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**UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

**The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark in the Long  
Nineteenth Century**

Volume 1 of 1

by

**Wendy Stafford**

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 2018



UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**Abstract**

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Music

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

**THE ARRANGEMENT TO PLAY: MUSIC AT UPPARK IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY**

Wendy Stafford

'The arrangement to play' examines the intersections between the 'musical' and 'social' dimensions revealed in this study of more than 500 pieces of previously uncurated nineteenth-century sheet music. The listing of the music scores owned by women residents at Uppark is the basis for an investigation into the content, composition, acquisition and other associated aspects of this domestic repertoire, which is dominated by music for solo piano and many arranged (rather than original) items.

A review of one of the residents and owners of Uppark, Frances Bullock (1818-1895), develops the profile of an aristocratic woman's music collection with some detailed analysis of the music she owned, and its musical and historical contexts. This indicates the significance of social aspects and functions of her repertoire, including the role played by gifts of sheet music which she received. I look at how the scores draw the domains of concert hall, stage and popular music into the home, resulting in musical and social connections.

My exploration of the compositions and career of Brinley Richards, a Welsh proponent of piano arrangements, illustrates the opportunities afforded to him by the emerging economy of industrialised Britain, and the consequences of that for domestic repertoire. His acquaintance with Frances Bullock provides a particular vignette of the intersection of musical and social life in the nineteenth century.

This exploration of the profiles and activities of a domestic performer and domestic composer, developed from the domestic repertoire of one country house, reveals not only the variety of scores but equally significantly the several roles and functions of the music, whose visibility is brought out through the use of a multi-dimensional perspective. This affirms the rationale for wider terms of reference in the exploration of the comparatively unresearched, and sometimes trivialised, domestic repertoire.



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# Declaration of Authorship

I, Wendy Stafford

declare that the thesis entitled:

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark in the Long Nineteenth Century

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:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- 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;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- 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

Signed:.....

Date:.....24<sup>th</sup> August 2018

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# Abbreviations and Notes

## Abbreviations

Arr	arrangement
COPAC	Consortium of Online Public Access Catalogues
N & T	Neighbour and Tyson, <i>English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers</i> . London: Faber and Faber, 1965.
Orig	original composition
UDB	Uppark database
n.d.	not dated/not discerned
N.T.	National Trust
WSRO	West Sussex Records Office

## Notes

i. Images in the care of the National Trust, used or photographed with kind permission, are denoted 'N.T.'

ii. Images of music scores were taken by the author, with permission from the N.T., unless otherwise stated.

iii. Publication date of a music score is given as found on the original; or as determined by consulting named sources (e.g. COPAC - Consortium of Online Public Access Catalogues) which present a publication date for the same edition.



## Introduction

In 1860, the etiquette writer Florence Hartley outlined some of the factors that should condition the selection of music by amateur performers. According to Hartley, ‘And, whilst I am on this topic [music as an accomplishment], let me remark that there is a great deal in the choice of music, in the selection of its character, its suitability to your feelings, style, and taste, and this especially with respect to vocal music’.<sup>1</sup> This dictum on the importance of appropriate repertoire selection is found in this mid-Victorian ‘complete hand book for the use of the lady in polite society’.<sup>2</sup> The advocacy regarding the terms of reference for selection of pieces of music reflects a feature of nineteenth-century aristocratic life, that in very many respects it was arranged according to the rules of numerous codes of conduct, both spoken and unspoken. Hartley continues:

choose a wiser, a less pretending, a less conspicuous path. Throw your knowledge into compositions of a less startling, less aspiring character. Try only what you can compass. Be wise enough not to proclaim your deficiencies, and the critics will go away disarmed, even if they are not charmed. But if there be any voice, any feeling, any science, the touching melody, made vocal by youth and taste, will obtain even a far higher degree of encomium than, perhaps, it actually merits. You will please—you will be asked to renew your efforts. People will not be afraid of cadenzas five minutes long, or of bravuras, every note of which makes one hope it may be the last.<sup>3</sup>

The exhortation not to perform beyond capacity and to be mindful of the enticement for the audience of pleasing melody, alongside the permission to perform a brief, more demanding piece well, confirm that the socially and musically constructed ‘arrangement to play’ has specific guidelines, albeit with the caveat that ‘Do not suppose that I mean to recommend poor music, or feeble, ephemeral compositions. What is good need not, of necessity, be always difficult. Ballad music is rich in songs adapted for the private performer’.<sup>4</sup> Complementary directives are contained in a different etiquette compendium, that ‘You should try to suit your music, like your conversation, to your company. A solo of Beethoven’s would be as much out of place in some circles as a comic song at a Quakers’ meeting. To those who only care for the light popularities of the season, give Balfe and Verdi, Glover and Julien. To connoisseurs, if you perform well enough

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<sup>1</sup> Florence Hartley, *The Ladies Book of Etiquette, and Manuel of Politeness: A Complete Handbook for the Use of the Lady in Polite Society* (Boston: G.W.Cottrell, 1860), 186, accessed April 14, 2016, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/35123/35123-h/35123-h.htm>.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Frontispiece.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 187.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

to venture, give such music as will be likely to meet the exigencies of a fine taste. Above all, attempt nothing that you cannot execute with ease and precision'.<sup>5</sup>

### Uppark

This plethora of repertoire requirements, couched equally in musical and social parameters, introduces the initial requirement of this study, which is to find out what music there is at Uppark, a large country house in Sussex. The old spelling of 'Up Park' is explained by the site of this property, on parkland high on the West Sussex Downs looking south to the sea, commanding a matchless view. Martin Drury (who at the time of writing was Historic Buildings Secretary for the National Trust) draws an evocative profile of Uppark, encapsulating the ambience of the house and its location:



UPPARK HOUSE (FROM THE SOUTH WEST). N.T.

There are few country houses in England that make such an appeal to the imagination as Uppark. Its situation, high and isolated on the crest of the South Downs, is as romantic and, for a seventeenth century house, as unexpected as its story. Indeed, there is nothing about Uppark that is commonplace and little in its circumstances or its history that finds an echo in those of other country houses. Apparently remote from the business of the world, it is yet hardly an hour from London. Its tall south-facing windows command a panorama of tumbled down land stretching to the Solent and the distant Isle of Wight, and yet unseen below a ridge lies the city of Portsmouth.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> George Routledge, *Manual of Etiquette* (London: George Routledge and Sons, Limited, 1860s (exact date n/k)), 16.

<sup>6</sup> Martin Drury, "Introduction", in Margaret Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Oliver Warner, *Uppark and Its People* (London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd., 1995), iv.

The theme of contradiction emanating from this portrait is continued in the phrases ‘idiosyncratic combination of shabbiness and grandeur’ and ‘façade is looking magnificent ... interiors have all the serene elegance’.<sup>7</sup> These hints of ambivalent positioning reflect Uppark’s uncertain status in the hierarchy of aristocratic country estates, ranked with regard to manifestation of power (economic, political and social) along with presentation as stately and impressive. Uppark does not score highly in respect of these characteristics, although an authoritative statement is made by the unusual and exposed site on top of a hill commanding lengthy views to the English Channel. The house has been described as ‘balanced and symmetrical in plan as well as in elevation ... where gracefulness is identified with usefulness in what has been called “an architecture which neither deceives nor declaims” ‘.<sup>8</sup> Such description aptly suits Uppark, which like other similar properties had three enduring functions: it provided a residence for aristocratic occupants; the house and the estate served as a place of employment (relatively secure, and for some, offering rent-free accommodation) for many people living in the vicinity; the estate generated income, for the owners, for upkeep, for wages. The country-aristocrat leisure pursuits of hunting and horse-racing were both practised by Sir Harry, and hunting on the estate continued after his death.

Uppark and its residents also presented with features of note, some of which differentiated it from other like-properties. There was no family blood-line of occupants, since Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh – who inherited Uppark from his father, Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh - had no issue, and the house and estate were inherited by his wife who bequeathed them in entirety to her sister, whose will named two successive inheritors, both of whom were (only) friends. The last occasion on which the house and estate were sold was 1747 and since then (270 plus years ago) it has changed hands by agreement. During the nineteenth century the house was owned and managed by two women, Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh (wife of Sir Harry) and then her sister, Frances Bullock k.a. Fetherstonhaugh, for 50 years. Christina Hardyment maintains that ‘It was largely due to the social conservatism of this pair of Cinderellas that the state rooms at Uppark stayed so remarkably unchanged during the Victorian era. The kitchens, however, were kept up-to-date with all the latest equipment’.<sup>9</sup> These two women appear to have significantly assumed

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<sup>7</sup> Christopher Rowell and John Martin Robinson, *Uppark Restored* (London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd., 1996), 165.

<sup>8</sup> Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House, A Grand Tour* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd, 1984), 28.

<sup>9</sup> Christina Hardyment, *Behind the Scenes, Domestic Arrangements in Historic Houses* (London: National Trust Enterprises Limited, 1997), 93.

the role and tasks of head of the household, assisted by some loyal – although at times vexing – servants. In contrast with many country house residents, there were no extended periods of absence from Uppark during the London season, as Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh's widow sold the family property in London, Dover House, in 1787.

In 1989 a devastating fire ravaged Uppark, destroying the upper floors and their contents, including papers and possessions dating back over very many years. The National Trust chose to restore the status quo (rather than the property be demolished), and the house was re-opened in 1995, 'a triumph of conservation over tragedy, that has drawn on traditional crafts to match the exceptional quality of the house with new work, and seamless repairs to the old'.<sup>10</sup> The house today continues to display the wealth of its history, narrated through the interplay of the building, its contents and its people. The current National Trust guidebook includes commentary on the saloon, commissioned by Sir Matthew in the 1770s, as having 'faded grandeur ... of this splendid room where the interior decoration has faded but the character of the room is retained'.<sup>11</sup> Over 30 years ago, before the fire, a similar evocation was made about this room, describing it as 'an interior of singular beauty ... one of the most hauntingly beautiful rooms of its date'.<sup>12</sup> The dining room at Uppark likewise retains its character, still with a long table down the centre of the room, on which, reputedly, Emma Hart (later Lady Hamilton, mistress of Lord Nelson) danced to entertain Sir Harry's hunting parties. H.G. Wells described the below-stairs 'much-cupboarded, white-painted, chintz-brightened' housekeeper's room at Uppark which was occupied by his mother, Sarah Wells, 'perhaps the worst housekeeper that was ever thought of'.<sup>13</sup> One of the most unusual aspects of Uppark and its hill-top situation was its water supply, provided since mid-eighteenth century from a spring a mile from the house and 350 feet lower, by means of pumping engines controlled by air pressure.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Rowell, *Uppark Restored*, back cover.

<sup>11</sup> Oliver Garnett, *Uppark* (London: National Trust (Enterprises) Limited, 2011), 8.

<sup>12</sup> Jackson-Stops, *English Country House*, 90, 95.

<sup>13</sup> H.G. Wells, *Tono-Bungay, A Modern Utopia* (London: Odhams Press Limited, 1909), 18. The novel *Tono-Bungay* is generally accepted as an only slightly-fictionalised narrative of Uppark and life there. Sarah Wells, mother of H.G., was a maid and then housekeeper at Uppark, and he spent quite some time living there.

H.G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography, Volume 1* (London: Faber and Faber, 1934), 110.

<sup>14</sup> Hardyment, *Behind the Scenes*, 199.

(This arrangement was superseded in 1965 by a borehole near to the house. John Eyre and Alan Allnutt, "the Water Supply to Uppark," *Sussex Industrial History*, no.15 (1985/86), 27, accessed February 13, 2019, [http://sias.pastfinder.org.uk/sih\\_1970\\_2008/15-1985.pdf](http://sias.pastfinder.org.uk/sih_1970_2008/15-1985.pdf).)

### **The music at Uppark**

My enquiry into the sheet music at Uppark came about somewhat randomly. In the course of seeking a 'real' – rather than 'imported' and therefore not originally 'of the house' – music collection in a country house, communications with Uppark staff led to an invitation to look at their extant music. The names on many of the scores confirmed that the music had been owned by residents of Uppark (albeit a large number of scores are unmarked) and that I had located a substantial volume of music belonging to the house. This contrasts with the accumulations of music scores from various sources not always related to a house. This find led to many hours spent in an Uppark attic perusing and recording the details of each page of the music.

Through the sheet music found at the house, I explored the musical lives of its residents and its place in the social context and social exchanges of nineteenth-century life. The location of guidance on repertoire in etiquette books published in the later rather than earlier nineteenth century underlines the duality of function of domestic music, a duality which is reflected in the term 'arrangement', which is used both to label a type of music and to denote social values and structures arrayed around and within the music. The term 'arrangement' does not indicate that a piece of music accords to a particular specification: rather, it is used as a general descriptor – as illustrated in this study – to refer to a composition which is derived – 're-worked' - from an original earlier or contemporary score. In this study, arrangement refers to keyboard - or keyboard as part of an ensemble – compositions. The propensity for composers in the nineteenth century to produce arrangements was particularly driven by industrial advance and commercial motivation. It is this contextual perspective which contributes to the identification of a plurality of social aspects of the arrangement, underlining its importance as a socio-musical phenomenon of the nineteenth century.

Arrangements as a musical form dominate the sheet music owned by the protagonist, Frances Bullock, at Uppark, and (possibly only some of them) were presumably performed primarily in the context of Girouard's characterisation of 'the domesticity, earnestness and godliness of a typical mid-Victorian house'.<sup>15</sup> The dominance of musical arrangements reflects the ubiquity of this process of 'arrangement' in Victorian aristocratic homes and their preoccupation with the normative arrangements for daily living. As Rowell and Robinson comment with reference to an inventory of Uppark compiled in 1874, it 'revealed for the first time how the house had been

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<sup>15</sup> Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1978), 298.

arranged in the nineteenth century'.<sup>16</sup> Domestic repertoire was acquired, studied and performed in this context of these 'arrangements', i.e. that things should happen in particular ways, both musical and social, which were significant in determining its status and reception. The 'Arrangement to Play' is an exposition of the sheet music at Uppark, and traces the parts played by the various 'arrangements' associated with the repertoire.

Over a decade ago Ruth Solie observed that '...there has traditionally been very little scholarly work done on nineteenth-century British music. In musicology, there are no "Victorianists"'.<sup>17</sup> This statement might be extended to include reference to the absence of enquiry into nineteenth-century domestic music collections, in spite of Nicholas Temperley's view that, 'Musical activity in the home in this period [1800-1860] must have been very considerable, judging from the amount of music published, which increased rapidly throughout the nineteenth century, [and] ...The performance of vocal music in the home at this period was probably universal'.<sup>18</sup> And Alec Hyatt King's conclusion that 'Clearly, the Victorians collected music on a scale which was never known before and can never be repeated again in this country...the Victorian lover of music had often developed a much wider sense of its historical value than has hitherto been generally allowed. It is only natural for this to be reflected in the collecting of music'.<sup>19</sup> Both of these comments refer to the significance of the volume of music to be found in private houses during this period, but King's subjects collected music with intent whilst Temperley's discourse refers to sheet music production and its destinations. The authors are both male, and their studies which were published within four years of each other, both reflect the contemporary orientation of the time, in that neither refers to women in association with domestic repertoire and the gathering of sheet music. More recent detailed studies of the music held in different residences in the British Isles, as discussed below, redress this gender imbalance. They also signpost the growth of scrutiny into music assembled in one place, the circumstances

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<sup>16</sup> Rowell, *Uppark Restored*, 177.

An inventory came to light during the course of repairs to Uppark following the fire in 1989. It was compiled following the death of Lady Mary Ann Featherstonhaugh. There is no reference to a piano. Death & Son, "Inventory of the Household Furniture Etc Belonging to the Late Lady Featherstonhaugh of Uppark in Harting," (WSRO, 1874).

<sup>17</sup> Ruth A. Solie, "No 'Land without Music' after All," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 32, no. 1 (2004): 261.

<sup>18</sup> Nicholas Temperley, "Domestic Music in England 1800-1860," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 85th Sess. (1958-59), 35, accessed March 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/766225>.

<sup>19</sup> Alec Hyatt King, *Some British Collectors of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 69. Hyatt King (who worked at the British Museum) authored a narrative list compiled from sale catalogues, of British music house collections that originally belonged to elite and upper-class men. These owners collected music purposively for use in performance, for scholarly interest, or because of the value of the music (editions that were antique/rare/foreign).

of its gathering, the people involved with the music, and the musical practices for which it was used.

### **Studies of Domestic Repertoire**

The ideological position of musicology has now moved on, as has the academic interest in the study of domestic music collections. Studies of domestic repertoire, each individual in its particular approach and subject matter, together present an expanding discourse informing about the music and musical practices in different houses and geographically dispersed localities. The time periods of these studies span from the last decades of the sixteenth century to the First World War. Whilst the emphasis for each study varies, they all intertwine music with the lives of its owners and performers, underlining the holistic basis for exploration of domestic repertoire and the significance of its multifaceted context.

Jane Troughton's *The Role of Music in the Yorkshire Country House 1770-1850* (2014) provides information about music collections from four properties belonging to elite families.<sup>20</sup> The houses are Harewood House, Castle Howard, Temple Newsam and Nostell Priory. The analysis of the music collection in each house considers what is unique about each family's collection, and what is characteristic of the period and the region. Troughton found that there were contrasting approaches to music making across the four case studies, that the nature of music making changed during the eighteenth century, and that there were connections between the music in the domestic, private, aristocratic domain and contemporary musical trends in the public domain. Karol Mullaney-Dignam has looked at country house nineteenth-century music collections in Ireland.<sup>21</sup> She reviewed (2011) the collection at Glin Hall, Co. Limerick comprising two miniature volumes of dances and bound volumes, 5 of printed music and 6 manuscript. This inquiry revealed a number of musical forms in the collection, including a lot of dance music and copied 1840s instrumental music. The Birr Castle, Co. Offaly nineteenth-century music collection (2012) contains over 1,100 individual pieces of music presented in 49 bound volumes (18 single volumes and 9 sets of ensemble performance parts) and numerous unbound music sheets. Another family-based music collection is explored in Sarah McCleave's account of an intact music collection of manuscripts and prints, dating from 1680-1790, and gathered by four generations of

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<sup>20</sup> Jane Elizabeth Troughton, "The Role of Music in the Yorkshire Country House 1770-1850" (Ph.D., University of York, 2014), accessed June 23, 2017, <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.667696>

<sup>21</sup> Karol Mullaney-Dignam, "Useless and Extravagant? The Consumption of Music in the Irish Country House," in *The Country House: Material Culture and Consumption*, ed. Jon Stobart and Andrew Hann (Swindon: Historic England, 2016).

a Welsh rural family of industrialists and politicians; it describes their musical tastes and practices.<sup>22</sup> In addition to some detailed analysis of the content of the collection, wherein there are a substantial number of manuscript items, attention is given to the different materials used for the music over time, and the metropolitan influences – or their absence – on the collectors. The family identity associated with a collection continues with Jeanice Brooks' investigation of the part that music collection by women, specifically Elizabeth Sykes Egerton, played in book acquisition and display, as well as the material setting, at Tatton Park. Brooks unpicks how 'women's music making music-making and its representation in the country house contributed both to new images of elite domesticity and to developing notions of an English musical heritage'.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, there was more than one contributor to the music collection at Burghley House where two centuries of scores date back to about 1650. The author of the descriptive catalogue of this music also describes the contributors to the collection and their musical enthusiasms.<sup>24</sup>

There are also studies of individual music collections as well as those belonging to families. Thomas Baker was an individual collector who lived in Farnham, Surrey. His largely intact eighteenth-century music collection, comprising an amount of keyboard music and a variety of musical forms, provides the subject matter for Cheryl Martin.<sup>25</sup> Rosemary Richards' study of music from the early nineteenth century (2005) is presented in *The McCrae Homestead Music Book*.<sup>26</sup> This music is part of the McCrae Homestead Collection to be found at the McCrae Homestead, Mornington Peninsula, Australia. Richards discusses music transcribed between 1822-1824 by Georgiana McCrae, when she lived in London or Scotland, and then took with her to Australia when she emigrated in 1841. There is a detailed analysis of the vocal and dance music in this copybook collection, with much contextual referencing from McCrae's journal and additional relevant sources.

The use of domestic repertoire for performance to others is a significant feature of Caroline

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<sup>22</sup> Sarah McCleave, "The Mackworth Collection: A Social and Bibliographical Resource," in *Music in Eighteenth Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Routledge, 2016).

<sup>23</sup> Jeanice Brooks, "Musical Monuments for the Country House: Music, Collection, and Display at Tatton Park.," *Music and Letters* 91, no. 4 (2010): 534.

<sup>24</sup> Gerald Gifford, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Music Collection at Burghley House, Stamford* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Cheryl Martin, "The Music Collection of Thomas Baker of Farnham, Surrey," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 44 (2013).

<sup>26</sup> Rosemary Richards, *'Frae the Friends and Land I Love' the McCrae Homestead Music Book* (Victoria, Australia: Rosemary Richards, 2005).

Wood's account of music and music making at Burton Constable Hall.<sup>27</sup> This is a mid-nineteenth-century study looking at the family connections and their extensive use of the music and musical instruments at the Hall, concluding that 'The music collection at Burton Constable shows a family still pursuing the fashionable accomplishments of music with relish, while developing a relationship with musical worlds outside'.<sup>28</sup>

*Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House* (2013) is the focus of Leena Rana's study (1790s-1840) of the Tatton Park and Killerton music collections.<sup>29</sup> Six appended hand lists inform her review of the collection. She develops an analysis of the collection of music which accompanied the travels of Lydia Hoare Acland (1786-1856), an aristocratic young woman; and explores comprehensively the items in the very extensive vocal music collections of both houses which contribute to elite male identity. Elite femininity is an important feature of Katrina Faulds' (2015) work on dance.<sup>30</sup> Covering the period 1770-1860, she looks at the music collection at Tatton Park with reference to various forms of dance, including the waltz, the quadrille and other dance music which would have been used in the house both for dancing and for music making. She provides a detailed listing in three categories - ballet music (10 items), country dance music (7 items), quadrilles (9 items) - of dance music at Tatton Park, belonging to three owners, with contemporary commentaries (a prime source being newspapers).

An alternative view of the music collection at Tatton is provided by Penelope Cave's work (2013) on *Piano Lessons in the Country House, (1785-1845)*, which includes consideration of issues raised by the keyboard repertoire and the role of piano in an elite young woman's upbringing, as well as previously disregarded repertoire, instruction books and early teaching material.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Wood Caroline Wood, "Music-Making in a Yorkshire Country House by Caroline Wood," in *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot, Brookfield USA, Singapore, Sydney: Ashgate, 1999).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>29</sup> Leena Asha Rana, *Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House*.

<sup>30</sup> Katrina Faulds, "'Invitation pour la danse': Social dance, dance music and feminine identity in the English country house c.1770-1860" (Ph.D., University of Southampton, 2015), <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/378156>

<sup>31</sup> Penelope Cave, "Piano Lessons in the English Country House, 1785-1845" (Ph.D., University of Southampton, 2013), <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/id/eprint/366438>

Particular points of interest are the frequency of precluding included in teaching manuals and the variety of identified musical forms. Throughout the text there is detailed referencing to specific pieces of music, and an appended hand list provides full listing of the music in the collection. A detailed overview of the music from the collection of Lady Alda Hoare at Stourhead, Wiltshire is central to Michelle Meinhart's review of women's representations of music in life writings from the long nineteenth century, including a narrative compiled from the comments written by Lady Alda on her music, which constitutes a personal diary from before and during the First World War. Meinhart categorises the music in the collection and considers its performance in the country house, focussing on Lady Alda's son singing with his mother, as well as her piano playing for soldiers during the war.<sup>32</sup>

Samantha Carrasco's thesis (2013), *The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture 1770-1820*, is a study of seventeen music books which belonged to Jane Austen (who lived at Chawton, near Alton, Hampshire) and some of her family in the context of Hampshire provincial musical activity.<sup>33</sup> Carrasco sets out an itemised handlist (including performance information) of the contents of the music books and discusses the nature of the repertoire, genres of music, scoring, the representation of public repertoire in this domestic repository, and not least the composers found in these music books and their relevance to the canon. Through extensive analysis of newspaper and other source information, and consideration of concert programming – particularly the dominance of Handel and inclusion of popular music choices - she effects many demonstrable links between the Austen music books and the content and stylistic trends of public performance repertoire.

There are continuing studies of nineteenth-century domestic repertoire which should yield material for comparison with the Uppark music. One of these is concerned with the music of the Yorke family who lived at Erddig, a large seventeenth century house in North Wales, and their

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<sup>32</sup> Michelle M Meinhart, "Remembering The "Event": Music and Memory in the Life Writing of Aristocratic and Genteel Women of the Long Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D., University of Cincinnati, 2013), <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>

<sup>33</sup> Samantha Carrasco, "The Austen Family Music Books and Hampshire Music Culture 1770-1820" (Ph.D., University of Southampton, 2013).

accumulated music scores over several generations.<sup>34</sup> The lifespan of Victoria Mary Louisa Cust Yorke (1823-1895) is almost identical to that of Frances Bullock; and, with reference to the bound music only of Victoria Yorke, there are similarities in the music collections of the two women. In both collections the majority of the pieces are for solo piano, both original compositions and arrangements, as well as vocal and ensemble items. Canonic and non-canonic items, and pieces in a variety of forms, are to be found in both collections, and both women owned compositions by Brinley Richards. In equally broad terms, Victoria Cust's music differs from that of Frances Bullock in that it includes pieces for harp-lute and possibly fewer items in dance form, although a more finely tuned comparison of these two country house repertoires will be possible when the whole collection at Erddig has been studied.

Further fruitful comparisons may be made with materials held by Sydney Living Museums, Australia. Originating from various sources, the Stewart Symonds sheet music collection is held at the Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection, Sydney Living Museums and 'comprises 1563 pieces of music bound into 46 volumes, including 55 leaves of manuscript transcriptions, and is mostly music for piano or piano and voice, with some arrangements for harp, flute, violin and cello.'<sup>35</sup> The process of cataloguing, digitising and contextualising this music is underway. In addition to Australian music, a preliminary overview of the collection shows that many of the items were published in the mid-nineteenth century and frequently in London. It includes numerous arrangements of national airs, and opera airs, for the piano; and several titles and composer names would have been familiar to Frances Bullock.

Taken together, these studies of domestic repertoire offer varying perspectives on domestic music collections held in rural country houses and suggest a number of factors around which to explore the music in a specific house. Each study is individually framed, drawing its subject matter from original sources; and this Uppark study does likewise, with a focus on the gathered sheet music in the house, as the platform from which various aspects of the music are

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<sup>34</sup> My thanks to the members of the "Music, Home, and Heritage" project for information about the Erddig music. 'Music, Home and Heritage: Sounding the Domestic in Georgian Britain' is a three-year research partnership between the Royal College of Music and the University of Southampton, which has been awarded a £665,000 grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). It explores how listening to and performing music affected the construction of home and family life in Georgian Britain.

<sup>35</sup> "Stewart Symonds Sheet Music Collection," front page, in *The Caroline Simpson Library & Research Collection (CSL & RC)*, Sydney Living Museums, accessed February 27, 2018, <https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/stewart-symonds-sheet-music-collection>. My thanks to Dr Matthew Stephens for updating me regarding this collection.

considered. Most of the existing studies – with the exception of Meinhart’s study of music at Stourhead - look at seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth century materials, whereas the (publishing) time frame under consideration as regards the Uppark music is mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and later (in broad terms, the long nineteenth century), a period marked by the multi-faceted continuing development of an industrialised economy and increasingly urbanised society in Britain, which created a different context for domestic repertoire and musicking. My study complements the different approaches to both overview and detailed repertoire analyses represented in the cited studies, and is variously derived from property, family and individual perspectives. In addition, the level of, and approach to, the analysis of repertoire offers a framework for future comparative enquiry into music collections. I address, as do these existing studies, the emerging centrality of concepts of sociability, performance, elite identity of both men and women, as well as the key role of music as a means of communication, with some emphasis on change in consequence of industrialisation.

### Primary sources

The primary sources listed below contributed to both specific and contextual aspects of this study. As with all primary sources, they offer ‘direct information’ rather than commentary, notwithstanding the inevitable bias of a primary source, both contemporaneous and as currently viewed.

#### List of primary sources

Category	Item	Reference in thesis (page no.)
SHEET MUSIC	Uppark accumulation	Throughout
	Josephine Bowes music	13, 63
	John Bowes music	13, 63
	Cotehele music	13, 63, 113
	Stourhead collection	10, 12, 13, 55, 61, 63, 64, 194
	<i>Songs of Wales</i>	14, 210, 212
	Sydney Living Museums sheet music	11, 13, delete 54
	Versions of <i>Mary Ann</i> , Vaughan Williams Memorial Library	98
DOCUMENTS	Sarah Wells diaries	24, 44, 45, 46, 105, 135, 216
	Lady Edgcumbe’s diary	63, 113
	Emma Cole’s diary	103
	Letters of Brinley Richards	180, 210
INFORMATION	Music publisher records	107

Category	Item	Reference in thesis (page no.)
	Kelly's Directories and Post Office Directory	99
	Probate information	29
	Inventory	6
	Annals	59
	Bank books of Frances Bullock	42, 43
	The Bell, Bugle and Flag	93
EPHEMERA	Bethune family ancestry	59
	Concert programme of Brinley Richards' music	182
	Horace Brightwell papers	48
	Harting School Logbook	43
	Hunt records	30
	Milford research papers	109
	Peterborough image	104
	Scrap book	44

The most significant primary source for this study was the music found at Uppark, as this is the foundation of this study. Although there are over 500 scores/part-scores in this accumulation, my work was limited to those scores which could be clearly identified as belonging to a person who had lived at the house. The qualification to this was that I made an assumption that the music at Uppark composed by Brinley Richards, in itself a primary source, had belonged to Frances Bullock, even though not all of these copies carry her name. Having made these decisions about my sources, I pursued the strategy of 'an item-level description, de facto description ... the benefits to the researcher in the finer level of detail and better-quality metadata provided are immeasurable.'<sup>36</sup> I had explored the music collection of Lady Alda Hoare at Stourhead in this way, and likewise with music found at Goodwood House, Chatsworth, Cotehele, and that belonging to Josephine Bowes and John Bowes (separate collections) now at the Bowes Museum. Although the reliability of a printed score in relation to the composer's original continues to be a provocative issue, my study for 'The Arrangement to Play' is founded on, and grounded in, the information adduced from the Uppark scores. I consulted additional scores, which constituted primary sources, at the British Library, Cecil Sharp House, Sydney Living

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<sup>36</sup> Adriana P. Cuervo and Eric J. Harbeson. "Not Just Sheet Music: Describing Print and Manuscript Music in Archives and Special Collections." *Archival Issues* 33/1 (2011): 46, accessed February 14, 2019, [https://scholar.colorado.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=amrc\\_facpapers](https://scholar.colorado.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=amrc_facpapers).

Museums (digital copies) and *What's the Score*, a digital Victorian music collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University. I also looked at a print copy of the 'Songs of Wales' by Brinley Richards, dated 1873, the first year of publication. These various sources were supplemental to the Uppark scores, at times contributing to the interrogation of the music.

I looked at primary source documents for assistance with contemporary information about events. Sarah Wells' diary with entries of only a few words, probably reflecting her level of literacy, provides information about what she elected to record about life at Uppark. Her writing does not amount to a narrative, rather a record of the more humdrum events, such as servants coming and going, the weather, some references to Frances Bullock's activities. Her motivation for keeping a diary is unknown and the likelihood of personally distorted views has to be high. Nevertheless, this is a contemporaneous account which adds to the perspectives on life at Uppark. The diaries of Lady Edgumbe and Emma Cole provided more insight into the writers' feelings and understanding, including with regard to music. On the one hand their perspectives might be viewed as limited, but alternatively they provide 'real' sources of information.

The letters written by Brinley Richards have to be read bearing in mind his situation, namely that 'Musicians had to advance themselves with the kind of self-promotion and manipulation of a market through social networks that is essential to entrepreneurial activity'.<sup>37</sup> He wrote these letters expecting that only he and the recipient would read them, so whatever the bias, they reveal something of his activities and intentions, and give a fuller picture of how he conducted his life. A similar enlivening of Uppark and the residents is gained by reference to other documents, such as hunting records, the Brightwell Papers, the Harting School Logbook. More intentionally factual is the information conveyed by the stock books of music publishers, the records of probate and Kelly's Directories.

Other primary sources may be described as ephemera, that is to say 'primary source materials that are often associated with temporary or short-lived use in everyday life, such as cards, tickets, and labels, but can also include documents that are meant to be saved, like banknotes and marriage certificates. Generally, ephemera are primary sources that are incidental,

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<sup>37</sup> William Weber, "The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700-1914," in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 11.

transient, and unselfconscious ... the category can also include digital ephemera.<sup>38</sup> The items in the list of primary sources are embraced within this definition and provide additional detail for this enquiry. Not to be overlooked are the primary sources included within the many newspaper commentaries and journal items I consulted, numbers of which fulfil the definition of 'primary source' as they 'provide first hand testimony or direct evidence concerning a topic or question under investigation. They are usually created by witnesses or recorders who experienced the events or conditions being documented. Often these sources are created at the time when the events or conditions are occurring, such as the commentaries and reviews of concerts and compositions looked at in connection with this study.'<sup>39</sup> 'British history online' and 'History of parliament online' also have subject matter meeting such criteria.

### **The enquiry**

It is quiet in the south-facing attic, on the top floor of the house, with no interruption from the distant murmur of visitors to the house. Starting in spring 2012, it takes more than several days to compile the complete database of this previously unsorted treasure trove of Victorian sheet music, later to be subject to analysis, review and discussion of its content and profile. The bland cardboard box of sheet music at Uppark house belies the evocative narrative of the contents, which provide an account of the acquisition of music scores and the diversity of their attributes over the long nineteenth century, in this country house which Gervase Jackson-Stops suggests 'has the feeling of a giant doll's house, but what is unusual is its site high up on the South Downs offering an incomparable view in clear weather to the blue ribbon of the English Channel, with the Isle of Wight beyond'.<sup>40</sup> After the early years of the nineteenth century, the house did not retain the status suggested by the splendour of this view, its association with royalty, and indeed the rare eighteenth-century doll's house, but did retain its sheet music, seemingly all originating from the house rather than brought in.<sup>41</sup> Consideration of the material dimensions of the music - titles, composers, musical forms, directions and annotations - invites engagement with the associated people. Such scrutiny involves more detailed investigation of the role, function, value

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<sup>38</sup> *Ephemera*, Yale University Library Research Guides, accessed February 15, 2019, <https://primarysources.yale.edu/types-formats#ephemera>.

<sup>39</sup> *Primary sources*, Yale University Library Research Guides, accessed February 14, 2019, <https://primarysources.yale.edu>.

<sup>40</sup> Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House, a Grand Tour* (London: Phoenix Illustrated, 1998), 26.

<sup>41</sup> Dating from between 1735 and 1740 the doll's house at Uppark has been described as one the two most important British doll's houses that have survived from that era. The doll's house was built for the Lethieullier family and was brought to Uppark in 1746 by Sarah Lethieullier on her marriage to Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh.

base and performance of the music, harnessing together the musical and social aspects through the medium of the score.<sup>42</sup>

This approach is usefully taken forward in the concept of 'musicking', coined by Christopher Small who defines this conceptual tool as 'To music is to take part, in any capacity [my underlining], in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.'<sup>43</sup> He suggests that 'Using the concept of musicking as a human encounter, we can ask the wider and more interesting question: *What does it mean when this performance (of this work) takes place at this time, in this place, with these participants?* Or to put it more simply, we can ask of the performance, any performance anywhere and at any time, *What's really going on here?*'<sup>44</sup> Small develops his concept of musicking by explaining that 'If we widen the circle of our attention to take in the entire set of relationships that constitutes a performance, we shall see that music's primary meanings are not individual at all but social. Those social meanings.... are fundamental to an understanding of the activity that is called music'.<sup>45</sup> This emphasis moves domestic repertoire away from a position as the subject of passive listening, to perceiving the music scores as dynamic entities which both afford performance experiences and are agents of sociability. Domestic repertoire performance therefore encompassed a number of social aspects, whether the individual was playing at home alone, or in a more overtly social situation. The Book of Etiquette sets out the arrangements for domestic performances:

If you are a musician, and certain that you will confer pleasure by a display of your talents, do not make a show of reluctance when invited to play or sing. Comply gracefully, and after one piece, leave the instrument. Be careful to avoid the appearance of wishing to be invited, and, above all, never hint that this would be agreeable. If your hostess has requested you to bring your notes, and you are dependent upon them, bring them, and quietly place them on the music stand or, still better, send them in the afternoon. It is a better plan, if you are called upon frequently to contribute in this way to the evening's amusement, to learn a few pieces so as to play them perfectly well without notes. Never attempt any piece before company, unless you are certain that you can play it without mistake or hesitation. When you have finished your song or piece, rise

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<sup>42</sup> This is informed by the social interaction perspective, framed by Hall as 'the cluster of approaches that focus on meaning, action, symbols, and the interactive, unfolding and historically contingent character of social life'. John R. Hall, "Social Interaction, Culture and Historical Studies," in *Symbolic Interaction and Cultural Studies*, ed. Howard S. Becker and Michael M. McCall (University of Chicago Press, 2009), 17.

<sup>43</sup> 'Musicking ... is the present participle or gerund, of the verb *to music*'. Christopher Small, "Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening," (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press for the University Press of New England, 1998), 9.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

instantly from the piano stool, as your hostess may wish to invite another guest to take the place. If you have a reason for declining to play, do so decidedly when first invited, and do not change your decision.<sup>46</sup>

Whilst a young nineteenth-century woman might have felt that these explicit arrangements to ensure that domestic performance is socially appropriate overshadowed the music she was to play, this study is primarily concerned with identifying and understanding the content of the Uppark music, whilst employing an interactive reading of the music scores, which encompasses music and 'the social' together rather than in separate domains.<sup>47</sup> The methodological approach to the analysis was to test a more detailed and nuanced approach, utilising a plurality of reference points, to identify both the social-political relevance of the sheet music and its role as a social conduit to participation in 'society's conversation'. This would provide a much more detailed and informative profile of the Uppark collection, compared with, for example, a restrictive categorization of the music only on the grounds of whether or not it is 'in the canon'; or an analysis which is limited to the types of music in a collection and whether instrumental or vocal. The case studies of the music of Frances Bullock, and the compositions and career of Brinley Richards, are both derived from this foundation analysis of the complete Uppark music.

### **The content**

Chapter 1 is concerned with the people who lived at Uppark, and in relation to them explores the process of 'arranging'/developing the house and features of these changes within and without the building; and as well considers the preserved character of Uppark from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, under the ownership of Lady Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh and then her sister, Frances Bullock. The background to music at Uppark music is examined with reference to the different gender arrangements for musical experiences illustrated by the residents at the house; and the trajectory of musical activities is traced through the women who lived there and their associations with music. The content of this chapter is framed by contrasts, a recurring feature of the history of Uppark and its residents: a house that is grand yet fading; rooms displaying art treasures with finesse of taste, alongside the sparsely appointed bedroom occupied by Frances Bullock; the home of aristocracy, but then owned by a socially mobile poulterer's daughter; contrasting music scores and performances. Anomalies are a feature of the cultural life of this

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<sup>46</sup> Hartley, *Ladies Book of Etiquette*, 56-7.

<sup>47</sup> DeNora develops this approach, looking at 'music as a manifestation of the social, and the social, likewise, a manifestation of music'. Tia DeNora, *After Adorno: Rethinking Music Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 151.

house, whose history demonstrates how it was beholden to, yet challenged, the culture of the aristocracy.

Chapter 2 examines all the musical scores extant at Uppark today. The chapter includes an initial description and a discussion of the activities of 'accumulation' and 'collection'. A review of other studies of domestic repertoire from various perspectives provides the underpinnings for a more detailed consideration of the profile and content of the music scores. This analysis seeks to categorise the span of musical compositions and performance opportunities provided by the instrumental and vocal sheet music; and to look at, in the broadest sense, how and why the music was acquired and performed at home, with reference to the relevant social arrangements. The centrality of musical arrangements to this domestic repertoire is reviewed, along with discussion of the various sources of these arrangements. The socially constructed gender demarcation which determined the 'arrangement' of nineteenth-century composition is discussed in relation to the Uppark domestic repertoire, as is the evidence from the sheet music of metropolitan and European musical cultures. Perhaps the most fundamental changes of arrangements in relation to sheet music were the impact of the industrialised process of music production, and changes in the music marketplace (not least because of transport developments), both of which link in with some discussion of retailing and domestic repertoire.

Chapter 3 is a more detailed review of one segment of Uppark's holdings, the music of Frances Bullock, which provides a substantial profile of an extant Victorian domestic music accumulation belonging to one woman, serving for later comparison with others, in order to understand more accurately what music was being acquired and performed in the homes of nineteenth-century aristocratic women. The analysis of the music owned by Frances Bullock provides a detailed account of her different categories of music, with references to performance. This analysis enables questioning of the gender constructs and imagery conveyed by the music, in consequence of essentially socially structured arrangements; and also discussion of the issue of composer nationality. The proportion of arrangements compared with original works in Frances Bullock's music is examined; and the role of the arrangement as a musical type, along with its social ramifications, are discussed, as is the growth of popular music and how that is represented in her collection. Finally, the concept and practice of gifting as represented in this music is considered, with particular reference to its relevance for social status.

Chapter 4 is a case study of the compositions and musical career of Brinley Richards, composer of over 30 pieces in Frances Bullock's collection. His compositional output and career achievements are examined with reference to the arrangements – musical, social and financial - which framed his life and rested on how he expedited the acquisition and use of different sorts of capital (i.e. cultural, social and economic capital as defined by Pierre Bourdieu) in different ways, not least with regard to his prolific output of piano arrangements. Further social patterns, reflecting social arrangements, are revealed in the contrasting relationships with domestic repertoire of producer and consumer within acquaintanceship, and the transacted relationships of composer and dedicatees.

## The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Introduction

## Chapter 1 The House and its People

Martin Drury's continuing (from the Introduction) description of Uppark suggests that

From outside Uppark has the simple charm and symmetry of a dolls' house, and yet the beauty of its interiors and the quality of the works of art they contain rival those in many more famous houses.<sup>1</sup>

Drury's portrayal of Uppark evinces contrast as a feature of some aspects of the property, and that same characteristic is likewise instanced in aspects of the lives of its residents. A review of the development of the house, and of the lives of its owners and their involvement with music, elicits contrasting episodes in the history of Uppark and its people. It also informs us about the context of the Uppark sheet music, and the situations of the owners of this domestic repertoire.

### 1.1 The Owners of Uppark

Uppark is not associated with a resident family of several generations. It was purchased by Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh in the mid eighteenth century, inherited in 1774 by his son Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh, then in 1846 when he died by his widow Mary Ann, and subsequently by her sister, Frances Bullock. In the absence of a Fetherstonhaugh heir when she died in 1895, Frances Bullock bequeathed the house and estate to Colonel Keith Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh. It subsequently passed in 1930 to Admiral Sir Herbert Meade, as Frances Bullock had directed, and in 1954 it was given to the National Trust.

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Drury, "Introduction", in Margaret Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Oliver Warner, *Uppark and Its People* (London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd., 1995), iv.

