

# **Music and Society in Eighteenth-Century Yorkshire**

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My family have had much to endure while I was absorbed in this project. To them this thesis is dedicated.

Christopher Roberts,  
Leeds,  
December 2014.

## Abstract

The British provinces enjoyed a vibrant musical culture in the eighteenth century. Music was a pleasurable leisure and communal activity pursued by many from across the social spectrum. The ‘urban renaissance’ (Peter Borsay) and ‘commercialisation of leisure’ (J. H. Plumb) meant recreational activities became readily available to the middle and professional classes in provincial towns and cities. One of the principal ways in which people experienced music was through domestic music-making. Its growing popularity went in hand with the vast quantity of music composed and published with amateurs in mind. By the second half of the eighteenth century, professional music-making was increasingly brought to provincial public venues such as assembly rooms, parish churches and theatres.

This project explores this thriving context through the investigation of the musical interests, activities and networks of members of the provincial population in eighteenth-century Yorkshire. Through the examination of a range of newly identified primary sources, including contemporary diaries, personal correspondence, account books and autograph music manuscripts, a wealth of information is uncovered which enriches our understanding of social and musical life in the British provinces. Among the individuals examined include the amateur musicians Edward Finch (1663-1738), a clergyman at York Minster, and John Courtney (1734-1806), a gentleman who resided in Beverley. Edward Miller (1735-1807), a professional musician who worked in Doncaster, is presented as an example of how a provincial occupational musician was able to pursue a successful career. It will be demonstrated how listening to, composing and performing music was an important element of their individual identities, and, more widely, how music shaped contemporary provincial society and culture in the region.



# Table of Contents

*Acknowledgements* [page iii]

*Abstract* [iv]

*Table of Contents* [v]

*List of Music Examples* [vi]

*List of Figures* [viii]

*List of Tables* [xii]

*Abbreviations* [xiii]

*Note to the Reader* [xv]

Chapter 1	Introduction	[1]
Chapter 2	‘Tis as full Harmony as I could make for Voices’: Edward Finch of York	[11]
Chapter 3	‘Musick is better than Cards by far’: John Courtney of Beverley	[86]
Chapter 4	‘well known in the Musical and Literary Circles as a man of genius and integrity’: Edward Miller of Doncaster	[136]
Chapter 5	‘to pass away my leasure Hours’: Music in Everyday Life	[220]
Appendix A	Inventories of Edward Finch's Principal Manuscripts	[248]
Appendix B	Inventory of Edward Finch’s Music Library	[269]
Appendix C	Inventory of Edward Finch’s Compositions	[273]
Appendix D	Musical Events Recorded by John Courtney in his Diary	[277]
Appendix E	Edward Miller’s Printed Publications	[304]
Appendix F	Inventories of Manuscripts Originating from Nostell Priory and Howsham Hall	[308]

*Select Bibliography* [312]

## List of Music Examples

- 2.1 Edward Finch's alternative ending (small print) and added figured bass to Handel's Jubilate in D major; DRc Bamburgh M192, p. 301 [page 45]
- 2.2 Incomplete anonymous 'Symphonia' in D major in Finch's hand; Ge Euing R.d.39, ff. 14v-15v [51]
- 2.3 Lorenzo Bocchi's added Adagio second movement in a revision of Edward Finch's Sonata No. 4; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 67 [58]
- 2.4 (a) Edward Finch, Sonata No. 4, Pastorale; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 24; (b) Lorenzo Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 68 [59-60]
- 2.5 (a) Edward Finch, Sonata No. 1, first movement; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 12; (b) Lorenzo Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 68 [61-62]
- 2.6 (a) Edward Finch, Sonata No. 2, Affettuoso; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 17; (b) Lorenzo Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 73 [63-64]
- 2.7 (a) Edward Finch, Sonata No. 2, final movement; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 19; (b) Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 75 [65-66]
- 4.1 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 2, second movement, bars 1-8; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761) [173]
- 4.2 John Stanley, Sonata No. 6, second movement, bars 1-4; *Six Solo's*, Op. 4 (1745) [173]
- 4.3 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 6, second movement, bars 24-31; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761) [174]
- 4.4 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 3, third movement, bars 14-31; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761) [174]
- 4.5 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 3, first movement, bars 25-34; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761) [175]

- 4.6 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 1, first movement, bars 1-6; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761) [175]
- 4.7 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 2, first movement, bars 1-8; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768) [177]
- 4.8 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 6, third movement, bars 1-9; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768) [177]
- 4.9 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 5, first movement, bars 17-25; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768) [177]
- 4.10 Edward Miller, Sonata No. 4, second movement, bars 1-10; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768) [178]
- 4.11 Edward Miller, 'The Happy Pair', bars 9-12; *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata* (1756) [180]
- 4.12 Edward Miller, '2<sup>nd</sup> Ode of Anacreon', bars 25-29; *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata* (1756) [180]
- 4.13 Edward Miller, 'Elegy on the Death of Mr. Handel', opening accompanied recitative, bars 1-10; *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental Parts*, Op. 3 (c. 1770) [182]
- 4.14 Edward Miller, 'Ode the words by Mr. Pope', opening aria, bars 1-14; *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental Parts*, Op. 3 (c. 1770) [182]
- 4.15 Edward Miller, No. 7, bars 9-16; *Twelve Canzonets for the Voice and Piano Forte*, Op. 10 (c. 1799) [184]

## List of Figures

- 2.1 Monument of Edward Finch in York Minster [page 12]
- 2.2 Edward Finch, Sonata No. 1, last movement, in the hand of the composer; Armstrong-Finch MS, p. 87 [15]
- 2.3 ‘Cantabile’ by Charles Quarles copied by Edward Finch; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 76 [16]
- 2.4 Elevation of York Assembly Rooms, Blake Street; reproduced from Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1730), facing p. 338 [18]
- 2.5 Map of the Minster Close and Bedern as it would have appeared in the eighteenth century; reproduced from George Benson, *Later Medieval York: the City and County of the City of York from 1100 to 1603* (York: Coultas & Volans, 1919), facing p. 112 [19]
- 2.6 Scales for recorders of different pitches in the hand of Edward Finch; Armstrong-Finch MS, endpaper [28]
- 2.7 Letter addressed to Edward Finch containing the text and translation of Carlo Broschi Farinello’s ‘Regal Brittani ail mis piu Nobil Vanto’; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 178a-b [31]
- 2.8 Edward Finch, ‘We ’knowledge Thee to be the Lord’; Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 6v [36]
- 2.9 Edward Finch, ‘We praise Thee O God’ (dated 1708); Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 9v [37]
- 2.10 Fragment from the Creed in ‘Harry’ Purcell’s Service in Bb major; Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 14r [38]

- 2.11 Edward Finch's working for the Gloria Patri from his Jubilate (dated 1721); Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 33v [39]
- 2.12 Edward Finch's harmonisation of the 'St James's' tune with a letter addressed to Valentine Nalson; Y M18 S, f. 1v [40]
- 2.13 English adaptation of Steffani's motet *Qui Diligit Mariam* by Edward Finch; DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 70 [42]
- 2.14 English adaptation of part of the Gloria from Giovanni Battista Borri's Mass in F major by Edward Finch; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 100 [43]
- 2.15 Corelli's Sonata No. 2, Op. 3 arranged by Edward Finch for 4 violins, viola and basso continuo; DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 2 [48]
- 2.16 Arrangement by Edward Finch for string ensemble of the Adagio from 'Harry' Purcell's 'Golden' Sonata Z810; Armstrong-Finch MS, p. 1 [49]
- 2.17 Incomplete anonymous 'Symphonia' in D major in Finch's hand; Ge Euing R.d.39, ff. 14v-15v [50]
- 2.18 Edward Finch, Divisions on Farinel's Ground in the hand of William Armstrong; Armstrong-Finch MS, p. 2 [54]
- 2.19 Edward Finch, Sonata No. 8 ('Cuckow'), first movement, in the composer's hand; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 41 [55]
- 2.20 Chant composed by Edward Finch and Valentine Nalson; Y M83, p. 67 [68]
- 2.21 Canon by Edward Salisbury 'In Imitation of M<sup>r</sup> Maurice Green'; DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 84 [71]
- 2.22 English adaptation of Steffani with additional vocal lines by Edward Salisbury; DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 117 [72]
- 3.1 Beverley Race Stand, built in 1767 to the designs of John Carr; reproduced from George Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley [...]* (Beverley: Printed and sold by M. Turner, 1829), plate [92]
- 3.2 Notice for Beverley Races (1763); East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, DDGR 3/1 [93]

- 3.3 Rules for the Beverley Assembly Rooms (1763); East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, DDX 1282/13/2 [94]
- 3.4 A ticket for the Beverley Assembly Rooms (1763), printed on the back of a playing card; East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, DDX 1282/13/1 [95]
- 3.5 Engraving of York Assembly Rooms by William Lindley (1759), John Courtney visited the same year [98]
- 3.6 Engraving of York Castle (where the Assizes took place) by William Lindley (c. 1759) [99]
- 3.7 *A Family Being Served with Tea* (c.1740-1745), oil on canvas; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut [102]
- 3.8 *Dressing Room à la Française* (1789), printed engraving; Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, Connecticut. The French dressing room is depicted as a place for flirtation [103]
- 4.1 Stipple engraving of Edward Miller by Thomas Hardy (1796); National Portrait Gallery, London [137]
- 4.2 Note addressed to Edward Miller in London and passage concerning harpsichord strings; Ckc 251, f. 28v [145]
- 4.3 ‘Table of Accompaniments’ in Miller’s hand; Ckc 251, loose leaf pp. 1-2 [146-147]
- 4.4 Cadential figured bass exercises supposedly completed by Miller; Ckc 251, f. 18r [150]
- 4.5 Extract from the final movement of Johann Christoph Pepusch’s cantata ‘See! from the silent groves’ (*Alexis*); Ckc 251, f. 27v [152]
- 4.6 Doncaster Mansion House; reproduced from Miller’s *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (1804), plate [161]
- 4.7 Doncaster Town Hall and Theatre; reproduced from Miller’s *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (1804), plate [162]

- 4.8 Doncaster Race Stand; reproduced from Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (1804), plate [163]
- 4.9 Edward Miller's signature c. 1786; Y M207, f. 18r [167]
- 4.10 Edward Miller's signature c. 1786; Cu Add. 6647, p. 97 [167]
- 4.11 Edward Miller's signatures between 1780 and 1785; Doncaster Archives, Vestry Minutes, P1/4/A1 [167]
- 4.12 The 1784 Handel Commemoration, Westminster Abbey; reproduced from Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey* (London: Printed for the Benefit of the Musical Fund; and Sold by T. Payne and Son, at the Meuse-Gate, 1785), plate [189]
- 4.13 Title page of Edward Miller's *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (1790) [200]
- 4.14 First page of subscribers to Edward Miller's *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (1790) [201]
- 4.15 'Rockingham' tune from Edward Miller's *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (1790) [204]
- 4.16 'Galway' tune from Edward Miller's *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (1790) [205]
- 4.17 Charles Burney's 'Lynn' tune from Edward Miller's *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (1790) [206]
- 4.18 Edward Miller's 'Doncaster' tune from his *Psalms of David for the Use of Parish Churches* (1790) [207]
- 4.19 Letter from Edward Miller to Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, dated 31 May 1794; National Archives, HO 42/30/136, ff. 333r-333v [210-211]
- 4.20 Letter from Edward Miller to William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, Fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, dated 27 August 1802; Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/F/127/59 [216-219]

## List of Tables

- 2.1 Cycle of eleven solo sonatas by Edward Finch [53]
- 2.2 Clergy and musicians at York Minster in the early eighteenth century [68]
- 3.1 Major musical events in York and the East Riding of Yorkshire in the late eighteenth century [121]
- 4.1 Important events in the life of Edward Miller and his musical publications [138-140]
- 4.2 Contents of Ckc 251 [148-149]
- 4.3 Music festivals organised and directed by Yorkshire organists in the late 1760s [171]
- 4.4 Music festivals in South Yorkshire directed by Edward Miller following the inaugural New Musical Fund concert [196]



## Abbreviations

### References to pitch

Pitch is denoted using the Helmholtz pitch system, in which c' denotes middle C.

### Manuscript shelfmarks

Manuscripts are identified using RISM sigla (see below) followed by the library shelfmark; the term 'MS' is omitted.

### RISM sigla

#### Great Britain ('GB' is omitted)

Cfm	Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
Ckc	Cambridge, Rowe Music Library, King's College
Cu	Cambridge, University Library
DRc	Durham, Cathedral Library
Ge	Glasgow, Euing Music Library
Lbl	London, The British Library
LEbc	Leeds, Brotherton Library
Lfom	London, The Foundling Museum
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Y	York, Minster Library

## United States of America

- US-LAuc      University of California at Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark  
                  Memorial Library
- US-NYp      New York, NY, New York Public Library at Lincoln Center, Music  
                  Division
- US-R         Rochester, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, Sibley  
                  Music Library

## Bibliographic Abbreviations

- CUP            Cambridge University Press
- EM*            *Early Music*
- EMP*          *Early Music Performer*
- GMO*          *Grove Music Online*, ed. by D. L. Root <[www.oxfordmusiconline](http://www.oxfordmusiconline)> [all  
                  accessed 07/2014]
- JAMS*          *Journal of the American Musicological Society*
- JRMA*          *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*
- MBP*          *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. by Rachel Cowgill and Peter  
                  Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)
- ML*            *Music & Letters*
- MT*            *Musical Times*
- ODNB*          *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <[www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com)> [all  
                  accessed 07/2014]
- OUP            Oxford University Press
- PRO            Public Record Office, Kew
- RMARC*        *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle*
- WYAS          West Yorkshire Archive Service

## Note to the Reader

Primary sources have been transcribed without changing spelling, capitalisation or punctuation. Editorial interventions and expansion of contractions are indicated in square brackets. ‘Y’ when used as a thorn (as in ‘y<sup>e</sup>’) is given as ‘th’. Chevrons indicate an attempt to clarify text that is not completely legible in the original.

I have modernised the English system of reckoning the year from Lady Day (25 March). Until 1752 England used the ‘Old Style’ or Julian calendar, which was ten days (eleven after 1700) behind the ‘New Style’ or Gregorian calendar used in Scotland and most continental European countries. I have retained the old system of English currency: there were twelve pence (*d.*) to the shilling (*s.*), and twenty shillings to the pound (£).

Figures have predominantly been used wherever the reader needs to view the physical appearance of particular pages, and music examples have largely been reserved for extracts where it is the musical content of the extract to which attention is being drawn. Music examples have been edited with a minimum of editorial intervention, although obvious errors and inconsistencies have been corrected without comment. Clefs have been modernised so that vocal parts use only treble, transposed treble, and bass clefs; instrumental parts use treble, bass and C3 clefs. Note values, key and time signatures are retained unchanged from the sources. Bar lines are consistently joined across staves for instrumental parts, while broken between staves for vocal music, according to modern convention. Beaming here follows modern convention for both instrumental and vocal parts. Accidentals given in the sources are reproduced, but converted to modern equivalents where necessary. Accidentals repeated within the bar are omitted. Figuring is reproduced as notated in the primary sources, but accidental signs are converted to modern equivalents where necessary, to incorporate the natural sign. The positioning of figures is standardised so that they appear below the staff.

*For Frances & Rachael*

# 1 | Introduction

My cheif Interruption indeed is from Signior Gamut whom I expect every minute. To tell you the truth, could I ever have suspected half the difficulty of learning musick, never would your humble Servant have attempted it. I remember the time when I could have pleased myself at least with humming over a tune or so, but now truly, the first maxim at setting off was, 'to imagine myself to have no Ear.' Since which time, nothing goes down with me but what is agreeable to the rules of musick, & in that I am very imperfect, tho' to do him justice, the gentleman gives me very good encouragement.

John Hotham (1733-1795), a gentleman of Scarborough and South Dalton, near Beverley in the East Riding of Yorkshire, was certainly not alone in his enthusiasm for music.<sup>1</sup> The British provinces enjoyed a vibrant musical culture in the eighteenth century. Music was a pleasurable leisure and communal activity pursued by many from across the social spectrum. Peter Borsay and J. H. Plumb have demonstrated how the 'urban renaissance' and 'commercialisation of leisure' respectively meant recreational activities became increasingly available to the middle and professional classes in provincial towns and cities, and were not exclusive to landed family estates and country houses.<sup>2</sup> An affluent and growing middle class had enough disposable income and spare time to spend on musical pursuits, whether for enjoyment, as a demonstration of prestige and wealth, or for self-improvement. Music clubs, where like-minded individuals met to share their passion for music, were popular alternatives to the traditional forms of music-making provided by the

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<sup>1</sup> Hull History Centre, Hull, U DDHO/4/6/16, letter dated 27 May 1755 from John Hotham to his older brother Charles Hotham (1729-1794) at Spring Gardens, London.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); J. H. Plumb, *The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England* (Reading: University of Reading, 1973); Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa, 1982). See also Peter Borsay, 'Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 19-33; Peter Borsay, 'The English Urban Renaissance: The Development of Provincial Urban Culture c. 1680-c. 1760', in *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1688-1820*, ed. by Peter Borsay (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 159-187.

town waits and other establishments.<sup>3</sup> One of the principal ways in which people experienced music was through domestic music-making. Its growing popularity went in hand with the vast quantity of music composed and published with amateurs in mind. Professional music-making was also increasingly brought to provincial public venues such as assembly rooms, parish churches and theatres by the second half of the eighteenth century. Music formed a large part of everyday life – and still does today – and could be heard in cathedrals, opera houses, pleasure gardens, taverns, in the street and, of course, in the home.<sup>4</sup>

## 1.1 Methodology

This project explores this thriving context through the investigation of the musical interests, activities and networks of members of the provincial population in eighteenth-century Yorkshire. A regional, rather than a town/city-centred approach is favoured, therefore Tim Carter's term of 'urban musicology' is inappropriate here.<sup>5</sup> I do not claim

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<sup>3</sup> Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2006).

<sup>4</sup> The myth that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain was 'das Land ohne Musik' has now largely been dispelled. For the origins of this label see the exchange of letters to the editor by Wendy Sheridan, Nicholas Temperley and Neal Zaslaw in *MT*, 116 (1975), 439, 625 and 877. See also Nicholas Temperley, 'Xenophilia in British Musical History', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, vol. 1, ed. by Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), pp. 3-19; Peter Holman, 'Eighteenth-Century Music: Past, Present, Future', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by David Wyn Jones (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 1-13; Julian Rushton, 'Introduction: Learning in London, Learning from London', in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, vol. 3, ed. by Peter Horton and Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. xv-xxiii.

<sup>5</sup> Tim Carter, 'The Sound of Silence: Models for an Urban Musicology', *Urban History*, 29.1 (May 2002), 8-18. Studies on individual centres include: Jennifer Burchell, *Polite or Commercial Concerts? Concert Management and Orchestral Repertoire in Edinburgh, Bath, Oxford, Manchester and Newcastle, 1730-1799* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1996); Jennifer Burchell, 'Musical Societies in Subscription Lists: An Overlooked Resource', *A Handbook for Studies in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century English Music IX* (Oxford: Burden and Cholij, 1998), pp. 1-75; Elizabeth Chevall, 'Music Societies and Musical Life in Old Foundation Cathedral Cities, 1700-1760' (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College, University of London, 1993); Elizabeth Chevall, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford, 1690-1760', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan

that this is a novel approach.<sup>6</sup> Instead, I will be examining three individuals and placing them in the context of the institutions and cultures in which they worked and lived.<sup>7</sup> This regional approach to exploring music-making is important and offers parallels with current trends in social and political history outside of the capital.<sup>8</sup> Through the examination of a range of newly identified primary sources, including contemporary diaries, personal correspondence, account books and autograph music manuscripts, a wealth of information is uncovered which enriches our understanding of social and musical life in the centres where these individuals resided, and the wider region as a whole.

This thesis concentrates on three case studies: the amateur musicians Edward Finch (1663-1738), a clergyman at York Minster; John Courtney (1734-1806), a gentleman who lived in Beverley; and Edward Miller (1735-1807), a professional musician who worked in Doncaster. The latter is presented as an example of how a

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Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (London: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 35-53; Rachel Cowgill, “The Most Musical Spot for its Size in the Kingdom”: Music in Georgian Halifax’, *EM*, 28.4 (November 2000), 557-575; Rachel Cowgill, ‘An Unknown Handel Arrangement by Mozart?: The Halifax Judas’, *MT*, 143.1878 (Spring 2002), 19-36; Rachel Cowgill, ‘Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club’, in *MBP*, pp. 87-113; Simon David Iain Fleming, ‘A Century of Music Production in Durham City, 1711-1811: A Documentary Study’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2009); David Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality: A History of Institutional Music-Making in York, c. 1550-1990* (York: York Settlement Trust, [1994]); David Griffiths, ‘Music in the Minster Close: Edward Finch, Valentine Nalson, and William Knight in Early Eighteenth-Century York’, in *MBP*, pp. 45-59; Emily Hargrave, ‘Musical Leeds in the Eighteenth Century’, *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, Miscellanea, 28 (1928), 320-355; J. G. Hooper, ‘A Survey of Music in Bristol with Special Reference to the Eighteenth Century’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Bristol, 1962-1963); Eric D. Mackerness, *Somewhere Further North: A History of Music in Sheffield* (Sheffield: J. W. Northend Ltd., 1974); Susan Wollenberg, *Music at Oxford in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford: OUP, 2001); Susan Wollenberg, ‘John Baptist Malchair of Oxford and his Collection of “National Music”’, in *MBP*, pp. 151-161.

<sup>6</sup> See Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> I use the term ‘culture’ in the broadest sense, encompassing political, religious and social networks. This approach is akin to that adopted by Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman in *MBP*. This edited volume was the product of a Leeds University Centre for English Music (LUCEM) conference on provincial music-making held at the University of Leeds in May 2001. I organised a follow-up one-day conference exploring amateur music-making in the British provinces affiliated with the Royal Musical Association and LUCEM at the University of Leeds in June 2014. A larger LUCEM conference entitled ‘Music in the British Provinces to 1900’ is planned for September 2015.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Michael Brown, *Performing Medicine: Medical Culture and Identity in Provincial England, c. 1760-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

provincial occupational musician was able to pursue a successful career. It will be demonstrated how listening to, composing and performing music was an important element of their individual identities. Their use of music as a tool for community, education, entertainment, socialising, and recreation will also be examined. These case studies cannot be comprehensive: each will offer a contrasting and original insight, using a broad palette of primary source material, to provide a snapshot of interactions with music in everyday life and the networks, opinions and attitudes of a number of people of differing social class and a variety of institutions. The three individuals to be examined allow comparisons to be made between different geographical centres of urban population, purpose, repertoire and audience. A concluding chapter utilising a thematic approach similar to that adopted by Christopher Marsh will demonstrate, more widely, how music shaped contemporary provincial society and culture in the region (Ch. 5).<sup>9</sup> This methodology has been promoted by Trevor Herbert, who has argued for the importance of such an approach:

in which evidence about small units of the past are investigated to analyze the relationships between musical and socioeconomic processes, and to inform wider structures of music history, offer potential. Such histories might focus on the experience of individuals and groups in order to understand the larger social mass [...] this type of endeavor [sic] requires the sustenance of traditional empirical historical methods to provide reliable data about people, societies, institutions, and their economic and cultural condition.<sup>10</sup>

For the purpose of this project we may adapt a model recently presented by Christopher Marsh in his commentary on music in early modern society, in which he proposed that early modern culture can be represented as an Elizabethan lute with six strings.<sup>11</sup> Each individual string of the lute represented the following opposite social-cultural polarities: gentle/common, male/female, old/young, clerical/lay, urban/rural and native/foreign. These are not binary opposites; instead each string should be

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<sup>9</sup> See Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Trevor Herbert, 'Social History and Music History', in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. by Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 146-156 (pp. 154-155).

<sup>11</sup> Marsh, esp. pp. 15-22. Its construction was the result of a need to move away from the problematic two-tier model suggested by Peter Burke in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (Aldershot: Wildwood House, 1978), pp. 23-29. Here Burke distinguished between popular and learned cultures, but ignored potential mediation and overlapping between the two. For a detailed critique, see Tim Harris (ed.), *Popular Culture in England, c. 1500-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), esp. Ch. 1.



considered as a spectrum, with the frets facilitating travel in either direction. The benefits of this model are that it demonstrates how music was used as a medium for defining and crossing class divides, and it clearly highlights the differences and similarities between people and their music. However, not all of Marsh's oppositions are relevant here. Instead the personalities explored in the following pages will be mapped onto a different spectrum of polarities: recreation/profession, sacred/secular, public/private, amateur/professional, male/female, clerical/lay, native/foreign and provincial/capital (see Ch. 5). Another important consideration (which cannot be presented thus) is the different types of networks these individuals developed – these included connections of people and musical experiences in towns and institutions in the locality, in the wider region or further afield in London.<sup>12</sup>

The study of networks informs our understanding of the creation, circulation and reception of music and our interpretation of music history, in which detailed narratives are limited by the unpredictable and incomplete survival of documentary sources. The mobility of people and musicians was important in the acquisition and development of a personal network. Each of the three personalities we will explore had networks for different purposes. These ranged from local circles in Yorkshire towns and cities, to interactions and connections in London, and the contacts established through a professional musical career. During the course of this project it will be demonstrated that eighteenth-century York, Beverley, Hull and Doncaster in particular, although contrasting urban centres, enjoyed thriving musical scenes due in part to the influence and contributions of the three individuals examined.

The extensive music collection owned by Edward Finch (Ch. 2) and his colleagues at York Minster allows us to determine the extent of musical creativity and collaboration between professional musicians and skilled amateurs at this religious establishment in the early eighteenth century. Regular travel to London was important in keeping up-to-date with current trends and emerging Italian fashions. Finch took full advantage of his

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<sup>12</sup> For an earlier study, see David J. Smith and Rachele Taylor (eds.), *Networks of Music and Culture in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries: A Collection of Essays in Celebration of Peter Philips's 450<sup>th</sup> Anniversary* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).

network of occupational musicians working in the region and professionals in the capital to further his musical education.

Music was an important social tool for John Courtney (Ch. 3). His diary recorded how music facilitated intimate contact in his courtship routine and was an important necessity to an evening's domestic entertainment. Courtney enjoyed a strong local network of amateur and professional musicians and benefited from their skills and mutual interests, inviting them to perform in his private concerts and local subscription concerts to enrich his own musical culture. Courtney had easy access to professional concerts in Beverley and further afield in Hull and York, at which he heard many of the top professional performers from London.

The local, regional and London connections Edward Miller (Ch. 4) made throughout his career advanced his own progression and enriched concert life in Doncaster and the surrounding region. An important figure outside the religious establishment in which he worked, Miller regularly travelled along geographical networks in the region and to the capital, while consciously building a career and climbing the social ladder. Miller was able to achieve national recognition and royal patronage, and he provides an excellent case study of how a provincial occupational musician was able to pursue a successful career.

## 1.2 Terminology

The term 'provinces', although used to refer to the administrative regions of a country, is problematic due to its negative connotations. The provinces are often viewed as isolated, unsophisticated and behind metropolitan trends and fashions. This is vividly captured in the 'Provincialism' entry in the *Oxford English Dictionary*:

Distinctively provincial character; the outlook, manners, tastes, etc., associated with or attributed to a particular province or the provinces as distinguished from the capital or chief seat of government; *esp.* (*depreciative*) narrow-mindedness or insularity; lack of education, culture, or sophistication.<sup>13</sup>

Although there may be some element of truth in this, it would be wrong to assume that musical culture there was unimportant. Both York and Doncaster benefited from their positions on the Great North Road leading from the capital to Edinburgh. This greatly assisted the mobility of musicians and facilitated travel in both directions. Many London performers ventured up the road as the development of opportunities in the provinces made them an increasingly appealing and financially rewarding prospect. Similarly, professional and amateur musicians outside of London, including Edward Finch, John Courtney and Edward Miller, made regular trips to the capital and established influential contacts there. This in turn enriched and aided their own musical activities, education and career progression.

The extreme dates of my study are arbitrarily bound from 1663 (the year in which Edward Finch was born) to 1807 (the year of Edward Miller's death). These dates roughly correspond with the period generally regarded as the 'long' eighteenth century (1688-1815).<sup>14</sup> The geographical boundaries of the project restrict the area under examination from York (the regional capital) in the north, to the small market town of Beverley and sea port of Hull in the east, to the thriving manufacturing town of Halifax in the west, to the transport hub of Doncaster in the south. The unpredictable nature of archival research and the survival rate of resources make it challenging for the musicologist to reconstruct a complete picture of musical activities in this period. In particular, locating documentation of the musical pursuits of the lower classes is much more difficult. As a

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<sup>13</sup> *The Oxford English Dictionary* <[www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)> [accessed 01/05/2014]. Similarly, Eric Blom argued that 'music in this country [England] has always been largely centralized in the capital [...] and on the whole it is true that musical conditions in London reflect those throughout the country [...] Many Italian and German towns [...] have almost watertight little histories of their own; England has a single big one [...] and its focal point is London'; see Eric Blom, *Music in England*, rev. edn (West Drayton: Penguin Books, 1947), p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Paul Baines, *The Long Eighteenth Century* (London: Edward Arnold, 2004); P. J. Marshall, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume 2: The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by P. J. Marshall (Oxford: OUP, 2001), pp. 1-27; Frank O'Gorman, *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History, 1688-1832* (London: Arnold, 1997).

result the so-called art-music of the middle and upper classes is often favoured over the popular music of the lower-class fiddlers, pipers and ballad singers. This can create a very one-sided image of music-making across the country. Novels and other literature often provide enlightening descriptions of the musical activities of the lower classes and this area warrants future study.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, a journey through the following series of case studies into different aspects of music-making in Yorkshire undertaken by these three vibrant individuals will help to generate a picture of provincial music-making in the region as a whole during the eighteenth century (see Ch. 5). It is hoped that this project will lead to further avenues of research and that similar methods are adopted in other regions across the country. It will advance new scholarly approaches by demonstrating that music-making in English provincial towns and cities was neither exceptional nor sporadic.

### 1.3 Previous Research

A common trend in recent research has been the movement away from the examination of professional forms of music-making to the role of the amateur musician and domestic music. With the exceptions of Samuel Pepys (1633-1703), a naval official, Roger North (1651-1734), a lawyer, and the gentleman-composer John Marsh (1752-1828), three important exemplars who wrote about their musical activities and interests at great length and over a long period of time, the majority of evidence is rather fragmentary.<sup>16</sup> This is unlike the comprehensive surviving documentation relating to the amateur musical activities of Edward Finch and John Courtney. Finch was a prolific composer and

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<sup>15</sup> For accounts of popular musicians in German literature during the eighteenth century, see Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: CUP, 2011).

<sup>16</sup> Robert Latham and William Mathews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols (London: Bell & Hyman Limited, 1971-1983; HarperCollins; rpt. 2000); John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695-1728* (London: Novello & Co., 1959); Roger North, *Notes of Me*, ed. by Peter Millard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Brian Robins, 'John Marsh and Provincial Music Making in Eighteenth-Century England', *RMARC*, 29 (1996), 96-142; Brian Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1998).

arranger, and his passion for composition was perhaps on a par with that of John Marsh later in the century (although Marsh composed a wider range of music, including concertos and symphonies). Similarly, Courtney wrote quite extensively about music in a rather Pepysian fashion in his diary and letters a century later.

The extent of activities by amateur musicians must be reconstructed from a range of sources, both musical and non-musical, including, for example, family papers and correspondence. Brian Crosby has provided interesting accounts of the musical pursuits of the Paxton and Sharp families: the latter, for instance, even customised a boat for the purpose of hosting concerts on the river.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, H. Diack Johnstone has examined the accounts and diaries of Claver Morris (1659-1727), an Oxford-educated doctor working in Wells, and has uncovered details about the local music society and his musical life, including the music he performed, heard, collected and copied.<sup>18</sup> Bryan White has examined the role of urbanisation in Stamford in the 1690s and its importance on the development of amateur music-making there.<sup>19</sup> The details of the club in Stamford, a small market town without a cathedral, are surprising: the members collected music by Henry Purcell, were up-to-date with current London affairs and fashions (the town's situation on the Great North Road one hundred miles from London helped to facilitate this), managed to obtain copies of Arcangelo Corelli's (1653-1713) trio sonatas shortly after their publication in Italy, and had ambitions of staging their own St Cecilia's Day ode.<sup>20</sup> Sally Drage has studied the group of amateur singers and instrumentalists known as the Larks of Dean, who had connections with the parish churches in Rossendale in east

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<sup>17</sup> Brian Crosby, 'Stephen and Other Paxtons: An Investigation into the Identities and Careers of a Family of Eighteenth-Century Musicians', *ML*, 81.1 (February 2000), 41-64; Brian Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c. 1750-c. 1790', *RMARC*, 34 (2001), 1-118.

<sup>18</sup> H. Diack Johnstone, 'Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire', *JRMA*, 133.1 (2008), 93-127.

<sup>19</sup> Bryan White, "A pretty knot of Musical Friends": The Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s', in *MBP*, pp. 11-44. See also Peter Holman, 'Continuity and Change in English Bass Viol Music: The Case of Fitzwilliam Mu. MS 647', *The Viola da Gamba Society Journal*, 1 (2007), 20-50, online at <[www.vdgs.org.uk/journal.html](http://www.vdgs.org.uk/journal.html)>.

<sup>20</sup> For a commentary on the development of Cecilian odes, see Bryan White, *Music for St Cecilia in Britain from Purcell to Handel* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, forthcoming).

Lancashire between 1740 and 1870.<sup>21</sup> Their collections of music have survived and include not only psalms and hymns, but also Handel's oratorios and secular dances and overtures composed by members of the group.

The activities of amateurs are of equal importance to those of professional musicians as they can inform our understanding of contemporary musical culture.<sup>22</sup> For instance, the correspondence of Rowland Sherman (*d.* 1748), a factor in Aleppo, may well have appeared an unlikely source in helping us to determine the date and location of the first performance of Henry Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas*.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, in a recent study, Peter Holman has explored the significance of amateurs in the history of the viola da gamba in England.<sup>24</sup> He provides observations on the instrument's social status and use amongst different levels of society, extending from the nobility, gentility, professional artisans and tradesmen. Holman argues that it was due to these amateur musicians of the professional classes that the viola da gamba retained its popularity throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and, crucially, did not fully disappear from English musical life from the 1690s until the early music revival in the twentieth century.

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<sup>21</sup> Sally Drage, 'The Larks of Dean: Amateur Musicians in the North of England', in *MBP*, pp. 195-221.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, Donald Burrows and Rosemary Dunhill, *Music and Theatre in Handel's World: The Family Papers of James Harris, 1732-1780* (Oxford: OUP, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> Bryan White, 'Letter from Aleppo: Dating the Chelsea School Performance of "Dido and Aeneas"', *EM*, 37.3 (August 2009), 417-428; Bryan White, "'Brothers of the String": Henry Purcell and the Letter-Books of Rowland Sherman', *ML*, 92.4 (November 2011), 519-581.

<sup>24</sup> Peter Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010).

## 2 | ‘Tis as full Harmony as I could make for Voices’:

### Edward Finch of York

Vicars choral were important musical figures in the cathedrals and cities in which they served.<sup>1</sup> York was no exception and had a vibrant and thriving musical establishment. Many of its clergymen also had an active interest in music and were important patrons and contributors to the social, cultural and musical life inside and outside of the Minster. For instance, in the mid-1720s part of the Bishop’s Palace was converted into an assembly room. Daniel Defoe writing in 1726 noted that:

The clergy [...] have very good houses, or little palaces rather here, adjoining the cymeterie, or churchyard of the minster; the bishop’s is indeed called a palace, and is really so; the deanery is a large, convenient and spacious house; and among these dwellings of the clergy is the assembly house.<sup>2</sup>

The patronage of members of the clergy and local gentry, including Lord Irwin of nearby Temple Newsam, was instrumental in the establishment of subscription concerts and music provision in the city. On 18 July 1725 the *York Courant* reported:

Yesterday the Ladies of the Monday Assembly met at the Rooms in my Lord Irwyn’s House and generously advanced a present of Fifty Pounds [...] toward the fitting up and adorning these Rooms in the New Assembly House designed for the Weekly Meetings and the Winter Concert.

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*This chapter develops material first presented in a paper delivered at the 16<sup>th</sup> Biennial International Conference on Baroque Music held at the University of Music and Dramatic Arts Mozarteum Salzburg between 9-13 July 2014.*

<sup>1</sup> For the pre-Reformation period, see John Harper, ‘The Vicar Choral in Choir’, in Richard Hall and David Stocker (eds.), *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantata Domino; History, Architecture, and Archaeology* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005), pp. 17-22. H. Diack Johnstone has highlighted the importance of the vicars choral at Wells Cathedral and their relationship to a local music society in the early eighteenth century, see ‘Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire’, *JRMA*, 133.1 (2008), 93-127. See also Elizabeth Chevill, ‘Music Societies and Musical Life in Old Foundation Cathedral Cities, 1700-1760’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, King’s College, University of London, 1993). For a late eighteenth-century study, see Nicholas Temperley, ‘Jonathan Gray and Church Music in York, 1770-1840’, *Borthwick Papers*, 51 (1977), 1-30.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, intro. by G. D. H. Cole and D. C. Browning (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1974), vol. 2, p. 231.

By the 1730s, the old collegiate hall, which may have been used as a venue for a music society at the beginning of the eighteenth century prior to the construction of the assembly rooms, was demolished.<sup>3</sup> It would appear that a circle of clergymen and musicians connected with the Minster met regularly on chapter premises to perform music prior to the establishment of more formal clubs and subscription concerts in the city in the 1720s.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 2.1** Monument of Edward Finch in York Minster

Edward Finch (1663-1738), a prebendary of York Minster, was one of these influential individuals who stimulated the growth and development of the musical, social and cultural life of the religious establishment and wider city in the early eighteenth century. Finch was a wealthy and well-connected amateur musician. He was a competent

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<sup>3</sup> Frank Harrison, 'The Bedern Chapel York', *York Archaeological Journal*, 28 (1923-1924), pp. 199, 208.

<sup>4</sup> On these developments, see Chevill, 'Music Societies and Musical Life in Old Foundation Cathedral Cities, 1700-1760'; Elizabeth Chevill, 'Clergy, Music Societies and the Development of a Musical Tradition: A Study of Music Societies in Hereford, 1690-1760', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 35-53; David Griffiths, *A Musical Place of the First Quality: A History of Institutional Music-Making in York, c. 1550-1990* (York: York Settlement Trust, [1994]), pp. 103-120; and Roz Southey, 'The Role of Gentlemen Amateurs in Subscription Concerts in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century', in *MBP*, pp. 115-128.



composer, arranger and wind player active between the late 1680s and 1720s, and copied and arranged music for his circle to perform in domestic and semi-public settings, or for services at the Minster. Finch played the violin, recorder and was described by Peter Holman as ‘one of the first English amateurs’ to take up the Baroque flute, arranging and transposing music especially for the instrument.<sup>5</sup> He owned a substantial collection of music and wind instruments, and was an active copyist with a practised and distinctive hand. His position as a fairly prolific and competent upper-class amateur composer was unusual, if not unique. In this regard he was certainly better than his contemporaries Robert Orme and William Byron, Fourth Baron Byron.<sup>6</sup> Finch composed both secular and sacred music, including a set of eleven Italianate solo sonatas. Many of his compositions can be identified by a monogram incorporating his initials, which on one occasion incorporated what appears to be a self-portrait (see Figure 2.2). Finch’s network of musical contacts was also surprising and featured a range of native and foreign professional musicians working in York and London. At York he enjoyed a rich network of colleagues and musicians associated with the Minster, including Valentine Nalson (1683-1723), William Knight (1684-1739), Thomas Benson (*d.* 1742), Charles Quarles (*d.* 1727) and Edward Salisbury. Finch even collaborated with some of his friends on musical compositions. Through his London connections and regular travel between York and the capital, Finch established contacts with a number of professional musicians, including Henry Purcell, Gottfried Finger, William Armstrong, George Frederic Handel, John Loeillet, John Baptist Grano and Thomas Roseingrave. He capitalised on these connections to further his musical interests and education, even managing to have two of

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, *EM*, 40.3 (2012), 467-487 (p. 484). Pietro Chaboud and John Loeillet were the first professional wind players to take up Baroque flute. For the Loeillet family, see Alec Skempton and Lucy Robinson, ‘Loeillet’, *GMO*. For Chaboud, see Peter Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 99-102. Flute sonatas were only published in London in the early 1720s: the first publications were John Loeillet’s *Sonata’s for a Variety of Instruments*, Op. 1 (London, 1722) and Chaboud’s *Solos for a German Flute* (London, 1723). See W. C. Smith and C. Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh During the Years 1721-1766* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968), pp. 78-79, 217. For the early history of the flute in England, see N. Hadden, ‘The German Flute in 18<sup>th</sup>-Century England: Instruments and Repertoire’, *EMP*, 1.7 (October 2000), 9-11.

<sup>6</sup> For Orme, see Holman, pp. 57-58. Pieces by these amateur composers are housed in the British Library.

his compositions (alongside others by Nalson) included in Thomas Tudway's monumental collection of sacred music.<sup>7</sup>

Copying continental music was one of the principal ways in which a provincial musician, amateur or professional, kept up with current trends in London. In early eighteenth-century York, individuals associated with the Minster collected a large amount of Italian music, composed pieces in this new style and even Italianised their names. For instance, Charles Quarles, organist at the Minster between 1722 and 1727, was referred to as 'Signr. Carlo Quarlesi' by Finch in DRc Bamburgh M70, a large folio score-book which includes many of his instrumental and vocal compositions and arrangements (see Figure 2.3).<sup>8</sup> Quarles was not alone in Italianising his name: John Hebden and James Parry were commonly referred to as 'Signor Hebdeni' and 'Signior Perini' respectively in concert advertisements.<sup>9</sup> The collection of printed and manuscript music owned by individuals connected with the Minster allows us to examine the repertoire in circulation in early eighteenth-century York. Finch's Italianate circle of contacts included the cellist Lorenzo Bocchi (with whom he took lessons), the violinist Francesco Geminiani and perhaps even the castrato Farinelli. The clergyman's strong interest in Italian music can be seen in his copying of sacred vocal music by Agostino Steffani and Giovanni Battista Borri, and his arrangements and transpositions of a number of solo sonatas by Arcangelo Corelli and Geminiani.

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<sup>7</sup> Lbl Harley 7342. See below, pp. 100-102.

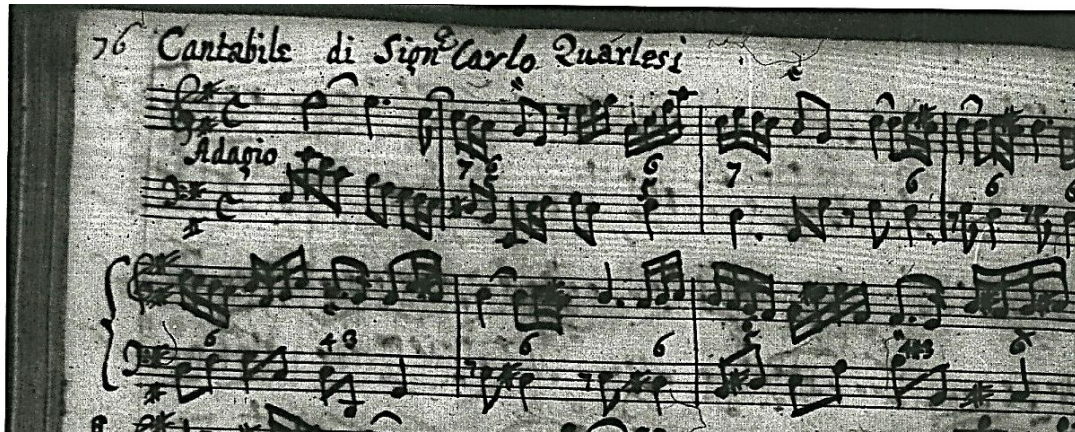
<sup>8</sup> Quarles' father was probably the organist of the same name at Trinity College, Cambridge, who died in 1717; see Bernard B. Edmonds, 'Quarles, Charles (i)', *GMO*.

<sup>9</sup> For example, *York Courant*, 19 August 1740; James Parry, *The True Anti-Pamela: or Memoirs of Mr James Parry Late Organist of Ross in Herefordshire* (London, 1742), p. 33.



**Figure 2.2** Edward Finch, Sonata No. 1, last movement, in the hand of the composer; Armstrong-Finch MS, p. 87





**Figure 2.3** ‘Cantabile’ by Charles Quarles copied by Edward Finch; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 76

This chapter synthesises previous research carried out by Brian Crosby, David Griffiths and Peter Holman.<sup>10</sup> Through the re-examination of sources and discovery of new material, it aims to draw a comprehensive picture of Finch’s network of musical contacts in York and the capital, and his role within a larger collaborative network at the Minster in the early eighteenth century. This has otherwise not been attempted to date.

## 2.1 York in the eighteenth century

York, the regional capital of the North, was an important religious, political, commercial and social centre.<sup>11</sup> The site of an old-foundation cathedral with a college of vicars choral, the city was the administrative centre for the northern province of the Anglican Church. The college custos required the dean, canon and other prominent clergymen to be in residence for most of the year.<sup>12</sup> Their presence helped to stimulate musical and cultural

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<sup>10</sup> Brian Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts* (Oxford: OUP, 1986); David Griffiths, ‘Music in the Minster Close: Edward Finch, Valentine Nalson, and William Knight in Early Eighteenth-Century York’, in *MBP*, pp. 45-59; and Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 467-487.

<sup>11</sup> See George Benson, *An Account of the City and County of the City of York: from the Reformation to the year 1925* (York: Cooper & Swann, 1925), pp. 104-113; P. M. Tillott (ed.), *The City of York, The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London: OUP, 1961), pp. 339-343.

<sup>12</sup> Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1730), p. 569.

growth in the city. York's social scene revolved around the regular markets, quarter assizes and annual race meetings. Francis Drake noted: 'What has been, and is, the chief support of the city, at present, is the resort to and residence of several country gentlemen with their families in it', and that 'no place, out of London, [is] so polite and elegant to live in as the city of York'.<sup>13</sup> Assemblies and concerts were held at King's Manor from around 1710 during the annual race week.<sup>14</sup> Purpose-built Assembly Rooms were constructed in Blake Street in the 1730s to the designs of architect Lord Burlington (see Figure 2.4). A large number of subscribers bought shares in the rooms, including the city's 'musick assembly'.<sup>15</sup> The venue was likely built as a permanent home for the music club. This and other clubs encouraged social intercourse and the regular framework of the social season ensured that the gentry were gathered in the same place at the same time.<sup>16</sup>

At the turn of the eighteenth century the city's population has been estimated to have numbered around 12,000.<sup>17</sup> Daniel Defoe remarked in 1726:

there is abundance of good company here, and abundance of good families live here, for the sake of the good company and cheap living; a man converses here with all the world as effectually as at London; the keeping up assemblies among the younger gentry was first set up here, a thing other writers recommend mightily as the character of a good country, and of a pleasant place; but which I look upon with a different view, and esteem it as a plan laid for the ruin of the nation's morals, and which, in time, threatens us with too much success that way.<sup>18</sup>

As well as having a strong religious establishment, York had an abundance of professional craftsmen, workshops and shops. The poll book for the 1715 election listed: 11 mercers,

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 241.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240; Tillott, p. 245.

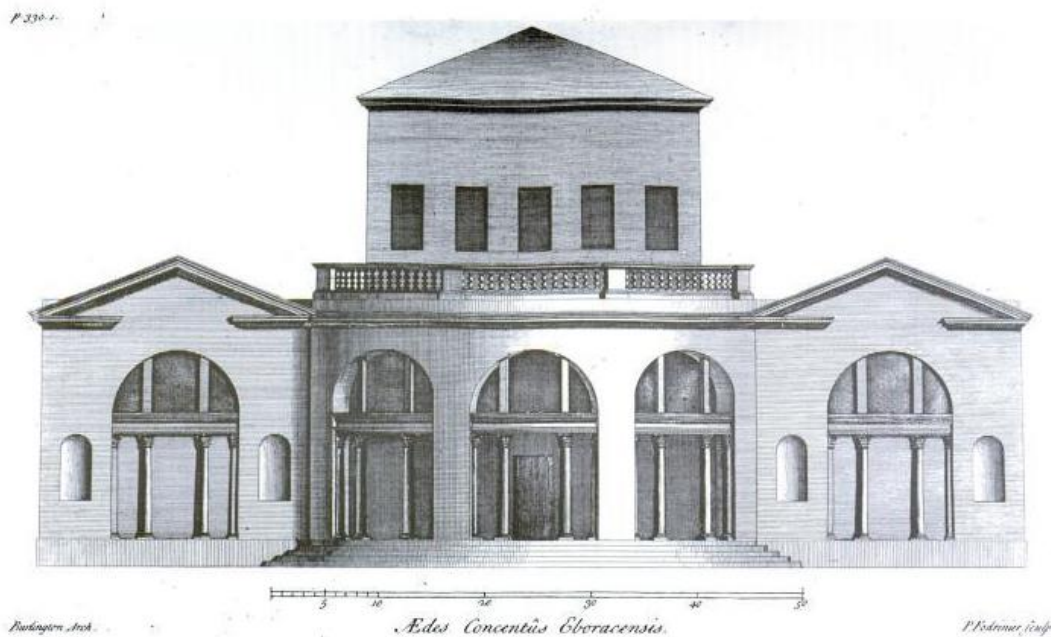
<sup>15</sup> See York City Archives, M.23/3, printed 'Proposals for Building by Subscription, Assembly Rooms in the City of York'; Rudolf Wittkower, *The History of York Assembly Rooms* (York: The York Corporation, 1951).

<sup>16</sup> For a comprehensive survey, see Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

<sup>17</sup> E. Anthony Wrigley, 'Urban Growth and Agricultural Change: England and the Continent in the Early Modern Period', in *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1688-1820*, ed. by Peter Borsay (London: Longman, 1995), pp. 39-82.

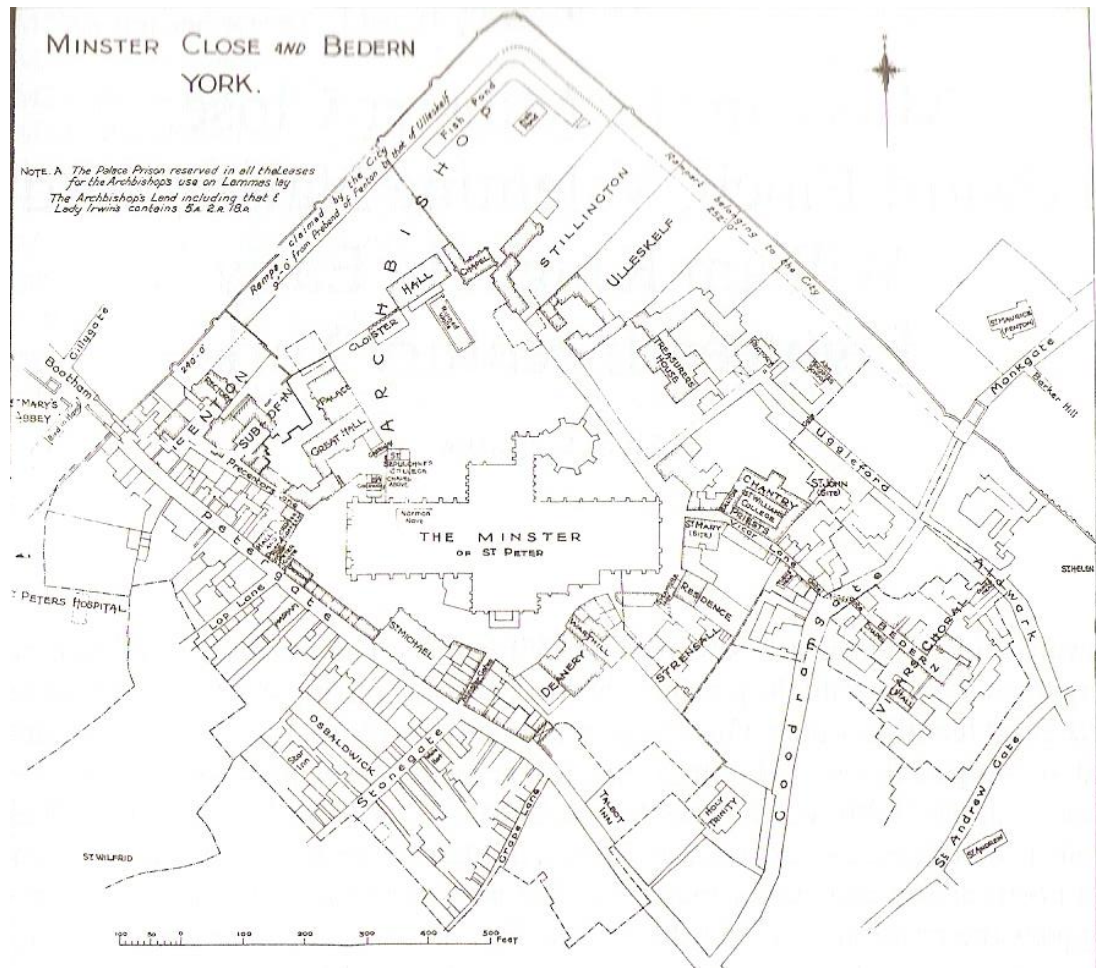
<sup>18</sup> Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, vol. 2, pp. 230-231.

6 drapers, 2 linen drapers, 6 haberdashers, 5 milliners, 4 furriers, 12 saddlers, 9 pewterers, 4 armourers, 2 cutlers, 6 goldsmiths, a gunsmith, 3 clockmakers, 2 watchmakers, an instrument maker, a coachmaker, 5 upholsterers, 2 carvers, 2 plasterers, a printer, 2 bookbinders, a bookseller, a translator (or cobbler), a musician, a surgeon, 8 apothecaries, 53 barbers, a periwigmaker, 18 gardeners, 15 grocers, 9 cooks, 6 pipemakers, a tobacco cutter, 59 innholders and a vintner.<sup>19</sup>



**Figure 2.4** Elevation of York Assembly Rooms, Blake Street; reproduced from Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1730), facing p. 338

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Peter Borsay, 'Politeness and Elegance: The Cultural Re-Fashioning of Eighteenth-Century York', in *Eighteenth-Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, University of York, 2003), pp. 1-12 (p. 3).



**Figure 2.5** Map of the Minster Close and Bedern as it would have appeared in the eighteenth century; reproduced from George Benson, *Later Medieval York: the City and County of the City of York from 1100 to 1603* (York: Coultas & Volans, 1919), facing p. 112

## 2.2 The Finch family

Edward Finch was baptised at St Mary Abbots, Kensington on 20 April 1663.<sup>20</sup> He was the fifth surviving son of Heneage Finch (1621-1682), the first Earl of Nottingham and Lord Chancellor.<sup>21</sup> In 1677 Finch was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge and was awarded his MA in 1679, becoming a Fellow in 1680. Although admitted to the Inner Temple in 1685, he did not pursue a legal career.<sup>22</sup> Following a brief political career, in which he served as MP for Cambridge University between 1690 and 1695, Finch was ordained deacon at York on 8 September 1695 and a priest a week later. He was appointed prebendary of York Minster in 1704 and resided in the north end of the Treasurer's House in the Minster Close.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently he was appointed rector of Kirkby-in-Cleveland in 1705, rector of Wigan in 1707, prebendary of Canterbury Cathedral in 1710, chaplain to King George I in 1715 and rector of Eyam, Derbyshire in 1718.<sup>24</sup> He married Mary (*d.* 1742), daughter of Nicholas Stanley, a fellow of New College, Oxford, before 1707; their marriage was childless. Finch died on 14 February 1738, aged 75, and is buried in the south aisle at York Minster.

The Finch and Sharp families had strong connections and had known one another since the 1660s when John Sharp I (1644/5-1713/14), Archbishop of York, became

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<sup>20</sup> For more detailed biographical details, see Bryan l'Anson, *The History of the Finch Family* (London: Janson & Co., 1933); H. Horwitz, *Revolution Politics: The Career of Daniel Finch, Second Earl of Nottingham, 1647-1730* (Cambridge: CUP, 1968); David Griffiths, 'Finch, Edward', *ODNB*; and Peter Holman, 'Finch, Edward', *GMO*.

<sup>21</sup> Eveline Cruickshanks, Stuart Handley, and D. W. Hayton, *The House of Commons, 1690-1715*, 5 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 2001), vol. 3, pp. 1030-1031, online at <[www.historyofparliamentonline.org](http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org)>.

<sup>22</sup> F. A. Inderwick (ed.), *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records*, 5 vols (London: by order of the Masters of the Bench, 1896-1936), vol. 3, p. 214.

<sup>23</sup> Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York*, 5 vols ([London]: HMSO, 1962-1981), vol. 5, pp. 69-75.

<sup>24</sup> Borthwick Institute for Archives, York, Inst. AB. 9, pt 2, pp. 63 and 202-203; John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1541-1857*, 11 vols (London: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 1969-2004), vol. 3, p. 20, and vol. 4, p. 66; Lichfield Record Office, Presentation deeds, B/A/3; George T. O. Bridgeman, *The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan in the County of Lancaster, Part III, Remains Historical and Literary Connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester*, NS 17 (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1889), pp. 601-613.



personal chaplain to Heneage Finch.<sup>25</sup> Thomas Sharp I (1693-1758) and Edward Finch were fellow prebendaries at York and no doubt enjoyed sharing their passion for music. Following Finch's death in 1738, his nephew Daniel Finch (1689-1769), the third Earl of Nottingham, wrote to Thomas Sharp I, also Archdeacon of Northumberland, in a letter dated 25 April 1738:

I received the favour of yours from Durham & Shall be mighty glad if there are any Scores or musical Compositions amongst my uncles books [th]at may be agreeable to you & whether they are of his own Composition or any Collection he has made. I shall think them very well placed in your hands. When I come to York this Summer if I have the fortune to meet you there wee can look them out together if not I shall lay them by for you.<sup>26</sup>

The music manuscripts chosen by Thomas Sharp were subsequently passed to his son John Sharp III (1723-1792), prebendary of Durham Cathedral and Archdeacon of Northumberland, and were later moved to the Sharp library at Bamburgh Castle. The family library was deposited in Durham Cathedral Library in 1958. Both families shared interests in music: according to lost family correspondence, Edward Finch is reported to have taken 'an active interest in musical matters'.<sup>27</sup> A letter written by his sister between 1701 and 1702 recorded that their father the Earl of Nottingham 'love[d] musick very much'.<sup>28</sup> Edward's cousin Sir John Finch (1626-1682), the English Ambassador to Constantinople, had a chaplain John Covel (1638-1722), who engaged in a considerable amount of musical activity.<sup>29</sup> The extent of Edward's musical activities and interest can be gleaned from his collection of surviving music manuscripts (see Appendices A and B).

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<sup>25</sup> For more details on the relationship, see Crosby, *A Catalogue of Durham Cathedral Music Manuscripts*, pp. xxiv-xxvi; Brian Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c.1750-c.1790', *RMARC*, 34 (2001), 1-119.

<sup>26</sup> Gloucester Record Office, D3549, Box 77a; quoted in Crosby, 'Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c.1750-c.1790', 1-119 (p. 64).

<sup>27</sup> Lydia Miller Middleton, 'Finch, Edward', in Leslie Stephen (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography*, 67 vols (London: Smith, Elder, 1805-1903), vol. 19, p. 5. Middleton was writing in the 1880s and it is her phrase that I quote here. However, a search of the Finch family correspondence held at the British Library, London, Leicestershire Record Office, and Northamptonshire Record Office has failed to shed any light on this.

<sup>28</sup> Lbl Add. 29588, f. 20. Amongst the family correspondence in Lbl Add. 29588 and Lbl Add. 28569 are autograph letters in Finch's hand, but these do not relate to musical matters.

<sup>29</sup> See Holman, *Life after Death*, pp. 68-69.

## 2.3 Musical education and interests

Music was an important and pleasurable pastime for Finch. He was an active amateur composer and performer, playing and owning a variety of woodwind instruments and a harpsichord. Like many a gentleman amateur, he had the money and time to spend on music. At his death, Finch's wealth was listed as including £31,480 cash; he also owned estates at Belton, Rutland, Ourston, Leicestershire, Knapton and York, including his house in the Minster Yard.<sup>30</sup> His vast wealth allowed him to employ various professional music masters and pursue a rather unique range of eclectic musical interests, unlike any other known amateur musician in the early eighteenth century. Details of Finch's musical education are unclear and there is no specific record of music teachers or lessons amongst the surviving evidence – although there are a number of clues alluding to his prospective teachers. Finch may have also taught himself the recorder, keyboard continuo practice and figured bass using printed tutor books available to him. It is likely that he refined his interest in music whilst a student at Cambridge. In a recent study Peter Holman has established that the majority of amateur viol players received their musical training at Oxford, Cambridge or the Inns of Court.<sup>31</sup> This may be representative of a wider culture of music-making at universities. For instance, musical activities at Christ's College, Cambridge in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were not always admired.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> See PRO, PROB 11/687, sig. 38.

<sup>31</sup> Holman, *Life after Death*, Ch. 2. Dudley Ryder, son of a Cheapside linen draper, studied law at the Middle Temple between 1715 and 1716. He kept a diary whilst a student which shows that he collected prints, played the recorder and bass viol and employed a dancing master; see William Matthews (ed.), *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716* (London: Methuen and Company, Limited, 1939). See also G. V. Bennett, 'University, Society and Church, 1688-1714', in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 5: *The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by L. S. Sutherland and L. G. Mitchell (Oxford: OUP, 1986), pp. 360-361.

<sup>32</sup> See von Uffenbach's report in 1710, in which he described: 'This music meeting is held generally every week. There are no professional musicians there, but simply bachelors, masters and doctors of music, who perform'; *Herrn Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen Holland und Engelland*, ed. by J. G. Schelhorn (Ulm, 1753-54), vol. 3, p. 12, quoted in J. E. B. Mayor, *Cambridge under Queen Anne: Illustrated by Memoir of Ambrose Bonwicke and Diaries of Francis Burman and Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* (Cambridge: Deighton Bell, 1911), p. 133. I am grateful to David Irving for this reference.

Of Finch's manuscripts of importance today are DRc Bamburgh M70, a large folio score-book which includes most of his compositions and arrangements; Ge Euing R.d.39, a large oblong quarto, with more compositions and arrangements at the front and a group of music treatises at the back; and the recently rediscovered Armstrong-Finch MS, a large oblong-quarto volume, which includes his arrangements for German flute. What follows is a more systematic approach to cataloguing Finch's collection than has previously been attempted (see also Appendix A).

Finch's collection of didactic material and educational exercises is unique: no other known amateur musician in the early eighteenth century amassed so much of this material. These were important teaching tools and elements of the *imitatio* process can be seen in Finch's manuscript collection: he copied and studied models and attempted to emulate them in his own compositions.<sup>33</sup> Ge Euing R.d.39 was his principal pedagogical manuscript and is entirely in his hand. It includes copies of 'The True Notion of Harmony. or / G. Kellers Grammar Teaching How to Play / A Through Base On the Harpsicord & How To / Compose. By Such Rules & Examples as may be Sufficient / for these Purposes without the Help of Any Musick Master.' (rev. ff. 6-30), 'Some of Harry Purcel's Rules for Composition' (rev. ff. 30v-31), 'Harris the Organ Makers way of Tuning His Organs' (rev. f. 33), 'M<sup>r</sup> Handles Manner of Fingering in Running swift Division' (rev. f. 33), and 'General Rules for Fingering Sign<sup>r</sup> Baptist's way' (rev. f. 35v), presumably by Giovanni Battista Draghi. Included at the back of the manuscript is a copy of 'M<sup>r</sup> Quarles's way of Fingering in Gamut Natural' (rev. f. 37v). This was added later following the organist's appointment at York in 1722. In this study of scales and arpeggios, Quarles used the thumb and fingers in the modern way, without long-finger crossing movements between the middle fingers.<sup>34</sup> This obviously struck Finch as a novel practice and something that was worthy of copying. Finch's large collection of treatises and the fact that he often added very detailed figured bass to his copies and compositions probably indicate that he was also a continuo player.

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<sup>33</sup> For *imitatio* and *emulatio* practices in the seventeenth century, see Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), esp. Ch. 1.

<sup>34</sup> See Claudio Di Veroli, *Baroque Keyboard Fingering: A Method*, 6<sup>th</sup> edn (Bray Baroque, 2008) <<http://finger.braybaroque.ie/>> [accessed 21/10/2014].

These treatises give us a glimpse of the levels of access to musicians that Finch had in the capital. While residing in London or during visits he took the opportunity of furthering his musical education by employing professional musicians to offer him tuition. There is evidence to suggest that Finch studied with Gottfried Finger sometime during the early 1680s and 1701, when the Moravian composer was in London. Finch owned and copied numerous pieces by Finger. In particular, he transposed and made single parts of pieces from Finger's printed publication *Sonatas for three Violins and a Bass*, Op. 1 (1688).<sup>35</sup> DRc Bamburgh M197 includes two pieces for three recorders in Finger's hand: a Pastorelle in G major and a three-movement Sonata in F major.<sup>36</sup> Finch transposed each part of the sonata to D major. A C minor recorder sonata in the Armstrong-Finch MS (pp. 132-135) is described as 'by M<sup>r</sup> Edward Finch and M<sup>r</sup> Finger' and alludes to their master and pupil relationship.<sup>37</sup> However, this is puzzling as the sonata is the same as Finger's Op. 3 No. 2 (Rawson RI102).<sup>38</sup> The influence of Finger's melodic writing can be felt in Finch's early pieces, particularly his 'Cuckow' recorder sonata in C major, which he composed in his early twenties, probably around the time he was receiving instruction from the Moravian composer.<sup>39</sup> Finch's contact with Finger may have led to connections with Godfrey Keller, who published *6 Sonates [...] par Mr. Fingher et [...] Mr. Keller* (Amsterdam: Roger, 1698), and Draghi, who gave concerts with Finger at York Buildings from November 1693. The didactic material by these individuals copied by Finch into Ge Euing R.d.39 could well have been acquired through personal contact. This is strengthened by the fact that a large part of Keller's material (rev. ff. 6-30) was not directly copied from his *A Compleat Method for Attaining to Play Thorough Bass* (London: J. Cullen, 1705). This would suggest Finch had access to another source, perhaps a manuscript version which originated from the composer – Keller may have been Finch's

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<sup>35</sup> DRc Bamburgh M195.

<sup>36</sup> See Robert G. Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London: the early music of Gottfried Finger (c. 1655-1730)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 2002), pp. 32-33, 224, 357-358; and Robert G. Rawson, 'Finger's Christmas pastorellas', *EM*, 33.4 (2005), 591-606.

<sup>37</sup> Holman, 'A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found', 469-487 (p. 478).

<sup>38</sup> Rawson, 'From Olomouc to London', p. 207.

<sup>39</sup> See below, pp. 52-53.

harpsichord teacher. Similarly, the material attributed to ‘Harry Purcel’ (rev. ff. 30v-31) is related to but not copied directly from Playford’s *An Introduction to the Skill of Musick [...] Corrected and Amended by Mr. Henry Purcell* (London, 1694) – evidence again of a possible personal acquaintance.<sup>40</sup>

Ge Euing R.d.39 includes a ‘Prelude of Mr Luly’s in Imitation of a Lute’ (ff. 30v-31). Into DRc Bamburgh M70 Finch also copied an arrangement of William Byrd’s music made by ‘Mr Luiley’ (pp. 46-49). ‘Luly’ was a common Anglicisation of Loeillet. From evidence provided elsewhere in his manuscripts, it is likely that Finch received flute lessons from John Loeillet (*d.* 1730), who settled in London in 1705. Loeillet, a harpsichordist and oboist in the Italian opera orchestra in London, was one of the first Baroque flute players in England.<sup>41</sup> Personal contact is suggested by the inclusion in the Armstrong-Finch MS of an otherwise unknown ornamented version of the ‘Saraband of Corelli’s 5<sup>th</sup> Work Transposed from D to A & Graced by Luly’ (p. 86).<sup>42</sup> Finch also transposed and arranged some of Loeillet’s music for the flute, including ‘Lully’s VII Solo For / the Flute Set a third / Lower for the German Flute’ (pp. 63-66) and a ‘Prelude of Luly’s Set for the Harpsichord in Gamut flat in Imitation of a Lute / & put into A Key for the German Flute’ (p. 72). It is clear that Finch was regularly going to London to study with professionals – there is no evidence to suggest that these musicians visited York.<sup>43</sup>

Of particular interest in Ge Euing R.d.39 are Finch’s autograph copies of his sacred music and models of vocal music by John Blow and Purcell. The manuscript also includes a number of secular catches, including one set to John Byrom’s epigram ‘Some say, compared to Bononcini, That Mynheer Handel’s but a Ninny’ (published in May 1725),

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<sup>40</sup> See below, pp. 46-47, 79-81.

<sup>41</sup> Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 469-487 (pp. 482-483). For Loeillet in the Italian opera orchestra, see Judith Milhous and Robert J. Hume (eds.), *Vice Chamberlain Coke’s Theatrical Papers, 1706-1715* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), pp. 30-34, 38-39, 67-71, 78-80, 118-119, 127-128, 133, 151, 158, 159, 191-192, 194.

<sup>42</sup> See Neal Zaslaw, ‘Ornaments for Corelli’s violin sonatas, Op. 5’, *EM*, 24.1 (1996), 95-116; H. Diack Johnstone, ‘Yet more ornaments for Corelli’s violin sonatas, Op. 5’, *EM*, 24.4 (1996), 623-633.

<sup>43</sup> Sir Darcy Dawes, son of William Dawes, the Archbishop of York, and an acquaintance of Finch, also took lessons with Loeillet in London; see below, pp. 95-96.

which Finch and his friends would have performed in domestic settings.<sup>44</sup> Ge Euing R.d.39 was copied between the late 1690s and the early 1720s, eventually coming into the possession of the Sharp family – on the rear board is pasted the Sharp organ bookplate (see Appendix A).<sup>45</sup>

Finch owned a variety of woodwind instruments. The Sharp catalogue (US-NYp Drexel MS 1022) lists eight instruments as ‘from the Hon<sup>ble</sup> & Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Ed<sup>w</sup> Finch’s Collection the Gift of the Rev M<sup>r</sup> Dering’. They were ‘2 German Flutes, (or Flutes D’Amour), 3 feet long with Ivory Joints / 1 Flute D’Amour with Silver Joints & Keys / 1 Fife – with Ivory Joints / 1 Large C Common Flute in the Oct.<sup>ve</sup> below [i.e. a tenor recorder] / 2 Common Flutes concert Pitch [i.e. recorders]’ and ‘1 Black Hautboy’.<sup>46</sup> Copied into the Armstrong-Finch MS is a series of scales for recorders of different sizes, including a ‘Consort / Pitch / Flute’, an ‘Upper Voice / Flute a / Lesser 3<sup>d</sup>: / Lower in / Pitch’, and a ‘Lower Voice / Flute a / greater 3<sup>d</sup> / Lower / [th][a]n Consort / Pitch’ (see Figure 2.6). Peter Holman has demonstrated that these larger recorders enabled Finch to play violin parts exceeding f’ and d’ (the lowest notes playable on the recorder and flute respectively).<sup>47</sup> Finch’s eleven solo sonatas are all in sharp keys and have solo parts that go down to d’ – the lowest note on the Baroque flute. Further evidence that he was a flute player can be found in DRc Bamburgh M70: the manuscript includes ‘A Division upon a Cromatic Ground being to be sung by 7 Voices or the 7 Parts may / All be playd upon an Organ or Harpsichord or with 7 Instrum<sup>ts</sup>. whilst [th]e German Flute Plays Division’ (pp. 37-38) and a transposed version of Corelli’s A major sonata Op. 5,

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<sup>44</sup> See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel: A Documentary Biography* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1955), p. 180.

<sup>45</sup> Illustrated in Crosby, ‘Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c. 1750-c. 1790’, 1-119 (p. 69). US-NYp Drexel MS 1022, the manuscript catalogue of the Sharp music library describes Lot 129, sold to ‘Rively’ for 16s., as ‘Finch’s Service – Anthems by Blow – Keller’s Thorough Bass and Rules for Tuning. MS.’. This must have included Ge Euing R.d.39; see Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 469-487 (p. 474).

<sup>46</sup> Quoted in Crosby, ‘Private Concerts on Land and Water: The Musical Activities of the Sharp Family, c. 1750-c. 1790’, 1-119 (p. 67). See also J. B. Holland and J. LaRue, ‘The Sharp Manuscript, London 1759-c. 1793: A Uniquely Annotated Music Catalogue’, *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 73 (1969), 147-166.

<sup>47</sup> Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 467-487 (p. 480).

No. 9 'set a third Higher / For the German Flute' (pp. 52-55). Other arrangements intended for flute of music by Corelli, Geminiani and Loeillet are also copied into the Armstrong-Finch MS.<sup>48</sup>

Finch had an interest in a range of sacred and secular music, both vocal and instrumental, by native post-Restoration and contemporary foreign composers.<sup>49</sup> His collection included music by English composers working predominantly in London: John Blow, Raphael Courteville, Thomas Farmer, Henry Hall, Robert King, Henry Purcell, Thomas Roseingrave, John Weldon and Maurice Greene. Music by local York musicians who worked at the Minster (Thomas Benson, Valentine Nalson, Charles Quarles and Edward Salisbury) also features amongst his collection. Foreign musicians are represented by Ambrosio, Lorenzo Bocchi, Giovanni Battista Borri, Brassolin, Giacomo Carissimi, Arcangelo Corelli, Gottfried Finger, Pietro Antonio Fiocco (senior), Francesco Geminiani, John Baptist Grano, Jakob Greber, George Frederic Handel, Gottfried Keller, John Loeillet, Francesco Navarra, Johann Christoph Pez, Agostino Steffani, Valentini, Antonio Veracini, Gasparo Visconti and Pietro Andrea Ziani. This list includes both well-known and relatively obscure individuals, although many of these musicians resided in London at some point.

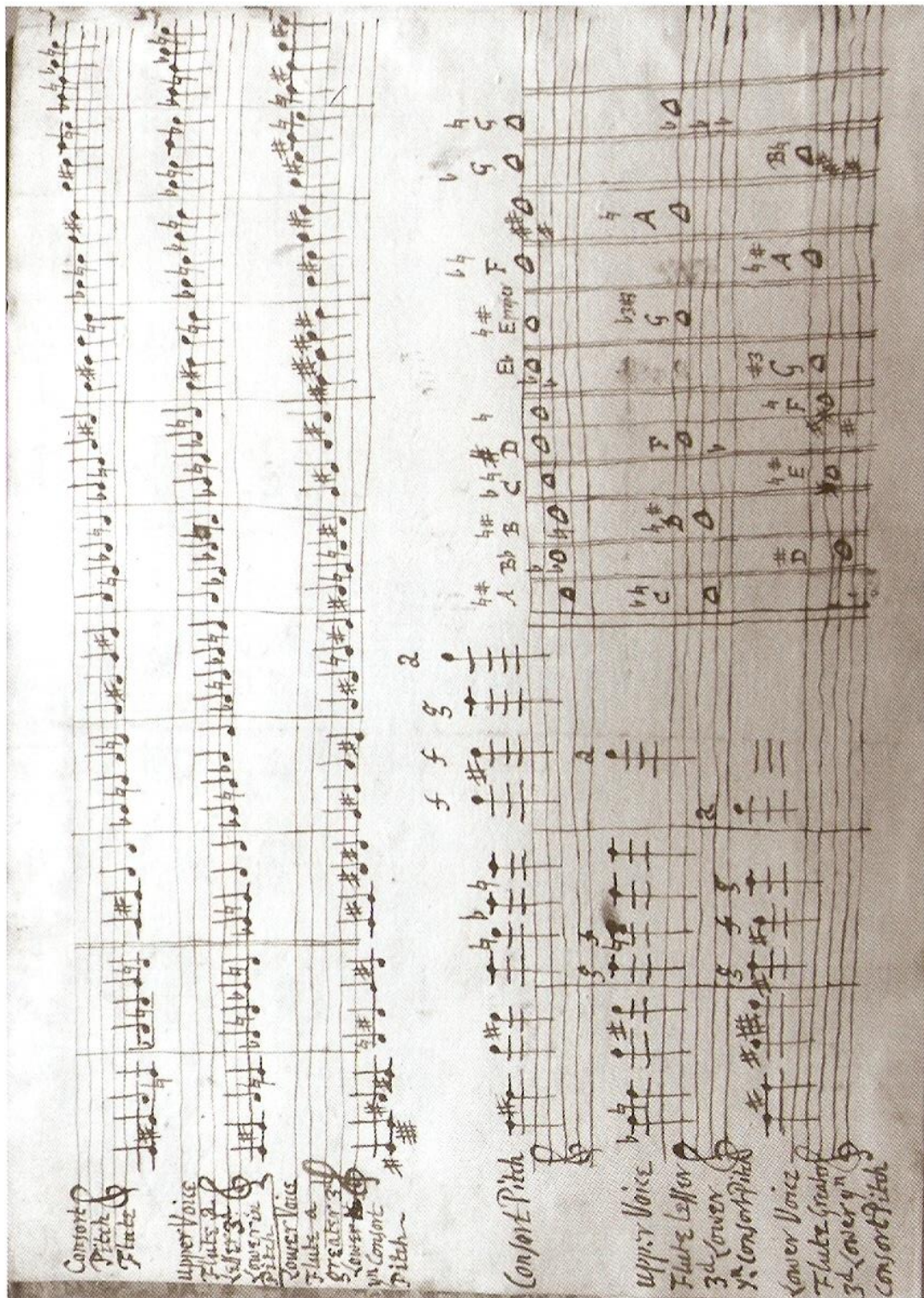
Most of DRc Bamburgh M70 is in Finch's hand and was copied between the early 1710s and late 1730s. It contains a mixture of vocal and instrumental items, including sacred settings, secular rounds and catches, and arrangements of Corelli's trio sonatas and vocal music by Steffani and Borri (see Appendix A). His own set of eleven solo sonatas, catches and contrapuntal exercises were also copied in his hand. An interesting non-musical addition to the manuscript in Finch's hand is 'an ophthalmic treatise on the correction of shortsightedness' (rev. pp. 100-101).

