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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

**FACULTY OF HUMANITIES**

Music

**Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, c.1790-1840**

by

**Leena Asha Rana**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

December 2012



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

Doctor of Philosophy

MUSIC AND ELITE IDENTITY IN THE ENGLISH COUNTRY HOUSE, c.1790-1840.

by Leena Asha Rana

In this thesis I investigate two untapped music book collections that belonged to two women. Elizabeth Sykes Egerton (1777-1853) and Lydia Hoare Acland (1786-1856) lived at Tatton Park, Cheshire, and Killerton House, Devon, respectively. Upon their marriage in the early nineteenth century, they brought with them the music books they had compiled so far to their new homes, and they continued to collect and play music after marriage. I examine the vocal music in Elizabeth's and Lydia's collections, and I aim to show how selected vocal music repertoires contributed toward the construction of landed elite identity in these women and their husbands, concentrating on gender, class, national identity and religion.

In chapter one, I concentrate on songs that depict destitute and suffering individuals to move both listeners and performers to compassion. The songs are topical and provide insights into contemporary understandings of sympathy and landed elite responsibility for the distressed. In chapter two, I focus on the ingoing and outgoing movements of music in the country house, and the consumption of foreign music in the home. I divide the chapter into two sections, first examining Elizabeth's Italian vocal music that she collected during her girlhood years in London and York in the 1790s. The Italian music that Elizabeth brought to Tatton complemented other Italian objects and items in the home. Italian culture appealed to the Egerton family both before and after Elizabeth and Wilbraham married. In the second section, I investigate Lydia and her family's journey to Vienna for the Congress in 1814-1815. Lydia took away with her a book of vocal music to remind her of home in a foreign environment. While away in Vienna, the Aclands attended concerts and music salons, and they purchased music books to bring back home to add to their collection. In the final chapter, I concentrate on the man of the house at music and I consider the social expectations, duties and responsibilities that had befallen our landed elite men, Thomas Dyke Acland and Wilbraham Egerton. I discuss Thomas's and Wilbraham's musical engagements and occasions for performing music, and how men's music-making contributed to a masculine identity.

By placing the vocal music in broader social and cultural contexts, reading personal correspondence, newspaper articles, account books and diaries, we can begin to understand what our families thought about music, and how they used and experienced music in and around their homes, forming an important part of their lifestyle.





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## Declaration of Authorship

I, ....., [please print name]  
declare that the thesis entitled [enter title]

.....

.....  
and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by  
me as the result of my own original research. I confirm that:

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- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
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- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission, **or** [delete as appropriate] parts of this work have been published as: [please list references]

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**Date:**.....



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I dedicate this thesis to my parents, Kishore and Lynn Rana.





## Introduction: Music-Making in the English Country House, c. 1800

### The Protagonists

The date is 11 January 1806. On this day, Elizabeth Sykes (1777-1853) married her first cousin, Wilbraham Egerton (1781-1856). The time had come for Elizabeth to begin her new life with Wilbraham at Tatton Park, an imposing neoclassical mansion, to the north of the village of Knutsford, Cheshire.<sup>1</sup> On 7 April 1808, another marriage took place, this time between Lydia Elizabeth Hoare (1786-1856) and Thomas Dyke Acland, 10<sup>th</sup> Baronet of Devon (1787-1871). They married in Lydia's hometown in Mitcham, Surrey, but they settled for forty-eight years together at Killerton House in Broadclyst, Devon, northeast of Exeter.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Egerton and Lydia Acland never met during their lifetime: not surprising, considering they lived in different parts of the country and were unrelated. But these women had something in common: they were passionate about music and music-making, and they both brought with them the music books they collected, practiced from and performed as girls to their new marital homes.<sup>3</sup>

In *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), Jane Austen illustrated a purported scenario for married women and their music, using Lady Middleton as an example. Like Elizabeth and Lydia, Lady Middleton brought a collection of songs and music to her new home, but as Austen wrote, 'her ladyship had celebrated that event by giving up music, although by her mother's account she had played extremely well, and by her own was very fond of it'.<sup>4</sup> In his book *Music and Image*, Richard Leppert provides an excerpt from Austen's *Emma* (1815) in which Mrs Elton discussed how common it was for women to give up music after marriage. Elton remarked 'married women...are but too

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<sup>1</sup> Set in 2,000 acres of parkland, the mansion was donated to the National Trust in 1958 along with its contents, including its extensive library and Elizabeth's music books. In 2009, Cheshire East Council acquired the lease for the maintenance, finance and administration of the property. See the Tatton Park guidebook. *Tatton Park* (Knutsford: Cheshire County Council, 2010), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Killerton House was given to the National Trust in 1944, and is the focal point of 6,400 acres of agricultural estate. Anne Acland, *A Devon Family: The Story of the Aclands* (London: Phillimore and Co. Ltd., 1981), p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Jeanice Brooks, 'Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection and Display at Tatton Park', *Music & Letters*, 91 (2010), pp. 513-535, p. 527.

<sup>4</sup> Jane Austen, *Sense and Sensibility* [1811] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 27.

apt to give up music...a married woman has many things to call her attention'.<sup>5</sup> For some women, marital duties such as raising children and running the household would now occupy their time, leaving less of it for music. There could be a variety of reasons why a woman no longer pursued the art: no musical interest, a philistine husband, or manifest defiance against a pastime that 'was the re-enactment of their oppression', as Leppert suggests.<sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth and Lydia, however, did not stop collecting and playing music after marriage. Domestic responsibilities were certainly an important part of our women's lives, and it would take up much of their time and energy, but they carried on making music, suggesting their continued interest in the art.<sup>7</sup> Lydia had singing lessons in her late twenties during a trip to Vienna in 1814, and she performed pieces from her music book 'A Traveller', as well as an arranged version of Matthew Locke's *Macbeth* in front of Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen in Rome in 1836, when she was fifty. And she had organ lessons with Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-1876) in her early fifties.<sup>8</sup> Five vocal and keyboard books at Tatton Park have labels bearing Elizabeth's married name, implying that she too continued to make music after marriage. In addition, the husbands of Elizabeth and Lydia had musical abilities and interests (see figure 1 and 2 for family trees). Wilbraham Egerton played the cello in his youth, and made regular joint donations for himself and Elizabeth to the Royal Society of Musicians and Concert of Antient Music. He often hired a box at the opera, purchased concert tickets and stewarded at local music festivals.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Dyke Acland was an amateur singer and occasionally attended the Devon Glee Club.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Jane Austen, *Emma*, [1815] ed. Ronald Blythe (Harmondsworth, 1966), p. 279, quoted in Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 44.

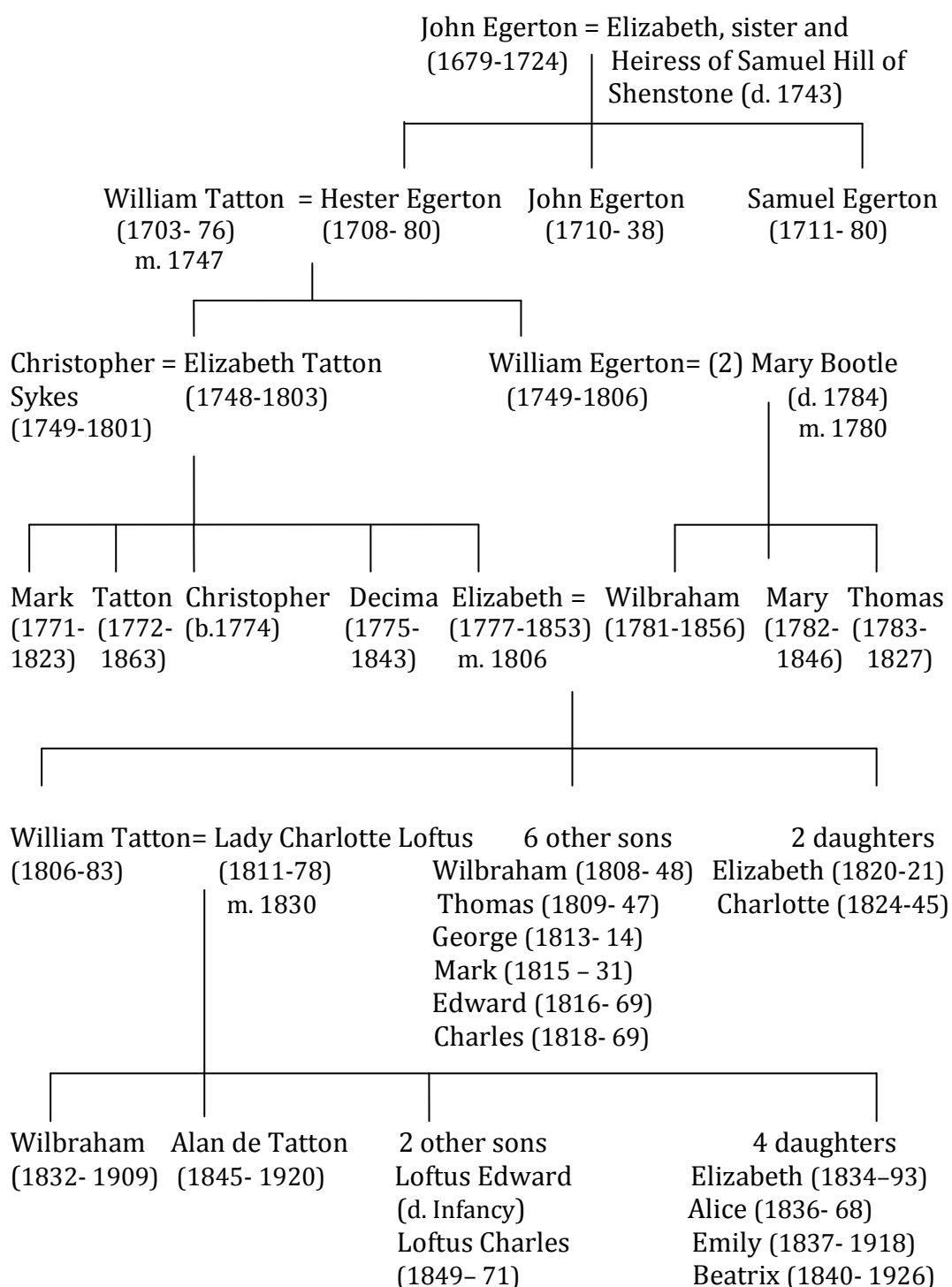
<sup>6</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> Both had large families: Lydia and Elizabeth collectively produced nineteen children (Lydia had ten and Elizabeth, nine).

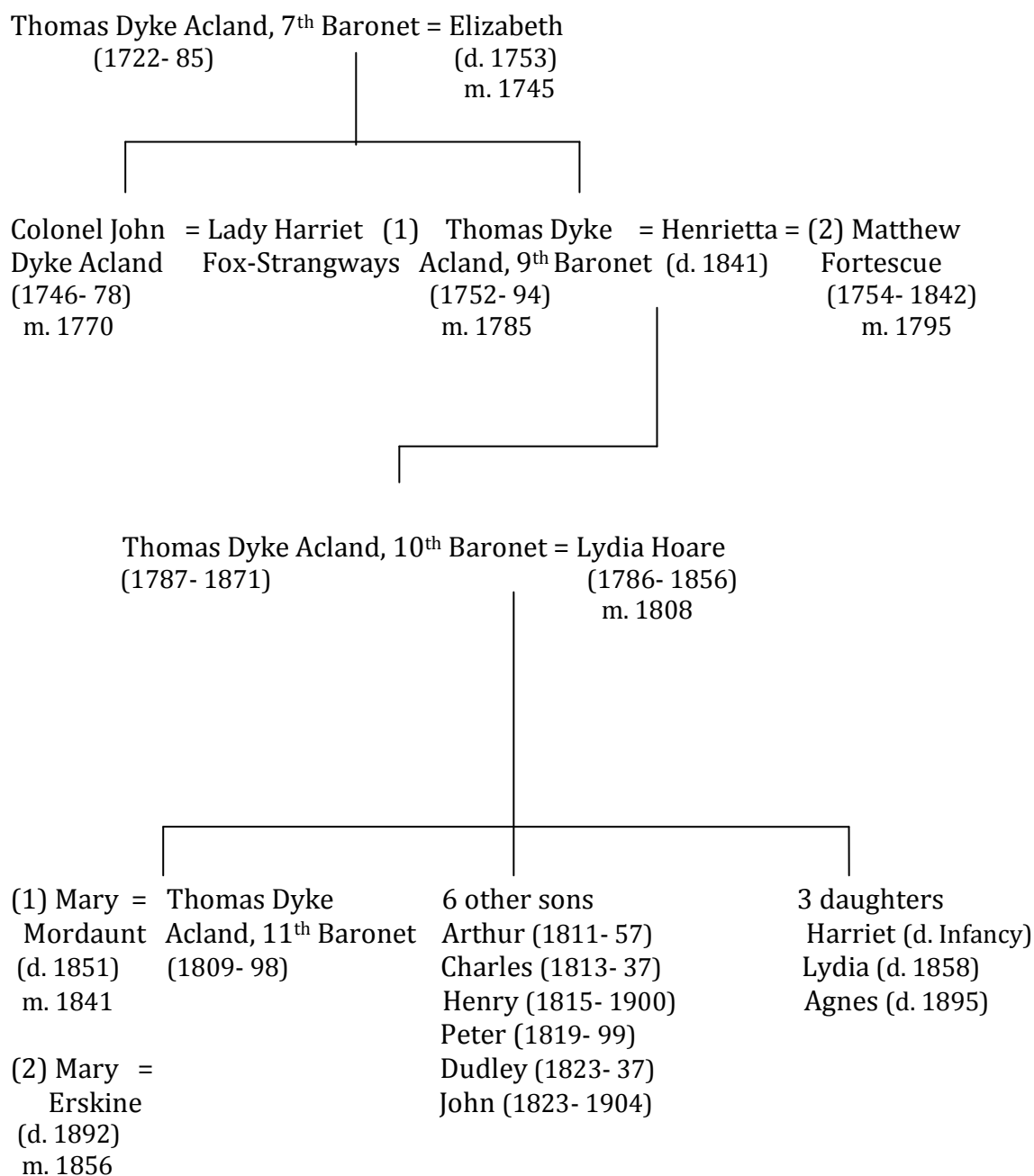
<sup>8</sup> See Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie from Lydia Acland, 14 December 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1. Thomas Acland wrote on the title page of this score, 'Often sung to Thorvaldsen, in Rome Jan, March, April 1836 at the villa Aldobrandini (TDA)', from a music book with the reference number 1 17 B (c.1801). Also see Acland, *A Devon Family*, pp. 64 and 72.

<sup>9</sup> See Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 527 and my third chapter. Wilbraham's account books, Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/11.

<sup>10</sup> See my third chapter for Thomas's musical engagements. Peter Horton, 'Outside the Cathedral: Samuel Sebastian Wesley, Local Music Making, and the Provincial Organist in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', in *Music in the British Provinces, 1690-1914*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 255-269, p. 259.



**Figure 1: Simplified Family Tree of the Egertons**



**Figure 2: Simplified Family Tree of the Aclands**

Elizabeth's and Lydia's music book collections, today preserved at Tatton Park and Killerton House, include music collected and performed before and after marriage, used by these women and their families. Their music books provide a starting point for my investigation, and they furnish important insights into domestic musical practice. But it is important to remember that this represents only a part of their musical activity. The Egertons, for example, in addition to attending concerts and the opera during the London season, also held private concerts in their London town

house in St James's Square (Appendix 1).<sup>11</sup> Their status as landed elites was bolstered by their musical activities in town as well as in their country seat.

### Domestic Music-Making: Research in the Field

Overall this thesis examines the topic of amateur music-making in the country homes of these families around 1800. A more detailed account of the two collections and my angle of research will follow later. But at present it is important to address work undertaken in this field, so that it is clear where my work relates with other research. Amateur domestic music-making in the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries has received in depth attention from music scholars and art historians in the last twenty years. The subject continues to attract more researchers to historic houses across the country to explore the music collections and their owners; our understanding of music-making in the home has developed considerably due to this research. In some cases, scholars have cast light onto musical practice in the home by focussing on paintings and novels, and not on music scores and their owners. For instance, Richard Leppert's scrutiny of eighteenth-century paintings depicting sitters at music or posing by musical instruments has shed much light onto the relationship of amateur music practice with issues of class, gender and nation.<sup>12</sup> Ruth Solie uses descriptions of individuals at music from nineteenth-century novels to glean an understanding of the society and culture in which these characters lived.<sup>13</sup>

The issues raised from previous scholars' research on music-making at home covers areas such as domesticity, gender, class, the public and private spheres, amateurism and professionalism. Leppert, Matthew Head, Solie, Ann Bermingham and Leslie Ritchie consider these issues in their separate investigations.<sup>14</sup> Musical skills were

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<sup>11</sup> See Katrina Faulds's thesis on social dance for connections between dance activities at London balls with dance music at Tatton Park. 'Invitation Pour La Danse: The influence of Social Dance and Dance Music in Fashioning Elite Landed Female Bodily Identity c. 1770-1850' (University of Southampton, D. Phil, Thesis, in progress).

<sup>12</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*.

<sup>13</sup> Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> See Leppert, *Music and Image*. Richard Leppert, 'Social Order and the Domestic Consumption of Music: The Politics of Sound in the Policing of Gender Construction in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Consumption of Culture: Image, Object, Text*, ed. Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 514-535. Richard Leppert, *Sound Judgment: Selected Essays* (England

mainly associated with the female members of the household. Some studies have implied that the point of young girls and women learning music was to reveal their availability for marriage. Practicing music and performing in front of a small group of friends and family in the home not only proved a girl's accomplishment, but also her domesticity, femininity, docility and patience, such were the characteristics of a suitable wife. Paintings of females at music from the time, as Leppert argues, encapsulate these notions, functioning as visible proof of a girl's suitability for marital life once the music had stopped. But musical accomplishment was not the only way to promote readiness for marriage. Bermingham considers the role of drawing alongside music, as a way to attract a spouse. Both Leppert and Bermingham discuss the role of the male as the observer of the female at music or art.<sup>15</sup> Solie's chapter ' "Girling" at the Parlor Piano', from her *Music in Other Words*, examines the 'myth' surrounding representations of girls at the keyboard in bourgeois homes of Victorian England. Solie draws on written discourses such as diaries, letters and novels that portray the female at her piano to shed light onto the many ways girls reacted and responded to society's demands on them.<sup>16</sup>

In many contemporary documents and accounts, girls were not encouraged to become too good at musical skills: they should not exceed amateur level, as they could become vain and extrovert, characteristics not sought after in a wife. Composers writing keyboard music for girls in eighteenth-century Germany seemed to write pieces with easy harmony and melody, suitable as a 'form of social entertainment', as Head discusses, in opposition to showstoppers for public concerts.<sup>17</sup> The supposed inferiority and amateurism of women's music forms part of Ritchie's enquiry in her book *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England*. Ritchie's interdisciplinary work looks at women composers' works,

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and USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007). Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1993). Solie, *Music in Other Words*. Leslie Ritchie, *Women Writing Music in Late Eighteenth-Century England: Social Harmony in Literature and Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). Matthew Head, 'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch': Music for the Fair Sex in Eighteenth-Century Germany', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999), pp. 203-254. Ann Bermingham, 'Elegant Females and Gentlemen Connoisseurs: The Commerce in Culture and Self Image in Eighteenth-Century England', in *The Consumption of Culture 1600-1800*, ed. Bermingham and Brewer, pp. 489- 514.

<sup>15</sup> Bermingham, 'Elegant Females and Gentlemen Connoisseurs'. Leppert, *Music and Image*.

<sup>16</sup> Solie, *Music in Other Words*, pp. 85-86.

<sup>17</sup> Head, 'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch', p. 246.

discussing their role and participation in the field. Yet both studies show how our former understandings of women's engagement with music, as either composers or performers, can be rethought. For Head, as for Solie, the performance of music offers a space for negotiation and actually destabilises preconceived ideas about femininity, amateurism and the private sphere.<sup>18</sup> Ritchie demonstrates how women's musical compositions actively contributed to shaping British cultural identity, having deeper implications for users of the music.

While all these studies are invaluable, they do not inform us about the types of music that actual people collected, nor what they performed at home. Some recent and ongoing studies are beginning to address this gap. Jeanice Brooks has examined Elizabeth's music books at Tatton Park, exploring music collecting as part of an English obsession along with book and art acquisition in the country house, but paying particular attention to the collecting habits of the females of the household.<sup>19</sup> Katrina Faulds is examining the dance music that belonged to Elizabeth, her daughter, Charlotte Egerton (1824-1845), and her daughter-in-law, Lady Charlotte Egerton née Loftus (1811-1878), at Tatton Park. Faulds uses the dance music as a basis for examining more broadly the social dance activities of the Egerton family and the relationships that existed between public dance events and domestic dance music. She also considers how dancing related to contemporary attitudes towards the body, in particular, to prescribed ideals of feminine deportment. Faulds has examined how dance formed part of country house life and how it helped to promote concepts of sociability and hospitality. Penelope Cave has explored the piano forte music at both Tatton Park and Killerton House. Cave has researched the piano lessons, instruction manuals, teachers and instruments for Elizabeth and Lydia, but she has also investigated other young women, contemporaries to our two main protagonists, to gain a comprehensive understanding of how daughters from wealthy families were taught the piano forte in late-eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth-century England.

Work has been carried out in other country houses: Samantha Carrasco has revealed how music-making played an essential part in the life of Jane Austen and her female family members, both at Jane Austen's home and at Chawton House, Hampshire. Part

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<sup>18</sup> Head, 'If the Pretty Little Hand Won't Stretch', p. 247.

<sup>19</sup> See Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', pp. 513-535.



of Michelle Meinhart's research has examined the printed and manuscript music that belonged to the Hoares at Stourhead, Wiltshire, relatives of Lydia Acland. Sheila Thomas is focussing on aristocratic men and domestic music-making in the eighteenth century. Wendy Hancock has examined the musical family, the Curzons, who lived at Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire. Jane Troughton is working in two properties in Yorkshire, Harewood House and Castle Howard, investigating the musical activities of the Lascelles family and Georgiana Cavendish Howard's (1783-1858) music books, respectively. And Wendy Stafford is exploring the musical life of women in West Sussex country houses, including Uppark House, during the long nineteenth century.<sup>20</sup>

### Domestic Music-Making: Contemporary Attitudes

Clearly, music making was a gendered activity, as this previous research has shown. The sexes had different roles, and society (made up of family, peers and friends) expected them to perform these roles. Authors of conduct and educational literature from the time outlined ideal character traits for both sexes. They proposed that men should lead a rational and active life in the public sphere, engaging with serious and important social, governmental and political matters. Women, in contrast, were constrained by stricter notions of decorum and were largely excluded from the wider public sphere of political power. Their duties mainly took place in the domestic realm, nurturing and looking after the family.<sup>21</sup>

But musical skills shaped a boy's character as well. Music was an accomplishment to demonstrate a young man's gentility, education and status. Boys and men, however, were expected to monitor their music-making to ensure that it did not interfere with

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<sup>20</sup> Wendy Stafford is from the University of Southampton. Penelope Cave, 'Piano Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845' (University of Southampton, D. Phil, Thesis, in progress). Faulds, 'Invitation Pour La Danse'. Samantha Carrasco, 'The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture, 1770-1820' (University of Southampton, D. Phil, Thesis, in progress). Sheila Thomas, 'Eighteenth-Century Aristocratic Men and Domestic Music-Making' (University of Southampton, D. Phil, Thesis, in progress). Jane Troughton, 'Music in the Yorkshire Country House, 1770-1850' (University of York, D.Phil, Thesis, in progress). Wendy Hancock, 'A Musical Family in High Georgian England: The Curzons of Kedleston in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century' (University of Nottingham, D. Phil, Thesis, in progress). Michelle Meinhart, 'Remembering the 'Event': Music and Memory in the Life Writing of English Aristocratic and Genteel Women of the Long Nineteenth Century' (University of Cincinnati, D. Phil, Thesis, 2013). My thanks to all of them for sharing their research with me prior to submission.

<sup>21</sup> Val Plumwood, 'Women, Humanity and Nature', in *Socialism, Feminism and Philosophy: A Radical Philosophy Reader*, ed. Sean Sayers and Peter Osbourne (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), pp. 211-235, p. 211

other manly and more serious duties.<sup>22</sup> The Reverend Vicesimus Knox thought music was a 'sweet amusement' but he discouraged boys learning it at school, as this 'ornamental accomplishment' could become a substitute to moral and intellectual excellence, 'injurious to the individual and community'.<sup>23</sup> Music was considered as 'feminine practice', therefore unmanly, a potential threat to gender stability that could have damaging implications on society.<sup>24</sup>

Music-making was a contentious pursuit for girls as well. Hannah More's views on music echoed Knox's opinions, that there should be limitations on the art, 'music should be admired, but not to the exclusion of higher employments'.<sup>25</sup> For young girls and women, 'higher employments' referred to domestic duties such as economy, religious practice and usefulness to their families.<sup>26</sup> More lamented that girls spent too much time practicing music to gain a husband, then once married their music making stopped: the time spent on practising music overall had been wasted, perhaps at the expense of 'higher employments'.<sup>27</sup> Music could be dangerous to innocent minds as amorous song lyrics might have raised inappropriate emotions and desires in the minds of the performer.<sup>28</sup>

However valuable conduct and educational literature can be on illustrating particular societal and cultural expectations of the sexes in this period, we must remember that they were prescriptive literature, giving a very black and white impression of the lives of men and women in our period, and not an indication of how people actually behaved. Heavy reliance on these texts in earlier scholarship may have distorted our understanding of how people actually used and experienced music.

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<sup>22</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, pp. 19-26.

<sup>23</sup> Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education: or, a Practical Treatise on the Methods of Acquiring Useful and Polite Learning*, 2nd ed. (London: C. Dilly, 1781), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 29<sup>th</sup> August 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, pp. 152-155.

<sup>24</sup> Leppert, 'Social Order', p. 523.

<sup>25</sup> Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education, with a View of the Principles and Conduct Prevalent among Women of Rank and Fortune*, 4th ed. (Dublin: P. Wogan and W. Porter, 1799), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 18<sup>th</sup> August 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, pp. 60-61.

<sup>26</sup> More, *Strictures*, p. 197.

<sup>27</sup> More, *Strictures*, p. 77.

<sup>28</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, p. 30.

## Music and Elite Identity

These current and contemporary sources on amateur musical practice set a backdrop for the collections that I am examining, allowing me to consider how the issues raised might have related to Lydia's and Elizabeth's musical activities. Lydia and Elizabeth's previously untapped and extensive collections of music allow for new and original research to further our knowledge on domestic music-making. I have concentrated on the songs that our two women collected and performed before and after marriage, spanning a date range from c.1790-1840. The general questions I proposed initially were what genres of song music do they have in their collections? Are the compositions simplistic or challenging? What are the sentiments of the songs? If the songs call for more than one voice, then who were the other performers? Who were the singing instructors?<sup>29</sup> What other languages besides English are in the collection?

After undertaking an extensive overview of all the vocal music books in both collections, I thought about how particular songs worked towards constructing landed elite identity, including aspects of gender, class, national identity and religion. Both the country house and the musical environment were crucial for forming landed elite identity and, despite its strong grasp in British imagination both then and now, the country house and its soundscape as supporters of identity has not been sufficiently explored.<sup>30</sup> To judge from conduct manuals, novels and family letters from this period, it seemed that people then, as today, were aware of how others perceived

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<sup>29</sup> I have not found names of singing teachers for Elizabeth and Lydia. But in a letter written to Thomas in 1806 from Lydia's father, Henry Hoare, he mentioned a music instructor, but did not name him. Hoare wrote, 'The latter [Lydia] I may say is now in full Health & Spirits looking forward to the Spring. Her voice has returned to its natural Melody & I suppose she will before you make your Appearance here exercise that as well as her Fingers upon the Harp for the Person from who she had her first Instructions is unexpectedly just returned from Germany & she will probably profit by it'. Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland from Henry Hoare, Mitcham Grove, 10-11 February 1806, Devon Record Office, 6184-0.

<sup>30</sup> After two decades of research in sound studies our understanding of 'soundscapes' in history has developed dramatically. For instance, it can now denote an imaginary rather than a physical space, and by uncovering clues of 'audition in the past', in Sophia Rosenfeld's words, from a variety of different sources, we can begin to understand how people from different eras and cultures experienced the world around them. It is not my aim to focus on the historical soundscape in this thesis, but I will apply the Schafferian term as a heuristic. I use the term 'soundscape' in its simplest definition to mean a mixture of sounds, mainly musical sounds, that would have been heard when our protagonists played and sung music in a variety of spaces, either at home, abroad or in music clubs; music-scape can also be used in this instance. R. Murray Schaffer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1977). Sophia Rosenfeld, 'On Being Heard: A Case for Paying Attention to the Historical Ear', *The American Historical Review*, 116, no. 2 (2011), pp. 316-334, p. 319.

them, and how an individual's actions and behaviour would be a direct cause of this perception. For instance, in conduct literature for affluent daughters, authors stressed particular attributes suited to a young woman's character, including piety, modesty, obedience, compassion, docility, gentility, gentleness.<sup>31</sup> A young woman needed to internalise, cultivate and perform these character traits, to the extent that these attributes seemed natural to her gender, to prove to family and friends that she had been correctly educated and trained.<sup>32</sup>

As Judith Butler has argued 'gender is performative', it 'is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body'.<sup>33</sup> For Butler, gender is a display that covers a wide range of behaviours, affecting the ways in which a person presents themselves and interacts with others. To a certain extent a feminine identity in this period seemed to be externally acted in a girl's tone of voice, manner and facial expression. Elizabeth Sykes wrote in her *Commonplace* book that 'a low voice and soft address' was an indication of a well-bred young woman, as was, in educational writer James Fordyce's words, 'a modest and becoming deportment' and a 'sedate carriage and countenance'.<sup>34</sup> In addition to working on her outward demeanour, a young girl from our period must also have cultivated and improved her inner qualities. She could improve her mind through study, education and heeding the morals and duties found in religious texts. The combined development of certain internal and external qualities was linked to a young woman's identity, as female, wealthy, Protestant and English. I shall discuss in chapter three the particular attributes deemed natural to men, and I show how young men were expected to cultivate, internalise and present these characteristics to friends and family.

It seems clear that people were expected to perform their inward nature through authentic outward acts, as an indication of what was within: self and bodily actions

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<sup>31</sup> Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York: Longman, 1988), pp. 21-23.

<sup>32</sup> See Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).

<sup>33</sup> Judith Butler, 'Preface' to *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), xv.

<sup>34</sup> Elizabeth Sykes' *Commonplace* book is kept at the Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/77, pp. 26-27. James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, 2 vols. 12<sup>th</sup> ed. [1766] (London: I. Riley, 1775), I, p. 169.

should be interconnected rather than separated.<sup>35</sup> The latter caused 'performance anxiety', as a person could adopt certain character traits through acts which were false, insincere and artificial, misleading others.<sup>36</sup> The aim was for an unaffected and natural performance, at once problematic and ambiguous as the performance could be the exact opposite.<sup>37</sup> Mary Wollstonecraft clarified this point with emotions, but I propose that it is relevant to a person's overall presentation of their self.

Wollstonecraft wrote:

The emotions of the mind often appear conspicuous in the countenance and manner. These emotions, when they arise from sensibility and virtue, are inexpressibly pleasing. But it is easier to copy the cast of countenance, than to cultivate the virtues which animate and improve it.<sup>38</sup>

Both identity and music involve performance, in this context. More specific questions then arose from the musical sources, for instance, if particular songs played a part in identity construction, how and to what extent? Could the songs help to improve the mind and emotions, and have an impact on external actions? With all the song genres I am examining in this thesis, I place the songs in a broader context, to understand the impressions our families were hoping to create of themselves, and how music aided the desired image. It is not enough to rely on the music scores alone and so each of my chapters are supported by other evidence such as educational literature, as well as family letters, diaries, account books and newspaper articles to help complete our understanding of society's expectations of these women and men.

I view the country houses, which hold these music books, as theatres in which our characters developed, practiced and performed their roles; and their songs and musical instruments as props which aided their performance. Each component in this

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<sup>35</sup> Wahrman discusses the changing ideas of self and identity in the late eighteenth century, and the growing preference for 'characters that...projected out from their 'inwards'. See Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, p. 275.

<sup>36</sup> See Peter Burke for the use of 'performance anxiety' in a different context. Peter Burke, 'Performing History: The Importance of Occasions', *Rethinking History*, 9 (2005), pp. 35-52, p. 39.

<sup>37</sup> See Bermingham's chapter in which she discusses Jane Austen's disapproval of the Miss Beauforts who presented themselves at their harp or easel with conscious displays of femininity, imitating poses found in fashion magazines. Bermingham, 'Elegant Females and Gentlemen Connoisseurs', pp. 490-491.

<sup>38</sup> Mary Wollstonecraft, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters: with Reflections on Female Conduct, in the More Important Duties of Life* (London: J. Johnson, 1787), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 26 June 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, p. 30.

domestic performance, the stage, the performer, the text being performed, the audience watching, was part of a theatrical process. To apply Butler's definition of speech act theory to my argument, Lydia's and Elizabeth's songs were 'at once performed... and thus theatrical, presented to an audience, subject to interpretation'.<sup>39</sup> Not only were the songs subjected to interpretation by an audience, but also the performer and the presentation of 'herself' to an audience. One could argue that this type of performance was fake and 'opposed to reality', but as theatre scholar Diana Taylor proposes performance actually 'suggests a carrying through, actualizing, making something happen'.<sup>40</sup> Lydia and Elizabeth are 'doing' what is expected of them by 'doing music,' some of which has moral instructions, simultaneously creating an interpretable impression of themselves from the repertoire they selected.

The majority of Lydia's and Elizabeth's rehearsals and performances of their songs occurred in the domestic environment of the home, either through solitary practice or performance in front of close friends and family. The country house was not primarily a private space, to state the obvious, and rooms within the home served more public functions, for instance, the music or drawing rooms contained guests when they came to visit. Lydia and Elizabeth would perform their songs in a public-private room. Jürgen Habermas has asserted that these types of rooms served social and economic activities and stood in contrast to spaces which allowed human intimacy and relations.<sup>41</sup> To quote Habermas,

The line between private and public sphere extended right through the home. The privatized individuals stepped out of the intimacy of their living rooms into the public sphere of the *salon*, but the one was strictly complementary to the other.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Butler, 'Preface' to *Gender Trouble*, xxvii.

<sup>40</sup> Diana Taylor, 'Performing Gender: *las madres de la plaza de Mayo*', in *Negotiating Performance*, ed. Diana Taylor and Juan Villegas (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 276, quoted in Burke, 'Performing History', p. 38.

<sup>41</sup> It is not my aim in this thesis to discuss the complexities of the terms 'public' and 'private'. Nor it is my aim to address the 'representational' sphere which, to Habermas, is the 'other' of the public sphere. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), pp. 45 and 48. T. C. W. Blanning, *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture: Old Regime Europe 1660-1789* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe (eds.) *Shifting the Boundaries: Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1995).

<sup>42</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p. 45.

An individual could cultivate character and behavioural traits in the closed off intimate sphere to apply and carry out in the more public parts of the home and outside of the home. Indeed, the country house is a public-private space and the inhabitants within would perform and behave accordingly to the situation and the people present. Peter Burke reiterates the well-known notion ‘that on different occasions (moments, locales) or in different situations (in the presence of different people) the same person behaves in different ways’, and this quotation applies to my argument.<sup>43</sup>

### Musical Props and Country House Theatres

The collections at both houses are considerable: approximately a hundred music books at Tatton Park and eighty at Killerton House, containing both manuscript and printed music. The majority of the books belonged to Elizabeth and Lydia, others to their female relatives who performed music with them, but many are missing.<sup>44</sup> Our womens’ music volumes were not purchased as complete, bound books from a bookshop. Elizabeth and Lydia collected individual sheets of printed vocal and keyboard music that they later had bound. The sheet music would be mementos of pieces heard in public venues such as the opera house, pleasure garden or concert hall.<sup>45</sup>

A whole network of individuals were involved in the process of transforming this music for consumption at home. For instance, the music may have needed to be reduced from a large-scale work, such as an opera overture, and arranged to suit a keyboard instrument; music printers and publishers needed to make copies of the

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<sup>43</sup> Burke, ‘Performing History’, p. 36.

<sup>44</sup> I am unsure exactly how many are missing but some of Lydia’s books imply a numerical order, going from stamps on the spine. Not all of the books are there to complete the sequence. At Tatton, music volumes belonged to several female relatives, for instance Elizabeth’s daughter, Charlotte Egerton, daughter-in-law, Lady Charlotte Egerton née Loftus, and granddaughter, Emily Egerton (1837-1918). At Killerton, music books bear the names of Lydia’s daughter and daughter-in-law: Lydia Dorothea Acland (1814-1858) and Mary Erskine (d. 1892), the second wife of Lydia’s son, Thomas Dyke Acland, 11th Baronet (1809-1898). Mary Erskine’s aunt, Mary Henrietta Erskine (d.1820), may have given her music book to her niece, or left it behind, as it remains on the shelf with the others at Killerton.

<sup>45</sup> See Jeanice Brooks, ‘Les Collections féminines d’albums de partitions dans l’Angleterre au début du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (eds.), *‘La la la Maistre Henri’: Mélanges de musicologie offerts à Henri Vanhulst* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 351-365. Also see Brooks, ‘Musical Monuments’.

pieces from engraved plates to distribute to the consumers. We know that Elizabeth collected some of her music from Knapton's music shop in York, going from the seller's stamp on pieces of music.<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth purchased music in London, either when the Sykeses, her paternal family, lived in their London home during the parliamentary season, or when she went to school. Lydia also collected sheet music in London with some pieces probably provided by a music teacher.

Elizabeth and Lydia had an interest in older music, including the rare Purcell manuscripts at Tatton. They both had Samuel Arnold's edition of the complete works of Handel, as well as sheet music of his opera arias and oratorios. The collections include English ballads, Scottish songs, pastoral and romance songs, religious anthems, arias from light English operas, duets and arias from Italian operas, hunting and drinking songs, French melodies, Irish and Welsh songs at Killerton, and German romances and psalms at Tatton. And this is just the vocal music. They also possessed music books full of keyboard pieces, such as solo works, duets, sonatas, waltzes, variations, opera and song arrangements, and dances. In addition to piano and vocal pieces, there are separate books of instrumental accompaniments for wind and strings. From this mixture of musical genres, it is inevitable that there is a variety and multitude of composers, including James Hook, Harriett Abrams, Thomas Arne, Henry Bishop, Salieri, Guglielmi, Mozart, Haydn, Kozeluch, Dussek. The technical ability required for the songs varies, from homophonic, melody dominated songs that move step-wise to Italian arias which call for vocal virtuosity. Indeed, the keyboard pieces also contain a mixture of challenging and simple repertory, suggesting that our women could perform both technical and more lyrical pieces.

To contain an impressive array of music books, many elaborately bound, needed an equally impressive stage: room and, overall, house. Image projection occurred on a much larger scale in this case: the physical appearance of the country house and the surrounding estate. In fact, both Tatton and Killerton had undergone massive

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<sup>46</sup> Samuel Knapton (1752-1831) succeeded Thomas Haxby as music publisher and instrument maker in York around 1796. Father and son, Samuel and Philip Knapton (1788-1833), worked together in the music publishing business from 1820-1829 when it then passed to William Hardman. Elizabeth's book labelled 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/ CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING AND SONGS/ MISS SYKES', MR 2-5.24, has Knapton's stamp at the top of Miss Poole's 'Six Canzonett's & Lullabies'. The book is watermarked 1797 on the flyleaf, indicating the *terminus ante quem* that she collected the music. Peter Ward Jones, 'Knapton, Philip', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 1 October 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.



renovation, rebuilding and re-structuring, as part of an English craze to improve the home in the eighteenth century. The country house was not just a building where a family lived, it was a building rich in symbolism, meaning and, to borrow Dana Arnold's term, 'metaphorical function'.<sup>47</sup> Arnold defines this term as the representation of 'the wealth and power of the landowner and more broadly the social, cultural and political hegemony of the ruling classes'.<sup>48</sup> In addition, Mark Girouard asserts that the country house was an 'image maker' of the owner.<sup>49</sup>

With these descriptions in mind, we can begin to understand the importance and significance of the appearance of the country home on several levels. Not only did the estate represent authority on both an individual and a national scale, it also portrayed taste, culture and sophistication of the owner and his family. Peter Mandler observes that country houses before the early nineteenth century 'could be valued as symbols of power, as places of comfort and convenience for their owners, as repositories of fashionable taste in art or architecture or furnishing'.<sup>50</sup> The relationship between the owner, his home and the rest of the populace changed from the early eighteenth to the nineteenth century. Initially isolated and removed from the local community due to political and religious upheavals in the seventeenth century, the country house was redefined in the nineteenth century as a national monument, a place open to visitors and part of the nation's shared history and heritage.<sup>51</sup> The third chapter will show how the Aclands and the Egertons used musical events at their country seats for local communities in the 1820s and 1840s, demonstrating the growing accessibility of the country house and its grounds to nearby villagers.

The impression made by the home affected everyone in or around the country seat: families, neighbours, those employed to work in the house and garden, and visitors to the estate. For the landowner, creating the proper image was paramount to ensure he maintained this imposing status, and as the country house contributed to this

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<sup>47</sup> Dana Arnold, 'The Country House: Form, Function and Meaning', in *The Georgian Country House: Architecture, Landscape and Society*, ed. Dana Arnold (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 1-20, p. 16.

<sup>48</sup> Arnold, 'The Country House', p. 16.

<sup>49</sup> Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Peter Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 7.

<sup>51</sup> Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*.

representation, it would be one of the first of his possessions to be improved. Bearing this in mind, we can observe how our families dealt with their houses on the outside, as well as inside: why they chose a particular architect and architectural style, changes made to original plans and their choices about room layout. I discuss the architectural design of Tatton in more depth in my second chapter, so will only provide a brief history of the mansion's renovation now. The estate underwent reconstruction in two separate stages: c. 1780-1791 and 1806-1825, before and after Wilbraham and Elizabeth moved in, taking nearly forty years to be completed.<sup>52</sup> According to Brooks, it was common for architects to take a while finishing their country house project. This could be for a variety of reasons: 'owner or architect's illness or death', financial problems or alterations to plans.<sup>53</sup>

Architect Samuel Wyatt (1737-1807) began work on the house in the 1780s while William Egerton, Wilbraham's father, lived at Tatton. Wyatt planned a 'grand design' for Tatton in the Neo-Classical style, and he intended to enlarge the house to eleven bays, although this plan never materialised.<sup>54</sup> After a gap of fifteen years, the second phase began in 1806. Wilbraham was now the owner of Tatton Park along with his new bride, and Wyatt's nephew, Lewis William Wyatt (1777-1853) had the responsibility for completing the mansion, which he did in 1825. Lewis Wyatt reduced the proposed eleven bays to seven, accommodating his designs with those of his uncle.<sup>55</sup> Wyatt's external and internal handiwork remains today. The imposing south front with its Corinthian portico displays the mansion's neoclassical structure, as well as Wyatt's design in the entrance hall with porphyry columns, Ionic capitals and geometric ceiling.<sup>56</sup> The Egertons' new home now included a newly built and decorated adjoining music and drawing room and library.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> See the Tatton Park guidebook. *Tatton Park*, p. 4.

<sup>53</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 527.

<sup>54</sup> The park also needed attention, and the end of the first stage of refurbishment coincided with the production of a 'Red Book' by landscape gardener Humphry Repton (1752-1818), which contained proposals for improving the grounds. Brooks has looked at Wyatts' plans which date as early as 1774, including designs for a 'substantial library', but, interestingly, no music room. Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', pp. 527-529. See also *Tatton Park*, p. 4. Nikolaus Pevsner and Edward Hubbard, *The Buildings of England: Cheshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), pp. 354-355.

<sup>55</sup> Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, p. 355. Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 527.

<sup>56</sup> See the guidebook for more information on Lewis Wyatt's additions and alterations to Samuel Wyatt's room design for the house. *Tatton Park*, pp. 15, 18, 21-23, 25-28 and 29-30. Also Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, pp. 355-356.

<sup>57</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 529.

By employing architects from a fashionable, renowned and respected architectural family to design their home into a neoclassical mansion, the Egertons, it would seem, wanted to give the impression of their fashion, grandeur and stature. But they also revealed their intellect, taste and culture by having the circuit of a music room, drawing room and library, which apparently represent the fine arts of music, painting and literature, respectively.<sup>58</sup>

Killerton House may be significantly smaller in scale to Tatton Park, but the house nevertheless aimed to demonstrate the greatness of the Acland family. Killerton, since its construction in the late seventeenth century, had never been the main site for the family, even after Thomas Acland, 7<sup>th</sup> Baronet (1722-1785), began improvements to the Elizabethan building and the garden in the 1770s.<sup>59</sup> He hired landscape gardener John Veitch (1752-1839) to improve the park.<sup>60</sup> And it was lesser-known architect John Johnson (1732-1814) who eventually completed Killerton House in 1779.<sup>61</sup> Anne Acland succinctly sums up the appearance of Killerton from this time, 'a simple rectangular two-storey house of pleasant proportions, with plastered walls, a flat roof and parapet, and a good pedimented "frontispiece", or entrance door, on the south side'.<sup>62</sup> Killerton may not possess the same imposing and grand appearance as Tatton, but Johnson included neoclassical elements in his design for the original main entrance: an example of Johnson's pure, unaffected architectural style.<sup>63</sup>

By the time our couple were married, Killerton house and gardens had become dilapidated due to two decades of neglect from previous generations. The newly-

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<sup>58</sup> Geoffrey Beard, *The National Trust Book of the English House Interior* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1990), p. 192.

<sup>59</sup> The Aclands' other family home was Holnicote, a 12,000 acre estate in Somerset, acquired in the mid eighteenth century. Thomas Dyke Acland spent his boyhood there and every Christmas the Aclands would celebrate the festivities at Holnicote for a few weeks. *Killerton House* (Wiltshire: The National Trust, 2009), p. 35. See also Acland, *A Devon Family*, pp. 22-23 and 55. Anne Acland, *Holnicote Estate* (Plaistow: The National Trust, 1976), pp. 7-6.

<sup>60</sup> John Veitch's employment at Killerton spanned many years. He was still working on the landscape at the age of 56 when our Thomas and Lydia lived at Killerton, and he continued working for them until his death. For more information on the life, career and gardening method of Veitch see Sue Shephard, *Seeds of Fortune: A Gardening Dynasty* (London: Bloomsbury, 2003). Also see *Killerton House*, p. 35.

<sup>61</sup> Acland initially hired architect James Wyatt (1746-1813), Samuel Wyatt's brother, in 1775 to build a new, grand mansion in the classical style on the steep hill behind the house, overlooking his domain. These plans, however, like several of Samuel Wyatt's plans for Tatton, never materialised. *Killerton House*, pp. 35-36. Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 23. Nancy Briggs, *John Johnson 1732-1814: Georgian Architect and County Surveyor of Essex* (Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1991), p. 40.

<sup>62</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 24.

<sup>63</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 23.

weds decided to live temporarily in London, leaving gardener Veitch and Thomas's mother, Henrietta Fortescue, to take charge of the restoration of Killerton, which was completed and ready for Thomas and Lydia in the summer of 1808.<sup>64</sup> Killerton House, unlike Tatton Park, did not have a designated music room at this time. What we now call the music room at Killerton was actually the dining room when Thomas Acland, 7<sup>th</sup> Baronet, originally had the house built in the late 1770s. It is unclear if this room stayed as the dining room when our Thomas and Lydia moved in; the presence of the chamber organ in this room apparently designated the name 'music room' to this space in the house.<sup>65</sup> But whether Thomas and Lydia required the organ to be placed here is also uncertain. By the 1920s and 1930s, when the fourteenth Baronet lived at Killerton, this room was named the music room, as much musical activity went on in here. Lydia Acland's 1802 Broadwood grand piano stands in the current drawing room at Killerton, but Charles Acland, 12<sup>th</sup> Baronet, built this room when he made changes to the house in 1900.<sup>66</sup>

It is likely that music-making occurred in another room at Killerton, as Brooks has identified, for instance the drawing room, library, dressing room or parlour.<sup>67</sup> Family members would carry out other activities in these spaces besides music, such as reading, sewing, card playing.<sup>68</sup> By the middle of the eighteenth century, music rooms started to become popular and by the late nineteenth century, music rooms had become a standard part of room design.<sup>69</sup> I mentioned earlier that Tatton Park had a music room, suggesting that the Egertons were keen to adopt this new fashion in room design.<sup>70</sup> The Aclands may not have had a specific music room, but they were a musical family who probably made music in several rooms of the house. Overall, these houses, the music books within them and the music making that went on in them served as fields for our protagonists to perform their identities.

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<sup>64</sup> The garden transformed under the workmanship of Veitch who found inspiration from Lydia's ideas. Lydia Acland was passionate and keen about gardening, as she was about music; she exchanged ideas and plans with Veitch for the new garden, and they often visited her half-brother, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, at Stourhead to see how he designed his garden. Shephard, *Seeds of Fortune*, pp. 32-34. Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 48.

<sup>65</sup> William Gray built this organ for Lydia in c.1805/1806. *Killerton House*, p. 10.

<sup>66</sup> *Killerton House*, p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 528.

<sup>68</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 210.

<sup>69</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 528.

<sup>70</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', pp. 528-529.

## Chapter Outline

The following chapters aim to show the relationship between selected vocal music repertoires and landed elite identity. The first chapter investigates the compassionate songs in the collections, such as songs that portray orphan and begging children, slaves and fallen women. In this chapter, I aim to show that both a musical performance of these songs and the moral messages in the song texts sought to cultivate contemporary understandings of compassion and responsibility for suffering people in both performers and listeners. The songs come from music books bound before Elizabeth's and Lydia's marriage, most likely collected during their years of education and religious instruction.

The country house had porous boundaries with the dwellers moving in and out and bringing music into and out of the home. Chapter two examines the ingoing and outgoing movements of music at Tatton and Killerton and the consumption of foreign goods in the English country home. The chapter divides into two separate sections, but both sections involve our women embarking on musical tours to different countries, one imagined and one real. The first section examines the Italian vocal music that Elizabeth collected as a schoolgirl either in London or York, music which she brought home. This section also considers the Egerton family's connection with Italy from previous generations, demonstrating the longstanding importance that this country had for the family and their reputation. The second section investigates Lydia Acland's real tour to Vienna in 1814 to 1815 with her husband, Thomas Acland. During this trip they engaged in many Congress celebrations, went to musical events and attended Fanny von Arnstein's salon. Lydia brought with her a sample of home in the form of the vocal music book 'A Traveller', and part of this section considers how this music book helped to bring home to a foreign country. She also purchased music books while in Vienna to add to her collection back at Killerton.

The final chapter of the thesis examines the man of the house at music. While the thesis predominantly concentrates on the women it is important to bring the men into the picture as this enables us to get a more rounded and complete understanding of how men and women experienced and used music in their homes. Recent decades work on gender has emphasised the mutual dependence of concepts of masculinity

and femininity. Natalie Zemon Davis commented, 'we should be interested in the history of both women and men...our goal is to understand the significance of the sexes, of gender groups in the historical past'.<sup>71</sup> This chapter explores the expectations, duties and responsibilities of our landed elite men. I consider the characteristics deemed appropriate for the male sex in this period, as well as the complexities and difficulties of achieving manhood. I delve into discussions about the presentation of a masculine identity, and how men's music-making contributed to an aspect of this manly identity, such as sociability and paternalism. I concentrate on Thomas's and Wilbraham's musical engagements and occasions for performing music. I also reflect on their wives' collection of 'masculine' music, such as glees, as well as their contribution to their husband's image of manliness. Music was a problematic pastime for men, but I will demonstrate how our men used music to reinforce and enhance, rather than jeopardise, their masculine character.

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<sup>71</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, ' "Women's History" in transition: The European', *Feminist Studies*, 3 (1975), p. 90, quoted in John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth Century-Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005).



## Chapter One- Performing Compassion and Acts of Charity: Songs to Rouse Sympathy

Human life is full of woe. Charity is the angel that binds up the sores of our fellow creatures, heals the broken in heart, clothes the naked and feeds the hungry. The poor are made representatives of Christ; whatever we give to *them* is, in scripture language, bestowed on the *saviour*... Compassion is the highest excellence of [the female] sex and charity is the sacred root from which it springs.<sup>1</sup>

This excerpt from John Bennett's conduct book, *Letters to a Young Lady* (1789), emphasises the importance of charitable giving to those in need. Bennett's statement revealed how feelings of empathy and acts of altruism were considered as essential feminine virtues in the late eighteenth century. Charity, however, was not only confined to women and girls, as members of the landed elite in general had responsibilities to care for the poor, their tenants and local townspeople.<sup>2</sup> 'To assist their own labouring poor is a kind of *natural debt* [my italics], which persons who possess great landed property owe to those from the sweat of whose brow they derive their comforts, and even their riches', as the character Mrs Stanley proclaims in Hannah More's (1745-1833) novel *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* (1809).<sup>3</sup> Mrs Stanley implies that everyone had specific roles to play in and around the nucleus of the country house. To maintain harmony and order in the running of the estate, the landowners needed to reciprocate the hard work undertaken by the tenants with kindness, humanity and charity when necessary. But feelings of compassion and acts

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<sup>1</sup> John Bennett, *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects Calculated to Improve the Heart, to form the Manners and Enlighten the Understanding*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2 vols. [1789] (London: T. Cadell, Junior and W. Davies, 1795), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 18 July 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, I, pp. 148 and 151.

<sup>2</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 240. Writer Priscilla Wakefield also brought class into this discussion, and she suggested that women of the 'superior classes of society' could promote public welfare. John Burton supported this point by claiming that 'the rich are, in a particular manner, exhorted to do good', and he also included religious sentiments: 'the scriptures abound with admonition to do good- to feed the hungry- to cloath (sic) the naked, and to visit the distressed'. Priscilla Wakefield, *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex; with Suggestions for its Improvements* (London: J. Johnson, and Darton and Harvey, 1798), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 4 September 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, pp. 80-81. John Burton, *Lectures on Female Education and Manners*, 2 vols. (London: Gillman and Etherington, 1793), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 4 July 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, II, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Hannah More, *Coelebs in Search of a Wife* [1809] (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1859), p. 227.



of charity on behalf of the landed elite should extend beyond their parish to every suffering person they encountered firsthand.<sup>4</sup>

Genuine feelings of distress for destitute people should spur on actions of charitable giving; the action alone was not enough. Many authors of conduct and educational texts from the time repeatedly emphasised the importance of engaging in charity as well as having emotional responsiveness to the poor. This implied that charity had to be explained properly to young individuals to ensure that they realised and fulfilled their duty. Writer Catharine Macaulay Graham complained that ‘donations, and other acts of kindness, are in general done in so partial a manner’ and that ‘children [need to be taught] these duties [which] require[s] time, attention, assiduity and trouble’.<sup>5</sup> Using the Aclands and the Egertons as examples of benevolent landowners, I shall discuss particular circumstances in which our families engaged in charitable acts to those around and beyond their country homes.

So how did our families cultivate compassionate sentiments, and in what ways? How do issues of identity construction (gender, class, religion and national identity) and performance come into this discourse? Answers to these questions can be gleaned from some of the songs, which I call ‘compassionate songs,’ in Elizabeth’s and Lydia’s music book collection (see Appendix 2 for tables of the songs). The songs depict wretched individuals such as orphan and beggar children, slaves and fallen women. Examples include composer Harriett Abrams’ ‘The Orphan’s Prayer’, to a text by Matthew G. Lewis; ‘The Poor Little Child of a Tar’, by an anonymous composer and

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<sup>4</sup> See the glee ‘Far in the Wilderness,’ the fourth item from James Hook’s *The Hermit* (1783) in Elizabeth Egerton’s music book ‘SONGS’, MR 2-5.38. The text describes a lone mansion in the wilderness, but this home serves as a refuge for ‘the neighb’ring poor’ as well as ‘Strangers led astray’. Later on in the chapter, and also in chapter three, I shall discuss the term ‘universal benevolence’, referring to Scottish philosopher Adam Smith’s *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). For Smith, a tension existed between feeling compassion for those within reach and for those far away. ‘Whatever interest we take in the fortune of those with whom we have no acquaintance or connexion (sic), and who are placed altogether out of the sphere of our activity, can produce only anxiety to ourselves, without any manner of advantage to them’. The glee, however, refers to local paternalism, wealthy landowners helping nearby poor and strangers who came within their sphere. Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D. D. Raphael and A. L. Macfie, 6 vols. [1759] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), I, p. 140.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to mentioning young people’s half-hearted approach to charitable giving, Macaulay Graham also noticed that children did not have a proper understanding of the value of money. This meant that children and young adults did not have the discretion to make an appropriate donation to the sufferer based on the ‘situation’ and ‘degrees of misery’. Catharine M. Graham, *Letters on Education, with Observations on Religious and Metaphysical Subjects* (Dublin: H. Chamberlaine & Co., 1790), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 7 July 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, pp. 70 and 73.

words by Thomas G. Ingall; and William Carnaby's 'The Negro Girl', words by Mary Robinson. Most of the pieces were published in the 1790s, and are simple, strophic songs in the English ballad style. The pieces mainly come from song collections or are stand-alone songs rather than from the theatre.

Even though this chapter concentrates on the women's songs and their charitable natures, I will pay some attention to their husbands' participation as listeners to the songs and their own charitable involvements. The songs not only shed light onto how pity was encouraged, but also onto late-eighteenth-century expectations of the female sex from a religious and educational viewpoint. As we shall see, Elizabeth's and Lydia's education played an important part in helping to encourage and shape them into charitable individuals. But whether the songs actually aided the transformation of compassionate feeling into charitable action is unclear. There could be an element of feeling for feeling's sake in the performance of these pieces, reducing the impression of a compassionate person into a mere pose, potentially undermining the songs' messages and discrediting the performer's genuineness.<sup>6</sup> The tension between how an individual acted and how they genuinely felt could cause 'performance anxiety,' the difficulty in separating an unaffected performance of compassion with a feigned one.<sup>7</sup>

The songs functioned as a type of lesson, having a particular moral point that misfortune can fall upon anyone, irrespective of their social standing. The message warns those in a comfortable and protected situation not to become complacent and callous, particularly in the presence of a desperate person. If the songs were educational then who were the instructors teaching this message? Fifteen compassionate songs at Tatton and Killerton have either a female composer or poet, such as composer Harriett Abrams (c.1758-1821) or poets Amelia Opie (1769-1853) and Mary Robinson (c.1757-1800). Furthermore, the songs which are anonymous or do not include a full first name might also have been written by female composers, increasing the number of songs by women. Leslie Ritchie observes that 'Songs of

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<sup>6</sup> Smith commented, 'This artificial commiseration...is... absurd...and those who affect this character have commonly nothing but a certain affected and sentimental sadness, which, without reaching the heart, serves only to render the countenance...impertinently dismal and disagreeable'. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 140.

<sup>7</sup> See my introduction, p. 12.

charity, pity, and love form the largest group of eighteenth-century songs with music or lyrics written by women'.<sup>8</sup> This suggests that the women involved in the composition of these charity songs, or texts to the songs, participated in the programme of educating girls.<sup>9</sup> Male composers and poets were also involved in this instructive process, but this subject area at least gave women some creative and educational agency. In this respect, the composer can be seen as moral educator and the female performer as the vehicle in which to convey moral messages to her audience.

### 1.1 Singing at Home

As amateur singers and young girls, Lydia and Elizabeth most likely performed these compassionate songs at home, either practising on their own or performing in front of family, future husbands and friends. When singing these songs their main objectives would be to encourage their audience to feel empathy for the characters depicted in the songs, and also to communicate the moral message. The rendition, however, would be fraught with multifaceted tensions between expectations of women and men in charitable duties; depictions of the distressed; relationship between words and music; and demarcations of the public and private sphere, areas which I address below.

In the opening quotation at the beginning of this chapter, John Bennett remarked how compassion was the domain of the female sex: one of the requirements for a feminine character. And More made a direct link between charitable action and femininity. In *Coelebs*, Mrs Stanley says that 'charity is the calling of a lady; the care of the poor is her profession'.<sup>10</sup> Indeed repeated charitable acts could be one way for a young girl to perform an aspect of her gender.<sup>11</sup> Authors of educational and conduct books from the time believed that women naturally possessed the capacity to feel for others.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 87.

<sup>9</sup> We will come across other women educators in this chapter, such as Hannah More and Elizabeth's school headmistress, Ellin Devis.

<sup>10</sup> More, *Coelebs*, p. 226.

<sup>11</sup> Butler, 'Preface' to *Gender Trouble*, xv.

<sup>12</sup> Ellen Messer-Davidow, "'For Softness She': Gender Ideology and Aesthetics in Eighteenth-Century England", in *Eighteenth-Century Women and the Arts*, ed. Frederick M. Keener and Susan E. Lorsch (New York and London: Greenwood Press, 1988), pp. 45-57, p. 46.

The idea came from the debated and elusive topic of sensibility, which dealt with ‘the receptivity of the senses’, as G. J. Barker-Benfield explains.<sup>13</sup> Women apparently had more delicate and sensitive nerves, making them susceptible to sympathise with distraught people.<sup>14</sup>

Wealthy men were expected to be charitable, as it was their duty as property owners. But they should also feel an emotion for those in difficulty, and Lydia’s and Elizabeth’s songs possibly tapped into their sympathetic receptors. Several songs depict cruel, hard-hearted and parsimonious men who ignore pleas from those in need, or men who seduce innocent country maids. If a close female relative or friend performed the part of a ruined or wretched character, could a man listen with indifference? Perhaps the message in the song required the men to consider how they would react if their sister, wife, daughter, female friend were in this situation. The songs could work as a way to persuade male listeners to be kind, to help the disadvantaged and to engage in charitable acts.

The characters in the songs are fictitious, from different class backgrounds to our girls, sometimes including a different gender and race. They often had unpleasant experiences, particularly the fallen women, so acting out these scenarios could be potentially problematic for unmarried girls. Robert Toft comments that in theories and treatises of eighteenth-century singing, it was stressed that singers must enter into the emotions of the character they were performing, in order to give an affective and credible rendition to the audience.<sup>15</sup> But how expressive and involved our women were with the characters in the songs is difficult to surmise.