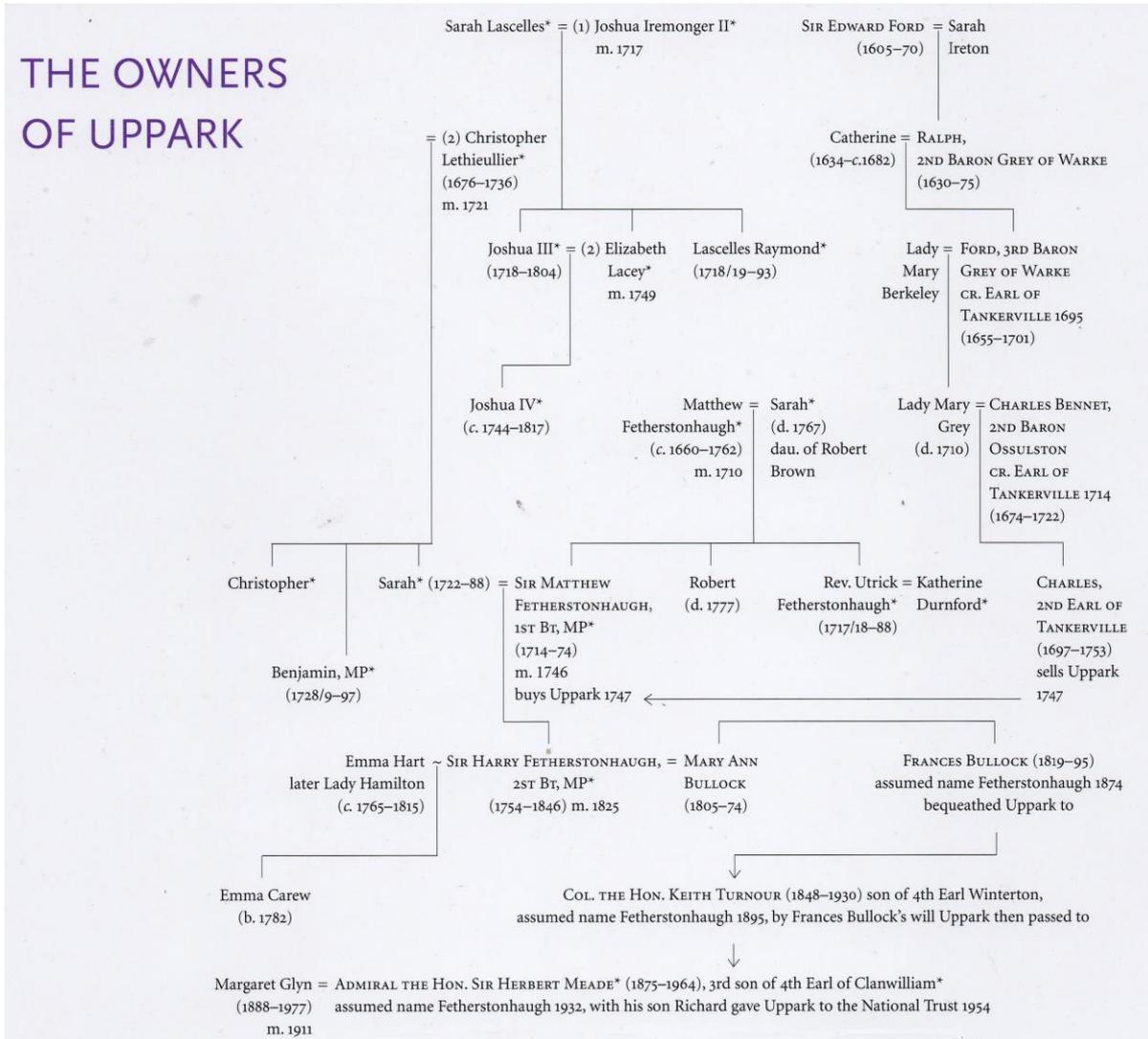


IMAGE 1-1. THE OWNERS OF UPPARK. UPPARK GUIDEBOOK (2011), INSIDE FRONT COVER.

The absence of a family line, the lack of extended Fetherstonhaugh family, and the four decades between the death of Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh's mother, Sarah Lethieullier, and the arrival at Uppark of his wife Mary Ann (whom he married in 1825), contribute to the relevance of the description of the Uppark sheet music as 'music of the house', rather than of kinsfolk. The lack of any distinct family 'cultural shaping' to this collection, with its various owners, underlines their residence at the house as a consistent factor in relation to the Uppark accumulation.

Mark Girouard, when considering the role and function of the country house, wrote: 'What were country houses for? They were not originally, whatever they may be now, just large houses in the country in which rich people lived. Essentially they were power houses – the houses of a ruling class...basically people did not live in country houses unless they either possessed

power...or...were making a bid to possess it.'<sup>2</sup> A different social class was introduced to the ownership of Uppark through Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh's marriage to a poultry keeper's daughter, Mary Ann Bullock who was fifty years his junior; and the arrival of Frances Bullock, her younger sister, as a permanent resident at the house. The Bullock sisters do not appear to have overtly engaged with the power that they gained through their achieved status, perhaps not surprising given their socialisation and the general position of women in the nineteenth century. Both had experienced the established female gendering of the earlier nineteenth century, but nevertheless undertook, and succeeded (by all accounts) in managing Uppark and its estate. In this way, their inheritance provoked what Robert Shoemaker describes as the masculine activity of estate management, effecting the transition from the role of subordinate woman to a patriarchal position.<sup>3</sup> Katherine Hodgkin (with reference to a situation some many decades previously) explains this in terms of 'class location came to take precedence over [her] gender. This was not directly due to her economic status ... so much as the type of power she chose to exercise', meaning by this the direct management each Bullock sister took of Uppark.<sup>4</sup> Shoemaker maintains that only the wealthiest single women were able to prosper, because they had the economic resource to do so, notwithstanding the distrust they might experience because they were not under the authority of a male household head.<sup>5</sup>

The demonstration of power was an ever-present component of aristocratic country house living, both in respect of the property and its periodic re-modelling and extension; and as regards daily living and social interaction, which were governed usually by unwritten codes assimilated as a child and endorsed in adolescence. Both Lady Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh, and possibly Frances Bullock to a lesser extent, were disadvantaged in terms of growing up with, and growing into, the aristocratic behaviours and codes. Girouard comments that 'The elaborate code of behaviour designed by the Victorian upper classes was partly a defensive sieve or initiatory rite, designed to keep out the wrong people' and these two women without doubt started their lives at Uppark, the one a wife and the other her child sister, as 'wrong people', without any status.<sup>6</sup> Recognition

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<sup>2</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Robert B. Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 138.

<sup>4</sup> Katherine Hodgkin, "The Diary of Lady Anne Clifford: A Study of Class and Gender in the Seventeenth Century," *History Workshop Journal* 19 (1985), 155, accessed April 13, 2018, <https://academic.oup.com/hwj/article-abstract/19/1/148/573843>.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Shoemaker, *Gender in English Society, 1650-1850: The Emergence of Separate Spheres?* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 143-44.

<sup>6</sup> Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, 268.

of their social unacceptability is voiced by H.G. Wells: 'Queen Victoria and Society never took very eagerly to this belated Lady Fetherstonhaugh, nobody married Miss Bullock, and Sir Harry being duly interred, the three ladies [Miss Sutherland, reputedly the illegitimate daughter of Sir Harry, was the third] led a spacious dully comfortable life between Uppark and Claridge's.<sup>7</sup> This relatively unprepossessing and conservative lifestyle, provoked comment in a diary entry by Sarah Wells (then housekeeper, and mother of H.G. Wells) in 1848 ' ... I thought them all very quaint odd people here ... very nice, I got gradually used to them. The place is pretty and the house large also the grounds here is some pretty tapestry and a beautiful park with deer.'<sup>8</sup>



IMAGE 1-2. SARAH WELLS, HOUSEKEEPER AT UPPARK. N.T.

H.G. Wells echoed his mother's view regarding the lack of convention of the Uppark residents, when he reflected that 'the place [Uppark] had a great effect on me; it retained a vitality that altogether overshadowed the insignificant ebbing trickle of upstairs life, the two elderly ladies in the parlour following their shrunken routines...'<sup>9</sup> The significance of the house rather than the occupants seems uppermost in these commentaries, possibly because the successive chatelaines made no stylish exhibition of their power. However, as we will see, Wells' assessment of the lack of social connection or notice is belied by closer examination of musical networks revealed by Uppark's scores.

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<sup>7</sup> H.G. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography, Volume 1* (London: Faber & Faber, 1934), 52-3.

<sup>8</sup> Sarah Wells, *Diaries*, no.WSRO (1850-).

<sup>9</sup> Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, 137.

## 1.2 The House

It was towards the end of the sixteenth century that the first house was built at Uppark; and around 1690 it was rebuilt by Ford Grey (1655-1701), the 1st Earl of Tankerville, who is described as ‘...a more colourful character than the sober restraint of Uppark would suggest. He was both its most important and its most unscrupulous inhabitant.’<sup>10</sup> The rebuilding was in the later seventeenth century Anglo-Dutch style, and the house as it presented then and now is described by Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin as ‘Like other houses of its type, Uppark has the feeling of a giant’s doll’s house...the elevations of the house are simplicity itself...an archetype of the late Stuart house...where gracefulness is identified with usefulness in what has been called an architecture that neither deceives nor declaims’.<sup>11</sup> The exterior of the house has remained unchanged to the present day, although there were extensive internal revisions during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The driveway was re-routed from the original eastern approach to the house, to the north facing, unpretentious entrance, denying the visitor the initial striking view wherein the intimacy of the house and gardens are brought into relief by the wide and sweeping downland surroundings.<sup>12</sup>



IMAGE 1-3. UPPARK, NORTH ENTRANCE. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR).

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<sup>10</sup> National Trust, *Uppark* (2002), 10.

<sup>11</sup> Jackson-Stops, *The English Country House*, 26.

<sup>12</sup> This alteration, one of several, was instigated by Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, and created the saloon as a room rather than the formal entrance hall to Uppark. ‘Saloon’ is an older version of the word ‘salon’ and describes what is usually the largest and grandest room in the house, as illustrated at Uppark.

In 1747 Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh (1714-1774), whose family owned Fetherstonhaugh Castle in Northumberland, bought Uppark. His wife was Sarah Lethieullier (1725-88) from a rich, cultivated, artistic and extensive family of Huguenot origin. Sir Matthew was responsible for extensive interior alterations at Uppark, employing James Paine as architect who utilised the English Palladian and Rococo styles in the decorations and furnishings of the house. These extensive alterations on the ground floor 'created an interior of singular beauty – though at the cost of reducing the bedrooms above it to mere garrets with their windows at floor level.'<sup>13</sup> Gervase Jackson-Stops describes the saloon at Uppark as 'one of the most hauntingly beautiful rooms of its date. The covered ceiling, achieved by raising the floor level of the rooms above, has delicate plasterwork in the Adam manner though still with a Rococo lightness of touch characteristic of the architect James Paine's later manner.'<sup>14</sup> The piano (which was destroyed in the extensive fire damage in August 1989, and for which there is no record) is thought to have been in the saloon. (There is no reference to any space having been set aside at Uppark for a music room). This is also the room where Repton placed two bookcases on the north wall, providing a place to display bound music, if there were such at Uppark.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>15</sup> Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh owned a comprehensive library, but there appears never to have been a library room as such as Uppark, a view supported by H.G. Wells, who when discussing his time spent as a child at Uppark (where his mother was housekeeper), writes that 'the rooms downstairs abounded in bold and enlightening books'. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, 137.

It is very likely that music was amongst the items destroyed by the fire in 1989, given that much of the historic and family contents of the house were lost, particularly the pictures, furniture, and textiles which were housed on the first floor; and the privately-owned collection of documents in the Muniment Room was destroyed in the fire.



IMAGE 1-4. THE SALOON AT UPPARK. N.T.

On his father's death in 1774, Uppark was inherited by his only child, Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh (1754-1846), then 20 years old. Sir Harry's extravagant and indulgent society lifestyle marked his early adulthood, as did his infamous liaison with Emma Hamilton (later, the paramour of Lord Nelson).<sup>16</sup> Later, at the age of 70, he married his dairymaid, aged 20, contravening prevailing élite expectations regarding matrimony and social class. His artistic tastes were exhibited in the choices of French furniture, porcelain and fittings found at Uppark, which he discovered on this and subsequent visits to France, as well as sixteenth century German silver. It was not until the

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<sup>16</sup> The essential features of the relationship between Emma Hamilton and Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh are outlined in the following quotes, each of which is amplified within the original sources. 'In 1781, young, healthy and blooming, Emma ... was sixteen years old. Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh whipped her off as his mistress and utterly changed her prospects. ... Fetherstonhaugh was a witless playboy ... who betrayed Emma. He made her pregnant, got tired of her, turned her out, gave her no money and ignored her pleading letters'. Vic Gatrell, "Sexual Exploitation and the Lure of London," in Quentin Colville and Kate Williams, eds., *Emma Hamilton Seduction Celebrity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2016), 59. 'While at Uppark or in its neighbourhood, Emma made herself thoroughly agreeable to Sir Harry and his friends, and as her stay lasted nearly a year, there were no doubt occasions when, in the absence of Lady Fetherstonhaugh [Sir Harry's mother], she may have graced the house itself. She may even have danced on the dining room table, as tradition maintains, though whether or not in a state of nature will never be known'. Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 53.

second decade of the nineteenth century, when he elected for a more staid middle age, that he instigated some changes in the house design, less grandiose than those his father had steered, and overseen by Humphry Repton. Repton produced a Red Book (1810) containing details and water-colour drawings of both his work in the house and in the grounds, where he developed – with some emphasis on Rococo elements - the detail of work previously commissioned from Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown by Sir Matthew. Further improvements continued from time to time until Sir Harry’s death in 1846, since when the house has remained structurally as it is today, further to the complete restoration after the devastating fire in 1989.

In contrast with the developments in the house by the (original) Fetherstonhaugh family, the ensuing five decades when Uppark was owned and managed by Mary Ann, Sir Harry’s wife, and subsequently (from 1874) by her sister, Frances Bullock, saw little change. This period has been described by Margaret Meade-Fetherstonhaugh as ‘a long Victorian afternoon ... [Uppark] survived untouched, a sleeping beauty house, unscathed by regrettable Victorian alterations’ although it was subject to some internal redecoration and painting during the later nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> The two sisters appear to have intentionally maintained the house and the estate as they were during Sir Harry’s life. The twentieth century owners maintained and sought to conserve Uppark as it was, save that Colonel Keith Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh relocated the kitchens, which had been accessed by tunnels, to the basement of the main house. Lady Meade-Fetherstonhaugh very actively worked on the restoration and preservation of Uppark’s interiors, rejuvenating the original textiles and wallpapers.<sup>18</sup> In 1954 the house was given to the National Trust.

The wealth of developments and artistic embellishment of the property in respect of interior design, furniture, fittings, paintings and acquisition of objects d’art, as progressed by Sir Matthew and Sir Harry, notably contrasts with the inactivity in these respects of its female owners. Although the qualities of the house as described by Martin Drury were not lost, from the mid-nineteenth century it entered a more static period. Conjecture could be that this was because both Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh and Frances Bullock expected only to maintain, rather than effect change in, their inheritance, since they were very committed to maintaining the house as it had been when Sir Harry was alive. And perhaps, being women still shaped by their familial-cultural origins, they did not have the expectation or cultural vision to make further changes.

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<sup>17</sup> Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 99.

<sup>18</sup> Trust, *Uppark*, 30.

It seems unlikely that they were financially restricted, since the probate record for Frances Bullock values her estate in June 1895 at £82,331 13s 11d.<sup>19</sup>

### 1.3 The People at Uppark and their Music

**Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh, creative display (1714-1774)**



IMAGE 1-5. SIR MATTHEW FETHERSTONHAUGH. N.T.

A further contrast in the Uppark narrative is that of the vibrancy and social situation of Uppark through the years of ownership of the Earl of Tankerville, then Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh and the early period following Sir Harry's inheritance of Uppark, compared with his later years and the years of gynocentric ownership and management of the house and estate. Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh and his wife Sarah brought wealth and a rich family cultural heritage to Uppark

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<sup>19</sup> Probate information, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966, 1973-1995, accessed December 26, 2016, [https://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?qh=gU8fr3rgqVQajPJ3Do7wHA%3D%3D&db=UKProbateCal&gss=sfs28\\_ms\\_db&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Frances%20&gsfn\\_x=1&gsln=Fetherstonhaugh&gsln\\_x=1&msddm=6&msddy=1895&msdpn\\_\\_ftp=West%20Sussex%2C%20England&msdpn=5287&MSAV=1&uidh=af2](https://search.ancestry.co.uk/cgi-bin/sse.dll?qh=gU8fr3rgqVQajPJ3Do7wHA%3D%3D&db=UKProbateCal&gss=sfs28_ms_db&new=1&rank=1&msT=1&gsfn=Frances%20&gsfn_x=1&gsln=Fetherstonhaugh&gsln_x=1&msddm=6&msddy=1895&msdpn__ftp=West%20Sussex%2C%20England&msdpn=5287&MSAV=1&uidh=af2).

This amount now is worth in the region of £6.5 million, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result>, accessed April 4, 2018.

when they married in 1746 and moved to Sussex in 1747. Sir Matthew was a rich man and prolific spender, enjoying an affluent and gregarious life style in spite of his poor health. He was a keen collector of paintings, particularly when he, Sarah and others spent two years (1749-1751) travelling in Europe, during which time he commissioned portraits and pictures from Batoni, (who by 1760 had become the most famous portrait painter in Italy and was much in demand from English sitters), copies by Canaletto of views of Venice, and views of Naples by Ruiz.

The only source of information regarding any musical activity of Sir Matthew is in his account book, which includes two entries for the year 1746, 'For French Horns £6.8.0. Musik 5/-'.<sup>20</sup> Whilst nothing more is known about the 'Musik', evidence of the use of French horns in connection with the Old Charlton Hunt is found in the account by Morley-Pegge of the history of the French horn, where it is cited as a symbol of the English aristocracy, for use in hunting and open-air entertainment. Morley-Pegge comments that 'in the field the use of the French horn was normally confined to stag hunting, but at least one pack of foxhounds, the Old Charlton, carried it on their establishment'.<sup>21</sup> It seems likely that Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh's expenditure on French horns was part of a continuing arrangement in relation to the Old Charlton hunt between Uppark and its neighbour, Goodwood.<sup>22</sup>

There are only scant additional references to music at Uppark during the eighteenth century. In *Uppark and its People* there is a comment that 'The Pianoforte and the old Opera scores are still at Uppark to recall those times' indicating that when this book was written in the 1960s, such music was in the house, but probably destroyed by the fire in 1989.<sup>23</sup> Now the most informative source about music making at Uppark is the collection of sheet music. However, a vignette of

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<sup>20</sup> Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 32.

<sup>21</sup> By the end of the seventeenth century, the hooped hunting horn – originally from Germany and a development of the 'natural' horn in that it was wound twice in a large hoop - had become established in England as the 'French horn'. 'It is doubtful if in England French horns were ever used, as they were in France, in the actual course of the chase. It seems more likely that their function was confined to the enlivenment of the company at the meet and to welcome them back'. R. Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of Its Technique* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1973), 19.

<sup>22</sup> In 1729 the Earl of Tankerville (then owner of Uppark) and the Duke of Richmond (at Goodwood) made a legal agreement that they would together keep a pack of hounds. One of the terms of the agreement was that the Earl of Tankerville had to pay 'all other Contingent Expenses whatsoever relating thereto' [i.e. hunting]. An entry records 'Uppark bills' as £66 5s 4d. The Expense of the Hunt 1745, 1746, ETC., in Earl of March, *Records of the Old Charlton Hunt* (London: Elkin Matthews, 1930), accessed May 11, 2014, <https://archive.org/stream/recordsofoldchar00marc#page/n7/mode/2up>.

<sup>23</sup> Margaret Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Oliver Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 1995 ed. (London: National Trust Enterprises Ltd., 1995), 59.

musical activity emerges from a letter penned by Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh's cousin, whose family lived in Wiltshire. Miss Iremonger, niece of Lady Fetherstonhaugh, frequently stayed at Uppark, and in a letter dated July 15, 1786, to a friend, Miss Heber of Weston, she wrote:

...Mr Savile [who was visiting Uppark] is engaged to Miss Willoughby, Daughter of Lord Middleton. At present He meets with obstructions but lives upon Hopes, & I wish they may answer. His Taste for Musick continues & he has brought here with him Signor Soderini, one of the Principal Violin Players from the Opera, to instruct him, so that every evening my Pianoforte takes its share with the two Violins, & we form a Concert which I think a delightful rational amusement.<sup>24</sup>

Richard Leppert explains that 'the musical education of the English upper classes marked the starting point for music's participation in the on-going reproduction of society', so Mr Savile's music tuition at Uppark by a private teacher was not unusual.<sup>25</sup> Probably Mr Savile (Richard Lumley-Saunders, 6th Earl of Scarborough, 1757–1832) commenced music tuition as an adolescent, given Miss Heber's comment 'His Taste for Musick continues', as an 'optional extra' in terms of desired curriculum, coming behind the acquisition of skills in drawing and dancing. Leppert suggests that, although Italian music teachers were the most sought after, they 'were viewed with suspicion as so much foreign rabble'.<sup>26</sup> However, the music teacher's social position was in reality unclear, given his professional capacities and mode of behaviours (always appropriate to his elite clientele) which determined his acceptance into aristocratic households, yet as Leppert points out 'His class standing was thus considerably blurred, which in a society of highly articulated class differentiation constituted a social threat by its very inexactness'.<sup>27</sup> Signor Soderini's position as an orchestral player, as well as a teacher, was a usual practice, particularly as his financial return from teaching activity was never guaranteed.<sup>28</sup> The not uncommon

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<sup>24</sup> Francis Bamford, *Dear Miss Heber, an Eighteenth Century Correspondence; with Introductions by Georgia & Sacheverell Sitwell* (London: Constable, Orange Street, London, 1936), 19.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 69.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>28</sup> Signor Soderini was a member of the King's Theatre Opera Company when Giardini was in charge, a situation confirmed by Michael Kelly in his reminiscences of 1826: "... I dined with Signor Bagliona and Senor Soderini who had just returned from England where he had been for several years one of the violin players at the Opera House, while Giardini was leader. He [Soderini] was one of the ugliest men I ever saw'.

*Reminiscences of Michael Kelly, of the King's Theatre, and Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Including a Period of Nearly Half a Century, with Original Anecdotes of Many Distinguished Persons, Political, Literary, and Musical Second Edition* (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 108,  
<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=tixTAAAcAAJ&pg=PA103&lpg=PA103&dq=signor+soderini&source=bl&ots=92R6QUo4AG&sig=8cEOewfakYHYpWQ7voqq7oAVCgE&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewj0gumm5LrMAhXD5xoKHamnDqkQ6AEIjAB#v=onepage&q='signor%20soderini'&f=false>, accessed February 5, 2016.

degrading attitude expressed in England towards foreign teachers, and the demands that were made of them (travelling to Uppark might have been seen as such by Mr Soderini) were tolerated in order to acquire work. Mr Soderini is included in the evening ensemble music making, an example of his uncertain social status as he moves between the roles of servant (to an aristocrat), teacher (realizing 'power' through his delivery of musical skills) and musical/social companion to the upper class woman and man, albeit Miss Heber would fulfil the expected role of accompanist (and developed her keyboard skills to ensure she could do this). It would have been entirely the cultural norm of the upper class for Miss Heber to explain that 'my Pianoforte takes its share with the two Violins' for as a woman it was her place to accompany men – who would have played violins or flutes, but not keyboard. In this way, musical culture reflected social constructions, defined by Temperley as 'a rigid sexual distinction'.<sup>29</sup> As for the music which was played by these three visitors to Uppark, it might have included piano sonatas – which often were published with accompaniments *ad libitum* for violin, flute or cello, sonata-duos and piano trios, all of these being ensemble compositions with much doubling of parts and 'filling in'. Lighter opera transcriptions – increasingly popular from the end of the eighteenth century - might also have been played, scored for piano with or without other instruments.

Over 200 years after Miss Heber wrote her narrative about these occasions when she participated in music making at Uppark, it can be only guesswork as to whether the ensemble playing she enjoyed was 'private musicking for its own sake' or (sometimes), again as Bashford describes, 'domestic music took place with a few listening bystanders, or [when it] developed spontaneously into a "play-through' to other members of a household or social gathering', which in effect was a semi-public situation.<sup>30</sup> Whichever of these types of performance, Miss Heber's words, 'we form a Concert which I think a delightful rational amusement', express both her sentiment of pleasure about this combined musical and social activity, and her evaluation of it as 'rational'. Aligning this word with 'amusement' suggests that her understanding of rational was based on the Idea of 'rational recreation' as an activity that is experienced as essentially 'controlled, ordered and improving' by the individual, to which description Hugh Cunningham adds the comment that 'So much of what passed under the name of rational recreation seemed dry and lifeless; it might civilise but it would not inspire. Music, however, was not only rational

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<sup>29</sup> Temperley, "Domestic Music in England," 35.

<sup>30</sup> Christina Bashford, "Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 63, no. 2 (2010), 304.

but it had that inspirational quality'.<sup>31</sup> Such activity (which should be brisk and purposeful in order to avoid any moral temptations) fostered self-improvement and self-enrichment, seen as important features of sound living. This moral underpinning of aesthetic and social behaviour both permitted and entirely condoned the musicking of Miss Heber, and many other performers.<sup>32</sup>

**Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh, exuberant extravagance (1754-1846)**



IMAGE 1-6. SIR HARRY FETHERSTONHAUGH. N.T.

Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh was born into the aristocracy and educated at Eton and Oxford. He was described as 'the greatest goose that ever existed' by a prospective visitor to Uppark, but his flamboyant and costly lifestyle as a younger, single man concerned with entertaining, mixing with royalty, hunting and expensive living, fulfilled (some) social class expectations. Sir Harry's middle years were characterized by the pursuit of an expensive and dissolute lifestyle 'content with hunting and roystering', moving between Uppark and the family London house in Whitehall

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<sup>31</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, C1780-C1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), 90.

<sup>32</sup> The situation of Miss Heber appears, on the face of it, to be very far removed from early feminist debate: nevertheless, her use of the word 'rational' invites speculation, not least because one of her renown contemporaries, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), expressed her intent through use of that same designation when she expressed her aim in the introduction to her text, *Vindication of the Rights of Women*: 'My own sex I hope will excuse me, if I treat them like rational creatures ... I wish to persuade women to endeavour to acquire strength, both of mind and body.' Such deliberations as these can seem remote from making music in an aristocratic country house; and yet that interlocking of the musical aesthetic and psychological/social ambit is a key to a more complete understanding of what was going on.

(which was sold in 1787).<sup>33</sup> It was during this period that Emma Hamilton, who was resident for less than a year at Uppark (departing some months pregnant), arrived in 1780 to entertain the hunting parties. The status of Emy Lyon (Emma Hamilton's birth name) in the house is variously described along the continuum of 'hostess' to accepted social guest. Her experience of living at Uppark provided a stage for her to cultivate the social ambition she pursued throughout her life, and to use her skills in dramatic performance (she reputedly danced naked on the dining room table after hunting dinners attended by Sir Harry's friends) to gain attention, which she later achieved on many occasions through her display of 'attitudes'.<sup>34</sup>



IMAGE 1-7. LADY EMMA HAMILTON by GEORGE ROMNEY, OIL ON CANVAS, WADDESDON, THE ROTHSCHILD COLLECTION 104.1995.

Uppark also provided the then Emy Lyon with the opportunity to participate in elite sociability with its unspoken codes, and to recognize the value of education, which she addressed throughout her life. This rural 'residency' was socially and culturally significant for her, providing (although she would not have known this at the time) a springboard for her social progress and acclaim through her extravagant and always fashionable lifestyle, celebrity status and renowned liaisons.

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<sup>33</sup> Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 54.

<sup>34</sup> Described as 'inextricably associated with Emma's Italian years from 1786-1800 ... the Attitudes were primarily a form of domestic entertainment, to be performed by wives, daughters and mistresses. Emma's beauty and performativity, exploiting the shawls and draperies she wore through her moves and gestures, were highly regarded'. Kate Williams, *England's Mistress* (London: Hutchinson, 2006), 174.

There is no record of any musical activity by Emma Hamilton when she was at Uppark, but musicking became a continuing part of her life, as illustrated by the bound volumes of song sheets (now at the Beinecke Library, Yale University) she collected over several years and a picture of her playing the piano at Merton (the house which she occupied and Nelson visited, from 1801).<sup>35</sup> Her musical ability was realised from when she was a young girl employed as a maid in the household of Thomas Linley, composer and musical impresario, where she learnt to sing and practise the postures for which she was later famed. When living with Charles Greville, she was educated appropriately as the mistress (he appears not to have intended to marry Emma) of a young nobleman, including tuition in singing and playing the guitar. Some years later, when living with (and later to marry) Sir William Hamilton, as Colville and Williams record, 'Emma's training in Naples was typical for society women of this period ... it included dancing and singing ... she was taught singing by Signor Galluci'.<sup>36</sup> In August 1787, Emma advised that 'Our house at Caserta is all new fitted-up for me – a new room for my master, a musick-room for me'. Caserta was the Hamiltons' winter residence.<sup>37</sup> Her quasi-public performances were praised, as she explained in a letter to Greville, '... when I begun all fear whent awhay, and I sung so well ... I met with such applause, that it almost turned my head'.<sup>38</sup> Such personal report regarding her singing 'was confirmed in correspondence from Naples by visiting nobility, with the description that she 'sang at this concert with infinite taste'.<sup>39</sup>

His tenure as an (albeit inactive) MP from 1782-1796, confirmed Sir Harry's social standing, which was very important to him.<sup>40</sup> His social achievement was particularly marked by the number of occasions that the Prince of Wales (later George IV) visited Uppark during the 1780s and enjoyed hospitality on a lavish scale, particularly good food and hunting. In a letter to her sister written in 1784, Lady Elizabeth Montagu, a well-known and wealthy London society hostess (who also hosted the 'Blue stocking' movement) said:

The Prince of Wales has been at Sir Henry Fetherstone's. He stayed three days, during

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<sup>35</sup> Colville and Williams, eds., *Emma Hamilton Seduction Celebrity*, 205, 239.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>38</sup> Colville and Williams, eds., *Emma Hamilton Seduction Celebrity*, 130.

<sup>39</sup> Comte d'Espinchal, "Journal d'Emigration," (Paris, 1790), 88-89, quoted in Flora Fraser, *Beloved Emma: The Life of Emma, Lady Hamilton*, (2012), [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UjWxNx2XGQ4C&pg=PA1774&dq=emma+hamilton+attitudes&lr=lang\\_en&source=gbs\\_selected\\_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q=emma%20in%20italy&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=UjWxNx2XGQ4C&pg=PA1774&dq=emma+hamilton+attitudes&lr=lang_en&source=gbs_selected_pages&cad=3#v=onepage&q=emma%20in%20italy&f=false).

<sup>40</sup> Institute of Historical Research, "History of Parliament Online," <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/fetherstonhaugh-sir-henry-1754-1846>, accessed September 15, 2014.

which they had races of all sorts, fine horses, ponies, cart-horses, women, and men in sacks, with various other divertimenti fit for children of six foot high. I hear he was much delighted, and said that Newmarket races were dull in comparison. They were within three or four miles of us, but no one except servants went from hence, nor do I find that any ladies of fashion in the town were at them. Poor Lady Fetherstone, Sir Harry's mother, fled from the riot to Mr. Iremonger's.<sup>41</sup>

Sir Harry's relationship with the Prince waned from the 1790s and he 'retired' to the country, where he employed Humphry Repton to manage improvements to the house and garden, and continued to hunt. In middle age, Sir Harry became something of a recluse, and both his wife Mary Ann, and Frances Bullock, settled into a quiet lifestyle after his death, as the description by Lummis and Marsh indicates - 'the house and its inhabitants declined into elderly, genteel stagnation, at a time of large and swift changes elsewhere'.<sup>42</sup>

There is nothing to suggest that Harry Fetherstonhaugh pursued or supported, in person or financially, any musical activity. However, he seems to have attended opera and ballet performances. In an 1819 letter to his friend, Arthur Paget, he described his choice of musical entertainment during a visit to Paris,

I am much amused in my morning walks, and for the rest of the day till dinner it is only an *embarrass* of choice; the two Operas on alternate nights close the evening, and to anyone who loves Italian Musick, the *Theatre Royal Italian* offers at this moment prodigious allurements, for such a *Company together* has seldom met; Pellegrini is inimitable and the Fodor in high force. The ballets at the Grand Opera are of *course* perfection.<sup>43</sup>

This account of musical pleasures would have met the socially constructed requirements for a man of Sir Harry's status, perpetuating attitudes expressed some decades earlier, but nevertheless still pertinent, as expressed in a letter from Lord Chesterfield to his son in 1749. 'If you love music, hear it: go to operas, concerts and pay fiddlers to play for you; but I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourself. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible

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<sup>41</sup>Institute of Historical Research, "History of Parliament Online," <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/fetherstonhaugh-sir-henry-1754-1846>; Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 57.

<sup>42</sup> Trevor Lummis and Jan Marsh, *The Woman's Domain: Women and the English Country House* (London: Viking, 1990), 134.

<sup>43</sup> Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 93. *Morning Post*, Monday, June 7, 1819, records Sir Harry's return from Paris under the heading 'Fashionable Arrivals'.

<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>, accessed November 5, 2014.

light...few things would mortify me more, than to see you bearing a part in a concert'.<sup>44</sup> The cultivation of music could challenge features of male identity, since it might detract from time and energies devoted to male pursuits such as philosophy, history, sciences, and affairs of state. A more significant detractor was that music making had become feminized, and that professional musicians were perceived as belonging to a lower social order.<sup>45</sup>

**Lady Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh, an unexpected 'lady' (1805-1874)**



IMAGE 1-8. LADY MARY ANN FETHERSTONHAUGH. N.T.

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<sup>44</sup> Philip Dormer Stanhope, "Letters to his Son by the Earl of Chesterfield on the Fine Art of becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman, (letter no. 68)," ed. Oliver H.G. Leigh (New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1930), !:170, in Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity, Ideology and Socio-Cultural Formation in Eighteenth-Century England*, 22.

<sup>45</sup> There were men of the nineteenth century who actively played music, often in the private domestic domain, as illustrated many times in Christina Bashford's exposition "Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain". Equally there were men who energetically supported and funded musical events, such as described by Leena Rana, who found, in respect of Thomas Dyke Acland (1787-1871) and Wilbraham Egerton (1781-1856), that 'Both men used various kinds of public musical activities to demonstrate their charitable nature, when occupying the role of the benevolent landowner.' Leena Asha Rana, "Music and Elite Identity in the English Country House, C.1790-1840" (Ph.D., University of Southampton, 2012), 165, accessed 7 March, 2013, <https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/id/eprint/367018>.

Mary Ann, Lady Fetherstonhaugh (née Bullock), daughter of the Uppark poultry keeper, was a dairymaid at Uppark until she married Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh in September 1825, when she (Mary Ann) was 20 years old and he was 71. Her elevated social status to Lady Fetherstonhaugh, not surprisingly, brought tribulations according to Margaret Meade-Fetherstonhaugh, who reports that the servants at Uppark laughed at the former dairymaid, and that 'County society' initially did not accept her. She writes that 'Sir Harry set about her education. She was sent to Paris. There she learned to read and write a very good hand; she embroidered in wool, and her work is easily recognised, for her taste was highly conventional'.<sup>46</sup> Quite when Lady Mary Ann went to Paris is not known. She was at Uppark in December 1825, and demonstrated a skill of lady aristocrats, namely riding, as confirmed by a report in the *Morning Post* that 'The shooting party at Uppark has had fine sport. They killed in five days, nearly one thousand head of game, with only five guns ... Lady Fetherstonhaugh came on horseback to see the sport'.<sup>47</sup>

Lady Mary Ann's time as mistress and manager of Uppark is not chronicled. It appears to have been quietly conventional as she maintained the status quo of life at the house and on the estate, employing a retinue of servants and 203 labourers. Both she and Frances Bullock continued Sir Harry's tradition of hospitality with winter hunting parties. She continued with charitable work in the village of South Harting, about a mile from Uppark, and gave generous gifts to villagers at Christmas time. She restored the village church and took an interest in the village school which she and Sir Harry had founded. Lady Mary Ann's 'good works' are commemorated in a stained glass window in Harting church, installed by Joseph Weaver.<sup>48</sup> There is no indication at all from the scores at Uppark that Lady Mary Ann took an interest in music, save for an inscription on a contemporary song, *We Met*, which reads 'Miss Bullock from Lady Fetherston'.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, "Uppark and Its People," 96.

<sup>47</sup> *Morning Post*, accessed November 5, 2014,

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000257/18541121/006/0004?browse=False>.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph Weaver (b. 1811, said to be an illegitimate son of Sir Harry) and then his son (d. 1885), were referred to variously as 'valet and 'steward' at Uppark. Although they were both servants, they each had privileged positions and wages, and were instrumental in assisting each Bullock sister with estate management. They were both taxidermists and conchologists. See National Trust, *Uppark*.29.

<sup>49</sup> Thomas Bayley, *We Met* (London: A.Betts, ca1835), UDB 452.

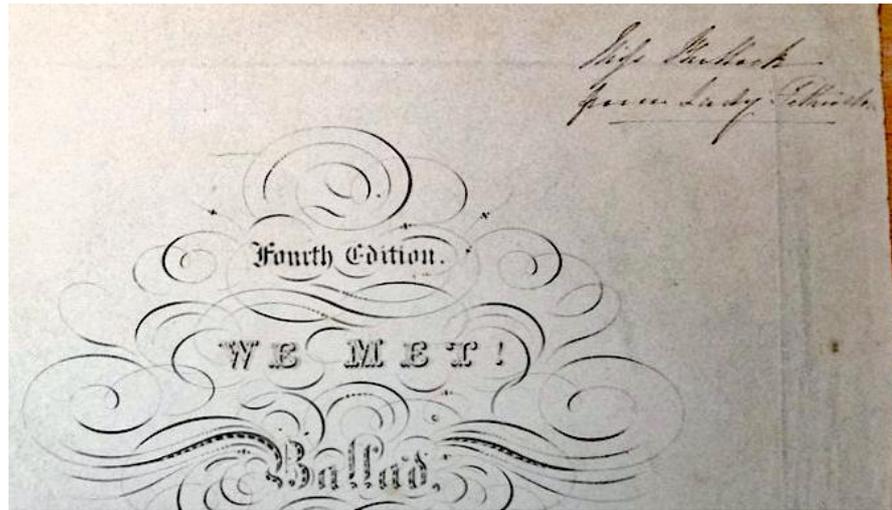


IMAGE 1-9. *WE MET* by THOMAS BAYLEY. MUSIC SCORE, UPPARK (UDB 452).

It may be that as she was a married woman when she came to Uppark and was initiated into aristocratic behaviours and conventions, there was no social requirement upon her to learn to play the piano.

**Frances Bullock, musical protagonist (1819-1895)**



IMAGE 1-10. FRANCES BULLOCK. N.T.

There is a marked difference between the sisters as a significant proportion of the music at Uppark, gathered throughout her life, is identified by her signature as belonging to Frances

Bullock, who moved to live at Uppark in 1825 when she was 6 years old.<sup>50</sup> Sir Harry arranged that Ann Sutherland (1805-1893) should act as governess to Frances Bullock, and this home schooling continued, so far as is known, until the conclusion of her education, after which Miss Sutherland became lifelong companion to Miss Bullock, pre-deceasing her by two years.<sup>51</sup>

Miss Sutherland presents as an enigmatic resident of Uppark. She would have been a prime conduit for the concepts of sociability and etiquette for Frances Bullock, and also possibly taught her music, but her credentials for such responsibilities are largely unknown, with information gleaned from a paucity of sources. One such source is an oil painting at Uppark, *A Girl carrying a Sheaf of Wheat* by Edward Collins. On the reverse side of the canvas there is the inscription, 'With Willie's and the General's love to Miss Sutherland wishing her many happy returns of the day. Nov.13th 1876'.<sup>52</sup> The identities of Willie and the general are unknown, but the gift of a picture from people who appear to have been more than mere acquaintances suggests some artistic leaning. Miss Sutherland's relationships with the author and composer of *The Martyr* (published in 1888) are equally enigmatic: they knew her well enough to present to this then elderly woman a gift of a piece of sheet music, but the significance of her last name shared with that of the composer is unknown.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> The popular account of Frances Bullock's move to Uppark explains that: 'The couple [Lady Mary Ann and Sir Harry] used to go driving in the Park, and one day a little girl opened a gate for them and threw a bunch of flowers into her [Lady Mary Ann's] lap. "We will have her at Uppark and educate her," said Sir Harry, when he heard the little girl was Mary Ann's sister'. Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 96.

Frances Bullock was the eighth child (of eleven) of the poulterer at Uppark and was the sister (younger by 14 years) of Lady Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh. There is some difference of view as to the year of birth of Frances Bullock. I adopt the National Trust given birth date of 1819. *Uppark Guidebook* (Swindon: National Trust Enterprises, 2011), front inside cover.

<sup>51</sup> Ann Sutherland, referred to as Sir Harry's illegitimate daughter, has been described as 'Pious and gentle Miss Sutherland, with whose mother Sir Harry had once diverted his time, lived under her father's protection at Uppark'. Meade-Fetherstonhaugh also suggests that 'in educating Frances Bullock, there was an additional object in his mind. His daughter, Miss Sutherland, would have employment and interest in teaching his small sister-in-law: in fact, she remained her friend and companion to the end of her life'. Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 95-96.

<sup>52</sup> Edward Collins, *A Girl carrying a Sheaf of Wheat*, {1876?}, picture, NT 137385.1, Uppark.

<sup>53</sup> G. Sutherland is described as a musician and composer, and was the author of 'A Manual of the theory of Music', published in 1871. *British Musical Biography*, s.v. "Sutherland, G.", accessed January 7, 2019, <http://hz.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/1/1c/IMSLP109631-PMLP222707-britishmusicalbiography.pdf>.

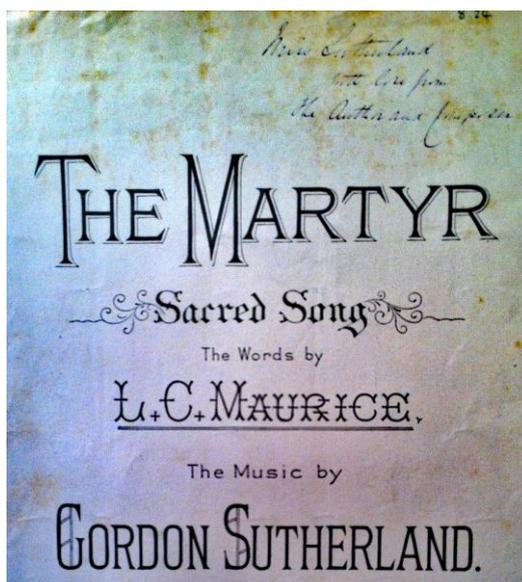


IMAGE 1-11. INSCRIPTION ON *THE MARTYR*. MUSIC SCORE, UPPARK (UDB 156).