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<sup>48</sup> From what we know about Finch, it is likely that Y M52, an early eighteenth-century manuscript titled 'SONATES / pour la / Flute traversiere / seul / avec le / Basse Chiffre' of continental flute sonatas by Junge, Linicke, Frick and Senaille, may have belonged to the clergyman; see David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library* (York: York Minster Library, 1981), pp. 110-111.

<sup>49</sup> See Appendices A and B for inventories of manuscripts owned and/or copied by Finch. Copies of his music are also housed in the British Library, St Paul's Cathedral Library and York Minster Library.





**Figure 2.6** Scales for recorders of different pitches in the hand of Edward Finch; Armstrong-Finch MS, endpaper



The Armstrong-Finch MS includes primarily instrumental music, including a collection of solo sonatas by Corelli, Finger, Purcell and Finch, and didactic material, ornamentation tables and transpositions of different types of recorders and flutes (see Appendix A).<sup>50</sup> Of particular note are arrangements for German flute of music by Geminiani, Loeillet and Gasparo Visconti. Finch copied out ‘The Whole XII of / Francesco Geminiani’s Sonatas for the Violin / & Base Violin & Harpsichord Transposed / & fitted in more com[m]odious Keys to the German Flute’ (rev. p. 61).<sup>51</sup> To bring the pieces into better sharp keys for the flute he transposed most of them down a tone – he transposed No. 5 in Bb major and No. 7 in C minor up a tone (rev. pp. 29-33, 16-20). However, he kept No. 12 in D minor, describing it as ‘transpos’d here & there’ (rev. pp. 13-16). The sequence begins with Geminiani’s simpler sonatas, but Finch progresses to more difficult pieces with elaborate multiple stops – presumably he planned to arpeggiate these on the flute. However, this proved too difficult as he recopied Nos. 1 and 5 again in simpler versions, noting in the case of the latter: ‘the Best of the Double / Notes drawn out for / the German Flute / instead of what is / written at page / 29’. Finch also transposed pieces from J. B. Loeillet’s *Sonatas or Solos for the Flute* [i.e. recorder], Op. 1 (London, c. 1712). The final piece in the Armstrong-Finch MS is a set of nineteen variations on the Sarabande form Corelli’s Op. 5 No. 7 attributed to ‘Sign<sup>r</sup> Francesco Geminiani’ (rev. pp. 120-125) rewritten to avoid the notes below the compass of the flute. Finch’s version begins like a copy preserved in DRc E25 but deviates after the first eight variations.<sup>52</sup> Finch could have composed the remaining unique variations, or more likely, this provides evidence of personal contact; he probably encountered Geminiani during the Italian violinist’s time in London from 1714.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> For a brief background on the acquisition of the manuscript, see Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 469-487.

<sup>51</sup> Francesco Geminiani, *Sonata à violin, violone e cembalo*, Op. 1 (London, 1716).

<sup>52</sup> See Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 469-487 (pp. 483-484).

<sup>53</sup> See Enrico Careri, ‘Geminiani, Francesco’, *GMO*.

Finch's taste for Italian music is further evinced by a copy of Farinelli's aria 'Ossequioso Ringraziamento' in an unknown hand in DRc Bamburgh M70 (rev. pp. 179-183). The music is preceded by a copy of the text on an envelope addressed to Finch – an interlinear translation has been provided by an unknown hand (see Figure 2.7). Farinelli performed this farewell aria in London on 11 June 1737 and in it he expressed his gratitude, as the letter translates, for 'the obligeing favours received from the glorious Brittish Nation'.<sup>54</sup> Perhaps Finch met the famous Italian castrato when he was in London between 1734 and 1737 or, in keeping up with trends in London, he requested someone to obtain a copy for him. Nevertheless, it is clear that his interest in Italian music continued in his later life.

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<sup>54</sup> Ellen T. Harris, 'Farinelli', *GMO*.

*Orsequioso Ringraziamento*  
 The dutiful <sup>part</sup> acknowledgement  
*Le Corfesissime Grazie*  
 for the obligeing favours  
*ricevute nella*  
*riceved* from  
*Britannica Gloriosa Nazione*  
 The glorious British Nation  
*dell' umilissimo et obligatissimo servo*  
 by their most humble and most obliged servant  
*Carlo Broschi Farinello*  
 Charles Broschi Farinello  
*chancy del theozimo*  
*set to music*  
 Act: --- Regal Brittanica, il mio piu Nobil vanto, il  
 Regal Britain the favourable reception  
*che Corfese Compiaenti al mio tributo unel di Carlo*  
 shown to the humble tribute of my song is my greatest  
*e generosa La Cagion tu fero de piu tranquillo Agio a*  
 You are the generous cause of all my easie happiness  
*ypore miei, onde Scolpita portera nel Core la memoria*  
 The remembrance of your gifts and honours shall  
*del Dono te dell' onore*  
 always be ingraued upon my heart  
*Aria*  
 Ah ah che non Sono, non Sono le parole  
 Words are not sufficient for  
*tantanti Sole ah che non Sono dapp tanto dono, un*  
 obligations and so  
*tanto tanto onor. Meglio L'es prime il cor, les prime*  
 great honours my heart expresses it self  
*il Cor quando egli tace, L'alma con un sospir,*  
 better with silence, my soul with sigh.  
*L'alma tutto Sadir con un sospir, e nel Silenzio*  
 The soul can say evry thing with sigh  
*allor e nel Silenzio allor, e piu uerace,*  
 and is most eloquent in silence.  
 201

Figure 2.7 Letter addressed to Edward Finch containing the text and translation of Carlo Broschi Farinello's 'Regal Britanni ail mis piu Nobil Vanto'; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 178a-b

No surviving printed music is clearly attributed as having belonged to Finch. A holograph catalogue of music owned by 'John Sharp [III], Trin. Coll.' in DRc Bamburgh M194 lists two items: 'Mr Jenkins – Airs for the Lute (fro[m] Hon: Mr Finch's collect:)' and 'Lessons --- for [th]e Violincello (from Mr Finch's Collec[t:)]'. The collection of lute pieces by Jenkins was probably M179 and M180, as they include 18 sonatas by Jenkins.<sup>55</sup> However, whether the violoncello lessons were printed or in manuscript is unclear. Finch's ownership of M179 and M180 is confirmed by the minute fragments of his vocal compositions 'Grant we beseech thee merciful Lord' and 'Bow thine ear' contained within them.

Among the manuscripts in Durham Cathedral Library unrecognised as belonging to Finch is Bamburgh M193. This includes a five-part score of six sonatas ascribed to Pietro Andrea Ziani, a set of parts to a sonata/sinfonia by Francesco Navarra of Mantua and Finch's copy of the catch 'Oil and vinegar' by Henry Hall.<sup>56</sup> The manuscript has a York connection as a comment notes that it was 'for Mr. [Thomas] Wanlass', organist of York from 1691 to 1712 and Master of the Choristers from 1692 to 1698.<sup>57</sup> Due to the inclusion of another sonata/sinfonia by Navarra, who was Maestro di Cappella to the Gonzaga court of Mantua from 1695 until 1699, Bamburgh M175 probably also belonged to Finch. It appears that Navarra's two works amongst Finch's collection are the only pieces known to have survived him.<sup>58</sup> M175 also includes sinfonias and sonatas by Corelli and Antonio Veracini. Bamburgh M200 includes Finch's holograph arrangement of 'The Old 100<sup>th</sup>' hymn tune in five, six and seven parts alongside the first and second violin parts of six Sonatas from *Duplex genius* by 'Sign<sup>r</sup> Johanes Christophorus Pez'. Another manuscript previously in Finch's possession, Bamburgh M208, includes two rounds composed by Finch, 'When Gammar Gurton first I knew' in four parts and 'Observe with

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<sup>55</sup> Finch composed 'A Saraband Broken into a Kind of Arpeggio after the Lyra manner'; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 36. See also I. H. Stoltzfus, *The Lyra Viol in Consort with other instruments* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Louisiana State University, 1982).

<sup>56</sup> Michael Talbot suggests that Albinoni composed the sonatas attributed to Ziani; see Crosby, *Catalogue*, p. 89.

<sup>57</sup> See Ian Spink, 'Wanless, Thomas', *GMO*.

<sup>58</sup> For Navarra, see Adrian Chandler, 'Who was Francesco Navarra?', *La Serenissima* (2011) <[www.laserenissima.co.uk](http://www.laserenissima.co.uk)> [accessed 01/07/2014].

care and judgment' in seven parts. These are preceded by a three-movement keyboard piece in C minor entitled 'Solo', probably also composed by Finch.

Bamburgh M192 is mostly in Finch's hand (pp. 1-104 and 306-313). The manuscript includes the Adagio from Valentini's Op. 7, Concerto No. 3 (pp. 2-3), an arrangement of 'Mottetum II: Abbatis Stephani a 6 2 violins, 3 voices [2 trebles and bass], et Basso Continuo / Set One Note Higher' (pp. 18-79), 'Abbot Stephani's IIII Mottet' for four-part strings and 3 treble voices (pp. 80-104), and 'Chapter XXVth of Isaiah. O Lord My God the Words out of Isaiah fitted by Dr Aldritch to Dr Bulls Musick to the Collect for Epiphany' (pp. 306-313).

## 2.4 Finch's arrangements and compositions

Finch spent a significant amount of time composing and arranging music. He composed a range of both secular and sacred music, from solo sonatas, catches and rounds to religious vocal music and anthems.<sup>59</sup> Like his arrangements, these were primarily intended for use in the Minster or for domestic and semi-public social gatherings. Finch's music appears to have been performed within his local circle and there is no record of any performances outside of York, even though two of his sacred works were included by Thomas Tudway in his collection of sacred music. Finch composed three pieces of sacred music (all in G minor): a Te Deum (dated 1708), a short anthem 'Grant, we beseech thee, merciful Lord' (composed before 1715) and a Jubilate (dated 1721).<sup>60</sup> His sacred works were copied into the York Minster choir books multiple times from the 1720s and even survive in copies made in the 1820s, suggesting that they enjoyed a long performance history at the

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<sup>59</sup> One of Finch's chants, 'A chant in 8 parts, Psalm 98' ['O sing unto the Lord a new song'], was published in Michael Broome's *Collection of Church Musick for the Use of his Scholars* ([Isleworth: Michael Broome, c. 1730]); see Lbl Music Collections K.11.e.25. See Appendix B for a listing of Finch's compositions.

<sup>60</sup> The dates of the Te Deum and Jubilate are taken from autograph copies in Ge Euing R.d.39, ff. 13v and 32v. The words of the anthem attributed to Finch are provided in *Full Anthems, and Verse Anthems; as they are [...] sung in the Cathedral and Metropolitan Church of St. Peter's in York* (York: White, 1715).

Minster and were part of the repertory of the choir.<sup>61</sup> Additional evidence of performance at the Minster is provided by Y M14/1 (S) in particular, which includes an annotated copy of Finch's *Te Deum* with performance indications in pencil in an unknown hand, alongside music by Blow, Purcell, Goodson and Nalson. Some of Finch's compositions are also listed in the contents of a badly mutilated bass part-book of anthems and services (DRc Bamburgh M170). A comment by Finch on p. 96 ('2 sheets are put in betwixt this 85 [th]e 95th page') indicates earlier ownership. Finch's vocal sacred music is largely homophonic and his fondness for dissonance can be seen in the use of appoggiaturas, suspensions and chromatic discords. His harmonic shifts and modulations are not handled well and are often abrupt and awkward.

Of interest is Finch's use of red ink in his copies of his vocal music. In Figure 2.8, an extract from his *Te Deum*, the two inner parts are written in red ink, possibly indicating that he composed the outer parts first and then filled in the harmony in the inner parts. In the five-part textures he appears to have used a different strategy. In Figure 2.9, for instance, Finch wrote the second treble and tenor parts in red. Whether his use of red ink is evidence of a composing strategy is uncertain. In a copy of a fragment from Purcell's *Service in Bb major in G* Euing R.d.39 (f. 14), Finch used red ink to distinguish between the part writing (see Figure 2.10). He clearly found this passage of full choral texture of particular interest. Finch's use of red ink was more likely a study mechanism and part of a tendency to copy vocal music into score, showing clearly the different vocal parts. Perhaps he used red ink to assist the copyist in creating a set of parts from the score or for identifying the vocal lines for ease of singing from the book in domestic settings.<sup>62</sup> Finch's working copy of the *Gloria Patri* from his *Jubilate* demonstrates his fondness for full homophonic textures and dissonance (see Figure 2.11). He appears to have enjoyed these challenges: in a letter to Nalson, attached to an eight-part harmonisation of the St James' psalm tune in Y M18 S, he wrote (see Figure 2.12):

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<sup>61</sup> Y M14/1-2 (from the 1720s), M168, M171, M187, M197-198 and M201 (from the 1820s); see Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library*.

<sup>62</sup> I am grateful to Suzanne Aspden for the latter suggestion.



Dear S[ir]

I look upon these eight voices & those on to' ther side to be composed without any consecutions of 5ths or 8ths & to be seven upper parts to one Base & counterpoint. The parts are as close & full as I could set my fingers upon the Harpsichord. & that Harmony w[hi]ch was the best I could pick out upon the Instrument drawn out into these parts with as good Air as I could possibly contrive to take in ev[e]ry one of those 'chords & in those very places in w[hi]ch they stand in the Score of this Score in Tablature. Tis as full Harmony as I could make for Voices. I could not contrive to make it fuller by Instrumental parts above the uppermost Voice without loosing the Air or making consecutions of 5ths & 8ths between the Instrumental & vocal parts w[hi]ch was what I endeavour[']d to avoid & would not be of use in a Parish Church. W[i]th my wives service to Mrs Nalson I shall endeavour to get the score of Mr Handle if Possible I am your aff[ectionat]e humble s[er]v[an]t E. F.

Imitative textures are rare in Finch's music, although there are some contrapuntal exercises in his manuscripts. Finch may have found these too difficult to emulate or were not to his taste; instead he preferred to pursue his interests in full harmony. Finch's fondness for rich textures is certainly a hallmark of his compositional style.



Figure 2.8 Edward Finch, 'We 'knowledge Thee to be the Lord'; Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 6v



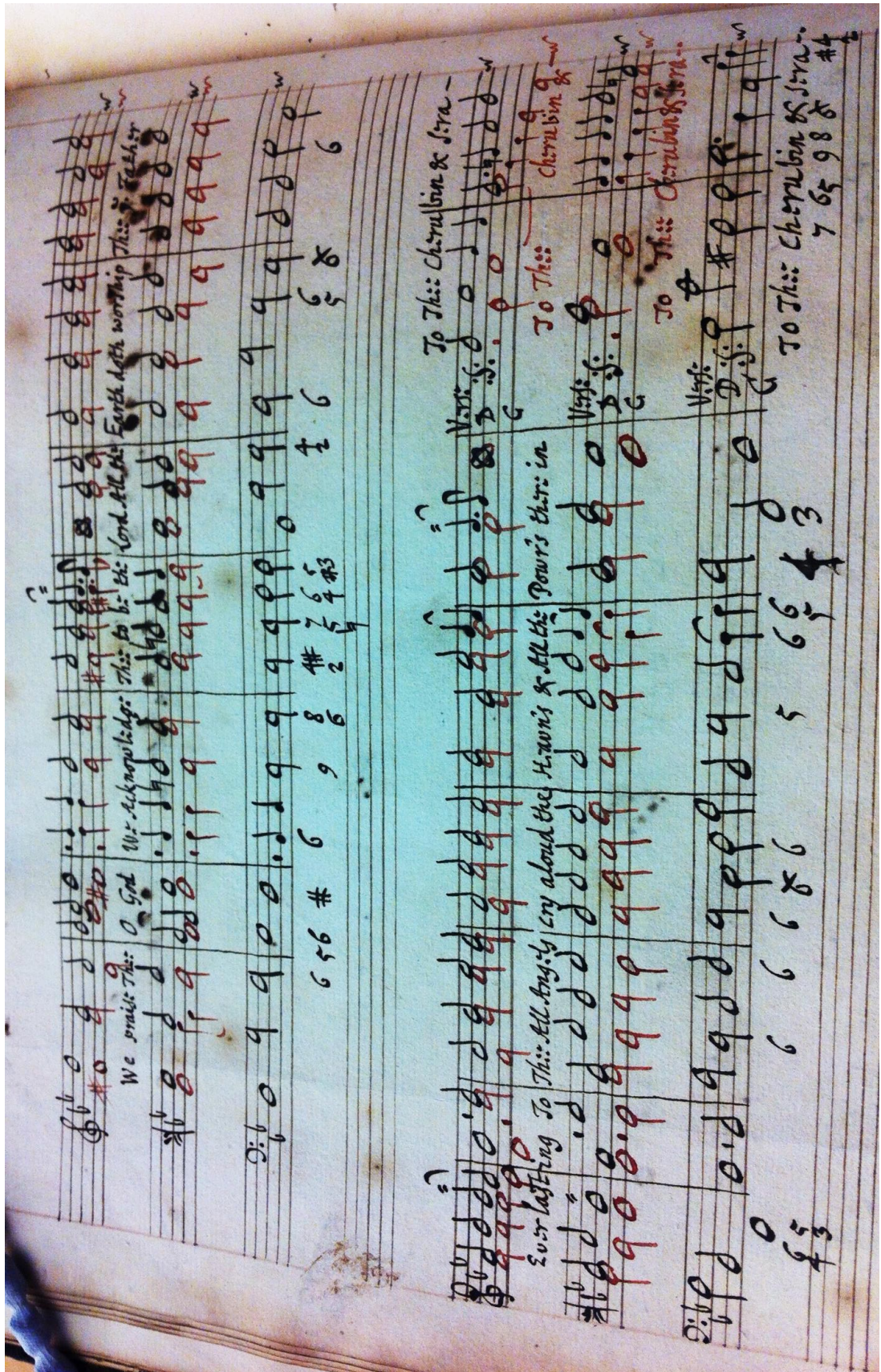


Figure 2.9 Edward Finch, 'We praise Thee O God' (dated 1708); Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 9v



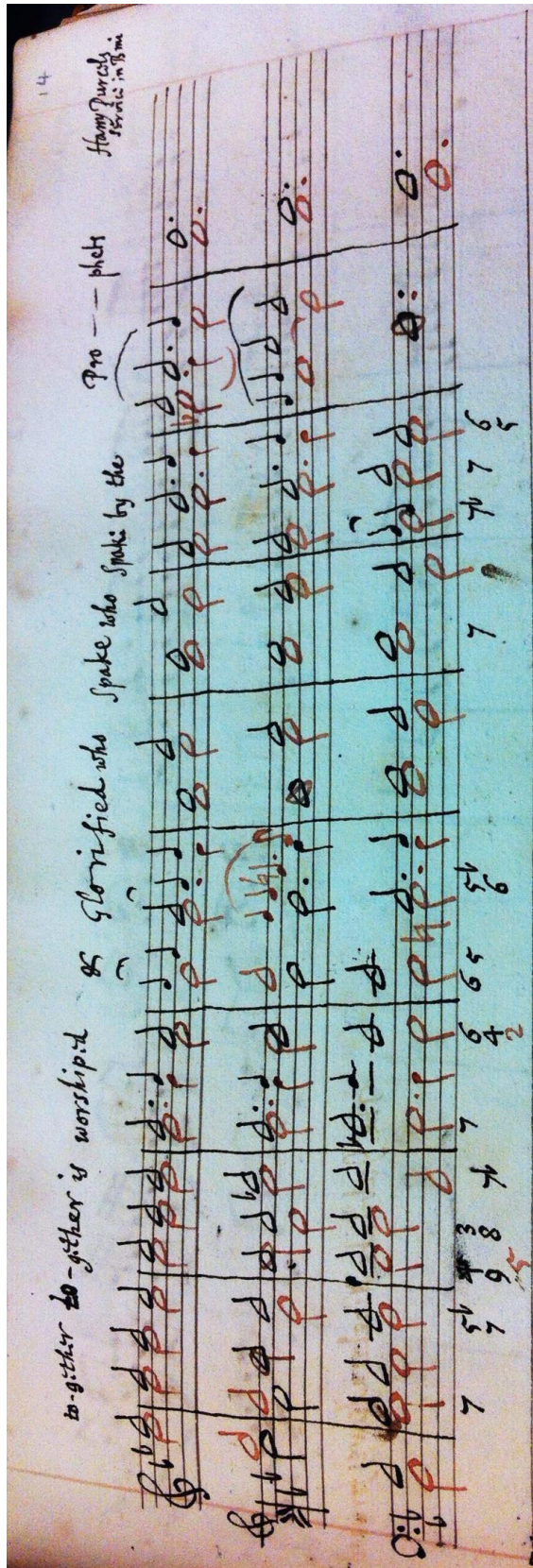


Figure 2.10 Fragment from the Creed in 'Harry' Purcell's Service in Bb major; Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 14r

Gloria Gloria in excelsis Deo in principio in Spiritu Sancto. Qui ex Patre Filioque procedit. Qui cum Patre Filioque simul adoratur et conglorificatur. Qui locutus est per Prophetas. Qui cum Patre Filioque simul adoratur et conglorificatur. Qui locutus est per Prophetas. Qui cum Patre Filioque simul adoratur et conglorificatur. Qui locutus est per Prophetas.

**Figure 2.11** Edward Finch's working for the Gloria Patri from his Jubilate (dated 1721); Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 33v



(fit for any Psalms  
(but Penitential ones)  
of that measure)

St James's Tune for Psalms of 8 856 Syllables

Dear<sup>r</sup>

I look upon these eight voices as those on either side to be composed without any Confusion of 5<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> & to be seven upper parts to one Bass & counterpoint. The parts are as close & full as I could set my fingers upon the Harpsichord, & that Harmony with was the best I could pick out upon the Instrument drawn out into these parts with as good air as I could possibly contrive to take in any one of those chords as in those very places in which they stand in the Score of thy Score in Tablature. Ty as full Harmony as I could make for voices. I could not contrive to make it fuller by Instrumental parts above the uppermost voice without loosing the air or making Confusion of 5<sup>th</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> between the Instrumental & vocal parts with was what I endeavoured to avoid & would not be of use in a Parish Church. w<sup>th</sup> my wives service to Mr Nalson I shall endeavour to get the Score of Mr Handley's little  
I am ver<sup>y</sup> aff<sup>ly</sup> Dear Sir

Figure 2.12 Edward Finch's harmonisation of the 'St James's' tune with a letter addressed to Valentine Nalson; Y M18 S, f. 1v

In a similar practice to his colleague Valentine Nalson, who made a number of English versions of Latin verse anthems by the Fioccos – a family with Venetian roots who had settled in Brussels in 1682 – Finch adapted Italian vocal music by Steffani and Borri.<sup>63</sup> In Figure 2.13 Finch noted that ‘The Musick is Abbot Stephani’s Latin Motet Qui Diligit Mariam instead of which Latin Words Tis Fitted with Words of Our Psalms’. As this adaptation was copied into the Minster part-books, it was almost certainly performed in the services.<sup>64</sup> This practice was part of a wider trend of changing the Latin words to make the music more suitable for performance in Anglican worship. Steffani was elected president of the Academy of Vocal Music (later known as the Academy of Ancient Music) on 1 June 1727.<sup>65</sup> He sent the academy copies of earlier works and new pieces specially composed for them, including the five-part motet *Qui diligit Mariam* (by 7 July 1727). Finch employed a similar process in an adaptation of an extract from the Gloria of Borri’s Mass in F major using the words to Psalm 117 (see Figure 2.14).<sup>66</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that string instruments were used at the Minster, therefore this arrangement was probably intended for performance in a music club. It is unclear whether Finch engaged with the Academy, but possible connections are alluded to in the surviving evidence.<sup>67</sup> Y M112, copied in the late eighteenth-century, may have some connection with the Academy due to the inclusion of madrigals by Luca Marenzio and Paulo Petti (both of which were in the Academy’s repertoire) and two pieces apparently ‘From an Ancient Manuscript / out of Dr Pepusch’s Library’.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Henry Aldrich (1648-1710), Dean of Christ Church, undertook a similar practice in Oxford; see Robert Shay, “Naturalizing” Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions’, *ML*, 77 (1996), 368-400.

<sup>64</sup> See for example, Y M162 (organ book) and M164 (alto part-book).

<sup>65</sup> For Steffani and the Academy of Ancient Music, see Lowell Lindgren and Colin Timms, ‘The Correspondence of Agostino Steffani and Giuseppe Riva, 1720-1728, and Related Correspondence with J. P. F. von Schönborn and S. B. Pallavicini’, *RMARC*, 36 (2003), 1-174.

<sup>66</sup> A set of parts for two Masses by Borri, some in Finch’s hand, are preserved in DRc Bamburgh M193/2-7. A score to the Mass in F major and a Credo in D minor copied by John Cooper between 1715 and 1728 also survives in Y M105. This manuscript includes annotations in William Knight’s hand.

<sup>67</sup> See below, p. 257.

<sup>68</sup> I am grateful to Harry Johnstone for this suggestion. For more information on the common repertoire between the York circle and the Academy, particularly of music by Borri, see H. Diack Johnstone,



70 Psalm IX: 3. Verse

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

I will give thanks to Thee O Lord with My Whole Heart My Whole Heart My Whole Heart

Figure 2.13 English adaptation of Steffani's motet *Qui Diligit Mariam* by Edward Finch; DRc Bamburg M70, p. 70

'Westminster Abbey and the Academy of Ancient Music: A Library Once Lost and Now Partially Recovered', *ML*, 95.3 (2014), 329-373.



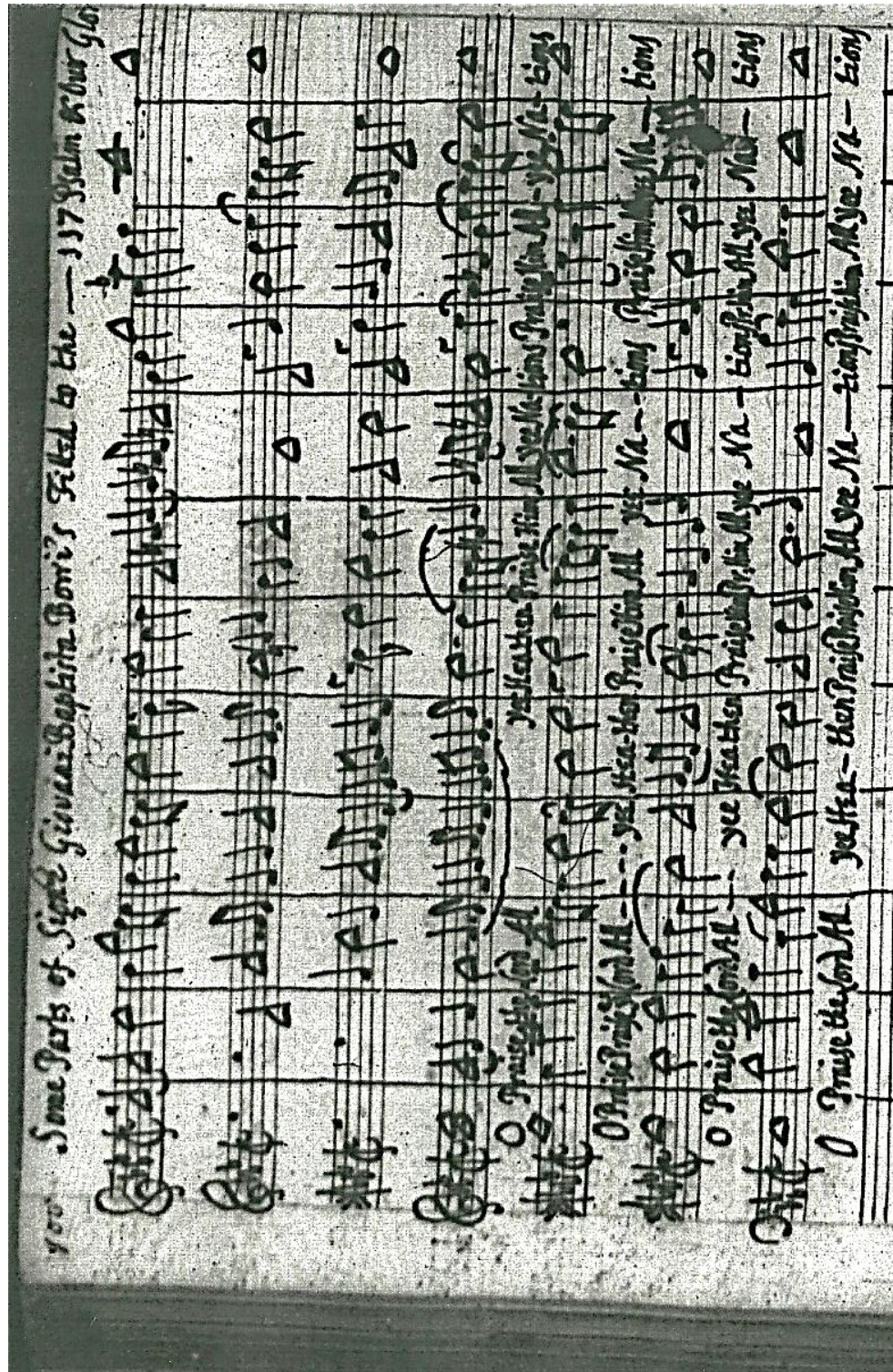


Figure 2.14 English adaptation of part of the Gloria from Giovanni Baptista Borri's Mass in F major by Edward Finch; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 100

Of particular interest in DRc Bamburgh M192 is a copy of Handel's 1713 *Te Deum and Jubilate* not in Finch's hand (pp. 105-305). Finch later added figured bass to the final chorus of the *Jubilate* and provided an alternative ending of the last three bars of the *Amen* (see Example 2.1). Here Finch removed Handel's doublings and turned the original seven-part texture into eleven independent parts. Finch added dissonant cadential decoration and anticipation, and this arrangement demonstrates his fondness for rich harmony and dissonance. Finch re-wrote the two trumpet parts to make them more prominent within the orchestral texture. Finch's first trumpet part in particular is very high and difficult – Purcell was the only other composer to write a top D above the treble staff.<sup>69</sup> Nevertheless the high chromatic writing demonstrates that Finch had knowledge of writing for natural trumpets. As it was unlikely the work was performed, Finch probably made the arrangement as part of a study exercise – this activity is certainly consistent with what he was doing to music composed by both Corelli and Purcell.

Given Finch's drive to acquaint himself with professional musicians, a throw-away line ('I shall endeavour to get the score of Mr Handle if Possible') in a letter addressed to Valentine Nalson implies that he had access to, however indirect, or was acquainted with Handel (see Figure 2.12).<sup>70</sup> It is likely that the work to which the letter refers is the *Te Deum and Jubilate*. This, along with the fingerings attributed to 'Mr Handle' in Ge Euing R.d.39 (rev. f. 33), suggests that Finch acquired his copy through the composer and that the letter dates no earlier than 1713.

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<sup>69</sup> Andrew Pinnock and Bruce Wood, 'A Counterblast on English Trumpets', *EM*, 19.3 (August 1991), 436-443.

<sup>70</sup> Y M18 S.



**Example 2.1** Edward Finch's alternative ending (small print) and added figured bass to Handel's Jubilate in D major; DRc Bamburg M192, p. 301

The musical score consists of the following parts:

- [Trumpet 1]
- [Trumpet 2]
- [Oboe]
- [Violin 1]
- [Violin 2]
- [Viola]
- [Treble 1]
- [Treble 2]
- [Countertenor]
- [Tenor]
- [Bass]
- [Basso continuo]

The vocal parts (Treble 1, Treble 2, Countertenor, Tenor, Bass) all sing the word "men." in the final measure of the piece.

The figured bass for the Basso continuo is as follows:

8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	5	6	7
6	5	6	5	4	3	4	5
4	3	4	3	8	8	8	4
		2					9

Finch regularly transposed music to suit the instruments available to him. For instance he arranged a number of violin sonatas by Corelli and Geminiani into ‘more com[m]odious Keys’ to better suit the compass of the German Flute.<sup>71</sup> For example, he set the Sicilian Air from Corelli’s Concerto Op. 6 No. 11 ‘a third Higher For German Flutes from the B mi Flat Key’, and transposed Corelli’s Sonata Op. 5 No. 9.<sup>72</sup> Into DRc Bamburgh M70 he copied arrangements of two of Corelli’s Op. 3 trio sonatas to which he had added additional parts: he noted that Corelli’s Op. 3 No. 6 was ‘Turn’d into / a Concerto / For 3 Violins / Tenor Violin / & Basso & / Basso Continuo’ (pp. 2-7) and similarly that Corelli’s Op. 3 No. 2 was ‘Turn’d into a Concerto for Six Instrum<sup>ts</sup>. / 4 Violins a Tenor Violin & a Base for the Violoncello or Harpsichord’ (pp. 10-17). In his arrangement of the second sonata he added the lower two treble and viola parts (see Figure 2.15). Finch’s arrangements resulted in thicker contrapuntal textures and altered the character of the originals, effectively turning them into concerti grossi for larger string groups. These are skilful on a basic level, in that he avoids writing consecutives, but there are no concertino passages; Finch continues this full texture throughout each movement. His arrangements were probably intended for semi-public performance in regular music meetings. Arrangements of Corelli proved popular at the beginning of the eighteenth century and Finch’s adaptations, due to their placement within the manuscript, are likely to pre-date the earliest printed concerto arrangements made by Obadiah Shuttleworth and Geminiani both published in London in 1726.<sup>73</sup>

Copied into the Armstrong-Finch MS is an arrangement by Finch of the Adagio from Henry Purcell’s ‘Golden’ Sonata Z810.<sup>74</sup> He transposed the sonata up a tone to G minor and added an inner part (and in places two inner parts) in red ink (see Figure 2.16).

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<sup>71</sup> Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. p. 61.

<sup>72</sup> DRc Bamburgh M70, pp. 22-23, rev. pp. 52-55 respectively. For other arrangements, see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 76-[81] and p. 156.

<sup>73</sup> For the early dissemination of Corelli’s music in England, see O. Edwards, ‘The Response to Corelli’s Music in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Studia Musicologica Norvegica*, 2 (1976), 51-96; Peter Allsop, *Arcangelo Corelli: New Orpheus of our Times* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), pp. 188-199; Bryan White, “A pretty knot of Musical Friends”: The Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s’, in *MBP*, pp. 9-44.

<sup>74</sup> Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. p. 1.

Finch used void and filled-in notation and red ink to identify the voice-leading, most likely for study purposes. There are many examples of pedagogical harmony exercises, including psalm settings and fugues, in his manuscripts. He may have intended the piece to be performed by a larger four- or five-part string ensemble at a domestic gathering or music club. Finch titled the piece ‘Harry Purcells / Golden Sonata’, and the multiple informal references across his music collection to the composer strengthens the possibility of personal acquaintance.<sup>75</sup> Given Finch’s connections with Finger, Peter Holman suggests that it was Finch who made the arrangement described in the 1705 sale catalogue of Finger’s music library as ‘the Golden Sonata drawn out for sev[eral] Instr[uments] / Mr. *Henry Purcell*’.<sup>76</sup> It would appear that Finch in fact added additional parts for the whole sonata, possibly for performance in a music club.

It is unclear whether Finch was the author of an anonymous larger-scale instrumental ‘Symphonia’ in D major in Ge Euing R.d.39 scored in the Italian manner of 2 violins, 2 violas and bass (see Example 2.2). The work resembles the five-part Italian pieces attributed to Ziani and Albinoni in Finch’s library.<sup>77</sup> From the placement of the piece within the manuscript we can determine that it was copied between 1708 and 1725. The layout of Finch’s score is of interest as he provided four empty staves between the upper strings and basso continuo (see Figure 2.17). This may provide further evidence of his arranging activities. He appears to have intended writing a ‘Bass viola’ part but this staff is left blank. This practice is in line with what he was doing with instrumental music by other composers.

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<sup>75</sup> This appears to have been the case with the relationships between Purcell and other amateur musicians, see Bryan White, ‘Letter from Aleppo: Dating the Chelsea School Performance of “Dido and Aeneas”’, *EM*, 37.3 (August 2009), 417-428; Bryan White, “Brothers of the String”: Henry Purcell and the Letter-Books of Rowland Sherman, *ML*, 92.4 (November 2011), 519-581.

<sup>76</sup> Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 469- 487 (p. 481); see Peter Holman, ‘The Sale Catalogue of Gottfried Finger’s Music Library: New Light on London’s Concert Life in the 1690s’, *RMARC*, 43 (2010), 23-38 (p. 36).

<sup>77</sup> I am grateful to Peter Holman for this observation.

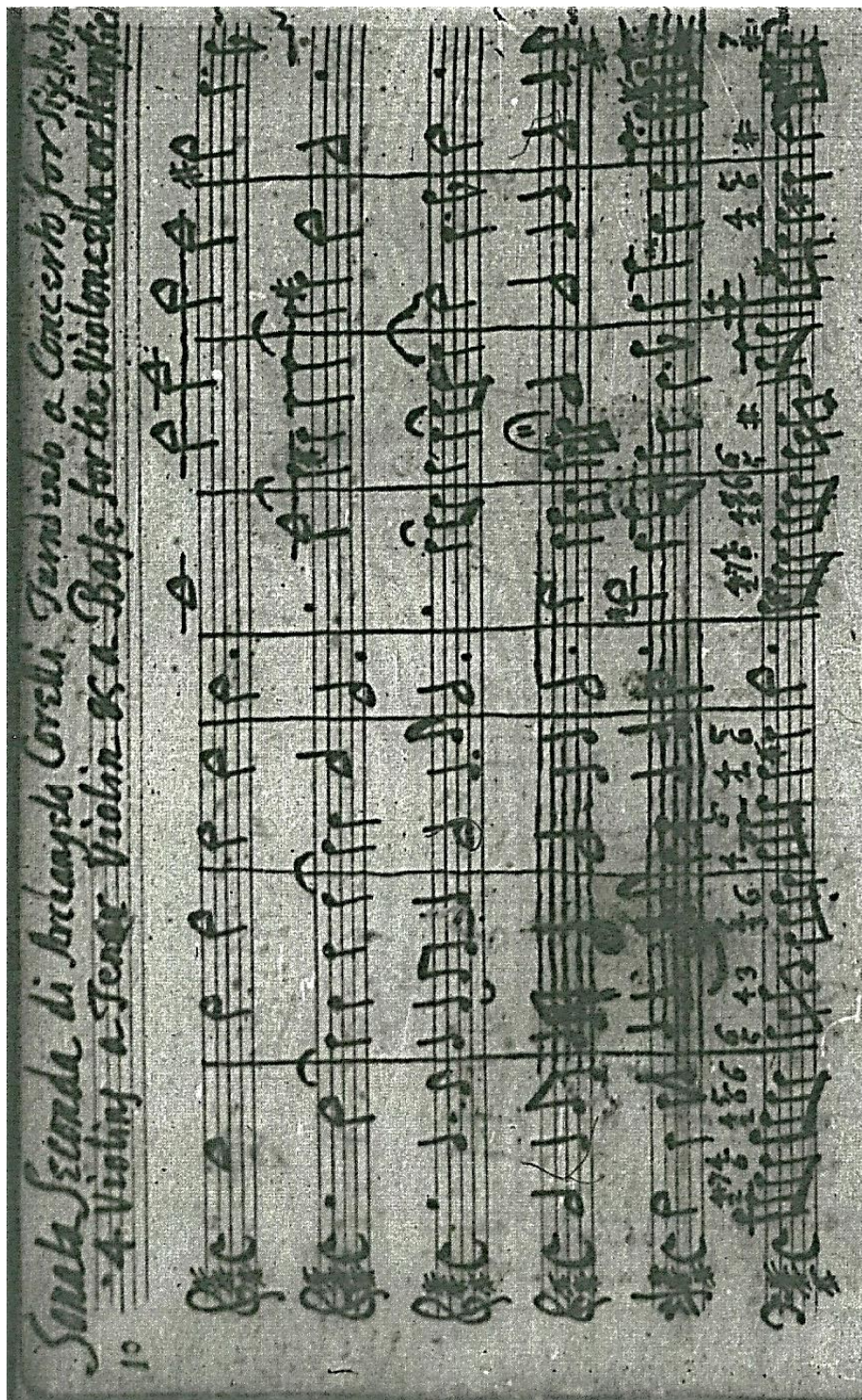


Figure 2.15 Corelli's Sonata No. 2, Op. 3 arranged by Edward Finch for 4 violins, viola and basso continuo; DRc Bamburg M70, p. 2





Figure 2.16 Arrangement by Edward Finch for string ensemble of the Adagio from ‘Harry’ Purcell’s ‘Golden’ Sonata Z810; Armstrong-Finch MS, p. 1



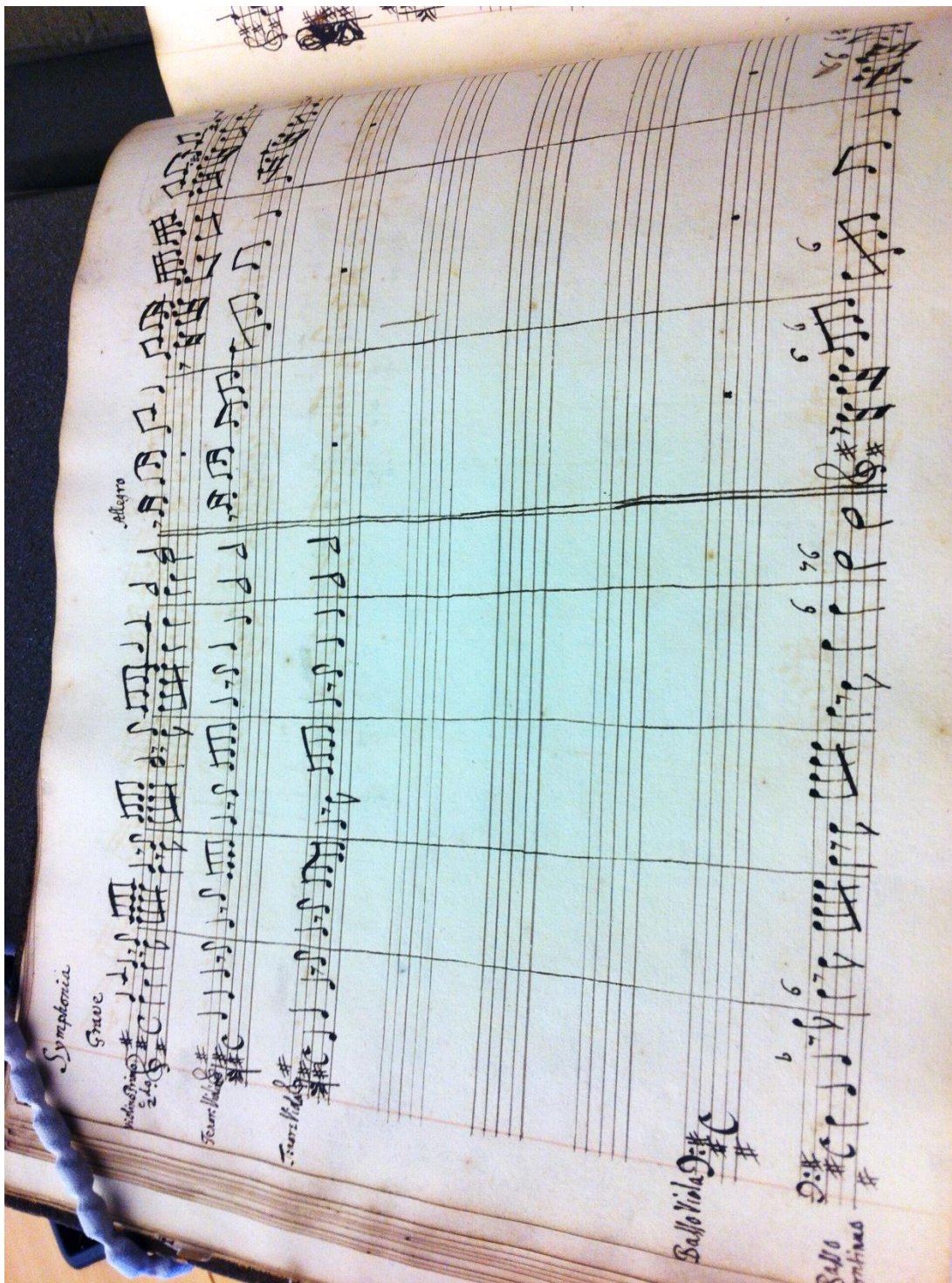


Figure 2.17 Incomplete anonymous 'Symphonia' in D major in Finch's hand; Ge Euing R.d.39, ff. 14v-15v

**Example 2.2** Incomplete anonymous ‘Symphonia’ in D major in Finch’s hand; Ge Euing  
 R.d.39, ff. 14v-15v

**Grave** **Allegro**

Violino Primo  
 2do  
 Tenor Violin  
 Tenore Viola  
 Basso Viola  
 Basso Continuo

7  
 6 6 6 # 6 6 6 # 6 6 # 6 5 6 # 6 6

12  
 6 6 6 # 7 6 5b

17 [Violino Primo]

Many of the anonymous pieces, including sonatas and catches, found in his personal manuscripts were probably composed by Finch. The majority of his compositions are dated and clearly attribute him as the composer by the use of a monogram incorporating his initials. Finch's interest in Italian music also led him to emulate the style in his own compositions. Finch may have spoken the language, as he provided English translations to a number of Italian opera arias, some by Bononcini, in the Armstrong-Finch MS. He also composed a set of divisions on Michel Farinel's Ground (see Figure 2.18). Finch's autograph copy in DRc Bamburgh M70 bears the note 'In King James's Reign' (rev. p. 10), suggesting that it was composed between 1685 and 1688 – shortly after Farinel's divisions were printed in Playford's *The Division-Violin* in 1685, and before those made by Corelli and Marais in 1700 and 1701 respectively.

Finch's most significant composition is a cycle of eleven solo sonatas for an unspecified treble instrument and continuo (see Table 2.1). As the sonatas are all in sharp keys and have treble parts that go down to d', the lowest note on the Baroque flute, they were probably written for that instrument (or alternatively the violin). These pieces give us a glimpse of his attempts at composing in the Italian style. Finch copied many model sonatas by Corelli, Geminiani and his teacher Finger, and he appears to have emulated their style in his own sonatas – the majority of which are dated between 1717 and 1720.<sup>78</sup> The exception is Finch's 'Cuckow' sonata which he informs us was 'made In King James the 2<sup>d</sup>s Reign', therefore sometime between 1685 and 1688 (see Figure 2.19).<sup>79</sup> The sonata enjoyed a wide circulation and was published in *The Second Part of the Division Violin*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (London: Henry Playford, 1693), pp. 16-19 (in A major for violin) and *The Cuckow Solo* (London: John Walsh, c. 1730).<sup>80</sup> Many of Finch's sonatas bear programmatic titles: Sonata No. 3, 'The Groans and Sighs', Sonata No. 6, 'Eccho Sonata' and Sonata No. 11 'The Bells & Hempdresser'. These interesting titles are mirrored to a certain extent in his musical rhetoric. His Sonata No. 2 includes what appears to be written-out ornamentation, giving us an indication of how they were likely to have been performed.

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<sup>78</sup> This practice of *imitatio* and *emulatio*, as Rebecca Herissone has demonstrated, were prevailing approaches adopted by composers during this period; see *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*.

<sup>79</sup> DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 41-44.

<sup>80</sup> See David Lasocki, 'The Detroit Recorder Manuscript', *American Recorder*, 23 (1982), 95-102.



Finch collected, copied and arranged models by English and Italian composers, some from the early seventeenth century (Jenkins), the majority from the late seventeenth century (Corelli, Purcell and Finger), and some from the early eighteenth century (Loeillet and Geminiani). His principal manuscripts were largely copied in the early eighteenth century, although he collected late seventeenth-century treatises. A small quantity of music he composed in the 1680s survives in early eighteenth-century copies. For instance, a sonata ‘for 2 German Flutes with or without Thorough Bass’ in DRc Bamburgh M70 is dated ‘Decem<sup>r</sup> 29 1716’, however the final movement bears the note ‘A year before the Revolution’ (rev. pp. 1-5). This presumably indicates that the piece was composed in 1687, a year before the Glorious Revolution. It would appear that Finch was actively revising and arranging older music.<sup>81</sup> However, an eighteenth-century copy of his ‘Cuckow’ sonata in DRc Bamburgh M70 was not an intended arrangement for German flute as the lowest note c’ extends beyond the range of the instrument (rev. pp. 41-44).

**Table 2.1** Cycle of eleven solo sonatas by Edward Finch

<i>Title</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Key</i>
Sonata No. 1	Christmas 1717	D major
Sonata No. 2	19 April 1718	D major
Sonata No. 3 (‘The Groans & Sighs’)	30 August 1718	D major
Sonata No. 4	20 November 1718	G major
Sonata No. 5	Christmas 1718	A minor
Sonata No. 6 (‘Eccho Sonata’)	2 February 1719	D major
Sonata No. 7	13 April 1719	E minor
Sonata No. 8 (‘The Cuckow’)	‘made in King James the 2ds Reign’ [between 1685-1688]	G major
Sonata No. 9	finished 9 June 1719	D minor
Sonata No. 10	finished 9 October 1719	D minor
Sonata No. 11 (‘On The Bells & Hempdresser’)	18 February 1720	D major

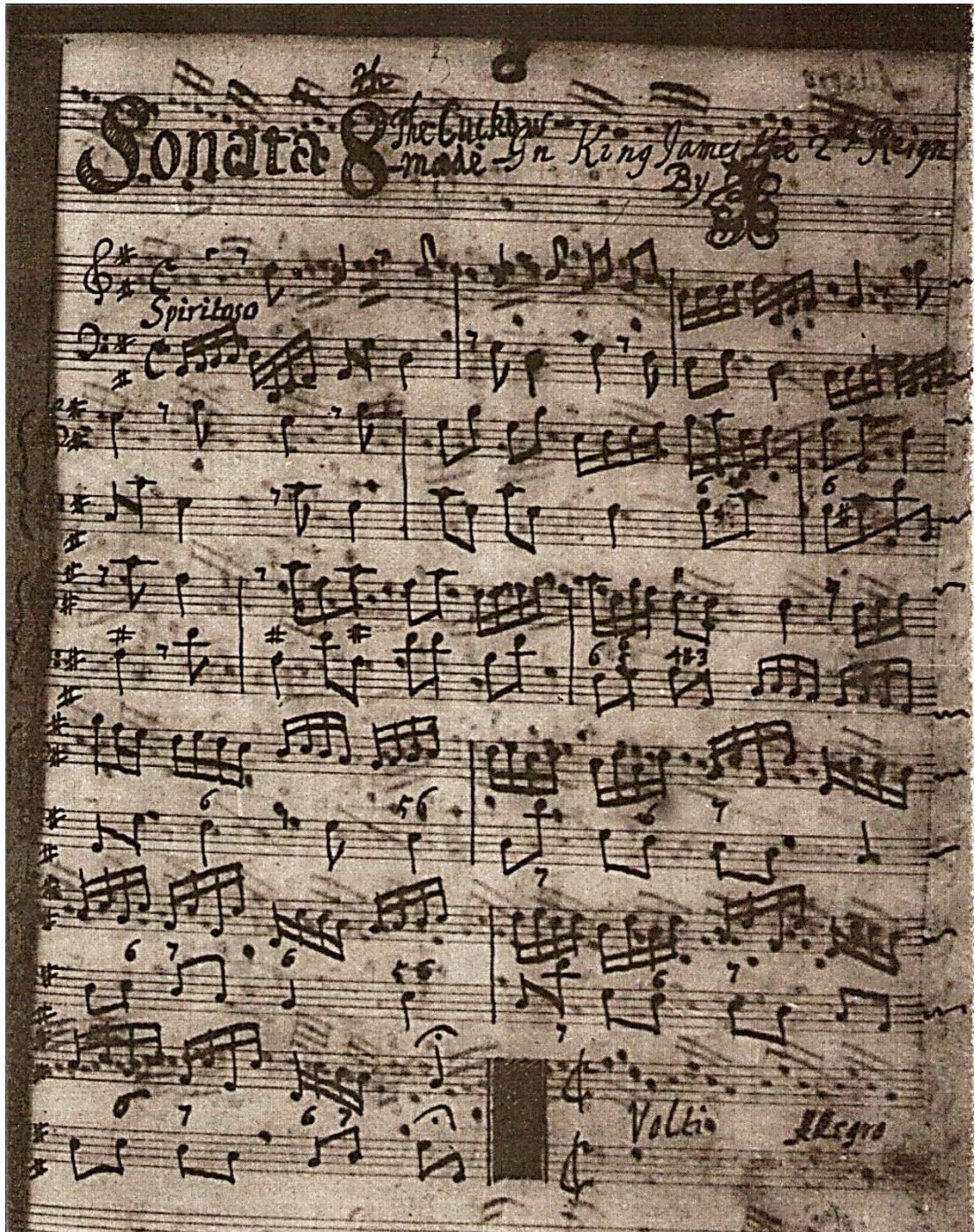
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<sup>81</sup> See also below, p. 81.



**Figure 2.18** Edward Finch, Divisions on Farinels' Ground in the hand of William Armstrong; Armstrong-Finch MS, p. 2





**Figure 2.19** Edward Finch, Sonata No. 8 ('Cuckow'), first movement, in the composer's hand; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 41

As displayed by his vocal compositions and harmony exercises, in which he harmonised a number of psalm tunes, Finch's fondness for full harmony and rich textures is also visible in his instrumental music. His dense harmonies and rapid modulations are often stylistically inappropriate. Finch's surviving music suggests a reasonable level of musical competence; however his music often lacks rhythmic and harmonic clarity. Overall, his melodies are not particularly tuneful, passagework is often angular and his harmonic progressions are repeatedly awkward and abrupt. Finch received composition lessons from the Italian cellist Lorenzo Bocchi in October 1720, who stopped at York on his way from Edinburgh to London, in which the Italian composer reworked and modernised three of Finch's eleven solo sonatas with continuo.<sup>82</sup> Presumably the pair played through some of the pieces – Finch on the German flute with Bocchi accompanying on the violoncello or viola da gamba. The results of his lesson(s) with Bocchi can be seen in DRc Bamburgh M70 where Finch copied sonatas Nos. 1, 2 and 4 which he described as 'Emdendata' or 'Alter'd by' Bocchi (rev. pp. 66-75). Before these corrections Finch copied a G major sonata by Bocchi (rev. pp. 62-65). The piece was probably written for Finch as the solo melodic writing is certainly simpler than the majority of Bocchi's sonatas in *A Muscull Entertainment for a Chamber*.<sup>83</sup> As Finch copied both the original and substantially revised and modernised versions, it is possible to examine the extent of Bocchi's revisions and corrections.

Finch's sonatas follow the Italianate form of three or four movements. Bocchi on the most part does not alter the sequence of movements, the exception being in Finch's Sonata No. 4 in G major, where he interchanged the second and third movements. Here Bocchi placed Finch's 'Pastorale' after a newly composed and shorter adagio section. In the relative minor (rather than the tonic), this better links the opening movements and utilises a series of punctuating modern Vivaldian chords. The movement concludes with a Phrygian progression descending by step from E minor onto a B major chord (see Example 2.3). Bocchi recomposed Finch's bass line in the 'Pastorale' and added slur markings (see Example 2.4). Although Bocchi retained Finch's underlining chords, he

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<sup>82</sup> Peter Holman, 'A Little Light on Lorenzo Bocchi', in *MBP*, pp. 61-86.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61-86 (p. 69).

simplified the harmonies with more stylistically appropriate dominant and tonic chords in root position. Bocchi chose not to alter Finch's melody in the first sonata in D major, but again utilised a more static bass and slower harmonic motion (particularly in the slow movements). Finch's modulations in the first movement – to the dominant (b. 5) and relative minor (b. 10) – are more defined in Bocchi's revision. Similarly, the rhythm and harmony of the opening theme are clarified (b. 1) and Finch's harmonic sequences tightened. Bocchi also offers greater interplay between parts – compare for instance bb. 5-10 (see Example 2.5). In Finch's second sonata, Bocchi composed a shorter adagio movement over a pedal in the bass with rapid ornamentation in the treble part. Bocchi corrected Finch's melodic line in the saraband-like 'Affetuoso' to avoid consecutives and/or bare fifths between the melody and bass, and to improve Finch's often angular and amateur bass line (see Example 2.6). In the final movement Bocchi made few melodic changes, instead the majority of changes are made to the bass part. This was to clarify and modernise Finch's harmony and replace his rapid passing modulations with simpler harmonies. For example, Bocchi used a pedal in bb. 14-17 of the last movement to harmonise Finch's descending sequence, which originally passed rapidly through a series of keys (see Figure 2.7).

**Example 2.3** Lorenzo Bocchi's added Adagio second movement in a revision of Edward Finch's Sonata No. 4; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 67

The musical score consists of three systems of piano accompaniment in 3/2 time, with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes treble and bass staves with notes and rests, and figured bass notation below the bass staff.

**System 1:** Treble staff contains notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Bass staff contains notes G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2. Figured bass: 6, 4, 2, 5♯, 4, 2.

**System 2:** Treble staff contains notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Bass staff contains notes G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2. Figured bass: 5♯, #, #, 6, 4, #3.

**System 3:** Treble staff contains notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. Bass staff contains notes G3, F#3, E3, D3, C3, B2, A2, G2. Figured bass: 6, 6, #.

**Example 2.4** (a) Edward Finch, Pastorale, Sonata No. 4; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 24;  
 (b) Lorenzo Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 68

(a)  
 □

**Pastorale**

The musical score consists of four systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The piece is titled 'Pastorale'. Below the bass staff of each system, guitar fingering numbers are provided. The first system contains measures 1-3, the second system measures 4-6, the third system measures 7-9, and the fourth system measures 10-12. Measure numbers 4, 7, and 10 are indicated at the start of their respective systems. The score concludes with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

6 7      5 $\frac{1}{2}$       6      7      5 $\frac{1}{2}$       6      5 $\frac{1}{2}$       6

6      6      5 $\frac{1}{2}$

4

#      6 5      5 $\frac{1}{2}$  7      5 $\frac{1}{2}$       6      4      5 $\frac{1}{2}$

4 #3      6

7

5 $\frac{1}{2}$       5 $\frac{1}{2}$       6      #      #      6 5      #      #

6      6      4 #3

10

#      7      4 6 7      7      6      6

#      5

(b)

□

Pastorale

Measures 1-3 of the piece. The treble clef staff contains a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and slurs. The bass clef staff contains a bass line with notes and rests. Fingering numbers are written below the bass line: 7, 8 7, 6 5 8 7 6 6, 4 5.

Measures 4-6. Measure 4 starts with a fermata over the first measure. The treble clef staff has a melodic line with slurs and accents. The bass clef staff has a bass line with notes and rests. Fingering numbers are written below the bass line: 6 6 4 6 6 4 #3, 7, 5 2.

Measures 7-9. Measure 7 starts with a fermata over the first measure. The treble clef staff has a melodic line with slurs and accents. The bass clef staff has a bass line with notes and rests. Fingering numbers are written below the bass line: 6 5 7 6 6 6 6 6 4 6 6 4 #3, 6, 4 5 2.

Measures 10-13. Measure 10 starts with a fermata over the first measure. The treble clef staff has a melodic line with slurs and accents. The bass clef staff has a bass line with notes and rests. Fingering numbers are written below the bass line: # 7, 4 6 6, 7 4 3, 4 3, 2.



**Example 2.5** (a) Edward Finch, Sonata No. 1, first movement; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 12;  
 (b) Lorenzo Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 68  
 (a)

**Andante**

The musical score is presented in six systems, each containing a treble and bass staff. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. Measure numbers 1, 4, 7, 11, 15, and 17 are marked at the beginning of their respective systems. The piece concludes with a double bar line and repeat dots at the end of the sixth system.

(b)

Adagio

Musical notation for measures 1-4. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes a treble clef and a bass clef. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes. Measure 1 has a fingering of 6 5 4 3 6. Measure 2 has a fingering of 6. Measure 3 has a fingering of 6 5. Measure 4 has a fingering of 6 5.

Musical notation for measures 5-7. Measure 5 has a fingering of 4# 6 6 4 #3 2 5. Measure 6 has a fingering of 6 5. Measure 7 has a fingering of 6 5 6 5 6 5 6.

Musical notation for measures 8-10. Measure 8 has a fingering of #. Measure 9 has a fingering of # 6 6 4 [#]. Measure 10 has a fingering of 6 6 8.

Musical notation for measures 11-13. Measure 11 has a fingering of 4 8 4 6 5 2. Measure 12 has a fingering of 4# 6 6 4 #3 2. Measure 13 has a fingering of 6 4 3 5.

Musical notation for measures 14-15. Measure 14 has a fingering of 6 4 3 5. Measure 15 has a fingering of 7 4 3.

Musical notation for measures 16-18. Measure 16 has a fingering of 7 5 6 5 3 4 3. Measure 17 has a fingering of 7 4 3. Measure 18 has a fingering of 7 4 3.

**Example 2.6** (a) Edward Finch, Sonata No. 2, Affetuoso; DRc Bamburg M70, rev. p. 17; (b) Lorenzo Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 73

(a)

**Affetuoso**

7 5 5 # 4 7 4 3 6 6 5 6 5 4 2  
6 4 3

6 5 # # 6 7 6 6 7 6 8  
4 #3 #

# 6 # 6 4 #3 # 6 6 6 5 6 6 6 6  
# 6 # 6 5 4 #3

6 5 # 6 6 5 4 #3  
# 5 # 5 6

(b)



Musical notation for measures 1-6. The piece is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is in the treble clef, and the bass line is in the bass clef. Measure numbers 1 through 6 are indicated above the staff. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the bass line.

Musical notation for measures 7-13. The piece continues in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp. Measure numbers 7 through 13 are indicated above the staff. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the bass line.

Musical notation for measures 14-20. The piece continues in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp. Measure numbers 14 through 20 are indicated above the staff. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the bass line.

Musical notation for measures 21-24. The piece continues in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp. Measure numbers 21 through 24 are indicated above the staff. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the bass line.

Musical notation for measures 25-30. The piece continues in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp. Measure numbers 25 through 30 are indicated above the staff. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the bass line. A double bar line is present at the end of measure 30.

**Example 2.7** (a) Edward Finch, Sonata No. 2, final movement; DRc Bamburg M70, rev. p. 19; (b) Bocchi's revision; rev. p. 75

(a)

The musical score consists of five systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 6/8. The guitar tablature is written below the bass staff.

**System 1 (Measures 1-6):**  
 Treble staff: 1-6. Bass staff: 1-6. Tablature: 4 3, ♯ 6, 6 4 ♯3, ♯ 6 7, ♯ 6 ♯, ♯ 4 ♯3.

**System 2 (Measures 7-12):**  
 Treble staff: 7-12. Bass staff: 7-12. Tablature: ♯ 6 6, 6, 4 ♯3, ♯, ♯, 4, 6 4 ♯3, ♯, 6, ♯, 4, 2.

**System 3 (Measures 13-18):**  
 Treble staff: 13-18. Bass staff: 13-18. Tablature: 6 4 3, 6♯ 5 ♯ 6 5♯, 6 5♯, 6♯ 5 ♯, 6♯ 5 ♯ 6 5♯, ♯ 6 7 ♯ 4 ♯3, ♯, 6♯ 5 ♯.

**System 4 (Measures 19-24):**  
 Treble staff: 19-24. Bass staff: 19-24. Tablature: 6 5, 6 5♯, 6♯ 5 ♯ 6 5♯, ♯ 6 7 ♯ 4 ♯3, 6 6♯, 6, ♯ 4 6 ♯ 6 5, 6, 4, 4, 4.

**System 5 (Measures 25-30):**  
 Treble staff: 25-30. Bass staff: 25-30. Tablature: 4 3 6 5, 6, 4 ♯3, 4, 4 3, 6 5, 6, 4 ♯3. A *Piano* marking is present in the treble staff at measure 27.

(b)

Musical notation for measures 1-6. The piece is in G major and 6/8 time. The bass line includes the following fingering numbers: 4 3, 7 4 3, # 6 4 3.

Musical notation for measures 7-12. The piece is in G major and 6/8 time. The bass line includes the following fingering numbers: 4#3, 6 # 4, 4#3, 6.

Musical notation for measures 13-18. The piece is in G major and 6/8 time. The bass line includes the following fingering numbers: 4 3 6, 6# 5 4# 4# 3, 6 4# 2 4 2, 6 8 6, # 5 4# 7 4# 3, 6 5 8, 5 #3 2 #3 2 5, 4 5 6 8 6, 5 6 4, 4 5 4, 3 5.

Musical notation for measures 19-24. The piece is in G major and 6/8 time. The bass line includes the following fingering numbers: 6 6 5# 4 4 5# 4 6 # 6 # # # 5# 7 4 #3, 6# 6 6, 6 6 4 3, 7 6 6, 7 7, 7 8 6, #, 4.

Musical notation for measures 25-30. The piece is in G major and 6/8 time. The bass line includes the following fingering numbers: 6 6 6, 6 4 3, 6 6 6, 6 6 4 3, 5, 5.

## 2.5 Finch's York circle

Upon his appointment at York, Finch entered an already rich musical environment. Thomas Wanless was the Minster organist and the choir consisted of six boys (who were paid £4 a year) and a cohort of vicars choral.<sup>84</sup> By the turn of the eighteenth century the vicars choral were an independent body, and occasionally appointed professional singers to assist in services.<sup>85</sup> Finch's brother, Henry, was Dean of York between 1702 and 1728, and likely influenced his appointment as a prebendary. Henry appears to have also taken an active interest in the musical life of the establishment – he wrote a voucher on 3 January 1713 requesting: 'Pray pay to Mr [Charles] Bardon Two shillings & sixpence for pricking Mr Purcell's Evening Service in G'.<sup>86</sup> However, the accounts show that Bardon, a minor canon at St Paul's Cathedral from 1698 to 1716, was only paid 2s. 3d..<sup>87</sup> Finch's circle of contacts at York included other members of the clergy and musicians employed by the Minster, and he enjoyed and benefited greatly from this rich musical culture (see Table 2.2). Edward Finch and Valentine Nalson, and William Knight and Nalson collaborated on composing some Anglican chants (see Figure 2.20). Nalson's *Twenty Sermons on General Subjects: Most of them Preached in the Cathedral of York* (London: Hildyard, 1724) were dedicated posthumously to Edward and Henry Finch. Similarly, Knight left Edward Finch money in his will for him to buy a ring in his remembrance.<sup>88</sup> The trio had mutual interests, copying and collecting music by Purcell, the Fiocco family of Brussels and Italian music, particularly vocal works by Steffani.<sup>89</sup> In addition to their shared residencies in York, Finch, Nalson and Knight were all educated in Cambridge for a period of time, no doubt they pursued their musical interests alongside their studies. Their likely musical

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<sup>84</sup> Y E2 (6) CYM, for example, 24 March 1723.

<sup>85</sup> See Griffiths, *A Musical Place*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>86</sup> St Peter's Account Vouchers E2 (PV), quoted in Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library*, p. 233.

<sup>87</sup> St Peter's Accounts 1667-1720, E2 (22), quoted in David Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Printed Music Published before 1850 in York Minster Library* (York: York Minster Library, 1977), p. 92.

<sup>88</sup> Borthwick Institutes of Archives, York, Prerogative Court of York, October 1739.

<sup>89</sup> See Griffiths, 'Music in the Minster Close', pp. 45-59 (pp. 52-54).

contacts and acquaintances in Cambridge may have included the Fullers (senior and junior), Thomas Tudway, and James Hawkins (organist of Ely Cathedral) and Charles Quarles (senior and junior).

**Table 2.2** Clergy and musicians at York Minster in the early eighteenth century

<u>Clergy</u>	<u>Role</u>	<u>Date of appointment</u>
Edward Finch (1663-1738)	Prebendary	1704
Valentine Nalson (1683-1723)	Subchanter	1708
William Knight (1684-1739)	Subchanter	1722
<u>Musicians</u>		
Thomas Benson (d. 1742)	Master of the Choristers	1698
Charles Quarles (d. 1727)	Organist	1722
Edward Salisbury	Organist	1728



**Figure 2.20** Chant composed by Edward Finch and Valentine Nalson; Y M83, p. 67

Thomas Benson, Master of the Choristers at the Minster between 1698 and 1742, collaborated with Finch on two movements from his set of eleven solo sonatas. Benson, a local man, was admitted a songman at York Minster in 1697 and between 1714 and 1741 he was organist of the neighbouring church St Michael-le-Belfrey.<sup>90</sup> Benson composed a gigue for Finch's Sonata No. 6, which Finch dated: 'Febr: 2d / 1718[/9] / This Gigha by Mr Tho: Benson'.<sup>91</sup> The final movement of Finch's Sonata No. 5 is also dated: 'X<sup>t</sup>mas / 1718 / EF & [th]e Presto / by T. Benson'.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Y E2(6) CYM, 8 October 1706; Borthwick Institute of Archives, York, St Michael-le-Belfrey churchwardens' accounts, PR Y/MB 33-34; Francis Collins (ed.), *Registers of St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York* (Leeds: Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 1901), p. 257.

<sup>91</sup> DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. f. 33.

<sup>92</sup> Armstrong-Finch MS, p. 147.



Edward Salisbury, a student of Maurice Greene, was appointed as Charles Quarles's successor on 13 February 1728.<sup>93</sup> Salisbury came into conflict with the Dean and Chapter of York over his absenteeism, and was consequently dismissed. Finch and Salisbury appear to have been good acquaintances. The *York Courant* of 23 January 1739 reported:

Mr Salisbury, formerly Organist of the Minster, and who, since his Removal from that Place, had a constant Salary paid him, by the Generosity of the late Hon. and Rev. Mr. Finch, 'till the Death of that worthy Gentleman, was last week chosen Organist of Trinity College in Cambridge.

Collaboration with his colleagues continued, as Finch was responsible for two copies of Salisbury's working of the secular round 'Hey ho, to the greenwood' set to the words of Psalm 117 'O praise, praise the Lord all ye heathen'.<sup>94</sup> According to Finch, Salisbury added a 'Walking Thorough Bass, All of which make a Good Full Anthymn, In Imitation of Mr. Maurice Greens Excellent Anthymn Begining Lord Let me Know my End' (see Figure 2.21). Therefore the practice of adapting and arranging music was not an activity solely employed by amateur musicians. Finch also copied into DRc Bamburgh M70 an adaptation made by Edward Salisbury, in which he set some of Steffani's music to verses of Psalm 137 'By the waters of Babylon' (see Figure 2.22). Here Salisbury was slightly more creative than Finch and added two countertenor and bass vocal lines. Like Finch's adaptations, Salisbury's arrangement was copied into the Minster part-books for performance. DRc Bamburgh M70 demonstrates that Finch had an interest in the sacred music of Greene. Salisbury was a student of Greene, and he almost certainly was responsible for much of Finch's access to the composer's music. Into DRc Bamburgh M70 Finch also copied Greene's anthem 'O clap your hands' (rev. pp. 92-98). Finch must have copied this from an authoritative source as it pre-dates Greene's printed publication *Forty Anthems in Score* (London: John Walsh, 1743). Into the manuscript Finch also had copied (by an unknown hand) Greene's anthem 'O Lord who shall dwell in thy tabernacle' (pp.

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<sup>93</sup> Watkins Shaw, *The Succession of Organists: of the Chapel Royal and the cathedrals of England and Wales from c. 1538* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 319.

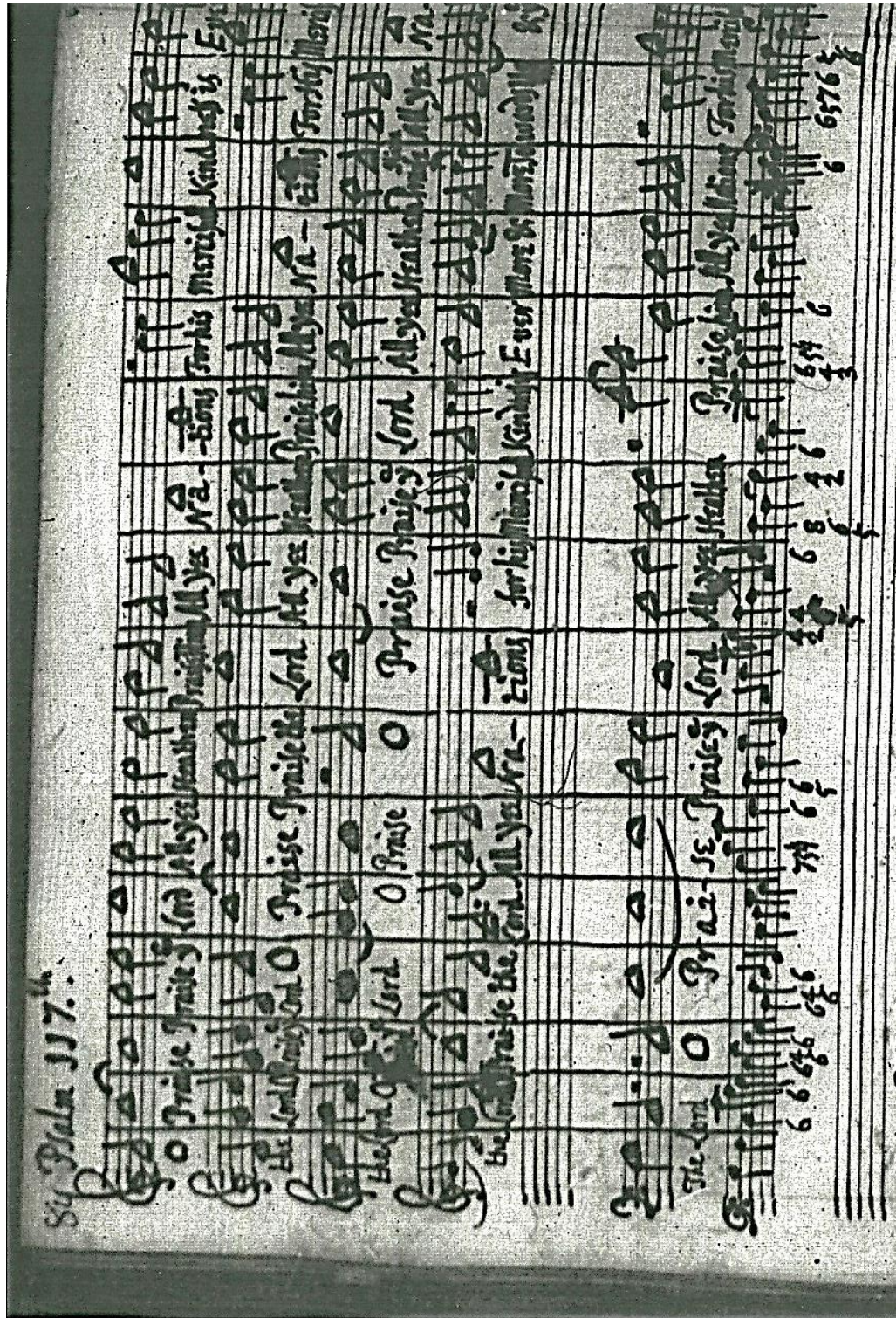
<sup>94</sup> Cu Add. 3135, rev. f. 1; DRc Bamburgh M70, pp. 68-69, 84-85.

109-147).<sup>95</sup> The only other known source of the anthem is a set of instrumental and vocal single parts (in the same hand) held in Ob Mus. d.46. Finch was particularly impressed with Greene's anthem 'Lord let me know mine end', annotating a copy made by Thomas Ellway in Ob Tenbury 1027 as 'the Best Anthym that ever was made' (p. 28).<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Brian Crosby notes that 'Their copyist was active not later than 1738, for Finch himself added the final "Amen" to the same scribe's transcription on an anonymous Service in G [major]'; see Crosby, *Catalogue*, p. xxv.

<sup>96</sup> See Ob Tenbury 1024-1027 for other music in common with DRc Bamburgh M70; these duplicate pp. 70-83, 90-91 and rev. pp. 116-121 and p. 128 of DRc Bambrugh M70. Finch also annotated a copy he made of Greene's anthem 'Lord let me know mine end' in Cu Add. 3135 with the comment: 'Finest Anthymn that Ever was Made'. This manuscript also includes Edward Salisbury's working of the round 'Hey ho, to the greenwood' set to the words 'O praise, praise the Lord all ye heathen'.



**Figure 2.21** Canon by Edward Salisbury 'In Imitation of M<sup>r</sup> Maurice Green'; DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 84



Chorus of two Trebles of the same Harmony to the same continued Base with Addition of two Counter Tenors & a vocal Base By Mr. Salisbury.

Remember — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City

Re-mem-ber — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City

Remember — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City

Re-mem-ber — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City

Remember — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City

Re-mem-ber — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City

Remember — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged paper. It features six staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written in Latin and are repeated across the staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is in a historical cursive style. The text at the top of the page reads: 'Chorus of two Trebles of the same Harmony to the same continued Base with Addition of two Counter Tenors & a vocal Base By Mr. Salisbury.' The lyrics are: 'Remember — the Children of Edom O Lord in the Day of Wrath — Salem Holy City'. The lyrics are repeated on each staff, with some variations in the phrasing and the placement of the notes.

