [c.1830]
28. John Weippert's 2<sup>nd</sup> Set of Admired Almack Quadrilles entitled the 'Hunchback', arranged for the Piano Forte by J. Weippert. London. Goulding & D'Almaine. [c.1835]
29. Dunois' 16<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles from the grand Ballet 'Masaniello ou Le Pêcheur de Portici'. The genuine Airs by D. F. E. Auber arranged for the Piano Forte by M. Dunois. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
30. Dunois' 15<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles from the Grand Ballet 'Masaniello ou Le Pêcheur de Portici'. The genuine Airs by D. F. E. Auber arranged for the Piano Forte by M. Dunois. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
31. The Fourth Royal Irish Dragoon Guards Quadrilles, or Kirchner's 8<sup>th</sup> Set. The Airs selected from Donizetti's popular opera 'Marino Faliero', including the celebrated

- 'Barcarola', composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by J. D. Kirchner. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
32. Quadrilles, containing the most admired subjects from the popular Ballet 'Le Brigand de Terracine' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp by A. Pilati. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
  33. 'Der Freischutz', a Set of Quadrilles, arranged from Favorite Airs in the above Opera composed by Weber, arranged and adapted for the Piano Forte or Harp by G. Luff. London. Preston. [n.d.]
  34. The 'Adelaide' or Quadrille Ecossois Royale arranged for the Piano Forte with Entire New Figures and dedicated ... to the Queen ... by W. B. Hart. London. C. H. Hale. [n.d.]
  35. 'La Fête Pastorale'. Quadrilles de Contradanses composed by H. Herz. London. Goulding & Co. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 55***

1. 'Le Croix D'Or', Quadrille de Contradanses suivi d'un Galop, pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte, Flageolet. Cornet à Pistons, ad libit. Sur les motifs de A. Pilati par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez J. Messonnier. [c.1835?]
2. 'Les Salons de Paris', deux Quadrilles de Contradanses suivi d'une Valse et d'un Galop Bohémien, composés pour le Piano Forte avec Accompagnement de Flûte, ou Violon, ou Flageolet, ou Cornet à Pistons (ad lib) par J. B. Tolbecque. No. 1. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. (M. S. 1783-84). [c.1830?]
3. 'Les Salons de Paris', deux Quadrilles de Contradanses suivi d'une Valse et d'un Galop Bohémien, composés pour le Piano Forte avec Accompagnement de Flûte, ou Violon, ou Flageolet, ou Cornet à Pistons (ad lib) par J. B. Tolbecque. No. 2. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. (M. S. 1783-84). [c.1830?]
4. Deux Quadrilles et deux Galops sur des motifs du Ballet 'L'Ile des Pirates' de C. Gide et Carlini, composés et arrangés pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Flûte, ou Violon, ou Flageolet, ou Cornet à Pistons (ad lib) par J. B. Tolbecque. No. 1. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [c.1830?]
5. Deux Quadrilles et deux Galops sur des motifs du Ballet 'L'Ile des Pirates' de C. Gide et Carlini, composés et arrangés pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Flûte, ou Violon, ou Flageolet, ou Cornet à Pistons (ad lib) par J. B. Tolbecque. No. 2. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [c.1830?]
6. 'Les Echos du Marais'. Quadrille de Contradanses et une Valse composés pour le Piano, avec Accompagnement de Violon ou Flûte, Flageolet ou Cornet à Pistons ad libitum par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez Frere. [1830-1840?]

7. Deux Quadrilles de Contradanses, une Valse & un Galop pour le Piano, avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte, Flageolet et Cornet à Pistons ad libitum sur les motifs du 'Cheval de Bronze' de D. F. E. Auber par J. B. Tolbecque. 2me Quadrille et Galop. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [1830–1840?]
8. Deux Quadrilles de Contradanses, une Valse & un Galop pour le Piano, avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte, Flageolet et Cornet à Pistons ad libitum sur les motifs du 'Cheval de Bronze' de D. F. E. Auber par J. B. Tolbecque. 1er Quadrille et Valse. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [1830–1840?]
9. 'La Dame Blanche'. Quadrille Français pour le Piano Forté avec Accompagnement de Violon ou Flûte ad libitum par [?]. Baudouin. A Paris. Chez Janet et Cotelle. [1830–1840?]
10. Contradanses et Valses tirées de l'Opera 'Les Créoles' de Mr Berton arrangées pour le Piano Forté par Melle E. Nebel. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [c.1830?]

### **Volume 56**

1. 'Non Sdegnare O bella Venere' – Coro e 'Come consuma l'avida fiamma' – Aria – in the Opera of 'Elena e Paride' by C. W. Gluck. Arranged for the Concerts of Ancient Music by H. R. Bishop. London. L. Lonsdale. [1841]
2. 'Armida dispietata' – Recitativo e 'Lascia ch'io pianga' – Aria – in the Opera of 'Rinaldo' by G. F. Handel. Arranged for the Concerts of Ancient Music by H. R. Bishop. London. L. Lonsdale. [1841?]
3. 'Andiam, chi vi rattien?' – Recitativo e 'Invano alcun desir' – Aria – from the Opera of 'Armida' by C. W. Gluck. Arranged for the Concerts of Ancient Music by H. R. Bishop. London. L. Lonsdale. [1841?]
4. 'Sperar? Si quel Fanciullo' – Recitativo e 'Giovinetto Cavalier' – Romanza e Terzetto – in the Opera of 'Il Crociato in Egitto' by G. Meyerbeer. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
5. 'Vien quà Dorina bella'. Canzonetta [by F. Bianchi], with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte. London. Birchall & Co. [1825]
6. 'É dunque vero audace', – Scena e 'Bella Immago de gli Dei' – Duetto, in the Opera of 'Seramide' by G. Rossini. Dublin. S. J. Pigott. [c.1824]
7. 'Donala a questo core'. Duetto Nell'Opera di 'Ricciardo e Zoraide', Musica di G. Rossini. A. Paris. Chez Carli. [n.d.]
8. L'Onda'. Arietta. Parole di Aglaya Anasillide. Postu in Musica dal Maestro N. Vaccai. London. T. Boosey & Co. [c.1835]
9. 'Il soave, e bel contento'. Cavatina in the opera of 'La Niobe' by G. Pacini. London. Birchall & Co. [WM 1825]

10. 'Notte tremenda' – Recitativo e 'Caro suono lusinghier' – Romanza, in the Opera of 'Teobaldi ed Isolina' by F. Morlacchi. London. Birchall & Co. [1830?]
11. 'Con Paziienza Sopportiamo'. The much admir'd Grand Duett in the Opera of 'Il Fanatico per La Musica' [by J. S. Mayer]. London. Rt Birchall. [1815?]
12. 'Or che in Cielo' 'Thro' all the Heaven'. The admired Barcarola in the Opera of 'Marino Faliero' by G. Donizetti. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1835]
13. 'M'odi, ah! M'odi, io non t'imploro'. Aria, in the Opera of 'Lucrezia Borgia' by G. Donizetti. London. R. Mills. [1839]
14. 'Io ti veggio'. Aria, in the Opera of 'Marino Faliero' by G. Donizetti. London. Mori & Lavenu. [between 1835 and 1839?]
15. 'Tu non sai la nave e presta'. Duetto in the Opera of 'Marino Faliero' by G. Donizetti. London. Mori & Lavenu. [between 1835 and 1839?]
16. 'Sogno talor di correre'. Romanza, in the Opera of 'Parisina' by G. Donizetti. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1835?]
17. 'Una furtiva lagrima'. Romanza, in the Opera of 'L'Elisire d'Amore' by G. Donizetti. London. R. Mills. [1835?]
18. 'Ai perigli della Guerra'. Duetto, in the Opera of 'L'Elisire d'Amore' by G. Donizetti. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1835?]
19. 'Regnava nel Silenzio'. Aria, in the Opera of 'Lucia di Lammermoor' by G. Donizetti. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1836]
20. 'La Note xe bella'. Barcarola Veneziana by Perucchini. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]
21. 'Regrets' par F. Schubert. A Paris. Chez Richault. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 57***

1. Jullien's Celebrated Valses à Deux Tems, 4<sup>th</sup> Set. 'Olga' or the 'Princess Waltz' by Jullien. London. Jullien & Co. [n.d.]
2. No. 1. 'Cellarius Waltz'. Arranged by C. Coote. London. Chappell. [n.d.]
3. 'The Bird of Paradise Waltz' by H. Koenig. London. Jullien & Co. [1845?]
4. 'Rita Waltz' for the Piano Forte composed and dedicated to His Grace The Duke of Devonshire by the Earl of Belfast [F. R. Chichester]. Published for the benefit of the destitute Irish. London. C. Ollivier. [1847?]
5. 'Souvenir de Cowes'. Deux Nocturnes. 'Le Calme de la Mer' and 'Regret de l'Absence' for the Piano Forte composed by the Earl of Belfast [F. R. Chichester]. Published for the benefit of the destitute Irish. London. C. Ollivier. [1845?]
6. 'Osborne'. A Set of Waltzes composed and ... dedicated ... to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria by the Earl of Belfast [F. R. Chichester]. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]

7. Tinney's 'Caroline Waltzes' for the Piano Forte [with cornet accompaniment] by F. G. Tinney. London. C. Ollivier. [1855?]
8. Waltz from W. Balfe's Grand Opera 'The Siege of Rochelle' in which are introduced the favorite Airs 'Vive le Roi' 'Time is on the Wing' etc., arranged for the Piano Forte by the Author. London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [c.1836?]
9. 'Clementine'. A Set of Waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte by J. B. Tolbecque. London. C. Ollivier. [n.d.]
10. 'Valse de la Poste' or Musard's 27<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes. P. Musard. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
11. 'Hommage à la Reine de la Grande Bretagne'. A New Set of Waltzes for the Piano Forte composed for and dedicated ... to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria by J. Strauss. London. R. Cocks & Co. [n.d.]
12. No. 21 of the 'Beauties of Strauss'. Les Bouquet des Dames' or 'Musical Wreath' founded on beautiful melodies from ... [a range of pieces of music by different composers] as performed here by Mr Strauss and his Extraordinary Orchestra, and adapted by him for the Piano Forte. London. R. Cocks & Co. [c.1840]
13. 'Les Belles Fleurs'. Six Favorite Airs arranged for the Piano Forte by T. Valentine. No 1. London. Cramer, Addison & Beale. [c.1840]
14. Three 'Snuff Box Waltzes' for the Piano Forte by A. T. Macdonald. London. R. Cocks & Co. [n.d.]
15. 'Grand Brilliant Fantasia'. In which are introduced Six Scotch Melodies for two Performers on one Piano Forte by C. Czerny. Op. 467. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1850?]
16. 'Grand Brilliant Fantasia'. In which are introduced Six Irish Melodies for two Performers on one Piano Forte by C. Czerny. Op. 468. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1837]
17. 'Les Sylphides'. Valse Brillantes composées pour le Piano Forte par A. Marschan. Op. 55. A Londres. Chez Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
18. No. 4 of Five Airs de Ballet from Meyerbeer's Opera of 'Robert le Diable', arranged as Brilliant Rondos for the Piano Forte by J. Herz. London. S. Chappell. [n.d.]
19. Rossini's March in 'Mosé in Egitto' with Brilliant Variations for the Piano Forte by H. Herz. Op. 42. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1845?]

***Volume 58 (Possibly belonging to Elizabeth Howard)***

1. Air. 'Non Piu Mesta' with Variations for the Piano Forte from Rossini's Opera 'La Cenerentola' composed by H. Herz. Op. 60. London. Goulding & D'Almaine. [n.d.]



2. Six Airs de Ballet de 'Guillaume Tell' de Rossini arrangés en Rondeaux pour le Piano Forte par H. Herz. A Londres. Chez Goulding et D'Almaine. [n.d.]
3. No. 1 des Trois Rondeaux caractéristiques pour le Piano Forte composés par H. Herz. Op. 61. A Londres. Chez Goulding et D'Almaine. [n.d.]
4. No. 3 des Trois Rondeaux caractéristiques pour le Piano Forte composés par H. Herz. Op. 61. A Londres. Chez Goulding et D'Almaine. [n.d.]
5. Trois Airs Variés pour le Piano Forte par H. Herz. Op. 39. London. R. Cocks & Co. [c.1830]
6. Brilliant Variations, for the Piano Forte, on a subject from G. Rossini's Grand Opera of 'Guillaume Tell' by C. Chaulieu. Op. 92. London. Goulding & D'Almaine. [c.1830?]
7. 'Gems à la Sontag'. A Dramatic Fantasia for the Piano Forte in which are introduced the most admired Airs by I. Moscheles. London. Mori & Lavenue. [c.1830?]
8. 'Souvenirs à la Sontag' ou Choix des Airs chantés par Melle Sontag arrangés pour le Piano Forte par J. P. Pixis. London. Clementi, Collard & Collard. [n.d.]
9. The celebrated 'Alpensänger March', arranged for the Piano Forte by E. Perry. London. Mori & Lavenue. [n.d.]
10. 'Ma Nacelle'. Fantaisie pour le Piano sur une Romance composée par C. Chaulieu. Op. 30. London. Mori & Lavenue. [1830?]
11. Première. Fantaisie élégante ou Potpourri brillant sur les Thèmes favoris de l'Opera 'La Dame Blanche' [by F. A. Boieldieu] pour le Piano Forte par C. Czerny. Op. 131. London. Mori & Lavenue. [1827?]
12. Rondo pour le Piano Forte sur la Sicilienne chanté par Nourrit dans 'Robert le Diable' de G. Meyerbeer par F. Kalkbrenner. London. S. Chappell. [n.d.]
13. Thema, Allemand, with Variations for the Piano Forte composed by F. Kalkbrenner. London. L. Lavenue. [1814?]
14. 'Le Séjour à Londres'. Thema et Variations pour le Piano Forte avec Violon (ad lib.) par E. Hummel, Fils. A Londres. Chez J. Alfred Novello. [1840?]
15. Auber's Favorite Overture to 'Fra Diavolo' arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte by W. Watts. London. S. Chappell. [1835?]
16. Auber's Overture to 'Masaniello' arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte with Accompaniments of Violin, Flute & Violoncello (ad lib.) by W. Watts. London. J. B. Cramer, Addison & Beale. [c.1835?]
17. 'Souvenir à Schönbrun'. Seconde Grand Marche à quatre mains pour le Piano Forte composée par C. Czerny. Op. 250. London. Wessel & Co. [1830?]
18. 'Louis Philippe the First's Quadrilles'. The Melodies taken from the National Songs of Liberty in honour of the glorious events of the 27<sup>th</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup>, & 29<sup>th</sup> July 1830. Arranged for the Piano Forte with (ad lib.) Accompaniment for Harp, Flute &

Violoncello by E. Perry. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]

**Volume 59 (Possibly belonging to Elizabeth Howard)**

1. 'Gems à la Paganini'. A Brilliant Fantasia in the style of this Performer composed for the Piano Forte and dedicated to Paganini by I. Moscheles. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1831?]
2. 'Echoes of the Alps'. A Fantaisie for the Piano Forte in which are introduced the popular Swiss Airs 'The Pastor of the Alps', 'The Goatherd's Boy', 'The Swiss Drover Boy of Appenzell', composed by I. Moscheles. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1830?]
3. Souvenir de l'Opera. A Fantasia for the Piano Forte in which are introduced the popular Airs ... by I. Moscheles. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1830?]
4. Introduction and Variations on the Favorite Air 'Rise Swiss Lad', composed for the Piano Forte by I. F. Marcks, revised by F. Kalkbrenner. Liverpool. G. Thomson. [1838]
5. Fantaisie for the Piano Forte in which is introduced the Favorite French Air 'Il Pleut Bergère' with six Variations by F. Kalkbrenner. London. L. Lavenu. [WM 1812]
6. 'Vive Henri Quatre', the Celebrated National French Air with an Introduction and eight Variations for the Piano Forte by F. Kalkbrenner. Op. 16. London. Clementi & Co. [1815]
7. Contre Danses Variées suivies d'une Valse pour le Piano Forte composées par H. Herz. A Londres. Chez Mori & Lavenu. [c.1830?]
8. Allegro and Variations in a familiar style for the Piano Forte by H. Herz. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1835?]
9. A first Capriccio for the Piano Forte by H. Herz. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1835?]
10. Waltz Rondino for the Piano Forte by H. Herz. London. Goulding & D'Almaine. [c.1830]
11. Variations Faciles et Brillantes pour le Piano Forte sur la Chansonette 'Toi qui connais les Hussards de la Garde' par C. Chaulieu. London. Mori & Lavenu. [1830?]
12. 'Au Clair de la Lune'. Varié pour le Piano Forte par C. Chaulieu. London. Mori & Lavenu. [c.1830?]
13. Dussek's Sonata from Op. 14. J. L. Dussek. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
14. The Celebrated Waltz danced by Madelle Taglioni ... by M. Peret. London. Mori & Lavenu. [n.d.]
15. Variations on the French National March 'La Parisienne', composed for the Piano Forte by A. Adam. Op. 55. London. Paine & Hopkins. [1832]

## ***Volumes of Music belonging to Mary Howard (unnumbered)***

### ***Volume A***

1. Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy's Sämmtliche Werke. Compositionen für die Orgel. Revidirt von F. A. Roitzsch. Leipzig. C. F. Peters. [c.1844?]
  - i) Drei Präludien und Fugen. Op. 37.
  - ii) Sechs Sonaten. Op. 65.