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<sup>13</sup> The term ‘sensibility’ is fraught with contradictions and confusions, but it is not the objective of my chapter to discuss this here. G. J. Barker-Benfield, ‘Introduction’ to *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), xvii.

<sup>14</sup> Ann J. V. Sant discusses the difficulties in defining ‘sensibility’, and she also mentions the subtle differences between ‘sensibility’, ‘sentiment’ and ‘sentimental’. Ann J. V. Sant, *Eighteenth Century Sensibility and the Novel: The Senses in Social Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 1. See also Barker-Benfield, ‘Introduction’ to *The Culture of Sensibility*, xvii.

<sup>15</sup> Toft does not mention whether this theory applied to female amateur singers, as he concentrates on professional opera singers. Robert Toft, *Heart to Heart: Expressive Singing in England 1780-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 15.

Charles Avison commented that

Music raises passions of the benevolent and social kind either by imitating natural sounds or by other associative methods which bring the objects of our passions before us (especially when those objects are determined, and made as it were visibly and intimately present to the imagination by the help of words).<sup>16</sup>

Avison believed that music could stimulate caring sentiments, but in the case of these songs composers represented pleading and destitute individuals with pleasant melodies and major key harmonies, frequently using compound time signatures. On one hand, this pleasantness probably reflected the style of music in vogue during this time, and it could also illustrate that the songs needed to be appropriate for young girls to sing in a domestic context.<sup>17</sup> The composers seemed to ‘gild the pill’ for their consumers, to borrow Brycchan Carey’s description, and made problematic subjects easier to digest.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the music could act as a barrier between the performers and the characters in the songs, so that when our women sang about seduced maidens, for instance, their engagement with these characters would not be too intense. But on the other hand, the tone, tempo and delivery of the songs depended on the interpretation of our performers. They may have emphasised particular performance directions in the music or words in the text, making the song sound less pleasant and more nostalgic. However Elizabeth and Lydia performed these songs, I propose that an important element of their rendition would be to clearly project the words and sentiments so that their audience grasped both the emotions and the moral points of the songs.

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<sup>16</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 Antients, 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*, 3rd ed. (London: Lockyer Davis, 1775), pp. 3-4, quoted in Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, pp. 89-90.

<sup>17</sup> The majority of the songs have ‘stock musical phrases’, to borrow Robert Gjerdingen’s phrase, with ‘thin textures, a sprightly mood, clearly defined melody and regular phrase lengths’. With this in mind the songs could be termed galant, but this is a highly contested term with diverse meanings. See Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 6. Mark A. Radice, ‘The Nature of the ‘Style Galant’: Evidence from the Repertoire’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 83 (1999), pp. 607-647, pp. 616 and 641.

<sup>18</sup> Brycchan Carey, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility: Writing, Sentiment, and Slavery, 1760-1807* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 100.

The performance of the songs to an audience occurred in more public rooms of the country house.<sup>19</sup> Musical performance complicated and often blurred the dividing line between public and private spheres, particularly if someone overheard or watched a performance that was meant to be solitary. The saying ‘charity begins at home’ rang true for Elizabeth and Lydia, as this was where they, and many other women, ‘developed the sympathies... necessary to perform good works in a wider sphere’, as F. K. Prochaska observes.<sup>20</sup> In this instance, Lydia and Elizabeth used the songs to develop sympathies in themselves and in others who listened to them sing in a domestic environment.

## 1.2 Contextual Issues

### 1.2.1 Definitions

Before I examine our women’s’ education and their compassionate songs, it is important to discuss definitions of certain words. The words sympathy, compassion, pity and benevolence need examination because they cannot be used interchangeably. Sympathy is not a feeling or an emotion, as Adam Smith (1723-1790) proposed in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759).<sup>21</sup> For Smith, sympathy is a means by which all human beings can feel a variety of emotions, both happy and sad, by observing another person. Smith said ‘Sympathy...may now...be made use of to denote our fellow-feeling with any passion whatever. Upon some occasions sympathy may seem to arise merely from the view of a certain emotion in another person’.<sup>22</sup> At Killerton is a song entitled ‘Sympathy’, and the text describes how one person’s feelings of happiness and misery depend on the emotions of the other person: ‘When thou art griev’d, I grieve no less/My joys by thine are known/And ev’ry good thou wouldst possess, Becomes in wish my own’.<sup>23</sup> The presence of this song in the

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<sup>19</sup> Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup> F. K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 7.

<sup>21</sup> See Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I.

<sup>22</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, pp. 10-11.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Sympathy’ is the third canzonetta from the second set of Haydn’s six original canzonettas, with Metastasio’s text translated from Italian into English. The song comes from the book entitled ‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (M3), 2 29 B. On the first page of this song, at the top left-hand corner, is a cross in pencil. It is possible that Lydia drew this cross, as she often drew crosses on her sheet music, perhaps indicating pieces to rehearse or to perform.

collection suggests that Lydia was familiar with the concept of sympathy and the notion of engaging with a range of feelings. Pity and compassion, however, are emotions in which a person sympathises with sad feelings, as seen in another person.

Smith viewed benevolence as fellow-feeling with all human beings solely on the basis of our being members of the same species, 'our good-will is circumscribed by no boundary, but may embrace the immensity of the universe'.<sup>24</sup> But he questioned if people actually felt universal benevolence because of the enormity of the human race and the impossibility of knowing the welfare of all others at a great distance:

This universal benevolence, how noble and generous soever, can be the source of no solid happiness to any man who is not thoroughly convinced that all the inhabitants of the universe, the meanest as well as the greatest, are under the immediate care and protection of that great, benevolent, and all-wise Being.<sup>25</sup>

Smith associated benevolence with people who pronounced to feel sad at the misfortunes of those far away, and he gave an example of an earthquake in China to illustrate his point.<sup>26</sup> He wondered if benevolence was a pose put on to make a person look good or feel good about themselves: 'And...when all these humane sentiments had been once fairly expressed, he would pursue his business or his pleasure, take repose or his diversion, with the same ease and tranquillity, as if no such accident had happened'.<sup>27</sup> The difference between sympathy and universal benevolence is that sympathy is based on face-to-face interaction with people from a community, as they learn from each other how and what to feel, whereas universal benevolence is supposedly felt, or put on, for those who are at a distance, who are strangers and who cannot be helped.

Charity and philanthropy had subtle differences in their meaning. Despite covering 'broad areas of concern' and for the most part used 'interchangeably in the seventeenth to twentieth centuries', as Hugh Cunningham points out, contemporaries 'were in fact quite as likely to attempt to distinguish 'charity' from 'philanthropy''.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 235.

<sup>25</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 235.

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, pp. 134-156.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 136.

<sup>28</sup> Hugh Cunningham, 'Introduction', in *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform: from the 1690s to 1850*, ed.

The former was usually associated with 'voluntary action', a 'religious', personal and a one-to-one experience, and the latter more with 'state action', such as 'secular organisations' and institutions: The Foundling Hospital, for example.<sup>29</sup> It is not helpful, however, to keep charity and philanthropy divided so distinctly. Anne Summers defines philanthropy as 'personal charitable dealings with the poor'.<sup>30</sup> The overarching concern for both was the problem of poverty and 'formulating and implementing policies towards the poor'.<sup>31</sup>

### 1.2.2 Wilbraham Egerton's and Thomas Acland's Acts of Charity

The husbands of Elizabeth and Lydia, Wilbraham Egerton and Thomas Dyke Acland, respectively, engaged in charitable acts with the poor and also made donations to altruistic institutions.<sup>32</sup> The Cheshire Record Office holds Wilbraham's receipts of donations to organisations such as the 'Institution for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Clergymen, & co,' in which Wilbraham paid £10 in 1833 on behalf of himself and Elizabeth. He gave £7 2s to the National Society for the Education of the Poor on 4 May 1838. And from looking at his account book for the 1840s, he made contributions to the Orphan Institution, Clergy Orphan School and Philanthropic Society in 1843.<sup>33</sup> He also made regular donations to the Magdalen Hospital, an institution founded in 1758, dedicated to the care and refuge of prostitutes.<sup>34</sup> To individuals of misfortune, he provided in 1837, £1 5s to a poor man who gave Wilbraham a drawing on 20 February; £5 to a distressed woman, on 27 February; 5s to a 'poor' man who lost his cow, on 9 March; £5 to a Sunday school, on 14 March; £1 to a poor family, on 4 April; £1 to a poor man at Tatton, on 17 June; and 8s to a man

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Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), pp. 1-15, p. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Cunningham, 'Introduction', p. 2.

<sup>30</sup> Anne Summers, 'A Home from Home-Women's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century', in *Fit Work for Women*, ed. Sandra Burman (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 33-64, p. 33.

<sup>31</sup> Cunningham, 'Introduction', p. 2.

<sup>32</sup> William Boyce (1711-1779) composed the duet 'Here Shall Soft Charity', for male voices, which considers the relief that charity brings. The text repeats four times and is not emotive. Instead the song seems to focus on 'doing' rather than 'feeling' compassion: 'Here shall soft charity repair/And break the bonds of grief/Down the harrow'd couch of care/Man to man must bring relief'. This song comes from the music book 'DUETS', MR 2-5.42 in the Tatton collection.

<sup>33</sup> Wilbraham's account book, Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/13.

<sup>34</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/13. See also Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton and New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), p. 120.



who lost his horse, on 12 January 1838.<sup>35</sup> Husband and wife set up a girls' school near Tatton shortly after they married, proving that educating and supporting the poor was one of their main preoccupations.<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth may have participated in the charities and organisations that Wilbraham donated money to, but donations would be disguised as his decision in the account books, since the male was usually in charge of formal financial records.<sup>37</sup> As Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall observed, 'Men frequently subscribed to societies as the head of a family, their contributions 'covering' their wives and children, just as the wife must have been hidden in the public benevolence of her husband'.<sup>38</sup>

Thomas Acland subscribed to many charitable societies, such as 'The Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade & Civilisation in Africa' and 'Foreigners in Distress', to name a few.<sup>39</sup> One of Thomas's chief concerns was the education of the poor, and in 1809 he set up a school in his parish of Broadclyst. In addition, Thomas played a central role in the improvement of a school in Silverton in the 1840s.<sup>40</sup> P. T. A. Butler observes that even though

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<sup>35</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/12.

<sup>36</sup> Entries into Wilbraham's account book for the year 1817 include donations made to this school: £5 0s 1d on behalf of Elizabeth Egerton, on 24 January; £6 11s as payment to the School Master, Samuel Plant, on 29 January; and £9 4s 10d to repair the school windows, on 1 February. Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/3.

<sup>37</sup> Newspapers published articles about Elizabeth's and Wilbraham's generosity. For instance a Cheshire paper wrote that Wilbraham possessed a 'generosity so peculiar to him' when he donated £50 to the Macclesfield Dispensary in 1815, and in 1816 he gave £100 as a subscription to the Relief of the Poor. He also donated £20 to the Congleton Soup Charity in 1826. He gave the deserving poor allotments to grow their own potatoes in 1830. And every winter he provided food, clothing and fuel to the poor in Knutsford, as well as to his own poor and workmen employed at Tatton Park. *The Manchester Times* described Wilbraham's 'uniform and proverbial kindness, not only to his domestics, but indeed to all who come within the sphere of his influence'. The same paper wrote that Elizabeth had a 'benevolent disposition' and demonstrated 'unwearied philanthropy' which others should take on board and emulate: 'We could say to some other of our neighbouring gentry, "Do ye likewise"'. See *Macclesfield Courier*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, Saturday 29 July 1815, Saturday 16 November 1816, Saturday 15 April 1826, Saturday 17 December 1830. See this paper for yearly articles about Wilbraham's winter provisions from 1817 into the 1830s. *The Manchester Times*, and *Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, Saturday 6 January 1844. Thanks to Katrina Faulds for alerting me to these articles.

<sup>38</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), p. 432.

<sup>39</sup> See my third chapter for a more extensive list of Thomas's charitable societies. The rector, William Barker, commented that 'You (Thomas) have always been considered a friend of the poor, and a zealous promoter of their interests'. Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland from W. Barker, 25 March 1815, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd/14/Series1/20.

<sup>40</sup> For more information on the history of the school in Silverton see P. T. A. Butler, *A History of Education in Silverton before 1870, with Particular Reference to the Role of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, 1787-1871* (1976), Devon Library, Westcountry Studies Library, sx370/SIL/BUT, pp. 1-9.

[Thomas's] primary responsibility lay with his own parish of Broadclyst...he had widespread interests throughout the country, and exemplified the notion of the paternalistic squire. Silverton's own squirearchic family, the Wyndham's, further than providing a Richards Trustee in the 1840s, played no part in the provision of education in the period.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to setting up schools to assist poor children in and around his own district, Thomas also busied himself reading begging letters. At the Devon Record Office are a few begging letters written to Thomas, pleading for his support and help. According to Cunningham, begging letters formed part of 'a tradition of giving aid to the shamefaced poor, those who wanted aid without public exposure of their poverty'.<sup>42</sup> In the letters, dated 1810 and 1814, the wives contacted Thomas and described their unfortunate situations to move him to compassion. They acted as mediators between their husbands and the benefactor in the hope of receiving aid for their family. Desperate A. Salisbury wrote:

I hope your goodness will pardon my taking the liberty to address you; I have been advised to lay my distressed situation before you, as it is the real truth and were you to know the Extent of my trouble you would feel for me.<sup>43</sup>

And M. Paddon, appealed to Thomas on behalf of her husband who had too much pride to ask for assistance:

The very great anxiety of mind I at this moment experience prompts me to intrude on you for a short time to peruse a few humble lines written in (sic) behalf of a beloved Husband... but his unhappy appearance induces me to address you althou I fear if he knew it I should incur his displeasure.<sup>44</sup>

Parallels exist between these letters and some of the compassionate songs as both utilised female affective agency as a way to encourage compassion in wealthy gentleman. Would Thomas want to be the hard-hearted gentleman who ignored their pleas? I have not found any letters of Thomas's in response to these requests, but it

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<sup>41</sup> Butler, *A History of Education in Silverton*, p. 10.

<sup>42</sup> Cunningham, 'Introduction', p. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland from A. Salisbury, 12 November 1810, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd/36/146.

<sup>44</sup> Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland from M. Paddon, 13 May 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148M/17/16.

seems likely that he assisted their needs because in Paddon's letter she referred to his 'former kindness', implying that he helped this family before. Thomas and Wilbraham clearly dedicated and devoted their time and money to aid the suffering poor as best as they could.

### 1.2.3 Poverty in Britain

Poverty was a permanent and tragic part of society, incurable by human action; Christ remarked 'ye have the poor always with you'.<sup>45</sup> Lydia's and Elizabeth's songs were topical as they referred to relief systems and issues poor people faced, such as rural migration. In addition, Lydia's slave songs portrayed some of the horrors of slavery, and these songs formed a link with her husband's involvement with abolition, as well as their association with key abolitionist figures, such as William Wilberforce (1759-1833).

Since the seventeenth century, the destitute received poor relief from their parish under the Poor Laws. The Poor Law was a compulsory charity in which property owners paid a rate to provide assistance to the poor of the same parish. Such relief came in many forms, such as cash payment and donations of rent, fuel, food, clothes and in some cases employment.<sup>46</sup> But the system faced strong criticism, particularly from political economist Thomas Malthus (1766-1834). In his *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), Malthus argued that the Poor Law caused more harm than good to the poor's condition. It made them irresponsible with money and careless about the

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<sup>45</sup> E. A. Wrigley, *Poverty, Progress and Population* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 229. The hard lives of the poor were brought into constant counterpoint with the lives of the more fortunate in many mediums, including newspapers. Above the article describing the luxurious wedding ball of Wilbraham and Elizabeth Egerton, in which servants and tenants attended, is an article which mentions a tragic accident that befell a pauper family, travelling through the countryside. A dilapidated bridge caused the woman and two of her children to fall to their death. The article adopts emotive language to move readers to pity. It also has descriptions of duty, 'for the sake of humanity, it is hoped that some measures will be speedily adopted to prevent similar accidents', as well as descriptions of charity, 'it is but justice to notice, that the Jury, Constable, &c. entered into a subscription for the relief of the unfortunate man and child, who lost a guinea and a half in gold, which was in a small bag in the bosom of the unfortunate woman'. *The York Herald*, 1 February 1806.

<sup>46</sup> See Michael E. Rose, *The English Poor Law 1780-1930* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1971), pp. 11-15. Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe, 'Introduction: Chronicling Poverty- The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840', in *Chronicling Poverty- The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840*, ed. Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), pp. 1-19, p. 10. K. D. M. Snell, *Annals of the Labouring Poor: Social Change and Agrarian England 1660-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 105-106.

future. It also increased the population: the poor were encouraged to marry without the means of being independent. But food production did not increase alongside the population leading to problems of hunger and, as a result, begging. Malthus commented:

The Poor Law can be said to create the poor which they maintain; and as the provisions of the country must, in consequence of the increased population, be distributed to every man in smaller proportions, it is evident that the labour of those who are not supported by parish assistance, will purchase a smaller quantity of provisions than before and as a result may be driven to ask for support.<sup>47</sup>

Another issue which the songs dealt with was poor migration from rural to urban areas. Migration happened for a variety of reasons, such as family circumstances, personal crises, housing and employment change.<sup>48</sup> One reason why the poor migrated was the result of enclosure. Prior to enclosure, landowners and villagers had shared rights to use the land, but enclosure brought an end to this common field system. The land was segmented and restricted to the owner, who used public land for private benefit.<sup>49</sup> With no land to work on and with unbearable living conditions, the rural poor migrated to towns and urban areas in search of better living conditions. Yet this resulted in a rise in population in urban areas, putting pressure on food supply, accommodation and poor relief.

How else might have the British landed elite assisted the poor? One way 'to express genuine concern for the poor', in Mark Girouard's words, was to 'entertain tenants, labourers, schoolchildren, local townspeople and yeomanry' in the landowner's home, as a way 'to improve the relations between the classes'.<sup>50</sup> This was particularly

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<sup>47</sup> Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (London: J. Johnson, 1798), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 11 July 2011) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, p. 83.

<sup>48</sup> See Colin Pooley and Jean Turnbull, *Migration and Mobility in Britain since the 18<sup>th</sup> Century* (London: UCL Press, 1998), p. 71.

<sup>49</sup> Rachel Crawford observed that 'from 1760-1780 and 1790 until 1815 two great waves of parliamentary enclosure fenced off the last of the open fields'. See Rachel Crawford, *Poetry, Enclosure, and the Vernacular Landscape 1700-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 11. See also Jeremy Burchardt, *Paradise Lost: Rural Idyll and Social Change since 1800* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2002), p. 6. J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>50</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 240.

important in the later years of 1780, as the English elite wanted to prove to the lower orders that they were generous and kind, not selfish like the French aristocrats.<sup>51</sup> Edmund Burke commented on the hostile relationship between the French aristocracy and the poor: 'The monied (sic) property was long looked on with rather an evil eye by the people. They saw it connected to their distresses, and aggravating them'.<sup>52</sup> To be un-charitable was to be un-British and a potential cause for social chaos. Ritchie noted that, 'while benevolence excites gratitude in the poor, neglect provokes dangerous envy and resentment'.<sup>53</sup> Lydia's and Elizabeth's compassionate songs, which come from music books dated around 1790, promoted and instructed the rich to show kindness and be charitable to the poor, perhaps with the broader aim to create social harmony between the classes in Britain.

### 1.3 An Education for Girls

Between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, Elizabeth Sykes attended Mrs Ellin Devis's (d. 1847) London boarding school for girls at 20 Devonshire House, from 1793-1796.<sup>54</sup> Part of Elizabeth's education at Mrs Devis's school concentrated on developing compassionate sentiments.<sup>55</sup> At the same time Elizabeth attended this school, she began writing in a Commonplace book. The book now remains at the Cheshire Record Office, and bears the dates 1793 and 1795, suggesting that she added sections of prose and verse over time. There is an entry in her Commonplace book on charity, attributed to Hugh Blair (1718-1800), an influential preacher in the 1740s and 1750s, noted 'for refining the taste, improving the morality, and promoting the

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<sup>51</sup> Girouard mentions how a Lady Buckingham celebrated her birthday in the 1790s by providing a dance and supper for the farmers, and the next evening supplying supper for three hundred poor people. See Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 240-242.

<sup>52</sup> Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* [1790] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 109.

<sup>53</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 88.

<sup>54</sup> Carol Percy 'The Art of Grammar in the Age of Sensibility: *The Accidence [...] for [...] Young Ladies* (1775)', in *Insights into Late Modern English*, ed. Marina Dossena and Charles Jones (New York and Oxford: Peter Land, 2003), pp. 45- 83, p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> Elizabeth's education at Devis's school coincided with the renovation of her father's home, which became the imposing Sledmere estate in Yorkshire. Christopher Sykes displayed his new wealth by improving his country seat. He also felt that his other possession, his daughter, needed improving, which probably explains why he sent Elizabeth to this fashionable school where the education sought 'to mould [the] bodies, manners and minds' of the girls, to quote Carol Percy. Percy 'The Art of Grammar', p. 47. For information on Elizabeth's earlier education see Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 518. And for information on Sledmere consult Christopher S. Sykes, *The Big House: The Story of a Country House and its Family* (London: Harper Perennial, 2005).

religion of the Christian world'.<sup>56</sup> The excerpt begins, 'Charity is the same as benevolence; & is the term uniformly employed, in the New Testament, to denote all the good affections which we ought to bear towards one another'.<sup>57</sup> The prose continues, 'it is ...a disposition residing in the heart, as a fountain whence all virtues of benignity, candour, forbearance, generosity, compassion, & liberality flow'.<sup>58</sup> In this excerpt, Blair emphasised the religious significance of charity and benevolence. From this quotation religion was a fundamental aspect underlining the ethics of charity: a proper and true Christian had a compassionate nature and carried out acts of charity. Perhaps Elizabeth copied this text into her Commonplace book at school. This would have been both a writing exercise and an exercise in religious instruction.

Headmistress Devis, a grammarian by reputation, compiled a book which cited excerpts from other authors' works.<sup>59</sup> In her *Miscellaneous Lessons* (1782) is a section entitled 'Benevolent Actions' from Rack's *Mentors Letters* (n. d.) which advocates the performance of good deeds: 'there is more satisfaction in doing, than in receiving good. To relieve the oppressed is the most glorious act that any one is capable of; and is attended with a heavenly pleasure, unknown but to those that are beneficent and liberal'.<sup>60</sup> Elizabeth had not copied excerpts from *Miscellaneous Lessons* into her commonplace book, but considering that the headmistress assembled the book, it is highly likely that she read it at school.

I have not found anything resembling a Commonplace book that belonged to Lydia Hoare, nor have I found much information about her education. We do know, however, that Lydia's father, the banker Henry Hoare (1750-1828), was friendly with Evangelicals William Wilberforce, Hannah More and Henry Thornton (1760-1815),

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<sup>56</sup> John Hill, *An Account of the Life and Writings of Hugh Blair* (Philadelphia: J. Humphreys, 1808), p. 229.

<sup>57</sup> Elizabeth Sykes' Commonplace Book, Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/77, p. 41.

<sup>58</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/77, p. 41.

<sup>59</sup> For information about Mrs Devis and her London boarding school see Susan Skedd, 'The Education of Women in Hanoverian Britain c. 1760-1820' (University of Oxford, D. Phil, Thesis, 1997), p. 170. Percy, 'The Art of Grammar', pp. 45- 83. Carol Percy, 'Learning and Virtue: English Grammar and the Eighteenth-Century Girls' School', in *Educating the Child in Enlightenment Britain: Beliefs, Cultures, Practices*, ed. Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 77-99.

<sup>60</sup> Ellin Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons, Designed for the Use of Young Ladies, On a New Plan* (London: The Author, 1782), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 8 July 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, p. 59.

prominent members of the Clapham Sect.<sup>61</sup> The Evangelicals strongly believed in reforming society, and they set up philanthropic and reforming institutions, Sunday schools and charity schools.<sup>62</sup> As More associated with the Hoare family, it seems likely that Evangelical beliefs influenced Lydia's early education. More's didactic novel, *Coelebs*, and her other educational works revealed her strong opinions on charity. In More's *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), she proposed that

Young ladies should be accustomed to set apart a fixed part of their time, as sacred to the poor, whether in relieving, instructing, or working for them; and the performance of this duty must be not left to the event of contingent circumstances, or the operation of accidental impressions but it must be established into a principle, and wrought into a habit. A specific portion of the day must be allotted to it, on which no common engagement must be allowed to intrench (sic).<sup>63</sup>

More mentioned here how charity is a performance. But More implied that charitable action needed to be worked into a habit and scheduled into a girls daily routine. Charitable acts, however, should not make the individual feel better about themselves, encouraging others to praise their generosity, making them vain. Mrs Stanley commented that

they (her girls) might perhaps be charitable for the sake of praise, their benevolence might be set at work by their vanity, and they might be led to do that, from the love of applause, which can only please God when the principle is pure... Next to not giving at all, the greatest fault is to give from ostentation. The motive robs the act of the very name of virtue.<sup>64</sup>

Mrs Stanley's observation suggests that it was sometimes hard to distinguish between genuine acts of charity from artificial ones: the 'performance anxiety' surrounding charity and compassion. To prevent vanity, More suggested that girls retain a pure and devout Christian principle, keeping Godly duties at the forefront of their minds

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<sup>61</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 41.

<sup>62</sup> Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), p. 76. Kathleen Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1962), p. 70.

<sup>63</sup> More, *Strictures*, I, pp. 135-136, quoted in Jeremy Collingwood and Margaret Collingwood, *Hannah More* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1990), p. 107.

<sup>64</sup> More, *Coelebs*, p. 227.

during these acts of charity, rather than receiving praise. Smith commented on this topic in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. In his discussion of praise and praise-worthiness, Smith identified how these two principles, despite being connected, are distinct and independent.<sup>65</sup> A person can receive praise, but whether or not she or he deserves to be praise-worthy is a different matter. Smith wrote: 'He desires not only praise, but praise-worthiness; or to be that thing which, though it should be praised by nobody, is, however, the natural and proper object of praise'.<sup>66</sup> A person who consciously commits good deeds for the love of praise cannot be praise-worthy because their motives are for selfish purposes. A praise-worthy individual is opposite to this because they do not expect admiration.<sup>67</sup> If a person receives praise unjustifiably this can result in 'contemptible vanity'; groundless praise can give 'no solid joy, no satisfaction', which ties in with More's belief.<sup>68</sup>

Despite More's frequent presence at the Hoare's home at Mitcham Grove, neither Lydia nor her parents were particularly fond of this imposing figure; they found some of her principles too strict: for instance More disapproved of singing, playing the piano, attending public concerts and the theatre. Lydia's parents were not so severe and allowed Lydia to pursue musical activities with enjoyment.<sup>69</sup> The Hoare family nevertheless regarded More with awe, and probably agreed with her views on charity.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> See the entire section Smith, 'Of the love of Praise, and of that Praise-Worthiness', *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, pp. 113-134.

<sup>66</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 115.

<sup>67</sup> Smith did not believe that people acted charitably only to receive praise. Smith felt that people could act virtuously when alone and unobserved because we have an imagined impartial spectator, or man within the breast, who is always with us, always watching our behaviour from the position of an impartial bystander. He wrote 'We either approve or disapprove of our own conduct, according as we feel that, when we place ourselves in the situation of another man, and view it, as it were, with his eyes and from his station, we either can or cannot entirely enter into and sympathize with the sentiments and motives which influenced it. We can never survey our own sentiments and motives, we can never form any judgement concerning them; unless we remove ourselves, as it were, from our own natural station, and endeavour to view them as at a certain distance from us'. Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, pp. 109-110.

<sup>68</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 115.

<sup>69</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 41.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas commissioned Henry Pickersgill to paint a portrait More, implying that she was a significant figure in the Aclands' lives. This painting now hangs in the drawing room at Killerton. See *Killerton House*, pp. 12-14.



## 1.4 Compassionate Songs

According to Mark Radice, the idea of ‘girls’ music was an established fact during the eighteenth century’; this suggests that composers wrote music for a particular gender.<sup>71</sup> But did these compassionate songs indicate a particular gender and a particular class: female and rich? Could a poor woman or a rich man perform them, for instance? A poor woman might not have received a privileged upbringing and a musical education, so she might not be able to read music. If she could read music, however, would she possess a keyboard instrument and sheet music? Would she have the time to make music, considering that we usually associate music-making in this period with leisured ladies passing by the hours? The whole purpose of the songs, as I have argued, was to encourage those from a wealthy position to assist the impoverished: a way for the rich to pay back their ‘natural debt’ to the poor.

With regard to a rich man, he probably had music lessons to demonstrate his gentlemanly qualities. Authors of conduct literature for men, however, often discussed music as an unmanly art form.<sup>72</sup> There was no reason why a man could not have sung about an orphan child, but considering that there were appropriate and inappropriate instruments for the sexes in this period, a male performing a song in which he pretended to be a flower girl might have seemed strange to an eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century audience. The men from our families had musical skills: Thomas was an amateur singer and Wilbraham an amateur cellist. I have not found any vocal music books that belonged to Thomas, but he occasionally attended the Devon Glee Club and, going from the many glees at Killerton, it is likely that he sang them.<sup>73</sup> I have not found a glee in the Killerton collection that depicts orphans or poor children. Wilbraham had cello lessons in youth, but there is no evidence, as far as I am aware, that he could sing. From the research and evidence I have found for this topic, it seems clear that these compassionate songs were mainly for wealthy female performers, forming part of their educational and moral training, developing and shaping their emotional mind and identity.

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<sup>71</sup> Radice, ‘The Nature of the ‘Style Galant’’, p. 624.

<sup>72</sup> See Leppert, *Music and Image*, chapter two.

<sup>73</sup> See my third chapter on the clubs that Thomas attended.

Singing about objects of charity was different to reading about them in didactic material. There was an element of acting the part of the pitiable character, and our performers would 'get into character', perhaps by contemplating the character's plight and acting accordingly, to give a convincing rendition to move the listeners to compassion. Their rendition would be multi-layered involving a performance of the character in the song, in addition to their gender, class, national identity and religious belief.<sup>74</sup> As Smith remarked, compassion is 'the emotion we feel for the misery of others, when we see it, or are made to conceive it in a very lively manner'.<sup>75</sup> The latter part of this sentence is particularly appropriate for the ideas expressed in this chapter: using vocal music as a vehicle to encourage compassionate feelings. The pitiable characters in the songs were not physically present; their hardships could not be seen, so instead they could be conjured by the help of Lydia's and Elizabeth's performance. The imagination possibly provided a way for our performers and their audience members to contemplate the situation and emotions of the character, as if they were in front of their eyes. With face-to-face interaction, Smith said:

We place ourselves in his situation, we conceive ourselves enduring all the same torments, we enter as it were into his body, and become in some measure the same person as him, and thence form some idea of his sensations...His agonies when they are thus brought home to ourselves, when we have adopted and make them our own, begin at last to affect us, and we then tremble and shudder at the thought of what he feels.<sup>76</sup>

There would be a difference between seeing and imagining a destitute person, placing yourself in their position and sympathizing with them, but music seemed to make this imaginative scenario more vivid. Smith argued:

The person who sings may...express not only by the modulation and cadence of his voice, but by his countenance, by his attitudes, by his gestures and by

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<sup>74</sup> See my introduction.

<sup>75</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 9.

<sup>76</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 9.

his motions, the sentiments and feelings of the person whose situation is painted in the song.<sup>77</sup>

Leslie Ritchie has pointed out that ‘music, because of its ability to reinforce moral precepts using carefully managed emotional affect, was ideally suited to describing, inculcating, and enacting charity’.<sup>78</sup> Ritchie also recognises that the rich had a duty and obligation to the poor, echoing Mrs Stanley’s quote of the wealthy’s ‘natural debt’ in *Coelebs* at the very beginning of the chapter.<sup>79</sup> But I explicitly show how the performance of these songs involved an aestheticisation of the natural debt and its payment more than Ritchie does in her study. The gestures enacted and the words sung by our protagonists would have clear social implications on both class-based ethics and charitable dealings with the poor. Following Judith Butler’s use of speech act theory, the songs are a form of action, a musical ‘doing’ of compassion, involving theatrical and linguistic elements that enabled the audience to make their own interpretations of the songs and the performer, and to grasp the crucial social messages embedded in the performance.<sup>80</sup>

#### 1.4.1 Children Songs: Orphan and Beggar Girls

Elizabeth and Lydia probably collected and used these songs about beggar and orphan girls at a similar age to the children portrayed in the songs. The match in age is significant because it may have made the impact of misfortune seem more real to our performers. My investigation examines the songs from a user and performer standpoint, which builds on Ritchie’s study of compassionate songs from a production and composition perspective.<sup>81</sup> Overall Lydia collected six compassionate songs about orphan and beggar girls in her collection, but I will concentrate on three of them. ‘The Beggar Girl’ by H. Piercy; ‘The Orphan’s Prayer’ by Miss Harriett Abrams;

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<sup>77</sup> Adam Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* [1755] (Dublin: Wogan, Byrne, J. Moore, Colbert, Rice, W. Jones, Porter and Folingsby, 1795), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 12 July 2011) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, p. 215.

<sup>78</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 88.

<sup>79</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 87.

<sup>80</sup> Butler, ‘Preface’ to *Gender Trouble*, xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>81</sup> See Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, chapter three.

and 'A Beggar Girl's Song', arranged for voice and piano by Mr Edward Smith Biggs and text by Mrs Amelia Opie (see Appendix 2).<sup>82</sup> I end this section with Elizabeth's 'Cowslips of the Valley', by John Moulds.<sup>83</sup> Feeling kindness for those in hardship had preoccupied poet Opie since youth. At a young age, as Gary Kelly observes, Opie's mother encouraged her to replace feelings of fear for the 'socially marginalised', such as the insane, with 'philanthropic sympathy', a sentiment which she tried to convey through songs.<sup>84</sup>

The texts to these songs are emotive, in describing the miserable situation of the characters in their physical and emotional state. The use of first person narration in these songs helps to bring the characters' voice and their plea to the fore, making the songs personal and their situation more pitiable. 'The Beggar Girl' uses first person narration throughout to aid the impression that Lydia was the sufferer in her rendition, and that the audience were the gentlemen being approached. 'The Beggar Girl' remains in F major, a key usually associated with pastoral scenes (music example 1 and 2).<sup>85</sup>

The use of a  $6/8$  time signature, also linked with the pastoral, and a repetitive vocal melody, helps to create a gentle rocking motion in the song. The vocal line remains stepwise with regular four bar phrases, usually landing on perfect cadences, except for the one imperfect cadence on C in the first bar of the sixth system. The music continues unvaried due to the strophic setting of the words. Only one melodic idea is heard in the first four bars, which the composer repeats for all lines of texts, except in the fifth system beginning 'Pity kind Gentlemen', and the last two bars of the vocal

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<sup>82</sup> The first two songs come from a book stamped 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5) on the spine, reference number 1 14 B. The book is watermarked 1801 on the flyleaf, indicating the *terminus ante quem* Lydia could have collected the songs. The last song is from a book entitled 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M8), reference number C2. 7. B., and has a watermark of 1803 on the flyleaf. Two other compassionate songs in Lydia's collection are very similar in content to the songs discussed, with regard to a tragic tale such as parents dying, and the child has to resort to begging for aid from wealthy strangers. Both songs come from 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4), reference number 1 15 B, no watermark date: 'Fatherless Fanny', and 'The Fisherman's Orphan'. The last song is 'The Flower Girl's Cry', by Miss Harriot Hague, a child composer, from a book labelled 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M1), 2 16 B, flyleaf watermarked 1804.

<sup>83</sup> 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING, & SONGS/MISS SYKES', reference number MR 2-5.24. The book is watermarked 1797 on the flyleaf.

<sup>84</sup> Gary Kelly, 'Opie [*née* Alderson], Amelia (1769-1853)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, (Accessed 24 March 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20799>>.

<sup>85</sup> Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 1996), p. 2.

line have slight melodic variation. The appoggiaturas in the song could create the impression of sighing grief on 'wander' and 'mother'. The appoggiatura on the end of 'humanity' does not seem to have an affective function and seems to be mainly decorative. These appoggiaturas are an example of invitations to musical expressivity. The potential for an expressive execution is in the music, but whether or not the potential is fulfilled depended on the performer.<sup>86</sup>

Amelia Opie, aside from being a poet, was also a keen musician, and she took singing lessons in the early years of the nineteenth century. During her performances she made use of these musical invitations and impersonated destitute characters to move audiences to pity. In a description of Opie's expressive performances in a magazine dated 1807, Susannah Taylor commented that she 'awaken[ed] tender sympathies, and pathetic feelings of the mind'.<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, it is incredibly difficult to tell if Lydia was an expressive performer and if she underlined particular expressive bars in the music. It is likely that she performed this song, going from several faint plus signs in pencil above 'forlorn' in the first bar of the third system, 'pity' in the fifth system and just after the word 'gone' in the seventh system. The words carry affective weight, allowing listeners to sympathetically engage with the character.

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<sup>86</sup> Other instances are minor key passages, large or awkward interval leaps in the voice. These moments of text expression appear in most of the songs discussed.

<sup>87</sup> Susannah Taylor, *The Cabinet*, I (1807), p. 218, quoted in Kelly, 'Opie', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

## THE BEGGAR GIRL,

*A Favorite Ballad.**for the*

Piano Forte or Harp,

*Also, as a DUETT, Composed by**H. Piercy.**Sold at Sta. Hall.*Pr. 1.<sup>s</sup> 6

LONDON. Printed for and Sold by the AUTHOR,

*N<sup>o</sup> 5. Windmill Street, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square.*

Cembalo  
o  
Harpà

*Grazioso*

Over the Mountain and over the Moor, Hun - gry and bare - foot I

wander forlorn my Fa - ther is dead and my Mo - ther is poor and she

grieves for the Days that will never return.

Music Example 1: 'The Beggar Girl', by H. Piercy, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), 1 14 B, (c.1801) pp. 107-108.



Pi - ty kind Gen - tle - men Friends of Hu - ma - ni - ty, Cold blows the wind and the

nights coming on Give me some food for my Mother for Cha - ri - ty

give me some food and then I will be gone.

## 2

Call me not Lazy-back Beggar, and bold enough,  
 Fain would I learn both to Knit and to Sew;  
 I've two little Brothers at home when they're old enough,  
 They will work hard for the Gifts you bestow.  
 Pity kind Gentlemen &c.

## 3

O think while you revel so careless and free,  
 Secure from the wind and well cloathed and fed;  
 Should fortune so change it, how hard it would be,  
 To beg at a door for a morsel of bread.  
 Pity kind Gentlemen &c.

Music Example 2: 'The Beggar Girl' Continued.

Abrams's 'The Orphan's Prayer', and Biggs and Opie's 'A Beggar Girl's Song', presents a slightly different case. Abrams harmonic writing is colourful and affective (music example 3). The perfect cadence on A minor in the fourth bar of the third system appears toward the end of the line 'in every vein seems life to languish their weight my limbs no more can bear' and the paused E minor chord on 'heeds', the highest pitch the vocal and bass parts reach, in the penultimate bar of this page, brings the music to a pensive standstill before a perfect cadence on the tonic, G major. These harmonic nuances add moments of anxiety to the song, and if Lydia emphasised these sections in the music, she would highlight the orphan's despair. Other examples of musical expressivity can be found in the appoggiatura on 'bear', in the first bar of the last system in music example 3. The leaning quality of the appoggiatura adds a sense of heaviness on the word and completes the impression of the orphan's dead-weight limbs.



*Andante*

The frozen streets in Moonshine glitter, the midnight hour has long been

past, ah me the wind blows keen and bitter, I sink be-neath the piercing

blast in every Vein seems life to languish their weight my limbs no more can

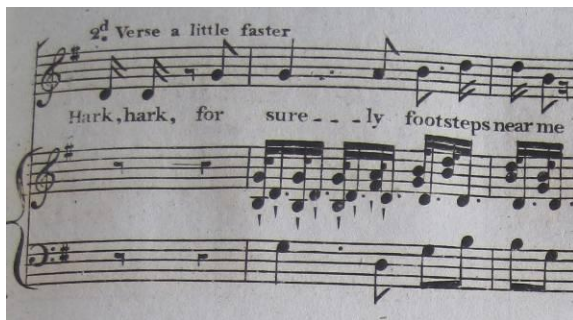
*Pia*

bear But no one soothes the Orphan's anguish and no one heeds the Orphan's prayer.

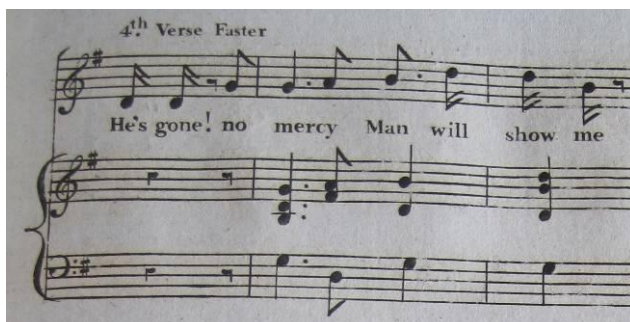
*For.* *Pia*

Music Example 3: First Page of 'The Orphan's Prayer', by Harriett Abrams, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), 1 14 B, (c.1801) p. 59.

Ritchie identifies that Abrams manipulated the rhythms in the vocal line, suggesting that this helped to develop action in the monologue.<sup>88</sup> I propose that the rhythmic gestures act as a way to add dramatic emphasis to the girl's agitation, drawing us into her psychological distress. The rhythmic gestures are subtle and appear in slightly altered guises, but they nevertheless hint at a level of dramatisation. For instance, the opening two bars have different rhythms in the vocal part and accompaniment, and this has a different effect each time. The opening of the second and fourth stanza sounds more agitated using semiquavers on the words 'Hark, hark' and 'He's gone' (music example 4 and 5). Incidentally, the tempo is meant to be faster, as the performance directions indicate, increasing the tension in the song.



**Music Example 4: Second Stanza of Abrams' 'The Orphan's Prayer', 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), p. 60.**



**Music Example 5: Fourth Stanza of Abrams' 'The Orphan's Prayer', 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), p. 62.**

The rests after 'bitter', in music example 3, create another notable rhythmic gesture, in the third bar of the second system, suggesting her breathlessness from the cold.

<sup>88</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 104.

The falling semiquavers in the same bar on 'sink beneath' could evoke the orphan girl cowering from the gust of wind. This rhythmic feature appears throughout the song and gives extra emphasis to the line 'I die for food' in the second stanza (music example 6).



**Music Example 6: Second Stanza of Abrams' 'The Orphan's Prayer', 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), p. 60.**

The descending semiquavers do not always add dramatic emphasis to a word, for instance in the fourth stanza the semiquavers falls on 'wait in' and in the fifth stanza, 'morning.' But the song is not strictly strophic, like Piercy's 'The Beggar Girl', giving the performer more occasions to be expressive in the song's execution.<sup>89</sup>

Biggs and Opie's 'A Beggar Girl's Song' (music example 7-10) also utilises subtle rhythmic changes in the vocal line, similar to Abrams. For instance, the pause after 'Lady', in the first system of the first stanza, enhances the impression that the girl is talking to the rich woman. This appears on the last system of this stanza and also on the second and fourth system of the final stanza. The diminished seventh chords are particularly effective on the words 'ill', 'screams', and 'unpitied', in the first, second and fourth stanzas. Biggs' use of text expression helps to emphasise the starkness inherent in these words.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 102.

<sup>90</sup> See Ritchie's interpretation of this song. Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, pp. 104-106.



8

# SONG. IV.

## *A Beggar Girl's Song.*

**Larghetto con Espressione**

Canto

O listen to a Beggar's pray'r! Lady, I'm

Piano Forte

**Larghetto con Espressione**

hun - gry ill and cold — Yet more than half my gains must

spare, to feed the help - less, and the old, if I were

rich I'd love the poor, Lady, don't turn me from your door.

Music Example 7: 'A Beggar Girl's Song', from *Six Songs* by Edward S. Biggs and Amelia Opie, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M8), C2.7.B, (c.1803) pp. 199-202.



On a sick bed my Mother lies, my infant - Sister screams for  
food, O how you'd start to hear her cries they'd pierce your  
Soul they'd chill your blood, 'Tis hard to be so very  
poor, O! do not turn me from your door.

Music Example 8: 'A Beggar Girl's Song' Continued.



The image shows a page of a musical score, numbered 10 in the top left corner. The score is written for a single melodic line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the melody. The music is in a simple, folk-like style with a steady rhythm. The lyrics are: "I was not born to beg— ah no! but troubles Lady come to all, To day we're high to morrow low e'en you mis- -fortunes may be - -fall, tho' wealthy now you may be poor then do not turn me from your door." The score is divided into four systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The piano accompaniment consists of chords and single notes in the right and left hands. The lyrics are: "I was not born to beg— ah no! but troubles Lady come to", "all, To day we're high to morrow low e'en you mis-", "-fortunes may be - -fall, tho' wealthy now you may be", and "poor then do not turn me from your door." The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

I was not born to beg— ah no! but troubles Lady come to

all, To day we're high to morrow low e'en you mis-

-fortunes may be - -fall, tho' wealthy now you may be

poor then do not turn me from your door.

Music Example 9: 'A Beggar Girl's Song' Continued.



How! do you call my mis'ry art? and must I hence unpitied  
go? nay frown not Lady I'll de-part in the next  
world 'twill not be so, for Heav'n will hear the suff'ring  
poor, Lady! don't chide — I'll leave your door.

Music Example 10: 'A Beggar Girl's Song' Continued.

Elizabeth's song 'Cowslips of the Valley' (music example 11-13) presents a female character in a similar situation to the characters in Lydia's compassionate songs.<sup>91</sup> First person narration in the text again makes the song personal and subjective. The narrative voice allowed Elizabeth to adopt the character in the song to present to her audience. After the instrumental introduction, Sally describes her situation. Her parents died, leaving her impoverished and she has to sell flowers to make a living. Our sadness for this character increases when she mentions her previous lifestyle in a 'humble cot' before tragedy struck. Sally's happiness, comfort and safety had been cruelly taken from her.<sup>92</sup>

Similar to Lydia's 'The Beggar Girl', 'Cowslips of the Valley' is also in F major and has a strophic setting. But in comparison to Lydia's 'The Beggar Girl', there is more harmonic variation in 'Cowslips of the Valley', with a brief modulation to the dominant key, C major, and a few bars in the relative minor to underline her pain when her parents die. The D minor inflexion supports the sixth line in the following two stanzas, 'Dejected is poor Sally' and 'The heart of hapless Sally', examples of expressive potential in the music that Elizabeth could highlight. The seventh line in the third stanza, 'Since doom'd to cry thro' poverty', ends the song on an unhappy note. There is no closure for the flower seller, as she is condemned to this existence.

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<sup>91</sup> See also 'Ellen, the Richmond Primrose Girl' by Reginald Spofforth in Elizabeth's book 'SONGS & GLEES & C.' MR 2-5.7. Ellen has to make a living and support her mother and brothers by selling primroses after her father dies.

<sup>92</sup> Lydia collected a very similar song called 'The Flower Girl's Cry', by Miss Harriot Hague in 'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI), 2 16 B. Rose, the flower seller, had lived happily and healthily before descending into starvation and poverty. Rose appeals to the wealthy to hear her sorry tale, to feel pity for her and to buy her flowers.



1

# *Cowslips of the Valley.*

Sung with Universal Applause  
by *M<sup>rs</sup> Crouche*, at the  
**Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.**

*Written and Composed by John Moulds.*

Enter'd at Stationers Hall Price 1.<sup>s</sup>  
*London, Printed for Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow, N. 112, Cheapside.*  
*Where may be had Composed by the Same Author,*  
 The Favorite Song of the Mariner, Sung by M<sup>r</sup> DIGNUM at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane.

Flauto

Andante Affettuoso

tutti

Violin

Voice & Piano Forte

Flute

Violin

Flute

Tutti

Tutti

**Music Example 11:** 'Cowslips of the Valley', by John Moulds, 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S', MR 2-5.24, (c.1797) pp. 1-3.



Ah me how happy once my lot no care my Bosom knew at morn I left my  
 humble Cot my wants were then but few my wants were then but few but  
 sad to tell my Parents died & left when young poor Sally who now to po-ver-  
 ty allied cries Cowslips of the Valley Sweet Cowslips of the Valley  
 Sweet Cowslips of the Valley who

Expressive  
 Expressive  
 Tutti

Music Example 12: 'Cowslips of the Valley' Continued.



ad Libm

now to po-ver-ty allied Cries Cowslips of the Valley. Sy

2

Then let your gen'rous hearts bestow,  
 Some boon of kind relief,  
 And grátitudes bright tear shall flow,  
 For that which soothes my grief,  
 If truth its native colours wear,  
 Dejected is poor Sally,  
 That plucks & culls with anxious care,  
 Sweet Cowslips of the Valley.

3

The Lark's shrill matin to the morn,  
 Through heav'n's ætherial way,  
 The humble Redbreast on the thorn,  
 That hymns at setting day,  
 No more shall charm with wonted glee,  
 The heart of hapless Sally,  
 Since doom'd to cry thro' poverty,  
 Sweet Cowslips of the Valley.

For the Flute.

Music Example 13: 'Cowslips of the Valley' Continued.

The songs present contemporary attitudes towards charitable figures, plausible scenarios and contemporary definitions of charitable acts. For instance, in the sixth system of the first stanza of 'The Beggar Girl', the child requests food from 'kind gentlemen' to feed her mother, which she describes as 'charity'. I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter how the term charity could denote a voluntary and spontaneous act of kindness.<sup>93</sup> And to borrow part of Michael Roberts' definition, charity was 'an act of mercy performed as a result of morally refined sensitivity in the giver to the sight or knowledge of human suffering'.<sup>94</sup>

In 'The Orphan's Prayer', the protagonist also begs for food from a passing stranger in the line 'I die for food, some alms bestow' in the second stanza. The girl in 'A Beggar Girl's Song' approaches the front door of a wealthy lady, and to earn the woman's pity the girl describes her famished state in the first stanza, as well as her mother's illness and her younger sister's 'screams for food' in the second. 'Cowslips of the Valley' also makes a reference to charitable giving when Sally says 'Then let your gen'rous hearts bestow, Some boon of kind relief' in the first two lines of the second stanza.

The characters' sincerity is questioned in the songs, and Ritchie also discusses this predicament in 'The Orphan's Prayer'. The stranger suspects the orphan of feigning her suffering, which then leads to a description of her emaciated appearance as a sign of her hunger.<sup>95</sup> The line from the second stanza 'no wanton pleads in feign'd despair, a famish'd Orphan kneels before you', demonstrates the girl's attempts at trying to persuade the gentleman that she is genuinely hungry and desperately needs his help. In 'The Beggar Girl', she describes that she is 'hungry and barefoot' but requests that she is not mistaken for a 'Lazy-back Beggar', as she is keen to 'learn both to Knit and Sew'. Here the girl argues that she could be useful to society, and she tries to reassure passers-by that she and her brothers will put any gifts received to good use. Opie and Biggs' beggar girl exclaims 'I was not born to beg', implying that hardship befell her. But the strangers do not succumb to the girls' pleas, probably because they do not believe that the children are worthy of kindness and charity. Certainly beggars were a

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<sup>93</sup> See page thirty and thirty-one of this chapter, and also Cunningham, 'Introduction', p. 2.

<sup>94</sup> Michael J. D. Roberts, 'Head versus Heart? Voluntary Associations and Charity Organizations in England c. 1700-1850', in *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform*, ed. Cunningham and Innes, pp. 66-87, p. 70.

<sup>95</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, pp. 102 and 104.

problem for contemporaries who thought that they were a nuisance to society, undeserving of donations as this kept them in idleness.<sup>96</sup> Roberts suggests that propertied men were more likely to be suspicious of beggars, seeing them as imposters rather than objects of pity, and propertied women were more likely to succumb to beggars' pleas, as a result of their sensitivity and sensibility.<sup>97</sup> But he acknowledges that this is a generalising statement which is difficult to prove, and in any case this statement does not ring true for the cold-hearted rich lady in 'A Beggar Girl's Song', nor the charitable activities of our Wilbraham and Thomas.

These characters seem to be the rural poor who travelled to the town, perhaps making topical references to poor migration. The text in 'The Beggar Girl' mentions her travelling through the wilderness, and in 'Cowslips' Sally seems to have moved away from her 'humble cot'. Also addressed is the system of poor relief. The character in 'A Beggar Girl's Song' receives charity but she donates 'more than half of her gains' to 'feed the helpless, and the old', leaving her with few resources and no option but to beg for extra help.<sup>98</sup> The songs all end on an unhappy note, with the beggar girls denied any morsel or help, and Sally destined to remain a poverty-stricken flower seller. But the moral message about adversity comes to the fore in these songs, for instance the third stanza from 'The Beggar Girl' is extremely persuasive with the lines:

O think while you revel so careless and free  
Secure from the wind and well cloathed and fed;  
Should fortune so change, it how hard would it be,  
To beg at a door for a morsel of bread.

As are the lines from the third stanza of 'A Beggar Girl's Song':

But troubles Lady come to all,  
Today we're high tomorrow low  
E'vn you misfortunes may befall

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<sup>96</sup> Robert H. Bremner, *Giving: Charity and Philanthropy in History* (New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1994), p. 85.

<sup>97</sup> Roberts, 'Head versus Hearts', p. 71.

<sup>98</sup> Joanna Innes, 'The "Mixed Economy of Welfare" in Early Modern England: Assessments of the Options from Hale to Malthus (c.1683-1803)', in *Charity, Self Interest and Welfare in the English Past*, ed. Martin Daunton (London: UCL Press, 1996), pp. 139-181, p. 146.

Tho' wealthy now you may be poor.

These are thought provoking concepts specifically aimed at those who have secure and wealthy lifestyles. But the tone of these final stanzas sound quite aggressive, and there could be underlining warnings about pursuing a lifestyle of vice which often had damaging and life changing consequences, as we shall see in the 'Fallen and Wronged Women' section of this chapter. Ritchie points out that Opie was a 'victim of such a reversal of fortune'; she wrote song texts because she was in need of money. Opie presented a warning about the 'common vulnerability to downward social mobility' which a female performer should voice to her audience.<sup>99</sup>

#### 1.4.2 Children Songs: Orphan Boys

Lydia's song 'The Poor Little Child of a Tar' presents a parentless boy, who begs for pity (music example 14-15) and Elizabeth's song 'The Orphan Boy', by J. Haigh, depicts a lonely and unfortunate child (music example 16-18).<sup>100</sup> The opening words of 'The Poor Little Child of a Tar' are affective, with a description of the boy's shabby dress, distraught facial expression and his upsetting tale.<sup>101</sup> The song begins and ends in E<sup>b</sup> major, the key which could suggest 'profound love and majestic feelings', according to Rita Steblin, and is in a lilting 6/8 time signature.<sup>102</sup> Even though the song is strophic, the composer tried to depict the boy's suffering. For instance, in the first four lines of the stanza, the vocal part gradually rises in pitch, peaking at g" at the beginning of the repeated phrase, which mentions his sleeping place: a 'cold stony step'. The vocal line in this phrase suits the words in the following stanzas: 'But, alas! He may never come home!'; 'Alas! Too severely she felt!'; 'A look full of wonder and

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<sup>99</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 106.

<sup>100</sup> 'The Poor Little Child of a Tar' is from 'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI), 2 16 B, watermarked 1804 on the flyleaf. J. C Flack bound this book for Lydia as his stamp is on the back of the book. 'The Orphan Boy' is from Elizabeth's book entitled MISS E SYKES, with 'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS' stamped on the spine, MR 2-5.10, and the flyleaf is watermarked 1797. She also has a song called 'The Poor Cabin Boy' by John Moulds in 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S', MR 2-5.24 (c.1797). Elizabeth has a song on elderly beggars called 'The Old Beggar', by P. A. Galot from her book 'VOCAL MUSIC & c./MISS SYKES', with the flyleaf watermarked 1803, MR 2-5.23. This song is different to the other compassion songs in her collection as the song uses third person narrative to describe the old vagrant, creating a sense of detachment from him. The beggar is presented as innocuous, a familiar figure in the area, perhaps to counter the negative and pessimistic view of them. See Bremner, *Giving*, pp. 85-95.

<sup>101</sup> See also another one of Lydia's orphan boy songs called 'The Orphan Boy's Tale' by Opie and Biggs from a 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4), 1 15 B, no watermark date.

<sup>102</sup> Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, p. 2.

grief'. Appoggiaturas appear on words such as 'feet,' 'forlorn' and 'seat' in the first stanza to add emphasis to his abject poverty and to his desperate predicament. The words in the fifth system imply that the boy's voice has the potential to prevent 'avarice' in passers-by, and perhaps this is what Lydia and Elizabeth tried to achieve, using their voices as singers to unlock compassion in their audiences.

The action unfolds differently in comparison to the songs discussed so far. The narrative voice moves from third person in the opening and closing stanza, to first person in the second, third and the last lines of the fourth stanza. The song gives the impression of a story being told, with a narrator introducing the character, the character speaking and then the narrator and the boy's father closing the tale, creating the effect of distance and closeness with the subjects for both performer and listeners. The performer would describe rather than act the part of the poor boy during moments of third person narration, and would appear as an intermediary between the child and the audience (the rich potential benefactors). During moments of first person narration, the performer would become the suffering subject, perhaps altering the effect of the song to underline this change in role. The audience would relate to this change in narration according to how the singer performed the different parts. Two women were in charge of telling this story, Lydia and soprano Maria Theresa Bland (c.1768-1838), who performed the ballad in public and was noted for her feeling and affective vocal style.<sup>103</sup> They both had the responsibility of moving their audiences to sympathise with the child in their rendition.

The other difference between this song and the others is that the ending is happier, yet unrealistic, with the boy reunited with his father, a sailor. The song has patriotic references, for instance the child mentions how his father left to fight for their country. The end, in particular, functions as a patriotic tear-jerker in the depiction of the sailor offering aid to the boy. Contemporary listeners would perhaps 'feel pride in their country's martial power', as David Solkin argues, as this act of kindness from a man of war to a helpless child demonstrates Britishness and benevolence.<sup>104</sup> Solkin examines history paintings in which soldiers are seen to display charity to

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<sup>103</sup> Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Bland, Maria Theresa', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 22 August 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>104</sup> See David H. Solkin, *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 202-206.

servicemen's dependents, and he suggests that these artworks sought 'to move the viewer, not only to acts of heroic virtue, but to the exercise of the 'amiable' passions': the type of passions, like compassion, that united mankind and brought social harmony.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Solkin, *Painting for Money*, p. 170. See also Smith, *Essays on Philosophical Subjects*, p. 212.



# THE POOR LITTLE CHILD OF A TAR

The much Admired Ballad

*Sung by M<sup>rs</sup>. Bland*

*Theatre Royal Drury Lane*

*The Words by Thomas George Ingall*

The Music by an

*AMATEUR*

*London Published by Henry Thompson No. 75 St. Paul's Church Yard*

*Just Published*

*The Pilot that moordus in Peace.*

*Lovely Laughing Nell.*

*Price 1s*

*Andante siciliano*

The musical score is written for piano and voice. It begins with a treble and bass clef, a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and a 6/8 time signature. The tempo and style are marked 'Andante siciliano'. The first system of music includes a piano (p) dynamic marking and the lyrics 'In a little blue garment all'. The second system continues the melody with the lyrics 'ragged and torn, With scarce any Shoes to his Feet, His Head quite uncover'd a'. The third system features a 'poco f' (poco forte) dynamic marking and the lyrics 'look all for-lost, And a cold sto-ny step for his feat, And a'. The fourth system concludes with the lyrics 'cold sto-ny step for his feat,' and a final chord marked with a capital 'A'.

Music Example 14: 'The Poor Little Child of a Tar', by an Amateur, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI), 2 16 B, (c.1801) pp. 235-236.



236

3

Boy cheerless fat, and as Passengers pass'd, with a voice that might avarice bar, Have  
 pi-ty he cry'd, let your bounty be cast, To a poor little Child of a  
 Tar, To a poor little Child of a Tar.

2

No Mother I have, and no Friend I can claim,  
 Deserted and cheerless I roam;  
 My Father has fought for his Country and Fame,  
 But, alas! he may never come home!  
 Pinch'd by cold, and by hunger, how hapless my state,  
 Distress must all happiness mar;  
 Look down on my sorrows, and pity the fate  
 Of a poor little Child of a Tar.

3

By cruelty drove from a neat rural Cot,  
 Where once with Contentment we dwelt;  
 No Friend to protect us, my poor Mother's lot,  
 Alas! too severely she felt!  
 Bow'd down by Misfortune Death made her his own,  
 And snatch'd her to regions afar;  
 Distress'd and quite friendless, she left me to moan,  
 A poor little Child of a Tar.

4

Thus plaintive he mourn'd; when a Sailor, that past,  
 Stop'd a moment to give him relief;  
 He stretch'd forth his hand, and a look on him cast,  
 A look full of wonder, and grief!  
 What! my William, he cry'd, my poor little Boy!  
 With Wealth I've return'd from the War;  
 Thy sorrows shall cease, nor shall grief more annoy  
 The poor little Child of a Tar.

Music Example 15: 'The Poor Little Child of a Tar' Continued.

Unfortunately for J. Haigh's 'The Orphan Boy', there is no happy ending for the child. The song also has two narrative voices: a passer-by who hears the 'warbling' of the boy and then the child narrates his circumstances. The change in narrative voice helps to make the piece more dramatic, similar to 'The Poor Little Child of a Tar'. Haigh's song, like Abram's 'The Orphan's Prayer', has a mixture of a strophic and a through composed setting. Although each stanza in this song begins with the same musical motif heard when the vocal part begins, the rhythms, pitches, ornamentation and the harmony (in the fourth stanza only) changes in the following bars, altering the affect and enhances the boy's emotions as he tells his story.

The most significant moment in this song is the fourth stanza when the boy describes the death of his parents. The key signature changes to three flats, implying a modulation to the tonic minor, C minor, or E<sup>b</sup> major. Composer Haigh uses both keys for affect. The first two chords in C minor, followed by a diminished seventh chord and a cadence on C minor abruptly shifts the mood in comparison to the previous three stanzas in C major. The modulation suits the words as the boy tells of his father's tragic falling in battle. When discussing his mother's death, however, the harmony moves to E<sup>b</sup> major, perhaps using text expression as a way to represent his mother going into heaven, as she hears an angel calling. But in the last three bars of this stanza, the harmony reverts back to C minor on the line 'Died and left her child alone'. The harmonic instability in this section seems to evoke the orphan boy's melancholy as he recalls this heartbreaking tale.