Lady Mary Ann bequeathed the house and the estate in entirety to Frances Bullock, who continued to live there as a spinster until her death. Through her inheritance of Uppark, of the name 'Fetherstonhaugh', and the Uppark Arms, Frances Bullock became a comparatively wealthy woman (although the outgoings and upkeep for Uppark were high) with seemingly endorsed membership of the aristocracy.<sup>54</sup>

A spinster aged 55 years, whose marriage prospects had been and were in effect extraordinarily slight, she became what appears to be a rarity, in that she was a single woman who owned and managed an estate in the later years of the nineteenth century.<sup>55</sup> For the 'new' Miss Fetherstonhaugh (hereafter referred to as Frances Bullock), her membership of the 'landed aristocracy' lacked many of the identified accoutrements associated with such a role. As Thompson explains in *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century*,

The landed aristocrats had much in common besides the possession of large landed estates. Their upbringing, way of life, family setting, occupations, avocations, social outlook and political beliefs, though certainly not conforming to any rigid or stereotyped pattern, were all shaped by a readily identifiable mould. They formed a loosely-knit club whose unwritten rules ensured that all members were gentlemen'<sup>56</sup>

<sup>54</sup> For example, the annual rates in 1880 were over £5,000, a figure now equivalent to c £330,000, <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency-converter/#currency-result> accessed June 25, 2018..

<sup>55</sup> I have searched extensively without success for examples of other spinster aristocratic women in a similar situation.

<sup>56</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, *English Landed Society in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 15.

But of course Frances Bullock was not a member of this club. Her situation was that of a later nineteenth-century single woman whose origins were not those of aristocracy (referred to by Thompson as ‘so linked by intermarriage that they have been likened to tribes’) leaving her somewhat ‘outside’ the social class into which she had been elevated.<sup>57</sup> Her inheritance provided the material signifiers of the position of an aristocratic, but ‘the most important factor in defining the aristocracy of a woman was thus the position of her male relatives,’ so Frances Bullock’s social mobility was essentially configured through her sister’s marriage to a landed aristocratic.<sup>58</sup> Notwithstanding this social mobility, Frances Bullock’s class advance to the aristocracy did not cut her birth family ties. One of her banking books indicates regular allowances were paid to some of her family members; and one of the pieces of sheet music is inscribed with her sister Louisa’s name.<sup>59</sup> The bequests to family members in her will also illustrate their importance to her.

Two further associated aristocratic elements of life were also missing for Frances Bullock: she had no hereditary title (which accorded status and income) and no London house.<sup>60</sup> So although she acquired Uppark and its estate and therefore ostensibly achieved a position as a member of the aristocracy, her membership of this class – to which access was fiercely guarded by its members – was somewhat ambiguous in terms of ‘credentials’. It can only be conjecture as to the extent of social uncertainty experienced by Frances Bullock, but it is interesting to note the ambivalence of title – and consequently of social position – illustrated by the different names on her bank books over the years.

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>58</sup> K.D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 20.

<sup>59</sup> London and County Banking Company Bank book (1893), Uppark MS.751, WSRO.

<sup>60</sup> Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh’s title became extinct on his death. His wife, Mary Ann continued to be known as Lady Fetherstonhaugh. Frances Bullock inherited Uppark in 1874 and adopted the title ‘Lady Fetherstonhaugh’ and the Arms of Bullock, which Sir Harry had registered for his wife. Dover House in Whitehall (now the site of the Scotland Office) was commissioned by Sir Matthew Fetherstonhaugh (Sir Harry’s father) in 1754 and sold by his widow in 1787.

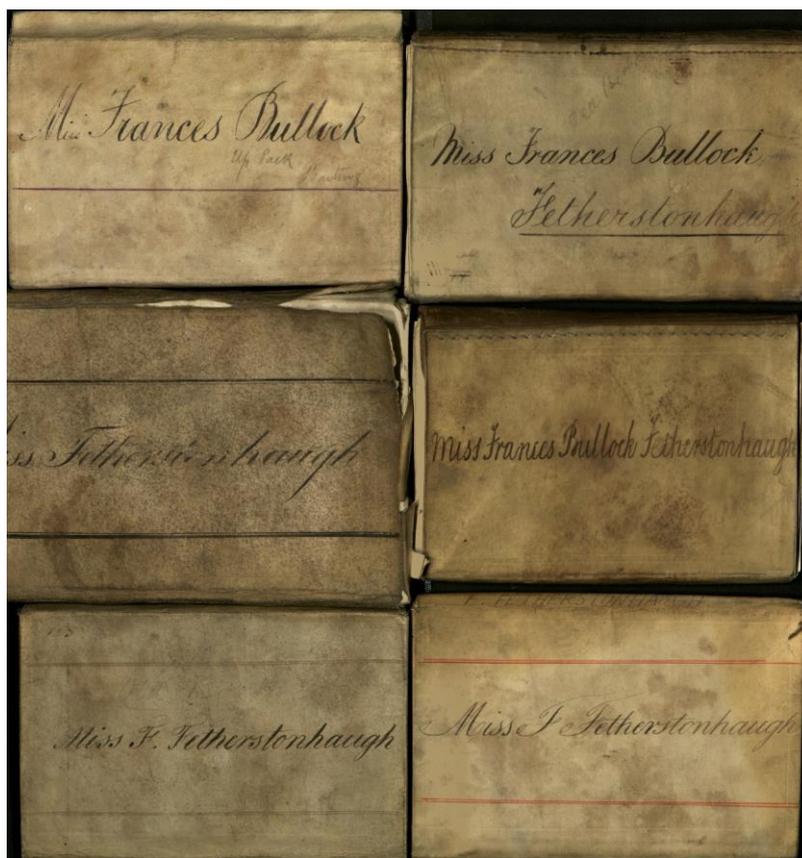


IMAGE 1-12. SIX BANK BOOKS BELONGING TO FRANCES BULLOCK. UPPARK MS.751, WSRO. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR).

The accustomed role of the head of ‘the great house’ in a village would be to both steer and support village events. Frances Bullock appears to have been positively minded towards the local community (again, following the pattern set by Sir Harry and his wife/her sister), where she enjoyed some status and very much adopted the role of the aristocratic ‘lady of the house’.<sup>61</sup> This included very regular attendance of the Uppark household at Harting church, which is about a mile distant from the house down a steep hill. The Fetherstonhaugh connection with Harting village school continued, with the school logbook providing records of her visits to the school, and gifts of money to all the children.<sup>62</sup> The new Lady Fetherstonhaugh maintained Uppark

<sup>61</sup> In an untitled newspaper (part of a scrap book) concerning arrangements for the location of Queen Victoria’s jubilee celebrations in 1887, correspondence indicates that the Rev H D Gaden ascertained that Miss Fetherstonhaugh, the principal person in the parish, confirmed the arrangements ‘very warmly with the view that Harting should not be behind its neighbours’. MF 669a, WSRO.

<sup>62</sup> Entries from Harting school logbook:

- 1874 May ‘The school was visited by Miss Bullock & Miss Sutherland this afternoon’.
- 1875 27 April ‘Miss Featherstonhaugh and Miss Sutherland visited this afternoon and gave each of the children a present’.

hospitality with regular summer events and the annual servants' ball.<sup>63</sup> At Christmas time she continued the tradition of inviting guests – including servants, estate staff and tenants - to Uppark for presents and refreshments, again as Mrs Wells records.<sup>64</sup> Uppark also 'opened its doors' to the community at other times, such as summer sports.<sup>65</sup>

Frances Bullock continued her sister's tradition of charitable activities, acknowledging the prominence accorded to the poor in the nineteenth century (influenced by the proposition that the rich-poor distinction was God-given and likely to persist and that guilt was not a factor in visiting/charitable work). In regularly visiting poor families in Harting, at least once a week as Sarah Wells notes, Frances Bullock realised both this aristocratic benevolence and her Christian belief.<sup>66</sup> Prochaska provides a further dimension to such charitable activities in drawing on a reflection by William Landels to explain the situation of spinsters in relation to attending to the poor, saying that whilst charity work trained women to be better wives and mothers 'those who never married need not be disheartened either, for their status was a "providential arrangement adapted to the conditions and wants of the world"'. Spinsters were to "feel themselves married to every creature of the race" although Frances Bullock may not have been aware of this exhortation.<sup>67</sup> Further examples of her charitable activities are the two continuing local charities

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- 1877 2 Aug Miss Fetherstonhaugh sent a donation of '6d to every child in the school'
- 1878 April Miss Fetherstonhaugh sends her usual donation of 2d to each child,
- 1881 29 April 'Miss Fetherstonhaugh sent 2d each for the children as a May Day present'  
 7 Sept 'Miss Fetherstonhaugh sent a large basket of apples for the children'  
 23 Dec 'Miss Fetherstonhaugh sent a hamper of apples for the children yesterday'.
- 1882 1 May 'Miss Fetherstonhaugh sent 2d for each child in the School'.
- 1883 1 May 'Miss Fetherstonhaugh sent each child in the school a present of 2d'  
 E/98/12/1, WSRO.

<sup>63</sup> *ibid.* 1890 'On Friday 24 August, our Sunday school scholars, through the liberality of our good friend Miss Fetherstonhaugh, assembled in the Vicarage grounds for team sports'.

<sup>64</sup> Sarah Wells notes that she accompanied 'Miss F' to distribute goods in the village; and then on 21 December 1892 she writes 'Miss F gave away her presents to poor people...I had to wait on them all'. MF1142, WSRO.

<sup>65</sup> 1890 'On Friday 24 August, our Sunday school scholars, through the liberality of our good friend Miss Fetherstonhaugh, assembled in the Vicarage grounds for team sports'  
 From newspaper scrapbook, MF 669a, WSRO.

<sup>66</sup> Diary entries indicate weekly visits, usually on a Monday. MF1142, WSRO.

<sup>67</sup> William Landels, 'Woman's Sphere and Work, considered in the light of Scripture' (London, 1859), in F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 6.

she established in Harting: The Charity of Frances Bullock Fetherstonhaugh for a Nurse, which was a bequest in her will; and the Charity of Frances Bullock Fetherstonhaugh for Poor Men.<sup>68</sup>

Possibly Frances Bullock might have been charged with some disinterest in household management, given the amount (more than might be expected) of money she gave to Sarah Wells (who is generally seen by commentators as not fit for her role as housekeeper) for household expenditures, suggesting that Mrs Wells was given significant responsibility.<sup>69</sup> Also, the frequent turnover of staff, particularly cooks, perhaps in consequence, as suggested by her son, of Mrs Wells' lack of skill in staff selection and management, as well as Frances Bullock's lack of involvement.<sup>70</sup> However, an alternative view is that it was very usual in the nineteenth century for the housekeeper, described by Boase as 'an all-powerful domestic matriarch' who took the place of the (male) house steward, to assume increasing responsibility, including that of finances.<sup>71</sup>

The contrast in life style and expectations could not have been greater for Frances Bullock, who was born into a working class family living in the small village of Harting (now South Harting) and ended her life as one of the few nineteenth-century aristocratic spinsters with inherited property. Membership of the aristocracy was closely guarded, not only in terms of wealth credentials (although these could vary) but also by association and mode of living. Marriage was a key route into this élite, although only acceptable if the correct financial dowry (usually realised

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<sup>68</sup> 'Consols will produce £55 per ann - £50 to be paid to a trained female nurse to nurse the sick poor of the parish if Harting, and the remaining £5 expended in medicine and medical appliances;' *Portsmouth Evening News*, Saturday October 5, 1895, accessed November 15, 2016,

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000290/18951005/045/0003?browse=False>.

'The charity of Frances Bullock Fetherstonhaugh for a Nurse' is now regulated by a scheme of the Charity Commissioners dated 14 June 1935. The annual income is £61 6s. 8d. and goes towards payment of the salary of a trained female nurse for the sick poor of the parish of Harting. British History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol4/pp10-21>, accessed September 28, 2016.

'The charity of Frances Bullock Fetherstonhaugh for Poor Men' now produces an annual income of £6 12s. 8d. which, in accordance with the will of the testatrix dated 7 February 1894, is applicable for the benefit of four poor men resident in this parish, accessed September 28, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/sussex/vol4/pp10-21>.

<sup>69</sup> Boase cites sums of £100-200 a time being handed to Sarah Wells, summing to some £10,000 a year. Tessa Boase, *The Housekeeper's Tale* (London: Aurum Press Ltd, 2014), 77.

<sup>70</sup> Mrs Wells' diary indicates that she was responsible for recruiting servants and her diary indicates both her preoccupation with this, and her distaste for those who came to work at Uppark. On 23 June 1892 we read that 'Greatly worried about servants'; and later that same year on 4 August, the diary entry reads: '12 years today since (illegible) what anxious years they have been to me what rude insulting people I have had to live with and it is worse now'. MF1142, WSRO. There were 10 cooks in the 12 plus years that Sarah Wells was housekeeper at Uppark.

<sup>71</sup> Boase, *The Housekeeper's Tale*, 51.

through the father's profitable industrial business) came with the bride. And increasingly as the century moved on, affluent gentry started to buy property and land and present with many of the features of an aristocratic life style. However, this did not mean automatic social acceptance by the establishment. Frances Bullock sidestepped these routes of social mobility, since on the death of her sister, '... this 55-year-old spinster vaulted all the rungs of the social ladder in one single, audacious leap.'<sup>72</sup> Just as the tightly-knit network of English landed aristocratic families decried those of their number who overtly associated with (some even to the point of living with) members of the lower classes, so this attitude prompts speculations as to how Frances Bullock fared with her new-found wealth and position, whilst lacking full social credentials. There is an absence of illustrations as to how she adapted to and managed this change of status and new responsibility (albeit she had already been living at Uppark for over forty years when she inherited it). However, examination of her music collection provides a mode of understanding something of the ways in which she adapted to her new roles.

Social prestige was a critical component of aristocratic acceptability, and whilst H.G. Wells referred to '... the insignificant ebbing trickle of upstairs life, the two elderly ladies in the parlour following their shrunken routines...'<sup>73</sup>, the list of visitors to Uppark recorded in her diary by Sarah Wells contradicts this suggestion of a withdrawn, quiet life, suggesting that social activities were a consistent feature of Frances Bullock's life, even when she was in her '70s. An example of this is when the Duke of Connaught and his retinue arrived to stay at Uppark for three days (as advised in Sarah Wells' diary for 6 December 1892: 'Today Duke of Connaught arrived. Oh! Such fuss and work, how I wish I was out of it. What ignorant people servants are as a rule').<sup>74</sup> Some two weeks earlier Lady Clanwilliam and her daughters, and three days later the Duchess of Connaught and Lady Fitzwilliam, came for tea. On 12 December, Frances Bullock went to stay at Browns Hotel in London. Although there may have been social discrimination against Frances Bullock in earlier years, the company of personnel referred to above indicates that she had achieved social standing in keeping with her position as owner of Uppark.

Frances Bullock had an extra-ordinary life in respect of the social mobility which propelled her into becoming Lady Fetherstonhaugh with a life bestowing wealth and responsibilities, contrasting sharply with her lowly social origins and with the situation of many contemporary

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>73</sup> Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, 137.

<sup>74</sup> Sarah Wells, *Diaries*, (1845-1893).

spinsters. Retrospectively her profile is not marked by major achievements or disasters, as she steered Uppark for the two decades following her sister's death, until she died at the age of 76. The picture that emerges of this woman from her sheet music is someone with a breadth of taste and a leaning towards 'the popular' as a substantial amount of her music was contemporary, popular and convivial, including piano arrangements of operatic airs and popular songs, and of popular orchestral instrumental pieces. This somewhat contradicts H.G. Wells' recollection of Frances Bullock as an elderly woman: 'I remember her "leddyship" then as a thing of black silks and a golden chain, a quivering injunction to me to be a good boy, a very shrunken, loose-skinned face and neck, and a ropy hand that trembled a halfcrown into mine'.<sup>75</sup>

**Col. The Hon. Keith Turnour (1848-1930)**



IMAGE 1-13. COLONEL KEITH TURNOUR-FETHERSTONHAUGH. N.T.<sup>76</sup>

The Fetherstonhaugh family line ended with the death of childless Sir Harry, and although Frances Bullock, a spinster, is said to have searched extensively for a Fetherstonhaugh family member to whom she might leave her estate, no such person was identified. She left Uppark to Colonel Keith Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh, a family friend, who assumed the name

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<sup>75</sup> Wells, *Tono-Bungay*, 18.

<sup>76</sup> Colonel Turnour Fetherstonhaugh is to the right of the picture, Frances Bullock in the centre.

Fetherstonhaugh.<sup>77</sup> The name of his daughter, Beatrice Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh (1881-1965), is found on five music scores at the house, dating from when she was a young woman. She lived at Uppark until 1930 when her father died.



IMAGE 1-14. BEATRICE FETHERSTONHAUGH AND HER MOTHER, MRS TURNOUR FETHERSTONHAUGH, AT UPPARK. N.T.

**Admiral the Hon. Sir Herbert Meade, twentieth century owner of Uppark (1875-1964)**

Frances Bullock's will stipulated that subsequently another family friend should inherit Uppark, and Sir Herbert Meade and his wife, Margaret Glyn, moved to Uppark with their three children in 1931. Margaret (known when younger by the name Maysie) Glyn brought with her the music she

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<sup>77</sup> There is an account which suggests that Keith Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh was the illegitimate son of Frances Bullock. 'On visiting Miss Agnes Brightwell, my aunt, she recited to me that the occupier of Uppark house - where she had been a cook housekeeper - the late Colonel Keith Turnour Fetherstonhaugh, was illegitimate; but Debretts says that he was a son of the 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Winterton, Edward Turnour. Apparently Agnes Brightwell was told this by an old retainer at Uppark, Poker Pay. Frances Bullock went to Canada for 6 months and gave birth to a child fathered by Colonel Edward Turnour. This suggestion is backed up by the figure and stature of the child, who did not look like his brothers'. *Papers of Horace Brightwell, 1899-1968*, Par 98/7/22, WSRO.

had acquired as a young woman, scored for solo piano and vocal pieces, including a number of popular songs from the 1900s.



IMAGE 1-15. SIR HERBERT AND LADY MARGARET MEADE-FETHERSTONHAUGH. N.T.

#### **1.4 In conclusion**

The theme of contrast continued into the twentieth century when the absence of a family heir meant that the house and estate passed from ownership of members of the Fetherstonhaugh family to family friends, severing the family line of 150 years. Yet this change was not so significant in terms of the music collection, given that its women owners had no connection save for their part in contributing to the disparate accumulation of sheet music retained at the house. But what they did together achieve, unknowingly, in consequence of living at Uppark, was the gathering of a long nineteenth-century music collection, in itself characterized by contrasts, reflecting changes in musical forms and popularity, and in the social dimensions of the scores they amassed.

Through the 150 years preceding its management by chatelaines, Uppark became established as an aristocratic country residence with the accoutrements and lifestyle befitting such a house, as Drury noted, and positioning the residents of the house in the *élite* cultural milieu.<sup>78</sup> There is no extant record of the two male Fetherstonhaugh owners participating in musical performance, but Sir Harry was certainly an opera audience member, and both he and his father would no doubt often heard music performed as an accompaniment, if not a concert, on social occasions, both private and public. Musical education of the women – Mary Ann Bullock, Frances Bullock, and Miss Sutherland – who were brought by Sir Harry into his home was a cultural inevitability against this backdrop, as was their setting for musical performance largely within private domestic space. These differences illustrate a significance of gender as regards musical activity - for these men, their musical experience lay in the public domain (so far as can be known), and for the woman, the private domestic domain was the prime site of their musicking.

The picture painted by H.G. Wells of the somewhat staid lives of the two Lady Fetherstonhaughs contrasts strongly with the expansive social life of Sir Matthew and Sir Harry. Maybe the two sisters did not expect to live in similar mode to their male predecessors, given that for each their aristocratic status was essentially gained - for Mary Ann - through an improbable marriage (although it lasted 21 years); and - for Frances Bullock – via an unpredictable inheritance. Both women, the one a widow and the other a spinster, were socially marginalised. However, conversely, the music scores at Uppark deny musical and social (comparative) isolation, given the relatively wide-ranging repertoire and associated sociability. This aspect of musicking informs a final contrast between Uppark residents, Emma Hamilton and Frances Bullock. Both were women who lived at Uppark (a generation apart, the one very briefly, the other almost all of her life), both were subject to the control of Sir Harry Fetherstonhaugh, both were socially mobile, both pursued an interest in the arts within the domestic domain. Emma Hamilton used musical activities and performative drive to achieve social prestige beyond her domestic space, whereas Frances Bullock's music scores suggest that she was primarily playing the piano at home, probably mostly alone. The contrast evoked by the different presentations of domestic music by these two women is reflected in Rachel Cowgill's late eighteenth-century perspective on an aristocratic woman, that 'typical of well-to-do Englishwomen of her generation, [she would be] seeming to accept a fundamental incompatibility between the expectations of normative

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<sup>78</sup> Drury, 'Introduction', in Meade, *Uppark and its People*, iv-v.

femininity and the trappings of celebrity'.<sup>79</sup> Certainly Frances Bullock, unlike Emma Hamilton, displayed no wish for 'celebrity status', but music was also significant for her as a tool and permit within her social milieu.

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<sup>79</sup> Rachel Cowgill, "'Attitudes with a Shawl': Performance, Femininity, and Spectatorship at the Italian Opera in Early Nineteenth-Century London," in *The Arts of the Prima Donna in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. Rachel Cowgill and Hilary Poriss (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 218.



## Chapter 2 The Music at Uppark

A fairly large unpretentious cardboard box now rests in an attic at Uppark. It is perhaps a little extreme to refer to this unimposing repository housing the eclectic music mix of the Uppark accumulation as a 'Pandora's' box, since the process of review and investigation of those contents reveals a diversity of repertoire and composers which promotes comment, rather than complications. The Uppark music presents now as uncurated, and there is nothing to suggest that it was ever subject to such a process. It may represent only part of the music of the house, perhaps surviving the devastation wrought by the fire at Uppark in 1989 because it was stored separately from other scores, which might have been located elsewhere in the house if seen as culturally appropriate accessories to room furnishings.<sup>1</sup> Whilst it might be optimistic to term any one of the sheet music scores as a 'collectable', their totality, gathered over the long nineteenth century in this one location, provides an opportunity to explore both content and context – in the widest sense – of domestic repertoire. The apparent randomness of this gathering at Uppark is comparable to that described by Jeanice Brooks in her discussion of Jane Austen's repertoire: 'The Austen music albums are literally gatherings in that they bring together disparate items of music into a single book, and they are also gatherings in a more abstract sense: they have a pronounced collective, social dimension'. The connection effected here between a social dynamic and seemingly inert sheet music is a critical dimension of nineteenth-century domestic repertoire, underlined by Brooks' reference to 'the soundscape of sociability as an associated and important element of music scores'.<sup>2</sup>

The enquiry into the music at Uppark is grounded in the sheet music, comprising both complete and incomplete (page(s) missing) scores, whose ownership is attributed to three women. The core task is to identify the repertoire, and then understand its content in terms of timeframe, composers, origins, musical forms, performance, acquisition and other factors, in order to establish a sense of the detail and context of the sheet music. Alongside the musical 'arrangement(s) to play' associated with these scores, I will look at the 'social' (in the widest

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<sup>1</sup> Pieces of music might be tastefully bound together in a hard cover, so that when on a shelf they contributed to the cultural and social status of a room.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanice Brooks, "Making Music," in *Jane Austen: Writer in the World*, ed. Kathryn Sutherland (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2017), 37.

sense) arrangements tied in with this music, seeking to establish a more comprehensive view of domestic musical culture, the role of material repertoire, and features of musicking.<sup>3</sup>

## 2.1 The Music at Uppark: An accumulation rather than a collection?<sup>4</sup>

Some of the music has obviously been used many times, judging from its worn state, whilst other items appear almost untouched. There are markings on some of the scores, names on some front covers, ragged edges to pages, and thumbed bottom right corners. Now the music is stored in a cardboard box and referred to as ‘a collection’ by people who work at the house. But probably its owners did not think of the music in that way. The gathering of over 500 items was more likely an unintended amassing of music, garnered over years from different sources. Even before any one item from the box is scrutinized, the survival of this assembled sheet music spanning several decades bears witness to the continuing role of music in the house during those years and indicates that in hosting musical activity, Uppark was like many other country houses of its time.

That it is unbound and randomly placed in a cardboard box, suggests that the Uppark music is an accumulation, as the Oxford English Dictionary indicates, ‘the acquisition or gradual gathering of something’.<sup>5</sup> This is in contrast to it forming a collection, when the focus is the purposeful acquisition of objects defined by type (which may be increasingly detailed and specialised), rather than a more random gathering over time. Susan Pearce remarks ‘Objects ...may spend time as part of a miscellaneous, or even miserly, accumulation before their potential collectionhood is perceived.’<sup>6</sup> The description ‘miscellaneous’ fits the music at Uppark, where the concept of collection has been retrospectively assigned, in contrast with the domestic music collections in

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<sup>3</sup> Some years ago Jeanice Brooks called for greater nuance in the analysis and findings from a study of sheet music, following her conclusion from a review of women’s sheet music albums in the early nineteenth century, that ‘Even a preliminary examination of my admittedly limited sample shows that the somewhat monolithic picture of domestic music that often emerges from the musicological literature needs revision ... I believe that sheet music compilations can provide a valuable starting point for a more musically sophisticated—because sensitive to the many differences that the category of “domestic music” can entail—reading of nineteenth-century British musical culture’. Jeanice Brooks, “Les Collections Féminines D’albums De Partitions Dans L’angleterre Du Début Du Xixe Siècle,” in *La La La...Maistre Henri’: Mélanges De Musicologie Offerts À Henri Vanhulst*, ed. Christine Ballman and Valérie Dufour (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 376.

<sup>4</sup> The Uppark music is listed in Appendix A.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “accumulation”, accessed January 22, 2018, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com>.

<sup>6</sup> Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: An Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 21.

some other houses where the content and presentation – perhaps displayed on shelves - of the music suggest it was a curated and symbolically significant constituent of the house contents, both when it was being used and subsequently.<sup>7</sup>

Pearce comments that a distinction between the accumulator and the collector is that the latter has a rational purpose in mind, whereas the accumulator does not. Aristides endorses this purposeful aspect with his definition of a collection as ‘...an obsession organized. One of the distinctions between possessing and collecting is that the latter implies order, system, perhaps completion.’<sup>8</sup> The music at Uppark does not signify any sense of ordering or systemised acquisition, rather that it was most likely brought together by the women who lived successively in the house. Even at first glance, it is clear from the listing of the Uppark music that within the scores of any one owner, there is a range of types of music, inviting Pierre Baudrillard’s terms of reference with the delineation that ‘it should be stressed that the concept of collecting (from the Latin *colligere*, to select and assemble) is distinct from that of accumulating. The latter...is an inferior stage of collecting’.<sup>9</sup> Baudrillard, writing in the 1960s, understood consumption as a system of exchange, wherein the individual’s consumption of material objects was determined by their selection of those that were indicative of their status, and so signifying social differentiation.<sup>10</sup> He developed his ideas about consumption at a time when categorizations of social class were being increasingly challenged, but his notion of ‘sign’ value does not incorporate the possibility of fluid boundaries between both social classes and representational objects - in this discussion, music scores - which was the situation during the nineteenth century.

Elsner and Cardinal take a more experiential view, underlining the connection between the material items themselves, and what might be called the narrative of the ordering of the items.

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<sup>7</sup> Examples of this are two bound manuscript music copybooks at Stourhead. “Maria Acland Hoare”, *Music Manuscript Book*, [ca. 1800], ‘Mrs Hugh Hoare’ inscribed on the front cover. (Mrs Hugh Hoare was Maria Palmer Acland Hoare (1766-1845) who was Lady Alda Hoare’s husband’s paternal grandmother). “Julia Lucy Hoare”, *Music Copy Book, Ms.Score*, (1810), ‘J.L.Hoare 1810’ inscribed on the front cover. (This was Maria’s daughter and Lady Alda Hoare’s husband’s aunt).

<sup>8</sup> Aristides [Joseph Epstein]. "Life and Letters: Calm and Uncollected," *The American Scholar* 57, no. 3 (1988), n.k.

<sup>9</sup> Jean Baudrillard, "The System of Collecting," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1994), 7-8, 22.

<sup>10</sup> This identification of consumption as axiomatic to social stratification is in contrast to Marx for whom the individual’s relationship to production was central. In his discussion of material acquisitions, Baudrillard identified four ways in which an object attains value, namely its ‘functional’ (instrumental) value; its ‘exchange’ (economic) value; its ‘symbolic’ (the value assigned to the object by the giver, with regard to the recipient) value; and, most significantly for Baudrillard, its sign value, ie. the social value, particularly as regards taste and class.

They explore the inter-relationship of the physical activity of bringing items together, and the decisions as to how they are arranged for the purpose of understanding what is there, that is to say the process of categorisation or classification. They explain that ‘... if classification is the mirror of collective humanity’s thoughts and perceptions, then collecting is its material embodiment.’<sup>11</sup> Their proposition invites connections between the influence of the socio-cultural context on decisions as to how to categorise music, which in turn both impact on, and are in response to, what music is acquired. This perspective projects the multi-dimensional nature of a music score – it is far more than ‘just the notes’ – which, with regard to the Uppark music, invites commentary on the intersections of public attitudes and choices, the types of music within this domestic repertoire, and the content of the music in the house. Whether consciously ‘collected’ or more arbitrarily gathered, the Uppark music scores, from all aspects, communicate information about the individual owners of the music and their musical lives.

Elsner and Cardinal develop the connection between self and material possessions, explaining that ‘...one’s identity as an individual may depend on the difference between one’s personal collection...and that of anyone else. As one becomes conscious of one’s self, one becomes a conscious collector of identity, projecting one’s being onto the objects one chooses to live with. Taste, the collector’s taste, is a mirror of self’.<sup>12</sup> If identity is perceived as derived from multiple influences beyond those consciously controlled by the individual, the music gathered by each woman at Uppark may be understood as the product of a reflexive exchange between her as agent and the ‘social’ - in every sense of the word - context in which she lived.<sup>13</sup> This explanation of the relationship between an individual and material objects confirms the symbiotic relationship of music and ‘the social’, which is endorsed by Pierre Bourdieu who understands ‘taste’ as a function of social milieu.

He describes taste ‘as a sort of social orientation, a “sense of one’s place”, guiding the occupants

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<sup>11</sup> John Elsner and Roger Cardinal, "Introduction," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, ed. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1994), 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>13</sup> The nineteenth-century sheet music context of commodification and consumerism suggests a parallel between the acquisition of music scores and twenty-first century choices of recorded music. Relatively recent research on consumer self concept, symbolic properties of music and the consumption situation, with regard to recorded music, supported the congruency of self image and music choices as a means of social presentation. The influence of the individual’s multiple self-conceptions, and their personal situation were also identified as relevant to choice. Gretchen Larson, Rob Lawson and Sarah Todd, “The consumption of music as self-representation in social interaction,” *Australasian Marketing Journal* 17, (2009): 16-26.

of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position. It implies a practical anticipation of what the social meaning and value of the chosen practice or thing will probably be.<sup>14</sup> In this way, he endorses the systemic interconnection of an individual's accumulation practice with 'the social', which in practical terms means that the choice of a piece of music is made according to social rather than economic – or other – criteria, which are derived from the person's social class position. The attribution of social meaning to an object is developed by Bourdieu using the concept of 'symbolic goods', which he defines as 'a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object. Their specifically cultural value and their commercial value remain relatively independent, although the economic sanction may come to reinforce their cultural consecration'.<sup>15</sup> Such a proposition encourages the view that items of sheet music reflect social status, and that as symbolic goods, they add to the individual's 'cultural capital'.<sup>16</sup> Cultural capital, a concept which Bourdieu suggests in contrast to the Marxist economic capital as that which denotes position in the social order, embodies all that the Victorian era saw as required signifiers of elite position - namely skills, taste, posture, clothing, mannerisms, material possessions, and credentials. Therefore this theoretical perspective of interlinked concepts may serve as a retrospective underpinning of a static interrelationship of material goods and social position, but social changes during the nineteenth century and the reduced economic value of sheet music detracted from its worth as a symbolic object, thereby contradicting its 'consecration'.

Whilst it can only be conjecture regarding which music the women at Uppark elected not to own and why, some of the music at Uppark bears ownership marks that suggest a particular resident was responsible for its acquisition. For example, the faint pencil name 'Miss F Bullock' at the top centre of the cover of *Trois Airs Elégants with variations and rondos op.159* by Charles Chaulieu

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<sup>14</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1984), 466.

<sup>15</sup> His note regarding the adjective 'cultural' is that it 'will be used from now on as shorthand for 'intellectual, artistic and scientific' (as in cultural consecration, legitimacy production, value, etc.). Pierre Bourdieu, "The Market of Symbolic Goods," in *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. Lawrence D. Krizman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>16</sup> 'Cultural capital is capital "embodied" in individual dispositions and competencies that give privileged access to such capital in its "objectified" form of cultural artifacts, and that is in turn institutionalised in criteria of cultural, including academic, evaluation'. Bourdieu's concept, which he presented over 30 years ago, has been challenged because it does not distinguish between cultural values and cultural resources, rather it is an institutionalized form of capital which best serves the interests of dominant classes. John H. Goldthorpe, "'Cultural Capital': Some Critical Observations," in *Sociology Working Papers 2007* (Oxford: University of Oxford), 4.

(published 1835, dated by plate number of R. Cocks & Co, music publishers - Neighbour & Tyson) indicates ownership (Frances Bullock was now 16 years old) and the raised stamp 'Rust & Stahl\Music sellers and pianoforte makers\ 320 Regent St' in the top left hand corner of the front cover, suggests that she purchased it in London. Some items in the music collection are stamped by the seller and can be matched by date to the time of a resident at Uppark. An example is *The Cabinet. A series of Familiar Rondos, on favourite airs, "Duke of York's Grand March"* by S. G. Fiorini, for solo piano, published 1825. The publisher's stamp on the front cover reads 'Cramer Beale 201. 28 8 46', indicating a time when Frances Bullock was 28 years old.<sup>17</sup> Frances Bullock is the name most associated with the Uppark music, but there were other women residents at Uppark who owned music. Maysie Glyn (1888-1977) brought several items of sheet music with her to Uppark, mainly popular songs published in the early 1900s, when as Derek Scott reflected, 'A characteristic of the consumption of commercial popular music, then as now, is the appetite for novelty'.<sup>18</sup> She moved to Uppark as a married woman, in 1931, bringing (according with established mores) the music she acquired as a young woman. Whilst her acquisition of music following her marriage is unknown, and may be represented in the Uppark accumulation, it may be that her music making ceased (as was often the case). The acquisition of piano music for domestic use in adolescent years is also illustrated by the few pieces (only five items) known to belong to Beatrice Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh, whose move to Malta (from Gibraltar) in January 1895 when her father, Lieut. Colonel the Hon. Keith Turnour's battalion was stationed there, is signified by her inscriptions on her copy of Czerny's *30 Nuovi Studi di Meccanismo* (UDB 497), and on *Mignon* by M. Rivela (UDB 400).

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<sup>17</sup> The date of publication is ascertained from the plate number. The name Cramer Beale was used by this firm from 1844-1858 (Addison left the firm in 1844) during which period their address was 201 Regent Street (London). This suggests that the music was purchased from Cramer Beale not before 1844 and was perhaps a reprint of an earlier edition. O.W. Neighbour and Alan Tyson, *English Music Publishers' Plate Numbers in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1965), 27.

<sup>18</sup> Derek B. Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 134.

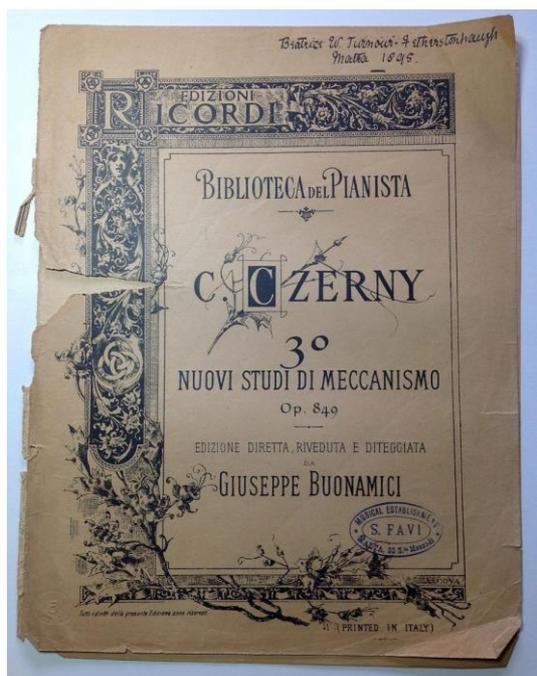


IMAGE 2-1. 30 NUOVI STUDI DI MECCANISMO, FRONT COVER, UPPARK (UDB 467).

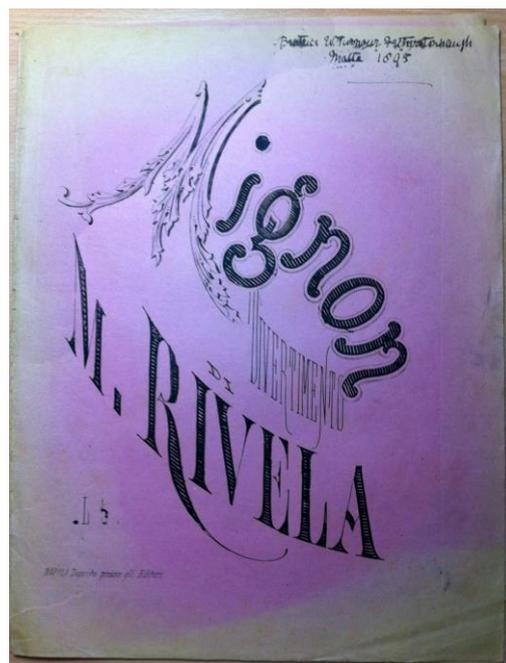


IMAGE 2-2. MIGNON, FRONT COVER, (UDB 400).

In September 1895, Colonel Keith Turnour retired from the army and the family's arrival at Uppark is marked by the different inscription, 'Uppark 1896', on three further music scores belonging to Beatrice Turnour.<sup>19</sup> One further name is found in the Uppark music, that of Geraldine Bethune, the youngest sister of Keith Turnour's Canadian wife, Caroline, on *The Varieties of 12 much admired compositions for the pianos* (UDB 418), which was published in Chicago and sold in Montreal.<sup>20</sup>

## 2.2 The Background to this Study

Domestic music making, as with many other aspects of life, was impacted by the changes in British society during the Victorian era. Central to these changes were the march of industrialisation and its consequences for music production and distribution; and the growth of

<sup>19</sup> Sir Steuart Hare, Major-Gen., *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps: Vol 4 "The K.R.R.C." 1872-1913* (Uckfield: Naval and Military Press Ltd., 2002), 159-60, accessed March 18, 2018, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=g3m-BAAAQBAJ&pg=PR3&lpg=PR3&dq=Steuart+Hare+Annals+kings+rifles&source=bl&ots=Qv5ZT9s3GT&sig=zBmOJeNjt6wTROf1OY7xPo3jzQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjSycqm4\\_HbAhUBXBQKHanoBbl4ChDoAQhCMAc#v=onepage&q=Steuart%20Hare%20Annals%20kings%20rifles&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=g3m-BAAAQBAJ&pg=PR3&lpg=PR3&dq=Steuart+Hare+Annals+kings+rifles&source=bl&ots=Qv5ZT9s3GT&sig=zBmOJeNjt6wTROf1OY7xPo3jzQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjSycqm4_HbAhUBXBQKHanoBbl4ChDoAQhCMAc#v=onepage&q=Steuart%20Hare%20Annals%20kings%20rifles&f=false).

<sup>20</sup> Julie Wood, "Maria Maclean Phillips and Strachan Bethune", *Phillips Family Ancestry*, accessed December 10, 2013, <http://phillipsfamilyancestry.blogspot.co.uk/p/rachel-levy.html>.

the 'new' middle class with aspirations and financial means to emulate the musical habits and behaviours of the aristocracy. Traditional class boundaries were partially eroded in consequence of the increasing wealth achieved by the 'upper' members of this 'new' class, who operated within the rapidly developing industrial market economy to accrue economic and political influence, challenging the aristocratic belief that it was their destiny to govern and incurring deep aristocratic suspicion. Appreciation of, and being seen in public to appreciate, 'high art' became a mark of status to distinguish the established aristocracy and this 'new money'.

These aspects of change were significant for the production of music scores, which expanded enormously, and included more musical forms/styles within domestic repertoire, which was primarily – but not only – written for piano performance at home, and played primarily but not exclusively by women. Whilst the social status, rather than her gender status, of an aristocrat woman was key to her public presentation, the feminine ideal of an aristocrat woman at home rested on her commitment to promoting the interests of her husband and her family, and on the considerable leisure time afforded by the expectations of her domestic role. This context invited engagement with the plethora of compositions in the nineteenth century which fell under the heading of 'domestic repertoire'. Such music scores were seen as the province of women, ideologically positioned by hegemonic patriarchy within the home, where, as Christina Bashford describes, 'the story goes, sat parlor pianos, lightweight sheet music and sentimental songs – the sort of things found in stereotypical depictions of Victorian music making, whether in works of fiction or visual media, and generally associated with women and the rituals of courtship'.<sup>21</sup> Bashford's account of domestic chamber music in nineteenth-century Britain vividly illuminates the participation of men in this recreational pursuit, which contradicts the stereotypical construct of solely feminised domestic musical activity. Derek Scott comments on male musicking at home on instruments other than the piano, such as the violin, cello, flute or clarinet, and how 'A man tended to choose an instrument ... which would mean his calling upon the support of a woman to provide an accompaniment when he played ... the obligation of ministering to the male was thus as much a part of domestic music-making as of a woman's other domestic duties'.<sup>22</sup> The Victorian perception that music compromised male identity contributed to the prevailing gendered dismissive discourse with regard to composers of domestic repertoire.

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<sup>21</sup> Bashford, "Historiography and Invisible Musics: Domestic Chamber Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain," 292.

<sup>22</sup> Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, Second Edition ed. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 50.

One reason that music collections have not been the object of study is their perceived status as ephemera.<sup>23</sup> The customary lack of intention to form a collection as such, the frequently random acquisition of pieces of music, the absence of careful storage or binding of the music indicating a lack of value attributed to the music, that it was not located on bookshelves, all reflect this lack of accorded status and the possible anticipation that sheet music was a transient item of possession. There are obvious contradictions to this aspect of disregard when domestic music is bound and presented as a valued entity.<sup>24</sup> However, in respect of the large amounts of sheet music which are not bound, a relevant factor for the lack of expressed interest is because of the attributed low musical worth and consequent derision of popular music of the time, which continued into the twentieth century and beyond. Temperley exemplifies this attitude when he refers to

The main feature of the *ballad* was that the words, which were nearly always in three verses, presented a narrative, whose melodramatic climaxes were crudely underlined in the music. In many ways it corresponded to the 'picture that tells a story', and commended itself to people for whom the higher forms of dramatic entertainment were either shunned on religious grounds or too expensive.<sup>25</sup>

The dismissive evaluation of such music, marking a frequently held dichotomy between 'great' and domestic music, and the status implications accorded to each, account in no small way for the lack of attention to what is deemed often musically trivial.