### ***Volume B***

1. Album für Orgelspieler. Festgabe für Herrn J. G. Töpfer. Leipzig und Winterthur. J. Rieter-Biedermann. [c.1880?]

### ***Volume C [Inscription on first piece of music: 'Mary Feb 13/ 80']***

1. Andante in A for the Organ by H. Smart. Posthumous Work No. 1. London. Augener & Co. [1879]
2. Gavotte Moderne en Ut. par B. Tours. London. Weekes & Co. [1875]
3. Short Melodies for Voluntaries, arranged for the Organ, by W. J. Westbrook. London. William Czerny. [1872–85]
4. Nine Airs from Mendelssohn's 'Elijah' arranged for the Organ with Pedal Obligato by G. Calkin. London. Novello, Ewer & Co. [1855, 56]
5. Pieces in different Styles for the Organ by A. Guilmant. New Edition with French and English text. Paris. Chez Schott. [n.d.]
6. Twelve Movements from the Works of S. Heller arranged for the Organ by W. J. Westbrook. London. Ashdown & Parry. [ca.1895]
7. A Second Series of Twelve Movements from the Works of S. Heller arranged for the Organ by W. J. Westbrook. London. Ashdown & Parry. [ca.1895]
8. Three Organ Pieces by W. Rea. London. Augener & Co. [1881]
9. Six Pieces for the Organ composed by E. Silas. Op. 95. London. Ashdown & Parry E. Ashdown. [1879–97]
10. Adagio für Violine und Orgel componiert von G. Merkel Op. 51. Mainz. Bei B. Schott's Söhnen. [n.d.]

## ***Music displayed in the Music Room***

### ***Volume B2 [belonging to Georgiana Cavendish]***

1. Longman and Broderip's Collection of ... Music for the Grand and Small Piano Forte. London. Longman & Broderip. [1793–95]

2. 'The Rosary'. A favorite English Ballad in the 'Midnight Wanderers' by W. Shield and arranged as a Rondo by J. L. Dussek. [London] [1793]
3. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the German Flute or Violin (ad libitum) by M. P. King. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1795?]
4. The Celebrated Opera Dances for the Year 1794 composed and adapted for the Piano Forte, Violin or Flute by M. Miller. Book 1. London. Longman & Broderip. [1794]
5. Eight different Pieces (in an easy style) arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum by I. Pleyel. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1795]
6. Four Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum by I. Pleyel. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1795?]
7. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum by G. G. Ferrari. Op. VIII. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1795?]
8. Bland's Collection of Duets for two Performers on one Harpsichord or Piano Forte by the following eminent composers ... London. J. Bland. [c.1790]
9. Sonate [in G] pour le Clavecin avec l'Accompagnement du Violon ... par F. Giardini. [London] [1790]

### ***Manuscript Book [n.d.]***

1. 'Raccolta di Canzonette Veneziane con acompagnamento di Piano Forte'.

### ***Manuscript Book [n.d.] Lady Georgiana Carlisle***

1. 'Del Maestro Vulcan', Romanza, G. Pellegrina.
2. 'Der Großvater'.
3. 'L'Enfant du Régiment'. Chansonette.
4. Valse dédiée a S. M. L'Imp. Alexandra Feo -?
5. 'I arise from Dreams of Thee'. Words by P. B. Shelley.
6. 'Guillaume Tell' - Valse.
7. 'Romance'.
8. Song. 'The time that this heart should be unmov'd since others it has'.
9. 'Prince Charlie'.
10. 'Lo Miss Myrtle is going to marry'.
11. Waltz by Beethoven.

12. 'Oh the Merry Days when we were young'.
13. A Spanish Chant.
14. Russian National Hymn (in Russian and German).
15. 'I come from a happy land to make thee my own'.
16. 'Nachruf'.
17. 'Oh di qual sei tu vitturia'. Terzetto.
18. 'Am I not fondly thine own?' Or 'Du, du liegst mir im Herzen'.
19. 'Oh sweetly, Oh sweetly the noon day ending'.
20. 'I will arise and go to my Father'. Rev. R. Cecil.
21. 'Glory be to God on High'.
22. Hymn 217 - 'Where, where is Lion's Helper?' Words by Mr Bickersteth, music by his son.
23. 'Take hence the bowl tho' beaming brightly'.
24. 'Farewell Thersa that cloud which over yon moon'.
25. 'The Better Land'. Mrs Hemans.
26. 'The sound of the Sea'. Words by Mrs Hemans. Music anon.
27. 'The Better Land'.
28. 'Le Pêcheur Boulonnais' - Barcarole. Musique de Hedonin. Paroles de Theux.
29. Adagio (for the Piano Forte).
30. 'Eternal Hope'. Words by Campbell. Music by Mrs Arkwright.
31. 'Go forth for she is gone!' Words by Mrs Hemans.
32. Hymn.
33. 'O'er the hushed world'.
34. Strauss.
35. A Waltz composed by E. Schulz.
36. 'Duke of Devonshire's Waltz' composed by E. Schulz.
37. 'Comfort ye my People' - Recitative [Handel].
38. 'But thou didst not leave his Soul in Hell' - Air [Handel].



## Appendix 2: The Harewood House Collection

### *Volume 1 (manuscript)*

1. Italian arias with instrumental accompaniments by M. Morzellari.
  - i) 'Aria Buffa'.
  - ii) 'La Partenza'. Duettini.
  - iii) Duettino.
  - iv) Ariette.
2. Canzonette Italiane accompagnate col Cembalo o Arpa o Chitarra. Messe in Musica dal V. Martin y Soler. London. Longman & Broderip. [1798]
3. 'And must we part forever more'. H. Abrams.
4. 'Loin de toi ma Félicie'. Romance par De Horian.
5. 'Triste raison j'abdure ton empire'.
6. 'I ought to tear thee from my heart'. H. Abrams.
7. 'Dans cette aimable solitude'. Romance.
8. 'Anime innamorate'.
9. 'Tirsi da meche voi'.
10. 'Ching Chit Duani'.
11. 'L'Augollino svolazzando pa piu lieto'.
12. 'Torna pure al carobene'.
13. 'I'll buy votes at Elections'.
14. 'A flaxen headed Cowboy'.
15. 'Patty Clover' in the opera of ? by J. Harian?
16. 'When Delia on the Plain appears'.
17. 'Selva romita oscrira'.
18. 'Codiad yr Hedgdd' (for piano forte).
19. 'Pauvre Jacques quand j'étais loin de toi'.
20. 'La Barbellina molina rella'.
21. 'Solfeggi' del M. C. Morzellari.

### *Volume 2*

Three Italian Ariettes and two Duettos for soprano and tenor by M. A. Catalani.  
[London.][n.d.]

### **Volume 3**

Handel's celebrated Overtures, complete, from his Oratorios and Operas, arranged by the author for the Organ or Piano Forte. London. Preston. [1807?]

### **Volume 4**

1. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte ... and an Accompaniment for a Violin or Flute by J. Mazzinghi. London. G. Goulding. [c.1800]
2. 'The Battle of Prague'. A Sonata for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or Bass ... [by F. Kotzwara]. London. Longman & Broderip. [1793?]
3. A Favorite Rondo by for Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by G. M. Giornovich. London. Longman & Broderip. [1792, c. 1795]
4. Herzel's celebrated Concertante adapted for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Violin. London. J. Dale. [n.d.]
5. The Favorite Minuet with Variations for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the Violin – as performed in the Siege of Belgrade with Variations. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]

### **Volume 5**

1. 'In questo bel soggiorno'. In the opera of 'La Bella Pescatrice' by J. Mazzinghi. London. Printed for the Proprietors. [c.1790?]
2. 'Al suon soave'. The Favorite Organ Quintetto in the opera of 'La Bella Pescatrice' by P. Guglielmi. London. T. Skillern and G. Goulding, for the Proprietors. 1791.
3. 'Per-che se mio tu sei'. The Favorite Terzetto in the opera of 'La Bella Pescatrice' by G. Tritto. London. G. Goulding, for the Proprietors. [c.1795]
4. 'Tutto da voi dipende'. The Celebrated Duetto in the opera of 'La Locanda' by G. Paesiello. London. T. Skillern, for the Proprietors. [1791]
5. 'Crudel, perche finora'. A Favourite Duett in the opera of 'La Vendemmia' by W. A. Mozart. London. Printed by J. Dale. [c.1790]
6. 'Che vi par dorina bella'. Trio in the opera of 'Le Nozze di Dorina' by [G. Sarti?] (manuscript).
7. Quartetto in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per Amore' by G. Paesiello. [London] Longman & Broderip. [c.1787?]



8. 'Amare tacere'. Duett in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per Amore' by G. Paesiello. [London] Longman & Broderip. [1787]
9. 'Ola dico'. Quartet in the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per Amore' by G. Paesiello. [London] Longman & Broderip. [1787]
10. 'Per pieta padron mio'. In the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per Amore' by F. Bianchi. [London] Longman & Broderip. [1787]
11. 'Dove ridotta fono'. In the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per Amore' by G. Paesiello. [London] Longman & Broderip. [1787?]
12. 'Chi mi mostra'. In the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per Amore' by G. Paesiello. [London] Longman & Broderip. [1787]
13. 'Donne, donne chi vi crede'. In the opera of 'Gli Schiavi per Amore' by B. Mengozzi. [London] Longman & Broderip. [1787]
14. [One other song by G. Paesiello on torn page.]

### ***Volume 6***

'Divine Amusement'. A select Collection of Psalms and Hymns, adapted for the Voice, Piano Forte or Organ by T. Curtis. Vol. 1. London. J. Balls. [c.1815]

### ***Volumes 7-10***

'Apollonian Harmony. A Collection of ... Glees, Catches, Madrigals, Canzonetts, Rounds & Canons ... by Aldrich, Arne, Atterbury, Battishall [sic], Boyce, Brewer, Dibdin, Eccles, Est, Giardini, Green, Handel, Harrington, Hayes, Hook, Morley, Nares, Purcell, Ravenscroft, Travers, Webbe and other ... Masters ... The Words consistent with Female Delicacy.' In 4 volumes. London. Button & Whitaker's. [1795?-1798?]

### ***Volume 11***

'Cambridge Chants'. Single and double chants as performed by the principal choirs in the United Kingdom ... collected and arranged with a separate accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte with a Figured Bass by J. Clarke. [London] [Preston?] [Between 1830 and 1850?]

### ***Volume 12***

'A third set of Voluntaries for the Organ chiefly intended for the use of Young Practitioners ... with a few thoughts on the style of Church music in general composed by J. Marsh. Volume 1. London. Goulding & Compy. [c.1800]

### ***Volume 13***

Select Airs and Choruses from the Oratorios etc. of Handel adapted as Voluntaries and Pieces for the Organ or the Piano Forte by J. Marsh. G. F. Handel. London. Preston. [1811?]

### ***[No Volume 14]***

### ***Volume 15***

'La Perle des Indes'. Arranged for the Piano Forte by J. van Gelder. [London?] [n.d.]

### ***Volume 16***

Handel's Songs selected from his Oratorios for the Harpsichord, Voice, Hoboy or German Flute. G. F. Handel. Vol. 1. London. I. Walsh. [1769?]

### ***Volume 17***

Six Sonatas for Piano Forte and Organ, with Accompanyments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. 2. London. Printed for the author. 1768.

### ***Volume 18 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Six Trios for Two Violins and Piano Forte or Violoncello by F. Giardini. Op. 30. Dedicated to Her Grace the Dutchess [Duchess] of Devonshire. Op. 30. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. Sei Trii di Violino e Basso composti da A. Kammel. Op. I. Dedicated to Lady Lucy Mann. London. 15 Marzo 1766.
3. A Favorite Set of Sonatas for two Violins, Violoncello or a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by M. Humble. Op. VII. London. Longman Lukey. [c.1775]

4. Sei trii a due Violini e Basso composti da G. B. Noferi. Op. IX. London. Welcker. [c.1778?]
5. Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by G. B. Noferi. Op. VII. London. R. Bremner. [n.d.]
6. A third Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1770?]
7. A fourth Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [c.1770]
8. A fifth Sett of Trios for two Violins and a Violoncello composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1772]
9. A second Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by F. Schwindl. Op. 7. London. Longman, Lukey & Co. [1775?]
10. Six Sonates à deux Violons et Violoncello composées par J. Vanhal. Ov. XII. London. I. Betz. [c.1775?]
11. Six Trios for a Violin, Violoncello obligato, & Bass with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by J. Lates. Op. 5. London. Printed for the author by C. & S. Thompson. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 19 (parts for basso ripieno)***

1. Sonatas I–VI by J. Rameau. [n.p.] [n.d.]
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. Settima. Newcastle. Printed for the author by J. Johnson. 1760
3. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one Alto Viola, and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760.

### ***Volume 20***

1. Six Overtures composed and adapted for the Harpsichord by J. C. Bach. London. Welcker. [1770?]
2. 'Conversation Overture' by J. Marsh adapted for the Piano Forte by J. White. (Manuscript). Dated Nov – 11(?).
3. Six Favorite Quartettos by R. Davaux. Adapted for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a 'Violin and Tenor'. London. W. Napier. [c.1780?]

## ***Volume 21 (Parts for violino/flauto)***

1. Sonatas I–VI [by J. Rameau?] [n.d.]
2. Six Quartettos pour deux Violons, Taille et Basse par M. Davaux. Oeuvre I. A La Haye. Chez B. Hummel. [n.d.]
3. Four Concertos for the Harpsichord, two Violins and a Violoncello by F. Schumann. Op. IV. London. Printed for the author. [1765?]
4. Six Simphonies choisies à deux Violons, Taille et Basse, deux Hautbois et deux Cornes de Chasse ad libitum par A. Filtz. A La Haye. Chez B. Hummel. [1780?]
5. 'The Periodical Overture' in eight parts composed by C. Stamitz. No. XLI. London. R. Bremner. [c.1775?]
6. The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts by J. Vanhal. No. XLII. London. R. Bremner. [1774?]
7. The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts by J. Haydn. No. XL. London. R. Bremner. [1774?]
8. The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts by C. Stamitz. No. XLIII. London. R. Bremner. [1775?]
9. A Third Sett of six Favorite Overtures in eight parts for two Violins, two Oboes, and two Horns, Viola, and Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston. [n.d.]
10. A Second Sett of Quartettos for two Violins for two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello obligato by C. F. Abel. Op. XII. London. Printed for the author by R. Bremner. [1775?]
11. Sonata I [for cembalo and violins]. 'Divertimento per cembalo del Sigr. P. Ricci' adhered to back of music. [n.p.] [n.d.]
12. 'Periodical Sonata II' [for cembalo and violins]. 'Divertimento per cembalo del Sigr. P. Ricci No. 2, sold at Napier's music shop'. [n.p.] [n.d.]
13. Six Concertos for Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for two Violins and a Bass by J. S. Schroeter. Op. III. London. W. Napier. [1780?]
14. Six Overtures in eight parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by RH Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. I. London. R. Bremner. [1762]
15. The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts by J. C. Bach. Number XLIV. London. R. Bremner. [1775]
16. Concertos I–VI by A. Filtz. [n.p.] [n.d.]
17. The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts by J. Vanhal. Number XLV. London. R. Bremner. [1775]

18. [Sonates. Op. 1.] Six Trios for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin and a Violoncello ad libitum by E. Eichner. London. Welcker. [1775?]
19. Six Quatuors à Flûte, Violon, Alto, et Basse par J. Haydn à Vienne. Op. V. London. R. Bremner. [1772]

### ***Volume 22***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 8. London. Printed for the author. 1764.
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or German Flute and Violoncello by C. F. Abel. Op. II. London. Printed for the Author. 1760.