Figure 2.22 English adaptation of Steffani with additional vocal lines by Edward Salisbury; DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 117



Valentine Nalson was a graduate of St John's College, Cambridge and was appointed subchanter of the vicars choral at York Minster in 1708, aged 25. He lived in a house in the Bedern and was later appointed prebendary of Ripon Cathedral in 1713.<sup>97</sup> He was described as:

A truly evangelical pastor of this church; succentor of the choir of the Cathedral with the greatest skill in sacred music [...] How outstanding a preacher for piety he was is testified by his sermons, which on his death he bequeathed to the Christian world.<sup>98</sup>

As subchanter he effectively had control over musical life at the Minster.<sup>99</sup> Finch took full advantage of Nalson's position. The pair collaborated on a couple of chants which were most likely performed during services at the Minster. Y M11 (S) includes a five-part double chant in G major composed by 'Mr. Nalson in conjunct w[i]th Mr. Ed[ward] Finch' (p. 29) and M83 includes another chant in G major described as 'Mr Finch & Nalson's' (p. 67). On pp. 96-97 of US-LAuc Fc6966/m4/a627/1700, in the hand of Daniel Henstridge (c.1650-1736), organist of the cathedrals of Gloucester (1666-1673), Rochester (1673-1699) and Canterbury (1699-1736), are chants ascribed to 'the subschanter of yorke Mr Nalson'.<sup>100</sup> This provides another glimpse of the musical contacts in other religious establishments which this York circle established. Parts of the text-underlay of the Kyrie and Credo of Nalson's Morning Service in G major are in Finch's hand.<sup>101</sup> Finch copied Nalson's adaptation of Jean-Joseph Fiocco's 'O most Blessed who can Praise Thee' into the Armstrong-Finch MS (pp. 36-55).<sup>102</sup> This process of adaptation,

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<sup>97</sup> Frederick Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College: The Story of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster* (London: John Murray, 1952), p. 40; John and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 2 parts, 10 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1922-1954), part 1, vol. 3, p. 232; Y Dean and Chapter of York, Vicars Choral, Subchanter's lease book, II.

<sup>98</sup> Memorial brass inscription, St Martin, translated in Griffiths, 'Music in the Minster Close', pp. 45-59 (p. 53). Valentine Nalson, *Twenty Sermons on General Subjects: Most of them Preached in the Cathedral of York* (London: Hildyard, 1724).

<sup>99</sup> Y Dean and Chapter of York, Vicars choral, Subchanter's lease book, II.

<sup>100</sup> Robert Shay and Robert Thompson, *Purcell Manuscripts: The Principal Musical Sources* (Cambridge: CUP, 2000), p. 224.

<sup>101</sup> Ob Tenbury 1024, ff. 4-27.

<sup>102</sup> The adaptation is attributed to Nalson in Ian Spink, *Restoration Cathedral Music, 1660-1714* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 406; For Nalson's copy see Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in*

also undertaken by Henry Aldrich in Oxford, was an accepted church practice in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Through these adaptations the authors refashioned Italian and continental music for appropriate use in Anglican churches.<sup>103</sup> Nalson's adaptations of the Fioccos' music were part of the Minster's repertoire. The only known evidence that members of the Fiocco family travelled to England is in a reference made by Claver Morris in early July 1724 when 'Signior Fransichelle & Viocca, Two Italian Musicians' arrived in Wells.<sup>104</sup> H. Diack Johnstone has suggested that the first was the cellist Francesco Alborea (1691-1739) and the Viocca to have been Joseph-Hector Fiocco (1703-1741).<sup>105</sup> Nalson also composed a Mass in G major (Kyrie and Gloria) scored for 3 violins, 2 violas, continuo, 2 sopranos, alto, 2 tenors and bass.<sup>106</sup> Passages of the mass were again arranged and adapted from music by the Fioccos. Due to the proscribed position of the mass in Anglican worship at this time and the accompanying string parts, it seems probable that the work was not performed at the Minster, but was written for domestic performance at one of the clergy's music meetings. The mass may have been composed by Nalson during a residency in Brussels. Nalson, like Finch, also had an interest in the music of Purcell and owned a copy of the 1697 print of Purcell's *Te Deum and Jubilate*.<sup>107</sup>

William Knight was appointed as Nalson's successor in 1722. Knight was educated at Eton and went to King's College, Cambridge in 1703, achieving a BA in 1708 and a MA in 1711.<sup>108</sup> He joined the vicars choral at York in 1712. Knight lived in the

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*York Minster Library*, pp. 105-106. For more of Nalson's adaptations of verse anthems by Jean-Joseph Fiocco and his father Pietro Antonio, see Griffiths, 'Music in the Minster Close', pp. 45-59 (pp. 53-54). See also Stefanie Beghein, "'The Famous and New Italian Taste': The Dissemination of Italian Sacred Music in the Southern Netherlands, 1675-1755", *ML*, 94.3 (2013), 433-451.

<sup>103</sup> See Robert Shay, 'Aldrich, Henry', *GMO*.

<sup>104</sup> See Johnstone, 'Claver Morris, an Early Eighteenth-Century English Physician and Amateur Musician Extraordinaire', 93-127 (p. 110).

<sup>105</sup> For biographical details see Lewis Reece Baratz, 'Fiocco', *GMO*.

<sup>106</sup> A set of parts survives in Y M146.

<sup>107</sup> Y P261.

<sup>108</sup> For further biographical information see Anthony Allen, 'Skeleton Collegii Regalis: or A catalogue of all the Provosts, Fellows, & the Scholars of the Kings College', vol. 3, pp. 2022-2023 (Ckc 6843); 'A catalogue of all the Provosts, Fellows, & Scholars [...] in King's College in Cambridge [...] First

house formerly occupied by Nalson in the Bedern, but later moved to the rectory of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, just around the corner from Finch's residence.<sup>109</sup> Knight's interest in music, like that of Finch and Nalson, was probably nurtured during his time at Cambridge. A biographer recorded that Knight was a man 'passionately fond of musick, especially what regards Anthems and other Church Musick in the Pricking and Scoring of which as they call it I think he bestowed an abundance of time and pain'.<sup>110</sup> Similarly, J. M. Knowles recalled how Thomas Gent, a contemporary of Knight's at York, described him: 'In person tall and comely of a pleasant countenance and behaviour. Nor was he less adorned agreeable to his symmetry with a strong sounding and yet melodious voice graced with admirable skill in music'.<sup>111</sup> Knight's passion for music can be gleaned from an extract in his will, in which he detailed how his music was to be bequeathed:

I give all my Church Service and Anthem books in my own handwriting to Mr Wendy Fuller Organist of Kings College in Cambridge & my scores of Italian musick to the use of the organist of York Cathedral for the time being; the five folios of Church Musick & w[ha]t are in my Cupboard in the Quire to the use of the Subchant[e]r of the said Church for the time being, & what Mr Elway has in Mr Coopers hand writing to him while he continues in the church aforesaid, & to his successors in the payment paid by the Prebendary of Wetwang after him; the rest of my scores of Musick and papers of that sort to the use of the Master of the boys in the said Cathedral of York for the time being.<sup>112</sup>

Knight's 'scores of Italian musick' went to James Nares, organist between 1735 and 1756, in the first instance. These included Albinoni's Concerti Op. 5 (copied in 1729 by Charles Murgatroyd), '7 Favourite Strains Pick'd out of [Corelli's Op. 6 Nos. 1-3 and 5-8]' (copied by Knight), two motets by Steffani, and Valentini's Concerti Grossi Op. 7 ('Scor'd in [th]e year 1716 by William Knight'), and concerti grossi by Geminiani.<sup>113</sup> This

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collected by Thomas Hatcher [...] afterwards continued by John Scot [...] the whole greatly enlarged by William Cole, etc.' (Lbl 5817, f. 172); and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, part 1, vol. 3, p. 30.

<sup>109</sup> Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, p. 40; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 570; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, *York*, vol. 5, p. 116.

<sup>110</sup> Anthony Allen, *Skeleton Collegii Regalis Cantab*, vol. 3, p. 2022.

<sup>111</sup> J. M. Knowles, *Records of the Musicians & Musical Services in York Minster with Notes Thereon*, vol. 1, p. 144 (Y Add.157/1).

<sup>112</sup> Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Probate records, 25 August 1739.

<sup>113</sup> Y M73, M28, M154 and M86 respectively.



again provides evidence of the large amount of Italian repertoire the clergy at York had access to and the extent of their arranging activities for performance in the music club.

Evidence of collaboration extending from the Minster to other provincial cathedrals can be seen in a copy of Albinoni's *Concerto à cinque*, Op. 5 in Y M73. The work bears the note: 'Albinoni's 5<sup>th</sup> Work Scor'd / by Charles Murgetroyd [*sic*] Organist / of Lincoln for W. Knight of York. / Finished May 1729'. Knight also bought a score of Henry Purcell's *Ode to St Cecilia* ('Hail, bright Cecilia' Z328) from Charles Quarles's widow in January 1718.<sup>114</sup> The work was copied from an authoritative source as it listed the vocal soloists: Mr Barns, Mr Bowman, Mr Boucher, Mr Hill, Mr Howel and Mr Turner.<sup>115</sup> Printed music in Knight's possession included (with parts): Sebastiano Cherici, *Motetti sagri* Op. 4 (Antwerp, 1689), Carlo Antonio Marino, *Sonate à tre* Op. 7 (Amsterdam, 1706) and Henrico Albicastro, *Sonate da camera à tre* Op. 8 (Amsterdam, 1704/5).<sup>116</sup>

Finch's York circle also included Sir Darcy Dawes, the eldest son of William Dawes, the Archbishop of York. Darcy Dawes graduated from St Catherine's College, Cambridge in 1720. His account book for the years April 1723 to May 1732 is preserved in Y Add. 65/1. This records references to a York music club, the earliest being in November 1725, in which he spent 2s. 'at [th]e music club'. He was almost certainly acquainted with the Finch brothers as his account book recorded payments to the clergymen's servants. For example, on 28 August 1724 Dawes noted that he paid 2s. 'At [th]e George', gave 2s. 6d. to 'Mr Finch's Servant' and spent 5s. 'At [th]e Minster'. He was a regular subscriber to the music club at York – payments were made frequently between 1725 and 1727. He also met Edward and Henry Finch in York in January 1727, August 1727 and January 1728 (again listing payments to their servants). On 21 December 1727 Dawes gave 'Mr Cowper [Cooper] [th]e Singing Man' £1 1s. and on 2 December 1726 he paid 14s. 6d. to 'Mr Cowper for writing musick'. John Cooper (*d.*

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<sup>114</sup> Y M9S.

<sup>115</sup> See Henry Purcell, *Ode on St Cecilia's Day 1692*, ed. by Peter Dennison, *Purcell Society Edition* 8 (London: Novello & Co., 1978).

<sup>116</sup> Y P3/1-7 S, P230 S and P229 S respectively.

1730) was a songman in the Minster choir and music copyist. Between 1715 and 1728 he was paid on twenty one occasions by the Minster for copying music.<sup>117</sup>

Like Finch, Dawes had first-hand experience of the London musical scene. Among his London expenses included payments to ‘Mr Loeillet’ for music lessons on the flute and harpsichord (21 May 1724, 20 May 1725 and 7 May 1729). This was probably with John Loeillet, perhaps at the recommendation of Edward Finch. Dawes also paid ‘Mr Loeillet for A Harpsicord’ (£52 10s.) on 25 January 1724, and also bought music books, four flutes (presumably of different types and sizes), a violin and an organ from John Harris. He paid John Bressan, a flautist and recorder player, and member of the band of Drury Lane between 1720 and 1733, over £10 for some ‘flutes’ on 21 May 1725.<sup>118</sup> In addition, Dawes appears to have had flute lessons with Francesco Barsanti: his accounts note that he ‘Paid Mr Barsanti 3 months’ £3 3s.. The Italian led the local music society band when he visited York during the 1730-1731 season. Barsanti was an oboist and flautist, and perhaps taught Dawes whilst in York. Other Italians Finch may have come into contact with whilst he was resident in York include the violinist Signor Cattani, who was also employed by the York Music Assembly in 1732.<sup>119</sup> Both Finch and Dawes enjoyed a strong relationship with the capital and both regularly travelled between these centres. This was important for members of the provincial population and enabled them to enrich their social contacts and advance their musical education and interests.

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<sup>117</sup> Y Dean and Chapter of York, St Peter’s accounts, E2/22.

<sup>118</sup> ‘Pui Bressan’ in Lyndesay G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind Instrument Makers*, 6<sup>th</sup> edn (Edinburgh, 1960). For the popularity of transposing recorders in the early eighteenth century, see Dale Higbee, ‘On Playing Recorders in D: Being a Short History of the Odd-Sized Recorders and Concerning the Revival of the Voice Flute & Sixth Flute’, *The American Recorder*, 26.1 (February 1985), 16-21; and David Lasocki and Helen Neate, ‘The Life and Works of Robert Woodcock, 1690-1728’, *The American Recorder*, 29.3 (August 1988), 92-104.

<sup>119</sup> Chevill, ‘Music Societies and Musical Life in Old Foundation Cathedral Cities, 1700-1760’, p. 89.

## 2.6 Finch's wider connections

Described by Nicholas Temperley as 'a rare example of a musical clergyman', Finch took an active interest in musical matters in many of his parish appointments.<sup>120</sup> Shortly after being elected rector at Wigan he was involved in a dispute over the positioning of the new organ within the parish church. The old organ was situated in a gallery in or near the arch between the nave and chancel. It was destroyed during the Commonwealth period and replaced in 1680 by a pew reserved for the mayor and the town corporation. The purchase of an organ was proposed in 1696 but opposition was strong and instead a gallery for singers was constructed. In 1709, with support from the churchwardens, Finch ordered that the pew was pulled out and a new organ erected 'while the rents from the west end gallery, originally intended for the singers, were appropriated to the organist's salary'.<sup>121</sup> In 1707 a parishioner died and left the parish £200 towards the purchase of an organ. Finch offered to pay for its installation out of his own pocket. He pointed out that the organ, when built, 'will be able to keep those that sing together, and upon this account will be a work of great use and ornament, and add much decency and solemnity in the worship of God'.<sup>122</sup> However, the ejection from their gallery pew enraged some members of the corporation and led to a long legal dispute. The case was finally decided in Finch's favour in 1712, but he resigned his rectorship the following year before the new organ was brought into use.

In addition to his desire to improve congregational singing, Finch was a keen supporter of the upkeep of church architecture, subscribing to the 1718 Beverley Minster restoration fund.<sup>123</sup> Finch was a patron of music and appears to have taken steps to

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<sup>120</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1979), vol. 1, p. 110.

<sup>121</sup> 'The parish of Wigan: Introduction, church and charities', in *A History of the County of Lancaster*, ed. by William Farrer and J. Brownbill, vol. 4 (1911), pp. 57-68 <[www.british-history.ac.uk](http://www.british-history.ac.uk)> [accessed 11/03/2014].

<sup>122</sup> Quoted in Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, p. 110. See also G. T. O. Bridgeman, *The History of the Church and Manor of Wigan, in the County of Lancaster*, vol. 3, Chetham Society Historical and Literary Remains connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Cheshire, new series, 17 (1889).

<sup>123</sup> Hull History Centre, Hull, BC IV/14/1.

improve the quality of music at York Minster. The recently rediscovered Armstrong-Finch MS appears to have been copied by William Armstrong (*d.* 1717) around 1705 at Finch's request, into which he later added music.<sup>124</sup> Armstrong was employed as a copyist by persons connected with the Italian opera company in London. Finch was probably influential in the appointment of London musicians to positions at York, particularly the organists Edward Salisbury and James Nares (both Chapel Royal musicians) in 1728 and 1735 respectively.<sup>125</sup> Finch's influence may also have been felt on the appointment of George Hayden (*d.* 1722) as a songman from 1704 to 1712.<sup>126</sup> Hayden, a London singer and organist, was a pupil of John Blow and Jeremiah Clarke.<sup>127</sup> His *Six new Songs, with Full Symphonies, after the Italian manner* (advertised in 1713) were likely composed during his residency at York.<sup>128</sup>

There are hints within Finch's music collection that his extensive network of contacts included Henry Purcell. As we have seen, there are suggestions of a personal acquaintance in the pedagogical material preserved in Ge Euing, R.d.39.<sup>129</sup> Of particular interest is Finch's apparently unique copy of Purcell's Sonata in G minor Z780.<sup>130</sup> Finch copied the sonata onto two staves without including a bass viol part. He was probably working from single parts, perhaps in Purcell's hand, after the bass viol part had become separated from the others.<sup>131</sup> Finch's interest in Purcell's music is further evinced by a

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<sup>124</sup> See Holman, 'A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found', 469-487.

<sup>125</sup> Shaw, *The Succession of Organists*, p. 319; Watkins Shaw, 'Nares, James', *GMO*.

<sup>126</sup> See Griffiths, 'Music in the Minster Close', pp. 45-59 (p. 58); Hayden's appointment is recorded in Y Dean and Chapter of York, Chapter Acts, H6, f. 16.

<sup>127</sup> Malcolm Boyd and H. Diack Johnstone, 'Hayden, George', *GMO*.

<sup>128</sup> See Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660-1719)', *RMARC*, 1 (1961), 1-107 (p. 86). No known copy of the collection survives.

<sup>129</sup> See above, pp. 24-25.

<sup>130</sup> Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 68-71.

<sup>131</sup> See Holman, 'A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found', 469-487 (p. 477).

copy of Purcell's verse anthem *O Give Thanks unto the Lord* (Z33) and an arrangement he made of the Adagio from Purcell's 'Golden' Sonata Z810.<sup>132</sup>

Finch is likely to have owned a lost manuscript from which Cfm 183 was derived. It was copied by 'Mr Starky' of Oxford in 1781 and bears the note: 'The foregoing Anthems were transcribed from an antient MSS. in the possession of Messrs. Sharp of the Old Jewry, and bequeathed to that [...] Family [...] by the Revd. Dr. Finch, formerly Dean of York'. From what we know about Edward's musical interests, there is a strong possibility that the author of the note was confusing the Finch brothers. The manuscript contains a selection of Purcell's symphony anthems, including *My Heart is fixed O God* Z29, *Praise the Lord O my soul and all that is within me* Z47, *I will give Thanks unto the Lord* Z21, *Unto thee will I cry* Z63, *I was glad when they said unto me* Z19, *Behold now praise the Lord* Z3, *It is a good thing* Z18, *O praise God in his Holiness* Z42, *In thee O Lord do I put my Trust* Z16, *The Lord is my Light* Z55, *Rejoice in the Lord always* Z49, *Why do the Heathen* Z65, *My Heart is inditing* Z30 and *Behold I bring you glad Tidings* Z2. The copy of *Rejoice in the Lord always* Z49 lacks the inner string parts, as in the holograph copy in the Lbl R.M.20.h.8.<sup>133</sup>

Purcell's influence can also be felt on Finch's own compositions. In his Sonata No. 11 in D major, the last of the sequence, he used the popular tunes 'Turn again, Whittington' and 'The Hemp-dresser, or The London Gentlewoman' in the bass part of the second and fourth movements respectively.<sup>134</sup> The sonata is entitled 'On the Bells / & / Hempdresser' (in Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 157-161) and dated 18 February 1720 (in DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 56-59). Finch was probably influenced by Purcell's placing of the popular tunes 'Lilliburlero' in the Jig from his suite of the play *The Gordian Knot Unty'd* (1691) Z597/5.<sup>135</sup> Finch's first movement which is based on a repeated scale

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<sup>132</sup> Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. pp. 24-34 and rev. p. 1 respectively; Henry Purcell, *Sacred music Part V: Continuo anthems Part II*, ed. by Robert Thompson, *Purcell Society Edition* 29 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2011), no. 6.

<sup>133</sup> See Henry Purcell, *Sacred Music Part II, Nine Anthems with Strings*, ed. Lionel Pike, *Purcell Society Edition* 14 (London: Novello & Co., 2004).

<sup>134</sup> See William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (London: Chappell, 1859; repr. New York, 1965), pp. 312-313, 515-517.

<sup>135</sup> See Peter Holman, *Henry Purcell* (Oxford: OUP, 1994), pp. 168-170. Purcell used a similar technique in his court odes: 'Cold and raw' in the song 'May her blest example chase' in *Love's goddess sure was blind* (1692) Z331/6; and 'Hey, boys, up we go' in *Ye tuneful Muses* Z344/5. However, due to

in the bass was likely inspired by the Prelude to Purcell's 'Bell' anthem *Rejoice in the Lord always* Z49, of which, as we have seen, he owned a copy.<sup>136</sup> It is possible that Finch composed these sonatas in the late seventeenth century, and the dates provided in DRC Bamburgh M70 and the Armstrong-Finch MS correspond to the date of copying. This would otherwise provide further evidence of his activities of arranging and reworking earlier compositions.

Connections with other composers are also suggested in the Armstrong-Finch MS. Finch copied into the manuscript Thomas Roseingrave's (1691-1766) four-part Gloria Patri in A minor (rev. pp. 56-57). The text is in Latin and the heading reads: '4 Voc: Very Slow 1<sup>st</sup>. Pt. Canon 4 in 2 in Imitation of Stradella set at Venice by Seign<sup>r</sup> Di Tomaso Roseingrave'. The work must therefore have been composed between 1709 and 1713 when Roseingrave was in Italy. Roseingrave was working in London by June 1717, and presumably Finch encountered the musician on a visit to the capital.<sup>137</sup> Finch must have subsequently passed his copy of the Gloria on to John Cooper who copied it, transposed down a tone, for William Knight and added it to the G minor Evening Service attributed to Henry Purcell, but now thought to be by Daniel Purcell.<sup>138</sup> Direct access to the trumpeter and flute player John Baptist Grano (*fl.* c. 1710-1729) is also suggested from a copy of a unique hornpipe and 'Sicilian Air' in E minor (rev. p. 60). Finch provides a note: 'Mr Grano's Composition for the German Flute / made as fast as he could write'.<sup>139</sup>

Finch's connections were not restricted to the capital. He and his close circle were acquainted with Thomas Tudway (c. 1650-1726), the compiler of a six-volume collection

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the private nature of these events it is unlikely that Finch had access to these pieces, unless through personal contact with Purcell.

<sup>136</sup> See Lionel Pike, 'Purcell's "Rejoice in the Lord", all ways', *ML*, 82 (2001), 391-420; and Henry Purcell, *Sacred Music Part II, Nine Anthems with Strings*, ed. by Lionel Pike, *Purcell Society Edition* 14 (London: Novello & Co., 2004), nos. 9A, 9B.

<sup>137</sup> For Roseingrave, see Peter Holman *et al.*, 'Roseingrave: (2) Thomas Roseingrave', *GMO*.

<sup>138</sup> Y M14/2 S, pp. 184-95; see Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library*, pp. 81-82; and Henry Purcell, *Services*, ed. by Bruce Wood, *Purcell Society Edition* 23 (London: Stainer & Bell, 2013), pp. xx-xxi.

<sup>139</sup> For Grano, see J. Ginger and M. Byrne, 'John Baptist Grano', *GMO*; and J. Ginger, *Handel's Trumpeter: The Diary of John Grano* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1998).

of services and anthems commissioned by Lord Harley in the early eighteenth century.<sup>140</sup> The final volume of the collection, begun in February 1717 and completed in 1720, is titled:

A Continuation of [th]e most Modern Celebrated Services & Anthems, us'd in [th]e Cathedral Churches, & Chappells of England, at this day Compos'd, Cheifly, in [th]e Reigne of her Majesty, Queen Anne, by the best Masters / And Collected By Tho[mas] Tudway D.M. Music Professor to the University of Cambridge / A.D. MDCCXX.<sup>141</sup>

It includes a 'Te Deum in Gb / Compos'd in 5 parts / By [th]e Hon[ourable] & Rev[erend] Mr Edward Finch / Residentiary & Prebendary of [th]e Cathedrall Church's of Canterbury & York' (ff. 167r-171r) and 'Grant we beseech thee mercifull Lord / The Collect for [th]e 21th Sunday after Trinity / A Full Anthem in 5 parts. / Compos'd, by [th]e Hon[ourable] & Rev[erend] Mr Edward Finch / Residentiary, & Prebendary of the Cathedrall Church's of Canterbury & York' (ff. 171v-172r). Also included in the volume is Nalson's 'The Morning Service viz: Te Deum / Benedictus in G [...] On [th]e Thanksgiving for [th]e Peace 1713' (ff. 123v-136r).<sup>142</sup> It is unusual that these compositions by amateur composers would be represented by Tudway in his collection of sacred music and strongly suggests a personal connection. This is strengthened by the fact that Tudway shared a period of residency in Cambridge with Finch.<sup>143</sup> Tudway was appointed organist of King's College in 1670 and subsequently organist of Pembroke College. He graduated a Bachelor of Music in 1681 and was appointed honorary Professor of Music in the winter of 1704/5

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<sup>140</sup> The collection is housed in Lbl Harley 7337-7342. See Edward Turnbull, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection', *JAMS*, 8.3 (1955), 203-207; Christopher Hogwood, 'Thomas Tudway's History of Music', in *Music in Eighteenth-Century England: Essays in Memory of Charles Cudworth*, ed. by Christopher Hogwood and Richard Lockett (Cambridge: CUP, 1983), pp. 19-48; and William Weber, 'Thomas Tudway and the Harleian Collection of "Ancient" Church Music', *The Electronic British Library Journal* (1989) <[www.bl.uk/ebj/index.html](http://www.bl.uk/ebj/index.html)> [accessed 01/10/2014].

<sup>141</sup> Lbl Harley 7342.

<sup>142</sup> 'An Ev'ning Service, viz: Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis for 4 voices, ye Chorus 6 parts' by Nalson is also copied into Lbl Harley 7341, ff. 150r-158r.

<sup>143</sup> See above p. 20. Y M109 S, a manuscript of anthems by Tudway and Humfrey copied by John Cooper between 1715 and 1728, again alludes to a personal connection; see Griffiths, *A Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts in York Minster Library*, p. 141. The title on the front cover is in the hand of William Knight.



(however he was later sacked in 1706).<sup>144</sup> Tudway may have visited York, but, more likely, he may have met Finch and Nalson in London or alternatively the clergymen sent the music through their correspondence.

Finch and his York colleagues probably shared Tudway's concerns over the state of English church music: in the preface to volume six he expressed regret that the church and church music were no longer playing their rightful role in society:

How it comes to pass, that Church music only should be so little regarded, in an Age, when Music in generall, is come to such a heighth of improvement as, I appeal to all [th]e musical world, is incomparably beyond what ever was before, must proceed, from [th]e same reason, as that of religion, viz: that in this Age also, when there was never so learned a Clergy, nor learning at so great a heighth, Religion itself should be so attack'd & Orthodoxy in beleif, & worship, so impudently oppugn'd.<sup>145</sup>

Tudway's main complaint was that secular music, particularly Italian opera, was corrupting church music.<sup>146</sup> Nevertheless, Finch and his colleagues shared interests in Italian music (their English adaptations were performed at the Minster) and secular music outside of the religious establishment.

## 2.7 Conclusions

Finch's passion for music and web of contacts were exceptional for a provincial amateur musician in the early eighteenth century. He benefited from the rich musical establishment at the Minster and the shared musical interest of his colleagues Valentine Nalson, William Knight, Thomas Benson, Edward Salisbury and Charles Quarles. The study of networks enriches our understanding and appreciation of musicians and the context in which they worked. As we have seen, there are hints that Finch's network of professional musicians working in London included Henry Purcell, William Armstrong, John Baptist Grano, Thomas Roseingrave, George Frederic Handel, Francesco Geminiani

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<sup>144</sup> Watkins Shaw and Bruce Wood, 'Tudway, Thomas', *GMO*.

<sup>145</sup> Lbl Harley 7342, f. 12.

<sup>146</sup> Lbl Harley 7338, f. 3.

and Farinelli. He was well acquainted with a number of key occupational musicians working in the region and professionals in the capital, and took full advantage of their skills to enrich his own musical culture and education. He also capitalised on the networking opportunities which arose from regular travel to the capital, studying with professionals in London including Gottfried Finger and John Loeliet, and visiting foreign musicians passing through York – Lorenzo Bocchi gave him composition lessons in October 1720. Finch was one of the principal patrons of music at the Minster, and had the wealth and status to secure his lucrative connections. He was proactive in approaching and commissioning influential musician figures to progress his musical education and acquire new music. His connections were influential enough to have two of his vocal compositions (alongside others by his friend Nalson) included in Thomas Tudway's monumental collection of sacred music – the only amateur musicians to be represented within the collection.

Finch was keen to keep up-to-date with current trends in the capital and emerging Italian fashions. He and members of his close circle had first-hand experience of musical life in London and made regular visits to the capital. This was important for members of the provincial population and allowed them to enrich their social contacts and musical education and interests. A fashionable amateur musician, Finch played the recorder and violin in his youth. He owned a variety of wind instruments, including recorders and flutes of different sizes. These allowed him to play violin music without the need for special arrangement – although this would not have avoided excessive octave transpositions.<sup>147</sup> As the Baroque flute was introduced to England and begun to be played by professionals in London, Finch followed fashion and took up the instrument. Consequently he had to compose and arrange music to suit the flute as no printed material was readily available for the instrument. Finch's collection of arrangements and didactic material relating to the instrument was unique – no other individual is known to have possessed such a collection in England in the early eighteenth century.

As we have seen, Finch was very active in composing, adapting and arranging music for different forces and instruments and for use in different contexts – whether for pleasure in domestic and semi-public settings or for worship in the Minster. He had a

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<sup>147</sup> I am grateful to Fiona Smith for this observation.

particular interest in harmonisation and writing rich vocal textures. Finch was part of a larger collaborative network at the Minster undertaking similar practices. This chapter has explored the differing levels of creativity and originality used by members associated with the Minster. The recreative strategies used by Finch and his associates were accepted and not regarded as poor practices – the culture of free adaptation and transformation, as demonstrated by Rebecca Herrisone, extended to both amateurs and professionals associated with this provincial religious establishment in the early eighteenth century.<sup>148</sup> The composer’s original music was not regarded as a set, fixed form, and the use of imitation and emulation in their own compositions were important teaching tools in Finch’s musical education. His circle gained great pleasure and entertainment through music and included professional musicians and skilled amateurs, and it is the extent of their collaboration that distinguishes it from similar groups in the early eighteenth century that have yet come to light. Together its members amassed a substantial music collection, copied each other’s music, collaborated on a number of musical compositions, developed a rich network of notable contacts, and were keen to keep up-to-date with current trends and Italian fashions in the capital. David Griffiths and Peter Holman’s assertion of a ‘Fiocco cult’ at York should be viewed in the context of a wider general trend of collecting and refashioning a significant amount of continental music, particularly by Italian composers, of which Finch was one of the primary instigators.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Herisone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England*.

<sup>149</sup> See Griffiths, ‘Music in the Minster Close’, pp. 45-59 (pp. 52-54); the quotation is taken from Holman, ‘A Purcell Manuscript Lost and Found’, 467-487 (p. 487, n. 59).

### 3 | ‘Musick is better than Cards by far’: John Courtney of Beverley

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth century witnessed a leisure and commercial revolution, which J. H. Plumb coined the ‘commercialisation of leisure’.<sup>1</sup> Recreational activities became increasingly available to the middle and professional classes (including merchants) in provincial towns and were not exclusive to landed family estates and country houses. An affluent middle class had enough money and spare time to spend on music, whether for enjoyment, as a demonstration of prestige and wealth, or self-improvement.<sup>2</sup> John Courtney (1734-1806), a gentleman who lived in Beverley, near Hull, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, is an excellent example of a minor gentleman who pursued a wide variety of social amusements, including primarily dance and music. Between the years 1759-1768 and 1788-1806 he kept a diary. This consists of four volumes and is housed at the Hull History Centre.<sup>3</sup> Courtney’s diary offers us a wealth of new information on social and musical life in the British provinces in the eighteenth

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<sup>1</sup> J. H. Plumb, *The Commercialisation of Leisure in Eighteenth-Century England* (Reading: University of Reading, 1973). See also Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Peter Borsay, ‘Concert Topography and Provincial Towns in Eighteenth-Century England’, in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 19-33.

<sup>2</sup> For Britain as a commercial society, see Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, J. H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982); John Brewer and Roy Porter (eds.), *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993); Joyce Appleby, ‘Consumption in the Early Modern Social Thought’, in *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by John Brewer and Roy Porter (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 162-175.

<sup>3</sup> Shelfmark DDX/60/1-4. The first two volumes of the diary have been published by Susan Neave and David Neave (eds.), *The Diary of a Yorkshire Gentleman: John Courtney of Beverley, 1759-1768* (Otley: Smith Settle, 2001). All references hereafter to the diary are drawn from these manuscript and printed sources.

century. A keen amateur musician, Courtney's passion for music is best summarised in his diary entry of 27 December 1800:

Miss Phill: Cayley & Miss Fanny Cayley, & Revd. Mr. Jackson & his wife drank Tea & supped with us, Miss Phill: Cayley play[']d & sung as did my Son & Mr. Jackson & play'd on the Violin, & we had a very pleasant Evening; Musick is better than Cards by far.

Roy Porter has noted that '[t]he Georgian city was increasingly a social and cultural centre, designed for the spending of surplus money on enjoyments and entertainments'.<sup>4</sup> Beverley, a small provincial market town, was no exception. The town was a thriving social and cultural centre in the eighteenth century, which was patronised by the local gentry, and hosted its own theatre, races, balls, assemblies and subscription concerts. Courtney took full advantage of these leisure activities and had a range of musical interests. He sang, played the organ and harpsichord, and composed a number of country dances and cantatas – one of which, according to Courtney, was apparently printed.<sup>5</sup> He was a regular subscriber to music publications and concerts and also hosted musical soirées at his house to which family, friends, militia officers, and local and visiting professional musicians were invited. His town house was well-equipped for music-making and featured a chamber organ, commissioned from Thomas Haxby (1729-1796) of York, and a space set up for dancing. Courtney regularly dined with prominent townspeople, including clergymen, doctors, militia officers, dancing masters, musicians and actors.

Courtney's twenties and thirties were preoccupied with finding a fitting wife. During this time he approached any eligible young woman to whom he was introduced. The period of courtship between first meeting and proposal was no longer than a month and his advances were rejected on eight occasions. His pursuits were not all in vain and he was at last happily married in Hull in the summer of 1768 – volume two of the diary concludes on his wedding day. When Courtney returned to his diary in 1788, his family responsibilities meant that he took a more passive role in music-making, instead listening to his children and friends perform. Courtney's diary enables us to examine the role music

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<sup>4</sup> Roy Porter, 'Material Pleasures in the Consumer Society', in *Pleasure in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Roy Porter and Marie Mulvey Roberts (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), pp. 19-35 (p. 25).

<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate sources of Courtney's compositions. It is likely that a very small number of copies of the cantata were printed locally in Beverley or Hull; see below, p. 105.

played in his courtship routine, the qualities he looked for in his prospective wife and the extent of the network of musical and non-musical contacts this otherwise unknown minor gentleman of leisure enjoyed. Courtney primarily performed music in a private/semi-private and often intimate domestic setting, although he did pursue other public musical interests and activities by attending concerts, music festivals and theatrical performances. This chapter will examine how music formed a major part of Courtney's identity and, more widely, how music shaped provincial society and culture in the East Riding of Yorkshire during the eighteenth century.

### 3.1 Beverley in the eighteenth century

Beverley, the site of a medieval minster, was the hub of the East Riding of Yorkshire. A visitor in 1703 reported that the town was 'well built, and very seemly; rich, and well populated'.<sup>6</sup> Other eighteenth-century commentators were similarly impressed by the town's beautiful gardens, clean streets and grand houses. Daniel Defoe found Beverley to be a 'large and populous town, though I find no considerable manufacture carried on there. The great collegiate church is the main thing which ever did, and still does, make the town known in the world'.<sup>7</sup> Defoe was 'surprised to find so large and handsome a town within six miles of Hull' and found the minster to be 'a very fair and neat structure'.<sup>8</sup> Similarly in 1697 Celia Fiennes recorded that Beverley was 'a very fine town for its size, its prefferable to any town I saw but Nottingham, there are 3 or 4 large Streetes well pitch'd, bigger than any in Yorke, the other lesser Streetes about the town being equal with them'.<sup>9</sup> Beverley was the principal agricultural trading and processing centre of the

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<sup>6</sup> [P. de Blainville], *A Relation of the Journey of the Gentlemen Blathwayt into the North of England in the Year 1703*, ed. by Nora Hardwick (Bristol: Nora Hardwick, 1977), p. 17.

<sup>7</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, intro. by G. D. H. Cole and D. C. Browning (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1974), vol. 2, p. 236.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 237, 236.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Morris (ed.), *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London: Cresset Press, 1947), p. 86. Fiennes admired the Minster and wrote a comprehensive description (pp. 86-87). For other commentators, see

East Riding and was an important source of entertainment and services to the local land-owning families and minor gentry, hosting yearly races and quarter sessions.<sup>10</sup> The actor and theatre manager Tate Wilkinson (1739-1803) commented that the town had a large number of ‘genteel private families that reside there in a continuance’.<sup>11</sup> By 1770 the town’s population had modestly increased to around 4,000 from below 3,000 in 1721. By the turn of the nineteenth century the population had passed 5,500.<sup>12</sup> During the eighteenth century there were reportedly 150 landed gentry families residing in the East Riding of Yorkshire (excluding the urban centres of Beverley and Hull), compared with, for example, 400 in Northamptonshire and 800 in Kent.<sup>13</sup>

The town’s urban society comprised gentlemen of inherited wealth, serving/retired naval and army officers, merchants, attorneys, doctors and clergymen – individuals who made the most use of and were responsible for the provision of public leisure facilities.<sup>14</sup> There were ample opportunities for the gentry to socialise in Beverley.

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[Anonymous], *A Journey through England in Familiar Letters*, 2 vols (London, 1732), vol. 2, p. 240; Thomas Gent, *The Ancient and Modern History of the Loyal Town of Rippon* (Ripon, 1733), p. 96; and Arthur Young, *A Six Months Tour Through the North of England*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1770), vol. 1, p. 164.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Clark, ‘Introduction’, in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1660-1800*, ed. by Peter Clark (London: Hutchinson, 1984), pp. 13-61 (p. 20).

<sup>11</sup> Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs of His Own Life*, 4 vols (York: Printed for the Author, 1790), vol. 4, p. 52.

<sup>12</sup> See ‘Beverley, 1700-1835: Population and Topography’, in *A History of the County of York East Riding: Volume 6: The Borough and Liberties of Beverley*, ed. by K. J. Allison (Oxford: Published for the Institute of Historical Research by the OUP, 1989), pp. 118-121. For further contextual information, see also Ivan and Elizabeth Hall, *Historic Beverley* (York: Published by William Sessions for Beverley Borough Council, 1973); and Henry Edward Nolloth, *Beverley Minster and Its Town* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1952).

<sup>13</sup> See Barbara English, *The Great Landowners of East Yorkshire, 1530-1910* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 5; David Neave and Edward Waterson, *Lost Houses of East Yorkshire* ([Kingston upon Hull]: Georgian Society for East Yorkshire, 1988), p. 7.

<sup>14</sup> In comparison, the merchant trades ‘flourishing in Hull did not produce merchant princes, and Hull’s social life, unlike that of Liverpool or Bristol, lacked the stimulating splendour of the very rich. But if her merchants were not the richest in the land, Hull nevertheless had an abundance of moderately wealthy men who were generally indistinguishable from “country society”, which readily accepted them’; see Gordon Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Economic and Social History* (London: Published for the University of Hull by OUP, 1972), p. 262. For a discussion of the flexible term ‘gentleman’ and its meanings in the eighteenth century, see Penelope J. Corfield, ‘The Rivals: Landed and other Gentlemen’, in *Land and Society in Britain, 1700-1914: Essays in Honour of F. M. L. Thompson*, ed. by Negley Harte and Roland Quinault (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 1-33; and Rosemary O’Day, *The Professions in Early Modern England, 1450-1800: Servants of the Commonwealth* (London: Routledge, 2014).



For example, on a five-day visit to the town in May 1771, Robert Carlisle Broadley, a young gentleman-merchant from Hull, spent a total of £5 18s., of which 17s. 6d. was for the subscription to and expenses at the assembly, one guinea for the races, 2s. 6d. for a concert, 2s. 6d. for the theatre, and 10s. 6d. for his lodgings:<sup>15</sup>

Got home from Beverley Races – went [th]e 21st Inst[ant] my Expences were viz:

2 Ordinary Dinners	1-4-0
Assembly Expences	0-7-0
Subscription to assembly	0-10-6
[Subscription] to [th]e Race	1-1-0
Lodgings	0-10-6
Maid	0-2-6
Treated 3 Mr Maister's maids to [th]e Play	0-6-0
Gave <?>	0-5-0
House	0-5-6
Ostler	0-2-6
Servants Board Wages	0-9-0
Play	0-2-6
Concert	0-2-6
Barber	0-6-0
Tea & Turnpikes	0-3-6
[Total]	5-18-0

In his brief, but action-packed visit, Broadley had experienced the main highlights of the Beverley social scene. Broadley, in contrast to Courtney, pursued a greater variety of leisure activities (despite his more limited free time), including assemblies, concerts, plays, hunting, horse racing and card games. He was a regular concert subscriber and traveller to the races at Beverley and York. For example, in October 1769 he noted his 'Pettys including Oratorios at Beverley & Play Ticket 2-12-4'.<sup>16</sup> On 21 August 1768 he returned from Scarborough and recorded his expenses:

Got home from Scarborough. I had a Servant & a Couple of Houses – was out 15 days & my expences were ab[ou]t £16-15-0. It is usual to give [th]e musick who play to you [th]e morning after y[ou]r arrival 2/6. I paid 4/ for bathing 8 times & gave [th]e bathing man 2/– I gave [th]e Chamber Maid 5/ The Ostler 5/– & [th]e Boot Catcher 2/6 – w[hic]h last thought it too little.

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<sup>15</sup> Hull History Centre, Hull, DP/146, Journal and Account Book of Robert Carlisle Broadley (1768-1773), 26 May 1771.

<sup>16</sup> The 'Oratorios' must refer to the festival at Beverley Minster to mark the opening of the organ in September 1769; see Table 3.1 and below, pp. 121-122.

Broadley was a successful gambler: between 1768 and 1772 he lost £177 but won £365 4s. 6d.. His winnings paid for his journeys and diverse range of leisure activities, which cost an average of £36 a year.<sup>17</sup>

Beverley's social season revolved around the races, which were established on Westwood in 1690.<sup>18</sup> A race stand was built in 1767 at a cost of £1000 and financed by subscription (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2).<sup>19</sup> It is also surprising that this small market town had its own theatre on Walkergate (built around 1754) and assembly rooms on Norwood, which opened in 1763 (see Figures 3.3 and 3.4).<sup>20</sup> Both these institutions were patronised by members of the local gentry, including Courtney. The receipts for the assembly rooms averaged £93 a year between 1765-1774, £76 between 1775-1784, and £54 between 1785-1794. The militia presence in the town in 1793 resulted in over £80 being taken, in contrast to an average of £35 in the two previous years.<sup>21</sup> The billeting of militia forces (sometimes comprising more than eight hundred men) during 1745-1746, the late 1750s, the early 1760s, and again during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, caused frequent disruption in the town, but boosted the trade of local innkeepers and

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<sup>17</sup> See David Neave, "Violent Idleness": The 18<sup>th</sup>-Century East Riding Gentleman at Leisure', *The Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 11.1-2 (1991), 3-15.

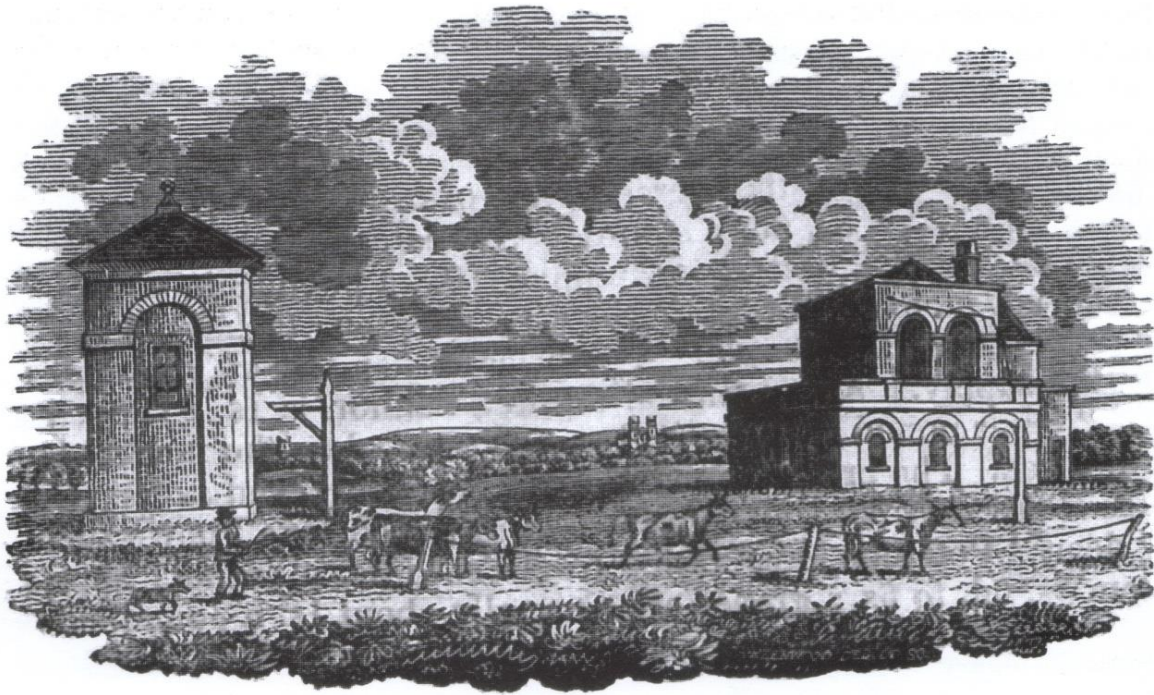
<sup>18</sup> James Gill, *Racecourses of Great Britain* (London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1975), p. 33. For brief histories of music in Beverley, see East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, Y/726.5/BEV, 'The History of Music in Beverley [1987]'; and Alan Spedding, 'Music in the Minster', in *Beverley Minster: An Illustrated History*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Beverley: The Friends of Beverley Minster, 2000), pp. 181-198.

<sup>19</sup> The sum was raised by the issuing of 330 silver admission tickets; see G. Poulson, *Beverlac; or the Antiquities and History of the Town of Beverley*, 2 vols (London: Printed for George Scaum, Beverley, 1829), vol. 1, pp. 448-449.

<sup>20</sup> Assemblies were held in Beverley in the early eighteenth century, see J. Macky, *A Journey through England and Scotland*, 3 vols (London, 1722-23), vol. 2, p. 216. Assize judges were invited to a collation at the assembly room in July 1745, see K. A. MacMahon (ed.), *Beverley Corporation Minute Books (1707-1835)* (Leeds: Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Association, 1958), p. 27. The new assembly rooms cost £1265. A Music Room in Keldgate, described as 'lately rebuilt' in 1753, was not a public room, but an extension of a private residence; see Elizabeth Hall, *Historic Beverley* (Beverley: Beverley Bookshop, 1981), pp. 56-59.

<sup>21</sup> East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, DDBC/21/99, Memorandum of foundation and accounts of the Assembly Rooms, 26 October 1795.

shopkeepers. The educated gentlemen officers were also a welcome addition to the social circle of the town.<sup>22</sup>



**Figure 3.1** Beverley Race Stand, built in 1767 to the designs of John Carr; reproduced from George Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley [...]* (Beverley: Printed and sold by M. Turner, 1829), plate.

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<sup>22</sup> R. W. S. Norfolk, *Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteer Forces of the East Riding, 1689-1908* (Beverley: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1965), pp. 6-22, 28.

# BEVERLEY RACES.

**O**N Tuesday the 14th of *June*, 1763, will be Run for, on *Beverley-Westwood*, in the *East-Riding* of the County of YORK, FIFTY POUNDS, (given by MICHAEL ARCHER NEWTON, Esq; and Friends) by any Horse, Mare, or Gelding, that never won that Value, Matches excepted; Five-year Olds, to carry eight Stone; Six-year Olds, eight Stone nine Pounds; and Aged, nine Stone two Pounds; to run Heats, four Miles each Heat. Certificates to be produced of their Age from the Breeder at Entrance.

On Wednesday the 15th, FIFTY POUNDS, by Horses, &c. Give-and-take, that never won that Value, Matches excepted; fourteen Hands, aged, to carry nine Stone; allowing seven Pounds for every Year under seven; higher or lower, Weight in Proportion; to run Heats, four Miles each Heat. Certificates of their Age to be produced from the Breeder at Entrance.

On Thursday the 16th, a Subscription Plate, by Horses, &c. that never won the Value of Five Pounds, Matches excepted; to carry Weight for age, to run Heats, four Miles each. To enter on Monday the 13th, between the Hours of Four and Eight in the Evening.

On Friday the 17th, the LADIES Plate of FIFTY POUNDS, by Horses, &c. four Years old this Grass, that never won that Value, Matches excepted; to carry nine Stone, to run Heats, two Miles each Heat. Certificates of their Age to be produced from the Breeder at Entrance.

The Owner of every Horse, &c. shall subscribe and pay, on or before the Day of Entrance, Three Guineas towards the next Year's Plates, and one Guinea Entrance to go to the second-best Horse for Stakes.

The Horses for the above Plates to be shewn, entered and measured at ROBERT NORRIS's, at the *Blue Bell*, on Thursday the 9th of *June*, between the Hours of Four and Eight in the Evening.—Three Running-Horses (to be judg'd so by the Subscribers) to enter and start for each Plate, or no Race.—All Horses, &c. shall be agreeable, and run according to such Articles as shall be produced to them at the Time of their Entrance.—The Horses, &c. to stand at the Houses of such Inn-holders only as have subscribed and paid Two Guineas to the above Plates, on or before the 21st of *May*, and who have assisted in collecting the Subscription for the said Plates; and not above four Horses to stand at one House, the Horses, &c. belonging to the Founders and Inhabitants of *Beverley* only excepted.

Pursuant to an Order of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Pasture-Masters, no Person shall break the Ground, to sell Ale and Wine in *Beverley-Westwood* aforesaid, but such Wine-Seller as have subscribed and paid Half a Guinea, and such Ale-Seller Five Shillings to the above Plates; and every Person to take Care to level the Ground as they found it.

A MAIN of COCKS to be fought every Morning during the Races, between the Gentlemen of *Hull*, and the Gentlemen of the *East-Riding*, for four Guineas a Battle, and Forty the Main. An ASSEMBLY every Night during the Races, at the New Assembly-Room.

Figure 3.2 Notice for Beverley Races (1763); East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, DDGR 3/1



# RULES for *Beverley* Assembly - Rooms, 1763.

THAT the Meeting be made up of such Gentlemen and Ladies, as shall Subscribe on the following Terms.

EACH Proprietor to the Rooms to have a Ticket for the Season, on the original Contract.

Each Subscriber for the whole Year, Card- Meetings, and Races included, - - -	} £ s. d.	1	1	0
For the Race Week, - - - - -		0	7	6
For every single Night, - - - - -		0	2	6

THAT the Subscription be open'd, the first Night in the Race Week.

THAT the Assemblies begin on the King's Coronation in every Year, and continue every other Wednesday for Twelve Nights, unless the Committee for the Time being, alter the Night, on Account of a publick Rejoicing, or other particular Occasion.

THAT no Proprietor shall Transfer his Ticket to any Person, unless for the whole Season.

THAT a new Committee be chosen on the Monday preceding the King's Coronation in every future Year: The said Committee to order and direct all ordinary and extraordinary Expences, Ornaments, and Repairs, but shall not lay out in Ornaments or Repairs, a Sum exceeding Ten Pounds without leave from a Majority of the Proprietors, then present to be had at a publick Meeting, (on three Days Notice at the least) to be given them by the Committee for that purpose.

THAT the Committee consist of Three of the Proprietors, to be chosen by Ballot by the rest of the Proprietors; and that one of the Three be chosen Treasurer.

THAT the Treasurer's Lady, or any other Lady he appoints, shall be Manager or Mistrefs of the Ceremonies.

THAT Mrs. *Sarah Webster*, (who hath been appointed for that purpose) do supply the Company with Tea, Coffee, Chocolate, Negus, &c. and provide proper Persons to wait on the Company, clean the Rooms, carry out Tickets, invite Company on particular Occasions, and do other necessary Business belonging to the Assembly: Also to provide Two proper Persons, for all which she is to be paid Seven Pounds a Year.

THAT she be allow'd 2 s. 6 d. per Ounce for Tea, 1 s. an Ounce for Coffee, 2 d. a Dish for Chocolate, (she finding Sugar, Milk, and Toast,) for Wine made into Negus or Cool-Tankard 1 s. 6 d. per Pint, Ditto into Bishop 1 s. 9 d. a Pint, Madeira Negus 2 s. a

Pint, and for Cards 2 s. 6 d. a Pack: That the Persons who Order any of these Things, be Accountable to her for the Value.

THAT in case of the Death or Removal of the said Mrs. *Webster*, another Person shall be chosen to succeed her, by a Majority of Proprietors present at a publick Meeting to be held in the Rooms on ten Days Notice, to be given by the Committee for the Time being, each Proprietor to give a Note for every Share he shall be Possessed of.

THAT the Candles be Lighted at Seven o'Clock, and that no more Candles be allowed or admitted to be Lighted up that Night.

THAT the Music be paid as follows, the Hautboy 3 s. 6 d. and the others 2 s. 6 d. each Night, and that none of the Musicians leave the Room above Half an Hour, on Forfeiture of their Pay for that Night.

THAT if any of the Lustres or other Furniture be broken, the Person or Persons breaking the same shall pay the Damages.

THAT the Servants be not allow'd to come into the outer Room, without being sent for.

THAT the Hackney Coachmen take their Turns in carrying Company and not croud near the Door, and for preventing Confusion and Accidents, the Coaches with Company are to go and come by *Hengate*, and the empty-ones by *Walker-gate*. It is desired that Gentlemen will order their Coachmen to conform to this Rule.

THAT any Person or Persons, (not Proprietors) desiring the Rooms for a private Ball, shall pay to the Treasurer for the Time being, Four Guineas for the Use of the Rooms, and be answerable for, and Pay, all Damages.

THAT Card Meetings be allowed in the Rooms once a Week, each Person (not a Subscriber) to pay 6 d. a Night for the use of the Rooms over and above what is paid for Tea, &c.

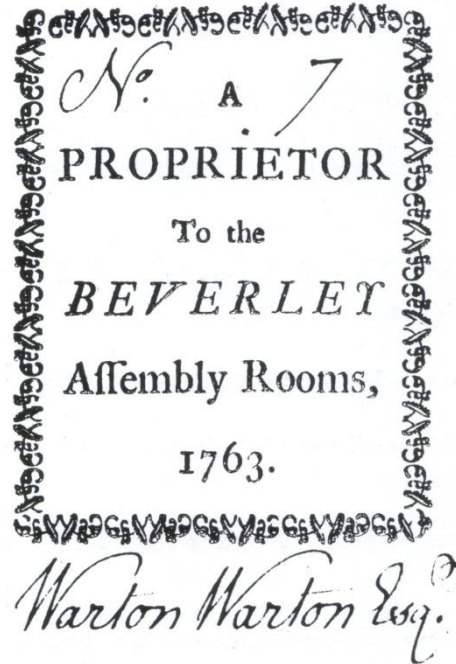
THAT any Person or Persons desiring the Use of the Rooms for a Concert, shall pay to the Treasurer for the Time being One Guinea for the Use of the Rooms, clean the same, and be answerable for, and pay all Damages.

THAT Mrs. *Webster* afore said, do collect the Subscription and Nightly Payments, pay the same to the Treasurer for the Time being, and find Candles both for the Card Meetings, and the Card Tables, on the Assembly Nights; and also Fires for all the Rooms.

HULL: Printed by J. RAWSON & Son, in *Lowgate*, where Copper-Plate Printing is neatly done.

Figure 3.3 Rules for the Beverley Assembly Rooms (1763); East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, DDX 1282/13/2<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> It is interesting to note that the Hautboy was paid 1s. more than the other musicians. This perhaps indicated that they led the assembly room band.



**Figure 3.4** A ticket for the Beverley Assembly Rooms (1763), printed on the back of a playing card; East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, DDX 1282/13/1

### 3.2 The Courtney family

Courtney's father John Courtney (1679-1756), the son of George Courtney, a stonemason of Saffron Hill, Holborn, London, was a senior administrator in the East India Trading Company and became Governor of Surat. His friendship with John Robinson of Buckton (near Bridlington), a merchant in Surat, probably resulted in him moving to Yorkshire and marrying Elizabeth Bourdenand (1702-1770), the daughter of Thomas Featherstone of Beverley and a young widow – Elizabeth married her first husband John Bourdenand in 1721, but he died three years later in 1724. Elizabeth and John married in 1732 and their only child, John, was born on 22 February 1734.

John was educated at the local Grammar School in Beverley under the tuition of Reverend John Clarke (1706-1761) and later went to Trinity College, Cambridge in



1752.<sup>24</sup> Although he studied law he did not enter the legal or any other profession. His uncle wanted him to obtain a preferment in the Church of England, but Courtney greeted the prospect with little enthusiasm. Upon his father's death in 1756, John inherited a large amount of property and wealth.<sup>25</sup> A lot of time was spent with his mother's family: her unmarried sister, Margaret Featherstone (1715-1765), 'aunty Peggy'; her brother, Ralph Featherstone (1700-1764), John's mentor in the absence of his father; and his wife Ann Featherstone (c. 1719-1789). An affluent young man, it was not necessary for him to work. Instead he invested money through his stockbroker in London and managed the family estate, earning income from a number of leased properties. After the death of his uncle, Courtney became head of the family and undertook the management of his mother's and her relatives' property and finances. In the latter period of his life Courtney became involved in public service, sitting on committees concerned with the local militia, drainage schemes and poor charities.

Courtney was an active participant in the genteel social life of the town. His diary shows that he regularly attended dinner parties, tea parties, horse races, concerts, balls, assemblies and theatrical entertainments. For instance, in the course of five days in December 1761 he attended no fewer than three private balls, an assembly and a play (see Appendix D). Courtney also ventured further afield to Hull (for the races), York (for the assizes and assemblies), the spa towns of Harrogate, Scarborough and Bath, the Leeds cloth market, a Birmingham button factory, and the capital. The London social scene was important for a provincial gentleman and enabled him to keep up-to-date with the latest trends and fashions. In the capital he heard music performed by leading theatre musicians in the pleasure gardens of Vauxhall and Ranelagh, witnessed William Boyce (1711-1779) beating time, heard the blind organist John Stanley (1712-1786) perform a concerto, saw David Garrick (1717-1779) perform at the theatre in Drury Lane and saw members of the Royal family at St James's Chapel. He also took an interest in history and the other arts, visiting the British Museum and a Society of Arts exhibition. On his travels he met the authors Laurence Sterne (1713-1768), Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) and the painter

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<sup>24</sup> For Clarke, see Thompson Cooper, 'Clarke, John (1706-1761)', rev. S. J. Skedd, *ODNB*. Clarke was also an alumnus of Trinity College, Cambridge, receiving his BA in 1727 and his MA in 1730.

<sup>25</sup> PRO, PROB 11/826.

William Hogarth (1697-1764). Courtney met Sterne, the author of *Tristram Shandy*, in a York bookshop on 31 May 1760, and became acquainted with Smollett at Harrogate in June 1766, later drinking tea with him at Bath in August/September 1766. It is tempting to think that resonances of Courtney's personality can be felt in the titular character of Smollett's satirical novel *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), who also had a large number of romantic interludes. The novel describes the activities of a provincial gentleman at Bath, Harrogate and Scarborough at around the time Courtney visited these places. Courtney's cousin, Miss Julian Bere, lived with Hogarth and his wife Jane in Leicester Square and on one visit to London, Hogarth showed him his famous satirical election paintings. Clearly Courtney was a gentleman seen in all the right places. His diary not only provides a fascinating account of his social life, but includes details of his financial, business and family affairs and detailed descriptions of local elections, the death of King George II, the declaration of war with Spain, long-distance journeys, graphic and moving accounts of illnesses of family members (many of which were fatal), a solar eclipse and, of course, the inevitable comments on the weather! The later volumes of the diary demonstrate that he was largely preoccupied with family responsibilities and his social outings were largely restricted to Beverley and the surrounding area.

Courtney was twenty-four years old when he began writing his diary in 1758. His university studies were behind him, his inheritance was secure and he was living in Beverley with his widowed mother in Walkergate. The pair regularly socialised together and he appeared to have a dutiful and tender relationship with his mother. Courtney was a domesticated young man and highly respected amongst the local community and minor gentry. The only thing that was missing was a fitting wife.



**Figure 3.5** Engraving of York Assembly Rooms by William Lindley (1759); John Courtney visited the same year



**Figure 3.6** Engraving of York Castle (where the Assizes took place) by William Lindley (c. 1759)

### 3.3 Music and courtship

Few must have had as much trouble as Courtney finding a perfect partner. This eighteenth-century gentleman of leisure spent almost a decade searching for his ideal wife. As Jane Austen famously wrote in *Pride and Prejudice*: ‘It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife’.<sup>26</sup> Prolonged periods of bachelorhood were frowned upon in eighteenth-century society: ‘Bachelors [...] and Maids when long single, are looked upon as houses long empty, which no-body cares to take’, warned Sir Charles Grandison, Samuel Richardson’s

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<sup>26</sup> Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice*, ed. by Tony Tanner (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1985), p. 1.

ideal gentleman in 1754.<sup>27</sup> Courtney's diary recorded in detail this intimate aspect of his life, the turbulence of the eighteenth-century provincial marriage market, the vetting by family and friends, and the rejection facing the unsuccessful suitor.<sup>28</sup> In the space of seven years, he had dealings with eleven different women and generally the period of courtship from first glance to proposal was no more than a month. His advances were rejected on eight occasions – two affairs were nixed by his mother and one gradually fizzled out after his uncle doused the suit.<sup>29</sup>

Courtney actively searched for and chaperoned eligible young women for nearly a decade at resorts, assembly rooms and houses across the East Riding of Yorkshire and beyond. His gentility and respectability were exemplary and gained him easy access to family circles. For the first couple of years he formed no special attachments, merely noting down the names of his dancing partners with comments on their appearance. For example, at Scarborough on 14 August 1759 he 'Danced with the great beauty Miss Knight, a Warwickshire lady'. The assembly room was the optimum venue for mixed-sex socialising and public display.<sup>30</sup> Count Boruwlaski noted the significance of 'brilliant assemblies, which give us so favourable an opportunity to admire the elegant and beautiful

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<sup>27</sup> Samuel Richardson, *The History of Sir Charles Grandison*, ed. by Jocelyn Harris (Oxford: OUP, 1986), p. 428.

<sup>28</sup> For an account of the marriage settlements of the Verney family and the marriage market in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century London, see Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford: OUP, 1999), Ch. 5.

<sup>29</sup> For a brief summary of John Courtney's search for a wife, see K. J. Allison, 'John Courtney went a-courting', *East Yorkshire Local History Society Bulletin*, 42 (Summer 1990), 15-18. This chapter expands upon and updates the material presented in this short article. More recently, Amanda Vickery has briefly examined Courtney's romantic pursuits in *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 71-74. Courtney's musical interests and activities were not the subject of her discussion.

<sup>30</sup> See Amanda Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 1998). Dance was promoted as healthy exercise and improving posture, and was a signal of the wealth and prestige of the family and social class one belonged to. It was reported in Beverley that 'Dancing assemblies [...] are generally both numerous and respectably attended'; see Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley*, p. 432.



features of the ladies'.<sup>31</sup> Dance allowed couples and young people to get closer to one another than would have otherwise been socially acceptable.

It was not until visiting York in 1761 that he formed a significant attachment. Courtney's first two love affairs are perhaps the most interesting and set the pattern. Turning twenty-seven he was just passing the average age of marriage for men.<sup>32</sup> On Tuesday 3 February 1761 Courtney heard a Miss Mary Newsome sing and play 'excessively well' at a domestic tea party and thought her 'a very fine girl in all respects'.<sup>33</sup> After this, his second meeting with her (he had heard her previously at a similar party), he was determined to try his luck. Clearly it was her beauty and fine musical qualities that appealed to him.

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<sup>31</sup> Count Boruwlaski, *Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski: Containing A Sketch of His Travels, with An Account of his Reception at the Different Courts of Europe* (Durham: Printed by Francis Humble and Co., 1820), p. 361. See below pp. 142-144 for more information on Boruwlaski in Beverley and his acquaintance with Courtney.

<sup>32</sup> Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 55. The average age of marriage for women was twenty-two.

<sup>33</sup> Mary's grandmother was Mary Greame, the widow of John Greame (1664-1746), the builder of Sewerby House (later Hall) near Bridlington.



**Figure 3.7** *A Family Being Served with Tea* (c. 1740-1745), oil on canvas; Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut





**Figure 3.8** *Dressing Room à la Française* (1789), printed engraving; Lewis Walpole Library, Farmington, Connecticut. The French dressing room was depicted as a place for flirtation

The social and musical expectations for eighteenth-century women were limited. Music was considered an important accomplishment for middle and upper class girls, and was an important marker of the status and wealth of their families.<sup>34</sup> Although there were, of course, exceptions, women were typically expected and encouraged to sing and play keyboard instruments, such as the harpsichord or spinet. The postures required for playing a woodwind instrument and the viol or cello were especially indelicate. Men, on the other hand, had greater freedom and more diverse opportunities for music-making. For example, it was acceptable for men to play the flute, bowed string instruments (such as the violin or viol) and to perform in public. Roger North thought that for men:

the viol, violin, and the thro-base-instruments organ, harpsicord, and double base, are proper; for weomen the espinnett, or harpsicord, lute, and gittarr [...] And the harpsicord for ladys, rather than the lute; one reason is, it keeps their body in a better posture than the other, which tends to make them crooked.<sup>35</sup>

Music-making for women was largely confined to a private domestic setting, and was considered an important social tool in the display and expression of refinement and sensibility – attributes which were essential in the acquisition of a husband.<sup>36</sup>

Two days later on 5 February 1761 Courtney initiated the affair by calling at Miss Newsome's home and giving her some music, probably songs. No doubt the pair then retired to the drawing room to sing and play through his musical gift. The same evening, he sat behind her at the theatre, treated her with sweetmeats and 'handed her out' to her coach. It was perhaps her voice which most appealed to him: after hearing her sing again at a tea party the following Saturday he wrote 'I was confirmed in my resolution'. He repeated these conspicuous activities over the next week and no one could have been in any doubt about his objective. He was seemingly encouraged by the girl's mother,

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<sup>34</sup> See Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Social-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988).

<sup>35</sup> John Wilson (ed.), *Roger North on Music: Being a Selection from his Essays Written During the Years c. 1695-1728* (London: Novello & Co., 1959), pp. 16-17.

<sup>36</sup> For an interdisciplinary study of attitudes towards women in the eighteenth century, see Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). See also Peter Holman, *Life after Death: The Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), Ch. 7; Peter Holman, 'Ann Ford Revisited', *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 1.2 (2004), 157-181.

Elizabeth Newsome, and grandmother, Mary Greame, who were ‘very free and uncommonly civil’. By 19 February he was able to write ‘I dare say the young lady may begin to guess that I like her’ and the following evening he danced with her in public at the assembly rooms following a concert.

The courtship continued and on Wednesday 25 February he called at her house with another gift of music and the pair ‘played and sang as usual’. The next day he told her family that he loved her and wished to marry her. However, although they liked him very much, they believed that she was not yet old enough for marriage. Nevertheless, he was allowed to speak to Miss Newsome in private and made his declaration to her. He was confident and left the house ‘with hopes of success’. ‘This is the first time’, he wrote, ‘I ever made my addresses to any one’.

However, his hopes were soon dashed. After a tea party on Sunday 1 March Courtney was taken by surprise by the girl’s mother and grandmother who told him not to ‘think any more about Miss’. After what he had taken as the tacit approval of the ladies and the attractiveness of his credentials he was ‘thunderstruck’. Over the next fortnight the affair gradually fizzled out. But Courtney did not give up so easily.

On Thursday 5 March, in an attempt to reignite the spark in the relationship, he brought Miss Newsome two further gifts of music from his own compositional pen: a recent printed copy of his cantata ‘Song of Innocence and Love’ and a manuscript copy of his cantata ‘Temple of Flattery’.<sup>37</sup> She sang through them while he accompanied her on the harpsichord. Throughout the eighteenth century a number of publications were printed which were specifically marketed for women in amateur and domestic circles.<sup>38</sup> Although Courtney’s compositions are not extant, the titles of the pieces described above give us some indication of their content and most were likely intended for the opposite

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<sup>37</sup> The musical sources of these have not been traced successfully. Whether the texts to these two works were by Courtney cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. However, a search by the present author has failed to shed any light on this.

<sup>38</sup> For example, *The Ladys Banquet* or *The Ladies Entertainment* (published by John Walsh in six volumes between 1704 and 1735). The later volumes included arrangements of songs from Handel’s oratorios. For a perspective on German songs published for women in the eighteenth century, see Matthew Head, ‘“If the Pretty Hand Won’t Stretch”: Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany’, *JAMS*, 52.2 (Summer 1999), 203-254. Here Head develops and extends Richard Leppert’s work on English iconography through musical analysis.



sex. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the exact dates of these compositions and whether they were specifically written with Miss Newsome in mind. This last-ditch attempt to flatter Mary and her family into changing their minds unfortunately had no effect. The fate of the affair was sealed on Saturday 14 March when he received a 'civic refusal' of his marriage request from the girl's grandfather in London. By the following Monday his music had been returned, Miss Newsome's mother reiterated that there was no hope and he had a poignant opportunity to play a last bittersweet air called 'Ariadne and Soft Invader of my Soul' to his beloved. He returned to Beverley the next day: 'Thus concluded this affair the first of this kind I was ever engaged in'. He was clearly embarrassed by his failure and it was almost a year before he turned his attentions elsewhere.

In the spring of 1762, turning twenty-eight, Courtney danced with eighteen-year-old Mary Jesse Smelt (c. 1744-1805) at the Beverley assembly rooms and was smitten.<sup>39</sup> He called at her house the next day and she 'played and sang extremely well to my great entertainment'. He met her a few more times at private tea parties and particularly delighted in her spinet playing. The purpose of such performances was to put the girl on show to potential suitors. Her performances clearly had their intended effect on Courtney. Bored and indifferent performances were not attractive and implied that finding a husband was an ardent preoccupation. However, playful or flirtatious performances would undermine ideals of female sincerity and modesty.<sup>40</sup>

Courtney attempted to get the affair rolling on Saturday 13 March when he brought her a country dance he had agreed to compose for her. The couple played and danced the tune which Miss Smelt called 'the Whim'. Learning from his previous affair, he attempted to impress her with his compositional talents from the start. However, his musical skills again did not have their intended effect and the flirtation eventually fizzled out. Mary was not to be mentioned in the diary for some time and Courtney was soon

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<sup>39</sup> Mary was the daughter of William Smelt of Leases, near Bedale, owner of the manor of Little Langton, and sister-in-law to the botanist Sir Thomas Frankland (1750-1831), Sixth Baronet, and Colonel Cornelius Smelt (c. 1748-1832), Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Man. Her uncle, Leonard Smelt, was Sub-Governor to the sons of King George III.

<sup>40</sup> See Head, 203-254 (p. 228).

dancing with other partners. At Scarborough he danced with his first love, Miss Mary Newsome, but alas there was to be no rekindling of the affair for he learned that she was engaged to Captain George Cooke.<sup>41</sup>

Ten months passed until another girl took his fancy. Courtney danced with a Miss Molly Thompson, daughter of John Thompson of Kirby Hall, Little Ouseburn, West Riding, at York on 14 January 1763 and again on 28 January. These two public signs of courtship were enough for him to propose to her on 9 February. The next day he was told by the girl's father that she did not want to marry him. Her father tried to change her mind, but to no avail. Courtney replied that 'if she was the finest[,] richest and best woman in England I would not have her hand without her heart'. Molly later married Childers Walbanke of Kirkbridge, North Riding in October 1765 and was described as 'an accomplished and beautiful young lady with a large fortune'.<sup>42</sup>

In July 1763 his mother attempted to arrange a match for him with a Miss Archer, the daughter of Reverend Benjamin Archer, Rector of Stour Provost, Dorset and niece of Thomas Stonestreet of Islington, a family friend and John's stockbroker. This was essentially a transaction to forge family connections. However, the match did not come about as the girl's father made an unsatisfactory monetary offer, much to the disappointment of Courtney's mother and uncle.

In October 1763 Courtney reverted back to Mary Smelt. Anxiety must have set in earlier in the month: 'I heartily wish I may have good success (if God pleases) and that I may obtain her for a wife' (13 October). However, his uncle doused the suit claiming that the girl's fortune was inadequate: 'My uncle today disapproves of Miss S---t as having too small a fortune' (28 October).

Two more unsuccessful courtships occurred in 1764. On a visit to Harrogate in September he and his mother befriended a Newcastle family. On 2 September he met the daughter, a 'Miss S---n' (whose identity is not revealed): 'I had a good deal of conversation with the young lady this evening, and began to admire her'. The following night he danced with her and found 'her a most amiable and accomplished woman' having

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<sup>41</sup> The couple were married in Doncaster on 16 January 1764.

<sup>42</sup> *York Courant*, 29 October 1765. Courtney found a number of the women he had courted later married through newspaper announcements.

‘made an entire conquest of my heart’. Another dance at a public ball with her on 5 September was sufficient for formal courtship: ‘I now show myself attached’. A horse ride with her family was the preamble to a proposal of marriage on 9 September. He was again rejected; the whole affair had lasted a week. The second affair was even briefer. In Birmingham, Courtney met a Miss Carver on 19 December 1764. He described her as ‘tall, seemed about 22 years old, of a dark complexion, black eyes and hair, and was very accomplished and sensible. She played extremely well on the harpsichord. Her fortune likewise was large’ (22 December). His proposal of marriage was rejected and he left for Beverley the same day. One pictures Courtney as a flighty character – as no deep relationships could be formed in under a week of courtship.

The rapid succession of affairs continued into 1765 and by his early thirties he had approached another five women, all to no avail. While walking in York on 8 January he met a Miss Betty Hobson. He considered her ‘rather pretty than otherwise’, but after dancing and talking with her on 18 January he thought there were ‘many others prettier’. Nevertheless he proposed to her on 14 February. The girl’s father approved of Courtney’s intentions, but as she was only seventeen years of age, she was too young, and she herself did not approve. He wrote on 21 February: ‘I found he would be almost willing to force her inclinations. This made me very desirous to put an end to an affair I was now very sorry had ever been begun’. Courtney did not pursue the matter further.

On 30 June 1765 Courtney met a Miss Kitty Rutter from Newcastle in Harrogate. He described her as ‘a vastly pretty, sensible, agreeable young lady’. This was to be the first of several meetings. On 10 July he provided details of an experience singing songs in a local tavern: ‘I walked with her Miss K etc to Q[ueens] H[ead] we went into the Woodhouse; had several songs, I sung. Miss K R was vastly civil and good natured. I got her gloves for her, and played a little with her’. However, on the request of his mother, he took no further interest in the girl for ‘her fortune ’tis said not very much, and her family rather too numerous’ (23 August).

At a Valentine’s Eve party in Beverley in 1766 Courtney was chosen ‘king’ of the festivities and a seventeen-year-old Miss Sally Goulton (*b.* 1748) the ‘queen’. He described her as a ‘most worthy amiable young lady’. On 5 April he called round her house but she was out. Luckily he happened to meet her in the street and ‘walked along

with her a good way, as far as Bar from Well lane; I pulled some songs out of my pocket in which I had inclosed a letter'. He encouraged her to open it in private. However, despite his efforts, exactly two months since their first meeting, she refused his proposal: 'she had a great regard for me, but I was so much older and graver that she should have looked upon me as a father' (13 April). Ironically, Sally later married Reverend Thomas Constable, rector of Sigglesthorne and second son of Marmaduke Constable of Beverley, in 1769 – he was three years older than Courtney. One can imagine that Courtney would not have been happy on hearing the news. Similarly, he was 'not vastly pleased' at learning that Miss Charlotte Nelthorpe (*b.* 1742), the daughter of Sir Henry and Lady Nelthorpe of Barton on Humber, Lincolnshire, was to be married to Robert Carter Thelwall of Redbourne, a clergyman of nearly fifty (8 December). Miss Nelthorpe was an old acquaintance and he had delighted in her singing and harpsichord playing, but she had rejected his proposal in 1766, claiming that she was too young for him.

Courtney was surely becoming desperate when he was introduced to a Miss Williams in Harrogate on 23 June 1767. She was 'a most sweet young lady' from Wales and her family were 'people of fortune'. On Thursday 25 June he wrote: 'I began to take notice of the beauty and amiable disposition of Miss Williams, and her sweet sensibility affected me much'. The couple danced together the following Monday at the assembly and after treating her to the theatre:

had much conversation with her, and all my behaviour must show her that I was over head and ears in love with her. She is rather low, but her person every way agreeable, [*sic*] her face expresses the greatest sensibility and the most perfect goodness of heart, her temper rather grave than gay, her age 22, her mind cultivated by the best education; her manner enchanting, [...] her behaviour to me the most flattering to my wishes, and together with a modesty in all her words and action, she joins the most engaging freedom; in short, she was just such a woman as I would wish to be my partner for life, both in body and mind – her nose was the worst feature, being large and ill made, but yet 'twas to me more pleasing than any I had ever seen. [...] What wonder that I was in love with so sweet a creature.

One cannot be sure that Courtney expressed these remarks in public, but if he did this would certainly have contributed to his failure! Although Courtney believed that she had encouraged him, the affair had a familiar ending; on 25 July 1767 she told him that he should forget her and he 'galloped home [...] with a whirlwind of contending passions in my mind'.

When success finally came it was with his old musical flame Mary Smelt, his affectionately-named ‘Pulcerrima!’.<sup>43</sup> Now thirty-four years of age, he happened to meet her again purely by chance at a public ball two days after Miss Williams had rejected him. The barrier of his uncle, who had doused the suit between the couple five years previously, was removed following his death in 1764. Courtney still considered Mary ‘a pretty girl’ and ‘Next to Miss Williams she is the girl I like best’. He was clearly torn between these two women. On 1 August 1767 he wrote: ‘Miss Smelt very free, played a little on harpsichord; a pretty girl. But oh Miss Williams’. However, the next day he realised that Miss Williams was ‘all lost’ and set his sights on the now twenty-four-year-old Mary Smelt. It was five years since their first affair and he showed a bit more resolution. On 7 March 1768 they had ‘a happy private interview’ and discussions about their partnership proceeded amicably. It was threatened only once on 30 April 1768 when he:

Received a letter from Miss Smelt, which much surprized me, and hurt me extremely; galloped to Hull in an half an hour; had an interview with my dear Miss Smelt and made up all matters to our mutual satisfaction, and removed all her scruples.