A key factor which underlined the lack of studies of this music was 'the scholarly problem, at least as far as conventional musicology was concerned: the discipline's almost exclusive focus on composers – sometimes Great Composers – meant that it looked at Victorian Britain and did not see much of interest.'<sup>26</sup> But it was the underlying patriarchal value base for canon-centred scholarship which directly reflected 'the totality of public discourse about music – from concert reviews to textbooks on music appreciation – was saturated with gender'<sup>27</sup> which was, and remained for many years, the block to a widening of musicological horizons. The gender

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<sup>23</sup> "Ephemera: 1 Things that exist or are used or enjoyed for only a short time 2 Collectable items that were originally expected to have only short-term usefulness or popularity". *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "ephemera", accessed May 14, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/ephemera>.

<sup>24</sup> The printed sheet music of Lady Alda Hoare at Stourhead, placed seemingly randomly into four unmarked dark green leather covers, provides an example of bound music. The volumes contain 37, 41, 60, and 33 items respectively. Alda Hoare, *Printed Music Collection*.

<sup>25</sup> Temperley, "Domestic Music in England," 43.

<sup>26</sup> Solie, "No 'Land without Music' after All," 261.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

demarcations employed in respect of musicology and domestic music making inevitably meant exclusion from consideration of music and musical activities of women in their homes. The location of the female sex and her pursuits in the private domain of the home was a socio-political construction of woman's role which left a cultural legacy that persisted well into the nineteenth century (and beyond), fundamentally influencing music commentary and musicology. The low evaluation of the feminine was promoted by the eighteenth century music narrative, described by Richard Leppert who identified musical expectations and practices as a form of agency in this social construction of gendered roles, given that 'most courtesy and conduct literature charged women to view music as a trivial pursuit...the trivialization of women's activities, to men and women alike, was an essential component in maintaining the status quo to gender hierarchy.'<sup>28</sup>

### 2.3 The Uppark Study

The wealth of perspectives and content to be drawn from these studies located in domestic repertoire informs the musicological backdrop for this study of Uppark music. It is the house, Uppark, which provides continuity to the gathered music (which is believed not to have been added to subsequent to National Trust ownership), rather than an established family musical culture. The marked absence on almost all of the items of any family associations, and the absence of any obviously inherited music, underline an important difference between the Uppark music and that found in some other houses. For example, when describing the music collection of Jane Austen, Jeanice Brooks explains that 'New annotations and signatures show that books made by the previous generation were re-used, and material copied or purchased by older relatives was bound up in younger family members' albums.'<sup>29</sup> This was a different situation from that at Uppark where only two pieces of the music indicate such family continuity. *Why is love forever changing* bears the words 'Miss F Bullock\ Sir Hy Fetherstone\ Uppark\ Petersfield' on the front cover, linking the owner of Uppark with his sister-in-law.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Leppert, *Music and Image: Domesticity*, 40.

<sup>29</sup> Brooks, "Making Music," 40.

<sup>30</sup> Louis Leo, *Why is love forever changing* (London: Leoni Lee, n.d.), UDB 285.

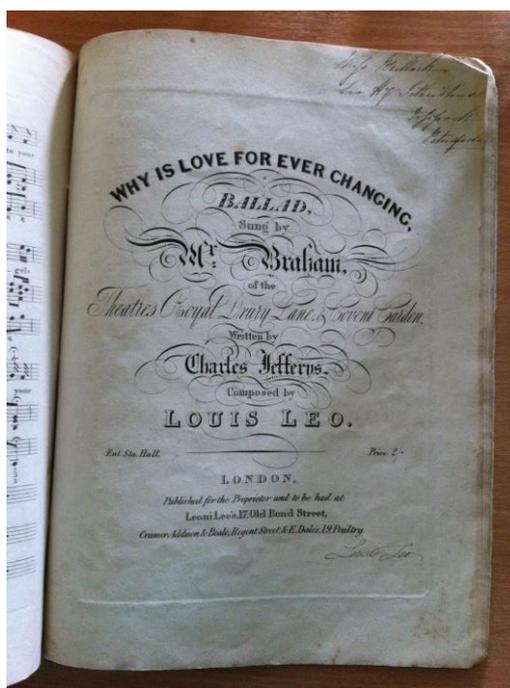


IMAGE 2-3. THE INSCRIPTION ON *WHY IS LOVE FOREVER CHANGING*, UPPARK (UDB 285).

And on the front cover of *We Met* is the inscription 'Miss Bullock from Lady Fetherston, presumably a gift from Mary Ann, Lady Fetherston (the name by which she was addressed during her lifetime) to her sister.'<sup>31</sup>

The box of music at Uppark is the single most informative item about musical life in the house. Its value as a source of information is heightened because of the relatively few nineteenth-century 'untainted' domestic music collections which are considered to have originated in the houses where they now reside. That is to say, music in a house where no items have been subsequently added.<sup>32</sup> The provenance of this accumulation is derived from the names of residents, scribed in different hands, on items of music, supporting the premise of it belonging at Uppark. Frequently, indicative of the attributed worth, sheet music collections are destroyed, split up or sold following the owner's death, or at the time when a property is vacated.<sup>33</sup> Also, In practical terms, the convention that if a woman moved home, the most usual circumstance being

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Bayley, *We Met* (London: A. Betts, ca1835), UDB 452.

<sup>32</sup> Examples of other house collections dating from the 1830s known to me are those of Lady Alda Hoare at Stourhead; the private music collection of John Bowes and of his wife Josephine, held at the Bowes museum; and the manuscript collection of 232 items bound in one book, which belonged to Lady Ernestine Edgcumbe of Cotehele.

<sup>33</sup> This is not to ignore the reality that no doubt there are extant collections in private homes that will remain unscrutinised unless someone in the family brings/wishes to bring the collection to the notice of an interested musician or musicologist.

when she got married, she would take her music with her, led to removal or splitting of a house collection; but this did not occur at Uppark.<sup>34</sup>

A key question driving the analysis of the music at Uppark was ‘what music is here?’ Compiling the database of factual information taken from each item of sheet music in the house was the first stage of responding to that question. The database, presented in Appendix A, established the time frame of the music, details of composers, the designated instrumental/vocal specification, and the proportion of original to arranged compositions. I will discuss each of these elements below. Other aspects of the scores - such as the character of the piece, its level of difficulty, its generic context - are more complex, and their assignment into categories is less straightforward. The decision as to how to manage the information about each score, that is to say categorising what is there in order to elicit what the repertoire tells us about different dimensions of the music, such as the nature of the piece, performance requirements and contextual elements, was more challenging. Mark Merry reflects on the issue of categories to which to assign data with the comment, ‘Historians will not be able to predict the nature of their information ... confidently, even if they know their sources intimately, as there will almost always be instances where the sources confound them’.<sup>35</sup> And this is the situation with regard to analysis of this music. The terms ‘style’, ‘genre’ and ‘form’ are all pertinent, but in their definitions are neither absolute nor discrete, since often a score is ‘akin to’ rather than ‘is’ in relation to any of these terms.

Merry presents a conceptual framework for managing historical data, which is relevant to my question, ‘what can this database of music scores tell us?’:

issues arise through the variability and ambiguity that inevitably accompanies the type and shape of information present in historical sources ... a range of other historical [musical] contexts introduce an element of ‘fuzziness’ into the data. The irregularity of

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<sup>34</sup> An example of such relocation are the items of music to be found in the domestic music collection of Lady Alda Hoare (1861-1947) at Stourhead, in which several of the items carry her maiden name, ‘Weston’ (the earliest recorded here is 1873 when she was twelve years old). She took this music with her when she left the family home to marry Sir Henry Hoare in October 1887. Examples of this are: Edward Strauss, *Polka française and finale, op.144* (Hamburg: Cranz [date not known]), annotation ‘Alda Weston – Promenade Homburg Aug 1878’. Franz Liszt, *Rhapsodie hongroise* (Leipzig: Barthoff Senff [date not known]), annotation ‘Alda Weston Sept 21<sup>st</sup> /76 Dorchester’. Johann Strauss, *O Schöner Mai!* (Hamburg: Cranz [date not known]), annotation ‘Alda Weston Hombourg Aug 24<sup>th</sup>/79’.

<sup>35</sup> Mark Merry, "Designing Databases for Historical Research, Introduction" (London: School of Advanced Study, University of London, n.d.), <https://port.sas.ac.uk/mod/book/view.php?id=75&chapterid=147>.

historical information must be managed ... in such a way as to maintain a balance between keeping the detail and richness of the source to the extent required by the project, whilst at the same time applying enough standardising and reshaping of the information to allow the database [enquiry] tools to operate with maximum efficiency and flexibility.<sup>36</sup>

The purpose of the collation of information about the Uppark music is not only to assemble a profile of what is there and manage the data so that it facilitates interrogation of different dimensions, but also to develop a model for analysis which may be used in respect of other music collections and thereby enable comparisons. In seeking to achieve the balance to which Merry refers, I elected to arrange the music according to instrumental or vocal category, and then discuss the musical forms found within that category. Arnold Whittall's definition that 'Form might be defined simply as what forms have in common, reflecting the fact that an organizing impulse is at the heart of any compositional enterprise', offers a baseline reductionist concept by which to group the music.<sup>37</sup> The loss of nuance in adopting such a brief identifier of a form as 'an organizing impulse', to identify say dance, national airs or ballads, reflects the tension between the requirement of a tool for analysis and the individual variety of a piece of music contradicting any given uniformity bestowed by the title. The selection of 'form' as a classifier was made with reference to the complications associated with 'style', which Robert Pascall defines as:

denoting manner of discourse, mode of expression; more particularly the manner in which a work of art is executed. In the discussion of music, which is orientated towards relationships rather than meanings, the term raises special difficulties; it may be used to denote music characteristic of an individual composer, of a period, of a geographical area or centre, or of a society or social function.<sup>38</sup>

And with reference to the concept of genre, defined in Grove by Jim Samson as 'A class, type or category, sanctioned by convention. Since conventional definitions derive (inductively) from concrete particulars, such as musical works or musical practices, and are therefore subject to change, a genre is probably closer to an 'ideal type' (in Max Weber's sense)'.<sup>39</sup> Samson's definition here is both wide and loose, demonstrating some difficulty in its empirical application.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Arnold Whittall, "Form," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 8, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000009981?rskey=2nflui&result=1>.

<sup>38</sup> Robert Pascall, "Style," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 9, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027041?rskey=1PjAob&result=1>.

<sup>39</sup> Jim Samson, "Genre," in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed June 9, 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040599?rskey=hcbgTX&result=1>.

However, Weber's concept of 'ideal type' offers a theoretical underpinning to the choice of 'form' as a classifier, as in pragmatic terms for this analysis, the content and meaning of the title of a score is linked with a specific 'ideal type', i.e. theoretical abstraction, of a musical form (because the title includes sufficient features to effect the link).<sup>40</sup> Both style and genre are relevant descriptors in relation to domestic repertoire, as is its relationship to the classical music canon, and these are included as reference points within the discussion.

## 2.4 The Uppark Music

The music now to be found at Uppark comprises some 500 items, the earliest dating from the end of the eighteenth century. The items are almost all sheet music, save for a few compilations and some copied pieces. Each score, packed flat and wrapped in random bundles in tissue paper in the box, was, in the later 1990s, numbered in sequence by a National Trust volunteer. The assignment of numbers to pieces of music appears to have been haphazard in that there is no obvious coherent ordering of the collection, nor any catalogue of the contents.<sup>41</sup> At this same time, tissue paper was placed between many of the items, to conserve them. (The National Trust now plans to improve the storage conditions of the music). A number of the items are in poor condition: torn pages, worn paper, yellowing, damp spots, general wear and tear indicative of frequent use. There are several pieces where the front or back cover is missing, and/or where only one page remains. Over 500 items were entered into the database, which provides the foundation for this study.

The Uppark music accumulation spans the long nineteenth century. The different numbers of items whose publication falls within the various decades are represented by the figure below. Dates of publication, if not on the score itself, may be difficult to verify, given that a piece may have several different publishers, and one publisher may produce the one piece in more than one edition. Plate numbers were often not given. Consequently a significant proportion of publication dates of the music have not been confirmed.

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<sup>40</sup> An 'ideal type' is constructed by identifying a cluster of associated characteristics which together form a theoretical model of the 'ideal', which is validated by what is termed 'causal adequacy'.

<sup>41</sup> The use of the word 'collection' in this instance and following is colloquial, in that it denotes a plurality of pieces of sheet music (rather than just one) and does not contradict the identification of the music at Uppark as an accumulation.

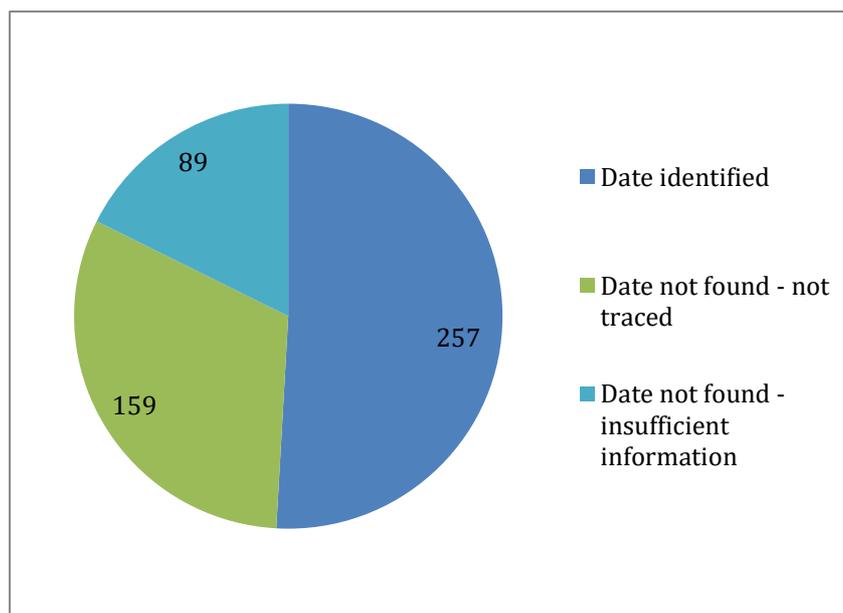


CHART 2-1. IDENTIFICATION OF PUBLICATION DATES.

The process of accurately dating these undated items continues. Even if the actual date of publication cannot be ascertained, pertinent information regarding the life of the composer, performance of the composition, the dedicatee, the dates when other editions of the same piece were published, contribute to a fuller knowledge of the likely year/within which years, of the Uppark edition.

The greatest proportion of the individual pieces fall in the fifty years between 1820-1870, which encompass significant years of the Victorian era. Queen Victoria's life span from 1819-1901 roughly coincides with that of Frances Bullock, 1819-1895, who lived at Uppark (from 1825 until her death in 1895) and whose name is on many items from this period.

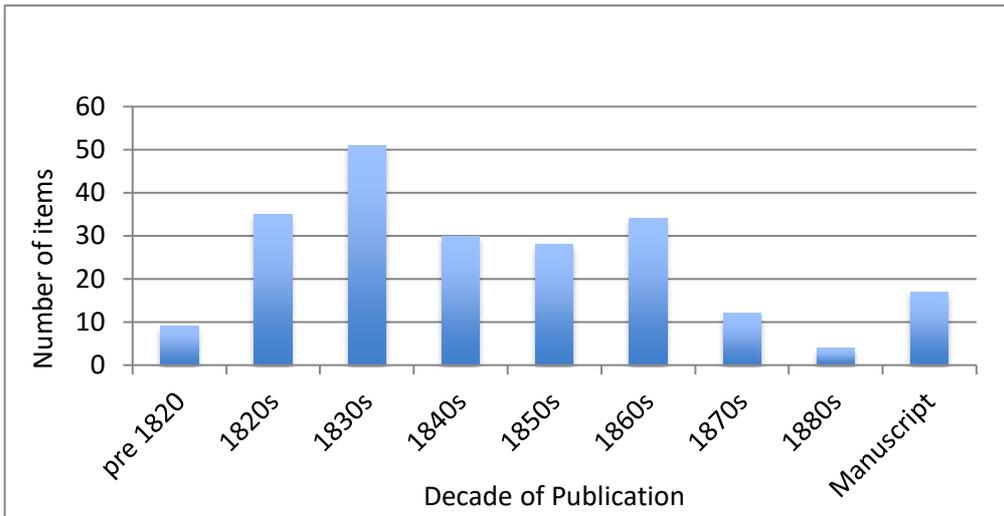


CHART 2-2. THE UPPARK ACCUMULATION BY DECADE OF PUBLICATION (WHERE IDENTIFIED).<sup>42</sup>

The profile of the Uppark accumulation is dominated by music for piano, with a substantial amount of pieces for small instrumental ensemble. As the figure below shows, the second largest category is accompanied vocal music, of which only a very small amount (1%) is scored for more than one voice. Instrumental music makes up the third category by volume, followed by manuscripts, items for more than one voice, and pedagogic music.

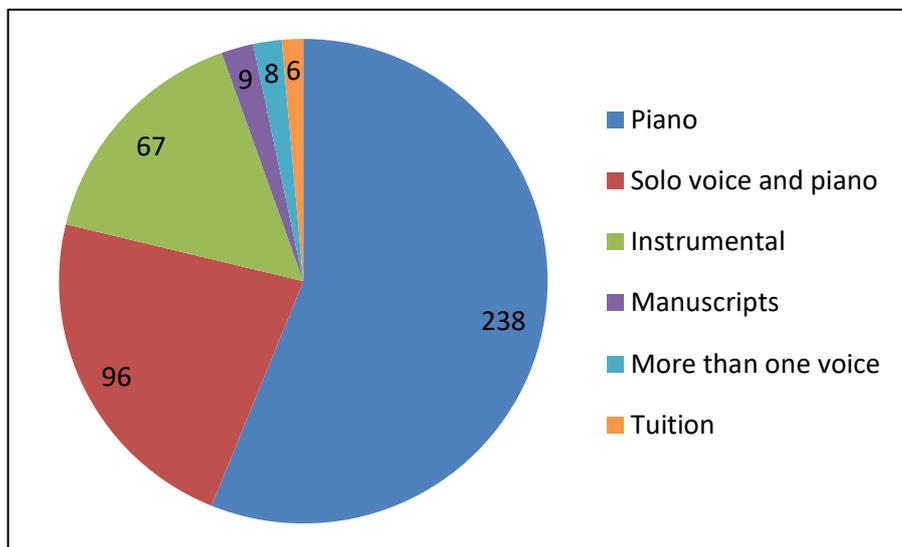


CHART 2-3. CATEGORIES OF UPPARK MUSIC (FIGURES REFER TO NUMBER OF ITEMS).

<sup>42</sup> Only just over half the items (257) have been dated, with queries in respect of the remainder (248 items, 49%).

## 2.5 Composers represented in the Uppark Music

The profile of the composers of the piano music at Uppark indicates that a significant proportion of them were from Europe, which is not surprising given the opportunities available to them in London and elsewhere in Britain, both for production and sales of domestic repertoire, as well as performance. The frequency of appearance of continental European composers of the domestic repertoire within rurally isolated Uppark house illustrates the reach of the cosmopolitan influence of this repertoire, and the several social milieux to which such scores (virtually) connected the individual performer. The overview of the composers of the music belonging to Frances Bullock (Chapter 4) shows that about half of them were not British, and the accumulation as a whole reflects this division. The lack of British composers was noted in the now infamous quote of a German scholar, Oskar Schmidt, that 'Finally I have found something which distinguishes English people from all other cultures to a quite astonishing degree.... The English are the only cultured nation without its own music (except street music)...their life overall is much poorer for it.' This judgment of the state of English music was commonly held for some decades of the nineteenth century, and beyond, during which period Britain was perceived as importing and enjoying the compositions and performances of European composers, in the absence of indigenous musical talent.<sup>43</sup> This point of view was described in the *Musical World* as 'the old-fashioned and still fashionable twaddle in high quarters – that the English cannot be musical people'.<sup>44</sup> Very many decades later, Nicholas Temperley rejected this 'belief' with the proposition that 'I don't think we need to worry about 'Das Land ohne Musik' as anything more than a historical curiosity. We have lived it down'.<sup>45</sup> The preoccupation with European music has been termed 'xenophilia' by Temperley, who understands this in terms of an historical construct based not on the quality of music, but on external factors, including the commentaries of music critics, commentators and historians, as well as a national lack of confidence about British music. Drawing on a number of studies of nineteenth-century British musical composition, Temperley challenges the 'dark age' on the grounds of the variance of opinion as to the relevant dates, and the variance in evaluation as to which compositions may be described as music of that dark age, the end of which was brought about by the rise of nationalism towards

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<sup>43</sup> Composers, conductors and performers from overseas were welcomed to Britain. An example of such 'importing' were the ten visits of Felix Mendelssohn over 18 years (1829-1847, when he died), during which he conducted the first performances of a number of his compositions to large audiences and won much acclaim, and also performed as a soloist.

<sup>44</sup> "Musical World," 14 (1840), 262, accessed May 16, 2017, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5y47DwAAQBAJ&dq=,+Musical+World+15+\(1841\).++155](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=5y47DwAAQBAJ&dq=,+Musical+World+15+(1841).++155).

<sup>45</sup> Nicholas Temperley, "The Land without Music," *The Musical Times*, no. 1589 (1975): 625.

the end of the century, aligned with a move towards greater protectionism of Britain.<sup>46</sup> The list of composers of the music at Uppark suggests that nationality was not a matter of concern for its owners, and that they, like many users of domestic repertoire assimilated without question the European influence.

The position of women composers in the domestic music market was very different from that of men. They were relatively invisible in nineteenth-century musical society, a situation which was echoed by the prevailing androcentric musicological narrative until the advent of a feminist perspective some three decades ago and the development of a more holistic approach. This reformulated perspective invites examination of the Uppark music to ascertain to what extent it is an example of the gendering of musical composition, signalling the ascribed feminine gendering which positioned domestic repertoire as inferior to public repertoire. The names of women composers who appear in the Uppark accumulation are shaded purple in the database (Appendix A). Of the eleven women composers identified in the Uppark music, three elected to publish in their husbands' names, but so far as has been ascertained, there are no examples of publication using a male pseudonym. There are only three compositions by women in the 240 piano pieces at Uppark, a dramatic indictment of the gender subordination of women in a patriarchal society. The perspectives and circumstances underpinning this invisibility of women as composers have been increasingly elucidated with the advent of a critical approach to gendered systems of value construction by feminist musicology, which seeks to evidence and explain the boundaries and restrictions on women's musical practice in respect of both composition and performance.<sup>47</sup> Two of these three piano pieces by a female composer were gifts to Frances Bullock and are considered below within the discussion about the gifts of music she received. The third piece, *The Sonderborg Lament* (UDB 088), was composed by an eleven-year-old girl, Leila Taylor, 'for the benefit of the Poor of Sonderborg'.<sup>48</sup> There are no clues as to how this item arrived at Uppark.

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<sup>46</sup> Nicholas Temperley, "Xenophilia in British Musical History," in *Nineteenth Century British Music Studies*, ed. Bennett Zon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 6.

<sup>47</sup> Sophie Drinker makes a statement of feminist intent: 'I was firmly convinced that the whole story of music had not been told in a single volume, in any compendium of information on music, or in any collected series of works on the subject. I determined to find woman in this larger story of musical creativeness where I believed she belonged.' Sophie Drinker, *Music and Women: the Story of Women in their Relation to Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1948), xii, accessed April 25, 2016, <https://archive.org/stream/musicandwoman001260mbp#page/n17/mode/2up>.

<sup>48</sup> COPAC lists this piece as published in 1864 (no details provided of printer or publisher). I have been unable to find any further information about this piece or about the composer.

The publication dates, though not always reliable, of the ten songs (out of a total of 74) in the Uppark music composed by women (almost) span the long nineteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Statistics confirming this minority position of women composers are cited by Deborah Rohr from the *Musical Directory, Register, and Almanack* (London: n.p. 1855) that “twenty-one per cent (472) of the names are women's, a disproportionate number of whom lived in London, where the directory was compiled. The vast majority were singers and/or pianists, although there were twenty-five organists, and ten who listed harmony, which in this directory indicated that they were composers”.<sup>50</sup>

This reflects the situation at the time, that most women composers – of who few were and are known – were songwriters. As Sophie Fuller points out ‘economic necessity (songwriting was virtually the only way of making money through composition) and access to the training and performance opportunities necessary for larger-scale works, through to a refusal (often internalized by the women themselves) to believe that women were capable of writing anything else’.<sup>51</sup> From the 1860s onwards, an increasing volume of women’s compositions were published and sold in the profitable domestic repertoire market. Easy songs and piano pieces comprised most of this music, reflecting the Victorian image of an aristocratic/upper middle-class woman, namely that she was gentle, passive, pretty and morally upright.

## 2.6 The Piano Music

The substantial amount of piano music at Uppark underlines its dominant place in the nineteenth-century domestic repertoire found in the house. A striking feature of the music is that nearly two thirds of it is ‘arrangements’ for the piano, which is a significant feature of the Uppark music and illustrative of the domain of home performance. The most frequently found original sources of arrangements, are national airs and opera airs, appearing in almost equal measure, followed by dances. Music from the canon, such as the arranged works of Handel and Haydn, is also strongly represented at Uppark. And there are piano (sometimes with a small ensemble) arrangements of instrumental music. The remaining arrangements are of a significant number of early twentieth century popular songs, and a number of other vocal pieces, including sacred music. This span of various origins demonstrates the versatility and marketability of the

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<sup>49</sup> Women composers of vocal music are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

<sup>50</sup> Deborah Rohr, "Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: The Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839–1866," *Journal of Musicological Research* 18, no. 4 (1999): 313.

<sup>51</sup> Sophie Fuller, "Unearthing a World of Music: Victorian and Edwardian Women Composers," *Women: A Cultural Review* 3, no. 1 (1992): 134.

piano arrangement, which as a form assimilated all types of music and made them available for the individual to perform at home. The developments in production and distribution meant that arrangements could be swiftly published and 'consumed', at a much speedier rate than had been possible before industrialisation, so what was 'contemporary' or 'popular' in London concert halls or on the opera stage was soon widely available elsewhere. In this way domestic repertoire was both a recipient of, and a contributor to, the growth of 'popular culture'.

In addition to offering its consumers a musical experience which they could create in their home, these arrangements for domestic repertoire flourished during the later nineteenth century as agents of social communication, conveying to performers a myriad of features associated with a score. This balance of original and arranged piano pieces underlines an impetus which the increasing popularity of playing the piano at home provided to the sheet music market. It also demonstrates the motivation of composers and publishers to flood the home market not only with compositions written for the piano, but also to provide arranged music from a number of sources, thereby creating access to a much-increased volume and range of pieces for home performance. A review of the arranged music in this collection echoes the suggestion of William Lockhart with regard to his study, that 'For now, this study can merely suggest a flash of the dense and multi-coloured weft of producers, consumers and market forces which patterned the fabric of that practice which is today all too-readily dismissed as a monochromatic and uninteresting historical oddity - arrangement in the nineteenth century'.<sup>52</sup>

### **Arrangements for the Piano**

A retrospective look at the practice of 'arranging' music for the piano suggests it was unbridled during the nineteenth century and very much a part of everyday domestic repertoire, reducing only with the advent of recorded music and radio listening. The term 'arrangement' in nineteenth-century context essentially means the resurrection of material from an original composition, and includes a (popular) air or tune from opera or orchestral music, with variations.<sup>53</sup> Such music was often easy to play and tuneful on the ear, and has long been

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<sup>52</sup> William Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine: Keyboard Arrangement in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D., University of Berlin, 2012), accessed November 26, 2016, <https://edoc.hu-berlin.de/handle/18452/17298>

<sup>53</sup> The generic title 'theme and variations' indicated some shared characteristics, such as a balanced binary structure with internal repeats, length being multiples of 8 (i.e. 16, 24 or 32 bars), a clear and easily memorable theme, straight-forward harmonies, and right and left hands on the keyboard clearly playing the melody and accompaniment respectively. Each variation would be differentiated from the others, whilst sharing the original theme.

dismissed by those concerned with 'serious' music. Ehrlich referred to them as 'mass produced for the ungifted and semi-trained to perform to the unmusical and half-listening'.<sup>54</sup> He referred to Loesser's commentary, which is a more pragmatic view:

The total amount of music bought to be played on pianofortes increased enormously after 1790; as the quantity grew greater, the average quality grew poorer. There is nothing mysterious in this process: the finest music, for the most part, requires skill to perform and cultivation to enjoy; but very few people are skilled or cultivated...if he [a publisher] has to have a great many customers to stay in business, he must draw them from the vast majority of the unskilled and uncultivated: he must tend to favor them and pass the high-brows by. It is as simple as that.<sup>55</sup>

These words spell out what happened: that a vast amount of music was produced, particularly arrangements directed to amateur players. What the 'musical elite' struggled with in broad terms, as the nineteenth century progressed, was the evolution of musical composition and performance from respectively an art and an accomplishment at the beginning of the century, into a commercial activity and a relatively widespread leisure pursuit by its end.

Central to this evolution were the changes in social structure and wealth distribution in consequence of industrialisation, with, in very brief terms, the arrival of an aspiring and financially empowered 'new' middle class who challenged aristocrat elitism, power and the norms of their musical culture. For these reasons, piano arrangements and their composers were belittled, given that it was considered that 'Neither the fashionable, the educational, the simple, nor the popular are capable of being real musical works, let alone ones worthy of study'.<sup>56</sup> But nevertheless, given that piano arrangements are considered to fit this description, this 'unreal' music found its way into the music stock of country houses, not least Uppark.

The form 'arrangement' made music reproducible and transportable, cheaper to acquire and therefore more accessible, more attainable for more people than travelling to a concert performance. These attributes combined so that 'Given that arrangement was one of the main means by which music was circulated at the time, and circulated often to those individuals who otherwise might never have been able to hear it, keyboard arrangement ranks as one of the most important socio-musical phenomena of the nineteenth century'.<sup>57</sup> In effect, a nineteenth-

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<sup>54</sup> Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine," 93.

<sup>55</sup> Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano, a History* (London: J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd., 1976), 251.

<sup>56</sup> Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos* (New York: Dover Publication, inc., 1954), 35.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

century keyboard arrangement offers a ‘recording’ of the original work, in that it provides a direct access to that piece. This might be evident from the large lettering of the original composer’s name (sometimes so dominant that the purchaser may be forgiven for assuming the printed sheet music was the original) as with the front cover of *Dear Violetta* (UDB 083), which assails the reader with fairly dense text, requiring more than a moment’s perusal to clarify that this is an arrangement.<sup>58</sup>

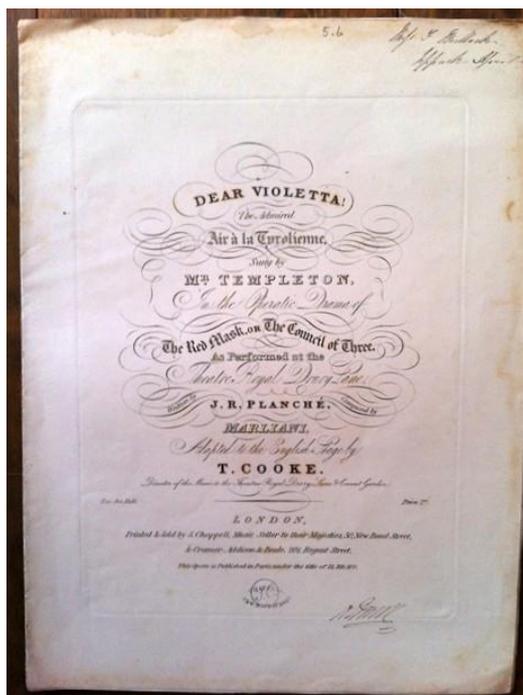


IMAGE 2-4. COOKE, *DEAR VIOLETTA*, FRONT COVER, (UDB 083).

In this way, the front covers of arrangements advertised, rather than concealed, details of the original composition, frequently using the same title as the original both to promote the item in this new form and to avoid any suggestions of illicit piracy. Nevertheless issues regarding copyright were the subject of continuing legal scrutiny, concerned with matters such as the degree of skill required to rework music, the similarity of the original and the arrangement, making a distinction between changes indicating alterations and changes borne of creativity, whether the quantum of independent work was sufficient to avoid copyright infringement and alternatively, whether sufficient of the original melody had been taken into the arrangement for piracy to have occurred. The most renowned case, running for over thirty years, was that

<sup>58</sup> The introduction of lithography in the 1820s made possible visual allurements of the front covers of sheet music (although no such covers are to be found in Frances Bullock’s arranged – as contrasted with original – compositions) and autograph facsimiles, both of which encouraged acquisition.

brought by the music publisher D'Almaine and Another against Boosey. The case was first heard in 1835, and the final hearing took place in 1868, with an inconclusive outcome as to the legal status of a keyboard arrangement.<sup>59</sup> The commercial returns to publishers and composers of keyboard arrangements continued to attract their production, marketed to promote the usefulness and attraction of these items as derivations of popular originals and yet complete in themselves for performance at home.

Closer examination of the arrangements reveals that national airs and opera airs are the most often represented sources of original music, followed in almost equal measure by dance airs, pieces originally scored for one or more instruments, popular songs, and other songs. The arrangements also encompass music from the canon. The eclectic taste of Frances Bullock demonstrates the range of original compositions which became available to the individual through domestic repertoire, whilst the contemporary popular song music of Maysie Glyn illustrates how piano arrangements to play at home provided both a connection with current taste and an ongoing participation in the public, social world of music making.

An attendant outcome from the growth in popularity of keyboard arrangements over the nineteenth century was the emergence of a different discourse for domestic repertoire, characterized by reading and listening to music. Botstein explains that 'A newer piano-based standard of musical literacy made possible a profound democratization of musical culture', complementing references above to changes in British social stratification and the consequences of that for domestic music making.<sup>60</sup> Both Botstein and Christensen develop discussions about the individual's attention and resulting sensibility to music from domestic performance, captured by Lockhart's reflection 'that there was a profoundly widespread culture of domestic listening' promoted by the opportunity, because the music was performed without obvious restrictions at home, to hear the same melody over and over again – hence the well-used sheet music pieces within the Uppark collection.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> In 1835 D'Almaine argued that extraction from the original was copyright infringement, if the arrangement sounded the same as the original. The focus of discussion about piracy was what had been done with the air or melody 'invented' by the composer and whether the appropriated music, though adapted to – i.e. arranged for – a different purpose from that of the original, might still be recognized by the ear. The finding in the 1868 hearing was that keyboard editions (i.e. arrangements) could be copyrighted if they were of originals *which were not themselves under copyright*. But this did not impact on the legality of producing editions of works that were still under copyright, since it assumed those to be illegal. The sheer volume of output of keyboard arrangements reflects these legal 'muddy waters'.

<sup>60</sup> William Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine," 137.

<sup>61</sup> See Leon Botstein, "Listening through Reading: Musical Literacy and the Concert Audience," *19th-Century Music* 16, no. 2 (1992): 286. And Thomas Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and

### Original Compositions for the Piano

Nearly a third of the original compositions in the Uppark music are in dance form, reflecting both its popularity and maybe that some of this music served an educational function as Frances Bullock – and possibly Miss Sutherland before her – learnt to play the piano, utilizing for this purpose those “dance- tunes, waltzes, quadrilles, marches, &c. &c.” which Czerny, addressing his comments to ‘Miss’, specifically included in his categorization of “easy, but tasteful pieces”.<sup>62</sup> In spite of its pedagogic role, piano performance of dance music was seen by some as of inferior musical value and impacting negatively on the future adult musical tastes of a young aristocratic woman. A contemporary instruction volume for young ladies advised that ‘As the taste gradually forms, in proportion as the pupil becomes acquainted with a succession of good authors, it is of the highest importance that, in the choice of pieces, the real piano-forte style should be preserved; and that flimsy extracts from operas, ballets, &c. should be avoided’.<sup>63</sup> However, the amount of dance music at Uppark, both in original form and as arrangements, contradicts this directive and indicates that Frances Bullock’s wider taste moved beyond traditional class ascription, given that as the century progressed, dance music was increasingly seen as ‘bourgeois’, reflecting the broadening of the social class of acquirers of domestic repertoire, initially directed to female aristocracy, from the 1850s.

*The Musical Press* expressed a dislike of this intrusion into elite domestic territory and, voiced an opinion with regard to Camille Schubert’s ‘*Les Charmes de l’Hiver*’, *Cinq Valses Allemandes et un Grand Galop, pour le piano-forte* (UDB 007), ‘The peculiar stamp of M. Schubert’s works, and this is not our least merit, is to breathe always certain perfume of the aristocratic salon, of the atmosphere of the world as it should be: we see that the author knows his world, and his world is not that of public balls.’<sup>64</sup> This ‘peculiar stamp’ of a private elite world denies the increasing

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Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 52, no. 2 (1999): 183.

<sup>62</sup> Charles Czerny, *Letters to a Young Lady on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte, from the Earliest Rudiments to the Highest Stage of Cultivation*, trans. James Alexander Hamilton (London: R.Cocks and Co., 1839), 41, accessed February 2017, [https://ia802707.us.archive.org/11/items/youngladybookma00londiala/youngladybookma00londiala\\_bw.pdf](https://ia802707.us.archive.org/11/items/youngladybookma00londiala/youngladybookma00londiala_bw.pdf).

<sup>63</sup> *The Young Lady’s Book: A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits*, (London: Vizetelly, Branston, and Co., 1839), accessed February 4, 2017, [https://ia802707.us.archive.org/11/items/youngladybookma00londiala/youngladybookma00londiala\\_bw.pdf](https://ia802707.us.archive.org/11/items/youngladybookma00londiala/youngladybookma00londiala_bw.pdf).

<sup>64</sup> *The Musical Press*, No. 36, Paris, December 10, 1846, 3-4, accessed February 4, 2017, [gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5439828d.image.hl.r="camille+schubert".f3.langFR](http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5439828d.image.hl.r=).

ubiquity of domestic repertoire beyond the aristocracy, and the growing production of a diversity of musical forms for domestic performance, as evidenced by the Uppark accumulation. The quadrilles, for example, *Prince Albert Quadrilles* (UDB 040) by Hermann Strauss; *The Pretty Bird Quadrille* (UDB 107) by Charles Coote, Junr; *Les Dames de la Cour* (UDB 129) and *Abbeville* by John Weippart, would symbolise, presumably for Frances Bullock, aspects of aristocratic sociability and its engagement with public modelling (fashion, deportment, conversation etc.) of the ideals of womanhood. In contrast, Weippart's set of waltzes, *La Tuileries* (UDB 135), *The Fire Fly Polka* (UDB 076) and *The Fairies Delight Polka* (UDB 101) are representatives of more 'risqué' contemporary dances, so defined because they involved more boisterous movements and closer couple physical contact. Whilst these pieces were part of the individual's repertoire for personal practice and performance, they also provided items for 'salon performance' in the semi-public setting of a social gathering, or as the musical accompaniment for dancing as part of a social evening with domestic entertainment.

The remainder of the original piano music at Uppark includes established forms such as *Six Concertos for the Organ or Piano-Forte* (UDB 002) by Handel, and Schröder's *Introduction and Rondo for the Piano Forte* (UDB 064).<sup>65</sup> There are also forms associated with the nineteenth century, such as *La Fiammina, Mazurka élégante pour piano* (UDB 003) by Joseph Ascher; *Nocturne pour le piano* (UDB 050) by Döhler, and *Caprice-Nocturne pour Piano* (UDB 010) by Coria; Thalberg's *Grand Fantasia on the National Airs. God Save The Queen and Rule Britannia, for the Piano Forte* (UDB 009) and *L'Enfant du Régiment, Fantaisie Militaire, pour le Piano Forte* (UDB 032) by Chaulieu. There are also a number of brief piano items, many reflecting aspects of Bailey's commentary when discussing the higher level of accomplishment in piano playing achieved by numbers of young women, that 'Most of the repertory falls easily under the fingers, even the more technically demanding pieces ... many of the moderately-difficult works are in a flat key, such as A-flat or possibly D-flat major. Such keys lend themselves comfortably to certain types of passagework and figuration, such as extended arpeggios on tonic and dominant'.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Malcolm Cole refers to the emergence of the Rondo as a discreet (rather than being one of several movements) composition, which flourished during the nineteenth century 'particularly as a virtuoso, bravura piece ... often these freely, often loosely constructed display vehicles were commonly framed by an arresting introduction and a breathlessly rushing coda'. Malcolm Cole, "Rondo" in *Grove Music Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed January 29, 2017, (<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/search?q=grove+music+online&searchBtn=Search&isQuickSearch=true>).

<sup>66</sup> Candace Bailey, "The Antebellum "Piano Girl" In the American South," *Performance Practice Review* 13, no. 1 (2008): 119.

These features are illustrated by the second of *Trois Reveries* (UDB 211), composed by Henri Rosellen, in which the left hand continually executes such arpeggios throughout the first ‘movimento’ of this piece in A flat major.



IMAGE 2-5. NO.2, *TROIS REVERIES*, BY HENRI ROSELLEN, UPPARK (UDB 319).

Temperley makes the distinction between two classes of music in the nineteenth century, ‘one functional, or for popular entertainment, the other aspiring to high art by virtue of its intellectual and emotional content’. The piano music at Uppark suggests little affinity of its owners with ‘serious art’, rather that they were ready consumers of lighter music, suggesting some disregard for the nineteenth-century ‘high art’ perspective. This widely propagated view equated the loss of the original identity of a piece of music when presented as an arrangement, as a loss of intellectual content and cultural value. This position is reflected in Temperley’s reminder that players and singers were amateurs of modest accomplishment ... ‘and because they and their audience looked on music as a social, not an intellectual accomplishment, and used it only as an ornament to an occasion whose primary function had nothing to do with the music, drawing room music was intellectually undemanding also’.<sup>67</sup> The Moscheles arrangement of a Beethoven sonata (UDB 123) is an example of a piece which is technically not too demanding. Similarly there are various canonic items in the Uppark music which are arranged so that amateur players

<sup>67</sup> Nicholas Temperley, ed. *The Romantic Age 1800-1914*, The Athlone History of Music in Britain (London: The Athlone Press, 1981), 402.

may perform them at home, such as the Haydn symphonies (UDB 323, 332) and choruses from oratorios (UDB 326, 419, 478,484). Whilst the division of music into 'serious' and 'light' was not new, it was accentuated by the music publishers' production of scores in great volume for domestic use.

Temperley comments that 'All the main English keyboard composers of the early nineteenth century, like most of their continental counterparts including Beethoven, wrote popular as well as serious music for the piano. In England it must be assumed that the popular music was written for profit and the serious chiefly for reputation.'<sup>68</sup>

## 2.7 Vocal Music Scores at Uppark

The vocal music at Uppark may be broadly considered in terms of the categories 'serious' and 'light'. I elected not to use the descriptive adjective 'popular' to define a category, since as Dave Russell points out, 'popular music refers simply to the music that was offered to, listened to and performed by the majority of the population'.<sup>69</sup> He also mentions that in the nineteenth century popular music included Handelian oratorio and early nineteenth-century opera.