### ***Volume 23***

1. 'Piano Forte made easy to every Capacity and the Art of Fingering' by J. Jousse. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. 'Rudiments of Music'. Lessons 1-XXXI. [n.a.] [n.d.]
3. Horsley's selected Sonatinas 4-27. [n.p.] [n.d.]
4. 'Twenty little Pieces for the Piano Forte' arranged and fingered by J. Jousse. London. Preston. [WM 1809]
5. 'Six Progressive Sonatinas for the Piano Forte' composed and fingered by Muzio Clementi. Op. 36. London. Muzio Clementi. [1805?]
6. 'Three Progressive Sonatas for the Piano Forte calculated for the Improvement of Young Ladies. In which are introduced 'Drink to me only', 'Be gone Dull Care' etc. by L. Hoberecht. London. Goulding & Co. [n.d.]
7. Six Instructive Lessons for the Piano Forte. Taken from familiar Airs ... for the Improvement of Juvenile Performers. London. Clementi & Co. [c.1810]
8. 'The Italian Momfrina' by M. Holst. London. C. Ward. [1810?]
9. 'Ricardo' or the 'Persian Dance' arranged as a Rondo by J. Gildon. London. J. & G. Balls. [n.d.]
10. Button & Whitaker's Selection of Dances ... for Piano Forte, Harp, Violin, or German Flute with Figures. London. Printed for the Editors. [1808? 15?]
11. Favorite Collection of Dances selected from the Operas, Ballets and Melodramas for the Piano Forte ... by H. Bishop. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [n.d.]

12. 'Marquis de la Romann's Waltz'. Arranged by N. Gow. Edinburgh. N. Corri. [c.1790?]
13. The Swiss Rondo for the Piano Forte by J. Parry. London. Goulding, d'Almaine, Potter & Co. [c.1820?]
14. 'Leipsig', or 'The Allie's Grand March'. And a favorite Waltz composed for the Piano Forte by G. Letzn. London. Phipps & Co. [WM 1811]
15. 'The Rising of the Lark', a Welsh air, with Variations, for Piano Forte by T. Latour. Bland & Wellers. [WM 1808]
16. 'Le Bouton de Rose'. A favorite Divertimento for the Harp or Piano Forte by J. Gildon. London. Pearce & Co. [WM 1811]
17. 'God save the King', with Favourite Variations for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by J. Casson. London. Printed for the author by Goulding & Co. [1793]
18. 'Rule Britannia' with Variations calculated for the use of Young Performers on the Piano Forte by T. Latour. London. Clementi & Co. [1813?]
19. Six Sonates pour le Clavecin or Piano-Forte avec l'accompagnement d'une Violon par F. A. K. Collizzi. Londres. Imprimé pour Preston & Fils. [n.d.]
20. Duett[s] for two Performers on one Piano Forte by the most eminent Composers. London. Bland & Weller's. [n.d.]
21. Six Duettos for Juvenile Performers on the Piano Forte arranged by J. Gilden. London. J. & G. Balls. [n.d.]
22. Duet for two Performers on one Piano Forte by I. G. Graeff. London. James Balls & Co. [n.d.]
23. 'The Peasant's Joy' arranged as a Duet by J. Davies. London. J. & G. Balls. [n.d.]

#### ***Volume 24***

'The Beauties of Handel in two Volumes consisting of upwards of one Hundred of his most favourite Songs, Duettts and Trios with a separate Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, and figured from the MS Scores of the author by J. Corfe'. Volume 2. London. Printed and sold for the author by Preston. [1803-04]

#### ***Volume 25***

'The Beauties of Handel in three Volumes consisting of upwards of one Hundred of his most favourite Songs, Duettts and Trios with a separate Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, and figured from the MS Scores of the author by J. Corfe'. Volume 3.

London. Printed and sold for the author by Preston. [1825?]

### ***Volume 26***

'The Beauties of Handel in two Volumes consisting of upwards of one Hundred of his most favourite Songs, Duetts and Trios with a separate Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, and figured from the MS Scores of the author by J. Corfe'. Volume 1. London. Printed and sold for the author by Preston. [1803–04]

### ***Volume 27 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Prima. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
2. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Seconda. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
3. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Terza. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
4. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Quarta. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]

### ***Volume 28***

'Moise in Egitto' by G. A. Rossini. A Paris. Chez Carli. [c.1825?]

### ***Volume 29 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 5. London. John Johnson. 1756.
2. Five Concertos for the Harpsic[h]ord by J. Rameau accompanied with a Violin or German Flute or two Violins or Viola with some select pieces for Harpsichord alone. London. I. Walsh. [1750]
3. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 6. Newcastle. Printed for the author. 1760.
4. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one Alto Viola, and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760.

5. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one Alto Viola, and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760. (part for violin primo ripieno)

***Volume 30 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 8. London. Printed for the author and sold by R. Johnson and R. Bremner in Edinburgh. 1764.
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or German Flute and by C. F. Abel. Op. II. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]

***Volume 31 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Six Overtures in four parts with Hautboys and French-horns ad libitum calculated for small or great concerts by L. Borghi. London. Printed for the author. 16 April 1787.
2. Six Concertos for the Organ and Harpsichord also for Violins, Hautboys and other Instruments in seven parts by G. F. Handel. Op. 4. London. I. Walsh. [1738?]
3. 'The Famous Waterpiece compos'd by Mr Handel'. G. F. Handel. London. J. Johnson. [n.d.] (first treble)
4. A Third Set of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. V. London. Welcker. [c.1775]
5. A Fourth Sett of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins, and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. VI. London. Welcker. [c.1780]
6. Concerto II. [n.a.] [n.d.]
7. Concerto. [n.a.] [n.d.]
8. Concerto by G. Rush. [n.p.] [n.d.]
9. Concerto by J. Haydn. [n.p.] [n.d.]
10. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with Accompaniments for two Violins, a Tenor and Bass by J. S. Schroeter. Op. III. London. W. Napier. [1774]
11. Six Sonates pour le Clavecin avec Accompagnement d'un Violon ou Flûte Traversière et d'un Violoncelle par C. F. Abel. Oeuvre V. London. Printed for the author by R. Bremner. [1775?] (violin or flute)



12. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Violin or German Flute by J. Mazzinghi. Op. 10. London. G. Goulding. [1792?]

### ***Volume 32 (parts for alto viola)***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 8. London. Printed for the author. 1764.
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or German Flute and Violoncello by C. F. Abel. Op. II. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 33 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 8. London. Printed for the author. 1764.
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin or German Flute and Violoncello by C. F. Abel. Op. II. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 34 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Six Quartettos pour deux Violons, Taille et Basse composés par J. B. Davaux. Oeuvre première. A La Haye. Chez B. Hummel. [c.1780]
2. Four Concertos for the Harpsichord, two Violins and a Violoncello by F. Schumann. Op. 4. London. Printed for the author. [1765?]
3. Six Simphonies choisies à deux Violons, Taille et Basse, deux Hautbois et deux Cornes de Chasse ad libitum. Composées par A. Filtz. A La Haye. Chez J. J. Hummel. [c.1780?]
4. Sinfonia XLI [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. [c.1775?]
5. Sinfonia XLII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. [1774?]
6. Sinfonia XL [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Haydn. [1774?]
7. Sinfonia XLIII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. [1775?]
8. A Third Sett of six favorite Overtures in eight Parts for two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola and a Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston & Longman, Lukey & Broderip. [n.d.]
9. A Second Sett of six Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor, and a Violoncello obligato by C. F. Abel. Op. XII. London. Printed for the author by R. Bremner. [1775?]
10. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for two Violins and a Bass composed by J. Schroeter. Op. III. London. W. Napier. [c.1780]

11. Six Overtures in eight Parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by the Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. I. London. R. Bremner. [1762]
12. Sinfonia XLIV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. C. Bach. [1775]
13. Concerto I [by A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
14. Concerto II [by A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
15. Concerto VI [by A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
16. Sinfonia XLV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. [1775]

### ***Volume 35 (parts for basso)***

1. Six Simphonies choisies à deux Violons, Taille et Basse, deux Hautbois et deux Cornes de Chasse ad libitum. Composées par A. Filtz. A La Haye. Chez J. J. Hummel. [1780?]
2. Sinfonia XLI [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. [c.1775]
3. Sinfonia XLII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. [1774?]
4. Sinfonia XL [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Haydn. [1774?]
5. Sinfonia XLIII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. [1775?]
6. A Third Sett of six Favourite Overtures in eight parts for two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola and a Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston & Longman, Lukey & Broderip. [n.d.]
7. Six Overtures in eight Parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by the Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. I. London. R. Bremner. [1762]
8. Sinfonia XLIV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. C. Bach. [1775]
9. Concerto I [by A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
10. Concerto II [by A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
11. Concerto VI [by A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
12. Sinfonia XLV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. [1775]

### ***Volume 36 (parts for alto viola)***

1. Six Quartettos pour deux Violons, Taille et Basse composés par J. Davaux. Oeuvre première. A La Haye. Chez B. Hummel. [n.d.]
2. Six Simphonies choisies à deux Violons, Taille et Basse, deux Hautbois et deux Cornes de Chasse ad libitum. Composées par A. Filtz. A La Haye. Chez J. J. Hummel. [1780?]
3. Sinfonia XLI [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. [c.1775?]

4. Sinfonia XLII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. [1774?]
5. Sinfonia XL [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Haydn. [1774?]
6. Sinfonia XLIII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. [1775?]
7. A third Set of six favourite Overtures in eight parts for two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola and a Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston & Longman, Lukey & Broderip. [n.d.]
8. A second Sett of six Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor, and a Violoncello obligato by C. F. Abel. Op. XII. London. Printed for the author by R. Bremner. [1775?]
9. Six Overtures in eight Parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by the Right Honorable Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. I. London. R. Bremner. [1762]
10. Sinfonia XLIV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. C. Bach. [1775]
11. Six Quatuor à Flûte, Violon, Alto, Basse par J. Haydn à Vienne. Op. 5. London. R. Bremner. [1772]
12. Sinfonia XLV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. [1775]

***Volume 37 (manuscript, music for voice and piano forte)***

1. Trio in 'Thermici (?) Generosa' by D. Cimarosa.
2. Duetto nel matrimonial sequeto by D. Cimarosa.
3. Duet for soprano and bass voices.
4. Aria con coro from 'Tancredi' by G. Rossini.

From back of volume, upside down:

5. Corodi Sacerdoti and Clearco. For Violini, oboe, fagotti, clearco, coro  
Note saying: 'Corni effant left out. Viola left out.'

***Volume 38 (manuscript music)***

1. 'Dans ma cabane absense' by J. J. Rousseau.
2. 'From good Liquor'. English part-song.
3. 'Joys in gentle Trains appearing'. Duo.
4. 'Oh ma tendre Mussette'. Romance.
5. Extract from the opera of 'Il Barbiere di Seviglia' by G. Paisiello.
6. 'La Capriciose Romance de Gretin.'
7. 'Say Myra'.
8. 'The Cobler's Song'.
9. 'Voglio Cara'.

10. 'Dormia sul Margine'.
11. 'Of all the Girls'.
12. 'Your Care of Money' in 'The Prize'.
13. 'Ah tell me softly'. Duett in 'The Prize'.
14. 'The Mariners'. 'You Gentlemen of England'. A Glee.
15. French song.
16. Marche.
17. Musette.
18. 'Confession'.
19. Song in the 'Cherokee'.
20. Music for the piano forte in 'Paul and Virginie'.
21. March in 'Sapho et Phaon'.
22. 'Pieta, Pieta di miei.' Quartet.
23. 'Dans la Bosque le lendemain'.
24. 'De tous les Biens'
25. 'William and Emma'. A Ballad.
26. 'Sylvia'.
27. 'Lullaby Baby'.
28. 'Duke of Gloucester's March'.
29. 'Romance de Richard Coeur de Lion'.
30. 'Black Eyed Swan'.
31. 'Hushabye Baby'. A Ballad.
32. Lullabies.
33. 'Poor Kate'.
34. 'Chorus of Boatmen in China'.
35. 'Ah protegate oh Dei'.
36. 'Fra Glinniei Cantiei'.
37. 'The gentle Dew distilled from Heaven.'
38. 'Nel Lasciarti'
39. 'Be still soft Murmers of each purling Rill'.
40. 'Awful Being deign to say' by Butler. Words by R. Cumberland.
41. 'My Cottage in the lonely Dell'. A favorite Ballad by Hanison.
42. 'A Lady's Heart on Malbro Downe was stole the other day.'
43. 'A Venetian Ballad'.
44. 'Cuckoo Cuckoo'.
45. 'When Jamie he first did love me'. Ballad by I. Pleyel.

46. 'How imperfect is Expression.'
47. 'To the Winds, to the Woods.'
48. 'Fame let thy Trumpet sound'.
49. A Swiss Air.
50. 'Lilla mia Dove seigita' in the 'Cosa Sasa' by V. Martin y Soler.
51. 'Romance de Chevalier Bouffler'.
52. 'Durandarte and Belerma'.
53. Venetian Ballad.
54. Setting of a poem by R. Sheridan by Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire.
55. Air de 'Paul et Virginie'.
56. Hispian music (?)
57. Gloucester Slow March.
58. 'The Leeds Volunteers'.
59. March.
60. March in 'Evelina' by Sacchini.
61. Duet.
62. 'Mr. Spencer's March'.
63. A favorite Duet sung by the Miss Gubbinses composed by J W [John White?]
64. 'Ranz des Vacher, noté sur une Montagne en Suisse' par M. de Catillan.
65. 'Romance de Nina'.
66. 'Vol le Coglier, una Rosa' by Millico.
67. The favorite song in 'The Rhingau'.
68. 'Pope's March'.
70. Venetian Ballad.
71. 'Song' by Lady Craven.
- 72-3. Venetian Ballads.
74. 'Castle Spectre' by M. Kelly.
75. Dead March.
76. 'Durandarte and Belerma'.
77. 'Canto Greco' by F. Giardini.
78. Venetian Air.
79. 'A Sigh of Lament'.
80. 'Hymn of the Emperoro Francis' set by J. Haydn and sung in the public theatres in Vienna.
- 81-2. Venetian Airs.
83. Hymn.

84. 'Castle Spectre' by M. Kelly.
85. 'Chimney Sweeper call at Venice'.
86. 'The Bottom of the Punch Bowl'.
87. Cannon.
88. 'When Love gets into the youthful Brain'.
89. 'Sad was the Time when verse'd in Art'.
90. 'Alonso and fair Imogene'.
91. 'Lord Breadalbane's Reel'.
92. 'Sonnet' 'Not to be given away' – 1800.
93. Duet for Papagena and Pamina by W. A. Mozart.
94. 'Oh where and oh where is your highland Laddie gone?'
95. 'Speed the Plough'.
96. 'Lord Lewisham March'.
97. 'The Yorkshire Militia March'.
98. 'Cauld Hail in Aberdeen'.
99. 'Tap beats the Drum'.
100. Trio in the 'Fairy Festival' by T. Attwood.
101. 'Kyrie Eleison' for four vocal parts.
102. 'Aldiboronti phosco phornio' by J. W. Callcott.
103. 'Le Pipe de Tabac'.
104. Cavatina by Butler.
105. Rondo by Pozzi.
106. 'Miss Sarah Maria Siddons'.
107. Barcarolla Veroziana.
108. Piece by S. Mayr of Venice.
109. 'I had a little Hobby Horse'. Part-song.
110. Duetto. Farinelli.
111. Maestoso by M. Mortellari.
112. Ballad by Miss Staples.
113. March – Scipio.
114. 'Nay take it Patty take it little Store' by Mrs Cumberland.
115. Piece from 'The Travellers'.
116. 'Upstairs, Downstairs'. Duet by J. Hook.
117. Canzonetta by Pfeiffer.
118. 'The Glassy Stream'. Glee by W. Cowper.
119. 'Oh Nanny! Wilt thou gang with me'. Glee harmonized ... by S. Harrison. London.

Printed for S. Harrison by Rt Birchall. [1803]

120. 'And will he not come again' from Shakespeare's 'Ophelia'.
121. Songs relating to death in battle.
122. Air Savoyard.
123. 'Last Night the Dogs did bark'.
124. Piece by G. Sarti.
125. 118<sup>th</sup> Psalm set by Hayes.
126. 104<sup>th</sup> Psalm set by G. F. Handel.
127. Series of settings of psalms.
128. Piece by V. Righini.
129. 'Dissipe la Froidure Mois de Mai' by W. A. Mozart.
130. Arrietta by Pfeiffer.
131. 'Mr Cha' calling Smith'. Trezetto by Rauzzini.
132. 'La Placida Campagna'. Duetto by V. Fioravanti. Ridotto del piano forte.
133. A favorite duetto sung by Sigr Morelli and Sigra Storace.