By 18 May the marriage articles had been drafted and on 2 June they were signed. Two weeks later a licence was obtained and at last the happy couple were married on 23 June 1768, both dressed in white, at St Mary’s Church in Hull.

Following the service Courtney hosted a reception tea party at his Beverley town house: ‘We used our best agate knives, which were never before used, but reserved for my wedding day’. After tea the couple danced a minuet and the new Mrs Courtney played on the harpsichord for some country dancing – ‘Soon after the bride retired to bed, in the best chamber and I followed’. The second volume of the diary ends on his wedding day. Following the death of his mother in 1771, the newly married couple moved across town to Newbegin House, a late seventeenth-century property with large grounds. Here Mary Courtney bore him at least nine children, two of whom died in childhood: John (1769-1845), Ralph (1770-1770), Cornelius (1773-1793), Henry (1774-1844), Thomas (1776-1818) who had epilepsy, Septimus (1779-1843), Mary (1777-1787), Margaret Jesse

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<sup>43</sup> On 17 February 1768 Courtney recorded that Mary Smelt was taught harpsichord by Matthias Hawdon, organist of Holy Trinity Church, Hull between 1751 and 1769. Hawdon became organist of Beverley Minster in 1769. See Gerald Gifford, ‘Hawdon, Matthias’, *GMO*.



(1780-1814) and Dorothy Anne (b. 1781). After marriage, women usually gave up their musical activities. Although the following quotation refers to the novels of Jane Austen, many young eighteenth-century women from landed families would have no doubt recognised and sympathised with these attitudes:

Emma Woodhouse and Elizabeth Bennet are both very indifferent performers, but the standard of the performance has nothing to do with what is essentially a sexual gesture. Those who love them do not mind [...] They realise their own inadequacies but do nothing to modify them, nor do they ever hold back from performing [...] Mrs Jennings is quite right in deducing from Colonel Brandon's interest in Marianne's singing a love not of music but of her: Music as an accomplishment has a barefaced relationship to sexual status. Mrs Weston, who is married and pregnant, and Anne Elliott, who is on the shelf, do not give solo performances; the former has no need to, for the latter it is useless. They accompany the dancing.<sup>44</sup>

Courtney took up his diary again in 1788 and continued to write until the year before his death. Mary Courtney gave up her music activities altogether to concentrate on raising her large family, as there are no references to such activities in the later volumes of the diary. Mary died on 30 December 1805. John survived her only a little over two months, dying at the age of 72 on 3 March 1806.

The reason why Courtney was a repeated failure on the marriage market is strange.<sup>45</sup> As a gentleman of means and respectability it is curious why he found it difficult to marry. It is possible that he was rather impulsive and lacked thoughtfulness. He was clearly lacking in social graces and one gets the impression that Courtney, although intending to be polite and courteous, conducted his romantic pursuits in a rather overbearing and pretentious manner – he appears to have been more of a Mr Collins than Mr Darcy.<sup>46</sup> He was clearly being fobbed off and the excuses used by several of his partners that they were too young were not genuine. Courtney found out from

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<sup>44</sup> Patricia Beer, *Reader, I Married Him. A Study of the Women Characters of Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, Elizabeth Gaskell and George Eliot* (London: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 64-65.

<sup>45</sup> Amanda Vickery offers similar conclusions and other speculations for Courtney's failure in *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, p. 73.

<sup>46</sup> Unfortunately it is not possible to examine how Courtney conducted other social interactions. The only occasion of a social altercation is recorded on 8 January 1766 at the Beverley assembly rooms. This involved another gentleman who 'flew out into a violent passion' and 'said he had been affronted at 3 assemblies' by Courtney. Courtney apparently handled the situation appropriately: 'Col Clarges, Mr Goulton etc all say that people think I acted in a very proper manner and condemn the behaviour of the gentlemen the other night' (11 January 1766).

newspaper reports that many of the women who had rejected him did in fact later marry older men. One can imagine that Courtney would not have been pleased on hearing such news. Although his intentions were respectable, he was apparently oblivious to the signs of female rejection and was astonished by his continuing rejection. Perhaps Courtney's over-interest in music made him unattractive as a suitor.<sup>47</sup>

### 3.4 Musical interests and education

As we have seen, music was an important tool for Courtney in his courtship routine. However, it was one of many ways in which he used music. Music was also a pleasurable pastime for Courtney, as he hosted regular concerts at his house, subscribed to musical publications and attended concerts and festivals. It was a social tool and enabled him to interact with local professionals and visiting foreign musicians. Courtney was an active amateur composer and performer, playing and owning a harpsichord and organ. On 17 March 1761, for his own personal entertainment and to display his wealth and social status, Courtney made an agreement with Thomas Haxby of York for him to build a chamber organ with five stops at a cost of 36 guineas.<sup>48</sup> It took less than a month for the organ to arrive. The instrument was delivered on 10 April 1761 in '3 cases weighing 40 stone'. Two days later Haxby called at Courtney's house to begin building the organ. Courtney provided Haxby with overnight accommodation and the organ was finished on 15 April. He also took the opportunity for Haxby to tune and regulate his harpsichord.<sup>49</sup> Haxby made a follow-up visit on 18 June 1761 to check the instrument was functioning properly:

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<sup>47</sup> I am grateful to Bryan White for this suggestion.

<sup>48</sup> For further information on Haxby, see D. Haxby and J. Malden, 'Thomas Haxby of York (1729-1796): an Extraordinary Musician and Musical Instrument Maker', *York Historian*, 2 (1978), 43-55; and Margaret Cranmer, 'Haxby, Thomas', *GMO*.

<sup>49</sup> An account book of Courtney's expenses between 1804 and 1806 is preserved in Hull History Centre, U DDX/60/7. The only reference to instrument tuning relates to a payment of 7s. 6d. made to a 'Mr. Lambeth for tuning my Harpsichord' (3 November 1805).

This day Mr Haxby came and dined with us and then looked over the organ and tuned it, where necessary, by a little past 8 o'clock in the evening he finished what he had to do at it. After supper he sung us some very pretty songs, vastly well.

However, by September of that year Courtney was experiencing trouble with the instrument due to changes in humidity. This clearly displeased him, as on 23 September 1761 he wrote:

This evening Mr Haxby came to set my organ to rights for the wood being shrunk or from some other cause the keys many of them stuck which is a fault he ought to be sure to mend or take the organ back again.

It took Haxby four days to repair the instrument and again Courtney offered his hospitality. Haxby also took the opportunity to speak to the town corporation about building an organ in the Minster, most likely through Courtney's influence. On 19 February 1762 Courtney 'received a letter from Mr Thomas Haxby of York, with a design for the organ for Beverley Minster, in a tin case'. However, Haxby was unsuccessful in securing the commission – John Snetzler was instead engaged to construct the Minster organ.<sup>50</sup> Haxby relied on customer satisfaction and reviews to maintain his professional reputation. On 14 June 1763 Courtney 'Received a letter from Mr Haxby desiring I would write my opinion about the organ I bought of him; I answered his letter commending the organ'. Haxby and Courtney appear to have been good acquaintances: their relationship went beyond business as they frequently exchanged letters and on one occasion Haxby sent Courtney 'a catalogue of the late Revd Mr Clarkes (my late worthy masters) library' (26 March 1762).

Details of Courtney's musical education are unknown and there is no record of music teachers or lessons in the diary. It is likely that he, along with Edward Finch, received his musical training as a student through his local school and university education.

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<sup>50</sup> The organ was erected at a cost of around £800 following an act of parliament: 'An act for vesting certain estates in the county of Lincoln in trustees, and to enable them to appropriate the rents and profits thereof; and also certain sums of money, subject to the trusts declared by the will of Sir Michael Warton, knight, deceased, for the augmentation of the revenues of the curacies of the late collegiate church of Saint John of Beverley, in the county of York, and for erecting an organ in the said church, and for other purposes therein mentioned'; see Oliver, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Minster of Beverley*, p. 250. The organ was opened in 1769 by Matthias Hawdon, the Minster organist. For the organ specification see W. A. Roberts, 'Beverley Minster and its Organs', *The Organ*, 9.35 (January 1930), 129-136.

Alternatively, Courtney could have taught himself keyboard continuo practice and figured bass using printed tutor books available to him.

Courtney performed a wide range of instrumental and vocal music, including country dances, extracts from Handel's oratorios, songs, cantatas, solo harpsichord/organ lessons and voluntaries, and concerti grossi. Courtney acquired his music collection from music shops in the cities he visited on his travels. He called into music shops in Cambridge and John Walsh's shop in London.<sup>51</sup> Courtney regularly visited Thomas Haxby's shop in York, and on one occasion appears to have exchanged unwanted music: 'I also changed some musick at Haxby and received 4s 6d ballance' (20 July 1761). On his travels Courtney also took the opportunity to visit churches and play on their organs. He visited Ripon Cathedral on 13 July 1761, St John's Church, Leeds on 4 March 1765 and even St James's Chapel, London: 'I went with Vincent Matthias Esqr Undertreasurer to the Queen to St James's Chapel, and got with difficulty into the organ loft' (18 April 1762). Courtney also took an interest in music scholarship. On 29 January 1760 he:

wrote a letter to the proprietors of the Musical Magazine which I inclosed under a frank to Mr J Coote at the Kings Arms in Pater Noster Row London (a printer and bookseller) and signed it Eugenius. NB The 1st number of Musical Magazine is to be published in London on Friday next.

This was presumably intended for publication.<sup>52</sup>

Courtney also spent money on subscribing to printed musical and literary publications. He was a cultured gentleman and must have acquired quite a substantial music library.<sup>53</sup> The best known musical subscription was to Charles Dibdin's 1788 *Musical Tour*.<sup>54</sup> Courtney also met the composer in Beverley in July 1802. In a diary entry for 22 July 1802 he recorded:

This Evening I & my Son John & my Daughter Dolly were at the Playhouse to hear Mr. Dibdins Exhibition. I sat in Stage Box. I was very much entertaind with Mr. Dibdin. There was a very good House. I got in

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<sup>51</sup> See 5 May 1762; 7 January 1788; 16 May 1805.

<sup>52</sup> A search of the material held in the British Library relating to the Musical Magazine has failed to uncover any evidence of Courtney's letter.

<sup>53</sup> On his death, Courtney's music collection was passed to his daughters Dorothy and Margaret, see PRO, PROB 11/1442. His chamber organ was bequeathed to his eldest son John.

<sup>54</sup> Charles Dibdin, *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin: In which – Previous to his Embarkation for India – He Finished his Career as a Public Character* (Sheffield: Printed for the author by J. Gales, and Sold by all the Booksellers throughout the Kingdom, 1788).

the Morn[ing] 3 Box Tickets at Tumer's, & took Places in far Stage Box, while I was in Tumer's Shop Dibdin came in; I told him I had been at his Performance here several years ago, & was the first Subscriber to his Musical Tour. I showed him where Mr. Southern<sup>55</sup> lived, & told him I hoped he w[oul]d have a full House; he look[']d as well as ever, I was much pleased with his Songs, the words of which as well as the Musick & the Recitation betwixt them were all his own.

Courtney's description of himself as 'the first Subscriber' is interesting. Whether this was true or a means of social flattery is unclear. Dibdin recalled a visit to Beverley in his *The Musical Tour* and noted the town's advantageous social environment:

BEVERLEY is said to be one of the prettiest towns in ENGLAND. To this I cannot wholly agree. It is a snug decent town; has a spacious market place; and its minster – which is very ancient, and was formerly a sanctuary to bankrupts and criminals – is yet a very handsome church; but I think it inferior to many towns in Yorkshire as to beauty, consequence, or situation. The inhabitants, however, appear to be independent; and, by mixing socially together, promote very pleasantly all that is necessary or agreeable towards forming a friendly and comfortable neighbourhood. This town has many advantageous privileges, among which is their being exempt from toll and custom.<sup>56</sup>

Courtney is also listed as a subscriber to William Shield's *A Collection of Favourite Songs* (c. 1775).<sup>57</sup> This collection of songs are typical Vauxhall light entertainment and include romantic airs, hunting songs and a masonic ode (a number of the subscribers were

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<sup>55</sup> Mr Southerne was a prominent dance-master working in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Dibdin noted his reputation in his *Musical Tour*: 'This gentleman has the whole business of HULL and BEVERLEY as a dancing master [...] 'Mr SOUTHERN is no foreign impostor, of which description – to the disgrace of our schools, the injury of the scholar's morals, and too often the destruction of family peace – this kingdom swarms. He is an honest, plain, unaffected, well-meaning man – is a father himself – has brought up a large family creditably and industriously, and therefore proper to have the care of youth entrusted to him. He is universally beloved, and his company – for he is remarkably cheerful and hearty – every where courted. His advice and his influence has been of great use to me, for there is scarcely a place in Yorkshire, since I first left BEVERLEY, where his name has not done me service' (pp. 129-130). Courtney's daughters were instructed by Southerne. In a letter to his son Henry Courtney, dated 8 June 1789, Courtney wrote: 'I danced on the Kings Birthnight, last Saturday the Players acted for the last time this Season. The Races were very ~~poor~~ indifferent, less company than I think I ever saw on that occasions. [...] Your Sisters have began to learn to dance with Mr Southern'; see Hull History Centre, Hull, U DDX/60/5, Letter Book of John Courtney of Beverley (26 June 1787 – 26 January 1791), pp. 81-82.

<sup>56</sup> Dibdin, *The Musical Tour*, p. 193.

<sup>57</sup> *A Collection of / FAVOURITE SONGS / adapted for the / VOICE, HARPSICHORD, VIOLIN, / GUITAR or GERMAN FLUTE, / To which is added / A Duett for two Violins / Composed by / Wm Shield. / BOOK I<sup>st</sup> / NB. The Hunting Songs are adapted for two German Flutes / LONDON / Printed for the AUTHOR, at Mr Thorne's, DURHAM: / and Sold by / LONGMAN, LUKEY AND BRODERIP, No 26 Cheapside. I am grateful to Amélie Addison for bringing this publication to my attention. Although listed as 'BOOK I<sup>st</sup>', I have been unable to discover if any further volumes were published.*



freemasons). Each vocal/keyboard score is followed by an arrangement for another melodic instrument. The collection was published around 1775, a couple of years after Shield moved to London, when he was starting to make a name for himself. But obviously still to some degree he was dependent on or able to capitalise on support from his connections back home. The vast majority of subscribers were from the North East of England and Yorkshire. Among the other subscribers who resided in Beverley were: 'Mrs. Berry', 'Mr. Bland', 'Mr. Beswick', 'Mr. Hawdon, Organist of the *Minster, at Beverly, 2 Books*', 'Miss Lloyd', 'Miss Lewthwait', 'Mr. Lowthorp', 'Mr. Southern, Dancing-master, of *Hull and Beverly*', 'Mrs. Stern', 'Mr. Wright' and 'Mr. Whitehead'. These individuals represent only a very small cross-section of the total number of around 360 subscribers. With the exception of Southerne and Hawdon, the others listed do not appear in Courtney's diary and were not part of his regular social circle. Perhaps Courtney acted as an agent for Shield and/or Dibdin, and cultivated subscriptions from locals for their publications.

Courtney also had religious and political interests, in addition to his musical ones. In 1767 he joined the Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge and was a key figure in the regional political administration, even reporting to the House Commons in February 1764 on the 'state of Hull and York roads'.<sup>58</sup> On 26 September 1769 Courtney was

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<sup>58</sup> See Edmund Keene, *A sermon preached in the parish-church of Christ-Church, London, on Thursday May the 14th, 1767: being the time of the yearly meeting of the children educated in the charity-schools, in and about the cities of London and Westminster. By the Right Reverend Edmund Lord Bishop of Chester. [...] To which is annexed, An account of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge* (London: printed by J. and W. Oliver; and sold by John Rivington, 1767). The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded in 1698 by Thomas Bray. For further information, see 'Our History', *The Society of Promoting Christian Knowledge* (2014) <[www.spck.org.uk](http://www.spck.org.uk)> [accessed 11/02/2014]. Courtney subscribed also to Thomas Francklin, *Lucian, of Samosata, The works of Lucian, from the Greek, by Thomas Francklin, D. D. Some time Greek Professor in the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols (London: printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, MDCCLXXX. [1780]). Courtney and his eldest son, John, are also both listed as subscribers to John Cole, *A miscellany; or collection of poems, odes, and songs. Poems. The unfortunate Lord; an allegorical Poem. The Epicurean; a Poem. A Poem on the Peace concluded in the year 1783. Odes. An Ode on Rodney's Victory the 12th of April, 1782. An Ode on the Peace concluded in the year 1783. An Ode on the Commercial Treaty with France. An Ode on the Jubilee, 1788. An Ode on the King's happy recovery from his Illness. A Panegyric on Mr. Pitt, the Prime Minister. A Panegyric on Sir James Pennyman, Bart. A Panegyric on John Wharton, Esq. Songs. On the resignation of that great Minister Lord North. The downfall of their High Mightinesses, and the House of Bourbon humbled; a Burlesque. On the warlike genius of Britain. The state mutiny on board the Old England man of war. On the dissolution of Parliament in the year 1784. On the Political importance of the colonization of Botany-Bay. An humorous invitation to Botany-Bay. A general invitation to the same place; in which the dispositions of the Scots, Irish, and Welch, are properly delineated. Illustrated with notes historical, geographical, and political* (Hull: Printed at the Printing-Office, Whitehorse-Yard, [1791]).

appointed Deputy Lieutenant for the East Riding and Hull.<sup>59</sup> He was later elected to ‘the Committee of the County of York’ on 28 March 1780 and served with influential members of the Yorkshire landed gentry, including Reverend William Mason, Sir George Strickland, Bart. of Boynton and Sir George Cooke, Bart. of Wheatley.<sup>60</sup> Undertones of Courtney’s political orientation can be observed in a letter addressed to him from Reverend C. Wyvill at Burton-Hall dated 18 June 1794, in which concerns regarding the ongoing revolution in France are raised.<sup>61</sup>

### 3.5 Domestic and public concerts

Courtney regularly hosted concerts and musical soirées at his house to which family and friends were invited, including officers and musicians of the East Riding Militia. On 5 April 1762 Courtney invited Matthias Hawdon, the Minster organist, and hosted a ‘musical rout’, which included music by Handel:

We had a sort of musical rout, several fine airs of the oratorio of the Messiah were sung by Mr Jacomb, and Mr Hodgson from Newcastle and accompany’d by Hawdon on the organ, and other sacred musick fit for this week was also performed; Miss Raguenuau and Miss H Waines also sung the anthem to the full organ (I playing) and they sung some songs too, as did Mr Jacomb to the harpsichord. Major Myers his lady, Capt Cooke, Dr Cotes and his sister, Mr Raguenaus family, Mr Waines ditto, Dr Hunter, Mr William Meeke, Mr Jacomb, Mr and Mrs Saunders etc we were in all I believe 25.

This meeting was likely intended to showcase his recently purchased chamber organ to friends and associates. The local militia were an important source of musicians and a welcome addition to the social and musical life of the town. Courtney regularly attended

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<sup>59</sup> See Hull History Centre, U DDX/60/51.

<sup>60</sup> *Political papers, chiefly respecting the attempt of the county of York, and other considerable districts, Commenced In 1779, And Continued During Several Subsequent Years, to effect a reformation of the Parliament of Great-Britain: collected by the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, Chairman of the late Committee of Association of the County of York*, 6 vols (York: printed by W. Blanchard: sold by J. Johnson, ST. Paul’s Church-Yard, London, and J. Todd, York, [1794-1802]), vol.1, pp. 165-167.

<sup>61</sup> Letter from Reverend C. Wyvill at Burton-Hall to John Courtney dated 18 June 1794, quoted in *Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 205-207.

balls and dances hosted by officers billeted in the town. In a letter to his son Henry Courtney dated 28 May 1788 he wrote:

There have been gay Beings here lately the [...] Mil[i]tia being in Town; Plays[,] Concerts &c. The Militia ~~go~~ away leave us to morrow & to night there is Concert for the Benefit of Mess[te]rs Meredith & Wright to w[hi]ch your Mama & I, & y[ou]r Bro[the]r John & Miss Bella Cayley who has been at our House a day or two propose going. Last Monday [...] the Militia made a fine appearance. We were at a Concert for the Benefit of the Militia Band of Musick on Monday that night ~~last week~~. The Room was very full, Meredith sang delightfully indeed[,] your Bro[the]r danced with Miss Midgeley. Last Week Sir Charles Hotham bespoke a Play & the House was fuller than I ever saw it & very Hot indeed. Miss Hotham bespoke a Play last night, & I heard the House was very full, but none of us were there as we Dined &c. at Mr Best's at Dalton. Sir Charles & his Family, & Two Waggon-Loads of his Servants & Tennants came to the Play, some of whom never having ~~been~~ such at such an Entertainment before [...] laughed so loud I hear, as to divert the rest of the audience very much.<sup>62</sup>

Professional and amateur musicians frequently performed alongside one another in Courtney's musical gatherings. These were often well attended and the ensemble comprised of a good number of performers and instruments. For instance, on 8 January 1761 Courtney recorded:

This evening had a little concert at our house. Ten performers vizt: First Fiddle – Mr Smith; Second Fiddles – Master Raguenaue, Master E Raguenu, Mr Enter; German Flutes – Mr Feanside, Mr Cox, Mr Tong; Violoncello – Mr De Montet; Harpsichord, Thor Bass – J Courtney; Voice – Mr Raines.

Unfortunately, as is the case in most instances, Courtney does not specify the music played, but from the performers listed these soirées consisted of both instrumental and vocal music. It is interesting to note that on this occasion Mr Enter, the professional musician, did not take a leading role in the ensemble.<sup>63</sup> The performers were predominately male, although two women did sing and play the mandolin on one occasion on 10 September 1761. Similarly, at 'A Musical Party' on 30 September 1803 the:

Instrumental Performers were Re[veren]d Mr Jackson on Violoncello, Mr Tayleure & my Son on Violin, Miss Bentley, Miss Stansfeld & Miss Fanny Coltman on Harpsichord. Vocal Performers were Miss Stansfeld, Mrs Lockwood, Miss F Coltman & Mr Tayleure who sung several Songs & Glees very well indeed.

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<sup>62</sup> Hull History Centre, U DDX/60/5, Letter Book of John Courtney of Beverley (26 June 1787 – 26 January 1791), pp. 29-30. A bundle of letters of family correspondence dated between 1769 and 1806 is preserved in Hull History Centre, U DDX/60/50. However, these do not comment on musical matters.

<sup>63</sup> For Enter see below, pp. 128-129.

At later domestic concerts Courtney did not play – instead he listened to his guests and children perform. For example, on 10 April 1805 Courtney:

called lately to see the Lt. Col. Brackenberry, & he & his Wife & 3 of his daughters drank Tea with us one afternoon, & played on Harpsichord & sung, they are all musical & the youngest daughter play'd on the German Flute very prettily – I never saw a Lady play on the Flute before. Col. Smelt accompanied in the Violin, my God Daughter sung, & my Son & Daughter Dolly play[']d.

Courtney's desire to match his children with potential suitors was probably the reason for the increasing number of female performers.

A regular concert-goer, Courtney was also a leading figure in the management of the Beverley assembly rooms and one of the primary instigators of a public subscription concert series in the town in the 1760s.<sup>64</sup> John Brewer has highlighted a number of factors which contributed to the success of a provincial concert, including the importance of the gentleman amateur:

The dancing master, organist, singer and military band player were all necessary to create a good provincial concert, but none of them was as vital as the gentleman amateur, at once player, impresario and social secretary of the provincial concert scene. Only a person of some standing could ensure that 'the quality' would subscribe to a concert series or support an ambitious musical festival.<sup>65</sup>

Courtney's extensive connections would certainly have been beneficial to the growth of public concerts in eighteenth-century Beverley. It is tempting to place this in the context of socioeconomic development; however the reasons behind Courtney's motivation to advance public concerts in Beverley is unclear. In addition to the more obvious commercial merits, these could have developed out of the domestic concerts organised by Courtney and his close acquaintances, and a desire to share their musical interests with a

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<sup>64</sup> Subscription concerts were apparently held in the assembly rooms from the 1750s, see Victoria County History, *The County of York East Riding*, vol. 6: *The Borough and Liberties of Beverley* (Oxford: OUP, 1989), p. 132. The earliest reference to a concert in Beverley can be found in the *York Courant*, the advertisement dated 26 February 1754 read: 'At the ASSEMBLY-ROOM in BEVERLEY, / On Thursday Evening the 28th Instant will be performed / A CONCERT OF MUSICK. / To begin exactly at Six o'Clock. / TICKETS, at Two Shillings each, to be had of Mr. Yates in the Market-place, Mrs. Eggleston in Londoner-street, Mr. Robert Norris at the Blue Bell, in Beverley, and of Mr. Hawdon, Organist of Hull, / After the Concert will be a / BALL'.

<sup>65</sup> John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), p. 444. See also Roz Southey, 'The Role of Gentlemen Amateurs in Subscription Concerts in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century', in *MBP*, pp. 115-128.

wider audience and receive public recognition. On 22 January 1762 Courtney recorded that:

Dr Cotes and Mr Jacombe came to talk with me about establishing a weekly concert for 6 nights, the proposals are each gentleman pay 1s 6d or 2s, each night present or absent, and they may bring what ladies they please gratis. I am to talk with Mr Hawdon about it.

The subscription price was agreed on 13 February 1762 and the majority of performers were local gentleman amateurs and enthusiasts who regularly played with Courtney at domestic gatherings, with hired assistance from professionals, including Hawdon, the Minster organist:

NB Some time ago I subscribed to a concert proposed to me by Dr Cotes and Mr Jacomb, to pay 12 shillings for 6 nights to carry what ladies you chuse gratis to be at the assembly room, in nature of a private concert, Dr Cotes will play on violoncello, and Mr Jacomb on harpsichord and sing, some other gentlemen will play and Hawdon and others to be hired to assist.

Courtney was pressed by Dr Cotes to lend his harpsichord to the series, but he was reluctant to do so, much to the disappointment of Cotes. The first subscription concert was held on 19 February 1762 and there were 26 subscribers. On 23 February 1762 Courtney noted:

This afternoon [...] I attended at a meeting of the subscribers to the private concert, when it was resolved that the officers of the West Riding Militia, who are coming to this town to morrow, shall be invited to the concert on Friday next and afterwards may subscribe 8 shillings for the remaining 4 nights; it was also agreed that the tickets given to the ladies should express the night, second third and so on. then 5 of the subscribers were chosen as a committee to manage all matters relating to the concert of which number I was one. The committee are vizt Mr Raguenuau; Mr Constable; Dr Cotes; Dr Hunter; John Courtney.

By 23 November 1762 the number of subscribers had increased to 30 and militia officers joined the concert committee. Another six concerts were organised for the winter season.

Unfortunately, the majority of performers and repertoire at these concerts are unknown. A concert advertisement in the *York Courant* of 24 February 1756 gives an indication of the types of repertoire that were likely to have been performed:

For the Benefit of Mr. RICHARD JUSTICE, / At the ASSEMBLY-ROOM in Beverley, / On Thursday the 4th of March next will be perform'd / A CONCERT OF MUSICK. / Tickets to be had at Mr. Tong's, the Sign of the Cross-Keys, and at the Assembly Rooms in Beverley; also at Mr. Rawson's, Printer in Hull, at 2s. each. / Act I. Overture in Pharamond. Trio for German Flute. Solo upon the Harpsicord. First Concerto of Corelli. / Act II. Second Concerto of Stanley. Song on the Violoncello. Solo on the Violin. Fifth of Handell's Grand Concerto's. The Duke of Cumberland's March for the Side Drum. / Betwixt

the Acts will be exhibited several new and surprizing Equilibres on the Slack Wire, some of which have been attempted by any but himself, who is confessed by all to be the greatest Performer in Europe. And to conclude with a grand Entertainment of beautiful artificial Fire-Works, so contrived as to give the highest Pleasure without the least Offence, and to be entirely free from all Danger. / After which will be a BALL. / To begin exactly at Seven o'Clock.

The East Riding of Yorkshire enjoyed an active concert life throughout the second half of the eighteenth century. The region hosted a number of major musical events (see Table 3.1) involving a large number of performers. At first these were organised and directed by local professionals with local instrumentalists and imported vocal soloists from across the provinces. These events were later supplemented by festivals conducted by imported directors and distinguished vocal soloists from London, who looked to capitalise on the success of the Handel Commemoration held at Westminster Abbey in May 1784 and bring such events to provincial cathedrals and churches.<sup>66</sup>

**Table 3.1** Major musical events in York and the East Riding of Yorkshire in the late eighteenth century

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Repertoire</u>	<u>Musical Director</u>	<u>Vocal Soloists</u> <sup>67</sup>
Jan 1769	York Minster	Handel	John Camidge & Tomaso Pinto	Mrs Pinto [the former Charlotte Brent], Thomas Norris [of Oxford]
Sept 1769	Beverley Minster	Handel	Felice Giardini & Matthias Hawdon	Mrs Hudson [of York], Miss Radcliffe, Thomas Norris and William Matthews
Sept 1789	High Church, Hull	Handel	John Ashley	Elizabeth Billington, Miss Cantelo, Mr Harrison, Mr Sale, Mr Pearson
Aug 1791	York Minster	Handel	John Ashley	Madame Mara, Edward Meredith, Mr Harrison, Mr Kelly, Mrs Crouch
Sept 1792	High Church, Hull	Handel	John Ashley	Madame Mara, Miss Poole, Mr Hindley, Mr Page

<sup>66</sup> See Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 129-142 for a comparison of oratorio performance in Newcastle and Durham.

<sup>67</sup> For biographical information on the performers listed, see *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, ed. by Philip H. Highfill jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, 16 vols. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993).



The three-day event to mark the opening of the organ at Beverley Minster (built by John Snetzler) in September 1769 was likely inspired by the earlier oratorio festival at York in January 1769.<sup>68</sup> The Beverley festival was very grand and featured three Handel oratorios and concertos on the new organ and violin by the directors, Matthias Hawdon, the Minster organist, and Felice Giardini, the famous Italian violinist.<sup>69</sup> The vocal soloists were drawn locally and from further afield in Oxford. The event was of similar conception and can be viewed as a precursor to the later Handel Commemoration festivals in Hull in 1789 and 1792, and in York in 1791. A printed public notice advertising the ‘Musical Service’ to mark the opening of the Beverley organ survives. It reads:

THE ORATORIOS for the opening of the elegant ORGAN now erected in the Minster at BEVERLEY, will be on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of September, 1769, viz. / On Wednesday the 20th, the Sacred Oratorio of the MESSIAH. / On Thursday the 21st, the Oratorio of JUDAS MACCHABAEUS. / On Friday the 22d, the Oratorio of SAMSON. And that being the Anniversary of the King’s Coronation, the Performance will conclude with Mr. HANDEL’S Grand CORONATION ANTHEM. / The First Violin by Mr. GIARDINI. / The Principal Voices by Mrs. HUDSON of York, Miss RADCLIFFE, Mr. NORRIS and Mr. MATHEWS, both of Oxford. The Remainder of the Band will be numerous, and will consist of the best Performers, Vocal and Instrumental, that can be procured. / TICKETS for the Great Aisle at 5s. each, Galleries at 2s. 6d. each, to be had of Mr. Hawdon, Organist, of Mr. Norris at the Bell, and of Mrs. Todd at the Tyger, in Beverley; of Mr. Forster, Carver in Salthouse Lane, and of J. Ferraby, Bookseller in the Butchery, in Hull. Of whom may be had Books of the Oratorios, with Mr. Handell’s Alterations and Additions, as they will be performed at Beverley. Price 4d. each. / The North Doors will be open’d at Ten in the Morning, and the Performance to begin at Eleven. The Great Aisle will be fill’d with Benches. And to add to the Solemnity of this Performance, the Chorus Singers will be dress’d in Surplices. / All Tickets transferable. No Money to be taken at the Door. / A CONCERTO upon the ORGAN each Day. And Mr. GIARDINI will oblige the Company with a SOLO. / An ASSEMBLY on Wednesday and Friday.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Similar events were held in Wakefield in 1767, in Sheffield in the summer of 1768, in Halifax in mid-August 1768 and in Doncaster during the races in September 1768; see *York Courant*, 21 July 1767, 14 July 1768, 9 August 1768 and 16 August 1768 respectively. The advertisement for the Wakefield festival promised ‘a very numerous Band of capital Musicians from London, Oxford, Cambridge, York, Lincoln, Nottingham, Durham, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and parts adjacent’; see *Leeds Intelligencer*, 25 August 1767. John Crosse regarded the 1769 Beverley festival and oratorios for the benefit of Leeds Infirmary in October 1769 as one of ‘the earliest occurrences of the kind in the North of England’; see his *An Account of the Grand Musical Festival, Held in September, 1823, in the Cathedral Church of York* (York: Printed and Sold by John Wolstenholme, 1823), p. 53. For a summary of festivals organised in the region immediately following the 1784 Handel commemoration at Westminster Abbey, see Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), Ch. 1.

<sup>69</sup> For Giardini, see Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London’s Concert Life, 1750-1784: Felice Giardini and his Contemporaries* (New York: Garland, 1989).

<sup>70</sup> East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, PE129/T69.

Courtney's diary shows he was a regular concert-goer to performances in the local area and further afield (see Appendix C). He took full advantage of these social events and opportunities to hear professionals perform and actively supported their careers by attending benefit concerts. On 15 January 1794 Courtney attended a concert for the benefit of 'the French Emigrant Clergy' at the Beverley assembly rooms:

There was a very full Room, & my Sons John, Henry, Thomas & Septimus & my two little Girls Margaret, Jesse & Dorothy Anne & Mr Smith were all at the Concert. This Concert was promoted & patronized by Mr Henry Grimston, & 60 Guineas was the Gross Produce. Forty Pounds was sent to the French Emigrant Clergy. A Mr Worgan a Son of Dr [John] Worgans the famous Composer play'd on Harpsichord & sung; I have many Songs of his father's Composition. Mr <Laist?> play'd the first fiddle & Mr Erskine on the Hautboy vastly well indeed. I had not been at any publick Entertainment for 3 quarters of Year.<sup>71</sup>

In addition, Courtney attended regular theatrical entertainments. For example, in a letter to his son Henry Courtney dated 19 April 1789 Courtney wrote:

We have been at the Play a few times' we hope to go to morrow night to the Miser & the Farmer, bespoke by Mrs Marwood. The Gramar School Play was last Friday ~~but~~ a pretty good House but not near so full as the Farce & easy Britons play ~~the night~~ just before. I wish you had been with us that night to have joined in the Chorus of God save the King w[h]ich was very well sung.<sup>72</sup>

The annual races were the focal point of the town's social season. In a letter to his eldest son John Courtney at Trinity College, Cambridge dated 28 May 1789 he recorded: 'the Races will I believe by very poor ones; the Players are still here, 2 Concerts [th][i]s Week but Meredith not come yett they were pretty good on us'.<sup>73</sup> In a letter to his son Henry Courtney dated 9 September 1789 Courtney described the York races:

Your Brother John staid all the Race Week at York was at the assembly Rooms all the Three nights, & danced twice, was at 5 Concerts ~~every~~ 4 Days on the Field, & at 4 or 5 Plays; he returned home as you may imagine as thin as a Whipping Post. He ~~had~~ admired the Prince of Wales, & his dancing very much. So he had a fine Week of it you see. Since he returned he has taken out a Licence, & sometimes frightens the Partridges but has not killed one as yet. [...] Little Miss Mosey was at Southern's Dancing School ~~last~~

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<sup>71</sup> For the Worgan family of musicians, see Pamela McGairl, 'Worgan', *GMO*.

<sup>72</sup> Hull History Centre, Hull, U DDX/60/5, Letter Book of John Courtney of Beverley (26 June 1787 – 26 January 1791), p. 71.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

on Thursday last died on Monday. Your Mama & I & y[ou]r Brother hope to get to the Hull oratorios next Week please God.<sup>74</sup>

The survival rate of newspapers from the East Riding is sporadic so the extent of concert life in the region is difficult to establish. From advertisements in the late 1790s, local musicians and the public had access to fashionable music. A concert by the dancing master Mr Southerne on 21 April 1795 at the Hull Assembly Rooms featured music by Charles Avison, Friedrich Schwindl, Hodderman and Jean-Baptiste Davaux.<sup>75</sup> Southerne was assisted by the pianist Mr Lambert and singer Miss Milne, who was described as being ‘from *London*’. Another concert at the Assembly Rooms on 14 January 1796 included music by Johann Baptist Vanhall, Roach, Mozart, Pleyel, Calyot and Wilhelm Cramer.<sup>76</sup> Concerts in Hull proved popular and were well attended. Tate Wilkinson commented on the financial rewards of playing in Hull, describing the city as ‘The Dublin of England’.<sup>77</sup> Exotic and intriguing performances are also recorded. For example, a printed sheet advertised an unusual performance in the Concert Rooms in Dagger Lane, Hull by a Signior Zamora de Laputa in 1790.<sup>78</sup> This involved him sticking ‘cart-nailes’ in his eyes and red-hot irons in his mouth and ingesting gunpowder and igniting it. His wife performed on an unusual instrument:

After all this – the Company, / Will likewise entertained be, / With a SOLO – by SIGNIORA, / (His wife) – MARENZE DE LAPUTA, / On the EUMOLPHUS TERMINI, / All by the pow’r of sympathy. / The audience will be pleas’d to know, / This instrument’s contrived so, / That sev’n yards from the place it’s laid on, / It may with perfect ease be play’d on; / And is an instrument so choice, / It imitates the human voice.

Therefore, an account by William Gardiner writing in 1838 was certainly not representative of music-making in the region:

Hull was the most unmusical place I ever visited (c. 1790). I attended a concert given by Mons. Aldy [Alday, a refugee from France] the celebrated violinist. Scarcely more than half a dozen persons were

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>75</sup> *Hull Advertiser*, 11 April 1795.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 January 1796.

<sup>77</sup> Wilkinson, *Memoirs of his Own Life*, vol. 2, p. 267.

<sup>78</sup> East Riding Archives and Local Studies Library, The Treasure House, Beverley, YH/821, ‘The Hull Humbug: A Tale’ (1790).

present, and so few professors resided in the place that a violoncello performer could not be found to accompany him; this part was wretchedly performed by a man upon the bassoon.<sup>79</sup>

Although surviving evidence is inevitably patchy, it is possible to gauge that concert life in the East Riding was not atypical of other areas in this period.

Courtney attended the Handel Commemoration festivals at Hull in 1789 and 1792, and at York in 1791. The 1789 Hull event was held at the High Church in September. In comparison with the Beverley festival twenty years earlier, Courtney heard prominent musicians from the London theatre/concert scene, including the conductor John Ashley (assistant conductor to Joah Bates, the director of the Westminster commemoration) and the sopranos Mrs Elizabeth Billington and Miss Cantelo.<sup>80</sup> It is worth quoting Courtney's description of the festival in full as he provided a critique of many of the vocal soloists:

[16 September 1789] This morning I & my wife & Son in a Pearson's Chaise Set out early [...] & got to Hull to Miss Cayley's; we all went together to the High Church to the Selection of Sacred Music. Mrs Billington, Mr Harrison & Miss Cantilo sung delightfully indeed. The instrumental Band was not I think quite so good as when we had Oratorios at the Minster 20 years ago; but the Voices were so much superior that it was on the whole much preferable. My wife & I sat in Side Gallery front seat & after 1st act in East Gallery. The <music...?> organ with the Coronation anthem. I think I never heard any man sing so well as Harrison such chaste Simplicity, Taste, Delicacy, ~~inexpress~~ inexpressibly fine. Miss Cantelo sung charmingly especially "He was Eyes to the Blind" a sweet unaffected modest Singer & hav[e] such a fine Swell, Mrs Billington had such Sweetness, Delicacy & Judgement as can not be described. Sale, I dont like so well as Meredith & I did not like Pearson at all. The Funeral Anthem was very fine. [...] Charming music! I & my Son were at the Concert at night in the Playhouse; sat by Mr Blaydes the Mayor who had on his orange suit, which he got for the Celebration of the Revolution last year, & his Gold chain on we talked together. Sale sung better & Mrs Billington like a Bird.

[17 September 1789] This morn[ing] my Wife & I & my Son sat in East Gallery, as did Miss Cayley Mrs & Miss Metcalfe, best seat, & heard the Oratorio of Messiah. The Church was very full indeed & the singing & instrumental music exceeded far that of yesterday. The Songs by Harrison, Mrs Billington, & Miss Cantelo, were delightfully fine indeed, but Sale & Pearson I thought but very indifferent. I liked my Seat the best of any I had had. Mr Ashley told Mr Sykes they had never performed to so numerous & genteal an audience except at the abbey & at Worcester. I & my Son were at the Assembly. I did not dance. My Son danced with Miss Lucy Acklam. I drank Tea.

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<sup>79</sup> William Gardiner, *Music and Friends; Or, Pleasant Recollections of a Dilettante*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1838), vol. 1, p. 110.

<sup>80</sup> Brian W. Pritchard, 'The Provincial Festivals of the Ashley Family', *Gaplin Society Journal*, 22 (1969), 58-77. For biographical information on the performers listed below, see Highfill jr. *et al.*, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*.

[18 September 1789] I & my Wife were at the 2<sup>n</sup>d Selection of Sacred Music, it was amazingly fine indeed both Songs & Choruses. My Wife & I sat in one of the Alderman's Rows below with Alderman Porter. We were enchanted with Mrs Billington, Harrison & Miss Cantelo & the Choruses were wonderfully fine indeed. My wife went from Hull home with Mr Roberts in his Chaise. My Sons Cornelius & Thomas were at the Church today, in a cheap Place, I sent for them; Tho[ma]s returned with my Wife in Mr R[obert]s Chaise. I & my Son [...] were at the Concert in Playhouse in Even[ing]. I sat in the Pit.

In a letter to his son Henry Courtney, dated 18 October 1789, Courtney also recalled the Hull festival:

Your Mama & I & y[ou]r Bro[the]r John were all extremely entertained with the oratorios at Hull as for myself & y[ou]r Brother went thro the whole affair, ~~I was~~ & went not only at the Church in the Mornings, but at the 2 Concerts in the Playhouse & at the Ball ~~in~~ on the intermediate night in the Assembly Room where I had not been since you were born, I believe; y[ou]r Bro[the]r danced with Miss Lucy Acklam: there were 52 Couples - it was past 2 o'clock in the morning before we came away, I was enchanted with Mr Harrison, Mrs Billington & Miss Cantelo's singing, & the Choruses were very fine. Y[ou]r Bro[the]rs Corry & Tom were at the Church the last morning but they were not so much surprised & entertained as I had expected. Corry was at the Concert [...] that night. They did <think> of having oratorios here in our Minster next year; ~~but~~ in July, but it seems now uncertain; you might have a Chance to hear them if there were any here then. [...] next day is our deputy Lieutenants Meeting at the Tyger, when we expect a good assembly at night; & the day after<sup>81</sup>

The festival proved very popular and was one of the first of many such events in Yorkshire after the London performance at Westminster Abbey in 1784.<sup>82</sup> Ashley clearly intended to capitalise on the provincial fashion of following trends in London in order to maximise a profit.

At the York festival in August 1791 in the Minster, Courtney heard three oratorios (including Handel's *Messiah*) and '[t]he dead march in Saul, Funeral Anthem & the Coronation Anthem' (18 August 1791). He again heard prominent London performers, including Mr Harrison, Mr Kelly, Mrs Crouch ('a beautiful Woman with a sweet Voice'), Edward Meredith and Madame Mara, who 'sung very fine indeed, had a more powerful Voice & is generally reckon'd much Superior to Mrs Billington I can hardly determine

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<sup>81</sup> Hull History Centre, U DDX/60/5, Letter Book of John Courtney of Beverley (26 June 1787 – 26 January 1791), pp. 92.

<sup>82</sup> The first of which took place in Leeds in November 1784 and offered 'the same Selection of SACRED MUSIC from HANDEL, which was performed in *Westminster Abbey*, on the last Day of the Commemoration'; see *York Chronicle*, 5 November 1784. A printed word-book for the festival is preserved in the Thoresby Society Library, Leeds (shelfmark 41D).

w[h]ose is finest' (17 August 1791). The festival was successful and well attended: Courtney noted that 'The Place was magnificent & the Musick excellent 1800 people there' (17 August 1791). On the second day he was surprised that 'Madame Mara sung more than were in the Bill' and at the evening concert in the assembly room he notes that he 'sat [...] very near Madame Mara' and that 'The Great Assembly Room had never been so full [...] there were 860 People' (18 August 1791).

At the 1792 Hull festival he was again charmed with the singing of Madame Mara and Miss Poole. Courtney recorded that 'Ashley led the Band' and he heard Mr Hindley and Mr Page who he described as 'very indifferent the first the best' (19 September 1792). However, Courtney noted that 'It was not near so full as when the Oratorios were here before'. On the second day he heard Handel's *Messiah* and he 'was much pleased [...] there was more Company today than yesterday'. Shortly after the festival Miss Poole gave a benefit concert in Beverley at the assembly rooms and, according to Courtney, 'sang & play[']d on the PianoForte incomparably well'. Afterwards he was introduced to Miss Poole by his son and 'talked with her several times' (3 October 1792).

### 3.6 Courtney and professional musicians

Courtney's diary allows us to examine the network of amateur and professional musicians he was acquainted with. As we have seen he regularly attended or hosted domestic concerts at his house with other members of the local gentry and militia. He interacted with regional musicians, including Thomas Haxby and John Hebden of York, Matthias Hawdon, organist of Beverley Minster and Mr Southerne, a dancing master and musician in Hull. On 21 July 1761 Courtney recorded a visit to the house of the York musician John Hudson, who in 1787 became organist of Holy Trinity Church, Hull:

This morning betwixt 8 and 9 o'clock I left York, my mother went in the stage coach I on horseback, at Weighton, where we dined, called to see Mr Hudson's organ, which is a very fine one, 7 stops, it only cost him £25. Vastly cheap. He played very well upon it, as did also Master Allott and sung an Italian song very finely, I played a little upon it. I saw also an harpsichord of Mr Hudsons own making, not a very good one. I got very well, thank God to Beverley betwixt 3 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon.



Courtney also witnessed famous eighteenth-century musical celebrities in concert during the course of his travels. Whilst in Cambridge on 17 May 1759 he went to a performance of Handel's *Messiah* for the benefit of Dr Randal, Professor of Music. In his diary he wrote:

The principal singers were Miss Young, Master Soaper, Messrs Hudson, Champness and his brother who is a pensioner of our college. The instrumental part too very full and fine. I heard *Messiah* before at Foundling Hospital, though this here was very grand, yet still that was rather finer.

The reference to a performance at Foundling Hospital may have been directed by Handel himself. On the 28 May 1759 he heard Charles Frederick Abel playing the viola da gamba:

This evening I was at a concert in our hall for the benefit of Sigr Nofferri; Signora Mingotti sung 3 songs, and the principal instrumental parts were performed by the finest players in England viz: Sigr Giardini – First violin; Tacet – German flute; Vincent – Hautboy; Gordon – Violoncello; Abel – Violino di Gamba, or 6 string bass.

Courtney also witnessed William Boyce directing in London on 27 April 1762:

This morning went with Mrs Pople to the rehearsal of the musick for the benefit of the Westminster Infirmary at St Margaret[']s Westminster, a most elegant church, which was repaired and beautify'd at the expense of the House of Commons; there were I dare say an [*sic*] hundred performers Beard, Champness, Baildon Cox etc sung; near 40 voices I believe; Handells *Te Deum*, The Grand Chorus in the *Messiah* for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. The Anthem of Dr Boyce's for their Majesties Nuptials, and the Coronation Anthem were performed, and it was vastly grand, there being all sorts of instruments. Dr Boyce beat time in the front. Dined and drank tea at Mrs Popples.

A few days earlier on 21 April he recorded hearing John Stanley, the blind organist perform a concerto:

I was at the oratorio of Judas Maccabeus (Frazi's Benefit) at the Great Room in Dean Street Soho, twas very grand but the *Messiah* is finer, Frazi, Miss Young, Beard and Champness etc, etc, sung; and Stanley played a concerto on the organ; very fine!

In addition to native musicians, Courtney was proactive in acquainting himself with foreign musicians passing through Beverley on their tour of the provinces. He often invited them to dine with him at his house, where they were a welcome addition to his domestic concerts. Courtney became acquainted with a German musician called 'Mr Enter'. Enter hosted a number of concerts in Beverley between 1759 and 1766 (when he appears to have become ill). His concerts were popular and successful. On 29 March

1759 Courtney wrote: ‘This evening Mr Enter had his concert at assembly room, where was a very splendid show of ladies and gentlemen, and a very agreeable ball. There were about 100 people at the concert ’tis imagined’. Similarly in January 1760, ‘Mr Enter had a concert, a vast deal of company there, Militia officers, ladies etc. I was there. He cleared seven pounds, and his expenses were three pounds. After the concert was a ball’ (24 January 1760). Enter and Hawdon were invited to dine with Courtney on his birthday on 22 February 1760 and attend a domestic concert at his house on 8 January 1761 (quoted above). On 21 February 1766 Courtney recorded:

Poor Mr Enter died last night – he had been ill about a fortnight – John Prattman came Tuesday night was sevnight and told me first of his being ill, and that he had paid him for his coffin, and given him money for burrying fees etc. I went to see him next morning and almost every day – sent him wine etc. He said he was very willing to die when God pleased, but still at last was taken desirous of getting out again to see his friends, last Saturday he sent me two old musick books with his compliments, and thanks for all favours. Poor man. He paid his landlady for his lodgings to tomorrow (when as it happens he is to be burried) and ordered John Prattman to send all his things to his nephew at Buxtehude in Germany. But to my great surprize John found 30 guineas in his trunk. However I ordered him to pack all up and go to Mr Bell of Hull as Mr Enter directed for orders how to proceed in sending his things and money to his nephew.

On 1 March 1766 Courtney wrote:

Mr Ragueneau and I and John Prattman waited upon Mr Bell of Hull, at the Tiger, and John delivered him the ballance of the 30 guineas, remaining when apothecarys bill, 15s to himself, 6s to woman where Mr E lodged and 16s for a stone at his grave. I say John delivered Mr Bell £28 17s and recieved Mr Bells notes. So Mr Bell will remit it to Mr Enters nephew at Buxtehude; Mr Bells man who is an Hamburger was present. All musick papers, spinett etc are to be sent to Hull to Mr Bells. Thus we settled this affair.

It would appear that Courtney and Enter were good acquaintances. Enter recognised and appreciated Courtney’s assistance and influence by giving him some music books in return. The musician’s tour of the provinces appears to have been successful: he credited a total of 30 guineas in savings and owned his own keyboard instrument.

Courtney was also acquainted with the Polish dwarf Count Boruwlaski (*d.* 1839). Born in Polish Russia, Boruwlaski toured Europe and was a major celebrity due to his musical abilities and small stature.<sup>83</sup> He visited York in 1785 and 1789, and Leeds and Beverley in the early 1790s. On 28 March 1793 Courtney recorded: ‘Count Borulaski

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<sup>83</sup> Boruwlaski, *Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski*, p. 15. Boruwlaski was a performer and composer: an ‘Allegretto’ in DRc D3 and a keyboard sonata attributed to him was published in *The Volunteer* (Edinburgh, c. 1800).

the Polish dwarf was at Beverley I went twice to see him; he is a very curious sensible little man indeed. Wonderfull'. A couple of days later on 4 April 1793 Courtney met the Count following a public concert:

I was at Count Borowlaski's Concert as were my Sons John, Henry, & Thomas & my two little Girls. I had a good deal of conversation with C. Borowlaski, he is very sensible & clever, he play'd some pretty Lessons of his own composing on the Guitar. I was sorry I told him I c[oul]d not have the Pleasure of his Company at my House as my second Son had been & was so ill. My Son John played at the Concert as did Mess[er]s Marwood & Ackton &c. together with Lambert & Southerne.

Courtney was clearly entertained. In the dedication to the Count's memoirs (dated 14 May 1818), W. Burdon of Welbeck-Street, London, recorded:

His [Borowlaski's] talents for music are of the most agreeable kind: he composes, and plays on the violin and guitar, the most beautiful, little lively airs, with an elegance and facility, that are both rare and astonishing. He dances with all the lightness and ease of an opera performer, and hardly ever tires. His temper is the most agreeable and placid; his feelings lively and correct, and his principles are those of honour, integrity, and gratitude.<sup>84</sup>

Borowlaski's earlier appearances in London were recorded in the national newspapers and give us a glimpse of what the Count may have performed in Beverley:

EXHIBITION ROOMS, / over EXETER CHANGE, STRAND. / THIS present MONDAY EVENING, the 1st. inst. will be exhibited, / Mr. LOUTHERBOURG's EIDOPHUSIKON. / With intermediate Readings and Recitals by Mr. CRESSWICK. / Immediately previous to the Exhibition of the GRAND SCENE from MILTON, / That astonishing Phenomenon SIEUR BOROWLASKI, the celebrated Polish Dwarf, will favor the Proprietor, by making an Entrée, during which he will perform select Pieces on the ENGLISH GUITTAR. / First Seats, 3s. Second Seats, 2s. / The Doors to open at half past Seven, and the performance to begin precisely at Eight. / Ladies and Gentlemen desirous of place in the First Seats, are requested to send their servants early to keep them.<sup>85</sup>

The *Morning Herald* of 29 June 1786 advertised the following concert:

CONCERT. / LE SIEUR BOROWLASKI has the honor to acquaint his most patrons in particular, and the public in general, that his Concert, already announced, will be performed on Friday next, the 30th inst. at Mr. Gallini's Rooms, Hanover Square, under the direction of Mr. Cramer, to commence at Eight o'Clock precisely. / PERFORMERS, &c. / First Act. – Overture – Bach; Quartetto – Player; Sonata Guitare, Le Sieur Borowlaski; Quintetto – Leddel; Solo Violin, Mr. Cramer. / Second Act. – Concerto Piano-forte, Mr. Cramer, jun.[;] Quartetto, Mr. Peiltain; Sonata Guittare, Le Sieur Borowlaski; Sinfonie

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<sup>84</sup> Borowlaski, *Memoirs of Count Borowlaski*, p. vi.

<sup>85</sup> *Morning Herald*, 1 May 1786.

– Haydn. / Tickets, Half-a-Guinea each, to be had at his apartments No. 168, Strand; where he continues to receive company every day from ten till nine, at One Shilling each person.

Borowlaski eventually resided in Durham in 1800 with Thomas Ebdon, the organist at Durham Cathedral. The Count is buried in the cathedral under the north-west tower. Durham Town Hall exhibits his violin, a portrait, a life-sized statue and his dress suit and ring.<sup>86</sup>

Another curious character Courtney became acquainted with was the French musician Monsieur Vogel. On 27 December 1798 Courtney wrote:

This was the coldest Day I ever felt I think – frost & snow. Monsieur Vogel a French Emigrant brought my Wife a letter from Miss Strickland (Sir Georges daughter) to recommend him as a very fine Performer on the Flute & a curious & entertaining man.

With a character reference from a member of the landed gentry, Courtney grasped the opportunity to involve Vogel. He was clearly taken by the musician and the following day Vogel performed at his house:

Mons[ieu]r Vogel, Dr Berkeley & Mr O'Byrne dined drank tea & supped with us, Dr B. was drunk. Vogel a most extraordinary wonderful man, he played most exquisitely on the German Flute, better than any man I ever heard, & what was wonderful he play'd a Duet, making the Flute give two Sounds. He s[ai]d he was in the Legion de Chartres, he has received 16 Wounds, the strongest & most active man almost I ever saw; he performed several Treats & Tricks vastly well informed & has read a great deal.

Vogel took advantage of Courtney's hospitality. On 4 January 1799 Courtney recorded that Vogel 'was s[ai]d to be 3[r]d Son of the Marquess de Poligai [Poligny]' and again he dined with him and 'played on the German Flute most exquisitely, & can give two Sounds at once'.<sup>87</sup>

To raise money Vogel organised a concert on 7 January 1799 at the Beverley assembly rooms which was attended by Courtney and his family: 'There were a great many Gentlemen & Children & some Ladies there. He play'd charmingly, & almost every body were much pleased indeed'. On 9 January 1799 'Mons[ieu]r Vogel dined drank tea & supped with us, he play'd sweetly on the Flute & Smith was vasily [sic] pleased. He play'd

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<sup>86</sup> For Boruwaski in Durham, see Southey, *Music-making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century*, p. 203; and Simon David Iain Fleming, 'A Century of Music Production in Durham City, 1711-1811: A Documentary Study' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Durham University, 2009), pp. 103-104.

<sup>87</sup> Whether this is Louis Vogel or a brother cannot be determined. Poligny was a nobleman in the service of Louis XVI. See Roger J. V. Cotte, 'Vogel, Louis', *GMO*.

some Tricks on Cards too'. Beverley was perhaps not as financially rewarding as Vogel had hoped, as the next day he departed for Hull. Vogel's musical skill must have been quite exceptional; however he later got into trouble with the authorities. On 7 March 1799 Courtney recorded that 'Poor Vogel I heard had got into Prison at Hull not having proper Passports'. Two days later on 9 March 1799 he wrote:

Vogel was ordered by duke of Portland to quit the Kingdom. O'Byrne told me he had a Letter from him saying he had nothing to support him but his Flute & his Philos[o]phy, & desired he w[oul]d give his Remembrance to me & my Family.

The gentleman-composer John Marsh was also acquainted with Vogel in Chichester earlier in 1793. He recalled:

On Friday Feb'y 1st. we all went to the 4th. private Concert at w[hi]ch Mr Vogel the Frenchman (who was at Mr Smith's in the preceeding week) played the flute, on w[hi]ch he played a solo. As he was by his own account a poor unfortunate emigrant musician, we at the Concert raised a subscription of above £8. for him towards setting him off in London where he went the next day in the hope of getting some employ, on w'ch account I sent a letter by him to Smart the music seller & one or two other professors: but neither I, or Mess'rs Feray or Lelanne (who had interested themselves a good deal on his behalf) ever heard anything more from him after he had got the cash.<sup>88</sup>

Marsh appeared resentful that Vogel did not have any further contact following his assistance and suggestions. Vogel appears to have been quite a character, taking advantage of the wealth and hospitality of members of the landed gentry to procure money on his travels. The *Morning Post and Gazetteer* of 22 March 1799 recorded the last known appearance of Vogel:

To the EDITOR of The MORNING POST. / Hull, March 16. / SIR, / If you think the following anecdote, after being dressed up in your pleasant, concise style, worthy of a place in your entertaining paper, it is much at your service. I can assure you it is a real fact: / A Mr. Vogel, a French Emigrant, a man of genteel address, came here lately; and, in order to pick up a little money (being a musical man), he advertised to give a Concert, and after it to shew a few tricks upon Cards. The day after his Concert, our Mayor, Mr. Eggington, sent for him, when the following discourse took place:— 'Who are you? Sir— what are you doing here? I have heard strange reports about you; among other things, that you are a Conjuror: what have you to say for yourself?' — 'Please your Vorship, I heard a strange report about you too.' 'About me! what, fellow, have you heard me, hah?' 'Dat you are *no Conjuror*.' — The laugh was so much against his Worship, who really has not the least pretension to being a Conjuror, that he sent the poor fellow to jail, where he now is; and the *bon mot* is in every one's mouth. / I am, Sir, &c.

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<sup>88</sup> Brian Robins, *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentleman Composer (1752-1828)* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998), p. 533.

### 3.7 Conclusions

Few young women are likely not to have come across John Courtney on their social rounds in Beverley and the East Riding of Yorkshire in the 1760s. Courtney's diary shows him out and about at all the social and cultural events of the provincial season. He was an enthusiastic amateur musician and had a passion for performance and composition. He used music primarily for entertainment and as part of his courtship routine, and it formed a large part of his personal and social life. From the series of courtships examined we can observe that he considered music an important social tool and as a means of polite and formal courtship, alongside dance and going to the theatre, two other public activities. Courtney mainly used music in his courtship routine as a facilitator and reason for intimate contact, and in a domestic setting in the comfort and privacy of the parlour.

Very often he would present his partners with courtship gifts of music and songs to initiate or rekindle the affair. Some of these included pieces of his own composition. Whether these were written with specific women in mind cannot be determined. However, they did not have their intended effect, which perhaps brings into question their quality. It is not hard to imagine Courtney reusing them and presenting them to other women. These musical gifts were used as symbols of romantic love. The three principal qualities he looked for in his potential wives included a distinguishing musical quality of accomplishment and skill, an attractive appearance and suitable personal or family wealth. Little research has been undertaken on the role of music in courtship. This has tended to focus on women and how they present themselves to male suitors. Courtney's diary provides us with a point of view from the opposite sex and details of his attitudes towards women.

John Egerton (1796-1876), an Anglican vicar and contemporary of Courtney, had similar musical tastes in women. His diary, held in the Chester and Cheshire Record Office, shows that he rented a Broadwood piano, played the flute and cello and had singing lessons.<sup>89</sup> Egerton was educated at Winchester and was a fellow of New College, Oxford.

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<sup>89</sup> Shelfmark DDX 597/2; see Vickery, *Behind Closed Doors: At Home in Georgian England*, pp. 63-65.



On 5 April 1823 he heard Ellen Gould (aged 22) play at a domestic music recital in Hertfordshire: 'Two of the Misses play on the harp only learners. One very pretty; plays on the Piano very well & would sing I am told, but for a dreadful cold which she at present possesses'.<sup>90</sup> The couple were married in 1828.

Courtney was one of many gentlemen who had a passion and interest in music, whether for pleasure, as a demonstration of prestige and wealth, or as an essential part of his courtship routine. His diary deserves to be better well known and offers a fascinating account and insight into the provincial life and romantic failure of an eighteenth-century Yorkshire gentleman. It allows us to examine the social network of contacts this minor gentleman developed, which included musical and non-musical individuals. Courtney enjoyed a strong network of amateur musicians and families in Beverley and gained great entertainment through music, inviting guests to his town house, which was well-equipped for domestic music, or attending dinners and musical parties at friends. He was acquainted with a number of key local occupational musicians working in the region, including Thomas Haxby of York, Matthias Hawdon, organist of Beverley Minster and Mr Southerne, a dancing master and musician in Hull who taught his children. Courtney took full advantage of their skills, inviting them to perform in his private concerts and local subscription concerts, to enrich his own musical culture. He also capitalised on the performance and networking opportunities which arose from visiting foreign musicians who passed through Beverley on their tour of the provinces.

Courtney used music in a private and often intimate setting, but also actively pursued his musical interests in public through subscribing to concerts, plays, publications and festivals. He took full advantage of the musical life of the region and other towns and cities he visited on his travels. He had access to a wide range of concerts in the region – Beverley, Hull and York all hosted regular concerts and festivals, many of which showcased famous London performers. The most significant events were the opening of the new organ at Beverley Minster in 1769 and the Handel commemorations at Hull directed by John Ashley (1734-1805). These events proved very popular and were unique in the area – Ashley aimed to capitalise on the success of the London commemorations by

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<sup>90</sup> Chester and Cheshire Record Office, DDX 597/2, 5 April 1823.

touring the provinces. Courtney, like many in the eighteenth century, had a strong interest in Handel.<sup>91</sup> His passion and comments on music and musicians, it could be argued, are on a par with the level of attention and detail expressed by the diarist Samuel Pepys in the late seventeenth century. In later life Courtney took a more passive role in music-making, listening to others (including family members) play and sing at social gatherings. His family responsibilities restricted the diversity of his social life to largely Beverley and the surrounding region, although he would not let any opportunity of musical activity pass him by.

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<sup>91</sup> For the 'ancient music' movement and the canonisation of Handel's music in London amongst the upper classes, see William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

## 4 | ‘well known in the Musical and Literary Circles as a man of genius and integrity’: Edward Miller of Doncaster

‘On Saturday evening September the 12th, died after an illness of two months Dr. Miller, well known in the Musical and Literary Circles as a man of genius and integrity’, reported the *Doncaster Gazette* of Friday 18 September 1807. Edward Miller (1735-1807) is an excellent case study of how an occupational provincial musician was able to develop a successful career (see Figure 4.1 and Table 4.1). Many musicians struggled to earn a sustainable living from their musical activities alone and combined them with other non-musical employment.<sup>1</sup> William Herschel (1738-1822), Miller’s friend, wrote in 1761 at the outset of his musical career in England:

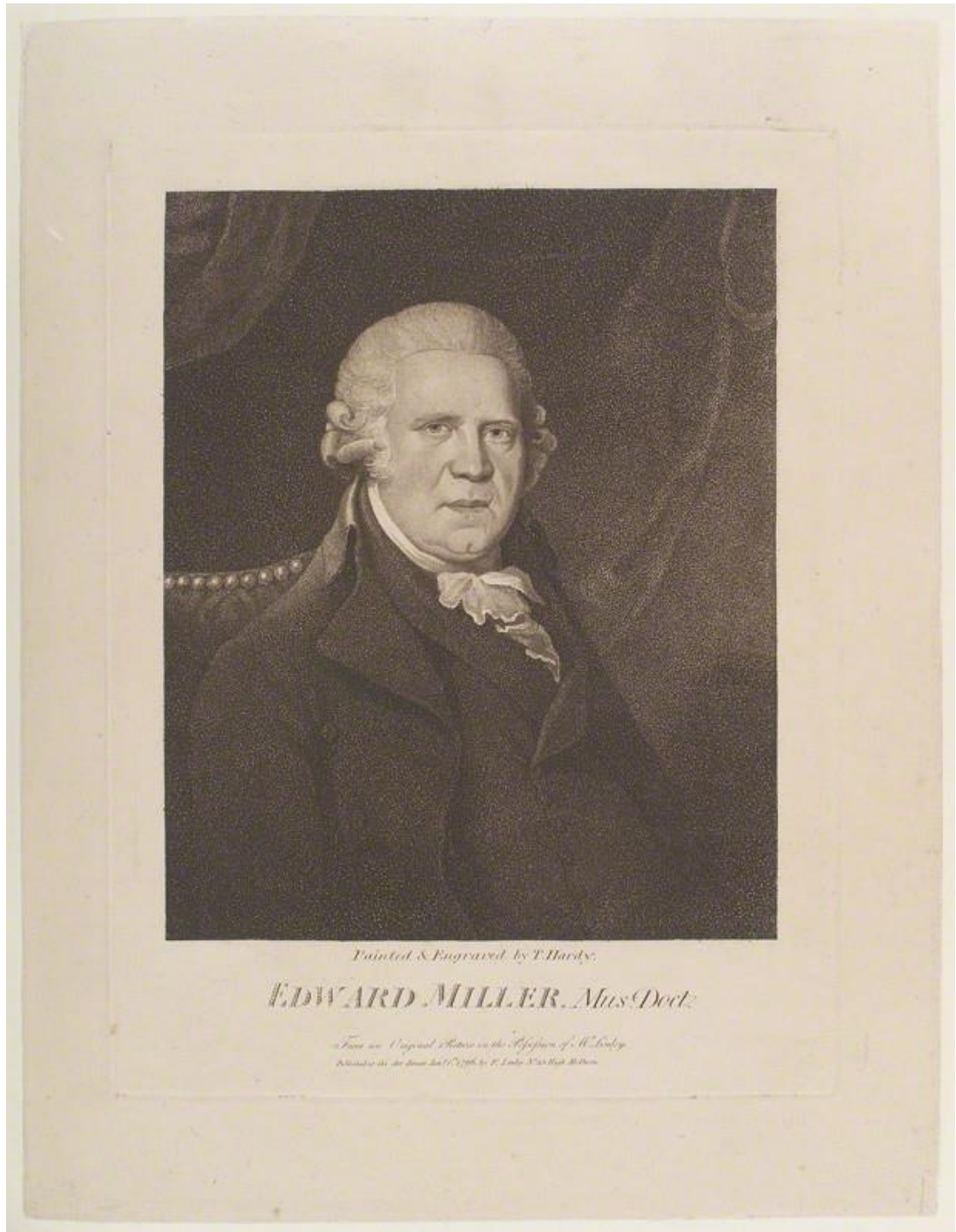
You don’t perhaps know that I have already some time been thinking of leaving off professing Musick and the first opportunity that offers I shall really do so. It is very well, in your way, when one has a fixed Salary, but to take so much for a Concert, so much for teaching, and so much for a Benefit is what I do not like at all, and rather than go on in that way I would take any opportunity of leaving off Musick; not that I intend to forget it, for it should always be my chief study tho’ I had another employment. But Musick ought not to be treated in that mercenary footing.<sup>2</sup>

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*This chapter develops material first presented in papers delivered at the Royal Musical Association Research Students’ Conference held at the University of Birmingham between 6-8 January 2014 and a study day organised by Newcastle University and The Old Newcastle Project titled ‘Musical Life Outside London, 1500-1800: Networks, Circulation, Sources’ held at Newcastle Black Gate on 25 October 2014.*

<sup>1</sup> On the music profession, see Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century: A Social History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); and Deborah Rohr, *The Careers of British Musicians, 1750-1850* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001). Ehrlich, pp. 20-22 provides a brief discussion on the musical activities and development of Miller’s native Norwich as a provincial centre.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from William Herschel to his brother Jacob, dated 12 April 1761, quoted in Anthony J. Turner, *Science and Music in Eighteenth Century Bath* (Bath: University of Bath, 1977), p. 24. See below p. 168 for more information on the relationship between Herschel and Miller.



**Figure 4.1** Stipple engraving of Edward Miller by Thomas Hardy (1796); National Portrait Gallery, London

**Table 4.1** Important events in the life of Edward Miller and his musical publications

<u>Year</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Musical Publications</u>
1735	Born in Norwich	
c. 1751- 1756	Studied with Charles Burney at King's Lynn and performed in Handel's London oratorio orchestra	
1756	Appointed organist of St George's Church, Doncaster at a yearly salary of £30	* <i>A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata; [Short Airs or Minuets composed for the use of young practitioners on the German Flute and Harpsichord]</i>
1757	Volunteered for the local militia, commanded by the Marquess of Rockingham	
c. 1760 1761	Introduced to William Herschel Benefit concert for Miller at Doncaster featuring Thomas Arne's <i>Thomas and Sally</i>	<i>Six Solos for a German Flute with a thorough bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello (Op. 1)</i>
1763	Married Elizabeth Lee and appointed to instruct the Doncaster town waits	
1765	Moved to Church Hill next to St George's Church	
1767 c. 1768	Organist salary raised to 40 guineas Miller conducted oratorios at Doncaster with the assistance of 'Sig. PUGNANI, First Violin, and Conductor of the Italian Opera, in the HAY MARKET'	<i>Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord, with an accompaniment to three of them for a Violin or German Flute (Op. 2)</i>
1769	Miller conducted 3-day Doncaster music festival during race week (September)	<i>Six Solos for a German Flute with a thorough bass for the Harpsichord or Violoncello, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Op. 1)</i>
c. 1770		* <i>Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental parts (Op. 3)</i>
1771	Miller conducted oratorios at Retford	
1772	Miller played the organ for a service at St James' Church, Ipswich (including an anthem of his own composition)	
1773	His wife Elizabeth died	
1774	Appointed freeman of Doncaster	
1778		<i>Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental parts, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Op. 3)</i>

- 1779 Recommended for the post of Master of the King's Music by the Marquess of Rockingham, however this proved unsuccessful
- 1781 Initiated as a freemason at the Doncaster lodge; Performed alongside his 14-year old son William at Doncaster
- 1782 Second attempt to gain a court appointment was unsuccessful, due to the death of the Marquess of Rockingham; Miller wrote *The Tears of Yorkshire for the Loss of the Most Noble, the Marquess of Rockingham* in tribute
- 1783 *Institutes of Music, or Easy Instruction for the Harpsichord* (Op. 4)
- 1784 Petitioned for the establishment of a charitable fund for the benefit of provincial musicians in *Letters in behalf of Professors of Music residing in the Country* ahead of the Handel Commemoration at Westminster Abbey
- 1786 Awarded Doctor of Music from Pembroke College, Cambridge; Appointed Master of St George's masonic lodge † Te Deum, Jubilate, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (doctoral exercise?)
- 1787 First concert of the New Musical Fund directed by Miller and Philip Hayes at the King's Theatre, Haymarket, London; Miller conducted Doncaster music festival, starring soprano Madame Mara *Elements of Thorough Bass and Composition* (Op. 5)
- 1788 Miller directed Sheffield music festival from the organ
- 1789 Received by George III to discuss the New Musical Fund (accompanied by George Smart) *An Anthem and Hymn, with Instrumental Parts* (Op. 6); Arrangements of Corelli's sonatas Opp. 1-4 for harpsichord, organ or pianoforte
- 1790 \* *The Psalms of David, for the Use of Parish Churches*
- 1791 Wrote *Thoughts on the present performance of Psalmody in the Established Church of England* as a [24 Exercises in all the Major and Minor Keys (Op. 7)]; 12 *Progressive Lessons for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with an*



	companion to his <i>Psalms of David</i> ; Miller conducted Louth music festival; appointed organist at St Swithin, East Retford (Miller held this position until 1797)	<i>Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute</i> (Op. 8)
1792	Awarded £25 by George III in recognition of his <i>Psalms of David</i> ; wrote a letter to the 'Country Spectator' in defence of the music profession; Elected Master of St George's lodge	
1793	The first of Miller's 'ANNUAL CONCERT' in Sheffield	
1794	Miller appointed organist of St James's Chapel, Sheffield; conducted music festival to open the new organ (also played an organ concerto)	
1796	Married second wife Margaret Edwards ( <i>d.</i> 1838); Conducted Sheffield music festival	
1797		<i>16 Easy Voluntaries for the Organ</i> (Op. 9)
c. 1799	Retired from class music teaching at 'Mrs. Procter's School' in Doncaster	<i>12 Canzonets for the Voice and Piano Forte</i> (Op. 10)
1800		<i>Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns</i> (vol. 1); <i>The New Flute Instructor</i> ; <i>Sacred Music [...]</i> <i>intended as an Appendix to Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns</i>
1802	Miller conducted the Bradford music festival; Resigned Mastership at St George's lodge	
1804	* <i>The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity</i>	
1805		<i>Dr Watts's Psalms and Hymns</i> (vol. 2); [ <i>An Anthem performed on a Commencement at St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, and a Hymn</i> ]
1807	Died at Doncaster	[ <i>A Musical Primer</i> ]

(Miller also composed a number of  
patriotic and masonic songs which were  
printed in sheet music form)

Key \* includes list of subscribers † autograph score [no copy survives]

Miller pursued both musical and non-musical activities, combining the income received from his salaried musical posts, school and private teaching, concert performances and publications with that earned from farming and buying and selling property. Writing in 1792, at the height of his career, Miller reflected:

I esteem my lot fortunate, in residing in this happy country. – The seat of liberty, of commerce, and of the fine arts – as a literary man, I respect the sciences; and, far from attempting to degrade the character of an artist, am thankful for the instruction, or pleasure I receive, from the exertion of his talents. Convinced by my own wants, that I may be indebted to the lowest individual, I will cherish in my heart universal benevolence to mankind; regarding every fellow creature, as a link of that great chain by which the Almighty governs the universe.<sup>3</sup>

A list of subscribers is commonly found at the beginning of eighteenth-century printed music publications; however the relationship between the composer and subscriber is often overlooked.<sup>4</sup> David Hunter has highlighted the financial advantages of publishing by subscription:

Subscription publishing was the only way for a composer, compiler, or even a publisher to finance the production of a book from receipts, rather than from other income, from a loan, or from the profits of previous publications.<sup>5</sup>

The enlisting of subscribers was commonly made through personal approaches and newspaper advertisements, both methods utilised by Miller.<sup>6</sup> Three of his surviving

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<sup>3</sup> Edward Miller, *A Letter to the Country Spectator, in Reply to the Author of his Ninth Number, Published December 4, 1792* (London: W. Miller, 1792), p. 16. Miller was writing in response to comments made by Querulous Moody, an alias for David Hery Urquhart.

<sup>4</sup> Recent studies include David Hunter and Rose M. Mason, ‘Supporting Handel through Subscription to Publication: The Lists of *Rodelinda* and *Faramondo* Compared’, *Notes*, 56.1 (September 1999), 27-93; and a study on the subscribers to James Nares’ *Eight Setts of Lessons for the Harpsichord* (London, 1747) by Margaret Seares in ‘The Composer and the Subscriber: A Case Study from the 18th Century’, *EM*, 39.1 (February 2011), 65-78. For the eighteenth-century music publishing trade, see Michael Kassler (ed.), *The Music Trade in Georgian England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> David Hunter, ‘The Publishing of Opera and Song Books in England, 1703-1726’, *Notes*, 47.3 (March 1991), 647-685 (p. 673).

<sup>6</sup> Among the papers of John Grimston (1725-1780), a gentleman residing in the East Riding of Yorkshire, is an advertisement for Charles Avison’s *Twelve Concertos for Four Parts* dated March 1765 (the collection was published 1766). Underneath in Avison’s hand is written: ‘Sir, I beg Pardon for the Liberty of this Application for the Honour of your Name among my Subscribers to the last Work I shall probably offer to the Public, the first Part of which will be published the latter End of this Month. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant. / Charles Avison. / Newcastle. March 3rd, 1766’; see East Riding Archives and Local Studies Service (Beverley), DDGR/42/16/23. Hans Lenneberg suggests that newspaper advertisements were effective in securing subscribers as the music was cheaper if ordered in

musical works were published by subscription: *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata* (1756), *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental parts*, Op. 3 (c. 1770) and *The Psalms of David, for the Use of Parish Churches* (1790) (see Table 4.1). An examination of the subscribers to these publications enables us to explore the social context within which this provincial musician worked and the network of contacts he made throughout his career.<sup>7</sup>

Through his entrepreneurial skills, social circles and network, Miller was able to successfully develop a national profile, gain Royal patronage and secure over 2000 subscribers to his *Psalms of David* (1790), a ten-fold increase on the number who subscribed to his early works. This chapter will examine how Miller utilised marketing and graded pedagogical publications to publicise himself to a national audience. Miller displayed a great degree of social climbing. Writing shortly after the musician's death, John Aikin described Miller's life as 'actively spent in the hurry and dissipation of general society'.<sup>8</sup> Although from a humble working-class background, his profession allowed him to enter the houses of rich landowners and mix with other influential and wealthy members of the gentry. He actively sought opportunities for social elevation and musical advancement, and was able to cross social boundaries of wealth and class. Miller's career was unique and no other provincial musician working in Yorkshire, Bath, or Newcastle, for instance, perhaps with the exceptions of the conductor Joah Bates of Halifax, the Oxford music professor Philip Hayes and the historian Charles Burney, achieved a position of similar stature.