Moments of word painting occur in the vocal line, for instance in the third bar of the third stanza, a descending minor 6<sup>th</sup> on the word 'dropt' depicts the father's falling tears, and an appoggiatura on the word 'tear' adds emotional emphasis to the word. The ascending rhythmic figure in the fifth bar of the third stanza conveys the hasty exit of the father, and the tempo indication of 'Quicker' above this bar would make this portrayal explicit. These rhythmic features only appear in this verse, implying that the composer intended to convey the drama and emotional intensity of the words in the music.



# THE ORPHAN BOY,

## A Ballad

with an Accompaniment for the Harp or Piano Forte

as Sung by Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Haywell, at the

NOBILITY'S CONCERTS,

Composed by J. Haigh.

The Words from Fox's Poems.

Entered at Stat. Hall.

Price 1. 8/.

London Printed by R. Birchall, at his Musical Circulating Library, 133 New Bond Street

Voce.

Slow and with Expression.

Piano Forte or Harp

Whence art thou whose warblings wild. whose warblings

wild, On mine Ear so sweetly dwell, I'm a hapless Orphan Child bringing

Music Example 16: 'The Orphan Boy', by J. Haigh, 'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES', MR 2-5.10 (c.1797).



3.

water from the well Bringing water from the well.

Verse 2<sup>d</sup>

Un constrain'd with sim-ple voice, do my words unheed-ed

flow; I must ne-ver more rejoice: Grief's the lot of Man be-

Verse 3<sup>d</sup>

low! With my Father's last embrace, This he said and dropt a

Quicker Tempo 1<sup>mo</sup>

tear; Left our home with hurrying pace, Bade my Mother nothing fear.

Music Example 17: 'The Orphan Boy' Continued.



Verse 4.<sup>th</sup>

He was doom'd in fight to fall, Quickly were the tidings known: Soon she

heard an An-gel call, Died, and left her child a lone. Friendless

unpro- tected here, want must still my portion be; Pi-ty,

then my lot severe, Gentle Moslem pi-ty me. *pp*

Adagio

Music Example 18: 'The Orphan Boy' Continued.

### 1.4.3 Slave Songs

Conduct writer John Burton argued, 'A fellow creature in distress, of whatever nation-of whatever religion, has a claim to our humanity'.<sup>106</sup> Feeling compassion, then, should extend beyond beggars and orphan children, and beyond those who are British and white-skinned. Burton continued, 'we are too apt to assume an arrogant superiority on account of the colour of our skin'.<sup>107</sup> These sentiments seem appropriate with regard to songs which depict slaves in Lydia's collection. Composer William Carnaby (1772-1839) wrote the music for songs, 'The Negro Girl' (music example 19-21) and 'Azid, or the Song of the Captive Negro' (music example 22-23).<sup>108</sup> Stephen Storace (1762-1796) composed the music and Prince Hoare wrote the words for 'The Poor Black Boy', (music example 24-25) which came from Storace's musical farce *The Prize* (1793).<sup>109</sup> Elizabeth had this song in her collection as well.<sup>110</sup>

The text to 'The Negro Girl' was not in fact Carnaby's creation. Instead, former stage actress Mary Robinson [*née* Darby] wrote the poem 'The Negro Girl', which appeared in an anthology of poetry after her death, entitled *Poetical Works of the Late Mary Robinson* (1806).<sup>111</sup> The poem has twenty-one stanzas, whereas Carnaby only uses eight stanzas, not following the same order as Robinson's poem, except for the first and last two stanzas of the poem which begin and end the song, preserving the narration. Robinson's interest in politics and her beliefs about individual liberty influenced many of her poems to focus on the topic of the suffering poor.<sup>112</sup> Naturally, the anti-slavery movement and abolitionist propaganda compelled her to write about

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<sup>106</sup> Burton, *Lectures on Female Education*, II, p. 51.

<sup>107</sup> Burton, *Lectures on Female Education*, II, p. 51.

<sup>108</sup> Robin Langley, 'Carnaby, William', *Oxford Music Online* ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 21 March 2011) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. These songs come from 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), 1 14 B (c.1801).

<sup>109</sup> Robin Langley and Julian Rushton, 'Storace, Stephen (John Seymour)', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 21 January 2011) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. 'The Poor Black Boy' comes from 'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI), 2 16 B (c.1804).

<sup>110</sup> 'The Poor Black Boy' in Elizabeth's collection comes from a book watermarked 1796, entitled 'SONGS/DUETTS & MARCHES/MISS E SYKES', MR 2-5.22.

<sup>111</sup> Marcus Wood (ed.), *The Poetry of Slavery: An Anglo-American Anthology, 1764-1865* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 48. For an outline of Mary Robinson's life see Martin J. Levy, 'Robinson [*née* Darby], Mary [Perdita] (1756/1758?-1800)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Jan. 2008, (Accessed 21 March 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23857>>.

<sup>112</sup> Wood (ed.), *The Poetry of Slavery*, p. 48.

slave suffering.<sup>113</sup> In 'The Negro Girl', Zelma laments as white men captured her lover, Draco, and took him on board their ship. She despises the white captors and longs for freedom in death. The end of the poem is tragic as Draco jumps off the ship and dies in a 'watery grave'. By focussing entirely on Zelma's emotional experience and her heartache, Robinson pioneered a type of abolitionist verse that became an exclusive genre to white women who wrote about the suffering of black women.<sup>114</sup>

The musical setting helps to depict the dark and sombre mood of the words, using the key of D minor and a slow, expressive tempo. The low tessitura and chromaticism in the vocal part helps to conjure the gloominess expressed in the first stanza, particularly on the fourth line, the third system, with the awkward intervals in the voice doubled at the octave by the piano: 'And all was drear to view.' This musical declamation gives added affective emphasis to all fourth lines in the following stanzas, as Carnaby uses a strophic setting, enhancing a significant moment in each stanza, such as the treacherous sea in the third and sixth stanza, or Draco drowning in the eighth stanza. There is some light relief harmonically when the vocal line finishes each stanza with a cadence on F major. The lightened mood does not last long, however, as the accompaniment concludes in D minor, making the overall atmosphere of the song melancholic and tragic. The piece requires a dynamic and engaging performance to sustain the interest of the audience, as it would be a long song if every stanza was sung. As the music is strophic, responsibility falls on the performer to bring to life the themes of feeling, suffering slaves in Africa, cruel slave owners, Zelma's shrieks, the harsh environment on land and sea, and the upsetting end. The narrative voice flits between first and third person. Overall, this creates a sense of distance with Zelma. The song seeks to rouse sorrow for a distant subject in a distant land. If Lydia performed this song, she would adopt the role of both narrator and character, with the parts requiring an affective performance. As the role of narrator, the performer would describe Zelma's piteous situation and, as Zelma, the performer would imagine themselves in her fraught position and act accordingly.

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<sup>113</sup> Wood (ed), *The Poetry of Slavery*, p. 48.

<sup>114</sup> There is a debate among literary scholars and theorists about the value of studying anti-slavery verse. For some scholars, such as Wylie Sypher, anti-slavery literature is worthless because of its historical inaccuracy and highly sentimentalised content. One of the longstanding problems in this dispute is the fact that the slaves' experiences have been imagined by white poets. For more information about this disagreement see Wood's introductory section 'Abolition Poetry: A Literary Introduction', xi-xxxv.



2

# The Negro Girl,

## A SONG

*Composed & Inscribed to his Friend, T. R. Hobbes,*  
by  
*William Carnaby.*

*Published Novr. 1804.*  
*London Printed for the Author by R. Birchall, N<sup>o</sup> 133 New Bond Street.*  
*Where may be had just Published by the same Author.*

"See what Delights?"	Duet	1.6
"Fare to thee Generous Swain?"		1.0
"Arid."		1.0

*Price.*

**LARGO con Espressione**

Dark was the dawn, and

o'er the deep The boist'rous whirlwinds blew; The Seabird wheel'd its

circling sweep, And all was drear to view.

*W. Carnaby*

Music Example 19: 'The Negro Girl', by William Carnaby, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), 1 14 B, (c.1801)  
pp. 19-21.



When on the beach that binds the western shore The love-lorn ZELMA

stood, stood, list'ning the tempest's roar. When on the beach that binds the western

shore The love-lorn ZELMA stood list'ning the tempests roar

The musical score is written for voice and piano. The voice part is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The piano accompaniment is on two staves (treble and bass clefs) with the same key signature. The tempo is marked 'Andante'. The score consists of four systems. The first system has a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The second system has a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The third system has a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The fourth system has a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano accompaniment features a prominent bass line with a steady eighth-note rhythm. The vocal line is a simple melody with some grace notes. The score ends with a double bar line.

Music Example 20: 'The Negro Girl' Continued.

2

Her eager Eyes beheld the main ,  
 While on her DRACO dear  
 she madly call'd but call'd in vain ,  
 No sound could DRACO hear ,  
 Save the shrill yelling of the fateful blast ,  
 While ev'ry Seaman's heart, quick shudder'd as it past .

3

"Be still !" she cried, "loud tempest cease !  
 "O! spare the gallant souls :  
 "The thunder rolls — the winds increase —  
 "The 'Sea, like mountains, rolls .  
 "While, from the deck, the storm — worn victims leap ,  
 "And o'er their struggling limbs, the furious billows sweep .

4

"Why, cruel White — Man ! when away  
 "My sable Love was torn ,  
 "Why did you let poor ZELMA stay ,  
 "On Afric's sands to mourn ?  
 "No! ZELMA is not left, for she will prove  
 "In the deep troubled main, her fond — her faithful Love"

5

"Torn from my Mother's aching breast;  
 "My Tyrant sought my love —  
 "But, in the Grave shall ZELMA rest ,  
 "E'er she will faithless prove —  
 "No DRACO ! — Thy companion I will be  
 "To that celestial realm where Negroes shall be free !

6

"Swift, o'er the plain of burning Sand  
 "My course I bent to thee ;  
 "And soon I reach'd the billowy strand  
 "Which bounds the stormy Sea . —  
 "DRACO ! my Love ! Oh yet, thy ZELMA's soul  
 "Springs ardently to thee, — impatient of controul .

7

Now frantic, on the sands she roam'd ,  
 Now shrieking stop'd to view  
 Where high the liquid mountains foam'd .  
 Around the exhausted crew —  
 'Till, from the deck, her DRACO's well known form  
 Sprung mid the yawning waves, and buffeted the Storm .

8

Long, on the swelling surge sustain'd  
 Brave DRACO sought the shore ,  
 Watch'd the dark Maid, but ne'er complain'd ,  
 Then sunk, to gaze no more !  
 Poor ZELMA saw him buried by the wave —  
 And, with her heart's true Love, plung'd in a wat'ry grave .

Music Example 21: 'The Negro Girl' Continued.



'Azid' is also a distressing song depicting the emotional suffering of African couples torn apart by slavery. Again, Carnaby did not write the words. This time satirist and poet John Wolcot (1738-1819), who wrote under the pseudonym Peter Pindar, composed this poem in 1795.<sup>115</sup> Carnaby's music seems to reflect the despondent mood of the text, as the song begins and ends in A minor. The vocal part mainly moves in regular intervals, apart from the intervals of a minor and major sixth when the voice enters, on the line 'Poor Mora eye be wet wid tear,' perhaps to convey controlled despondency. In contrast to 'The Negro Girl', 'Azid' focuses on the emotional experience of the male slave. Even though the text is first person narration, 'Azid' might have created more distance between our performer and her audience with the subject. If Lydia performed the piece she would take on the role of a male character, who is in a far-off place and whose his religious belief was removed from our Protestant family. References to idol worship and paganism appear in the text, 'In thee to fields for flow'r depart; / To please the idol I adore'. The song contains upsetting moments when Azid mentions his fear of the 'chain', the 'tyrant' and his wish for death.

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<sup>115</sup> William R. Jones comments that Wolcot's 'poetry reveals a great sensitivity to the social evils and injustices of the time', including slavery and poverty. But Marcus Wood is much more critical about Wolcot (Pindar's) poetic treatment of the slavery issue, particularly in 'Azid.' Wood contends that '[Wolcot] made no lasting or intelligent commitment to the anti-slavery cause'. For more information See William R. Jones, 'Wolcot, John (1738-1819)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., May 2008, (Accessed 21 March 2011) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29828>>. And Wood (ed.), *The Poetry of Slavery*, p. 213.

**AZID.**  
*or the Song of the Captive Negro,*  
*From PETER PINDAR'S Works*  
*by*  
*William Carnaby.*  
*NB. The Air Originally intended for the Song of*  
*The Negro Woman, Ulalee,*  
*in OBI.*

*Entered at Stationers Hall.*

*Price 1<sup>s</sup>*

*London Printed for the Author by R<sup>t</sup> Birchall, 133. New Bond Street.*  
*Of whom may be had, all the above Authors Works.*

*Andante*  
*con*  
*Expresione*

*p* *Cres* *il* *f* *p*

Poor MORA eye be wet wid  
 tear, And heart like lead sink down wid woe; She seem her  
 mourn-ful friends to hear, And see der eye like foun-tain

*W. Carnaby*

Music Example 22: 'Azid, or the Song of the Captive Negro', by William Carnaby, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), 1 14 B (c.1801), pp. 23-24.



3

flow. No more she give me song so gay,

But sigh, A dieu, dear Domahay. *Cris il*

2

No more for deck her head and hair,  
 Me look in stream bright gold to find;  
 Nor seek de field for flow'r so fair,  
 Wid garland MORA hair to bind.  
 "Far off de stream!" I weeping say,  
 "Far off de fields of Domahay".

3

But why do Azid live a Slave,  
 And see a slave his MORA dear?  
 Come let we seek at once de grave—  
 No chain, no tyrant den we fear.  
 "Ah, me! I hear a Spirit say,  
 "Come, Azid, come to Domahay".

4

Der gold I find for thee once, more,  
 In thee to fields for flow'r depart;  
 To please de idol I adore,  
 And give wid gold and flow'r my heart.  
 Den let we die and haste away,  
 And live in groves of Domahay".

Music Example 23: 'Azid' Continued.

But could these two songs raise compassionate sentiments? And does Smith's theory of universal benevolence apply here, as the characters are out of the sphere of help, and so responsiveness to their plights can lead no further than merely feeling for them? Unlike the characters in the orphan children songs, the slaves do not appeal to any bystanders for help, instead they seem to be isolated figures who witnessed abject terrors and lament helplessly alone. The characters, however, seem to be portrayed in an exotic light. I use the term 'exotic' in the simplest definition to denote distant, remote, strange and foreign places and people.<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, Pindar's poetry seems to be more about creating a fantasy poem with an invented place, 'Domahay' being a distorted version of Dahomey, and romanticized people who sing and pick flowers in fields.<sup>117</sup> The reference to 'celestial realms' in 'The Negro Girl' sounds like an imaginary far-off place, too. The songs might have raised benevolent sentiments, as they addressed slaves in physical and emotional agony, but the characters and settings seemed to be too make-believe to promote practical action and protest against slavery. The topic of slavery might have been exoticised and watered down to make it suitable for a domestic performance in a social environment, but whether anything more came from these songs than an emotional response is debateable.

A similar argument can be raised in Stephen Storace's song 'The Poor Black Boy'. The character sings with an exaggerated and simplified accent, similar to Azid's use of 'wid' and 'den'. The song is about the relationship between the slave child, Juba, and his master, Heartwell. According to Bob Kosovsky, both slave and master are presented as 'sympathetic characters', as Juba presents his master as kind-hearted and Juba experiences feelings of well-being.<sup>118</sup> Yet Storace has turned his poor black boy into a caricature for entertainment. The song came from a larger theatrical piece

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<sup>116</sup> See Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 43. Jonathan Bellman (ed.) *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

<sup>117</sup> Compare these pieces with the song 'The Galley Slave'. This song has more references to physical violence, such as chaining and beating, but again the slave seems romanticised; when he bleeds from receiving a lashing he feels agony more for being apart from his lover, Anne, than from the brutality he endures. This song does not come from the collections at Tatton or Killerton, nor does the music mention an author or composer or date. See website for access to the score:

<http://levysheetmusic.mse.jhu.edu/levy-cgi/display.cgi?id=030.018.002;pages=3;range=0-2>.

<sup>118</sup> Bob Kosovsky, 'African Americans in Early American Sheet Music', *New York Public Library*, (Accessed 21 March 2011)  
<<http://www.nypl.org/blog/2011/02/25/african-americans-early-american-sheet-music>>.

and would require 'actual stage portrayals of the slave', as Kosovsky comments.<sup>119</sup> In his discussion about anti-slavery plays in the eighteenth century, John Oldfield observes that even if slave characterisation bordered on the comic, the plays nevertheless 'helped to create a climate in which abolition... acquired an urgent moral force'.<sup>120</sup> Perhaps this applies to 'The Poor Black Boy'. The vocal line has skipping rhythms and the E<sup>b</sup> major key signature makes the piece sound sprightly. The boy makes no reference in the text to his suffering any hardships from his master. But the boy refers to himself as 'poor,' suggesting that he might, in some way, be experiencing torment, making him pitiable. Hoare and Storace presented Juba as completely dependent on his master. He has neither freedom nor liberty; basic human rights that abolitionists campaigned for the slaves.<sup>121</sup> Storace's opinions on the abolitionist movement are unclear and he may have been more concerned with producing a successful piece of comic music theatre than making a political comment.<sup>122</sup> The song, nevertheless, depicts a captured African slave, and this would give the song a political edge during a time when anti-slavery was fought for by the abolitionists.

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<sup>119</sup> See Kosovsky, 'African Americans', *New York Public Library*.

<sup>120</sup> John R. Oldfield, *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery: The Mobilisation of Public Opinion against the Slave Trade, 1787-1807* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 23.

<sup>121</sup> Kosovsky, 'African Americans', *New York Public Library*.

<sup>122</sup> If we compare Storace's *The Prize* with composer Samuel Arnold and dramatist George Colman's highly popular comic opera *Inkle and Yarico* (1787), the latter has more of an abolitionist tone as it appeared during the rising tide of abolition, making it a politically topical theatre piece. There are no anti-slavery songs as such, describing the awfulness of slavery, but some songs refer to differences in skin colour. Inkle, an English trader, and his valet, Trudge are deserted on the island of Guyana and only survive due to Yarico, an Indian maid, and her handmaid, Wowski. Both Inkle and Yarico, and Trudge and Wowski fall in love. In the Second Act, Trudge discusses his love for Wowski with a planter who exclaims 'Your wife, indeed! Why, she's no Christian!' To which Trudge replies: 'No; but I am; so I shall do as I'd be done by: and if you were a good one yourself you'd know, that fellow-feeling for a poor body, who wants your help, is the noblest mark of our religion'. Aside from addressing the political issues of slavery, topics of race, religion and sympathy for fellow humans are discussed. Act two, scene one, Samuel Arnold and George Colman, *Inkle and Yarico* (London: G. G. J & J. Robinson, 1787), *Project Gutenberg* (Accessed 21 June 2010) <<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/36621/36621-h/36621-h.htm>>.



# THE POOR BLACK BOY

A Favorite Song as  
Sung by Master Welsh in

THE PRIZE, or 2.5.3.8

Composed by Stephen Storace.

Entered at Stationers' Hall.

Price 1<sup>s</sup>

London, Printed for J. Dale, 119. Cornhill, & 132. Oxford Street.

*p* *sf* *f*

You care of  
money an care no more no tink if you be rich or  
poor no tink if you be rich or poor my mind em-ploy me stay wid  
you no for-ry no and where a-way my Mas-fa

Music Example 24: 'The Poor Black Boy', in *The Prize* by Stephen Storace, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI), 2  
16 B, (c.1804) pp. 131-132.



ad Lib: a tempo 3

go go poor black boy go poor black boy and where away my Mafsa go

go poor black boy *f* You

good to me dat kee - py here no Maf - la dat - you ne - ver

fear no Mafsa dat you never fear long time def - troy me know death kill but

leave one part he ne - ver kill the lo - ving heart of poor black

ad Lib: a tempo

boy of poor black boy he never kill the loving heart of poor black

boy. *f*

Music Example 25: 'The Poor Black Boy' Continued.

I mentioned that Elizabeth had this song in her collection, but this is not enough to suggest that she had any strong feelings against slavery. Elizabeth may have collected this song because it was fashionable, considering that *The Prize* was one of Storace's most popular afterpieces (the term given to his light-hearted operas).<sup>123</sup> But it is possible that her father, Christopher Sykes, knew Wilberforce, as both men were MPs for Hull, and she may have heard about the abolition campaign from her father.

Lydia might also have collected this song for its popularity. Indeed, the number of slave songs in her collection is very small in comparison to her other music. The songs may have roused sad sentiments, but it would be unrealistic to suggest that the songs alone inspired or moved her to pursue her compassionate feelings further for slaves and the anti-slavery cause. But the fact that they are present in her collection suggests her awareness of the issues connected with slavery. Her religious beliefs would inform her more about abolition, considering that the Evangelicals condemned slavery for its inhumane treatment of slaves.<sup>124</sup> The Evangelicals believed that every person, irrespective of their race, should experience God's redemption and achieve salvation. Treating slaves as non-human and denying them God's deliverance infuriated the Evangelicals.<sup>125</sup> Evangelicals considered women to be the most important advocates of anti-slavery sentiments, particularly due to their heightened sensibilities, their ability to feel compassion and their role as guardians of morality.<sup>126</sup>

Hannah More's anti-slavery poems used certain sentimental techniques to move the readers' emotions: a standard literary device used in sentimental literature.<sup>127</sup> When More's 'Slavery, A Poem' (1788) first came out, Lydia was far too young to have read it, but she may have read this poem when she was slightly older. More published 'The Sorrows of Yamba' in 1795, when Lydia was nine.<sup>128</sup> As More was a friend of the

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<sup>123</sup> Jane Girdham, 'Storace, Stephen, John Seymour (1762-1796)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., Jan. 2010, (Accessed 21 March 2011) <<http://oxforddnb.com/view/article26590>>.

<sup>124</sup> Collingwood and Collingwood, *Hannah More*, p. 71.

<sup>125</sup> Roger Anstey, 'Religion and British Slave Emancipation', in *The Abolition of the Slave Trade: Origins and Effects in Europe, Africa, and the Americas*, ed. David Eltis and James Walvin (London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1981), pp. 37- 63, p. 40.

<sup>126</sup> Carey, *British Abolitionism*, p. 195. See also Clare Midgley, *Women against Slavery: The British Campaign, 1780-1870* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 16.

<sup>127</sup> See Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*.

<sup>128</sup> More also wrote 'The Feast of Freedom; or, The Abolition of Domestic Slavery in Ceylon' in 1816, but I am not going to discuss this poem because it presents emancipated slaves and has strong

family, it is likely that Lydia read, or heard about her poems, considering the popularity of More's abolition verse.<sup>129</sup>

The two poems 'appeal directly to the heart', according to Clare Midgley, in a similar way that the songs are meant to.<sup>130</sup> Brycchan Carey observes that More presented her slave protagonists as 'sentimental heroes': 'men and women of feeling' who express tears in response to their predicament and who display all 'outward signs of a highly developed sensibility, weeping and sighing'.<sup>131</sup> In 'Slavery', the slave trader prevents the slaves from weeping together: the ultimate sin of the trader. He is denying them to express emotion, denying them their humanity: 'Ev'n this last wretched boon their foes deny,/ To weep together, or together die'.<sup>132</sup> This emphasises the brutality of the white traders and seems to work as a way to increase the compassion in the reader who should feel extreme pity for the slaves and at the same time condemn the traders and the inhumane institution.

Lines from 'The Sorrows of Yamba' refer to slaves crying, such as 'Down my cheeks the tears are dripping,/ Broken is my heart with grief'.<sup>133</sup> The songs depict the slaves as sentimental individuals, too. For instance, Azid mentions how Mora's 'eye be wet wid tear'. In 'The Negro Girl', Zelma is overcome by emotion when she is apart from Draco. The suffering slaves and the extent of their anguish could act as a persuasive tool for an audience.<sup>134</sup> More argued that slaves are human beings, irrespective of skin colour, and that they too think and feel in the same way as we do:

Perish the proud philosophy, which sought  
To rob them of the pow'rs of equal thought!  
Does then th' immortal principle within  
Change with the casual colour of a skin?

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religious and British imperial undertones, which do not feature in Lydia's slave songs. See Wood, *The Poetry of Slavery*, pp. 116-119.

<sup>129</sup> Wood, *The Poetry of Slavery*, p. 100.

<sup>130</sup> Midgley, *Women Against Slavery*, p. 29.

<sup>131</sup> Carey, *British Abolitionism*, p. 74.

<sup>132</sup> See Hannah More, 'Slavery, A Poem' (London: T. Cadell, 1788), (Accessed 21<sup>st</sup> November 2010) <<http://www.brycchancarey.com/slavery/morepoems.htm>>, l. 105-106. See Carey, *British Abolitionism*, p. 74.

<sup>133</sup> Hannah More, 'The Sorrows of Yamba, or The Negro Woman's Lamentation' (London: J. Marshall, 1795), l. 9-10 quoted in *Selected Writings of Hannah More*, ed. Robert Hole (London: William Pickering, 1996), pp. 42- 48, p. 42.

<sup>134</sup> Carey, *British Abolitionism*, pp. 1- 2.

Does matter govern spirit? Or is mind  
Degraded by the form to which 'tis join'd?  
No: they have heads to think and hearts to feel,  
And souls to act, with firm, tho' erring, zeal;  
For they have keen affections, kind desires,  
Love strong as death, and active patriot fires.<sup>135</sup>

Indeed, Lydia's slave songs and More's poems employ similar themes common in anti-slavery poetry. Midgley has identified recurring subjects in these poems, such as the tale of lovers and family members torn apart, the noble savage and the tragic end in death, usually suicide.<sup>136</sup> These themes appear in the songs: the slave traders force Zelma apart from Draco in 'The Negro Girl', but despite her pain she manages to maintain a sense of dignity in her behaviour. At the end of the song, she helplessly watches Draco throw himself into the sea and drown. In 'Slavery', More described babies being torn from their mothers and African women dragged and stolen from their homeland and forced into slavery.<sup>137</sup> Azid could be described as a noble savage as he responds with controlled dejection to his situation. Even though Azid and Mora are together, in stanza three he suggests that they 'seek at once de grave-/ No chain, no tyrant den we fear', using death to escape slavery, a common trope. Death is again mentioned to bring release from misery, as More described it in 'Slavery' as 'the great deliver'.<sup>138</sup> More also used these devices in 'The Sorrows of Yamba': separation of family members and desire for freedom in death. Yearning for homeland is also present in this poem in the line 'to native land I turn'.<sup>139</sup> Juba's situation is different to the other slaves in the songs, but he is represented as a feeling character, capable of emotion, and not as a one-dimensional being.

The above examples from the poems and songs mainly deal with emotional distress, allowing the reader to imagine the feelings of the slaves. The poems and songs say something particular about women's involvement with a political topic. For instance, Midgley observes that More wrote 'Slavery' as 'propaganda to aid Wilberforce at his

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<sup>135</sup> More, 'Slavery', l. 61- 70. See also 'Preface' to Hole (ed.), *Selected Writings of Hannah More*, xii.

<sup>136</sup> Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, p. 30.

<sup>137</sup> More, 'Slavery', l. 98-102.

<sup>138</sup> More, 'Slavery', l. 190-192.

<sup>139</sup> More, 'The Sorrows of Yamba', p. 47, l. 154.

opening of the Parliamentary campaign against the slave trade'.<sup>140</sup> More could not publically denounce the slave trade in Parliament like Wilberforce, but she could participate in extra-Parliamentary activities, such as writing emotionally engaging anti-slavery literature as a way to reach and persuade the wider public about abolition. Katharine Rogers describes More's method as the 'feminine way' of dealing with a political topic such as slavery: 'demonstrating delicacy of feeling and dealing with emotional distress rather than political problems'.<sup>141</sup>

Lydia's slave songs seemed to function as the 'feminine way' of handling slavery, yet the exoticised characters and imaginary locations in the songs seemed to undermine any political implication of abolition. Clearly, the songs did not give a realistic account of slavery, nor contain a strong abolitionist ideology, but the songs did encourage compassion for the slave characters. A more active response to slavery would be something Lydia came across associating with More, Wilberforce and her husband, strident abolitionist supporter, Thomas Dyke Acland.<sup>142</sup>

#### 1.4.4 Fallen and Wronged Women Songs

The final group of compassionate songs in Elizabeth's and Lydia's collection concerns the fallen and wronged woman. In his *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774), James Fordyce encouraged the female sex to 'show a compassionate sympathy to unfortunate women, especially to those who are rendered so by the villainy of men'.<sup>143</sup> The majority of the songs discussed in this section concentrate on relationships between men and women, providing moral and educational instructions for both sexes. The female character is the victim, representing the figure for compassion, which Lydia and Elizabeth portrayed. Both Lydia and Elizabeth had

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<sup>140</sup> Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, p. 32.

<sup>141</sup> Katharine M. Rogers, *Feminism in Eighteenth-Century England* (Brighton: The Harvester Press Limited, 1982), p. 170, quoted in Midgley, *Women against Slavery*, p. 34.

<sup>142</sup> In the 1820s and 1830s, Thomas Acland presented several anti-slavery petitions in Parliament. Terry Jenkins, 'ACLAND, Sir Thomas Dyke, 10<sup>th</sup> bt. (1787-1871), of Killerton, nr. Exeter, Devon', *The History of Parliament Online*, (Accessed 17 November 2012) <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/acland-sir-thomas-1787-1871>.

<sup>143</sup> James Fordyce, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* [1774] (Edinburgh and London: W. Creech, and A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1788), p. 124.

Harriett Abrams' piece 'Crazy Jane' in their collection.<sup>144</sup> Elizabeth's version is annotated with pencil ornamentation, suggesting that she rehearsed and perhaps performed the song. But it also implies that Elizabeth wanted to add her own interpretation of this popular piece.

Abrams depicted Jane as a madwoman, a popular character in eighteenth-century song.<sup>145</sup> Ritchie suggests that Jane is a magdalen figure, a woman from the Magdalen Hospital, the institute for prostitutes and fallen women.<sup>146</sup> In the song, Jane explains how her naivety allowed men to trick and seduce her: 'when men shall flatter sigh and languish think them false'.<sup>147</sup> A rake stole her purity, leaving her disgraced, and as a result she lost her mind. But despite her madness, Jane is a harmless figure, making her worthy of empathy.<sup>148</sup> Abrams used musical devices to emphasise the drama in the song, for instance from bar 36-39, rests punctuate the line 'he sigh'd, he vow'd and I believ'd him, he was false and I undone.' The rest between 'he sigh'd' and 'he vow'd' depicts the act of sighing and the pause after 'false' allows for reflection on her misfortune and his lies (music example 26).

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<sup>144</sup> 'Crazy Jane' appears in Lydia's music book 'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI), 2 16 B (c.1804) and in Elizabeth's music book watermarked 1797, entitled Songs on the spine with the label 'SONGS/MISS SYKES' on the front cover, MR. 2-5.25.

<sup>145</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 108. Ritchie also discusses this song in her third chapter.

<sup>146</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>147</sup> Elizabeth's song, 'Ah! Once, When I Was a Very Little Maid' from Thomas Attwood's (1765-1838) farce *Fast Asleep* (1797) contains a similar warning in the stanza, 'But since I have found poor Women are oft caught,/Such tales by too fondly believing, Fal de ral,/My little foolish heart at the last I have taught,/To be-ware of a Lovers deceiving, Fal de ral'. Overall, this song has a light-hearted tone, due to the skipping rhythms in the vocal part. The female character does not appear distressed, like Crazy Jane. But this is the final stanza, which presents a caution about the seduction of young women. And perhaps the repetition throughout the song of the nonsensical 'fal de ral' could be interpreted to indicate the woman's mental instability. She would be worthy of pity because she does not realise how damaging the seduction was on her mental state. Nicholas Temperley, 'Attwood, Thomas', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 7<sup>th</sup> February 2011) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>, ii. 'Works'. The song comes from a book called 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING, & SONGS/MISS SYKES', MR 2-25.24, flyleaf watermarked 1797.

<sup>148</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 110.



**Music Example 26: 'Crazy Jane', by Harriett Abrams, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI), 2 16 B (c.1804) and 'SONGS/MISS SYKES', MR 2-5.25 (c.1797).**

Yet Crazy Jane for the most part seems to have composure and control for an unstable character. Abrams musically depicted Jane as relatively calm, shown in the regular phrases in the music, with a stepwise vocal line and diatonic harmony. On sympathising with the insane, Smith observed that

the loss of reason... [is] by far the most dreadful... the poor wretch, who is in it, laughs and sings perhaps, and is altogether insensible to his own misery...the compassion of the spectator must arise altogether from the consideration of what he himself would feel if he was reduced to the same unhappy situation, and, what perhaps is impossible, was at the same time able to regard it with his present reason and judgement.<sup>149</sup>

Ritchie suggests that this musical restraint allowed women performers to contemplate Jane's situation and 'to question social attitudes towards gender issues from a protected position of affective and rhetorical control'.<sup>150</sup> Indeed, Jane Austen addressed a similar predicament in *Mansfield Park* (1814) with the domestic performance of the play *Lovers' Vows*.<sup>151</sup> It was a play which was inappropriate for genteel and cultured young men and, particularly, young women to stage. Edmund Bertram discusses with his older brother Tom about the prospect of their sister Maria acting in this performance, 'I think it would be very wrong...with regard to Maria, whose situation is a very delicate one, considering everything, extremely delicate'.<sup>152</sup> Edmund refers to his sister's engagement to the wealthy Mr Rushworth, but her part would involve physical intimacy with another man, the amoral Henry Crawford.

<sup>149</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 12.

<sup>150</sup> Ritchie, *Women Writing Music*, p. 109.

<sup>151</sup> Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park*, ed. John Wiltshire [1814] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 143-181.

<sup>152</sup> Austen, *Mansfield Park*, p. 147.



It is possible that Thomas and Wilbraham listened to a rendition of this song and we need to consider the impression 'Crazy Jane' might have made on them. The inclusion of the male figure, the rake Henry, suggests that the song's message was not only aimed at young women, but also at the males in the audience, discouraging them from becoming seducers and ruining women's lives. For young women, then, the song operated on two levels: as a way to encourage young females to feel distress for Crazy Jane and other women in her predicament, and also as an educational song to protect young girls and to advise them about perfidy in certain men.

Elizabeth had a sequel song to 'Crazy Jane' in her collection called 'The Ghost of Crazy Jane'. Although I am not sure if Harriett Abrams wrote this song, as the title at the top of the score only has 'Written & Composed by A Lady'.<sup>153</sup> In this song the rake Henry, referred to at the end of 'Crazy Jane', has left another woman broken-hearted. This forsaken maid has also lost her mind, as she sees Crazy Jane's ghost wondering in the field. Lydia, too, had a sequel song to 'Crazy Jane' called 'The Death of Crazy Jane' composed by Reginald Spofforth (1768/70-1827).<sup>154</sup> In Spofforth's version, Jane's resting place has become a site for virgins to mourn over the spot where Henry abandoned her. The music has a sense of calm due to regular triplets in the vocal and keyboard part as well as mainly diatonic harmony in the accompaniment, most likely as a way to depict Jane's peace in death.

A few other songs in Elizabeth's collection have educational messages and cautionary tales for girls. Abram's 'The Goaler' comes from a volume of vocal music published in 1808, which Elizabeth included as a complete volume in her book of 'GLEES & SONGS'.<sup>155</sup> 'The Goaler' is dark and disturbing, presenting a truly distressed female character (music example 27 and 28). She has suffered greatly due to her husband who accused her of madness and had her incarcerated, another example of Abrams' mad-woman songs. The vocal line in each stanza comprises of 14 bars in total and the two bars at the end seem to act as a reprise, emphasising her repeated exclamations that she is not mad. Musical clues indicate her unrest, such as the arpeggio figure on

<sup>153</sup> This song comes from the book 'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES', MR 2-5.10 (c.1797).

<sup>154</sup> From 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), 1 14 B (c.1801). For more information on the composer see J. C. Hadden, rev. David J. Golby, 'Spofforth, Reginald' (1768/70-1827), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press 2004, (Accessed 14 April 2011) <<http://oxforddnb.com/view/article26159>>.

<sup>155</sup> Twelve songs make up the volume. Reference number MR 2-4.38.

'rave' in the first stanza; the vocal line reaches its highest pitch on a", illustrating her raging cries. But she proclaims not to shriek anymore 'in proud despair' and the musical line rapidly descends in semiquavers from f' to f', perhaps suggesting her change in disposition from frenzied to calm. She then speaks in a controlled manner in the next two bars, on the line 'My language shall be calm though sad', using only step-wise moving crotchets and a low tessitura. But the following two bars adopt a more agitated rhythm, covering over an octave from c' to e" when she says 'But yet I'll firmly truly swear'. Her vocal line in the final two bars on 'I am not mad' moves in crotchets in homophony with the accompaniment to emphasise that she is sane by expressing herself slowly and in a controlled manner. But this seems artificial, as throughout the song her vocal line has been erratic and constantly changing in rhythm.

*The Goaler.* Harriett Abrams

Words by M. G. Lewis, Esq.

LARGO  
ANDANTE

Stay Goaler stay and hear my woe! She is not mad who

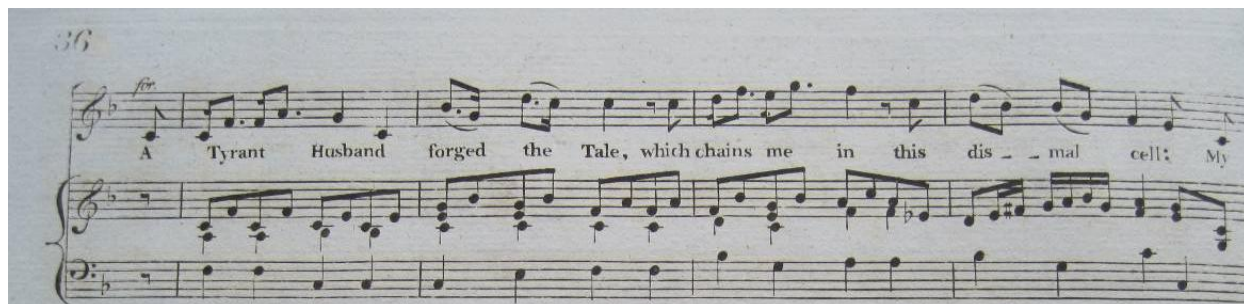
Music Example 27: First Stanza of 'The Goaler', by Harriett Abrams, 'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS', MR 2-4.38 (c.1808).



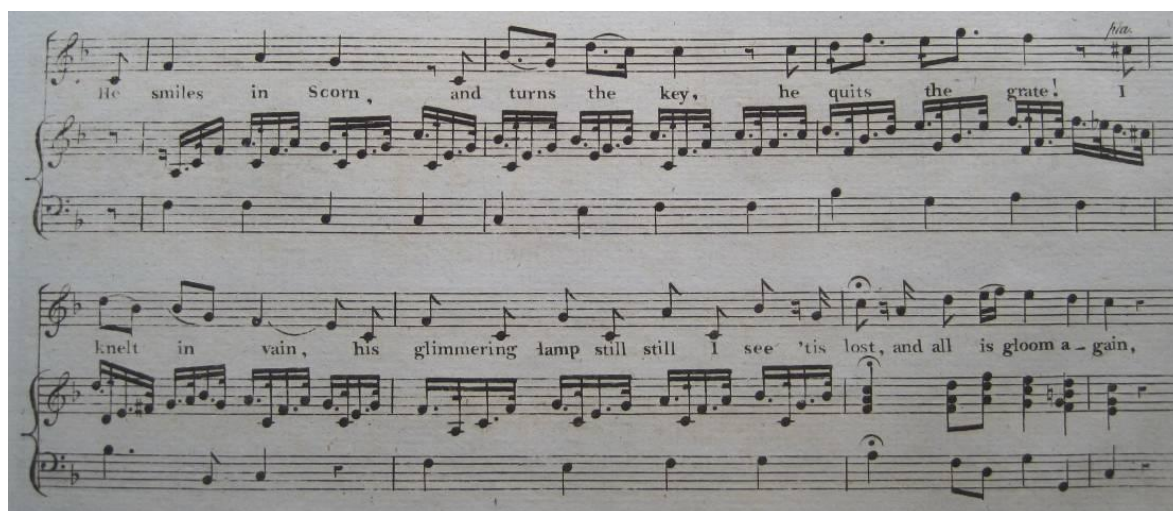
**Music Example 28: First Stanza of 'The Goaler', Continued.**

The accompaniment part becomes increasingly agitated and frantic in the second and third stanzas, when the condemned woman describes her torment by both her husband and the gaoler (music example 29 and 30). Her complaints increase our pity for her as she is helpless and desperate. The vocal line in the remaining stanzas remains fairly strophic throughout the song, except for a few minor rhythmic changes; only the accompaniment significantly alters in its rhythmic guises. The accompaniment could be interpreted to represent her actual feelings: on the outside she seems to remain composed, as demonstrated by the mainly strophic nature of the vocal part. Yet the altering texture and rhythm in the piano part shows her frenzied and panicked state. The melodramatic nature of this song perhaps exaggerates the situation of this woman, yet it would nevertheless address the cruelty some unfortunate women suffered under their husbands' domination. Even though the song is not about a seduced woman, it underlines how vulnerable a woman could be if she married a tyrannical husband. A pertinent message applies here about marriage choices that young women must retain, and a warning to young men that they must

not behave like this tyrant husband in later life.<sup>156</sup> Writer Thomas Gisborne voiced a similar message. He stressed that a ‘husband must not abuse his power with which he is entrusted’, as doing so would bring misery and suffering to his wife, which this song illustrates.<sup>157</sup>



**Music Example 29: ‘The Goaler’, Continued, Second Stanza, bars 18-21.**



**Music Example 30: ‘The Goaler’, Continued, Third Stanza, bars 32-38.**

<sup>156</sup> Another song that warns both young men and women of certain unpleasant men is James Hook’s (1746-1827) ‘I’m in Haste’, in Elizabeth’s book ‘MISS POOLE’S CANZONETT’S’, MR 2-5.24 (c.1797). In this song, a squire is trying to seduce a country maid, and there are moments in the first and second stanza which appear quite sinister. For example, the squire grabs the girl round the waist in the first stanza and then he prevents her from leaving, asking her to sit on the hay and begging her for a kiss in the second. Fortunately, Henry, her husband-to-be, saves her from the squire’s clutches. The message here warned landed elite men not to seduce country maids and to be more like Henry, who provides protection for his wife. The song again would alert young women to be careful about certain types of men, and to make sure they marry sensibly.

<sup>157</sup> Thomas Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher and Middle Classes of Society in Great Britain* (London: J. Davis, 1794), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 9 July 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, p. 603.

Fallen and wronged-women songs appear in the Killerton collection, one of which is called 'The Suicide', again by the collaboration of Opie and Biggs.<sup>158</sup> Opie wrote many moral and sympathetic poems and novels, in which one dealt with the seduction of an innocent girl by a dishonest aristocrat.<sup>159</sup> 'The Suicide' describes the descent of virtuous Anne who eventually kills herself (music example 31). The song is strophic and Opie does not employ text expression or word painting to underline certain words for affect. The word setting is syllabic, probably because Opie wanted the singer to concentrate on the importance of the words. Even though Anne has committed a cardinal sin for a woman, she still deserves pity, and this is suggested in the last lines of the final stanza where mourners lament her death and pray that God forgives her.

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<sup>158</sup> 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4), 1 15 B, no watermark date.

<sup>159</sup> For more information on Amelia Opie and her works see Kelly, 'Opie', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.



THE SUICIDE,  
A favorite BALLAD by M<sup>rs</sup>. Opie,  
Set to Music with an Accompaniment for the Harp,  
By M<sup>r</sup>. BIGGS.

Entered at Stat. Hall.

London Printed for R. Birchall, at his Musical Circulating Library 133 New Bond Street.

Price 1<sup>s</sup>.

VOICE

Andante con Espressione.

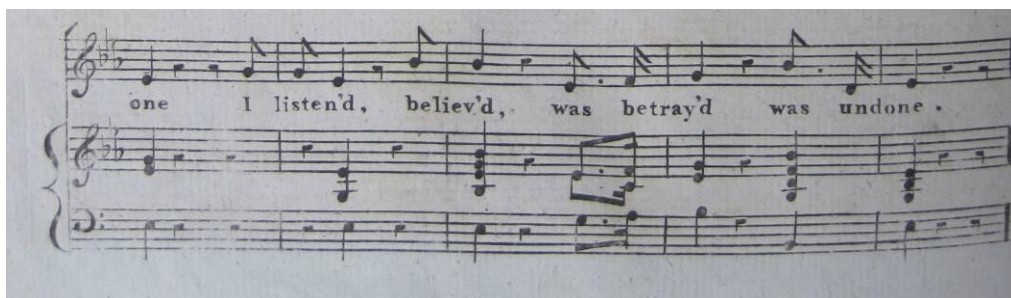
HARP

And did you see in yonder vale, a corpse en - tomb'd, when night be -  
gan. then you shall hear a mournful tale it was the corpse of beauteous  
ANNE, poor injur'd mourner beauteous ANNE.

B. 115.

Music Example 31: First Page of 'The Suicide', by Edward S. Biggs and Amelia Opie, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4), 1 15 B, (n.d.) p. 26.

'The Shade of Henry', this time by Abrams, depicts a woman whose lover, Henry, dies and afterwards 'an artful' man pursues and seduces her.<sup>160</sup> Full of guilt from what happened, she imagines that Henry appears enraged before her and she fears for her life. Indeed, it appears that these seduced women have no alternative but death to purge them of their offences. Abrams used similar musical devices as her 'Crazy Jane' to build tension in this song. For instance, when mentioning her downfall on the line 'I listen'd, I believ'd, was betray'd was undone', pauses between each statement enhance the impression that she is sorrowful and repentant (music example 32).<sup>161</sup>



**Music Example 32: 'The Shade of Henry', by Harriett Abrams, 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), 1 14 B, (c.1801) bars 62-66.**

But Lydia may have come across the subject of the seduced woman in More's poetry. 'The Story of Sinful Sally' (1796) evokes many of the sentiments addressed in 'The Suicide' and 'The Shade of Henry'. The text at the beginning explains how this poem serves as a 'Warning to all young Women both in Town and Country', proving that this poem was educational for the female sex.<sup>162</sup> But in addition to being a cautionary tale, the poem should encourage the readers to feel compassion for Sally, like the songs, and this is shown in the first verse:

<sup>160</sup> 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5), (c.1801) 1 14 B.

<sup>161</sup> Other songs in Lydia's collection which are similar to the ones discussed above are 'Crazy Sally', an anonymous song from 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4), 1 15 B (n.d.), which presents another wronged woman who loses her mind, like Crazy Jane. 'A Mad Song', by Opie and Biggs from 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M8), C2. 7. B (c.1803), is slightly different as this woman loses her mind not because she has been seduced but because her Henry dies before their wedding day. The final song, 'The Mad Wanderer', also by Opie and Biggs, from 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M1), 2 16 B (c.1804), does not explain the reason for Kate's madness, however; for Kate appears in the village of Grasmere already mad and she dies upon seeing a body in a coffin. Nevertheless, Opie presented Kate as a harmless figure, in keeping with her belief that those excluded from society should be pitied rather than abhorred.

<sup>162</sup> More, 'The Story of Sinful Sally' (London: J. Marshall, 1796), quoted in *Selected Writings of Hannah More*, pp. 70-75, p. 70.

Come each maiden lend an ear,  
Country Lass and London Belle!  
Come and drop a mournful tear  
O'er the tale I shall tell.<sup>163</sup>

The tale is aimed exclusively at a female audience and suggests that women will cry after hearing the story. The poem is about a girl who started life in innocence: her name 'Sally of the Green' portrays this purity. But as she grew up she became vain and sought to catch the eye of the powerful Sir William. Unfortunately, Sally does not escape Sir William's seduction. Her descent into a life of sin is suggested in line 53 when she leaves the safety of her parent's cottage. She no longer reads her bible and instead resorts to reading 'filthy novels'.<sup>164</sup> Novels were for More the most abhorred form of literature, as these types of books, in her words, 'do not cultivate the mind properly'.<sup>165</sup> Novels made women ignorant and silly due to their fictitious content. Sally now lives in London, the locus of sin, and her name changed from 'Sally of the Green' to 'Sinful Sally', similar to 'Smiling Anne' becoming 'Wretched Anne', in 'The Suicide'. Sally leads a life of pleasure to the detriment of her health: she drinks gin and has several male lovers. She eventually dies a painful death from syphilis, as a consequence of her sordid lifestyle. More includes a religious element in the poem, as one of the Evangelicals main concerns was for reforming prostitutes, and perhaps the end of this poem reflects this when Sally tries to bring her mind back to God.<sup>166</sup>

### 1.5 Performances of Compassion: Concluding Thoughts

The performance of these songs helped to project an image of a compassionate rich English and Christian female, capable of charitable action. The songs addressed issues of poverty and misfortune that were real and familiar, and how Lydia and Elizabeth reacted with poverty in reality would be a sign of their charitable and feeling nature. In the bigger picture, their songs can be seen as one way to prepare the girls for their future dealings with poverty and other forsaken individuals, as well as reinforcing the point that the rich were in debt to the less fortunate. The songs formed a part of their

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<sup>163</sup> More, 'Sinful Sally', p. 70, l. 1-4.

<sup>164</sup> More, 'Sinful Sally', p. 72, l. 54 and 68.

<sup>165</sup> More, *Strictures*, I, p. 115.

<sup>166</sup> Heasman, *Evangelicals in Action*, p. 148.

training and perhaps made them think about how they would deal with suffering people, and how they can act when confronted with these social issues in real life.

The wealthy have always been expected to help those who struggle through life's hardships and so this ideology would be entrenched into our families' consciousness with or without the songs. My point is that the compassionate songs sought to engage and enhance Elizabeth's and Lydia's emotional responsiveness towards the impoverished. They collected their own sheet music, in some cases annotated the vocal line, and this suggests that they did at some point perform the compassionate songs, even though the songs are a small percentage in relation to their overall music collection. The actual presence of these songs in the collection at least proves that they considered the sentiment of the songs. The moral messages are there in the texts and music, waiting to be brought to life and voiced by the performer. Our women would be equipped to perform their duties in ways appropriate to their gender and class, in a properly English and Protestant way. On the surface, the songs seem simplistic, with easy vocal and keyboard parts and sentimentalised texts, an appropriate amusement for a young girl to play in order to 'kill time'.<sup>167</sup> The songs, if used correctly however, would not waste time, but would be a constructive use of time, and could give significant agency to the young female of the household as she educates herself and those closest to her.

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<sup>167</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, p. 199.



## Chapter Two- Home and Away: Musical Tours to Italy and Vienna

The country house was not an exclusively English space. It was a location where inhabitants consumed and displayed foreign goods to impress friends, family and peers with their cosmopolitan outlook. Previous research has investigated how owners of the country house incorporated particular foreign designs or objects in their homes, such as Palladian or neoclassical architecture, French *bouffe* furniture, chinaware, jappanned ware, Italian artworks or sculpture.<sup>1</sup> Music, however, has not received much attention in its participation with foreign goods or culture, and the different impact it made on bringing cosmopolitanism to the English home.<sup>2</sup>

Elizabeth Egerton's vocal music collection at Tatton Park included Italian songs, arias and duets, both in manuscript and print (music example 33).<sup>3</sup> The inventory (Appendix 3) includes details about the composers and genres of Italian music which appear in her collection. Elizabeth did not hear or collect Italian music in Italy. Her exposure to Italian music, particularly opera, began during her girlhood years in the 1790s when she lived in Yorkshire with her parents in their family home and when she went to school in London. Elizabeth's tour to Italy was imaginary, as she experienced and brought Italian musical culture home by playing and singing it.

Lydia Acland made a real trip to Vienna in 1814 with her husband, Thomas Dyke Acland. While they were away, Lydia and Thomas participated in musical tourism of Vienna by going to concerts and buying music to take back home. But Lydia needed a reminder of home in this foreign environment, and home came with her in the form of

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<sup>1</sup> See Richard Wilson and Alan Mackley, *Creating Paradise: The Building of the English Country House, 1660-1880* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), chapter three. Jeremy Black, *The British and The Grand Tour* (London: Croom Helm, 1985).

<sup>2</sup> William Weber uses the concept of cosmopolitanism as a way to define 'the nature of international authority in musical culture' in eighteenth-century Europe. He argues that we should 'think about cosmopolitanism in musical culture as part of a political process', involving conflict, negotiation and reciprocity between music and competing identities in different regions and places. He considers how concert repertoires were assembled in different cities and how the need for a varied programme influenced choices of composer and music genre. See William Weber, 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life', in *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. Jane F. Fulcher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 209-228, pp. 210-211 and 223.

<sup>3</sup> A more detailed discussion about what Italian music is in her collection will occur later on in the first section of the chapter.



a music book. 'A Traveller' is a miscellaneous music book containing thirty-one pieces of printed vocal music that Lydia selected specifically to take away with her (image 1). The inventory for this book also contains information about the composers and pieces which Lydia had chosen for 'A Traveller' (Appendix 4).

This chapter divides into two sections, with the influence of Italian culture on Elizabeth and the Egertons at Tatton Park coming first, followed by the Acland's journey to Vienna, mainly for chronological reasons. It is worth mentioning here that the beginning of the first section of this chapter includes information about the impact Italy had for the Egertons almost a century before Elizabeth married into this family and moved to Tatton Park.<sup>4</sup> I shall demonstrate that her Italian vocal music and the other Italian objects in her marital home betrayed certain similarities that helped to create a sense of unity amongst all the Italian collections at Tatton. I shall then continue to follow a chronological order for the remainder of this section, discussing Elizabeth's Italian vocal music in more depth, her marriage to Wilbraham Egerton in 1806, and the couple's continued collection of Italian goods to display in their home.

In the second section, I investigate the different spaces in which the Aclands experienced music in Vienna, from the more intimate moments in their rented accommodation where Lydia could sing from 'A Traveller', to the concert halls and music salons. Lydia and Thomas engaged in domestic and social activities in Vienna, and in both instances music featured prominently.

Overall this chapter aims to show how the women of these families were actively involved in shaping their homes as repositories of foreign music, even if one of the women never left Britain. In the case of Lydia, in particular, she used music to unite her with home when away, but also to remind her of her trip when back at home. Their music choices were intricately tied to their identity, revealing and reaffirming their gender, class, national identity, religion, and reflecting their marital status. By including music from different countries in their collections, Elizabeth and Lydia enlarged their already eclectic music collections and further broadened their musical outlook.

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<sup>4</sup> To reiterate, Elizabeth Egerton née Sykes married her first cousin Wilbraham who lived at Tatton Park. See my introduction for the Egerton family tree, figure 1, p. 3.

# CREDI LA MIA FERITA

*The favorite Duett*

as Sung by

*Madame Banti and Sig.<sup>r</sup> Viganoni*

in

## ELFRIDA.

Composed by

### SIG.<sup>R</sup> PAISIELLO.

Price 3.<sup>s</sup>

LONDON

*Printed by R.<sup>t</sup> Birchall, at his Musical Circulating Library 133. New Bond Street.*

Violini

Viola

ELFRIDA  
ADELVOLTO

Bassi

RECITATIVO

Adelvolto

Il Padre, il Re sapranno il pie-to-so di-segno frastor-

Elfrida

-nare, impedir Schernir pos-siamo il Padre, il Re per sempre

Music Example 33: One of Elizabeth's Italian Pieces. First page of 'Credi la mia ferita', in *Elfrida* by Giovanni Paisiello, 'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES', MR 2-5.10 (c.1797).



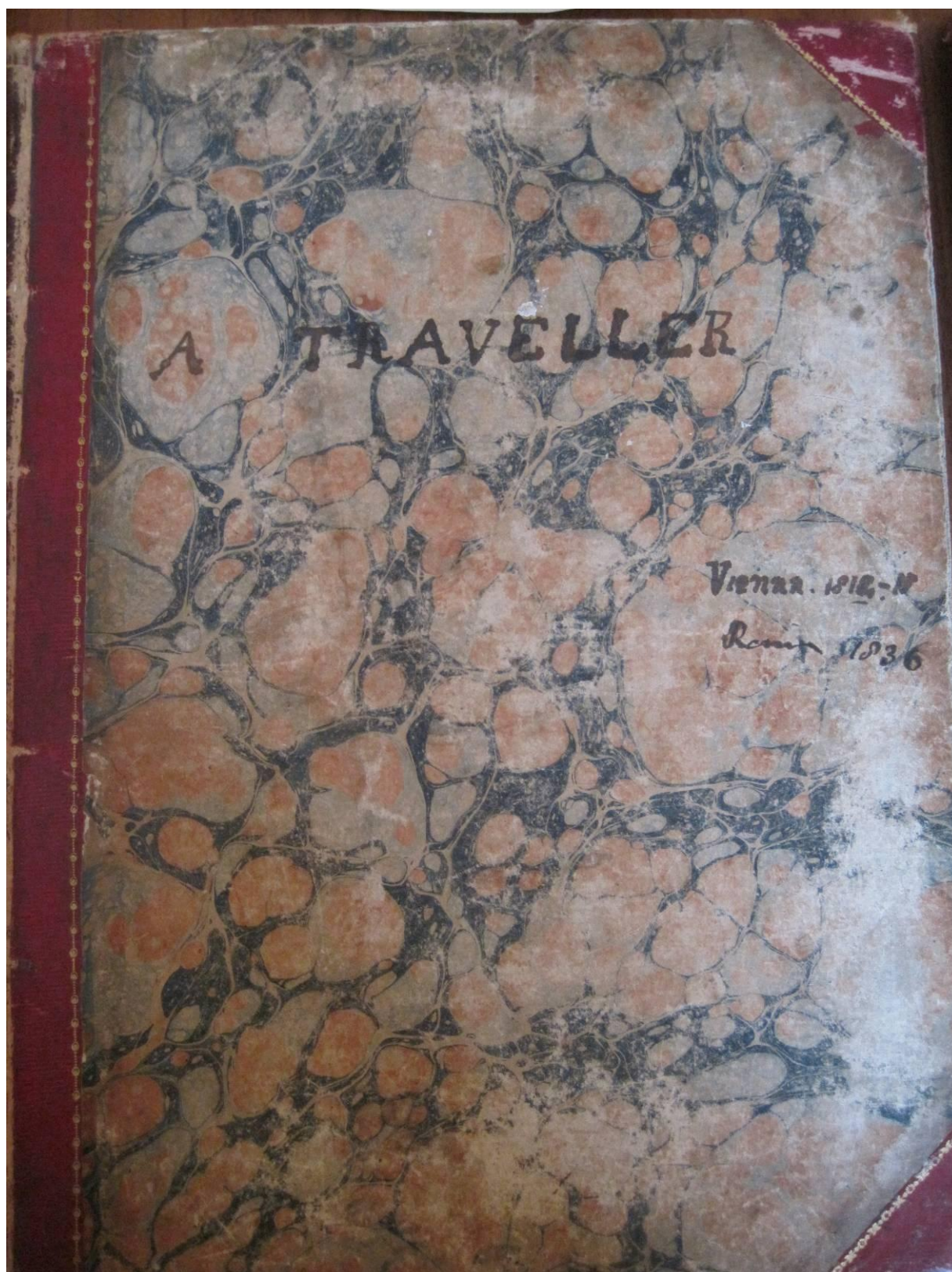


Image 1: The Front Cover of Lydia Acland's 'A TRAVELLER', 2 39 B (c.1813).

## 2.1 At Home with the Egertons: Music and the Family's Consumption of Italy

### 2.1.1 Italy Comes to Tatton Park: Initial Contact, c. 1720s

During the long eighteenth century, elite Britons had an eagerness for foreign travel and a fascination for foreign culture. Italy, in particular, became an increasingly popular place for those on the Grand Tour, a trip through Europe usually undertaken by young British males, to complete and enrich their education.<sup>5</sup> According to Richard Wilson, Italy was 'the birthplace of Roman civilisation', a country that figured prominently in a gentleman's classical education.<sup>6</sup> A visitor could travel through the principal Italian cities of Rome, Venice, Florence and Naples, experiencing and benefitting from a range of cultural and historical encounters, both ancient and modern.<sup>7</sup> Italy offered the wonders of classical architecture, antiquities, ruins and sculpture, as well as fashionable opera and fine art.<sup>8</sup> Tourists, and those who did not travel, could assimilate Italian culture into their homes, importing artworks, furniture and sculpture to decorate the interior of their properties, or by hiring architects to construct their country seats in imitation of ancient buildings seen in Rome. The owners of English country houses had a 'cosmopolitan outlook', as Robin Eagles observes, transforming their homes into islands that harboured international culture and brought foreign places to English soil.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Dana Arnold, 'The Illusion of Grandeur? Antiquity, Grand Tourism and the Country House', in *The Georgian Country House*, ed. Arnold, pp. 100-117, pp. 100-103. Damie Stillman, *English Neo-Classical Architecture*, 2 vols. (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1988), I, pp. 27-28. *Tatton Park*, pp. 18-19. Black, *The British and The Grand Tour*. The Grand Tour was not exclusively for young men, women also made the journey. See Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London: HarperCollins, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 66.

<sup>7</sup> Italy provided other attractions to visitors besides the marvels of the ancient world, such as a warmer climate, sexual adventure, devotional opportunities for English Catholics, and decent food and drink. See Black, *The British and The Grand Tour*, pp. 22 and 76.

<sup>8</sup> Observing the Italians' different customs, manners, religious and political beliefs were also a part of this fascination. Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 2- 3. Joseph Baretti, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of Italy; with Observations on the Mistakes of Some Travellers, with Regard to that Country*, 2 vols. (London: T. Davies, 1768), I.

<sup>9</sup> Robin Eagles, *Francophilia in English Society, 1748-1815* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), p. 169.

The Egertons at Tatton Park were one of many families from this period that had an obsession for Italy and its culture.<sup>10</sup> Italy was a country of great importance to the Egerton family and it had been for generations, both before and after Elizabeth and Wilbraham inherited the estate in 1806.<sup>11</sup> The mansion is noted for its large collection of Italian books, furniture, ornaments, paintings and music, and the interior and exterior structures of the house are inspired by ancient Roman architecture. Altogether this represents the Egertons' status, taste and cosmopolitanism with their Cheshire home as a repository of Italian goods. By our couple's time, however, they had stopped travelling to Italy, but they continued to import goods from the country and attended Italian opera in London.