### **Volume 39**

1. The original music in 'Macbeth' by M. Locke arranged from the score and adapted for the Piano Forte by B. Jacobs [Jacob]. London. F. Linley. [1798?]
2. 'Crudele Sospetto'. Quartet and chorus in the opera of 'La Donna del Lago' by G. Rossini. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
3. 'Ah! Se manco a te di fede'. Quintetto nell' opera 'Medea in Corinto' dal S. Mayr. Ridotto da C. Dumon. London. Grua, Ricordi & Co. [n.d.]
4. 'O Guardate che accidente!' Quintetto in the opera of 'Nel Turco in Italia' par G. Rossini arrangé avec accompagnement de Piano par G. Pacini. A Paris. Chez Pacini. [n.d.]
5. 'All' idea di quel metallo'. Duetto in the opera of 'Il Barbiere di Siviglia' by G. Rossini. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
6. 'Partiemi lasci intanto'. The Favorite Duet in the grand serious opera of 'Gastoni e Bajardo' by G. Liverati. Poetry by S. Vestris. London. Printed for the author. [ca.1820]
7. 'O Numi Benefico'. A canon in the opera of 'La Gazza Ladra' by G. Rossini. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
8. 'Cedi al destin Medea'. Duetto nell' opera 'Medea in Corinto' by S. Mayr con accompagnamento di C. Dumon. London. Grua, Ricordi & Co. [n.d.]

9. 'Ciel che feci!' The Favorite Grand Finale to the Opera 'Il Tancredi' by G. Rossini, arranged by M. C. Mortellari. London. Falkner's Opera Music Warehouse. [c.1820?]
10. (Manuscript) 'Romance de Lodoiska' by R. Kreutzer, accompagnement de Harpe de F. Sor.
11. 'Ah! D'un alma generosa'. Duetto in the opera of 'Medea in Corintho' by S. Mayr. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]
12. 'Invan tu finga ingrato'. Recitative and Duett in the Opera of 'Ricciardo e Zoraide' by G. Rossini, arranged by M. C. Mortellari. London. Chappell & Co. [c.1820?]
13. 'E deserto il bosco intorno'. Duetto in the Opera of 'La Rosa Bianca, e la Rosa Rossa' by S. Mayr. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]
14. 'Io ti lascio'. Duett in the Opera of 'Il Matrimonio segreto' by D. Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [WM 1827]
15. 'Sperar? Si quel Faniciullo', recitativo, e 'Govinetto Cavalier'. Romanza e Terzetto in the Opera of 'Il Crociato in Egitto' by G. Meyerbeer. London. Birchall & Co. [n.d.]

#### ***Volume 40 (manuscript)***

Volume of settings of psalms by various composers.

#### ***Volume 41***

'Der Freischütz' von C. M. von Weber.

Berlin. In der Schlesingersehen Buch und Musikhandlung. [1822?]

#### ***Volume 42***

'Il Barbiere de Siviglia'. Opera Buffa in due Atti del G. Rossini.

Vienne. Sauer & Leidesdorf. [1823].

#### ***Volume 43 (manuscript)***

1. Tambourin x 2 by Rameau for Violin and keyboard.
2. Allegro by J. J. Loop or Loosse?
3. Music by Alberti.
4. Music by Geminiani.
5. Music by Stanley.
6. Allegro by Mr G. L.?



7. Sinfonia by C. H. Graun.
8. 'Miss Penton's Minuet'.
9. A. Corelli.
10. March in 'Zara'.
11. Barbirini's Minuet.

From the back upside down:

Major tones; Pages of chords in all the minor and major keys and their exercises.

### ***Volume 44 (manuscript)***

Collection of songs:

1. 'Noon'.
2. 'Night'.
3. 'Evening'.
4. 'Silent Nymph here sunk to rest'.
5. 'Tendre on le trouvera'.
6. 'From Night til Morn'.
7. 'A Dieu conservez dans votre Ame'.
8. 'Heard ye not the Din from far'.
9. 'Lilla' by Leopold.
10. 'Triste Raison'.
11. 'Les Folies d'Espagne'.
12. 'Good Neighbours'.
13. 'Lesson Dormoit'.
14. 'Romance' de Krumhole x 2.
15. 'Minuetto' by Meyer. [Mayr?]
16. 'Variations' by Vanhal (first part).
17. 'Minuet' by Krumhole (second part).
18. 'Allegretto' by Meyer. [Mayr?]
19. 'Andante Moderato' by Alsai.
20. 'Andante Grazioso' by W. A. Mozart.
21. 'New Lango Lee' (?)
22. 'Le Pas das Russe'.
23. 'Marriage des Samites' by Gretry.
24. 'The Yellow Hair Laddie'.
25. Hymns.

26. 'The Lass of Peaties Mill'. A Scotch Air.
27. Thratsbury Church music.
28. 'Andante' by I. Pleyel.
29. 'The Soldier's Adieu'.
30. 'Air de trois notes' de J. J. Rousseau.
31. 'Words of the late Lord Littleton'.
32. 'L'Innocenza'.
33. 'Codiad yr Hodydd' (The Rising of the Lark).
34. Set of Glees. 'Why heal the tears a down thy Cheek.'
35. 'Tell me babbling Echo why?'
36. 'My Phillida adieu'.
37. 'How sweet in the Woodlands'.
38. 'O gio serette'. Duo.
39. 'Dolce mi parte un di'.
40. Pieces given and composed by Lord Abington.
41. 'The Blind Boy' by Lord Abington and given by him to Miss Byng.
42. 'Breathe soft ye Winds' by Paxton.
43. 'Encompassed in an Angel's Frame'.
44. Serious Glee for three voices by T. Lyboard?
45. 'The Heavy Hours'.
46. 'Mentre dormi, Amor fomenti' by Gherardeschi.
47. 'Air de Renard d'Ast'.
48. 'Go gentle Gales'.
49. 'Oh per me non vèpire'.
50. Catch.
51. 'When I know'.
52. 'Air de Silsain' (and other French songs).
53. 'Das Veilchen'. German tune.
54. 'As Nell full of Grief convey'd Ned to his Tomb'. Favorite Serio Comic Glee for three voices composed by M. P. King. London. G. Smart. (Printed)
55. 'Air avec accompagnement de harpe'.

***Volume 45 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Prima. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]

2. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Seconda. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
3. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Terza. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
4. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Quarta. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]

***Volume 46 (parts for violino primo)***

1. A Second Sett of Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. IV. London. Welcker. [1772].
2. A Second Sett of Three Concertos for Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by [J. C.] Bach, of Berlin. London. Longman, Lukey & Co. [n.d.]

***Volume 47 (parts for corno primo and secondo)***

1. Sinfonias I–VI by A. Filtz. [n.p.] [n.d.]
2. Sinfonia XLI [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. London. R. Bremner. [c.1775?] (corno primo & secondo)
3. Sinfonia XLII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. London. R. Bremner. [1774?] (corno primo & secondo)
4. Sinfonia XLII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. London. R. Bremner. [1774?] (clarinetti in C primo & secondo)
5. Sinfonia XL [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Haydn. London. R. Bremner. [1774?] (corno secondo)
6. Sinfonia XL [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Haydn. London. R. Bremner. [1774?] (corno primo)
7. Sinfonia XLIII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. London. R. Bremner. [1775?] (corno secondo)
8. Sinfonia XLIII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. London. R. Bremner. [1775?] (corno primo)
9. A Third Sett of six favorite Overtures in eight Parts for two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola and a Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston. [n.d.] (corno primo)

10. A Third Sett of six favorite Overtures in eight Parts for two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola and a Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston. [n.d.] (corno secondo)
11. Six Overtures in eight parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by the RH Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. 1. London. Robert Bremner. [1762] (viola secondo)
12. Six Overtures in eight Parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by the RH Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. 1. London. Robert Bremner. [1762] (corno primo)
13. Six Overtures in eight Parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by the RH Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. 1. London. Robert Bremner. [1762] (corno secondo)
14. Sinfonia XLIV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. C. Bach. London. R. Bremner. [1775] (corno secondo)
15. Sinfonia XLIV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. C. Bach. London. R. Bremner. [1775] (corno primo)
16. Sinfonia XLV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. London. R. Bremner. [1775] (corno primo)
17. Sinfonia XLV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. London. R. Bremner. [1775] (corno secondo)

***Volume 48 (parts for flauto and oboe)***

1. Sinfonia I–VI by A. Filtz [n.p.] [n.d.] (flauto primo/oboe primo)
2. Sinfonia XLI [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. London. R. Bremner. [c.1775?] (oboe primo)
3. Sinfonia XLII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. London. R. Bremner. [1774?] (oboe primo & secondo)
4. Sinfonia XL [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Haydn. London. R. Bremner. [c.1774?] (oboe primo)
5. Sinfonia XLIII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. London. R. Bremner. [c.1775?] (oboe secondo)
6. Sinfonia XLIII [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. London. R. Bremner. [c.1775?] (oboe primo)
7. A Third Sett of six Favorite Overtures in eight Parts for two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola and a Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston. [n.d.] (oboe primo)

8. Six Overtures in eight parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by the R. H. Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. 1. London. Robert Bremner. [1762] (hautboy primo)
9. Sinfonia XLIV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. C. Bach London. R. Bremner. [1775] (oboe primo)
10. Sinfonia XLV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. London. R. Bremner. [1775] (oboe primo)

***Volume 49 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Six Overtures in four parts with Hautboys and French-Horns ad libitum calculated for small or great concerts by L. Borghi. London. Printed for the author. 16 April 1787.
2. Six Concertos for the Organ and Harpsichord also for Violins, Hautboys and other Instruments in seven parts by G. F. Handel. Op. 4. London. I. Walsh. [1738?]
3. 'The Famous Waterpiece compos'd by Mr Handel'. G. F. Handel. London. J. Johnson. [n.d.]
4. A Third Sett of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. V. London. Welcker. [c.1775]
5. A Fourth Sett of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. VI. London. Welcker. [c.1780]
6. Concerto II by [A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
7. Concerto by [A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
8. Concerto par G. Rush. [n.p.] [n.d.]
9. Concerto by J. Haydn. [n.p.] [n.d.]
10. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins, a Tenor and Bass by J. S. Schroeter. London. W. Napier. [1774?]

***Volume 50 (parts for violino secondo)***

Six Sonatas for Two Violins and a Violoncello with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by E. Barbella. Op. 1. London. Published for the author. [1762]

### ***Volume 51 (parts for violoncello)***

Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. 2. London. Printed for the author. [1768]

### ***Volume 52 (parts for basso)***

1. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Bass by G. C. Wagenseil. London. I. Walsh. [1761].
2. Six Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by G. C. Wagenseil. London. Welcker. [1760?].
3. Six Concertos pour le Clavecin, deux Violons et un Violoncelle composés par J. Bach. Oeuvre première. A Londres. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 53***

1. The Favorite Symphonie ... disposed for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by C. Ditters. London. T. Skillern. [1790?]
2. Overture to the 'Lady of the Manor' for Piano Forte by [J. Hook?]. London. Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson. [between 1792 and 1818?]

### ***Volume 54 (parts for alto viola)***

1. Six Concertos in seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 3. London. Preston & Son. [1769?]
2. Eight Concertos in seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 4. London. Preston & Son. [1755?]
3. Twelve Concertos in seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord. Op. 6. London. Preston & Sons. [1758?]
4. After No. 27: J. Haydn's Symphonia No. IV. [n.p.] [n.d.]
5. No. 28: 'Viola Artaxerxes' (handwritten) by [T. Arne]. [n.p.] [n.d.]
6. No. 29: 'Overture Henry 4<sup>th</sup>' by J. Martini. [n.p.] [n.d.] 'Deux Alto Viole' (handwritten).
7. No. 30: Sinfonia IX by C. Toeschi. [n.p.] [n.d.]

8. No. 31: Sinfonia I by C. Toeschi. [n.p.] [n.d.]
9. No. 32: Sinfonia III by G. Sarti. [n.p.] [n.d.]
10. No. 33: Sinfonia II by J. Stamitz senr. [n.p.] [n.d.]
11. No. 34: Sinfonia IV by C. Stamitz. [n.p.] [n.d.]
12. No. 35: XI: Overture in 'Rodelinda' by [G. F. Handel] [n.p.] [n.d.] (tenor)
13. No. 36: Overture in the 'Occasional Oratorio' by [G. F. Handel] [n.p.] [n.d.] 'Viola Occasional'.
14. No. 37: XLVIII: Overture in 'Sosarme' by [G. F. Handel] [n.p.] [n.d.] (tenor)
15. No. 38: XXVI: Overture in 'Samson' by [G. F. Handel] [n.p.] [n.d.] (viola)
16. No. 39: I: Overture in 'Esther' by [G. F. Handel] [n.p.] [n.d.] (tenor)
17. No. 40: XXX: Overture in 'Pernasso in Festa' by [G. F. Handel] [n.p.] [n.d.] (viola)
18. No. 41: Sinfonia by C. Ditters. [n.p.] [n.d.] 'Viola Ditters' (handwritten).
19. Nos. 42–44: An Overture and Two Grand Concertos by G. B. Sammartini, approved and recommended by F. Giardini. London. R. Bremner. [1766] (viola obligato)
20. Nos 45–50: Sei Quintetti pour trois Violons, Violoncelle ob. e' Basso Ripieno del F. Zannetti. Op. 2. London. R. Bremner. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 55 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. A second Sett of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompanymts for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. IV. London. Welcker. [1772].
2. A second Sett of three Concertos for Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by [J. C.] Bach, of Berlin. London. Longman, Lukey & Co. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 56 (parts for cembalo)***

1. A second Sett of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompanymts for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. IV. London. Welcker. [1772].
2. A second Sett of three Concertos for Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by [J. C.] Bach, of Berlin. London. Longman, Lukey & Co. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 57 (parts for violoncello)***

1. A second Sett of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompanymts for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. IV. London. Welcker. [1772].
2. A second Sett of three Concertos for Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by [J. C.] Bach, of Berlin. London. Longman, Lukey & Co. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 58 (parts for piano forte/cembalo)***

1. A Grand Symfonia of Dr Haydn's arranged for the Piano Forte by T. Haigh. J. Haydn. London. Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow. [1796]
2. The Celebrated Overture by J. Haydn adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord. London. Longman & Broderip. [1782]
3. A Favorite Overture by J. Haydn of Vienna adapted for the Harpsichord by C. F. Baumgarten. London. W. Forster. [ca.1785]
4. Overture to the 'Occasional Oratorio' by G. F. Handel. London. A. Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
5. Overture in 'Samson' by G. F. Handel. [London] [n.d.]
6. Overture in 'Esther' by G. F. Handel. London. J. Dale. [n.d.]
7. A favorite Overture for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by J. Vanhal. London. A. Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
8. Overture XLII: A Favorite Overture for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by J. Vanhal. London. A. Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse. [n.d.]
9. Kozeluch's Grand Sinphonie from Op. 22 adapted and arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for two Violins and Violoncello by T. Costellon. London. E. Riley. [n.d.]
10. Pleyel's Celebrated Overture adapted for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by T. Haigh. I. Pleyel. London. Preston & Son. [c.1795?]

### ***Volume 59 (parts for flauto/oboe secondo)***

1. Sinfonia I. [n.a.] [n.d.] (flauto secondo)
2. Sinfonia II. [n.a.] [n.d.] (flauto secondo)
3. Sinfonia III. [n.a.] [n.d.] (oboe secondo)
4. Sinfonia XL [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Haydn. London. R. Bremner. [1774?] (oboe secondo)



5. Sinfonia IX. [n.a.] [n.d.] (oboe secondo)
6. Sinfonia V. [n.a.] [n.d.] (oboe secondo)
7. Sinfonia VI. [n.a.] [n.d.] (oboe secondo)
8. Sinfonia XLI [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by C. Stamitz. London. R. Bremner. [c.1775?] (oboe secondo)
9. A Third Sett of six Favorite Overtures in eight Parts for two Violins, two Oboes, two Horns, Viola and a Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston. [n.d.] (oboe secondo)
10. Six Overtures in eight Parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by the R. H. Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. 1. London. Robert Bremner. [1762] (hautboy secondo)
11. Sinfonia XLIV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. C. Bach. London. R. Bremner. [1775] (oboe secondo)
12. Sinfonia XLV [The 'Periodical Overture' in eight parts] by J. Vanhal. London. R. Bremner. [1775] (oboe secondo)

***Volume 60 (parts for violino primo)***

Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte, and Organ; with Accompanyments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. 2. London. Printed for the author. 1768.

***Volume 61 (parts for violino secondo)***

Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte, and Organ; with Accompanyments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. 2. London. Printed for the author. 1768.

***Volume 62 (part for cembalo/continuo)***

1. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one alto Viola and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompanyments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 7. Newcastle. Printed for the author. 1760.
3. (Loose parts) Two Concerto Symphonies for two Violins obligato, two Violins ripieno, two Horns, two Oboes, a Tenor and a Bass with a Violoncello obligato, for

the first only, by J. Davaux. Op. 5. London. W. Napier. [1780?] For: 'Vio 2<sup>nd</sup> Rip'  
(handwritten).