The 'light' category consists mainly of ballads, broadly typified as 'folk' and 'drawing room' songs. (These categories are discussed in more detail below). Most of the songs are scored for solo voice, unspecified. Although the vocal line is in the treble clef, the singer might be female or male, and likewise the narrative may not be gender specific. These are pieces for domestic performance and the majority have a piano accompaniment. A handful (11) vary from this with additional instrumental accompaniment, usually the violin. *Kind Words can never Die* is an arrangement for soprano and chorus of an early nineteenth-century American song, and there are four more early twentieth century songs arranged for more than one voice. All of the Uppark song scores are relatively short, and are led by their text which directs the nature of the usually undemanding piano accompaniment. The great majority of this vocal music may be described as 'light' (107 items) rather than 'serious' (8 items) and most of this light music falls into the category of 'drawing room ballad'. The next largest category of light songs are folk ballads, followed by a small miscellany (mainly arrangements of opera arias) of other songs. More than a third (41) of the 'light' songs have a publication date post 1895 (when Frances Bullock died).

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 402.

<sup>69</sup> Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England 1840-1914, a Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), xi.

Much of this music is not inscribed with a name or date, and often it is problematic to align the specific edition of a score with more than an approximate publication date. Consequently it is not possible to gauge the precise involvement of Frances Bullock in forming the collection of vocal music, although it has to be likely that these Uppark vocal items were acquired during her lifetime. A substantial number of the songs (14) published in the early 1900s bear the name 'Maysie Glyn', who may also have acquired these other popular songs referred to above.<sup>70</sup>

The vocal items published in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century, pre-dating the lighter popular music items, tend to be of a more serious nature, which might have been to Frances Bullock's taste at that time, or that of her governess. As Anthony Bennett suggests, 'Towards the end of the nineteenth century, with the use of lithography and the advent of the cheap, mass-produced piano, printed music may be a reliable guide to popular taste; but in the first half, neither personal collections nor the output of music publishers can furnish hard information on the musical taste of more than a small minority of the population.'<sup>71</sup> An example of 'more serious' is *When Lubin sings of Youth's Delight*, a canzonet 'After the style of Haydn' (as stated on the front cover) composed by J. W. Hobbs, a gentleman of the Chapel Royal, which was owned by Frances Bullock. The text, by J. Gill, in two verses, is a straight forward tale of unrequited love, with the drama of the juxtapositioning of the sorrowful and joyful demeanours of the two actors emphasised by the descending phrase into B minor followed by a pause, then the transition into an A major cadence, as the piano traces the more florid vocal line.

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<sup>70</sup> Appendix B lists music belonging to Maysie Glyn.

<sup>71</sup> Anthony Bennett, "Sources of Popular Song in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain: Problems and Methods of Research," *Popular Music and Society* 2 (1982): 86.

WHEN LUBIN SINGS OF YOUTH'S DELIGHT. 11

The image shows a page of a musical score for the song 'When Lubin Sings of Youth's Delight'. It features a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'I had no sigh of love he waxes, A mid his gen-ile strains; For while my heart with an-guish breaks, He smiles, then sings a - gale; when I sigh or weep - ing gaze, He smiles, then sings a - gale.' The score includes dynamic markings like 'p' and 'mf', and performance instructions such as 'ad lib.' and 'a largo'. The page number '11' is in the top right corner.

IMAGE 2-6. *WHEN LUBIN SINGS OF YOUTH'D DELIGHT*, p.2, ILLUSTRATING ACCOMPANIMENT REFLECTING THE TEXT, UPPARK (UDB 272).

Another 'more serious' vocal item is the use of an air, *Ah Perdona* from Mozart's 'La Clemenza di Tito', in an arrangement of *Fare Thee Well* for voice and piano, published about 1826. This is an example of music by a composer from the canon being arranged for domestic performance (the arranger is not named). Byron's verse evokes the loss for a distressed mother and her child on the departure of her husband, sung to a quintessential Mozartian accompaniment.

### Ballads

The Victorian ballad, a type of song broadly defined as primarily intended for domestic performance by amateurs, was at home in the drawing room; and at Uppark, in the saloon (so called because typical a 'saloon' is the largest and grandest room in the house, leading to a series of rooms without outside entrances). Many ballads were sentimental, often they were romantic, some were humorous, and some contained overt political comment. The source of text for the lyrics of a ballad was unlimited: it might be a well-known poem; text which was sacred in origin; simple words set for the specific purpose of the song; verse written for/about/relevant to, the dedicatee of the ballad; a relatively trite and meaningless form of words, in effect nonsense.

Temperley suggests that 'Triviality is certainly a fault of most ballads' and whilst the tenor of his comment may seem dated, ballads are notable for their quotidian content, although this does not apply to all texts, some of which were by established poets and some drawn from sacred sources.<sup>72</sup> Temperley's description of the features of the ballad elicits the breadth of its audience appeal, namely that it was straight forward, musically unsophisticated, and 'easy listening':

The main feature of the *ballad* was that the words, which were nearly always in three verses, presented a narrative, whose melodramatic climaxes were crudely underlined in the music. In many ways it corresponded to the 'picture that tells a story', and commended itself to people for whom the higher forms of dramatic entertainment were either shunned on religious grounds or too expensive.<sup>73</sup>

With regard to those at Uppark, this value judgement as to the nature of (some of) the receiving audience is unknown. The subject matter of most of the ballads at Uppark are concerned in some way with lost love, such as the man grieving the lost love of a woman who deceived him in *Mary I believ'd thee true*, described positively by the Apollonian critic when a new composition: 'In the whole range of modern amatory songs, we know of none superior, very few equal, to this'.<sup>74</sup> This same theme of unrequited love is expressed in Henry Bishop's *I stood amid the glitt'ring throng*. It has a pedantic melody and very simple accompaniment (often just single crochets for the left hand), contributing to F. Corder's view that 'I confess that the large majority of these songs appear to me to have been turned out of a machine, so cheap., so cut-and-dried are they'.<sup>75</sup>

*My Pretty Gazelle* has an accompaniment where the scherzo refrain to each verse includes demi-semiquavers which simulate the running deer, likened by the singer to the deceased woman he wishes would return.<sup>76</sup> The ballads *Why is love forever changing*, *Dear Violetta*, and *The Native Roundelay* further pursue this same theme.<sup>77</sup> Ballads were usually driven by the text, whose

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<sup>72</sup> Temperley, *The Romantic Age*, 131.

<sup>73</sup> Temperley, "Domestic Music in England," 43.

<sup>74</sup> John Stevenson, *Mary I believ'd thee true* (London: Power, ca. 1820), UDB 281. Hinton, J., "Apollonian Critic," *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, Vol.VII, January to June inclusive (1807): 171, accessed August 19, 2017, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=z2QAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA171&dq=apollonian+critic+1807+vol+7+171&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiwtsWpnYzaAhUIBcAKHZF3BMwQ6AEIKTAA#v=onepage&q&f=false>.

<sup>75</sup> Henry Bishop, *I stood amid the glitt'ring throng* (London: Goulding and D'Almaine, ca. 1840), UDB 100. F. Corder, and Bishop, Henry, "The Works of Sir Henry Bishop," *The Musical Quarterly* 4, no. 1 (1918): 92.

<sup>76</sup> G.A. Hodson, *My Pretty Gazelle* (London: Chappell, 1834), UDB 279.

<sup>77</sup> Louis Leo, *Why is love forever changing* (London: Leoni Lee, n.d.), UDB 285.

Marliani, *Dear Violetta* (London: Chappell, 1834), UDB 083.

T.Cooke, *The Native Roundelay* (London: D'Almaine, 1835), UDB 171.

narrative and meaning are endorsed by the instrumental accompaniment, most often provided by the piano. The accompaniment is generally not demanding to play and, because of the strophic (as compared with through-composed) form of most ballads, requires the player to play the same music for each verse/chorus. The instrumental role is to express and communicate the meaning of the text, mirroring emotions and moods, such as in *The Sea* (UDB 282) by The Chevalier Sigismond Neukomm, which starts robustly with rolling quavers akin to waves, and then a maritime momentum is retained throughout the piece, sometimes with additional zest of semiquavers as the piano part reflects the excitement of the narrative. The sailor tells of his lifelong love for the sea in all its moods, ending triumphantly with the declamation, to loud tonic chord endorsement, that he will die on the sea.

By the 1850s, a sentimental strand had become embedded in popular song, and indeed within the English culture, referred to by John Dwyer as having ‘...initiated the demise of the traditional public vocabulary with its stress upon military prowess, manly independence and the idealization of man as citizen. In place of the paradigm of aggressive political purpose, it substituted a world in which private friendships, the domestic hearth and specifically feminine feeling not only had a respected place but became essential characteristics of the moral community.’<sup>78</sup> The texts of the few songs (seven in number) which post-date 1850 and are published prior to Frances Bullock’s death in 1895, exude emotion, illustrating how sentimentalism reframed the text of songs to allow the expression of attitudes and feelings. Each song is about mourning a loss, which refers to death in all but *Doubts*, in which the narrative recounts a love which was but might not have been, and which might be again, but the narrator rejects that. And it is about contrasts, e.g. In *Home they brought*, between visible/invisible grief, youth/age, life/death; and in *Far away*, between happiness/grief, life/death. The accompaniments are bland, save for some word-painting, e.g. demi-semiquavers simulating tears in *Home they brought*, and agitated chromatic quavers reinforce the pain of losing earlier happiness in *Dream Faces*. All the songs use repeated musical phrases, e.g. the pattern of repeated waltz-style quavers in 4 –bar phrases, initially in F major moving to D minor and then back, is seldom absent in *Father Molloy*; *Doubts* progresses in 4-bar phrases, usually of quaver movement between the two hands at the piano, except for the slower middle section despairing that the lost love will be found. These vocal items also exhibit stereo-typical characteristics of the ballad, with their light nature, brevity, simple accompaniment, predominance of text over music, and repetitive content, differentiating them

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<sup>78</sup> John Dwyer, "The Sentimental Ethic," in *Encyclopedia of Literature and Criticism*, ed. Coyle et al. (London: Routledge, 1990), 1029-30.

from the serious art song. Dwyer continues 'The language and literature of sensibility differed, and differed sharply, from that of the romantic tradition ... Its purpose was to delineate and cultivate the operations of human sympathy so as to reinforce sociability and communal virtue – not to dethrone reason or self-control.'<sup>79</sup>

There are a significant number of folk ballads in the Uppark accumulation, based on national airs from all corners of the British Isles. These nineteenth-century arrangements of traditional melodies and texts again demonstrate the function of domestic repertoire in making available to its performers and audience music from diverse origins, in both historical and geographical respects. One of the functions of the arranger was to present the original air in a form and with a sound which would be appropriate to the domestic setting and pleasing to both performers and audience. Sophie Fuller's reminder of 'the quantities of music consumed by the upper classes in London in the late nineteenth century ... Private music parties and after-dinner concerts ... played an extremely important and nowadays unrecognized part in the musical life of the time' endorses the important function of domestic repertoire both musically and socially in the private, or rather semi-social, world of home musical performance. At Uppark, the majority of these folk ballads are Scottish in origin, although there are examples from all four corners of the British Isles. Alexander Lee's adaptation of the Scottish MacGregor clan's gathering tune (to rally in their fight to win land), *The Moon's on the Lake* UDB 304, is in D major, with an easy vocal line and similarly undemanding accompaniment, and illustrates how the 'lure' of the 'foreign' traditional was combined with contemporary expectations to produce a quintessential nineteenth-century ballad.

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<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 1034.

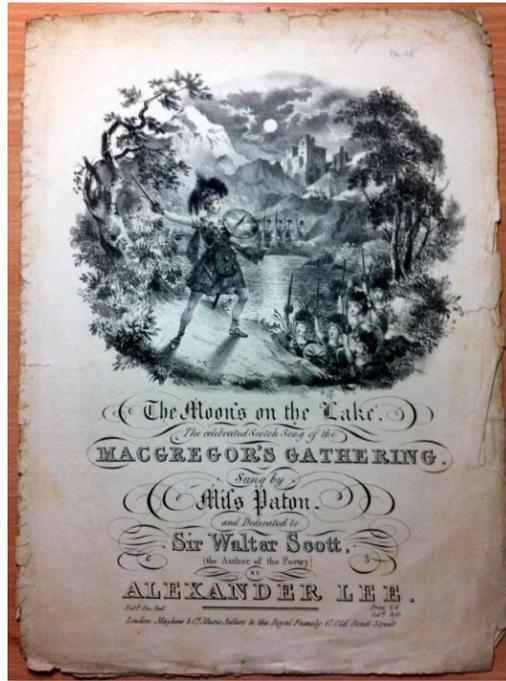


IMAGE 2-7. THE MOON'S ON THE LAKE, UPPARK (UDB 304).

The narrative of a blind man reunited with his lost love of 20 years by the touch of her hand is told in Samuel Lover's, *True love can ne'er forget*.<sup>80</sup> The front cover of this score advises that this folk ballad originated 'From the songs of the Legends and Traditions of Ireland'. This arrangement for domestic repertoire retains a nuanced (assumed original) text, endorsed by the accompaniment, for example the echo of the feminine reference to a harp at the end of verse 2 with a rising broken dominant minor seventh chord by the piano; and in verse 3, the piano accompaniment plays triplet semiquavers which resemble the sound of harp strings, so reiterating the connection of 'the Bard and the Lady', and connecting a young woman performer with that instrument of aristocratic women and reminding her of the social status evoked by this ballad. Even though Victorian propriety was ostensibly a highly valued social norm, more covert innuendo was not unknown.

<sup>80</sup> Samuel Lover, *True Love Can Ne'er Forget* (London: Duff & Co., 1834), UDB 283.

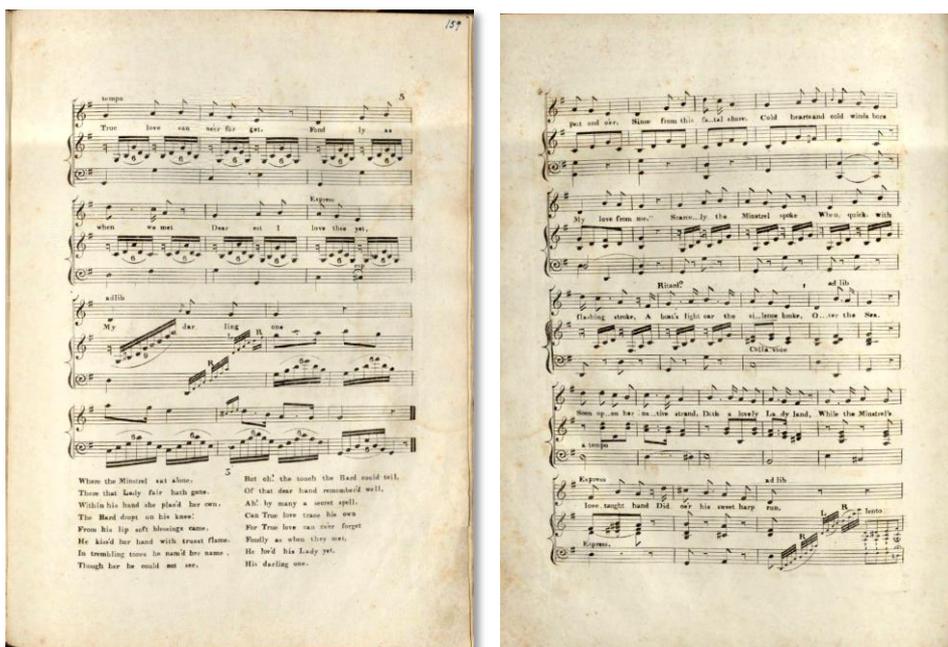


IMAGE 2-8. TRUE LOVE CAN NE'ER FORGET, UPPARK (UDB 283).<sup>81</sup>

Press commentary enthused about John Parry's delivery of a favourite Welsh ballad, *Jenny Jones*, from his burletta, *He would be an Actor*, praising the '...pretty little simple ballad of "Jenny Jones" ...Nothing could be in better taste than Mr Parry's general manner of delivering this little ballad'.<sup>82</sup> At Uppark, this is one of eleven songs, not seemingly inter-related, which may well have been put in a pile by the owner and sewn together with large stitches. The narrative recounts how a sailor returns to his Welsh homeland and the woman he loves, Jenny Jones; the accompaniment, which follows the D major arpeggio scheme of the melody, is very straightforward. A similar direction of narrative is found in *O! Merry Row the Bonnie Bark*, a ballad telling the story of a maiden bewailing that her lover was out on a rough sea, and yet he was restored to her. Founded on an ancient Northumbrian melody although characterised by dotted rhythms associated with Scottish music, the prominence accorded to Miss Stephens' rendering of this song is a very typical advertising manoeuvre of the time, encouraging

<sup>81</sup> Samuel Lover, "True Love Can Ne'er Forget," *Historic Sheet Music Collection. Paper 531*, accessed February 23, 2018, <http://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/sheetmusic/531>.

<sup>82</sup> *Musical World*, June 23, 1837, accessed January 23, 2017, <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=tOcqAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA26&lpg=PA26&dq=Parry+'Jenny'+Jones>".

consumers to purchase a piece of music in order to associate with a ‘celebrated’ performer of the same.<sup>83</sup>

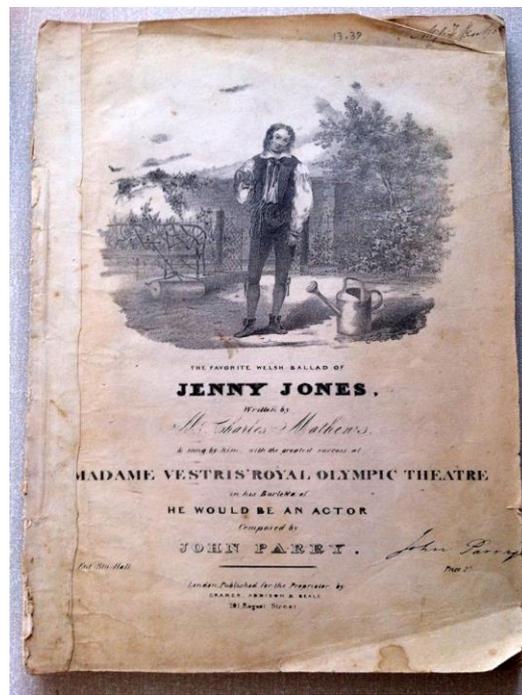


IMAGE 2-9. JENNY JONES, UPPARK (UDB 276).

Each of these four folk ballads is entwined with the theme of loss and its resolution, the subject matter being lost love, lost land, a lost woman, a lost lover. Many narratives of ballads are built on the binary of an initial statement as to the sense of the extremity of loss, which is then complemented with the joy of finding/reunification. Whilst this may not be new, it was repeatedly used as a successful ‘formula’ by which to attract the market.

### Women Song Composers

Nothing is known about one of the songs, *Waiting*, composed by a woman, Florence Perkins,

<sup>83</sup> The use of the ‘Scottish snap’ throughout the song bears out Temperley’s finding of a correlation between the speech rhythms of language and the musical rhythms, with the latter reflecting the former – as exemplified here in the opening two vocal bars of this song. Nicholas Temperley and David Temperley, "Music-Language Correlations and the ‘Scotch Snap’," *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 29, no. 1 (2011): 51-63. doi:10.1525/mp.2011.29.1.51.



with text by M. Leigh. This is not remarkable, since until very recently, nineteenth-century women composers have often been disregarded, or might seek to hide their true identity.

As Sophie Fuller points out 'if these women and their many contemporaries are remembered at all today, they are contemptuously dismissed as composers of drawing-room music or as upper-class "amateur" dabblers'.<sup>84</sup> Resorting to domestic music composition for a thriving market, and increasingly so from the 1860s onwards, was for women both a more realistic economic strategy than achieving production of larger-scale works they composed, and fitted with the bestowed lack of agency and skill regarding composition, which was commonly ascribed to them, in consequence of the social and musical expectations of feminine conformity. Derek Scott illustrates the female profile of a domestic vocal composer, when he writes with regard to Miss M. Lindsay's song, *Home they brought her warrior dead* (UDB 089), with music composed to the words of a poem by Tennyson, 'a major attraction of her songs was their simplicity, and consequent suitability for domestic music making ... Her songs also won approval for their high moral order.'<sup>85</sup> Narrating an account of a wife's reaction to the homecoming of her warrior husband's body, the textual theme of this song is loss, as is the text of Mrs Norton for the song, *Love Not*, in which the singer considers the perils of loving someone, when that may be only short-lived.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> This comment was made some 26 years ago and more recent exposure (for example, BBC Radio 3) of nineteenth century women composers has promoted wider recognition and appreciation of their work. Sophie Fuller, "Unearthing a World of Music: Victorian and Edwardian Women Composers," *Women: A Cultural Review* 3, Vol.3, No.1 (1992): 16-22, accessed January 18, 2013, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09574049208578100>

<sup>85</sup> Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 67.

<sup>86</sup> This text is from *The Sorrows of Rosalie*, 'a cautionary tale from a poet later known as "the female Byron." Caroline Norton is said to have been but seventeen years old when she wrote the poem ... the "Sorrows of Rosalie" was sensationally successful, going through four editions in the first year of publication'. She worked hard to realize financial return from domestic composition, and was the first woman ballad composer to achieve massive sales. *English Poetry 1579-1830: Spenser and the Tradition*, 66, accessed March 22, 2018, <http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/TextRecord.php?&action=GET&textsid=36773>.



IMAGE 2-10. MRS NORTON'S PRINTED NAME ON THE FRONT COVER OF *LOVE NOT*, UPPARK (UDB 277).

Mrs Norton (1808-1877) was Caroline Norton, a 'wordsmith', a composer, and an assertive political campaigner for women's equality and rights in law. Unlike her sister, Mrs Price Blackwood (Lady Dufferin), who preferred anonymity as a composer, Mrs Norton put her name to her work, as with another song at Uppark (front cover missing) from their jointly composed set of songs, *Bygone Hours*.<sup>87</sup> By the use of her married name, Mrs Henry Stisted (Clotilda Elizabeth Stisted, wife of Colonel Stisted) distanced herself from the song she composed and for which she financed the publication, *Prayer*, described on the front cover as 'Composed and published for the benefit of a Field Officer's widow'.

<sup>87</sup> Deborah Rohr's article refers to Caroline Norton's progressive stance at the time: 'Later, in the 1840s, she broke with tradition by publishing her songs under her own name, rather than remaining anonymous as was the convention for women composers'. Deborah Rohr, in Fuller, "Unearthing a World of Music: Victorian and Edwardian Women Composers," *Journal of Musicological Research*, no.4, (1999): 313, accessed October 25, 2017, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01411899908574762>.

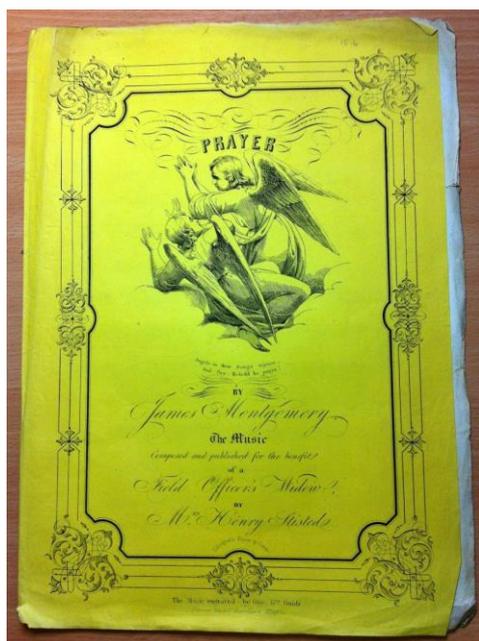


IMAGE 2-11. MRS HENRY STISTED'S NAME ON FRONT COVER OF *PRAYER*, UPPARK (UDB 322).

A moral dimension is put forward in *Then be it so*, which is one of the first set of six sacred songs by Mrs Robert Arkwright, died 1849, who was Frances Crawford, née Kemble. A moral imperative is found also in *Kind Words Can Never Die*, composed by an American abolitionist and supporter of women's rights, Abby Hutchinson, who in four brief verses extols the longevity of kind words and sweet thoughts.

The three early twentieth century songs at Uppark, composed by women, are very different in nature. *Deidre's farewell to Scotland* (published post-1905) was originally a traditional Hebridean air, arranged for domestic repertoire by Marjorie Kennedy-Fraser, whose work – as with others who have sought to record and transcribe national airs – 'is now viewed with criticism and suspicion although she must be recognized for her attempts to combine the traditional with modern harmonic arrangements'.<sup>88</sup>

Another nineteenth-century arrangement of a traditional Irish air, *Molly Dooley, Darlin'* by Dolores Grenfell is an example of the retrospective pull of 'sanitised' traditional music, whilst contrasting with this is *In the Dingle Dongle Dell*, published in 1904, (UDB 078) by Clare Kummer,

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<sup>88</sup> *rareTunes*, accessed March 22, 2018, <https://rareTunes.org/marjory-kennedy-fraser/>.

Scott suggests that 'Eventually Gaelic song was to find a form suitable for drawing-room consumption this [nineteenth] century, mainly owing to the mediations of Marjorie Kennedy-Fraser and the interest among the English middle class in "Celtic Twilight" romanticism'. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 98.

American composer of popular songs and Broadway stage scores. The ownership of this piece marks the arrival, even takeover, of sheet music from the USA early in the twentieth century, with a nonsensical text about a woman-hating man, and a melody and piano accompaniment well-suited to those less skilled young women singers and pianists.

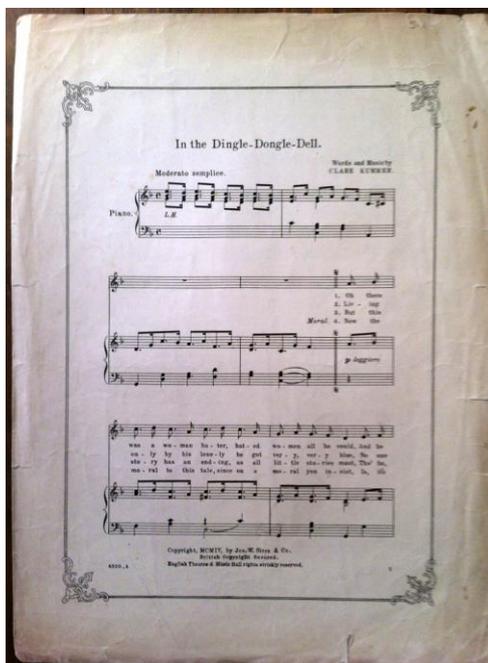


IMAGE 2-12. *IN THE DINGLE DONGLE DELL*, UPPARK (UDB 078).

The contextualisation of each of these songs indicates something of the composer's individual rationale for their work, whilst they as a group (only by definition as women song composers in this collection) share the commonality of shaping their piece so it is both appropriate and suitable for domestic repertoire; it quickly engages both performers and audience because it is straight forward; the text is uncomplicated; it is not too demanding for domestic performance.

### Turn-of-the-Century Songs

Many of the later-date popular songs at Uppark, nearly 40 in number, are in the vein of American Tin Pan Alley, whose heyday was the later nineteenth century to early twentieth centuries, and is described in *The Tin Pan Alley Song Encyclopaedia* as 'a barometer that gauged the public's temperament, providing songs about the latest inventions, dance steps, crazes, people in the news, local and world events, even slang expressions and catch phrases'.<sup>89</sup> Essentially this is

<sup>89</sup> Thomas S. Hischak, "The Tin Pan Alley Song Encyclopedia," (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2002), ix.

about creating the 'must haves' of popular song, to which Maysie Glyn may have been susceptible. Included in her music is *Alexander's Ragtime Band*, advertised as having been 'sung with enormous success in John R. Huddleston and John Tiller's Grand Ballet "A garden of Mirth", at the Winter Gardens, Blackpool', so following the custom of advertising music sung by 'stars' and usually as part of a stage production.<sup>90</sup> And *Oh, You Beautiful Doll*, promoted as the 'Latest American Song' and thereby reflecting a reversal by the end of the nineteenth century of the British influence on American music.<sup>91</sup> Another popular song is *Suzanne, Suzanne!* which is described as a vocal two-step and from the musical play, 'The Girl in the Taxi'.<sup>92</sup> Shared features of these items are the predictably rather trite words and music, the brighter front covers (than in previous decades) and a stylized feminine image, tailor-made to encourage purchase by young women of the age and social status (or aspiring to such) of Maysie Glyn.

### Aspects of Song

Much of the vocal music is gender associated, and most of the items are sentimental in tone, telling of love desired and then lost. A prime example of this theme is *We Met!*, the account of a young woman, who meets her true love shortly before her marriage, arranged by her mother, and who has to suppress her feelings.<sup>93</sup> Another example, which is a composition with more musical sophistication and harmonic variety than many ballads, is *Estelle*, in which, as Peter Horton describes, 'The sombre closing bars, in which the poet dreams of joining his beloved Estelle in her tomb, doubtless appealed to Victorian sentiment, but also drew some highly effective music from Smart who skilfully wove singer and accompaniment together to create a unified whole'.<sup>94</sup> *Doubts* likewise expresses anguish, with a piano accompaniment which reflects the meaning and feelings encapsulated in this song. Definitive gendering of the songs is clear in those concerned with naval and military matters, along with romantic idealization of the men involved. *Ship Ahoy! (All the Nice Girls Love a Sailor)* exemplifies the more overt and assertive nature of the song texts, including what would probably not have been viewed as such at the time, a discriminatory phrase 'And you can trust a sailor, he's a white man all the while!' <sup>95</sup> *Jolly*

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<sup>90</sup> Irving Berlin, *Alexander's Ragtime Band* (London: Feldman & Co., 1911), UDB 237.

<sup>91</sup> Nat D'Ayer, *Oh You Beautiful Doll* (London: Feldman & Co., 1911), UDB 238.

<sup>92</sup> Jean Gilbert, *Suzanne, Suzanne!* (London: Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, 1911). UDB 049.

<sup>93</sup> 137. Alexander Lee, *We Met!* (London: Betts, c1835), UDB 137.

<sup>94</sup> Henry Smart, *Estelle* (London: Augener & Co., 1874), UDB 031.

Peter Horton, "The British Vocal Album and the Struggle for National Music," in *Music and Performance Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Temperley*, ed. Bennett Zon (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012), 208.

<sup>95</sup> Bennett Scott, *Ship Ahoy (All the nice girls love a sailor)* (London: Star Music Publishing Co. Ltd., 1909) UDB 403.

*Good Luck to the Girl who Loves a Soldier*, also published in the first decade of the twentieth century, was sung by the male impersonator Vesta Tilley, renowned in the music hall.<sup>96</sup> (The song became very popular, and during the first world war helped to earn her the nickname of 'Britain's best recruiting sergeant').

A rather different naval song is *The Bell, the Bugle and the Flag*, composed by Guy Pocock in the 1920s for the Watts Naval Training School, and one of the modern songs at Uppark. This song is described by a former resident at this Dr Barnardos' residential establishment -

Like most boarding schools, Watts also had a school song - in fact over the years, it had two or three, but by far the best of the bunch was that which was written by a Mr Guy. N. Pocock in the mid 1920s. Both the words and the music were excellent - in my opinion. It was entitled; "The Bell, the Bugle and the Flag". I hasten to add that without a doubt all these three objects had a profound influence on the daily life of every Watts boy whilst at the school.<sup>97</sup>

Maysie Glyn owned England's patriotic *Land of Hope and Glory*; and, in somewhat contradictory tenor, *Bobby Dear*, which opens on the theme of what is a desirable man and becomes 'political' in protesting that women do not have the vote and declaiming support for suffragettes.<sup>98</sup>

Examples of men portrayed within a lighter comic theme are *St Patrick was a Gentleman*; and *Father Molloy, or The Confessions, A Characteristic Irish Song*, both of which are arrangements of folk ballads.<sup>99</sup>

Sacred song is also found, adding to the variety in this Uppark collection, such as *The Martyr, Sacred Song* by Gordon Sutherland, a later nineteenth-century 'improving' ballad which reminds the listener of the desirability of death.<sup>100</sup> Also, 'Composed and published for the benefit of a Field Officer's Widow' and 'Mrs Henry Stisted \litografia Payer and Comp.' is printed on the front cover of *Prayer*, another item of this type.<sup>101</sup> And two hymns for more than one voice are found

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<sup>96</sup> Kenneth Lyle, *Jolly Good Luck to the girl who loves a soldier!* (London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 1907), UDB 387.

<sup>97</sup> Bertram Busby, *The Bell, Bugle and Flag: An account of my time at the Watts Naval Training School at Parkstone* (1979), accessed 30.05.13., <http://www.parkstone-sts.co.uk/stories/bellbugle-and-flag>.

<sup>98</sup> Edward Elgar, *Land of Hope and Glory* (London: Boosey & Co., 1902), UDB 134.

Charles Scott-Gatty, *Bobby Dear* (London: Chappell, 1908), UDB 267.

<sup>99</sup> T.B.Phipps, *St Patrick was a Gentleman* (London: Purday, n.d.), UDB 068.

Samuel Lover, *Father Molloy, or The Confessions, A Characteristic Irish Song* (London: Duff & Hodgson, 1855), UDB 075.

<sup>100</sup> Gordon Sutherland, *The Martyr, Sacred Song* (London: Jeffreys, 1888), UDB 156.

<sup>101</sup> Mrs Henry Stisted, *Prayer* (Gio: Gto: Guidi\ Florence, n.d.), UDB 322.

in one score, *Adestes Fideles, the Portugese hymn on the Nativity*, and in *The Sicilian Mariner's Hymn*.<sup>102</sup>

## 2.8 The Remainder of the Uppark Music

The more 'conventional' music from the canon retained and extended its appeal when arranged for piano performance at home, as found in its relatively limited presence at Uppark.<sup>103</sup> Likewise, there are only a few items scored for instruments other than the piano, many of which (and some are only fragments) appear to be 'stray' parts, particularly for the flute, which have become separated from their counterpart(s).<sup>104</sup> More than half of these items involve the flute, mostly as an accompaniment to the piano, such as in three books of pieces from *The Barber of Seville* and likewise from *The Marriage of Figaro*, which serve as a reminder of the aristocratic taste for opera.<sup>105</sup> There is also the flute part (only) of two *Select melodies with variations for the flute*, arranged by Nicholson, a renowned flute performer, and Burrowes.<sup>106</sup> In addition to the guitar music identified as belonging to Miss Bullock, namely a guitar instruction manual and a book of airs arranged for the guitar, there are additional items from around the same period. These are another contemporary pedagogic book (the Bennett guitar method was developed at the end of the 1820s) and two pieces where the guitar has an accompaniment role. Paralleling the dates of the guitar items is the 24<sup>th</sup> set of quadrilles (1828) by Joseph Hart, arranged as duets for harp and piano. And quadrilles provide the setting for two copies of the same piece, *The Yeoman Cavalry Polka*, arranged for cornet and piano.

The accumulation includes a number (30+) of pieces for instrumental ensemble, scored for the piano plus one or more instruments. Sometimes the wording on the score is 'piano, accompaniment (ad lib) for flute', or reversed in terms of precedence, 'piano forte with an

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<sup>102</sup> *Adestes Fideles, the Portugese hymn on the Nativity* and (on the back cover) *The Sicilian Mariner's Hymn* (London: Power, n.d.), UDB 330.

<sup>103</sup> Examples of piano arrangements at Uppark of music deemed to be from the canon include:  
 Czerny, *Sabbath Recreations, A collection of choice pieces selected from the Great Church Composers* (London: Cocks & Co., 1839), UDB 138.  
 Edward F. Rimbault, *No.10 of Twelve Classical Pieces for the Harmonium (2 pieces, 'I Know that My Redeemer Liveth' and 'And the Glory of the Lord')* (London: Chappell and Co., 1864), UDB 312.  
 N.B.Challoner, *Book 1 Haydn's Oratorio, The Creation* (London: Leoni Lee, n.d.), UDB 326.

<sup>104</sup> These flute items, in so far as the dates of composition may be ascertained, are from the earlier decades of the nineteenth century. Nicholson and Burrowes, *Select melodies with variations for the flute* (London: Latour, n.d.), UDB 414.

Accompaniment (ad lib) for a violin & violoncello'.<sup>107</sup> Alternatively, the instruments are presented as equals, 'piano, flute, oboe', 'piano or harp, flute'. Overall, these pieces suggest fluidity of choice for the additional instrument, which might also include the harp. Nearly all of these pieces are arrangements, with publication dates when known, mainly in the 1820s. Opera airs predominantly provide source material, as well as sacred airs and popular songs. There are two printed books (with the inscription 'F.Bullock') of arrangements of sacred airs, and this more serious (rather than 'light') tenor of the music is continued by the selections from Haydn symphonies for which piano, violin and cello (both ad lib) parts are extant; the *Third Concertante* by Pleyel for violin and piano, also inscribed with the name 'Frances Bullock' with an early publication date of 1799 (COPAC); and an arrangement of the Hallelujah chorus for two performers at the piano. This playing arrangement of piano duet is required for three further works, which are two waltzes (one an arrangement, one which appears to be an original), and *Euterpe* by Diabelli, 'a periodical collection of the most modern and popular airs, extracted principally from the latest Italian and German operas, ballets, &c'. A lighter tone is struck by *Henry's Cottage Maid*, an instrumental arrangement by Pleyel of his own vocal composition, and advertised on the front cover as 'a favourite song as now singing at the principal concerts with the greatest applause'; as well as *My Lodging is on the Cold Ground*, a song associated with Irish balladry and arranged here for flute and piano; and *Is there a Heart that Never Loved?*, composed in the early years of the nineteenth century and arranged here for the same instruments by the same composers, Nicholson and Burrowes.<sup>108</sup> From this review it is evident that a number of the pieces were published either before Miss Bullock was born or whilst she was still a child, suggesting that maybe some of this music was already at Uppark, or that she acquired it sometime after initial publication.

There are seven items of a pedagogic nature in the accumulation, of which three carry a name and are discussed elsewhere. A second guitar instruction book, published in 1829, complements that owned by Miss Bullock. Two sheets of manuscript paper provide information about rhythms and note values and chronologically, *An Introduction to the Art of Singing* (UDB 291) by Thomas Bennett, organist at Chichester cathedral, is dated 1807 (COPAC), which complements *Thorough*

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<sup>107</sup> An example of the former is J.F.Burrowes, *Select Airs, from Weber's Celebrated Opera, Euryanthe*, (London: Clements & Co.,1824), UDB 033. And of the latter, *Haydn's Celebrated Symphonies, No.3*, (London: Goulding & D'Almaine, n.d.), UDB 323.

<sup>108</sup> Pleyel, *Henry's Cottage Maid* (London: Bland & Weller, 1810), UDB 144.

J. F. Burrowes, *My Lodging is on the cold ground* (n.f., n.d.), UDB 216.

J. F. Burrowes, *Is there a heart that never loved* (n.f., n.d.), UDB 413.

*Bass Simplified or the whole Theory and Practice of Thorough Bass* (1805). (UDB 061). Tuition in thorough bass was an expected element of musical education, as confirmed by Frances Power Cobbe, who wrote, 'Of course my governess taught me music, including what was called Thorough Bass, and now Harmony; but very little of the practical part of performance could I learn then or at any time'.<sup>109</sup> The information and detail contained in these various manuals of tuition which are at Uppark endorse the expected level of application to music comprehension and performance of the users, and the importance of attention to established composers, indicated by the information on the front sheet of *Thorough Bass* which contains 'Exercises applicable to each rule extracted from the Compositions of Handel, Corelli, Geminani, Tartini, Sacchini &c.'<sup>110</sup>

More than a dozen MS (manuscript) items, scored for piano save for the violin part of Pleyel's *Third Concertante* (UDB 236), convey again the eclectic nature of the Uppark music, and also provoke unanswered questions in consequence of incomplete information. Some of the pieces of MS are just untitled fragments, namely two polkas and two waltzes; and there is one further piece with a pencil heading, *The Eltham Waltz composed by Miss Louisa Bullock* (UDB 229). Also in MS are the treble lines (only) of *Taps*, *Foxlease Vespers* and *Pop goes the Weasel* (UDB 231, 224), (the latter three presumably for a child's use), adding to this miscellany. *We with Redoubled Rage*, from the oratorio, 'Joshua' by Handel, is the only reference to music from the canon amongst the manuscripts, which include an ornate copy of *The Bluebells of Scotland*. The regularity and precision exhibited in the execution of this copying to manuscript suggests a sense of hand crafting of the material, which consequently evokes a reference to what Brooks refers to as a 'disregard for the feminine culture of domestic craft' whilst contesting 'the characterization of sheet music for the domestic market as commodity inimical to art'.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Frances Power Cobbe, *Life of Frances Cobbe as Told by Herself*, (London: R. Bentley & Son, 1894), <https://ia800307.us.archive.org/6/items/lifefrancespowe02atkigoog/lifefrancespowe02atkigoog.pdf>.

<sup>110</sup> Joseph Corfe, *Thorough Bass Simplified or the whole Theory and Practice of Thorough Bass* (London: Preston, 1805), front cover, UDB 061.

<sup>111</sup> Brooks, *Making Music*, 53.

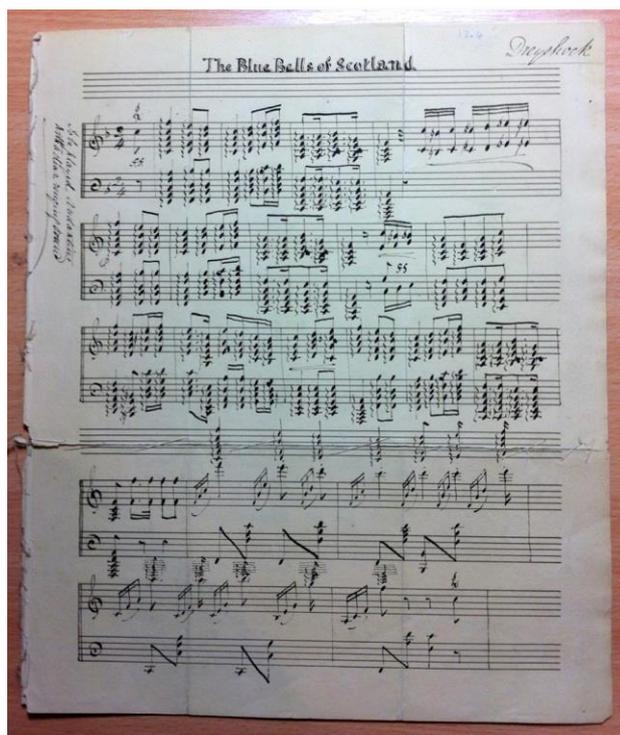


IMAGE 2-13. *THE BLUE BELLS OF SCOTLAND*, UPPARK (UDB 233).

The remaining MS is double sided, with the title *Miss Johnson's Book*, comprising on one side an untitled line of music in the treble clef; and on the other, a polka.