The Egerton's connection with Italy began with Grand Uncle Samuel Egerton (1711-1780) in 1729.<sup>12</sup> Samuel did not go on the Grand Tour; instead his uncle, Samuel Hill, initiated a five year apprenticeship for his nephew in Venice: the place 'where refined arts reigned supreme', in Bruce Redford's words.<sup>13</sup> Representations of Venice and the Venetian Republic had a powerful hold over British political, cultural, social and historical thought from the middle of the seventeenth century until the end of the eighteenth century. Venice was a 'constitutional state and maritime power that was

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<sup>10</sup> The gallery at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, is full of Roman sculpture, reflecting the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, William Spencer Cavendish's (1790-1858) passion for marble and his love of Italy. Holkham Hall contains an extensive collection of Italian sculpture, artworks and books that began when Thomas Coke (1754-1842), 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Leicester, went on the Grand Tour in the years 1712 to 1718. Ickworth House, Suffolk, has Italianate gardens to complement the Italianate design of the house, started by the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Bristol in the late eighteenth century and completed in 1820 by his son the 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess of Bristol. The architectural style of Beningbrough Hall, North Yorkshire, was influenced by Italian Baroque designs. Harewood House, Yorkshire, has Italian Renaissance paintings, sculpture and Roman neoclassical architecture. Other houses that betray an influence of Roman architecture are Syon House and Kenwood House in London and Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire. For information on Chatsworth House see Alison Yarrington, 'Under Italian skies,' the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Devonshire, Canova and the Formation of the Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth House', *Journal of Anglo-Italian Studies*, 10 (2009), pp. 41 – 62. For more information on the architecture and collections in these houses see Wilson and Mackley, *Creating Paradise*, p. 68. Henry Hope Reed, 'Introduction' to Robert Adam and James Adam, *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2006). For Ickworth Gardens see Stephen Lacey, *Gardens of the National Trust* (London: National Trust Books, 2011), pp. 184-185.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, William Tatton Egerton (1806-1883), the eldest son of Wilbraham and Elizabeth, commissioned a formal Italianate garden to be built on the south side of the house to designs by Joseph Paxton (1803-1865), the designer of Crystal Palace. By 1890 the garden was finished and eventually included a statue of Neptune as a centrepiece, which is thought to have been imported from Venice in the early twentieth century. See *Tatton Park*, p. 106.

<sup>12</sup> W. H. Chaloner, *The Egertons in Italy and the Netherlands 1729-1734* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950), p. 160.

<sup>13</sup> Bruce Redford, *Venice and The Grand Tour* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 1.



at once mercantile and aristocratic', similar to Britain, as John Eglin identifies, and until the end of the eighteenth century, the city was an ideological reference point for the British.<sup>14</sup>

Samuel Egerton apprenticed the English merchant banker and arts patron Joseph Smith (1682-1770).<sup>15</sup> During this time, Uncle Hill commissioned the renowned artist Giovanni Antonio Canal, known as Canaletto (1697-1768), to paint two views of Venice in 1730: 'The Doge's Palace, Looking East' and 'The Molo, Looking West' (image 2 and 3).<sup>16</sup> These two paintings eventually came to Tatton in 1758 when Uncle Hill died, along with a substantial proportion of his wealth, library and art collections.<sup>17</sup>



**Image 2: Canaletto, *The Doge's Palace and Riva degli Schiavoni, Looking East, Venice, 1730*. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

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<sup>14</sup> But these representations of Venice also stimulated anxieties, apprehensions and hostilities in political and cultural thought, for instance the government was 'secretive' and 'tyrannical' on one side, but a 'champion of republican liberty' and a 'political educator' on the other. Venice's culture was 'licentious' and decadent, but it also had the reputation as the centre for the arts. For information on the ambivalent perceptions of the Venetian myth see John Eglin, *Venice Transfigured: The Myth of Venice in British Culture, 1660-1797* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 3, 6 and 103.

<sup>15</sup> An avid collector of paintings, books, coins and medals, Joseph Smith served as British Consul in Venice from 1744 to 1760. Charles Beddington, *Venice: Canaletto and his Rivals* (London: The National Gallery, 2011), p. 24.

<sup>16</sup> Smith played a significant part in establishing Canaletto's career, acting as his main patron and agent. Beddington, *Venice: Canaletto and his Rivals*, p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> Edward Potten commented that this inheritance proved to be 'the making of the Egertons at Tatton'. See Edward Potten, 'Tatton Park Library Collection', unpublished report (2005), p. 10.





**Image 3: Canaletto, *The Molo, Looking West, with the Dogana and S. Maria Della Salute*, Venice, 1730. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

Another painting from this trip also came into the Tatton collection. In 1732, Samuel Egerton posed for artist Bartolomeo Nazari (1693-1758) and the outcome was a full-length portrait of Samuel, complete with Venetian background (image 4). Indeed, these artworks would decorate the interior walls of a Cheshire home with Venetian scenes, creating a continental impression to those who visited.



**Image 4: Bartolomeo Nazari, *Samuel Egerton*, Venice, 1732. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

### **2.1.2 Italy Comes to Tatton Park: Roman Neoclassicism and the Grand Tour, c.1780- 1790**

Tatton Park acquired its imposing, neoclassical appearance in the 1780s when William Tatton Egerton (1749-1806), Wilbraham's father, owned the property. He

hired architect Samuel Wyatt to re-design the house into a more up-to-date style.<sup>18</sup> Wyatt reconstructed the mansion and included architectural structures from ancient Roman buildings, giving Tatton a neoclassical appearance.<sup>19</sup> The interest in antiquity drew tourists, students and aspiring architects to Rome, where they could observe and study buildings and other artefacts from the past.<sup>20</sup> Particular features of these ancient buildings, such as porticos and orders (columns), could be 'reinterpreted' onto house designs back in Britain.<sup>21</sup> The south side of Tatton Park, for instance, has a portico and Corinthian orders. To an informed viewer from our period, these features symbolically projected the supremacy, education and taste of the owner. Rome represented to educated and travelled landowners the 'fountainhead' of Western Civilisation; Dana Arnold comments that Rome stood for timeless and rational values, and for the British it was now the ideal model for imitation instead of Venice.<sup>22</sup> This demonstrates how landowners reused and 'quoted' certain forms from antiquity on their homes to convey particular images of themselves. Arnold argues that 'Neo-classicism, although rooted in antiquarianism, offers interpretations on the cultures which choose to cite it'.<sup>23</sup> The Egertons, no doubt, were well aware of what these

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<sup>18</sup> See page seventeen and eighteen of my introduction. Samuel Wyatt initially worked for Robert Adam (1728-1792), the famous Scottish architect active in the mid eighteenth century. Adam spent three years in Rome, from 1755-1758, learning, studying and drawing ancient objects and monuments, not to mention meeting potential clients. It is likely that Adam passed on his knowledge about classical forms and structures to Wyatt for him to include in his future constructions. John Martin Robinson, *The Wyatts: An Architectural Dynasty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979).

<sup>19</sup> According to Giles Worsley, Neoclassicism signalled 'the conscious return to the Antique as a source for architectural example... [it] is an attitude toward the architecture of antiquity which can be present at any time'. Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 45 and 245.

<sup>20</sup> Damie Stillman observes that architects active in the early and middle decades of the eighteenth century searched for 'true, simple and grand architecture', and Italy, particularly Rome, was the place to visit. The combination of the richness of antiquity- including discoveries of the ancient sites Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompei in 1748- with a fresh view toward antiquity- a rationalistic philosophy based on objective laws, reason, truth and necessity- characterised the neoclassicism of this period, resulting in a rejection of the ornate late Baroque and Rococo styles. Stillman, *English Neo-classical Architecture*, I, pp. 27-28.

<sup>21</sup> Arnold, 'The Illusion of Grandeur?', p. 100.

<sup>22</sup> As a growing imperial power, the British re-examined and re-assessed their position with the rest of the world; they saw new historical similarities and altered old ones. Venice no longer served as a model of naval power on the same scale as the British Empire. In addition, the contradictory depictions of Venice caused hostilities, and the British were no longer comfortable with such ambiguities. Rome now seemed more appropriate as a 'point of affinity' in Eglin's words. Dana Arnold remarks that elite Britons forged an imaginary connection between ancient Rome and Britain. Britons created this association by focussing on the Roman Empire, assimilating Roman dominance, influence, wealth, rationality into British culture, using this 'illusion' to affirm their 'right to rule'. Eglin, *Venice Transfigured*, chapter six. Arnold, 'The Illusion of Grandeur?', pp. 107 and 110.

<sup>23</sup> Arnold, 'The Illusion of Grandeur?', p. 107.

interpretations evoked and incorporated characteristics of ancient Roman buildings to assert their importance in their region.

Around the same time that Wyatt completed the first stage of reconstruction in 1791, William Tatton corresponded separately with his brother-in-law, Christopher Sykes at Sledmere, and his son William Egerton (d. 1799) about the Grand Tour. The letters give the impression that the fathers hoped their sons would complete their education and improve their character if they made this journey abroad. Sykes contemplated sending his eldest son, Mark Masterman Sykes (1771-1823), Elizabeth's brother, on the tour and his letter of 1792 to William Tatton revealed that he would be happy for Mark to make the journey:

I thank you for your kindness to Mark and agree with you that after he is of Age if he wishes to go abroad with a proper person I shall not object to it, it would be great use to him, if he would submit to be guided by such a person, as he ought to travel with... After he arrives of age, there will be some family affairs to settle and he may then take a tour thro' England & Scotland, and from thence go abroad if he wishes it.<sup>24</sup>

But son William expressed a different view in his letter of 1792 to his father: 'you intend for me to go Abroad after I have left Oxford, I rather wished to have taken the tour of England and Wales before I went Abroad'.<sup>25</sup> By this time war had disrupted European travel; Venice had lost its authoritative influence over Britain; and landscape tourism in Britain was on the increase for keen travellers.<sup>26</sup> These reasons possibly influenced William's choice for wanting to travel in Britain first. But William Egerton died in 1799 and it is not clear if Mark ever made the tour abroad.

### **2.1.3 Elizabeth's Italian Connection: Music Collecting During Girlhood, c. 1790**

As the youngest, unmarried daughter of the Sykes family, it was out of the question for Elizabeth to travel abroad. Elizabeth, however, was able to experience the musical

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<sup>24</sup> Letter to William Tatton Egerton from Christopher Sykes, 25 March 1792, Sledmere, Egerton of Tatton Muniments, John Rylands Library, Manchester, 3/8/2/12/3. My thanks to Jeanice Brooks for sharing her notes with me.

<sup>25</sup> Letter to William Tatton Egerton from William Egerton, 19 May 1792, Brigg, Egerton of Tatton Muniments, John Rylands Library, Manchester, 3/8/2/37.

<sup>26</sup> Eglin, *Venice Transfigured*, chapter six. Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 11.

culture of Italy by copying, collecting and practising Italian opera at her father's home in Sledmere, and when she was at school in London in the 1790s. Altogether she collected one hundred Italian vocal pieces that eventually ended up at Tatton Park, including manuscript and printed music for solo or two voices, and these pieces appear in thirteen of Elizabeth's music books.<sup>27</sup> Elizabeth's collection of Italian opera is much bigger than Lydia Acland's collection at Killerton House. Ten of these Italian vocal pieces come from cousin Mary Egerton's partially preserved manuscript book, which is also kept in the mansion.<sup>28</sup> I have included Mary's Italian pieces in the inventory because the girls copied music into each other's manuscript books, possibly performing together or in front of close friends and family.<sup>29</sup> Music making for the cousins was a joint activity; it is clear that they both shared an interest in Italian vocal music.

The inventory (Appendix 3) reveals that Elizabeth's choice of Italian music included both modern and older music. Her fashionable pieces included composers such as Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816), Giuseppe Sarti (1729-1802) and Giacomo G. Ferrari (1763-1842). The older Italian music features works by Handel (1685-1759), Benedetto Marcello (1686-1739), Agostino Steffani (1654-1728), Leonardo Vinci (1696-1730) and Christoph Willibald Gluck (1714-1787). Her collection of Italian music includes composers who worked in Naples (Vinci and Paisiello), Venice (Marcello and Sarti), Milan (Sarti) and Rome (Vinci).<sup>30</sup> Her Italian vocal music can perhaps be seen as a way to take her on a musical tour through Italy, while she is at home in Sledmere, or at school in London. The inventory shows that the arias in her

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<sup>27</sup> Two of these entries are from a pile of loose un-catalogued sheet music: the manuscript song 'La Natura' in Elizabeth's handwriting and Venazio Rauzzini's periodical collection of Italian and English songs, which has Lady Sykes's signature on the title page. This is the only music I have found with Elizabeth's mother's signature and it suggests that Lady Sykes also had an interest in Italian vocal music.

<sup>28</sup> The music book does not have a catalogue number, but has a watermark date of 1802.

<sup>29</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 519. An additional seventeen Italian vocal pieces are in a book labelled 'SONGS', but I have not included the contents of this particular book in the inventory because there are no ownership markings confirming it as Elizabeth's. The music book has a different binding style to Elizabeth's music books, and the operatic arias and duets in the book come from 1820s and 1830s operas, which is beyond my date range. This book has the reference number MR 3-8.14.

<sup>30</sup> See Kurt Markstrom, 'Vinci, Leonardo', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 14 June 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Denis Arnold and Timothy Rhys Jones, 'Paisiello, Giovanni', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 14 June 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Denis Arnold and Elizabeth Roche, 'Marcello, Benedetto', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 14 June 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Denis Arnold and Timothy Rhys Jones, 'Sarti, Giuseppe', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 14 June 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

music books include cavatinas- relatively short and simple operatic arias- as well as difficult, vocally demanding extracts from comic and serious operas.<sup>31</sup> In addition to collecting Italian opera arias and duets, Elizabeth acquired several Italian catches and glees, both by Italian composers such as Felice Giardini (1716-1796) and English composers, such as John Wall Callcott (1766-1821).<sup>32</sup>

What else can this collection convey? For instance, what does it tell us about Elizabeth's capabilities as a singer? What can we learn about the type of education she received based on the pieces she collected in the 1790s? In the bigger context, how does this music link with tourism? How does it relate to other Italian objects in the house? And how is the consumption of older and modern Italian music different to the consumption of other Italian goods? Before I examine these questions, it is important to consider the reputation of Italian opera in London during this time. This will give us a clear understanding of the context and different opinions on the genre in relation to Elizabeth's Italian music choices.

Since Italian opera first arrived on the London scene in 1705 it had met with open hostility and criticism.<sup>33</sup> Attacks on the genre covered many topics such as its exclusiveness, the unintelligibility of the language, the concern that the English style of music would disappear under this foreign influence, the unnatural and licentious castrati singers, the extravagance and flamboyance of the musical style, the threat to

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<sup>31</sup> To give a basic and simplistic definition: *Opera seria* included serious plots taken from Greek or Latin stories, involving historical or mythological figures. Italian poet Pietro Metastasio (1698-1782) helped develop the plots of *opera seria*, in which he would present characters in conflicting emotional turmoil. There would usually be a moral message in the opera. *Opera buffa* featured more common characters experiencing situations that an audience might be able to relate to, including more comic scenes than *opera seria*. It is not my objective to discuss the more complex definitions of these two operatic genres, nor their developments. For more information see Reinhard Strohm, *Dramma per Musica: Italian Opera Seria of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997). Charles E. Troy, *The Comic Intermezzo: A Study in the History of Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, c.1979). Victoria Johnson, Jane F. Fulcher and Thomas Ertman (ed.) *Opera and Society in Italy and France from Monteverdi to Bourdieu* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, c. 2007).

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth has in her book of 'GLEES & DUETTS', Felice Giardini's popular glees 'Beviamo tutti tre' and 'Viva tutti'. 'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. I, MR 2-4.40 and in ms book, Elizabeth Sykes St James's Square, May 18<sup>th</sup> 1801, MR 2-4.33. Emanuel Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III: Participatory Art Music for an Urban Society* (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2003), p. 247.

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Clayton (1673-1725) composed *Arsinoe* in 1705. It was the first all-sung opera in the Italian style to be performed in London. Handel composed *Rinaldo* six years later; the first Italian opera expressly written for the London stage. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson, 'Arsinoe', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 14 June 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Anthony Hicks, 'Rinaldo', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 14 June 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.



the country's stability and the remarks on the detested Catholic religion.<sup>34</sup> Not everyone would feel this intensity of xenophobia, and these slanders cannot be seen as representative, certainly not for Elizabeth who enjoyed Italian opera.

The attacks against Italian opera's foppishness, effeminacy and flamboyance continued to be expressed during the eighteenth century, and disapproval was still published in the nineteenth century, although overall opposition waned.<sup>35</sup> Writer William Hazlitt (1778-1830) argued in 1818 that Italian opera was 'too fine' in its showiness and 'appeal to the senses', exhausting rather than stimulating the mind.<sup>36</sup> This negative viewpoint counterbalances the perspective that floridity in opera could be beautiful. It was this florid, virtuosic display that impressed and dazzled the senses. Virtuosity was associated with 'pejorative connotations of excess, artifice and kitsch', as Jim Samson recognises.<sup>37</sup> The embellishment of the vocal line demonstrated the singer's ability to perform technically challenging passages; the singer could improvise ornamentation, usually at cadential moments. Virtuosity contributed to the condemnation of Italian opera as a senseless and empty show.<sup>38</sup>

But Italian opera was not purely frivolous music, with virtuosos who only amazed audiences with their vocal acrobatics, as these criticisms seem to suggest. Martha Feldman commented that Italian singers' acting abilities could 'elicit a particular emotional response in the listener', as a way to make them sympathetically engage with the character in scenes of emotional distress.<sup>39</sup> In any case, Elizabeth's scores of

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<sup>34</sup> See for instance John Dennis, 'An Essay on the Opera's after the Italian Manner [1706]', in *The Critical Works of John Dennis*, ed. Edward N. Hooker (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1939), vol. I, pp. 382-394. Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, ed. Donald F. Brown, 5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), I, pp. 22-26, 59, 78-79, 81. Suzanne Aspden, 'An Infinity of Factions': Opera in Eighteenth-Century Britain and the Undoing of Society', *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 9 (1997), pp. 1-19. Todd S. Gilman, 'The Italian (Castrato) in London', in *The Work of Opera: Genre, Nationhood, and Sexual Difference*, ed. Richard Dellamora and Daniel Fischlin (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 49-70.

<sup>35</sup> Theodore Fenner, *Opera in London: Views of the Press, 1785-1830* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994), p. 67.

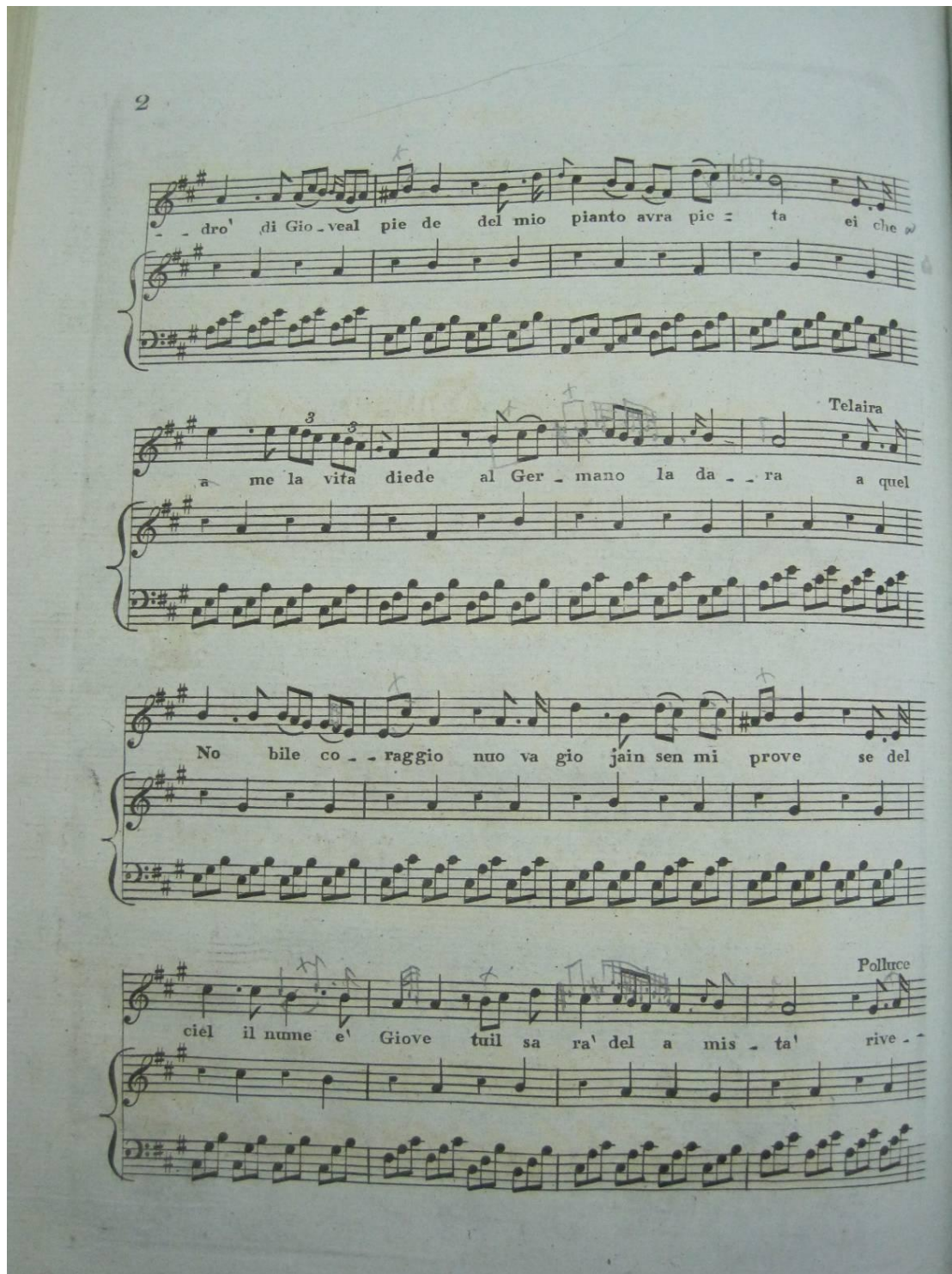
<sup>36</sup> William Hazlitt, 'On the Opera' in *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 vols. [1818] (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1930), XX, p. 92.

<sup>37</sup> Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work*, p. 74.

<sup>39</sup> Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 63. See also Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, 'Metastasio: The Dramaturgy of Eighteenth-Century Heoric Opera', in *Eighteenth-Century Opera*, ed. Anthony R. DelDonna and Pierpaolo Polzonetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 66-85.

operatic arias display many examples of handwritten ornamentation, added by Elizabeth herself or her singing master (music example 34).



**Music Example 34: Second Page of 'Me n'andro di Giove al piede', in *IL TRIONFO DEL AMOR FRATERNAL* by Peter von Winter, 'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES', MR 2-5.23 (c.1803).**

If Elizabeth executed these passages it is possible she had good technique. But achieving this level of virtuosity was problematic; it required time and practice.

Authors of conduct literature advised young girls not to spend too much time practising music as it could distract from more useful pursuits, such as charity.<sup>40</sup> Critics against Italian music argued that it had a seductive potential, and could raise inappropriate passions in a young girl.<sup>41</sup> In addition, these songs did not cultivate a girl's mind properly. Hannah More considered Italian love songs to be poor for 'intellectual stamina'.<sup>42</sup> The damaging impact Italian opera, particularly the excess of virtuosity, could make on impressionable minds clearly caused concern for some English writers and critics.

This high brow genre not only faced criticism in England, but also in Italy, demonstrated in composer Benedetto Marcello's satirical work *Theatre a la Mode* (1720). Marcello ridicules operatic compositions and performance practices in early-eighteenth-century Venice.<sup>43</sup> Elizabeth had two songs in her collection that musically illustrate mockery against particular tropes in Italian opera, both pieces by Charles Dibdin (c.1745-1814): 'The Mock Italian Song' (music example 35-38) and 'Pomposo' (music example 39-42).<sup>44</sup> The texts to both vocal pieces make it clear that Dibdin is ridiculing the flamboyance found in Italian arias, and he does so by using deliberate word painting and text expression.<sup>45</sup> For instance, in 'The Mock Italian Song' he set the words 'a pretty melody' to a rounded melodic phrase and repeated this melodic

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<sup>40</sup> See for example Erasmus Darwin, *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education* (Philadelphia: J. Ormrod, 1798), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 8 July 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, p. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, p. 30.

<sup>42</sup> More, *Strictures*, I, p. 120. Dennis, 'An Essay on the Opera', 384.

<sup>43</sup> Marcello commented on how opera composers paid no attention to the poetry which they set to music: 'the modern composer need know nothing of poetry. He need not be able to understand the sense of speech...or the exigencies of the dramatic situation'. Marcello bemoaned that composers pandered to the virtuosos' demands, and also that composers set melismas pointlessly on nouns. Marcello's humorous work sheds light onto performance practices of the period, commenting on the disruptive behaviour of the audience; it also demonstrated how the Venetian's demand for new operas resulted in works of poor quality. Benedetto Marcello, *Il Teatro all Moda* (*Theatre a la Mode*) (1720), quoted in Enrico Fubini, *Music and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 62. Reinhard G. Pauly, 'Benedetto Marcello's Satire on Early 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Opera', *The Musical Quarterly*, 34 (1948), pp. 222-233.

<sup>44</sup> Both songs come from 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING & SONGS/MISS SYKES MR 2-5.24 (c.1797).

<sup>45</sup> Dibdin was an entertainer and his singing performances were noted for impersonations of foreigners, including mimicking accents and manners. He commented in his autobiography that after being an actor in the general comedy, he then became a spectator; he wrote: 'my opinions and observations, all I have written, may be considered merely as a description of scenes that have passed before me'. Perhaps this statement can be applied to these songs, as Dibdin wrote his impressions of Italian opera in musical language. Charles Dibdin, *The Professional Life of Mr Dibdin, Written by Himself*, 4 vols. (London: The Author, 1803), I, pp. 11-12.

idea several times. To contrast the mellifluous melody Dibdin then used wide interval jumps in the vocal line on the words 'Then go low and then high' bordering on the ridiculous for comic effect. All musical characteristics found in opera arias to demonstrate the singer's vocal prowess are present in this song, and are subjected to Dibdin's ridicule: for instance he scorned patter in the line 'then chatter like monkeys'. Dibdin was not only poking fun at this higher elite culture, he was also making a comment about the excesses found in these pieces by including every possible musical device, such as patter, virtuosic lines, harmonic modulations, cantabile melody and cadential closes, parodying and exaggerating them to the extreme. These devices would 'set the audience in a roar', a line found in 'Pomposo', suggesting that Dibdin was making fun of the elite audience members who were dazzled by the fancy, surface based devices in this music.



# MOCK ITALIAN SONG. <sup>1</sup>

*written and composed*

*By*  
*MR DIBDIN*

*for his entertainment*  
*called*

## *THE ODDITIES.*

Pr. 1<sup>s</sup>

*London Printed & Sold by the Author at his Music Warehouse, N<sup>o</sup> 41, Strand  
opposite the Adelphi.*

Andantino

First chuse a pretty melody a pretty melody a pretty melody To take in all the

flats To take in all the flats Then change your drift and

*C. Dibdin*

Music Example 35: 'Mock Italian Song', by Charles Dibdin, 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING & SONGS/MISS SYKES', MR 2-5.24 (c.1797).



suddenly Prepare to shift the key Then growl like dogs and miowl like  
 cats Then growl like dogs and miowl like cats Then chat - ter like monkeys Then  
 chat - ter like monkey, Then chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter  
 chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter like  
 monkeys Then go low and then high low and then high Then pause through the nose And  
 then swim and die And then come to a clofe And then come to a  
 clofe And then come to a clofe Among the flats and  
 sharps then a tedious journey travel Among the flats and sharps then a tedious journey travel And

Music Example 36: 'Mock Italian Song' Continued.



3

lose yourself in knots of chords and then those knots unravel Then figh and then die figh

die And faint - - - in blifs ex-tatic And then the half tones try for a

touch of the Chromatic for a touch of the Chromatic Then where you left off come again Then

Ad libitum

where you left off come again and now now now you're welcome home again Then once more the

me-lody the melody the pretty melody To take in all the flats To take in all the

flats Then change your drift and suddenly Prepare to shift the key Then growl like

dogs and miowl like cats Then growl like dogs and miowl like cats Then

chat - - ter like monkeys Then chat - - ter like monkey Then chatter chatter chatter chatter

Music Example 37: 'Mock Italian Song' Continued.



chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter chatter

chatter chatter chatter like monkeys Then go low and then high low and then high and then

pause through the nose And then swim and die and then come to a close Yet not feebly but

with a fine can-ta-bile in which go high and low boy still follow'd by the ho-boy and

all through the nose no - - - - -

- and then swim and die And then come to a

close And then come to a close

And then come to a close.

Music Example 38: 'Mock Italian Song' Continued.



*Pomposo*  
a  
RECEIPT for an ITALIAN SONG,

Composed by  
M<sup>R</sup> DIBDIN,

and Sung by him with the greatest applause  
at his late READINGS & MUSIC.

Pr. 1<sup>s</sup>

London: Printed & Sold by Preston, at his Warehouses, 97. Strand & Co. at the Change.  
Where may be had all the Songs Sung in the above Entertainment.

You must begin Pom-poso Then incline to th'affectu-  
-o-fo Then of the furi-o-fo A little touch and then fo much fo much for the mo-tivo

Music Example 39: 'Pomposo', by Charles Dibdin, 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING & SONGS/MISS SYKES', MR 2-5.24 (c.1797).

Further in your progression no matter for expression so that for re - lie - - vo you

ha - - - - and he - - - - and la - - - - and

mi - - - - and fink and break and fink and break and

trill and trill and trill and shake then on a long di - vi - - - sion

foar - - - - -

- 'twill set the audience in a

Music Example 40: 'Pomposo' Continued.



3

roar - - in a roar - - in a roar.

And now have done with that key and get into a flat key now give us that once

more - and take it a note lower the flutes ob - li - ga - - to the fiddles pizzica - - to the flutes ob - li - ga - - to the fiddles pizzica - - to and now

a longfermato Then to the subject come again and after the mo - ti - vo and

af - ter the mo - ti - vo be sure repeat that hum again be sure repeat that hum again of

The image shows a page of a musical score for a piece titled 'Pomposo' Continued. The score is written for piano and voice. It consists of six systems of music. The first system has a piano introduction with a rapid sixteenth-note melody in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand, with the lyrics 'roar - - in a roar - - in a roar.' The second system begins with the vocal line, with lyrics 'And now have done with that key and get into a flat key now give us that once'. The third system continues the vocal line with lyrics 'more - and take it a note lower the flutes ob - li - ga - - to the fiddles pizzica - -'. The fourth system continues the vocal line with lyrics 'to the flutes ob - li - ga - - to the fiddles pizzica - - to and now'. The fifth system continues the vocal line with lyrics 'a longfermato Then to the subject come again and after the mo - ti - vo and'. The sixth system continues the vocal line with lyrics 'af - ter the mo - ti - vo be sure repeat that hum again be sure repeat that hum again of'. The piano accompaniment consists of a steady bass line in the left hand and a more active melody in the right hand, often mirroring the vocal line.

Music Example 41: 'Pomposo' Continued.



4

ha - - - and he - - - and la - - - and

mi - - - and fink and break and fink and break and trill and

trill and trill and shake Then you must go low that the Horns may have a Solo

then you must go low that the Horns may have a Solo then on a long di - vi - - sion

foar - - - - 'twill

set the Au - - dience in a roar - - in a roar -

in a roar - - in a roar.

Music Example 42: 'Pomposo' Continued.



Dibdin's pieces clearly functioned as a joke amongst lovers of Italian opera. A consumer of opera who understood the musical characteristics of the genre probably appreciated the manipulations of typical operatic devices. Dibdin wrote that he found opera 'enchanted', and because he was familiar with the genre he was able to satirise Italian opera effectively.<sup>46</sup> Elizabeth's collection also demonstrates this; she enjoyed Italian opera as well as satires of it.

Having examined the more critical and derisive comments on Italian opera, it is now important to acknowledge that an appreciation and practice of Italian musical culture could complement the image of the Italian opera admirer. Indeed, Italian opera was a prestigious social activity in the eighteenth and nineteenth century and those who attended performances displayed their refinement and status, important attributes for those who hoped to enter, or had just entered, this world of glitz and fashionability.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, as Jennifer Hall-Witt has shown, regular opera attendance and occupying box seats at the King's Theatre gave aristocratic women social authority in the 1820s.<sup>48</sup> As Christopher Sykes, Elizabeth's father, showed off his new wealth by renovating his property, Sledmere, in the 1780s and 90s, another way to reveal his status would be to enjoy, or be seen to enjoy, Italian opera. Elizabeth's collection and enjoyment of this genre could contribute toward the impression of a sophisticated and prosperous family.<sup>49</sup>

In addition to refurbishing the family home, another way for Sykes to show his wealth was by improving Elizabeth with a suitable education.<sup>50</sup> Carol Percy identified that 'the new rich got their daughters fashionably educated' and that 'the accomplished

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<sup>46</sup> Dibdin, *The Professional Life of Mr Dibdin*, I, p. 20.

<sup>47</sup> Weber comments that 'leading aristocratic and bourgeois families...defined their high status by flaunting the internationalism of their culture'. Weber, 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities', p. 213. Rachel Cowgill, 'Wise Men from the East': Mozart's Operas and their Advocates in Early Nineteenth-Century London', in *Music and British Culture, 1785-1914: Essays in Honour of Cyril Ehrlich*, ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 39-65, p. 42.

<sup>48</sup> Such responsibilities included managing social relationships and broadening social networks to benefit the reputation of the family name and promote the political careers of male relations. Jennifer Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts: Opera and Elite Culture in London, 1780-1880* (Hanover and London: New England University Press, 2007), p. 68.

<sup>49</sup> Sykes's increase in affluence was due to his marriage to Elizabeth Tatton, the daughter of Hester Egerton. Hester's brother, Samuel Egerton, was the recipient of Hill's fortune when he died.

<sup>50</sup> Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 518.

daughters would symbolize their father's status'.<sup>51</sup> Elizabeth's musical education not only reflected her father's success, but also revealed much about her identity. The presence of Italian vocal music in her collection established her to be a young female from a wealthy family, who was musically accomplished and tastefully educated. From 1793-1796, Elizabeth attended the fashionable London school run by grammarian Mrs Devis, which she joined aged sixteen and left at nineteen.<sup>52</sup> At Devis's school the girls studied the serious subjects of grammar, ancient and sacred history, geography and French. In her *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors* (1794), Devis included an excerpt on learning Italian by Dr Joseph Priestley (1733-1804).<sup>53</sup> Priestley suggested that 'Italian may be easily learnt after French, and it is well worth the trouble of learning'.<sup>54</sup> This implies that Devis's school included Italian lessons as part of the girls' education.

Furthermore, Elizabeth must have received some lessons in speaking and reading Italian at this time so that she could perform her Italian vocal music with proper pronunciation. Foreign language lessons would enable Elizabeth to learn about another culture, but she could also learn about other cultures through music. In his 1795 treatise on Italian singing, D. G. Aprili mentioned that it is important 'to vocalise correctly, that is, to give as open and clear a sound to the vowels, as the Nature of the language, in which the student sings, will admit'.<sup>55</sup> He also advised that 'in pronouncing the words, double consonants in the Italian language must be particularly enforced, and care must be taken not to make those that are single seem double'.<sup>56</sup> Giacomo G. Ferrari in his treatise from 1818, suggested ways to pronounce certain consonants: 'C in Italian must be pronounced like *chee* in the English word *cheese*; *ce* like *che* in the word *chest*; *gi* like the English letter *g*; *g* like *j*; *sci* like the

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<sup>51</sup> See my first chapter, footnote 55. Percy, 'The Art of Grammar', p. 47.

<sup>52</sup> See Susan Skedd, 'Women Teachers and the Expansion of Girls' Schooling in England, c. 1760-1820', in *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London and New York: Longman, 1997), pp. 101-126, p. 124.

<sup>53</sup> In addition to writing about education, Joseph Priestley was a theologian and natural philosopher who identified oxygen. Robert E. Schofield, 'Priestley, Joseph (1733-1804)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn., May 2007, (Accessed 17 June 2012) <<http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/22788>>.

<sup>54</sup> Ellin Devis, *Miscellaneous Lessons Extracted from Different Authors, Designed to Promote and Encourage an Early Acquaintance with the Use of Words and Idioms* (London: B. Law and Son, 1794), no page numbers.

<sup>55</sup> D. G. Aprili, *The Modern Italian Method of Singing* (London: R. Birchall, 1795), p. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Aprili, *The Modern Italian Method*, p. 19.

English word *she...*'.<sup>57</sup> These comments affirm how singing in a foreign language supported language training and vice versa. It is likely that Elizabeth collected Italian sheet music while attending Mrs Devis's school, as the dates are a close match. Three of Elizabeth's bound music books include Italian songs that have watermark dates of 1796-1797 on the flyleaf, the *terminus ante quem* dates she could collect this music.<sup>58</sup>

At Mrs Devis's school, Frances Power Cobbe's (1822-1904) mother, Frances Conway, recollected that the girls had to 'play the harpsichord with taste' and 'cultivate an appreciation for 'severe' music'.<sup>59</sup> In light of this statement, Elizabeth probably acquired her taste for old music at Mrs Devis's school. 'Old music' might refer to pieces composed in antiquity, or pieces from the previous two centuries, or music that was two decades old or more.<sup>60</sup> Elizabeth's large collection of older music also includes Italian music.<sup>61</sup> The Tatton music library contains Handel's Italian vocal pieces in both manuscript and print, in addition to Samuel Arnold's complete edition of Handel's works that included his operas. Four pieces by Marcello are in the collection, three of which are handwritten entries in Mary Egerton's manuscript book, and the fourth is a printed song in one of Elizabeth's music volumes. Elizabeth collected vocal pieces by Vinci, an opera composer active in the 1720s, who worked principally in Naples and Rome.<sup>62</sup> All of the modern and older Italian music- including other music- that Elizabeth collected during her girlhood years made the journey with her to Tatton Park when she married Wilbraham in 1806. During their marriage of forty-seven years, our couple continued to bring Italian luxury goods into their home.

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<sup>57</sup> Giacomo G. Ferrari, *A Concise Treatise on Italian Singing* (London, 1818), p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> 'SONGS/DUETTS & MARCHES/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.22 (c.1796). 'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10 (c.1797). 'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25 (c.1797).

<sup>59</sup> Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Power Cobbe. By Herself*, 2 vols. (London, 1894), I, pp. 57-60, quoted in Skedd, 'The Education of Women', p. 170.

<sup>60</sup> The noble and genteel English who were interested in 'old' music in the eighteenth century continued cathedral and Chapel Royal traditions that preserved old works during the seventeenth century: a time of political and religious turmoil. Their interest was also a result of hostilities toward luxury, fashion and consumption, and the detrimental impact these factors had on society's morals. 'Old' music could also be referred to as 'ancient' music. William Weber, 'Preface' to *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 169.

<sup>61</sup> Other pieces include the rare four volume manuscript books of Purcell's odes and anthems, which Elizabeth's brother, Mark Masterman Sykes, gave to her as a wedding gift. He purchased them at a book sale in 1803. The previous owner of the Purcell volumes was Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), editor of the complete works of Handel. Mark Sykes was a compulsive bibliophile, collecting rare and unusual books, but unlike his sister he did not collect much old music. Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 513.

<sup>62</sup> See Markstrom, 'Vinci, Leonardo', *Oxford Music Online*.

#### 2.1.4 Italian Objects at Tatton Park

One of the most crucial jobs that preoccupied the newly married couple was the completion of the mansion, including exterior building, interior decorations and room design: Italianate features appear in all of these aspects of the home. Elizabeth's collection of older and more modern Italian vocal music forged an appropriate link with the other Italian items in the home, including furniture, architecture, artwork and books. The family's curiosity for Italian culture manifested on many levels and from different eras. Wilbraham and Elizabeth wanted Tatton Park to physically display the influence of foreign, including French, styles on their taste as a way to demonstrate their preferences for elegant, up-to-date luxury. 'Franco-Italian traditions', as Eagles observes, was a feature of English architecture, as both styles suggest the homeowner's fashionability, as these countries represented to elite Britons the centres of taste and sophistication.<sup>63</sup> The house had been waiting fifteen years for the reconstruction to finish, and Lewis William Wyatt, Samuel Wyatt's nephew, completed the mansion for Wilbraham and Elizabeth. The neoclassical elements on the south side remained, with a portico and Corinthian orders, but Samuel's plans to have eleven bays did not, Lewis reduced the number to seven.

In the interior, Elizabeth and Wilbraham needed to decide on appropriate locations to display their Italian items. The library would be the most obvious place to house their Italian books, and the Wyatts designed this room with neoclassical characteristics, for instance giving the library a symmetrical structure.<sup>64</sup> The Tatton library has about 176 Italian books dated from approximately 1650-1800. This is a strikingly large amount of books from earlier and later periods in comparison to the fifty-nine books at Dunham Massey; eighty-nine at Saltram; seven at Castle Ward and thirty-seven at Ickworth.<sup>65</sup> The Italian books at Tatton are on topics such as travel, art and architecture, including books by Pietro Martire Felini, Filippo de' Rossi, Giovanni Pietro Bellori's work on Raphael's paintings in the Vatican, and Vincenzo Scamozzi's

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<sup>63</sup> Eagles, *Francophilia*, p. 169.

<sup>64</sup> *Tatton Park*, p. 30.

<sup>65</sup> Thanks to Mark Purcell for giving me a quick tour through the Tatton library and also for suggesting that I do a comparative search on COPAC of Italian books in similar sized libraries to Tatton.

book on architecture, published in Venice in 1615, to name but a few.<sup>66</sup> Some of the titles in the library bear the signature of Samuel Hill or Samuel Egerton from the early eighteenth century: Bellori's book on Raphael has 'Sam Hill, Roma, 1728' written on the inside front cover.<sup>67</sup>

This library encapsulates what Philip Connell calls 'a repository of the literature and learning of the past', with many of these historical books containing the most rich, lavish and extravagant bindings, particularly the two folios of Sir William Hamilton's (1731-1803) *Collection of Etruscan, Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1766-7).<sup>68</sup> But the question must be raised if the Egertons ever looked at these books or whether they were meant purely for display to give the impression of a well-read, educated, knowledgeable and cosmopolitan family. The books are modern and old, similar to Elizabeth's Italian vocal music choices. It is unsurprising that Elizabeth had an interest in older repertory considering that she came from a family who had an enthusiasm for collecting old objects, and she married into a family who also collected and displayed antique goods in the house.<sup>69</sup>

Many other rooms include both modern and older Italian objects, such as the entrance hall.<sup>70</sup> This room has neoclassical motifs such as porphyry columns, ionic capitals and a geometric, coffered ceiling.<sup>71</sup> Two late-seventeenth-century Italian chests inlaid with ivory and pewter stand in the entrance hall (image 5 and 6), but how they got here and who purchased them is unclear. They add to the collection of older objects alongside the vocal works and books in the library from this century.

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<sup>66</sup> For more information on the contents of the library at Tatton see Potten, 'Tatton Park Library Collection'.

<sup>67</sup> See Shirley Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park, Knutsford, Cheshire* (Great Britain, Cheshire Libraries and Museums, 1977), p. 33. The book has catalogue number (139.15).

<sup>68</sup> Philip Connell, 'Book Collecting, Cultural Politics, and the Rise of Literary Heritage in Romantic Britain', *Representations*, 71 (2000), pp. 24-47, p. 29. Pargeter, *A Catalogue of the Library at Tatton Park*, p. 179.

<sup>69</sup> Her bibliophile brother, Mark, specialized in accumulating early printed books, such as 'Elizabethan literature and early Italian and German editions of classical texts', according to Brooks. Sykes would grangerise his books, inserting an engraving of an individual or place into the binding where it is mentioned in the text. Elizabeth's music book: 'SONGS/ DUETTS & MARCHES', MR 2-5.22, has a portrait engraving of the famous castrato Farinelli glued on the inside front cover. Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', pp. 522-526.

<sup>70</sup> This would have been the main entrance when Wilbraham and Elizabeth lived at Tatton.

<sup>71</sup> *Tatton Park*, p. 18.





**Image 5: Seventeenth-Century Italian Chest. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**



**Image 6: Seventeenth-Century Italian Chest. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

A nineteenth century walnut table and chair stand in the entrance hall; they are designed in the popular baroque style of seventeenth-century Italy. Both display the

Egerton family arms.<sup>72</sup> The table and chair suggest a modification and conflation of old with modern, present day craftsmanship borrowing from a former style. The most exquisite piece of furniture in the entrance hall is the northern Italian jewel cabinet, made of ebonised wood, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, tortoiseshell and green-stained ivory, which Mary Elizabeth Dugdale Sykes *née* Egerton (d. 1846) bequeathed to her brother Wilbraham and Elizabeth in her will (image 7).<sup>73</sup> She requested that the cabinet remains at Tatton to be a source of enjoyment and use for future generations.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting that she expressly wanted this cabinet to stay at Tatton Park, and it is likely that she felt it would complement the other Italianate items in the house.



**Image 7: Italian Jewel Cabinet (c.1700-1850). Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

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<sup>72</sup> *Tatton Park*, p. 19.

<sup>73</sup> *Tatton Park*, p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> Will and Testament of Mary Elizabeth Dugdale, Public Record Office, The National Archives, Prob 11/2044.

The design of the music room relies on French Boulle work, a style used by André-Charles Boulle (1642-1732), cabinet maker for Louis XIV in the seventeenth century.<sup>75</sup> Boulle work decorates the bookcase panels, chairs and tables in the music room. The furniture is inlaid with brass, ebony and tortoiseshell with an elaborate and detailed pattern. The popularity for Boulle work in the nineteenth century began when Louis le Gaigneur, a specialist in the production of this furniture, supplied the Prince Regent with boulle furnishings for Carlton House in 1815. Le Gaigneur had a Boulle manufactory in London, dating from the same time he worked for the Prince Regent, to maintain the English craze for this style.<sup>76</sup> Boulle work had apparently attracted the fashionable English since the late seventeenth century, and would suit Elizabeth's taste for ornate design, similar perhaps to her liking for virtuosic lines in Italian music.<sup>77</sup> Le Gaigneur is credited with having designed the bookcase, c. 1820, which hold Elizabeth's music books, and the panels betray this particular style: intricate patterns in brass and tortoiseshell decorating the rosewood surface (image 8).



**Image 8: Louis le Gaigneur's Boulle design on bookcase panels, c. 1820. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

<sup>75</sup> Margaret Jourdain, *Regency Furniture 1795-1830*, revised and enlarged by Ralph Fastnedge (London: Country Life Limited, 1965), pp. 34-35.

<sup>76</sup> Jourdain, *Regency Furniture*, p. 44.

<sup>77</sup> John Hardy, 'The English Taste for Boulle', *Furniture History*, 43 (2007), pp. 189-193, p. 189.

The chairs and circular table in the music room are also rosewood in the Boulle style, although Gillows furniture designers supplied these items to the music room in 1813, along with the Grecian couches in the drawing room (image 9).<sup>78</sup>



**Image 9: Rosewood Chair supplied by Gillows, 1813. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

The decoration of the music room relies heavily on foreign designs, helping to create a sense of luxury and theatricality, considering that the brass on the Boulle furniture would have glimmered by candlelight during an evening of performance, creating a magical effect.

The sense of splendour increases in the drawing room, where the two Canaletto paintings hang.<sup>79</sup> Lewis Wyatt adjoined the music room and drawing room with double doors, very similar to architect Robert Adam's design for Sir Watkin Williams Wynn's town house where Wynn would regularly throw musical parties.<sup>80</sup> The

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<sup>78</sup> Susan E. Stuart, *Gillows of Lancaster and London 1730-1840*, 2 vols. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2008), I, p. 220. For more information on Gillows see Lindsay Boynton, *Gillow Furniture Designs, 1760-1800* (Royston: The Bloomfield Press, 1995).

<sup>79</sup> At this time, Nazari's portrait of Samuel Egerton would be in the dining room, along with other major family portraits. The Nazari portrait probably came into the drawing room in 1958 when the Egerton family bequeathed Tatton Park to the National Trust, and the house staff moved paintings around. My thanks to Caroline Schofield for finding this information for me.

<sup>80</sup> Eileen Harris, *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 270.



Egerton's were neighbours to Wynn when they lived in their town house in St James's Square, so it is likely that they emulated his room design. On special occasions the music room doors could be opened allowing guests to roam between both rooms. This also allowed a feeling of informality, a new fashion to create warmth, comfort and welcome in a home, which landscape gardener Humphry Repton discussed in his *Fragments* (1816):

If such a room opens into one adjoining, and the two are fitted up with the same carpet, curtains, & c. they then become in some degree one room; and the comfort of that which has books, or musical instruments, is extended in its space to that which has only sophas (sic), chairs and card tables.<sup>81</sup>

As this was probably the main venue for entertaining, the Egertons ensured that these spaces were the most impressive and inviting. Two Italian chairs (dated 1730) stand in the drawing room, and they apparently came to Tatton during the nineteenth century when Elizabeth and Wilbraham lived at Tatton (image 10). The style of the chairs was typical of the furniture seen in Venetian palaces and this forms an appropriate link with the family's previous association with Venice.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Humphry Repton, *Fragments on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Including Some Remarks on Grecian and Gothic Architecture* (London, 1816), pp. 54-55, quoted in Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', p. 531.

<sup>82</sup> *Tatton Park*, p. 26.





**Image 10: One of 1730s Italian Chairs. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

The pair of sofas, again a Gillow design, match the ornate style of the Venetian chairs. The furniture makers from Gillows richly carved and gilded these sofas, adding curvaceous arms, cabriole legs, and covered the top and seat rails with tumbling fleshy leaf forms, C scrolls, rockwork and acanthus ornaments.<sup>83</sup> These are features of the Rococo style, associated with the ornate interior of early-eighteenth-century French decoration, and were classified as Neo-Rococo by the nineteenth century (image 11).<sup>84</sup>

The elaborate decoration on the sofas and the two Italian chairs in the drawing room can be likened in their description to the virtuosity found in Elizabeth's Italian arias, and also in parts of the exterior architecture, particularly the Corinthian orders. Indeed, this connection between intricate designs in architecture and music was recognized in the late eighteenth century. In his *Letters upon the Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera* (1789) John Brown noticed a similarity between the Corinthian order and Italian arias, particularly the aria cantabile, as both incorporated tasteful

<sup>83</sup> Stuart, *Gillows of Lancaster*, p. 224.

<sup>84</sup> Melissa L. Hyde, 'Rococo Redux: From the Style Moderne of the Eighteenth Century to Art Nouveau', in *Rococo: The Continuing Curve, 1730-2008*, ed. Sarah D. Coffin (New York: Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, 2008), pp. 12-22, p. 13.

adornment. Brown wrote that the Corinthian order's design was: 'to unite... beauty and utility, so it seems the object of the cantabile to unite, in the same manner beauty and expression. Elegance and refinement are equally the character of both, both have the same kind of limitation'.<sup>85</sup> Brown argued that ornament adds beauty to both objects, but also mentions that neither overdoes this decoration, making them perpetually pleasing. Ornamentation, surface decoration and elaborateness featured prominently in the Tatton household and betrayed the Egertons' taste for fanciness.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, the close physical connection between the Italian objects and Italian vocal music at Tatton demonstrates ways in which elite cosmopolitan culture infiltrated the home.<sup>87</sup>



**Image 11: Sofa by Gillows, c. 1825. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

Older Italian objects appear in the drawing room, too, such as the two Italian bone caskets carved as religious figures that date from the fifteenth century; they are an example of the work of the Embriachi family who produced carvings of the highest

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<sup>85</sup> John Brown, *Letters Upon the Poetry and Music of the Italian Opera*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh and London: Bell and Bradfute, and C. Elliot and T. Kay, 1789), pp. 54-55.

<sup>86</sup> Eileen Harris, *The Furniture of Robert Adam* (London: Alec Tiranti, 1963), p. 4.

<sup>87</sup> Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 8.

standard at that time.<sup>88</sup> The drawing room also holds a circular table with its micro-mosaic marble top, but this is a later addition, dated 1830, depicting the Temple of Jupiter in the Roman forum and three carved and gilded storks support this top (image 12).



**Image 12: Micro-Mosaic Table, 1830. Used with kind permission © Tatton Park, Cheshire East Council, The National Trust.**

Overall Tatton Park functioned as elaborate staging for Elizabeth and Wilbraham to demonstrate their predilection for luxuriant foreign objects in more public rooms of the home. The Egertons were not unique in having cosmopolitan taste, but as I have shown, the amount and size of their foreign collections seems to be distinctive. Their appreciation for elaborate old and modern Italian objects permeates throughout the home, illustrated by their choices of music, paintings, ornaments, books, furniture and architectural design, creating a sense of unity amongst their collections. The Egertons' Italian collections would convey to visitors their joint education, taste, intellect, fashion, wealth and power, showing that the possession of another country's cultural artefacts benefited the reputation of the collectors, placing our family at the pinnacle of elite society. Yet Elizabeth's Italian vocal music informs us of a different way of consuming foreign goods in the English country house, without having to travel to the country to collect the music. In this instance, Italianism now seemed to have more value in its objects and opera than the country itself.<sup>89</sup> If Elizabeth performed her

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<sup>88</sup> *Tatton Park*, p. 27.

<sup>89</sup> See Eglin, *Venice Transfigured*.

Italian vocal music, she would have added Italianate musical sounds into the home, complementing the visual objects from the country. Elizabeth continued to consume Italian opera by going to performances with Wilbraham in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth's interest in Italian music stayed with her for most of her life.

## 2.2 Away with the Aclands: English Domesticity Abroad

As a married woman, Lydia Acland was able to travel abroad to Vienna to experience the musical cultures in this country, as long as her husband, Thomas Dyke Acland, accompanied her. The year is now 1814. The historical backdrop is Europe after the defeat of the despot Napoleon and the ruination of his empire. Europe needed to reconstruct and form a new distribution of colonial power.<sup>91</sup> The Congress of Vienna, which ran from the end of September 1814 to June 1815, was a gathering of ambassadors of European states whose objective was to 'impose an ideology on the whole Continent, derived from the interests of four great powers' in Adam Zamoyski's words.<sup>92</sup> These four great powers, Austria, Russia, Prussia and Britain, with France added, manifested in the corporeal form of Prince Metternich, Tsar Alexander I, Karl August von Hardenberg, Viscount Castlereagh, and Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, respectively. The Congress was by no means a purely serious, formal and political event including only political figures.<sup>93</sup> Anyone who could afford to travel to Vienna to attend the Congress could, and apparently 100,000 foreigners flocked to the city.<sup>94</sup> In this climate of optimism and celebration, with many people of high social standing gathered in this foreign city, numerous musical parties, lots of dancing and opera performances were held throughout.

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<sup>90</sup> In his account books, Wilbraham recorded purchases of opera tickets, for instance, 10s 6d on 9 May and £5 14s on 29 June 1833; £6 6s April 1834 and 8s 6d on 24 April 1835. Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/11.

<sup>91</sup> Sir Charles Webster, *The Congress of Vienna 1814-1815* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1963), p. 19.

<sup>92</sup> Zamoyski argues that 'The Congress of Vienna' is a blanket term given for a process that actually began in the summer of 1812 and ended a decade later. Adam Zamoyski, 'Introduction' to *Rites of Peace: The Fall of Napoleon & The Congress of Vienna* (London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 2007), xiii and v.

<sup>93</sup> Zamoyski, 'Introduction' to *Rites of Peace*, xv.

<sup>94</sup> Ingrid Fuchs, "The Glorious Moment: Beethoven and the Congress of Vienna", in *Denmark and the Dancing Congress of Vienna: Playing for Denmark's Future*, Exhibition Catalogue (Copenhagen, Denmark: Christiansborg Palace, 2002), p. 200.

Meanwhile, some 900 miles northwest of Vienna, in the parish of Broadclyst in Devon, Thomas made a hasty decision to travel to Austria with his wife and eldest son, aged five, and join the celebrations at the Congress, but not without some trepidation.<sup>95</sup> Thomas felt great uncertainty about making the journey. Leaving home was a serious decision as our family could encounter many dangers en route. Thomas recalled his feelings many years later to one of his grandchildren:

I was quite inexperienced about such matters, and very doubtful about going off, as many did, as soon as the continent was open. I was just on the point of leaving London for the country, but my friends said, 'You will never have such an opportunity again. There are some weeks before Parliament will meet. Start at once'.<sup>96</sup>

Perhaps this level of honesty about inexperience comes with hindsight, but in any case, the party set off in their new and impressive-looking carriage, with the family coat of arms painted on the doors. They spent eight days in Paris, then ten days in the Tyrol before travelling to Vienna.<sup>97</sup> In the afternoon of 22 October 1814, the Aclands checked into the Hotel de l'Imperatrice d'Autriche in Vienna and stayed there for two nights before moving into their flat, 1220 Kohlmarkt, where they remained for the duration of their trip.<sup>98</sup> By the time our family ventured to Vienna, travel had become more associated with amusement, enjoyment and leisure and less with education, as it had done for the Egertons and Sykeses in the previous century.<sup>99</sup>

Lydia's and Thomas's letters and diaries note their experiences during the Congress, the people they met and their impressions of these encounters. Indeed, Lydia and Thomas's overall interest in music and music-making allowed them to encounter and immerse themselves in the musical activities at the Congress, to make judgements on what they heard, to experience different musical cultures at public concerts and

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<sup>95</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 52.

<sup>96</sup> Arthur H. D. Acland, *Memoir and Letters of the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Dyke Acland* (London: Printed for Private Circulation, 1902), p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 52.

<sup>98</sup> Thomas Acland's Vienna Diaries 1814-1815, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/8.

<sup>99</sup> According to Black, this shift in attitude occurred during the second half of the eighteenth century. He attributes several factors to this, such as guidebooks placing less emphasis on educational matters and more emphasis on practical issues, including 'transport, prices and conversion rates'. Leisure activities started to play a more important role in British society overall, with tourists wanting to bring a more relaxed approach to travelling and sightseeing, focussing on enjoying, rather than improving themselves. See Black, *The British and The Grand Tour*, pp. 244 and 247.



music salons, and to purchase foreign music books to bring back and add to the music collection at Killerton. In addition, their trip offered them opportunities to hear continental folk music, as Thomas recorded in his diary of hearing a 'delightful performance of the Tyrolise' (sic) in November 1814.<sup>100</sup> The Acland's Vienna trip would prove to be an enriching experience on many levels.

### 2.2.1 'A Traveller': Personal Music-Making in a Foreign Country

Apart from the obvious necessities a family would need to take with them, Lydia packed her music book 'A Traveller'. We know she took this music book because on the front cover of the book is the handwritten inscription 'Vienna 1814-1815', also 'Rome 1836'. 'A Traveller' contains thirty-one printed vocal pieces, twenty of which are religious, Handel's oratorios are prominent, and his works appear ten times (Appendix 4). There are five vocal pieces from Italian operas, three Irish songs, two by Irish composer Thomas Moore (1779-1852) and one by John Stevenson (1761-1833), a glee and two English pieces by Joseph Mazzinghi (1765-1844). Why did Lydia want to take specific pieces of vocal music away with her to this Congress trip? Did Lydia feel insecure away from home and could 'A Traveller' remind her of Killerton? Could 'A Traveller' be seen to represent a continuation of domestic musical practice in a foreign country, allowing for personal recollection away from the hustle and bustle of Congress activities and public concerts?

As a devout Christian, Lydia selected repertory of a predominantly Protestant nature, and she probably used the religious pieces in 'A Traveller' for private family devotion. It is likely that she selected the other pieces because she liked to sing them either to herself, or to entertain Thomas and their son. Furthermore, the content of this book corresponds with her collection back home, for instance the Killerton collection

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<sup>100</sup> In 1816, our Acland family went to the Tyrol again, and thirteen years later they sponsored a Tyrolese singing family, the Rainers, to come and perform their mountain singing style in traditional dress at Congdon's Subscription Rooms, Friday 13 and Saturday 14 November 1829, in Exeter. The Aclands probably developed their knowledge about this style of singing from their Congress trip, which shaped their future musical activities, making them more cosmopolitan in their musical outlook. Tuesday 15 November 1814, Vienna Diaries, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/8. For information on the Rainer family see Hans Nathan, 'The Tyrolese Family Rainer, and the Vogue for Singing Mountain-Troupes in Europe and America', *The Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946), pp. 63-79, p. 67. And for the article advertising the Acland's patronage of this singing family see *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 14 November, 1829.

contains the complete Arnold edition of Handel's works, two volumes of Thomas Moore's Irish Melodies, five volumes of sacred music and three books of Italian vocal music.<sup>101</sup> In this light, Lydia compiled a book of miscellaneous vocal works that reflected her musical interests back at Killerton perhaps to remind her of home amidst an environment full of foreigners and foreign cultures.

The Aclands entered Catholic territory and experienced languages, customs and cultures different to what they were familiar with back home at Killerton. They would be curious about these differences and would want to explore them. For instance in one of Lydia's letters dated in November she mentioned the possibility of visiting a convent, but 'many protestants that I know have sought it in vain & a very particular friend of ours told me it was impossible unless I professed myself a Catholic or said that I was Irish'.<sup>102</sup> There was concern about deviating from English roots and losing one's identity under the influence of foreign experiences.<sup>103</sup> This is a sentiment which friend William Barker proclaimed strongly in his letter to Thomas once they arrived back home in February 1815:

If any one but yourself had mentioned that your principles & affections were still altogether English, I should have flamed with indignation at the implied suspicion that they might have been anything else; when the root is sound & the verdure deep surely we may defy the insects of the earth & the blasts even of a German sky.<sup>104</sup>

Barker's letter does not remain xenophobic and he does refer to the benefits of travel for allowing an 'observant mind' to examine mankind in 'different forms and aspects'.