### ***Volume 63***

'La Donna Del Lago'. Melodrame in due atti del G. Rossini. Klavierauszug.  
Leipzig. Bey Breitkopf & Hartel. [1825?]

### ***Volume 64***

'Il Barbiere di Seviglio'. Opera buffa in due Atti ... von G. Rossini. Klavierauszug mit  
Deutsch und Italienischen Texte. Leipzig. Bey Breitkopf & Hartel. [c.1825?]

### ***Volume 65 (part for violino secondo)***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompanymts for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. V. London. John Johnson. 1756.
2. Five Concertos for the Harpsichord by J. Rameau accompanied with a Violin or German Flute or two Violins or Viola with some select pieces for Harpsichord alone. London. I. Walsh. [1750]
3. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. Settima. Newcastle. Printed for the author. 1760.
4. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one Alto Viola and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760.
5. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one Alto Viola and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760. (violin secondo ripieno).

### ***Volume 66 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Sei Trio a due Violini, e Basso by G. Pugnani. Op. 1. A Paris. Chez Mr de la Chevardière. [1775?]
2. Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass by G. Pugnani. Op. 2. London. R. Bremner. [1765?]
3. Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or Violins with a Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello by D. Gallo. London. I. Walsh. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 67 (parts for violino primo)***

Twelve Concertos (divided into two sets) for two Violins, one Alto Viola, and a Violoncello. 'This work is also adapted to the practice of the organ or harpsichord alone or these to serve as an accompaniment to the parts in concert, which may be reinforced at pleasure.' By C. Avison. Op. 9. London. Printed for the author. 1766.

### ***Volume 68 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Bass by G. C. Wagenseil. London. I. Walsh. [1761].
2. Six Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by G. C. Wagenseil. London. Welcker. [1760?].
3. Six Concertos pour le Clavecin, deux Violons et un Violoncelle composés par J. [C.] Bach. Oeuvre première. A Londres. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 69 (parts for violoncello)***

1. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Bass by G. C. Wagenseil. London. I. Walsh. [1761].
2. Six Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by G. C. Wagenseil. London. Welcker. [1760?].
3. Six Concertos pour le Clavecin, deux Violons et un Violoncelle composés par J. Bach. Oeuvre première. A Londres. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 70 (parts for organo)***

1. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Prima. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
2. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Seconda. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
3. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Terza. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
4. Sonate a tre pour due Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Quarta. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]

### ***Volume 71 (parts for violoncello)***

1. Sonate a tre pour deux Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Prima. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
2. Sonate a tre pour deux Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Seconda. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
3. Sonate a tre pour deux Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Terza. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]
4. Sonate a tre pour deux Violini e Violone col Basso per l'Organo di A. Corelli. Op. Quarta. London. John Johnson. [c.1745]

### ***Volume 72 (parts for basso)***

1. Sei Trio a due Violini, e Basso by G. Pugnani. Op. 1. A Paris. Chez Mr de la Chevardière. [1775?]
2. Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass by G. Pugnani. Op. 2. London. R. Bremner. [1765?]
3. Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or Violins with a Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello by D. Gallo. London. I. Walsh. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 73 (parts for violoncello)***

Twelve Concertos (divided into two sets) for two Violins, one Alto Viola, and a Violoncello. 'This work is also adapted to the practice of the organ or harpsichord alone or these to serve as an accompaniment to the parts in concert, which may be reinforced at pleasure.' By C. Avison. Op. 9. London. Printed for the author. 1766.

### ***Volume 74 (parts for violino and flauto)***

1. Six Sonates pour le Clavecin accompagnées d'un Violon ou Flûte Traversière et d'un Violoncelle par J. C. Bach. Oeuvre 2. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin or Flute and a Violoncello by G. Pugnani. London. Welcker. [1767]

## **Volume 75**

1. The Favorite Rondo of 'Ah tornar la belle Aurora' in the opera of 'La Vergine del Sole' by D. Cimarosa adapted with an Accompaniment for Piano Forte. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
2. The Favorite Recitative and Rondo of 'Caro Padre, Caro Bene' in the opera of 'La Vergine del Sole' by G. Andreozzi. London. Rt Birchall. [1780]
3. Lieti Fiori'. Air and Glee in the serious opera of 'Il Ratto di Prosperina' by P. Winter, arranged for the Piano Forte by M. C. Mortellari. London. M. Kelly. [n.d.]
4. 'Mi lasci o Madre amata'. Trio in the opera of 'Il Ratto di Prosperina' by P. Winter, arranged by M. C. Mortellari. London. M. Kelly. [n.d.]
5. 'Paga fui fui lieta un di' in the opera of 'Il Ratto di Prosperina' by P. Winter, arranged by M. C. Mortellari. London. M. Kelly. [n.d.]
6. 'Che faro senza la Madra' in the grand serious opera of 'Il Ratto di Prosperina' by P. Winter. London. M. Kelly. [n.d.]
7. 'Apri alla Madre il Core'. The much admired Cavatina in the grand serious opera of 'Il Ratto di Prosperina' by P. Winter. London. M. Kelly. [n.d.]
8. 'Ti veggio, t'abbraccio'. The favorite duet ... in the opera of 'Il Ratto di Prosperina' by P. Winter, arranged by M. C. Mortellari. London. M. Kelly. [1804]
9. 'Gli innocenti Giochi nostri'. A favorite Cavatina in the serious opera 'Il Ratto di Prosperina' by P. Winter. London. M. Kelly. [n.d.]
10. 'Questo sublime Segno'. Duett in the serious opera of 'Semiramide' by M. Portogallo. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
11. The Celebrated Recitative and Air 'Qual pallor qual tema' in the opera of 'Semiramide' by M. Portogallo. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
12. 'Un aura amorosa' in the opera of 'Cosi Fan Tutti' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
13. 'Fra gli amplessi.' A favorite Duet in the opera of 'Cosi Fan Tutti' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1810?]
14. 'La mia Dorabella'. The favorite Trio in the opera of 'Cosi Fan Tutti' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1810?]
15. 'Crudel perchè finora'. A favorite Duet in the comic opera of 'La Vendemmia' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [WM1813]
16. 'Che oi Par Dorina bella'. The favorite Trio in the opera of 'Le Nozze di Dorina' by G. Sarti. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]

17. 'A compir già vò l'impresa'. Recitative and Air with a Violin obligato in the opera of 'La Vendetta di Nino' by P. Guglielmi, arranged for the Piano Forte with ornaments by D. Corri. London. Corri, Dussek & Co. [c.1795]; or Rt Birchall [c.1815]
18. 'A lei che adoro'. A favorite Song in the opera of 'Griselda' by F. Paer. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
19. 'Vegliam gia vien l'aurora'. A favorite Trio in the opera of 'Zemira e Azore' by A. E. M. Grétry. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1779?]
20. 'Ah per pieta'. A favorite Trio in the opera of 'Zemira e Azore' by A. E. M. Grétry. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1779?]
21. 'Dunque non senti O barbare'. The favorite Duett in the grand serious opera of 'Gli Orazi e i Curazi' by J. Braham. [London]. M. Kelly. [1805?]
22. 'Tu l'ami e ancor per lui'. The favorite Duett in the grand serious opera of 'Argenide e Serse' by J. Braham. [London]. M. Kelly. [1806]
23. 'Donzelle Semplici'. A favorite Song in the opera of 'Iphigenia in Tauride' by C. W. Gluck with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte. London. Rt Birchall. [1794?]
24. 'Pandolfetto Graziosetto'. A favorite Duett in the comic opera of 'I Zingari in Fiera' by G. Paesiello. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
25. 'Un baci e tenero'. Song in the opera of 'La Feste D'Iside' by G. G. Ferrari. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
26. 'Alla larga alla larga Signore'. Song in the opera of 'La Buona Figliuola' by N. Piccini. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
27. 'Serpendo dentro il petto'. A favorite Song in the opera of 'La Teste Riscaldata' by F. Paer. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
28. 'Sento nel core un palpito'. A favorite Cavatina in the opera of 'Le Virtuose in Puntiglio' by G. G. Ferrari. London. L. Lavenu. [n.d.]
29. 'Un briccone senza core'. The favorite Duet in the opera of 'La Cosa Rara' by V. Martin y Soler. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
30. 'Non vi Fidate Agliuomini'. A favorite Cavatina in the opera of 'La Frascatana' by G. G. Ferrari. London. L. Lavenu. [ca.1810]
31. The favorite Rondo of 'Se ti perdo o caro bene' in the opera of 'La Clemenza di Scipione' by P. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1805]
32. 'Voi gia sapete'. A Duett in the opera of 'Il Furbo contro il Furbo' by V. Fioravanti. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
33. 'Gran Dio che del mio core'. The favorite Preghiera in the opera of 'Romeo e Giulietta' by P. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]

34. 'Tranquillo io son' – Recitativo. 'Ombra adorato aspetta' – Aria in the opera of 'Romeo e Giulietta' by N. Zingarelli. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1825]
35. 'Ah taci ingiusto core!' A favorite Trio in the opera of 'Il Don Giovanni' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
36. 'Lungi dal caro bene'. Cavatina in the opera of 'Giulio Sabino' by G. Sarti. London. Rt Birchall. [WM1800]

### ***Volume 76***

1. A Favorite Duet for the Harp and Piano Forte by J. Dale. London. Printed for the author. [1810?]
2. Sixième Concert pour la Harpe avec Accompagnement de deux Violons, deux Hautbois, deux Cors, une Flûte, Taille et Basse composé par M. Krumpholtz. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
3. Four Favorite Airs arranged with Variations for the Harp by M. P. Dalvimare. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
4. Divertimentos for the Piano Forte and Pedal Harp with an Accompaniment of two French Horns and Tamburino ad libitum by G. G. Ferrari. London. Rt Birchall. [1800?]
5. Dussek's celebrated Duet for the Harp and Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for Two French Horns ad libitum. J. L. Dussek. Op. 38. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [WM1813]
6. No. 1 Bavarian Air with Variations for the Piano Forte and Flute by J. Mazzinghi. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [WM1820]
7. Original Melodies with Variations for the Piano Forte and Harp. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
8. Introductions and Air 'O Dolce Concerto' with Variations for the Harp and Piano Forte by O. Saffery. London. Phipps & Co. [n.d.]
9. 'Augustine'. A Favorite German Air arranged with Variations for the Harp by W. Duchatz. London. J. Platts. [1801?]
10. 'Marche du Huron'. (handwritten manuscript)
11. Allemande x 3. (handwritten manuscript)
12. Overture du 'Deserteur'. (handwritten manuscript)
13. Allemande. (handwritten manuscript)
14. Air for the Harp – 1<sup>st</sup> Part. (handwritten manuscript)
15. 'The Frankaville Dance'. (handwritten manuscript)

### ***Volume 77 (parts for basso)***

Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 8. London. Printed for the author. 1764.

### ***Volume 78 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Six Concerts pour le Clavecin, deux Violons, et un Violoncelle composés par J. C. Bach. Op. 1. A Londres. [n.d.]
2. Four Grand Concertos or Symphonies for the Harpsichord or Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by F. Pellegrino. London. Welcker. [n.d.]
3. Six Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by C. Wagenseil. London. Welcker. [1760?]

### ***Volume 79 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Sei Trio a due Violini, e Basso da G. Pugnani. Op. 1. A Paris. Chez Mr de la Chevardière. [1775?]
2. Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass by G. Pugnani. Op. 2. London. R. Bremner. [1765?]
3. Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or Violins with a Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello by D. Gallo. London. I. Walsh. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 80 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Twelve Concertos (divided into two sets) for two Violins, one Alto Viola, and a Violoncello. 'This work is also adapted to the practice of the organ or harpsichord alone or these to serve as an accompaniment to the parts in concert, which may be reinforced at pleasure.' By C. Avison. Op. 9. Set 1. London. Printed for the author. 1766.
2. Twelve Concertos (divided into two sets) for two Violins, one Alto Viola, and a Violoncello. 'This work is also adapted to the practice of the organ or harpsichord alone or these to serve as an accompaniment to the parts in concert, which may be reinforced at pleasure.' By C. Avison. Op. 9. London. Set 2. Printed for the author. 1766.



### ***Volume 81 (parts for violoncello)***

1. Six Overtures in four Parts with Hautboys and French-Horns ad libitum calculated for small or great concerts by L. Borghi. London. Printed for the author. 16 April 1787.
2. Six Concertos for the Organ and Harpsichord also for Violins, Hautboys and other instruments in seven parts by G. F. Handel. Op. 4. London. I. Walsh. [1738?]
3. A third Set of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. V. London. Welcker. [c.1775]
4. A fourth Set of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. VI. London. Welcker. [c.1780]
5. Concerto II by [A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
6. Concerto. [A. Filtz?] [n.p.] [n.d.]
7. Concerto par G. Rush. [n.p.] [n.d.]
8. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins, a Tenor and Bass by J. S. Schroeter. Op. III. London. W. Napier. [1774]
9. Six Sonatas pour le Clavecin avec l'accompagnement d'un Violon ou Flûte Traversière et d'un Violoncelle by C. F. Abel. Oeuvre V. London. Printed for the author. [1775?]

### ***Volume 82 (parts for oboe secondo)***

1. Six Concertos in Seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 3. London. Preston & Son. [1769?]
2. Eight Concertos in Seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 4. London. Preston & Son. [1755?]
3. Twelve Concertos in Seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto-Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 6. London. Preston & Sons. [1758?]
4. After No. 27: J. Haydn's Symphonia No. IV. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe secondo)
5. No. 28: 'Oboe second Artaxerxes' (handwritten) by [T. Arne]. [n.p.] [n.d.]
6. No. 29: 'Overture Henry 4<sup>th</sup>' by [J. Martini]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe secondo)
7. No. 30: Sinfonia IX by C. Toeschi. [n.p.] [n.d.] (flauto secondo)

8. No. 31: Sinfonia I by C. Toeschi. [n.p.] [n.d.](oboe secondo)
9. No. 32: Sinfonia III by G. Sarti. [n.p.] [n.d.](oboe secondo)
10. No. 33: Sinfonia II by J. Stamitz senr. [n.p.] [n.d.](oboe secondo)
11. No. 34: Sinfonia IV by C. Stamitz. [n.p.] [n.d.] (flauto secondo)
12. No. 35: XI Overture in 'Rodelinda' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (Hautboy secondo)
13. No. 36: Overture in the 'Occasional Oratorio' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.] 'oboe second occasional'.
14. No. 37: XLVIII Overture in 'Sosarmes' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.](hautboy secondo)
15. No. 38: XXVI: Overture in 'Samson' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.][n.d.](hautboy secondo)
16. No. 39: I: Overture in 'Esther' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.](hautboy secondo)
17. No. 40: XXX Overture in 'Pernasso in Festa' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.](hautboy secondo)
18. No. 41: Sinfonia by C. Ditters. [n.p.] [n.d.](oboe secondo)
19. Nos. 42–44: An Overture and Two grand Concertos by G. B. Sammartini, approved and recommended by F. Giardini. London. R. Bremner. [1766] Handwritten: 'oboe secondo'.
20. Nos 45–50: Sei Quintetti pour trois Violons, Violoncelle ob. e' Basso Ripieno del F. Zannetti. Op. 2. London. R. Bremner. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 83 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Six Trios for two Violins and Piano Forte or Violoncello by F. Giardini. Op. 30. Dedicated to Her Grace the Dutchess [Duchess] of Devonshire. Op. 30. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. Sei Trii di Violino e Basso composti da A. Kammel. Op. I. Dedicated to Lady Lucy Mann. London. 15 Marzo 1766.
3. A Favorite Set of Sonatas for two Violins, Violoncello or a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by M. Humble. Op. VII. London. Longman Lukey. [c.1775]
4. Sei Trii a due Violini e Basso composti da G. B. Noferi. Op. IX. London. Welcker. [c.1778?]
5. Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by G. B. Noferi. Op. VII. London. R. Bremner. [n.d.]
6. A Third Sett of Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1770?]

7. A Fourth Sett of Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1770]
8. A Fifth Sett of Trios for two Violins and a Violoncello composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1772]
9. A Second Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by F. Schwindl. Op 7. London. Longman, Lukey and Co. [1775]
10. Six Sonates à deux Violons et Violoncello composées par J. Vanhal. Ov. XII. London. I. Betz. [c.1775?]
11. Six Trios for a Violin, Violoncello obligato, & Bass with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by J. Lates. Op. 5. London. Printed for the author by C. & S. Thompson. [n.d.]