This chapter will examine the day-to-day working life of this provincial musician, including his education, employment, income, professional goals and achievements, patrons and network. It will be demonstrated that Miller successfully combined

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advance; see Hans Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music, 1500-1850* (New York: Pendragon Press, 2003), p. 70.

<sup>7</sup> Stanley Sadie has suggested that 'the nearest we can approach [an analysis by social class of the music-buying public is] through a study of the lists printed at the front of those relatively few publications that were issued by subscription'; see 'Music in the Home II', in *The Blackwell History of Music in Britain: The Eighteenth Century*, vol. 4, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone and Roger Fiske (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 315.

<sup>8</sup> John Aikin (ed.), *The Athenaeum, A Magazine of Literary and Miscellaneous Information* (London: Longmans, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807), vol. 2, p. 544.

commercial enterprise and patronage, and his contacts comprised of an array of musical celebrities, including Charles Burney, William Boyce (Master of the King's Music), George Frederic Handel, James Nares (organist of the Chapel Royal), Charles Dibdin, Philip Hayes and Wilhelm Cramer. His rich network of subscribers included members of the Royal family, nobility, clergy, local gentry, freemasons, professional musicians and members of the Chapel Royal.

A survey of local newspapers in Doncaster has uncovered a number of previously unquoted accounts and reviews of concerts in the town and the surrounding area. This chapter will examine the significance of such events and concert life in the region in the second half of the eighteenth century. The following pages correct details and expand upon information provided by Frederick Fowler in his biographical study on the Doncaster musician.<sup>9</sup> Unlike Fowler, I will present a critical perspective of Miller's work and music.

#### 4.1 Early years and education

Miller was born in Norwich into a humble tradesman family on 30 October 1735, the second son and fourth child of Thomas Miller (1692/3-1764), a paviour of good repute, and his wife Elizabeth Bacon (*d.* 1756). He was baptised on 30 November 1735 at St Peter Mancroft, Norwich.<sup>10</sup> Details of Miller's early musical education are sketchy. However, my discovery of a harpsichord lesson book in the Rowe Music Library at King's College, Cambridge enables us to establish his early education with greater confidence.<sup>11</sup> The title page of the book is inscribed 'Harpsichord E. Miller' and includes writing in Miller's hand and an advertisement for the services of Charles Lulman, a Norwich-based music master. The printed advertisement is stuck to the inside of the front cover and reads:

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<sup>9</sup> Frederick Fowler, *Edward Miller, Organist of Doncaster: His Life and Times* (Doncaster: Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council, 1979).

<sup>10</sup> Christopher Smith, 'Miller, Edward (1735–1807)', *ODNB*; J. M. Black, 'Miller, Edward', *GMO*.

<sup>11</sup> Ckc 251

SUCH Persons as are desirous to be Instructed in the ART of MUSICK, either upon the Organ, Harpsichord, Spinnet, Bass-Viol, Violin, or Flute, may be Carefully Taught with Expedition, By Me / CHARLES LULMAN.

Lulman is first mentioned in 1721 as a composer of songs, including ‘In vino veritas, or The happy toper’, and violin dance music.<sup>12</sup> He was a successful music teacher in Norwich for over thirty years and opened a music school.<sup>13</sup> It would appear that Miller studied flute, harpsichord and organ and received his early musical training through this local teacher. On the back page of the manuscript is a note in an unknown hand: ‘To / Edw<sup>d</sup> Miller / at Mr. Stantons Haberdasher / opposite Bow Church / Cheapside / London’ (see Figure 4.2). This confirms that Miller was residing in London during his teenage years and that he was in possession of the book – perhaps his family sent him the book after he moved to the capital. Below the note in another unknown hand is a passage concerning the different sized strings of steel, brass and copper used in harpsichords. A slip of paper with a ‘Table of Accompanymts’ is inserted at the back of the book (see Figure 4.3). From a comparison of Miller’s surviving autograph letters from the 1790s and 1800s (see Figures 4.19 and 4.20) it is likely that this is also in his hand. It is therefore clear that Miller continued to be in possession of the book and may have used it in his own teaching activities.

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<sup>12</sup> See Henry Roberts, *Calliope, or English Harmony* (London: Henry Roberts, 1739), vol. 1, no. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Trevor Fawcett, *Music in Eighteenth-Century Norwich and Norfolk* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1979), p. 13. See also the *Norwich Gazette*, 30 December 1721 and 8 December 1722; and *Norwich Mercury*, 6 November 1742, 13 December 1760 and 21 March 1761. The *Norwich Gazette* of 19 July 1735 reported a concert involving Lulman featuring ‘favourite Compositions of Corelli, Geminiani, Alberti, Festing, and other celebrated Masters; with curious Performances on the German Flute’.

To  
 Edw. Miller  
 at Mr. Stanton's Haberdashen  
 opposite Bow Church  
 Cheapside  
 London

Of the different-sized wires used in most Harpsichords, it may not be improper to observe, <sup>that</sup> N<sup>o</sup>. 4 of Steel-wire should be used from the top down to the a. G. or C in the 3<sup>d</sup> space; unless the measures are very long, that is, if the shortest or upper string should be six inches, it will be very difficult to draw it up; therefore N<sup>o</sup>. 5. may be used to three or four of the highest Notes, N<sup>o</sup>. 5. will do from the 2<sup>d</sup> C to the middle C of the instrument N<sup>o</sup>. 6. may be used to the next F below, and N<sup>o</sup>. 7. from E to the next C. After which no more than four strings of N<sup>o</sup>. 8. of Steel-wire are used, and these are put on B<sup>4</sup> and B<sup>5</sup>. the next down to G are N<sup>o</sup>. 8. of Brass, from F<sup>4</sup> to E. b. N<sup>o</sup>. 9.; from E to G. N<sup>o</sup>. 10. B<sup>4</sup> and B<sup>5</sup>, are N<sup>o</sup>. 11. of Copper-wire; A<sup>4</sup> and A<sup>5</sup>. N<sup>o</sup>. 12. The rest are N<sup>o</sup>. 13. of Copper.

The sizes of wire proper for an Octave are these, viz.

N <sup>o</sup> . 5 - - - - 10	N <sup>o</sup> . 6. of steel - 7	N <sup>o</sup> . 8. of Brass - 6	Strings
N <sup>o</sup> . 4. - - - - 16	N <sup>o</sup> . 7. - - - - 4	N <sup>o</sup> . 9. - - - - 4	
N <sup>o</sup> . 5 - - - - 10	N <sup>o</sup> . 8. - - - - 3	N <sup>o</sup> . 10 - - - - 2	

Figure 4.2 Note addressed to Edward Miller in London and passage concerning harpsichord strings; Ckc 251, f. 28v



*Table of Accompaniments*

The 2 <sup>d</sup> is accompanied by	4 <sup>th</sup> 9 <sup>th</sup>	3
4 <sup>th</sup>	6 <sup>th</sup> The 7 <sup>th</sup> accom <sup>t</sup> by	3
5 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
6 <sup>th</sup>		3
7 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	3
8 <sup>th</sup>	9 <sup>th</sup>	3 02 3
The 3 <sup>d</sup> by the	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
4 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
5 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
6 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
8 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	3
The 4 <sup>th</sup> is accom <sup>t</sup> by the	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
5 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
6 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup> 02 3	3
8 <sup>th</sup>	2 02 5	3
9 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	3
The 5 <sup>th</sup> is accom <sup>t</sup> by the	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
6 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
7 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
8 <sup>th</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	3
9 <sup>th</sup>	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
The 6 <sup>th</sup> accom <sup>t</sup> by the	8 <sup>th</sup>	3
8 <sup>th</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	3

Figure 4.3 'Table of Accompaniments' in Miller's hand; Ckc 251, loose leaf pp. 1-2



The common Chord is the 3<sup>d</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> & may be taken 3 ways, 3 or 3 or 3. Example 1. all other chords may be taken 3 ways, & those consisting of 4 notes, 4 ways. Ex. 2. The most harmonious & convenient Common Chord to each Note may be seen in Ex. 3.

The common Chord is to be played to all Notes requiring a Chord, which are not figured, or are marked with all, or any of the Figures 3. 5 & 8. or with a Fraternal, that is, Shar, ♯ or Flat, ♭ the Note only. In Common Chords, all other, two consecutive 8<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> between the highest Note of the Chord & the Bass Note are disallowed & always to be avoided. Example 4.

The Note marked alone is to be accompanied by the 3<sup>d</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup>. See Example 5. Any Number of Notes, succeeding each other regularly ascending or descending with the Bass may be played & provided the 3<sup>d</sup> be the highest or lowest Note of the Chord, but generally 4. highest Ex. 6. The 6<sup>th</sup> & 4<sup>th</sup> marked over each other are accompanied by the 8<sup>th</sup> Example 7.

The 6<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup>, when marked over each other are accompanied by the 3<sup>d</sup> & 8<sup>th</sup> Example 8.

In this Chord the 5<sup>th</sup> is usually the Second, but the 6<sup>th</sup> is marked upwards, as it is often especially before a Chord. The 6<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> being marked by the side of each other, both may have their Second harmonies, or sometimes, the first. They are only to be accompanied, the other played as a single Note. Example 9.

The music contained in the book is not in Miller's hand and is likely to be in the hand of Charles Lulman, his teacher (see Table 4.2). Of particular interest in the book is a series of cadential exercises in 'Sharp Keys' (major keys) probably completed by Miller (see Figure 4.4). Lulman provided the names of the keys to be completed, while Miller added key signatures, figured bass and attempted to complete the 6/4 – 5/3 progressions. Note the extensive smudging and backwards sixes in the figured bass, indications of a young unsteady hand. Miller correctly identified the appropriate key signatures and completed the first exercise in C major successfully with melodic decoration. However, the remaining exercises are completed unsatisfactorily, with outlines of a melodic line only provided. The excessive leaping displays a lack of polished composition skill and figured bass realisation.

**Table 4.2** Contents of Ckc 251

<i>ff.</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1-4r	Lessons and exercises in 'Thorow Bass' and 'Fugeing'	Godfrey Keller	
4v	'A Gavott in the Overture of Otho by Mr. Handell'	Handel	Overture to <i>Ottone, re in Germania</i> (1723)
5r	'Minuet by Mr. Lully'	[John Loeillet]	See Lbl Add. 31577, f. 18v. Fingering and ornamentation added
5v-9r	Exercises in thorough bass		In different keys, with advice on the deposition of notes in each hand
9v-10r	'Voluntary' in E minor	[William Walond]	Second movt Anon.
10v-11r	'Minuet' in G major	Anon.	
11v	'Minuet Geminiani' in C minor	Geminiani	
12r	'March' in G major	Anon.	
12v-13r	'Gigue' in G major	Anon.	
13v-14r	'Air. Veracini' in D major	Veracini	
14v-15r	'Minuet, Handell' in Bb major	Handel	Includes 'solo' and 'tutti' markings
15v-16r	'Minuet by Mr. Felton' in A major	[William] Felton	From his <i>Eight Suites of Easy Lessons for the Harpsichord</i> (1752)
16v-17r	'Gavot Mr. Stanly' in Bb major	[John] Stanley	Includes 'solo' marking

17v-18r	'Aria Mr. Stanly' in D major	[John] Stanley	
18r	Cadential exercises in various keys	[Edward Miller?]	Completed unsatisfactorily
18v-19r	'Gavott Felton' in A major	[William] Felton	
19v-20r	'Corelli' sonata movt in G minor	Corelli	From his Op. 6
20v-21r	'Fugue. Corelli' in F major	Corelli	From his Op. 3
21r	'Minuet Corelli' in C major	Corelli	From his Op. 6
21v-23r	Rudiments of music, including accented/unaccented dissonances and consonances		
23v	'Trumpet' tune in D major	[Abiell Whichello]	From his <i>Lessons for the Harpsichord, or Spinett</i> (1707)
24r	Untitled and incomplete triple time movt in F major	Anon.	
24r	'Andante' in F major	Anon.	'Vivace' tempo marking
24v-25r	'Fuga' in A major	Anon.	
25v	'A Favourite Lesson' in D major	Anon.	
25v	'Air' in Bb major	Anon.	
25v	'Variations by Mr. Lulman'	[Charles] Lulman	Variations on the preceding 'Air' in Bb major
26r	'Dr. Greene' lesson in E major	[Maurice] Greene	
26r	'Boscomb An Air' in G major	Anon.	
26v-27v	'Alexis a Cantata by Dr. Pepusch' [printed 1710]	J. C. Pepusch	Treble and bc (figured). Recits included, but final movt with harpsichord arpeggiation incomplete
28r	Quotation from 'Mr. Avison' concerning thorough bass practice	[Charles] Avison	
28v	Note addressed to 'Edw[ar]d Miller' in London and passage concerning harpsichord strings		





Figure 4.4 Cadential figured bass exercises supposedly completed by Miller; Ckc 251, f. 18r

The book includes a range of popular repertoire, with late seventeenth-century music by Corelli and Antonio Veracini (1659-1733), early eighteenth-century works by Abiell Whichello (1683-1747), Handel and Pepusch, and pieces by contemporaries William Walond (1719-1768) and William Felton (1715-1769). It would appear that Miller and Lulman in Norfolk had good access to modern and contemporary music published in London. A notable progression in the repertoire can be observed throughout the course of the book. It begins with exercises in figured bass and simpler binary form pieces in no more than two parts. The music gradually gets more difficult with harder key signatures, hand-crossing, rapid arpeggiation and fugal writing, culminating in an extract from Pepusch's canata 'See! from the silent groves' (*Alexis*) with figured bass only and rapid harpsichord arpeggiation in the left hand. Small stemless noteheads are added to aid the performer with the realisation (see Figure 4.5).

It is thought that Miller also studied with Charles Burney in King's Lynn, Norfolk.<sup>14</sup> Burney moved to Norfolk from London in September 1751 due to illness, leaving his wife and infant children behind, and accepted an organist position at St Margaret's Church at an annual salary of £100 (£70 more than the 'usual Salary').<sup>15</sup> However, there is no documentary evidence to confirm that Miller studied with the older musician and there is no mention of Miller among Burney's published correspondence. Writing shortly after his arrival (and presumably before he met the talented young Miller), Burney was unhappy with the organ at King's Lynn and the musical competence of the local population:

The Organ is Execrably bad, out of an hundred & fifty that I suppose there are in London, I dare say there is no One so bad. & Add to that a Total Ignorance of the most known & Common Musicall Merits that runs thro' the Whole Body of People I have yet Convers'd with, Even S<sup>r</sup> J: who is the Oracle of Apollo in this Country is extreamly Shallow, I say the bad Organ & the Ignorance of My Auditors must totally extinguish the few Sparks of Genius for Composition I may have, & entirely Discourage Practice.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Fowler, *Edward Miller*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>15</sup> Norfolk Record Office, Churchwardens' accounts PD 39/76 (S).

<sup>16</sup> Letter from Burney to his wife Esther, undated [c. 30 September 1751], see Alvaro Ribeiro (ed.), *The Letters of Dr Charles Burney: Volume 1, 1751-1784* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 2. The unspecified 'S<sup>r</sup> J:' is presumably Sir Jacob Astley of Melton Constable, see below p. 154. For an account of Burney's concert activities in and around King's Lynn to supplement his salary, see Percy A. Scholes, *The Great Dr. Burney: His Life, His Travels, His Works, His Family and His Friends*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University





**Figure 4.5** Extract from the final movement of Johann Christoph Pepusch's cantata 'See! from the silent groves' (*Alexis*); Ckc 251, f. 27v

Press, 1948), vol. 1, pp. 85-87; Slava Klima, Garry Bowers and Kerry S. Grant (eds.), *Memoirs of Dr. Charles Burney, 1726-1769* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988), post 65, n. 1 and 71; he organised two concerts at the Town Hall, on 8 February and 28 August 1753, see *Norwich Mercury*, 27 January 1753 and 28 July 1753. Burney arranged for a new organ to be built at St Margaret's Church by Johann Snetzler (1710-1785) to his personal specification. The organ was opened on 17 March 1754 with Burney at the keyboard. In a letter dated 1 February 1755 he expressed his interest to resign his organist post as 'my Success in other respects falling short of my Expectations; the Organ Salary is too inconsiderable to retain me in your Service', see Ribeiro, pp. 15-16.

It was probably through Burney's London connections that Miller found himself playing the flute in Handel's London oratorio orchestra, even attending rehearsals at Handel's house in Brook Street. In his *History and Antiquities of Doncaster* (1804) Miller recalled that 'during the latter part of Handel's life, when a boy, I used to perform on the German Flute in London, at his oratorios'.<sup>17</sup> The only date provided relating to this occurrence is 'about 1753 in the Lent season'.<sup>18</sup> Miller also provided an anecdote of one of the performances under the direction of Handel. It involved an ambitious minor canon from Gloucester Cathedral who was not content with singing in the chorus. Handel accepted his request to sing a solo, but his performance was not agreeable and he was hissed by the audience. After the concert Handel is reported to have said: 'I am sorry, very sorry for you indeed, my dear sir, but go back to your church in de country! God will forgive you for your bad singing; dese wicked people in London, dey will not forgive you'.<sup>19</sup> In his *New Flute Instructor* (1800), Miller provided more information and recalled that the German flute 'was my first instrument, being one of the few performers now living, who assisted at *Handel's Oratorios*, during his life-time, and constantly attended the rehearsals at his house, in *Brooke-Street*, in the Lent Season'.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately no direct evidence confirming Miller's statements survives. If Miller indeed studied with Burney, he must have come into contact with him between Burney's arrival at King's Lynn in 1751 and early 1753, when Miller was playing in Handel's orchestra. There is disagreement between sources whether Miller's training was received from Burney in London or King's Lynn. For instance, John Edward Jackson wrote that after being apprenticed to his father as a paviour, 'but not relishing the occupation [he] absconded to London and placed himself under the instruction of the celebrated composer Dr. Burney'.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Edward Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity, with Anecdotes of eminent men* (Doncaster: Printed and Sold by W. Sheardown; and sold by W. Miller, 1804), p. 309.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

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

<sup>20</sup> Edward Miller, *The New Flute Instructor. Or. The Art of Playing the German-Flute in a short time without the help of a Master* (London: Broderip & Wilkinson, 1800), preface. A copy survives in Lbl Music Collections b.118.

<sup>21</sup> John Edward Jackson, *The History and Description of St. George's Church at Doncaster* (London: Printed for the Author by J. B. Nichols and Sons, 1855), pp. 58-60.

Miller's teenage years were therefore spent travelling between London and Norwich. This is supported by evidence provided by the subscription list to his earliest surviving publication, *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata*, published in 1756 around the time he moved to Doncaster.<sup>22</sup> The title page of the collection informs us that it was sold in London by Miller's publisher, John Johnson, and also 'by the author, at Mr. Wass s [sic] in old Fish Street'. This suggests that Miller lodged with Wass in London. Robert Wass was a singer of the Chapel Royal and a regular bass soloist in Handel's oratorio performances between 1752 and 1756, again connecting Miller with Handel and the Chapel Royal.<sup>23</sup> Wass may also have sold music for Miller.

The collection had 233 subscribers, predominately from London and Norfolk, an impressive number for a young provincial musician. 167 subscribers were from the capital, 63 were from Miller's native county and 3 resided in Cambridge. Despite the smaller number, the social range of the subscribers from Norfolk was more varied and included a number of landed gentry (including 'Sir Jacob Astley, Bart.' of Melton Constable and 'Sir Henry L'Estrange, Bart.' of Hunstanton) and five members of the local clergy (including 'The Reverend Mr John Bruckner, Minister of the French Congregation'), six booksellers and four musicians. Thomas Miller (1731-1804), Edward's older brother, ordered six copies for his bookshop in the Market Place in Bungay.<sup>24</sup> In the capital, three music and dancing-masters, and two organ/harpsichord builders ('Mr John Hitchcock' and a 'Mr Coxford') subscribed. The Norwich musicians, James Hook (1746-1827), Samuel Blogg and Charles Lulman, Miller's teacher, are also listed. Hook, a pupil of Thomas Garland, organist of Norwich Cathedral, and possibly also of Burney at King's Lynn, was later to achieve fame as an organist, teacher and

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<sup>22</sup> Edward Miller, *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata* (London: John Johnson, [1756]). A copy survives in Lbl Music Collections G.806.i.(8.).

<sup>23</sup> Donald Burrows, *Handel and the English Chapel Royal* (Oxford: OUP, 2005), p. 592.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Miller, bookseller and grocer, was a very successful businessman and became a significant figure, attracting custom from across the country to his shop. See J. M. Blatchly, 'Miller, Thomas (1731-1804)', *ODNB*. Thomas had a son, William Richard Beckford Miller (1769-1844), who became a publisher. His first publication was his father-in-law's *Psalms of David* (1790). See J.-M. Alter, 'Miller, William Richard Beckford (1769-1844)', *ODNB*.

composer of light music in London.<sup>25</sup> Miller would therefore appear not to have been the only Norwich-based musician to take advantage of Burney's presence. Interestingly, Garland's assistant organist Edward Beckwith, who was also deputy organist at St Peter Mancroft and city wait between 1748 and 1780, was an acquaintance of Philip Hayes at Oxford. Beckwith sent his son John (1759-1809) to Oxford to study harpsichord and organ under Hayes.<sup>26</sup> Therefore from an early age, Miller enjoyed a strong and influential network of musical contacts in his home county and in the capital.

From circumstantial evidence and what we know about the lives of some of the subscribers to Miller's *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata*, the collection was probably published in 1756 and coincided with his appointment at Doncaster. Frederick Fowler has demonstrated that one of the subscribers, a 'Rev. Mr. Thom', listed as 'Vicar of Castle Acre', resigned his position in 1756. Another, 'Mr. Hooke, Senior, Norwich', the father of the musician James Hook, died in 1757.<sup>27</sup> The *York Courant* of 7 September 1756 reported:

*This Day is published, Price three Shillings, / A COLLECTION of ENGLISH SONGS, and a CANTATA, set to Music, by EDWARD MILLER, Organist of Doncaster. / Printed by John Johnson, in Cheapside, London. / Likewise a Collection of short AIRS, or MINUETS, composed for young Practitioners. Price 1s. – They may be had of the Author, at Doncaster, and at all the Music-Shops in Town and Country.*<sup>28</sup>

This demonstrates that Miller was already residing in Doncaster and from an early age was an active music educator. His music was readily available in Doncaster and York, via Thomas Haxby's music shop. A couple of weeks later Miller performed at a concert at the Mansion House in Doncaster on 28 September 1756.<sup>29</sup> Miller's first residence was on the High Street. In his *History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, Miller noted that 'my humble

<sup>25</sup> Peter Lynan, 'Hook, James (1746-1827)', *ODNB* and Pamela McGairl, 'Hook, James', *GMO*.

<sup>26</sup> Fawcett, p. 15; Watkins Shaw and Jonathan Baxendale, 'Beckwith, John "Christmas"', *GMO*. Philip Hayes was present at a benefit concert in aid of Beckwith in 1774 and conducted one of his own oratorios in Norwich, see *Norwich Mercury*, 7 May 1774. He conducted a concert in the cathedral the following year, see *Norwich Mercury*, 5 August 1775. See below pp. 187-188 for the relationship between Miller and Hayes.

<sup>27</sup> Fowler, *Edward Miller*, p. 14.

<sup>28</sup> The title page of the collection does not directly advertise Miller's place of residence or mention his appointment. All his future printed publications explicitly state that he was 'of Doncaster' or 'Organist at Doncaster'; see Appendix E. No copy survives of Miller's advertised collection of airs and minuets.

<sup>29</sup> *York Courant*, 21 September 1756.

mansion consisted but of two rooms' and he paid a rent of £4 a year.<sup>30</sup> In 1765 he moved to Church Hill, a house next to the Minster.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to his flute playing, Miller must have acquired considerable keyboard skills as on 19 August 1756, aged 21, he was appointed organist of St George's Church, Doncaster. Unusually, as at Lancaster, Basingstoke, Bedford and Scarborough, Miller's annual salary of £30 was paid by the corporation and he was consequently employed as the town's musician.<sup>32</sup> The corporation minutes recorded:

Ordered that Edw[ar]d Miller be appointed Organist of the parish Church of Doncaster & to have a yearly Salary of Thirty pounds to be paid him by the Corporation's Steward Quarterly & to Comence from the Twenty fourth Day of July last.<sup>33</sup>

John Edward Jackson informs us that Miller was appointed on the recommendation of James Nares (1715-1783), organist-composer of George III's Chapel Royal, based at St James's Palace, London.<sup>34</sup> Nares was organist at York Minster between 1735 and 1756 and was appointed to the Chapel Royal post on 13 January 1756 following the death of Maurice Green.<sup>35</sup> The vacancy at Doncaster became available as John Camidge (1734-

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<sup>30</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 162.

<sup>31</sup> See Fowler, *Edward Miller*, p. 25. The house still stands today.

<sup>32</sup> Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, 2 vols (Cambridge: CUP, 1979), pp. 109-110. The two previous organists at Doncaster, William Tireman and John Maddock, were also both paid by the corporation. The appointment of church organists usually involved a public recital. For example, candidates auditioning for the position of organist at Holy Trinity Church in Hull in 1751 had to publicly demonstrate their ability on the organ and give a concert. Matthias Hawdon won the vote, having played concertos on harpsichord, violin and cello. See *Newcastle Journal*, 15-22 June 1751. Unfortunately details surrounding Miller's appointment are unclear. In his response to Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression*, William Hayes offered the following advice: 'I should certainly vote for the Man who seemed best to understand his Business; with a moderate Share of *Execution*, preferable to one with *great Execution* and *moderate understanding*: Because I am persuaded, the *former* would contribute more to the Advancement of Music, and the *latter* probably be so vain of his own Performance, as not to regard that of any other Persons'; see Pierre Dubois (ed.), *Charles Avison's Essay on Musical Expression: With Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 100.

<sup>33</sup> Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 19 August 1756.

<sup>34</sup> Jackson, *The History and Description of St. George's Church at Doncaster*, pp. 58-60. See also Fowler, *Edward Miller*, p. 14. However, I have been unable to find any evidence to support this assertion.

<sup>35</sup> J. C. Hadden, 'Nares, James (*bap.* 1715, *d.* 1783)', rev. K. D. Reynolds, *ODNB*; Watkins Shaw, 'Nares, James', *GMO*.

1803) succeeded Nares at York Minster on 31 January 1756.<sup>36</sup> Miller's position as parish organist made him an important and influential figure in the town. Shortly after his arrival, Miller was quick to advertise in the local newspapers and establish contacts in York, including the music shop proprietor Thomas Haxby and John Camidge (who was also a freemason and opened the Doncaster lodge). Miller was certainly well-informed in the connections he was developing.

The organ which Miller would have played was erected by John Byfield, organ builder of Doncaster, on behalf of John Harris of London. Byfield was paid a sum of £525 and was described as living 'at Mr Wells in the Church Yard in Doncaster'.<sup>37</sup> Of the instrument Miller noted:

Its peculiarity is, the having in the great organ, two trumpets and a clarion throughout the whole compass; which stops are so excellent, that the late celebrated performer, Mr. [John] Stanley, told me, he thought every pipe in them was worth its weight in silver.<sup>38</sup>

The organ opened on 1 October 1740 with a concert of music 'by several eminent Hands from *York* and elsewhere'.<sup>39</sup>

## 4.2 Doncaster in the eighteenth century

Upon her arrival at Doncaster in 1697 Celia Fiennes noted:

here Yorkshire begins and here the Musick wellcom'd us into Yorkshire: Doncaster is a pretty large town of Stone Buildings, the streetes are good; there is a handsome Market Cross advanc'd on 20 steps at least, the Church is meate and prettu large, severall little Monuments; this town stands on the River Don which

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<sup>36</sup> Nicholas Temperley, 'Camidge', *GMO*.

<sup>37</sup> See Doncaster Archives, P1/3/E2/3 and 4. For the specification, see Jackson, *The History and Description of St. George's Church at Doncaster*, p. 53.

<sup>38</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 90.

<sup>39</sup> *York Courant*, 16 September 1740. Unfortunately, documentation outlining, for example, Miller's duties or size of the parish choir does not survive. Therefore it is not possible to draw a comprehensive picture of musical activities at St George's Church upon and immediately following Miller's appointment. A better picture of activities is possible to determine in the final decades of the eighteenth century, see below pp. 196-209.



gives name to the town, here is also a good large Meeting place; we were here the Lord's day and well entertained at the Angel.<sup>40</sup>

Daniel Defoe commented that Doncaster was a 'noble, large, spacious town, exceeding populous, and a great manufacturing town, principally for knitting'. His landlord at the tavern he was staying in was both the mayor and post-master but as he 'kept a pack of hounds, was company for the best gentlemen in the town or in the neighbourhood, and lived as great as any gentleman ordinarily did'.<sup>41</sup> The 1792 *Universal Trade Directory* noted that 'The situation of Doncaster is exceedingly pleasant, and is a great thoroughfare to York and other places in the North'. It continued:

The mansion-house is a very spacious stone edifice; and the theatre, town hall, and the bank, are also handsome buildings. It is to be remarked, that Doncaster had a magnificent mansion-house, built by Paine, for its mayor, before either London or York.<sup>42</sup>

Transport played an important role in Doncaster's development. The eighteenth-century stagecoach trade and numerous inns made Doncaster an important stopping point and staging post for travel on the Great North Road from London to Edinburgh.<sup>43</sup> Greater leisure opportunities became available as the town prospered. The town corporation actively supported the arts and financed the construction of public buildings, including a Civic Mansion House, designed by James Paine (built between 1745 and 1748) at a cost over £8000, for assemblies and concerts (see Figure 4.6); a theatre, which opened in 1776 at a cost of over £1500 (see Figure 4.7); and a race grandstand built in 1776 to the designs of John Carr (see Figure 4.8).<sup>44</sup> These conditions proved fruitful for Miller's career

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<sup>40</sup> Christopher Morris (ed.), *The Journeys of Celia Fiennes* (London: Cresset Press, 1947), p. 75.

<sup>41</sup> Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, intro. by G. D. H. Cole and D. C. Browning (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1974), vol. 2, p. 181.

<sup>42</sup> *Universal Trade Directory, Doncaster* (1792), p. 830.

<sup>43</sup> See Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance: Culture and Society in the Provincial Town, 1660-1770* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989; rpt 2002), p. 6.

<sup>44</sup> In the preface to James Paine, *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and other Ornaments of the Mansion-House, Belonging to the Corporation of Doncaster* (London, 1751) the architect recorded: 'THE Corporation of the antient Town of Doncaster in YORKSHIRE, being honour'd at their Entertainments with the Company of the neighbouring *Nobility*, and *Gentry*, were frequently in great Distress for suitable Rooms to receive them in; and therefore determined, in the Year 1744, to build a *Banqueting-House*'. A musicians' gallery was built above the main banqueting hall on the first floor. Two pillars are decorated with musical

progression. Doncaster was an important centre for horse racing. The famous St Leger race meeting commenced in 1778 and is older than Epsom's Derby. Tate Wilkinson recalled:

I closed Wakefield Theatre on Saturday, September 21, and opened the new Theatre at Doncaster on Monday, September 23, 1776 [...] and a pretty elegant theatre it then was and now is. Of course, the novelty of the theatre and the numerous attendance at the Races made it a fashionable place of resort. But the assembly rooms kept the ladies entirely away from the three race nights. On Friday the town is thinned, and on Saturday everybody is quite tired out.<sup>45</sup>

It was reported that in 1753 a 'number of stables are taken up for hunters by gentlemen who intend to take the diversion of stag- and fox-hunting during the race week and week after' and in 1751 it was alleged that 4000 noblemen and gentry hunted with the Marquess of Granby on the town moor.<sup>46</sup> R. W. Unwin highlighted the significance of the town as a leisure centre:

An old corporate town, in an influential ecclesiastical position at the head of a deanery, Doncaster had developed as a general emporium for a wide stretch of countryside, as an inland entrepot noted for the marketing of a particular commodity, and as a fashionable social centre.<sup>47</sup>

The population of Doncaster around 1750 has been estimated at approximately 3000.<sup>48</sup> According to Miller, this had risen to 5697 persons by 1800, with the breakdown of 2477 males and 3220 females, amongst 1260 families.<sup>49</sup> Miller described the town in his own *History and Antiquities of Doncaster* in 1804:

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instruments, including a lute, violin, French horn and oboe. As well as being the Mayor's residence, the building was used as an assembly room and concert hall.

<sup>45</sup> From his memoirs, quoted in Joseph Smith Fletcher, *The History of the St Leger Stakes, 1776-1901* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1902); see Kevin Grady, 'The Provision of Public Buildings in The West Riding of Yorkshire, c. 1600-1840' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 1980), pp. 193-194.

<sup>46</sup> John Fairfax-Blakeborough, *Northern Turf History: York and Doncaster Races (with Full Records of Ebor, Handicap, Gimcrack Stakes, and St. Leger)*, vol. 3 (London: J. A. Allen, 1950), pp. 197, 201.

<sup>47</sup> R. W. Unwin, 'Tradition and Transition: Market Towns of the Vale of York, 1660-1830', *Northern History*, 17 (1981), 72-116 (p. 76). See Alan Everitt, *Change in the Provinces: The Seventeenth Century* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1972), pp. 39-41; and J. A. Harrison, 'Private Schools in Doncaster in the Nineteenth Century', *Doncaster Museum Publications*, 20 (1958), 1, 4.

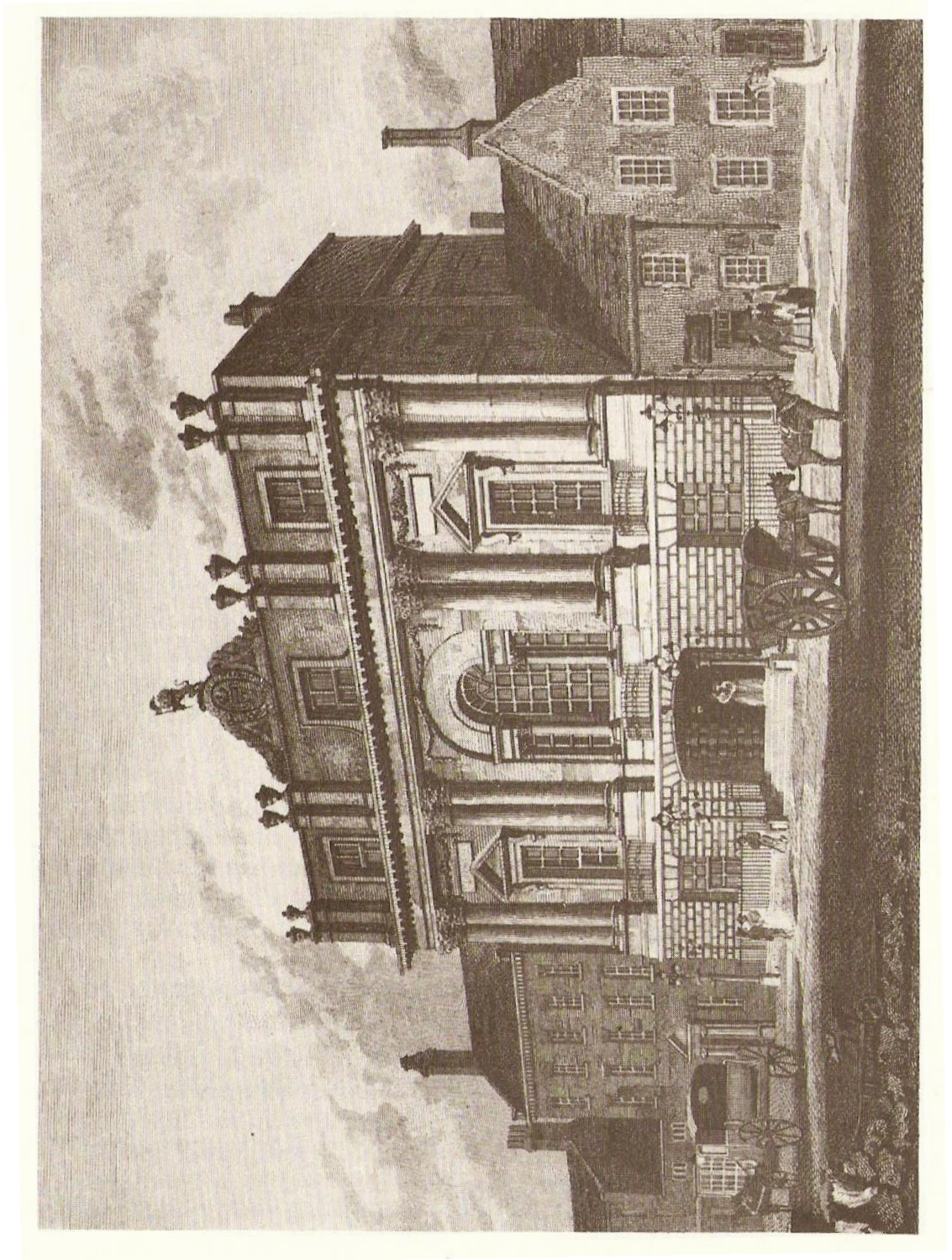
<sup>48</sup> Grady, 'The Provision of Public Buildings in The West Riding of Yorkshire, c. 1600-1840', p. 13.

<sup>49</sup> Edward Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 139.

Here are no assessments to be paid for lighting or for paving the streets, the expense of both is defrayed by the Corporation. No constable assessment is levied; and families are supplied with river water chiefly at the expense of the Corporation. The poor and highway assessments are also small, in proportion to those of many other place. Coals are cheap, servants wages moderate, and corn in the market, will not procure so high a price, as in most other places in the neighbourhood. / In fine, from the beauty of the town, the salubrity of the air, the goodness of the roads, the delightful promenades, and from the other advantages above-mentioned, Doncaster may perhaps vie with any town in the kingdom, as a most desirable residence, not only for the affluent, but more particularly for persons of small fortune.<sup>50</sup>

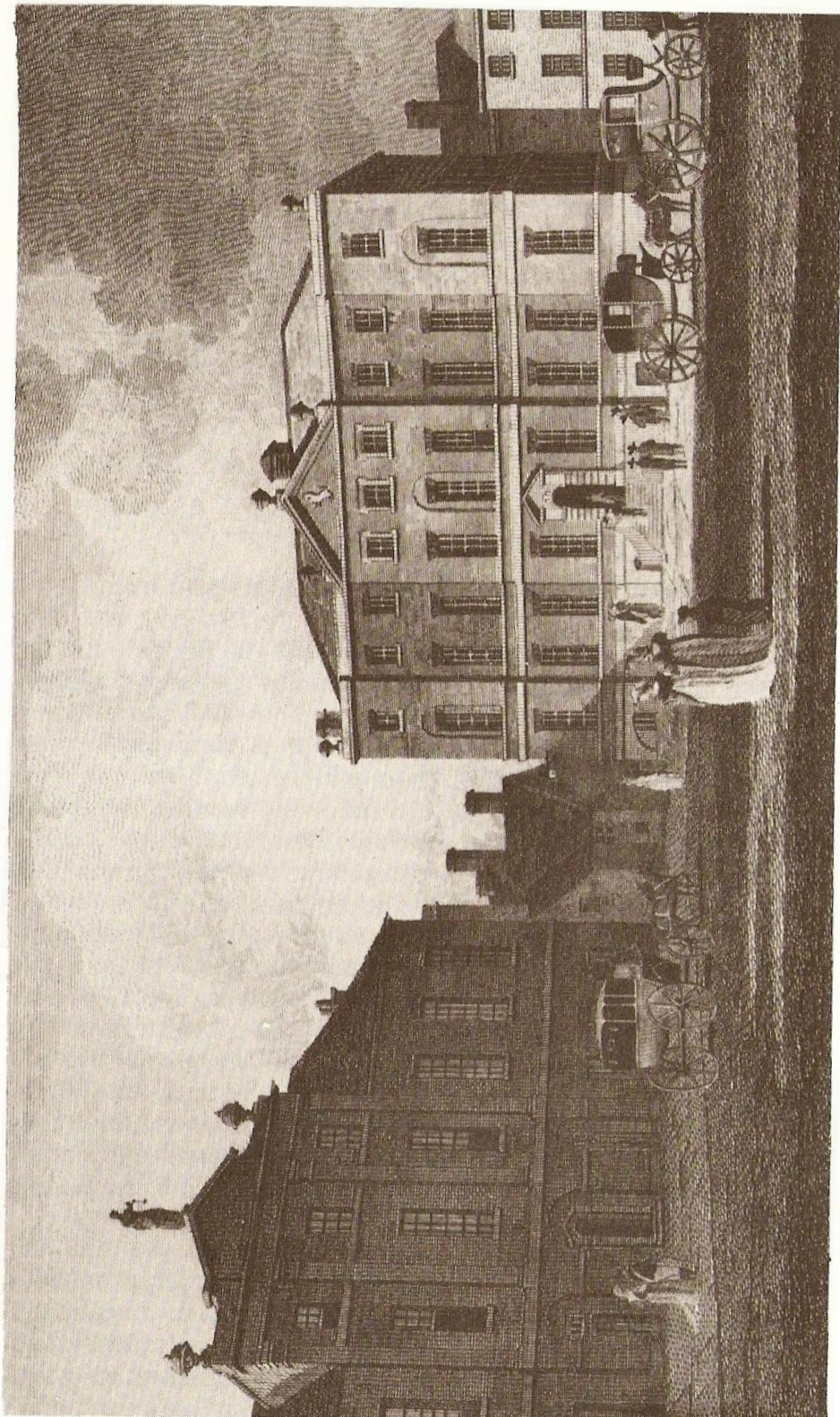
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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 138-139.



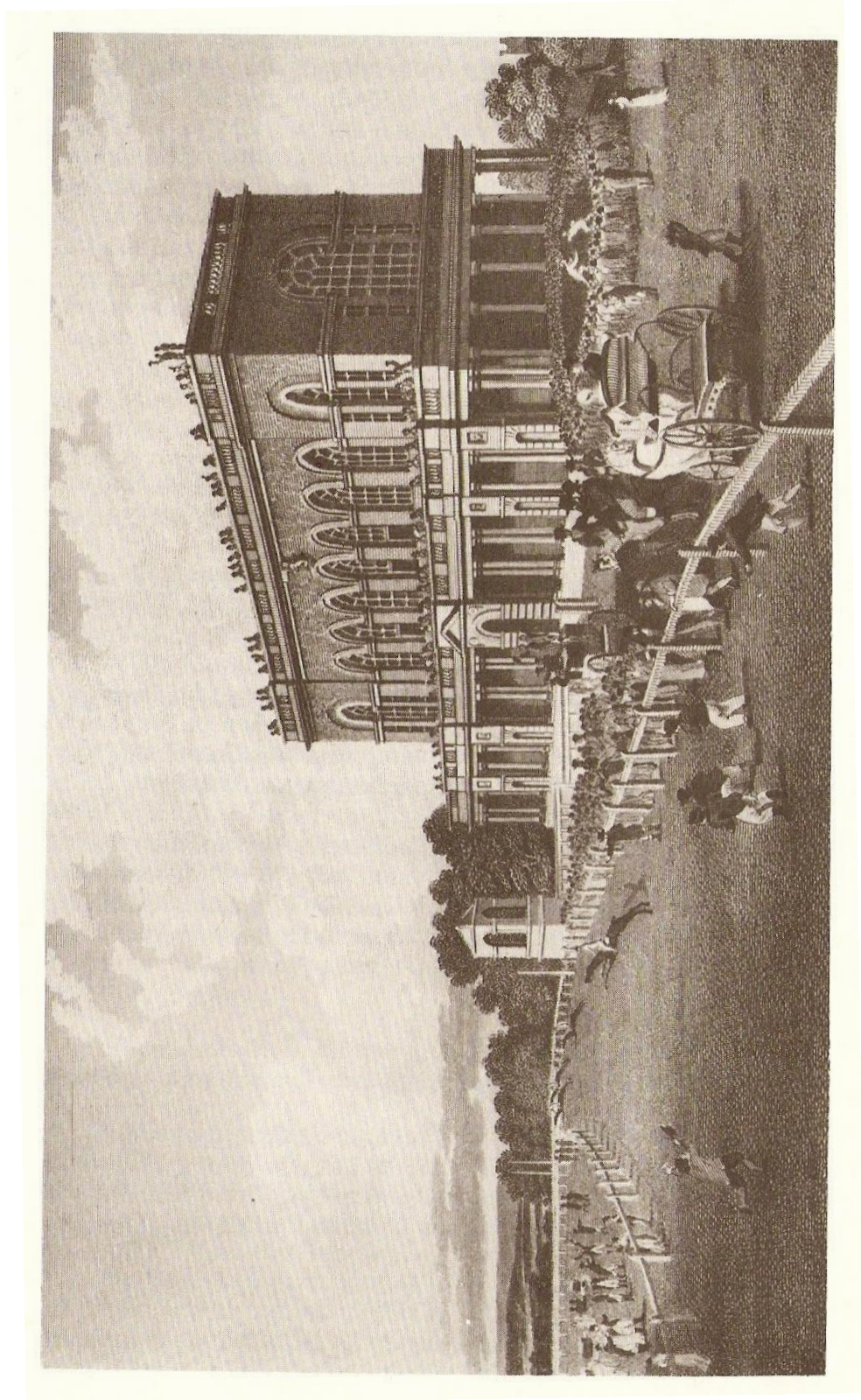
**Figure 4.6** Doncaster Mansion House; reproduced from Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (1804), plate opposite p. 140





**Figure 4.7** Doncaster Town Hall and Theatre; reproduced from Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (1804), plate opposite p. 156





**Figure 4.8** Doncaster Race Stand; reproduced from Miller's *History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its Vicinity* (1804), plate opposite p. 158



### 4.3 South Yorkshire gentry and society

Shortly after his arrival in Doncaster, Miller made attempts to integrate into society and quickly organised concerts to bring his name to the attention of the town. On 21 September 1756 the *York Courant* reported:

*For the Benefit of Mr. MILLER, Organist, At the Mansion-House in Doncaster, on Tuesday next the, 28, th Inst. will be / A CONCERT of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC. In which will be introduced, a CONCERTO and SOLO on the German Flute, by Mr. MILLER. / TICKETS to be had at the Angel and Red Lion, at Five Shillings each. / To being at Eleven in the Morning.*

Although the financial benefits of organising concerts were a conscious factor for a musician, as Simon McVeigh has noted, the ‘principal aim was to enhance the musician’s reputation, and thus infiltrate the traditional orbit of aristocratic patronage’.<sup>51</sup> In 1757, following the passing of the Militia Act as a consequence of a feared French invasion, Miller and fifteen others volunteered for the local militia commanded by Charles Watson Wentworth, the Second Marquess of Rockingham, of Wentworth Woodhouse near Rotherham.<sup>52</sup> As we shall see below, Rockingham was an active patron of music, and Miller in particular.<sup>53</sup>

Miller also performed at the weekly music club held at Nether Hall, near Doncaster, the home of Robert Copley (*d.* 1771). The club was run by amateur musicians with professional help – whether the professionals were paid for their services cannot be determined. Copley, a pupil of William Croft and reportedly a ‘very good performer in thoroughbass on the harpsichord’, was a keen supporter of the arts.<sup>54</sup> He is listed as one

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<sup>51</sup> Simon McVeigh, ‘Introduction’, in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 1-15 (p. 11).

<sup>52</sup> S. M. Farrell, ‘Wentworth, Charles Watson-, second marquess of Rockingham (1730-1782)’, *ODNB*.

<sup>53</sup> Wentworth house is described in *Universal Trade Directory, Doncaster* (1792), pp. 836-837: ‘Going upstairs, (the stair-case by the bye is so lofty as to pain the eye,) you enter the gallery, which is one of the most beautiful rooms in England. It is 180 feet long by 24 broad, and 30 high. It is in three divisions; a large one in the centre, and a small one at each end; the division is by very magnificent pillars of marble, with gilt capitals. In the spaces between these pillars and the wall are some statues. This noble gallery is designed and used as a rendezvous-room, and an admirable one it is; one end is furnished for music, and the other with a billiard-table: this is the stile which such rooms should always be regulated in’.

<sup>54</sup> Robert Southey, *The Doctor*, 2 vols (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1836), vol. 2, p. 44.

of the primary subscribers to the erection of an organ at St George's Church in the late 1730s.<sup>55</sup> Copley probably had a substantial and varied music collection; however very little, if any, of it survives. He subscribed to Francesco Barsanti's (1690-1772) *Concerti grossi*, Op. 3 published in Edinburgh in 1742.<sup>56</sup> Nos. 1-5 of the collection are scored for horn, timpani and strings, and Nos. 6-10 are scored for oboe, trumpet, timpani and strings.<sup>57</sup> These would have made suitable pieces for performance by the Nether Hall ensemble. Nether Hall was described by Robert Southey in his nineteenth-century novel *The Doctor* as a 'resort of intellectual men' and Miller recalled that one day a week was 'appropriated to music'.<sup>58</sup> The ensemble comprised of Robert Copley on harpsichord, Miller on flute, Sir Bryan Cooke, Sixth Baronet Cooke, of nearby Wheatley Hall on first violin and George Cooke of Streetthrope (he assumed the name of Cooke Yarmouth in 1802) on cello (alongside other friends and family relations).<sup>59</sup>

It was through the Nether Hall concerts that Miller came into contact with the poets Thomas Gray (1716-1771) and William Mason (1725-1797), who were regular visitors to Copley's residence.<sup>60</sup> Mason, a precentor at York Minster, had a strong interest in music. It was as a result of his acquaintance with Gray and Mason, who were fellows at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and heads of the university's 'polite scholars', that Miller was registered there in 1786 and awarded the degree of Doctor of Music.<sup>61</sup> Miller's supposed doctoral exercise, a setting of morning and evening canticles for five-part choir

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<sup>55</sup> Copley gave £10 10s.; see Doncaster Archives, Organ subscription lists P1/3/E2/1-2.

<sup>56</sup> I am grateful to Michael Talbot for this information. For Barsanti, see Jasmin Cameron and Michael Talbot, 'A Many-Sided Musician: The Life of Francesco Barsanti (c. 1690-1775) Revisited', *Recercare*, 25/1-2 (2013), 95-154. It is likely that Copley was one of Barsanti's contacts when the musician was in the north of England ten years earlier. Talbot vaguely recalls coming across printed and manuscript music which bears Copley's signature during research in the mid-1960s. However, I have been unable to locate this material.

<sup>57</sup> David Johnson, 'Barsanti, Francesco', *GMO*.

<sup>58</sup> Southey, *The Doctor*, vol. 2, p. 44; Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 162.

<sup>59</sup> Southey, *The Doctor*, vol. 2, p. 44.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> Jules Smith, 'Mason, William (1725-1797)', *ODNB*. Miller is listed as a 'Doctor of Music' under the records of the 'commencedment day' on 4 July 1786; see the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 14 July 1786.

and organ, survives in autograph score in Y M207, along with a vocal bass part. The full score is headed: 'The / Te Deum / Jubilate, Magnificat & Nunc Dimittis / composed in the Key of C with the / greater Third. / by Edw[ar]d Miller Mus: D. / as performed at Westminster Abbey'. The surviving part at the Minster also indicates likely performances at York. An autograph organ part also survives in Cu Add. 6647.<sup>62</sup> The part is written out on two staves in short score and includes figured bass and vocal cues. It is clear that it was intended as a performing part as it includes the rubrics 'turn quick' and 'turn over'. Pencil markings in a different unknown hand clarify omitted clefs and indicate a performance. Miller's signatures in the Doncaster vestry minutes share similar characteristics with those on the first page of the score and organ part (see Figures 4.9, 4.10 and 4.11). A comparison of the text underlay and Miller's hand in his surviving letters confirms that these manuscripts are autographs (see Figures 4.19 and 4.20).<sup>63</sup> It is possible, like Maurice Greene and William Boyce in 1730 and 1749 respectively, that Miller engaged London singers and players to take part in the Cambridge performance of his exercise. For instance, Greene's choir consisted of members of St Paul's Cathedral and the Chapel Royal.<sup>64</sup> Given Miller's connections and standing in London following his call for a New Musical Fund in 1784, he may have utilised similar personnel in 1786.<sup>65</sup> Miller's setting of the canticles is largely homophonic and harmonically plain (the work does not modulate much beyond the dominant and relative minor), although there are occasional passages of antiphony and polyphony, and alternations between full choral and solo passages.

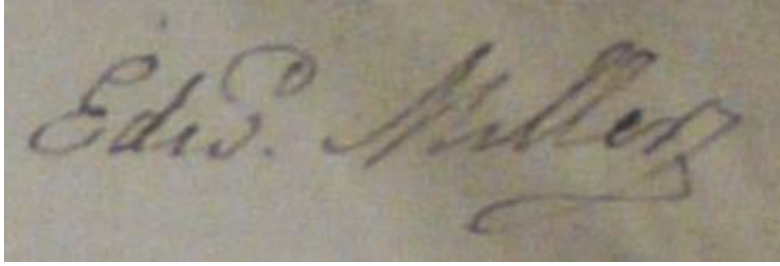
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<sup>62</sup> The organ part is bound with other instrumental performing parts for a *Symphonie* (c. 1817) and *Overture* (1815) for orchestra by John Lord, jun.. This manuscript belonged to Arthur Henry Mann (1850-1929), organist and fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

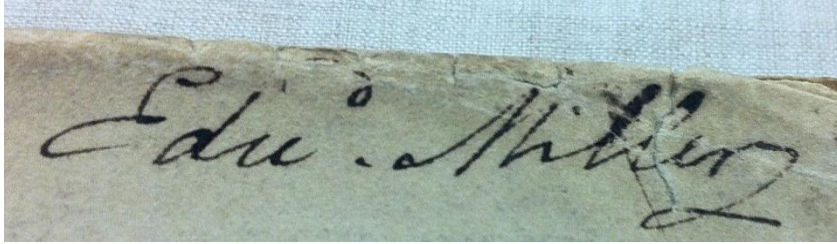
<sup>63</sup> In addition to the above two manuscripts, another autograph by Miller of a song for soprano and piano entitled 'Negro Boy' survives in the National Library of Wales, Esgair & Pantperthog 13.

<sup>64</sup> See Maurice Greene, *Ode on St Cecilia's Day; Anthem: Harken unto me, ye holy children*, ed. by H. Diack Johnstone, *Musica Britannica* 58 (London: Stainer and Bell, 1991), pp. xix-xx; see also H. Diack Johnstone, 'A Cambridge Musical Event: The Public Commencement of 1730', *Cambridge Review*, 96 (1974), 51-53.

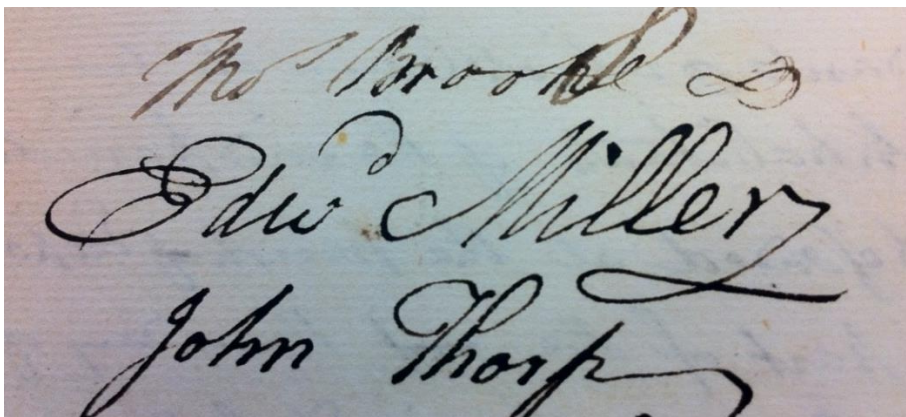
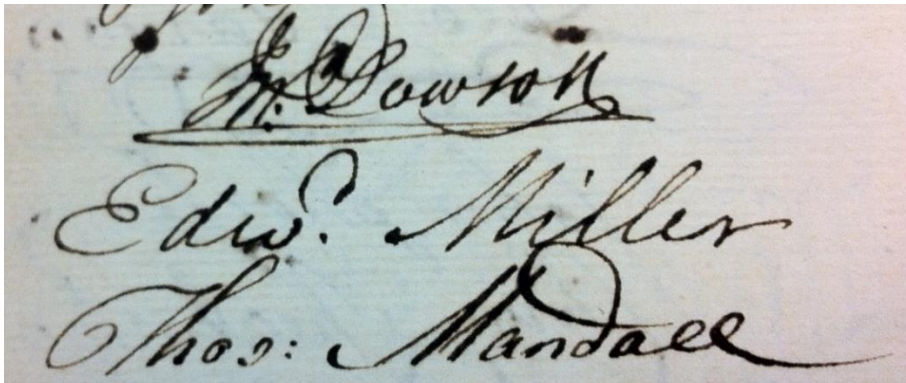
<sup>65</sup> See below, pp. 186-193.



**Figure 4.9** Edward Miller's signature c. 1786; Y M207, f. 18r



**Figure 4.10** Edward Miller's signature c. 1786; Cu Add. 6647, p. 97



**Figure 4.11** Edward Miller's signatures between 1780 and 1785; Doncaster Archives, Vestry Minutes, P1/4/A1

Miller introduced William Herschel (1738-1822), the band master of the Durham militia (who he met in Pontefract when the militia was stationed there), to the Nether Hall music club around 1760. Miller recalled:

I took an early opportunity of introducing him at Mr. Copley's concert; and he presently began in 'Untwisting all the chains that tie / The hidden soul of harmony.' For never before had we heard the concertos of Corelli, Geminiani, and Avison, or the overtures of Handel, performed more chastely, or more according to the original intention of the composers, than by Mr. Herschel.<sup>66</sup>

Herschel delighted the club with his playing on the flute, oboe, violin and organ and subsequently became the leader of the ensemble at Nether Hall. It is likely that Herschel's early symphonies (scored for strings, bassoon and continuo) were intended for and performed at the Nether Hall concerts. Herschel regularly lodged with Miller and it appears that they were close friends. Miller acquired pupils and conducting engagements for Herschel in the region, and also accompanied him to his audition at Halifax Parish Church in 1766 when seven candidates competed for the post of parish organist. In the presence of John Snetzler, the famous organ builder, Miller witnessed Herschel's trick of playing the organ using two lead weights.<sup>67</sup> Both Miller and Herschel enjoyed the patronage of local Yorkshire gentry. Herschel wrote in his memoirs:

1766, Jan. 1. Wheatley. This was the country seat of Sir Bryan Cook, where every fortnight I used to spend two or three days. Sir Bryan played the violin and some of his relations generally came from Doncaster to make up morning concerts. Our music was chiefly Corelli, Geminiani, &c. Lady Cook loved music and I gave her lessons on the guitar, which was then a fashionable instrument. Sir Bryan being an invalid, Lady Cook, an elderly Miss Wood, and I generally passed the evening in playing at Tredille.<sup>68</sup>

From 1760 onwards, Miller supplemented his income by instructing the town waits and performing regularly in concerts in the Yorkshire area and in his native county.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 162.

<sup>67</sup> For the full account, see *Ibid.*, p. 162. Miller must have already been acquainted with Snetzler after he repaired the organ at St George's Church in 1758. Doncaster Archives, St. George's Parish Church, Vestry Minutes, P1/4/A1 record on 20 March 1758 that the 'Organ [was] agreed to be repaired by Snetzler, paid £20'.

<sup>68</sup> Constance A. Lubbock (ed.), *The Herschel Chronicle: The life-story of William Herschel and his sister Caroline Herschel* (Cambridge: CUP, 1933), p. 35. Similarly on 7 January 1766 he wrote: 'Concert at Doncaster, at Sir Bryan's relations'.

<sup>69</sup> The *Norwich Mercury* of 29 July 1758 recorded a concert on 10 August 1758 during the assizes 'for the benefit of Mr. Miller and Mr. Blogg', in which Miller performed solos and concertos on the German

On 15 April 1760, the *York Courant* reported a benefit concert for Miller at the Doncaster Mansion House. A ‘Miss Jennings’, probably one of his pupils, sang Thomas Arne’s aria ‘Where the bee sucks’ (from *The Tempest*) and played a solo on the guitar, alongside solos and duets on French horn and bassoon. Another concert in 1762 featured ‘the first violin by Mr. Herschell, a Native of Hanover, who will perform one of Giardini’s Solos, and a Concerto on the Hautboy’.<sup>70</sup> The corporation minutes recorded on 13 May 1763: ‘Ordered, that if Mr. Miller, the organist, will undertake to instruct the Corporation band of music to play upon the hautboy and bassoon, the Corporation will be at the expense of the instruments’.<sup>71</sup> No doubt in this respect, Miller benefited from the experience and expertise of his friend Herschel, who also served as a bandmaster. Miller bought the instruments and equipment to fulfil the task from a wholesaler in London, as the corporation accounts record:<sup>72</sup>

	London, 1763
Mr. Edward Miller	Bo[ugh]t of Caleb Gedney
June 20th	£. s. d
A Bassoon & Crook	5. 5. 0
A Reed Case for Ditto	0. 3. 6
Six Reeds For Ditto	0. 9. 0
Two plain Hoboys	2. 12. 0
Two Reed Cases for Ditto	0. 6. 0
Twelve Reeds for Ditto	0. 12. 0
A Book of Instructions, Hoboy	0. 1. 6
A Scale for the Bassoon	0. 1. 6
[Total]	9. 10. 6

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flute. A ‘Miss Jennings’ accompanied him from Doncaster and sang ‘several favourite songs from Mr. Handel’s Oratorios and Operas’. The pair returned in 1761 for Thomas Garland concerts; see *Norwich Mercury*, 4 July 1761.

<sup>70</sup> *York Courant*, 9 February 1762.

<sup>71</sup> Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 13 May 1763. The waits wore scarlet cloaks and laced hats and in 1749 a ‘new or second hand bass viol’ was ordered for the town waits, see Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 11 April 1749. This was probably a violoncello rather than a gamba; see Peter Holman, *Life after Death: the Viola da Gamba in Britain from Purcell to Dolmetsch* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), pp. 54-56. A David Richards was ‘Discharged as one of the Town Waites or fiders’, see 19 August 1760. The corporation provided financial support to the relatives of deceased waites. Between 1769 and 1773 the corporation wished to recruit extra members: for example, on 16 April 1773 it was ‘Ordered that another Musition be added to the present Band who can play upon the Outboy’.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted in Fowler, *Edward Miller*, p. 24.



## 4.4 The entrepreneur

Miller organised a series of concerts at the Doncaster mansion house and parish church to coincide with the yearly race week, in order to maximise profit and take advantage of the wealthy landed gentry descending upon the town for the races.<sup>73</sup> In September 1769 Miller conducted a three-day music festival at St George's Church advertised as 'A Concerto Spirituale, after the manner of the Italians'. This included a performance of Handel's *Acis and Galatea* and Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline, alongside selections from Miller's forthcoming *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental parts* (Op. 3), including an 'Elegy on the Death of Mr. Handel' and Alexander Pope's 'The Dying Christian to his soul'.<sup>74</sup> There is evidence to suggest that in 1768 Miller directed a similar festival, which included performances of Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* and *Messiah*.<sup>75</sup> Miller estimated that the size of the orchestra and vocalists on this occasion would total eighty.<sup>76</sup> This festival was closely followed by similar events at York and Beverley in which the institutional organists collaborated with leading London violinists (see Table 4.3). Miller also benefited from the income earned from farming and buying and selling property in and around Doncaster.<sup>77</sup> However, despite his fledgling career, Miller must

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<sup>73</sup> Tate Wilkinson questioned Miller's motive of holding concerts during the race week. In a concert he attended in 1790: 'he heard Mara sing at Doncaster church in the race week [in oratorios conducted by Miller] and not one hundred persons there; but that was not her fault, nor was her merit lessened; it was a very improper week to think of an oratorio, for the minds of the public at noon, on such occasions, are very differently employed, than to think of oratorios and going to church. Now, had Doctor Miller, with his undoubted usual good sense and sagacity, appointed Mara the week following, it would have done himself and the town some service: It would have kept many families who came to the races; and it would also have attracted many others, who never go to races at all, and who would have liked a jubilee week in their own way, as well as their neighbours'; see Tate Wilkinson, *The Wandering Patentee; or, A History of the Yorkshire Theatres, from 1770 to the Present Time: interspersed with anecdotes respecting most of the performers in the Three Kingdoms, from 1765 to 1795*, 4 vols (York, 1795), vol. 3, p. 122.

<sup>74</sup> *York Courant*, 5 September 1769. See Brian W. Pritchard, 'The Musical Festival and the Choral Society in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social History', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 73-74.

<sup>75</sup> *York Courant*, 9 August 1768. Emily Hargrave, 'Musical Leeds in the Eighteenth Century', *Thoresby Society Publications*, 28 (1928), 320-355 (p. 330).

<sup>76</sup> *York Courant*, 9 August 1768. Miller engaged local musicians and contacts to play in the orchestra, including Matthias Hawdon, organist of Holy Trinity Church, Hull; see *York Courant*, 6 September 1768.

<sup>77</sup> See Fowler, *Edward Miller*, pp. 35-36, 60-64.

have been in financial difficulty, as his organist salary was increased to 40 guineas in 1767 in response to ‘the dearness of provision and his Business as a Teacher of Musick not being so Extensive as usual’.<sup>78</sup> The corporation granted the increase and clearly valued him and his work. Miller’s regional reputation must have been significant for the corporation to continue to engage him.

**Table 4.3** Music festivals organised and directed by Yorkshire organists in the late 1760s<sup>79</sup>

<u>Date</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Repertoire</u>	<u>Conductor/Leader</u>	<u>Personnel</u>
Sept 1768	St George’s Church, Doncaster	Handel	Edward Miller/ Gaetano Pugnani	Matthias Hawdon (organ)
Jan 1769	York Minster	Handel	John Camidge/ Tomaso Pinto	Mrs Pinto [the former Charlotte Brent], Thomas Norris [of Oxford]
Sept 1769	St George’s Church, Doncaster	Handel and Miller	Edward Miller	‘A Concerto Spirituale, after the manner of the Italians’
Sept 1769	Beverley Minster	Handel	Matthias Hawdon/ Felice Giardini	Mrs Hudson [of York], Miss Radcliffe [of Hey], Thomas Norris, William Matthews [of Oxford]

## 4.5 The composer

Miller recognised the importance of commercial enterprise and in 1769 republished his popular *Six Sonatas for a German Flute* (first published in 1761 and advertised in his native county of Norfolk) in advance of his next major publication, *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of*

<sup>78</sup> Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 8 April 1767.

<sup>79</sup> For other choral performances given in Yorkshire in the late 1760s for which the performers are not specified in detail, see Pritchard, ‘The Musical Festival and the Choral Society in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social History’, vol. 1, pp. 133-138.

*Mr. Pope's*.<sup>80</sup> This delightful collection of flute pieces, described as his 'Opera One' (Op. 1) was intended for 'young Performers' and an amateur clientele like his earlier collections.<sup>81</sup> Miller therefore aimed to capitalise on this large domestic music market. The six flute solos are reminiscent of the galant style of Thomas Arne (1710-1778) and were dedicated to Lady Dalston, the wife of Sir William Dalston, Bart.. Fanny Burney took tea with Lady Dalston on 30 April 1772 and described her as 'a very good sort of woman, and a very old acquaintance of both my father and mother'.<sup>82</sup> Miller presumably was introduced to Lady Dalston through his connections with Charles Burney.<sup>83</sup> Sonata Nos. 1 and 6 are comparable with the flute sonatas of Handel (Op. 1) and Stanley (Op. 1 and Op. 2).<sup>84</sup> The majority of Miller's sonatas consist of three movements, although Nos. 1 and 3 have four movements. They include a variety of slow and fast movements and dances, including minuets, sicilianas and giges. All are primarily in major keys (C major, D major and G major are easy keys for amateurs) and modulate to closely related keys, including the dominant, relative major/minor and tonic minor. Miller used the models of Handel, Arne and Stanley, and composed pieces in a variety of forms, including binary, ternary, theme and variations and through-composed forms. Miller's basso continuo part generally lacks the activity and virtuosity of Handel's accompaniments. Instead Miller adopted a light galant style accompaniment reminiscent of Arne and Stanley (see Examples 4.1 and 4.2). There is little thematic interplay with the melodic line in the flute, although

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<sup>80</sup> *Norwich Mercury*, 20 June 1761. Subscribers were asked to send their names to Edward's brother Thomas at his shop in Bungay. Miller described the use of 'double tonguing' in the preface to the second edition of his flute sonatas, indicating in the music where it was to be employed. He commented: 'As it would be very difficult to execute some quick Passages with the Rapidity and Distinctness they require, by the common Method of tonguing'.

<sup>81</sup> Edward Miller, *Six Solos for a German Flute, with a thorough bass for the harpsichord or violoncello* (London: Printed for John Johnson, [1761]). A copy survives in GB-Lbl Music Collections d.290.g.(5.).

<sup>82</sup> Annie Raine Ellis (ed.), *The Early Diary of Frances Burney, 1768-1778: With a Selection from her Correspondence, and from the Journals of her Sisters Susan and Charlotte Burney*, 2 vols (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), vol. 1, p. 167.

<sup>83</sup> See above, pp. 151-153.

<sup>84</sup> Handel's *Eleven Flute Sonatas* were published in 1730. Stanley's *Eight Solo's* for flute or violin and basso continuo (Op. 1) were published in 1740. He arranged his *Six Concerto's in 7 parts* (Op. 2) for flute or violin and basso continuo in c. 1747. Stanley published another set of *Six Solo's* (Op. 4) for flute or violin and basso continuo in 1745. See Malcolm Boyd and A. G. Williams, 'Stanley, John', *GMO*.

there are occasional moments of activity in linking passages. In Miller's fast movements there is a high level of virtuosity and rapid passagework (see Examples 4.3 and 4.4). In the slow movements there is also decorative figuration and elaborate cadenzas are written out (see Example 4.5). Miller must have been a competent player and improviser. He composed in a fashionable and contemporary style. It seems likely that Miller would have played the sonatas with his friend Herschel, accompanying him on the harpsichord. All the sonatas are tuneful, elegant and epitomise the ease, gracefulness and clarity of the galant style.<sup>85</sup> There are also reminiscences of Arne's folk-like style, with the use of "Scotch" snap rhythms (see Example 4.6). Miller utilised a light accompaniment similar to that used by Arne and Stanley, periodic melodies, simple harmonies and formula-based cadences. Miller used light homophonic textures, without equal-voice part writing or fugal textures. However, his modulatory passages are not as ambitious as those of Handel and Stanley.

**Example 4.1** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 2, second movement, bars 1-8; ; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761)

**Allegro**

**Example 4.2** John Stanley, Sonata No. 6, second movement, bars 1-4; *Six Solo's*, Op. 4 (1745)

**Allegro**

<sup>85</sup> On the galant style, see Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780* (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2003).

**Example 4.3** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 6, second movement, bars 24-31; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761)

**Allegro Capriccioso**

Flute

Bc

6

7

8

8

8

8

**Example 4.4** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 3, third movement, bars 14-31; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761)

Flute

Bc

6 5

5 4 3

tasto solo

6

6 4 #

6 4 #

6 7

4 #

4 #

4 #

**Example 4.5** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 3, first movement, bars 25-34; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761)

**Largo**

Flute

Bc

4 6 5 6 6 5

2

6 5

6 5 6 5 4 3

Cadenza

7 6 5 6 5 3

5 4

**Example 4.6** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 1, first movement, bars 1-6; *Six Solos for a German Flute*, Op. 1 (1761)

**Andante Largo**

Flute

Bc

6 6 6 6 6 4 3 6 6

5



Miller's *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (c. 1768) is a similar collection of pieces in two or three short movements.<sup>86</sup> Although the consistency of innovation is not on the same level as the flute solos, a couple of the movements deserve more credit. Miller's limitations lie in his harmonic and textural simplicity. For example, the first movement of No. 1 is predominantly set in two parts (full chords are used very infrequently) in C major and does not modulate away from tonic and dominant harmonies. The first movement of Sonata No. 2 is a little more adventurous and includes hand crossing and flashes of colour modulating to the tonic minor and dominant minor (see Example 4.7). Nos. 4, 5 and 6 include 'an accompaniment' for violin or flute, which mainly underpins the harmonies and accompanies the melodic line in thirds (see Example 4.8). There is occasional thematic interplay with the melodic line in the harpsichord (see Example 4.9); however Miller uses only very basic textures and repetition. The last three sonatas are by far the best pieces of the collection. They are colourful, tuneful and include a variety of movements and forms (binary, rondo, ternary, march and theme and variations). Again Miller was comfortable composing in the galant style, using Alberti bass accompaniments and formulaic cadential patterns. In comparison to his earlier collection of flute sonatas, these pieces have a greater variety of tonal centres, although these are again set in major keys (C, F, G, D and A) and modulate to closely related keys (dominant and tonic minor). Miller's keyboard talent is best displayed in Sonata No. 4, which again features hand crossing, fast passagework and broken-chord figuration (see Example 4.10). The last movement of this sonata is a delightful theme and variations with violin pizzicato accompaniment and antiphony between two hands on keyboard. Although Miller appears to have had a moderate talent at composing, his limitations lie in his harmonic and textural simplicity.

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<sup>86</sup> Edward Miller, *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord; with an Accompaniment to three of them, for a Violin, or German Flute* (London: Printed by Welcker in Gerrard Street, St Ann's, Soho, [c. 1768]). A unique copy survives in Lbl Music Collections, g.79.(4.).

**Example 4.7** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 2, first movement, bars 1-8; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768)

**Allegro**

**Example 4.8** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 6, third movement, bars 1-9; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768)

**Con Spirito**

**Example 4.9** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 5, first movement, bars 17-25; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768)

**Allegro assai**

**Example 4.10** Edward Miller, Sonata No. 4, third movement, bars 1-10; *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord*, Op. 2 (c. 1768)

**Presto ma non troppo**

The musical score consists of three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with the Violin part mostly at rest and the Harpsichord part starting with a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system continues this pattern, with the Violin part still mostly at rest. The third system shows the Violin part entering with a melodic line, while the Harpsichord part continues its rhythmic accompaniment.

Miller's *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's* (published c. 1770) closely followed his republication of the *Six Solos for German Flute* (1769). This collection of songs was dedicated to his friend William Mason.<sup>87</sup> The publication again had around 200 subscribers; however its geographical reach was wider. The subscribers included a network of cathedral organists and gentry across Yorkshire and the North, from Ripon, York, Beverley, Wakefield, Hull, Sheffield, Durham, Manchester and Newcastle. Miller's Norfolk and London connections were still there, including John Snetzler (whom he had met at Doncaster and Halifax), Charles Burney, William Boyce (Master of the King's Music), Samuel Arnold (trumpet-in-ordinary in the Royal music) and Edmund Ayrton (a Chapel Royal singer of Yorkshire origin). Miller also benefited from the local connections he developed with members of the landed gentry, as all the members of the Nether Hall music club subscribed, including Robert Copley's heir Thomas, and Robert

<sup>87</sup> Edward Miller, *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's* (London: Printed for the Author, [c. 1770]). Copies survive in Lbl Music Collections G.569 and LEbc Brotherton Collection Music MIL.

Monckton, Lord Viscount Galway of Serlby, a leading local aristocrat and freemason of the Doncaster lodge.<sup>88</sup> Miller dedicated his 1787 publication *Elements of Thorough Bass and Composition* to Galway, noting that ‘here [at Serlby] many of the happiest days of my life were spent’.<sup>89</sup> Miller recalled his acquaintance with William Mason, explaining that ‘When young, I was one of those whom he took under his protection’. He gave composition lessons to Mason, but with little success:

In music he [Mason] succeeded better than in painting. He performed decently on the harpsichord, and, by his desire, I undertook to teach him the principles of composition, but that I never could effect. Indeed, others before me had also failed in the attempt; nevertheless, he fancied himself qualified to compose: for a short anthem of his beginning, “Lord of all power and might,” was performed at the chapel royal, of which, only the melody is his own, the bass was composed by another person. The same may be said of two more anthems sung in the cathedral of York.<sup>90</sup>

There is a strong implication that it was Miller who provided the bass part of the anthem attributed to Mason. Nevertheless, we are able to observe Miller’s connections with York and it would appear that his music was performed at the Minster on more than one occasion.

Miller’s vocal music, on the other hand, demonstrates fewer limitations than his instrumental music. The influence of Arne’s galant and folk-like style can again be felt in Miller’s first publication *A Collection of English Songs* (1756). Miller was no older than twenty one when he composed these songs and they demonstrate a grasp of the fashionable galant style (see Examples 4.11 and 4.12). These strophic songs are scored for solo voice and basso continuo accompaniment, with instrumental interludes and ritornellos for violin

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<sup>88</sup> Miller was initiated at St George’s lodge, Doncaster on 24 April 1781; see John Moglia, *The History of the Lodge of St. George* (Doncaster: St George’s Lodge, 1980), p. 33. I am grateful to Andrew Pink for providing me English translations of his entry on Miller in Charles Porset and Cecile Revauger (eds.), *Le Monde maçonnique des Lumières (Europe-Amériques) Dictionnaire prosopographique*, 3 vols (Paris: Editions Champion, 2013), pp. 1970-1975 (vol. 3). Miller later became Master in 1786, and served in that position between 1792 and 1801. It may not be surprising to find that music played a prominent role, under Miller’s direction, as the lodge was noted for its music at masonic funerals and celebrations; see Moglia, p. 24.