Time away from home distressed Lydia and Thomas. In one of Lydia's letters to her mother, Henrietta Malortie, she mentioned 'the pleasure that I feel at the sight of your handwriting! Many many thanks for your most delightful account of the dear little

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<sup>101</sup> See 'THOMAS MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES', 2 33 B and 2 34 B; For sacred music see C. I Latrobe's 'ANTHEMS FOR THE CHURCH OF UNITED BRETHREN'. no reference number; 'SACRED MUSIC 2 & 3', 2 13 A; 'ANTHEMS/TE DEUM', 2 35 A; 'SACRED SONGS', 2 34 A; 'ANTHEMS', 2 9 B; and Italian vocal music, 'ITALIAN SONGS & DUETS' (G), RH 26 A; 'VOCAL MUSIC' (F) 2 18 A; and 'VOCAL MUSIC' (M10), 2 41 B.

<sup>102</sup> Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie, from Lydia Acland, 27-28 November 1814, Vienna, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

<sup>103</sup> Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 247.

<sup>104</sup> Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland from William Barker, 28 February 1815, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd/Series 1/12.

bairns, to hear of them & of my dear parents is the most acceptable thing I can receive in this far and distant land'.<sup>105</sup> Thomas's yearnings for home intensified as revealed in a letter from his friend John Marriot, 'I cannot help rejoicing that foreign society has not every charm for you, & can fully conceive the want which you describe so feelingly (of coming home)'.<sup>106</sup>

'A Traveller' might have brought a sense of comfort to Lydia as it contains music which was personal to her and could help Lydia to regain a sense of self in a period of respite from Congress events. The pieces reflected her religious outlook, her sense of enjoyment, as well as her musical abilities. In addition, it probably gave her a chance to sing in English if she had communicated in a different language with foreigners. But the couple had several English friends at the Congress, one of whom was Lord Stewart (Castlereagh's half brother), and they would go to his lodgings every Sunday for prayers; perhaps this was an occasion for Lydia to bring 'A Traveller' for the congregation to sing the hymns.<sup>107</sup> They also went to parties comprised only of their English friends. Even though the Aclands would benefit from the cultural exchange they experienced in Vienna, regarding interaction with different languages, customs and religious belief, to broaden and enrich mind, this exchange most likely solidified a sense of their identity: English, Protestant and landed elite. When they socialised with others from England, however, this identity would become collective and could only be constructed and consolidated by engaging with foreigners in a foreign country. As Linda Colley remarked, 'We usually decide who we are by reference to whom and what we are not'.<sup>108</sup>

From a less personal perspective, 'A Traveller' was also a testament to the influential power of English culture and musical tastes on foreign composers. German Handel incorporated a hybridisation of regional influences in his music, and his music was, and still is, used for major English events and ceremonies, such as the coronation of a monarch. The anglicisation of Haydn, who also appears in 'A Traveller', shows some

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<sup>105</sup> Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie, from Lydia Acland, 1 November, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

<sup>106</sup> Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland, from John Marriot, 7 January 1815, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/10.

<sup>107</sup> Vienna Diaries, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/8-9.

<sup>108</sup> Linda Colley, 'Britishness and Otherness: An Argument', *The Journal of British Studies*, 31 (1992), pp. 309-329, p. 311.

similarities. Haydn was a Catholic but he composed psalms and hymns in English for the Church of England when he stayed in London from 1791-1795.<sup>109</sup> The Rev William D. Tattershall commented that England had ‘naturalised’ Haydn, and Simon McVeigh observes how Haydn initially adapted his music ‘to match London norms’.<sup>110</sup> When she included Haydn in ‘A Traveller’, Lydia took the composer back to Vienna, but in an anglicised form. Both contemporary and present day accounts suggest that these composers altered their works to suit the tastes of the English. Another similarity can be found in the ballads by Irish composer Thomas Moore. Ballads were an English speaking tradition, not an Irish tradition, as few ballads existed in the Irish tongue. In addition, traditional Irish vocal music was unaccompanied and not usually notated. Moore’s songs in ‘A Traveller’ betray an anglicisation of an Irish composer’s works as well.<sup>111</sup> ‘A Traveller,’ then, can also be seen to represent a collection of foreign music by foreign composers who moulded their music for English consumption.

### 2.2.2 Social Life in Vienna

While they were away, the Aclands spent much time socialising and soaking up the atmosphere. In a letter to her mother, Lydia described ‘entertaining conversation & [meeting] foreign ministers without end’ on 1 November, the ‘official’ beginning of the Congress. A few days later she had a ‘particularly pleasant’ dinner with the English ambassador and his family, and Lydia sat in between a minister and a Prince, although she did not name them.<sup>112</sup> She did, however, name drop in this letter, informing her mother of the people they associated with, such as the Duke and Duchess of Argyle, Countess Cathcart, wife of the ambassador to the Russian court and Duchess Clancarty, wife to the ambassador in The Hague. The reader can detect a sense of pride and excitement on Lydia’s behalf, and even though this letter is meant to be private correspondence between mother and daughter, it was likely that Lydia’s mother spread the word to family and friends of her daughter and son-in-law’s

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<sup>109</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle & Works: Haydn in England 1791-1795*, 5 vols. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), III, p. 364.

<sup>110</sup> Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle & Works*, III, p. 364. Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Mozart to Haydn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 119.

<sup>111</sup> June S. Sawyers, *Celtic Music: A Complete Guide* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2001), pp. 4-7.

<sup>112</sup> Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie from Lydia Acland, 1 November 1814, Vienna, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1. Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie from Lydia Acland, 4 November 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1. See also Fuchs, ‘The Glorious Moment’, p. 300.

association with key Congress figures. Lydia mentioned in one of her earlier letters to her mother about mixing with a party consisting only of foreigners:

In a circle of 14 we had there 3 Princesses and 2 Princes!...We were the only English & it was our first foreign party we did not feel altogether set [at] our ease we however got on capitally with our French as it is so universally spoken we do not feel the least distress at not being able to talk German.<sup>113</sup>

In order to associate with the Viennese and people from other nationalities, Thomas and Lydia had to communicate in French. Going from Lydia's letter it seems that they had a good command of the language, good enough to pass an evening socialising with foreigners. In addition, the Devon Record Office holds several letters written by and to Thomas in French, suggesting that he and Lydia could speak, read and write in the French language.<sup>114</sup>

### **2.2.3 Concert Life in Vienna**

Aside from rubbing shoulders and socialising with influential figures, discussing the weather, fashion and dress, both Thomas's diaries and Lydia's letters recorded their thoughts and impressions about music events during the Congress. Thomas noted in his Vienna diary on 25 October: 'went to the opera with Lord Stewart... then to Lady Castlereagh's, had supper', or going to a concert on 22 November and hearing 'good music, a concerto on the violin'.<sup>115</sup> In both examples Thomas did not mention a composer or the work he heard, but considering that he did not enjoy writing and was a poor scribe, this level of brevity comes as no surprise. He preferred to scribble, literally, the key activities undertaken during the day.<sup>116</sup> On 1 November, Thomas

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<sup>113</sup> Letter to Henrietta Mallortie, from Lydia Acland, 1 November 1814, Vienna, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

<sup>114</sup> Some of the letters date from the Congress and others a few years later. One of the letters in French was written by the Comtesse Beroldingen, Sophie Josphe Barbe (1787-1852), to Thomas on 27 November 1819. In her informative letter, she wrote that 'Vienna is very nice [as] there [are] no foreigners', in comparison to about four years ago when hundreds of thousands came to the country. She also mentioned a proposed visit to London and her sending a small gift to the Comtesse de Walstein. She ended her letter passing good wishes to Lydia Acland. The letter is contained within the folder with reference number 1148M/7/22. See this folder for other letters written in French.

<sup>115</sup> 25 October and 22 November 1814, Vienna Diaries, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/9.

<sup>116</sup> Thomas received admonishments from both Hannah More and William Wilberforce for his hideous handwriting. More took five attempts to decipher his 'hieroglyphics' and Wilberforce requested that Thomas spend 'a little attention to the ordinary form and appearance of *written* words, so as to give



recorded that he went to 'a concert of 20 piano fortes, played by 40 orphans, sounded like one great forte'.<sup>117</sup> This concert was a repeat of a performance heard on 30 October in the Landständische Saal, in which piano teachers Michael Kunz and his two stepsisters, Mlles Gulyas, arranged for their pupils to participate.<sup>118</sup> Thomas again did not mention what the children played, but going from his comments, the concert demonstrated the leaders' abilities to control a large ensemble.

His observations about a violin concerto and an amateur singer demonstrated critical judgement of the musicians and their performance: 'Went to Baroness Arnstein heard some good music a concerto on the violin, great execution, but not a little out of tune, & singing more wonderful in execution & still more wonderfully out of tune'.<sup>119</sup> As a zealous amateur singer himself, it is no wonder that Thomas paid attention to the skills of the vocalist. He had written about the Vienna amateur music scene to his friend Rev. Joshua Stephenson, who responded with the comment: 'It seems, likewise, that you can hear an Amateur by the account you give of the Musical Parties at Vienna, the very mention of which is enough to make one's mouth to water, or rather one's Ears to tingle'.<sup>120</sup>

Lydia proved to be a discerning listener at concerts. Women who travelled, not only on the Grand Tour but wherever they went abroad, were able to draw comparisons between their own culture and the culture of the foreign country. Brian Dolan remarks that travel allowed women to 'reflect on foreign cultural ornaments and develop a sense of discrimination in taste and judgement'.<sup>121</sup> Lydia's letter to her mother, started on the 27 and continued on 28 November, revealed her opinions on a few concerts that she attended:

A few days ago we went to hear Mozart's celebrated Requiem with which we were indeed most highly delighted it was performed in a Church here for the repose of a

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them some reasonable claim to the name of *handwriting*, [this] would be no small relief to the visual organs of your friends'. Acland, *Memoir and Letters*, p. 3.

<sup>117</sup> 1 November 1814, Vienna Diaries, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/8.

<sup>118</sup> Fuchs, 'The Glorious Moment', p. 208.

<sup>119</sup> Vienna Diaries, 22 November 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/8.

<sup>120</sup> Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland from Joshua Stephenson, 18 January 1815, Devon Record Office, S1148/M/11.

<sup>121</sup> Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour*, p. 194.

Physician of this place who died a year ago & left a sum of money for the annual performance of it.

Curious story is told here about this said Requiem that a stranger came to Mozart & advised him to immediately to compose a Requiem giving him at the same time a very handsome sum of money for his commission, Mozart proceeded to fulfil his task & the stranger came to him once or twice saying only “the time presses” “the time presses”. M<sup>t</sup> said several times I believe I am composing my own Requiem- The stranger never returned to take the music he had ordered but Mozart shortly after its composition expired-.

The style of music here is at present far from pleasing every thing gives way to rapidity & noise. I got such a dreadful headache a few mornings ago at one of their concerts that I did not recover it all day- The execution is certainly very astonishing but I always exclaim to myself “would indeed that it were impossible”!! Beethoven is one of the favourite composers.<sup>122</sup>

The Mozart concert to which Lydia referred is recorded in Thomas’s diary. The concert was held on 19 November in the ‘University Church’, ‘for the soul of a worthy’, according to Thomas. The Requiem was the most appropriate music to be performed at funerals and memorial services across Europe at this time to commemorate great and good individuals, as the combination of the work and the occasion had an overwhelming impact on the listeners.<sup>123</sup> Thomas succinctly summed up his impression: ‘beautiful, it was’.<sup>124</sup> Thomas’s and Lydia’s remarks typified a nineteenth-century sentimentalised perspective of Mozart’s music, including the enigma surrounding the commission of the requiem, as well as his death. According to Christoph Wolff, the first public mention of the Requiem was in the form of an anecdote in the *Salzburg Intelligenzblatt* on 7 January 1792 which commented ‘several months before his (Mozart’s) death he received a letter without a signature asking him to compose a Requiem’.<sup>125</sup> But Simon P. Keefe’s work on the Requiem has

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<sup>122</sup> Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie, from Lydia Acland, 27-28 November 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

<sup>123</sup> Simon P. Keefe, *Mozart’s Requiem: Reception, Work, Completion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 86.

<sup>124</sup> Vienna Diaries, 19 November 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148M/9.

<sup>125</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Mozart’s Requiem: Historical and Analytical Studies*, trans. Mary Whittall (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994), p. 123.

recently proven that there was an earlier anonymous announcement published eleven days before the above anecdote in *Der Baierische Landbot* on 27 December 1791, which again contains several falsities, such as Mozart's completion of the work and his initial dislike of the commission.<sup>126</sup> The legends and tales that sprang up after his death became more sensational, such as the mysterious identity of the messenger who commissioned the work.<sup>127</sup>

Lydia's letter contains the main elements of the legend, which originated from Franz Xaver Niemetschek's 1798 biography of Mozart and Friedrich Rochlitz's anecdotes that appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 5 and 19 December 1798.<sup>128</sup> Lydia's comment that the messenger requested the composition of the Requiem with immediacy and Mozart's belief that he was composing his own Requiem came from Rochlitz's fictionalisation of the story. Other nineteenth-century critical remarks on the work's aesthetics, authorship, orchestration and its emotional impact can be traced back to Rochlitz's 1801 review on the Breitkopf & Härtel edition.<sup>129</sup>

Mozart as 'musical beauty', ideal beauty or pure music was a notion that became prominent in the mid nineteenth century. In Wilkie Collins' novel *The Woman in White* (1859-60) Mozart's music is favoured for its simplicity and clear melodic direction in contrast to the music of Schumann which prioritises motivic development over melody.<sup>130</sup> This idea had become common for English readers since Edward Holmes's biography *Life of Mozart* (1845) and since Beethoven appeared on the

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<sup>126</sup> Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem: Reception*, p. 14.

<sup>127</sup> Lydia wrote her letter a decade before the 'Requiem-Streit' of the 1820s. That began in Jacob Gottfried Weber's article: 'Über die Echtheit des Mozartschen Requiem' (1825), which, in Wolff's words, sought to 'shed light on the contradictions that had been apparent for the previous twenty-five years'. Weber wanted to address the discrepancies in accounts of authorship and the authenticity of the Requiem mainly because no manuscripts were available to prove the work was Mozart's. At that time no one knew how much of the music Mozart had composed himself, if the Requiem had been left unfinished, or if Mozart had actually finished it. The first publication of the Requiem in 1800 did not include Franz Xaver Süssmayr's contribution, even though he played a fundamental part in its completion. The complete original was discovered in 1838 and only then could graphologists inspect the score and detect the different hands at work on the piece. The other contributor was Joseph Eybler. Franz Jacob Freystädler, who was previously thought to have contributed to the Kyrie movement, is no longer considered as a player in the completion of the Requiem. Wolff, *Mozart's Requiem*, pp. 1, 7, 8 and 12. Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem: Reception*, pp. 50 and 172.

<sup>128</sup> Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem: Reception*, p. 15.

<sup>129</sup> Keefe, *Mozart's Requiem: Reception*, pp. 44-49.

<sup>130</sup> See Nicky Losseff, 'Absent Melody and "The Woman in White"', *Music & Letters*, 4 (2000), pp. 532-550.

music scene.<sup>131</sup> But Lydia seems to be voicing this English sensibility towards Mozart much earlier than had previously been thought.

When Lydia discussed Beethoven, she did not say whether the ‘style of music’ represented the music Beethoven composed for the Congress, nor does she give her own opinion of Beethoven’s music. It is a matter-of-fact comment that his music was popular with the Viennese crowds. Her remarks nevertheless prove that she had a particular musical preference and that pieces which included too much dexterity and technicality were not to her taste, although she could appreciate the skill behind it. Lydia did not collect much vocal music by Beethoven, only his ‘Six Sacred Songs’ for single voice and piano forte accompaniment appear in her collection.<sup>132</sup> Mozart and Haydn feature prominently at Killerton, including Mozart’s cazonettas, a whole volume of arias and duets from his Italian operas, and Haydn’s vocal works, such as his canzonettas.<sup>133</sup> Lydia may have exaggerated that the music induced a headache, but her comment helps to illustrate the intensity of the volume of that concert.

Lydia, however, did not make it clear in her letter which recital she referred to. The Beethoven concert at the Congress occurred on 29 November 1814, and going from the date of Lydia’s letter it is doubtful that she and Thomas attended this one. He made no mention in his diary of attending the famous concert at the Großer Redoutensaal where Beethoven had his A major symphony (No. 7), *Der Glorreiche Augenblick* (op. 136) and *Wellingtons Sieg*, written in 1813 (op. 91), performed. Indeed, the pieces Beethoven composed for or had performed at the Congress have faced criticism from scholars and his contemporaries.<sup>134</sup> The pieces apparently exemplified ‘kitsch’ and demonstrated Beethoven ‘sacrificing his art for commercial success’, as William Kinderman observes.<sup>135</sup> Johann Wenzel Tomaschek (1774-1850),

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<sup>131</sup> Losseff, ‘Absent Melody’, p. 538.

<sup>132</sup> The songs appear in ‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (H), 2 38 B.

<sup>133</sup> For Mozart’s Canzonettas see ‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (MI), 2 16 B, for the book of his Italian music see ‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (M10), 2 41 B, and for other Italian arias see ‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (F), 2 18 A; and ‘ITALIAN SONGS & DUETS’ (G), RH 26 A; and Haydn ‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (M3), 2 29 B.

<sup>134</sup> See William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 167-188. Nicholas Mathew, ‘Beethoven’s Political Music, the Handelian Sublime, and the Aesthetics of Prostration’, *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 33 (2009), pp. 110-150. Nicholas Mathew, ‘History Under Erasure: Wellingtons Sieg, the Congress of Vienna, and the Ruination of Beethoven’s Heroic Style’, *Musical Quarterly*, 89 (2006), pp. 17-61. Nicholas Cook, ‘The Other Beethoven: Heroism, the Canon, and the Works of 1813-14’, *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music*, 27 (2003), pp. 3-24.

<sup>135</sup> Kinderman, *Beethoven*, p. 169.

a music teacher and composer, had this to say about the 'patriotic composition', the cantata, *Der Glorreiche Augenblick*, and *Wellingtons Sieg* when he attended a rehearsal on 28 November:

The cantata did not and could not appeal, for its imperfections are of a kind which cannot be concealed either by genius or fame. The Concert concluded with 'The Battle of Vittoria' [*Wellington's Sieg*]...the orchestra was almost entirely submerged by the godless din of drums, the rattling and slambanging... Quite defeated by the cataract of noise I was glad to get out into the open again'.<sup>136</sup>

Tomaschek's and Lydia's comments were very similar as they both described the intense dynamic of the music and its oppressive force, but this is not enough to confirm that Lydia heard Beethoven's cantata and his orchestral work. According to Nicholas Cook, Tomaschek wrote his account thirty years after the event and so this undermines the credibility of this source as he could have exaggerated his impressions.<sup>137</sup> But I disagree with this, as Lydia's letter confirms Tomaschek's impressions, the music was clearly noisy as she wrote her accounts at the time of the Congress. She may not have heard the concert, but she nevertheless associated Beethoven's music with noise.

The concert of 'rapidity and noise' may have been a private event, neither recorded in the *Wiener Zeitung*, nor in Ingrid Fuch's calendar of events in her exhibition catalogue of the Congress (2002). Lydia, however, may have heard some 'modern' Germanic music on Friday 25 November when she attended a concert with their friends Mr Hammer and Mr Clifford at Streicher's.<sup>138</sup> In his diary entry, Thomas commented how this concert 'was a favour for amateurs' and that they heard 'Prince Radzini sing and play from his own composition a piece of Dr. Faust- German Master'.<sup>139</sup> As Lydia continued this letter on 28 November, this concert would have been 'a few days ago',

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<sup>136</sup> Quoted in Oscar G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries* (London: Oxford University Press, c.1927), pp. 106-107.

<sup>137</sup> Cook also suggests that Tomaschek's hostile reaction to this rehearsal represented his general dislike of Beethoven's music of the middle period. Cook, 'The Other Beethoven', p. 8.

<sup>138</sup> This was probably the home of Johann Andreas Streicher (1761-1833) and piano maker Nanette Stein Streicher (1769-1833), who had founded Streicher's piano building firm in 1802, a couple with whom Beethoven associated. Margaret Cranmer, 'Streicher', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 30 August 2011) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>139</sup> Vienna Diaries, 25 Friday November 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/ 9. Prince Radzini is probably Prince Antoni Radziwill (1775-1833), Prussian noble, politician and musician. Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace*, p. 483.



although whether this was in the morning is unclear. She could have referred to the Prince's execution, but she could equally have been referring to the execution of an orchestra. It is not certain that Lydia's letter referred to the concert on 25 November; nevertheless, this concert was the closest match in date.

#### 2.2.4 Singing Lessons for Lydia

Lydia's musical preferences come across in other letters, this time relating to the repertoire of her singing lessons. She first referred to her instructor in November, writing:

Acland is employing himself with a German Master & I am about to have a Music master from which I promise myself much pleasure & he is to be, I believe an Italian indeed a foreigner... he includes Handel, Gluck & co in that school and will not allow...any German music.<sup>140</sup>

Thomas wrote in his diary on 21 November that he paid for an Italian singing master for Lydia.<sup>141</sup> In December, after a few sessions, she reported back on the lessons, making judgements of her instructor. She wrote:

but his attendance what with colds & different circumstances on both sides a good deal of interruption; besides which I am disappointed in his stile for it is nothing but the complete Italian & he has not an idea beyond it.<sup>142</sup>

At the back of 'A Traveller' is a loose handwritten sheet with a list of seventeen pieces. It is most likely that Lydia's singing master provided this list, considering that all the vocal pieces are Italian: this is probably the repertoire they were working on during the lessons, or pieces he recommended her to buy which were suitable for her voice and level of accomplishment. The songs are not in Lydia's collection at Killerton, nor in 'A Traveller', but they included airs, duets and cavatinas from Niccolò Zingarelli's (1752-1837) opera: *Giulietta e Romeo* (1796), particularly the famous air 'Ombra

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<sup>140</sup> Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie from Lydia Acland, 15 November 1814, Vienna, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

<sup>141</sup> 21 November, Vienna Diaries, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd14/Series 1/ 9.

<sup>142</sup> Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie from Lydia Acland, 14 December 1814, Vienna, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

adorata', which the 'last great' castrato Girolamo Crescentini (1762-1846) composed and inserted into the opera.<sup>143</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann (1776-1822) described this air as 'sustained, soulful, touching the innermost spirit, lifting it above earthly pain, expressing hope for blessed fulfillment (sic) in a higher, better world'.<sup>144</sup> Other works from this opera include the cavatina 'Che vago sembiante' and the duet 'Dunque mio bene.' Other pieces appear in the list such the air 'Son infelice', 'Sento nel dissi addio' and 'Sofia mio caro bene'. The list supports Lydia's complaint that the singing master only chose Italian music. Handel and Gluck do not feature at all. This suggests that Lydia probably wanted more instruction in older repertoire.

Lydia hoped that these lessons would give her 'much pleasure', reminding us, as Leppert argued, that when 'one consumes music...one consumes pleasure'.<sup>145</sup> He writes 'music's pleasure is produced in part by aural stimulations which in turn trigger physiological and emotional responses that result in some sense, inevitably temporary, of well-being'.<sup>146</sup> Lydia hoped to experience this enjoyment in singing the works of Gluck and Handel. Similar to Elizabeth, Lydia also enjoyed older music, as her choices in 'A Traveller' demonstrate. In a foreign country this probably functioned as another way to remind her of home, considering that the zeal for older repertoire was an English predilection.<sup>147</sup> Lydia clearly expected more older pieces, not focusing exclusively on 'the Italian stile', which seemed to disappoint her. Again she demonstrated her strong likes and dislikes of musical styles.<sup>148</sup> What did Lydia actually mean by Italian style, was it only modern Italian repertoire exclusively by Italian composers? Presumably, she associated the Italian style with florid, ornate music, usually delivered with strong and impassioned expression.<sup>149</sup> This is not to imply that Lydia did not like Italian music, as a few of her books back home and her

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<sup>143</sup> Nicola Lucarelli, 'Crescentini, Girolamo', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 29 August 2011) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>144</sup> E. T. A. Hoffmann, 'Ombra Adorata!', trans. John Louis Miller, <[http://www.eaglesweb.com/John\\_Louis\\_Miller/Ombra\\_adorata!.PDF](http://www.eaglesweb.com/John_Louis_Miller/Ombra_adorata!.PDF)> (Accessed 29 August 2011), p. 2.

<sup>145</sup> Leppert, 'Social Order', p. 528.

<sup>146</sup> Leppert, 'Social Order', p. 528.

<sup>147</sup> See Weber, 'Introduction' to *The Rise of Musical Classics*.

<sup>148</sup> She had a discerning taste in her younger years: after going to an ancient music concert for the first time, her brother, George, mentioned that Lydia 'thought it was very stupid'. Interesting, then, that as an adult 'ancient music' was something that she cherished. Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland, from George Hoare, 1805, Oxford, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd/36/899a.

<sup>149</sup> Toft, *Heart to Heart*, pp. 13 and 18.

music in 'A Traveller' suggest that she did have a taste for cosmopolitan music, but not as much as Elizabeth.

Her music master in Vienna was Italian, 'a foreigner,' not an enviable position to be in judging from his nationality or occupation. Yet Italian music masters were readily sought after to help daughters become accomplished, making them available on the marriage market.<sup>150</sup> The scenario of a young daughter receiving musical instruction from an older, male foreigner was potentially risky, but what about the relationship between a married woman and a male foreign teacher? Was the situation equally dubious, or were these concerns exaggerated? Thomas wrote in his diary for 25 November 'Lydia's singing master', implying that he either went along to supervise the lesson, or simply made a note of Lydia's activities; perhaps he even took part in the lesson by singing one of the duets on the list.

Lydia was twenty-eight when she received these singing lessons. Novels from the time gave the impression that most women stopped performing music once married.<sup>151</sup> Six years after marrying Thomas, Lydia was still receiving musical instruction. Either she was an exception or our understanding of women's music practices after marriage needs reassessment. The front cover of 'A Traveller' reveals that Lydia took this book with her to Rome in 1836, and during this trip she sang and played an arranged version of Matthew Locke's *Macbeth* in front of the sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844). She would be fifty at that time and was still performing in front of friends and family.<sup>152</sup>

What impression does Lydia appear to be making of herself by having singing lessons in Vienna? Was it usual for women to have music lessons while abroad? Was this a reflection of their status? As Lydia displayed her femininity and wealth by having singing lessons in youth, she continued to perform this gender and class role while abroad, only this time her husband paid the instructor. It is likely that Lydia's singing lessons in Vienna functioned as another way for her to pass time abroad as she did at Killerton. Music-making helped to extend a woman's domestic activities from home to

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<sup>150</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image*, chapter four and Leppert, *Sound Judgement*, chapter ten.

<sup>151</sup> See my introduction, p. 1.

<sup>152</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 64. We know Lydia performed this piece because Thomas had written the months, year and location when the performance took place. See introduction, fn 8.

abroad, as well as reaffirming her identity as an accomplished, wealthy English woman.

### 2.2.5 Fanny von Arnstein's Music Salon

To remember their Vienna trip, Lydia and Thomas purchased three music books to bring back to their country house. Two are keyboard books and the third is a vocal book. The books for keyboard are a volume of German Waltzes; the other has the title page 'ANTHOLOGIE MUSICALE' and is a collection of themes, ideas and selected pieces from Ballets and Operas arranged for the piano forte.<sup>153</sup> The vocal book is David's twelve psalms translated from Latin into German by Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), with accompaniment for the piano forte by Maximilian Stadler (1748-1833).<sup>154</sup> Some of the psalms include handwritten translations of the German text into English, most probably Thomas's handwriting (music example 43). Maybe this was to help him understand the German text, as he had German lessons at this time. This translation might have benefitted Lydia if she wanted to sing the Psalms as well, as it is possible that husband and wife sang psalm 127 together, considering that it calls for a soprano and tenor: Lydia and Thomas's vocal parts.

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<sup>153</sup> The books have reference numbers 1 25 A and 2 14 A, respectively.

<sup>154</sup> The inside fly leaf has handwritten inscription: 'Lady Acland's Book. Killerton 1820. Beware of thieving by accident' and has reference number 1 23 A. Again, this seems to be Thomas's handwriting. See Robert N. Freeman, 'Stadler, Abbé Maximilian [Johann Karl Dominik]', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 31 August 2011) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.



**Music Example 43: First page of 'Nisi Dominus Aedificaverit Domum', in Zwölf Psalmen David's Nach Mendelssohn's übersetzung für eine und mehr Singstimmen mit des Pianoforte in Musik gesetzt vom Abbé Maximil. Stadler, 1 23 A (n.d.).**

In a bigger context, however, this music book alludes to the situation of Jewish people in nineteenth-century Europe, and forms a connection between the Congress of Vienna, Fanny von Arnstein and the Aclands. Moses Mendelssohn, who translated the psalms, is considered to be an important figure in the Jewish Enlightenment movement (Haskalah), as he contributed to the modernisation of Jewish people, working to integrate old Jewish traditions with newer mainstream Western culture.<sup>155</sup> He 'proved that a Jew of the New Era could be a loyal German citizen and at home in German culture and language, and still be connected to his Jewish

<sup>155</sup>Moses Mendelssohn also gained great prominence in the non-Jewish world due to his writings on rationalism, making him a proponent of the German Enlightenment. Jonathan Frankel, 'Assimilation and the Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Towards a New Historiography?', in *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Jonathan Frankel and Steven J. Zipperstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 1-38, p. 7. Shmuel Feiner, *Moses Mendelssohn: Sage of Modernity*, trans. from the Hebrew by Anthony Berris (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 8. Allan Arkush, 'Introduction' to *Moses Mendelssohn and the Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), xi.



community and cultural heritage', to quote Shmuel Feiner.<sup>156</sup> Mendelssohn demonstrated this by translating Hebrew and Yiddish texts into German to benefit his people who previously relied on Polish Rabbis for religious instruction. Rabbis often wrote versions of the Torah in unintelligible Hebrew.<sup>157</sup> Yet by discarding Yiddish and Hebrew for German, reformed followers of Mendelssohn disintegrated one of the main foundations of their distinctive Jewish culture and identity. In some instances, Jewish people felt pressure to convert to Christianity, to adopt European culture and to speak in the vernacular. Some rejected their Jewish traditions, religion and culture and assimilated completely. Others acculturated by adopting outward cultural forms of European society, but maintained their Jewishness by practicing their faith, living and socialising as a community.<sup>158</sup>

Equality for Jewish people proved to be an important yet problematic issue under consideration at the Congress. They had enjoyed liberation and equality during Napoleon's reign, as he passed laws to improve their situation, yet his downfall brought a reversal of these reforms. The Congress was a significant event, as it was the first time that their emancipation was officially passed.<sup>159</sup> They hoped the Congress would grant them rights of citizenship in Germany. Unfortunately, the reforms did not live up to Jewish people's expectations because of 'compromised form and the reactionary train of events', in Max Kohler's words, resulting in a continuation of their repression.<sup>160</sup>

Thomas and Lydia associated with one of the most prominent hostesses during the Congress: Baroness Fanny von Arnstein (1758-1818), daughter of banker Daniel Itzig and wife of Nathan von Arnstein, who was also a banker. Baroness Arnstein was the aunt of Lea Salomon who married Abraham Mendelssohn, Moses' son, and with this family tie it is possible that she was aware of Mendelssohn's translations of David's psalms; she also benefitted from Mendelssohn's educational reforms during her

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<sup>156</sup> Feiner, *Moses Mendelssohn*, p. 9.

<sup>157</sup> Herbert Kupferberg, *The Mendelssohns: Three Generations of Genius* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), p. 41.

<sup>158</sup> Martha L. Rozenblit, 'Jewish Assimilation in Habsburg Vienna', in *Assimilation and Community*, ed. Frankel and Zipperstein, pp. 225-246, p. 225. Jacob Katz, *Emancipation and Assimilation: Studies in Modern Jewish History* (Farnborough: Gregg International Publishers Limited, 1972).

<sup>159</sup> Max J. Kohler, *Jewish Rights at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) and Aix-La-Chapelle (1818)* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1918), pp. 1-3.

<sup>160</sup> Kohler, *Jewish Rights*, p. 1. Zamoyski, *Rites of Peace*, p. 568.

youth.<sup>161</sup> It was at Fanny von Arnstein's salon that Thomas heard the 'wonderfully out of tune' violin playing and singing on 22 November.<sup>162</sup> She was not the only daughter of Daniel Itzig to have a musical salon. Her younger sister Sara (1761-1854) introduced her weekly musical salon in Berlin after she married banker Samuel Levy in 1783.<sup>163</sup> The salons of these intelligent and musical women represented the ideal of *Bildung*, education, refinement and character development, with the aim of bringing unity and equality to anyone who entered.<sup>164</sup> Music was 'key to the acculturation of German Jews, for it overcame barriers of speech and even allowed human communion through listening together', as Emily D. Bilski observes.<sup>165</sup> Lydia referred to hostess Arnstein in a letter of 27-28 November 1814:

Now that all great & publick balls are suspended (on account of Advent/ I suppose we shall abound in musical parties...) we have a certainty of one once a week at one of our Jewish friends whose daughters are amongst those whose fingers seem to fly up and down the piano forte- her house is extremely crowded on these occasions but rather a mixture for though it is frequented by people of the first distinction yet it is natural she should keep a little snug corner for particular friends belonging to the Syn [agogue].<sup>166</sup>

Lydia described here the virtuosic skills of Henriette Arnstein, Fanny's daughter.<sup>167</sup> Arnstein's musical parties helped to bring disparate groups of people together who otherwise might not have associated with each other. But Lydia and Arnstein shared some similarities, as both had wealthy bankers for fathers; they appreciated music

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<sup>161</sup> Hilde Spiel, *Fanny von Arnstein: Daughter of the Enlightenment 1758-1818*, trans. Christine Shuttleworth (New York and Oxford: St Martin's Press, 1991).

<sup>162</sup> Vienna Diaries, 17 and 22 November 1814, Devon Record Office, S1148M/9.

<sup>163</sup> Sara Levy was a keyboard virtuoso, having received lessons for ten years (1774-1784) from Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, J. S. Bach's eldest son. She often performed in her salon, and, after her husband's death in 1806, she became a regular keyboard soloist, performing in public concerts of the Sing-Akademie. Harpsichordist Carl Friedrich Fasch established the musical society Sing-Akademie in 1792, which promoted works by J. S. Bach. Levy stopped her public recitals in her mid-fifties and she donated a large bulk of her extensive collection of Bach keyboard music to the Sing-Akademie. See Christoph Wolff, 'A Bach Cult in Late-Eighteenth-Century Berlin: Sara Levy's Musical Salon', *Bulletin of the American Academy*, (2005), pp. 26-30. Peter Wollny, 'Sara Levy and the Making of Musical Taste in Berlin', *Musical Quarterly*, 77 (1993), pp. 651-688.

<sup>164</sup> Wolff, 'A Bach Cult', p. 28.

<sup>165</sup> Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun, *Jewish Women and their Salons: The Power of Conversation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 38.

<sup>166</sup> Letter to Henrietta Mallortie, 27-28 November 1814, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

<sup>167</sup> Nancy B. Reich, 'Women as Musicians: A Question of Class', in *Musicology and Difference: Gender and Sexuality in Music Scholarship*, ed. Ruth Solie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 125-149, p. 141.

and were involved in musical philanthropy. This is not to suggest that music was the only reason why Lydia and Thomas frequented Arnstein's parties. They would go to see who else attended, to show their faces, and as a way to spend an evening. Even so, music at least provided a common interest, allowing attendees to appreciate or critique the entertainment, as Thomas and Lydia did frequently, perhaps acting as a conversation starter.

Lydia did show an awareness of the complex situation surrounding the lifestyle of assimilated and acculturated Jews during the Congress, although she admitted to not knowing Baroness Arnstein closely enough in order to discuss these personal matters with her. The political aspect of the Congress interested her mother, Lydia Henrietta Mallortie (1754-1816), as Lydia's letter dated 6 January 1815 made clear: 'You ask about the Jews', she continued:

though tolerably acquainted with some yet I am by no means sufficiently so to find out any thing from them of their state or expectations- they seem to be in very odd state and as it were hanging between Jews & Christians having renounced the one without adapting the other. Some what we know have brought up their children Christians while they remain Jews themselves, others talk of themselves as Christians but have never been regularly baptized, others again have done every thing that was wanted excepting to renounce all their Jewish transactions in the way of business and money.<sup>168</sup>

Although the last sentence of this excerpt contained a slight mocking tone, Lydia's letter detailed Jewish assimilation.<sup>169</sup> Fanny von Arnstein never converted, but she fully accepted her daughter's conversion to Christianity, and Lydia could have referred to Arnstein in this letter, as the topic may have come up during one of her social evenings. Arnstein, however, maintained her Jewish identity while living and socialising in Vienna: she remained active in Jewish philanthropy and continued to practice traditional religious rituals. Arnstein proved that it was possible to construct and negotiate between a Jewish and European identity in this situation.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Letter to Lydia Henrietta Mallortie from Lydia Acland, 6 January 1815, Vienna, Devon Record Office, 1148M/20/1.

<sup>169</sup> Frankel, 'Assimilation and the Jews', p. 8.

<sup>170</sup> Bilski and Braun, *Jewish Women and their Salons*, p. 36.

The Congress initially seemed an ideal event for Jewish people to appeal for change. Thomas kept a letter written by an anonymous author who described himself as a 'plighted friend of Israel' to those assembled at the Congress. For the writer believed it was time 'in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century...[to] prepare us for interesting changes, [and] to make some generous efforts in atonement for their wrongs'.<sup>171</sup> Judging from Lydia's abovementioned comment, people from Jewish communities were still in a difficult predicament, though she may not have been aware of this if she had not attended Arnstein's musical parties. Arnstein's musical parties can perhaps be seen as a way to encourage those who attended to support Jewish rights. Important figures at the Congress went to her gatherings, such as the Duke of Wellington, Prince Hardenberg, Prince of Prussia to name a few, and in 1815 the Prince of Prussia wrote a letter in favour of the Jews.<sup>172</sup> This gave Arnstein's musical gatherings a political edge. Considering that Lydia and Thomas met Fanny von Arnstein, that they became informed about the Jewish predicament and that Thomas kept the letter of appeal, it seems likely that these factors may have influenced them to buy Mendelssohn's translation of David's psalms in Vienna. If this was not the case, they would at least have more of an understanding of the historical and cultural significance of this music book and of the man who translated the text.

### **2.2.6 Reflections on the Acland's Escapade**

The Aclands' voyage to Vienna enabled them to experience a great European gathering in celebration after the defeat of Napoleon. But it also allowed them to socialize with other people from different countries, where they could share their similarities and negotiate their differences as equals. Music played an important part in all types of venues during the Congress, in the Acland's rented flat, in concert halls and in salons. Not only that, music provided a gateway for them to associate with assimilated or acculturated Jewish people, introducing them to another political aspect of the Congress. Music, in this respect, did not function simply as a pleasant way to pass an evening, but it was enmeshed in the political environment. Similarly, Lydia's 'A Traveller' was not simply a book filled with her favourite pieces; it had

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<sup>171</sup> Devon Record Office, 1148M/7/22.

<sup>172</sup> See Kohler, *Jewish Rights*, p. 19.

deeper resonances on personal and religious levels, forging a strong connection with home and her sense of identity. Lydia did have another travel music book, but it is now lost. On the inside front cover of 'A Traveller', there is a faint marking in pencil which reads 'Traveller 2', implying that there was at some point a 'Traveller 1'.<sup>173</sup> I wonder if Lydia also took this book with her to Vienna in 1814, and if so, it would be compelling to know what music she selected for this book. Even so, I have demonstrated that this music book had a multifaceted function, and that music was an activity Lydia pursued both at home and away, and in later life.

### **2.3 Back at Home: A Conclusion**

Elizabeth Egerton and Lydia Acland played a central role in creating their homes to be repositories of foreign items, particularly music. They added to their homes their musical preferences and tastes, ultimately affecting the music-scape of the country house. At home Elizabeth conjured sounds of Italy, in musical style and language, with her operatic airs and duets; the music represented and was specific to her girlhood years. Lydia could have reminisced about her Vienna trip by playing and singing some of the music books that she and Thomas purchased abroad. The music in these books could reconnect her with Vienna in the same way that music from 'A Traveller' reconnected her with home and her sense of self. It would be interesting to compare Lydia with other women who travelled to see if compiling a travel music book was a common thing to do, or if Lydia was an individual in this respect. Both our families engaged with musical tourism, one imaginary and one real, and both tours added a continental ambience to their English country houses.

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<sup>173</sup> See 'A Traveller', 2 39 B.



### Chapter Three- The Man of the House at Music: Masculinity and Sociability

In his *Addresses to Young Men* (1777), James Fordyce outlined some of the ideal characteristics that British men should strive to emulate:

a lively fancy, a ready understanding, a retentive memory, a resolute spirit, a warm temper and tender affections... an irresistible love of action and enterprise, an ambition to be admired and praised, especially for [his] probity, [his] manhood, [his] generosity, [his friendship] and [his] good-nature.<sup>1</sup>

This ideal man should also be 'sober-minded, regular and considerate, careful to govern the passions... and prepare for *performing* [my italics] with diligence and discretion [his] duty to society'.<sup>2</sup> But educational texts like Fordyce's *Addresses*, cannot guarantee that all men from the late eighteenth century heeded this advice and behaved accordingly, as I argued in relation to conduct literature for young women. Nevertheless, this text and others from the period reveals the societal and cultural expectations of men, and how they were expected to cultivate, internalise and perform characteristics associated with a masculine identity in the private and public spheres.<sup>3</sup>

Having concentrated primarily on the woman of the house at music, I shall now address the man of the house at music, focussing on husbands Thomas Dyke Acland and Wilbraham Egerton and their involvements with the accomplishment. Thomas Acland annotated some of Lydia's vocal music books, implying that he sang from these books at home.<sup>4</sup> Even though no bound music books bear the names of the husbands in the collections at Killerton House and Tatton Park, other sources, such as newspapers, document our men's regular musical engagements, either by stewarding in local music festivals, or attending men-only clubs where glees were performed. The Killerton and Tatton collections contain a wealth of glees, some of which were

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<sup>1</sup> James Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, 2 vols. (London: T. Cadell, 1777), *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (Accessed 23 July 2010) <<http://galenet.galegroup.com/servelet/ECCO>>, I, pp. 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, I, p. 8. For Fordyce's full list see pages 16-17 of the *Addresses*.

<sup>3</sup> See also Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men*. Vicesimus Knox, *Liberal Education*.

<sup>4</sup> See music books 1 17 B; 'A TRAVELLER', 2 39 B; and 'GERMAN PSALMS', 1 23 A, for Thomas's annotations.

performed in the men-only clubs and societies that Wilbraham and Thomas went to (Appendix 5 and 6). Our men also attended concerts and the opera, probably performing music at home, demonstrating that their involvement with musical activities ranged from performer, listener to organiser. I investigate the ways in which music contributed toward constructions of particular masculine identities, such as paternalism, male sociability and familial sociability. In each of these particular areas, the men's musical engagement seemed to enhance these socially accepted attributes of the male sex, befitting their class and national identity.<sup>5</sup>

But how did Thomas and Wilbraham use music in order to project these desired images of themselves? How did this differ to their wives, and did their wives participate in the image construction of their husbands? Were there certain situations when it was inappropriate for our men to perform music? If this was the case, how would they identify with the music being performed, and how might issues of gender, class and national identity have been communicated? I have divided the chapter into three sections to answer these questions and to show how landed elite men used music in and around their country seat.

In the first part, I investigate the topic of paternalism and music, such as Wilbraham's support of charitable music festivals and local musicians, and Thomas's musical fetes at Killerton House for local societies. Both men also invited their local poor to attend family celebrations on their estates. In the second section, on male sociability, I examine singing in the gentleman's clubs and societies that Thomas and Wilbraham joined. The inventories that list the glees, as well as other songs performed in sociable surroundings, allow comparisons to be drawn between the glees and songs collected and sung at home, with those in the gentlemen's clubs and societies. Both men purchased glees for their wives collections at home. I reflect on glee singing in public and domestic settings, and consider how contemporary ideas of manliness were reinforced in musical performances of glees both out of the home and at home. The third section covers familial sociability, and I examine the glees in the wives' music books. I challenge the idea that glees were predominately associated with men, and I show how some of the women's glees and songs engaged with contemporary

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<sup>5</sup> See Henry French and Mark Rothery, *Man's Estate: Landed Gentry Masculinities, c 1660- c.1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

understandings of manliness. The women's collections of glees with a masculine themed text brought the discourse of manliness into the country house environment.

Contemporaries believed that men should aim for 'manhood' and be 'manly'.

Manliness seemed to represent a 'single standard of manhood', and in the nineteenth century this was 'expressed in certain physical attributes and moral dispositions', including 'assertiveness, courage, independence, authority'.<sup>6</sup> In his research on men's gender in the nineteenth century, John Tosh notes that men not only had to behave and appear manly, but also had 'to internalize these moral qualities- to make them second nature so that they could be expressed in action instinctively and convincingly'.<sup>7</sup> This supports my argument and suggests that our men were expected to externalise their cultivated masculine attributes to prove that they possessed particular manly qualities, in the same way that Lydia and Elizabeth had to internalise characteristics deemed appropriate to their identity and display them accordingly.<sup>8</sup> Manliness, however, was a character that was not innate, but was achieved through great effort, was difficult to maintain and was a process of continuous negotiation.<sup>9</sup> Thomas's mother, Henrietta Fortescue, discussed this serious matter with her son in a letter of 1803, when Thomas was sixteen, 'you must no longer consider your self a Lad- but [as] S[i]r Thomas Acland the representative of your family you has (sic) a character in life to maintain & that no very easy one as much will be expected from you'.<sup>10</sup>

As powerful landed elite men, Thomas and Wilbraham needed to assert and prove their manliness through different masculine displays and acts. They were not only at the head of their families, but they were also the head of their parish, with many responsibilities. They, and other land owners, were expected to hold positions of duty

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<sup>6</sup> Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, pp. 2-5.

<sup>7</sup> See my introduction. Other ways for men to construct and assert their masculine identity was through ways of communication, language, dress, politeness, sexuality. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 73. Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996). Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (eds.) *English Masculinities 1660-1800* (London and New York: Longman, 1999). Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion and City Life 1860-1914* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999). Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2001).

<sup>8</sup> See my introduction and first chapter.

<sup>9</sup> Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Letter to Thomas Dyke Acland, from Henrietta Fortescue, 1803, Devon Record Office, 1148Madd/36/893.

and authority, such as Justice of the Peace, Sheriff, local MP, Deputy Lieutenant and Commissioner for Taxes, in addition to maintaining their estate, providing provisions of hospitality and bounty to their tenants and local poor.<sup>11</sup> Both Thomas and Wilbraham were Sheriffs for Devon and Cheshire, respectively, and Wilbraham was Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant for the Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry.<sup>12</sup> They were also Tory MPs, representing their respective counties in Parliament. Thomas was a liberal Tory, known as a 'Canningite', often causing hostilities in the Commons with his independent views on controversial issues such as Catholic emancipation.<sup>13</sup> Wilbraham, however, was a conservative Tory, voting against Catholic emancipation and the Reform Act of 1832. He was often criticised for his indolence and unwillingness to participate in debate.<sup>14</sup>

The cultivation of musical skills for landed elite men, however, could prove problematic: a well known fact for those who have researched into domestic music making.<sup>15</sup> Authors of educational books for young boys, such as Vicesimus Knox, voiced a concern that this ornamental accomplishment could occupy too much of a boy's time, potentially enticing him away from more serious and manly subjects of study in youth, such as philosophy and history.<sup>16</sup> Thomas Acland's son, Thomas Acland (1809-1898) reiterated this anxiety about time management and music lessons in a letter dated 1833 to his sister, Lydia (d. 1858). The twenty-four year old wrote

I have taken up the pianoforte very resolutely, and have *begun* by learning thorough bass which I find hard enough, but bringing a clear head to the matter, and stating it

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<sup>11</sup> Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 175. James M. Rosenheim, *The Emergence of a Ruling Order: English Landed Society 1650-1750* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Macclesfield Courier, and Stockport Express; or, Cheshire General Advertiser*, Saturday 13 June 1812. Elizabeth's father, Christopher Sykes, acted as Sheriff for Yorkshire in 1795. *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, Thursday 13 November 1784.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas had a seat in Parliament for Devon in the years 1812-1818 and 1820-1831, and Devon North, 1837-1857. Jenkins, 'ACLAND, Sir Thomas Dyke', *The History of Parliament Online*, (Accessed 17 November 2012) <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/acland-sir-thomas-1787-1871>>.

<sup>14</sup> Wilbraham attended Parliament in the years 1812-1831. 'EGERTON, Wilbraham (1781-1856), of Tatton Park, Cheshire', *The History of Parliament Online*, (Accessed 17 November 2012) <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/egerton-wilbraham-1781-1856>>.

<sup>15</sup> See Christina Bashford, 'Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 63 (2010), pp. 291-360.

<sup>16</sup> Knox, *Liberal Education*, p. 156. See also Leppert, *Music and Image*, p. 21.

all in plain English devoid of technicality I find it much less puzzling than I expected. I made some progress during my visits to the Mordaunts, by assistance of the young ladies, one of whom learned thorough bass regularly of Barlowes, and went through all the exercises to the amount of a good book full. I must confess that my writing of the exercises has been hitherto but very slack, because I do not like to let it engross too much of my time.<sup>17</sup>

A gentleman would not want to be seen or heard to be aspiring to the level of a professional musician, for reasons associated with class: professional musicians worked for a living, gentlemen did not. Musical skills were predominately associated with young girls seeking to attract a potential husband, and could be perceived as an unmanly activity for men. Men, however, could pursue music from a scientific and mathematical angle, as the author of *Euterpe; or Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music* (1778) commented,

[The] study of music... as a science... is a pursuit worthy of a Gentleman's attention, and [it is] the knowledge which alone distinguishes the musician from the fiddler and an architect and a brick layer...not using one's hands but one's brain.<sup>18</sup>

As long as a gentleman closely monitored his involvement with music, regarding time spent on it; keeping music subordinate to more important activities; playing music only as an innocent enjoyment; and studying the subject from an intellectual perspective, he would not run the risk of jeopardising his gender and status. In any case, music, along with dancing and drawing, sculptured the image of a genteel and refined young man.<sup>19</sup>

Music formed a part of Thomas's and Wilbraham's education. As I mentioned in the introduction of the thesis, Thomas was an amateur singer and Wilbraham had cello lessons. I have not found records of payments to music instructors, but it is likely that they both received lessons during youth, similar to Lydia and Elizabeth. It is unclear at what age Wilbraham and Thomas started and finished their musical tuition.

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<sup>17</sup> Letter to Lydia Acland from Thomas Acland, 1 April 1833, Oxford, quoted in Acland, *Memoirs and Letters*, p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> Anon. *Euterpe; or Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music, as a Part of Modern Education* (1778), p. 16 quoted in Leppert, *Music and Image*, p. 23.

<sup>19</sup> See Carter, *Men and The Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 73.



Indeed, it is unclear if Wilbraham continued to play the cello in later life. Thomas, however, continued to make music.<sup>20</sup> The portrait, dated c. 1812, in the drawing room at Killerton depicts Thomas and Lydia playing music together as a married couple. Lydia sits in front of a Broadwood grand piano, and Thomas leans over her, turning a page of music. His mouth is partially open and it looks as if he is singing; their eldest son and the family dog can be seen at the front of the portrait (image 13).



**Image 13: Henry Singleton, *Sir Thomas Dyke Acland (1787–1871), 10th Bt, MP, His Wife Lydia Elizabeth Hoare (1786–1856), and Their Son, Later Sir Thomas Dyke Acland (1809–1898), 11th Bt*, c. 1812. Used with kind permission © Killerton House, Devon, The National Trust.**

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<sup>20</sup> Thomas was also a fine sketcher, and his sketch-books accompanied him on his travels abroad. The many volumes of his sketch-work exist in the Devon Record Office, containing dramatic landscapes and scenes of natural beauty from different countries, as well as capturing views of Mitcham Grove, Lydia's childhood home. Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 49.

I aim to show that the men's engagement with music was equally important in identity construction as it was for the women of the household. In the majority of these cases, the husbands engaged in music-making or organising musical events in the company of other men, but as we will find out, their wives were never completely excluded or overlooked. This suggests that Elizabeth and Lydia to a certain extent contributed to the genteel manly image to which their husbands, Wilbraham and Thomas, aspired.

### 3.1 Music and Paternalism

Let him stand forward in support of the just rights of the poor, of widows and infants, and all who appear to be in need of assistance.<sup>21</sup>

Clearly, Wilbraham and Thomas fulfilled Thomas Gisborne's expectations of landowners, which he expressed in his *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men* (1794). At the beginning of my first chapter I outlined some of the charitable and philanthropic causes that Wilbraham and Thomas engaged with, for instance giving money to poor neighbours, donating to organisations and setting up schools for orphans and poor children.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, contemporaries bestowed compliments upon our men for their unwavering support of the poor. For instance, before Thomas's death in 1871, his closest friends paid tribute to him by erecting a statue in Exeter. The inscription on the monument describes Thomas's extremely kind and unprejudiced character:

Erected as a tribute of affectionate respect for private worth and public integrity, and in testimony of admiration for the generous heart and open hand which have been every ready to protect the weak, to relieve the needy, and to succour the distressed of whatever party, race, or creed.<sup>23</sup>

How did music play a part in constructing paternalism? We saw in the first chapter the ways in which Lydia and Elizabeth used their compassionate songs in private and semi-private contexts to demonstrate their potential for charity, so how did it work for the husbands who did not have compassionate songs to perform? Both men used

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<sup>21</sup> Gisborne, *An Enquiry into the Duties of Men*, p. 584.

<sup>22</sup> See my first chapter, pp 31-34.

<sup>23</sup> Acland, *Memoir and Letters*, p. 21.

various kinds of public musical activities to demonstrate their charitable nature, when occupying the role of the benevolent landowner.

### 3.1.1 The Egertons' Commitments at Provincial Music Festivals, c. 1780-1830

The closest music festival for the Egertons to participate in and attend was in Chester. According to Pippa Drummond, provincial music festivals engendered anticipation and excitement, helping to improve trade and morale, as they attracted large numbers of visitors to towns and cathedral cities.<sup>24</sup> Festivals could last up to four days, employing renowned instrumentalists and singers. They were organised on a large scale and usually followed a schedule: performances of sacred works, predominantly Handel, in the late morning, concerts of secular music in the evening and dances or a fancy dress ball on one evening.<sup>25</sup>

The first music festival in Chester was in 1772, under the direction of composer and organist Philip Hayes (1738-1797).<sup>26</sup> The first Egerton that became involved with the Chester music festivals was Wilbraham's father, William Tatton. He mentioned stewarding for a festival in a letter to brother-in-law Christopher Sykes, dated August 1783. This was the year of the second music festival in Chester to be held in September, under direction of William Knyvett (1779-1856), whose songs and glees appear in Elizabeth's music collection.<sup>27</sup> William Tatton wrote

On the 9<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>t</sup> I go to the assizes at Chester which will keep me a couple of nights at least, & on the 16<sup>th</sup> I go to the Festival of Music at Chester, where I must stay four Days as being a Steward.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> In her thesis on Jane Austen's music, Samantha Carrasco has examined the Hampshire Music Meetings that Austen attended. Carrasco, 'The Austen Family Music'. Other places that held music festivals were Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester, Salisbury, York, Worcester, to name a few. Pippa Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival in England, 1784-1914* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011), p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 1. See Weber for information on the origins and expansion of festivals in England. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 103-143.

<sup>26</sup> Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> Five of William Knyvett's songs and glees are at Tatton. See 'DUETS', MR 2-5.42.

Nicholas Temperley, 'Knyvett, William', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 5 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>28</sup> Letter to Christopher Sykes from William Tatton Egerton, 30 August, 1783, Chester, Hull History Centre, University Hull, DDSY/3/5/1. Thanks to Jeanice Brooks for sharing this letter with me.

The festival ran from Tuesday 16 to Friday 19 and included performances of Handel's *Messiah*, *Jeptha* and *Judas Maccabaeus* on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday, respectively, as well as assembly balls, a fancy dress ball, and a public breakfast with catches and glees on the final day.<sup>29</sup> In his *A Short Sketch of the Chester Musical Festivals* (1891), Joseph C. Bridge (1853-1929), Chester's cathedral organist, noted that the profits of £600 made during the event went to charities, although he does not specify which charities received the donation.<sup>30</sup>

Four years later, William Tatton acted as a steward for a 'Rehearsal' at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, on Tuesday 8 and Thursday 10 May, to be performed at the Anniversary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy charity.<sup>31</sup> The programme included a predominance of Handel's works, such as his Overture to *Esther*, *Dettingen Te Deum*, *Jubilate*, chorus from *Messiah* and the Coronation Anthem. William Boyce's (1711-1779) anthem composed expressly for the charity, entitled 'Hallelujah, for the Lord God Omnipotent Reigneth', was also performed.<sup>32</sup> The article in the *Morning Chronicle* informed the reader that those who wished to purchase tickets must first make a donation to charity, with the funds going 'to apprenticing sons and daughters of necessitous clergymen'.<sup>33</sup> The notice continued, 'those who donate generously will be seated commodiously', an incentive the stewards devised as a way to increase the collection. William Tatton along with eleven other men, including reverends, Lords, Mayors and esquires, were responsible for paying the expenses for the rehearsal and feast day on Thursday, as well as collecting the donations. In addition to projecting the paternal element of their masculine character, these men were also placed in a sociable situation: they had to work together to ensure the smooth running of the rehearsal; sociability, as we will see later on, was an equally important attribute for a man to cultivate.

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<sup>29</sup> See Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 16. Joseph C. Bridge, *A Short Sketch of the Chester Musical Festivals, 1772-1829* (Chester: Phillipson and Golder, 1891), pp. 5-6.

<sup>30</sup> Bridge, *A Short Sketch*, pp. 5-6. Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, p. 114.

<sup>31</sup> The Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy held annual Sons of the Clergy festivals in London that began around 1678, according to Weber. The performances mainly included Purcell's works, such as his *Te Deum* and *Jubilate*, rather than Handel's music. For more information about the history of the festival of the Sons of the Clergy charity see Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 103-113. *Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser*, 18 April 1787.

<sup>32</sup> *Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser*, 18 April 1787.

<sup>33</sup> *Morning Chronicle & London Advertiser*, 18 April 1787.

In these examples, William and the other stewards actively participated in the promotion of charitable causes on a large scale with the aid of music. William performed his paternalistic nature at both events in Chester and London, alongside other stewards. Not only were they seen as collectively supporting worthy causes, they were also seen to be committed to promoting social harmony: the ultimate aim of music and charity.<sup>34</sup> The combination of their group presence, the devotional music and cathedral setting, not to mention the incentive of good seats, perhaps functioned to influence those who attended the rehearsal to give generously to the charitable cause. As Elizabeth sought to tap into her listener's sympathetic receptors by singing her compassionate songs, her father-in-law sought to do something similar, not by performing music at home to family or friends, but by creating a compassionate, fatherly, sociable and authoritative image on a more public scale.

It is likely that William encouraged Wilbraham to steward at music festivals, and Wilbraham did steward for the festivals in 1814, 1821, 1829 (there were no more festivals at Chester until 1879).<sup>35</sup> I have not found evidence in newspapers or account books that William took part in the 1786 and 1791 festivals. The next Chester music festival was in 1806, which was the year of William's death, and also of Wilbraham's marriage, so family circumstances prevented Wilbraham from engaging with the biggest music festival the Chester public witnessed so far.<sup>36</sup> After a break of eight years, Chester held its next festival in 1814: the many political and social upheavals caused disruption to the festivals due to economic hardships during the war with France in 1810.<sup>37</sup> 1814 proved to be a year of triumph with the defeat of Napoleon, and other towns besides Chester put on music festivals, including for instance Bristol, Leicester and Winchester.<sup>38</sup>

At the Cheshire Record Office is a book containing the text to all the pieces performed at the Chester festivals of 1814 and 1821, as well as a schedule of the festival days

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<sup>34</sup> See Ritchie, 'Introduction' to *Women Writing Music*.

<sup>35</sup> Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 55.

<sup>36</sup> Receipts amounted to £3, 30s, 11s 6d with £1, 00s 5s 6d given to charity, most likely the Chester Royal Infirmary, in comparison to £600 donated after the first festival in 1772. Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 17 and fn 34.

<sup>37</sup> Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 35.

<sup>38</sup> 1814 was the year of the Congress of Vienna, which Thomas and Lydia attended. See my second chapter. For more information about the political situation see Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 35.

and list of stewards involved.<sup>39</sup> The anonymous compiler of this book collected the festival booklets and had them bound together for memorabilia; pencil annotations and comments can be seen throughout, for instance choruses from *Messiah*, performed on Wednesday 28 September 1814, had been circled with 'beautiful' written next to it. The long list of stewards includes Wilbraham Egerton, and the sheer number of stewards involved (fifty-two in total) reflects the size and popularity of this festival. The Record Office has a handwritten list of the stewards who paid their subscriptions to the festival. Wilbraham is listed for £26 5s and the total amount paid by the stewards comes to £837 5s.<sup>40</sup> He appears sixth on the list, which is organised in decreasing order starting with the highest donation, £100 given by the Earl of Stamford and Warrington, to the lowest £10 10s. The approximate average the stewards donated was £19.

During this festival, attendants saw Thomas Greatorex (1758-1831) organist of Westminster Abbey, as the conductor, with Johann Baptist Cramer (1771-1858) leading the orchestral band. Other performers included famous singers Angelica Catalani (1780-1849), John Braham (1774-1856) and James Bartleman (1769-1821), including instrumentalists such as bassist Domenico Dragonetti (1763-1846), and cellist Robert Lindley (1776- 1855).<sup>41</sup> The receipts totalled to £4, 072 18s 10d, with £962 12s 10d going to charity.<sup>42</sup>

Wilbraham is listed in the 1821 festival, which included performances of several of Handel's oratorios such as *Messiah*, *Judas Maccabaeus*, *Joshua*; other musical events that monumentalized Handel among people of this social standing were the Concerts of Antient Music.<sup>43</sup> Mozart's *Requiem* was also performed, including selections from

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<sup>39</sup> The book also includes the text to pieces heard at the Liverpool Musical Festival in 1805, Grand Miscellaneous Concert performed in King's School, 26 Sept 1821 and other concerts and articles from *Cheshire and North Wales Magazine* dated 1813. CHESTER MUSICAL FESTIVALS, Cheshire Record Office, 0144668/106.