***Volume 84 (parts for 2<sup>nd</sup> instruments)***

1. Handel's posthumous Trios for a Violin, Tenor and Violoncello. These trios were arranged from Handel's songs by order of Sir William Hamilton His Majesty's envoy extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples by L. Moser ... 2<sup>nd</sup> Sett. London. Rt Birchall. [1874–75] (viola)
2. Six Trios for two German Flutes and Violoncello or Flute, Violin and Bass by T. Monzani. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?] (flauto secondo)
3. Four Trios for two German Flutes and Violoncello, or Flute, Violin and Violoncello by T. Monzani. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?] (flauto secondo)
4. Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or two Violins and a Bass by J. O. Astorga. London. Preston & Son. [1790]
5. Six Trios à une Flûte ou deux Violons et Violoncello obligés by C. Stamitz. Oeuvre XIV. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
6. Six Sonates pour deux Violons et une Basse composées par J. Haydn à Vienne Op. IV. London. Preston & Son. [n.d.]
7. Six Trios for two Violins and a Bass composed and dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Foster by F. Giardini. Op. 28. London. Rt Birchall. [1790?]
8. Trois Trios Concertants pour Violon, Viola et Violoncelle par I. Pleyel. Op. XI. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
9. Three Trios for two Violins and Violoncello by I. Pleyel. Book 1. Op. XVI. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
10. Six Sonatas for two Violins with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello by C. A. Campioni. Op. III. London. W. Randall. [c.1765?]

### ***Volume 85 (parts for violoncello)***

1. Handel's posthumous Trios for a Violin, Tenor and Violoncello. These trios were arranged from Handel's songs by order of Sir William Hamilton His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples by L. Moser ... 2<sup>nd</sup> sett. London. Rt Birchall. [1874–75]
2. Six Trios for two German Flutes and Violoncello or Flute, Violin and Bass by T. Monzani. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
3. Four Trios for two German Flutes and Violoncello, or Flute, Violin and Violoncello by T. Monzani. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
4. Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or two Violins and a Bass by J. O. Astorga. London. Preston & Son. [1790]
5. Six Trios à une Flute ou deux Violons et Violoncello obligé by C. Stamitz. Oeuvre XIV. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
6. Six Sonates pour deux Violons et une Basse composées par J. Haydn à Vienne Op. IV. London. Preston & Son. [n.d.]
7. Six Trios for two Violins and a Bass composed and dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Foster by F. Giardini. Op. 28. London. Rt Birchall. [1790?]
8. Trois Trios Concertants pour Violon, Viola et Violoncelle par I. Pleyel. Op. XI. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
9. Three Trios for two Violins and Violoncello by I. Pleyel. Book 1. Op. XVI. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
10. Six Sonatas for two Violins with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello by C. A. Campioni. Op. III. London. Wm Randall. [c.1765?]

### ***Volume 86 (parts for 1st instruments: violino, oboe, flauto, hautboy)***

1. Six Concertos in Seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 3. London. Preston & Son. [1769?]
2. Eight Concertos in Seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 4. London. Preston & Son. [1755?]
3. Twelve Concertos in Seven Parts for four Violins, one Alto-Viola, a Violoncello and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by C. Avison. Op. 6. London. Preston & Sons. [1758?]
4. After No. 27: J. Haydn's Symphonia No. IV. [n.p.] [n.d.] (flauto/oboe primo)

5. No. 28: 'Overture in Artaxerxes' by [T. Arne]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe primo)
6. No. 29: 'Overture Henry 4<sup>th</sup>' by [J. Martini]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe primo)
7. No. 30: Sinfonia IX del C. Toeschi. [n.p.] [n.d.] (flauto primo)
8. No. 31: Sinfonia I by C. Toeschi. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe primo)
9. No. 32: Sinfonia III by G. Sarti. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe primo)
10. No. 33: Sinfonia II by J. Stamitz senr. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe primo)
11. No. 34: Sinfonia IV by C. Stamitz. [n.p.] [n.d.] (flauto primo)
12. No. 35: XI Overture in 'Rodelinda' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (hautboy primo)
13. No. 36: Overture in the Occasional Oratorio by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (hautboy primo)
14. No. 37: XLVIII: Overture in 'Sosarmes' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (hautboy primo)
15. No. 38: XXVI: The Overture to 'Samson' ... for a full band composed by Mr Handel. London. H. Wright. [n.d.] (hautboy primo)
16. No. 39: I: Overture in 'Esther' by [G. F. Handel] [n.p.] [n.d.] (hautboy primo)
17. No. 40: XXX: Overture in 'Pernasso in Festa' by [G. F. Handel]. [n.p.] [n.d.] (hautboy primo)
18. No. 41: Sinfonia by C. Ditters. [n.p.] [n.d.] (oboe primo)
19. Nos. 42–44: An Overture and Two Grand Concertos by G. B. Sammartini, approved and recommended by F. Giardini. London. R. Bremner. [1766]. Handwritten: 'oboe secondo'
20. Nos 45–50: Sei Quintetti pour trois Violons, Violoncelle ob. e' Basso Ripieno del F. Zannetti. Op. 2. London. R. Bremner. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 87 (parts for basso)***

1. Six Sonates pour le Clavecin accompagnées d'un Violon ou Flûte Travèrsiere et d'un Violoncelle par J. C. Bach. A Londres. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with an Accompanyment for a Violin or Flute and a Violoncello by G. Pugnani. London. Welcker. [1767]

### ***Volume 88 (parts for violino primo or flauto primo)***

1. Handel's posthumous Trios for a Violin, Tenor and Violoncello. These trios were arranged from Handel's songs by order of Sir William Hamilton His Majesty's

- envoy extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples by L. Moser ... 2<sup>nd</sup> sett. London. Rt Birchall. [1874–75]
2. Six Trios for two German Flutes and Violoncello or Flute, Violin and Bass by T. Monzani. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
  3. Four Trios for two German Flutes and Violoncello, or Flute, Violin and Violoncello by T. Monzani. London. Rt Birchall. [1795?]
  4. Six Sonatas for two German Flutes or two Violins and a Bass by J. O. Astorga. London. Preston & Son. [1790]
  5. Six Trios à une Flûte ou deux Violons et Violoncelle obligés by C. Stamitz. Oeuvre XIV. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
  6. Six Sonates pour deux Violons et une Basse composées par J. Haydn à Vienne. Op. IV. London. Preston & Son. [n.d.]
  7. Six Trios for two Violins and a Bass composed and dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Foster by F. Giardini. Op. 28. London. Rt Birchall. [1790?]
  8. Trois Trios Concertants pour Violon, Viola et Violoncelle par I. Pleyel. Op. XI. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
  9. Three Trios for two Violins and Violoncello by I. Pleyel. Book 1. Op. XVI. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]
  10. Six Sonatas for two Violins with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello by C. A. Campioni. Op. III. London. Wm Randall. [c.1765?]

***Volume 89 (parts for violoncello)***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 5. London. John Johnson. 1756.
2. Five Concertos for the Harpsic[h]ord by J. Rameau accompanied with a Violin or German Flute or two Violins or Viola with some select pieces for Harpsichord alone. London. J. Walsh. [1750]
3. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by C. Avison. Op. 6. Newcastle. Printed for the author. 1760.
4. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one Alto Viola, and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760.
5. Six Concertos for the Violoncello with four Violins, one Alto Viola, and Basso Ripieno by J. Garth. London. Printed for the author. 1760.

## ***Volume 90 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Six Trios for Two Violins and Piano Forte or Violoncello. Dedicated to Her Grace the Dutchess [Duchess] of Devonshire by F. Giardini. Op. 30. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. Sei Trii di Violino e Basso composti da A. Kammel. Op. I. Dedicated to Lady Lucy Mann. London. 15 Marzo 1766.
3. A Favorite Set of Sonatas for two Violins, Violoncello or a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by M. Humble. Op. VII. London. Longman Lukey. [c.1775]
4. Sei Trii a due Violini e Basso composti da G. B. Noferi. Op. IX. London. Welcker. [c.1778?]
5. Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by G. B. Noferi. Op. VII. London. R. Bremner. [n.d.]
6. A Third Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1770?]
7. A Fourth Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1770]
8. A Fifth Sett of Trios for two Violins and a Violoncello composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1772]
9. A Second Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by F. Schwindl. Op 7. London. Longman, Lukey and Co. [1775]
10. Six Sonates à deux Violons et Violoncelle composées par J. Vanhal. Ov. XII. London. J. Betz. [c.1775?]
11. Six Trios for a Violin, Violoncello obligato, & Bass with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by J. Lates. Op. 5. London. Printed for the author by C. & S. Thompson. [n.d.]

## ***Volume 91***

1. Variations Brillantes pour le Piano Forte sur l'Air Favori 'Ma Fanchette est Charmante'. Avec Accompagnement de deux Violons, Alto and Basse, deux Flûtes et deux Cors par H. Herz. A Paris. Chez Henri Lemoine. [c.1835?]
2. Grandes Variations pour Piano seul sur la Marche favorite de l'opéra de Bellini 'I Puritani' de H. Herz. Op. 82. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [ca.1840]
3. Trois Cavatines de Bellini, Rossini, et Donizetti variées pour le Piano Forte par H. Herz. A Paris. Chez A. Aulagnier. [c.1835?]

4. Rondo Brillant pour le Piano Forte par H. Herz. A Paris. Au Magasin de Musique de Frère. [n.d.]
5. Pas Redoublé de 'La Révolte au Sérail' de T. Labarre arrangé pour le Piano Forte par H. Herz. A Paris. Chez J. Delahante. [c.1835]
6. Galop favori du Bal Masqué de D. F. E. Auber de 'Gustave' arrangé pour le Piano Forte par H. Herz. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [1855?]
7. Trois Airs de Ballet de 'Gustave' arrangés en rondeaux par H. Herz. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [n.d.]
8. Mosaïque Trois Suites de Mélange des Morceaux favoris arrangés par C. Schunke. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [n.d.]
9. Souvenirs du 'Pré aux Clercs' de F. Herold. Fantaisie pour le Piano Forte composé par C. Chaulieu. Op. 151. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [n.d.]
10. 12e Bagatelle pour le Piano sur la Ronde du 'Pré aux Clercs' par H. Lemoine. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [n.d.]
11. Galop Brillant sur un motif de l'opéra 'Le Proscrit' de A. Adam arrangé pour le Piano Forte par F. Kalkbrenner. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [n.d.]
12. Mosaïque ... mélange des morceaux favoris du 'Proscrit' composée et arrangée par A. Adam. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [n.d.]
13. 'Clic Clac'. Des Omnibus Rondoletto pour le Piano par A. Adam. Op. 27. A Paris. Chez P. Messonnier. [n.d.]
14. 'Chant de la Berceuse'. Fantaisie pour le Piano sur un thème favori de 'La Prison d'Edimbourg de Carafa' par L. B. Duvernoy. A Paris. Chez Ph. Petit. [n.d.]
15. 'L'Odalisque'. Valse favorite du Jardin Turc composée et arrangée pour le Piano par L. Chollet. A Paris. Chez J. Messonnier. [1840?]
16. 'Ruth's Entreaty'. Words by S. C. Sharpe. Music by Miss F. Brown. London. Published for the Proprieter by Cramer, Addison & Beale. [n.d.]
17. 'Oh Mattulina Albori!' Cavatina. (Manuscript). thème

## ***Volume 92***

1. Trois Quadrilles de Contredanses pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte ou Flageolet ad libitum composés sur les motifs de 'Fra Diavolo' par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [1830?]
2. Deux Quadrilles de Contredanses pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon ou Flûte ad libitum composés sur des motifs de 'Zampa' par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez J. Meissonnier. [c.1830?]



3. Deux Quadrilles de Contredanses pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte ou Flageolet composés sur des motifs de 'Zampa' par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez J. Meissonnier. [c.1830?]
4. Trois Quadrilles de Contredanses suivis de deux Valses et un Galop sur les motifs de 'La Tentation de F. Halevy & Casimir Gide' arrangés pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte ou Flageolet ad libitum par H. Lemoine composés par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez Maurice Schlesinger. [n.d.]
5. 'Les Fashionables'. Deux Quadrilles de Contredanses et deux Valses pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte ou Flageolet ad libitum. 2e Quadrille composé sur les Airs de 'Frédéric Berat' par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez Schonenberger. [n.d.]
6. Trois Quadrilles sur les motifs de 'La Sylphide' arrangés pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte ou Flageolet ad libitum par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez A. Aulagnier. [1832]
7. Trois Quadrilles de Contredanses et Trois Valses pour le Piano avec Accompagnement de Violon, Flûte ou Flageolet ad libitum composés sur les motifs du 'Dieu et la Bayadere' par J. B. Tolbecque. A Paris. Chez E. Troupenas. [c.1830?]

***Volume 93 (loose-leaf folder of assorted music: most pieces listed below)***

1. Jullien & Co's Musical Circulating Library and Annual Musical Presentation combined. London. Royal Musical Conservatory. [n.d.]
2. 'Paul et Virginie Valse' with a Duet for two Cornets à Pistons by L. A. Jullien. London. Jullien & Co. [n.d.]
3. 'Adelaiden-Walzer' für das Piano Forte componiert von J. Strauss. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1842]
4. 'Eisele & Beisele Sprünge-Polka' für das Piano Forte componiert von J. Strauss. Op. 202. London. R. Cocks & Co. [n.d.]
5. 'God's works' (manuscript) – first verse of 'All things bright and beautiful'.
6. 'Vivi tu, te ne scongiuro'. Aria in the opera of 'Anna Bolena' arranged for two performers on the Piano Forte by W. Watts. London. R. Mills. [n.d.]
7. 'We may be happy yet'. Ballad composed by M. W. Balfe. London. Chappell. [n.d.]
8. 'Pas Redoublé ou Galopade'. In the Ballet of 'La Révolte au Sérail' by T. Labarre. London. Lonsdale & Mills. [1834]
9. 'Sammlung der beliebtesten Tänze und Potpourri für das Piano Forte allein' von J. Labitzky. Prag. Bei J. Hoffmann. [n.d.]

10. 'Pavilion Waltzes' by F. G. Tinney. London. Coote & Tinney. [1852]
11. Hymn set to 'Mickleham' by Wainwright (manuscript).
12. The 31<sup>st</sup> Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
13. The 20<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles ... Most humbly dedicated with permission to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
14. The 24<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
15. 'Sorgenbrecher Walzer' für das Piano Forte componiert von J. Strauss. Op. 230. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1848]
16. 'Die Rheinlaender'. Sammlung beliebter Polkas, Galoppen für das Piano Forte. Mainz, Antwerpen und Brüssel. Bei Schott's Söhnen. [n.d.]
17. 'Alfred le Grand'. Ballet Historique en trios actes de la Composition du Monsieur Aumer. Mis en musique par M. le Comte W. Robert de Gallemborg et plusieurs Airs nouveaux de G. Dugazon. Arrangé pour le Piano Forte par G. Dugazon. Paris. Boieldieu. [c.1822?]
18. 'Vernon Waltzes' by F. G. Tinney. London. Coote & Tinney. [1852]
19. 'The Stanhope Galop' by F. G. Tinney. London. Coote & Tinney. [1852]
20. 'God of the Fatherless' by C. M. von Weber arranged for the Piano Forte by H. R. Bishop. London. [1825?]
21. 'The Old Church Bell Ballad'. London. J. Copley. Cramer, Beale & Wood. [1852]
22. 'Elfrida Quadrille' from C. Pugni's celebrated Ballet 'Fiorita' or 'La Reine des Elfrides' by L. A. Jullien. London. Jullien & Co. [c.1850?]
23. 'The Oberon Waltzes' for the Piano Forte by F. G. Tinney. London. C. & R. Ollivier. [n.d.]
24. 'The Imperial Polka' and 'Les Folies de Paris Polka' by L. A. Jullien. London. Jullien. [c.1850]
25. 'The Goodwood Waltzes' for the Piano Forte by F. G. Tinney. London. [1855]
26. The Overture to the opera of 'Zampa' or 'La Fiancée de Marbre' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte by F. Hérold. London. S. Chappell. [ca.1840?]
27. 'Pretty Jemima' (manuscript).
28. Select Airs from Auber's admired opera 'La Muette de Portici' arranged for the Piano Forte with Flute Accompaniment (ad lib) by J. F. Burrowes. London. D'Almaine & Co. [c.1830]
29. Song dated 1847 (?) signed 'L. J. L' [Louisa Lascelles?] (manuscript).
30. 'Original Selected Music' issued with Vol. 3 of 'The Young Englishwoman': 'The

- Camaralzaman Quadrille' by A. Nicholson. [London] [n.d.]
31. 'The Infant Opera' (text and nursery rhymes ending with a 'grand chorus'). [n.a.] [n.d.]
  32. 'The Planet Waltzes' for the Piano Forte by F. G. Tinney. London. C. Ollivier. [c.1855?]
  33. 'The Victory Galop' composed and arranged for the Piano Forte (with an Accompaniment for the Cornet à Pistons) by F. G. Tinney. London. Coote & Tinney. [1852]
  34. 'Rosalinda' ou 'Le billet doux'. Valse par C. D'Albert. [n.p.] [n.d.]
  35. 'Valse D'Adieu' by L. A. Jullien. London. Jullien & Co. [1853]
  36. 'Les Belles du Nord'. Six Polkas par H. Herz. Op. 140. [n.p.] [n.d.]
  37. 'O never laugh, Sir Knight to hear'. No. 2 of six favorite Airs from W. Vincent Wallace's opera 'The Amber Witch', arranged for the Piano Forte by E. F. Rimbault. London. Cramer, Beale & Chappell. [c.1860?]
  38. 'Lucrezia-Waltz' by C. Coote. [n.p.] [n.d.]
  39. 'Arietta' by Pfeiffer (manuscript).
  40. 'The Sardinian National Hymn' in 'The Illustrated London News' supplement, 29 Dec. 1855.