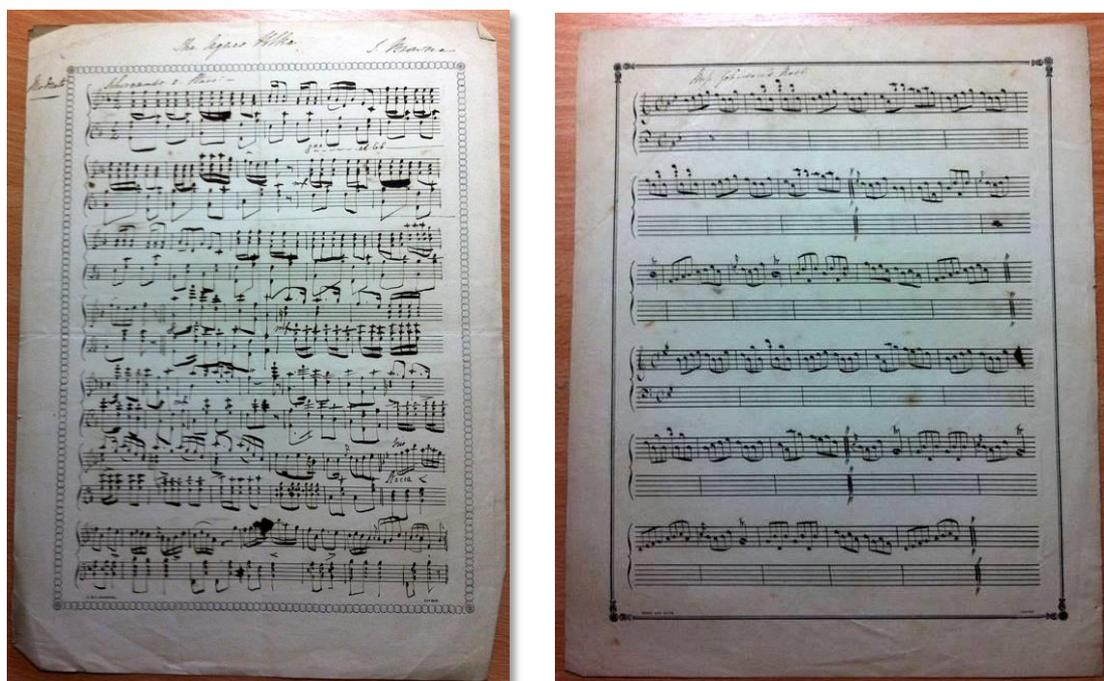


IMAGE 2-14. THE TWO COPIED ITEMS FROM *MISS JOHNSON'S BOOK*, UPPARK (UDB 230).

Amongst the vocal music, there are three songs in manuscript. *Sailor Boy*, which in its original form was a late eighteenth century glee, has been copied along with two other titles (one is a piano arrangement) onto a large folded sheet of manuscript. The second song is *Le Vaillant Troubadour* (I have found no reference to this), and thirdly, *Gang nae mair to yon Town*, which looks to be a piano arrangement of a traditional Scottish folk tune. All three of these pieces appear to be nineteenth-century arrangements of older songs. The manuscript copy of *My Mary Anne* is the text used in the song's arrangement (there are many versions) as a Victorian ballad, *My Mary Anne*, (where the 'Anne' is spelt with an 'e', as on this copy, unlike the name of Frances Bullock's sister, Mary Ann).<sup>112</sup> (It is intriguing to wonder who made the copy).



IMAGE 2-15. *MY MARY ANNE*, MS, UPPARK (UDB 226).

There is no answer as to why these particular pieces of music were copied, perhaps because sharing the music through copying was a continuation of the established practice between aristocratic women, often indicative of friendships and the endorsement of social bonds, and attributing particular significance to a piece through the sharing, copying and thereby collection of the music. Equally possible is that these items were unobtainable as print copies given the distance Uppark was from towns with music shops, and probably the limited selection of scores

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<sup>112</sup> Steve Roud, *Roud Folk Song Index*, s.v. "My Mary Anne", Vaughan Williams Memorial Library (2006), accessed February 2, 2018, <https://www.vwml.org/search?q=my%20mary%20anne&is=1>.

which would be available in those shops. The closest towns to Uppark were (and are) Chichester (12+ miles distant), Midhurst (9 miles distant) and Petersfield (6 miles distant). Thomas Bennett Music Warehouse and Circulating library was located in North Street, Chichester from at least the 1850s, and in the 1860s William Pillow was a music seller in East Street. By the 1870s Bennett's was no longer in business, but William Dean is listed as the proprietor of a music warehouse in North Street. No music sellers appear in the nineteenth-century records of Midhurst and Petersfield.<sup>113</sup>

## 2.9 Gathering the Uppark Accumulation

This eclectic mix of sheet music suggests active acquisition as consumers by the occupants of Uppark. As James Coover explains:

Music was seen not as a means to aesthetic pleasure but as an activity generating a need for products that could be bought, traded, printed, published and sold. The view was Victorian and business-like: music scores and books about music were simply respectable goods needed by increasing numbers of people and from whose provision entrepreneurs ... could earn a dignified livelihood – perhaps even achieve a modest prosperity – at the same time generating employment for others.<sup>114</sup>

These words set out the backdrop to the production and acquisition of music during the long nineteenth century, though to suggest commodification excludes the nourishment of musical sensibilities, as the either/or construction of Coover's explanation implies, is plainly not the case. The sheet music in the collection reached the house in different ways - some was purchased for playing at home, some items were gifts or dedications, some were for the purpose of tuition. The shared feature of music as a gift and as a dedication is that they are 'given' by the donor to the recipient. Their distinction is that the gift is given absolutely, whilst a dedication to the recipient is publicly declared but the donor retains ownership. (Both gifts and dedications are discussed later).

This was a time of evolving economic and social change, when the 'industrialised' production of music, the development of retailing activities in terms of marketing and commodification, and

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<sup>113</sup> This information was obtained by reference to Kellys Directories, Post Office Directory 1851 for Chichester, and enquiries made at the Record Offices of West Sussex and Hampshire, and public libraries in Petersfield and Chichester.

<sup>114</sup> James Coover, "William Reeves, Booksellers/Publishers, 1825-," in *Music Publishing & Collecting Essays in Honour of Donald W. Krummel*, ed. David Hunter (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois, 1994), 43, accessed June 29, 2017, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?redir\\_esc=y&id=AZcXAQAIAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=aesthetic](https://books.google.co.uk/books?redir_esc=y&id=AZcXAQAIAAJ&focus=searchwithinvolume&q=aesthetic).

broader repertoire availability altered and promoted access to a wider range of music publications for domestic use for more people. Central to the availability of the music were the music publishing houses, which determined the choice of repertoire that they would offer to the public, either selling from their premises or from a shop, which might be a specialist music emporium or a retail outlet that included the sale of music.<sup>115</sup>

Ernst Roth emphasizes the importance of non-professional music lovers and amateur performers to the wellbeing of the music economy, and how that economy shaped itself to provide for, and encourage, this market. He reflects that 'Not surprisingly, perhaps, the technical capabilities of the amateur grew to meet the demands made upon him, and he kept well abreast of the development of the art. Amateurs throughout the nineteenth century could sing the most difficult arias and play the most difficult sonatas and concertos and therefore bought the music'.<sup>116</sup> These views are endorsed by contemporary comment:

But if we may judge of the nature of the demand by the nature of the supply, easy and brilliant lessons upon popular themes, or adaptations and variations, are most in request. Such productions as they accord with mediocrity of acquirement and with the general pleasure which attached to light and striking melodies sustained by glittering accompaniments, should seem to be well suited to such a degree of acquirement in art as may be naturally supposed to be attainable with common talents and common assiduity. Hence the apparently insatiable appetite for such things is borne out by the reason of the case'.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> The volume of sheet music produced through the nineteenth century is evidenced by the number of annual copyright registrations at Stationers Hall or the British Museum:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of copyright registrations</u>
1800	159
1832	200
1857	2581
1874	6077
1901	8063
1914	11436

These figures (Krummel maintains that probably only about 20% of items produced were registered) reflect the significant increase in the production of sheet music during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth century. Registration in England of published music began about 1780, but it was not until 1884 that a copyright publication had to be registered as 'Entered at Stationers Hall'. D.W. Krummel, "Music Publishing," in *The Romantic Age 1800-1914*, ed. Nicholas Temperley (London: Athlone Press, 1981), 49.

<sup>116</sup> Roth's use of the male pronoun in his reference to the amateur contradicts the overwhelming evidence that such amateur players were very largely women. Ernst Roth, *The Business of Music: Reflections of a Music Publisher* (London: Cassell, 1966), 5.

<sup>117</sup> *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, Vol.IV, No.XIII (London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1822), accessed February 20, 2014, [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=L-82AQAAAJ&pg=PP9&lpg=PP9&dq=The+Quarterly+Musical+Magazine+and+Review,+Vol.IV.,+No.+XIII&source=bl&ots=WhWuxqrHt\\_&sig=HmPKyT-6ltvQss-](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=L-82AQAAAJ&pg=PP9&lpg=PP9&dq=The+Quarterly+Musical+Magazine+and+Review,+Vol.IV.,+No.+XIII&source=bl&ots=WhWuxqrHt_&sig=HmPKyT-6ltvQss-)

This 'insatiable appetite' aligns with the change in status of sheet music during the nineteenth century, as its reach broadened beyond the aristocratic norm of piano mastery as a necessary prerequisite for a woman's marriageability and an activity of moral benefit, to becoming a commodity, that is to say an item within a market place of selling and buying. Domestic repertoire was positioned at the interface of the competitive capitalist marketplace of Victorian music publishers and music sellers, and the personal choices and whims of individual – mainly female – shoppers.

### **Shopping for Music and the Acquisition of Music for Uppark**

Krista Lysack perceives the material conditions of Victorian shopping as a consequence of an expanding industrial and commercial age. Certainly the mass production and circulation of music scores, lower prices, and the impact of advertising were significant influences on the increased purchase of music. Lysack's exploration of the process of consumption at its Victorian evolutionary stage offers possibilities as to the behaviour of purchasers of domestic repertoire. She proposes that the experience of shopping presented more moneyed women with a 'site of contestation or negotiation between self and world' wherein they were able to increase their agency, and contest and resist the prescription of consumer capitalism, particularly regarding commodities gendered as passively female, referred to by Lysack as 'the seductions of the commodity'.<sup>118</sup>

The sheet music of domestic repertoire was undoubtedly gendered feminine and its acquisition by women evokes Lysack's caveat that 'to emphasize only their [women's] affinity with the commodity is to risk leaving women mired as no more than objects of exchange.' Lysack suggests women counteracted this situation by extracting some agency from their position within a capitalist system, so changing their shopping activity. She describes how 'in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was becoming possible to formulate shopping as a form of urban leisure rather than something one did out of necessity ... the mid-Victorian shopping excursion, in which the shopper could go about browsing for pleasure without having necessarily to purchase anything ... [was] both a cause and an effect of this new expansive consumer subjectivity.' This conjures up a picture of women perusing music scores at a gentle pace, making their choice(s) as

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[eEe45iTpRxs&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwi7mPjP1ozaAhWQF8AKHS8XB9gQ6AEILjAA#v=onepage&q=The%20Quarterly%20Musical%20Magazine%20and%20Review%2C%20Vol.IV.%2C%20No.%20XIII&f=false.](https://www.jstor.org/stable/4388888)

<sup>118</sup> Krista Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy: Shopping and the Culture of Consumption in Victorian Women's Writing* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), 8, 172.

to whether, and what, to buy, with an absence of the constraint from limited choice/vendor's control. Even though there were constrictions (e.g. what the seller made available, issues of taste, social mores, and possibly price of the music), this interface of individual agency and mass production of music depicts a snapshot of more nuanced and self-driven behaviour by music purchasers. An illustration in a children's book published in 1820 depicts what the Victorians would have considered to be the early age at which such an invitation to this practice of selecting music was issued.



IMAGE 2-16. *THE MUSIC SELLER*, WITH KIND PERMISSION FROM THE HOCKLIFFE PROJECT.<sup>119</sup>

Jeanice Brooks also identifies a far more shaped approach to the purchase of sheet music, rejecting its status as 'part of a feminine culture of consumption, similar to the acquisition of fans, ribbons or hats in being driven by fashion rather than artistic imperatives. She explains that women, like men, might employ 'collector mentalities based on intellectual principles', and that 'Understanding that all consumption (including men's book and art collection) has social and relational aspects, and that women's acquisition of goods cannot be simply reduced to the decorative, allows for more nuanced understanding of the meanings attached to the collection of printed sheet music'.<sup>120</sup> These perspectives present shopping as a situation for the development of women's agency, within what Lysack refers to as the context of 'roving and gazing', since the purchaser made deliberate choices.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Anon., *Lover of Children, a Visit to the Bazaar*, 1820. Harris & Son., accessed July 21, 2016, <http://hockliffe.dmu.ac.uk/items/0251.html>.

<sup>120</sup> Brooks, *Making Music*, 49.

<sup>121</sup> Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy*, 174.

Shopping was probably an activity for both Frances Bullock and Maysie Glyn, since there are scores at Uppark from Chichester and Peterborough, their respective local towns when young women. The raised Bennett stamp on the front covers and some inside pages of several scores at Uppark suggest that Frances Bullock may have called at Bennett's music warehouse and circulating library, 32 North Street, Chichester (established by 1827).<sup>122</sup>

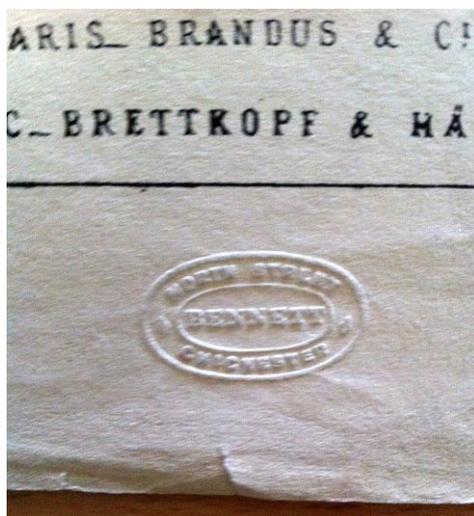


IMAGE 2-17. SHOP STAMP ON OF BENNETT'S WAREHOUSE AND CIRCULATING LIBRARY, *CHANT NATIONAL DES CROATES*, UPPARK (UDB 347).

A substantial amount of Maysie Glyn's music dates from when she was a young woman living in Peterborough and made purchases from two music shops in the town. These were J. Clay pole & Son, Music Warehouse, established in Peterborough in the 1860s, which sold sheet music, harmoniums and pianos; they also advertised as organ builders and piano makers.<sup>123</sup> And Alfred E. Cooke's piano shop in the centre of Peterborough at 8 Westgate, run by himself and his wife Ethel, and within walking distance of the Bishop's Palace (Maysie Glyn's father was Bishop of Peterborough).

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<sup>122</sup> Examples of music with Bennett's stamp are *Chant National des Croates* (London: Cramer Beale, ca 1850), UDB 347; *An Irish Melody for the Piano Forte* (London: Cocks & Co., 1846), UDB 024; and *Ye Banks and Braes* (London: Cocks & Co., 1850), UDB 070.

<sup>123</sup> Emma Cole, a music teacher in Chichester illustrates the multi-faceted nature of her father's Chichester music shop's business in her diary entries:

'Thursday 15 February 1900, A lot of music came.

Friday 7 February 1902, We had a new organ down this morning, an American; it is very pretty

Saturday 15 February 1902, Two organs arrived today, so Dad had his work cut out to unpack them'.

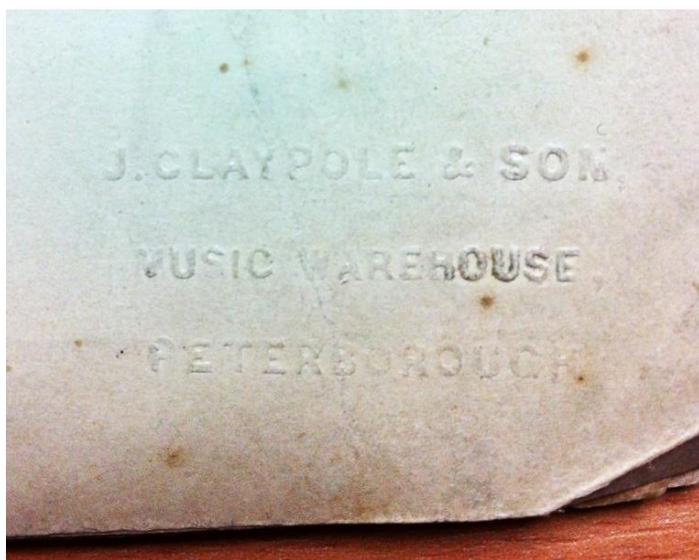


IMAGE 2-18. THE SHOP STAMP OF J. CLAYPOLE & SON, *EVERYBODY'S DOING IT NOW*, UPPARK (UDB 254).



IMAGE 2-19. COOKE'S MUSIC SHOP, 8, WESTGATE, PETERBOROUGH, WITH PERMISSION. PETERBOROUGH IMAGES ARCHIVE.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Peterborough Images Archive, accessed February 9, 2015, <http://www.peterboroughimages.co.uk/blog/alfred-cooke-8-westgate/>.

Lysack also proposes that consumption has the potential to effect change in cultural production, since ‘through acts of consumption, women might exceed their cultural prescriptions and make visible the many meanings of their spending and desiring’ as well as revealing ‘the porous boundary between so-called high and low culture and often traffic freely between them’.<sup>125</sup> The span of content of the Uppark scores contradicts any suggestion of aristocratic restriction to music described as ‘high art’, with an assemblage of different kinds of music composed at different times, occupying varying positions on the dimension of serious-light.

### **Shopping and Music Publishers**

As Lysack stated, the changes in the retail process meant that ‘Without fixed destinations or goals in mind, they [women] operate only according to leisure time, an excess that resists measure ... the shopper does not obey the authorized cultural script dictating the norms of femininity under capitalism’.<sup>126</sup> Women took up the practice of calling in to music shops and publisher’s premises as one aspect of their general shopping activity, encouraged by the proximity of such places to the fashionable area of a town, particularly in London. Sarah Wells records in her diary that Frances Bullock went to London, and we might speculate that in between looking at the great range of merchandise on sale in the shops and bazaars lining the streets where music publishers were located, she might also have been looking over and purchasing sheet music. This would have been available not only at the music publisher’s address but also in many other outlets, where it was one choice amongst many for the consumer. This situation is described in a contemporary account of the Pantheon Bazaar (entered from Oxford Street) which was ‘arranged with counters in a very systematical order, loaded with uncountable trinkets. On one counter are articles of millinery; on another lace; on a third gloves and hosiery; on others cutlery, jeweler, toys, children's dresses, children's books, sheets of music, albums and pocket-books, porcelain ornaments, cut-glass ornaments, alabaster figures, artificial flowers, feathers, and a host of other things, principally of a light and ornamental character’.<sup>127</sup>

The location of the publisher is provided on over 400 scores in the Uppark accumulation, and more than three quarters of these music publishers had addresses in a relatively defined area in central London, with those in New Bond Street being the prime purveyors of Uppark repertoire.

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<sup>125</sup> Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy*, 13-14.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>127</sup> Charles Knight, *Knight's London* (1842).n.k., accessed March 19, 2018, <http://www.victorianlondon.org/shops/bazaars.htm>.



IMAGE 2-20. MAP SHOWING KEY LONDON STREETS FOR MUSIC PUBLISHERS.

(Distance from 8 Oxford St to 6 Old Bond St is 0.5 mile, a 10-15 minute walk)

Items at Uppark with music publisher location	422 items	Map Road Number	Street Name	Number of publishers
Locations of these publishers	33 streets and squares, mainly central London			
Map original addresses of the majority of items	303 items from 9 streets and squares	1	New Bond St	86
		2	Soho Square, Dean Street	57
		3	Regent Street	53
		4	Charing Cross Road	12
		5	Hanover Square	22
		6	Old Bond Street	21
		7	New Burlington Street	20
		8	Oxford Street	20
		9	New Oxford Street	13
Original addresses elsewhere in London	56 items		<b>Publisher Location</b>	
Origin addresses of publishers out of London	4 items		Brighton	1
			Edinburgh	1
			Glasgow	1
Original addresses out of Britain	59 items		Paris	50
			Italy	2
			Leipzig	2
			Warsaw	2
			Berlin	1
			Brussels	1
			USA	1

TABLE 2-1. MUSIC PUBLISHERS AND STREET LOCATIONS.

Throughout the nineteenth century the ownership and personnel, as well as the location, of publishing houses frequently changed, so that in addition to advertising their wares, music publishers were concerned to ensure that customers knew where to find them.<sup>128</sup> Publishers in New Bond Street and eight other neighbouring streets and squares are linked to nearly three quarters of the Uppark scores, and when London publishers away from this central area are added, little more than a tenth of the publisher addresses are outside London. Of these, 50 scores have Paris addresses for the publisher, and only four are published elsewhere in the

<sup>128</sup> These changes were often advertised in the press. For example, on 23 January 1811 there was a notice in 'The Morning Chronicle': "Chappell & Co beg leave to acquaint the nobility and gentry ...". This was when they (Samuel Chappell, Francis Tatton Latour and John Baptist Cramer) moved premises to a new address and were informing those who could afford and were interested in music. (Although there were regular changes of personnel, the Chappell family managed their music publishing business until 1902). Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy*, 5.

British Isles.<sup>129</sup> There are only four items from publishers in Britain but not in London, of which one is from Brighton, a town Frances Bullock visited.<sup>130</sup> Although London presented as the centre of music publishing, there were numerous publishing firms away from the capital. Judith Blezzard explains how late nineteenth-century amateur choral music making in the north of England was underpinned by the considerable provision of scores from local music publishers, and comments on the extent to which this reality is frequently disregarded.<sup>131</sup> Charles Humphries and William Smith's dictionary of music publishers includes a fairly lengthy 'Index of Firms in places other than London' though lists only Brighton with a Sussex address.<sup>132</sup> Publisher records indicate that individuals frequently purchased music directly from them, as illustrated by the content of pages from an 1850s Novello Commission Book, and an analysis of the sales of William Reeves, a music publisher and seller in London.<sup>133</sup> The lack of music publishers in Sussex and the absence of information as to the practicalities of transporting music from the publisher to a 'retail outlet', contribute to an incomplete understanding of how music scores came to Uppark.

There is a dearth of information about the interface of music production and its destinations, not least because music publishers did not usually keep records of sales to individual purchasers.<sup>134</sup> Victoria Cooper explains that, 'Almost completely unexplored, however, is the publisher's role in

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<sup>129</sup> The items from Paris publishers may have been imported to Britain, a practice which is illustrated by the 'foreign' music listed in the catalogues of musical circulating libraries, complementing the popularity of European composers and performers. Another explanation for these many scores which originated in Paris being at Uppark is that possibly Frances Bullock's sister, Mary Ann, acquired them when she was being educated there.

<sup>130</sup> "Arrivals, Bristol Hotel [Brighton], Lady Fetherstonhaugh, Miss Sutherland, Miss Bullock", Brighton Journal in *Sussex Advertiser and Surrey Gazette*, June 18, 1850, accessed January 12, 2015, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000257/18500618/022/0006?browse=true>

<sup>131</sup> Judith Blezzard, "What Choirs also Sang: Aspects of Provincial Music Publishing in Late-nineteenth-century England" in *The Business of Music*, ed. Michael Talbot (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2002), accessed March 21, 2018, <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/soton-ebooks/detail.action?docID=380750>.

<sup>132</sup> Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the beginning until the middle of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), 547-55, 591.

<sup>133</sup> Victoria Cooper, *The House of Novello: Practice and Policy of a Victorian Music Publisher, 1829-1866* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2003), 85.

James B. Coover, 'William Reeves, booksellers/publishers 1825-' in *Music Publishing & Collecting: Essays in honour of Donald W. Krummel*, ed. David Hunter (Champaign, IL, University of Illinois, 1994), 49.

<sup>134</sup> See the records of Enoch & Sons, originally music publishers in France and established in London in the 1880s, which reveal no additional information about the details of distribution of music to individuals. London Metropolitan Archives, viewed January 15, 2014.

The situation was the same regarding the available records of George Barber & Sons, a publishing firm which moved from Kent to London in 1865. London Metropolitan Archives, viewed January 15, 2014.

the dissemination of a work', and this regret is echoed by Judith Blezzard in her description of the lack of original source materials relevant to provincial publishers' activities.<sup>135</sup> Domestic repertoire was a key sales market during the nineteenth century, although unfortunately there are no records of purchases in the Uppark finance records or elsewhere, tracing Frances Bullock's lifelong practice of acquiring sheet music.<sup>136</sup> Possibly she was one of those women who subscribed to Roth's proposition that 'in the nineteenth century it was contemporary, new music which kept enthusiasm for the art burning', given the quantum of contemporary domestic music at Uppark.<sup>137</sup>

### **Assistance for Consumers: The lure of advertising and reduced prices**

The pattern of growing production of music was matched by a pattern of increasing consumption. The development of a music market place where producers developed techniques of marketing and advertising was a critical factor in the growth of domestic music making in all social classes. From the 1820s when the printing of the title of a piece became more decorative and possibly florid, the front and back covers of sheet music were increasingly used as a vehicle for advertising. Some front covers of sheet music from Uppark over the long nineteenth century illustrate the evolution of 'eye-catching' marketing, as it becomes increasingly 'loud'.

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<sup>135</sup> Judith Blezzard, *What Choirs Also Sang*, 79-80.

<sup>136</sup> Before the fire in 1989 there had been plans to relocate Uppark documents to the West Sussex Record Office in Chichester, but this did not happen. On 31 October 1981, John Cossart, then husband of Harriet Fetherstonhaugh, granddaughter of Sir Herbert Meade, responded in a letter to a request for information about Uppark from Harold Milford. Cossart wrote 'the Uppark papers are to be catalogued and many are in a fragile state.' The two men subsequently met and discussed the future safe keeping of Uppark documents, but no action ensued. Uppark research papers of Harold and Valerie Milford, 4459-4468, WSRO.

<sup>137</sup> Roth, *The Business of Music*, 7.

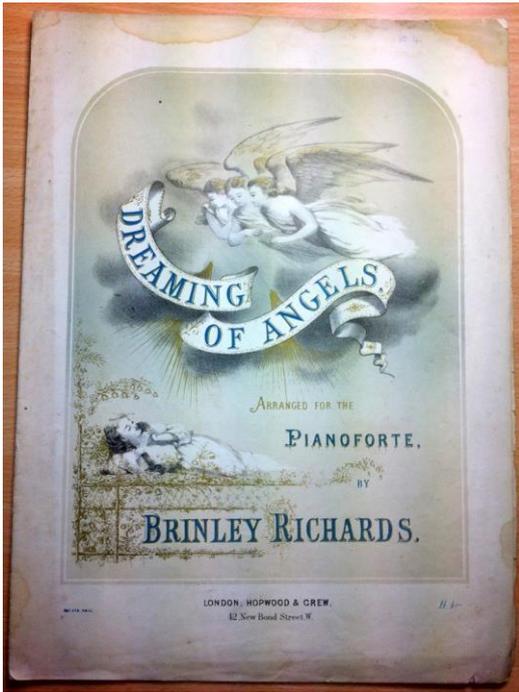


IMAGE 2-21. *THE MOON'S ON THE LAKE*, published 1825, UPPARK (UDB 304).

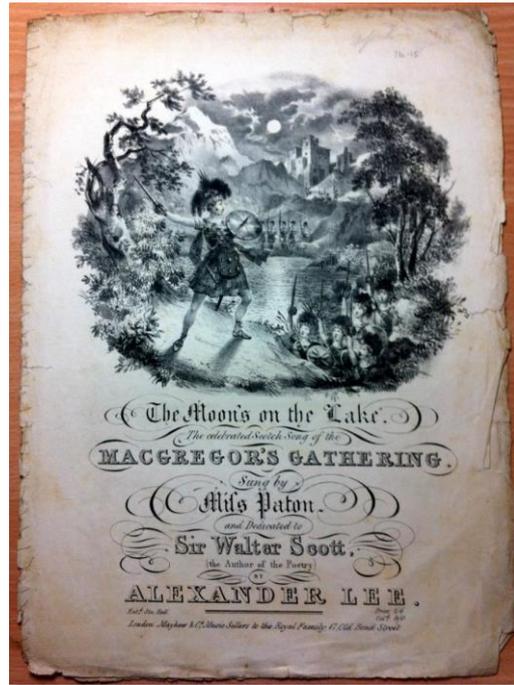


IMAGE 2-22. *DREAMING OF ANGELS*, published 1876, UPPARK (UDB 187).

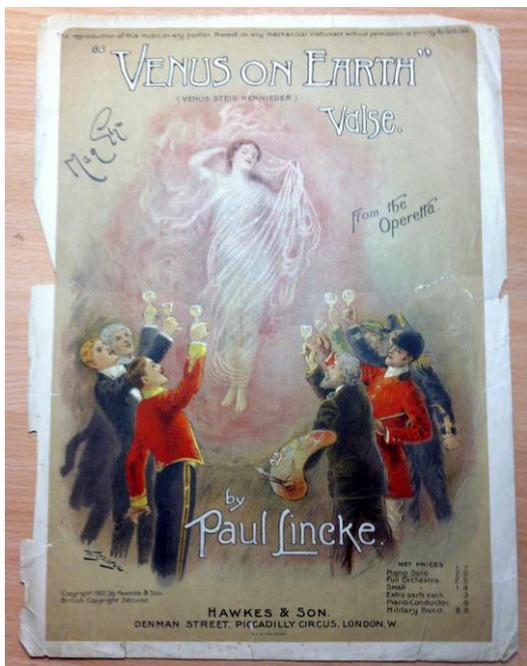


IMAGE 2-23. *VENUS ON EARTH*, published 1907, UPPARK (UDB 384).

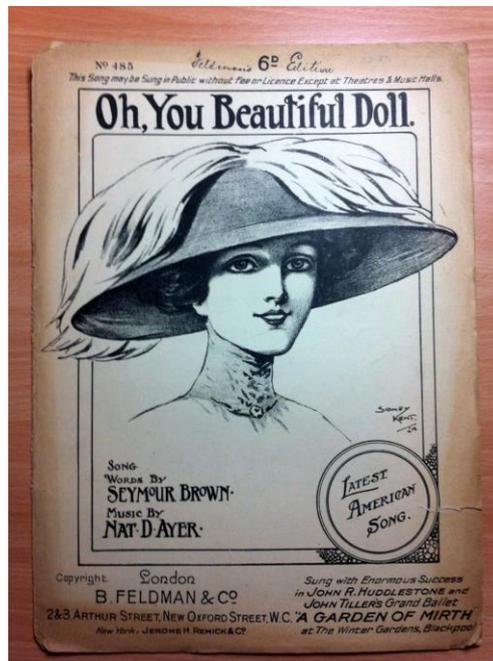


IMAGE 2-24. *OH YOU BEAUTIFUL DOLL*, published 1911, UPPARK (UDB 238).

The rapid development of lithography during the Victorian period meant that artwork of a far superior quality compared to earlier years, could be produced, to encourage customers. The covers of *Venus on Earth* and *Oh, You Beautiful Doll* both bear the signatures of the artists, and likewise the handwritten signatures of composers would be engraved on front covers. By encompassing this personalised element of the sheet music in a purchase, the purchaser achieved a 'special connection' with the creator of the piece, in spite of its status as a commodity. General opinion (then and now) is that over time the quality of music covers declined, in consequence of the use of cheaper paper, photographs rather than art work, and on occasion greater vulgarity both of words and images (an affront to public Victorian moral standards). As Doreen and Sidney Spellman reflected 'Towards the end of the nineteenth century the standards of musical illustration started to decline. Colour was crudely used, and photographic aids were beginning to oust the illustrator and to reduce him to the level of a technician'. The Spellmans also comment on the advent of machine lithography which was comparatively inaccurate, in lieu of hand operators (who would often have been supervised by the artist who created a cover) and a general lowering of artistic standards resulting in a lack of finesse and some deterioration of the standard of music covers.<sup>138</sup>

Long lists of available music were often printed on the inside front cover or inside back cover of a piece of sheet music, as well as the back cover (illustrated above), with reminders to would-be purchasers about the fame of the composer or whoever sang/performed the piece recently. Alongside the increasing amount of published music available for purchase was a reduction in the price of music, achievable for the producers by the use of moveable type, rather than plates, for printing. J. Alfred Novello (son of the founder of Novello) introduced 'extraordinary cheap music ... the *Messiah* and *Israel in Egypt* for a shilling ... When the house of Novello was founded no one could have dreamed of the change that was so soon to arrive'.<sup>139</sup> Much of the middle nineteenth century music in the Uppark collection was priced at 2,3 or 4 shillings, with compilations costing proportionately more. By the 1900s, some pieces were only 6d, including popular songs *I wonder if you miss me sometimes (I wonder if you care)* (UDB 286) and *Ship ahoy (All the nice girls love a sailor)* (UDB 403).

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<sup>138</sup> Doreen and Sidney Spellman, *Victorian Music Covers* (London: Evelyn, Adams & Mackay, 1969), 38, 68. The Spellmans collected some 3000 Victorian music covers.

<sup>139</sup> George Grove, *A Short History of Cheap Music* (London: Novello, Ewer, 1887), 6.

Ascertaining the exact price paid for a piece of music in the late nineteenth century can be problematic as many publishers and music dealers frequently reduced the prices at the point of sale, sometimes to half the marked price.

Music scores from circulating libraries, primarily found in London and usually part of a music publishing business, were a significant source of temporary acquisition by subscription, throughout the nineteenth century. As Hyatt King states, such libraries afforded an 'immense range of choice to the Victorian amateur, mainly for whom the library was intended ... and ... the choice offered not only reflected the tastes of the musical public to some extent through the widespread, repeated use of its catalogue, but also must have contributed in part to the creation of those tastes. This is the significance of the music circulating library'.<sup>140</sup> Three pieces at Uppark were originally from circulating libraries listed by Hyatt King, though clearly the firm regulations habitually produced by these libraries regarding lending and borrowing had been disregarded since the music remained at Uppark. (Alternatively, they may have been purchased when being 'sold off').<sup>141</sup> The demise of music circulating libraries after the turn of the century is partly attributable to the capacity of the growing number of domestic repertoire consumers being able to afford to buy, rather than borrow, their music.

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<sup>140</sup> Alec Hyatt King, "Music Circulating Libraries in Britain", *The Musical Times* 119, no. No. 1620 (1978): 137-8.

<sup>141</sup> Scores at Uppark from London circulating libraries: Camille Schubert, *Les Charmes d'Hiver* (London: Lonsdale, n.d.), UDB 007; Dr Arne, *Artaxerxes* (London: Mitchell, n.d.), UDB 062 (a small piece of paper has - been neatly stuck over original information on the cover, presumably details of sale price prior to item being moved to the library); Brinley Richards, *Recollections of Prince Charlie* (London: Hammond & Co., ca 1860), UDB 118.

## Chapter 3 Frances Bullock and her Music

### 3.1 Introduction

*'Cotehele January 11. 1871*

*I do not propose to keep this Journal as a regular daily account of my life & occupations. It seems to me mere waste of time to record day after day "went out walking in the morning & riding in the afternoon: saw no one: played on the piano, wrote letters & read the papers" and when my Mother & I are living here alone there would be little else to say. Our life then is very quiet & happy but not eventful'*

*'21 December 1871*

*After dinner we had some excellent Amateur Music – a regular concert, conducted by Mr. Winterbottom Band Master of the Marines. Bessie was one of the Chorus and played a duet on the Piano with Miss Codrington very well, and with a most determined countenance! The prettiest thing of all was a charming trio – admirably sung by the two Miss Codrington's and Mrs. Napier, without accompaniment – "Lift thine eyes". "I waited for the Lord" was also very well given, as indeed was everything on the Programme. The only professional was Mr. Winterbottom's niece, Miss Vinta! (? Italian for Miss W—m!) a nice-looking girl, and a good singer.<sup>1</sup>*

These extracts from the journal of Lady Ernestine Edgcumbe (1843-1925) who lived at Cotehele, a Cornish manor house, capture the tenor of musical activity in the life of a nineteenth century aristocratic young woman. They reflect her somewhat desultory attitude with regard to the quotidian activity of playing the piano, although she expresses some positive regard both for the music selection and the quality of performance in the social setting she describes. There is no account as to Frances Bullock's views on the part that music played in her life, and it can only be conjecture as to whether it was comparable with the views expressed in Lady Ernestine's journal, namely that it was an integral part of her life and seemingly not comment worthy (as indicated by the lack of detail about her music and musical activities in other journal entries). The amount of sheet music at Uppark, both belonging to Frances Bullock and published during her lifetime, suggests an interest in music. Playing the piano might have been as much a part of her daily life as it was for Lady Ernestine. But in the absence of a personal narrative and any other commentaries, and in contrast with Lady Ernestine, the sheet music alone is the source for gleaning some understanding of how music featured in the life of this Victorian aristocratic woman.

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<sup>1</sup> Lady Ernestine Edgcumbe, *Journal of My Life & of Passing Events Both Public & Private, Commenced January 1st 1871*.

This chapter is concerned with the sheet music identified by the marking of Frances Bullock's name on the different pieces, or music that is annotated in a manner that indicates it was in her possession.<sup>2</sup> The items of music thus identified are termed, for ease of reference, as 'Frances Bullock's music'. Mapping the content of the music provides a profile of the music Frances Bullock owned, and the material from which to consider an analysis in respect of the different types of musical forms represented and their characteristics. Placing this information in the context of the culture and market for domestic repertoire in the nineteenth century will enable some multi-perspective interpretation of the music to assist with understanding its nature and function as an example of domestic repertoire. A further dimension to be explored, drawing on illustrations of this activity from Frances Bullock's music, is that of gifting.

There are in excess of seventy items of sheet music marked as belonging to Frances Bullock, some 15% - only a fraction - of the total Uppark accumulation. Some of the remainder of the music, with later publication dates, clearly belonged to other women who lived at Uppark, and some carries their names.<sup>3</sup> In the absence of alternative indicators of ownership, conjecture (only) allows for the conclusion that Frances Bullock was the person who gathered much of the mid-nineteenth century sheet music at the house, although this case study is restricted to the music which is securely evidenced as belonging to her. Amongst the reasons for such suggestion are that many of the pieces for solo piano, published in the 1840s and 1850s, reflect the nature and type of the piano music identified as belonging to her. And given that she appears to have had more than a passing acquaintanceship with Brinley Richards, it has to be probable that the twenty-nine items composed by him, with publication dates spanning three decades, all belonged to Frances Bullock.

Although initially Frances Bullock's sheet music appears unprepossessing, its existence and volume pose questions. What music did she actively acquire? What influenced her choices? How difficult is the music to play? Where did she play? Would she have had an audience? Are her social circumstances significant regarding her music and musicking? What does the music communicate about the cultural and social milieu in which Frances Bullock lived? Through analysis and exploration of its contents, some account may be achieved of this particular

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<sup>2</sup> Music scores belonging to Frances Bullock are colour coded purple in the Uppark music database, Appendix A.

<sup>3</sup> Information about the music more generally at Uppark is given in chapter 2.

woman's domestic music, and how that fitted into the musical context of the time. The regard for, or significance, attributed by Frances Bullock to any of her music is unknown, as I have found no sources of her personal or reported views. So, as James Davies concludes: '... in the absence of biographical evidence securing [the] personal significance [of the music]... there is little room for detailed historical manoeuvre ... a spacious approach recommends itself'.<sup>4</sup> The total absence of sources informing about Francis Bullock's attitudes and views, including her music, means that Davies' strategy is an appropriate way forward. Therefore in the absence of opportunities for effecting any connections between personal context and the music, the broad perspective of this enquiry is the consideration of the intersection of the sheet music at Uppark which can be unambiguously assigned to Frances Bullock, with aspects of the wider musical culture and climate of later nineteenth century Britain.

### 3.2 The Time Frame of Frances Bullock's Music

Almost half of the 76 pieces of sheet music belonging to Frances Bullock were published during the first two decades of her life (and it must be likely that some of the items for which no publication date has been ascertained fall within this time frame). This concentrated acquisition of music as a young woman confirms that she was subject to the aristocratic convention of the day, that young ladies should acquire musical skills, particularly at the keyboard, in part to promote their marriage prospects.

However, Frances Bullock did not marry and there are 18 pieces with publication dates when she was in her 30s and 40s, suggesting that she continued to play the piano. There are some pieces published in her later years, suggesting that she continued to acquire music as an older woman - the latest published item in her music is a gift of Brinley Richards' *Titania*, dated by him as Dec.29 1876, nearly 20 years before Francis Bullock's death. I have been unable to ascertain a date of publication for about a quarter of the music identified as belonging to Frances Bullock, generally because the edition held at Uppark does not match in every detail a catalogue listing, given that the burgeoning production of sheet music during the nineteenth century facilitated the advent of multiple editions/variations of one work.

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<sup>4</sup> James Davies, "Julia's Gift: The Social Life of Scores C1830," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 2 (2006): 291.

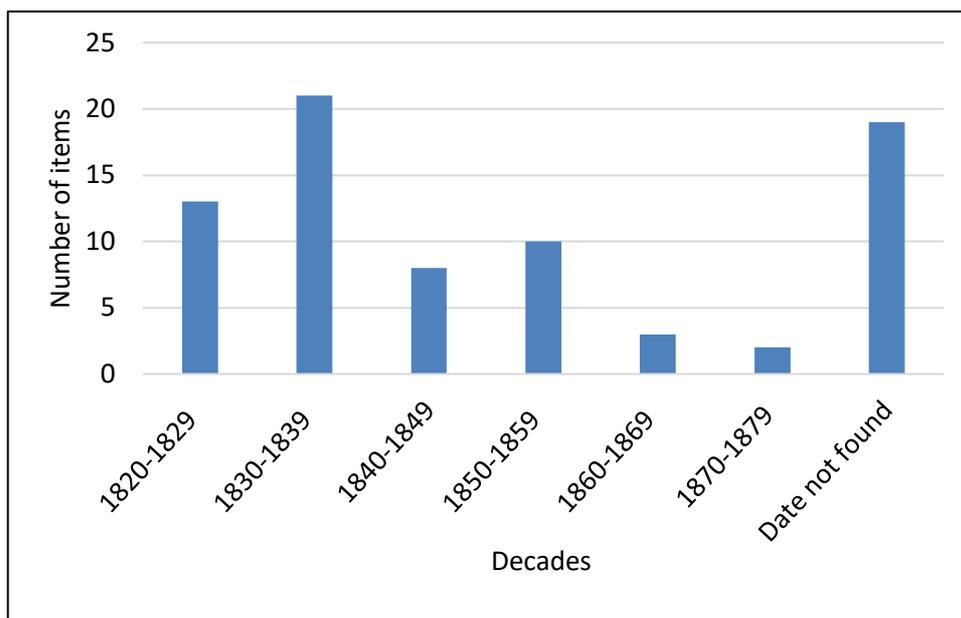


CHART 31. FRANCES BULLOCK'S MUSIC BY DECADE OF PUBLICATION.

The span of years covered by the publication dates suggest that Frances Bullock's musical timeline endorses Solie's description of the social prescription that seated girls before keyboards. It also provides some evidence of an empirical reality where Frances Bullock's duration of keyboard attendance during her lifetime extended beyond that required to achieve a level of musical accomplishment as an indicator of marriageability. This challenges to some extent Solie's premise that female nineteenth century piano playing is a construct of representations, now established in musicological thinking, portraying piano playing and performance as the province of (only) young women, since it appears that Frances Bullock continued to play the piano long after any socially prescribed requirement on her to do so. Her spinster status in effect contradicts to a degree the efficacy of her engagement with 'girling', although her (almost) lifelong practice of domestic music utilised the keyboard skills acquired within that process.<sup>5</sup> Solo piano music is the dominant type in Frances Bullock's music, amounting to some two thirds of her music, and consisting of both original pieces and arrangements. This reflects the increasing popularity and ubiquity of the piano during the nineteenth century, a phenomenon

<sup>5</sup> Solie utilises the concept of 'girling', originated by Judith Butler, as a term to explain '...a two-way process that marks girls' lived experience of their culture's values. On the one hand, girling is the social process that forms girls appropriate to the needs of the society they live in; on the other it is their own enactment/performance of girlhood, both to satisfy familial and social demands on them, and... to satisfy needs of their own either to resist those demands or to reassure themselves about their own capacity to fulfil them'. Ruth A. Solie, *Music in Other Words: Victorian Conversations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 86.

commented on by Ellsworth and Wollenberg: ‘No: the rage for the piano, pianists and piano music in Britain, which lasted through much of the nineteenth century, is a fact that cannot be explained away. It tells us, quite simply, that many British people liked to play and hear piano music’.<sup>6</sup> Frances Bullock, influenced by her social status, and subject to the feminine gendering of domestic/drawing room music, appears to have been one of ‘many British people’ playing the piano and accessing sheet music from a buoyant market for domestic performance. But she did not restrict her music choices to solo piano performance, as she also owned music for solo voice and piano, and music for ensembles (piano with other instruments).