<sup>89</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 306. Edward Miller, *Elements of Thorough Bass and Composition, in which the Rules of Accompaniment for the Harpsichord or Piano-Forte are rendered amusing by the Introduction of Eight Italian[,] Eight French & Twelve English Songs collected from the Works of eminent Composers Antient and Modern. With Proper Lessons for Practice Written by way of conversation between the Master & his Pupil for the Use of such performers as are unacquainted with the principles of Harmony* (London: Longman & Broderip, [1787]). A copy survives in Lbl Music Collections, g.748.a..

<sup>90</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 161.

or flute. Alongside settings to texts by Sir Carr Scrope (1649-1680) and Laetitia Pilkington (c. 1709-1750), the most complex song of the collection is a multi-movement cantata (to a text by ‘Mr Robinson’), interspersed with *secco* recitative.

**Example 4.11** Edward Miller, ‘The Happy Pair’, bars 9-12; *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata* (1756)

At de - wy dawn, as o'er the Lawn young Ro - ger ear - ly stray'd He

**Example 4.12** Edward Miller, ‘2<sup>nd</sup> Ode of Anacreon’, bars 25-29; *A Collection of New English Songs and a Cantata* (1756)

Wings to fly Wings to fly the Birds of air

In comparison, his later *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's* (c. 1770) includes varying instrumental accompaniment of four-part strings, oboes and French horns. Here Miller set texts by poets Ben Jonson (1572-1637) and Alexander Pope (1688-1744). The influence of Arne's *Summer Amusement* (1766) and *New Favourite Songs* (1768) is apparent in this case. In the preface Miller noted that the collection was ‘compos'd originally for the Amusement of a few Friends’; many of the pieces were likely to have been performed at Nether Hall. He continued:

The Author has not written it according to the present fashionable Mode for that Purpose: He cannot approve a Stile which appears to him more calculated to display the Vanity of the *Singers*, than to do Justice to the Sentiments of the *Poet*.

He condemned Italian singers singing in English and stood in defence of setting songs to the English language: ‘But grant it not so soft as the Italian: It is generally allowed to be

well measured, sonorous, clearly accented, and capable of being adapted to a Variety of musical Expression'. He offered the following advice:

To young Composers (like myself) the following Advice of a very candid Critic may be of some Use: "To study Simplicity of Stile, and forget the Ostentation and Parade of Art; no longer to despise the Italian Music because it is *inartificial*, but to imitate their Melody because it is *natural*; not to indulge themselves in all the flighty Wanderings of Song, but to feel and observe a strict Subordination to the Poetic Powers; to chuse such Poems as abound with Sentiment and Pathos, and reject those merely descriptive and unimpassioned. To compleat all; as the *Composer* is subordinate to the *Poet*, so must the *Performer* be subordinate to both." It is from this Union, and from *this* only, that the Power of Music can receive its full Force and Energy: – That the attentive Hearer, charmed with the united Efforts of the *Poet*, *Composer*, and *Performer*, is no longer able to resist such powerful Magic; but yielding his Soul to their benign Influence, is melted into *Harmony*, *Benevolence*, and *Love*.<sup>91</sup>

The arias and recitatives display successful word settings of the English language and Miller's desired moving of the passions. This can be particularly felt in his 'Elegy on the Death of Mr. Handel', where the anguish of prevailing minor keys (see Example 4.13) gives way to celebration of the immortal composer in C major with the addition of oboes and violin arpeggios as a vocal duet proclaims 'Celestial Notes on high he sings'. (Miller's music was not without its errors: note the parallel octaves in the lower strings in bar 7 of Example 4.13.) This display of contrasting effects is equally matched in his multi-movement ode to Alexander Pope's 'Vital Spark of heav'nly Frame'. For example, note the chromaticism and despair of the opening movement (see Example 4.14). The tonal structure of the ode is of interest: Miller modulates by third relationships from C major/minor to F major (via A minor) and then to G major (via D minor). The ode climaxes in a celebratory C major duet with French horns.

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<sup>91</sup> William Hayes offered similar advice in his reply to Charles Avison's *Essay on Musical Expression* in 1753: 'I apprehend when a Musician sits down to adapt Music to Words, he acts upon the same Principle as the Poet had done before him: First, he endeavours to create an Idea of a Person, in the same Circumstances with the Character he is composing for: And by the help of powerful Imagination, works himself up almost to a belief that he is that very Person; and speaks, thinks, and acts accordingly. By frequently reading the Words over, he adopts the Sentiments: And as often as he repeats them, marks the Accent, Emphasis, [and] the different Inflections of the Voice'; see Dubois, p. 98.



**Example 4.13** Edward Miller, 'Elegy on the Death of Mr. Handel', opening accompanied recitative, bars 1-10; *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental Parts*, Op. 3 (c. 1770)

Strings

Death gave the word! The last sad scene is o'er, The Great, the Fam'd the Tune-ful is no

Bc

5

7<sup>b</sup>  
5

more; then pour your Dir-ges o'er his hal-low'd Urn.

6 6 4 6 6

2

8

Shall HAN-DEL die! and shall not Mus-ic mourn.

6 6 4 6 4 2

2

**Example 4.14** Edward Miller, 'Ode the words by Mr. Pope', opening aria, bars 1-14; *Elegies, Songs, and an Ode of Mr. Pope's, with Instrumental Parts*, Op. 3 (c. 1770)

Largo

Violoncello solo

Tremb-ling! Hop-ing! ling-'ring,

Bc

Fly-ing, Oh the Pain, the Bliss of dy-ing Oh! the Pain,

6 6 6 6 7 6 6 6 6 4 7 6

5

Although Miller's non-teaching works are not numerous, it is possible to gauge that he had a competent hand at composition. At the outset of his career he had a firm grasp of the popular galant style of Thomas Arne; however he was reluctant to explore beyond its formal implications. By the turn of the nineteenth century, the influence of Haydn, particular that of his two sets of English Canzonets (1794 and 1795), can be felt on Miller's *Twelve Canzonets for the Voice and Piano Forte* (c. 1799).<sup>92</sup> However, Miller does not award the keyboard as greater role of near-equal importance to the singer as Haydn. The piano often reinforces the vocal melody, although on occasion it is given an independent part (see Example 4.15). Here Miller was writing for the greater sustaining power of the piano, not the harpsichord. The appearance of a homogenous triplet accompaniment looks forward to the Romantic cavatinas composed by, for instance, Rossini and Bellini.<sup>93</sup> The majority of the canzonets are through-composed and Miller adopted a cantabile singing style. However, unlike Haydn, there are no thick textures or multiple-note chords. Figured bass is still present, but is not as frequently used as before – the pianist was expected to fill out the harmony whilst doubling the vocal melody. Miller followed Haydn's example and adopted short, regular phrase structures of four or eight bars and syllabic word setting. Extended melismas of more than four or five notes are rare. Unlike Haydn, who conceived his sets of canzonets as a song cycle with a variety of affects and planned tonal structure, Miller's collection of songs does not display any degree of planning. No tonal plan is apparent and it is clear that Miller bound individual songs together for publication. Nevertheless, despite his moderate composing ability, Miller successfully composed music suited for amateur performers and recognised the importance of keeping up-to-date with changing tastes, fashions and technical developments.

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<sup>92</sup> Edward Miller, *Twelve Canzonets for the Voice and Piano Forte. and a Song for a Military Band, Written by his Grace the late Duke of Leeds* (London: Printed by Gouldin, Phipps & D'Almaine, Music Sellers to their Royal Highnesses the Prince & Princess of Wales, [c. 1799]). A copy survives in Lbl Music Collections, H.2832.e.(40.). Unlike Italian canzonets (commonly composed for two treble voices and continuo), English canzonets were written for solo voice with piano or harp accompaniment. They were mostly strophic settings, but a wider variety of form, including modified strophic or through-composed forms, was not unusual. For a brief summary of this repertory, see the Introduction to the anthology edited by Timothy Roberts, *O Tuneful Voice: 25 Classical English Songs* (Oxford: OUP, 1992), pp. iv-vi.

<sup>93</sup> Katalin Komlós, 'Miscellaneous vocal genres', in *The Cambridge Companion to Haydn*, ed. by Caryl Clark (Cambridge: CUP, 2005), 164-175 (p. 169).

**Example 4.15** Edward Miller, No. 7, bars 9-16; *Twelve Canzonets for the Voice and Piano Forte*, Op. 10 (c. 1799)

**Affettuoso**

From her a - las! whose smile was love I  
 wan - der to some lone - ly

## 4.6 Unsuccessful court appointments

Miller's published works and his concert appearances brought him increasing regional recognition. In response to his growing reputation, Miller was made a freeman of Doncaster in 1774 'in Consideration of his being the Corporations Organist'.<sup>94</sup> Following his wife's death in 1773, Miller formed a relationship with Elizabeth Brailsford with whom he had two illegitimate sons, Isaac Brailsford (1778-1842) and Edward Brailsford (1785-1822) – they received £300 each in Miller's will.<sup>95</sup> Isaac was trained by Edmund Ayrton at the Chapel Royal, and later became organist at Bradford, eventually succeeding his father at Doncaster in 1807. Miller's relationship with his mistress appears not to have had any effect on his public standing.

<sup>94</sup> Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 17 May 1774.

<sup>95</sup> PRO, PROB 11/1470, sig. 904.

Miller's ambition was clear. In 1779 he was recommended by the Marquess of Rockingham for the post of Master of the King's Music following the death of William Boyce. Rockingham, a Yorkshire aristocrat and leading Whig politician, had come to know Miller when he volunteered for the local militia in 1757. However, despite the support of the Marquess, Miller did not get the court appointment. Instead, John Stanley, the blind organist, was appointed. Miller attempted to obtain another job at court in June 1782. Following the death of Karl Friederich Weideman (*d.* 1782), flautist, member of the King's Band and Director of Music for the Court Balls, Miller again asked the Marquess to intercede on his behalf with George Montagu, the Duke of Manchester and Grand Master of the Doncaster free lodge (1777-1782). Miller pointed out to the Marquess that as the Duke of Manchester was also a freemason, he hoped that 'on masonic principles, provided the candidates are in all other respects equal to him he [the Duke] will probably chuse to give the preference to a Mason'.<sup>96</sup> However, a few weeks later the Marquess died and the matter did not progress any further. Miller was clearly moved by the death of the Marquess and appreciated his support, and wrote a tribute entitled *The Tears of Yorkshire for the Loss of the Most Noble the Marquess of Rockingham*. Miller informs us that at the Marquess' interment at York Minster 'six hundred copies of this literary trifle were sold in the course of a few hours'.<sup>97</sup> Miller's connections meant that he had access to distinct social circles and individuals, including members of the royalty. Miller was later involved in celebrating a visit by royalty to Wentworth in 1789:

The preparations making at Wentworth-house for the reception of the three royal brothers, the Prince of Wales, the Dukes of York and Clarence, are immense; every exertion to provide amusement for their entertainment is made use of. A grand fete is to be exhibited on the 2[n]d of September, for which cards of invitation are already sent out: the hour of meeting, nine in the evening: the best musical performers are to be engaged by Dr. Miller, of this town, who is now composing music for this purpose; and is to conduct the performance. The company we suppose will not only be brilliant but numerous, as orders, we hear, are given to provide accomodations for a thousand servants.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, R108/69.

<sup>97</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 367, note.

<sup>98</sup> *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser*, 22 August 1789.

## 4.7 The New Musical Fund

Following his unsuccessful attempts to gain appointments at the royal court, Miller attempted to achieve a national presence through other means. In 1783 he published his *Institutes of Music*, a practical pedagogical treatise for classroom music teaching.<sup>99</sup> The book followed the method used by Thomas Morley of a conversation between teacher and pupil, and was an immediate success – it was subsequently published in at least 25 editions through to 1805. Miller’s unique method of teaching a class at the same time at their own speed whilst the teacher attended to individuals in turn was then entirely new. In the preface he informed the reader:

It is a common observation that young Ladies at Boarding Schools, seldom make any great progress in Music. The Author of this book, who has been many years employed in those Seminaries, convinced of the truth of such remark, and at the same time conscious that the difficulty of redressing it, arises from the shortness of time a Master can allow to each Scholar, where there are numbers to be taught; has at length, after many experiments found that the best method of communicating the principles of Music to young Students is by way of Question and Answer. Thus, if twenty young Ladies learn music in the same School, which is not very uncommon; suppose, instead of one being taught the usual time, and then another called to take her place, the whole number were collected together, and while one is performing on the Harpsichord, the rest are as usefully employed in learning the Elements of Music; - some, the names and length of Notes; some, the different Characters, and counting Time; others, copying Music &c. all which may be done with very little trouble to the Master; for while he is engaged with one at the Harpsichord, the rest may be questioning and assisting each other in the principles of the Science here laid down. / By this method they must doubtless, learn more in one Lesson than by several in the common way.

A few weeks after its publication the *Norwich Mercury* advertised: ‘This day is published a Second Impression (the first being all sold in a few days) of “Institutes of Music”, by Edward Miller’.<sup>100</sup> Miller published a number of progressive publications, including *Twenty-four Exercises in all the Major and Minor Keys* (1791) and *Twelve Progressive Lessons for*

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<sup>99</sup> Edward Miller, *Institutes of Music or easy Instructions for the Harpsichord: In which everything necessary for well grounding the Scholar in the rudiments of the Science, is fully treated of in a new and familiar manner, by way of Question and Answer. To which are added easy and pleasing Lessons for Practice, properly fingered for young beginners* (London: Longman and Broderip, [1783]). See also *York Courant*, 18 February 1783. Christopher Smith in his *ODNB* article states that this was published earlier in 1771. However, Longman and Broderip did not go into business together until July 1776; see Jenny Nex, ‘Longman & Broderip’, in *The Music Trade in Georgian England*, ed. by Michael Kassler (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 9-94 (pp. 22-23).

<sup>100</sup> *Norwich Mercury*, 22 March 1783.

*the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute* (1791).<sup>101</sup> The latter included more difficult pieces for those who had mastered the *Institutes* and provided the opportunity to combine and play with other instrumentalists. As far as I am aware, no other provincial musician produced such a number of sequential pedagogical publications.

Miller's business skills and timing were exceptional. In a matter of days before the grand 1784 Handel Commemoration at Westminster Abbey, London (see Figure 4.12), he published a pamphlet petitioning for the establishment of a New Musical Fund for the benefit of deprived and decayed provincial musicians.<sup>102</sup> The idea received widespread support and on 12 April 1787 Miller directed the Fund's first benefit concert at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, London, assisted by conductor Philip Hayes, Professor of Music at Oxford, and Wilhelm Cramer, London's leading violinist (both of whom were also freemasons). William T. Parke in his *Musical Memoirs* recorded the rehearsals for the inaugural concert:

When this great event was in contemplation, two very pompous gentlemen, Dr. Hayes of Oxford, and Dr. Miller of Doncaster, came to town to give their gratuitous assistance as conductors, by beating time. After several meetings and some bickerings, it was at length agreed that Dr. Hayes (Mus. Dr. Oxon) should conduct the first act and Dr. Miller the second. With regard to the third, I suppose they were to toss up for it. When the time of performance had arrived, and Mr. Cramer, the leader, had just tapt his bow, (the signal for being ready,) and looked round to catch the eyes of the performers, he saw, to his astonishment, a tall gigantic figure, with an immense powdered toupee, full dressed, with a bag and sword, and a huge roll of parchment in his hand [...] "Who is that gentleman?" said Mr. Cramer. – "Dr. Hayes," was the reply. – "What is he going to do?" – "To beat time." – "Be so kind," said Mr. Cramer, "to tell the gentleman that when he has sat down I will begin." The Doctor, who never anticipated such a *set down* as

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<sup>101</sup> No copy survives of the *Twenty-four Exercises in all the Major and Minor Keys*, which followed similar lines to J. S. Bach's monumental 24 Preludes and Fugues. Edward Miller, *Twelve Progressive Lessons for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for the Violin or Flute Dedicated to the Hon[ourable] Miss Monckton and the Hon[ourable] Miss Harriet Monckton* (London: William Miller, [1791]). A copy survives in Lbl Music Collections h.1613.t.(4.).

<sup>102</sup> It is unclear whether Miller attended the event at Westminster Abbey. The celebration was conceived by Joah Bates, a native of Halifax, with the support of two noblemen, Viscount Fitzwilliam and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne. For Joah Bates and choral activities in Halifax, see Cowgill, 'Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club', pp. 87-113. It is likely that Miller, through his acquaintance with Herschel, knew Bates.



this, took his seat, and Mr. Cramer did begin, and his Majesty and all present bore witness to his masterly style of leading the band.<sup>103</sup>

Philip Hayes was also engaged as the conductor of the annual Festival of the Sons of the Clergy at St Paul's Cathedral every May following the death of William Boyce (he was formally appointed in 1780).<sup>104</sup> King George III received Miller on 2 May 1789 to pledge his support to the New Musical Fund. Miller and Hayes continued to co-direct the Fund's annual charity concerts in London until Hayes' death in 1797.

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<sup>103</sup> William T. Parke, *Musical Memoirs, comprising an account of the general state of music in England, from 1784 to 1830*, 2 vols (London, 1830), vol. 1, pp. 39-40. Parke appears to have got his dates and places confused in his story of the confrontation between Hayes and Cramer at rehearsals for the 1784 Handel Commemoration concerts in Westminster Abbey; see Peter Holman, "'Storage's Dictatory Nod': A Frustrated Composer at Drury Lane in 1788", *EMP*, 18 (May 2006), 18-24 (p. 19).

<sup>104</sup> Simon Heighes, *The Lives and Works of William and Philip Hayes* (New York: Garland, 1995), p. 64.



**Figure 4.12** The 1784 Handel Commemoration, Westminster Abbey; From Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Westminster Abbey* (London: Printed for the Benefit of the Musical Fund; and Sold by T. Payne and Son, at the Meuse-Gate, 1785), plate.

The New Musical Fund, according to Joseph Doane's *A Musical Directory*, was 'established in the Year 1786, for the same purpose as the [Royal Society of Musicians], but on a more enlarged plan, extending to Country Members'.<sup>105</sup> Unlike the Royal Society of Musicians, the New Fund did not exclude those who practised other professions alongside music. The Royal Society of Musicians was founded in 1738 as a 'Fund for the Support of Decayed Musicians or their Families'.<sup>106</sup> Vincent, Wiedeman, Handel, Boyce, Arne, Pepusch, Festing, Sammartini, and Greene were founder members of the Royal Society of Musicians, and signed a 'Declaration of Trust'. George Smart (1750/51?-1818?), a music publisher in London who played the double bass at the 1784 Handel commemoration, was rejected by the Royal Society of Musicians in 1785, probably because he practised a second profession or because 'he had reported four children when his wife was pregnant with a fifth'.<sup>107</sup> Smart and Miller formed a rival society as provincial musicians were less likely to secure a sustainable and steady income from music compared with their metropolitan counterparts. Smart served as a member of the New Musical Fund's court of assistants and as treasurer from 1794 to 1815.<sup>108</sup>

Income for the New Musical Fund was provided through donations from the nobility, individual subscriptions (one guinea for a year, ten guineas for life membership) and large-scale subscription concerts. Parke recalled the inaugural concert in 1787:

An Institution, termed The New Musical Fund, gave their first benefit-concert at the King's Theatre on the 12th of April, under the direction of Dr. Hayes and Dr. Miller, who, with a roll of parchment, beat time most unmercifully. Signor Rubinelli, Mr. Harrison, and Mrs. Billington sang on the occasion; and

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<sup>105</sup> Joseph Doane (ed.), *A Musical Directory For the Year 1794* (London, 1794), p. 84. See also Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), p. 37.

<sup>106</sup> See P. Drummond, 'The Royal Society of Musicians in the Eighteenth Century', *ML*, 59.3 (July 1978), 268-289. See Charles Dibdin's attacks on the Royal Society in *The Musical Tour of Mr. Dibdin: In which — Previous to his Embarkation for India — He Finished his Career as a Public Character* (Sheffield: Printed for the Author by J. Gales, 1788), pp. 165-169. See also *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, vol. 3 (1821), pp. 328-335.

<sup>107</sup> Ehrlich, p. 29.

<sup>108</sup> W. H. Husk and Nicholas Temperley, "Smart", *GMO* and David J. Golby, 'Smart, George (1750/51?-1818?)', *ODNB*.

Cramer led the band, composed of two hundred performers, the whole of whom assisted gratuitously. The house was full.<sup>109</sup>

An advertisement in the *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser* of 7 April 1787 also described the concert as ‘Consisting of upwards of Two Hundred Performers’. The programme included Handel’s *Occasional Oratorio*, the choruses ‘He gave them Hailstones’ and ‘I will sing unto the Lord’ from *Israel in Egypt*, the Coronation Anthem, a Haydn symphony, and piano, violin, cello and flute concertos. Songs were interspersed between the instrumental pieces.<sup>110</sup> Miller quickly brought these grand performers to Doncaster in September 1787 – he performed very similar repertoire and presumably utilised some of the same principal performers (and a chorus drawn locally from Lancashire and Yorkshire).<sup>111</sup>

In a letter to Charles Burney dated 25 September 1802, John Wall Callcot recalled that ‘Dr. Miller’s letter also in behalf of [allowing] Country Musicians [to participate in the Fund] was the inducement to appoint him with Dr [Philip] Hayes conductor of their annual performance’.<sup>112</sup> The collaboration between Philip Hayes and Miller was to continue until Hayes’ death in 1797, as they jointly directed the annual London concerts of the New Musical Fund at the King’s Theatre, the Pantheon and Hanover Square Rooms. Wilhelm Cramer regularly led the orchestra. Cramer was a leading violinist in eighteenth-century London, as leader of the Handel Commemoration concerts in 1784 and 1787 at Westminster Abbey, the Professional Concerts, and the opera orchestra at the Pantheon. In addition, Cramer was also a prominent leader at concerts and music festivals in the provinces, including Doncaster, presumably through Miller’s influence.

A selection of printed programmes for concerts in 1794, 1805 and between 1815 and 1841 in aid of the New Musical Fund survive in the British Library.<sup>113</sup> These concerts

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<sup>109</sup> Parke, *Musical Memoirs*, vol. 1, p. 98.

<sup>110</sup> *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser*, 7 April 1787.

<sup>111</sup> See below p. 194.

<sup>112</sup> Lbl Add. 27667.

<sup>113</sup> Lbl C.61.g.20. A handbill for a benefit concert in 1791 is reproduced in McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn*, p. 74.

included instrumental (quartets, concertos, overtures and symphonies) and vocal items (songs, duets, glees and Handel choruses and anthems). The works of Handel featured prominently, but music by modern composers such as Haydn, Storace, Viotti and Clementi was also included. For example, the programme for the 1794 concert included Handel's 'Zadok the priest' and choruses from the oratorios *Esther*, *Saul* and *Solomon*, Hayes' song 'When Sappho tun'd the raptur'd strain', a Corelli violin solo, and a Haydn symphony. The programme informs us that:

The Patrons of this Society are respectfully informed, that the Disbursements to Widows, Orphans, and distressed Members, including other incidental Expences, since the Institution of this Society to the present Time, amount to the Sum of TWO THOUSAND ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINE POUNDS, TEN SHILLINGS, and THREEPENCE.

The New Musical Fund's mission is outlined in the programme:

to have an Aggregating and a Provisional Fund, for the Relief of proper Objects of our Charity; and we are determined, as soon as we are able, and in exact Proportion till that Time - 1st, To allow all Widows who are left destitute, £25. *per Annum*; or to make up the said Sum of £25. *per Annum* to whatever Sum short of that their Husbands may leave them. - 2[n]d, To put all Orphans Apprentices, at the Age of Fourteen, and to give £10. with them as a Premium; and to allow Two Shillings per Week for each Child, if their Parents die before they arrive at the Age. - 3[r]d, If any Professional Member should, by old Age, Misfortune, or any sudden Calamity, have Occasion for any temporary Assistance, we mean to allow real Objects of Distress from Ten to Fifteen Shillings a-Week, at the Discretion of the Committee; but as we neither mean to encourage Idleness, nor support Extravagance, so every Member soliciting the Relief, must produce to the Committee a Certificate signed by Twelve Members, undergo their Investigation, and be relieved at their Discretion.

Contemporary newspaper reports described how the orchestra and choir numbers increased every year (the choir included the boys from Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal). In 1787 the number is listed as over 200. This increased to 250 in 1790, almost 300 in 1791 and over 400 by 1797.

The London musician Charles Dibdin (1745-1814) also visited Miller at Doncaster on his Musical Tour of the country (which was published in 1788). Dibdin noted Miller's character and the importance of his published works, particularly his *Institutes*, in his book:

I was in the whole a week at DONCASTER, which I passed very happily, in the company of Dr. MILLER. I know no man of more liberal sentiments, nor whose studies are applied to more worthy purposes. His public letter concerning the *musical fund*, and advice towards the establishment of such an institution in the country, is full of generous, spirited, and sensible remarks; and it will do him lasting honour that his plan has already been in some measure adopted. His institutes are another proof of his wishes to make his abilities of public use. They are a work calculated to reduce the study of music to something like rule, in

the nature of a grammar; and for a first attempt in this way - for he was very conscious that any thing of such a kind would be considered as a dangerous innovation - has great perspicuity, and may be made generally servicable.<sup>114</sup>

Miller subscribed to three copies of Dibdin's book and was probably instrumental in securing several more subscribers on behalf of the author through his network of contacts. Miller's role in the New Musical Fund brought him important national press coverage and the recognition of Charles Dibdin.

The amateur-composer John Marsh also visited Miller at Doncaster in 1796:

The next morning [...] I sat out in one of the early London coaches, breakfasted at Borough Bridge near Pontefract, & arrived at the handsome town of Doncaster about noon, which wishing to see & having a note of introduction to Dr Miller the organist from Mr Beverly jun'r I stopt there the remaind'r of that day, making my first visit to the Doct'rs in my way to which in crossing the church yard I heard the organ sounding, which however was not then playing by the Doct'r whom I found at home, & who was very civil to me. Finding by Mr Beverly's note that I was an amateur & composer, he played one of his lessons to me upon the harpsichord, w'ch sett he gave me in exchange for a sett of my sonatins I promised to send him, & afterwards he attended me to the church, a large handsome one, with a fine organ, on which a yound pupil of his was than practising the Overture in Esther, who making out, as I thought but indifferently, I thought I need not be ashamed to touch it imediately after him, & therefore at Dr Miller's desire sat down & played about ½ an hour, & was much pleased with the instrument, w'ch had as fine a Trumpet stop as I ever heard. [...] I sent the copy of my sonatins I promised to Dr Miller, who I found by the porter was engaged in a musical party at his house, to which had he been as hospitably inclin'd as Mr Beverly had been, he wo'd have invited me as a stranger & amateur, especially as he knew I was alone at the inn.<sup>115</sup>

## 4.8 The impresario

A printed libretto for the 'Third Day's Performance' of a Doncaster music festival held between 26 and 28 September 1787 at the Parish Church survives.<sup>116</sup> The title page reads: 'The Occasional Oratorio; Being a Favourite Selection of Sacred Music. From the Works of Handel. To be Performed in the Church, On Friday, September 28, 1787. Doncaster:

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<sup>114</sup> Dibdin, *The Musical Tour*, p. 161.

<sup>115</sup> Brian Robins (ed.), *The John Marsh Journals: The Life and Times of a Gentlemen Composer (1752-1828)* (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1998), pp. 625-626.

<sup>116</sup> Doncaster Archives, P1/5/A1.



Printed for Dr. Miller, By T. Sanderson'. The stewards at this performance are listed and included a number of Miller's friends and patrons: 'Earl Fitzwilliam, Lord Viscount Downe, Lord Viscount Galway, Sir George Cooke, Bart., WM. Fenton Scott, Esq., Thomas Copley, Esq., The Rev. G. W. A. Drummond, The Worshipful The Mayor'. The nucleus of the performance was Handel's *Occasional Oratorio*, but this was interspersed with choruses from *Deborah* and *Israel in Egypt*. The concert concluded with the Coronation Anthem 'Zadok the Priest' and was advertised:

With a numerous CHORUS from LANCASHIRE, SHEFFIELD, &c. / The INSTRUMENTAL PERFORMERS from LONDON, YORK, DURHAM, LEEDS, WAKEFIELD, LITCHFIELD, DERBY, GRANTHAM, NOTTINGHAM, SHEFFIELD, PONTEFRAC, and ROTHERHAM. / The Serpant, Kettle Drums, and Double Drums, will be used.<sup>117</sup>

The festival received positive reviews from the local press:

The company at our races has certainly been more numerous than for many years. The assembly on Wednesday (being a dress-night) was exceeding[ly] brilliant, and the audience at the play greater than ever appeared in that house, the receipt being 811. The oratorios in the church were performed in a style of excellence; – Madame Mara charmed every ear; – nor were the other vocal performers without their admirers. The chorusses were very full and well executed; and the instrumental performers remarkably well in time. In short the whole performances were truly deserving at every encomium.<sup>118</sup>

Capitalising on his London connections not only benefited Miller's own career progression, but also enriched concert life in Doncaster and the wider region. Regarding a performance of Handel's *Messiah* it was reported that 'The general opinion of judges was, that the chorusses of this oratorio were never better performed in the kingdom, and Dr. Miller has great credit in making so excellent a selection of performers'.<sup>119</sup> Through his network of connections he was able to engage famous London performers, including the German soprano Gertrud Elizabeth Mara (see Table 4.4). Doncaster was an important centre on the Northern provincial concert circuit. Miller hosted grand scale performances similar to the ones he experienced with the New Musical Fund in London and those

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<sup>117</sup> *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser*, 22 September 1787.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 September 1787. The assembly had 264 subscribers.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 October 1787.

organised by John Ashley later in York and Hull (see Ch. 3).<sup>120</sup> However, the financial success of the 1787 festival was limited, as the *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser* of 23 August 1787 later informed its readers that ‘Madame Mara thinking the produce of the festival not adequate to Dr. Miller’s trouble, generously returned him twenty guineas of her engagement; as did Mr. Meredith five guineas’. A similar situation happened the following year at an oratorio festival conducted by Miller held at St Paul’s Church in Sheffield:

the whole receipts amounted to £456-6-0 and notwithstanding Mr. Cramer returned ten guineas out of the fifty guineas he received, and Mrs. Billington, out of the eighty guineas she received, returned five, the expence attending such a number of performers is so great, that we are sorry to hear no more than forty pounds [...] will be left for the [Girls’] charity [school].<sup>121</sup>

A concert directed by Miller at the Doncaster Mansion House was advertised by the *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser* on 17 October 1789:

With the Clarinets and French Horns of the Militia Band, to accompany the Minuets. / Previous to the Ball some favourite Songs, Glees, and Catches, will be performed by Miss Hitchcock, Messrs. CLIFFORD, RILEY, NUTTER, &c. / Concerto on the Clarinet by Mr. WRIGHT. / Concerto on the Flute by Mr. DARCY. / To be conducted by Dr. MILLER. / Begin at Seven o’clock. / Tickets at 3s. 6d. each to be had at Mr. Plummer’s, and Mr. Smith’s, Booksellers.

The newspaper praised the concert in its review, although the conversations of some members of the audience proved distracting:

The music that preceded the ball, and which was conducted by Dr. Miller, gave universal satisfaction: in particular the solo of Mr. Wright’s on the clarinet; nor was Mr. Lawton’s on the violin, at all inferior; though we are sorry to say, many of the beauties were lost to the real admirers of music, by the inattention and loud conversation of others. – Miss Hitchcock’s song, by Mary Queen of Scots, accompanied by flutes, and horns, had an excellent effect. The glees in general were well arranged, and the whole, perhaps, from the shortness of the concert, gave more pleasure than had the preceding music been longer.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> See Brian W. Pritchard, ‘The Provincial Festivals of the Ashley Family’, *Gaplin Society Journal*, 22 (1969), 58-77. For concert life in the North of England during the eighteenth century, see Rachel Cowgill, ‘Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club’, in *MBP*, pp. 87-113; Sally Drage, ‘The Larks of Dean: Amateur Musicians in Northern England’, in *MBP*, pp. 195-221.

<sup>121</sup> *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser*, 23 August 1788.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 October 1789.

Miller's talent lay more as a performer than a composer. On 11 July 1794 Miller directed concerts to celebrate the opening of the new organ at St James's Chapel, Sheffield. The *Yorkshire Gazette* commented on Miller's playing on the church organ:

The introduction of the 100<sup>th</sup> Psalm, in full chorus, with instrumental parts, had a sublime effect, and most of the company, with due reverence, devoutly joined in it *standing*.: – *Mr. Miller's* Interludes on the Organ were inimitable. [...] The *Concert* at the Theatre in the evening produced a House, which, in the theatrical phrase, was really a *Bumper*, and proved very lucrative to *Mr. Miller*, whose Performance there, both on the Violin and Grand Piano Forte were so equally admirable, that, in a case so critical and rare, the best judges were divided, as to the instrument on which he most excelled.<sup>123</sup>

**Table 4.4** Music festivals in South Yorkshire directed by Edward Miller following the inaugural New Musical Fund concert

<i>Date</i>	<i>Venue</i>	<i>Repertoire</i>	<i>Personnel</i>
Sept 1787	St George's Church, Doncaster	Handel	Madame Mara, Edward Meredith, Miss Harwood, Miss Shipley, Mr Walton; Mr Mara (cello); chorus from Lancashire and Sheffield
Aug 1788	St Paul's Church, Sheffield	Handel	Edward Miller (organ), Wilhelm Cramer (violin), Elizabeth Billington
Sept 1788	St George's Church, Doncaster	Handel	Madame Mara, Edward Meredith

## 4.9 National figure

Consequently, at the culmination of his career, Miller's national profile and prominence in musical circles was now enough for him to secure 2000 subscribers to his 1790 publication *The Psalms of David, for the Use of Parish Churches* (see Figures 4.13 and 4.14).<sup>124</sup>

<sup>123</sup> *Yorkshire Gazette*, 19 July 1794.

<sup>124</sup> Edward Miller, *The Psalms of David, for the Use of Parish Churches* (London: William Miller, 1790).

According to the *York Courant* the book was claimed to have the largest number of subscribers for any English musical publication. The *Doncaster Gazette* of 18 September 1807 stated that the list of subscribers was only inferior to Alexander Pope's translation of Homer. The collection was published in London by Miller's son-in-law William Richard Beckford Miller. This was a collaboration with George Hay Drummond, Vicar of Doncaster (who was appointed in 1785), in light of their successful experience in improving congregational singing at Doncaster through the training of Sunday School children to lead and support the congregation in the music of the litany.<sup>125</sup> George Hay Drummond was born at Brodsworth, near Doncaster, and was the third son of Dr Robert Drummond, the Archbishop of York. A number of sermons given by the Doncaster vicar were published and he resigned his position in 1790, moving back to Brodsworth. Miller in his *History and Antiquities of Doncaster* noted:

During the five years he remained vicar of Doncaster, the conduct of my friend and neighbour, *as a parish priest* was, in my opinion, truly manifested in the strictest attention to the decorum of public worship, and to the comfort and instruction of all those committed to his care.<sup>126</sup>

Drummond's character and influence must have been significant as Miller's efforts to improve psalmody dated from 1790, after Drummond became vicar, despite him being a parish organist for over thirty years. From what can be inferred from the title page of the psalm collection, Miller's role in the publication was seemingly more significant – a fact also supported by the miniature self-portrait of the composer below David's harp (see Figure 4.13). Miller informed us that 'The psalmody in this church till the year 1790, was conducted upon the same plan as that of other parochial churches in this kingdom'. A lay clerk was in control of the psalmody, whose:

custom was to send the organist not the *words*, but only the *name* of the tune, and how often it was to be repeated. Strange absurdity! How could the organist, placed in this degrading situation, properly perform his part of the church service? Not knowing the words, it was impossible for him to accommodate his

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<sup>125</sup> On the development of using charity children in psalmody, see Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, pp. 129-134.

<sup>126</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 135. Miller and Drummond had previously collaborated on a publication in 1789: *An Anthem for Voices and Instruments also an Hymn Composed for the Use of Sunday Schools* ([London:] Printed for the Author & to be had at all the Music Shops).

music to the various sentiments contained in different stanzas; consequently, *his* must be a mere random performance, and frequently producing improper effects.<sup>127</sup>

Miller's experience was representative of the state of provincial psalmody at the time.<sup>128</sup> His main ideas were not to leave the choice of music and words to 'an ignorant clerk', to ensure the use of easy and simple tunes to allow congregational participation, and to train eight children with good voices (who were employed by the parish) in order that 'their voices, united with the organ, prove a sufficient guide to the rest of the congregation'.<sup>129</sup> A 'Dr. Vincent' in the *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser* of 7 July 1787 wrote: 'The General Complaint of that part of the public Service – The Singing of Psalms – being Performed in most Churches in a very indifferent manner'.<sup>130</sup> In response a week later it was reported that Miller had:

undertaken to teach, by the ear only, <some> of the boys belonging to the Sunday Schools to <sing> (or, perhaps, more properly, to lead) the <con>gregation in the singing of psalms [...] and we hope soon to find this part of divine service rendered at once delightful and entertaining, by the whole congregation joining therein. – It would be of great use, if such as wish to render their assistance on the evenings when the boys practise; – by such attendance the tunes would become familiar to the ear, and, by a little practice, the modulation of every voice might be brought to that pitch which would make the whole harmonious, and give such of the female part of the congregation as wish to join in this delightful part of the divine service, an opportunity of assisting in the general harmony, without the pain of having their sweet notes entirely lost between the overstrained voice of a few individuals (whose motives for singing may be good ones, but, for want of judgement, much misapplied) and the loud roar of a full-toned organ.<sup>131</sup>

On 2 November 1786 the Doncaster Corporation 'Ordered that Fifty Pounds shall be given by the Corporation towards the expence of Establishing & Supporting Sunday Schools for the Education & Instructions of Poor Children Within the said Borough'.<sup>132</sup> It

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<sup>127</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 88.

<sup>128</sup> See for instance the descriptions in John Piper, *The Life of Miss Fanny Brown, (A Clergyman's Daughter:)* (Birmingham: For the Author, 1760). See also Sally Drage, 'The Performance of English Provincial Psalmody, c. 1690-c. 1840' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2009) and the concerns raised by Charles Avison and William Hayes earlier in the century in their respective essays; see Dubois.

<sup>129</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 89.

<sup>130</sup> *Yorkshire Journal and General Weekly Advertiser*, 7 July 1787.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 July 1787.

<sup>132</sup> Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 2 November 1786.

was later agreed that ‘the Corporation shall Allow and Pay Twenty Guineas a Year towards the Support of Sunday Schools in Doncaster during the Pleasure of the said Corporation’.<sup>133</sup> Miller continued to observe that Drummond upon:

observing one sabbath day, that his clerk had chosen both the words and tune of a psalm so improperly as to occasion laughter in some part of the congregation; told me, that in order to remedy such an abuse in future, he would immediately employ himself in selecting the best stanzas in each psalm, from the version of Tate and Brady, and arrange them for every Sunday and festival throughout the year, provided I would adapt them to proper music. I was instantly struck with the idea, and in performing my part, generally made choice of the most popular of our old and venerable melodies long used in the established church of England.<sup>134</sup>


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<sup>133</sup> Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 27 October 1788. Miller also persuaded his fellow freemasons to pledge 5 guineas; see Fowler, *Edward Miller*, p. 72. The lodge offered to pay the salary of a school master to instruct 10 boys ‘in reading &c’ and moral duties, and supervise their attendance at church; see William Delanoy, *The Records of St. George’s Lodge, No. 242, of Free and Accepted Masons of England* (Doncaster: Hartley and Son, 1882), p. 15. This demonstrated modern thinking as the Sunday School movement was conceived in 1783, inspired by Robert Raikes (1741-1813).

<sup>134</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 88.



**PSALMS OF DAVID**  
*for the Use of*  
**PARISH CHURCHES** *F. 402*  
 The WORDS Selected from the Version of TATE & BRADY  
 BY  
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Figure 4.13 Title page of Edward Miller's *Psalms of David*

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THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

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Rev. G. Anderson, Vicar of Cransley, Nor- thamptonshire	11	Mr. Adnal, Backston	
Rev. W. Antrobus, St. John's College, Cam- bridge		Mr. J. Agar, great Cogger-hall	
Rev. Mr. Armitage, Vicar of Hooton Pagnell		Mr. W. Albin, Chemist, Spalding	
Rev. Mr. Armstrong, Belford, Northumb.		Mr. John Albin, Bookseller, Spalding	
Rev. James Ashley, Fleet, Lincolnshire		Mr. Alcock, Attorney, Skipton	
Rev. Mr. Aspinshaw, Nottingham		Mrs. Allanfon, Grosvenor Square	
Rev. Mr. Atkinson, Vicar of Leck		Mr. Allen, Bristol	
Dr. Alfap, Calne, Wilts		Mr. J. F. Allen, Newton upon Ouse	

Messrs.

Figure 4.14 First page of subscribers to Edward Miller's *Psalms of David*

In the preface to his collection of psalms, Miller condemned ‘the usual custom [...] of singing] the *melodies* to the common metrical Psalms, without any regard to the measure of *time*; and the drawling out of each syllable to an improper and unlimited length’ and wished the organist ‘would not indulge himself in extraneous flourishes, or in running up and down the keys at the end of every line’. Miller recommended that the parish organist ‘attend once a week, for a few months, to instruct the *charity*, or Sunday school children. Let him invite such part of the parishioners to meet him, as may wish to learn’. School masters were also encouraged to send their pupils to rehearsals and ‘there can be no reason why ladies, who make no scruple of joining in a chorus song in company, should object to raise their voices in songs of praise and thanksgiving to the Lord their maker’.

Nicholas Temperley described Miller’s hymn book as ‘a landmark in the reform of town psalmody’ and highlighted that the ‘whole design of the undertaking is clearly to make psalm singing more lively, and to restore choir and organ to their proper function of leading the congregation’.<sup>135</sup> In the preface Miller advised on tempo implications:

But above all, let him [the organist] persist in playing the old *common* time tunes in quicker measure than at present, according to their original intention, and as they are now sung in the Lutheran churches in *Germany*. The powerful effect of the children’s voices, with his own resolution, will bear him through all difficulties. The congregation will soon learn to join them, and the result will amply repay him for all his labour. Instead of the miserable and never ending *drawl* - instead of the odious absurdity of giving the same length of sound to every *syllable*, whether *long* or short - to every *word*, be it ever to emphatical, or only an *article* or mere *expletive* - instead of hearing in our churches unmeaning sound, which scarcely deserves the name of music, we shall be delighted with what constitutes its very essence, *air*, *measure*, and *expression*.<sup>136</sup>

The tunes Miller included in the collection are simple so the congregation could effectively take part. It featured approximately 30 tunes, including modern settings by Handel (from *Messiah* and *Saul*), Thomas Arne, Charles Burney (two settings entitled ‘Lynn’ and ‘St. Margarets’, possibly alluding to Miller’s early education under Burney in King’s Lynn),

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<sup>135</sup> Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, pp. 215, 216.

<sup>136</sup> It was not until 1817 (10 years after Miller’s death) that the Doncaster schoolchildren were paid a salary of 1 guinea each. Three male singers were engaged to assist them, including a Mr Wragg, who was ‘to teach the singers and to attend the singing himself at an annual salary of twenty guineas [...] Mr. Wragg to attend three times a week’; see Sheffield City Library, PR 19/38 Records of Doncaster Parish Church (1691-1915), p. 385. Therefore there was just enough singers to sing four-part cathedral music. The annual payments gradually increased and by 1832 the choir consisted of 5 men and 12 children; see *Ibid.*, p. 501. The total average salary between 1822 and 1832 was £45.

C. P. E. Bach, Charles Dibdin, and Miller's own 'Rockingham' and 'Galway' tunes (among others), written in honour of his loyal Yorkshire patrons (see Figures 4.15, 4.16, 4.17 and 4.18). Miller included a selection of tunes by key individuals who helped him in his career; publicly recognising his thanks to them for their support. He also provided a direct acknowledgment of thanks in the preface:

to his former much honoured master, the learned Dr. *Burney* [...] not only for furnishing him with melodies of his own composition, but also for pointing out the path he should pursue [...] under the sanction of such respectable authority.<sup>137</sup>

Tunes by English Restoration composers, including Jeremiah Clarke, William Croft and Henry Purcell are also included, but only five tunes in Miller's collection were composed in England before 1690. All the tunes are presented on two staves with the continuo realisation provided in small notes – a method credited elsewhere to Domenico Corri.<sup>138</sup> Miller's contribution was important and progressive. He aimed to improve the state of psalmody:

no part of our church service is so much neglected, or so irreverently performed, as this of psalmody. It is a disgrace to the members of our established church, that dissenters of various denominations should be more devout in performing this delightful part of their duty. They seem to make music an important object: and, perhaps, more people are drawn (particularly to the chapels of Methodists) by their attractive stile of singing, than by any other cause whatever.<sup>139</sup>

The quality of music-making in the dissenting chapels across the county appears to have been the driving force behind the publication.

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<sup>137</sup> Miller, *The Psalms of David*, preface, p. x. Miller admired the writings of Burney and Herschel, describing them as an 'honor to human nature'; see Edward Miller, *A Letter to the Country Spectator, in Reply to the Author of his Ninth Number, Published December 4, 1792* (London: William Miller, 1792), p. 11.

<sup>138</sup> See Hugh Bond, *The Psalms of David in Metre* (c. 1796), preface.

<sup>139</sup> Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, p. 89.

# 12 FIFTH SUNDAY after EPIPHANY

## First Morning

Pfalm 139 — Verfes 4 beginning at Verfe 1<sup>st</sup>

**Rockingham L. M.** Part of the melody taken from a hymn tune

*Largo con affetto*

Thou, Lord, by strictest search hast known My ri-fing up and ly-ing down;

Thou, Lord, & c.

*Pia*

My secret thoughts are known to thee. Known long before conceiv'd by me.

<p>(2)</p> <p>Thine eye my bed and path surveys, My public haunts and private ways; Thou know'st what 'tis my lips would vent, My yet unutter'd words intent.</p>	<p>(3)</p> <p>Surrounded by thy pow'r I stand, On ev'ry side I find thy hand O skill, for human reach too high, Too dazzling bright for mortal eye!</p>
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(4)

O cou'd I so perfidious be,  
To think of once deserting thee.  
Where, Lord, could I thy influence shun,  
Or whither from thy Prefence run?

Figure 4.15 'Rockingham' tune from Edward Miller's *Psalms of David*

22 FIRST SUNDAY in LENT

First Morning

Pfalm 51 — Verfes 3. beginning at Verfe 1<sup>st</sup>

Galway new melody S. M.

D<sup>r</sup> Miller

Mezzo piano con fupplicazione

Cres- - en- - do

Have mercy, Lord, on me, As thou wert e - - ver kind;

Have mercy &c. 6 6 7 6 4 3 6 6 6 6 4 3 6 4 3

Let me op-pressed with loads of guilt, Thy wonted mer- - cy find.

7 5 6 6 6 4 6 4 6 5 6 5 6 6 4 3

2. 3. 3

Wash off my foul offence,  
And cleanse me from my sin;  
For I confess my crime, and see  
How great my guilt has been.

(1)  
Against thee, Lord, alone,  
And only in thy sight  
Have I transgress'd, and thou condemn'd,  
Must own thy Judgments right.

Figure 4.16 'Galway' tune from Edward Miller's *Psalms of David*



10 FOURTH SUNDAY after EPIPHANY

First Morning

Pfalm 112 — Verfes 1. 3. 4. 6.

Lynn new melody L. M.

D<sup>r</sup> Burney

Lento

That man is blest who ftands in awe Of God, and loves his fa - cred law:  
That man is blest &c.

His feed on earth fhall be renown'd, And with fuc - ces - five honours crown'd.

Pia  
His houfe, the feat of wealth, fhall be An in - ex - haufed trea - fu - ry;

His juft - ice, free from all de - cay, Shall blefsings to his heirs convey.

4  
The Soul that's fill'd with virtue's light,  
Shines brighteft in affliction's night:  
To pity the diftrefs'd inclin'd  
As well as juft to all mankind.

6  
Beset with threatening dangers round,  
Unmov'd fhall he maintain his ground:  
The fweet remembrance of the juft  
Shall flourish when he fleeps in duft.

Figure 4.17 Charles Burney's 'Lynn' tune from Edward Miller's *Psalms of David*

Second Morning

Pfalm 24 — Verfes 4. beginning at Verfe 7<sup>th</sup> to be repeated

Doncaster new melody C. M.

D<sup>r</sup> Miller

*Maestoso e Staccato*

E-rect your heads, e - ternal gates Unfold to en - ter - tain the King of  
 E - rect &c 6 6 6 6 # # Ova

glory; fee he comes, With his ce - lef - tial train. Who is the King of glory.  
 6 6 6 6 4 Ova

who? The Lord for firength renown'd, In battle mighty o'er his foes E - ternal  
 # 6 6 5 6 6 6 6 5 6 6 7

vic - tor crown'd.  
 M. P. 4 Swell 8.

Interlude  
 6 4 8

9  
 Erect your heads, ye gates, unfold  
 In state to entertain  
 The King of glory; fee, he comes  
 With all his shining train.

10  
 Who is the King of glory? who?  
 The Lord of hofts renown'd:  
 Of glory he alone is King;  
 Who is with glory crown'd.

Figure 4.18 Edward Miller's 'Doncaster' tune from his *Psalms of David*

The book's dissemination was huge, as displayed by its extraordinary list of subscribers which included the king and queen, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, a large number of bishops and lords, cathedral organists, parish churches and choral societies across the country (see Figure 4.14).<sup>140</sup> Thomas Miller bought twenty five copies for his Norfolk bookshop and Miller's old friends and contacts in London and Doncaster again subscribed, including Philip Hayes. King George III gave Miller £25 in recognition of his achievement.<sup>141</sup> The work's influence went far beyond Doncaster: it reached all parts of England (but predominantly Northern England and Miller's native East Anglia) and obtained 'great celebrity in its time'.<sup>142</sup> Miller claimed that the book was 'the *first* publication of congregational psalmody that has appeared since the Reformation, with a regular arrangement of *words* and *music*, adapted for every Sunday throughout the year'.<sup>143</sup> Miller's plan for the improvement of psalmody was copied in later collections.<sup>144</sup> Miller provided a later book, *Sacred Music [...] intended as an Appendix to Dr Watts's Psalms and*

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<sup>140</sup> The list also included 19 choirs, 27 societies of singers, 46 parishes, 3 choral societies, 5 musical societies and one Sunday school.

<sup>141</sup> Miller was conscious to keep the support of royalty. In a letter addressed to Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, dated 31 May 1794 he wrote: 'Sir / The honor of being very well known to your Brother & Neices [*sic*] during their residence at Doncaster, has induced me to take the liberty of Inclosing to you an account of the late proceedings here, for our internal Defence; not only against our foreign; but, our more to be dreaded, domestic Enemies. / Bound by indissoluble Ties to his Majesty, not only by my duty as a loyal Subject; but by gratitude for his gracious Patronage of my Publication of Psalms; I have used every exertion in my power to detect the disaffected, & to enlighten the Ignorant. As you will see by the Inclos'd, that my efforts were applauded at the late meeting at Doncaster, I trust they have not been unsuccessful. / My Son, who resides at Sheffield has been equally alert at that place, in doing his Duty. / A few Days since I had it (I believe) in my power to have taken at Tickhill, Gales the Infamous Printer of the Sheffield Paper; but, as there was no Information lodg'd against him, A Justice of Peace said, he could not, with safety to himself, grant a Warrant. / Your goodness will pardon the presumption of this address to you — I have no interested view — The utmost summit of my Ambition would be, for his Majesty to know that I have a grateful heart, & that the remembrance of his late goodness to me, can only end with my Life. / I am / Sir, with the greatest respect / your most obedient Servant / Edward Miller'; see PRO, HO 42/30/136, ff. 333-334 (Figure 4.23).

<sup>142</sup> James Dixon, *Memoir of the Late Rev. William Edward Miller, Wesleyan Minister* (London: Hamilton, Adams, 1842), p. 9.

<sup>143</sup> Miller, *The Psalms of David*, preface, p. ix. However, collections of a course of psalms for three or six months had been published before: [Raphael Courteville?], *Select Psalms and Hymns for the Use of the Parish-Church and Tabernacle of St. James's Westminster* (London, 1697) and Richard Willis, *The Excellent use of Psalmody* (Nottingham, 1734).

<sup>144</sup> See Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church*, vol. 1, pp. 216, 228, 240.

*Hymns* (London, c. 1800), for older dissenting bodies, and his son-in-law William Miller compiled a collection for use by Methodists.<sup>145</sup> Shortly after the publication of his *Psalms of David*, Edward Miller followed up with a pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Present Performance of Psalmody in the Established Church of England, addressed to the Clergy* (1791). In it Miller wrote:

Zealous for an improvement in the performance of an important and noble part of divine worship, I thought it necessary to give a fuller explanation of some advantages that may arise from the use of my book, than I had done in the preface to it: but a consideration of more weight with me than all the rest was, to induce *you*, Reverend Sirs, to believe, that by your sanction and encouragement, a reformation in the performance of *congregational Psalmody* is not only practicable, but easily to be effected.<sup>146</sup>

William Howgill, of Old Church in Whitehaven, liked Miller's *Psalms of David* and within two months of publishing it was reported that 'a certain number of the best voices from the Sunday Scholars, who are to be instructed in singing the correct and fine melodies in Miller's Psalms, according to the plan laid down in the preface to that excellent work'.<sup>147</sup> Howgill introduced Miller's principles into the church service in July:

The effect of the performance showed, that whatever constitutes the essence of music (air, measure and expression) is to be found in the plain and simple melodies of the church, when rescued from the odious absurdities of giving the same unmeaning length of sound to every syllable.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> William Miller, *David's Harp [...] adapted to Mr Wesley's Selection of Hymns* (London, c. 1803). Edward Miller published two volumes of *Dr. Watts's Psalms and Hymns* in 1800 and 1805. Nine hymns were described as 'for the Practise of Societies of Singers' and are all fuguing, therefore they would have been more suited to performance by societies of singers than by congregations; see Drage, 'The Performance of English Provincial Psalmody, c. 1690-c. 1840', p. 142.

<sup>146</sup> Edward Miller, *Thoughts on the Present Performance of Psalmody in the Established Church of England, addressed to the Clergy* (London, 1791), p. 40.

<sup>147</sup> *Cumberland Pacquet*, 15 February 1791 and 26 April 1791, quoted in Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 124.

<sup>148</sup> *Cumberland Pacquet*, 5 July 1791, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 124.

333  
Doncaster May 31. 1794

Sir

The honor of being very well known to your Brother & Neices during their residence at Doncaster, has induced me to take the liberty of Inclosing to you an account of the late proceedings here, for our internal Defence; not only against our foreign; but, our more to be dreaded, domestic Enemies.

Bound by indissoluble Ties to his Majesty, not only by my duty as a loyal Subject; but by gratitude for his gracious Patronage of my Publication, *Psalms*; I have used every exertion in my power to detect the disaffected, & to enlighten the Ignorant. — As you will see by the Inclos'd, that my efforts were applauded at the late meeting at Doncaster, I trust they have not been unsuccessful.

**Figure 4.19** Letter from Edward Miller to Henry Dundas, the Home Secretary, dated 31 May 1794; National Archives, HO 42/30/136, ff. 333r-333v

My Son, who resides at Sheffield has been equally alert at that place, in doing his Duty.

A few Days <sup>since</sup> I had it (I believe) in my power to have taken at Tickhill, Gales the Infamous Printer of the Sheffield Paper; but, as there was no Information lodg'd against him, a Justice of Peace said, he could not, with safety to himself, grant a Warrant.

Your goodness will pardon the presumption of this address to you. — I have no interested views — The utmost summit of my Ambition would be, for his Majesty to know that I have a grateful heart, & that the remembrance of his late goodness to me, can only end with my Life.

I am

Sir,

with the greatest respect  
your most obedient servant.

Edward Miller



## 4.10 Conclusions

The study of networks enriches our understanding and appreciation of musicians and the context in which they worked. As we have seen, Miller's network of contacts was extensive. He actively sought out influential individuals to advance his musical education and career, through organist and court appointments, who in turn supported him by subscribing to his publications. In the years prior to the publication of his 1790 *Psalms of David*, he made a series of attempts, some more successful than others, to bring his name and work to the attention of other musicians, patrons and the public. His entrepreneurial skills and timing were exceptional. His call for the establishment of a New Musical Fund for not just exclusively the benefit of metropolitan musicians was well timed and successfully brought him national recognition amongst royal, metropolitan and provincial society.

Miller's career was highly successful and far reaching. This was unusual and surprising for an eighteenth-century provincial musician working in Doncaster. He successfully combined commercial enterprise and patronage, progressing from his humble Norwich beginnings to a prominent national figure. No other provincial musician, for instance working in Bath or York, with the exceptions of the conductor Joah Bates of Halifax, the Oxford music professor Philip Hayes and the historian Charles Burney, achieved similar prominence. Realising that teaching and performing were not enough to earn a sustainable living, Miller concentrated on publishing music for the wide market of domestic and educational music-making, bringing music into the homes and churches of the provincial population. Miller's publications suggest that his teaching methods were focused on largely book-based learning. In comparison, Miller's contemporary John Alcock (1715-1806), organist at Lichfield Cathedral, published very few educational publications. Instead Alcock composed anthems, services, psalms collections and secular instrumental music, including concertos, sonatas and catches/glees.<sup>149</sup> As we have seen, Miller's music publications demonstrate his occupation and passion as a music teacher. They include songs (some with instrumental obbligato), including patriotic and masonic

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<sup>149</sup> See Peter Marr, *The Life and Works of John Alcock (1715-1806)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Reading, 1978).

songs, flute (or violin) and keyboard sonatas, and progressive instruction manuals. Miller also arranged Corelli's Op. 1, 2, 3, and 4 sonatas for organ or harpsichord, demonstrating the continued popularity of Corelli in England throughout the eighteenth century. Miller was committed to the well-being and improvement of others, bringing music into the homes and churches of the provincial population. He had clear philanthropic tendencies and was described as 'a warm-hearted, simple-hearted, right-hearted man, an enthusiast in his profession'.<sup>150</sup> A prolific music educator, he taught a number of school children and pupils, including the organist Francis Linley (1770/71-1800), who was blind from birth, and William Radclyffe (1770-1828), a Herald at the college of arms in London and a genealogist with an extensive practice particularly in Yorkshire – both of Doncaster origin.<sup>151</sup> He developed and engaged with modern methods in musical and religious education of young people and children. His *The Psalms of David* (1790) published at the height of his career was a landmark in the development of congregational psalmody. Miller's skill as a performer and educator was exceptional. However, his limitations as a composer are apparent. His music is often tuneful but lacks innovative compositional skill.

Miller's profession allowed him to freely cross the social boundaries of class and wealth. It allowed him to mix with influential individuals from the higher social classes, the pinnacle of which was the royalty. He no doubt benefited from his immediate family connections with a Norfolk bookseller and a London publisher. At the height of his career Miller had links with key members of the royal family. His son-in-law William Miller was described as 'Bookseller to his Royal Highness The Duke of Clarence' on the title page of his *Thoughts on the Present Performance of Psalmody* (1791). James Dixon, the biographer of Miller's son-in-law, William Edward Miller, recalled that 'Dr. Edward Miller, was, in his sphere, a man of talent, literary taste, refined manners, and great eminence as a professor of music' whose 'performances were much admired by the multitudes who were

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<sup>150</sup> Southey, *The Doctor*, Ch. 67.

<sup>151</sup> See Gwilym Beechey, 'Linley, Francis', *GMO*. I am grateful to Michael St John Parker for bringing the unpublished diary of Radclyffe to my attention. The diary in his possession covers the period 1803 to 1820 and is on indefinite loan from the owner. It is evident from Radclyffe's diary that there was a musical dimension to his life; he attended concerts, listened discriminatingly to church choirs, and enjoyed participating, probably as a singer rather than an instrumentalist, in musical evenings at his own and friends' houses. He, like John Courtney, evidently was particularly fond of Handel's vocal works.

accustomed to flock to that gay and fashionable town [Doncaster], it is to be feared, much more as a gratification of taste, than as an incitement to the devout worship of Almighty God'.<sup>152</sup> Miller's network of contacts comprised of a number of key Yorkshire and Norfolk gentry and an array of eighteenth-century celebrities and musicians, including Charles Burney, William Boyce, George Frederic Handel, James Nares, Charles Dibdin, Philip Hayes and Wilhelm Cramer. His London connections not only benefited his own career progression, but also enriched concert life in Doncaster and the wider region. Miller engaged top London professionals and organised large-scale performers in the town, which were on a par with those in the 1790s led by John Ashley in Hull and York.

A notebook belonging to John Wall Callcott (1766-1821) held in the British Library records the attendance of 'Dr. Miller' as a guest to the 'Musical Graduates', a society of music professors established on 24 November 1790.<sup>153</sup> Its members included Dr Samuel Arnold, Charles Burney, Franz Joseph Haydn and William Parsons.<sup>154</sup> A number of conducting engagements, publications and another organist appointment followed his New Musical Fund debut and the success of his *Psalms of David*, including his 1804 *History and Antiquities of Doncaster*, a work of great scholarship and authority still today. The Doncaster Corporation again gave him £50 in recognition of the book 'towards Paying the Expence of Engraving the Plates of the Public Buildings in the said Borough intended to be inserted in his Publication of the History of Doncaster'.<sup>155</sup> The book included a wealth of biographical information and Miller's network of Yorkshire gentry all subscribed. Miller was proud to be associated with Doncaster and the Yorkshire region, identifying himself as 'organist at Doncaster' on the majority of the title pages of his printed music. His works were sold by his publishers in London and in bookshops across Yorkshire and Norfolk. Thomas Haxby, who established a music shop in York in

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<sup>152</sup> Dixon, *Memoir of the Late Rev. William Edward Miller, Wesleyan Minister*, p. 9.

<sup>153</sup> Lbl Add. 27687.

<sup>154</sup> Miller met Haydn on 20 April 1795 at a 'Grand Miscellaneous Concert' at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket in aid of the New Musical Fund. Miller and Hayes directed the performance and Haydn presided 'at the Forte Piano'; see *Morning Chronicle*, 14 April 1795.

<sup>155</sup> Doncaster Archives, Corporation minutes, 18 September 1804.

1756, regularly accepted subscriptions for Miller's musical publications.<sup>156</sup> Miller was a progressive musician and his teaching manuals were landmark publications and utilised new and modern methods: 'Dr. Miller's professional knowledge, particularly in the theory of music, was deemed to be very extensive, and his publications were well received by scientific men'.<sup>157</sup> Joseph Hunter, in his *Biographical Notices*, also noted that 'In his position as a teacher of Music he [Miller] was much respected'.<sup>158</sup> Although he is associated among religious circles with his arrangement of the 'Rockingham' tune (which was later orchestrated by Sir Henry J. Wood) and his *History and Antiquities of Doncaster* is recognised as an important document by local Yorkshire historians, as a figure in provincial musical life in the eighteenth century Miller deserves greater recognition in musical scholarship. In 1928 Elizabeth Lockwood described Miller as 'a celebrity [...] now all but forgotten'.<sup>159</sup> However, little has changed since Lockwood's statement, and it is hoped that this chapter paves the way for further research and performance of his music. A report in the *York Courant* of 21 September 1807 describing Miller as 'the father of the [music] profession in the North of England' would appear aptly justified.

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<sup>156</sup> For example, see *York Courant*, 25 May 1762.

<sup>157</sup> Jackson, *The History and Description of St. George's Church at Doncaster*, pp. 58-60. Intriguingly Jackson also wrote: 'Miller's company was sought after in local society, as he was agreeable and well bred, and his conversation abounded in anecdote and apt quotation. He was subject to occasional absence of mind, which led him into ludicrous mistakes that were long remembered in the neighbourhood'.

<sup>158</sup> Lbl Add. 36527, f. 28r. Hunter corresponded with Miller and provided him with information and sources for his *History and Antiquities of Doncaster*. In a letter dated 27 August 1802 addressed to William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, Fourth Earl Fitzwilliam (1748-1833) of Wentworth Woodhouse, Miller requested his permission to include his name and family history in his *History and Antiquities of Doncaster*; see Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/F/127/59 (see Figure 4.20).

<sup>159</sup> Elizabeth M. Lockwood, 'Edward Miller', *ML*, 9.1 (1928), 67-76 (p. 67).

Doncaster Aug 27. 1802

My Lord.

Your constant indulgence has embolden'd me to take the liberty of requesting the honor of your name to the inclos'd: My last work.

The history of Doncaster, & its neighbourhood, affords ample scope for research & investigation. It is a publication which has been long desired by many gentlemen Antiquarians in this vicinity; several of whom, have kindly given me their assistance in the undertaking.

In the archives of this corporation, I have found a curious Grant from one of your ancestors; by which, I have been enabled to ascertain the Site of the old Castle, on which ground, the Church now stands; as, also, an old pedigree, & other curious particulars relative to the family of Fitzwilliam. For your Lordship's amusement I send you an exact copy of the whole.

Figure 4.20 Letter from Edward Miller to William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam, Fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, dated 27 August 1802; Sheffield Archives, Wentworth Woodhouse Muniments, WWM/F/127/59



A.D. 1416  
 Henry 5<sup>th</sup> Grant — from John Fitzwilliam Knight, and  
 John Pyncheon to William Stokbrig & others, Chaplains;  
 for one Mesuage, lying in the street of S. George in Doncastre,  
 betwixt the mesuage of John Sadeler of the one part, & the  
 Mesuage lately of John Fulwood of the other part, & abuts  
 at one end upon the Kings high way, & at the other upon  
 the wall of the Castle.† witnesses, Ralph Fitzwilliam,  
 William de Hykelton, rector of the church of Spoteburgh,  
 Richard Wynthworth, †† John Melton, & Ralph de Spynkes,  
 & others, dated at Spoteburgh, the first day of the month  
 of October, in the third year of the reign of King Henry the fifth. †††

† An evident proof, that at least, part of the old Castle was still remain<sup>ing</sup>.

†† This name is of Saxon derivation, & was assumed from  
 the lordship of Wentworth in the county of York.

††† As one of the progenitors of the present noble Earl  
 Fitzwilliam intermarried with a Daughter & coheir of  
 the most noble & antient family of Warren Earl of Surrey  
 mentioned in these charters... It may not be deemed  
 impertinent to give a short extract relative to the noble  
 family of the Fitzwilliams.



"The first recorded ancestor of this noble family, is  
"Sir William Fitz Godric, Cousin to King Edward the Confessor,  
" & his son S<sup>r</sup> William Fitzwilliam, being Ambassador at  
"the Court of William Duke of Normandy, attended him in his  
"expedition into England, as Marshall of his Army, in the  
"year 1066, & for his bravery at the Battle of Hastings,  
"October 14<sup>th</sup> of that year; the Conqueror gave him a scarf  
"from his own arm. — This Sir William Fitzwilliam  
"married Emma, daughter & heir of Monsieur de Totelles,  
"a Norman Knight; & by her was father of S<sup>r</sup> Godric Fitzwilliam  
"who married Eleanor, Daughter & heir of Sir John Elmley of  
"Elmley & Spottburgh &c — and had Issue, S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Fitzwilliam  
"Lord of Elmley & Spottburgh, who was living in 1117.  
"He, or one of his descendants caused a Cross to be set  
"up in the high street at Spottburgh, with these words  
"engraven on Brass.

"Who so is hungry & hot to eate,  
"Let him come to Spottburgh to take his meate;  
"And for a night, and for a day,  
"His Horse shall have both corn & hay,  
"And no man shall ask him when he goeth away.

"This Cross was pulled down in the year 1520.

Miller

*[The remainder of the page contains extremely faint, illegible handwritten text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the paper.]*

## 5 | ‘to pass away my leisure Hours’: Music in Everyday Life

The three individuals considered above tell us much about the place of music in society. Each case study has demonstrated how music was an important part of their unique identities and an essential source of recreation. Many other amateur musicians who had the money and time to spend on musical activities, repertoire, instruments and patronage of the arts, pursued their passion for music. Activities undertaken by amateur musicians were largely conducted in private, therefore no public endorsements were made compared with other forms of professional music-making. The identities of amateur musicians and the nature of their activities must therefore be established from other (and often) fragmentary sources, including subscription lists, contemporary diaries, personal correspondence, account books and autograph music manuscripts. This tends to favour activities amongst the nobility, gentry, clergy and professions. Many, like Edward Finch, were competent players and composers (although excellence was discouraged), and enjoyed performances in both public and private contexts. As was the case with John Courtney, they often employed professional musicians to teach them, met with like-minded individuals in societies, and participated in less formal situations of music-making at domestic gatherings, parties and balls – combining pleasure and social interaction.<sup>1</sup> Music was regarded a worthy subject of study and learned discussion, and was an important attribute of a well-educated gentleman or gentlewoman.

Music also promoted community and was used as a tool to define and cross social boundaries. This was the case at York in the early eighteenth century, where members of the clergy, including Finch, regularly collaborated with professional musicians employed

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Avison, writing in the *Newcastle Journal* of 4-11 November 1758, believed that ‘Public Music is of Public Utility, not only as it promotes several valuable Branches in Trade, by the frequent Resort of the genteeler People, but as it also keeps alive, and improves the social and benevolent Affections, by the general Intercourse of Friends and Acquaintance, which it occasions’; quoted in Roz Southey, *Music-Making in North-East England during the Eighteenth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), p. 1.

at the Minster. Through his profession Edward Miller was able to climb the social ladder from his humble beginnings and secure royal patronage. The recreational scene was an important source of work for occupational musicians: professionals could teach, enrich domestic concerts by joining in, and tune and supply instruments or music in print or manuscript. Edward Miller capitalised on this market by composing and distributing his own music and publishing educational manuals. Only the enterprising musician was successful.

Having utilised Trevor Herbert's methodology of informing musicological study with sociological study and seen what these three individuals have revealed about their musical activities, a thematic approach similar to that undertaken by Christopher Marsh will now be adopted to explore how music shaped contemporary provincial society and culture in the region.<sup>2</sup> The individuals discussed above will now be mapped onto the polarities outlined in the introduction.<sup>3</sup>

## 5.1 Music as recreation/profession

Finch and Courtney engaged with different levels of recreational activities. For Finch this was largely spent in the domestic company of his friends and colleagues. Courtney, on the other hand, also subscribed regularly to local concerts and music festivals, and was exposed to a large amount of Handel's music (a particular favourite of his). Nevertheless, both were prepared to travel (sometimes long distances) to attend a particular concert or receive music tuition. Finch was certainly not alone in his enthusiasm for composition: Henry Aldrich (1648-1710) and Sampson Estwick (c.1656-1739) offer two other

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<sup>2</sup> Trevor Herbert, 'Social History and Music History', in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. by Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 146-156; Christopher Marsh, *Music and Society in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2010).

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 5.



examples of practising clergy who also composed.<sup>4</sup> Both Finch and Courtney were continuo players and the improvisation element in the realisation of figured bass, perhaps was a contributing factor to their enthusiasm for creativity and composition.<sup>5</sup> All three individuals developed a network of amateur musicians and interacted regularly with professionals; however each used these for a variety of different reasons. Finch primarily used his contacts to advance his musical education, while Courtney pursued his connections to enrich his social and musical scenes. Miller, on the other hand, was conscious to create a network to advance his career and secure teaching opportunities. Finch, Courtney and Miller interacted with native musicians in their localities, in the capital and visiting foreign professionals on their tour of the provinces. Finch's compositions were performed in both the public setting of York Minster and semi-private surroundings of the local music club. The latter was not an entirely private affair, as was the case with the music club uncovered in Stamford in the late seventeenth century, and was quite apart from the more public and commercial activities of the clubs in Halifax in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Courtney preferred to conduct his musical activities mainly in the privacy of the drawing room. Although he also enjoyed to perform in more social occasions such as domestic parties, he attended public engagements, including concerts, festivals and assemblies, as an observer. The previous chapters have demonstrated that each individual's interaction with London was important on their social, professional, educational and musical scenes.

Another amateur musician who benefited from travel and interactions with the capital was the politician John Reresby (1634-1689) of Thrybergh Hall in the West Riding

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<sup>4</sup> See Robert Shay, "Naturalizing" Palestrina and Carissimi in Late Seventeenth-Century Oxford: Henry Aldrich and his Recompositions', *ML*, 77 (1996), 368-400; Robert Thompson, 'Estwick, Sampson', *GMO*.

<sup>5</sup> See Andrew Woolley, 'English Keyboard Sources and their Contexts, c. 1660-1720' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2008); Rebecca Herissone, *Musical Creativity in Restoration England* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013).

<sup>6</sup> Bryan White, "A pretty knot of Musical Friends": The Ferrar Brothers and a Stamford Music Club in the 1690s', in *MBP*, pp. 11-44; Rachel Cowgill, 'Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club', in *MBP*, pp. 87-113.

of Yorkshire.<sup>7</sup> Reresby's early years were spent on a Grand Tour of the continent, whilst his later years often saw him travelling between London and York. He pursued a range of cultural activities, including fencing, philosophy, language studies, mathematics, music and dancing. Music especially was an important part of his early life: 'I was soe great a lover of musique that from eight years of age I plaid all the tunes I could sing upon the violin without being taught, and soon learnt any tune that I heard'. In 1652 he recalled: 'I never missed to imploy a considerable part of the day to some sort of study, and the exercizes of musicke and dancing, which I then chiefly followed'. On his travels to Europe between 1654 and 1658 he sought to further his musical education, learning to play the lute with Pierre Dubut (*b.* after 1642?; *d. c.* 1700) at Blois and Saumur, and the guitar whilst staying with the Duke of Orleans.<sup>8</sup> He took a boy servant with him who carried his belongings and could play the bagpipes, which he regarded 'a sort of musicke more to be liked for the extraordinariness of it abroad then the exactness'. His travels took him to Italy, Germany, Holland and France, and on his way he surprised and delighted those he met with the noise of this popular instrument.

Like Courtney, as he grew older Reresby moved away from performing music to patronising it instead. He held domestic concerts at his houses in Thrybergh and York where he paid local musicians to perform in his own livery. His diary recorded an entertainment on 6 January 1683:

There laid at my hous of thes severall days, Sir Jarvase Cutler; Anthony Francland, Esq.; Jasper Blythman, Esq., justice of the peace; John Peeples, Esq., a justice of the peace; Mr. Turner; Captain King, an officer from Yorke; Mr. Rigden, marchant of Yorke, and his wife, a hansome woeman; Mrs. Blythman and her daughter; Mr. Belton, an ingenious clergiemán, butt too much a good fellow; the cornet and quarter-master to my troop, with others. For musick I had two violins and a base from Doncaster that wore my livery, that plaid well for the country; two bagpipes for the common people; a trompeter and drummer. The expence of liquor, both of wine and others, was considerable, as well as of other provisions, and my guests appeared well satisfied.

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<sup>7</sup> For Reresby's political career, see Mary K. Geiter, 'Reresby, Sir John, Second Baronet (1634-1689)', *ODNB*. No mention is made of his musical activities. All quotations from Reresby's diary are drawn from *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby: The Complete Text and a Selection from his Letters*, ed. with an intro. and notes by Andrew Browning, 2nd edn. with a new preface and notes by Mary K. Geiter and W. A. Speck (London: Royal Historical Society, 1991).

<sup>8</sup> For Dubut, see David Ledbetter, 'Dubut', *GMO*.



It is likely that the musicians employed were the local Doncaster waits. Similarly, on 6 January 1685 he wrote: 'On New Years Day chiefly there dined above three hundred, soe that whole sheep were roasted and served soe up to feed them. For musick I had five violins, besides bagpipes, drumms and trumpet'.

Reresby's diary offers a vivid illustration of life in London and the provinces during the Commonwealth and following the Restoration. He recorded the Great Plague of 1665 and attended the coronation of King Charles II at Westminster Abbey in 1661. On the latter he noted:

The triumphall arches, pagiants, musick, made to receive and entertain him and the whole Court and other attendants as he passed, were finer and richer than was ever known upon the like occasions in England, of all which I was an eye witness; but as to perticulars it is more the business of an historian then mine to relate them.

Among his social circle were a group of cavalry officers he was attached to at a garrison in York. They all shared a mutual passion for music. Writing on 6 July 1666 he noted: 'All the officers loved musick soe well that the Duke had a sett of violins, Sir Henry had another, and I also had three that played very well, one of the violin, one of the theorbo, and one of the base viall'. Like many members of the gentry he resided in York, the regional capital, for the social season. On a residency in 1667 he recorded his extravagant expenses:

The assizes were appointed this year in March. I took a hous in the Minster Year, wher I entertained all commers for ten days together. My friends sent me twixt two and three hundred liveries. I kept two coaches, one for myselfe, another for my under-sheriff, had my own violins ther all the assizes, gave a ball and entertainment to all the lads of the town. This assizes cost me 300l. and 0d pounds.

For Reresby, music was woven into all aspects of his life and was heard in many different places. Its primary aim was to enrich his social interaction: 'I had the musick to improve the entertainment'. Reresby's musical activities offer striking similarities to those of John Verney (1640-1717), a prominent London merchant and landowner.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> See Susan E. Whyman, *Sociability and Power in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural Worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford: OUP, 1999).