***Volume 94 (loose-leaf folder of assorted music: most pieces listed below)***

1. Chappell's Standard Dance Book for the Piano Forte. London. Chappell & Co. 1860.
2. 'Gallopie' (manuscript).
3. 'Dodici Esercizi' ? ('sol doh' exercise). [n.a.] [n.d.]
4. Singing exercises with explanations of how to master ornaments. [n.a.] [n.d.]
5. Favorite Airs from G. Meyerbeer's Grand Opera 'Le Prophete' arranged for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for the Flute ad lib. by W. H. Callcott (Book 3). London. Cramer, Beale & Co. [n.d.]
6. 'Marie Valse' by F. G. Tinney. [London.] [n.d.]
7. 'Alice Polka' for the Piano Forte by J. Strauss. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1855]
8. 'The Night Bell Galop' known also as the 'Early Morning Galop' for the Piano Forte and Voice ad libitum by J. P. Clarke. Dublin. J. Scates. [c.1862]
9. 'Clementine' a set of Waltzes arranged for the Piano Forte by J. B. Tolbecque. London. C. Ollivier. [n.d.]
10. 'Jeanette and Jeannot' by C. W. Glover. [n.p.] [n.d.]
11. Gems of Sacred Melody arranged by J. Stone including W. A. Mozart - 'Gloria in

- Excelsis'. [n.p.] [n.d.]
12. 'I'd choose to be a Daisy'. 'The Buckleys Seranaders Waltzes' by C. Coote Jnr. London. Hopwood & Crew. [n.d.]
  13. 'The Balmoral Polka' by G. Croal. Edinburgh. A. Robertson & Co. [c.1850?]
  14. The Pupil's daily exercise for the Piano Forte arranged and fingered by J. B. Cramer. London. Cramer & Co. [1872]
  15. 'Lisette'. Valse à deux Tems [thèmes] for the Piano Forte with an Accompaniment of the Cornet à Pistons by F. G. Tinney. London. T. Boosey & Co. [n.d.]
  16. The 32<sup>nd</sup> set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
  17. Musard's 9<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes performed ... by the Band of Messrs Collinett, Michau & Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
  18. The 15<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
  19. The 25<sup>th</sup> Set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. The Third Set from 'La Donna del Lago'. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
  20. Musard's 8<sup>th</sup> Set of Waltzes performed ... by the Band of Messrs Collinett, Michau & Musard. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
  21. The 18<sup>th</sup> set of Quadrilles composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) Accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. The Third Set from 'La Donna del Lago'. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
  22. The 13<sup>th</sup> set of Waltzes composed and arranged for the Piano Forte with an (ad lib) accompaniment for the Flute by P. Musard. The Third Set from 'La Donna del Lago'. London. J. Power. [n.d.]
  23. 'Des Wanderers Lebewohl'. Walzer für das Piano Forte componiert von J. Strauss. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1849]
  24. 'Kathinka Polka' für das Piano Forte componiert von J. Strauss. Op. 210. London. R. Cocks & Co. [1847]
  25. 'Les Trois Sultanes' by Sigr Onorati, arranged for the Piano Forte or Harp, the Music chiefly new by I. Mazzinghi. Op. 20. London. G. Goulding. [1796]

### ***Volume 95***

The National Psalmist consisting of original Psalm and Hymn tunes, chants, responses and anthems, compiled and arranged by C. D. Hackett. London. 1839.

## **Volume 96**

Auber's favorite opera 'Fra Diavolo'. Edition for the Piano Forte by W. S. Rockstro. London. Boosey & Sons. [1853?]

## **Volume 97 (parts for violoncello)**

1. Dr Haydn's Symphonies arranged as Quintettos for a Flute, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello with an adaptation or Thorough Bass for the Piano Forte by Dr. Hague. Four Setts. London. Preston. [1810?]
2. Nos. 1, 2, 3 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
3. Nos. 4, 5, 6 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
4. Nos. 7, 8, 9 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
5. Nos. 10, 11, 12 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
6. Three Grand Symphonies by J. Haydn and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
7. Grand Symphonies by A. Romberg adapted for two Violins, Flute, Tenor, Violoncello with an additional Bass or Piano Forte by G. Masi. [No. 1 in E flat, no. 2 in D, no. 3 in C]. London. Monzani & Hill. [1815]

### ***Volume 98 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Dr Haydn's Symphonies arranged as Quintettos for a Flute, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello with an adaptation or Thorough Bass for the Piano Forte by Dr. Hague. Four Setts. London. Preston. [1810?]
2. Nos. 1, 2, 3 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
3. Nos. 4, 5, 6 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
4. Nos. 7, 8, 9 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
5. Nos. 10, 11, 12 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
6. Three Grand Symphonies by J. Haydn and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Rt Birchall.
7. Grand Symphonies by A. Romberg adapted for two Violins, Flute, Tenor, Violoncello with an additional Bass or Piano Forte ad libitum by G. Masi. [No. 1 in E flat, no. 2 in D, no. 3 in C]. London. Monzani & Hill. [1815]

### ***Volume 99 (parts for flauto)***

1. Dr Haydn's Symphonies arranged as Quintettos for a Flute, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello with an adaptation or Thorough Bass for the Piano Forte by Dr. Hague. Four Setts. London. Preston. [1810?]
2. Nos. 1, 2, 3 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]

3. Nos. 4, 5, 6 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
4. Nos. 7, 8, 9 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
5. Nos. 10, 11, 12 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
6. Three Grand Symphonies by J. Haydn and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
7. Grand Symphonies by A. Romberg adapted for two Violins, Flute, Tenor, Violoncello with an additional Bass or Piano Forte by G. Masi. [No. 1 in E flat, no. 2 in D, no. 3 in C]. London. Monzani & Hill. [1815]

***Volume 100 (parts for piano forte)***

1. Dr Haydn's Symphonies arranged as Quintettos for a Flute, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello with an adaptation or Thorough Bass for the Piano Forte by Dr. Hague. Four Setts. London. Preston. [1810?]
2. Nos. 1, 2, 3 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
3. Nos. 4, 5, 6 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
4. Nos. 7, 8, 9 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]

5. Nos. 10, 11, 12 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
6. Three Grand Symphonies by J. Haydn and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
7. Grand Symphonies by A. Romberg adapted for two Violins, Flute, Tenor, Violoncello with an additional Bass or Piano Forte by G. Masi. [No. 1 in E flat, no. 2 in D, no. 3 in C]. London. Monzani & Hill. [1815]

***Volume 101 (parts for alto viola)***

1. Dr Haydn's Symphonies arranged as Quintettos for a Flute, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello with an adaptation or Thorough Bass for the Piano Forte by Dr. Hague. Four Setts. London. Preston. [1810?]
2. Nos. 1, 2, 3 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
3. Nos. 4, 5, 6 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
4. Nos. 7, 8, 9 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
5. Nos. 10, 11, 12 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
6. Three Grand Symphonies by J. Haydn and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]



7. Grand Symphonies by A. Romberg adapted for two Violins, Flute, Tenor, Violoncello with an additional Bass or Piano Forte by G. Masi. [No. 1 in E flat, no. 2 in D, no. 3 in C]. London. Monzani & Hill. [1815]

### ***Volume 102 (parts for violino primo)***

1. Dr Haydn's Symphonies arranged as Quintettos for a Flute, two Violins, Tenor and Violoncello with an adaptation or Thorough Bass for the Piano Forte by Dr. Hague. Four Setts. London. Preston. [1810?]
2. Nos. 1, 2, 3 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
3. Nos. 4, 5, 6 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
4. Nos. 7, 8, 9 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
5. Nos. 10, 11, 12 of J. Haydn's Grand Symphonies composed for Mr Salomon's concerts and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Printed for the Proprietor by Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
6. Three Grand Symphonies by J. Haydn and arranged for five instruments ... two Violins, a German Flute, a Tenor and a Violoncello with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by J. P. Salomon. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1820]
7. Grand Symphonies by A. Romberg adapted for two Violins, Flute, Tenor, Violoncello with an additional Bass or Piano Forte by G. Masi. [No. 1 in E flat, no. 2 in D, no. 3 in C]. London. Monzani & Hill. [1815]

### ***Volume 103***

1. Hoffnung's Walzer von Laukolsky für das Piano Forte arrangiert von L. Horwitz. Berlin. Bei Gustav Crantz. [n.d.]

2. 'Parade Marsch' für das Piano Forte componiert von Kronprinzen von Hannover. Berlin. Bei Gustav Crantz. [1838?]
3. 'Vergiss mein nicht Walzer' für das Piano-Forte von F. R. Reissiger. Berlin. Bei Gustav Crantz. [ca.1835]
4. 'Paulina-Walzer' von J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [n.d.]
5. 'Valse d'Hélène' par J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [n.d.]
6. 'Krönungs Walzer' von J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [n.d.]
7. 'Prager Lieblings-Galoppen' von J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [n.d.]
8. 'Die Nordländer' Walzer für das Piano Forte von J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [n.d.]
9. 'Ringelheimer Gastfreundschafts-Walzer' von dem Prinzen George von Cumberland. George, King of Hanover. Berlin. In der Musikverlagshandlung des Kupferstechers Moritz Westphal. [1837?]
10. 'Erinnerung an Prag. Die Lebenfrohen Walzer' von J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [c.1835]
11. 'Anna Zonen-Tänze' von J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [n.d.]
12. 'Berliner-Galopp' von J. Labitsky. Prag. Bei Marco Berra. [c.1835]
13. 'Lennox-Walzer' von ... Königlichen Hoheit Kronprinzen von Hannover. George, King of Hanover. Berlin. Bei G. Crantz. [1840?]
14. Sammlung der neuesten und beliebtesten Galoppen. Dessauer Galoppen von J. Lanner. Wien. Bei Pietro Mechetti. [1836]
15. 'Magnaten-Galoppe' von J. Lanner. Bei Pietro Mechetti. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 104***

Volume of 'Waltzes and Galoppes' for the Piano Forte by J. Strauss. Wien. Bei Tobias Haslinger. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 105***

Volume of 'Waltzes and Galoppes' for the Piano Forte by J. Lanner. Wien. Bei Pietro Mechetti. [n.d.]

### ***Volume 106***

1. 'With twenty Chords my Lyre is hung'. A favorite Duet by W. Knyvett. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]

2. 'When o'er Life's Sunshine Clouds are cast'. Duett in the 'Forty Thieves' by M. Kelly. London. Mr Kelly. [n.d.]
3. 'My cruel Maid.' Duett in the Grand Dramatic Romance of the 'Forty Thieves' by M. Kelly. London. Mr Kelly. [n.d.]
4. 'Ah Questo amplesso oh cara'. The favorite Duett in the Grand Serious Opera of 'La Morte di Cleopatra' by S. Nasolini. London. Mr Kelly. [1806]
5. 'Care cittelle'. The favorite Duett in the comic opera of 'Due Nozze e un sol Marito' by P. Guglielmi. London. Mr Kelly. [1806?]
6. 'The Pilgrim'. A favorite Song with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp by S. F. Rimbault. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
7. 'Piu bianca di giglio'. A celebrated Italian Air [by V. Martin y Soler]. Harmonized as a Glee for three voices by M. P. King. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1805?]
8. 'Cara parte di me stesso'. The favorite Cavatina or Lullaby in the opera of 'Camilla' by V. Fioravanti. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1806?]
9. 'Tenari e cari affetti'. Recitative and song in the opera of 'La Morte di Mitridate' by Portogallo [Marcos Antônio da Fonseca Portugal]. London. Rt Birchall. [1815?]
10. 'Oh! Quanto l'anima' in the opera of 'Il Ritorno di Serse' by S. Mayr. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
11. 'Ah chi sà'. Favorite Trio in the comic opera 'Il Barbiere di Seviglia' by G. Paisiello. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1789?]
12. 'Tu di quest' anima'. The favorite Cavatina sung by Mrs Billington accompanied on the Guittar by Sigr Naldi in the opera of 'Il fanatico per la Musica' by S. Mayr. London. Rt Birchall. [1820?]
13. 'Chi dice mal d'amore dice una fals'. In the opera of 'Il fanatico per la Musica' by S. Mayr. London. Rt Birchall. [WM1804]
14. 'The Willow'. A favorite Air sung by Mrs Jordan and accompanied by herself on the Lute by J. Hook. London. J. Dale. [1803?]
15. 'Sports of my Childhood full quickly ye past'. A favorite song by Mr. Ross. The words by J. Rannie. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d.]
16. Four Canzonets and a Sonata in which is introduced the admired air of 'Logie O Buchan' with an Accompaniment for the Violin by G. F. Pinto. London. Assiotti. [n.d.]
17. A Select Collection of all the Marches, Minuets, Waltzes and Airs performed at Vauxhall London etc. arranged for the Piano Forte. London. W. Corri. [n.d.]

18. Her Grace the Duchess of Richmond's favorite Waltz composed and arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte by W. S. Lapp. London. Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co. [n.d.]
19. A New and Select Collection of Popular Dances arranged for Piano Forte and Violin. London. Pearce & Co. [n.d.]
20. A Favorite Collection of popular Country Dances arranged for the Piano Forte, Violin etc. London. Skillern & Challoner. [1810?]
21. His Excellency the Duke of Bedford's Grand Slow and Quick March composed and arranged for the Harp or Piano Forte by T. Cooke. London. Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co. [c.1805]
22. Dutchess [Duchess] of Bedford's Waltz arranged as a Rondo for the Harp or Piano Forte by J. Monro. London. Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co. [1810?]
23. Madame Catalani's Waltz composed and arranged as a Rondo for the Piano Forte by J. Haigh. London. L. Lavenue. [n.d.]

***Volume 107 (parts for violino secondo)***

1. Six Concerts pour le Clavecin, deux Violons et un Violoncelle par J. Bach. Oeuvre première. A Londres. [n.d.]
2. Four Grand Concertos or Symphonies for the Harpsichord and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by F. Pelligrino. London. Welcker. [n.d.]
3. Six Concertos for the Organ or Harpsichord with instrumental parts by C. Wagenseil. London. Welcker. [n.d.]

***Volume 108 (parts for basso)***

Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Violoncello with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by E. Barbella. Op. 1. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]

***Volume 109***

1. 'Audace che chiedi'. A Favorite Duet in the opera of 'Sidagero' by P. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]
2. The favorite Recitative and Air 'Del mio sen la dolce calma' in the opera of 'Sidagero' by P. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1809?]