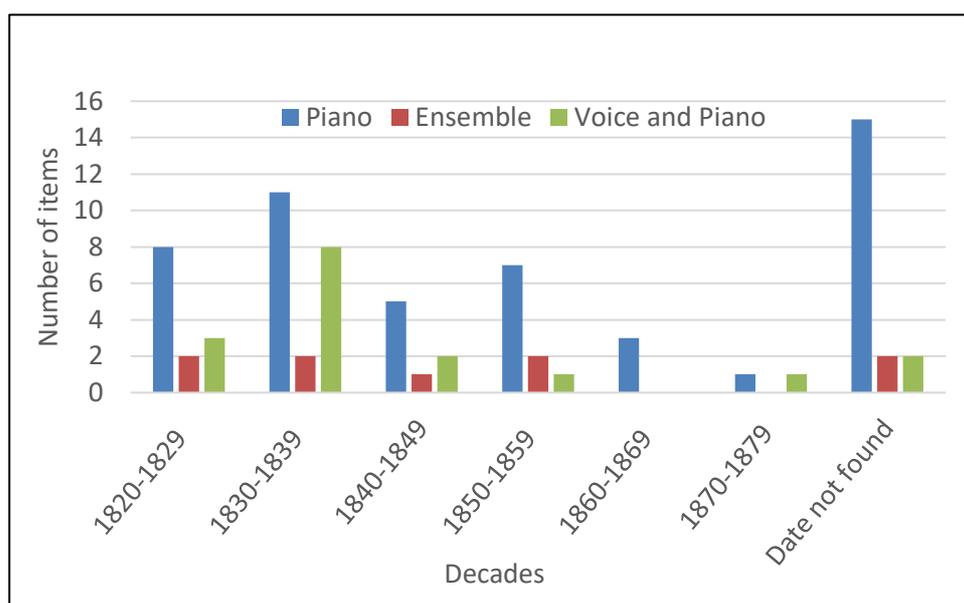


CHART 3-2. FRANCES BULLOCK’S PIANO, ENSEMBLE AND VOCAL MUSIC BY DECADE OF PUBLICATION.

The proportions of the three categories of music varied through the decades of Frances Bullock’s life. There was a growth in the acquisition of vocal pieces during Frances Bullock’s adolescence; and from 1860 onwards there is an absence of ensemble pieces and a picture of reduced acquisitions overall. It was particularly as a younger woman that Frances Bullock acquired music for voice and piano, with some 50% of her vocal music being published before she became an adult. She was only 10 years old when the ballad *Mary, I Believ’d Thee True* was published, and her date of acquisition of this piece is not known. On the front cover, in what is now very faint

<sup>6</sup> Therese Ellsworth and Susan Wollenberg, eds., *The Piano in Nineteenth-Century British Culture: Instruments, Performers and Repertoire* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), xvii.

pencil, is the name 'Miss Bullock'.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, *The Moon's on the Lake*, published in c.1825 (COPAC), carries the almost indecipherable 'Miss Frances Bullock Uppark' at the top right corner of the cover.<sup>8</sup> One of Frances Bullock's earlier nineteenth-century piano scores is an arrangement by Kalkbrenner of *Rule Britannia* from *Dr Arne's Opera of Alfred with Variations and an Introduction* (UDB 105, 1820? (COPAC)). This is a worn and torn score which is twice annotated with Frances Bullock's name, in black ink on the top right-hand corner 'Frances Bullock Uppark', and in the bottom right hand corner 'Miss Bullock'. Belonging to this same period, Mayseder's arrangement for piano and violin of a Rossini cavatina *Di tanti palpiti* (UDB 094), described as a concertante with variations, has written on the bottom right hand corner of the piano part cover '/32' with what looks like the same thin-nibbed pen and ink as the name in the top right-hand corner 'Miss F. Bullock'. (There is no violin part at Uppark for this piece). This personal dating of the piece of music affords a sense of agency to Frances Bullock as the performer and whilst she may have played this piece alone, it is possible that in 1832 at the age of 13 years, she may have enjoyed the sociability afforded by musicking with another, entering into a practice endorsed by the cultural norm of her time.

### 3.3 Developing an Approach to Analysis

A more detailed breakdown of Frances Bullock's sheet music is shown in the diagram below, which indicates the multiple categories of music included in this domestic repertoire. (The chart is to be read clockwise from the top; the types are ordered according to number of items in, and therefore percentage of, the Uppark music).

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<sup>7</sup> James Power, 31 The Strand, music publisher, produced 11 editions of this ballad during the 1820s. (COPAC, accessed August 19, 2017, <http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search>). The Uppark edition (UDB 281) is not dated, but the details of the '1829?' version listed by COPAC match most closely.

<sup>8</sup> Frances Bullock's copy, published by Mayhew, matches copies in the British Library, Aberdeen and Oxford universities, dated by cataloguers as ca 1825. COPAC, accessed August 19, 2017, <http://copac.jisc.ac.uk/search>.

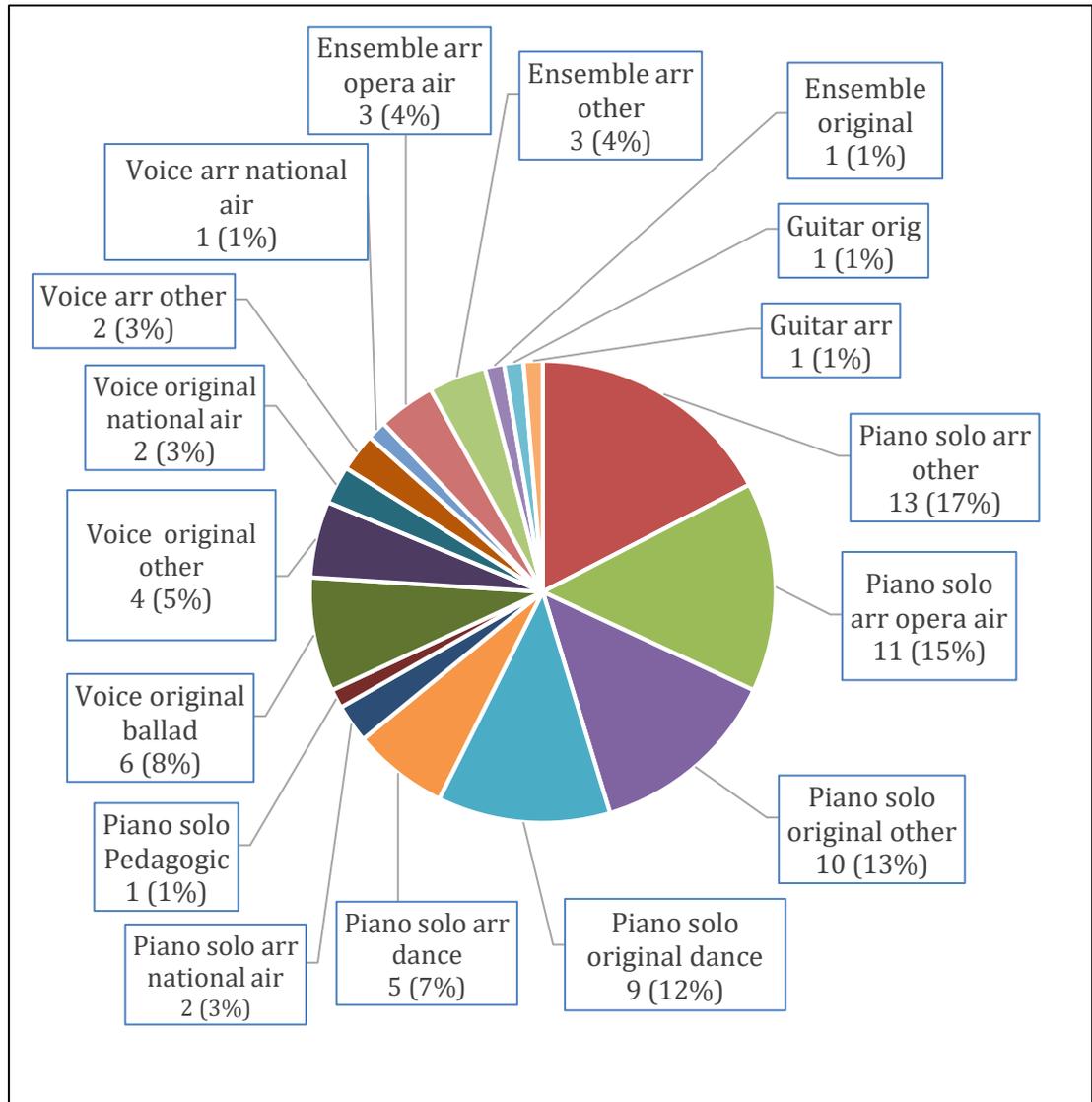


CHART 4-3. FRANCES BULLOCK'S MUSIC COLLECTION BY CATEGORY.

The solo piano music, 68% of the whole, is subdivided into seven sub-categories to illustrate the range. Likewise, the other titled segments of the chart relate to specific content.<sup>9</sup> This more nuanced breakdown of the music exposes the variation within the repertoire which has been imported into domestic territory, with the material scores acting as a conduit for musical forms and influences. The investigation of the musical and social dimensions of 'dance' develops the application of musical and social perspectives in obtaining a fuller understanding of one of the types of music in the repertoire.

<sup>9</sup> The abbreviation 'arr' is used in respect of 'arrangement'. 'Original' indicates a composition for the piano. The term 'assorted' is used to indicate 'a variety'.

### 3.4 Review of the Types of Music

The items are subdivided into 'types', defined initially according to the performance instrumentation, namely piano, voice, guitar and ensemble music. Each of these types is discussed below, introduced by some investigation into Frances Bullock's pedagogical and instructional music. This musical perspective on the word 'type' may be interpreted more widely, as suggested by Jeffrey Kallberg: 'The choice of type by a composer and its identification by the listener establish the framework for the communication of meaning'. He explains that the incorporation within a type of music of expectations and a code of social behaviour, influenced both composition and reception of the work.<sup>10</sup> Kullberg, writing at the time when musicology became more holistic in its orientation, understands that 'a kind of "generic contract" develops between composer and listener: the composer agrees to use some of the conventions, patterns, and gestures of a type, and the listener consents to interpret some aspects of the piece in a way conditioned by this type'. This contract rests on shared meanings, which, if the premise that music is located within the socio-cultural milieu of society is accepted, endorses the need to explore the music with wider terms of reference. This emphasis on the meaning of a piece of music, drawn not only from the music per se but in addition from socio-contextual factors, moves the concept of type beyond the function of (merely) classification, into a definition which combines shared musical characteristics with associated socially based features, reflecting the intersection of musical and social dimensions encompassed in 'the arrangement to play'.

#### **Pedagogy**

Nothing is known as to what instruction Frances Bullock received in piano playing, nor of the piano skills of her governess, Miss Sutherland, who, according to Margaret Meade-Fetherstonhaugh, is said to have been responsible for Frances Bullock's education – there is no record that she was sent away to any educational establishment.<sup>11</sup> Frances Bullock was the only child at rural Uppark house, and although there was a village school a mile away, her social

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<sup>10</sup> Kallberg understands that 'a kind of "generic contract" develops between composer and listener: the composer agrees to use some of the conventions, patterns, and gestures of a type, and the listener consents to interpret some aspects of the piece in a way conditioned by this type'. This contract rests on shared meanings, which, if the premise that music is located within the socio-cultural milieu of society is accepted, endorses the need to explore the music with wider terms of reference. This emphasis on the meaning of a piece of music, drawn not only from the music per se but in addition from socio-contextual factors, moves the concept of type beyond the function of (merely) classification. Jeffrey Kallberg, "The Rhetoric of Genre: Chopin's Nocturne in G Minor," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 11 (1988): 243.

<sup>11</sup> Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 96.

position would have required alternative provision for her education.<sup>12</sup> It would be expected that a governess would teach basic music theory to her charge, and oversee daily music practice, whilst a more specialised person would attend the pupil at home to provide instruction for playing an instrument<sup>13</sup>. To what extent Miss Sutherland would have been equipped for this role of a governess is unknown (nothing is known of her education). The Uppark music accumulation includes a tutor, Book 1 of *To be Continued, Preparatory Exercises for the Piano forte, Calculated to form the Hand & give a correct idea of fingering. Chiefly intended as an introduction to the Studies of Cramer, Steibelt, Woelfl, &c* by David Bruguier, and this copy bears the annotation, 'Miss Sutherland August 8<sup>th</sup> 1828'. The year it was 'Published for the Author, at Mitchell's Musical Library and Instrument Warehouse' is not given<sup>14</sup> but there is an approving and positive review of this instruction book in an 1825 publication, *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*.<sup>15</sup> In their shared rural situation, it may be that Miss Sutherland utilised these exercises to promote her own piano playing (and some pedagogical literature was intended for use as much by governesses as by pupils), in order to then be able to teach Frances Bullock. Equally, given these Bruguier exercises were intended for beginners, to equip the pupil with rudimentary technique, so that they might then address the more demanding technical level required by the studies cited in the title, the book of exercises may have been acquired specifically for Frances

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<sup>12</sup> South Harting village school was founded by Sir Harry and Lady Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh, and she and Frances Bullock made regular visits there. (An interesting item in the Uppark accumulation is a stitched-together copy of *Vocal Exercises for Village Classes, with notes for illustration*, by Joseph R.W. Harding).

<sup>13</sup> I have found no reference in Uppark papers to any music instructor, nor for the payment thereof.

<sup>14</sup> COPAC lists 7 other editions of this item, all dated 1825 and all published by Chappell & Co.

<sup>15</sup> The review of Bruguier's instruction book makes a particular geographically discriminating point of referring to the circumstances of those who are not in London, suggesting that they may require additional assistance with achieving the necessary standard of piano performance:

This little book although it may appear on perusal of its title page, to assume much, nevertheless does not promise at all more than it fulfils. It must, we think, have been long apparent to masters, especially to those at a distance from the metropolis, that the studies to which this purposes to be introduction, are composed of such passages and combinations, and are each in so varied a style as to render the just comprehension and execution a task only adapted to considerable proficient.

"New Lessons," *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, (1825), 398, accessed July 12, 2018, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951001934033p;view=1up;seq=422>.

Bullock.<sup>16</sup> Frances Bullock had her own *Book of Finger Exercises*, whose pages look worn and well-turned, and with pencil crosses by some of the various exercises. The book has a double cover, suggesting the need for repair at some stage, with stitching to hold the second cover in place. At the top of the front original cover in pencil is 'Miss Bullock'; in the centre of the front original cover is 'Miss Bullock', written in black ink, in her familiar hand, and the date April 8<sup>th</sup> 1834. Whilst this page of music looks relatively straightforward to execute (and therefore likely to be used by an inexperienced player), these may have been used as velocity exercises, at the stage of performance where having achieved some basic skills, work is progressed in developing the individual capacity of each finger to strike the keys.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> The London Literary Gazette both confirmed the worth of this introduction to the later studies, and confirmed the merits of its contents: 'The pianoforte exercises most in use at the present day, are Cramer, Kalkbrenner, and Ries; and those by the first-mentioned have, for many years, maintained a kind of supremacy, very deserved, in our opinion, as they combine in a much higher degree the *dulce cum utile*, than any other. The works of these three composers are, however, calculated chiefly for the higher classes of musical students; and their difficulty of execution precludes them from pupils who are not considerably advanced. With the design of benefitting the less forward student, Mr Bruguier has written these preparatory Exercises, and has thus supplied a great desideratum. They are well calculated to form the hand, and accustom the young player to correct fingering. We will not say much of their being pleasing, for we cannot confess so much, though Mr.B. trusts they are; yet no intelligent master will deny their utility.' H. Colburn, *The London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences, Etc* (London, 1825), 507, accessed July 12, 2018, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt/search?q1=%27deny%20their%20utility%27;id=nyp.33433104246644;view=1up;seq=9;start=1;sz=10;page=search;orient=0>.

<sup>17</sup> The eighteenth century preoccupation with fingering persisted into the nineteenth century, but in response to the changing style of music as composers introduced more legato passages, the focus of fingering moved away from detailed articulation towards more even legato and sometimes virtuosic demonstration. As Penelope Cave remarks 'in the repertoire of the mid- nineteenth century, the more frequent use of thumb and finger patterns was to lead to the practice of a smooth and even finger dexterity that this new music demanded'. Cave, *Piano Lessons*, 41. My thanks to Dr Cave for her interesting discussion regarding fingering.

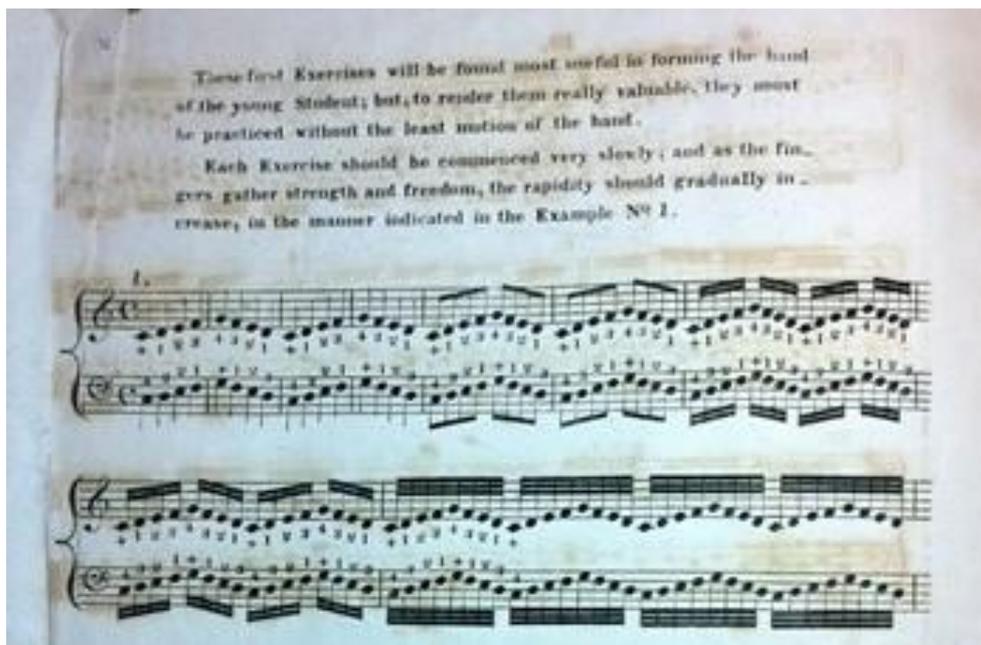


IMAGE 3-1. *BOOK OF FINGER EXERCISES, UPPARK (UDB 018)*.

Frances Bullock's tuition does not appear to have included vocal training, although it was considered that there was a mutual advantage of competency in keyboard and vocal skills, as advised in *The Young Lady's Book*, which expounds that 'The piano-forte is the grammar of music. As all those who would be good players should be acquainted with the best styles of singing, so it is of the highest advantage to a vocal performer to be well initiated upon a keyed instrument'.<sup>18</sup>

### Piano Music

The dominance of piano music in this nineteenth century repertoire is not surprising. More revealing is that the majority of these scores are arrangements, particularly of opera arias and, to a lesser extent, original dance music. Dance music (discussed below), both original and arranged items, comprise nearly a third of the piano music, and there are a substantial number of arrangements of opera arias. The Italian connection with opera and with metropolitan life are realized through these arrangements of opera arias for solo piano, which bring both that theatrical

<sup>18</sup> *The Young Lady's Book*, 367. There are no singing instruction books in the Frances Bullock music, although it is possible that she used the Uppark well-worn and disintegrating copy of a compilation volume, *An Introduction to the Art of Singing* by Thomas Bennett, organist at Chichester cathedral, which was published in 1807, UDB 291.

form of music and its social connections into the Uppark domain.<sup>19</sup> Frances Bullock's performance of these various arrangements fed into the aristocratic embrace of Italian opera, and Temperley's description of the King's Theatre in London, which had a monopoly in the performance of Italian opera, and 'stood socially above and apart from the others as the chief theatrical haunt of the aristocracy'.<sup>20</sup> This social cachet of conspicuous musical consumption by the aristocracy, characterised by 'extravagance, flirtatiousness and display associated with London opera patrons', was diluted as the social and dynamic make up of audiences shifted through the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup> Other scores emanate from the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane – known as Drury Lane – which was a venue increasingly known for productions of spoken plays which included musical interludes, ballets and Christmas shows, all presented with dramatic visual spectacles and special effects. It was a large, often rowdy place, for social meetings and greetings, with much coming and going. Frances Bullock's scores drawn from Drury Lane productions are two arrangements by Irish composers: an aria from Auber's *Lestocq* by Thomas Cooke (composer, singer and Drury Lane theatre music arranger for some 20 years) and Balfe's arrangement for piano of his own overture to *The Siege of Rochelle*. The remaining pieces are original compositions, designed to meet the criteria for amateur domestic performance, namely that they provoke positive audience reception and that they are not overly demanding to perform.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Rossini is represented by Herz's 'Variations de Concert' on the March from 'William Tell', (UDB 086). He is also present through Pleyel's arrangement of 'Zelmira' (UDB 300) and by Augustus Meves arrangement of 'Non piu mesta', (UDB 342), a renowned aria from *La Cerentola*, 'arranged' many times by different composers. Two books sewn together contain 20 favourite airs from Rossini's opera *La gazza ladra* (UDB 067), and these cited items are complemented by *Divertimento rossiniano* (UDB 402), arrangements by different composers from the 'Beauties of Rossini.' The Italian flavour of piano arrangements in Frances Bullock's music is continued with 3 books, sewn together, of Truzzi's arrangement of airs from Bellini's opera *Norma* (UDB 029); and the *Fantaisie Brillante* by François Hüntén (UDB 087), which is derived from Italian themes.

<sup>20</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 288.

<sup>21</sup> 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 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 42.

<sup>22</sup> See elsewhere in this chapter for more detailed comment, particularly regarding levels of skill required for performance.

### Playing the Piano

The feminine ideal of musical accomplishment transmitted expectations of appropriate deportment and social comfort, and it is likely that Frances Bullock was schooled, to whatever extent, in dictates regarding body posture and movement, and general decorum.<sup>23</sup> Although life at rural Uppark was very quiet compared with that at many aristocratic houses, it must be probable that she was taught by Miss Sutherland how to deport herself when playing the piano under the public gaze of visitors, or if she visited elsewhere and participated in music making. Young women were encouraged to adopt as elegant a pose at the piano as possible, to wear modest dress and employ modest movement, to be neat and graceful in their manner, and never be excessive or demonstrative in any aspect of their performance.<sup>24</sup> The technical demands of Francis Bullock's domestic repertoire, crafted for performers such as her, meant such contraventions of the feminine ideal might be avoided, given the relatively basic piano-playing skills required. Within a selection (22 items, determined by score availability) of her piano music, both original pieces and arrangements, I identified 13 pieces which might be described as 'easy', six pieces tending towards 'more difficult', and three pieces that might be categorized as 'difficult'.<sup>25</sup>

The skills required by domestic repertoire varied, ranging from a piece which might be played 'straight off' to one needing far more practice. The possibility of a relatively swift return – depending on the piece of music - from personal practice is a reminder that the instruments

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<sup>23</sup> In his *Letters to a Young Lady on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte, from the Earliest Rudiments to the Highest Stage of Cultivation*, Charles Czerny explained that by writing letters which approximated to verbal instruction (and indeed the tone of these letters is very conversational), he would convey the details of his method of piano instruction. He could have been addressing Frances Bullock when he wrote: 'The reader must suppose, therefore, that, by means of short, friendly, and cheerful letters, I have undertaken to draw the attention of a talented and well-educated girl of about twelve years old, residing at a distance in the country, progressively to everything which might assist her in the better comprehension and application of the rules which are contained in almost every pianoforte school'. Czerny, *Letters to a Young Lady*, iv.

<sup>24</sup> Female decorum was preserved as sitting at the piano required no body movements, and the only contact with the instrument was with the ends of the fingers and the toes, as in the portrait painted by Candace Bailey:

'The young woman ... sits politely, with excellent posture, performing some piece almost solely for her own enjoyment—certainly no one appears to be listening to her. She might exhibit the model "piano girl." Her performance does not draw attention to her, does not distract the others within hearing, yet continues on as pleasant background music...All bodily movements were restrained so as not to appear to "work" in any way, to do so would be to contravene class boundaries (and "superior cultivation"). The gentle, sweet, correct, and unpretending piano girl would almost never have displayed her abilities, even if she possessed a virtuoso talent. To play the piano with serious physical exertion ("ostentatious" and "conspicuous" display) would be to transgress upon masculine territory.' Bailey, *The Antebellum "Piano Girl"*, 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> Appendix C provides an overview of the level of difficulty of performance of items from Frances Bullock's solo piano music.

played by Frances Bullock, significantly the piano and (maybe only briefly) the guitar, were self-sufficient, in that they might be played, studied and enjoyed by one person who is alone. In this respect these instruments are suited to solitude, a situation which Frances Bullock must have experienced, since as a young woman growing up, she was living in a household comprised mainly of servants (and therefore not social companions for her), her aged brother-in-law and his wife (her sister, 14 years her senior), and her governess, Miss Sutherland. The dominance of piano music in her music is not unexpected given the volume of its production, but possibly also signals her use of domestic repertoire as a companion, as suggested by the numbers of worn and torn-at-the-edges pages. Domestic music-making offered the individual the opportunity for solo performance and reflection on the music, as well as the possibility of sociability by taking that same music into the social situations afforded by aristocratic lifestyle. It takes only a little imagination to conjure a picture of Frances Bullock sitting playing the piano in the Uppark saloon, perhaps following her own private individual 'rituals' as she prepared to play (checking seating position, ensuring no dust on piano keys etc) and then the sound of the piano reaching through the house as she engaged with her score, listening to, and reflecting on, the music.<sup>26</sup>

The nature of her piano repertoire fits with the ambit of the music market's reach into domestic terrain, and has some disregard for the guidance of *The Young Lady's Book* regarding domestic repertoire, which advocated that 'As the taste gradually forms, in proportion as the pupil becomes acquainted with a succession of good authors, it is of the highest importance that, in the choice of pieces, the real piano-forte style should be preserved; and that extracts from operas, ballets, &c. should be avoided'.<sup>27</sup> It would not be erroneous to describe Frances Bullock's music as dominated by 'extracts', given the inherent nature of an arrangement of part of an original work. This may be the product of her taste being shaped by what sheet music was available to her, and possibly by the absence of an informed 'serious' musical context at Uppark.

### **Vocal Music**

The vocal ballads belonging to Frances Bullock were published before the mid nineteenth century, a time when music in a popular (contrasting with serious) style was socially acceptable in

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<sup>26</sup> The (original) piano was destroyed in the fire in 1989, and in the absence of the piano serial number and a date of purchase, Broadwood Piano Research have no information. Email correspondence with Broadwood, February 2014.

<sup>27</sup> *The Young Lady's Book*, 368.

her circle, providing it was not seen to be in low taste (degenerate in content).<sup>28</sup> This social position of contemporary popular music validates the presence of the ballads in Frances Bullock's music, illustrating that she was participating in performance of the more diverse repertoire now available for the domestic market, namely vocal pieces with words that were not difficult to sing, and a piano accompaniment which would not be difficult to play. The ballad was increasingly aligned with the new middle class, 'the singing bourgeoisie' in Derek Scott's formulation, yet its presence at Uppark signals Temperley's perception of status changes when he refers to the division between aristocracy and bourgeoisie as largely dissolved by 1850. He refers to the decline of aristocracy, adding that, 'More significant, however, was the continual upward aspiration of the nouveau riche bourgeoisie, gradually invading aristocratic cultural territory, especially once the adoption of the practice of reserving high-price seats at concerts, universal by 1840, allowed them to mingle with full financial credentials, until, well before the middle of the century, the two began to merge into an affluent *élite*'.<sup>29</sup> Such class elision was equally demonstrated in the broadening social class acquisition of domestic repertoire. Frances Bullock, living in her rural situation and so physical distanced from metropolitan life, might not have been aware of the extent of the escalation of music's popularity, indicated by the increasing numbers of those attending concerts and the increasing purchases of sheet music, as the century progressed.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to ballads, the vocal music in Frances Bullock's music includes two arrangements of opera airs and one arrangement of a traditional Welsh air.<sup>31</sup> These songs fall into Derek Scott's generic classification for nineteenth century vocal music, that 'for whatever apparent reason a song was originally written (say, for an English opera), it was possible for it to be tailored to the

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<sup>28</sup> The vocal ballads include Bishop, *I Stood Amid the Glitt'ring Throng* (London: Goulding and D'Almaine, ca 1840), UDB 100. Parry, *Jenny Jones* (London: Cramer, Addison & Beale, 1838), UDB 276. Blockley, *Love Not* (London: Cramer, Addison & Beale, ca 1830), UDB 277. Hodson, *My Pretty Gazelle* (London: S.Chappell, 1834), UDB 279. Leo, *Why is love forever changing* (London: Cramer, Addison & Beale, n.d.), UDB 285. Lee, *We met* (London: Betts, ca 1835), UDB 452.

<sup>29</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 16.

<sup>30</sup> The scale of this growth is illustrated by the statistics that 'In the 1870s, a popular song could sell 80,000 music sheet copies. By 1888 there were nearly one hundred music shops in London. The publishing of illustrated music sheets had become a very lucrative business with relatively low overheads. The lyricist and composer might get just £5 per song, but since publishers realised that a good cover illustration could sell thousands of copies, the artists could receive as much as £20'.

<http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/s/sheet-music-covers/> accessed 14.11.17.

<sup>31</sup> These are Marliani, *Dear Violetta!* (London:, 1834), UDB 083, an opera air arranged for voice and piano, as is Cooke, *The Native Roundelay* (London: D'Almaine & Co., 1835), UDB 171, an arrangement of an air from the comic opera, *Lestocq*. Stevenson, *Mary, I Believ'd Thee True* (London: Power, n.d.) UDB 281, is based on a Scottish air.

requirements of amateur music-making in the middle-class home.<sup>32</sup> The references here to the musical and amateur status of those for whom this music was intended is supported both by the simplicity of the vocal melody lines of these predominantly amatory songs and the undemanding nature of the piano accompaniments. An example of this is found in *Love Not* with a mainly step-wise melody and ‘playable’ accompaniment.<sup>33</sup>



IMAGE 3-2. BLOCKLEY, *LOVE NOT*, UPPARK (UDB 277).

*We met* has a comparable melody line and accompaniment with regard to skill levels, and is also a reminder that Frances Bullock owned a number of ‘light’ songs, contradicting any assumption of the alignment of the aristocracy with (only) high art, and reflecting the evolution of the ‘middling’ of musical tastes.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Scott, adopting a Marxist perspective, assigns the label ‘middle class’ or ‘bourgeoisie’ to the capital half of the capital/labour relationship. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, x.

<sup>33</sup> Blockley, *Love Not*, (London: Cramer, Addison & Beale, n.d.), UDB 277.

<sup>34</sup> This situation was despised by some, as depicted by George Elliot in *Daniel Deronda*. Herr Klesmer, (for whom ‘Woman was dear to him, but music was dearer’), tells Gwendolen ‘that music which you sing is beneath you. It is a form of melody which expresses a puerile state of culture ... the passion and thought of people without any breadth of horizon’. However, young Clintock declares ‘I wish you would sing to us again ... that is the style of music for me. I never can make anything of this tip-top playing. It is like a jar of leeches, where you can never tell either beginnings or endings. I could listen to your singing all day’.

George Elliot, *Daniel Deronda*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons), 81-83.

See Levenson for a description of Gwendolen as ‘the product of real Victorian society’, and ‘constricted within her lot’. Shirley Fran Levenson, “The Use of Music in Daniel Deronda,” *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Vol. 24, No. 3 24, no. 3 (1969): 328.



IMAGE 3-3. BAYLY, WE MET, UPPARK (UDB 452).

### Music for Guitar

Richard Mackenzie Bacon, using his nom de plume 'Vetus', in a discourse on musical education available in the year Frances Bullock was born, advocates that 'Where, therefore, the design is not to carry the art to a high degree of polish, I can only recommend a careful choice of one particular species of musical study; an instrument of easy attainment – the Spanish guitar or the harp-lute for instance'.<sup>35</sup> Frances Bullock, or someone on her behalf, appears to have made that choice as she signed her name no less than five times on her copy of Don Octavio Lorenzo Medina's *New Instructions for the Spanish Guitar* (UDB 354).<sup>36</sup> She also owned *Twelve Popular Airs arranged for Guitar* (UDB 044) by Matteo Carcassi, on the front cover of which is written 'Miss Frances Bullock, Uppark January 2 39', aligning this item with the dating of Medina's instruction book. Carcassi was a guitarist and a composer, whose compositions are described as 'although musically straightforward, are well constructed and lie comfortably beneath the fingers. They generally sound far more technically complex than they really are, hence their long-

<sup>35</sup> Richard Mackenzie Bacon, "To the Editor," *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review*, NO.XXV I (1818): 424.

<sup>36</sup> I am grateful to Jelma van Amersfoort who informed me that this instruction manual is included in Erik Stendstadvold's Annotated Biography of Guitar Methods 1760-1860, where it is dated as ca1825-1830 and reference made that there is only one known copy, in the USA. Jelma van Amersfoort, email message to author, August 19, 2017.

standing popularity with amateur guitarists'.<sup>37</sup> This presentation of the music may have suited a novice Francis Bullock, but Christopher Page suggests that 'the vogue for the guitar, an instrument that yielded results relatively quickly to those of modest talent or ambition, was therefore related to a much more general and insidious narrowing of what women were encouraged to believe they could encompass, and of what life could offer'.<sup>38</sup> This is a further reflection on how the overt promotion of guitar playing as a feminine accomplishment is in effect a 'disguised' restriction of opportunity. The language of a contemporary review encouraging women to learn to play the guitar emphasizes further the patriarchal definition of the feminine, by describing the activity in terms which epitomized contemporary visions of femininity: 'For the display of graceful attitude, the guitar is admirably well-calculated, and when in the hands of an accomplished female, a skilful performance on it gives fascination to beauty by affording such opportunities for uniting graceful action to elegance of person, as perhaps no other instrument possesses'.<sup>39</sup> Such patriarchal propaganda could seem attractive to a young women who, as Frances Bullock at the age of 21 years, may well have been orientated towards the socially expected state of marriage.<sup>40</sup>

### Ensemble Pieces

The ensemble pieces indicate that Frances Bullock had the experience of making music with others, with a repertoire scored variously for the piano with flute/violin/cello.<sup>41</sup> In his treatise on eighteenth-century fine arts and literature, Brewer suggests that 'private musical meetings ... were the bedrock on which provincial musical life was built'. He identifies convivial domestic surroundings, a steady supply of published scores and 'newly published works ... enabling friends to practise the most recently performed and fashionable pieces. He also remarks that 'often these scores were adaptations of pieces originally intended for an orchestra'.<sup>42</sup> The 13 ensemble items belonging to Frances Bullock reflect these comments from earlier decades. There are six arrangements of airs from operatic and sacred original compositions, and one arrangement of a

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<sup>37</sup> Paul Sparks, *Oxfordmusiconline*, accessed August 30, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/>.

<sup>38</sup> Christopher Page, "Men, Women and Guitars in Romantic England: The Guitar and 'the Fair Sex'," in *Gresham College lecture* (2015), 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>40</sup> A second guitar instruction manual at Uppark, *Instructions for the Spanish Guitar founded on the Systems of the first Masters of that Instrument, particularly those of Carulli, Giuliani &tc with Morettis* (UDB 124) by Alfred Bennett, published in 1829, may additionally signify her enthusiasm for the guitar.

<sup>41</sup> The ensemble music is listed in Appendix D.

<sup>42</sup> John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), 562.

cavatina; two reductions from Haydn symphonies; an arrangement of a divertimento; two original compositions by Pleyel and Kalkbrenner; a piano (4 hands) duet; and a flute part from an unknown piece. These pieces are mainly arrangements of vocal music, the original compositions and numbers of performers required being reduced by the arranger to produce a score appropriate for domestic use, with the piano as the dominant instrument. Invariably the arrangements are characterised by the specification of an accompaniment 'ad libitum' for flute/violin/violincello, indicating that these instruments would be complementary rather than essential so far as performance is concerned, since the piano part presents the arranged composition in totality.<sup>43</sup> Examples of such ensemble arrangements found at Uppark, as indicated by the front covers, with the optional ad libitum instrumentation, are opera airs by Bellini, Mayer and Rossini; and sacred airs by Mozart, Haydn, Marcello, Pergolesi and others.<sup>44</sup> I found only the piano part for all these works, save for Calcott's selection of 'Favorite Airs' from Bellini's opera *I Puritani* where there was a separate printed flute part in addition to the piano score.<sup>45</sup>

There are four items scored for piano and violin, of which three are original compositions and one an arrangement.<sup>46</sup> The violin part exists for only one of these items and is a manuscript copy of the Pleyel violin part, on which is written 'violin primo', suggesting the possibility that this part may be copied from the original (fuller) small orchestra score, rather than it is the (intended) domestic repertoire arranged violin part.

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<sup>43</sup> David Fuller, *Ad libitum* (Lat.: at the pleasure. [of the performer]) Used in titles ... to indicate that one or more instruments may be left out ... and in scores, as a direction to the player to improvise or ornament, accessed June 3, 2018,

<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000000208?rskey=NCrMsQ&result=1>.

<sup>44</sup> The Burrowes' arrangements of Mayer Airs are in three individual unbound 'books', which have been sewn together.

<sup>45</sup> William Calcott, *Favorite Airs selected from Bellini's Opera of "I Puritani"* (London: Cramer & Co., 1844), UDB 115.

<sup>46</sup> See Appendix D.

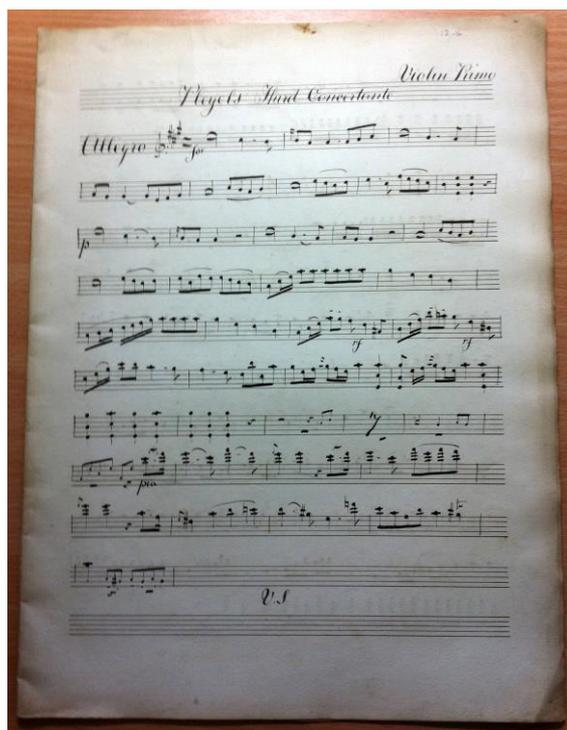


IMAGE 3-4. PLEYEL, *THIRD CONCERTANTE*, VIOLIN PART, UPPARK (UDB 236).

The two arrangements of Haydn symphonies amongst this ensemble music have extant violin and cello parts, but in both instances the cello part is sewn into the violin part, excluding the possibility of performance. The name 'Sibly' is written on the front cover of Haydn symphony no. 3, a name which is found also on two gifts of music to Frances Bullock.<sup>47</sup> There remains only the flute part of *Select Melodies with Variations* by Nicholson and Burrowes, and a worn copy of a piano duet for four hands, *Le Rossignol*, arranged by Rost.

Two thirds of this ensemble music comprise instrumental arrangements of vocal music, illustrating how this form of composition, the arrangement, so often found in domestic repertoire, in effect 'exploits' a score, by drawing out its essence, 'refurbishing' it, and so enabling performance in the different musical locale and socio-cultural context of a home. This is a very different scenario from the social rituals (appropriate dress, greetings, mode of seating etc) and listening mode associated with a public performance of this same music, the previously different form now transmuted into the domestic setting. The contrast between the public performance of larger scale works and their arrangement for performance at home by often one

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<sup>47</sup> The name 'Sibly' may have been that of Stephen Sibly 1766-1842), cathedral organist and cello player, who lived in Portsmouth.

individual, but sometimes by an ensemble as referred to above, is illustrated by the words of the Reverend Haweis: 'We find ourselves in a quiet, cheerful room at the back of a good house; it is morning; there are only four people present; they are all intent upon playing; they can all play, and there is no one present to molest with praise or blame'.<sup>48</sup>

### 3.5 The Social Dimension

I am using the example of dance music, a form found throughout Frances Bullock's repertoire, as a case study to explore the intersection of sheet music and 'the social'. I look at what the dance music yields in response to five questions directed at the social dimensions of the music.

#### *i. Does the music involve aspects of sociability?*

Several dances are represented in Francis Bullock's music, including the popular dance, the quadrille, whose elite association is conveyed by the front cover of *Gemma di Vergy*, a set of quadrilles composed by John Weippert from the music by Donizetti (UDB 077).<sup>49</sup> There is also a copy of the 'Prince Albert Quadrilles', composed and arranged for pianoforte by Hermann Strauss (UDB 040). Through ownership of these two sets of quadrilles, Frances Bullock effected an immediate connection with elite femininity, with royalty, and with fashionable London life. Her solo piano performance of these quadrilles at Uppark would transport all their associations into Francis Bullock's domestic space. The versatile quadrille was enjoyed in different public and private spaces, and by different social strata, both the elite and those below stairs.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps the servants who, in addition to the household and guests, attended the annual Uppark Christmas festivities, heard Frances Bullock play this music. Derek Carew comments disparagingly that "These sets of dance-music are entirely functional, their whole raison d'être is to accompany the thud of pump on parquet; the music is, consequently, of little value outside of this".<sup>51</sup> Contrary to Carew's view, however, the many arrangements of quadrilles for inclusion in domestic repertoire performance suggest its musical popularity as well as providing a potential source of sociable

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<sup>48</sup> Hugh Reginald Haweis, *Music and Morals* (London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1877), 519.

<sup>49</sup> The front cover advises that this music was 'Performed by his Band at Her Majesty's Balls and at Almack's Etc'; and also informs the (prospective) player that: 'John Weippert is 'Director of HER MAJESTY'S Quadrille Band & Conductor of Music at Almack's also Harpist by special appointment to HER MAJESTY. The King and Queen of Hanover, King and Queen of Belgium, & all the English Royal Family'. John Weippert's band was the lead provider of music at royal balls

<sup>50</sup> Katrina Faulds refers to the attendance of servants at balls and the music for the dances. Faulds, "Invitation Pour La Danse", 165.