The benefits of music were widely known – Charles Avison believed music encouraged ‘the *Sociable and happy Passions*’.<sup>10</sup> However, it did not come without a number of health warnings, as evidence and conduct literature would suggest. The posture required for playing the cello and the excessive blowing of wind instruments in particular were both problematic. William Bolland (1772-1839), of Townhead, Settle in North Yorkshire was discouraged from playing the flute.<sup>11</sup> William was only five when his father died and his education was left to the supervision of his family. He was at first to have been sent to school at Giggleswick, which seems to have been his grandfather’s choice, but this did not meet with the approval of his uncle, Richard Dawson (1744-1826), who expressed his doubts in a letter to William’s grandfather in 1783. William was instead sent to Hipperholme, near Halifax. Several letters to him from Susanna Dixon, his aunt, survive. In 1787 William suggested that he be allowed to play the flute. But his aunt’s letter dated 29 May 1787 at Knaresborough refers to his guardian’s opinion that this would be highly prejudicial to his health and recommends him playing the violin:

I had a Letter yesterday from your kind Guardian, in which he bids me give his love to you, and tell you that the short letter he sent you, was not want of Affection, but time, that he had a great deal of business where his hands, and likewise writing, which always disagrees very much with him, he seem[e]d very uneasy about a Petition you had made to him to Play upon the Flute, which would undoubtedly be highly prejudicial to your health, but had he known my dear Will[’]s disposission as well as I do, he might have been quite happy on this Subject, for such is my Opinion of you my sweet lad, that however desirous you had been about any particular matter, that your Friends disapprobation alone, (was not your health at all concern[e]d) w[oul]d have suffitient influence to deter you from it, as you must be convinced that all who are immediatly concern[e]d for you, have a much greater pleasure in consenting to your proposals, than differing from them, I have no doubt but your next Letter to your Uncle will convince him that my Opinion of you is just, by acquisesing cheerfully to his wishes, which you may depend upon are entirely for your good, and wellfare, in every respect, he strongly recomends your Playing upon the Violin, it is certainly a much more Manly instrument, is good exercise, and will, when you are Master of it contribute much more to your amusement, I shall be almost tempted to Dance when you play Twenty Years hence.

Similarly, the correspondence of the Lister family of Shibden Hall, Halifax, vividly illustrates their experiences, attitudes and feelings towards music. Of particular interest

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<sup>10</sup> Charles Avison, *An Essay on Musical Expression. With Alterations and Large Additions. To Which is added a Letter to the Author, concerning the Music of the Ancients, and some Passages in Classic Writers relating to the Subject. Likewise, Mr: Avison’s Reply to the Author of Remarks on the Essay on Musical Expression. In a Letter from Mr: Avison, to his Friend in London*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (London: Lockyer Davis, Printer to the Royal Society, 1775), p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> North Yorkshire Record Office, Northallerton, ZDD/IV.

is an exchange of letters between family members and Ensign Jeremy Lister of the British army during the American War of Independence. Whilst abroad he began to learn the German flute, a favoured pastime as opposed to going to the tavern with his fellow officers:

On Friday last I begun Learning to play on the Flute, / for which, I pay ten shillings per Month; I have paid for the Flute, thirty shillings, and entrance five shillings / to pass away my leasure Hours, as they are many; and having no Books to read; neighth, is there any to be got here, as there is never a stationer, or Booksellers shop in Town; so thought, it much better, to play the Flute <every day>; than take a walk, with some of my Brother officers, to an Inns House, which one could not do, without spending mony / though in general they are very souber / and few shillings, in course of a month; would not be much.<sup>12</sup>

Two months later he requested that his brother James Lister send ‘a little musick next year; some thing new, as there is none to be got here’.<sup>13</sup> In a reply his parents were concerned about the effects of playing a wind instrument on his health:

we are pleased with your learning Musick, to employ your leasure Hours, it being attended with little Expense rather than in a publick House; <but if you find it any way prejudices your Health, or cause pain in your Breast, would advice you by all means to change to the Violin, or some other kind of Musick, that does not require blowing, as your Sister is very likely to be the third in our Family that has gone of in a consumption within these three years.> Will send you those Books you mention next Spring; in the interim dare say you may borrow some of Col[onel] Jones, as he is a very good natured Gentleman.<sup>14</sup>

Jeremy heeded his parents’ request:

as you mentioned in your letter; the Flute being a bad Instrument to play upon, it taking so much winde, have almost left it off, except know, and then, playing half an Hour, or an Hour, about once in two, or thre[e] days; have not much fancy for any other Instruments, except the Violin, and that; think it a jolly to begin, as it takes so much time before one can a[r]rive at any perfection.<sup>15</sup>

Jeremy appears to have pursued music alone – there are no references to ensemble playing in the letters – as a pleasurable diversion from military life. In a letter to his father Jeremy Lister from Niagara dated 21 July 1772 he wrote: ‘we shall make ourselves as happy as we

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<sup>12</sup> WYAS, Calderdale, SH:7/JL/15.

<sup>13</sup> SH:7/JL/16.

<sup>14</sup> SH:7/JL/18.

<sup>15</sup> SH:7/JL/21.

can as there is no Inhabitants here excepting two or three such sutler and Commisary besides ourselves I suppose Musick will be the most of our employment here'.<sup>16</sup>

The Listers were one of many musical landed families living in the locality. Reverend John Lister took up the violin whilst studying at Cambridge. In a letter to his father and mother at Shibden Hall dated 18 October 1729 he desired them to 'send me yours [th]e first opportunity'.<sup>17</sup> However, a draft reply on the back of the above letter noted his parents' response: 'if you have undertaken the Fiddle I think you had bett[e]r buy one than that I should go to begg of that w[hi]ch your mother hath'. Presumably the instrument could not be spared as it was in use in Halifax. Like John Courtney, the family pursued a variety of diversions, including attending assemblies, plays, operas and concerts, and probably shared similar views to a Dr R. Whatley who wrote to Reverend John Lister on 23 September 1752: 'The Races themselves are too transitory and too tumultuous an Entertainm[en]t for me to meddle with, but the morning Concerts, and the evening splendor affect me greatly'.<sup>18</sup> Amongst the family archive are five manuscript music books dated between 1774 and 1806 (SH:3/MS/9/1-5). Although some of these contain only solo treble music, most include dance music (for example, waltzes by Beethoven and French contradances) and keyboard arrangements of movements from Haydn's symphonies. One book is headed 'Elizabeth Lister's Book March [th]e 15th 1774' (SH:3/MS/9/5) and includes a selection of songs and keyboard pieces, including a 'Duetto Composed by Valentino Nicolai', a 'Martini Minuet' in D major and a J. C. Bach keyboard concerto transcription. These books represent the musical tastes of the family and included largely instrumental music by foreign and progressive/modern composers working in London.

The disruption of the Commonwealth and strained royal finances following the Restoration impacted upon the careers of many professional musicians, as the influence of the court and cathedrals as the principal centres of patronage gradually diminished. Occupational musicians sought patronage elsewhere and supplemented their income

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<sup>16</sup> SH:7/JL/27.

<sup>17</sup> SH:7/RL/68.

<sup>18</sup> SH:7/RL/171.

through a combination of salaried posts, concert performances, teaching, copying and composing for the public marketplace. Both Joah Bates and Edward Miller offer prime examples from the region of eighteenth-century musical entrepreneurs driven by commercial and economic factors. An apprenticeship was the normal route taken by talented children from non-musical families into the musical profession. For instance, William Fox was apprenticed to Arthur Bindloss, a musician based in Leeds, in 1705 to 'learn [th]e Art of Musick'.<sup>19</sup> The terms of his apprenticeship were outlined in detail:

During all w[hi]ch term [th]e s[ai]d ~~mas~~ Apprentice his s[ai]d Master faithfully shall serve, his Secrets keep his lawfull Commands, Gladly every where obey: he shall do no damage to his s[ai]d Master, nor see it to be done by others, w[i]thout letting or Giving notice thereof to his s[ai]d Master, He shall not wast[e] his s[ai]d Master's Goods, nor Lend [th][e]m unlawfully to Any. He shall not Commit Fornication, nor Contract Matrimony w[i]th in [th]e s[ai]d term. At Cards[,] Dice, or any other unlawfull Game he shall not play. Whereby his s[ai]d Master may have Damage w[i]th his own Goods, nor [th]e Goods of others. He shall not absent himself day or night from his s[ai]d Master's Service w[i]thout his leave nor haunt Alehouses[,] Taverns or Playhouses; But in all things behave himself as A Faithfully Apprentice ought to do, During [th]e s[ai]d term & [th]e s[ai]d Master shall use [th]e utmost of his Endeavours to teach or cause to be taught, or Instructed, [th]e s[ai]d Apprentice in [th]e s[ai]d Art or Mastery; & Procure & Provide for him Sufficient meat, Drink, Apparel Lodging & washing, Fitting for an Apprentice, During [th]e s[ai]d term <& shall allow him one Shilling & four pence>. & for [th]e true Performance of all & every [th]e s[ai]d Covenants & Agree[en]ts either of [th]e s[ai]d Parties bind [th][e]mselves one unto [th]e other, by these Presents.

The Lister family of Halifax hired the local professional musician Thomas Stopford (*fl.* 1766-1819) to teach their daughters to play the harpsichord.<sup>20</sup> Stopford succeeded William Herschel as organist of Halifax Parish Church on 16 December 1766, having previously held the position of organist of Hey Chapel, near Oldham in Lancashire.<sup>21</sup> He was paid a salary of £30 a year, and supplemented his income from teaching pupils and directing and performing in benefit and subscription concerts and oratorios in Halifax and Leeds.<sup>22</sup> Stopford had been a member of the Shaw Chapel musical society before his

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<sup>19</sup> Sheffield Archives and Local Studies Library, Sheffield, MD 5788/5, indenture dated 24 June 1705.

<sup>20</sup> In a draft letter from James Lister at Shibden Hall to his brother Jeremy Lister at Niagara dated 19 May 1772 he noted: 'Both your Sisters learn to play upon the Spinnet with Mr. [Thomas] Stopford' (SH:7/JL/25).

<sup>21</sup> WYAS, Wakefield WDP53/4/10/2 organ trustees' minute/account book.

<sup>22</sup> A selection of handbills to concerts conducted by Stopford survive in WYAS Calderdale Soc:7/1; see also transcriptions in HAS/B:11/5/1 and Brian W. Pritchard, 'The Musical Festival and the Choral

organist appointment at Hey. He nevertheless kept links with the small Lancashire village as he taught soprano Sarah Harrop of Hey (c. 1755-1811).<sup>23</sup> A benefit concert directed by Stopford of Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* at Hey Chapel was advertised in the *Manchester Mercury* on 29 July 1766: his performance was 'so well received in Liverpool, that it was performed two Days together. The Chorus of Youths and Virgins, will be sung by a Set of Boys and Girls, who have been carefully instructed for that Purpose'. Stopford, like Miller, was an important figure in the musical life outside of the parish church. He was part-owner of the local Halifax theatre, alongside others of the minor gentry and merchants of the professional classes.<sup>24</sup> He admired the music of Handel and directed or played the organ in many of the composer's oratorios. A concert advertised in the *Leeds Mercury* on 15 August 1769 demonstrates the popularity of Handel's works in the rural manufacturing town:

For the Benefit of Mr. STOPFORD, Organist of the Parish Church of HALIFAX, *On Wednesday the 30th of August Instant, Will be performed in the said CHURCH, By a Numerous Band of the most Eminent PERFORMERS in this and the Neighbouring Counties, HANDEL'S Grand Dettingen Te Deum; To which will be added, Several of the most celebrated Pieces from the Oratorios of JUDAS MACCABEUS, and the MESSIAH. The Whole to conclude with The CORONATION ANTHEM. And on Thursday the 31st of August Instant, will be performed in the said Church, SAMSON, an Oratorio, By Mr. HANDEL. The Doors will be opened at Ten o'Clock in the Morning of each Day, and the Performance begin precisely at Eleven. The Words of the Te Deum, Coronation Anthem, and the other select Pieces, as likewise the Words of Samson, to be had of Mr. Stopford, the Printing-Office in the Church-Yard, and in the Church, at Three Pence each. TICKETS to be had at the White Lion, Old Cock, White Swan, Union Cross, [...] Mr. Binns, Bookseller, and of Mr. Bates, near the Church, at Two Shillings and One Shilling each.*<sup>25</sup>

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Society in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social History', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Birmingham, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 258-259.

<sup>23</sup> Pritchard, 'The Musical Festival and the Choral Society in England in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Social History', vol. 1, p. 139.

<sup>24</sup> WYAS, Calderdale CN: 4/1-2, indenture dated 2 June 1797 detailing the purchase of land adjoining to Theatre owned by Thomas Holden. The theatre owners were Robert Alexander, a surgeon and apothecary, the merchants William Newby, Robert Swaine and Charles Hudson, and the gentlemen Joseph Edwards, Joshua James and John Mitchell.

<sup>25</sup> For musical culture in Halifax, see Rachel Cowgill, "The Most Musical Spot for its Size in the Kingdom": Music in Georgian Halifax', *EM*, 28.4 (November 2000), 557-575; Rachel Cowgill, 'An Unknown Handel Arrangement by Mozart?: The Halifax Judas', *MT*, 143.1878 (Spring 2002), 19-36; and Rachel Cowgill, 'Disputing Choruses in 1760s Halifax: Joah Bates, William Herschel, and the Messiah Club', in *MBP*, pp. 87-113.



Although Stopford's network of contacts did not stretch to the capital, he made strong regional connections as demonstrated in a charity concert for Leeds General Infirmary advertisement in the *Leeds Mercury* of 10 October 1769:

For the Benefit of the above Charity; WILL BE ORATORIOS, In TRINITY-CHURCH, (An ORGAN to be erected for that Purpose;) On Thursday, October 12, The Oratorio of JUDAS MACCABEUS, And on Friday, October 13, The Sacred Oratorio of the MESSIAH. The BAND will consist of the best Performers, Vocal and Instrumental, that can be procured, amongst which are, Mr. HUDSON, from York; Miss RATCLIFFE, Mr. SAVILLE, and Mr. WARREN, from Litchfield; Mr. JOBSON, Mr. HUDSON, Mr. SHAW, Mr. STOPFORD, Mr. WILCOXON, &c. &c. And the rest of the Performers are chiefly those who have performed at the Oratorios at York, Beverley, Wakefield, Halifax, Doncaster, Manchester, &c. The Whole to be conducted by Mr. SAVILLE. The CHORUSES to be accompanied with Trumpets, Horns, Kettle-Drums, &c. Trumpets by Mr. TRAVIS and Mr. TINKER from Manchester. The First Violin by Mr. Jobson, from Wakefield. The Organ by Mr. STOPFORD, Organist, from Halifax. Tickets at 4s. and 2s. each to be had of Mr. Binns, Bookseller; of Mr. Myers, the New-Inn; Mrs. Cooke, the Old King's-Arms; Mr. Esh, the Golden-Lyon; Mr. Wood, the Talbot, and of Mr. Northouse, the White-Horse, directly opposite the Trinity Church. The Doors will be opened at Ten, and the Performance begin exactly at Eleven o'Clock in the Morning. The Tickets are transferable. N.B. No Money will be taken at the Door. Books of the Words of the Oratorios, with Mr. Handel's Alterations and Additions, as they will be performed at Leeds, to be had of J. Binns, Bookseller, at Three-pence each. N.B. The Usual Assembly, which falls on Wednesday, Oct. 11, will be postponed till Thursday, Oct. 12. And on Friday, Oct. 13, will be a BALL.

Stopford, along with Thomas Haxby (1729-1796) of York and John White (1779-1831) of Leeds were musical entrepreneurs.<sup>26</sup> However, no professional musician from the region, perhaps with the exception of Joah Bates (1741-1799) of Halifax, who gained the patronage of John Montagu, Fourth Earl of Sandwich, achieved the same level of national recognition and outreach achieved by Edward Miller.

Not all occupational musicians made a successful living. In stark contrast to Edward Miller, John Hall (*d.* 1794), a musician who worked in Sheffield, struggled to earn a sustainable living from his profession. Born in the Park, Sheffield, he was a blacksmith's apprentice and was described by E. D. Mackerness as 'the first known Sheffield composer'.<sup>27</sup> Hall composed sacred music, including a number of hymns and large-scale oratorios. In 1777 Tideswell parish church in Derbyshire purchased a

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<sup>26</sup> For White's activities as an oratorio conductor in the region, see Robert Demaine, 'Mr White, of Leeds', in *MBP*, pp. 183-193.

<sup>27</sup> Eric D. Mackerness, *Somewhere Further North: A History of Music in Sheffield* (Sheffield: J. W. Northend Ltd., 1974), p. 21.

collection of anthems by John Hall for 6 shillings.<sup>28</sup> More of Hall's religious music was bought for a further 10 shillings in 1788. His known oratorios include *Redeemer* (performed at Shrewsbury Hospital Chapel on 24 March 1788), *The Resurrection* (1788) and *Nativity* (1792). *The Resurrection* was performed in 1790 by a vast number of performers 'selected from the different Quoires and Musical Societies in Sheffield' at Shrewsbury Hospital Chapel.<sup>29</sup> The concert raised a profit of £21 2s. 10½d.. The work was performed the following year at St James's Church on 9 May 1791 and raised a mere £15 8s. 0d. for the 'poor old veteran', who apparently 'is in an advanced age – and, we are informed, could never play on any instrument of music in his life!'.<sup>30</sup> The work must have achieved some local popularity as it was performed in Chesterfield and Matlock in 1792. Hall's oratorio *Nativity* was performed at Shrewsbury Hospital Chapel at Christmas 1792.<sup>31</sup> In the concert advertisement he added, in addition to a public declaration of thanks to the general public for their previous support, a note for a forthcoming performance of another newly-composed oratorio entitled *Creation*:

The Managers, in order to accommodate the lovers of harmony, among the lower, as well as the higher ranks and also to make the Chapel as warm and comfortable as the present season of the year will admit of, by being well filled, have determined to fix the price of admission as low as ONE SHILLING.

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<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> The only copy of the work survives in full score in Lbl Add. 57843. The title page reads: 'The / RESURRECTION / A Sacred / Oratorio / IN SCORE. / The Words Compiled by GEORGE KNOWLES: / The MUSIC Composed / By M<sup>r</sup> JOHN HALL of Sheffield, / in the Year 1788'. The music is preceded by the following handwritten note by the librettist George Knowles dated 'Sheffield Aug<sup>t</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> 1794': 'The Compiler of the Words of this Oratorio, thinks it proper to observe, that as he has frequently heard the following objection made, by many of the musical Friends of the late venerable Composer, viz. "That several of the Chrouses &c. in the Resurrection, notwithstanding all their excellencies, abound with too much repetition, – which, in general, renders them rather too long." This Objection, the Compiler, in the following Sheets, has attempted to remove: he has abridged [...] – corrected several passages therein; – (yet he would not, to the best of his knowledge, alter any thing for the sake of altering, but he trusts those alterations that he has made, particularly in the construction of some of the Choruses, will be found much for the better;) and he has took the liberty to add one Song of his own composing, viz. "Angel trumps resound his fame" Page 206. – These well meant endeavours to render this Oratorio still more deserving of the public Esteem, he humbly hopes will meet the approbation of those Persons who may hereafter be favoured with an opportunity of hearing it performed'.

<sup>30</sup> *Sheffield Advertiser*, 13 May 1791.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 December 1792.

Following the performance of *Nativity* the newspaper published the following review: ‘Owing to the fall of snow, and sudden thaw, which rendered the streets almost impassable, but few, though respectable persons attended’. However, the work was well received and one movement, a Bell-chorus ‘Shout the Angel choirs aloud’, received three encores. Nevertheless, the paper highlighted the composer’s poor financial situation:

we are sorry to add, that the Receipts, including the Rehearsal, amounted to no more than 4l. 14s. 1d. which will not be sufficient to defray the necessary expenses of Printing, Candles, &c. – Any Ladies or Gentlemen who may find themselves impressed with feelings of humanity and compassion for the poor old man, who is now in want of the necessaries of life; if they are inclined to alleviate his distress, by contributing a small sum for that purpose.<sup>32</sup>

In response, a patron, Frances Sitwell, Esq., gave Hall one guinea and offered to pay him two shillings a week for the remainder of his life. Hall used the money to pay off some debts ‘at those times when he had nothing to depend on but what was advanced by way of a loan, for his support’. Although his extant music suggests relative competency, Hall was unable to achieve the same level of contacts that Miller enjoyed. Hall must have been acquainted with Miller as his music was included in the second volume of the Doncaster musician’s *Music to Dr Watt’s Psalms and Hymns* (London: Printed for the Author and Sold by Broderip and Wilkinson, 1805). Both shared similar social backgrounds; however the fact that Hall did not play a musical instrument (unlike Miller who was a competent organist) was probably one of the reasons why he was unsuccessful.

## 5.2 Sacred/secular music

There were contrasting views on the value of music in worship in the eighteenth century. Music could be an important part of personal devotion or congregational piety. For example, the *Sheffield Public Advertiser* of 22-29 January 1774 recorded its significance during a funeral at St Paul’s Chapel, Sheffield of a member of the Sheffield Musical Society:

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 December 1792.

As soon as it [the corpse] was placed in the middle ayle, the Organist played a voluntary, in such a SADLY PLEASING STRAIN as was highly suitable to the solemnity, and prepared the mind for attention to the sacred truths contained in the psalm and lesson, which were afterwards read by the Minster. These were succeeded by another short voluntary: in which the Organist with taste and judgment slid almost imperceptibly from a flat to a sharp key, as introductory to some select pieces from the third act of the Messiah; which were judiciously chosen and very pleasingly performed.

However some, like the Unitarians, believed music in church was a distraction and took away from the words of the scriptures. Nevertheless, music was well-established in the Anglican tradition. Local parish priests, organists and parish clerks purchased psalm books, organised choirs, and taught their congregations to sing, alongside the many psalm teachers who travelled the countryside.

Finch's position as a prebendary at York Minster, which enjoyed a strong and vibrant musical life, enriched his own musical interests. He had interests in sacred and secular music, and composed a number of vocal settings for use during services at the Minster, in addition to secular works including violin sonatas and other instrumental music. Finch, like many, believed music heightened devotion: he observed that the organ 'will be able to keep those that sing together, and upon this account will be a work of great use and ornament, and add much decency and solemnity in the worship of God'.<sup>33</sup> It is not surprising that Miller, a church organist for most of his adult working life, shared a similar attitude and supported the use of music in worship. An important figure outside the religious establishment, as was the case with musicians employed at the cathedrals in Durham and Wells, Miller's influence went beyond Doncaster and the wider region. His monumental 1790 collection of psalm tunes, published at the height of his career, was an important development in congregational psalmody and which he intended to improve the state of music in parish churches across the country. The collection encouraged varying types of community. For instance, domestic harmony and the singing of psalms at home brought families together or allowed for personal reflection and solitude. On the other hand, congregational psalmody cemented ideas of unity and brought the masses closer to their maker. Courtney's diary does not record in detail any aspects of his

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<sup>33</sup> See above p. 78.

religious life; however he performed extracts from Handel's oratorios and attended churches to play on their organs or listen to oratorio festivals.

A commonplace book I discovered amongst the Elmhirst family archive at Sheffield Archives appears to have been intended for private devotion in the home.<sup>34</sup> The book belonged to a Millesant Rasby and is dated between c. 1682 and 1713.<sup>35</sup> The front of the book contains religious verses and prayers (some were possibly written by Rasby as they are signed with her name or initials) and mathematical and geometrical problems and solutions, including the 'Extraction of [th]e Cube root' and 'By Decimal Arithmetik'. The reverse end of the book contains a large portion of both sacred and secular music, including psalms (melody only), rounds and catches (melody only; some with bass accompaniment). Some of these were apparently composed by Rasby herself, for example, 'A Round for 3 Voyces Milles Rasby'. Another is entitled: 'tenor for several of mr tate and mr bradys Psalmes'. Another, 'Altus A new Treble Tenor & Bass by Mr Playford' was probably copied from John Playford's *Psalms and Hymns in Solemn Musick of Foure Parts* (London: Printed for W. Godbid for J. Playford, 1671). No words are provided and Rasby appears to have intended writing out a tune for every psalm, however she left the sequence incomplete. The words to the psalms were redundant if she had another book which included all the texts, for instance, Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady's *New Version of the Psalms of David* (published 1696). The book offers a glimpse into the life of a gentlewoman and is evidence of the wide range of leisure pursuits and accomplishments undertaken, which ranged from writing, mathematics, personal solitude and informal singing with friends and family members.

However, not everyone shared this rounded passion for music. Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725) of Leeds, an eminent antiquary and topographer, had particularly strong views regarding music outside of worship.<sup>36</sup> The son of the Leeds merchant John Thoresby (1626-1679), he inherited his father's business on his death in October 1679.

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<sup>34</sup> Sheffield Archives and Local Studies Library, Sheffield, EM/1144.

<sup>35</sup> No record survives of the book's owner and it is unclear how the document came to be housed in the family collection.

<sup>36</sup> For further biographical details, see P. E. Kell, 'Thoresby, Ralph (1658-1725)', *ODNB*.

However, this venture proved unsuccessful: admitting that he ‘never made a merchant worth a farthing’.<sup>37</sup> In 1704 he retired from the cloth trade to pursue his antiquarian interests, producing *Ducatus Leodiensis: or, The Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes* in 1715 and *Vicaria Leodiensis, or, The History of the Church of Leedes* in 1724. His diary, begun in London on 2 September 1677, provides a vivid illustration of his activities, opinions and middle- and lower-class life during the period. The majority of his time outside of work was spent reading, writing, visiting friends and attending church. He considered weddings, christenings and funerals to be important social occasions. In contrast, his diary expressed regret as to the other events he attended, such as travelling fairs, theatrical performances, firework displays and the Chapeltown Moor races. He regarded these activities a waste of time. His diary entry for 21 July 1680 best summarises his attitude towards social events: ‘Afternoon, at Mr. Morris’s banquet, had some learned company, the Vicar and two antiquaries, that made the entertainment abundantly more acceptable’.<sup>38</sup>

Religion was very important to Thoresby throughout his life. He was originally brought up as a Nonconformist and later became an Anglican around 1699, ‘judging the Church of England the strongest bulwark against Popery, and a union of Protestants absolutely necessary’.<sup>39</sup> He had strict views on the types of activities carried out on the Sabbath. In 1678 he was sent by his father to Rotterdam to undertake his merchant training and learn Dutch and French. Here he was troubled to see the local population ‘singing, playing, walking, sewing, &c.’ on a Sunday evening.<sup>40</sup> He considered these practices on the Sabbath sinful and disrespectful. His time in the Netherlands was cut short when he developed a fever and he returned to Leeds in December 1678. He held

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<sup>37</sup> D. H. Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer: His Town and Times*, 2 vols (Leeds: Walker and Laycock, 1885-1887), vol. 1, p. 222.

<sup>38</sup> All references to Thoresby’s diary are drawn from *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby, F.R.S.: Author of the Topography of Leeds*, ed. by Rev. Joseph Hunter, 2 vols (London: printed by Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830). A transcription of the diary is available online at [www.thoresby.org.uk](http://www.thoresby.org.uk) [accessed 14/05/2014].

<sup>39</sup> 1685 [no exact date is given for this entry].

<sup>40</sup> 14 July 1678.



similarly conservative views on the Bible and was shocked by its neglect amongst the majority of people, who instead favoured other secular forms of literature as their pastimes: 'most persons let their Bibles lie moulding, like old almanacks, whilst play-books and romances are worn out with their diligent perusal'.<sup>41</sup>

Thoresby appears to have been an enthusiastic psalm-singer. Congregational psalm-singing promoted feelings of unity and membership, whereas individual singing was a form of expression of faith and self-contemplation. At first Thoresby noted that the singing of psalms was neglected by his family:

but though it has formerly been the constant practice of this family, and I hope in time will be again, yet, I must confess the neglect of it now, it being an aggravation of sorrow, and bringing my inexpressible loss more freshly to remembrance. Methinks, I hear his [my father's] very voice, that with renewed pangs I am constrained to crouch to the bottom of the pew, and there vent my sorrow in plenty of tears; so that, never yet, to my shame do I record it, was I able to sing one line in public or private.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, he believed it was an important part of his worship and there are a number of references in his diary to occasions of private psalm-singing. For example, in 1693 he wrote that he 'repeated, and begun though with a sad heart (being intermitted ever since the death of Mr. Sharp) the duty of singing', and two years later he 'spent the afternoon very coinmendably in reading the word, singing, and repeating a sermon of Mr. W's'.<sup>43</sup> On visits to London he sought opportunities for solitude through music-making away from the city in which the singing of psalms played a significant role. Towards the beginning of the eighteenth century he recalled that he 'walked about four miles, to Kensington, but most pleasant way, and at that time pretty solitary, that I had opportunity of contemplation, and was not altogether unaffected in singing part of the 139th Psalm', and on another occasion he 'returned late enough to London, but in an agreeable solitude,

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<sup>41</sup> 4 April 1680.

<sup>42</sup> 25 April 1680. The death of his father had a profound effect on him. His diary entry on 12 November 1679 demonstrated this: 'As to my health, which was not only impaired but almost destroyed by continued and excessive mourning for my irreparable loss; it is now much better, the pains of the stone and strangury (which till then I never knew the terrors of,) are abated'.

<sup>43</sup> 22 October 1693; 20 January 1695.

singing psalms in the silent fields'.<sup>44</sup> In 1722 he recalled a tale which demonstrated the extraordinary powers and significance of psalm singing as a method of worship:

a woman present told me an odd passage of a man that died (seemingly) at the Pot Ovens, near Wakefield, and was accordingly wound up in a sheet; but in the night, when the wakers were singing psalms by the corpse, he revived, &c.; she knew the man very well.<sup>45</sup>

Throughout his life Thoresby visited London on a number of occasions. These experiences are documented in detail in his diary. In 1695 he met with a Rev. Mr. Perry, who is identified as a Lecturer of Music, and looked at his antiquarian collection.<sup>46</sup> He also provided details of religious services in the capital, including the timings and use of music. For example, writing about his visit in 1709 he noted the advantage of having late evening services: 'I was afterwards much affected at prayers in the evening at St Laurence Church, and in singing, &c. which method is used in many churches at eight of the clock, after the shops are shut, and persons more at leisure'.<sup>47</sup> He also compared the different approaches to music adopted in York Minster and St Paul's Cathedral:

Went to Mr. Stretton's meeting-place, but he not preaching, by reason of age and the extremity of the season, with Alderman Milner to the cathedral of St. Paul's; by their confused reading (two at the same time, the gospel or lessons) singing prayers and organs, with the continued noise and hurry of persons, that through the novelty of the method (different from that at York Minster,) and the corruption of my wicked heart, it was very unprofitable to me; the Lord pity and pardon!<sup>48</sup>

He found the simultaneous playing of music and reading of prayers at St Paul's distracting, although this mode of worship appeared to have seemed quite seductive to him and sparked a personal conflict. His visit a couple of days later to St Clement's proved a more productive experience:

Coached it with the Alderman to St Clement's without Temple-bar, to hear the Bishop of Sarum, who had a most moving prayer and sermon; he pressed in the conclusion to charity, for educating poor children, who sung a psalm, (after the rest was ended;) much fine music, then the organs, and there was collected,

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<sup>44</sup> 15 June 1712; 29 June 1714.

<sup>45</sup> 10 May 1722.

<sup>46</sup> 22 May 1695.

<sup>47</sup> 8 January 1709.

<sup>48</sup> 9 January 1709.

as I remember, about 25/., as I was told by the Bishop himself, with whom I dined, according to appointment.<sup>49</sup>

Thoresby's visit to London in 1712 brought him to one of Thomas Britton's (1644-1714) concerts in the unglamorous and dismal surroundings above his coal shop near St John the Baptist's Street in Clerkenwell. Although the quality of these concerts is debated, one was able to hear the likes of John Banister and Johann Christoph Pepusch.<sup>50</sup> These concerts were free at first, but later a fee of ten shillings a year was required from each audience member.<sup>51</sup> However, Thoresby provided a glowing account of his experience (although his critical judgement may be questionable) and did not appear to pay anything when he visited in 1712:

in our way home called at Mr. Britton's, the noted small-coalman, where we heard a noble concert of music, vocal and instrumental, the best in town, which for many years past he has had weekly for his own entertainment, and of the gentry, &c., gratis, to which most foreigners and many persons of distinction, for the fancy of it, occasionally re-sort.<sup>52</sup>

A few days later he visited the Royal Society and observed a new foot mechanism invention for playing the harpsichord: 'a gentleman showed an improvement in music, making the harp-sicals go with the foot, and opened the instrument to show the President, Sir Isaac Newton, the contrivance'.<sup>53</sup>

On a trip to London in 1680 he went to the theatre to see a play. Details of where and what he went to see are unknown. Although he was curious at first, this experience did not persuade him to regularly attend the theatre:

Every day employed either about my concerns at Rock with Captain Widdrington, or visits at Mr. Stretton's and good cousin Dickenson's, or buying books and pictures of good or great persons, and can better acquit myself for going with good company to see Paradise, where multitudes of beasts and birds

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<sup>49</sup> 23 January 1709.

<sup>50</sup> See Curtis Price, 'The Small Coal-Cult', *MT*, 119.1630 (December 1978), 1032-1034; Douglas A. Reid, 'Britton, Thomas (1644-1714)', *ODNB*.

<sup>51</sup> Michael Tilmouth and Simon McVeigh, 'Britton, Thomas', *GMO*.

<sup>52</sup> 5 June 1712.

<sup>53</sup> 19 June 1712.

are lively represented both in shapes and notes, than in going to see a play, whither curiosity carried me, but fear brought me back. It was the first, and I hope, will be the last time I was found upon that ground.<sup>54</sup>

On his return to Leeds in October 1680 he wrote:

Afternoon, I went to church, but could have wished myself at home, a stranger preaching very meanly. I was especially vexed at these words, 'Precise persons now-a-days will cry out of innocent plays and honest comedies, &c., when in the mean time themselves are the greatest actors in the world.' A speech, in my opinion, very unbecoming a minister of the Gospel at any time, much more in the pulpit, leading to the encouragement of those insatiable devourers of precious time.<sup>55</sup>

He was disappointed by the minister's sermon and believed that more profitable pursuits should be undertaken, performers were greedy for money and such theatrical activities were a waste of time.

Thoresby's account in 1722 when a company of actors visited Leeds still demonstrated his attitude against theatre and its greedy performers; nevertheless the company appeared to have been successful financially: 'He particularly inveighed against plays, which reproof was the more necessary, because we have had in town a company of players six or eight weeks, which has seduced many, and got abundance of silver'.<sup>56</sup> He saw another play in Preston 'which I thought a dull, insipid thing, though the actors from London pretended to something extraordinary, but I was the better pleased to meet with no temptation there'.<sup>57</sup> The music at the festival disturbed him and kept him awake at night: 'Morning, rose by five, having got little rest; the music and Lancashire bag-pipes having continued the whole night at it, were now enquiring for beds'.<sup>58</sup>

Thoresby recorded a number of social events in his diary. Dancing appears to have been a popular pastime. On a visit to Calder Bridge in Cumbria he noted that 'we made ourselves merry with the music of our clog-slippers, and complimented them to entertain

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<sup>54</sup> 21-26 June 1680.

<sup>55</sup> 23 October 1680.

<sup>56</sup> 3 June 1722.

<sup>57</sup> 4 September 1702.

<sup>58</sup> 5 September 1702.

us at Bernard Swaneson's'.<sup>59</sup> In 1702 he visited Preston and it appears that there was a travelling fair or some other kind of entertainment:

Had afterwards the company of several Yorkshire and Lancashire justices, with whom went to see the posture-master, who not only performed several uncommon feats of activity, but put his body instantly into so strange and mis-shapen postures, as are scarce credible, &c. Disturbed with the music, &c., that got little rest till three in the morning.<sup>60</sup>

In May 1703 Thoresby described a performance given at Leeds Parish Church by a young man from Lynn who played music on the church bells:

who rung all our eight bells, (two of which were, in a great measure, the gift of my late cousin Lodge, the ingenious traveller and painter,) and played very artificially the several changes upon them, with Lilly-bullero, and several tunes very distinctly, as if there had been a man to each bell. Mr. Kirk and I went aloft to the height of the steeple, to see how he had fixed the ropes to the clappers of each bell, whence they were brought into the ringing-loft, where he screwed them down in a semi-circle and sat upon the floor in the midst of them, touching some with his hands, others with his arms, and the great bell generally with his elbow, but varied very dexterously according to the several tunes.<sup>61</sup>

Thoresby also provides vivid details of congregational singing in the parish church, which on one occasion he was unable to contribute to due to a cough:

Was much interrupted in family course, partly by my guests and partly by a most severe cough, which has so absolutely taken away my voice, that I was perfectly disabled from some duties, as particularly singing, a new order of which was begun this day in the parish church, to sing a stave betwixt the daily morning and communion service (as has been long done at London, &c.) and is more agreeable, making a greater distinction, as there ought to be, betwixt the several parts.<sup>62</sup>

The parish choir was instructed by a Mr Bradbury who visited 'once a week to instruct the youth to sing in their chapel, which succeeds so well'.<sup>63</sup> Thoresby's son complained about the singing in Latin: 'we stayed till the prayers at the Minster, whither I carried my son Richard, but he liked not the singing service, because, he said, he understood not what

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<sup>59</sup> 19 September 1694.

<sup>60</sup> 3 September 1702.

<sup>61</sup> 13 May 1703. Emily Hargrave suggests that this was the first musical performance recorded in Leeds; see Emily Hargrave, 'Musical Leeds in the Eighteenth Century' in *The Publications of the Thoresby Society*, vol. 28, *Miscellanea*, vol. 9 (Leeds: printed by John Whitehead and Son Ltd., 1928), 320-355 (p. 320).

<sup>62</sup> 3 October 1708.

<sup>63</sup> 14 November 1703.

they said'.<sup>64</sup> Thoresby, an influential man of the parish, appears to have been consulted in the positioning and installation of the organ in the church in 1713. He wrote: 'walked with the Mayor and Alderman Milner to Burnitops, to see the new designed organ, that the placing it may not be incommodious to the church'.<sup>65</sup> He was pleased with the final placement of the organ a couple of days later as it was not 'at our end of the church'. On 10 October 1713 he wrote 'after prayers with Mr. Shelton, &c. about placing of the organ, to prevent its fixing against the Commands at our end of the church, and succeeded'.<sup>66</sup> The organ is described in more detail by Thoresby in his *Ducatus Leodiensis* two years later:

SINCE the preceding Sheets were printed, a new Gallery of right Wainscot hath been erected along the South Side of the Church, and a very fine large *Organ*; the Case whereof is adorned with very curious carved Work; the Front Pipes laid over with right Gold, the Whole containing near thirteen hundred Speaking Pipes, was performed by Mr. *Hen. Price* Organ-builder. May this ever answer the Expectations of such whose Devotions are the more excited by harmonious Melody, and always be accompanied with the fervent Transports of Devout Souls, but never distract the Thoughts of any who pretend to worship the Divine Majesty in this his Holy Temple.<sup>67</sup>

Experiences of music on his visits to Grantham and Cambridge in 1714 are recorded in his diary. On his former visit he was met by the town waits and the townsfolk as his was the first stagecoach to reach the town as the road had previously been impassable. He recorded that he 'had the annual solemnity, (this being the first time the coach passed the road in May) of the coachman and horses being decked with ribbons and flowers, the town music and young people in couples before us'.<sup>68</sup> The grand surroundings and sounds of the chapel choir at King's College, Cambridge had an effect on him: 'I was at the most stately fabric in the University, viz. King's College Chapel, where I got little benefit by the prayers, because of the music and noble architecture, which too much diverted my thoughts'.<sup>69</sup> On a visit to York Minster in 1710 he noted

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<sup>64</sup> 20 September 1719.

<sup>65</sup> 3 October 1713.

<sup>66</sup> 10 October 1713.

<sup>67</sup> Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis: or, The Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes* (London: printed for Maurice Atkins, 1715), p. 249.

<sup>68</sup> 4 May 1714.

<sup>69</sup> 7 July 1714.



the importance and difference in the music there compared with that in Leeds: ‘went to the prayers at the Minster, less intelligible to such country auditors, who are not accustomed to organs and singing their prayers’.

Although the curiosity of public concerts and plays sometimes got the better of him, Thoresby appeared to have principally enjoyed singing religious music and psalms in private and in church. These formed a main part of his personal worship. In contrast, he was not always an appreciative listener of the instrumental music provided by the organ during the services. For example, he ‘Concluded (during the organ-time) Clark’s Abridgment of the Historical parts of the Old and New Testaments; a good epitome’ and ‘while the organs played, read a short but excellent tract against gaming’.<sup>70</sup> Overall, he would have rather pursued his interests in antiquities and religion than tire his ears with such music that did not aid his piety:

At evening prayers, during the organ-time, finished the perusal of Mr. C. Mather’s sermon of the Power and Malice of the Devils, and discourse of Witchcraft, wherein the father of lies uttered an awful truth, through the mouth of a possessed man.<sup>71</sup>

Thoresby experienced a wide network of musicians and range of music in the provinces and metropolis – from popular to devotional music. It appeared to cause him much personal conflict and distraction. Nevertheless, for someone who was suspicious of music, he devoted considerable time and ink noting down what music was doing to him and how he felt about it.

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<sup>70</sup> 27 January 1723; 24 November 1723.

<sup>71</sup> 29 July 1722.

### 5.3 Music and gender

Musical instruments were flirtation devices for both men and women. John Ernest Galliard in the preface to his translation of Tosi's *Observations on the Florid Song* (London: Printed for J. Wilcox, 1743) noted:

If there are Charms in Musick in general, all the reasonable World agrees, that *the Vocal* has the Pre-eminence, both from *Nature* and *Art* above the Instrumental: From *Nature*, because without doubt it was the first; from *Art*, because thereby the Voice may be brought to express Sounds with greater Nicety and Exactness than Instruments [...] above all, the soft and pleasing Voice of the *fair Sex* has irresistible Charms, and adds considerably to their Beauty.

Music was one of many accomplishments young girls and women were encouraged and expected to pursue.<sup>72</sup> Hester Chapone, a late eighteenth-century conduct writer, wrote that accomplishments 'fill up agreeably those intervals of time which too often hang heavily on the hands of a woman, if her lot be cast in a retired situation'.<sup>73</sup> These activities were a reflection of family status and income. Music was encouraged due to its benefits of good health and mind, and as a way of keeping out of melancholy. However, women were discouraged from performing in public and undertaking serious study in music – both regarded as more masculine pursuits. Eighteenth-century conduct literature cautioned against idleness and curiosity. For example, *The Lady's Companion: Or; an infallible Guide to the Fair Sex. Containing, Rules, Directions, and Observations, for their Conduct and Behaviour through all Ages and Circumstances of Life, as Virgins, Wives, or Widows* encouraged:

a constant Series of Employments: We mean not such frivolous ones as are more idle than doing nothing, but such as are ingenious [*sic*], and some Way worth their Time; wherein as the first Place is to be given to the Offices of Piety, so in the Intervals of those, there are divers others, by which they may not

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<sup>72</sup> See Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Social-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: CUP, 1988); and Matthew Head, "If the Pretty Hand Won't Stretch": Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *JAMS*, 52.2 (Summer 1999), 203-254.

<sup>73</sup> *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind Addressed to a Young Lady*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1797), p. 178.

unusefully fill up the Vacancies of their Time, such are the acquiring of any of those ornamental Improvements which become their Quality, as Writing, Needle-works, Languages, Musick, or the like.<sup>74</sup>

Keyboard instruments, lutes and guitars were deemed more suitable for women – these were used as both accompaniment instruments and for solo performance. The anonymous author of the Burwell lute tutor wrote that ‘the viol entangleth one in spreading the arms, and openeth the legs (which doth not become man, much less a woman’.<sup>75</sup> Although it would appear that music-making by women and young girls was restrictive, many also composed music (Rasby composed a number of single part psalm tunes, rounds and catches) and regularly attended concerts (Courtney’s wife accompanied her husband on most occasions).<sup>76</sup> As we have seen with the case of John Courtney, music was used to entertain visitors and as a tool to attract potential suitors. Wealthy parents employed music masters to visit and give lessons to their children. These normally centred on an instruction book before progressing onto more difficult pieces. Dancing was another accomplishment promoted as healthy exercise and improving posture. Similarly, dancing masters were employed for private lessons or children visited dancing schools or boarding schools (as was the case for John Courtney’s children) to teach the ideals of grace and elegance. Dance allowed an individual to get closer to a partner than would otherwise have been acceptable in everyday life – something Courtney used to his advantage. It was normal for women to give up their music-making following marriage, as was the case with Courtney’s wife. During the second half of the eighteenth century female voices were admitted into parish church choirs and professional women performers, notably The Lancashire Witches, moved out of the domestic sphere. It is clear that both male and female amateur musicians generally moved out of private settings and many performed in local subscription concerts to boost numbers in the orchestra or

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<sup>74</sup> *The Lady’s Companion: Or; an infallible Guide to the Fair Sex. Containing, Rules, Directions, and Observations, for their Conduct and Behaviour through all Ages and Circumstances of Life, as Virgins, Wives, or Widows* (London: Printed for T. Reed, 1740), p. 73.

<sup>75</sup> Thurston Dart, ‘Miss Mary Burwell’s Instruction Book for the Lute’, *Gaplin Society Journal*, 11 (1958), 3-62 (p. 48).

<sup>76</sup> See also Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

choir. Miller composed music for a range of individuals, including both male and female amateurs and parish church choirs.

A manuscript book survives amongst the family archive of Nostell Priory, near Wakefield.<sup>77</sup> It is headed 'K. Henshaw / Her Book / 1730' and is likely to have belonged to Katherine Henshaw, sister to Susanna Henshaw (1710-1741), the wife of Rowland Winn (1706-1765) of Nostell Priory, who married in August 1729.<sup>78</sup> The book was clearly used for domestic performance and perhaps in conjunction with private tuition. It contains a selection of keyboard arrangements of Corelli's solo violin sonatas and opera arias from Handel's *Admeto* (1727), *Siroe* (1728) and *Sosarme* (1732) (see Appendix F). The family's desire to keep up to date with fashions and trends in London is displayed by the repertoire contained within the book. The material was likely copied from printed music, including William Babel's *The Ladys Banquet or The Ladies Entertainment*, which was published by John Walsh in six volumes between 1704 and 1735.

A more substantial collection of music from Howsham Hall in Howsham, North Yorkshire survives in Kings College Library, Cambridge. A harpsichord lesson book (Ckc 249) belonging to a 'Miss Cholmley' includes a list of payments for fortnightly lessons between 1755 and 1756. Copied by several hands it includes fashionable music by Arne, Handel, Scarlatti, Felton, Hasse, Stanley, Manfredini, and Giardini (see Appendix F). The collection also includes two part books (violin 1 and violin 2) containing trio sonatas (the bass is missing) by Cannabich, J. C. Bach and Pugnani (Ckc 220-221), and a collection of scenes and duets from late eighteenth-century Italian operas by Monopoli, Piccini and Anfossi (Ckc 274).

Unfortunately the fragmentary nature of surviving evidence does not allow us to generate a comprehensive picture of music-making undertaken by women in the eighteenth century; however this was mainly secular and centred on the home. A

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<sup>77</sup> WYAS, Wakefield, WYL 1352/A1/4/37.

<sup>78</sup> I am grateful to Norma Thorpe, a volunteer at Nostell Priory, for this information. A Katherine Henshaw married William Strickland on the 18 July 1740. The link between the Strickland family of Boynton Hall in the East Riding of Yorkshire and the Winns of Nostell Priory crossed several generations and several marriages took place. The music book may have been part of a purchase by the Winns in the nineteenth century of part of the library at Boynton Hall. This was perhaps to supplement the library at Nostell and to preserve at least part of the Boynton Hall collection within the family network.

significant symbol of social status and wealth, musical skill was one of many accomplishments expected of women in genteel society. Typically women learned keyboard instruments, particularly the spinet and harpsichord – these instruments were later supplemented by the piano.<sup>79</sup> It is likely that Courtney heard and performed similar pieces copied in Ckc 249 when he visited the houses of young women in and around Beverley ten years later.

## 5.4 Afterword

Through this exploration of vibrant personalities of the past we are able to share their interest and passion for music and examine the varying roles that music played within eighteenth-century Yorkshire society. This project, although not comprehensive in its coverage, has examined a number of issues and contexts to aid our understanding of provincial musical life. There are areas, centres and individuals who still remain in the dark, and this study hopes to encourage similar examinations into regional musical and social life. As in other studies of amateur or provincial music-making, this project suffers from similar problems with documentation, in which often the emphasis is placed on the musical pursuits of the gentry and professional classes who were educated at university or the Inns of Court, and who had the time and wealth to follow a number of interests. Edward Finch and John Courtney were epitomes of the gentleman amateur musician. Unlike professional musicians, their passion for music was not influenced by conscious commercial considerations. For them music was a fashionable amusement and a subject for serious study – both kept up to date with London trends and fashions. William Hayes

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<sup>79</sup> For later studies and context in the nineteenth century, see Nicholas Salwey, 'Women Pianists in Late Eighteenth-Century London', in *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 273-290; Phyllis Weliver, *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860-1900: Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Mary Burgan, 'Heroines at the Piano: Women and Music in Nineteenth-Century Fiction', *Victorian Studies*, 30.1 (1986), 51-76; Patrick Piggott, *The Innocent Diversion: A Study of Music in the Life and Writings of Jane Austen* (London: Douglas Cleverdon, 1979); Ian Gammie and Derek McCulloch, *Jane Austen's Music: The Musical World of Jane Austen seen through the Manuscript and Printed Editions held by the Jane Austen Memorial Trust at Chawton* (St Albans: Corda Music, 1996); and David Selwyn, *Jane Austen and Leisure* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1999).

(1708-1777) believed that only an impartial amateur could be a 'learned and judicious Friend to Music'.<sup>80</sup> In the early eighteenth century, York enjoyed a strong musical network centred around the Minster. Its members met on chapter premises to perform music prior to the establishment of more formal music clubs and subscription concerts in the city. This may have arisen from experiences of Oxbridge music societies and could represent a more widespread musical culture in other provincial towns and cities than has yet come to light. Church music was prevalent, although disruptive to Thoresby who heard organ music in many parish churches and cathedrals across the region and beyond. Exploring other strata of society is important in our understanding of musical culture. Perhaps of equal importance, although much harder to establish due to the lack of surviving evidence, are the popular forms of music-making undertaken by the lower classes in taverns and rural villages. This study has hinted at such activity: Reresby, a gentleman, enjoyed the bagpipes and Thoresby recalled other forms of popular music on his travels. By the second half of the eighteenth century, there is clear evidence that Yorkshire enjoyed a widespread and thriving professional concert life stretching from the regional capital to smaller rural market towns, and provided opportunities to hear and see the stars of the London musical world. The level of music-making across the region was extensive and infused every aspect of life amongst all strata of society. From the assembly room, to the local parish church, theatre, tavern, in the street or in the privacy of the parlour, it is hard to imagine that the eighteenth-century individual – like today – did not participate in or hear some sort of musical activity in their everyday life.

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<sup>80</sup> See Pierre Dubois (ed.), *Charles Avison's Essay on Musical Expression: With Related Writings by William Hayes and Charles Avison* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 73. For other contemporary writings on this subject, see Maria Semi, *Music as a Science of Mankind in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, trans. by Timothy Keates (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).

# A | Inventories of Edward Finch's Principal Manuscripts

## Ge Euing R.d.39<sup>1</sup>

<u>ff.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<i>forwards</i>			
<i>Hand: Edward Finch</i>			
2	'9 Parts', 'St Davids ps: Tune in 6 p <sup>ts</sup> . E: F.'	Finch	In score; parts in 'St Davids ps: Tune' are distinguished by a graphical code: some notes are filled-in with lines, and noteheads of a few bass notes have a dashed outline
2v-3	'G[ottfried] Kellers Example of the Maner of Taking All Sorts of Discords Usual in Sonata's in a sharp key. For 5 Parts'	Keller	C major
3v-4	'G[ottfried] Kellers Examples of All Sorts of Discords usualy taken in a Flat key in Sonatas In 5 Parts'	Keller	A minor
4v-5	'The 2 former Examples For but 4 Parts / [written later:] The Example in a Sharp key'	Keller	C major
5v-6	'The Former Example in a Flat key For but 4 Parts'	Keller	A minor
6v-8	[Te Deum:] 'We 'knowledg: Thee to be the Lord'	[Finch]	Gmajor; in 4 parts; alto and tenor parts are written in red ink; treble and bass parts written in brown ink

<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Andrew Woolley for sharing his inventory of this manuscript with me. This formed the basis of my own.



8v	'The 100 <sup>th</sup> Psalm Tune in 5 Pts.', 'The 100 <sup>th</sup> Psalm Tune in 5 Parts E: F.'	Finch	C major; copied on three staves with individual parts highlighted graphically, and below in 5-part score with figured bass
9r	[End of full score:] 'The 100 <sup>th</sup> ps. / in 7 pts'	Finch	Bb major; copied on three staves, with individual parts highlighted graphically, and below in score; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. p. 23
9v-13v	[Te Deum:] 'We praise Thee O God' / [in red ink:] 'By Edw. Finch / Aug <sup>t</sup> 17 <sup>th</sup> 1708' / [in brown ink:] 'The Jubilate Nineteen Leaves forward'	Finch	G minor; 5 parts written on three-stave score, with second treble and tenor parts written in red ink and remaining parts in brown ink
14	'Harry Purcells / Service in B mi' [fragment: 'together is worshiped & Glorified']	Purcell	Bb major; second treble, alto and bass parts are written in red ink, and remaining parts in brown ink
14v-15v	'Symphonia' in D major [incomplete]	[Anon.]	D major; grave introduction followed by fugal allegro; scored for 2 violins, 2 tenor violins, 'Basso Viola' and basso continuo
15v	'Psalm Tune Remember Davids Troubles Lord'	[Anon.]	D minor; 6-part chant in score with figured bass
16-19	'O Lord God of my Salvation', 'D <sup>r</sup> . John Blow for 8 voices April 15 <sup>th</sup> : 1689' / 'by D <sup>r</sup> . Blow April y <sup>e</sup> / 15 <sup>th</sup> 1689'	Blow	G minor
19v-24	'O God wherefore art thou absent', 'Dr: Blow. for 5. voices' / 'Dr Blow'	Blow	G minor
24v-29v	'A Song of M <sup>r</sup> Weldons which won the Prize when he was Organist of New Coll: Oxon'	Weldon	D major; 'Alas you Strive to Heal in Vain the Wounds'
29v	'A Catch in Six Parts, The Senseless Disputes'		G major; 'Some say that Signior Bononcini Compar'd with Handel's

			But A Ninny'; parts are again highlighted graphically
30	'A Parish Psalm Tune for 7 Voices For any Psalms whose metre is alternately 8 & 6 Syllables'	[Anon.]	D minor; score with bass part incorporated into a keyboard part at the bottom, which includes all parts and figured bass
30v-31	'Prelude of Mr Luly's in Imitation of a Lute'	[Loeillet]	A minor; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. p. 72
31	'Saraband'	[Loeillet?]	A minor; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. p. 73; concordance: Lfom, Coke 1290
31v	'The Barbarous Entertainment. Or the Toothpick Treat. of Mr. Dingley by a stingy Knight / Set into A Catch for Four Voices By E: F: Allegro'	Finch	G major; 4 bass voices with the fourth bass voice incorporated into a keyboard part
32	'Tom Browns Translation of Martial's Epigram / Set into A Catch for Four Voices to a Through Base by E: F: / Allegro'	Finch	G major; 4 bass voices with the fourth bass voice incorporated into a keyboard part
32v-34	'Turn Back Nineteen Leaves for the Te Deum. This Jubilate was / Composed December 6 <sup>th</sup> . 1721. By E. F.'	Finch	G minor; A keyboard part is included in the Gloria Patri incorporating all parts with detailed figured bass (each note is accounted a number)
34v-37v			Empty staves
<i>reverse</i>			
<i>Hand: Edward Finch</i>			
1v	'Grammar for Through-Bass by the Hon <sup>ble</sup> . & Rev <sup>d</sup> D <sup>r</sup> Edward Finch'	Finch	In red ink
2	'Ld not unto us' [fragment]		G minor
2v-3v	[Untitled]		G minor; for 3 treble voices, bass and keyboard with figured bass; no text
4v	[Untitled]		G minor; for 3 treble voices, bass and keyboard with figured bass; no text;

			exercise of resolving 7th chords
4v	[Untitled]		G minor; keyboard score; exercise of resolving diminished 7th chords
5	[Exercises]		Two further exercises consisting of repeating chord sequences based on resolving 7ths
5v			Empty staves
6	'Carissimi' ['Crucifixus']	Carissimi	D minor; extract only
6-30	'The True Notion of Harmony. or / G. Kellers Grammar Teaching How to Play / A Through Base On the Harpsicord & How To / Compose. By Such Rules & Examples as may be Sufficient / for these Purposes without the Help of Any Musick Master.'	Keller	Not copied from Keller's <i>Rules Or a Compleat Method</i> (1705); Finch expanded and reordered material here – possibly copied from manuscript
30v-31	'Some of Harry Purcel's Rules for Composition'	Purcell	Related to material on pp. 98-100 of Playford's <i>An Introduction to the Skill of Musick [...] Corrected and Amended by Mr. Henry Purcell</i> (1694)
31	'Morleys Eight Tunes for Teaching Unskilful Composers How to Keep in the Key'	Morley	
31v-32	'If the Base Rises Any of These Distances the Parts Move as you See underneath'		Material from Purcell?
32-32v	'M <sup>r</sup> Allens / way of Tuning a Harpsicord' / 'This is / the End / of Mr Allen's / way of / Tuning / Which I / Like Best / Because it Compares & / Proves the / Tuning All / the way you / go.'	Allen	
33	'Harris The Organ Makers way of Tuning His Organs [written later:] By Imperfect 5 <sup>ths</sup> . and True Octaves.'	[John] Harris	

33	'M <sup>r</sup> : Handles Manner of Fingering in Running swift Division'	Handel	G major; a short scalic piece resembling the piece attributed to Quarles on rev. f. 37
33v-34 34v-35	'Rules for Triple Fuguing' 'Several Examples of the Manner of Taking Discords Elegantly'		Material from Purcell? Includes 'Of Taking Two 7 <sup>ths</sup> . in Two Parts', which appears on p. 96 of Playford's <i>An Introduction</i> .
35v	'General Rules for Fingering / Sign <sup>r</sup> Baptist's way'	[Draghi]	A chart illustrating keyboard fingering 'The Old way', 'Odd Notes' and 'Even Notes' (i.e. by step and by leap)
36	'Non Nobis Domine / Not unto us O Lord'	[attrib. Byrd, arr. 'Mr Luiley']	See DRc Bamburgh M70, 46-49
36v-37	[Untitled]		A minor; 3-stave score of 5-part music with figured bass
37v	'M <sup>r</sup> Quarles's way of Fingering in Gamut Natural'	Quarles	G major; a short scalic piece resembling the piece attributed to Handel on rev. f. 33

**DRc Bamburgh M70<sup>2</sup>**

<u>pp.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<i>forwards</i>			
<i>Hand: Edward Finch</i>			
i, 1	Single chant in G major for 6 and 7 voices	[Finch]	
1	6-part double Amen in G major	[Finch]	= p. 108
2-7	Sonata No. 7, Op. 3 arranged as a concerto grosso for 5 instruments	Corelli / [Finch]	
8-9	Minuet in D major for 5 instruments	[Finch]	Preceded by a working keyboard reduction
10-17	Sonata No. 2, Op. 3 arranged as a concerto grosso for 6 instruments	Corelli / [Finch]	
18-21	Aria: 'S'estinto e l'idol mio' from <i>Amadigi di Gaula</i> (1715)	Handel	'A very Fine Cantata of Mr Hendels Composition'
22-23	Concerto No. 11, Op. 6, Sicilian Air, transposed	Corelli / [Finch]	'Set a third Higher For German Flutes from the B mi Flat Key'
24-25	Untitled piece for 4 instruments in C major	[Finch?]	= pp. 28-29
26-27	Concerto in C for 4 instruments	[Finch?]	
28-33	Untitled pieces for 4 instruments in C major	[Finch?]	= pp. 24-25
36-37	Untitled piece for 4 instruments in D major	[Finch?]	
37-41	Fugal subject in D minor followed by 5-part fugue	[Finch?]	
41-45	A Cantabile Fugue in D minor for 5 instruments	[Finch?]	'with Three other Fugues All worked upon a Ground Base Contrived for Four Instruments to a Harpsicord, Organ or Violoncello'
46-49	Non nobis Domine and symphony for 4 instruments	attrib. Byrd, arr. 'Mr Luiley' [Loeillet]	See Ge Euing R.d.39, rev. f.36

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Brian Crosby for sharing his inventory of this manuscript with me. This formed the basis of my own.

49	Hoc he liquor, Hoc he sapor	[Finch?]	Canon for 6 voices
49	Observe with care and judgement	[Finch]	Canon for 7 voices, differs from above only in altered ending
50-52	Aria: 'Lungo pensar e dubitar' from <i>Muzio Scevola</i> (1721)	[Handel]	Accompaniment only
53	Observe with care and judgement	[Finch]	= full version of p. 49; see also DRc Bamburgh M208
54-58	Untitled pieces in Bb major for 4 instruments	[Finch?]	
54	Ah scribblers poor who write to eat	Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield	Catch for 4 voices composed by Lord Chesterfield upon 'Ld B <sup>ks</sup> Occasional Writer & S <sup>r</sup> Rob <sup>t</sup> W's Answer to it'
57	Untitled keyboard piece in A major	[Anon.]	
60	Good morrow gossip Joan	[Finch]	Catch for 5 voices
61	Good morrow gossip Joan	[Finch]	'True' version of p. 60
62-63	Smile, smile, blest isle, griefs past	[Anon.]	
64	Kyrie in C major [fragment]	[Greene]	= p. 90
66-67	Untitled da capo air in D major of 4 instruments	[Finch]	Preceded by a working keyboard reduction
68-69	O praise the Lord all ye heathen	[Edward Salisbury]	For 4 voices and accompaniment, rejected version of pp. 84-85; 'This is Better Set 13 pages forward'
70-83	I will give thanks unto thee	Abbot Stephani / [Finch]	For 5 voices; 'The Musick is Abbot Stephani's Latin Motet Qui Diligit Mariam instead of which Latin Words Tis Fitted with Words of Our Psalms'
84-85	O praise the Lord all ye heathen	[Edward Salisbury]	The 3 upper parts are 'a Canon in Unison 200 years old', with bottom parts added in imitation of Greene's 'Excellent Anthymn' 'Lord let me know mine end'; for 5

86				voices with 'Walking Thorough Base'
90-91	Kyrie in C and Bb for 4 voices	Greene		= rev. p. iv = p. 64
	<i>Hand: unknown</i>			
92-108	Te Deum and Jubilate in G major	[Anon.]		in 4 parts, <i>cf.</i> pp. 148-153
108	Amen	[Finch]		= p. 1
109-147	O Lord who shall dwell	[Greene]		Full score for voices and strings
148-153	Credo in G major	[Anon.]		In 4 parts, <i>cf.</i> pp. 92-108
	<i>reverse</i>			
	<i>Hand: Edward Finch</i>			
iii-v				= forwards p. 86
vi	Pitches and transpositions of flutes			
1-5	[Canon] 'for 2 German Flutes with or without Through Bass'	[Finch]		Dated 'Decem <sup>r</sup> 29 1716', the last movement on p. 4 has 'A year before the Revolution', presumably indicating it was composed in 1687; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. pp. 74-75
5-8	[Sonata] 'for 2 German Flutes' [and Bass]	[Finch]		Dated 'September 15 1717'; 'The two Trebbles for the most Part Canon'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. pp. 76-79
9-11	'A Division upon Farrinel's Ground'	[Finch]		On p. 10 is written 'In King James's Reign'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. pp. 2-3, 104-109
12-15	'Sonata 1st'	Finch		Dated 'X <sup>mas</sup> 1717'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 82-87
16-19	'Sonata 2'	[Finch]		Dated 'April 19 1718'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 89-93
20-23	'Sonata 3', 'The Groans & Sighs'	[Finch]		Dated 'Aug <sup>t</sup> 30 <sup>th</sup> 1718'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 94-98



24-25	'Sonata 4'	[Finch]	Dated 'November 20 <sup>th</sup> 1718'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 140-141
26-29	'Sonata 5'	[Finch] / [Thomas Benson]	Dated 'X <sup>mas</sup> 1718; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 142-147
30-33	'Sonata 6', 'Eccho Sonata'	[Finch] / Thomas Benson	Dated 'Febr: 2 <sup>nd</sup> 1718/9', with 'Gigha' added by 'Tho. Benson'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 147-150
35-39	Sonata 7'	[Finch]	Dated 'April 13 1719', with last movement dated 'October 30 <sup>th</sup> 1718 [sic]'
36	2 Sarabandes	[Finch?]	Including 'A Saraband Broken into a Kind of Arpeggio after the Lyra maner'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. p. 94
37-39	'A Division upon a Cromatic Ground being to be sung by 7 voices Or the 7 Parts may All be playd upon an Organ or Harpsichord or with 7 Instrum[en]ts whilst [th]e German Flute Plays [th]e Division'	[Finch?]	See Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. pp. 90-91
40	'Gigha'	[Finch?]	See Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. p. 93
41-44	'Sonata 8th', 'The Cuckow made in King James the 2ds Reign [1686-89] by EF [monogram]	Finch	= <i>Division Violin</i> (1693), vol. 2, p. 16; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 128-131
44-48	'Sonata 9'	[Finch]	Dated 'May 28 <sup>th</sup> 1719', 'Finished the 9 <sup>th</sup> June 1719'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. pp. 100-104
48-51	'Sonata X'	Finch	'Finished October 9 <sup>th</sup> 1719 / EF [monogram]'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. pp. 110-114
52-55	Sonata No. 9, Op. 5, transposed	Corelli / [Finch]	Transposed up a 3 <sup>rd</sup> for German Flute

56-59	'Sonata XI', 'The Bells', with a gigue titled 'The Hemp Dresser'	Finch	Dated 'Febr: 18 1719/20'; see Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 157-161
62-65	'Sonata [in G major] di Sign <sup>r</sup> Lorenzo Bocchi'	Bocchi	
66-68	'Sonata III Emendata Lorenzo Bocchi'	[Finch] / Bocchi	<i>cf.</i> rev. pp. 24-25
68-71	'Sonata I <sup>ma</sup> made X <sup>mas</sup> 1717 Alter'd by Lorenzo Bocchi October 1720'	Finch / Bocchi	<i>cf.</i> rev. pp. 12-15
72-75	'Sonata 2 made April 29 <sup>th</sup> 1718 Alter'd by Lorenzo Bocchi October 1720'	[Finch] / Bocchi	<i>cf.</i> rev. pp. 16-19
76-81	'Cantabile' and 'Sicilian Air' [in E minor] 'di Sign <sup>r</sup> Carlo Quarlesi'	Charles Quarles	
81-83	'Solo' in D minor	[Quarles?]	3 movements
85-86	Notes		= as on flyleaf
90	Notes		= as on flyleaf
92-98	O clap your hands	Greene	For 6 voices
98	I am weary of my groaning	Morley or Byrd	Canon in unison for 5 voices; 'Very Old either Morley's or Birds'
100-115	O praise the Lord all ye heathen	Giovanni Baptista Borri	Full score for 4 voices with keyboard reduction underneath; English adaptation of part of the Gloria from the Mass in F major
100-101	Discourse on failing sight and lenses		
116-120	By the waters of Babylon	L. [ <i>sic</i> ] Stephani / Edward Salisbury	With added countertenor and bass vocal lines by Edward Salisbury
121	Not unto us O Lord	[Worrel] <sup>3</sup>	Canon in 4 parts
122-123	Incomplete catches	[Anon.]	
126	Incomplete catches	[Anon.]	
128-155	The craftsman makes a mighty pother	[Anon.]	Set to the tune of 'Beggin we will goe'
<i>Hand: unknown</i>			
156-178	Concerto No. 3, Op. 3	[Geminiani]	Full score

<sup>3</sup> Ob Tenbury 1026 describes Worrel as a 'young lawyer'. He and Finch were apparently members of the 'Crown Club'. This could be a reference to the fortnightly meetings of the Academy of Ancient Music at the Crown and Anchor tavern in the Strand; see Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), p. 3; and above, p. 41.

178a-b	Letter addressed to 'Hon. and Rev. Edward Finch'	[Anon.]	Translation of rev. pp. 179-183
179-183	Recit and Aria: 'Regal Brittaina il mis piu Nobil Vanto'	Carlo Broschi Farinello	Written in response to 'the obligeing favours received from the glorious British Nation' (p. 178b)

**Armstrong-Finch MS<sup>4</sup>**

<u>pp.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<i>forwards</i>			
<i>Hand: Edward Finch</i>			
Flyleaf	'The Notes upon the German Flute'		Tablature giving finger positions for staff-notation scales
<i>Hand: William Armstrong</i>			
[1-8]			Missing from manuscript; contained a 'thematic index to the Violin Sonatas', Sonata No. 1 and bb.1-10 of Sonata No. 2 (see 1935 Willmott sale catalogue)
9-11	[Sonata No. 2]	[Corelli]	Starting at b.11; A major; vn, bc; see <i>A Solo in A# for a Violin by Arcangelo Corelli. The Solo Proper for the Harpsicord or Spinett</i> (London, 1704, 2/1705)
12-15	'III / Sonata / by M <sup>r</sup> . Tho. Farmer'	Farmer	A major; vn, bc
16-19	'III / Sonata / by M <sup>r</sup> Courtivil'	Courteville	A major; vn, bc
20-23	'V / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> Arcangelo Corelli'	Corelli	A major; vn, bc
24-27	'VI / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> Godfrid Finger'	Finger	A major; vn, bc
28-31	'VII / Sonata / del Sig. G. Finger'	Finger	E major; vn, bc
32-35	'VIII / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> G. Finger'	Finger	E major; vn, bc
36-39	'IX / Sonata / del Sig G. Finger'	Finger	D major; vn, bc
40-45	'X / Sonata / del Sig Arc <sup>o</sup> . Corelli'	Corelli	D major; vn, bc
46-49	'XI / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> Carlo Ambrosio Lonati	Lonati	D major; vn, bc
50-52	'XII / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> . Carlo Ambrosio'	Lonati	F major; vn, bc
53-57	'XIII / Sonata / by M <sup>r</sup> Robert King'	King	F major; vn, bc

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to Peter Holman for sharing his photographs and inventory of this manuscript with me. This formed the basis of my own.

58-63	'XIV / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> G. Finger'	Finger	A major; vn, bc
[64]-67	'XV / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> Arcangelo Corelli'	Corelli	A minor; vn, bc
<i>Hand: Edward Finch</i>			
68-71	'XVI / Sonata / M <sup>r</sup> Henry Purcell'	Purcell	G minor; vn, bc
72-75	'XVII / Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> Godfred Finger'	Finger	G major; fl?, bc; transposed by Finch to play on transverse flute
76-[81]	'XVIII / Sonata IV. / Corelli's IV Solo of his Opera Quinta Set for the German Flute by Transposing it & putting it from F. To D#'	Corelli	D major; fl, bc; transposed by Finch
82-87	'XIX / I Sonata / EF / X <sup>t</sup> .mas 1717. For the German Flute'	Finch	D major; fl, bc; Finch provided an alternative to the third movement which included multiple stops in the solo part, presumably to be arpeggiated, writing on p. 84: 'If this be hard to play Turne over leafe forwards & Play the 3/2 strain instead of this 3/4 Adagio'; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 12-15
88	'2 Parts in One / made for the Great Room at Burley whose Eccho Plays the 2 <sup>d</sup> Treble & sounds like 3 or 4 Instruments' <sup>5</sup>	[Anon.]	Minuet; D major; fl?, bc
89-93	'XX / 2 Sonata / For the German Flute. / April 29 <sup>th</sup> . 1718'	Finch	D major; fl, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 16-19
94-98	'XXI / 3/ Sonata / August 30 <sup>th</sup> . 1718'	Finch	D major; fl?, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 20-23
99	Jig	[Finch?]	G major; fl?, bc; '1719' at end
<i>Hand: William Armstrong</i>			
100-104	'SONATA / del Sig <sup>r</sup> Godfrido Finger'	Finger	F major; rec, bc
105-107	'Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> G. Finger	Finger	C major; rec, bc

<sup>5</sup> This appears to have been an unusual acoustic experiment. Burley-on-the-Hill House in Rutland was constructed in 1694 for Finch's brother Daniel, the Second Earl of Nottingham; see Pearl Finch, *History of Burley-on-the-Hill, Rutland*, 2 vols (London, 1901).