<sup>40</sup> Cheshire Record Office, CR62/1/6.

<sup>41</sup> For information on the singers see Toft, *Heart to Heart*. For the conductor and instrumentalists see W. H. Husk and Bruce Carr, 'Greatorex, Thomas', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 5 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Simon McVeigh, 'Johann [John] Baptist Cramer', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 5 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Fiona M. Palmer, 'Dragonetti, Domenico', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 5 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Lynda McGregor and Christina Bashford, 'Lindley, Robert', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 5 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>42</sup> Bridge, *A Short Sketch*, p. 8.

<sup>43</sup> Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics*, pp. 173-177.



Haydn's *Creation* and works by Pergolesi and Marcello, with Eliza Salmon (1787-1849), Catherine Stephens (1794-1882), Braham, Swift and Rolle as the vocalists.<sup>44</sup> Cramer led the orchestra, which included violinist John Camidge (1790-1859), Lindley and Dragonetti.<sup>45</sup> The Camidges were a family of musicians based in Yorkshire and were known to the Sykeses, Elizabeth's paternal family. Elizabeth collected father Matthew Camidge's (1764-1844) pieces for voice and keyboard; it would be interesting to know if the festivals allowed Elizabeth and Wilbraham to make contact with the musicians whose works they collected and whether our family influenced the engagements of the musicians at the festivals.<sup>46</sup> Out of the £5, 362 7s 1d raised during this meeting, £1, 562 4s 9d was donated to charity.<sup>47</sup>

The Cheshire Record Office has a few documents on the last Chester music festival in 1829. Again Wilbraham's name appears in the list of stewards- as well as the Egerton's London neighbour, Watkin Williams Wynn- this time in another word book of festival music that belonged to a William Vernon.<sup>48</sup> The Record Office also holds a bundle of thirty letters written to Thomas Cartright, the clerk to the Musical Committee, shedding some light onto their duties. The letters were a response to Cartright's invitation to become part of the festival committee, and if the person accepted, they needed to contribute towards raising a sum of £3, 000 to build a concert room, and they had the responsibility for 'conducting' the festival.<sup>49</sup> The duties of stewards and committee members seemed to be different as the names of those who wrote letters to Cartright do not appear on the printed list of stewards in the word books or newspaper articles. Nevertheless, it proves that the festival's running depended on groups of men who dedicated their time and money for a good cause.

This festival of 1829 included, as described in the *Chester Chronicle*, a 'splendid and powerful organ, built expressly for the festival by Renn and Boston of Manchester'

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<sup>44</sup> Toft, *Heart to Heart*.

<sup>45</sup> Bridge, *A Short Sketch*, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> Camidge's vocal music is in Elizabeth's book 'SONGS', MR 2-5.38, and his keyboard pieces are in 'MISS SYKES', MR 2-5.32; 'PIANO FORTE MUSIC', MR 2-5.12; MR 2-5.16; and MR 2-5.41. David Griffiths, *The Camidges of York: Five Generations of a Musical Family* (York: Borthwick Institute, 2010).

<sup>47</sup> Bridge, *A Short Sketch*, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Cheshire Record Office, 014625/CR104. William Vernon had handwritten his name into the word book.

<sup>49</sup> Cheshire Record Office, CR62/1/27-57.

who attended the installation of the instrument.<sup>50</sup> The builders commented that '[the organ was] one of the sweetest and most powerful instruments [they] ever heard'.<sup>51</sup> The festival ran from Tuesday 8 to Friday 11 September, with a public breakfast at the Albion Hotel, including the singing of glees and catches, on Saturday 12.<sup>52</sup> When Wilbraham was not stewarding he was able to enjoy the festivities, and he and Elizabeth attended the fancy dress ball on the Friday evening dressed in all their splendour.<sup>53</sup> The last festival proved to be the most splendid of all the festivals, as recorded in the *Chester Chronicle*, selling a total of 6952 tickets, producing a donation of £444 16s to charity.<sup>54</sup>

Wilbraham performed his compassionate character on both small and large scales, from smaller scale individual, face to face benevolence, as he recorded in his account books, to larger scale paternalism represented by involvement in the music festivals for the benefit of local causes.<sup>55</sup> Adam Smith commented that benevolence in man is best kept to helping those nearest to him, as expressing concern for the misfortune of others who are far away and out of reach can be self-indulgent and futile. Smith said:

to man is allotted a much humbler department, but one much more suitable to the weakness of his powers, and to the narrowness of his comprehension; the care of his own happiness, of that of his family, his friends, his country: that he is occupied in contemplating the more sublime, can never be an excuse for his neglecting the more humble department...[he should not] neglect the smallest active duty.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> *Chester Chronicle*, 14 August 1829.

<sup>51</sup> *Chester Chronicle*, 14 August 1829.

<sup>52</sup> *Chester Chronicle*, 18 September 1829.

<sup>53</sup> *Chester Chronicle*, 18 September 1829. Elizabeth acted as patroness and donated money to several charity balls. To mention a few: in 1827 she was patroness for the Macclesfield Charity Ball on 12 January to help raise money for 'suffering manufacturers of Macclesfield'. She donated £5 to the dispensary charity during the Macclesfield ball of 1829. In 1834, a ball was held for the benefit of Knutsford Parochial School, and Elizabeth was patroness. The ball took place at The Royal George Hotel on Friday 24 October. The dancing began at 8.30pm, with music provided by Mr Horabin's Quadrille band. Ladies tickets were 6s 0d and gentlemen's 7s 6d. *Macclesfield Courier & Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, Saturday 30 December 1827. *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, Saturday 10 January 1829. *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, Saturday 4 October 1834. Thanks to Katrina Faulds for passing this on.

<sup>54</sup> Bridge, *A Short Sketch*, p. 10.

<sup>55</sup> See page thirty-one of my first chapter, which lists some of the entries of donations in Wilbraham's account book.

<sup>56</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 237.

Even though the festivals at Chester had ceased after 1829, as had Wilbraham's stewarding duties for this region, he still attended, stewarded and donated money to other music festivals in addition to purchasing tickets for the concerts. *The Lancaster Gazette's* report on the Liverpool Music Festival of 1817, another event for the benefit of public charities, included Wilbraham as a steward for this festival.<sup>57</sup>

In Wilbraham's account book dated 1830 there are two payment entries for the Liverpool music festival on 5 October of that year: this time he was attending and not stewarding.<sup>58</sup> He gave £3 as a donation and paid £5 5s for tickets.<sup>59</sup> The four-day festival began, unusually for most festivals, with an evening ball on Monday 4, so it seems that Wilbraham purchased two tickets on the Tuesday, perhaps for himself and Elizabeth to attend the morning performances for the rest of the festival.<sup>60</sup>

The Tuesday morning performance included a sermon on charity, and, according to one newspaper report, this sermon was usual practice.<sup>61</sup> The doors opened at 9am and by 10am the church was full, and it is highly likely that Wilbraham and Elizabeth were in the congregation. Before the sermon began the singers and choir sang Orlando Gibbons's 'Almighty and Everlasting God' and several other religious vocal pieces by James Kent (1700-1776) and James Nares (1715-1783). Rev. Jonathan Brooks preached from the thirty-eighth verse of the tenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and his entire lecture is recorded in the *Liverpool Mercury*. Brooks mentioned the benevolent actions of Christ, urging his listeners to follow His examples, but he also considered the limitations of charity, echoing some of Smith's notions:

You may apply relief... your kind and generous aid may sooth the sorrow which it cannot cure; may alleviate the pain which it cannot entirely remove. Your power, it is true, is limited, but though you cannot do every thing, you may accomplish much...

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<sup>57</sup> *The Lancaster Gazette*, 13 September 1817.

<sup>58</sup> Wilbraham stewarded for the Stockport Musical Festival in 1831. *Macclesfield Courier & Herald*, *Congleton Gazette*, *Stockport Express*, and *Cheshire General Advertiser*, 2 April 1831.

<sup>59</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/11.

<sup>60</sup> I am basing my estimation on the prices of tickets by comparing the cost of tickets for the Chester Festival in 1829: a single ticket for four morning performances cost £2 2s. See *Chester Chronicle*, 14 August 1829. Drummond, *The Provincial Music Festival*, p. 79.

<sup>61</sup> Wilbraham probably heard a clergyman preach when he was present as a steward for the 1817 festival in Liverpool. The Dean of Chester was due to speak on Tuesday 7 October in the morning at St. George's Church, including performances of music and a collection for charity. *The Lancaster Gazette*, 13 September 1817.

Thus you may become, as far as it is permitted here, eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, fathers to the fatherless, and protectors to the widow.<sup>62</sup>

At the end of the sermon ladies held collection plates at the doors to receive donations, and they collected £158 8s 5d.<sup>63</sup> An anonymous member of the congregation made his observations on the sermon and the music, which was included in the newspaper article. His comments shed light onto the role that music played in creating an atmosphere of reverence, possibly to encourage the audience to consider and reflect on charity, perhaps persuading them to make donations:

Where the purpose, to which the heavenly art of music is employed, is of such high excellence as on the occasion of our musical festivals, viz. charity, and relief to the helpless and wretched, it is no small addition to the satisfaction experienced in a retrospect to the abstract excellence of the music & its performance, that they have been worthy instruments of so blessed an ultimatum...The divine spirit of benevolence, so eloquently, and so touchingly inculcated by the preacher and was judiciously and tastefully wound up by the organist in dismissing the congregation with an extract from Handel's sublime anthem, 'He delivered the poor that cried'.<sup>64</sup>

The festivals seemed to impose a certain gravitas to the music choices, particularly in the morning events, making Handel's oratorios and other sacred pieces ideal for augmenting the altruistic and religious purpose of the music festivals. The above extracts also shed light on the expectations directed towards those who had the means of helping the unfortunate. The preacher seemed to be addressing mainly the men of the audience, particularly when encouraging them to be 'fathers to the fatherless', again conjuring this image of paternalism, using music to enhance and support the sentiment.

In addition to supporting the festivals, Wilbraham also donated money to local church singers, ringers and music bands in parishes near Tatton Park, such as Budworth, Rostherne and Macclesfield. For instance, £2 to the Budworth ringers on 14 August 1830, also in that year, £1 to Rostherne Singers on 25 December, and £2 to Rostherne

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<sup>62</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 8 October 1830.

<sup>63</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 8 October 1830.

<sup>64</sup> The anthem comes from Handel's oratorio *Israel in Egypt* (1739), and the words include 'He deliver'd the poor that cried, the fatherless, and him that had none to help him'. *Liverpool Mercury*, 8 October 1830.

Ringers on William's wedding, 30 December.<sup>65</sup> He gave £2 to the Macclesfield band on 26 January 1831 and 10s to the Knutsford Carol Singers on 26 December of that year.<sup>66</sup> Wilbraham fulfilled his duty helping the poor and local musicians on his doorstep and in nearby areas.

Not only did Elizabeth's husband and father-in-law busy themselves with the festivals, but her father Christopher Sykes, was also a steward for a music festival in York in August 1791.<sup>67</sup> Her brother Mark-Masterman Sykes was a patron for the 1803 York Festival in September, along with William Wilberforce.<sup>68</sup> And her son William Tatton stewarded alongside his father in the 1836 festival in Manchester.<sup>69</sup> The men from both families clearly wanted to give the impression of their benevolence to dependants.

### 3.1.2 Thomas Dyke Acland and Paternalism

John Taylor Coleridge (1790-1876), English judge and nephew of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, had this to say of his good friend Thomas,

He had more than enough to feed his own, and the poor round his door. One day a number of poor strangers, destitute and hungry, came by, and the good soul took them in for many a day; there he fed them day by day, and bade a Holy Friar teach them, and perform his holy offices among them, in the Chapel he had built for his family and poor neighbours.<sup>70</sup>

Thomas continuously performed his duty as the benevolent and paternalistic land-owner, ever eager to assist those whose hardship moved him to pity. But his paternalism extended beyond donating money and feeding poor families. In the 1840s when he stayed at Holnitcote, his other home, he lent out Killerton grounds to

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<sup>65</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/11.

<sup>66</sup> These contributions continued into the 1840s, as recorded in his account books. Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/11.

<sup>67</sup> Christopher Sykes and Elizabeth Tatton also made donations to the poor in Yorkshire as well as supporting charity schools, such as £20 to the poor on 1 February 1784; £2 2s to the charity school in 1785; £4 4s in 1790; £10 10s to Humane Society on 10 September 1789. *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Tuesday 9 August 1791. See Christopher Sykes Daybook, Hull History Centre, DDSY/98/142.

<sup>68</sup> *The York Herald*, Saturday 23 July 1803.

<sup>69</sup> *Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser*, Saturday 17 September 1836.

<sup>70</sup> John. T. Coleridge, *Some Few Personal Recollections of Sir Thomas Dyke Acland* (Exeter, 1872), p. 25.

local societies for their use and enjoyment. On Wednesday 6 September 1848, The Teetotal Society put on a rural fete at Killerton, which attracted five-hundred 'pleasure seekers', including both members and friends of the society.<sup>71</sup> Those who wanted to attend had to pay an entrance fee of 3d, the sum-total being used to purchase new instruments for the Temperance Band who performed throughout the afternoon. Performers in the band included the Shapcott Brothers, a musical family based in Exeter who gave performances across the country. The orphan children who attended Lydia Acland's school were also present at the fete, as she had the authority to permit them half a day's holiday. The author of the article in *The Western Times* observed that the children were 'neatly attired in blue frocks, and looked very happy'.<sup>72</sup> Killerton grounds accommodated the guests and enhanced their festivities due to the 'varied' and 'enchanted' scenery, allowing children and adults alike to explore and roam about. The soundscape of the event combined 'shouts of childish innocent glee, and hearty and jocund laughter from groups of merry dancers [which] mingled with the harmonious sounds of the band'.<sup>73</sup> By this time, landowners and the aristocracy had made their country seats more accessible to the locals as a result of social tensions in the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>74</sup> To maintain their ruling privileges, landowners now had to appear more inclusive and generous with their estate to those nearby, and Mandler observes that an 'eas[y] and ...pleasant' way to do this was by 'throw[ing] open the gates of the park' to neighbouring villagers.<sup>75</sup>

The festival's running depended on Thomas's and Lydia's permission, and even though they were not physically present during the fete, they nevertheless demonstrated proverbial kindness for allowing many people to come together, make music, dance, play sport and feast together on their estate. The Aclands turned their grounds into a local amenity for the villagers.<sup>76</sup> They demonstrated their support of

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<sup>71</sup> *The Western Times*, Saturday 9 September 1848.

<sup>72</sup> *The Western Times*, Saturday 9 September 1848.

<sup>73</sup> *The Western Times*, Saturday 9 September 1848.

<sup>74</sup> Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>75</sup> Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, p. 82.

<sup>76</sup> Elizabeth Gaskell's (1810-1865) novel *Wives and Daughters* (1865) is set in Knutsford, the village where our Egerton family lived. Tatton Park features in the book, but is referred to as Cumnor Towers, and Elizabeth and Wilbraham, as Lord and Lady Cumnor. The opening chapter describes the benevolence of the Cumnors towards their local townspeople. Every year, a garden party is put on in Lady Cumnor's absence for the local school girls, who are allowed to enjoy the mansion and the grounds. This garden festival is similar to the Acland's fetes, with the neighbouring townsfolk using the



local musicians and of the beliefs of the Teetotal and Temperance movements that were gaining recognition during this time.<sup>77</sup> The local fete at Killerton demonstrates the Aclands' concern with promoting and creating social harmony, using music as a means of bringing and unifying people. Furthermore, in his absence, Thomas may have been perceived as a benevolent father figure watching over his local neighbours as they frolic on his land.

At the same time, however, this festival promoted the Aclands' own worldview to those who attended. The Aclands may have expected attendees to take notice of the cause being celebrated and respond accordingly: a Teetotal festival including performers in the Temperance band who abstained from alcohol.<sup>78</sup> To reciprocate the Aclands' patronage and generosity guests would have to give something back in return, maybe to maintain social harmony in Broadclyst, perhaps by refraining from excessive consumption of alcohol in taverns. The girls from Lydia's school might show their appreciation by making sure that they continued to come to school. As Marcel Mauss notes, 'Societies have progressed in so far as they themselves, their subgroups, and lastly the individuals in them, have succeeded in stabilizing relationships, giving, receiving, and finally, giving in return'.<sup>79</sup> As rulers of their parish, the Aclands wanted to make sure that nearby inhabitants followed and respected their example and a festival at Killerton would be one way to do this. Thomas's continued prosperity depended on his villager's willingness to work hard and be loyal, but the fete also functioned as a way for Thomas to reciprocate the work undertaken by his tenants and local villagers.

Thomas opened his grounds to the Exeter Literary Society in September 1849, again allowing them to hold a fete at Killerton. Thomas was a member of the Royal Society

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landowners' grounds in their absence. Elizabeth Gaskell, *Wives and Daughters* [1865] (Middlesex: The Echo Library, 2007), chapter one.

<sup>77</sup> Initially founded in America, the Temperance Society promoted complete abstinence from alcohol in the hope of improving society's morals and health. See *The Newcastle Courant*, Saturday 10 October 1829.

<sup>78</sup> In Parliament, Thomas voted for public house licensing bills on 27 June 1822. In 1828, he argued that cider shops were 'small public houses, free from all control', but was concerned that a sudden imposed licensing duty would have damaging effects on cider consumption. Jenkins, 'ACLAND, Sir Thomas Dyke', *The History of Parliament Online*, (Accessed 17 November 2012) <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/acland-sir-thomas-1787-1871>.

<sup>79</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 82.

of Literature, and made payments to the Exeter Literary Society.<sup>80</sup> Committee members responsible for organising the fete were Charles Hill, Mortimer, John Pope and several others.<sup>81</sup> Music played an important role during this event, which featured Pinhey's band of musicians who entertained the visitors and created a pleasant atmosphere. Money raised from this outing went towards the purchase of new books and a library clock for the society.<sup>82</sup> The festival attracted around two thousand people, not only members of the society, but also his rural neighbours. Thomas attended this function, and appeared in the evening accompanied by cheers of those who were present. The guests also cheered Lydia Acland and the band played Boyce's patriotic naval march 'Heart of Oak' (1759), words by actor David Garrick (1717-1779).<sup>83</sup> Thomas made a speech and he mentioned the last time he saw so many faces at Killerton was during the fiftieth Jubilee celebration of the reign of King George III, in 1809, when he was twenty-two. For that event he also 'thought it his duty to throw open the grounds, illuminate his house and feast his neighbours and all who wished to partake of his hospitality'.<sup>84</sup>

Indeed festivals seemed to have been common-place at Killerton; the opening of the article about the literary fete mentions 'another pleasant festival took place... at Killerton'. Thomas regularly opened up and shared his estate, allowing people to experience the vastness and beauty of his land. When hundreds or thousands attended, Thomas represented the head of the occasion, taking and claiming responsibility for those on his property, ensuring their satisfaction. He would also demonstrate his concern for the satisfaction and contentment of nearby inhabitants, one of his many roles as their overseer. Thomas was aware of his duties and he ensured that he fulfilled them.

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<sup>80</sup> See entries into Thomas's account books for May 1830, including payments to the Royal Society of Literature and Exeter Literary Society for £3 3s and £21 respectively. Ledger 17, Hoare's Bank Archive, Fleet Street. In addition, the *Morning Post* noted Thomas's presence at the Annual Meeting of the Royal Society of Literature on Tuesday 1 June 1824.

<sup>81</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 8 September 1849.

<sup>82</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 8 September 1849.

<sup>83</sup> The song referred to the 'wonderful year' in which Britain triumphed in battles in Minden, Quiberon Bay, and Quebec, 1759-1760. 'Heart of Oak', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 9 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>84</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 8 September 1849.

### 3.1.3 Wilbraham and Thomas: Fathers of the Family and Local Residents

Both Thomas and Wilbraham had large families, ten and nine children, respectively. When their children reached a particular age or got married, it was expected that they would have celebrations at home. Newspaper articles documented particular events and provided substantial details on the progresses of the day. On 30 December 1827, Wilbraham celebrated the coming of age of his first son, William Tatton Egerton (1806-1883), at Tatton Park. The inhabitants of Knutsford prepared for the celebration by sweeping the streets, and decorating the front of their houses with banners praising the Egerton family, 'Success to the Heir of Tatton', for instance. The celebration at the park began with a fox hunt, followed by a light meal and a large consumption of ale, about 480 gallons worth; the neighbouring poor and villagers had their share of the ale and ox meat.<sup>85</sup> A pony race followed in the afternoon on Knutsford Heath and Elizabeth came from Tatton to witness the race. She awarded the silver cup to the winner, with a band of music playing during the prize winning. The dinner, around three o'clock, took place in The George Inn close to Tatton Park, around one hundred people attended, including principal tenants and tradesmen. The songs and glees, 'God Save the King', 'Mirth and Wine', 'The Bells of St Michael Tower', 'Rule Britannia', 'In a Jolly Full Bottle We'll Drink to The King and The Church' and 'Old England' entertained the company and completed the days celebration; it was not mentioned who performed the glees on this occasion.<sup>86</sup> Many toasts were raised, including one to Elizabeth Egerton and Wilbraham made a short speech about his wife and her indefatigable interests in the town and villagers in Knutsford.

Music played a part in festivities at Killerton House in 1848 to celebrate the wedding of Thomas's and Lydia's youngest daughter Agnes Lucy (1821-1895).<sup>87</sup> The ceremony took place in the chapel on the grounds on Thursday 3 August. The party proceeded to the Aclands' other home in Holnicote, Somerset, where dancing and music making from the Yeomanry Cavalry military band of North Devon added to the festivities by playing 'several spirited airs'.<sup>88</sup> And Thomas and Lydia walked round and met their guests: the total number amounted to around eight hundred visitors, not only family,

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<sup>85</sup> Information taken from *Chester, Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, Friday 11 January 1828.

<sup>86</sup> *Chester, Cheshire and North Wales Advertiser*, Friday 11 January 1828.

<sup>87</sup> *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 5 August 1848.

<sup>88</sup> *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 5 August 1848.

but yeomanry and inhabitants from Thomas's parishes in Silverton, Broadclyst and surrounding districts. The celebrations extended to one of Thomas's parishes in Romansleigh, about twenty miles away from Killerton.

Music has always added a pleasant atmosphere to festivities and celebrations, and in these contexts both the instrumental and vocal music enhanced the enjoyment of the hosts and guests of the family events. Thomas and Wilbraham were not performing music, but they hired and paid for the bands. The singing during the dinner for William Tatton, however, was customary after dinner when gentlemen gathered together, as we shall in the later section on gentleman's clubs. In these instances, Wilbraham and Thomas performed their roles as fathers of their families, but extended their paternalistic duty to large numbers of local people.

#### **3.1.4 Paternal Landowners**

Music accompanied and enhanced Wilbraham's and Thomas's performances of paternalism in public settings, although music would not always be used when Thomas and Wilbraham were in the role of the benevolent landowner: a characteristic required for a masculine identity.<sup>89</sup> Even so, the music seemed to have slightly different functions during the events that our men involved themselves with. Music heard during the morning performances of the provincial festivals seemed to encourage listeners to make charitable donations, but at the family and society gatherings at Tatton and Killerton, music helped to create an enjoyable atmosphere. In both cases, Thomas and Wilbraham were concerned with promoting charity and supporting those in need, and music created an appropriate environment for each event. Furthermore, these events highlighted our men's social standing, national identity and religion, as authors of religious and educational texts proposed that compassion for dependants should be the preoccupation of wealthy English Protestants, as we also saw in chapter one for the women.

Our men both cultivated their paternal identity and image collectively and individually. For instance, Thomas and Wilbraham both used their grounds to

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<sup>89</sup> Tosh observes that in the nineteenth century, 'a man who speaks for...dependants...is fully masculine'. Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 36.

entertain their families and large numbers of local poor, and both engaged in personal donations to destitute people.<sup>90</sup> Wilbraham contributed toward the supervision of the charitable festivals with many other landed elite and wealthy men. Thomas's paternal activities had a more focussed feel, as they reflected particular political or Evangelical beliefs that he wanted to advocate to his dependants, whereas Wilbraham's seemed to be engaged with more conventional landed elite sensibilities.

Importantly, their wives were acknowledged during these occasions, as their presence was necessary to the image being fostered. The complete picture needed a father and a mother, the latter in a subsidiary role to indicate and enhance the man's status. Elizabeth attended the Chester festivals when her husband stewarded and Lydia allowed the girls from her school to enjoy the festivities at Killerton. Elizabeth's generosities were often noted in newspaper articles and Lydia Acland received three cheers during the literary festival at Killerton to demonstrate the attendants' appreciation and respect.<sup>91</sup> The newspaper articles not only reinforced the image of benevolence of the Aclands and Egertons, but also gave them more power and privilege, in exchange for their duties and obligations to the nearby poor. Our families helped to bring stability and harmony to their province by concerning themselves with the welfare of their poorer neighbours.

### **3.2 Male Sociability and Friendship**

Cultivating and performing paternalism was one way that our men could show part of their masculine character. But our men needed to be more than father figures to their families and other dependants; they needed to assert and display their manliness to male peers and friends, as 'peer approval [confirmed] masculine status', according to Tosh.<sup>92</sup> One area in which men judged and approved of other men's manliness was in gentlemen's clubs. A man could leave the domestic realm, a potentially effeminate domain, and join his friends in more public settings for a sociable evening.<sup>93</sup> Forging and maintaining male friendship was crucial to men of our period, such as for social

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<sup>90</sup> See account books, Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/11-13.

<sup>91</sup> See my first chapter footnote 37. *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 8 September 1849.

<sup>92</sup> Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 71.

<sup>93</sup> See Peter Clarke, *British Clubs and Societies, 1500-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

enjoyments or business matters. But choosing male friends needed careful consideration as these authors attested:

Concerning the man you call your friend- tell me, Will he weep with you in the hour of your distress? Will he dare to stand forth in your defence, when detraction is secretly aiming its deadly weapons at your reputation?<sup>94</sup>

If your faith & integrity depend so much on the connections you make; if the society of the virtuous be so necessary to your improvement in piety, and goodness; if it be conducive to your present comfort, and future happiness; be careful in the choice of your intimates.<sup>95</sup>

Both of these extracts actually come from Elizabeth's Commonplace book, yet the texts seem to be directed toward and advising a male reader, particularly in the former extract. Perhaps the messages in the texts were designed to inform young girls about the importance of male friendships, and to make them understand how essential it was for a man to maintain his close male acquaintances. One of the books in Lydia's music collection has a Madrigal by John Davy (1763-1824), words by Shakespeare, about the importance of male friendship and selecting a genuine friend.<sup>96</sup> The madrigal begins 'He that is thy friend indeed' and mentions that a good friend should help you in need and respond to your distresses. A genuine friend is someone who will naturally sympathise with all your emotions and remain by your side in all situations. A man should be aware that 'These are certain signs to know, faithful friend from flattering foe' (music example 44-48). As Smith wrote, 'we expect less sympathy from a common acquaintance than from a friend: we cannot open to the former all those little circumstances which we can unfold to the latter'.<sup>97</sup>

The music is mainly homophonic throughout, with all parts singing the lines together during important messages, for instance, 'he will help thee in thy need'. The musical lines direct and choreograph the performers, showing men how to interact with other men to create harmony. In this instance, a woman might learn about contemporary

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<sup>94</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET 3229/77, pp. 29-30.

<sup>95</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET 3229/77, p. 47.

<sup>96</sup> From 'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C', 1 26 B. The flyleaf in the music book is watermarked 1819, after Thomas's and Lydia's marriage.

<sup>97</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 23.



ideas of manliness and expectations of men through relevant songs and educational texts. Young girls and women might have been expected to encourage a sociable character in their male relatives, assisting the males of the family in constructing their masculine identity.

26

MADRIGAL V

CANTO  
ALTO  
TENORE  
BASS

He that is thy Freind indeed, He will help thee in thy need,  
He that is thy Freind indeed, He will help thee in thy need,  
He that is thy Friend in deed, He will help thee in thy need,  
He that is thy Friend in deed, He will help thee in thy need,

If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
If thou wake he can - not sleep,

If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
If thou wake he can - not sleep,

Music Example 44: 'He that is Thy Friend Indeed', by John Davy, 'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.', 1 26 B (c.1819).





These are cer-tain signs to know, are cer-tain signs to know, Faithful

These are cer-tain signs to know, These are certain signs to know, Faithful

These are cer-tain signs to know, These are certain signs to know, Faithful

These are cer-tain signs are cer-tain signs to know, Faithful

Friend from flatt'-ring Foe, from flatt'-ring Foe, These are

Friend from flatt'-ring Foe, from flatt'-ring Foe, These are

Friend from flatt'-ring Foe, from flatt'-ring Foe, These are

Friend from flatt'-ring Foe, - - - - - These are

cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flatt'-ring Foe; *mancando*

cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flatt'-ring Foe; *mancando*

cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flatt'-ring Foe; *mancando*

cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flatt'-ring Foe;

Music Example 46: 'He that is Thy Friend Indeed' Continued.



29

Tempo

He that is thy Friend in - deed, He will help thee in thy need,  
 He that is thy Friend in - deed, He will help thee in thy need,  
 He that is thy Friend in - deed, He will help thee in thy need,  
 He that is thy Friend in - deed, He will help thee in thy need,

If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
 If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
 If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
 If thou wake he can - not sleep,

If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,  
 he can - not sleep,  
 If thou sor - row he will weep, If thou wake he can - not sleep,

Music Example 47: 'He that is Thy Friend Indeed' Continued.



Thus of ev'ry grief in heart, He with thee doth bear thee part,

Thus of ev'ry grief in heart, He with thee doth bear thee part,

Thus of ev'ry grief in heart,

Thus of ev'ry grief in heart,

These are cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flattring Foe,

These are cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flattring Foe,

These are cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flattring Foe,

These are cer-tain signs to know, Faith-ful Friend from flattring Foe,

These are certain signs to know, Faithful Friend from flattring Foe. flattring Foe.

These are certain signs to know, Faithful Friend from flattring Foe. flattring Foe.

These are certain signs to know, Faithful Friend from flattring Foe. flattring Foe.

These are certain signs to know, Faithful Friend from flattring Foe. flattring Foe.

Music Example 48: 'He that is Thy Friend Indeed' Continued.

The extract below, also from Elizabeth's Commonplace book, applies musical connotations to describe the ideal male friendship, avoiding dissonances in favour of harmony:

An intimate connection can only be kept up, by a constant wish to be pleasing, & agreeable. The nearer and closer that men are brought together, the more frequent that the points of contact between them become, there is the greater necessity for the surface being smooth, & every thing being removed that can grate, or offend.<sup>98</sup>

Regular conversation and interaction with men could help bring about concord as men would learn from each other how to behave, to socialise, to converse and to relate to each other, as Smith argued 'Society and conversation... are the most powerful remedies for restoring the mind to tranquillity... and [achieving] that equality of temper'.<sup>99</sup>

Both Thomas and Wilbraham were members of several clubs and societies. Taking 'He that is Thy Friend Indeed' as my cue, I will now investigate how performing or listening together may have facilitated masculine sociability and helped to create appropriately 'manly' forms of interaction. I consider music's role in constructing ideals of masculinity in relation to British nationalism and understandings of class. Not all the clubs and societies that included the singing of glees were purely musical, implying that singing played an important role in the atmosphere and tradition of the club in general.

In Peter Clark's investigation into clubs and societies, he observes that these gatherings of men 'became one of the most distinctive social and cultural institutions of Georgian Britain'.<sup>100</sup> Men would meet, sometimes in taverns, inns or a clubhouse, and would have a plethora of clubs and societies to choose from, including sporting clubs, scientific, debating, philanthropic, horticultural, literary, music to bee-keeping clubs.<sup>101</sup> Usually the overall aim of the club would be collective improvement, or collective learning in a sociable, all-male environment.<sup>102</sup> The exact definition of 'club'

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<sup>98</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET 3229/77, p. 39.

<sup>99</sup> Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, I, p. 23.

<sup>100</sup> Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 2.

<sup>101</sup> Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 1- 2.

<sup>102</sup> Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 1.



and 'society' is difficult to describe, as the terms were used interchangeably in sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century-Britain.<sup>103</sup> Sociability was an important element for the clubs to function with ease. According to Dean Sutcliffe

Sociability itself involves such concepts and qualities as reciprocity, politeness, decorum, exchange (of ideas, views, even of identities), friendliness, pleasantness, comfort, goodwill, graciousness, wit, and humor. It is a means of mediating between individual and collective consciousness. It implies social awareness in a group situation, a feeling of give and take, a desire not to impose oneself too strongly, an awareness of others and of other points of view. The emphasis is on human deportment rather than self-expression.<sup>104</sup>

The quote suggests that having a sociable character in an environment where men met and interacted together was paramount; that also included the music festivals. When a man entered a male-only club he needed to engage his sociable nature in a particular way that conformed to the ideals of sociability, to contribute towards the harmonious function of the club, such as discussion with other men or making music. In the bigger picture, however, having these characteristics not only benefitted the club, but society at large, helping to improve morality.

### 3.2.1 Thomas's Boys' Clubs

I have found more clubs that Thomas attended, so I will concentrate on him more than Wilbraham. Thomas subscribed to many clubs and on different interests. In the archives at Hoare's Bank in Fleet Street are ledgers that contain Thomas's accounts from the year 1808 to his death in 1871. Entries note payments to various clubs, such as the Royal Society of Literature, Travellers Club, Boodle's Club, Geological Society, Royal Yacht Club, and University Club.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> See Clark, *British Clubs and Societies*.

<sup>104</sup> Dean Sutcliffe, 'Before the Joke: Texture and Sociability in the Largo of Haydn's Op. 33, No. 2', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 28 (2009), pp. 92-118, p. 95.

<sup>105</sup> Payments to these societies and clubs can be found in ledgers 64 (1820), 77 (1824), 5 (1828), 17 (1830), 30 (1831), 56 (1837-9) and 96 (1842-3). More ledgers for later dates will confirm payments to these clubs and other clubs, as well as charitable organisations and societies, such as Devonshire Club Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade & Civilisation in Africa, Mendicity Society, Gentleman's Benevolent Society and Indigenously Blind.

In addition to these clubs, Thomas joined, along with his close friend from Oxford, Robert Inglis, The Christ Church Club, later known as Grillion's Club.<sup>106</sup> The club began with a few college friends in 1805, becoming more established by 1812. The main characteristic of Grillion's was, as Sir Philip de M Gray-Egerton observed,

its generous and courteous comprehension of diversities of political views. It has thus not been uncommon for the most uncompromising opponents in the most important crises of our political history, to meet round its table in perfect freedom of conversation, and even banter.<sup>107</sup>

Gray-Egerton believed that the club's strength lay in the possibility it allowed for members of different political standpoints to come together, to talk freely and rationally. This, for him, was 'a social life for which an Englishman may be proud', as it follows the ethics of sociability: being able to express an opinion but also listening and respecting another person's point of view.<sup>108</sup> He also implied that this type of masculine sociability was exclusively English, commenting that a political club like Grillion's could not be formed on the Continent, suggesting that foreigners engaged in irrational and discordant political discussions.<sup>109</sup> To maintain fairness, members took it in turns to be the president or vice-president, so no two people were always in charge, and they organised this alphabetically.<sup>110</sup>

Originally nine members formed the club, including, for instance British diplomat and founder of Grillion's, Stratford Canning (1786-1880), and hymn writer Reginald Heber (1783-1826). The club met weekly during the Parliamentary session and meetings always included a sumptuous dinner.<sup>111</sup> The club eventually grew in size, having twenty five members by 1813. A new candidate had to be elected by one of the club associates, who would write a letter of recommendation to the secretary. This person would then be voted in. The ballot would go round twice for each person proposed, but a black ball meant rejection. This system of voting in new members

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<sup>106</sup> Apparently the name changed on their official documents and letters sometime around 1817-1822 because not all of the new members came from this Oxford College. Sir Philip de M. Gray-Egerton, *Annals of Grillion's Club: From its Origin in 1812 to its Fiftieth Anniversary* (London, 1880), p 21.

<sup>107</sup> Gray-Egerton, *Annals*, pp. 1- 2.

<sup>108</sup> Gray-Egerton, 'Preface' to *Annals*, vi.

<sup>109</sup> Gray-Egerton, 'Preface' to *Annals*, vi.

<sup>110</sup> Gray-Egerton, *Annals*, p. 5.

<sup>111</sup> Acland, *Memoirs*, p. 11.

seemed to be common practice for most clubs.<sup>112</sup> Grillion's was primarily orientated to the discussion of politics and this explains why music does not feature in any references to the club. But Exeter did have two musical clubs available for those interested in music.

Both The Devon Glee Club and The Devon Madrigal Club had Sir John L. Rogers (1780-1847) as the president. According to an article in *Flindell's Western Luminaries*, a local newspaper of 1825, Rogers possessed a great knowledge of musical science, and was the most fitting person to form musical clubs in Exeter.<sup>113</sup> In addition to being a Captain in the Queen's Bays, an MP for Callington, Cornwall, in 1812-1813, and a high sheriff for Devon in 1838, Rogers was also a bass singer and an amateur composer of glees, anthems, madrigals and catches.<sup>114</sup> He established the Madrigal Club in 1825 after the earlier Glee Club, including members from the latter in the former, along with choristers of the Cathedral. Both clubs involved unaccompanied singing by male voices, and included titled men such as a Sir Walter Palk Carew, 8<sup>th</sup> Baronet of Hacombe, Devon (1807-1874) who attended Christ Church college at Oxford in 1825; Sir John Duckworth, 2<sup>nd</sup> Baronet of Topsham (1809-1877); and Captain John Quantock.<sup>115</sup>

Glees were an English music genre and were unaccompanied part songs for three to six solo voices. In a recent study, Brian Robins comments that the glee 'tapped into the vein of male sociability' as it was thoroughly 'English in style, manly, straightforward and vigorous, with a tenderness to pathos'.<sup>116</sup> Robins cautions against overestimating the similarities between madrigals and glees: madrigals were much more contrapuntally complex whereas glees had a loose musical form, although they could vary from short simple through-composed pieces to lengthy multi-sectional

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<sup>112</sup> Election into the Devon Madrigal Club was the same, except two black balls meant rejection, instead of one, as will be discussed below. Devon Madrigal Society and Devon Glee Club Minute Book, 1825-1839, Devon Record Office, Z19/48/1.

<sup>113</sup> *Flindell's Western Luminary*, 11 January 1825, quoted in Devon Madrigal Society Minute Book, Z19/48/1.

<sup>114</sup> Rubin, *The English Glee in the Reign of George III*, pp. 58, 244, 370 and 385.

<sup>115</sup> *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 12 December 1833 and see Devon Madrigal Society Minute Book, Z19/48/1. Scant information exists about the foundation of the Devon Glee Club, but I would surmise that Rogers formed the club only a few years before the Madrigal club, c. 1821.

<sup>116</sup> Brian Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), pp. 3-4.

works.<sup>117</sup> Gleees were on topics such as the pastoral, male bonding in friendship, drink, music, philosophy, epitaphs and romance, as Robins notes.<sup>118</sup> Gleees had a close connection with catches, as catches were for unaccompanied voices, but with catches all voices would sing the same lines together, similar to a round.<sup>119</sup>

Little is known about the origins of the Devon Glee Club, but information is available in newspapers about its meetings, place of meeting, attendance and gleees performed.<sup>120</sup> The Glee Club met during the winter months, from November to March, on the first Friday of every month, initially meeting in the Subscription Rooms, but from 1830s meeting in the New London Inn, Exeter.<sup>121</sup> How the members obtained music in the Glee Club is unclear, but it is likely that it was similar to the Madrigal Society in which members paid around 5s for music books, in addition to £1 for the season.<sup>122</sup> Pieces performed at the Madrigal club included works by Luca Marenzio (c.1553/1554-1599), Thomas Weelkes (1576-1623) and Thomas Ford (c.1580-1648).<sup>123</sup> At the Glee Club pieces by Samuel Webbe (1740-1816), John Wall Callcott (1766-1821), and William Horsley (1774-1858) could be heard.<sup>124</sup> Sometimes repertory overlapped and a few madrigals and catches appeared in the Glee Club repertoire, which suggests that organisers were not too strict about keeping the genres separate.<sup>125</sup> Both types of musical genres involved bringing men together to sing and to be sociable.

Thomas was not a member of the Madrigal club, but he attended one of the Devon Glee Club meetings on Friday 13 December 1822. This was the second meeting, held in the Subscription Rooms, with the Right Hon. Lord Graves in the chair.<sup>126</sup> Fifty-six

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<sup>117</sup> Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 4.

<sup>118</sup> Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 141.

<sup>119</sup> The terms catches and gleees were used interchangeably in the middle of the eighteenth century, as they were musically similar, but by the end of the century more distinctions existed between the two: catches were simpler, composed to bawdy, often indecent words and gleees underwent development toward the latter part of the century becoming more refined and dealing with serious topics. See Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*.

<sup>120</sup> See Peter Horton, *Samuel Sebastian Wesley* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 121.

<sup>121</sup> Organist Samuel Sebastian Wesley (1810-1876) joined both of these clubs in 1835, and he sung both countertenor and bass. He composed a glee in 1838 for the club, but the glee is now lost. Wesley gave Lydia Acland organ lessons when she was in her fifties. Horton, *Samuel Sebastian Wesley*, p. 121.

<sup>122</sup> Devon Madrigal Society Minute Book, Z19/48/1.

<sup>123</sup> Devon Madrigal Society Minute Book, Z19/48/1.

<sup>124</sup> *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 7 March 1833.

<sup>125</sup> *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 7 March 1833.

<sup>126</sup> *Morning Post*, 16 December 1822.

men gathered, including Thomas and Sir John Rogers, and their meeting commenced at five o'clock with 'a most elegant dinner'.<sup>127</sup> Unfortunately, the author of the newspaper article did not mention what glees were sung during this event, or who performed or listened. Other writers of newspaper articles on the Devon Glee Club recorded repertoire, performers and attendees, but Thomas was not present at these meetings.<sup>128</sup>

How did Thomas participate at the meeting in 1822? An article dated 1835 commented that the glee club aimed to be 'musical rather than convivial'.<sup>129</sup> And an article of 1839 mentioned that 'musical members' of the Glee Club gave the assembled a 'foretaste of the style in which the intellectual part of the evening was to pass off', but it is unclear how this part of the evening unfolded.<sup>130</sup> Who were the musical members? Presumably Sir John Rogers was considered a musical member, as the president, an amateur composer and a bass singer.<sup>131</sup> Would Thomas have sung? It is possible that he performed in this meeting, as the club mainly included amateur elite men, like Rogers, as musical members, and Thomas might also have joined in with the singing if they performed glees he knew.

Nevertheless, Thomas had the opportunity of hearing glees in other clubs, such as during the fifth Devon Agricultural Society meeting where he is listed as those in attendance at the dinner. The Agricultural Society was established c.1830 and was designed to promote and assist improvements in agriculture, farming practices and quality of livestock in Devon, with support and encouragement from the landowners. The fifth meeting took place on 20 May 1834, and at eleven o'clock in the morning the public could come and look at the exhibition of some of the livestock while the judges decided which farmer and animal deserved a prize of money.<sup>132</sup> From three o'clock, members, visitors and friends of the Society went to dinner. The afternoon began with dinner and at the end George and Thomas Risdon, W. H. Tootel and T. Ware from Exeter Cathedral performed 'Non nobis Domine', a vocal canon in three parts sung as

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<sup>127</sup> *Morning Post*, 16 December 1822.

<sup>128</sup> See *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 12 March 1842.

<sup>129</sup> *Treman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 24 September 1835.

<sup>130</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 9 November 1839.

<sup>131</sup> The minute book for the Madrigal Society provides the names of the men and their voice parts.

Z19/48/1

<sup>132</sup> *Treman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 22 May 1834.

grace after meat, formerly attributed to William Byrd.<sup>133</sup> Following the canon were toasts of a patriotic nature to the King, Queen and royal family, Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese and the Army and Navy. The choristers then sang Thomas Arne's 'Britain's Best Bulwarks are Her Wooden Walls'.<sup>134</sup> After a lengthy speech from the chairman, the choristers performed Henry Bishop's unaccompanied 'Foresters Sound the Cheerful Horn' and later on Samuel Webbe's 'Wine Gives the Lover Vigour' and 'There is No Deceit in Wine'. The Killerton collection includes Arne's 'Britain's Best Bulwarks' and 'There's No Deceit in Wine', which is the last line from Webbe's 'The Mighty Conqueror'.<sup>135</sup> The former piece refers to Britain's military and naval strengths and the latter glorifies wine over love. Having glees about wine seemed very appropriate for a festive dinner, and many of the glees and songs at Killerton have similar drinking themes, such as John Eccles 'Wine Does Wonders' for three voices; E. Phelps anacreontic duet 'Bring Me An Urn of Work Divine', dedicated to his friend Captain Kennedy; the catch 'Let Us Drink & Be Merry' (for more drinking songs in the Killerton collection see appendix 5).<sup>136</sup> As a wine drinker, it is interesting that Thomas supported tee-total societies, unless the promotion of this cause at Killerton came from Evangelical Lydia.

In this environment, songs about alcohol and war appeared to be appropriate masculine subjects, voiced by men. The first page of Arne's 'Britain's Best Bulwarks' shows that the men sung in actual harmony and mainly in homophony, creating a sense of togetherness and a collective identity: masculine and British (music example 49). Similarly, in the last page of Webbe's 'The Mighty Conqueror' the parts declaim the integrity of wine either in all four voices or in pairs. The vocal lines are never truly independent from each other, again giving the impression of a collective masculine identity that thrived on alcohol, male friendship and music (music example 50).

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<sup>133</sup> Although there is no evidence that Byrd actually composed this canon. Anon., 'Non nobis Domine', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 12 May 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>134</sup> *Western Times*, Wednesday 21 May 1834.

<sup>135</sup> 'CONVITO ARMONICO', vol. 1, C2 2 B (c.1819).

<sup>136</sup> These vocal pieces come from 'CONVITO ARMONICO', vol. 1 C2 2 B (c.1819); 'VOCAL MUSIC' (H), 2 38 B (c.1808); and 1 17 B (c.1801), respectively.



## BRITAIN'S BEST BULWARKS,

*a Glee, by D. Arne.*

Con spirito

Alto Tenore Basso

When Bri-tain on her sea-girt shore Her an-cient Dru-ids erst ad-  
 dress'd What aid she cried shall I im-plore What best de-fence by num-bers  
 press'd what aid what aid shall I im-plore what aid what aid shall I im-  
 plore what best de-fence by numbers press'd by num-bers press'd Tho'  
 hostile nations round thee rise The mystic O-ra-cles re-plied And view thine

174

Music Example 49: First Page of 'Britain's Best Bulwarks are Her Wooden Walls', by Thomas Arne, 'CONVITO ARMONICO', vol. 1, C2 2 B (c.1819).



55

lies There's no deceit in wine there's no deceit in wine the merry merry

lies There's no deceit in wine there's no deceit in wine the merry merry

lies There's no deceit in wine there's no deceit in wine - - -

lies There's no deceit in wine there's no deceit in wine - - -

god ne'er tells us lies there's no de -

god ne'er tells us lies the merry merry god ne'er tells us lies there's no de -

the merry merry god ne'er tells us lies there's no de -

there's no de -

- ceit in wine - - there's no de - ceit in wine.

- ceit in wine there's no de - ceit in wine.

- ceit in wine there's no de - ceit in wine.

- ceit in wine - - there's no de - ceit in wine.

174

Music Example 50: Last Line from 'The Mighty Conqueror', by Samuel Webbe, 'CONVITO ARMONICO', vol. 1, C2 2 B (c.1819).

Toward the end of the evening the company toasted Thomas and the Hon. Sir Humphry Davie, with 'Liberal Landlords and Good Tenants'. Thomas made a speech and he commented on the improvements made in the past four years as well as congratulating and praising his tenants who were present.<sup>137</sup> The final song the singers performed was 'With my Lovely Phillis', after that they made a toast to the Ladies of the Country of Devon. The toasts to the women affirmed this environment as homosocial, demonstrating, in the symbolic realm at least, that those participating subscribed to normative heterosexuality. The acknowledgment of the women highlighted their crucial symbolic function to complement the figure of the manly man.

On this occasion, in contrast to the Glee Club, everyone was entertained by the musicians of the cathedral. Even if circumstances were inappropriate for landed elites like our Thomas to sing along, they could still identify with the types of masculine identities that the choristers voiced, as they were male, British, enjoyed wine and music making. Of course they might have mentally joined in if they knew the words, or indeed if the assembled joined in together at the chorus, for instance.

Other articles relate to meetings of the Devon Agricultural Society, such as the fourth held on Wednesday 11 December 1833, which Thomas attended, and the sixth in Thursday 6 November 1834, but Thomas was not present for this one.<sup>138</sup> In both events, glees and songs were performed after the dinner. The fourth included Richard Wainwright's 'Life's a Bumper' sung by glee singers Carpenter, Hayes, Ash, Boulton and Haycraft. The sixth included 'Wine Gives the Lover Vigour', John Callcott's 'Go Idle Boys' and 'Foresters Sound the Cheerful Horn'. The number of glees performed varied, although some of the glees would be repeated.

Another occasion which mixed singing with agricultural interests was the Netherex Farm's Club. On Wednesday 13 November 1844, the Annual Ploughing Match took place on Cotton Farm in Poltimore; the dinner afterwards was held at Russwell Inn, and about sixty gentlemen and yeomanry attended, including our Thomas.<sup>139</sup> Similar

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<sup>137</sup> *Western Times*, Wednesday 21 May 1834.

<sup>138</sup> See *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 12 December 1833; and *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 13 November 1834.

<sup>139</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 16 November 1844.

to The Devon Agricultural Society, this farmers' club included a mixture of social groups. Philip Carter has asserted that after 1800 elite social life became more exclusive and domestic, with a hardening suspicion of the metropolis and a desire to move away from social practices that were arbitrary and accommodating.<sup>140</sup> As Carter observes, greater distinctions were also drawn between those 'deemed worthy, or unworthy, of a genteel reputation'.<sup>141</sup> But this change in sociability does not seem to have affected the club life outlined here. Perhaps the eagerness for improved agricultural practices, and the community more generally, eclipsed concerns of social exclusivity in this instance, progress on the land required collaboration and cooperation between landowner and farmers. The club overall would provide an opportunity for interaction in a pleasant environment.

Numerous toasts were made, the same as in The Devon Agricultural Society. The Reverend W. Napleton commented that he 'considered the Agricultural Associations to be efficient means of improving the morals of the people'.<sup>142</sup> And this could be because the meeting required different classes of men to mix and socialise. After the toasts, nominations for prize giving came, for example, awards presented to the best male and female outdoor agricultural labourers and best male and female indoor servants. Following the announcement of the nominees, attendants heard Spofforth's glee 'Hail, Smiling Morn'. More public speaking about the club commenced, including suggestions made by one of the Judges of the competition, a Mr Hutchings, who gave advice about ploughing technique.

Thomas was eventually summoned to make a speech and he 'proposed the Harmony of the Netherex Farmers' Club and the success to those who had so well maintained it'. He referred to the professional singers Webber and Hopkins. After yet more toasts Thomas Griffin performed Henry Russell's song 'The Fine Old English Gentleman' (c.1830s) as a response to Thomas's toast to the health of his neighbour and friend

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<sup>140</sup> Carter attributes this change to the 'breakdown of polite society'. Men of all social standings could display masculine refinement, which was mainly carried out in mixed urban environments in the early eighteenth century. But an increasing hostility to the contaminated city in the nineteenth century brought a change in elite sociability. 'Etiquette' now replaced the term given to genteel association with stricter rules for social interaction amongst select company now centred in the home. Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, pp. 212-213. See also Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*.

<sup>141</sup> Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 213.

<sup>142</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 16 November 1844.

Stafford Northcote, Bart. Russell's poem praised the 'good old days', and the third stanza could equally apply to Thomas's hospitality:

When winter cold brought Christmas old,  
He opened house to all,  
And, though three score and ten his years,  
He featly led the ball;  
Nor was the houseless wanderer  
Then driven from the hall,  
For, while he feasted all the great,  
He ne'er forgot the small -  
Like a fine old English gentleman,  
All of the olden time.<sup>143</sup>

The toasts ended with praise for Lydia Acland and other sweethearts and wives, again showing the women's symbolic importance in forging the image of the manly man in this all-male surrounding. The author of the article did not mention any of the gentlemen, like Thomas or Stafford Northcote, joining in with the singers. In this situation it was probably inappropriate for a man of Thomas's status to perform along with professional singers, particularly if there was a physical division between performers and listeners: the former standing, the latter sitting, for example. The landed elite men would probably not have stood up alongside the performers. Certain circumstances dictated when it was appropriate for a gentleman to sing. A more semi-private setting at the glee or madrigal clubs, which included men of similar rank, or singing at home with family would be more suitable. In a letter to her sister, dated 1811, Jane Austen recalled a musical party, in which professional musicians performed glees and songs at a house party. She wrote, 'all the Performers gave great satisfaction by doing what they were paid for...No Amateur could be persuaded to do anything'.<sup>144</sup> Perhaps there was an awkwardness on behalf of the amateur singers who did not want to embarrass themselves in front of the professionals, as well as their friends and peers.

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<sup>143</sup> John A. Stevens, 'Russell, Henry', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 17 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>144</sup> Letter to Cassandra Austen, from Jane Austen, Thursday 25 April 1811, Faversham, quoted in Jane Austen, *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. Deidre Le Faye, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 182-185, p. 183.

Nevertheless these events illustrated that glees played a significant role in an evening which involved different classes of men, unifying them by their gender and Britishness, but not by class. As Tosh has argued, 'manliness transcended class, owing its discursive power precisely to its detachment from the strongest social divisions of the day...manliness stood for those qualities which were respected by men without regard to class- by men *as men*'.<sup>145</sup> To a certain extent I agree with Tosh, but from the evidence I have uncovered about gentleman's clubs, the music-making that went on actually undermined the sense of classlessness, as gentlemen did not sing with professionals, and if lower orders were present.

### 3.2.2 Wilbraham's Clubs

Wilbraham was a member of an Agricultural Society: he was president for the Manchester Agricultural Meeting, which held annual shows of livestock and other goods and instruments relating to farming in the Cloth Hall, Salford.<sup>146</sup> The author of the newspaper article on this agricultural meeting did not mention that any glees had been sung during the dinners.<sup>147</sup> Wilbraham was also a member of the patriotic Club, the Pitt Club, which held anniversary dinners in honour of Tory William Pitt the younger (1759-1806) and his policies. In addition to Wilbraham Egerton, Viscount Castlereagh and The Duke of Wellington attended the dinner, along with about hundred other guests, on Monday 28 May 1827.<sup>148</sup> Music played an important part of the evening: a military band was allocated in the music gallery of the City of London tavern and they played a selection of pieces by Rossini while the men enjoyed a sumptuous dinner. The cloth was removed, similar to the Devon Agricultural Society and Netherex Farmer's Club, with the singing of 'Non nobis Domine'. The author of the article names the singers: Hawes, chorister of the chapel Royal, Charles Taylor, Leete, Broadhurst, Terrail, King and two pupils of Hawes. Professional singers had again been hired to sing for the occasion. After toasting the monarch, 'God Save the King' filled the air, and this time the author mentioned that some of the congregation

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<sup>145</sup> Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities*, p. 94.

<sup>146</sup> *The Leeds Mercury*, Saturday 10 October 1829.

<sup>147</sup> See *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser*, Saturday 9 October 1830. *The Manchester Times and Gazette*, Saturday 12 October 1833.

<sup>148</sup> *Morning Post*, Tuesday 29 May 1827.



joined in with the singing.<sup>149</sup> These high ranking men would join in with the professional singers when they performed a patriotic piece. And this also happened during a dinner held for Thomas on Wednesday 11 October 1837, when 'God Save the Queen was performed' the assembly joined in with the 'musical gentlemen in the chorus'.<sup>150</sup>

After more toasts to the Duke of Clarence and the Royal Family, the choristers sung Webbe's, 'Hail Star of Brunswick', but this time only the professionals appeared to have performed the glee. The chairman then engaged in a lengthy speech about Mr Pitt and ended by toasting his memory. The Army and Navy received toasts, along with the performance of 'Rule Britannia', the song 'Sons of Freedom' and the glee 'With a Jolly Full Bottle, Let Each Man be Armed' (1779), which caused great cheering amongst the assembly. The content of these songs and glees were appropriate for the evening as they allied a patriotic nationalist sentiment with festive drinking. The last piece 'With a Jolly Full Bottle' proves this point, as the words include a toast to England, the King and the Church, scorning potential enemies and hoping for the continued establishment of English religion, laws and peace, mainly in chordal homophony (music example 51-53). It is worth noting how the use of call and response on the lines, 'We must be/good subjects' on the first two pages, changes the texture and effect of the piece, perhaps to draw the attention of the listeners, emphasising the importance of raising a glass to the glories of the King, country and church.

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<sup>149</sup> *Morning Post*, Tuesday 29 May 1827.

<sup>150</sup> *London Standard*, Saturday 14 October 1837.

*The Good Subjects*  
of  
**OLD ENGLAND,**



in *G L E E*.

LONDON Printed for J. Bland N<sup>o</sup>. 45. HOLBORN.

Pr. 6<sup>d</sup>

**Con**  
**Spirito**

With a jol - - ly full Bot - tle let  
With a jol - - ly full Bot - tle let  
With a jol - - ly full Bot - tle let

each Man be arm'd we must be we  
each Man be arm'd good Subjects  
each Man be arm'd good Subjects

Music Example 51: 'The Good Subjects of Old England/ With a Jolly Full Bottle Let Each Man be Armed', (1779) John Hopkins University, Lester S. Levy Sheet Music Collection.

must be we must be good Subjects when our  
good Subjects good Subjects when our  
good Subjects good Subjects when our

Hearts are thus warm'd we must be good Subjects when our  
Hearts are thus warm'd good Subjects when our  
Hearts are thus warm'd good Subjects when our

Hearts are thus warm'd Here's a Health to OLD ENGLAND the  
Hearts are thus warm'd Here's a Health to OLD ENGLAND the  
Hearts are thus warm'd Here's a Health to OLD ENGLAND the

KING and the CHURCH may all plotting Con - - tri - vers be  
KING and the CHURCH may all plotting Con - - tri - vers be  
KING and the CHURCH may all plotting Con - - tri - vers be

Music Example 52: 'With a Jolly Full Bottle' Continued.

left in the Lurch may England's GREAT MONARCH bravely

left in the Lurch may England's GREAT MONARCH bravely

left in the Lurch may England's GREAT MONARCH bravely

fight his just Cause Es - - tabliff long PEACE our RE -

fight his just Cause Es - - tabliff long PEACE our RE -

fight his just Cause Es - - tabliff long PEACE our RE -

LIGION and LAWS Es - - - tabliff long PEACE our RE -

LIGION and LAWS Es - - - tabliff long PEACE our RE -

LIGION and LAWS long PEACE our RE -

LI - GION and LAWS.

LI - GION and LAWS.

LI - GION and LAWS.

Music Example 53: 'With a Jolly Full Bottle' Continued.

The songs performed at the Pitt Club do not appear in the Tatton collection, but the collection does include naval songs that have a particular patriotic and nationalistic essence. Some of the songs at Tatton, in Elizabeth's printed song books, have an anti-French sentiment and a few of them refer to the Glorious 1 June battle of 1794, such as Luffmann Atterbury's (1740-1796) 'The Victorious Tars of 1794' (music example 54-55), Matthew Camidge's (1764-1844) 'Antigallican Song: The Old British Lion', Stephen Storace's (1762-1796) 'He Lives but to Conquer, & Conquers to Save', and 'The British Sailor'.<sup>151</sup> These pieces commemorated the battle in which the British navy triumphed against the French under the command of Earl Howe.<sup>152</sup> In Linda Colley's research on British Nationalism in the long eighteenth century, she argues that war, religion and the empire helped to forge national identity in Britain, particularly against the French, uniting England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>153</sup> Britain was continually at war with France for most of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth.<sup>154</sup> John Wall Callcott's (1766-1821) 'You Gentlemen of England' and Samuel Arnold's (1740-1802), 'Ye Free Born Sons Britannia's (sic) Boast' refers to the strength and bravery of English naval men, not specifically referring to the 1 June battle, and the imminent defeat of enemies.<sup>155</sup>

These pieces are in common time, either  $2/4$ ,  $3/4$  or  $4/4$ , time signatures associated with the military, due to the ordered pulsation of the music, conjuring an impression of a march. C major was considered to be the key associated with military, serious and grand events.<sup>156</sup> The last lines of the fourth stanza in Atterbury's 'The Victorious Tars' and the last stanza of 'The British Sailor' describe the compassionate side to the British naval men. The end of 'The British Sailor' has the words:

The chain-shot whistle to and fro;  
A broadside seals their fate!

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<sup>151</sup> All the songs can be found in Elizabeth's book entitled 'SONGS', MR 2-5.38 (c.1806).

<sup>152</sup> Apparently, both sides were successful in this battle, as the French only lost one ship to the British.

<sup>153</sup> Of course Welshness, Englishness and Scottishness remained powerful divides. But it seemed that during war the countries merged. Ireland, however, had an ambiguous relationship with Great Britain, as it was separated by the sea, and Ireland's Catholicism proved problematic as well. See Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 5 and 8.

<sup>154</sup> Britain was at war with France on and off for around 130 years, starting 1689. See Colley, *Britons*, p. 1.

<sup>155</sup> The former song is in the book 'PIANO FORTE & VOCAL / MISS E SYKES', MR 2-5.26 (c.1806), and the latter in 'SONGS', MR 2-5.38 (c.1806).

<sup>156</sup> Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics*, p. 110.

Their Hull is shatter'd, down they go,  
And "Quarter!" cry too late:  
Then, as he sees the briny flood  
All crimson'd o'er with human blood,  
His heart relents, swift to his Boat he flies, And  
braves the seas, to save his enemies.<sup>157</sup>

Contemporaries believed that it was as important for naval men to show compassion and their 'feeling heart', as it was to possess strength in combat.<sup>158</sup> To reiterate from chapter one, the ability to feel for others was an attribute associated with the British, not like the cold-hearted French who did not look after their enemies, or their peasants.

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<sup>157</sup> See Jonathan Conlin's article in which he discusses the trope of 'mercy in victory' in this song. Jonathan Conlin, 'Benjamin West's *General Johnson* and Representations of British Imperial Identity, 1759-1770. An Empire of Mercy?', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 27 (2004), pp. 37-59, p. 51.