3. 'La Donna che è amante'. A favorite song in the opera of 'Gianninae Bernardone' by D. Cimarosa arranged with accompaniment for Piano Forte. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1825]
4. 'Ah tu sei che stringo al seno'. A favorite Duet in the opera of 'La Vergine del Sole' by G. Andreozzi arranged for the Harp or Piano Forte. London. Rt Birchall. [n.d]
5. 'Vedete la Vedete'. Duett in the opera of 'La Scommessa' by P. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1810?]
6. 'Sull'onor mio loguiro'. The favorite Terzetto in the opera of 'La Scommessa' by P. Guglielmi. London. Rt Birchall. [1810]
7. 'Frena Vorrei le lagrime'. A favorite Song in the opera 'Gl'orazzj e Curiaazzj' by D. Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [1805?]
8. 'Oh dolce e caro instante'. The favorite Trio in the opera 'Gl'orazzj e Curiaazzj' by D. Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [1805?]
9. 'Svenami or mai crudele'. The favorite Duet in the opera 'Gl'orazzj e Curiaazzj' by D. Cimarosa. London. Rt Birchall. [1805?]
10. 'Nume benefico'. Canon for three voices in the opera of 'Phedra' by F. Radicati. [London] [WM1811]
11. 'Proteggi o venere'. Recitativo et Duetto in the opera of 'Phedra' by F. Radicati. [London] [1811?]
12. 'Or che tutti o mio tesoro'. A favorite Duett in the opera of 'Don Giovanni' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800?]
13. 'Vedria Carino'. In the opera of 'Don Giovanni' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [ca.1800]
14. 'Protegga il giusto cielo'. A favorite Trio in the opera of 'Don Giovanni' by W. A. Mozart. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1800?]
15. 'Più non ho la dolce speranza' in the opera of 'La Didone' by A. Sacchini. London. Rt Birchall. [1820?]
16. 'Vè come nobile'. Cavatina and Duet in the opera of 'La Didone' by G. G. Ferrari. London. Rt Birchall. [1808?]
17. 'Oppressa mi sento'. In the opera of 'Merope' by S. Nasolini. London. Rt Birchall. [1802?]
18. 'Con Paziienza sopportiamo'. In the much admired Duet in the opera of 'Il Fanatico per La Musica' by [S. Mayr?]. London. Naldi & Mortellari. [1815?]
19. 'Come ye Shepherds on the Plain. Pastorelli al pica scendete'. The favorite pastoral Trio in the opera of 'I Fuorusciti' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]

20. 'O lieto di'. A favorite Trio in the serious opera of 'Evelina' by A. Sacchini. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1797?]
21. 'No'non voglio per la testa. Love shall plague my Heart no more'. The favorite comic Song in the opera of 'La Caccia d'Enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the author. [c.1812?]
22. 'O Notte tetra e cupa. O Night! In thy deep horror'. Nottorno in the opera of 'La Caccia d'Enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the author. [c.1812?]
23. 'Speranza Lusinghiera'. The Favorite Cavatina in the opera of 'La Caccia d'Enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the author. [c.1812?]
24. 'Non so che cosa sia'. Cavatina in the opera of 'La Caccia d'Enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the proprietor. [c.1812?]
25. 'In questa piaggie amene? Amid these verdant Bowers'. The favorite Trio in the opera of 'La Caccia d'Enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the author. [c.1812?]
26. 'Viva Enrico'. Chorus in the opera of 'La Caccia d'Enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the proprietor. [c.1812?]
27. 'Adorate Gabriella'. A favorite Guitar Air in the opera of 'La Caccia d'Enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the proprietor. [c.1812?]
28. 'Tenere Ogoetto. Sweetest Idol of my Soul'. The favorite Air ... in the opera of 'La Caccia d'enrico IV' by V. Pucitta. London. Printed for the author. February 1812.
29. 'Nasce da detti tuoi'. Song in the opera of 'Zaira' by M. C. Mortellari, accompanied on the Harp. London. Monzani & Cimadon. [c.1805]
30. 'Sommo Dio Che in sen mi vedi'. In the opera of 'Zaira' composed by P. Winter and arranged by M. C. Mortellari. London. Mr Kelly. [c.1810]
31. 'Se mai nemica sorte'. The favorite Duet in the opera of 'Zaira'. London. Rt. Birchall. [n.d.]
32. 'Nel Silenzio i mesti passi'. The celebrated Song in the opera of 'Alzira' by F. Bianchi. London. Rt Birchall. [1801]

### ***Volume 110 (parts for violino)***

1. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with a Violin Accompaniment obligato by V. Niccolai. Op. V. London. Longman & Broderip. [c.1780]
2. Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by V. Niccolai. Op. XI. London. Longman & Broderip. [ca.1795]
3. No. 13. Boccherini's Lessons I-VI. [London] [n.d.]

4. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for a Violin by C. Wagenseil. Op. 2. London. Welcker. [n.d.]
5. Three Favorite Sonatas for the Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the Violin by L. Kozeluch. Op. 20. London. J. Cooper. [c.1785?]
6. Fourteen Favorite Sonatinas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin ad libitum by I. Pleyel. London. Rt Birchall. [c.1790]
7. Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin by A. Praty. London. Longman & Broderip. [n.d.]

***Volume 111 (music for piano forte)***

1. A Duett for two Performers on the Piano Forte in which is introduced the admired Air of 'O dolce concerto' [by W. A. Mozart] with Variations by T. Latour. London. Rt Birchall. [1811?]
2. A familiar Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte in which is introduced the celebrated Scotch Air 'O Nanny wilt thou gang wi' me' by J. Monro. Op. 2. London. Button & Whitaker. [c.1810]
3. A Duett for two Performers on the Piano Forte in which are introduced two favorite Airs with Variations, dedicated to 'the Ladies' by T. Latour. London. Chappell & Co. [1813]
4. The favorite Air 'Lewie Gordon' arranged as a Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte by T. Haigh. London. Bland & Wellers. [c.1806]
5. Duett by L. Kozeluch Op. 19, in 'Ball's Occasional Collection of Duettts for two Performers on one Piano Forte by eminent Composers'. London. J. Balls. [n.d.]
6. The favorite 'Spanish Air' by [?] Stiebelt with an introduction arranged as a Duett for two Performers on the Piano Forte by J. B. Cramer. London. Chappell & Co. [n.d.]
7. A Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte in which is introduced the Air of 'Sul Margine' by T. Smith. London. G. Walker. [n.d.]
8. A Grand Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte by J. Gildon. Op. 12. London. J. Balls. [n.d.]
9. A celebrated Symphony by G. Rosetti arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte with Accompaniments for Flute, Violin, Viola and Violoncello by J. Mazzinghi. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. [c.1815?]
10. J. Haydn's celebrated Overture arranged as a Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte. London. G. Walker. [n.d.]

11. 'Artaxerxes Duet' (handwritten). Overture to 'Artaxerxes' for two Performers. [T. Arne] [n.p.] [n.d.]
12. The favorite Overture to 'The Lady of the Manor' adapted for two Performers on one Harpsichord or Piano Forte by the original composer J. Hook. London. J. Bland & Weller's. [n.d.]
13. Overture to 'Henry IV' arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte or Harpsichord by J. Martini. London. Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Wood. [WM1815]
14. No. 21. Pleyel's celebrated 'Concertante' arranged as a Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte by T. Latour. London. Bland & Weller's. [n.d.]
15. 'Let their celestial Concerts all unite'. A grand Chorus from the Oratorio of 'Samson' by G. F. Handel arranged for two Performers on the Piano Forte by T. Haigh. London. C. Mitchell. [c.1808?]
16. 'Sing unto God' by G. F. Handel. A Duett for two Performers on one Piano Forte by the most eminent Composers. London. Bland & Weller's. [c.1808?]
17. 'For unto us a Boy is born' from 'Messiah' by G. F. Handel arranged as a duet for two Performers on one Piano Forte by T. Haigh. London. G. Walker. [c.1808?]

***Volume 112 (parts for basso)***

1. Six Trios for Two Violins and Piano Forte or Violoncello by F. Giardini. Op. 30. Dedicated to Her Grace the Dutchess [Duchess] of Devonshire. London. Printed for the author. [n.d.]
2. Sei Trii di Violino e Basso composti da A. Kammel. Op. I. Dedicated to Lady Lucy Mann, London 15 Marzo 1766.
3. A Favorite Set of Sonatas for two Violins, Violoncello or a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by M. Humble. Op. VII. London. Longman, Lukey & Co. [c.1775]
4. Sei Trii a due Violini e Basso composti da G. B. Noferi. Op. IX. London. Welcker. [c.1778?]
5. Six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by G. B. Noferi. Op. VII. London. R. Bremner. [n.d.]
6. A Third Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1770?]
7. A Fourth Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Thorough Bass composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [c.1770]
8. A Fifth Sett of Trios for two Violins and a Violoncello composed by M. Humble. London. Welcker. [1772]



9. A Second Sett of six Sonatas for two Violins and a Bass composed by F. Schwindl. Op. 7. London. Longman, Lukey & Co. [1775?]
10. Six Sonates a deux Violons et Violoncello composées par J. Vanhal. Oeuvre XII. London. J. Betz. [c.1775?]
11. Six Trios for a Violin, Violoncello obligato, & Bass with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord composed by J. Lates. Op. 5. London. Printed for the author by C. & S. Thompson. [n.d.]

***Volume 113 (parts for violino)***

1. A third Set of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte by L. Boccherini. London. Longman & Broderip. [1783]
2. Six Concertos for the Harpsichord, or Piano Forte, with an Accompaniment for two Violins and a Bass by J. S. Schroeter. Op. III. London. W. Napier. [1780?]
3. Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with Accompaniments for a Violin and Violoncello obligato by J. Sterkel. Op. XVII. London. Longman & Broderip. [1784]
4. A fifth Set of six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, Piano Forte and Organ with Accompaniments for two Violins and a Violoncello by J. Garth. Op. VII. London. Printed for the author. [1782]

***Volume 114 (Parts for basso and violoncello)***

1. Sonatas I–VI by J. Rameau? [n.p] [n.d.]
2. Six Quartettos pour deux Violons, Taille et Basse par J. B. Davaux. Oeuvre première. La Haye. Chez B. Hummel. [c.1780]
3. Four Concertos for the Harpsichord, two Violins and a Violoncello by F. T. Schumann. Op. IV. London. Printed for the author. [1765?]
4. Six Symphonies choisies a deux Violons, Taille et Basse, deux Hautbois et deux Cornes de Chasse ad libitum par A. Filtz. La Haye. Chez B. Hummel. [1780?]
5. 'The Periodical Overture' in eight parts by C. Stamitz. No. XLI. London. R. Bremner. [c.1775?]
6. 'The Periodical Overture' in eight parts by J. Vanhal. No. XLII. London. R. Bremner. [1774?]
7. 'The Periodical Overture' in eight parts by J. Haydn. No. XL. London. R. Bremner. [1774?]

8. 'The Periodical Overture' in eight parts by C. Stamitz. No. XLIII. London. R. Bremner. [1775?]
9. A Third Sett of six favorite Overtures in eight parts for two Violins, two Oboes, and two Horns, Viola, and Figured Bass for the Harpsichord by F. Xavier Richter. London. John Johnston. [n.d.]
10. Second Sett of Quartettos for two Violins, a Tenor and Violoncello obligato by C. F. Abel. Op. XII. London. R. Bremner. [1775?]
11. Six Concertos for Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for two Violins and a Bass by J. S. Schroeter. Op. III. London. W. Napier. [1780?]
12. Six Overtures in eight parts and a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord by RH Thomas Earl of Kelly. Op. I. London. R. Bremner. [1762]
13. 'The Periodical Overture' in eight parts by J. C. Bach. No. XLIV. London. R. Bremner. [1775]
14. Concertos I–VI by A. Filtz. [n.p.] [n.d.]
15. Six Trios for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte with an Accompaniment for a Violin and a Violoncello ad libitum by E. Eichner. London. Welcker. [1775?]
16. Six Quatuors à Flûte, Violon, Alto, et Basse par J. Haydn à Vienne. Op. V. London. R. Bremner. [1772]

## Appendix 3: Musical instruments currently in Yorkshire houses

### *Temple Newsam*

1. Bentside Spinet c.1700  
Walnut and oak; pine, sycamore, fruitwood, maple  
Provenance: Mrs. G. H. Pother; W. Waddington (antiques)  
Cat. No. 289
  
2. Hurdy Gurdy (French)  
By T. Henry, Mirecourt  
18<sup>th</sup> century, third quarter  
Maple; sycamore, ebony  
Provenance: G. Hutchinson (antiques); given to the L.A.C.F  
By Stanley Burton 1963  
Cat. No. 290
  
3. Harp-Lute  
By Edward Light, London  
c.1810, Pine  
Provenance: Bought from Mallet and Son, 1957  
Cat. No. 291
  
4. British Harp-Lute  
By Edward Light, London  
c.1818  
Pine; sycamore, beech  
Provenance: Bought from Mallet and Son, 1957  
Cat. No. 292
  
5. Square Piano Forte  
By John Longman, London  
c.1812–15  
Mahogany; satinwood, rosewood, maple, pine, oak, beech.

Provenance: Bequeathed by Mrs D. V. McGrigor Phillips of Temple Sowerby Manor, Penrith, 1967

Cat. No. 293

6. Pedal-Harp

By Sebastian Erard, London

1815

Pine, birch, sycamore, beech, mahogany

The relevant entry in Erard's stock book reads:

'1954 Miss Pigou, Hill St., Berk Sq. 28<sup>th</sup> February 1815'

Provenance: Georgiana Pigou married Hugo Charles Meynell in 1819; he took the additional surname of Ingram on succeeding to the Temple Newsam Estates in 1841; by descent to the Earls of Halifax; Given by Lord Halifax

Cat. No. 294

7. Cabinet Upright Piano Forte

By John Broadwood and Sons, London

c.1829, bought 9 May 1929

Rosewood; mahogany, oak, pine, elm, beech, sycamore

Provenance: By descent from Lady Hertford to the Earl of Halifax;

Given 1922

Cat. No. 295

8. Square Piano

Made by Thomas Haxby, York

On original chamber leg trestle inset stand

Inscribed 'Thomas Haxby York 1780' and two painted heads in medallions

Provenance: Purchased privately from Miss E. Butler Charlbury 27 July 1982.

Instrument was one time in the Butler family home near Penrith, Cumbria.

9. Fortepiano

Made by John Broadwood 1801

Restored by Lucy Coad

Provenance: Given by Roger Warner 2005 who acquired it at a housesale in Berwick on Tweed

## ***Lotherton Hall***

1. Pedal-Harp and Case  
By Sebastian and Pierre Erard, London, 1845  
Bird's-eye maple; rosewood, pine, sycamore, beech.  
Provenance: The Harp was evidently bought by one of R. O. Gascoigne's daughters Mary Isabella and Elizabeth who succeeded him in 1843 and whilst unmarried, lived together at Parlington Hall, Yorkshire. An inventory (date?) records 'Large Drawing Room – Harp by Erard' showing that they already owned one instrument.  
By descent to Sir Alvary Gascoigne; the Gascoigne gift 1968  
Cat. No. 296
  
2. Concert Grand Piano  
Action by Erard; the Case by Mash and Jones, Leeds  
c.1870  
Satinwood, rosewood, walnut, mahogany, sycamore etc. pine, oak  
Provenance: the Earl of Darnley; Hechmondwike Grammar School;  
Given by the headmaster C. J. S. Kyte 1954  
Cat. No. 297
  
3. Organ  
By Wordsworth and Maskell, Leeds  
To the design of G. F. Bodley, 1877  
Walnut  
Under Cat. No. 534
  
4. Boudoir Grand Piano Forte (French)  
Action by Sebastian Erard; the case by Jansen, Paris  
1900  
Rosewood, Satinwood, mahogany, walnut, sycamore, fruitwood, oak, pine, various coloured woods  
Provenance: acquired by Sam Wilson for Rutland Lodge Leeds; the Sam Wilson Bequest 1925  
Cat. No.298

Published catalogue by Christopher Gilbert, *Furniture at Temple Newsam House and Lotherton Hall*, Vol. 1 (1978) 228–239, published jointly by NACF and LACF

### ***Castle Howard***

1. Grand Piano  
By John Broadwood & Son, London,  
1790
2. Square Piano  
By John Broadwood & Son, London,  
1805
3. Grand Piano  
By Sebastian Erard, London,  
c.1835
4. Organ  
By Harrison & Harrison, Durham,  
1875
5. Grand Piano  
By Bluthner, Leipzig,  
1895

### ***Harewood House***

Two Steinway grand pianos from 1938 that belonged to Lord Harewood's mother.

### ***Nostell Priory***

1. Grand piano  
By Erard , London 1865  
Inscribed Patent Erard London. Compass AAA to a4.  
In figured walnut on three tapered hexagonal legs. Pierced fret music desk. Fitted with Patent Resonator. Serial number: 8767. Dated 1865 on lowest hammer head.
2. Double-action Harp  
By Barry  
c.1820.

Ebonised and gilded with a mixture of Grecian and chinoiserie ornament. Seven pedals for the action and a central pedal to operate the five swell shutters in rear of sound box. 43 strings Compass EE – e4.

3. Grand Piano

By John Broadwood and Sons

1818

In mahogany and rosewood by John Broadwood and Sons, wrestplank numbered 7678 and dated 1818. Compass CC – c4. On four turned legs. Two pedals: Left, Due Corde/Una Corda; Right, Dampers (originally a split pedal lifting treble and bass).

## Abbreviations

CHA	Castle Howard Archives
WYL	West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds
WYW	West Yorkshire Archive Service Wakefield



# Resource List

## A. Manuscript Sources:

British Library Add. Ms 62112. Transcription from Harewood Archives, [c.1814].

Castle Howard Collection in the Castle Howard Archives.

Chichester Constable Papers in the East Riding Archive Office and Hull University Library.

Devonshire Collection in the Chatsworth House Archives.

Gascoigne Papers in the West Yorkshire Archive Service.

Harewood Collection in the West Yorkshire Archive Service.

Nostell Priory Collection in the West Yorkshire Archive Service.

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