108-111	'Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> G. Finger'	[Carel Rosier]	G major; rec, bc; see US-R, M1490.B113, ff. 17v-19
112-115	'Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> G. Finger	Finger	C major; rec?, bc
116-119	'Sonata / by M <sup>r</sup> Raphael Courtevell'	[Finger]	F major; rec, bc; see Gottfried Finger, <i>Dix Sonates à 1 Flute &amp; Basse Continue</i> , Op. 3 (Amsterdam, c.1700), no. 8
120-123	'Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> G. Finger'	Finger	F major; rec, bc
124-127	'Sonata / by M <sup>r</sup> Edward Finch'	Finch	G major; rec?, bc; no concordances
128-131	'Sonata / by M <sup>r</sup> Edward Finch	Finch	C major; rec, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 41-44
132-135	'Sonata / by M <sup>r</sup> Edward Finch and M <sup>r</sup> Finger'	Finger	C minor; rec, bc; nature of the collaboration unclear; same as that published as Finger, Op. 3, No. 2
<i>Hand: Edward Finch</i>			
136-139	'Sonata / del Sig <sup>r</sup> : G: Finger'	Finger	Bb major; rec, bc
140-141	'4 / Sonata / November 20 <sup>th</sup> . 1718'	[Finch]	G major; rec?, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 24-25
142-147	'5 / Sonata / X <sup>mas</sup> 1718'	Finch / Thomas Benson	A minor; vn, bc; 'X <sup>mas</sup> / 1718 / EF & y <sup>e</sup> Presto / by T. Benson' at end; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 26-29
147-150	'6 / Sonata / January 29. 1718/9 / Eccho'	Finch / Thomas Benson	D major; fl?, bc; 'Feb. 2. 1718/9 / Gigha By / M <sup>r</sup> T. Benson & EF' at end; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 30-33
151-155	'Sonata / 8 / EF'	Finch	G major; vn, bc; transposed version of pp. 128-131
156	'Sonata / IX / Corelli IX Solo'	Corelli	C major; fl, bc; transposed version of Op. 5, No. 9
157-161	'Sonata / XI EF / On The Bells / & / Hempdresser'	Finch	D major; fl?, bc; the second and fourth movements are labelled 'Turn again Whittington L <sup>d</sup> . Mayor of London' (p. 158) and 'The Hempdresser' (p. 159); see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 56-59

162-165 'XII' [Finch?] G major; 3 fl?, bc; 5-movement sonata; '1720' at end

*Reverse*

*Hand: Edward Finch*

Endpaper Scales of notes for 'Consort / Pitch / Flute', 'Upper Voice / Flute a / Lesser 3<sup>d</sup>: / Lower in / Pitch' and 'Lower Voice Flute a / greater 3<sup>d</sup> / Lower / [th][a]n Consort / Pitch'

Flyleaf 'Possible / Shakes / upon [th]e German Flute', illustrated with staff notation and tablature

1 'Harry Purcells / Golden Sonata' Purcell G minor; transposed kbd score with figured bass, added tenor part in red ink

*Hand: William Armstrong*

2-3 'A Division BY M<sup>r</sup> EDWARD FINCH. upon Farrinels Ground:' Finch D minor; rec, bc; see rev. pp. 104-109 and DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 9-11

4-8 Suite [Anon.] F major; 2 rec?, bc; 4-movement suite

*Hand: Edward Finch*

9 Minuet with variation [Anon.] D minor; 2 vn, bc

10-12 'Cantata a Voce Sola, con Violino / Del Sig<sup>ro</sup>. Giacomo Greber / Gia tra l'onde il sol s'asconde' Greber Bb major; S, vn, bc

13 'Aria / Un Sol di Belta' [Anon.] C major; S, bc; English translation provided by Finch

14-15 'Aria / Prima noia è pena trova' [Anon.] Bb major; S, bc; English translation provided by Finch

16-17 'Aria / Sciolto sono è più non peno' [Anon.] F major; S, bc; English translation provided by Finch

17 'Godrà lieta l'alma mia' [Anon.] A minor; S, bc; English translation provided by Finch

18 'Pastorella spera, spera' [Bononcini] A major; S, bc; English translation provided by Finch; from *Il trionfo di Camilla* (Vienna, 1696) and *Camilla* (London, 1706)



19	'Bella imago dell mio bene'	[Bononcini]	C major; S, bc; English translation provided by Finch
20-21	'Se ne va di faggio in faggio'	[Bononcini]	Bb major; S, fl?, bc
22	'Mio Cor, è che sarà'	Pasquini	C minor; S, bc; 'Sig <sup>r</sup> Bernardo Pasquini The Pope's Organist' at end
22-23	Almand or air	[Anon.]	D major; ?bc
23	Minuet	Clarke	D major; fl?, bc; arranged by Finch from a single-line version in <i>Theater Musick</i> , vol. 1 (London, 1698), as Finch does not use Clarke's bass
23	'The 100 ps: tune in 7 p <sup>ts</sup> . E.F.'	Finch	Bb major; SSAATTB/bc; see Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 9 and Y M200
24-34	'Psalm 106 ver 1 / O Give thanks / Verse anthem for four voices with Chorus / H Purcell'	Purcell	C major; SATB solo, SATB choir, org
35	Jig	[Anon.]	G minor; 2 fl?, bc
36-55	'Mottetum 1. / Fiocco's Mottetts / O most Blessed who can Praise Thee'	Jean-Joseph Fiocco / Nalson	A major; SATB, 2 vn, bc; adaptation made my Valentine Nalson
56-57	'4 voc: Very Slow 1 <sup>st</sup> . P <sup>t</sup> . Canon 4 in 2 in Imitation of Stradella. Set at Venice by Seign <sup>r</sup> Di Tomaso Roseingrave / Gloria Patri et Filio'	Roseingrave	A minor; SATB
58-59	'Cantata / Vo Penando e non so come'	[Anon.]	Bb flat; S, vn, va, bc
60	'Mr Grano's Composition for the German Flute / made as fast as he could write.'	Grano	E minor; fl, bc; not in J. B. Grano, <i>Solos for a German Flute, a Hoboy or Violin, with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin</i> (London, [1728])
61	A table of 'The Whole XII of / Francesco Geminiani's Sonatas for the Violin / & Base Violin & Harpsichord Transposed / & fitted in more com[m]odious Keys to the German Flute'		

*Second sequence of page numbers*

[1]-4	‘Sign <sup>r</sup> . Francesco / Geminiani’s Sonata’s / Written out & fitted / for the German Flute’	Geminiani	G major; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 9 (A major)
5-8	‘Geminiani’s / X. Solo. / Set a / note / Lower’	Geminiani	D major; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 10 (E major)
9-12	‘Geminiani’s / XI Solo / transposed & / Set a Note Lower’	Geminiani	G minor; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 11 (A minor)
13-16	‘Geminiani’s / XII Solo / tranpos’d / here & there’	Geminiani	D minor; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 12
16-20	‘Geminiani’s VII Solo / Set a Note higher’	Geminiani	D minor; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 7 (C minor)
20-23	‘Sig <sup>r</sup> Geminiani’s VIII <sup>th</sup> Solo Set a Note lower & tranpos’d for [th]e German Flute.’	Geminiani	A minor; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 8 (B minor)
23-27	‘Geminiani’s / IV / Solo / Alter’d / from double / Notes for [th]e German / Flute.’	Geminiani	D major; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 4
28	‘The Saraband is / the 7 <sup>th</sup> Solo in / Corelli’s Opera Quinta / with variations after / Geminiani’s Maner / See more variations upon / the Same Base Page 44’		E minor; fl?, bc; see p. 44; Finch presumably composed the variations; dated 13 April 1719
29-33	‘Geminiani’s V <sup>th</sup> / Solo Tranpos’d / & Set a Note Higher / For the German Flute see / page 95’	Geminiani	C major; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 5 (Bb major)

34-39	'Geminiani's I <sup>st</sup> . / Sonata Solo / a Note lower / see Page 80'	Geminiani	G major; fl, bc; see pp. 80-85; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 1 (A major)
40-43	'Geminiani's / III Sonata / Set a Note Lower'	Geminiani	D minor; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 3 (E minor)
44	'See the beginning of this Page 28 backwards'		E minor; fl?, bc; see p. 28
45-49	'Geminiani's / II Sonata / Fitted to / the German / Flute / & Prick'd in the Key he / made it in.'	Geminiani	D minor; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 2
50-53	'Geminianis Sonata VI / Put a Note Higher for the German Flute'	Geminiani	A minor; fl, bc; see Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 6 (G minor)
54-57	'Gasperini / I / Gasparo Visconti's I <sup>st</sup> . / Solo put out of F. Key into D <sup>#</sup> 3 <sup>d</sup> . As better for / the German Flute'	Gasparo Visconti	D major; fl, bc; see <i>Gasperini's Solos for the Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1703), no. 1 (F major); Finch transposed the piece a third lower and adapted passages for the solo instrument to avoid going below d'
58-62	'Gasparini's / 2 / G 3 <sup>d</sup> / Set a Note / lower for / the German / Flute'	Gasparo Visconti	G major; fl, bc; see <i>Gasperini's Solos for the Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsicord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1703), no. 2 (A major); Finch transposed the piece a third lower and adapted passages for the solo instrument to avoid going below d'
63-66	'Lully's VII Solo For / the Flute Set a third / Lower for the German Flute'	Loeillet	A minor; fl, bc; see J. B. Loeillet, <i>Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (London, c.1710), no. 7 (C minor)

67-71	'Lully's XII <sup>th</sup> Solo / Set a Note Lower'	Loeillet	E minor; fl, bc; see J. B. Loeillet, <i>Sonatas or Solos for a Flute with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin</i> , Op. 1 (London, c.1710), no. 12 (D minor)
72	'Prelude of Lully's Set for the Harpsichord in Gamut flat in Imitation of a Lute / & put into Are Key for the German Flute'	Loeillet	A minor; fl, bc; see Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 30v-31v
73	'Saraband Luly'	Loeillet	A minor; fl?, bc; see Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 31
74-75	'Canon in Unison / For 2 German Flutes / Either with or without the Th[o]rough Base.'	[Finch]	G minor; 2 fl, optional bc; 'Dec. 29 <sup>th</sup> . 1716' at end; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 1-5
76-79	'The 2 Trebbles are for much the greatest part of the Sonata Canon in [th]e Unison or 2 Parts in One'	[Finch]	D major; 2 fl, bc; 'Sept 15 <sup>th</sup> . 1717'; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 5-8
80-85	'Geminiani's Sonata I <sup>ma</sup> : Set a Note Lower / & Adapted to the German / Flute'	Geminiani	G major; fl, bc; see pp. 34-39; Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 1 (A major)
86	'Saraband of Corelli's 5 <sup>th</sup> Work Transposed form D to Are & Graced by Luly' / 'Play This after Luly's Saraband at Page 73'	Corelli / [Loeillet]	see p. 28; the florid ornaments are presumably by John Baptist Loeillet
87	'Adagio EF Oct: 31. 1718'	Finch	E minor; fl?, bc; see p. 92; DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 39
88-89	'A Division upon a Chromatic Ground to be play'd by Seven Instruments, Or if need be Those 7 Parts may / be playd upon a Harpsichord whilst the German Flute or Violin or Hautbois plays the Division EF Octob <sup>r</sup> . 13 <sup>th</sup> . 1718' / 'This Ground for the three strains of Com[m]on Time' / 'The	Finch	E minor; fl, vn or ob with 7 instruments or bc

	Ground for the Five strains of 12 / 8 in a Barr.'		
90-91	'A Division upon a Chromatic Ground being to be chaunted by 7 Voices or play'd by 7 Instruments or else / All these 7 parts by playd upon an Organ or Harpsichord Whilst an Eighth Violin German Flute or Hautbois / Plays the Division EF October 25 <sup>th</sup> . 1718'	Finch	E minor, vn, fl or ob with seven voices or instruments or bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 37-39
92	'Largo'	[Finch]	E minor; fl?, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 39
93	'Gigha'	[Finch?]	E minor; fl?, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 40
94	Two sarbands or minuets	[Finch?]	E minor; 2 vn, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 36
95-99	'Geminiani's V <sup>th</sup> : / Solo Transposed & / Set a Note Higher & / the Best of the Double Notes drawn out for / the German Flute / instead of what is written at page / 29'	Geminiani	C major; fl, bc; see pp. 29-33; Francesco Geminiani, <i>Sonate a violino, violone e cembalo</i> , Op. 1 (London, 1716), no. 5 (Bb major)
100-104	'Sonata 9 <sup>th</sup> / May 28 <sup>th</sup> 1719'	[Finch]	D minor; vn, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 44- 48
104-109	'Follia / A Division upon a Ground. Made in King James [th]e 2 <sup>d</sup> s Reign'	[Finch]	A minor; vn, bc; see rev. pp. 2-3; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 9-11
110-114	'Sonata / X'	[Finch]	D minor; vn, bc; see DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 48- 51; the third movement has the rubric: 'Workd round / thro[ugh] All the / Keys & mark'd with Red Letters/ over the Treble / or under the Base / or both' <sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> In this movement Finch modulated rapidly in a flatwards direction through the entire key cycle – a technique more characteristic of early seventeenth-century music; see Christopher Field, 'Jenkins and the cosmography of harmony', in *John Jenkins and his Time: Studies in English Consort Music*, ed. by Andrew Ashbee and Peter Holman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 1-74.

115-119	'IX di Arch- / -angelo Corelli / Sonata / Opera Qunita / Set from Are #3 <sup>d</sup> into / C faut Proper for [th]e / German Flute'	Corelli	C major; fl, bc; see p. 156; DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 52-55
120-125	'Sign' Francesco Geminiani'	Geminiani	D minor; fl?, bc; variations on the first section of the Saraband of Corelli's Op. 5, No. 7

## **B | Inventory of Edward Finch's Music Library**

### **Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (Cfm)**

*MU 183*

A selection of Henry Purcell's symphony anthems copied by 'Mr Starky' of Oxford in 1781. The collection bears the note: 'The foregoing Anthems were transcribed from an antient MSS. in the possession of Messrs. Sharp of the Old Jewry, and bequeathed to that [...] Family [...] by the Revd. Dr. Finch, formerly Dean of York'.

### **Cambridge, University Library (Cu)**

*Add. 3135*

Finch annotated a holograph copy he made of Greene's anthem 'Lord let me know mine end' with the comment 'Finest Anthymn that Ever was Made'. This manuscript also includes Edward Salisbury's working of the round 'Hey ho, to the greenwood' set to the words 'O praise, praise the Lord all ye heathen'.

### **Durham, Cathedral Library (DRc)**

*Bamburgh M70*

Personal score-book of Finch, mostly in his hand. It contains sonatas and other instrumental items, anthems, canticles, chants, motets, songs and catches. Composers represented include Bocchi, Borri, Steffani, Corelli, Farinelli, Finch, Geminiani, Greene, Handel, Loeillet, Quarles and Salisbury. The manuscript includes a large collection Finch's own compositions and arrangements.



*Bamburgh M170*

A badly mutilated bass part-book of anthems and services. From the table of contents, the book included Finch's anthem 'Grant we Beseech thee'. A comment in Finch's hand on p. 96 indicates earlier ownership.

*Bamburgh M175*

Sinfonias and sonatas by Corelli, Navarra and Veracini.

*Bamburgh M179-180*

Two part-books of trios for viols or flutes, with music by Jenkins, Keller and fragments of Finch's anthems 'Grant we Beseech thee merciful Lord' and 'Bow thine ear'. Previously belonged to Finch and 'J. Sharp: Trin: Coll'.

*Bamburgh M192*

Full scores of vocal music by Handel, Steffani and Valentini's Adagio from Concerto No. 3 Op. 7. Some of the manuscript is in Finch's hand.

*Bamburgh M193*

Including five-part sonatas by Ziani/Albinoni, music by Francesco Navarra of Mantua, and Finch's copy of the catch 'Oil and vinegar are two pretty things' by Henry Hall.

*Bamburgh M195*

Four single parts of Godfrey Finger's *Sonatas for three Violins and a Bass* (Op. 1; 1688) in the hand of Edward Finch.

*Bamburgh M196*

The first and second violin parts of '3 Sonatas for 3 Violins & a Base' by Godfrey Finger (Op. 1, sonatas 8, 9 and 7). Transcribed by Finch.

*Bamburgh M197*

Single parts of a Pastorelle in G major and a three-movement Sonata in F major by Godfrey Finger. Each part of the sonata is transposed by Finch to D major.

*Bamburgh M200*

First and second violin parts of six sonatas by 'Sign<sup>r</sup> Johanes Christophorus Pez' (*Duplex genius*); including Finch's holograph arrangement of 'The Old 100<sup>th</sup>' hymn tune in five six and seven parts.

*Bamburgh M208*

A three-movement keyboard piece in C minor and the rounds 'When Gammar Gurton first I knew' by Edward Finch (4 parts), and 'Observe with care and judgment' (7 parts)

**Glasgow, Euing Music Library (Ge)***Euing R.d.39*

Large score-book copied by Finch, which includes more of his compositions and arrangements at the front and a group of treatises and didactic material at the back by Keller, Purcell, Draghi, Handel, Harris and Quarles.

**Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ob)***Tenbury 1024-1027*

Much of these manuscripts are in Finch's hand and duplicate parts of DRc Bamburgh M70. Into Tenbury 1027 Finch annotated a copy of Greene's anthem 'Lord let me know mine end' made by Thomas Ellway with the comment 'the Best Anthym that ever was made' (p. 28). Tenbury 1026 describes that Worrel, a 'young Lawyer', and Finch were members of the 'Crown Club'.

## **Private Collection<sup>1</sup>**

*Armstrong-Finch MS*

Manuscript copied by William Armstrong and Edward Finch. It includes sonatas by Corelli, Loeillet, Geminiani, Finger, Purcell and Finch, and vocal music by Roseingrave, Fiocco/Nelson and Italian opera arias by Bononcini and others. In the manuscript Finch made a number of arrangements to make the music more suitable for playing on the German flute.

## **York, Minster Library (Y)**

*M18 S*

Single sheet with 'A New Psalm Tune for 8 Voices for any Psalm whose verses are All eight syllables & suits the hundredth Psalm or any (but Penitential Psalms) of that measure' in Finch's hand. On the back is an arrangement by Finch of 'St James's Tune for Psalms of 8 & 6 Syllables / fit for any Psalms (but Penitential ones) of that measure'. At the bottom of the page is a letter from Edward Finch to his colleague Valentine Nelson.

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<sup>1</sup> The owner has requested that the location of the MS should remain anonymous.

## C | Inventory of Edward Finch's Compositions

### Sonatas

<i>Title</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Scoring</i>	<i>Sources</i>
Sonata [in G major] [Sonata] 'for 2 German Flutes with or without Through Bass' [Sonata] 'for 2 German Flutes'	29 December 1716 [originally composed in 1687]	rec, bc 2 fls, bc	Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 124-127 DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 1-5
Sonata No. 1	15 September 1717 Christmas 1717	2 fls, bc fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 5-8 DRc Bamburgh M70, re. pp. 12- 15; Amrstrong-Finch MS, pp. 82- 87
Sonata No. 2	19 April 1718	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 16- 19; Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 89- 93
Sonata No. 3 'The Groans & Sighs'	30 August 1718	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 20- 23; Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 94- 98
Sonata No. 4	20 November 1718	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 24- 25; Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 140- 141)
Sonata No. 5	Christmas 1718	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 26- 29; Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 142- 147
Sonata No. 6 'Eccho Sonata'	2 February 1719	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 30- 33; Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 147- 150)
Sonata No. 7	13 April 1719	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 35- 39
Sonata No. 8 'The Cuckow'	'made in King James the 2ds Reign'	rec, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 41- 44; Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 128- 131; 151-155
Sonata No. 9	finished 9 June 1719	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 44- 48; Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. II pp. 100-104)

Sonata No. 10	finished 9 October 1719	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 48-51; Armstrong-Finch MS, rev. II pp. 110-114
Sonata No. 11 'On The Bells & Hempdresser'	18 February 1720	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 56-59; Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 157-161
[Sonata in G major]	1720	3 fls, bc	Armstrong-Finch MS, pp. 162-165

## Divisions

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Scoring</u>	<u>Sources</u>
'A Division upon Farrinel's Ground'	written 'In King James's Reign'	rec, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 9-11; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. pp. 2-3, II pp. 104- 109
'A Division upon a Chromatic Ground being to be chaunted by 7 Voices or play'd by 7 Instruments or else / All these 7 part be playd upon an Organ or Harpsichord Whilst an Eight Violin German Flute or Hautbois / Plays the Division'	25 October 1718	vln/fl/ob and 7 voices or instruments/hpd/org	DRc Bamburgh M70, pp. 37-39; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II pp. 90-91
'A Division upon a Chromatic Ground to be play'd by Seven Instruments, Or if need be Those 7 Parts may / be playd upon a Harpsichord whilst the German Flute or Violin or Hautbois plays the Division'	13 October 1718	fl/vln/ob and 7 instruments/hpd/org	Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II pp. 88-89

**Chants/Psalm Tunes**

<u>Title</u>	<u>Scoring</u>	<u>Sources</u>
Chant in A major	4 parts	Y M11, p. 27
Chant in G minor	5 parts	Y M11, p. 23
Chant in Eb major	5 parts	Y M11, p. 25
Chant in G major [with Valentine Nalson]	5 parts	Y M11, p. 29
Chants in G major/minor	5 parts	Y M11, p. 39
100 <sup>th</sup> psalm tune	5 and 7 parts	Ge Euing R.d.39, ff. 8v-9r; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. p. 23
Chant in Bb major 'upon Dr Aldrich'	6 parts	Y M11, p. 28
Chant in F major	6 parts	Y M11, p. 22
Chant in G minor	6 parts	Y M11, p. 33
Single chant in G major	6 and 7 parts	DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 1
Amen in G major	6 parts	DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 1
St David's psalm tune	6 and 9 parts	Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 2
'A Parish Psalm tune'	7 parts	Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 30
Chant in A major	8 parts	Y M11, p. 30
Double chant in C major	8 parts	Y M11, p. 32
'A New Psalm Tune'	8 parts	Y M18 S, f. 1r
St James's psalm tune	8 parts	Y M18 S, f. 1v

**Miscellaneous Instrumental Pieces**

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Scoring</u>	<u>Sources</u>
Minuet in D major		5 parts	DRc Bamburgh M70, pp. 8-9
Untitled da capo air		4 parts	DRc Bamburgh M70, pp. 66- 67
Two sarabands or minuets		2 vlms, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 36; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II p. 94
Gigha		fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. p. 40; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II p. 93
Adagio		fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 39; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II p. 87
'Canon in Unison'	29 December 1716	2 fls, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, rev. pp. 1-5; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II pp. 74-75

'Sonata Canon'	15 September 1717	2 fls	DRc Bamburgh M70 rev. pp. 5-8; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II pp. 76-79
Largo	31 October 1718	fl, bc	DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 39; Armstrong Finch MS, rev. II pp. 87, 92

## Rounds/Catches

<u>Title</u>	<u>Scoring</u>	<u>Sources</u>
'Observe with care and judgement'	round in 7 parts	DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 49
'Good morrow gossip Joan'	catch for 5 voices	DRc Bamburgh M70, p. 61
'The Barbarous Entertainment. Or the Toothpick Treat'	catch for 4 voices	Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 31v
'Tom Browns Translation of Martial's Epigram'	catch for 4 voices	Ge Euing R.d.39, f. 32

## Sacred Vocal Music

<u>Title</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Scoring</u>	<u>Sources</u>
Te Deum	17 August 1708	4/5 parts	Ge Euing R.d.39, ff. 6v-8; 9v-13
'Grant we beseech thee'	before 1715	5 parts	Y M14/1, pp. 409-411
Jubilate	6 December 1721	4/7 parts	Ge Euing R.d.39, ff. 32v-34



## D | Musical Events Recorded by John Courtney in his Diary

### 1759-1768

<u>Year</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1759	31 Jan	Ball	Beverley	'This evening I spent at Mr Meekes who gave a ball at his own house to a select party'
	5 Feb	Assembly	York	'This evening I went to the York assembly the first time I ever was there'
	6 Feb	Play	York	
	7 Feb	Ball	York	
	8 Feb	Play	York	
	9 Feb	Concert	York	'This evening went to the concert (first time). Afterwards danced. Heard Miss [Catherine] Formantell sing'
	10 Feb	Play	York	
	12 Feb	Assembly	York	
	29 Mar	Concert	Beverley	'This evening Mr Enter had his concert at assembly room, where was a very splendid show of ladies and gentlemen, and a very agreeable ball. There were about 100 people at the concert 'tis imagined'
	6 Apr	Concert & Ball	Beverley	'We had a little concert at our house'
	17 May	Concert	Cambridge	'I was at the oratorio Messiah, performed this evening in the Senate House for the benefit of Dr Randal Professor of Musick. The principal singers were Miss Young, Master Soaper, Messrs Hudson, Champness and his brother who is a pensioner of our college. The instrumental part too very full and fine. I heard Messiah before at Foundling Hospital, though this here was very grand, yet still that was rather finer'

	28 May	Concert	Cambridge	'This evening I was at a concert in our hall for the benefit of Sigr Nofferri; Signora Mingotti sung 3 songs, and the principal instrumental parts were performed by the finest players in England vizd: Sigr Giardini – First violin; Facet – German flute; Vincent – Hautboy; Gordon – Violoncello; Abel – Violino di Gamba, or 6 string bass'
	26 Jun	Concert	London	'This evening was at Marybone Gardens saw the Burletta a kind of mock opera there. Very pretty. Sigre Sarratina sang in it'
	27 Jun	Concert	London	'Was at Ranelagh this evening; Mr Beard, Miss Formantel and Mrs Bridges sang'
	28 Jun	Play	London	'Was this evening at Drury Lane theatre saw the Careless Husband performed there for benefit of some distrest actors. Thin house. Mr Obrian, Mrs Pritchard and Miss Pritchard acted, whom I never saw before'
	4 Jul	Concert	London	'Was at Vauxhall. Mr Lowe, Mrs Vincent, and Miss Stevenson sang'
	7 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	
	14 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	
	24 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	
	26 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	'I have danced eleven times at Scarborough this season'
	6 Dec	Ball	Beverley	'I was at the ball given by the officers of the Militia of Lord Downe's battalion, in this town'
	10 Dec	Assembly	Hull	
	11 Dec	Play	Hull	
	31 Dec	Assembly	Hull	
1760	9 Jan	Concert	Beverley	'This evening we had a concert and after it a ball at our house, to which I invited some of the Militia officers'
	24 Jan	Concert	Beverley	'Mr Enter had a concert, a vast deal of company there, Militia officers, ladies etc. I was there. He cleared seven pounds, and his expenses were three pounds. After the concert was a ball'
	15 Feb	Ball	Beverley	'I was at the ball given by Colonel Sir Digby Legard Bart, Colonel of the East Riding Militia, there was a very grand appearance'

	25 Mar	Play	York	
	30 Jun	Assembly	Harrogate	
	18 Sep	Ball	Beverley	'This evening I was at a grand ball at Mr Saunders' which he have on account of its being the anniversary of his wedding. We had a grand cold collation. We danced with some intermissions till 2 o'clock in the morning'
	21 Nov	Concert	Beverley	'This evening we had a little concert at our house Mr Ragenau's family, etc with us'
	3 Dec	Assembly	Beverley	
	10 Dec	Ball	Beverley	
1761	7 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	
	8 Jan	Concert	Beverley	'This evening had a little concert at our house. Ten performers viz: First fiddle – Mr Smith; Second Fiddles – Master Raguenaue, Master E Raguenaue, Mr Enter; German Flutes – Mr Feanside, Mr Cox, Mr Tong; Violoncello – Mr De Montet; Harpsichord, Thor Bass - J Courtney; Voice – Mr Raines. My uncle and Mr Pearson and Mr Groves drank tea with us'
	5 Feb	Play	Beverley	
	14 Feb	Play	Beverley	'This night was at the play and saw for the first time the new entertainment of Harlequin Salamander, the Statue Scene, very well done by Fitzmaurice'
	19 Feb	Play	Beverley	'The play was The Wonder or a Woman keeps a Secret, and farce, Miss in her Teens'
	20 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'Tonight I was at the concert Mr Coyles Benefit'
	21 Feb	Play	Beverley	'In evening I was at Frodshams benefit Rival Queens, and The Chaplet'
	5 Mar	Play	York	'The play was The Stratagem, entertainment, The Chaplet'
	9 Mar	Assembly	York	'Tonight I was at the assembly in the Great Room it being the Assize week'
	10 Mar	Play	York	'Play, Merope and Harlequin Skeleton'
	13 Mar	Concert	York	
	14 Mar	Play	York?	'The play was The Funeral or Grief A la mode and Harlequin Salamander the entertainment'

	15 Apr	Concert	Beverley	'This evening Mr Haxby completed my desk organ; and afterwards he went with me to Mr Enters concert, where was a great deal of company'
	25 Apr	Concert	Beverley	'This evening I was at a concert and ball at Mr Raguenu's, where had a supper'
	2 May	Concert	Beverley	'We had a little concert at our house this afternoon 8 performers'
	22 May	Ball	Beverley	'This night I was at a ball or assembly given by Lieut Col Turner etc, of Col Duncombes battalion of North Riding Militia now here'
	15 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	
	5 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	'In evening I went to Browns Long Room, saw the Duke of York dance'
	6 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	
	10 Sep	Concert	Beverley	'we had a little concert, vizt: Voice – Miss Raguenu; First Fiddle – Mr Smith; Second – Master Raguenu; Violoncello – Mr De Montet; Mandolina – Miss Marianne Raguenu; Harpsichord, Thor Bass – John Courtney'
	22 Sep	Assembly	Beverley	
	14 Dec	Assembly	Hull	
	15 Dec	Play & Ball	Hull	
	17 Dec	Ball	Beverley	
	18 Dec	Ball	Beverley	
1762	18 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	[Queen Charlotte's Birthday]
	6 Feb	Play	York	'Went to the play Frodshams benefit'
	8 Feb	Assembly	York	
	17 Feb	Assembly	Beverley	
	19 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'We had our first private concert at the assembly room, (26 subscribers)'
	3 Mar	Assembly	Beverley	
	5 Apr	Concert	Beverley	'We had a sort of musical rout, several fine airs of the oratorio of the Messiah were sung by Mr Jacomb, and Mr Hodgson from Newcastle and accompany'd by Hawdon on the organ, and other sacred musick fit for this week was also performed; Miss Raguenu and Miss H Waines also sung the anthem to the full organ (I playing) and they sung some songs too, as did Mr Jacomb to the harpsichord. Major Myers his lady, Capt Cooke, Dr Cotes and his sister, Mr

			Raguenaus family, Mr Waines ditto, Dr Hunter, Mr William Meeke, Mr Jacomb, Mr and Mrs Saunders etc we were in all I believe 25'
13 Apr	Assembly	Lincoln	
17 Apr	Play	London	'In the evening I was at Drury Lane theatre, 'twas one of Garricks own benefits, King Lear, and Intriguing Chambermaid; Garrick in Lear, and Mrs Cibber in Cordelia were inimitable; Mrs Clive was excellent in the part of the chambermaid; prodigious full house'
20 Apr	Play	London	'I was at Drury Lane theatre, saw the Alchymist and the Enchanter, (Mrs Vincents Benefit, who sang several songs). Garrick played Abel Drugger'
21 Apr	Concert	London	'I was at the oratorio of Judas Maccabeus (Frazi's Benefit) at the Great Room in Dean Street Soho, twas very grand but the Messiah is finer, Frazi, Miss Young, Beard and Champness etc, etc, sung; and Stanley played a concerto on the organ; very fine!'
27 Apr	Rehearsal	London	'This morning went with Mrs Popple to the rehearsal of the musick for the benefit of the Westminster Infirmary at St Margarets Westminster, a most elegant church, which was repaired and beautify'd at the expense of the House of Commons; there were I dare say an hundred performers Beard, Champness, Baildon Cox etc sung; near 40 voices I believe; Handells Te Deum, The Grand Chorus in the Messiah for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth. The Anthem of Dr Boyce's for their Majesties Nuptials, and the Coronation Anthem were performed, and it was vastly grand, there being all sorts of instruments. Dr Boyce beat time in the front'
28 Apr	Concert	London	'Was at Ranelagh; [...] Heard Miss Brent sing – fine voice and manner – Miss Thomas, Signor Tenducci, and Mr Hudson sang very well'
29 Apr	Play	London	'Was at Drury Lane theatre, where was acted by their Majesties command, The

				Provok'd Wife, with the Farmers Return from London (a new interlude wrote by Garrick) and the pantomime of the Geni' [Royalty in attendance]
	26 Jul	Assembly	York	'I went to the assembly to night, ('tis the Assize week)'
	11 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	
	18 Aug	Ball	Scarborough	
	12 Oct	Ball	Beverley	
	20 Oct	Assembly	Beverley	
	25 Oct	Ball	Beverley	'Kings accession. The officers of Militia gave a ball'
	10 Nov	Concert	Beverley	
	25 Nov	Concert	Beverley	'This evening we had our first subscription concert and I paid my subscription 12s to Mrs Yates'
<b>1763</b>	14 Jan	Concert	York	
	18 Jan	Assembly	York	[Queen's Birthday]
	28 Jan	Assembly	York	
	14 Feb	Assembly	York	
	6 Mar	Service	York	'I was at the Minster heard the Assize sermon and a new Te Deum composed by Revd Mr Bridges of York'
	7 Mar	Assembly	York	
	11 Mar	Concert	York	
	14 Mar	Assembly	York	
	25 May	Assembly	Beverley	'This evening our new assembly rooms were opened by a ball given by the officers of the East Riding Militia'
	4 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	[King George III's Birthday]
	14 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	[Races]
	17 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'This day the races end, I was at the assembly and danced every night'
	18 Sep	Service & Assembly	Beverley	'Mr Bagshaw breakfasted with us, I went with him to the Minster, and after service there to the assembly rooms'
	17 Oct	Ball	Beverley	
	21 Oct	Play	Hull	
	1 Dec	Ball	Beverley	
	10 Dec	Ball	Beverley	
	14 Dec	Ball	Beverley	
	16 Dec	Ball	Beverley	
	21 Dec	Ball	Beverley	'This evening I gave (at our house) a private ball to severall young ladies and gentlemen of this town'
	26 Dec	Ball	Beverley	

1764	14 Feb	Opera	London	'in evening was at opera of Leucippo'
	8 Mar	Assembly	London	'I was at the Ridotto, and danced with Miss Hawkesworth, never was at Riddotto [ <i>sic</i> ] before'
	9 Mar	Oratorio	London	'I was at oratorio Allegro ill Penseroso at Covent Garden. King and Queen, Prince of Wales and Prince Henry there'
	13 Mar	Concert	London	'I was at a concert at Mrs [Theresa] Cornellys Great Room at Carlisle House in Soho Square. Miss Carters benefit. Vastly elegant room'
	14 Mar	Oratorio	London	'I was at oratorio at Covent Garden Deborah. King and Queen and 3 princes there'
	9 Apr	Assembly	York	
	25 Apr	Assembly	Hull	
	31 May	Ball	Beverley	'This evening the gentlemen of Beverley gave a ball to the officers of the Militia, the ladys etc. I was a subscriber towards it, and was there'
	4 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	
	15 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'Beverley races end. I was three days upon the stand in the race ground, and danced every night at the assembly'
	10 Jul	Assembly	Beverley	'I went to the assembly but did not dance'
	11 Jul	Assembly	Beverley	
	13 Jul	Assembly	Beverley	'In evening I went to the assembly but there was so little company, they could not make a dance'
	10 Aug	Assembly	Scarborough	
	18 Aug	Assembly	Harrogate	
	3 Sep	Ball	Harrogate	
	5 Sep	Ball	Harrogate	
7 Sep	Ball	Beverley	'Ball at our house'	
10 Sep	Ball	Harrogate		
12 Sep	Ball	Harrogate		
14 Sep	Ball	Beverley	'Ball at our house'	
25 Oct	Assembly	Beverley		
20 Dec	Concert	Birmingham		
31 Dec	Assembly	York		
1765	3 Jan	Play	York	'This evening the new theatre at York was opened, with the comedy of the Provoked Husband, and Lying Valet, for Mr Baker, the proprietors benefit. 'Tis a large handsome house. It was not very full, so rather cold'



	18 Jan	Concert	York	'Kept as Queens birthday. Concert and ball in Great Assembly Room: Coyles benefit'
	28 Jan	Ball	York	
	4 Feb	Assembly	York	
	5 Feb	Play	York	
	8 Feb	Concert	York	
	11 Feb	Assembly	York	
	15 Feb	Concert	York	
	18 Feb	Assembly	York	
	23 Feb	Play	York	
	25 Feb	Assembly	York	
	5 Mar	Assembly	Leeds	
	9 Mar	Play	York	
	20 Mar	Assembly	York	
	4 Jun	Ball	Leeds	[King's Birthday]
	9 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	20 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	24 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	30 Oct	Assembly	Beverley	'In evening I went to the assembly, first time since my dear aunt Peggy's death'
1766	8 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	
	5 Feb	Assembly	Beverley	'Only 4 ladies and 9 gentlemen at the assembly tonight so I returned at 8 o'clock. There was no dancing, only a party at cards rest went away. I never remember so bad an assembly before'
	13 Feb	Ball	Beverley	
	20 Feb	Assembly	Beverley	
	19 Mar	Assembly	Beverley	
	14 May	Ball	Beverley	
	20 May	Assembly	Beverley	'Beverley races began. I was at the assembly'
	23 May	Assembly	Beverley	'Miss S G was not at the assembly toight [sic]. Miss B H was and has danced every night'
	4 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	7 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	9 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	'First publick ball at our house this season; Mr Kock and I were masters of the ceremonies handed the ladies out of their coaches to their seats; I took ladies out and he the gentlemen for the minuets. I danced country dances with Miss Scot'
	11 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	12 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	

	13 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	'I opened the ball at Salutation with Lady Campbell'
	16 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	23 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	'At the ball at our house tonight I and Capt Lind were masters of the ceremonies'
	25 Jun	Dance	Harrogate	'Private dance'
	27 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	'In evening I was at Salutation Ball'
	28 Jun	Dance	Harrogate	'Private dance'
	11 Aug	Concert	London	'Was a Vauxhall'
	18 Aug	Play	Southampton	'I was at the play – The Wonder'
	19 Aug	Ball	Southampton	
	22 Sep	Ball	Bath	
	1 Oct	Play	London	'I was at Covent Garden theatre. Mr S dined and went with us. King Henry V and Coronation'
	2 Oct	Play	London	'I was at Drury Lane theatre, with Mr S and my mother. Beggars Opera and Hermitt'
	5 Oct	Service	London	'in afternoon heard anthem in Westminster Abbey'
	18 Oct	Play	London	'Went with Mrs Wyche in her coach to the play at Drury Lane house, saw Garrick in Lusignan, in Zara, and Lord Chalkstone in Lethe. I saw him in Lusignan 11 or 12 years ago, first time I ever saw him'
	21 Oct	Opera	London	'In evening my mother and I went to new comic opera Gli Stravaganti'
	24 Nov	Assembly	Hull	'we all went to the assembly – and I danced. I have not been at an assembly at Hull since December 1761'
	8 Dec	Assembly	Hull	
1767	27 May	Ball	Beverley	
	4 Jun	Ball	Beverley	[King's Birthday]
	26 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	'I was at Salutation ball'
	27 Jun	Play	Harrogate	
	29 Jun	Ball	Harrogate	
	30 Jun	Play	Harrogate	'The play of Bold Stroke for a Wife was to be acted tonight'
	2 Jul	Play	Harrogate	
	3 Jul	Ball	Harrogate	
	4 Jul	Play	Harrogate	
	11 Jul	Play	Harrogate	'I was at play with Miss Williams and family – Drummer and Harlequin Revells'
	13 Jul	Ball	Harrogate	
	20 Jul	Ball	Harrogate	

	27 Jul	Ball	Harrogate	
	10 Aug	Ball	Harrogate	
1768	17 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'We drank tea at Mr Raguenueaus who had a little concert'
	21 Mar	Ball	Beverley	
	24 Mar	Ball	Beverley	'I was at Mr Bethell's ball. 35 or 40 couples. (NB I often go to Hull to visit Miss Smelt'
	24 May	Assembly	Beverley	'Beverley races begin [...] and was at assembly as usual'
	31 May	Ball	Beverley	'I was at the Militia ball'
	8 Jun	Ball	Beverley	

### 1788-1805

<u>Year</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u>Venue</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1788	29 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'I & my wife & Jacky & Thomas were at Mr Southerne's Concert'
	23 Apr	Play	Beverley	'My little Dolly had never been at Play before'
	10 May	Play	York	'I & my Boys went very often to the Plays'
	26 May	Concert	Beverley	'Meredith sung 5 songs charmingly'
	28 May	Concert	Beverley	'We were at a Concert for Benefit of Messt[er]s Wright & Meredith. M. sung 5 Songs again last again without musick charming'
	16 Jun	Play	Beverley	
	5 Nov	Service	Beverley	'Celebration of Hundredth Anniversary of the Revolution'
	18 Dec	Dance	Beverley	'I was at Mr. Southerne's dancing school Ball at the Assembly Room, only Septimus with me'
1789	18 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'I & my wife were at Lambeth's Concert tonight very full we came away early'
	27 Mar	Concert	York	'I & Corry were at the Concert [...] Camedges Benefit 417 People there'
	17 Apr	Play	Beverley	
	4 May	Play	Beverley	
	25 May	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Wife were at the Concert for Benefit of the Militia Band'
	3 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'Beverley Races began [...] & I & my Son John were at the Assembly'
	4 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	

5 Jun 16 Sep	Play Concert	Beverley Hull	<p>'This morning I &amp; my wife &amp; Son in a Pearson's Chaise Set out early [...] &amp; got to Hull to Miss Cayley's; we all went together to the High Church to the Selection of Sacred Music. Mrs Billington, Mr Harrison &amp; Miss Cantelo sung delightfully indeed. The instrumental Band was not I think quite so good as when we had Oratorios at the Minster 20 years ago; but the Voices were so much superior that it was on the whole much preferable. My wife &amp; I sat in Side Gallery front seat &amp; after 1st act in East Gallery. The &lt;music...?&gt; organ with the Coronation anthem. I think I never heard any man sing so well as Harrison such chaste Simplicity, Taste, Delicacy, <del>inexpress</del> inexpressibly fine. Miss Cantelo sung charmingly especially "He was Eyes to the Blind" a sweet unaffected modest Singer &amp; hav[e] such a fine Swell, Mrs Billington had such Sweetness, Delicacy &amp; Judgement as can not be described. Sale, I dont like so well as Meredith &amp; I did not like Pearson at all. The Funeral Anthem was very fine. [...] Charming music! I &amp; my Son were at the Concert at night in the Playhouse; sat by Mr Blaydes the Mayor who had on his orange suit, which he got for the Celebration of the Revolution last year, &amp; his Gold chain on we talked together. Sale sung better &amp; Mrs Billington like a Bird'</p>
17 Sep	Concert & Assembly	Hull	<p>'This morn[ing] my Wife &amp; I &amp; my Son sat in East Gallery, as did Miss Cayley Mrs &amp; Miss Metcalfe, best seat, &amp; heard the Oratorio of Messiah. The Church was very full indeed &amp; the singing &amp; instrumental music exceeded far that of yesterday. The Songs by Harrison, Mrs Billington, &amp; Miss Cantelo, were delightfully fine indeed, but Sale &amp; Pearson I thought but very indifferent. I liked my Seat the best of any I had had.</p>

				Mr Ashley told Mr Sykes they had never performed to so numerous & genteel an audience except at the abbey & at Worcester. I & my Son were at the Assembly. I did not dance. My Son danced with Miss Lucy Acklam. I drank Tea'
	18 Sep	Concert & Play	Hull	'I & my Wife were at the 2[n]d Selection of Sacred Music, it was amazingly fine indeed both Songs & Choruses. My Wife & I sat in one of the Aldeman's Rows below with Alderman Porter. We were enchanted with Mrs Billington, Harrison & Miss Cantelo & the Choruses were wonderfully fine indeed. My wife went from Hull home with Mr Roberts in his Chaise. My Sons Cornelius & Thomas were at the Church today, in a cheap Place, I sent for them; Tho[ma]s returned with my Wife in Mr R[obert]s Chaise. I & my Son [...] were at the Concert in Playhouse in Even[ing]. I sat in the Pit'
	30 Dec	Asseblly	Beverley	
1790	14 Jan	Ball	Beverley	'We had a little Children's Ball, all my 6 Children who were at home danced'
	24 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'I & my wife & my Son Thomas were at Mr Lambert's Concert. There was more Company than I ever saw at a Concert at Beverley'
	19 May	Ball	Beverley	'I & my Wife were at the Ball given by the Officers of the East Riding Militia there was a fine show of young Ladies but Miss Hudson & Miss Gee the prettiest, 30 couples I believe'
	21 May	Concert	Beverley	'I & my wife were at the Concert for Benefit of the Band of Militia Musick. Wright play'd incomparably on the Clarinet'
	26 Jun	Ball	Beverley	'My Dear Son John came of Age today, & was now 21 Years Old. Thanks & Praise be to God. We had Company to dinner, & a Ball, & Supper [...]. I danced every dance, I began a dance with Miss Clementina <Ragnenena> [...] & after Supper, we had some Songs Catches &

1791	23 May	Concert	Beverley	Glees by Mast[er]s Jacksons, Ackwood & Bloming, & one by my Son (Anatreon)'
	15 Aug	Concert	York	'I was at the Concert for Benefit Musical Band. Many People there'
	17 Aug	Concert	York	My Son & Mr Smith went to York to hear the Concert tonight, & 2 Oratorios [...] at the minster at York & were [...] delighted'
	18 Aug	Concert	York	'I & Henry sat just below the stalls on right Hand side near the orchestra [...] The Oratorio of the Messiah began about a q[uar]ter pas 12, at noon, open'd by Mr Harrison, then Mr Kelly, Mrs Crouch (a beautiful Woman with a sweet Voice) & Meredith sung (See the Book) at last came Madame Mara (a plain Woman with <?> Countenance) she sung very fine indeed, had a more powerful Voice & is generally reckon'd much Superior to Mrs Billington I can hardly determine w[h]ose is finest. The Place was magnificent & the Musick excellent 1800 people there. Mr Wyrill came up to me after the Performance & shook Hands with me, said many things had happen'd since he had seen me'
				'My wife & I & Lady & Miss Frankland were at the Grand Selection of Sacred Musick in the Minster in the Morning. We sat in the Manager's Box[.] The dead march in Saul, Funeral Anthem & the Coronation Anthem & most of the Songs were very fine, Madame Mara sung more than were in the Bill, wonderfully fine indeed. At the Grand Concert tonight, the Great Room was quarterfull. I sat [...] very near Madame Mara, who was handed in by young Camidge. She sang several Songs, Myer on the Harp accompanied her. Frischer play'd on the Hautboy Concerto very fine. The Great Assembly Room had never been so full [...] there were 860 People there one c[oul]d not <?> to speak to any Body the whole Room was filled [...] Henry was at the Concert'

1792	19 Sep	Concert	Hull	'I & my Son rode on Horseback [th][i]s Morn to Hull & went to the Musical Festivals at the High Church to the Selection of Sacred Musick. Madame Mara & Miss Pool Singers. Ashley led the Band, the principal men Singers Hindley & Page very indifferent the first the best, Madame Mara, & Miss Poole (a pretty looking girl sung charmingly especially Mara. It was rough rainy weather. I sat in the Front Seat in Gallery & took a Guinea Ticket. My Son staid all the time at Hull. It was not near so full as when the Oratorios were here before'
	20 Sep	Concert	Hull	'I rode again [th][i]s morn. To Hull & went to the Sacred Oratorio of the Messiah. I sat in a Pew in the middle isle with Mr & Mrs Appleby & [...] Mara & Miss Poole excellent. I was much pleased. [...] there was more Company today than yesterday'
	21 Sep	Concert	Hull	'I rode again [th][i]s morn. To Hull to the 2d. Selection of Sacred Musick, as did my Sons Henry & Septimus. I sat in the Side Gallery front seats. I was amazingly pleased today, Madame Mara sung Farewell [th]e limp<?d> streams to a wonderful degree of Perfection indeed. Miss Poole sung very well too'
	3 Oct	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Wife & 2 little Girls were all at a Concert tonight for the Benefit of Miss Poole she sang & play[']d on the PianoForte incomparably well. I was introduced by my Son to Miss Poole & talked with her several times. There was a great deal of Company & a Ball after the Concert'
	4 Oct	Concert	Beverley	'I went [th][i]s morn. to the minster to hear Mr Lawdon play on the organ to Miss Poole & her Father, Dr <Ford> & his wife & daughter & one or two more were there'
	25 Nov	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Wife & Sons John, Thomas & Septimus & our two little Girls were at St. Marys this morn[ing] when the Organ was play'd on for the first time. They



				play'd a Sort of Voluntaries or Flourish as Revd. Mr Rigby the vicar came in, they then play'd & sung the Te Deum & then play'd a Voluntary soon after, & then an Anthem The Horse & his Rider then sang the 100th Psalm, & then the 150th, & after the Sermon God save the King. All very well chose indeed, as possibly c[oul]d be I think. It is a good Organ tho far inferior to the Minster Organ. They play'd a Voluntary & Psalm &c. in afternoon'
	17 Dec	Concert	Beverley	'We went [...] to Mr Southerne's Concert my Sons Thomas & my 2 little Girls were also at the Concert. All my Children who were there danced. The Concert finished with God save the King & every Body stood up & sung [...] There was a great deal Company at the Concert'
	28 Dec	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Son & Mr. Smith were at Mr. Lamberts Concert, & my Sons Henry, Tho[ma]s, Septimus for first time. [...] at Concert we all sung God save the King & rule Brittainia'
1793	8 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Sons John[,] Thomas & Septimus were at Mr. Lamberts 1st Subscription Concert, as was Mr. Smith, he danced with Miss Coltman chiefly & had much interesting Conversation with her. There were a vast many People at the Concert. I came away pretty early'
	4 Apr	Concert	Beverley	'I was at Count Borowlaski's Concert as were my Sons John, Henry, & Thomas & my two little Girls. I had a good deal of conversation with C. Borowlaski, he is very sensible & clever, he play'd some pretty Lessons of his own composing on the Guitar. I was sorry I told him I c[oul]d not have the Pleasure of his Company at my House as my second Son had been & was so ill. My Son John played at the Concert as did Mess[e]rs Marwood & Ackton &c. together with Lambert & Southerne'
	12 July	Concert	Beverley	Band of the Highland 42nd Regiment

1794	15 Jan	Concert	Beverley	'I was a[t] the Concert for the Benefit of the French Emigrant Clergy in the Assembly Room. I have not been in the assembly before (when lighted up) since Count Bor[o]wlaski's Concert . There was a very full Room, & my Sons John, Henry, Thomas & Septimus & my two little Girls Margaret, Jesse & Dorothy Anne & Mr Smith were all at the Concert. This Concert was promoted & patronized by Mr Henry Grimston, & 60 Guineas was the Gross Produce. Forty Pounds was sent to the French Emigrant Clergy. A Mr Worgan a Son of Dr Worgans the famous Composer play'd on Harpsichord & sung; I have many Songs of his father's Composition. Mr <Laist?> play'd the first fiddle & Mr Erskine on the Hautboy vastly well indeed. I had not been at any publick Entertainment for 3 quarters of Year'
	21 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	'I & my Son & Mr Smith were at the assembly. I ha[v]e not been at an assembly of above a year'
	21 Oct	Assembly	Beverley	'I & my Son were at the Assembly, my wife was not there, there was a very good assembly; several people from Hull. I staid 'till past 1 o'Clock'
	12 Dec	Dance	Beverley	'I & my Sons John & Henry were at Mr. Southerne's Dancing School Ball at assembly room'
	15 Dec	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Sons John & Henry & my daughters were at Mr. Southerne's Concert'
1795	11 Mar	Concert	Beverley	'at Mr. Lamberts Concert'
	3 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I was at a good many Plays as usual'
	13 Jun	Concert	Beverley	
	2 Sep	Assembly	Scarborough	
	4 Sep	Assembly	Scarborough	
	5 Sep	Play	Scarborough	
	7 Sep	Play	Scarborough	
	9 Sep	Assembly	Scarborough	
	10 Sep	Play	Scarborough	
1796	6 Jan	Assembly	Hull	
	18 Jan	Assembly	Hull	
	27 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	

	1 Feb	Assembly	Hull	
	24 Feb	Assembly	Beverley	
	27 May	Play	Beverley	'I went with Col. Burton to the Play & we went on the Stage; He gave a Play (gratis) tonight'
	31 May	Ball	Beverley	
	2 Jun	Ball	Beverley	
	9 Jun	Play	Beverley	
	18 Oct	Assembly	Beverley	
	12 Dec	Concert	Beverley	'In the Even[ing] I & my Wife & my Son & my daughter Dolly & Miss Maria Smelt were at Mr. Southerne's Concert. My Son & daughter Dolly & Miss M. Smelt danced. There was not a vast deal of Company. We all drank tea there & came away about 1 o'clock in morn[ing]'
	14 Dec	Assembly	Beverley	'I & my Son were at the assembly. There was a brilliant assembly'
1797	4 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	
	18 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	[Queen's Birthday]
	1 Feb	Assembly	Beverley	
	15 Mar	Assembly	Beverley	
	19 Apr	Assembly	Beverley	
	4 May	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Sons John & Thomas & my two Daughters were at Mr. Lambert's Concert. The Nottingham Band assisted'
	5 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Sons John, Thomas, & Septimus, & Mrs & Miss Dorre were at the Play – A Cure for the Heart Ache – & First Hour. The Play was a new & very good one & a merry one from begining to end, & in general well acted'
	31 May	Play	Beverley	
	5 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'King's Birth Day Kept. I & my Son were at the assembly, my son danced with Miss Cayley, betwixt 20 & 30 Couples; Both Miss Phill & Miss Dolly Cayley whom I was at Scarbro', were there, both pretty Girls. There were a great many officers there, some from Hull. They danced very late but I came away about 1 o'Clock'
	14 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'Beverley Races began [...] I & my Sons John, Tho[ma]s I believe & Septimus were at the assembly, two Miss Crofts of

			Stillington were there & their father & mother, Miss Phill & Miss Dolly Copley & several smart young Ladies were there, a very good assembly'	
15 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I was at the Play, Duplicity & Love Alamode – the last very badly performed'	
16 Jun	Assembly	Beverley		
17 Jun	Play	Beverley	'Beverley Races ended [...] I & my Wife & Girls were at the Play - Every one has his Faults [...] There was a very full House & it was very hot'	
31 Jul	Concert	London	[Vauxhall Gardens]	
7 Aug	Play	London	'In the Even[ing] I & Mr. Whitehord went together in an Hackney Couch to the little Theatre in the Haymarket, Heir at Law a new Play & My Grandmother, sat on 4th seat in Front Box, saw Suet, Munden, Palmer, Miss Decampe &c. at the Play who were best actors but on the whole I was tired & there was such a noise in the Lobby with the Girls & the young men that I c[oul]d not hear the actors except very imperfectly'	
20 Sep	Assembly	Beverley		
7 Dec	Dance	Beverley	'I & my Wife & our two Daughters were at Mr. Southerne's Dancing School Ball in the Assembly Room, (He had not a Ball last year) we came away before Country Dances begun'	
11 Dec	Concert	Beverley	'I & my wife & our two Daughters were at Southerne's Concert; there was a great deal of Company, a Party from Hull, Miss Blaydes & 2 or 3 Miss Knowsleys very pretty Girls. My 2 Girls danced. Capt. Butler danced with one of them. There two full Setts'	
1798	18 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	'Queens Birthday kept; I was at the Assembly, my Wife was not there[.] There was a very good assembly 17 or 18 Couples. I desired General Scott to introduce me to Major General Lord Mulgrave w[hi]ch he did & we talked a little together it was an agreeable assembly; [...] I had Conversation about the drainage & Politics &c. [...] There

			were a great many officers there & a Want of Ladies'
14 May	Assembly	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Sons & Miss Cayley were at the Assembly, where were the duke of Leeds, Lord & Lady Mulgrave, & General & Lady Charlotte Lenox & a great deal of Company. [...] I asked L[or]d Mulgrave if he danced, he s[ai]d no, & joked with me about my Hat. I then ordered the Musick to play a Country Dance. The Bride was at the Top. The 2 Ladies of Quality did not dance. My Son danced with Miss Cayley &ca. The duke frequently conversed with me & others. We all came away about one o'Clock'
30 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son were at the Play (I have been at 4 or 5) By desire Grammar School Castle Spectre new & the Invasion. I sat in the Pit & was entertained'
31 May	Concert	Beverley	'I was at Mr. Lambert's Concert'
4 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	[King's Birthday]
13 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	
14 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Sons John & Septimus were at the Play – The Hill & the Sultan'
15 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Sons John & Septimus & my two Daughters were at the Assembly. As Mr. Beverley was lame & c[oul]d not be at the Assembly I was obliged to be Manager'
15 Aug	Play	London	'I & Henry were at the Haymarket Theatre – False True – & Magul Tale. False & True was a new musical Entertainment I was much amused with it, but no so much with the Farce. We sat in the Pit'
18 Aug	Opera	London	'I & Henry [...] went to the Opera House, Benefit of Palmer's Children, we p[ai]d for Boxes but going to the Top Tier almost, there was no Room. I just had a Glimpse of this magnificent House, had our money returned, & went to Astley's'
7 Nov	Assembly	Beverley	'I & my Wife & Son & two daughters were at the Assembly. This was the first night of our Girls going there as Women'

	13 Dec	Dance	Beverley	'I & my Wife & Henry & Septimus & my two daughters & Major Smelt & his eldest daughter & Caroline & Leonard were at Mr. Southerne's dancing School Ball to night'
1799	7 Jan	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Sons John, Henry & Septimus & my two Daughters were at Mons[ieu]r Vogel's Musical Performances at the Assembly Room. There were a great many Gentlemen & Children & some Ladies there. He play'd charmingly, & almost every body were much pleased indeed'
	14 Feb	Concert	Beverley	'Vogel's Performances occasion[']d a great deal of Conversation'
	8 Mar	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Sons John & Henry, & Mr. Smith were at Mr. Southerne's Concert'
	13 Mar	Assembly	Beverley	
	15 May	Play	Beverley	
	27 Nov	Assembly	Beverley	
1800	1 Jan	Assembly	Beverley	'There was an assembly to night, I & my Son were there, the best there has been this Winter, [...] The Sussex Band of Musick came into the Room & play'd at Tea, a Fine large Band'
	19 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son were at the Play, Management a Comedy – Bad one. St. Patrick's Day on the Scheming Lieutenant a pretty good Entertainment'
	21 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Wife & our Two Daughters were at the Play – Heirot Law Blue Beard – new. I was very well entertained. The Scenery & Machinery in Blue Beard were very pretty, but these wanted music'
	27 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Sons John & Thomas were at the Play – Pizarro & The Horse & the Widow both new. Full House, I think Pizarro a very paltry Play but very showy. Farce short & tollerable'
	28 May	Assembly	Beverley	
	4 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'King's Birthday – I & my Son John & my daughter Dolly were at the Assembly & they both danced. After Tea we all sung God save the King with the additional Verses & the Musick play'd'

	6 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Wife & Daughters were at the Play & my Sons John & Tho[ma]s came in at Half Price – way to get married & all the worlds a Stage. Good Play & well acted. By Desire of Grammar School'
	9 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I was at the Play by Desire of Free Masons – The Stranger & Deserter. I did not like the Play neither in seeing it acted or in reading it. It was well got up'
	13 Jun	Play	Beverley	
	16 Jun	Play	Beverley	
	18 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Sons Henry Thomas & Septimus were at the Play Benefit of Mr. Martin & Mrs. Mildew – Battle of Hexham & the Purse we sat in the Front Box'
	23 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Wife & our Sons John Thomas & Septimus were at the Play; Speed the Plow & the Adopted Child. Both new'
	27 Jun	Play	Beverley	
	21 Oct	Assembly	Beverley	'There was a tollerable assembly'
	27 Dec	Concert	Beverley	'Miss Phill: Cayley & Miss Fanny Cayley, & Revd. Mr. Jackson & his wife drank Tea & supped with us, Miss Phill: Cayley play[']d & sung as did my Son & Mr. Jackson & play'd on the Violin, & we had a very pleasant Evening; Musick is better than Cards by far'
<b>1801</b>	4 Feb	Assembly	Beverley	
	4 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Sons Henry & Septimus & my Daughter Dolly were at the Play, Deaf & Dumb, & Fortune's Frolick, both new, entertain[']d with both pretty well. We were at the Plays very often'
	11 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Daughter Dolly were at the Play, By Desire Gramar School, Life – new, & Obi a Pantomime new & the most tiresome thing I ever saw. Above half past 11, when we came away'
	18 May	Play	Beverley	'I was at the Play Pigarro, & High Life below Stairs, I went merely because Mrs Beverley bespoke it; for I dislike the Play and was sadly tired indeed, it was miserably acted [...] I was entertain[']d with the old Dame I had so often seen'



	25 May	Play	Beverley	'I & Dolly were at the Play – Notority & Of Age to morrow. I was very well entertain'd'
	10 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Sons Henry & Septimus & my Daughter Dolly & little Caroline Smelt were at the Play to night King Richard III & Double Disguise. I was pretty well entertained. Keys played Richard'
	15 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & Septimus & Dolly & little Caroline S. were at the Play Wild Oats, & Paul & Virginia - both new'
	19 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son Septimus were at the Play at Half Price. Cure for the Heart Ache, & Wags of Windsor'
	23 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Sons John, Henry & Septimus were at the Play to night; but John & Henry went at Half Price. The Play was Hamlet (by Butler) & Spoiled Child. The Play terribly acted'
	26 Jun	Play	Beverley	'My Eldest Son John's Birthday (32 y[ea]rs Old). I & he were at the Play The Lie of the Day & the Prisoner at Large'
1802	29 Jan	Musical Party	Beverley	'Mrs Dickons, Miss Dickons, Mr & Mrs Jackson & Mr Tayleure & Miss Coltman, Mrs Dorothy & Miss Fanny Cayley drank Tea with us – Musical Party. Mrs Dickons play'd on the Piano Forte better than any Body I ever heard & sung charmingly'
	15 Feb	Musical Party	Beverley	'I believe I & my Son & my Daughter Dolly drank Tea at Mrs Burton's in Hengate, Mrs Dickons & several Ladies & Gentlemen Dr Berkeley, Jackson, Dr Board &ca. &ca. were there – A Musical Party. The Musick was very fine. Mrs Dickons play[']d & sung extremely well. Poor Dr Board was very low & very ill'
	18 Feb	Musical Party	Beverley	'I & my Son & Dolly were at Mrs Hunters this afternoon at a musical Party. Mrs Dickons play'd & sung. Mrs Cayley & Miss Phill: Cayley there & a great deal of Company. Miss Phil: Cayley playd & sung too very prettily indeed'
	8 Mar	Musical Party	Beverley	'I & my Son & my Daughter were at a Musical Party at Mrs Beverley's – Mrs Dickons sung & playd very fine'

MUSICAL EVENTS RECORDED BY JOHN COURTNEY

12 Mar	Musical Party	Beverley	'I was at a musical Party at Mr Dickons, young Mr & Mrs Dickons, & Miss Dickons sing <del>many</del> two Gleees, & other <del>Songs</del> Songs. My wife came after Tea in a Chaise & was much pleased. I & my Son & Daughters drank tea there. Young Mr Dickons has a very fine [...] voice. Vast many People. It was a Fine Entertainment'
28 Apr	Assembly	Beverley	[Assembly to commemorate the end of the French Revolutionary Wars]
24 Mar	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son were at the Play - By Desire Gramar School[,] The Poor Gentleman (new & pretty good) & Who's the Dupe? Good House'
10 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Songs John & Thomas [...] were at the Play (By Desire of the Stewards. We went into the Play House in 2[n]d Act. I never saw the Boxes & Pit fuller; we were obliged to sit at the End of the Far Side Box next the Door; it was very hot, noisy, & desperately crowded so we came away before the Farce'
11 Jun	Assembly	Beverley	'Beverley Races ended – I was not on the Stand, my Son John was there & my Son Thomas on the Field. <del>a good deal of Company they said</del> I & my Son were at the assembly. There was a good one about 18 Couples as on the first night I believe Lt. Col. Creyke the Steward would have me sit at their Table. Lt. Col. Child was there was sat & talked together. There were only Five Horses in all enter'd for the Races. There were poor Races indeed this year'
23 Jun	Play	Beverley	'Our Wedding Day (34 y[ea]rs ago) [...] My Wife & my Daughter Dolly were at the Play, (The Poor Gentleman, & Poor Soldier) This was the only night my Wife was a the Play this Season'
22 Jul	Concert	Beverley	'This Evening I & my Son John & my Daughter Dolly were at the Playhouse to hear Mr. Dibdins Exhibition. I sat in Stage Box. I was very much entertaind with Mr. Dibdin. There was a very good House. I got in the Morn[ing] 3 Box

				Tickets at Tumer's, & took Places in far Stage Box, while I was in Tumer's Shop Dibdin came in; I told him I had been at his Performance here several years ago, & was the first Subscriber to his Musical Tour. I showed him where Mr. Southern lived, & told him I hoped he w[oul]d have a full House; he look[']d as well as ever, I was much pleased with his Songs, the words of which as well as the Musick & the Recitation betwixt them were all his own'
	31 Aug	Concert	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Sons John & Thomas & my Daughter Dolly were at the Playhouse to night to hear Incledon sing accompany'd on the Piano Forte by <Davy> the Composer for Covent Garden Theatre. We all sat in back Seat of the Side Box farthest side in middle. I never heard <Incledon> sing before I admired his singing exceedingly indeed; he sung a great number of excellent Songs & has a manly charming Voice. <Davy> too play very well indeed on the Piano Forte, but I was delighted with Incledon's singing. My Son Henry said he was sure that we sh[oul]d be charmed with Incledon, which made my Wife go, who admir'd him extremely'
	16 Sep	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son Thomas & my Daughter Dolly were at the Play, Dolly went with Mrs Appleby – Benefit of Mrs Higgins; Laugh when you can & the Prize. There was a good deal of Company; I was entertained. The Playhouse is in a New Barn, with one Seat above another to the Top, just as I remember the oldest Playhouse in Beverley which I was a Boy. There were 3 or 4 pretty good Performers'
<b>1803</b>	7 Feb	Assembly	Hull	
	9 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son Henry were at the Play & my Son John came in at Half Price – Point of Honour – new & Don Juan'
	16 May	Concert & Play	Beverley	'This Morning Mr Burton, Mr King & I went to the minster to hear Mr Lambert

			play on the organ, we were there some time; they admired him very much. Mr Burton & Mr King dined & drank tea with us. I, Mr Burton, Mr King & my Son John went to the Play at Half Price, & sat in the Side Box (My Son Thomas was there) Pryarro & No Song no Supper'
27 May	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son Septimus were at the Play, Benefit of Mr. & Mrs. Wright, Poor Gentleman & Fortunes Frolick'
8 Jun	Play	Beverley	'we 3 were at the Play – Marriage Promise, new & Magic Oak a Pantomime new. It was the fullest House [...] I ever saw we got into the Playhouse with the greatest difficulty, but got a good Seat behind Mr & Mrs & Miss Denison. They took I heard 43 Pounds & turned away near 20'
13 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & Mr. Smith & my Daughters Margaret, Jesse & Dolly were at the Play, & sat in Side Box; 1st time Jesse had been there this year; Benefit of Mr. & Miss Jefferson. Provok'd Husband & Rosina Mr Smith I thought looked a good deal older since he was here last'
15 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son & my Daughter Dolly & Mr. Smith were at the Play at half Price, Douglas the Play was over when we got there; but we saw the Entertainment A Vale of Mystery, (new) I liked it very well'
17 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Son & my Daughter Dolly & Mr. Smith were at the Play, For Benefit of Mr. Butler, John Bull & [blank] both new; we were all very well entertain[']d; there was a very full House indeed. Last night of acting this season'
30 Sep	Musical Party	Beverley	'Several Ladies & Gentlemen drank tea with us, A Musical Party. Instrumental Performers were Re[veren]d Mr Jackson on Violoncello, Mr Tayleure & my Son on Violin, Miss Bentley, Miss Stansfeld & Miss Fanny Coltman on Harpsichord. Vocal Performers were Miss Stansfeld, Mrs Lockwood, Miss F Coltman & Mr

				Tayleure who sung several Songs & Glees very well indeed'
	6 Oct	Musical Party	Beverley	'About this time I & my Wife & my Son & my two Daughters & Miss Stansfeld were at a Musical Party at Mr. Tinke's, where Miss Stansfeld sung'
1804	14 Jun	Play	Beverley	'I & my Wife & my Son Septimus & my Daughters Margaret, Jesse & Dolly were at the Playhouse this Evening in Side Stage Box (King Box Side), to hear Mrs. Mountain's Performance singing were extremely pleased [...] Mrs Fountain sings charmingly; & Mrs Fountain plays extremely fine indeed on the Violin [...] heard her sing at Vauxhall in 1797'
	12 Jul	Concert	Beverley	
1805	9 Jan	Musical Party	Beverley	'I dined with Mr Lockwood (Mr & Mrs Dickons from London have been there some time. In Even[ing] we had Musick. Mr & Mrs Dickons sung & Mrs Lockwood, & Mrs D. play'd on Piano Forte. General Garth dined there, & Capt. & Mrs Popham, Mrs Beverley & several other Gentlemen & Ladies in afternoon. A day or two ago Mes[ster]s Cornelius & Henry Cayley came to our House dined drank Tea supped & slept with us, we had Mrs <Brackenberry> to meet them in afternoon, & Mrs Dickons & Mrs Lockwood in afternoon, the Cayley's were very much pleased with their Singing & Mrs D. playing on Harpsichord'
	10 Apr	Musical Party	Beverley	'I called lately to see the Lt. Col. Brackenberry, & he & his Wife & 3 of his daughters drank Tea with us one afternoon, & played on Harpsichord & sung, they are all musical & the youngest daughter play'd on the German Flute very prettily – I never saw a Lady play on the Flute before. Col. Smelt accompanied in the Violin, my God Daughter sung, & my Son & Daughter Dolly play[']d'
	17 Apr	Assembly	Beverley	'I & my Son & my Daughter Dolly, & my God Daughter Anne Smelt were at the

11 May	Service	Wakefield	<p>Assembly; the Lincoln Band play[']d at Tea; it is a very fine Band. [...] There were about 14 Couples. There were a great many Officers there. This is the Third Assembly I have been at this Winter. It was half after 2 o'Clock in Morn[ing] before my Son, Dolly &amp; Miss A Smelt came away'</p> <p>'went to the Old Church opposite &amp; into the Pew belonging to our Landlord of the White Hart in a Front Seat of the large Gallery where the Organ is, where we had a Full View &amp; a fine Prospective of the inside of the Church &amp; a numerous Congregation. It was a fine Sight. The service was proper for the Benefit of the Sunday Schools. The singing of the Psalms &amp; the Organist very good'</p>
12 Jun		Beverley	<p>'Beverley Races began to day. There was a good deal of Company they say in Town, but I did go to the Stand not to the Assemblies, nor did my Wife'</p> <p>[penultimate entry]</p>

## E | Edward Miller's Printed Publications

Below are transcriptions of the title pages to Edward Miller's surviving publications in chronological order. See Table 4.1 (pp. 138-140) for other works that are no longer extant.

*A / Collection of / NEW ENGLISH SONGS / and a / Cantata / Set to Music by / Edward Miller* (London: Printed & Sold by John Johnson at the Harp & Crown in Cheapside, and by the Author, at Mr Wass[']s in old Fish Street opposite the Church, [1756])

SIX SOLOS / *For a / GERMAN FLUTE, / with a THOROUGH BASS for the / HARPSICHORD or Violoncello, / Compos'd by / EDWARD MILLER, / Organist at Doncaster. / To / LADY DALSTON These Solos / are humbly Dedicated, by her Ladyship's / most Obed[ien]t Humble Serv[an]t / Edward Miller* (London: Printed for John Johnson Opposite Bow Church in Cheapside, [1761])

Six Sonatas / *FOR THE / Harpsichord; / with / AN ACCOMPANIMENT / to three of them, for a / VIOLIN, OR GERMAN FLUTE. / composed by / Edward Miller, / ORGANIST at DONCASTER* (London: Printed by Welcker in Gerrard Street, St Ann's, Soho, [c.1768])

SIX SOLOS for a GERMAN FLUTE / *with Instructions for double Tonguing / and a THOROUGH BASS for the / HARPSICHORD or VIOLONCELLO / Composed by / Edward Miller / Organist at Doncaster. / To Lady Dalston These Solos are humbly Dedicated / by her Ladyship's most Obed[ien]t Humble Serv[an]t / Edward Miller. / The Second Edition, 1769* (London: Printed for J Longman & Co. No. 26 Cheapside, [1769])

*Elegies, / SONGS, and an ODE / of MR. POPE'S, / with Instrumental Parts; / Dedicated to the Revd. MR. MASON. / The Music Composed by / EDWARD MILLER / of*

DONCASTER. / Opera Terza. (London: Printed for the Author, & Sold at Bremner's Music Shop in the Strand[,] Haxby's in York, & Wynnes in Cambridge, [c. 1770])

INSTITUTES of MUSIC / or / *easy INSTRUCTIONS for the* / HARPSICHORD: / *In which everything necessary for well / grounding the Scholar in the rudiments of the Science, / is fully treated of in a new and familiar manner, by / way of Question and Answer. / To which are added easy and pleasing Lessons for / Practice, properly fingered for young beginners, / By / EDWARD MILLER / Mus.Doctor / Price 10s=6d / Si quid novisti, rectius istis; / candidus imperti: Si non, his utere mecum. / Hor: Epis: (London: Printed by Longman and Broderip, No. 13 Haymarket. Where may be had all Dr Miller's Works, with the greatest Variety of all kinds of Music & Instruments, [1771?]).*

ELEMENTS / of / THOROUGH BASS / AND / COMPOSITION, / *In which the Rules of Accompaniment for the / Harpsichord or Piano-Forte / are rendered amusing by the Introduction of Eight Italian[,] / Eight French & Twelve English Songs collected from the Works / of eminent Composers Antient & Modern. / WITH PROPER LESSONS FOR PRACTICE / Written by way of conversation between the Master & his Pupil for the / Use of such performers as are unacquainted with the principles of Harmony / Most humbly Dedicated to the Right Honourable / Lord Viscount Galway / Knight of the Bath; / BY / EDWARD MILLER Mus: D. / Opera Quinta. / Price 11 1s (London: Printed & Sold by Longman & Broderip No. 26 Cheapside No. 13 Hay Market, & by the Author at Doncaster, [1787])*

ANTHEM / *for Voices and Instruments / also an / HYMN / Composed for the Use / OF / Sunday Schools / BY / Edward Miller Mus.D. / OPERA VI (Printed for the Author & to be had at all the Music Shops, [1789])*

*Corelli's / SIX SONATAS / OPERA IIIzo [I] / Adapted for the / ORGAN / SIX SONATAS / Opera Ivto [II] / Adapted for the PIANO FORTE or HARPSICHORD / by / Edward Miller / Mus. D. (London: Printed by Longman & Broderip, [1789])*



THE / PSALMS OF DAVID / *for the Use of* / PARISH CHURCHES / The WORDS Selected  
from the Version of TATE & BRADY / BY / *The Rev<sup>d</sup> George Hay Drummond* / THE MUSIC  
/ *Selected, Adapted & Composed* / By *Edward Miller Mus. Doct.* (London: Published by W.  
Miller: No. 5 Old Bond Street, and to be had at all the Music Shops, [1790]).

*Twelve* / PROGRESSIVE LESSONS / *for the* / PIANOFORTE or HARPSICHORD / *with*  
*an Accompaniment for the* / FLUTE or VIOLIN / *Dedicated to the Hon[oura]ble Miss Monckton*  
/ *and the Hon[oura]ble Miss Harriet Monckton* / COMPOSED BY / EDWARD MILLER  
MUS.DOCT. / *Price 10s 6d* / Opera VIII. / *These Lessons are intended as a Sequel to his Institutes*  
*of Music for the use of young Beginners* (London: Published by W[illiam] Miller Bookseller to  
*his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence*, Old Bond Street, & *to be had at all the Music Shops*,  
[1791]).

*Sixteen* / Easy Voluntaries / *for the* / ORGAN, / *Nine of them being of a proper length to*  
*perform* / *at Church before the first Lesson* / also a Voluntary for / *Christmas Day one for Easter*  
*Day & one for Funerals* / Composed by / EDWARD MILLER *Mus.Doc[to]r* / OPERA IX  
(London: Printed and Sold by Preston, at his Wholesale Warehouses, 97, Strand, [1797]).

*Twelve* / CANZONETS / *for the* / Voice and Piano Forte. / and a / SONG for a MILITARY  
BAND, / *Written by his Grace the late Duke of Leeds.* / Composed / (*and by Permission Dedicated*  
*to* / *His Grace the present Duke of Leeds*) / BY / EDWARD MILLER *Mus: Doct:* / OF  
DONCASTER. (London: Printed by Gouldin, Phipps & D'Almaine, Music Sellers to their  
Royal Highnesses the Prince & Princess of Wales 45 Pall Mall, [c.1799])

The / New Flute Instructor. / OR / *The Art of Playing the* / GERMAN-FLUTE / *In a short*  
*time without the help of a Master.* / *Containing some essential Requisites not to be found in any*  
*other Book* / *of Instructions, with all the modern Graces and Improvements. Also the principles* / *of*  
*Music inculcated by way of question & answer; with the Art of double* / *Tonguing & every thing*  
*necessary to render the Learner a complete Performer.* / To which is added a Selection / Of  
popular Song Tunes, Airs, Marches, Duets and Trios, for one, two, and three German  
Flutes. / Also a DICTIONARY / *Explaining the usual terms to be met with in Music, by* /

EDWARD MILLER *Mus:Doc*: (London: Printed for the Author by Broderip & Wilkinson No.13 Haymarket & may be had of any Music, or Bookseller, in London, or in the Country, [1800].

*Dr Watts's / PSALMS AND HYMNS, / to new Music consisting of upwards of fifty original Melodies, & / Tunes, in three and four Parts, / Composed / By Edward Miller Mus. Doct. / <?> is added a copious APPENDIX containing the most favourite TUNES now used in different / <?>iations, corrected and adapted to a new selection of Six hundred Hymns / [...]* (London: Printed for the Author & Sold by Broderip & Wilkinson, [1800]).

## F | Inventories of Manuscripts Originating from Nostell Priory and Howsham Hall

### Contents of WYAS, Wakefield, WYL1352/A1/4/37

<u>ff.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<i>Hand: A</i>			
1	[Untitled Minuet in E major]	[Anon.]	
1v-2	In Siroe	[Handel]	Keyboard arrangement of Emira's da capo aria 'Sgombra dell' anima tutto il timor' from <i>Siroe, re di Persia</i> (1728); da capo repeat written out in full by Hand <b>B</b> ; from <i>The Lady's Banquet Fourth Book, &amp;c.</i> (London: John Walsh, c.1734)
<i>Hand: B</i>			
2v-3	[4-movement keyboard suite in F major]	[Anon.]	
3v-4	[Untitled jig in A major]	[Anon.]	
4v-5	Are in Sosarmes	[Handel]	Keyboard arrangement of Sosarme's da capo aria 'In mille dolci modi al sen ti stringerò' from <i>Sosarme, re di Media</i> (1732).
6	Minuet Air [in D major]	[Anon.]	
6v-7	Aria. O Placido. Del opera Siroe. Sg <sup>ra</sup> Cuzzoni	[Handel]	Keyboard arrangement of Laodice's da capo aria 'O placido il mare lusinga la sponda' from <i>Siroe, re di Persia</i> (1728).
7v	Whilst the Towns Brim full of Jolly	[Anon.]	Keyboard arrangement of song
8v-9	Aria. Amore un Tiranno. Del opera Admetus. Sg <sup>r</sup> Boschi	[Handel]	Keyboard arrangement of Ercole's da capo aria 'Amorè un tiranno, che ai

				sensi fàguerra' from <i>Admeto, re di Tessaglia</i> (1727).
<i>Hand: C</i>				
10-11	Minuet [in G minor]	[Anon.]		
11v	Allegro Del Sig <sup>r</sup> Corelli	Corelli	Op. 5 No. 5 (last movement)	
12-13v	Sonata 9	[Corelli]	Op. 5 No. 9 (complete)	
14	La Badinne [Gavotte in G major]	[Anon.]		
14-14v	Ground by M <sup>r</sup> Babel	Babel	Derived from <i>Suits of the most Celebrated Lessons</i> (London: John Walsh, [1717])	
15	Oh Happy Groves	[Anon.]	Keyboard arrangement of song	
15v-16	Aria. Langio d'aspetto. Dell opera admetus. Sg <sup>r</sup> Senesino	[Handel]	Keyboard arrangement of Admeto's da capo aria 'Cangiò d'aspetto il crudo fato' from <i>Admeto, re di Tessaglia</i> (1727).	
17-19v	[Untitled chaconne and variations in D minor]	[Anon.]		

## Contents of Ckc 249

<u>ff.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Composer</u>	<u>Notes</u>
<i>forwards</i>			
1	Cadential exercises		
1v	Concerto [in F major]	Hasse	
3v	Minuet Call'd Barbarini's	Barbarini	
4v	Lesson [in F major]	Felton	
6	[Blank]		
6v	[Untitled movement in D major]	[Anon.]	
7v	Minuet [in D major]	Scarlatti	
8	Minuet [in D major]	Hasse	
8v	Concerto [in B major]	Felton	Op. 2 No. 5
11v	Lady Mary Douglass Minuet		
12	Harlequin Sallamande		
14v	French Horn Air	[Anon.]	
	Minuet in Rodalinda	[Handel]	
15v	Lesson Allegro	[Anon.]	
16v	Gavot [in C major]	Stanley	
18v	Menuet in the 4 <sup>th</sup> of Mr Handel's Grand Concert[o]s	Handel	
19v	Minuet [in C major]	Antonio	
20v	The Dead March in Saul	[Handel]	
21v	Minuet in Saul	[Handel]	
22v	Carrillon in Saul	[Handel]	
23v	Sung by Sig <sup>ra</sup> Frasi in Jephtha	[Handel]	
24	Mrs Pitts Minuet		
	Lord E's M <sup>e</sup>	[Manfredini]	
24v	Andante Allegro	[Anon.]	Organ solo
26	Figures us'd in thorough Bass		
27	Hymn		Jesus Christ tis ris'n to Day
27v	Lesson	Giardini	
30	[Blank]		
30v	[Untitled]	Arne	
31	[Blank]		
<i>reverse</i>			
65v	[Untitled movement in F major]	[Anon.]	
65	Gavot [in F major]	Handel	
	Minuet [in C major]		
64v	Gavot [in C major]	[Stanley]	
	Trumpet Air		
	Air in Queen Mas		
	Minuet		

59	[Minuet and Variations in A major]	[Felton]	From 8 Suites of Easy Lesson, Op. 3
58	Andante	Felton	From 8 Suites of Easy Lesson, Op. 3
58v	[Blank]		
56v	Andante [in C major]	Felton	
54v	Cap <sup>t</sup> Newton's Minuet		
54	[Concerto in Bb major]	[Handel]	
53	[Untitled movement in D major]	[Anon.]	

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MD335/1/7/3/20 Catalogue of the library of Thomas Lister, with music (December 1761)

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TN/C Temple Newsam correspondence

#### WYAS, Bradford

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BDP94/7/1 Manuscript book of hymn tunes from Tong St James, Parish Records collection

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- SOC:7 Two scrapbooks of concert posters, newspaper cuttings and accounts of subscription concert series in Yorkshire, primarily Halifax and Leeds (1777-1900).
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- DDX/60/7      Account Book of John Courtney of Beverley (1804-1806).
- DDX/60/50      Bundle of letters belonging to John Courtney of Beverley (1769-1806).
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