<sup>158</sup> See my first chapter, pp. 61-65, in which I discuss the song 'The Poor Little Child of a Tar'. The sailor in the song gives aid to the poor orphan boy, who turns out to be the child's father. I referred to David Solkin's research on history paintings that depict compassionate British soldiers. Solkin, *Painting for Money*. Also see Conlin, 'Benjamin West's *General Johnson*'.



**THE VICTORIOUS TARS OF 1794,**  
*Sung with the greatest Applause by M<sup>r</sup> Lecte at Ranelagh,  
 in a Concert for the Benefit of the Widows & Orphans of those Gallant Men  
 who fell in the Glorious Actions of May 28, to June 1, 1794, under the Command*  
**OF EARL HOWE.**  
*Composed by L. Atterbury, Musician in Ordinary to the King.*

*Price 1s*  
 London, Printed & Sold by J. Bland, at his Music Warehouse, N<sup>o</sup> 45, Holborn.

*Pompofo.*

Prepare, prepare, were

hail'd on board, 'Tis fam'd Britannia gives the word, Behold the Gallic bird on

high: Turn, turn, turn upon your e-ne-my: Be

firm, true hearted, true hearted and sincere; Then my lads we've nought to fear.

Music Example 54: 'The Victorious Tars of 1794', by Luffmann Atterbury, 'SONGS', MR 2-5.38 (c.1806).

Swift-ly fly with eagles wing, To guard our country, our country and our King.

**Chorus.**  
Vio: e Oboe.

Swift-ly fly with eagles wing, To guard our country, our country and our King.

Swift-ly fly with eagles wing. To guard our country, our country and our King.

**Tutti.**

**2**

The Lion roars within his den,  
(The boasted crest of Englishmen;)  
Undaunted bids you meet the foe,  
And lay their mighty vaunting low;  
'Tis HOWE commands, be firm and bold,  
And fight as Britons fought of old.  
Swiftly fly &c:

**3**

E'er the battle is begun,  
Unite ye Britons, be as one;  
When the thund'ring cannons roar,  
And menace loud from shore to shore;  
Be steady hearts, be firm and bold,  
And fight as Britons fought of old.  
Swiftly fly &c:

**4**

If we fall in glory's cause,  
Defending Britain, and her laws;  
With lib'ral hand and feeling heart,  
Compassion's fons their boon impart;  
To dry the widows falling tear,  
And raise to fame our offspring dear.  
Swiftly fly &c:

Music Example 55: 'The Victorious Tars' Continued.



Following the toast, 'May the Principles of Mr Pitt always animate the Councils of Great Britain', Charles Taylor sung George Canning's song 'The Pilot that Weather'd the Storm', and according to the article he performed it with 'great spirit, expression and feeling and was much applauded'.<sup>159</sup> Broadhurst performed a piece after a speech by the Duke of Wellington, and he sung the Scottish ballad 'My ain fire-side' after the toasts to the remembrance of the Earl of Liverpool. Taylor performed the last song of the evening, 'Of all the Seven Wonders', following a speech by Lord Banhurst, one of Pitt's oldest friends, who venerated Pitt for bringing 'happiness and glory' to the country.<sup>160</sup>

The evening could be seen as a type of performance not only involving music, songs and speeches with a receptive audience, but also a performance that involved displays of British manliness. Other manly attributes probably included valour, confidence and wit, which important figures of the country wanted to project when they appeared and spoke in front of their peers. Wilbraham did not make a speech that evening, but he would observe the performance of these leading men, for instance the Duke of Wellington. The anniversary dinner celebrates and glorifies not only of some of Britain's most influential men, including Pitt, Wellington and Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, Lord Eldon, but also honours the wealthy and powerful British men who gathered to attend: those who had responsibilities to govern their provinces and their families. The songs helped reaffirm these sentiments, with relevant texts glorifying the King, Britain's military defences, and the Church. The songs about battles during the Pitt Club were mostly likely in common time, similar to the songs at Tatton, presumably with a syllabic setting so the listeners could hear the words clearly. The songs enhanced feelings of British masculinity, as the music complemented the sentiments of the speeches and toasts.

The Pitt Club met again on Wednesday 22 May 1828 in Reading and Berkshire, 28 May 1832, Saturday 23 June 1838, Saturday 1 June 1839 and Saturday 27 May 1843, according to newspaper reports.<sup>161</sup> The newspaper journalists have not recorded the

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<sup>159</sup> *Morning Post*, Tuesday 29 May 1827.

<sup>160</sup> *Morning Post*, Tuesday 29 May 1827.

<sup>161</sup> *The Standard*, Friday 31 May 1828. *The Lancaster Gazette and General Advertiser*, Saturday 12 May 1832, Monday 25 June 1838. *The London Dispatch and People's Social and Political Reformer*, Sunday 2 June 1839. *The Standard*, Monday 29 May 1843.

dinners in as much depth and detail as the one in 1827. Wilbraham's name is not mentioned, but the articles do not include a full list of names of people who went, only important names, such as Lord Eldon in 1843.<sup>162</sup> The paper mentioned that sixty people attended, and it is possible that Wilbraham was one of the unnamed sixty that year. The meeting in Berkshire in 1829 mentioned occasional performances of song, and the article for the 1843 meeting mentioned more songs and glees, showing that music regularly featured in the meetings to enhance the atmosphere.

### **3.2.3 Music at the Clubs: Reflections**

The clubs provided an arena for men to be sociable, to interact and to assert and prove their manhood to their peers, as well as reaffirming a sense of their collected British identity. The music and glees functioned as an aural way to underline these feelings, and they played an important role in the music-scape of the clubs. The glees appeared after the speeches, and it is likely that most of the men listened to the singing, even if it only served as a different sound to the speaking voice. The glees were not challenging music and if the singers performed them with clear pronunciation, listeners would recognise common themes of male friendship, conviviality, and British manliness in war, such as strength and compassion. The clubs allowed groups of men with a common interest to meet away from home, to socialise, to discuss, to dine, to listen and perhaps participate, if circumstances were favourable, in the singing of glees and songs. Even though class divisions were not meant to be present at the farmers clubs that Thomas attended, divisions still existed particularly when professional singers performed music. The Pitt Club was an exclusive gathering of powerful, rich men, separating them from the musicians and glee performers on grounds of professionalism and class. Those who were present at the clubs may have been equal as men, but not social equals and the performance of music highlighted this.

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<sup>162</sup> *The Standard*, Monday 29 May 1843.

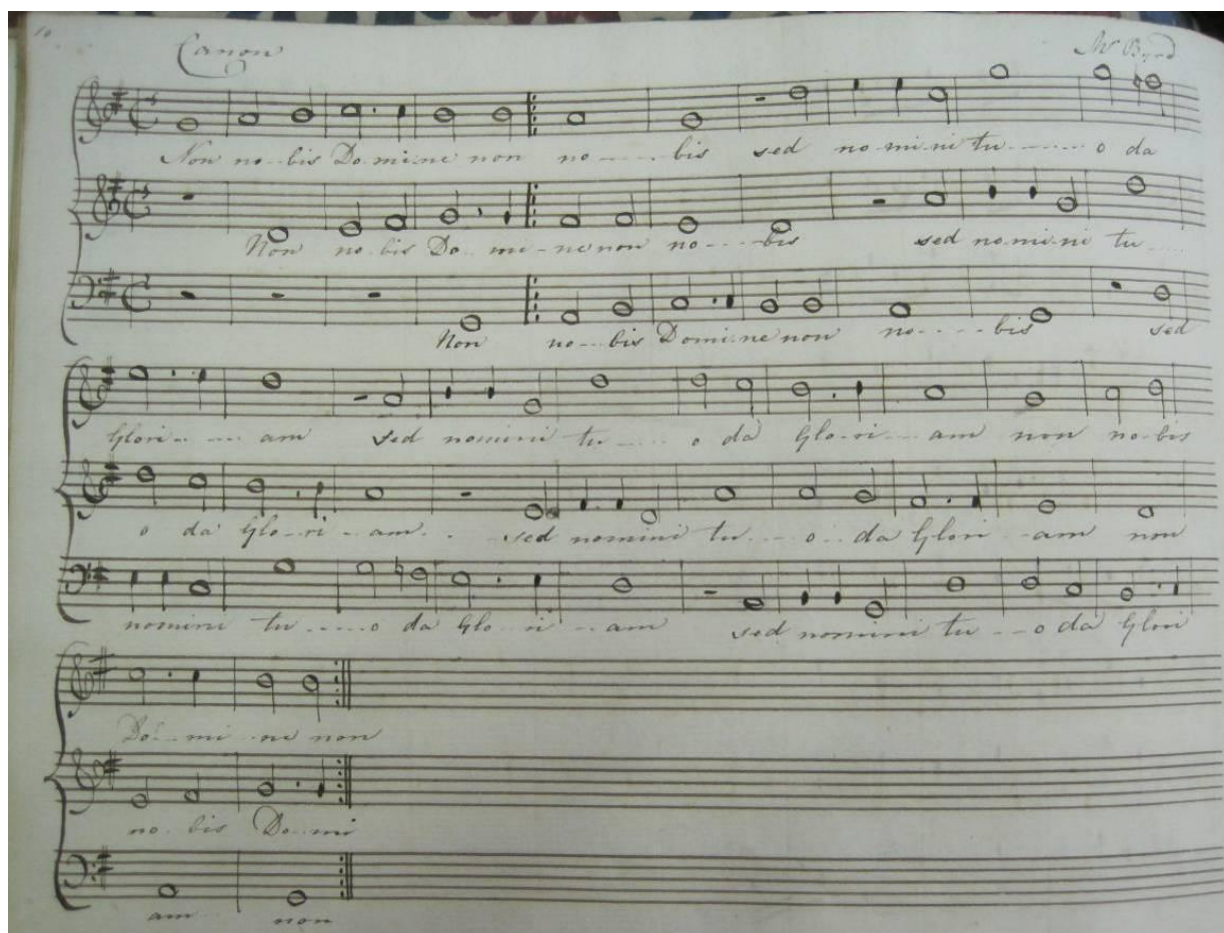
### 3.3 Familial Sociability: Gleees Exclusive to Men's Music Making?

This chapter has mainly concentrated on the husbands and how their engagements with music helped to encourage particular aspects of their identity. Earlier in this chapter, I mentioned that Elizabeth and Lydia received acknowledgments in the form of toasts to assert normative heterosexuality and to complete the desired image of masculinity promoted in the gentleman's clubs. I also mentioned that during these dinners and music clubs, gleees were sung: a vocal genre closely associated with masculine sociability. Yet if we examine the music books that belonged to Lydia and Elizabeth we find hundreds of gleees, catches and canons in their books, with a few pieces performed in the gentlemen's clubs. Masculine themed songs, such as naval battles and male conviviality, heard in the men's clubs, came into the domestic realm via Elizabeth's and Lydia's song books. 'Non nobis Domine', ritualistically performed after the men have eaten meat, is in both Elizabeth's and Lydia's collection.<sup>163</sup>

Elizabeth had one printed version of this canon and one handwritten which she copied into one of her manuscript books (music example 56), and Lydia had two printed versions of this piece.

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<sup>163</sup> See Elizabeth Sykes, St. James's Square, May 18<sup>th</sup> 1801, MS Book, MR 2-4.33; also 'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS', MR 2-4.40. The book most likely dates c.1808. And Lydia's books: 'ENGLISH GLEES AND DUETTS & C.' (C), 1 26 B; and 'CONVITO ARMONICO', vol. one, C2 2 B: both Lydia's books have front flyleaf watermarked 1819.



**Music Example 56: 'Non nobis Domine', Elizabeth Sykes, St. James's Square, May 18th 1801, MR 2-4.33.**

Lydia had Samuel Webbe's, 'When Wind's Breathe Soft', Stephen Paxton's 'How Sweet, How Fresh', and Benjamin Cooke's 'In Paper Case' in her collection, favourites performed at the Devon Glee Club.<sup>164</sup> Some of the glees performed during the fifth Devon Agricultural Meeting in May 1834 appear in the first volume of Lydia's book 'CONVITO ARMONICO', such as Arne's 'Britain's Best Bulwarks' and Webbe's 'The Mighty Conqueror', which concludes with the lines, 'There's no deceit in wine'.<sup>165</sup> Our women may have reflected on and reinforced contemporary notions of manliness, perhaps with performances of more masculine themed glees at home. But other non-masculine themed glees, more romantic or pastoral pieces, for instance, might have encouraged the women to develop their social side, for instance with

<sup>164</sup> Trewman's *Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 7 March 1833. See Lydia's books 'CONVITO ARMONICO', vol. 1 & 2, C2 2 B (c.1819).

<sup>165</sup> See 'CONVITO ARMONICO', vol. 1, C2 2 B (c.1819).



Elizabeth copying and singing glees and canons with her first cousin, Mary Egerton. Singing so-called 'masculine' glees may have encouraged female sociability in similar ways to the more overtly 'feminine' Italian duets, or English ensemble pieces found in 'Miss Poole's Canzonett's'.

Glees, then, had the potential to move between different and apparently separate domains, such as amateur/professional, masculine/feminine and domestic/semi-public or public events. The majority of the glees are in English, perhaps allowing for a sense of shared Britishness amongst those of different classes and gender. The glees performed at Thomas's and Wilbraham's gentlemen's clubs seemed to construct an image of Britishness that was 'masculine', as opposed to the 'feminine' France, and this would allow women to participate in the singing and collecting of this music.<sup>166</sup> Contemporaries considered the glee and catch to be 'national music', even though a few foreign composers wrote glees in other languages, such as Felice Giardini's (1716-1796) 'Beviamo tutti tre', overall glees and catches were the province of British composers.<sup>167</sup> The glees sometimes mentioned the strength of Britain as a country, referring to our liberalism and Protestantism, topics that both men and women could celebrate by singing together.

The repertoire was clearly not exclusive to men and male performers at clubs and societies in this case, even though glees were the most popular music genre to be heard in these surroundings. They were, of course, well-suited for these occasions, but by no means restricted to it. Indeed, books of glees existed for women, not necessarily exclusive to women's voices, but glees with music and texts suitable for mixed company, including glees on drinking together.<sup>168</sup> Elizabeth had three volumes

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<sup>166</sup> Colley comments that 'the British conceived themselves as an essentially 'masculine' culture' a culture that was 'forthright and rational'. Colley, *Britons*, p. 252.

<sup>167</sup> In a letter dated 1801 to writer and theologian Edward Jerningham (1727-c.1812), poet Anna Seward (1742-1809) wrote about the nationality of glee composers, saying, 'you say you have not heard, at the fine people's concerts, these ten years, a single glee composed by an Englishman. O folly and affectation, how wide is your dominion! ... I would answer of producing an hundred glees from my own recollections, all by Englishmen, and all of original melody and correct harmony... If I was the Prince of Wales, I would give concerts, from which every foreign composition should be interdicted; and glees should be performed there, that must awaken the cold dead ear of prejudice itself into life and enthusiasm'. Anna Seward to Edward Jerningham, Lichfield, 23 February 1801, in *Letters of Anna Seward Written between the Years 1784 and 1807*, ed. A. Constable, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1811), V, p. 357-364, p. 364. Thanks to Penelope Cave for mentioning this letter. See also Robins, *Catch and Glee Culture*, p. 54.

<sup>168</sup> See Rubin, *The English Glee*, pp. 153- 155.

of 'Amusements for the Ladies being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of which Have Gained the Prize Medals' in her collection.<sup>169</sup> Composer John Paddon arranged Thomas Ford's 'When First I saw your Face' (1620) into a glee for three women's voices and two pianos, which Lydia had in her collection.<sup>170</sup> Sometimes members of the Devon Glee Club entertained women, as an article in *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post* revealed on February 1826, 'The Devon Glee Club gave a superb entertainment to the Ladies on Wednesday night at the subscription rooms. About three hundred of the rank and fashion of the country and city [attended].'<sup>171</sup>

Lydia's and Elizabeth's gleees come from books dated before and after marriage, implying that these vocal pieces could be performed at home by any person who could read music. In this context, the glee unified both women and men from our families, and it was likely that the gentlemen could be seen and heard to sing gleees in a domestic context. The gleees could entertain groups of people visiting or family members. At Tatton are two books of bound music with gleees that belonged to Caroline Cholmondeley.<sup>172</sup> If the Egerton and Cholmondeley families knew and socialised with one another, it is possible that she brought her own book of gleees to Tatton Park to make music with Elizabeth and her family, and subsequently left the books there.<sup>173</sup>

Furthermore, gleees helped to forge a sense of familial sociability between the men and women of the house. Other genres of vocal music also brought together family members and friends, such as religious music. Both the Tatton and Killerton collection contains sacred vocal music, for instance Elizabeth had James Kent's 'TWELVE ANTHEMS', and Thomas Greatorex's 'PAROCHIAL PSALMODY' at Tatton, and Lydia had five volumes of sacred music, including Latrobe's anthems.<sup>174</sup> But this

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<sup>169</sup> See my inventory and also MR 3-8.22; and 'HARPSICHORD', MR 2-4.35.

<sup>170</sup> 'ENGLISH GLEEES AND DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B; and 1 17 B.

<sup>171</sup> *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, Thursday 2 February, 1826.

<sup>172</sup> She is likely to be Caroline Henrietta Cholmondeley (1803-1856), who lived in Knutsford.

<sup>173</sup> Both the books 'CORFE'S GLEEES PART 1& 2', MR 2-4.37, and 'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEEES', MR 2-4.41 have the handwritten signature Caroline Cholmondeley in the inside front cover.

<sup>174</sup> See at Tatton, MR 2-5. 7 for James Kent's 'TWELVE ANTHEMS'; BP 1-3 for Greatorex's Psalmody. For full reference details of the sacred music at Killerton see chapter two, footnote 101. C. I Latrobe's 'ANTHEMS FOR THE CHURCH OF UNITED BRETHREN'; 2 13 A; 2 35 A; 2 34 A; 2 9 B.

music brought family members to sing together in serious worship and prayer, a totally different environment that brought people together to sing glees and catches.

At the beginning of this chapter, I included a portrait of Lydia and Thomas making music together, and this demonstrated music contributing to family sociability. It is possible that Wilbraham and Elizabeth performed music together, as there are accompanied sonatas at Tatton: Elizabeth could have played a keyboard instrument and Wilbraham could have played the cello part. If the aspects of sociability included 'reciprocity...mediating between individual and collective consciousness... give and take... and awareness of others', to borrow from Sutcliffe, for the harmonious interaction of men, surely the same could apply for a marriage.<sup>175</sup> The glees perhaps helped to bring harmony and enjoyment to a couple and the rest of their family, as well as to men in their clubs.

### **3.4 The Man of the House at Music: Final Thoughts**

This chapter has examined how the men from our families involved themselves with different types of musical activities in and around their country seat, and has considered the impressions they were hoping to create of themselves as a result. Their masculine identity would include multiple characteristics, not restricted to what I have examined in this chapter. In most of the sections discussed in this chapter, the main objective of music at the festivals, during family celebrations or in the clubs, seemed to be about bringing harmony to people. As Thomas and Wilbraham were rulers of their parish, it was their duty to ensure that their behaviour and attitude brought contentment to those within their reach (also coinciding with the accessibility of their estates): their families, their nearby poor and their friends, and music seemed to aid them with this responsibility.<sup>176</sup> Music, to an extent, enhanced the paternal and sociable aspects of Thomas's and Wilbraham's masculine character. Even if they were not performing music or singing glees during the occasions, they were in a position of authority for people to recognise their munificence, either as patrons of musicians and singers or organisers of local

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<sup>175</sup> Sutcliffe, 'Before the Joke', p. 95.

<sup>176</sup> Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, pp. 82-83.

celebrations. They were the reason why musicians and singers were able to perform, and why the charitable music events were able to take place.

The musical events in which Thomas and Wilbraham participated involved performances of their cultivated masculine identity. They presented themselves to a variety of people to prove their manliness; their presentations sometimes manifesting in acts of benevolence or sociability or both. These acts could, of course, have been feigned, giving a false impression of a person's nature, perhaps for self gratification, power or reputation in the case of our landed elite men. In Mr Wickham's false account of Mr Darcy's character in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), he thought that Darcy's pride 'led him to be liberal and generous, - to give his money freely, to display hospitality, to assist his tenants, and to relieve the poor'.<sup>177</sup> Wickham is wrong about Darcy, as he had internalised gentlemanly qualities, and Darcy's actions were spurred on by feelings of compassion, not of pride. Much has been written about our gentlemen, in newspapers and in anecdotes from close friends, which suggests that they both had commendable, gentlemanly characters in all that they did for their dependents, similar to Darcy. While Thomas and Wilbraham used musical activities to help shape particular aspects of their identity, overall they were aiming to be exemplary English, Protestant landowners, using music that encouraged harmony not only in their household, but in their respective regions in Devon and Cheshire.

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<sup>177</sup> Thanks to Jeanice Brooks for mentioning this passage, and to Katrina Faulds for finding it. Jane Austen, *Pride and Prejudice* [1813] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), p. 84.



## Conclusion

Anyone who visits Tatton Park and Killerton House today has the opportunity to explore the home and grounds, learn about the history of the families, the estate and the historical objects contained within various rooms. Walking through the music room at Tatton, or through the dining room at Killerton, a visitor might notice the sheer number of music books on the shelves without gleaning much more about the content. This is understandable considering that members of the public cannot handle the books for obvious reasons. But examining the books, in the context of other materials, such as diaries, letters, account books, has brought our families music-making into sharper focus, and has also shown how it related to other aspects of their lives and identity. On the surface these country houses, like other country houses, can be viewed purely as 'show-pieces', 'symbols of power', 'repositories of fashionable taste', in Peter Mandler's words, which to a great extent they are, both to contemporary and current visitors.<sup>1</sup> But the country house and its contents are crucial to understanding how elite identities were formed and maintained.

We saw in chapter one how the compassionate songs roused sympathy for destitute characters. This chapter built on Leslie Ritchie's study as I examined the songs from a user and a performance angle, and I demonstrated how these songs were an aestheticisation of the rich's natural debt to the poor. The compassionate songs overall contributed to character development in men and women, helping to encourage particular socially accepted attributes in the performers and listeners so that they could interact properly with other people in all spheres. If people performed their roles accordingly, their actions could have brought harmony to society. Indeed, our families and their contemporaries believed that charitable duty helped improve society's morals. In this respect, the vocal music helped to persuade listeners to this ideology. When Lydia and Elizabeth performed their compassionate songs, they had an important responsibility. The adulations and praise the Aclands and Egertons received suggests that the harmony in their district was a consequence of them fulfilling their duties to poor neighbours.

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<sup>1</sup> Mandler, *The Fall and Rise of the Stately Home*, pp. 3 and 12.



In chapter two, I considered the foreign music in both collections. First, how Elizabeth's collection of Italian music reflected her school girl education, but I also considered how her Italian vocal music related to other Italian objects in the home, both old and modern, to create aural and visual impressions of the country. Second, I investigated Lydia and Thomas's venture to Vienna in 1814. Lydia's music book 'A Traveller' revealed how this married, English, Protestant woman sought to preserve her sense of self in a foreign, Catholic country. In addition, I uncovered more information about the musical parties and salon gatherings during the Congress.

In the final chapter, I explored the husbands' involvements with music, and I considered how their wives brought the discourse of masculinity into the home with their music, as well as complementing the desired image of the manly man. We saw that the morning performances of the provincial music festivals, events where Wilbraham stewarded, played a central role in engaging the listeners' sympathetic receptors, encouraging them to make charitable donations. The fetes at Killerton included musical bands, and Thomas ensured that his poor neighbours were invited to the festivities. Benevolence to poorer neighbours not only brought harmony to society, as men were encouraged to interact in consonance, one of the aims of the gentleman's clubs. Forging male friendships was crucial, as authors of educational literature argued. Music-making within these clubs helped to bring unity to men, sometimes to men of different social standing-but not equality- as we saw with some of the farmer and agricultural clubs that Thomas and Wilbraham attended in Devon and Cheshire, respectively.

The idea of music bringing harmony to society was closely observed by our families both in and out of the home; in personal and intimate spheres; and in more public and social environments. This proves that music-making in the home included far more than entertaining guests at the houses, or a young girl preparing herself for marriage. Of course, this is the ideal function of the vocal music and, just as in conduct literature, we cannot assume that those who collected these genres of music took on board the moral points to improve their character and behaviour to help society. But what I can argue is that the songs potentially enabled the performers and listeners to benefit from the moral points, or sociable interactions advocated in song texts, whether or not these meanings were appreciated and acted upon by our protagonists

is difficult to ascertain exactly. Furthermore, my investigation has not only helped to shed more light onto what pieces individuals performed in their own homes, but has also expanded our knowledge of particular genres of music.

From these large music book collections, I chose to focus on select vocal genres as a way to explore few themes in depth. The songs provide a rich field as they participated in constructions of several aspects of identity simultaneously. For instance, the Italian vocal music would reinforce Elizabeth's gender, as an ability to sing was a feminine requirement. She was from a wealthy background as her father paid an Italian music master, and she was fortunate to have her sheet music elaborately bound. Italian was a foreign language for British Elizabeth, as was Italian culture and religion. The compassionate songs tapped into these areas as well, being kind to the poor was an important feminine attribute. Caring for the poor was a duty of the rich and wealthy: those who had means to help. Benevolence was also meant to be a Christian and British principle, as contemporary literature from the time attested. The performance of these songs involved complex and multi-layered presentations of identity. The thesis has demonstrated other ways that this construction and performance worked, when abroad, when in male only clubs, and when supervising local music fetes and festivals.

Much research has been done on gender and domestic music by Richard Leppert, Christina Bashford, Ruth Solie, Matthew Head, and contemporary educational and conduct literature addressed this too. Very little of this work has covered music in any but the broadest terms, individual performers, pieces and practices rarely emerge. Looking in depth at the two music collections, however, provides much more detailed information about how men and women interacted with different genres, and the different musical practices they engaged in. The compassionate songs appeared to be more suited to the female of the household, as are some of the Italian arias and duets, and the men most likely listened to these songs. Glee singing out of the home occurred mainly in a male environment. But women also sung glees, most likely at home, going from the sheer amount in both Elizabeth's and Lydia's collections.

Research, however, does not stop here, and the songs in both collections allow room for more examination. At Killerton are several volumes of Irish, Scottish and Welsh songs.<sup>2</sup> It would be interesting to examine the content of all these volumes, to understand the sentiment and meaning of the words and music. The Aclands travelled to Scotland in September 1808 and 1812, they went to Ireland in 1810 and 1812, and Thomas made sketches of these trips, but I have found little evidence that they travelled to Wales.<sup>3</sup> There is a potential investigation comparing the Acland's enjoyment of travelling, making sketches of the landscapes and of the vocal music associated with these places. It would be interesting to discover if Lydia acquired these books after her travels to these places, and if she used these vocal pieces as an aural way to remind her of her travels, similar to the music books purchased in Vienna, and if Thomas used his sketches as visual memorabilia.

Another area of investigation is female sociability that I mentioned in the final chapter. The vocal music books that belonged to Lydia Dorothea (d. 1858), Lydia and Thomas's daughter, would allow me to explore this topic further. As I have looked at her mother's vocal books, I would be curious to know, a generation later, exactly what daughter Lydia collected. I did find in one of Lydia Dorothea's vocal music books her mother's signature at the top of an Italian duet, 'Qual anelante' by Marcello, and also mother and daughter's signature at the top of another duet, 'All's Well', by Domenico Corri in the same book.<sup>4</sup> This strongly suggests that mother and daughter made music together, in the same way that Elizabeth copied and performed songs with her elder sister Decima, and first cousin Mary Egerton, as Jeanice Brooks discovered.<sup>5</sup> It is probably not surprising to find that female family members played music together at home, considering that musical abilities were a skill that most women from our period and social standing had. But these collections can tell us exactly what pieces they were performing together and with whom.

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<sup>2</sup> The books at Killerton are: SCOTTISH AIRS VOL. II, 2 17 B; SCOTCH SONGS (M.H); WELSH AIRS, 2 13 B; 'THOMAS MOORE'S IRISH MELODIES', 2 33 B / 2 34 B.

<sup>3</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, pp. 47 and 49.

<sup>4</sup> Lydia Dorothea's song book has reference number 2 21 A, and the book has 'SONGS' stamped on the spine.

<sup>5</sup> See Brooks, 'Musical Monuments', pp. 513-535.

At Tatton Park, Elizabeth's book which includes nursery rhymes and educational songs for children could provide insight into female sociability.<sup>6</sup> The pieces in this book call for more than one voice, and it is possible that she used some of the songs to teach her children nursery rhymes. This investigation may reveal that female sociability with music involved many aspects, including education and sociability with female friends and family. Incidentally, more research could be undertaken to find out who Caroline Cholmondeley was, the owner of the two glee books in the Tatton music collection, and her association with the Egertons.<sup>7</sup>

Both collections have volumes of religious music. As I mentioned at the end of chapter three, the religious anthems and songs brought family members together to worship. I could think about how music helped to enhance their religious feelings and beliefs. The Aclands had a chapel built on the grounds of Killerton in 1841, not only for use by the family, but also for those close by.<sup>8</sup> The chapel was a space for religious worship, a place to listen to sermons, and a venue for the performance of religious music. On the day of the consecration of the chapel, choristers from Exeter Cathedral came and sung psalms and canticles.<sup>9</sup> The Aclands had the chapel consecrated 'The Chapel of the Holy Evangelists', as Lydia was an evangelical. Yet son Thomas Acland, 11<sup>th</sup> Baronet, commented that his father felt much dissatisfaction and distress with the conflicting religious beliefs of his wife and sons, to the extent that he refused to talk about the subject, as it caused too much disagreement. Lydia pursued evangelism with zeal in the mid 1830s, while her sons, Tom and Arthur, leaned toward Tractarianism, also known as the Oxford movement.<sup>10</sup> Arthur wrote to his brother Tom,

Papa talks to me of the 'heart-rending pain of having his family torn from him', and he has used to others far stronger expressions. Indeed, Tom, he is, I am sure, in great

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<sup>6</sup> This book has a label on the front 'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S, CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING, & SONGS/MISS E SYKES', MR 2-5.24, and has the watermark date 1797 on the front flyleaf, the latest date she could have acquired the music in this volume. Elizabeth was around twenty or a few years younger when she compiled this book, perhaps around the same time she attended Mrs Devis's girls' school in London, from 1793-1796.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter 3, p. 213.

<sup>8</sup> *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 25 September 1841.

<sup>9</sup> *Woolmer's Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Saturday 25 September 1841.

<sup>10</sup> Acland, *Memoir*, p. 48.

discomfort. He refuses all conversation with myself and others on any subject connected with religion.<sup>11</sup>

As far as I am aware there was not a religious divide within the Egerton family. I could explore Elizabeth's book of psalmody by Thomas Greateorex more closely and think about the occasions when she might have used it and who might have participated in the performance of the psalms. I would be interested to find out if she had met or seen Greateorex, as he conducted the Chester Music Festival in 1829 when Wilbraham stewarded.<sup>12</sup>

The other genre of vocal music that merits more research is the pastoral songs: pieces which advocate simple living and praise those who live in humble cottages free from wealth and avarice. These songs, however, portrayed this lifestyle in an unrealistic and idealistic light. The thought of a landed elite woman singing about the joys of residing in a lowly dwelling while she is surrounded by luxury and comfort seems problematic. Nevertheless, the pastoral songs, like the compassionate songs, have a moral and educational point, dissuading the wealthy from becoming smug and complacent with their fortune. The songs possibly acted as a form of escapism for the performer, allowing them to imagine themselves in a different lifestyle and existence. Authors of conduct literature might have discussed and venerated simple, unadorned living. The songs would help to construct and encourage an appreciative and respectful nature. I would concentrate more on Lydia's pastoral songs as I could compare the sentiment of the songs with her passion for the garden at Killerton and her Hermit's Hut, a rustic summerhouse.<sup>13</sup> It is possible that Lydia used this hut as a way to experience the simple lifestyle fantasy. Lydia's two passions were music and gardening, and I could explore the relationship between her pastoral songs and her contributions to the garden at Killerton, which eventually became a woodland paradise and a testament to the work of gardener John Veitch.<sup>14</sup> Music-making in these English Country Houses offers a plethora of additional research topics, demonstrating that much more can be discovered from these collections.

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<sup>11</sup> Acland, *Memoir*, p. 48.

<sup>12</sup> *Chester Chronicle*, Friday 14 August 1829.

<sup>13</sup> *Killerton House*, p. 26. Shephard, *Seeds of Fortune*, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup> Acland, *A Devon Family*, p. 48. Shephard, *Seeds of Fortune*, pp. 32-33. See my introduction, p. 19, fn 64.

The music collections are unobtainable for contemporary visitors to these National Trust properties, but their understanding of the families, aspects of nineteenth-century social life and culture would be greatly enhanced if they were exposed to the contexts surrounding the music. Indeed, a challenge following on from my research would be finding appropriate and engaging ways to present interpretations of these pieces to visitors to enrich their experience of the house and its contents. The study of domestic music-making is beneficial to both academics interested in acquiring more knowledge about music-making and collections within the home, as well as to non-academic audiences who come to National Trust properties to learn about the families, their musical interests and the era in which they lived.





## Appendix 1: The Egertons' London Concerts

The Egertons' country house was not the only site used for musical activity, as our Cheshire family held a few concerts at their town house in St James's Square.<sup>1</sup> The concerts appeared under the 'Fashionable World' column in the *Morning Post*, which listed all the concerts, dinners and balls at people's houses for that week and the following week. The articles kept readers informed about the ongoing entertainments taking place in the homes of the rich and powerful. For instance, on the evening of 9 June 1828, Mrs Pole Carew held a ball in New Cavendish Street, and Mrs Ames had a concert in Hereford Street.<sup>2</sup> The Egerton concerts, following the standard practice of the period, were listed as 'Mrs Wilbraham Egerton's Concert'; the appearance of Wilbraham's name gestures toward his own role in the proceedings. Elizabeth may have decided who should attend, but Wilbraham had overall financial responsibility, as he did for his wife and for paying the bills, as recorded in his account books. The Egertons' music parties attracted large numbers of prestigious and important guests, reaffirming their status, and Wilbraham's role as an influential and powerful man.

The evening concert, on Friday 6 June 1828, included a substantial guest list of over a hundred people, including Prince Leopold, who, incidentally, held an assembly at Marlborough House in the evening of Monday 9 June, quite close to St James's Square.<sup>3</sup> Prince Leopold (1790- 1865) was the husband of Princess Charlotte, only daughter of future King George IV, and Leopold became King of the Belgians in 1831. Other attendees were Prince and Princess Esterhazy, the noble Hungarian family whom Haydn worked for; Duchesses, Earls, Marchioness, Ladies; Sir Watkin William Wynn: a music lover and the Egertons' neighbour who lived at 20 St James's Square; Colonel Egerton, Captain Du Pre, Messrs Bootle, Heathcote and Gilbert, plus many more. The Egertons clearly socialised with many important people.

At eleven o'clock the party began in the Grand Saloon, with an oboe solo performed by Vogt. But whether this was Martin Vogt (1781-1845) who was an organist in

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<sup>1</sup> The first Egerton music concert the *Morning Post* advertised was on Saturday 17 May 1817; the author of the article provided no further information about guests or music. *Morning Post*, Monday 12 May 1817.

<sup>2</sup> *Morning Post*, Monday 9 June 1828.

<sup>3</sup> *Morning Post*, Monday 9 June 1828.

Germany is unclear.<sup>4</sup> Other performances in the first part of the concert included a Terzetto, 'Prima fra voi', sung by Alberico Curioni (1785-1875), Zuchelli and Pellegrini from Rossini's *La Pietra del Paragone* (1812).<sup>5</sup> 'Aria' by Schutz; a duetto, 'Maria, t'avanza', performed by Henriette Sontag (1806-1854) and Giuditta Pasta (1797-1865), by Michele Carafa (1787-1872); and Sontag sang an Aria from Weber's *Der Freischütz* (1821) to end the first part of the concert. The second part began with an 'Aria' introduced by Pasta, composed by Parini; Sontag performed the aria 'No visoluto' (sic), composed by Giuseppe Mercadante (1795-1870); and the concert concluded with a quintet from Rossini's *Tancredi* (1813).<sup>6</sup> The Egertons employed some of the most popular singers from the Italian operatic scene, performing arias and duets from well-known operas, although the pieces performed are not in Elizabeth's collection of Italian music back at Tatton Park. Pasta performed at the King's Theatre, during the years 1821 and 1827 under the management of John Ebers.<sup>7</sup> Sontag, the popular and successful German soprano, entertained audiences internationally with her attractive and technical voice.<sup>8</sup> The French tenor, Pierre Begrez (1787-1863), was not the most technical or lyrical of tenors, but was still a valued member of the Italian opera company in London, and he continued to perform in concerts and teach singing once his stage career ended.<sup>9</sup> The Egertons may have seen and heard these opera performers in London. If Wilbraham had access backstage, as many fashionable opera-going men did at this time, and if he knew the singers, this might explain how these famous opera stars ended up in their town house.<sup>10</sup>

A week later, on Monday 16 June, the *Morning Post* mentioned 'the second' Egerton concert, that was held on Friday 13 June in the evening. The *Morning Post* noted other

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<sup>4</sup> Dieter Ruckstuhl, 'Vogt, Martin', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 10 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>5</sup> For more information on this singer see Elizabeth Forbes, 'Curioni, Alberico', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 9 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>6</sup> *Morning Post*, Monday 9 June 1828.

<sup>7</sup> Robert D. Hume and Arthur Jacobs, 'King's Theatre', 'London', 'Institutions', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 4 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>8</sup> John Warrack, 'Sontag, Henriette', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 5 July 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth Forbes, 'Begrez, Pierre', *Oxford Music Online* ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 11 May 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>.

<sup>10</sup> For more information on the different relationships between men, women and the opera performers see Hall-Witt, *Fashionable Acts*, p. 66.

fashionable events for that coming week: on Thursday 19 June, Wilbraham Egerton planned to hold a 'Grand Dinner' at his residence in St James's Square.<sup>11</sup> The second concert again drew a large gathering of wealthy, elite figures, including Watkin Williams Wynn, the Archbishop of York, Duchesses of Gloucester, Northumberland and Leeds, Earls, Ladies, colonels and captains.<sup>12</sup> Performances this time included a solo on the horn by Giovanni Puzzi (1792-1876); Florovante's terzetto 'Dille' sung by Begrez, Zuchelli and Pellegrini. Madame Morin sung an 'aria', but a composer and title were not mentioned; Pasta and Zuchelli sung a duetto, and Sontag performed an aria.

Two more articles mention the Egertons' music concerts, this time on Wednesday 10 and 17 May 1843; the articles both simply stated 'Mrs Egerton's concert, St James's Square', giving no more information.<sup>13</sup> But Wilbraham noted payments into his account book for these events. On 13 May, he gave Elizabeth £13 to pay for flowers for both music parties; on 20 May, he gave Erard £1 11s 6d for the use of a piano forte for the concert; on 24 May, £99 3s to Gunters for refreshments & c, and £3 12s for a list of printed songs for the company; 27 May, £231 for the singers to Signor Costa; 26 June, a payment of £15 7s 6d to Hancocks for hiring lamps.<sup>14</sup>

*Morning Post* advertised Elizabeth's second concert on Monday 27 May 1845.

Wilbraham's account book for that year records his outgoings for the event, including two payments to Costa: on 29 April, £110 5 s for singers and on 27 May, £120 15s 'for our Music Party by draft'.<sup>15</sup> Two other payments went to Buttell: on 29 April, £1 1s for printing a programme and £1 16s 6d for printing music bills; the last entry for the music party on 30 June was £12 10s for plants.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Morning Post*, Monday 16 June 1828.

<sup>12</sup> For full listing see *Morning Post*, 16 June 1828.

<sup>13</sup> *Morning Post*, Monday 8 May 1843. *Morning Post*, Monday 15 May 1843.

<sup>14</sup> Signor Costa is likely to be conductor Michael Costa (1808-1884), who, in 1833, became director and conductor of Italian Opera at the King's Theatre. See Nigel Burton and Keith Horner, 'Costa, Sir Michael', *Oxford Music Online*, ed. Alison Latham, (Accessed 29 September 2012) <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>>. Wilbraham Egerton account book for 1843. Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/13.

<sup>15</sup> Wilbraham Egerton account book for 1845. Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/13.

<sup>16</sup> Cheshire Record Office, DET/3229/13

The Egertons were by no means the only wealthy family to put on concerts in their London home and invite prestigious guests.<sup>17</sup> Indeed, holding sociable events was a fashionable and frequent thing to do. The occasion allowed the Egertons to demonstrate their hosting skills to many people, entertaining them with a concert that included the most popular singers and pieces, as well as showing the guests their spacious and luxurious town house. Information on the Egertons' London concerts adds to our understanding of Wilbraham's and Elizabeth's use and experience of music in their homes.

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<sup>17</sup> The Marquis and Marchiones of Ely held a dinner party and assembly on Monday 3 May 1841, which the Egertons attended. Lord and Lady Stanley held regular dinner and music parties at St James's Square in the 1840s, and the Egertons were present at their neighbour's events. And Countess Haddington held a soiree at the residence of the first Lord of the Admiralty, in Whitehall, on Wednesday 30 April 1845. See *Morning Post*, Wednesday 5 May 1841; Sunday 29 April 1844 and Thursday 1 May 1845.

## Appendix 2: Compassionate Songs

### Killerton House

<i>Item</i>	<i>Composer/Poet</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Composition or Series</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Music Book</i>
(1)	Abrams, Harriett/ Matthew G. Lewis	‘Crazy Jane’	A Favorite Song	Lewis Lavenu, 29 New Bond Street	‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (MI) 2 16 B
(2)	Abrams, Harriett/ Matthew G. Lewis	‘The Orphan’s Prayer’	A Pathetic Ballad	Lewis Lavenu, 29 New Bond Street	‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (M5) 1 14 B
(3)	Abrams, Harriett/ M. P. Andrews, Esq.	‘The Shade of Henry’	A Favorite Song	Lewis Lavenu, 29 New Bond Street	‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (M5) 1 14 B
(4)	An Amateur/ Thomas G. Ingall	‘The Poor Little Child of a Tar’	The Much Admired Ballad Sung by Mrs Bland, Theatre Royal Drury Lane	Henry Thompson, 75 St. Paul’s Church Yard	‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (MI) 2 16 B
(5)	Anon.	‘Crazy Sally’	Rekhtah/ Sakia fuful beharuft	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	‘VOCAL MUSIC’ (M4) 1 15 B



(6)	Biggs, Edward S./ Amelia Opie	IV 'A Beggar Girl's Song'	From A Set of Six Songs Dedicated to Lady Willoughby de Eresby	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M8) C2. 7. B
(7)	Biggs, Edward S./ Amelia Opie	VI 'A Mad Song'	See above	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M8) C2. 7. B
(8)	Biggs, Edward S./ Amelia Opie	'Fatherless Fanny'	A Favorite Ballad	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B
(9)	Biggs, Edward S./ John Pennarne	'The Fisherman's Orphan'	A Favorite Ballad as Sung by Mrs Ashe	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B
(10)	Biggs, Edward S./ Amelia Opie	'The Mad Wanderer'	A Favorite Ballad	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(11)	Biggs, Edward S./ Amelia Opie	'The Orphan Boy's Tale'	A Favorite Ballad	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B
(12)	Biggs, Edward S./ Amelia Opie	'The Suicide'	A Favorite Ballad	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B

(13)	Carnaby, William/ John Wolcot (Peter Pindar)	'Azid, or The Song of The Captive Negro'	N.B. The Air Originally Intended for the Song of The Negro Woman, Ulalee, in OBI	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5) 1 14 B
(14)	Carnaby, William/ Mary Robinson	'The Negro Girl'	A Song Composed & Inscribed to his FRIEND, T. R. Hobbes	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5) 1 14 B
(15)	Hague, Harriot/ Caroline Symmons	'The Flower Girl's Cry'	Inscribed to the Rev. <sup>d</sup> Francis Wrangham. The Age of the Poet & Musician, Added Together, Amount to Two and Twenty Years Only.	John Preston, 97 Strand	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(16)	Haydn, Joseph/ Metastasio	III 'Sympathy'	From Haydn's Second Set of Six Canzonettas Dedicated to Lady Charlotte Bertie	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & Co. 67/68 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh 28 Haymarket.	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M3) 2 29 B

(17)	Piercy, H.	'The Beggar Girl'	A Favorite Ballad	Printed for and Sold by the Author, 5 Windmill Street, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5) 1 14 B
(18)	Spofforth, Reginald/ John Rannie	'The Death of Crazy Jane'	A Favorite Song	Anne Bland and E. Weller, 23 Oxford Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5) 1 14 B
(19)	Storace, Stephen/ Prince Hoare	'The Poor Black Boy'	A Favorite Song as Sung by Master Welsh in THE PRIZE, or 2.5.3.8	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill & 132 Oxford Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B

### Tatton Park

<i>Item</i>	<i>Composer/Poet</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Composition or Series</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Music Book</i>
(1)	A Lady	'The Ghost of Crazy Jane'		George Goulding & Co, 45 Pall Mall	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10

(2)	Abrams, Harriett/ Matthew G. Lewis	'Crazy Jane'	A Favorite Song	Lewis Lavenu, 29 New Bond Street	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(3)	Abrams, Harriett/ Matthew G. Lewis	'The Goaler'	To the Queen, with Her Majesty's Most Gracious Permission this Work is Respectfully Inscribed by Her Majesty's Most Faithful, Obedient and Humble Servant Harriett Abrams, Park Lane, 1808.	Lewis Lavenu and Charles Mitchell, 29 New Bond Street	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(4)	Attwood, Thomas/ Samuel Birch	'Ah! Once When I Was A Very Little Maid'	A Favorite Song Sung by Mrs Bland in the Farce <i>FAST ASLEEP</i>	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING, & SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.24
(5)	Boyce, William/ Joseph Craddock	'Here Shall Soft Charity'	A Favorite Duett, Sung with Universal Applause by Mr Harrison & Mr Bartleman at the Concert of Antient Music. And by Mr	Anne Bland & E. Weller, 23 Oxford Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42

			Braham & Mr T. Welsh in the Oratorios at The Theatre Royal Covent Garden		
(6)	Galot, P. A./ Mary Robinson	'The Old Beggar'	A Favorite Ballad,..., Composed & Inscribed to the Ladies at Mrs Spences	Edward Riley, 8 Strand	'VOCAL MUSIC & c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(7)	Haigh, J./ words from Fox's poem	'The Orphan Boy'	A Ballad as Sung by Mr W <sup>m</sup> Knyvett, at the Nobility Concerts	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10
(8)	Hook, James	IV 'Far in the Wilderness'	A Glee for Three Voices, from <i>The Hermit</i> Written by the Late Celebrated Dr. Goldsmith	S. A. & P. Thompson, 75 St Paul's Church Yard	'SONGS' MR 2-5.38
(9)	Hook, James	'I'm in Haste'	A Favorite Song Sung by Miss Leary at Vauxhall	Anne Bland, 23 Oxford Street	'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING, & SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.24

(10)	Moulds, John	'Cowslips of the Valley'	Sung with Universal Applause by Mrs Crouch, at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane	Culliford, Rolfe & Barrow, 112 Cheapside	'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING, & SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.24
(11)	Moulds, John	'The Poor Cabin Boy'	A Favorite Song	F. Linley, 45 Holborn	'MISS POOLE'S CANZONETT'S/CHRISTMAS BOX, FAIRING, & SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.24
(12)	Spofforth, Reginald/ William Pearce Esq <sup>r</sup>	'Ellen, The Richmond Primrose Girl'	As Sung by Mr Incledon, with Universal Applause at the Public Readings Free Mason's Hall	Lewis, Houston & Hyde, 45 Holborn	'SONGS & GLEES & C.' MR 2-5.7
(13)	Storace, Stephen/Prince Hoare	'The Poor Black Boy'	A Favorite Song as Sung by Master Welsh in <i>THE PRIZE</i> , or 2.5.3.8	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill & 132 Oxford Street	'SONGS/DUETTS & MARCHES/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.22





### Appendix 3: Italian Music at Tatton Park

<i>Item</i>	<i>Composer/Poet</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Composition or Series</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Music Book</i>
(1)	Andreozzi, Gaetano	'Ah tu sei che stringo al seno'	A Favorite Duett as Sung by Sig <sup>ra</sup> Grassini & Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni, in the Opera of <i>LA VERGINE DEL SOLE</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(2)	Andreozzi, Gaetano	'In amor ognun dichiara'	As Sung with Universal Applause by Madame Vinci in <i>LA PRINCIPESSA FILOSOFA</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(3)	Andreozzi, Gaetano/ adapted by M. C. Mortellari		The Chorus of Quale Orror in the <i>VERGINE DEL SOLE</i> , Arranged as a Glee for Three Voices, with the Recitative and the Regiera as Sung by Sign <sup>ra</sup> Grassieri... The Recitative & The Rondo 'Caro padre caro bene' Sung by Sign <sup>ra</sup> Grassieri in the <i>VERGINE DEL</i>	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23

			<i>SOLE</i>		
(4)	Anon.	'Che mai d'iniqua stella provò'	Italian Catch		Elizabeth Sykes St James's Square, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1801 (MS book) MR 2-4.33
(5)	Asioli, Bonifazio da Correggio	1 -'Bella Nice' 2 -'Deh! come i lampi strisciano' 3 -'Se tu mi sprezzì' 4 -'Che serena che placida calma'	Four Duetts... Composed and Dedicated to Miss Chinnery	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39
(6)	Asioli, Bonifazio da Correggio	1 -'Donne amore' 2 -'Mia donna amore' 3 -'Che bel piacer veder' 4 -'Ti sento, sospiri' 5 -'Non temer o madre amata' 6 -'Quante mia cara Aspasia'	Six Ariettes, Composed and Dedicated to Lady Frances Bentinck	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38

(7)	Asioli, Bonifazio	1 - 'Se più felice ogetto' 2 - 'Vorrei che almen per gioco' 3 - 'Và più non dirmi infida' 4 - 'Ch'io mai vi possa' 5 - 'E non vuoi' 6 - 'Amare un infedel' 7 - 'Sei troppo scaltra' 8 - 'Se lontan ben mio' 9 - 'Perché mai ben mio' 10 - 'Cedé la mia costanza' 11 - 'Che cangi tempre' 12 - 'Al bosco cacciatori'	Twelve Duettos with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte Composed and Dedicated to Her Excellency the Marchioness Gherardini	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39
(8)	Asioli, Luigi da Correggio	1 - 'Dunque tu parti' 2 - 'Gli affetti del core' 3 - 'Alma del'alma mia' 4 - 'Quel cor che mi prometti' 5 - 'Era uno stral d'amore' 6 - 'Se amor fu il nido'	Six Italian Duets, Composed and Dedicated to Miss Howard	For the author, 38 St James's Street	'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38

(9)	Asioli, Luigi da Correggio	'Ecco quel fiero istante'	Terzettino	Theobald Monzani, 3 Old Bond Street	'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(10)	Asioli, Luigi da Correggio/ Sig <sup>r</sup> Buonaiuti	'Io voglio un giovinetto'	Duetto Buffo	Theobald Monzani & Co, 3 Old Bond Street	'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(11)	Asioli, Luigi da Correggio	Arietta I - 'Ruscel che mormori' Arietta II - 'Se la mia pace' Cavatina - 'Trovami un sol' Cantata - 'Ferma amato pastor'	Due ariette, una cavatina, ed una cantata, composte e rispettosamente dedicate a sua altezza reale La Duchessa di York	For the author, 38 St James's Street	'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(12)	Berg, George	'Dolci miei sospiri'	Glee, a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. II MR 2-4.40

(13)	Bianchi, Francesco	No. 2 Duetto 'Caro sposo'	Longman & Broderip's Collection of Italian Vocal Music...N.B. In This Work the Most Admired Compositions of the Italian School, Consisting of Airs, Duets, Trios, & c. Will be Introduced	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.11
(14)	Bianchi, Francesco	'Gran Dio, che regoli'	The Favorite Prayer ...Sung by Mad <sup>me</sup> Banti, in the Opera of <i>INES DE CASTRO</i> ... and the Favorite Duett 'Togliti agli occhi miei', Sung by Sig <sup>r</sup> : Benelli & Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni, in the Same Opera	Lewis Lavenu, 29 New Bond Street	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(15)	Bianchi, Francesco	'Non piangete'	A Favorite Song as Sung at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket by Madame Banti in the Serious Opera of <i>ANTIGONA</i>	Lewis Lavenu, 23 Duke Street, St. James's	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10



(16)	Calcott, John W.	Il 'Quando ben'	A Collection of Four Glees, Composed at Blenheim 1799, and Most Respectfully Inscribed by Permission to their Graces the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough	For the Author	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39
(17)	Cherubini, Luigi/ Metastasio	'La libertà À (sic) Nice', canzonetta di metastasio  Duetto 1 - 'Grazie a gl'inganni' Duetto 2 - 'Mancò l'antico ardore' Duetto 3 - 'Sogno ma te non miro' Duetto 4 - 'Di tua beltà ragiono' Duetto 5 - 'Volgimi il guardo altero' Duetto 6 - 'Quel ch'or m'alletta'	Messa in musica perduce voci. (6 duets)	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23

(18)	Cimarosa, Dominico	Rondo 'Ah tornar la bella aurora'	Nella vergine del sole in S. Pietroburgo	Francis Broderip and C. Wilkinson, 13 Haymarket	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(19)	Cimarosa, Dominico	No. 1 'Perdonate signor mio se vi lascio'	Longman & Broderip's collection of Italian Vocal Music...N.B. In This Work the Most Admired Compositions of the Italian School, Consisting of Airs, Duetts, Trios, & c. Will be Introduced	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.11
(20)		'E pur dolce'	Catch a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. I MR 2-4.40
(21)	Ferrari, Giacomo G.	Arietta 1 - 'Pastorella' Arietta 2 - 'Son ferito' Arietta 3 - 'Nascesti alle pene mie' Arietta 4 - 'Tocca la cetera Erato' Arietta 5 - Non v'è più barbaro' Arietta 6 - 'Senza parlar fra loro'	Six Ariettas, Six Duetts, and Six Canons, for Three Voices, Composed and Dedicated to The Right Hon <sup>ble</sup> Lady Elizabeth Forster	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39

		Duetto 1 - 'Ma tu tremi' Duetto 2 - 'Vieni e consolami' Duetto 3 - 'Ah rammenta' Duetto 4 - 'T'intendo si mio cor palpar' Duetto 5 - 'Se mai vedi' Duetto 6 - 'Vanne vola'			
(22)	Ferrari, Giacomo G.	'Sospiro e mi vergogno'	Air Sung at the King's Theatre Haymarket, by Mad <sup>me</sup> Bolla, in the Opera, <i>I ZINGARI IN FIERA</i>	34 Great Malboro' Street	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10
(23)	Ferrari, Giacomo G.	'Vieni o sonno'	A Favorite Terzetto, Sung at the Kings Theatre, Haymarket, by M <sup>me</sup> Banti, Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni, & Sig <sup>r</sup> Morelli, in the Intermezzo of <i>LI DUE SVIZZERI</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42

(24)	Florio, Charles H.	'Se mi credi amato bene'	A Favorite Duett, Composed for Mad <sup>me</sup> Mara and Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni	Theobald Monzani, 3 Old Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(25)		'Gia (sic) mi nasce, intorno al core'			Elizabeth Sykes St James's Square, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1801 (MS Book) MR 2-4.33
(26)	Giardini, Felice	'Beviamo tutti tre'	Glee	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. I MR 2-4.40
(27)	Giardini, Felice	'Che pena'	Catch a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. I MR 2-4.40
(28)	Giardini, Felice	'Viva pure'	Glee a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. II MR 2-4.40
(29)	Giardini, Felice	'Viva tutte'	Canzonetta a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. I MR 2-4.40

(30)	Giardini, Felice	'Viva tutti (sic) le vezzose donne amabili amorse'			Elizabeth Sykes St James's Square, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1801 (MS Book) MR 2-4.33
(31)	Gluck, Christoph W. R. von	'Ombre larve'	As Sung at the King's Theatre Haymarket, by Signora Banti, in the Opera of <i>ALCESTE</i>	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & Co, 67 & 68 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(32)	Gluck, Christoph W. R. von	'Se pur cara è a me la vita'	As Sung at the King's Theatre Haymarket, by Signora Banti, in the Opera of <i>ALCESTE</i>	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & Co, 67 & 68 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(33)	Handel, George F.	'Ah mio cor'	As Sung by Madame Mara in <i>Alcina</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(34)	Handel, George F.	'Doni pace'			Elizabeth Sykes St James's Square, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1801 (MS Book) MR 2-4.33

(35)	Handel, George F.	'Dove sei'	As Sung by Madame Mara in <i>Rodelinda</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10  Elizabeth Sykes London April 1 <sup>st</sup> 1799, April Fool (MS Book) MR 2-4.32
(36)	Handel, George F.	'Non vi piacque'	As Sung by Mr Nield	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(37)	Haydn, Joseph/ Lorenzo da Ponte	'Quel cor umano e tenero'	Duetto Sung by Sig <sup>r</sup> Morelli, & Sig <sup>ra</sup> Moricelli, at the Kings Theatre Haymarket, in the Opera of <i>IL BURBERO DI BUON CORE</i>	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & Co, 67 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.11
(38)		'I cieli immensi'			Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(39)		'Il più leggiadro'			Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)



(40)		'Io di ma (sic) man la fronte'			Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(41)	Ireland, Francis	'Ah ch'il destino'	Catch a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. II MR 2-4.40
(42)	Isola	'Per pietà non m'opprimete'	Signora Storace's Additional Song, in the Opera <i>GLI SCHIAVI PER AMORE</i>	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS & MARCHES/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.22
(43)		'La Natura'			Loose uncatalogued MS sheet
(44)	Lidarti, Christian J.	'Su cantiamo'	Catch a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. I MR 2-4.40
(45)	Marcello, Benedetto	Psalms Set to Music, in English			Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(46)	Marcello, Benedetto	'Qual anelante cervo che fugge'	The Favorite Duet Sung by M <sup>rs</sup> Billington & M <sup>r</sup> Harrison at the Vocal Concerts	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23

(47)	Marcello, Benedetto	'Tu fai'			Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(48)	Marcello, Benedetto	'Un fiume di pace'			Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(49)	Marchesi	'Nice mia oh Dio ramenta (sic)'	Sei ariette		Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(50)	Marchesi	'Se guido il greggo (sic)'			Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(51)	Martini	'Si dice qua e là'	Aria	Anne Bland & E. Weller's, 23 Oxford Street	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26
(52)	Mayr, Simon	'Parto ti lascio, addio!'	The Favorite Rec <sup>o</sup> : & Duetto,... from the Opera of <i>LODOVSKA</i> , as Introduced, & Sung by Sign <sup>ra</sup> Grassini, & Sig <sup>r</sup> Niganoni, in the opera <i>LA VERGINE DEL SOLE</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23

(53)	Mortellari, M. C./ Sig <sup>r</sup> Boschini	1 - 'Dolce cor mio' 2 - 'Io mormoro invano' 3 - 'Le lagrime ch'io verso' 4 - 'Per pietà mio bel tesoro' 5 - 'Perché sì gran dolcezza' 6 - 'Leggiadro fanciullino'	Six Italian Duets with a Piano Forte Accompaniment Composed and Dedicated to Miss Mary Emma Sneyd	For the Author, 51 Oxford Street	'MRS EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(54)	Mozart, Wolfgang A.	'Crudel perché finora'	A Favorite Duett, as it is Sung in the Comic Opera of <i>La Vendemmia</i> at King's Theatre in the Haymarket, by Sig <sup>re</sup> Benucci & Sig <sup>ra</sup> Storace	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10
(55)	Mozart, Wolfgang A.	'Deh prendi un dolce amplesso'	A favorite Duett, in the Opera of <i>LA CLEMENZA DI TITO</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(56)	Mozart, Wolfgang A.	'Il core vi dono'			'DUETS' MR 2-5.42

(57)	Mozart, Wolfgang A.	'La mia Dorabella'	The Favorite Trio in the Opera, <i>COSI FAN TUTTE</i> , as Sung by Mess <sup>rs</sup> Viganoni, Cimador & Rovedino	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(58)	Mozart, Wolfgang A.	'Lento il piè'	Song	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(59)	Mozart, Wolfgang A.	'Prendero (sic) quel brunettino'	A Favorite Duet, Sung by Sig <sup>r</sup> Cimador, and Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni, in Both Public and Private Concerts	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(60)	Paesiello, Giovanni	'Abbracciami o sposo'	The Favorite Duett as Sung by Madame Banti & Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni in the Opera of <i>Elfrida</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(61)	Paesiello, Giovanni	'Ah che nel petto io sento'	Sung by Madam Mara at the King's Theatre, Pantheon, in the Opera <i>IDALIDE</i>	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.11

(62)	Paesiello, Giovanni/ arr. with Accompaniment for the Piano Forte by Domenico Corri	'Ahi lo trepiede e lo spiedo'	Sung by Signora Storace, at the King's Theatre, Haymarket in the Comic Opera of <i>I ZINGARI IN FIERA</i>	Domenico Corri, 67 Dean Street, Soho	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26
(63)	Paesiello, Giovanni/ Metastasio	'Hymn to Venus' Scendi propizia col tuo splendore		John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.11
(64)	Paesiello, Giovanni	'Il mio ben'	A Favorite Song Sung by Mad <sup>m</sup> Banti in the Serious Opera of <i>Nina</i>	Lewis Lavenu, 23 Duke Street, St. James's	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(65)	Paesiello, Giovanni	'Pandolfetto graziosetto'	A Favorite Duett Sung by Sig <sup>r</sup> Morrelli & Sig <sup>ra</sup> Bolla at the King's Theatre Haymarket, in the Comic Opera of <i>I ZINGARI IN FIERA</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(66)	Paesiello, Giovanni	'Ti riverisco'	A Favorite Air Sung by Sig <sup>ra</sup> Storace at the King's Theatre Haymarket in the Comic Opera of <i>I ZINGARI IN FIERA</i>	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26

(67)	Paisiello, Giovanni	'Che a parte mi vuoi crudele'	A Favorite Song in the Second Act in the Opera of <i>ELFRIDA</i> as Sung by Signora Banti	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(68)	Paisiello, Giovanni	'Credi la mia ferita'	The favorite Duett as Sung by Madame Banti and Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni in <i>ELFRIDA</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10
(69)	Paisiello, Giovanni	'Irco dell' Erebo'	A Favorite Duett, as Sung at the King's Theatre Haymarket by Mr Kelly & Sig <sup>r</sup> Morelli in the Comic Opera of <i>I ZINGARI IN FIERA</i>	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26
(70)	Paisiello, Giovanni	'Mancò l'antico ardore'	Duet		Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(71)	Paisiello, Giovanni	'Non temer non sono amante'	Duetto serio in Napoli		Elizabeth Sykes, London April 1 <sup>st</sup> 1799, April Fool (MS Book) MR 2-4.32



(72)	Paisiello, Giovanni	'O momento fortunato'	The Favorite Duett, Sung by Sig <sup>ra</sup> Banti & Sig <sup>r</sup> Viganoni, in the Opera of <i>NINA</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10
(73)	Paisiello, Giovanni	'Per l'amata padroncina'	A Favorite Air	Anne Bland & E. Weller's, 23 Oxford Street	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26
(74)	Paisiello, Giovanni/ arr. into a duetto by Domenico Corri	'Se il cor gli affetti suoi'	Duetтино... In the Opera <i>La pazza per amore</i>		'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26
(75)		'Perché vezzosi rai'	Catch a 3 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES &DUETTS'/VOL. I MR 2-4.40
(76)	Rauzzini, Venanzio	Recitativo 'Ah che tutto mi rende' Rondo 'Cari oggetti di quest'alma'	No 1. A Periodical Collection of Vocal Music, (Never Before Printed) Consisting of Italian and English Songs...Composed and Dedicated to Her Royal Highness The Duchess of York, in Two	James & Walter Lintern, Church-Yard, Bath and John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	Unbound and uncatalogued sheet music

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(77)	Rosselli/ Francesco Bianchi	'Al tuo pianto'	Rondo...Sung by Sig <sup>r</sup> Rosselli, at the Kings Theatre Haymarket, in the Opera of <i>La Vendetta di Nino</i>	Domenico Corri, Jan Ladislav Dussek & co, 67 Dean Street, Soho & Bridge Street, Edinburgh	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.11
(78)	Ruggi, Francesco	'Caro bene, mio dolce amore'	The Favorite Duet, as Sung by Sig <sup>r</sup> Morelli, & Madame Vinci, In the Opera of <i>La Principessa Filosofa</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(79)	Sacchini, Antonio	'Ah il mio cor'	A Favorite Song as Sung by Mad <sup>m</sup> Banti at the King's Theatre Haymarket in the Serious Opera of <i>EVELINA</i>	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.22
(80)	Sacchini, Antonio	'Ah quel core'	A Favorite Song as Sung by Mad <sup>m</sup> Banti at the King's Theatre Haymarket in the Serious Opera of <i>EVELINA</i>	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.22

(81)	Sacchini, Antonio	'Ah! Voi giusti e sommi dei'	A Favorite Song as Sung by Mad <sup>m</sup> Banti at the King's Theatre Haymarket in the Serious Opera of <i>EVELINA</i>	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.22
(82)	Sacchini, Antonio	'Palpitante disperato il mio cor mancando va'			Elizabeth Sykes, London April 1 <sup>st</sup> 1799, April Fool (MS Book) MR 2-4.32
(83)	Sacchini, Antonio	'Son Regina e sono amante'	Sung by Madam Mara in <i>Didone Abbandonata</i>	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket (Where May be Had All the Italian Operas and Dances.	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(84)	Salieri, Antonio	'Da questi lineamenti'	The Favorite Fortune-Telling Song, as Sung at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket by Sig <sup>ra</sup> Storace in the Comic Opera of <i>I ZINGARI IN FIERA</i>	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street	'PIANO FORTE MUSIC & SONGS/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.11

(85)	Sarti, Giuseppe/ coll'accompagnamento d'arpa. Del Sig <sup>r</sup> Luigi Marchesi	'Aria'			'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(86)	Sarti, Giuseppe	'Che vi par Dorina'	Sig <sup>ra</sup> Dorta, Sig <sup>r</sup> Franchi Sig <sup>r</sup> Tasca		'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(87)	Sarti, Giuseppe	'Costanza anima mia pochi momenti'  'D'una vita infelice'	Recitativo e Rondo		Elizabeth Sykes, London April 1 <sup>st</sup> 1799, April Fool (MS Book) MR 2-4.32
(88)	Sarti, Giuseppe	Cavatina 'Lungi dal caro bene'	Sung by Sig <sup>r</sup> Marchesi in the Opera of <i>Giulio Sabino</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(89)	Sarti, Giuseppe	'Un amante sventurato'	A Favorite Rondo		'SONGS/DUETTS &/MARCHES/MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.22
(90)		'Si tu sarai costante (sic)'	A Corsican Air		Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)

(91)	Steffani, Agostino	'Questo fior ch'involò al prato'	Poesia del Signor Abbate Guide		Elizabeth Sykes, London April 1 <sup>st</sup> 1799, April Fool (MS Book) MR 2-4.32
(92)	Storace, Stephen	'Io non era'	The Favorite Rondo Sung at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket by Sig <sup>ra</sup> Storace, in the Opera of <i>Le nozze di Dorina</i>	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill, & 132 Oxford Street	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26
(93)	Vento, Mattia	'Gia (sic) la notte'	Catch a 4 voci	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS'/VOL. II MR 2-4.40
(94)	Vinci, Leonardo	'Vo solcando'	A Much Admired Song Sung by Madame Mara at the Grand Professional Concert Hanover Square	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(95)	Vito	'Deh lasciami in pace'	Periodical Italian Song, No. 53	John Bland, 45 Holborn, Where the Following Periodical Italian Songs May be Had which Have Been Sung with the	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26

				Greatest Applause in the Operas, Public Concerts in London, Paris, Vienna & c. & c.	
(96)	Vito	'Se ti perdo amato oggetto'	Periodical Italian Song, No. 54	John Bland, 45 Holborn, Where the Following Periodical Italian Songs May be Had which Have Been Sung with the Greatest Applause in the Operas, Public Concerts in London, Paris, Vienna & c. & c.	'CLEMENTI OP.21.32./BACH OP.15./PLEYELS GR.SON.I SET./SONGS./MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.26
(97)	Winter, Peter von/ arr. M. C. Mortellari	'Me n'andro (sic) di Giove al piede'	The Favorite Duet...Sung by M <sup>rs</sup> Billington, & M <sup>r</sup> Braham, in the New Serious Opera <i>IL TRIONFO DEL AMOR FRATERNO</i>	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23



(98)	Winter, Peter von/ arr. M. C. Mortellari	'Ti veggo t'abbraccio'	The Favorite Duett Sung at the King's Theatre by M <sup>rs</sup> Billington & Sig <sup>ra</sup> Grassini in the Opera of <i>Il ratto di Proserpina..</i> Engraved by J Balls	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(99)	Winter, Peter von/ arr. M. C. Mortellari	'Vaghi colli ameni prati'	The Much Admired Duett, as Sung at the King's Theatre, By Sig <sup>ra</sup> Grassini & M <sup>rs</sup> Billington, in the Grand Serious Opera of <i>IL</i> <i>RATTO DI PROSERPINA</i>	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(100)	Winter, Peter von/ arr. M. C. Mortellari	'Vivo per te mio bene'	The Favorite Duet as Sung by M <sup>r</sup> Viganoni & M <sup>rs</sup> Billington in the Opera of <i>IL TRIONFO</i> <i>DELL'AMOR FRATERN</i>	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'VOCAL MUSIC &c./MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23

#### Appendix 4: Contents of 'A TRAVELLER'.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Composer/Poet</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Composition or Series</i>	<i>Publisher</i>
(1)	George F. Handel	'Holy Holy Lord God Almighty'	Bland's Coll. Divine Music No 14 Vol. 2 <sup>nd</sup> Sung by Madam Mara	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street
(2)	Giovanni B. Pergolesi	'O Lord Have Mercy Upon Me'	Sung by Mr Bartleman at the Antient and Vocal Concerts	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street
(3)	George F. Handel	'Veni Creator Spiritus'	The Celebrated Hymn Sung at the Cathedral Salisbury during the Ordination of Priests and Deacons	Thomas Preston, 97 Strand
(4)	Arranged by J. Dale	'The Easter Hymn'		Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill and 132 Oxford Street
(5)	Joseph Haydn	'Praise the Lord, ye Heavn's Adore Him'	Adapted to Dr Haydn's Celebrated Hymn	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill and 132 Oxford Street
(6)		'How Long Wilt Thou Forget Me Lord'	As Sung at Durham Cathedral	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill and 132 Oxford Street

(7)	Joseph Haydn/ arr. J. Corfe	'O Praise God in His Holiness', The 150 <sup>th</sup> Psalm Arranged as an Anthem From the Music of Dr Haydn		William Maurice Cahusac, 196 Strand
(8)		Kent's Favourite Anthem for Two Voices 'Hear, Hear My Prayer'		Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill and 132 Oxford Street
(9)		'Lord of All Pow'r and Might'	Collect for the 7 <sup>th</sup> Sunday after Trinity	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill and 132 Oxford Street
(10)	Joseph Corfe	'Ponder my Words O Lord'	An Anthem for Two Trebles as Performed at the Cathedral Salisbury	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street
(11)	Thomas Moore	'Love and the Sun Dial'	A Duet, Dedicated to Miss Atkinson	James Power, 34 Strand, and William Power, 4 Westmorland Street, Dublin
(12)	Thomas Moore	'Here's the Bower'	A Ballad Dedicated to Her Grace the Duchess of Bedford	James Power, 34 Strand, and William Power, 4 Westmorland Street, Dublin
(13)	Joseph Mazzinghi	'The Captive to His Bird'	A Favorite Song Sung by Mr Incedon, in His New Entertainment of Variety	George Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine, 117 New Bond Street and 7 Westmorland Street, Dublin

(14)	Joseph Mazzinghi/ Walter Scott	'Huntsman Rest! Thy Chase is Done'	Recitative and Air in Continuation of the Song 'Soldier Rest, Thy Warfare O'er' from <i>The Lady of the Lake</i>	George Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, 20 Soho Square, 121 New Bond Street and 7 Westmorland Street, Dublin
(15)	John Stevenson/ William Shakespeare	'Tell Me Where is Fancy Bred'	Duet for Two Voices Dedicated to his Friend Mr J Spray	William Power, 4 Westmorland Street
(16)		'The Dying Christian to his Soul'	A Celebrated Ode by Mr Pope for Three Voices	George Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine, 45 Pall Mall & 76 St James Street; May be Had of Goulding & Knevett, Westmorland Street, Dubin
(17)	John Bourke	'Come with Me and Gather Roses'	Glee for Five Voices Composed & Inscribed to his Friend N. Creed	William Power, 4 Westmorland Street
(18)	Giovanni B. Pergolesi	'Gloria in Excelsis'	A Performance in the Oratorios at Covent Garden Theatre	Thomas Skillern & Neville Butler Challoner, 25 Greek Street, Soho
(19)	Pietro C. Guglielmi	'Care Zitelle'	Duet Sung by Signor Naldi & Signora Storace in the Comic Opera <i>Due Nozze e un sol Marito</i> Performed at the King's Theatre	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall

(20)	Pietro C. Guglielmi	'Parti da questo addio'	Duet sung by Signora Calderini & Signor Tramezzani, in the opera of <i>Romeo e Giulietta</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street
(21)	Peter von Winter/ arr. M. C. Mortellari	'Vaghi colli ameni prati'	Much Admired Duet... Sung at the King's Theatre, by Signora Grassini & Mrs Billington, in the Grand Serious Opera of <i>Il Ratto di Proserpina</i>	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall
(22)	Vincenzo Pucitta	'Viva Enrico'	Chorus in the Opera <i>La Caccia di Enrico IV</i>	C. Wilkinson & Co, late Broderip & Wilkinson, 13 Haymarket
(23)	Luigi Cherubini	'Perfida Clori'	A Favorite Canone for Three Voices	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street
(24)	George F. Handel	'Angels Ever Bright and Fair'	<i>Theodora</i>	George Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine, Potter & Co, 20 Soho Square, 7 Westmorland Street, Dublin
(25)	George F. Handel	'Ye Sacred Priests'	As Sung by Madam Mara in <i>Jeptha</i>	George Goulding & Co, 45 Pall Mall & 76 St James Street

(26)	George F. Handel/ arr. Saffery	'Pious Orgies Pious Airs'		George Goulding & Co, 20 Soho Square & 7 Westmorland Street Dublin
(27)	George F. Handel/ arr. Saffery	'O Lovely Peace'		George Goulding & Co, 20 Soho Square & 7 Westmorland Street Dublin
(28)	George F. Handel	'He Shall Feed His Flock'	<i>Messiah</i>	George Goulding, 45 Pall Mall
(29)	George F. Handel	'Oh Never Bow We Down'	<i>Judas Maccabeus</i>	Anne Bland & E. Weller, 32 Oxford Street
(30)	George F. Handel	'Comfort Ye my People'	<i>Messiah</i>	George Goulding, 45 Pall Mall
(31)	George F. Handel	'What Tho' I Trace Each Herb & Flow'r	As Sung in <i>Solomon</i>	George Goulding & Co, 45 Pall Mall & 76 St James Street





### Appendix 5: Gleees, Catches, Canons, Madrigals and Rounds at Killerton House

<i>Item</i>	<i>Composer/Poet</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Composition or Series</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Music Book</i>
(1)	Alcock, Dr. John/ Thomson	'Hail Ever Pleasing Solitude'  Prize Medal 1770	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Gleees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(2)	Alcock, Dr. John	'When Troy Town'	Catch		1 17 B

(3)	Aldrich, Dean Henry	'Hark the Bonny Christchurch Bells'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(4)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Britain's Best Bulwarks'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(5)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Buz, Buz, Buz Quoth the Blue Flie'	Catch		'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B  'ENGLISH GLEES AND DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B
(6)	Arne, Dr. Thomas/ Words by Cunningham on the Death of Shenston	'Come Shepherds We'll Follow'	Elegy- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(7)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Fair Aurora'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

			Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(8)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Help Me O Lord'	Canon  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(9)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Lurk O'er the Greens Ward'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(10)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Make Haste to Meet'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(11)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Joan Said to John'	<p>Catch</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(12)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Sweet Enslaver'	<p>Round</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(13)	Attwood, Thomas/ Walter Scott Esq.	'In Peace Love Tunes the Shepherd's Reed'	Glee for Three Voices, the Words from 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel'	Theobald Monzani & Co, 3 Old Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(14)	Attwood, Thomas/ Walter Scott Esq.	'The Harp's Wild Notes'	Glee for Four Voices, the words from 'The Lay of the Last Minstrel'	Theobald Monzani & Co, 3 Old Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(15)	Baildon, Joseph	'Mr Speaker'	Catch  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B



(16)	Battishill, Jonathan	'Amidst the Myrtles'	Glee- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(17)	Battishill, Jonathan	'I Lov'd thee Beautiful and Kind'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(18)	Battishill, Jonathan	'Underneath this Myrtle'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(19)	Bennett, John	'Flow my Tears' 1598	Madrigal- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(20)	Bennett, John	'When as I Looked' 1599	Madrigal- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(21)	Biggs, Edward S.	'Here's Lawn as White as Driven Snow'	A Glee for Three Voices The Words from <i>The Winter's Tale</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B
(22)	Biggs, Edward S.	'The Evening Call'	Of the Swiss Pastors, Harmonised and Arranged as a Glee for Three Voices	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B  1 17 B
(23)	Biggs, Edward S.	'The Morning Call'	Of the Swiss Pastors, Harmonised and Arranged as a Glee for Three Voices	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B  1 17 B

(24)	Biggs, Edward S.	'The Pedlar- Will You Buy Any Tape'	A Glee for Three Voices The First Stanza of the Words from <i>The Winter's Tale</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B
(25)	Biggs, Edward S.	'Under the Greenwood Tree'	A Glee for Three VOICES, The Words from <i>As You Like It</i>	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B
(26)	Bononcini, Giovanni	'Chi mai d'iniqua stella'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(27)	Bourke, John	'Come With Me and Gather Roses'	Glee for Five Voices Composed & Inscribed to His Friend N. Creed	William Power, 4 Westmorland Street	'A TRAVELLER' 2 39 B
(28)	Brewer, Thomas	'Go Damon Go'	Round	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two

			A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		C2 2 B
(29)	Brewer, Thomas	'Turn Amarillis' 1667	Madrigal- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(30)	Byrd, William	'Hey Ho to the Greenwood' 1589	Canon  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

			from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(31)	Byrd, William	'Non nobis Domine'	Canon		'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B  'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(32)	Calcott, John/ Allan Ramsay	'Farewell to Lochaber'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(33)	Callcott, John/ Arr. John Whitaker	'It Was a Friar of Orders Gray'	Gems of English Harmony		1 17 B
(34)	Callcott, John	'Once Upon My Cheek'	Glee	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B
(35)	Callcott, John/ Words from Ossian	'Peace to the Souls'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(36)	Callcott, John	'The Red Cross Knight'	Glee with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte	James Balls, 408 Oxford Street	1 17 B



(37)	Callcott, John/ Gray	'Thyrsis When He Left Me'	Glee-Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(38)	Carter, Thomas	'Nanny Wilt Thou Gang With Me'	Glee for Two Voices The Celebrated Song Sung at the Kings Concerts and the Vocal Concerts by Mrs Billington at the Harmony Club &c &c. Harmonized by the Composer		'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5) 1 14 B
(39)	Clarke, John/ Walter Scott	'Allen a Dale'	Glee for Three Voices The Poetry from ROKEBY	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B

(40)	Clarke, John/ Walter Scott	“And Whither Would You Lead Me Then?” Quoth the Friar of Orders Gray’.	Glee for Three Voices from ROKEBY	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	‘ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.’ (C) 1 26 B
(41)	Converso, Gironimo	‘When All Alone’ 1580	Madrigal- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	‘CONVITO ARMONICO’ Vol. One C2 2 B
(42)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin/ Thomas James Mathias	‘As Now the Shades of Eve’  Prize Medal 1782	Glee- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	‘CONVITO ARMONICO’ Vol. One C2 2 B

			Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(43)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin/ David Garrick	'Call Forth Such Numbers'	Glee –Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(44)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'Hark the Lark at Heavn's Gate Sings'	A Favorite GLEE for Four Voices, Composed and the Accompaniment Added by Cooke	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B

(45)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin/ Collins	'How Sleep the Brave'  Prize Medal 1771	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(46)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin/ Words by a Child	'In Paper Case'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(47)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin/ Nicolas Breton	'In the Merry Month of May'	Glee- Four Voices	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One

		Prize Medal 1773	A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		C2 2 B
(48)	Dahmen, Johan A.,	'When the Soft Tear'	A Glee for Three Voices, Composed and Respectfully Dedicated by Permission to HER ROYAL HIGHNESS The Duchess of York	Muzio Clementi & Comps, 26 Cheapside	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(49)	Danby, John	'The Fairest Flowers'  Prize Medal 1786	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(50)	Danby, John/ Tobias Smollett	'When Sappho Tun'd'  Prize Medal 1781	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(51)	Davy, John/ William Shakespeare	Madrigal I - 'All Our Pleasures' Madrigal II - 'Fair is My Love' Madrigal III - 'O Call Not Me' Madrigal IV - 'Canst Thou O Cruel' Madrigal V - 'He that is Thy Friend Indeed' Madrigal VI - 'Good Night, Good Rest'	Six Madrigals for Four Voices, Three for Two Sopranos, Tenore & Bass, and THREE FOR ONE SOPRANO, ALTO, TENOR & BASS, (The Whole of the Words from Shakespeare.) Composed and Respectfully Dedicated by Permission to James Bartleman Esq.	James Balls, 108 Oxford Street	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B

(52)		'Do Re Mi Fa' / 'Life is a Jest'	Catch		'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B
(53)	Eccles, John	'Wine Does Wonders'	Glee – Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(54)	Ferrari, Giacomo G./ Thomas Campbell Esq.	'Ye Mariners of England'	A FAVORITE GLEE, for Three Voices with A Piano Forte Accompaniment. Composed and Dedicated to The Dow <sup>r</sup> Lady Vincent	The Author, 34 Great Marlbro' Street	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B



(55)	Ford, Thomas	'Fair Sweet Cruel' 1636	Madrigal- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(56)	Ford, Thomas	'Haste Thee O Lord'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(57)	Ford, Thomas	'There is a Lady Sweet & Kind' 1607	Madrigal for Four Voices, as Sung by Miss Travis, Mess <sup>rs</sup> W. Knyvett, Vaughan & Bartleman at the HANOVER SQUARE CONCERTS	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B
(58)	Ford, Thomas/ arr. John Paddon	'When First I Saw Your Face'	The Favorite Old Glee...Arranged for Three Ladies Voices & Two Performers on One Piano Forte and Respectfully Dedicated to Mrs J De Medina Sisters. NB The Bass Part is Given that a Gentleman May Join	Mayhew Phillips & Comps, 1 7 Old Bond Street	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B  1 17 B
(59)	Freeman, Nicolas	'Of All The Brave Bird'	GLEE		1 17 B
(60)	Giardini, Felice	'Beviamo tutti tre'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

			for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(61)	Goodwin, Starling	'Could A Man Be Secure'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(62)	Green, Dr. Samuel	'Hail the Green Fields'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

			Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(63)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Give Me the Sweet Delights of Love'	Catch  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(64)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'How Great is the Pleasure'	A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(65)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'I Cannot Sing this Catch'	<p>Catch</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(66)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Look Neighbours Look'	<p>Catch</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(67)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'O Nanny Wilt Thou Gang with Me'	Gems of English Harmony, Volume 3	Harry May, 11 Holborn Bars, and John Duff and Charles Hodgson, 65 Oxford Street	1 17 B
(68)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Turn Fair Clara'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(69)	Hayden, George	'As I Saw Fair Clara'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

			Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(70)	Hayes, Dr. Philip/ A Bradley	'Gently Touch'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B



(71)	Hayes, Dr. Philip	'Let's Drink and Let's Sing'	<p>Canon</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(72)	Hayes, Dr. Philip	'Melting Airs'	<p>Glee- Four Voices</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(73)	Hayes, Dr. Philip	'Still, Still in Our Ears'	Catch		'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B  'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(74)	Hayes, Dr. Philip/ from the Greek of Antipater	'This Tomb Be Thine'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(75)	Hayes, Dr. Philip	'Wind Gentle Evergreen'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(76)	Hilton, John	'Come Hither Boy'	Catch  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(77)	Hilton, John	'Turn Amarillis'	<p>Round</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(78)	Hutchinson, Francis	'Return my Lovely Maid'	<p>Madrigal- Four Voices</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(79)	Ives, Simon	'Come Honest Friends' 1650	Catch  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(80)	Jackson, William/ Words Altered from Cowley	'Love in Thine Eyes'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B  'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B

(81)	Jackson, William/ Hammond	'Time Has Not Thinn'd'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(82)	King, Charles	'O Absalom My Son'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(83)	King, Matthew P.	'Come Sisters!'	The Words From the Last Scene of the WITCHES IN MACBETH. Set to Music for Three Voices	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M1) 2 16 B
(84)	King, Matthew P.	'Lady as the Lilly Fair'	A Favorite GLEE for Three Voices. Written for J. Kenney Esq.	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (M4) 1 15 B
(85)	Knyvett, William	'The Bells of St Michael's Tow'r'	A Favorite Glee for THREE VOICES, Sung by the Mess <sup>rs</sup> Knyvetts at the Nobility Concerts	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	1 17 B
(86)	Linley, Thomas	'From Blushing Morn'	Elegy- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glee's, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, And for the most part compressed into two lines for the facility of accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B



(87)	Linley, Thomas	'In Thousand Thoughts'	<p>An Elegy- Three Voices</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(88)	Marenzio, Luca	'Dissi a l'amata mia' Ob 1599	<p>Madrigal- Four Voices</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(89)	Mazzinghi, Joseph	'O Young Lochinvar'	A Glee for THREE VOICES, Composed and Inscribed to Sir James Graham Bar <sup>t</sup> of Netherby Cumberland	George Goulding, Phipps and Thomas D'Almaine & C <sup>o</sup> , 124 New Bond Street & 7 Westmorland Street, Dublin	'VOCAL MUSIC' (H) 2 38 B
(90)	Mazzinghi, Joseph	'The Wreath'	A Pastoral Glee for Three Voices	George Goulding, Phipps & Thomas D'Almaine, 45 Pall Mall & 76 St James's Sq.	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(91)	Morley, Thomas	'Sweet Nymph'	Canzonet		'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B  'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B

(92)	Mornington, Lord/ Richard West	'Come Fairest Nymph'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(93)	Mornington, Lord/ from Lines Written in Westminster Abbey	'Hail Hallow'd Fame'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(94)		'Mr Speaker'/'If You Trust Before You Try'/'Let us Drink and be Merry'	Catches and Round		1 17 B
(95)	Nares, Dr. James/ Words from the Dirge in <i>Cymbeline</i>	'Fear No More the Heat'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Gleees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(96)	Nares, Dr. James	'O Fairest Maid'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(97)	Nares, Dr. James	'Wilt Thou Lend Me'	Catch  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(98)		'Nose, Nose, Nose'			1 17 B

(99)	Paddon, John	'Invocation to Apollo'	A GLEE FOR THREE VOICES, the Poetry Written by Dr Wolcot, Composed and Dedicated as a Tribute of Respect to William Chippendale Esq., President of the Society of Choral Friends.. Paddon member of the Society	Samuel Chappell & C <sup>o</sup> 124, New Bond Street	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.' (C) 1 26 B
(100)	Paddon, John	'The New Year's Gift'	A Glee for THREE VOICES, Composed for & Inscribed to Miss Normansell, Miss Sophia & Miss Charlotte Normansell, As a Tribute and Respect	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'ENGLISH GLEES & DUETTS & C.'(C) 1 26 B
(101)	Paxton, Stephen	'Go Damon Go'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

			Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(102)	Paxton, Stephen	'How Sweet How Fresh'  Prize Medal 1779	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(103)	Paxton, Stephen/ Virgil	'Upon the Popular Bough'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B



(104)	Paxton, William/ Words from Philip's Pastorals	'Breathe Soft Ye Winds'	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(105)		'Perche vezzosi rai'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(106)	Phelps, E.	'Bring Me An Urn of Work Divine'	An Anacreontic Duett, Composed and Dedicated to His Friend Captain Kennedy	Walter Turnbull, 331 Oxford Street.	'VOCAL MUSIC' (H) 2 38 B
(107)	Purcell, Henry / Words from Dryden's King Arthur	'Fairest Isles' 1691	Glee- First and Third Parts by Purcell  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(108)	Purcell, Henry	'Fear No Danger'	Glee		1 17 B

(109)	Ravenscroft, Thomas	'Canst Thou Love' 1611	Madrigal- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(110)	Smith, John S./ Words by Rowe	'As On a Summer's Day'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(111)	Smith, John S.	'Blest Pair of Sirens'	Glee- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(112)	Smith, John S.	'By Shady Woods'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(113)	Smith, John S./ Words from Spencer's Pastorals	'Flora Now Calleth Forth'	Madrigal- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(114)	Smith, John S.	'Hark the Hollow Woods'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(115)	Smith, John S.	'Soft Tread Ye Beauteous Nymphs'	Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(116)	Stevens, R. J. S./ William Shakespeare	'Ye Spotted Snakes'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(117)	Stevenson, John	'Come Buy My Cherries'	Catch	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(118)		'The EVENING of the CHASE'	A GLEE for Three VOICES	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC' (MI) 2 16 B
(119)	Travers, John	'Haste My Nannette'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Gleees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B  'VOCAL MUSIC' (M5) 1 14 B

(120)	Travers, John	'When Bibo Thought Fit'	<p>Duet</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(121)		'Viva tutti' / Dolci momenti	<p>Two Glees with Italian and English Words</p> <p>A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun<sup>r</sup></p>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B



(122)	Webbe, Samuel	'A Gen'rous Friendship'	Glee		1 17 B
(123)	Webbe, Samuel	'Arise Ye Winds'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Gleees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(124)	Webbe, Samuel/ Christopher Marlow	'Come Live With Me'	Glee – Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Gleees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

			for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>		
(125)	Webbe, Samuel	'Daughter Sweet'	Glee- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(126)	Webbe, Samuel/ Sir Walter Raleigh	'If Love and All The World'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Gleees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(127)	Webbe, Samuel	'Surely that's the Tender Youth'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Gleees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B

(128)	Webbe, Samuel/ words Cunningham	'Swiftly From the Mountain's Brow'  Prize Medal 1788	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(129)	Webbe, Samuel	'The Mighty Conqueror'	Glee- Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(130)	Webbe, Samuel	'There Behold the Mighty Bowl'	Duet  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B
(131)	Webbe, Samuel	'Thy Voice O Harmony'	Glee - Four Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(132)	Webbe, Samuel	'To the Old Long Life'  Prize Medal 1774	Catch  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(133)	Webbe, Samuel	'When Winds Blow Soft'	Glee- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(134)	Wilbye, John	'Adieu Sweet Amarillis' 1598	Madrigal – Four Voices  Round  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B
(135)	Wilson, Dr. John	'From the far Lavinian Shore' 1667	Glee- Three Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. One C2 2 B

(136)	Wilson, Dr. John	'The Pedlar'	Glee a 3 voci		1 17 B
(137)		'You Gave Me Your Heart'	Glee- Five Voices  A Collection of Madrigals, Elegies, Glees, Canons, Catches and Duets. Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers, and for the Most Part Compressed into Two Lines for the Facility of Accompaniment by Mr Samuel Webbe Jun <sup>r</sup>	Samuel Chappell & Co, 50 New Bond Street	'CONVITO ARMONICO' Vol. Two C2 2 B



### Appendix 6: Glees, Catches, Canons, Madrigals and Rounds at Tatton Park

<i>Item</i>	<i>Composer/Poet</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Composition or Series</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Music Book</i>
(1)		'A Boat Haste to the Ferry'	Catch- Three Voices		'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116
(2)	Alcock, Dr. John	'Hail Ever Pleasing Solitude'  Prize Medal 1770	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(3)	Alcock, Dr. John	'We'll Drink'  Prize Medal 1774	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(4)	Aldrich, Dr. Henry	'Good Indeed'	Catch on Tobacco a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(5)	Aldrich, Dr. Henry	'Hark the Bonny Christ Church Bells'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(6)		'All Into Survive'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(7)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Come Shepherds We'll Follow the Hearse'	<p>Elegy on the Death of Mr Shenstone- Four Voices</p> <p>Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 2</p>	<p>John Longman &amp; Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside</p> <p>Muzio Clementi &amp; Co, 26 Cheapside</p>	<p>'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35</p> <p>'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES &amp; DUETTS' MR 2-4.40</p>
(8)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Hark You My Dear'	<p>Catch a 3 voci The Street Intrigue</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 2</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(9)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Hush to Peace'	Glee From a Favorite Air in Artaxerxes  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35  'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(10)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Sweet Sweet Muse'	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(11)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'The Love Rapture'	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

			PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II		
(12)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'Which is the Properest Day to Drink'  Prize Medal 1765	Glee a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside  Longman and Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40  MR 3-8.22
(13)	Arne, Dr. Thomas	'You Ask Me Dear Jack'	Glee  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(14)	Arnold, Samuel	'Buz Buz Buz Quoth the Blue Fly'/Do Re Mi	Catch		Elizabeth Sykes, St. James's Square, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1801 (MS Book) MR 2-4.33
(15)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Come Let Us All A Maying Go'	A Favorite Glee, Sung with the Greatest Applause, at Harrison and Knyvett's Vocal Concert	John Preston & Son, 97 Strand	'SONGS & GLEES & c.' MR 2-5.7
(16)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Fair Enslaver'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside  John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40  MR 3-8.22
(17)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Joan Said to John'	Catch- Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

			LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III		
(18)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Lay that Sullen Garland by Thee'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(19)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Let's Banish Strife & Sorrow'	Favorite Round Sung with the Greatest Applause at Harrison & Knyvett's Vocal concerts	John Preston & Son, 97 Strand	'SONGS & GLEES & c.' MR 2-5.7
(20)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'One a Penny Two a Penny Hot Cross Buns'	Catch  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(21)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'Who like Bacchus'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(22)	Atterbury, Luffmann	'With Horns and Hounds'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(23)	Aylward, Theodore	'A Cruel Fate Hangs Threat'ning'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern vol. 2  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside  John Longman & Francis Broderip,	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40  'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35



			of Favorite Catches, Glee and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	26 Cheapside	
(24)	Baildon, Joseph	'Adieu to the Village'	Glee A Pastoral Elegiac  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(25)	Baildon, Joseph	The Debate 'Mr Speaker tho 'tis late'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glee, and Madrigals Several of	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside   John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40   MR 3-8.22

			Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II		
(26)	Baildon, Joseph	'When Gay Baccus Fills my Breast'  Prize Medal 1766	Glee- Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(27)	Baildon, Joseph	'Ye Heav'ns if Innocence'	Catch for Three LADIES  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(28)		'Banbury Ale'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			Antient & Modern, vol. 2		
(29)	Bates, William	'Sir You Are A Comical Fellow'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(30)	Battishill, Jon	'Amidst the Myrtles'	Glee- Five Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(31)	Battishill, Jon	'I Lov'd Thee'	3 voci  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

			PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III		
(32)	Berg, George	'Dolci miei'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(33)	Berg, George	'Swell the Song'	Glee – Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(34)	Blow, Dr. John	'How Shall We Speak'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			Antient & Modern, vol. 1		
(35)	Boyce, William	'A Blooming Youth Lies Buried'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(36)	Brewer, Thomas	'Go Damon Go Amarilis'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(37)	Brewer, Thomas	'Turn Amarillis to Thy Swain' 1667	Madrigal  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35

(38)	Brown, Richard	'Of Honest Malt Liquor'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(39)		'But Lovely Peace'	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(40)	Byrd, William	'Come Drink to Me'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(41)	Byrd, William	'Hey Hoe to the Greenwood'	<p>Catch a 3 voci</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 2</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(42)	Byrd, William	'Non nobis Domine'	<p>Canon</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 1</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	<p>Elizabeth Sykes, St. James's Square, May 18<sup>th</sup> 1801 (MS Book) MR 2-4.33</p> <p>'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES &amp; DUETTS' MR 2-4.40</p>

(43)	Caesar, Dr.	'Come Here's the Good Health'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(44)	Callcott, John W.	'As I Was Going to Derby'	Chearful Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(45)	Callcott, John W.	'Chief of the Windy Morven'	A GLEE FROM OSSIAN, For Two Trebles and a Bass with an Accompaniment For Two Performers On One Piano Forte	For the Author	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42



(46)	Callcott, John W.	1- 'Desolate is the Dwelling of Morna' 2- 'Quando ben' 3- 'Aldiborontipho-scophorno' 4- Blenheim- 'Beneath These Walls'	A Collection of FOUR GLEES, Composed at Blenheim, 1799, and Most Respectfully Inscribed by Permission to their Graces the DUKE and DUCHESS of MALBOROUGH	For the Author	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39
(47)	Callcott, John W.	'Lovely Seems the Moons Fair Lustre'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at Longman & Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(48)	Callcott, John W.	'Oh Happy Happy'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

			Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS		
(49)	Callcott, John W.	'Peace, Peace, Peace'	Serious Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(50)	Callcott, John W.	'Peace to the Souls of the Heroes'	Serious Glee		Mary Egerton 1802 (MS Book)
(51)	Callcott, John W.	The Banks of Yarrow- 'While the Moonbeams All bright'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(52)	Callcott, John W.	'The Erl King'	Three Voices		'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39

(53)	Callcott, John W.	'The May Fly'	Three Voices	For the Author	'MRS. EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(54)	Callcott, John W.	The New Mariners- 'You Gentlemen of England'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(55)	Callcott, John W.	'The Water King'	Three Voices		'MRS. EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(56)	Callcott, John W.	'When Arthur First in Court'	Cheerful Glee Three Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'VOLUNTARIES & GLEES' MR 2-4.43

(57)	Carey, Henry	'Curst Be the Wretch'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(58)		'Che mai d'iniqua stella'	Italian Catch		Elizabeth Sykes, St. James's Square, May 18 <sup>th</sup> 1801 (MS Book) MR 2-4.33
(59)	Child, William	'If Any So Wise'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(60)	Church, John	'Poor Owen'	a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(61)	Clarke, Jeremiah	'In Drinking Full Bumpers'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(62)	Coleman, Edward	'The Glories of Our Birth'	Glee a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(63)		'Come Jump at Thy Cousin'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(64)		'Come Live With Me'	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(65)	Converso, Gironimo	'When All Alone' 1580	Madrigal- Five Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(66)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'As Now the Shades of Eve Imbrown the Scenes'  Prize Medal 1782	A Favorite Glee for Four Voices as Sung by Mrs Billington, Mr Harrison, Mr Knyvett & Mr Bartleman at the Concert Antient Music	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'VOCAL MUSIC & c. MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(67)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'Beneath in the Dust'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(68)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'Fair Susan'	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(69)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'Hark! Hark the Lark'	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
			A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(70)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'How Sleep the Brave'  Prize Medal 1771	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(71)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'If the Prize'	Glee – Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22



			of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III		
(72)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'In the Merry Month of May'  Prize Medal 1773	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(73)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin/ Johnson	'Long May Live My Lovely Hetty'	Glee  The Favourite New Gleees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

(74)	Cooke, Dr. Benjamin	'Now the Bright Morning Star'	Chearfull Glee- Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(75)	Cooke, Robert	'No Riches from His Scanty Store'	Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(76)	Cooke, Robert	'Tho' Colin Pipe or Chloe Sing'	Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

(77)	Corfe, Joseph	1- 'Down the Bourne' 2- 'Soft Pleasing Pains' 3- DONALD- 'When First You Courted Me' 4- MARY'S Dream- 'The Moon Had Climb'd' 5- KATE of Aberdeen- 'The Silver Moon's Enamour'd' 6- 'One Day I heard MARY Say' 7- 'My Days Have Been' 8- Auld ROBIN GRAY- 'Young Jamie Look'd Me Weel' 9- 'Hear Me Ye Nymphs' 10- 'At Setting Day' 11- 'Fly Ye Storms' 12- 'Full Fathom Five'	TWELVE GLEES FOR THREE and FOUR VOICES, Dedicated by Permission to His Grace The Duke of Leeds Composed from ANCIENT SCOTCH MELODIES,	Joseph Corfe, Salisbury	'CORFE'S GLEES PART 1 & 2' MR 2-4.37
(78)	Corfe, Joseph	1- Tweed Side- 'What Beauties Does Flora Disclose' 2- Lady Ann Bothwell's Lament- 'Balow, My Babe' 3- De'il tak the wars-	TWELVE GLEES FOR THREE and FOUR VOICES, Dedicated by Permission to His Grace The Duke of Leeds Composed from ANCIENT SCOTCH MELODIES,	Joesph Corfe, Salisbury	'CORFE'S GLEES PART 1 & 2' MR 2-4.37

		<p>'Fly on the Wars'</p> <p>4- The Braes of Ballenden- 'Beneath a Green Shade'</p> <p>5- The Maid of Selma- 'In the Hall I Lay in Night'</p> <p>6- 'The Lass of Peatry's Mill'</p> <p>7- Rosline Castle- 'Twas in that Season'</p> <p>8- Sae Merry as We Have Been- 'A Lass that Was Laden'd with Care'</p> <p>9- 'Pinkie House'</p> <p>10- The Broom- 'How Blythe ilk Morn'</p> <p>11- The Birks of Invermay- 'The Smiling Morn'</p> <p>12- The Yellow Hair'd Laddie- 'In April when Primoses Paint the Sweet Plain'</p>			
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(79)	Cranford, William	'Boy Come Back'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(80)	Cranford, William	'This Ale My Bonny Lad'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(81)	Crotch, Dr. William	'Go Tuneful Bird'	Glee	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(82)	Crotch, Dr. William	'Methinks I hear the Full Celestial Choir'	Five Voices	Francis Broderip & C. Wilkinson, 13 Haymarket	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39
(83)	Danby, John	'As Passing by a Shady Grove'	Serious Glee  The Professional	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

			COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	Haymarket	
(84)	Danby, John	'Come my Laura Haste Away'	Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(85)	Danby, John	'Nor Blazing Gems'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

(86)	Danby, John	To Love- 'Thou Who Alone Dost all my Thoughts Infuse'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(87)		'Do Re Mi'	Catch		'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116
(88)		'Drink to Me Only'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(89)	Dyne, John	'Fill the Bowl With Rosy Wine'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(90)	Eccles, John	'Hark Harry'	Catch  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(91)	Este, Michael	'How Merrily We Live'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2  Amusements for the	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside       John Longman & Francis	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40       'HARPSICHORD'



			LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 2-4.35
(92)	Festing, Michael Christian	'Since my Phyllis is Fall'n'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(93)		'Fill a Brimming Glass'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(94)	Flackton, William	'What Ails You Ye Smokers'	Catch  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(95)	Ford, Thomas	'Fair Sweet Cruel' 1636	Madrigal Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(96)	Ford, Thomas	'Haste Thee O Lord' 1650	Round  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(97)	Freeman, Nicolas	'Of All the Brave Birds' 1667	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(98)	Giardini, Felice	'Be viamo tutti tre'	Glee  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(99)	Giardini, Felice	'Che pena che affanno'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(100)	Giardini, Felice	'Viva pure'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(101)	Gibbons, Orlando	'The Silver Swan'	Glee- Five Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(102)		'Go Banish Thy Sorrow'	Catch Three Voices       A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116  'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			Antient & Modern, vol. 1		
(103)	Gregory	'Here's a Bowl'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(104)	Gregory	'The Cries of Durham'	Catch  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(105)		'Hail Green Fields and Shady Woods'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(106)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Beneath the Silent Rural Cell'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(107)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Give Me the Sweet Delights of Love'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(108)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Hark Hark, Ding Ding'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(109)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'How Great is the Pleasure'	Love & Music Catch Three Voices  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116  'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(110)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'How Sweet in the Woodlands'	Duetto  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(111)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Look Neighbours Look'	Solemnly  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(112)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Oh Nanny Wilt Thou Gang With Me'	Harmonised for Four Voices... Sung with the Greatest Applause AT THE ANTIENT, VOCAL and Mr HARRISON'S Annual CONCERTS BY MRS BILLINGTON, MR HARRISON, MR W. KNYVETT& MR BARTLEMAN; Dedicated by Permission with the Highest Respect to The Right Honourable the Directors OF THE CONCERT OF ANTIENT MUSIC	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'MRS. EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38



(113)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Peaceful Slumb'ring on the Ocean'	A Favorite GLEE for Four Voices, as Sung with the Greatest Applause at Harrison & Knyvett's Concerts, Willis's Rooms	Joseph Dale, 19 Cornhill & 132 Oxford Street	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39  'VOLUNTARIES & GLEES' MR 2-4.43
(114)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Quaker's Wedding- Sister! Sister!'	Catch  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(115)	Harrington, Dr. Henry	'Sweet Doth Blush the Rosy Morn'	Duetto  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(116)	Harrington, Dr. Henry & John Broderip (Organist of Wells)	'Weep Gentle Shepherds'	Elegy- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(117)	Haydon	'I Saw Fair Clora'	Duetto  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(118)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Chairs to Mend'	Catch  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116  'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			Antient & Modern, vol. 1		
(119)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Come Follow Me to the Greenwood Tree'	Canon  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(120)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Gently Touch the Warbling Lyre'	Glee  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(121)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Haste Ye Soft Gales'	Catch Three Voices		'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116

(122)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Here Lyes Old Bridges'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(123)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Here Lyeth Sir John Guise'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(124)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Melting Airs Soft Joys Inspire'  2 <sup>nd</sup> Prize Medal 1763	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35

(125)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Who E'er Has Travelled'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(126)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Winde Gentle Evergreen'	Catch- Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside  Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22  'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(127)	Hayes, Dr. William	'Wou'd You Sing a Catch'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES,	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2		
(128)		'He that Drinks is Immortal'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(129)	Hilton, John	'Bless Them that Curse You'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(130)	Hilton, John	'Call George'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(131)	Hilton, John	'Come Away to the Tavern'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(132)	Hilton, John	'Come Follow Me'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(133)	Hilton, John	'Come Hither Boy'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(134)	Hilton, John	'Come Let Us All a Maying Go'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(135)	Hilton, John	'Come My Hearts'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40



(136)	Hilton, John	'Down in a Dungeon'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(137)	Hilton, John	'I Poor and Well'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(138)	Hilton, John	'Let Symon's Beard Alone'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(139)	Hilton, John	'Now that the Spring'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(140)	Hilton, John	'O Ale'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(141)	Hilton, John	'Queen of the Silver bow!'	Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

(142)	Hilton, John	'Tell my Strephon that I Die'	Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(143)	Hilton, John	'There Was an Invisible Fox'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(144)	Hilton, John	'Turn Amarilis'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(145)	Holmes, Thomas	'Prepare Your Hearts'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(146)	Hook, James	'Away to the Woodlands Away'	A Favorite Glee for Three Voices Sung with Universal Applause at Vauxhall Gardens	Anne Bland, 23 Oxford Street	'SONGS & GLEES & c.' MR 2-5.7
(147)	Hook, James	'Far in the Wilderness' No. 4	A Glee for Three Voices, from <i>The Hermit</i> Written by the Late Celebrated Dr. Goldsmith	Samuel, Ann & Peter Thompson, 75 St Paul's Church Yard	'SONGS' MR 2-5.38
(148)	Hook, James	'The Soldier's Adieu'	A Favorite Glee for Three Voices Sung with Universal Applause at Vauxhall Gardens	Anne Bland & E. Weller, 23 Oxford Street	'SONGS & GLEES & c.' MR 2-5.7

(149)		'I'll Live Tomorrow'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(150)		'In Vain You Tell Your Parting Lover'	Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(151)	Ireland, Francis	'Ah ch'il destino'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(152)	Ireland, Francis	'All in the Downs'	Glee  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(153)	Ireland, Francis	'Could Gold Prolong My Fleeting Breath'	Glee- Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(154)	Ireland, Francis	'How Sleep the Brave'	Elegy  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(155)	Ireland, Francis	'To Love and Wine Your Voices Raise'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(156)	Ireland, Francis	'Where Weeping Yews'  Prize Medal 1773	Elegy- 4 voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glee and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(157)	Ives, Simon	'Boy Go Down'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(158)	Ives, Simon	'Come Honest Friends'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(159)	Jackson, William	'Love in Thine Eyes'	A Favorite Canzonet	Preston & Son, 97 Strand	'SONGS & GLEES & c.' MR 2-5.7
(160)		'J'aimois mieux de n'aimer'	Duetto  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40



(161)	Jenkins	'A Boat Unto the Ferry'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(162)	Jenner, Rev. Charles	'Ancient Phillis'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(163)	Jenner, Rev. Charles	'Hail Lovely Shade'	Glee- Three Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35

(164)	Jenner, Rev. Charles	'Thou'rt Gone Away'	Rondeau  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. 1	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(165)		'Joy in the Gates'	A 6 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(166)	King, Charles	'O Absalom My Son'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(167)	King, Matthew P./ J. Kenney	'Lady as the Lilly Fair'	A Favorite Glee for Three Voices		'VOCAL MUSIC & c. MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(168)	King, Matthew P./ William Shakespeare	'The Witches'	A GLEE FOR THREE VOICES, Sung at the LADIES CONCERTS, THEATRE ROYAL COVENT GARDEN &c &c... from the First Scene of MACBETH	George Goulding, Phipps and Thomas D'almaine, 45 Pall Mall	'MRS. EGERTON/GLEES & SONGS' MR 2-4.38
(169)	Knyvett, William	'Jesse'	A Glee for Four Voices from Burn's Poems... Sung by Miss Parke, Messrs Harrison, W. Knyvett & Sale Jun. at Messrs Knyvett's Annual Concert	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(170)	Knyvett, William	'The Bell's of St Michael's Tower'	A Favorite Glee for THREE VOICES, Sung by the Messrs Knyvetts at the Nobility Concerts	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42

(171)	Knyvett, William	'The Boatie Rows'	A Favorite Scotch Melody, Harmonized for Three Voices...& Sung by the Messrs Knyvetts, at the Nobility Concerts	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(172)	Knyvett, William	'The Maid of Marlivale'	A Favorite Glee for Four Voices	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(173)	Lampe, Charles F.	'Hot Mutton Pies'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(174)	Lampe, Charles F.	'If You Trust Before You Try'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(175)	Lampe, Charles F.	'Jack I Hear You're Good at Pinking'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(176)	Lawes, William	'Drink to Night'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(177)	Lawes, William	'Gather Your Rose Buds' 1673	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(178)	Lawes, William	'Great Tom Is Cast'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(179)	Lawes, William	'The Wise Men'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(180)		'Let's Drink and Let's Sing Together'	Canon Four in One Unison  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(181)		'Let's Have A Peal'	Canon Nine in One  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(182)	Lidarti, Christian J.	'Su cantiamo su beviamo'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(183)	Linley, Thomas	'A Bumper of Good Liquor'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(184)	Long, Samuel	'Happy the Youth'	Catch- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(185)	Long, Samuel	'Where E'er You Tread'  Prize Medal 1764	Glee- Three Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(186)		'Lord How Are They Increased that Trouble Me'	Round  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40



(187)	Mazzinghi, Joseph	'The Wreath'	A Pastoral Glee for Three Voices	George Goulding, Phipps & Thomas D'Almaine, 45 Pall Mall	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(188)		'Melting Airs'	Glee a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(189)	Morgan, Thomas	'Quoth Jack on a Time to Tom'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(190)	Morley, Thomas	'Fair Phillis I Saw Sitting' 1596	Glee – Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(191)	Morley, Thomas	'Now is the Month of Maying' 1595	Madrigal- 5 voices Finale in The Duenna  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(192)	Mornington, Lord	<p>'Here in Cool Grott and Mossy Cell'</p> <p>Prize Medal 1779</p>	<p>Glee- Four Voices</p> <p>Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 2</p>	<p>John Longman &amp; Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside</p> <p>Muzio Clementi &amp; Co, 26 Cheapside</p>	<p>MR 3-8.22</p> <p>'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES &amp; DUETTS' MR 2-4.40</p>
(193)	Mornington, Lord	"Twas You Sir'	<p>Catch a 3 voci</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 1</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(194)	Mortellari		The Chorus of Quale Oror in the <i>VERGINE DEL SOLE</i> , Arranged as a Glee for Three Voices, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp	Michael Kelly, 9 Pall Mall	'VOCAL MUSIC & c. MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(195)		'My Wife's Dead'	A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(196)	Nares, Dr. James	'Wilt Thou Lend Me the Mare to Go a Mile'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(197)	Nelham, Edward	'Come Follow Me Merrily Lads'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1		
(198)	Nelham, Edward	'Cuckow Good Neighbours Help Us'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(199)	Nelham, Edward	'Follow Me My Jovial Boys'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(200)	Nelham, Edward	'Have You Any Work'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			Antient & Modern, vol. 1		
(201)	Nelham, Edward	'How Merrily Looks the Man'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(202)	Nelham, Edward	'O Dick and Strephon'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(203)	Nelham, Edward	'Slaves to the World'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(204)	Nelham, Edward	'The Wily Fox'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(205)		'No Ambition'	Duetto  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(206)	Norris, Thomas	'On the Death of the Duke of Cumberland'	Glee – Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(207)		'O Beauteous Eyes'	Catch Three Voices		'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116
(208)		'Ode to Fancy'	Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(209)		'Oh My Love'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40



(210)		'Oh that the Salvation Were Giv'n	Round  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(211)		'Oh that Thou Had'st Known'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(212)		'On Menander'	Catch  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35

(213)	Paxton, Stephen	'How Sweet! How Fresh'	<p>Glee a 4 voci</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 2</p> <p>Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III</p>	<p>Muzio Clementi &amp; Co, 26 Cheapside</p> <p>John Longman &amp; Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside</p>	<p>'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES &amp; DUETTS' MR 2-4.40</p> <p>MR 3-8.22</p>
(214)		'Perche vezzosi'	<p>Catch a 3 voci</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 1</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(215)	Purcell, Henry	'Call for the Reck'ning'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(216)	Purcell, Henry	'Drink On'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(217)	Purcell, Henry	'Fairest isle'	Glee – Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(218)	Purcell, Henry	'Fye Nay Prithee John'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(219)	Purcell, Henry	'Here's that Will Challenge All the Fair'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(220)	Purcell, Henry	'I Gave Her Cakes'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(221)	Purcell, Henry	'If All Be True'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(222)	Purcell, Henry	'Jack Thourt a Topper Jack'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(223)	Purcell, Henry	'Let's Live Good Honest Lives'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(224)	Purcell, Henry	'Now We Are Met'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(225)	Purcell, Henry	'Pale Faces Stand By'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(226)	Purcell, Henry	'Solider Take Thy Wine'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(227)	Purcell, Henry	'The Macedon Youth'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(228)	Purcell, Henry	"Tis Too Late for a Coach'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(229)	Purcell, Henry	'Under the Stone Lies Gabriel John'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40  'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116

(230)	Purcell, Henry	'Where I to Chuse the Greatest Bliss'	A 2 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(231)	Purcell, Henry	'Would You Know How We Meet'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40



(232)	Ravenscroft, Thomas	'The Sailors- We Be Three Poor Mariners' 1614	Glee- Three Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside          Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35          'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(233)	Reeve , William	'Some Yield Their Breath'	The Favorite Glee Sung in Raymond and Agnes	John Preston & Son, 97 Strand	'ENGLISH & ITALIAN SONGS/ MISS E SYKES' MR 2-5.10
(234)		'Restore, Fair Queen'	The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

(235)	Rogers, Dr.	'Come All Noble Souls	A Three Part Song  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(236)		'Row the Boat Whittington'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(237)	Sacchini, Antonio	'How Should We Mortals Spend Our Hours'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(238)	Shield, William	'O Why to Be Happy'	The Favorite Chearfull Glee, Sung by Mr Incledon, Mr Bowden & Mr Linton, at the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden	John Preston & Son, 97 Strand	'SONGS, DUETTS & MARCHES/MISS E. SYKES' MR 2-5.22
(239)		'Should I Dye'	Duetto  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(240)	Smart, Mr	'The Happy Fellow'	Sung by Messrs Arrowsmith, Palmer and Bannister at the Royalty Theatre	Samuel, Ann and Peter Thompson, 75 St Paul's Church Yard	'SONGS & GLEES & c.' MR 2-5.7
(241)	Smith, John S.	'Blest Pair of Sirens'  Prize Medal 1775	Glee- Five Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

			PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III		
(242)	Smith, John S.	'By Shady Woods'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(243)	Smith, John S.	'Hark the Nightingale'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(244)	Smith, John S.	'Let Happy Lovers Fly'	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(245)	Smith, John S.	'Let Us My Lesbia'	Glee- 3 voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(246)	Smith, John S.	'Return Blest Days'  Prize Medal 1777	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(247)	Smith, John S.	'Since Phyllis Has Bubbled'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(248)	Smith, John S.	'The Fairest Month'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(249)		'So che vanti'	Catch- 3 voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(250)		'Sophocles Is Laid'	Catch		'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116
(251)	Spofforth, Reginald/ R. B. Sheridan Esq.	'Mark'd You Her Eye?'	A GLEE, FOR FIVE VOICES, Sung at Messrs Knyvett's Annual Concert, Hanover Square Rooms	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39

(252)	Stevens, Richard J. S.	'Although Soft Sleep'	Serious Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(253)	Stevens, Richard J. S./ A Lady	'Archer's Glee- What Shall He Have'	Four Voices... Upon the Duke of Clarence's Giving a BUGLE HORN to be Shot for by the Royal Surry Bowmen to Whom This GLEE is Respectfully Inscribed		'VOLUNTARIES & GLEES' MR 2-4.43
(254)	Stevens, Richard J. S./ William Shakespeare	'Crabbed Age'	Chearful Glee for Four Voices	For the Author	'DUETTS & GLEES' MR 2-4.39
(255)	Stevens, Richard J. S./ Ben Johnson	'From Oberon in Fairy Land'	Fairy Glee for Four Voices, as Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's, Vocal Concerts	For the Author, Lambeth Walk	'VOLUNTARIES & GLEES' MR 2-4.43

(256)	Stevens, Richard J. S.	'To Be Gazing on Those Charms'	Serious Glee  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(257)	Stevens, Richard J. S./ Ossian		Trio for Two Sopranos and a Bass, with an Accompaniment For Two Performers On One Piano Forte	Author, Charter House	'SONGS/MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.25
(258)	Stevenson, John A./ William Shakespeare	'And Will He Not Come Again'	A Glee for Three Voices, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte or Harp, Composed and Dedicated to Mrs J Williams	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(259)	Stevenson, John A.	'Come Buy My Cherries'	Catch		'DUETS' MR 2-5.42



(260)	Stevenson, John A./ William Shakespeare	'Come Unto These Yellow Sands'	Glee for Three Voices as Sung at the HIBERNIAN CATCH CLUB, with an Accompaniment for Two Performers On One Piano Forte	Humphrey Hime, 34 College Green	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(261)	Stevenson, John A./ H. B. C	'Happy Love'	A Glee Particularly Adapted to Ladies Voices	Francis Rhames, 16 Exchange Street	'VOCAL MUSIC & c. MISS SYKES' MR 2-5.23
(262)		'Sum Up All the Delights'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(263)		'The Evening of the Chase'	A Glee for Three Voices	Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42
(264)		'Three Bulls and a Bear'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			&c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2		
(265)		'To the Old Long Life' Prize Medal 1774	Catch  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(266)		'To Thee Tis Giv'n'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(267)	Travers, Jo	'When Bibbo Thought Fit'	Canzonet a 2 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

			Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2		
(268)		'Tread Soft Ye Lovers'	Glee- Three Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(269)	Tremain	'On a Pipe of Tobacco'	A Favorite Cazonet for Two Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket	'SONGS' MR 2-5.38
(270)	Turner, William	'Say What You Please'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(271)		'Underneath This Myrtle Shade'	Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(272)	Valton, Peter	'Hated By Fools'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(273)	Vento, Mattia	'Gia la notta'	Catch a 4 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(274)		'Viva tutti'	Canzonetta a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40  'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116
(275)	Warren, Mr	'To Our Musical Club'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(276)		'We Be Soldiers Three'	Glee a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(277)	Webbe, Samuel	'A Gen'rous Friendship' Prize Medal 1768	Glee- Five Voices  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glee and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(278)	Webbe, Samuel	'Alas! How Vain'	Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(279)	Webbe, Samuel	'Away Away Away We've Crown'd'	Hunting Glee  The Professional COLLECTION OF GLEES, for Three, Four and Five Voices	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(280)	Webbe, Samuel	'Discord Dire Sister'  Prize Medal 1772	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

			of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II		
(281)	Webbe, Samuel	'Mr Mr Will You Do Us The Favour'	Catch  The Favourite New Gleees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(282)	Webbe, Samuel	'Now We Are Met'	Catch round the table  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(283)	Webbe, Samuel	'O What Can Equal Here'	Glee	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street,	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES'

			The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	MR 2-4.41
(284)	Webbe, Samuel	'Pretty Warbler Cease to Hover'	A Favorite Glee- Five Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(285)	Webbe, Samuel	'Rise My Joy'  Prize Medal 1777	Glee- Four Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22



(286)	Webbe, Samuel	'Since Harmony Deigns with Her Vot'ries to Dwell'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(287)	Webbe, Samuel	'Tell Me Ye Pow'rs'	Catch a 3 voci  Amusements FOR THE LADIES,Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. II	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(288)	Webbe, Samuel	"Tis Night, Dead Night'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41

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(289)	Webbe, Samuel	'To Great Apollo'	Glee  The Favourite New Glees...Expressly for, & Performed at Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett's VOCAL CONCERT, 1792. Most Respectfully Dedicated to THE SUBSCRIBERS	Mess <sup>rs</sup> Harrison & Knyvett, Percy Street, Rathbone Place, Stratton Street, Piccadilly and at John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside & 13 Haymarket	'HARRISON & KNYVETT'S PROFESSIONAL GLEES' MR 2-4.41
(290)	Webbe, Samuel	'To Me the Wanton Girls'	Glee- Three Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Glees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(291)	Webbe, Samuel	'When Winds Blow Soft'		Robert Birchall, 133 New Bond Street	'DUETS' MR 2-5.42

(292)	Webbe, Samuel	'You Gave Me Your Heart'  Prize Medal 1776	Serious Glee  Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. I	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35
(293)	Weelkes, Thomas	'The Nightingale' A.D. 1600	Glee- Three voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(294)	Weelkes, Thomas	'Welcome Sweet Pleasure' 1608	Madrigal- Five Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22

(295)		'What Care I Had to Marry a Shrew'	<p>Catch a 3 voci</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 1</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(296)		'When V and I'	<p>Catch a 3 voci</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 2</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(297)		'When Spring'	<p>Catch a 3 voci</p> <p>A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES &amp; DUETS &amp;c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient &amp; Modern, vol. 1</p>	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(298)		'When the Rosy Morn'	Catch 3 voices		'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116
(299)	White, Mr	'Hark How the Woods Do Ring'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(300)		'White Sand and Grey Sand'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 1	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(301)	Wilbye, John	'Flora Gave Me Fairest Flowers'	Madrigal- Five Voices  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(302)	Wilbye, John	'Lady When I Behold the Roses' 1598	Madrigal  Amusements FOR THE LADIES, Being a Selection of Favorite Catches, Gleees, and Madrigals Several of Which Have Gained the PRIZE MEDALS, vol. III	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	MR 3-8.22
(303)	Willis	'Frank What Shall We Do'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40

(304)		'Wind Gentle Evergreen'	Catch 3 voices		'Miss Sykes and Miss E Sykes' 1790 (MS Book) LS 116
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(306)	Wise, Michael	'Strange News'	Catch a 3 voci  A Collection of CATCHES, CANONS, GLEES & DUETS &c Selected from the Works of the Most Eminent Composers Antient & Modern, vol. 2	Muzio Clementi & Co, 26 Cheapside	'MRS EGERTON/ GLEES & DUETTS' MR 2-4.40
(307)		'Ye Birds For Whom I Rear'd This Grove'	Three Voices  Words by Shenstone Amusements for the LADIES, Being a Selection	John Longman & Francis Broderip, 26 Cheapside	'HARPSICHORD' MR 2-4.35

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