<sup>51</sup> Derek Carew, *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, C.1760-1850*, (Routledge, 2017), [https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=OCwxDwAAQBAJ&vq=127&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=OCwxDwAAQBAJ&vq=127&source=gbs_navlinks_s). 150.

activity.<sup>52</sup> We do not know if Frances Bullock performed quadrilles for dancing at Uppark, but the quadrille, which was often fairly easy to play and danced in a set, offered potential for both musical and social return, as expressed in a fictional treatise on the role of the governess, published when Frances Bullock was in her teens:

Lady Emily was a splendid performer, and, after delighting her audience by playing and singing, she called on Lady Edith to replace her at the instrument. This Lady Edith declared her readiness to do; and added, “that after her friend’s beautiful playing, she dared not attempt anything more difficult than a set of quadrilles, to which, she hoped, they would not object to dance.” Her proposition was gaily seconded, and two quadrilles speedily formed.<sup>53</sup>

Frances Bullock’s music also includes polkas, one of the most popular ballroom dances of the nineteenth century, which came to London in the mid-1840s, and is emblematic of aristocratic sociability. It is the most represented dance form in Francis Bullock’s music, and was described in *The Times* as a combination of ‘the intimacy of the waltz with the vivacity of the Irish jig’. Like the more sedate waltz, also present in Francis Bullock’s music, the polka was perceived as potentially problematic because it involved a closeness of the dancing couple, and was daringly energetic, described by Charles Knox as ‘addressing itself less to the ears than to the feet, or more properly the back sinews of the leg’.<sup>54</sup> Certainly the polka challenged the requirement for feminine deportment of control and constraint. Playing polka music at Uppark, described as a tranquil setting, must have evoked for Frances Bullock the social whirl that is an intrinsic characteristic of this dance. The popularity of the polka had extended to rural Sussex since two of Frances Bullock’s polkas are gifts from the aristocrat Lady Constance Wyndham, signifying their social currency in her Petworth circle. Faulds explains that changes in dance music repertoire would complement the stages of life of a woman, referring to her associations – real or desired - with balls at court, with fashionable London venues, and other areas of female sociability, such as ballet and the theatre.

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<sup>52</sup> R.Hill explains that ‘Quadrille Dancing affords a most interesting and animating amusement to a family party of four or more persons, in a winter’s evening: a piano forte and a performer on it are now found in most families – no expense [sic] is then created for music; and to parents and other friends the sight must afford a considerable gratification’. R. Hill, *A Guide to the Ball Room, Containing a Selection of the Most Fashionable Quadrilles, Waltzes, Country Dances, and Gallopades; with Observations on the Art of Dancing, Selected from Various Authors of Distinguished Character; and an Explanation of Terms Used in Dancing* (Lincoln: W. Brooke and Sons, 1830), 32. My thanks to Katrina Faulds for taking me to this this reference.

<sup>53</sup> *The Governess; or, Politics in Private Life*, (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1836), 162.

<sup>54</sup> Charles Henry Knox, *The Spirit of the Polka; Being an Historical and Analytical Disquisition on the Prevailing Epidemic, Its Origin and Mission* (London: John Ollivier, 1845), 7.

Decade	No.	Type of Dance	UDB Reference
1820s	1	waltz	112
1830s	0		
1840s	3	1 quadrille, 1 polka, 1 ballet	77, 28, 16
1850s	4	2 polkas. 2 mazurka-polka	76, 210, 307, 405
1860s	1	waltz	183
1870s	1	waltz	207

TABLE 3-1. DANCE MUSIC BY YEAR OF PUBLICATION AND TYPE.<sup>55</sup>

This is reflected in Frances Bullock's dance music with publication dates primarily in the 1840s and 1850s, when she was in her 20s and 30s, so relevant to her engagement with the normative requirements for a woman of her age and social status, as Faulds eloquently states:

Dance and its music were culturally rich and semantically laden occupations for elite women in the nineteenth century. The importance of social dance in the lives of gentry and aristocratic families cannot be underestimated. As a primary tool in the development of a genteel deportment, dance facilitated the graceful performance of a myriad of physical actions that were indelibly part of polite social intercourse, while balls were integral to provincial and metropolitan sociability. Behind every ball, of course, was dance music, forming an aural milieu to the bodily expression of grace and elegance. Given the crossover in corporeal and aesthetic language between dance and music-making, the two activities were intimately linked beyond the functional accompaniment that one provided for the other. The qualities of movement women were advised to employ in both disciplines, such as moderation, lightness, neatness and elegance, contained parallels with definitions of femininity itself. Thus dance and dance music had the potential, in a multivalent manner, to embody many aspects of elite female identity.<sup>56</sup>

Very little is known about Frances Bullock's attendance at balls. Newspaper advertisements, as referred to later in this chapter, indicate that she participated in balls at Petersfield, and Sarah Wells' diary for 1890 has the entry '23 April Petworth ball Miss Frances went with Mr Saunders'.<sup>57</sup> So certainly attendance at balls was an aspect of her social activity, and the number of items of dance music owned by Frances Bullock underlines the likelihood that these pieces conjured up for her images of femininity and sociability, such that the sheet music in itself provided a passport to multiple aspects of aristocratic womanhood. In the same way that dance

<sup>55</sup> a. Publication dates not known of 3 of Frances Bullock's dance pieces.

b. The Uppark accumulation includes a further 12 quadrille pieces.

<sup>56</sup> Faulds, *Invitation Pour La Danse*, 317-8.

<sup>57</sup> Sarah Wells, *Diaries*, (1845-1893).

embraced aristocratic womanhood, so too would related music have such associations.

*ii. How does the music fit with regard to social status?*

Attendance at fashionable 'rooms' and balls was an habitual aristocratic form of leisure, and such dance engagements confirmed membership of the elite, with this social attribution carried on by the sheet music into the home. Piano performance of currently popular dance forms contributed to self-identity, and as referred to above, performing dance music at home was a means of endorsing social position, since this could act as a reminder of associations, as with the royal and fashionable quadrille. It would also carry memories of past social occasions, perhaps realized for Frances Bullock in the two polkas in her music which are gifts from a family member of the Petworth household, bestowing or confirming her (Frances Bullock's) acceptance as part of the social elite.

*iii. What form of social intercourse is effected by this music?*

The quadrille echoed the aristocracy's preoccupation with social control given its structural regularity, elaborate walking steps and set couple formations within the dance, all of which contributed to cohesive social exchange. In comparison, the ('new') polka was a fast, swirling and far more rumbustious dance, with the couple close-positioned and not in any formation with other couples on the dance floor. The waltz and polka heralded changes in what was deemed appropriate social behaviour, not least with the physical closeness of a dancing couple and the relative flamboyance of the polka, contradicting the constrained corporeal presentation of established elite femininity. Domestic repertoire provided a medium which readily encompassed the music of newer dance forms, thus the contemporary terpsichorean arrangements were paralleled by the frequent 'new' musical arrangements, whose performance must have evoked memories, and anticipation, of the social pursuit of dancing for Frances Bullock.

*iv. How is social currency conveyed by the music?*

Dance music has a very long-standing role at the heart of composition, and this continued through the nineteenth century. Whilst continuing to draw on established dance forms, contemporary composers utilized the newer variants of dance in domestic repertoire, such as the waltz, quadrille and polka, for both original pieces and arrangements, challenging any simple division between 'serious' and 'light' music, and encouraging take-up of this music from a socially more diverse population. An example of this 'cross-over' are the two polkas from the solo piano composition *Lady Henriette Ballet* by Burgmüller (UDB 016), which illustrates the close

connection between social and theatrical dance, and the elision of musical and social milieu. Marion Smith explains that the familiarity of staged ball scenes presenting new social dances was fostered by 'the use of dance music from ballets and operas by orchestra leaders in ballrooms, and the prevalence of s of such music for playing at home'.<sup>58</sup>

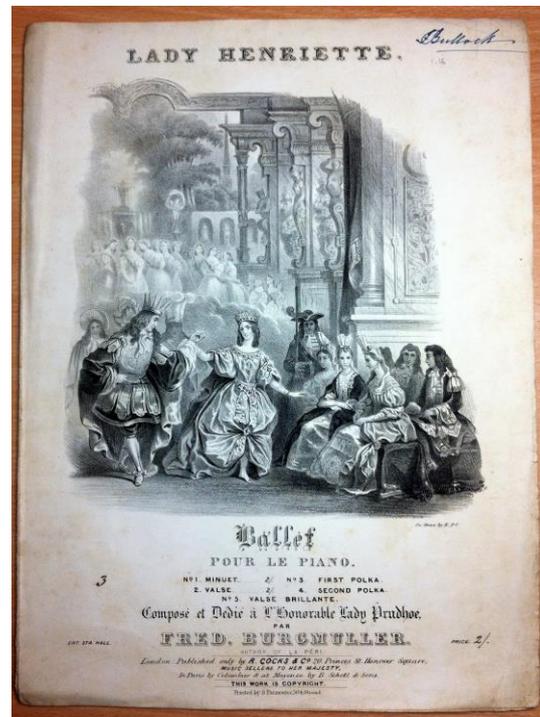


IMAGE 3-5. BURGMÜLLER, *LADY HENRIETTE BALLET*, UPPARK (UDB 018).

Frances Bullock would understand from the title and the front cover that this piece is a dance, a type of music to be performed, on a stage and often involving more than one musical instrument, to an audience; and as she moved through the five movements which were all current dance forms, she would experience the different tempi and styles of the dances which would be enjoyed by those attending a social occasions. This original dance composition thus draws these aspects into the individual performance at home of a 'concert' presentation of dance for the amateur piano player. An additional communication enfolded in this item is that the title and most of the text on the front cover is in French, playing to the aristocratic liking for 'all things foreign', particularly Italian opera and French ballet. Such 'messaging' would be attractive to the élite consumers of domestic repertoire.

<sup>58</sup> Marion E. Smith, "The Orchestra as Translator: French Nineteenth-Century Ballet," in *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, ed. Marion Kant (Cambridge University Press, 2007), 143.

v. *What are the social aspects of performance of this music?*

The accomplishment of piano playing was an element of the social agenda (hopefully) leading to marriage, so again the aristocratic social code is in hand with the musical arrangements of dances. As Faulds comments, 'dance music was concomitant to an intrinsically social activity, critical commentary on music making itself may not be present to a high degree'.<sup>59</sup> Presented in a form intended for domestic use, a dance piece might be utilized as a score with which to develop pianistic technique; as performance for personal pleasure; as a piece for performance in the intermediate situation which domestic social gatherings provided, situated between 'the public and the private'; or as an accompaniment for dancing at such gatherings. These various uses of a dance score underline the social significance the music its pedagogic and performance function, and the player did not have to be very accomplished to provide the rhythmic music, repetitive in nature, of the quadrille and to be applauded for this.<sup>60</sup>

This consideration of the social aspects of dance music indicates the wealth of information available from a socio/cultural approach alongside musical analysis, which may be similarly applied to all the types of music in Frances Bullock's repertoire.

### 3.6 Origins of the Repertoire

This broader exploration of the types of music owned by Frances Bullock invites questions about the origins of these compositions, the broader patterns of gender and nationality of its composers, and questions of canon and reception. I will also consider the proportion of original versus arranged works found in this repertoire, a question that is central to some of the negative evaluations of mid-nineteenth century music at the time, and in current scholarship.

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<sup>59</sup> Faulds, "Invitation Pour La Danse", 317.

<sup>60</sup> In the preface to a music of quadrilles published in 1835, Chaulieu exhorted young women to use the regular 8-bar phrasing and repetitive rhythms of the quadrille to learn about these aspects of music making, and to select pieces – presumably referring to [his] quadrilles - to play in public which lay within their level of technical ability. 'Believe me well that those long and difficult pieces that you play in a salon sometimes surprise...but almost never seduce. You must consider them as a means of learning how to play, with grace, aplomb, expression and clarity, those brilliant second-rate pieces, which are, above all, of a more moderate length.' Charles Chaulieu, *Les Plaisirs de la Pension Or Boarding School Recreations, Six Brilliant Sets of Quadrilles, for the Piano Forte, Composed and Dedicated to English Ladies* (London: R. Cocks & Co.) in Maribeth Clark, "The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris," *The Journal of Musicology* 19, no. 3 (2002): 516-7.

### Composer Gender

Male composers dominate Frances Bullock's music since only two women appear among the 54 composers (excluding the six pieces where the composer name is not known): Madame Anna Caroline Oury and Mrs Philip Crawley. The reasons for the small number of works attributed to women are well-rehearsed with regard to nineteenth century gender discrimination and its multiple consequences, and in the Victorian attitude epitomized by John Stuart Mill who declaimed: 'Women are taught music, but not for the purpose of composing, only of executing it: and accordingly it is only as composers, that men, in music, are superior to women.'<sup>61</sup> The lack of published music composed by women reflects this patriarchal structure, which resulted in the evaluation of women's compositions by reference to sexual stereotype, and women being advised to adopt a defined feminine standpoint, namely '...that the feminine in music was charming, sweet, delicate and sensitive...Women's composition was to be of a character that could be labeled or thought of in ways distinct from male composition'.<sup>62</sup> The consequence of this, as Derek Hyde points out, was that 'The drawing room ballad was composed for both public and private consumption and here was a form of music-making that women could experience at first hand in their homes, unlike the performance of most other forms of music which was largely-male dominated and not of easy access to women'. Hyde urges recognition of the significance of the popular ballad song – at most tolerated, at worst keenly ridiculed by the musical establishment – 'in shaping and encouraging the acceptability of women's making music ... 'For the first time ever, a large number of English women were involved in the performance of music without social restriction ... using their detailed observations of the domestic scene as a basis for music of their writings, so the drawing room ballad allowed women full participation in their own homes both as performers and as creators'.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Mill, John Stuart, "The Subjection of Women," in Derek B. Scott, *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 35.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>63</sup> Derek Hyde, *New-Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1998), 57-8.

This accepted gender restriction and the need for appropriately formed social networks and finance to achieve publication enforced the invisibility of most women composers until towards the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup> There were English women composers credited with success in the nineteenth century, such as Maria Hester Park (1760-1813) and Alice Mary Smith (1839-84)<sup>65</sup>; and there were successful Continental women composers such as Fanny Mendelsohn (1805-47) and Clara Schumann (1819-96). But it was not until the end of the century, when the roles and expectations of women were changing, that women composers became more known and acknowledged.<sup>66</sup>

One of the two compositions by women is *Oberon Polka de Salon* by Madame Anna Caroline Oury (UDB 210), which is annotated 'with my kind love' followed by indistinct initials; and on the first page is 'FB from' with further illegible initials. The language of this inscription suggests that the donor was well acquainted with Frances Bullock, and probably, from the language, a woman friend who may or may not have been aware that gifting an item of music by a female composer was a rarity, given that whilst women composed a larger proportion of domestic repertoire than other types, nevertheless they were few in number. Male composer dominance of domestic music meant that their prescription for femininity was imposed on the expectations of women's musical locale, on female domestic music making, and on assumptions regarding domestic amateur musical tastes and performance. So whilst the amount and variety of domestic music available to Frances Bullock certainly increased as she grew older, the overt, and more insidious, values and attitudes framing domestic repertoire were consistently and overwhelmingly male and patriarchal.

This patriarchal agenda rested on the premise, summarised by Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, that 'Music was also believed to be a domesticating agent, bringing tranquillity and happiness to a woman's domestic existence ... [and] the domesticating power of music often confined women to being

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<sup>64</sup> Grove included only 29 female composers in his first *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879–89). *Grove Music Online*, accessed February 8, 2017. The real volume of composition by Victorian women is unlikely ever to be known.

<sup>65</sup> Alice Mary Smith was the first English woman composer to write, and have performed, a symphony, which was described as 'a striking proof of the sound studies and high attainments of the female votaries of art in this country'. *The Illustrated London News* (14 November 1863).

<sup>66</sup> Dependence (usually) on male finance and/or networks in order to achieve performance of their compositions constrained Victorian women composers, who lived in a patriarchal socio-political culture. Contextually they were hampered by sex-differentiated education for girls which provided (only) basic literacy and numeracy, and an emphasis on domestic skills.

aesthetic, sexual objects.<sup>67</sup> Such an ideology is predicated on the assumption that the woman's place is in the home; and it frames nineteenth century domestic repertoire, which – as discussed earlier – was dominated by male composers. Hence men produced music for women's domestic performance, and in doing so realized that 'the musical composition does important cultural work [as] it can function as a discourse that reproduces societal values and ideologies', thereby implanting social bias. Marcia Citron, the author of this previous comment, also reflects (in general terms) that a gendered musical structure is the vehicle for a compositional strategy which relates to identity and position in society.<sup>68</sup> In this way, it becomes clear that whatsoever the merits of domestic music making – amongst which the Victorians included the promotion of morality, spirituality, the prowess of the woman as home-maker, a marker of family status, and the avoidance of boredom for the woman at home - it was encouraged because of a socio-political rationale.

In addition to the considerable literature on the requirement and expectations of, as Solie terms it, the 'social prescriptions that seated the girls before those keyboards', the language used on scores endorsed the prescription by 'playing to' ascribed feminine reception through the use of gender-associated terminology centring around the male view of woman and her (normative) behaviour.<sup>69</sup> Solie, describing the male/female binary, enunciates this male view as 'she was intuitive where he was reasonable, artistic where he was pragmatic, nurturing where he was aggressive, delicate where he was robust, domestic and shy where he was public and gregarious'.<sup>70</sup> Certainly these various aspects of the patriarchal model of woman are illustrated in many of the later nineteenth century ballads, and along with the disdain for their musical quality, have attracted a negative critique. A review of Frances Bullock's music suggests that prior to the flood of vocal ballads onto the market, a less sophisticated construct of female was evidenced in vocal scores from the earlier 1800s, presenting the woman in the song as a desired love object, now lost, regained, or hoped for. The vocal part in these songs is always as from a male.

### **Nationality of Composers**

British and European composers contributed in equal number to Frances Bullock's music, a

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<sup>67</sup> Alisa Clapp-Itnyre, *Angelic Airs, Subversive Songs: Music as Social Discourse in the Victorian Novel* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002), 2-3.

<sup>68</sup> Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: University Press, 1993), 121, 223.

<sup>69</sup> Solie, *Music in Other Words*, 86.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

perhaps surprising statistic, illustrated in Appendix E.<sup>71</sup> Bennett Zon ascribes the success of Continental music to the preferences of those with social standing who chose to favour non-British composers. He understands the success of European musicians and composers in London during the nineteenth century in terms of ‘the xenophilia and philistinism of the aristocracy, established long before as a way of emphasizing their exclusive status, but maintained in the nineteenth century by the middle classes in their all-consuming need to join the ranks of the gentry’ – although Frances Bullock’s music seems to belie this picture of a close-minded upper class as depicted by Zon.<sup>72</sup> In practical and material terms this meant that London became the desired musical location for many European composers, eager to use British publishers, to demonstrate their performance skills, to compose and perform salon music, and to promote the advent of Italian opera: what followed was the engagement of European composers with British domestic music making, and their contributions to domestic repertory and its flourishing market. Many British and European composers wrote both ‘serious’ and ‘popular’ music, with the latter category increasingly dominating the domestic market.

### **Music from the Canon**

A number of pieces in Frances Bullock’s music are arrangements of works, both instrumental and choral, today considered to be of canonic status. Ruth Solie identifies the gradual acquisition of status connected with some music when she explains that ‘The emergence of a classical music canon or “standard repertory” began around the middle of the nineteenth century, and its notional segregation from ‘popular music’ was not firm until the turn of the twentieth’.<sup>73</sup> Frances Bullock’s ownership of these works means that music evaluated as canonic is included in her domestic repertoire, thereby drawing in a measure of ‘worth’ – or ‘added value’. One example of such a piece is an arrangement of a Haydn Symphony (UDB 323 AND 334), for piano, violin and cello, with the description ‘Composed for & performed at Mr Salomon’s and the Opera Concerts’ in London, and now in a form which makes this orchestral work available for domestic performance, and by this means, transporting the metropolitan and public venue aspects of performance of an originally larger-scale work into the rural and private domain of a country home.

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<sup>71</sup> Appendix E provides an overview of composers according to their compositions, nationality, gender, and the locations of publishers.

<sup>72</sup> Bennett Zon, (ed.) *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies, Volume 1* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1999), 16.

<sup>73</sup> Ruth A. Solie, "Music," in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture*, ed. Francis O’Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 109.

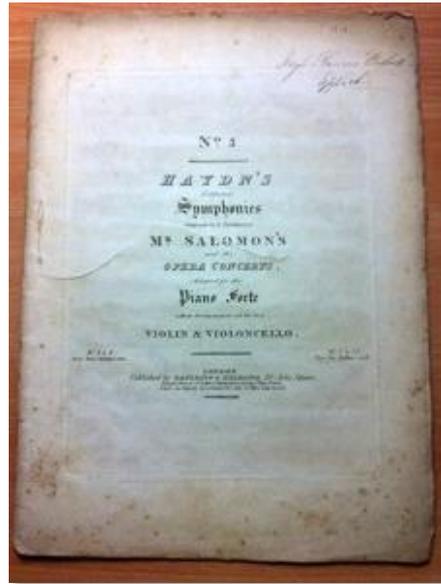


IMAGE 3-6. HAYDN, *SYMPHONY NO. 3*, UPPARK (UDB 323 & 334).

William Weber suggests that the selection of canonic repertory is 'filtered through an array of conventions, circumstances, and tastes', so domestic repertoire ensured its connection with the musical conventions of the time, and the composers represented in Frances Bullock's music echo, as Weber points out, that 'the idea of a common canon based in orchestral and chamber-music concerts underlies the reverence for Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven'.<sup>74</sup>

But it was the circumstances of domestic music from the mid-nineteenth century, particularly the use of the 'arrangement' from original compositions, which were the predominant reason for the inclusion of such canonic repertoire. This medium, the 'arrangement', allowed an original work to be re-configured for solo or ensemble performance in the home, acting at the same time as a gesture towards established taste, in the context of a domestic music market abounding in contemporary compositions. The inclusion of music from the canon evidences the breadth of compositional span of originals, now arranged for piano, owned by Frances Bullock. However, the profile of her scores suggests that during her lifetime, she was drawn into the contemporary domestic musical culture, with the numerous arrangements she owned endorsing her

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<sup>74</sup> William Weber, "The History of Musical Canon," in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 341, 344.

engagement with lighter music and popular taste, as well as being indicative of her connection with national/metropolitan musical preferences.<sup>75</sup>

### **The Feminine in Domestic Repertoire**

The distressingly low (from a twenty-first century, or indeed any, viewpoint) number of compositions by women found in this repertoire, essentially due to social constructions, reflects the subordination of the female with regard to gender balance in many aspects of life until the final decades of the nineteenth century. Male dominance had the clear consequences of stereotypical representations of male and female in the repertoire, and market domination which was systemically problematic for women to challenge unless they were monied and/or well-connected. The general absence of women composers in the sphere of domestic repertoire reinforced a status quo with regard to gender representation and expectations, not least in their lack of opportunity to learn the skills of composition (particularly in the larger 'public' genres of symphony and opera).

The demonstrated nineteenth century gender assignment of domestic repertoire to the feminine invites further enquiry into the portrayal of gender roles within the vocal repertoire. This is warranted not least because of the potential impact of the role models and associated expression of emotions presented within songs, given the breadth of the social base of popular vocal music. This presentation of the female is illustrated in the earliest published vocal item, *Mary, I Believ'd Thee True* (UDB 281), the text of which was written before Frances Bullock was born, but interestingly evidences the woman's agency in that the song is about how the man was deceived by Mary but grieves for his lost love and loves her still. A later text, *Jenny Jones* (UDB 276), written in 1821 and set to music in 1838, reflects a straight forward duality of acquisitive male and passive female, recounting the narrative of a sailor returning to his Welsh homeland and the woman he loves, whom he left to another whilst he travelled, but will now settle back at

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<sup>75</sup> Examples of such music are Mazzinghi, *Non Piu Andrai* (London: Goulding and D'Almaine, n.d.), UDB 209. This Italian arrangement of a Mozart air marks one of many domestic repertoire pieces which conveys the English fascination with Italian music. Purday, *The Maid of Llanwellyn* (London: Purday, ca 1830), UDB 458, is a "Caprice Brillant" arrangement of a popular ballad. A favourite Scotch air endorses the use of traditional melodies in domestic repertoire, arranged as Fantasia and "Brilliant Variations: Thalberg, *We're A' Noddin* (London: Mori and Lavenu, 1833) UDB 290. Nationalism is epitomized in an arrangement of a vocal piece from Arne's opera *Alfred*, which is several variations - Kalkbrenner, *Rule Britannia* (London: Goulding and D'Almaine, ca 1820), UDB 105. These pieces are all piano arrangements, whereas a further arrangement of an opera air is scored for piano with flute accompaniment: Burrowes, *The Favourite Airs in Mayer's Opera of Medea* (London: Chappell, 1826), UDB 042.

home and (as she is now widowed) marry Jenny Jones. *My Pretty Gazelle* (UDB 279) endorses the binary as it likens a deceased woman to a deer, whose return is sought in the words ‘Come hither my pretty Gazelle’, accompanied by running rising and falling semiquavers. The theme of ‘striving to acquire’ is repeated in *True love can ne’er forget* (UDB 283), in which unfolds the story of a blind man who recognises his love 20 years later by the touch of her hand. The performers are given the marking ‘tenderly’, with an emotive refrain: ‘True love can ne’er forget/ Fondly as when we met/ Dearest I love thee yet/ My darling one’. There is reference to a harp, a woman’s instrument, at the end of verse 2; and the piano accompaniment in verse 3 is dominated by triplet semiquavers resembling harp strings. Henry Bishop relaunched as a parlour ballad his applauded song, *Home, Sweet Home*, but the centrality of the domestic place is not referred to in an earlier ballad, *I Stood Amid the Glitt’ring Throng* (UDB 100), which endorses a view of woman as a desirable object with appropriate attributes (voice and appearance) – ‘I stood amid the glitt’ring throng, I heard a voice, Its tones were sweet, I turned to see from whence they came, and gazed on all I long’d to meet’.<sup>76</sup>

There are further examples of privileged concepts of femininity, such as the female aspiration and maintenance of moral standards, as suggested by the description on a back cover of ‘Miss M. Lindsay’s (Mrs J. Worthington Bliss) Favourite Songs’ as ‘Songs of a high moral order’ in the *British Banner*. And on the front cover of *Musidora* by Talexy (UDB 405), the picture of an enticing young woman suggests to female purchasers the ideal to which they should aspire. A similar female ‘heroine’ is portrayed on the front cover of *Lady Henriette Ballet pour le piano* (UDB 016), where all eyes are upon her. The feminine senses of touch and taste are exhorted in the back-cover advertisement for a *Musical Scrapbook*, as being ‘a Volume beautifully and tastefully bound in silk, and very suitable for a Christmas Gift’. Likewise a back cover advertising *Cootes New Album of Dance Music for 1866* describes this score as ‘Elegantly Bound and Beautifully Illustrated, containing a Repertoire of entirely New Dance Music’, enticing female purchasers not only by its presentation but also by its contemporary content.

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<sup>76</sup> Contrastingly, *The Harper’s Grave* is essentially about loss rather than gender constructs, narrating the ‘old custom, still observed in some parts of Wales, for the relations of a deceased person to visit and kneel upon the grave of the dead after morning service on the Sunday succeeding the day of the funeral. Over the grave of a harper, a brother of the craft would play some plaintive airs on his favourite instrument’. Brinley Richards gave a copy of this piece to Frances Bullock in December 1873. *Carnarvon and Denbigh Herald and North and South Wales Independent* (17 January 1874), accessed July 5, 2016, <http://newspapers.library.wales/view/3599295/3599298/13/harpers%20grave>.

The portrayals of the feminine as discussed above are of course those identified within this music, which, for whatever reason, may be varyingly representative of its time. But through such textual and visual representations, the masculine vision of female identity is repeatedly evidenced in musical scores and increasingly bound into a culture of family domesticity. And this is particularly so in vocal music, as the commentary reflecting a continuing trajectory of nineteenth century song, and its dispersion through society, by John Dwyer expresses, with regard both to subject matter and gender construction.

Such motifs as the sentiment of home, the dying child, the cult of discrete, natural objects and the hoarding of personal mementoes all became stock characteristics of Victorian life, literature and popular consumption. Of even greater significance, the sentimental emphasis on the intimate family circle, the cultivation of the adolescent and, especially, the emerging role of women as those Victorian domestic deities whose unenviable task it became to soften the harshness of an aggressive and insensitive world, made a contribution of enormous significance to modern culture ....<sup>77</sup>

On this point of culture, Matthew Head raises a question: 'If music is a cultural *practice*, then is it consistent with this premise to read its content from the score, like a story from a book? There is a difference between music as cultural practice and music as cultural theory. For the historian, the challenge of "music as cultural practice" is to situate the new stories music is heard to tell within a specific material world inhabited by musicians and listeners who themselves produced those stories through performance and interpretation'.<sup>78</sup> This distinction between theory and practice prompts unpicking Head's reference to the action of musical practice in tethering the female audience to ideals of their character and role, although the lack of information about the life and music performance of Frances Bullock precludes such enquiry.

Consideration of these different dimensions of the repertoire, referred to above, enables greater understanding of the influences on the composers of Frances Bullock's sheet music, and the attitudes and values which were communicated through the music. The significant presence of European composers in Frances Bullock's music exemplifies their penetration of the later nineteenth century British music market and the general cultural and social acceptance, rising to adulation on occasion, of these composers, who were sometimes also performers. The link for Frances Bullock with social and cultural contexts beyond Uppark, as identified from the positioning of items of her sheet music on the continuum of provincial-metropolitan, reached to

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<sup>77</sup> Dwyer, *The Sentimental Ethic*, 1041.

<sup>78</sup> Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 205.

Europe and so contradicted a view of her as isolated, rural and disconnected. The relatively extensive occurrence of canonic music in this repertoire is a reminder of the weight retrospectively attached to these composers, the status already accorded to them during the nineteenth century, and the recurrent use of such works both for public performance and domestic use. It also marks the intersection of domestic repertoire with canonic discourse, and how the arrangement of music we now understand as canonic, for domestic repertoire, was immensely influential in promoting its circulation in the population and its performance in both public and private locations. However, the breadth of Frances Bullock's repertoire, which might be conceptualised as an articulation of music largely outside the canon, refutes any suggestion of canonic dominance and provides an example of the eclectic selection and taste of one aristocratic woman.

### 3.7 Arrangements

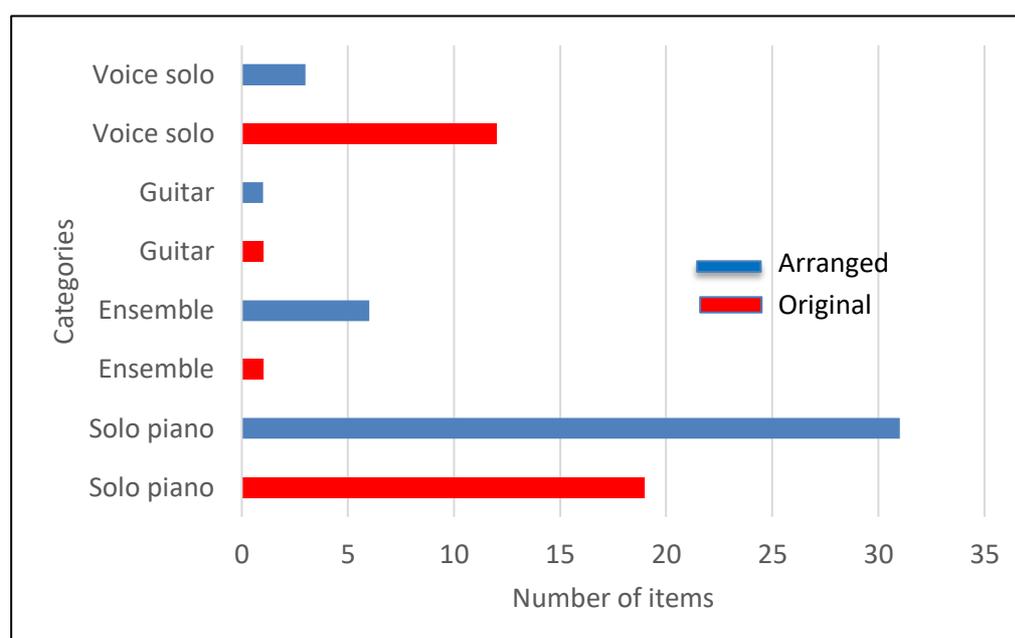


CHART 4-4. ORIGINAL AND ARRANGED PIECES IN FRANCES BULLOCK'S MUSIC.

A striking feature of the Frances Bullock music is the proportion of arranged music - 41 items - compared with original compositions - 33 items. (One item, *A Book of Finger Exercises*, has been excluded from this comparison). This proportion runs through three out of the four categories of the music I have identified, but is not reflected in the songs for solo voice, mainly acquired when Frances Bullock was a younger woman, where there are far more original compositions - 9 - than

arranged vocal items – 3.<sup>79</sup> Characteristic of music of the time, there is a prevalence of opera airs as the basis of arrangements, and a frequency of arrangements of original compositions as dance forms, found in the solo piano pieces. Each individual item is complete in itself and self-contained.

A retrospective look at the practice of ‘arranging’ music for the piano suggests it was unbridled during the nineteenth century and very much a part of everyday domestic repertoire, ceasing only with advent of recorded music and radio listening. The term ‘arrangement’ in nineteenth century context essentially means the resurrection of material from an original composition, and includes a (popular) air or tune from opera or orchestral music, with variations.<sup>80</sup> Such music, often easy to play and tuneful on the ear, was long dismissed by those concerned with ‘serious’ music. Ehrlich referred to such pieces as ‘mass produced for the ungifted and semi-trained to perform to the unmusical and half-listening’.<sup>81</sup> Such comment is indicative of the scornful and derisory attitudes so often promulgated in respect of the widespread and voluminous ownership and performance of these keyboard arrangements, regarded as the stuff of dilettante amateurs who lack taste. What the ‘musical elite’ struggled with in broad terms, as the nineteenth century progressed, was the evolution of musical compositions and performance from respectively an art and an accomplishment at the beginning of the century, to becoming an income source and a relatively widespread leisure pursuit by its closing years.

Central to this evolution were the changes in social structure and wealth distribution in consequence of industrialisation, with, in very brief terms, the arrival of an aspiring and financially empowered ‘new’ middle class who challenged aristocrat elitism, power and the norms of their musical culture. For these reasons, piano arrangements and their composers were belittled, given that it was considered that ‘Neither the fashionable, the educational, the simple, nor the popular are capable of being real musical works, let alone ones worthy of

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<sup>79</sup> As the Rev. Haweis explained, ‘It is thought almost as rude to interrupt a lady when she is speaking as to talk aloud when she sings. Accordingly the advantages of being able to sing in society are obvious. The lady can at any moment fated the attention of the room on herself ...the room listens and the room applauds’.<sup>79</sup> Hence for an aspiring young woman, an incentive to perform vocal rather than piano music. Haweis, *Music and Morals*, 515-16.

<sup>80</sup> The generic title ‘theme and variations’ indicated some shared characteristics, such as a balanced binary structure with internal repeats, length being multiples of 8 (i.e. 16, 24 or 32 bars), a clear and easily memorable theme, straight-forward harmonies, and right and left hands on the keyboard clearly playing the melody and accompaniment respectively. Each variation would be differentiated from the others, whilst sharing the original theme.

<sup>81</sup> Ehrlich, *The Piano*, 93.

study'.<sup>82</sup> But nevertheless, given that piano arrangements are considered to fit this description, this 'unreal' music found its way into the music stock of country houses, not least Uppark. Numerous advertisements for sheet music not only composed by the arranger of a particular piece, but also by other composers of this same publisher, in effect a catalogue, were typically found on the back cover. An example of this from Frances Bullock's music is the back cover of *I Stood Amid the Glitt'ring Throng* (UDB 100), published c1840 by Goulding and D'Almaine, which advertises quadrilles published by Julien (i.e. a different publisher); and *We Met* (UDB 452), published c1835, on the back cover of which the publisher, A. Betts at Royal Exchange, advertised their catalogue of 'New and Select Music'.

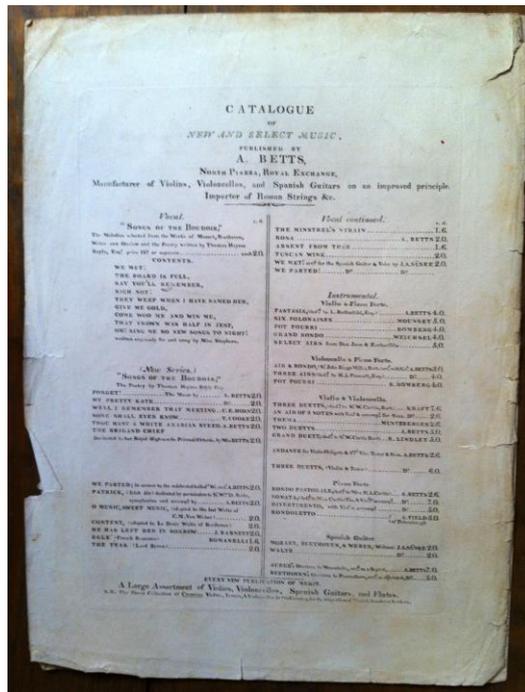


IMAGE 3-7. BAYLY, *WE MET*, UPPARK (UDB 452).

An attendant outcome from the growth in popularity of keyboard arrangements over the nineteenth century was the emergence of an expanded discourse for domestic repertoire, characterized by reading and listening to music. Botstein explains that 'A newer piano-based standard of musical literacy made possible a profound democratization of musical culture', complementing references above to changes in British social stratification and the consequences of that for domestic music making.<sup>83</sup> Both Botstein and Christensen develop discussions about the individual's attention and resulting sensibility to music from domestic performance, captured

<sup>82</sup> Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine: Keyboard Arrangement in the Nineteenth Century", 35.

<sup>83</sup> Botstein, *Listening through Reading*, 137.

by Lockhart's reflection 'that there was a profoundly widespread culture of domestic listening' promoted by the opportunity, because the music was performed without obvious restrictions at home, to hear the same melody over and over again – hence maybe the well-used sheet music pieces within Frances Bullock's music.<sup>84</sup> This interpretation of the meaning and purpose of arrangements provides a productive way forward for consideration of Frances Bullock's music which aims at a broader understanding of their content and social function, rather than reproducing rehearsed value judgements. Just as the process of music acquisition and performance added to the ubiquity and perceived value of music we now understand to be from the canon, so the dissemination of arranged music added to the status of original works, their continuing performance in an arranged and accessible form, and their longevity. This discourse was assisted by what Solie refers to as the British Victorian 'lively and surprisingly common musical culture ... [wherein] familiarity with the concert and opera repertory – even if sometimes in makeshift form – was very general in the population, and musical mixtures and cross overs were numerous and fruitful'.<sup>85</sup>

### 3.8 The Challenge of 'the popular'

The miscellaneous nature of Frances Bullock's scores is evident from this review of her sheet music, as is the span of her taste, encompassing both serious and popular music. Nineteenth century 'popular' music has long been denigrated as inferior to 'serious' music, although it was towards the end of the nineteenth century that all popular music was viewed as 'lesser'. Popular music and serious music have very different terms of reference. The former was a product of the industrialised processing (production, distribution, consumption) of sheet music and its commodification: '...music businesses, [were] centered on the sale of compositional products and their performance to large markets, themselves marked by a variable balance between 'listening' and 'participation', consumption of musical pleasures and mastery of musical knowledge, and linked to the spread of 'leisure' as both a concept and a reality, [so] a new kind of musical economy came into being.'<sup>86</sup> The elevation to 'high art' of some music was one consequence in response to the products of this new economy, as a means of effecting an associated social

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<sup>84</sup> Christensen, "Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception," 286. Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine: Keyboard Arrangement in the Nineteenth Century", 183.

<sup>85</sup> Solie, *Music*, 109.

<sup>86</sup> Richard Middleton, "Popular Music," (2001), 4, accessed September 2, 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043179?rkey=aHCtzL&result=1>.

alongside musical distinction between consumers. The significance of the contrasting musical and social features linked with popular and high art music illustrate in broad terms the non-viability of their musical comparison from a narrowed analytical viewpoint: popular music had a different form and function from high art music.

Any assumption that a woman of aristocratic status would exclude popular music from her domestic repertoire is questionable after scrutiny of Frances Bullock's music, as is the issue of social class alignment with musical choices. Scott maintains that popular music was acceptable to the more socially elite until the second half of the century, when music composed for financial gain became degenerate [his term] and associated with the lower classes. High art became seen as a better class of music.<sup>87</sup> Christina Bashford demonstrates this association in her description of the activity of a nineteenth century 'music business' explaining that 'Aware of the trick of asserting quality by association, Ella thus blatantly linked his 'product' with the music-loving nobility and gentry. He also emphasised classical values and the intellectual weight of the endeavour.' She refers to the relatively inexpensive subscription but confirms that this did not suggest 'access for *hoi polloi*: the Musical Union's system of recruitment guaranteed an essentially private circle, as a grand announcement of the society in the *Morning Post* in January 1845 made evident. Social superiority was also indicated by the appointment of Cramer, Beale & Co., music sellers and publishers of quality in Regent Street, as treasurers'.<sup>88</sup>

Serious music used to be considered the province of the aristocracy who promoted 'high art', but opinion retreated from this classification with the recognition of the elision of musical aspirations and tastes across social groupings, and acknowledgement that the distinction between 'serious' and 'popular' is far more diffuse than originally conjectured, and that a breadth of repertoire is found across social groups. Consequently, as Middleton states, 'even if "the masses" or particular classes can be given precise sociological definitions, which is doubtful, the structure of the musical field cannot be mapped straight on to the social structure, and musical categories do not walk on to the historical stage in socially or musically pure forms.'<sup>89</sup>

In practice, the new musical economy promoted an effusion of available sheet music of various types, both popular and serious, into a variety of domestic and public locales, and a diffusion of

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<sup>87</sup> Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 209.

<sup>88</sup> Christina Bashford, *The Pursuit of High Culture: John Ella and chamber music in Victorian London* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 116-117.

<sup>89</sup> Middleton, *Popular Music*, 1.

people's tastes in spite of supposed social class circumscription. Of course, Francis Bullock's own origins did not lie in aristocracy, but her socialization from when she was a young child and her domestic situation gave her access and membership of the social elite, although she retained links with her (working class) birth family.<sup>90</sup> Her personal dual-status circumstances are echoed in the duality of styles of her music, namely serious canonic and popular contemporary music. This repertory elision makes sense if the view taken is that 'all who are involved in the music – composer, performer, listener – enjoy a certain standing, leisure and cultivation', as expressed by Temperley.<sup>91</sup> He feels that there is a resemblance of drawing room music to high art music, in spite of its performance primarily by amateurs, the lack of technical and intellectual demands, and that frequently it is a social rather than intellectual (serious) activity. He attributes this resemblance to the influence of the musical language of European art music, although he finds that drawing room music 'was often a pale reflection of the music of the great composers of an earlier generation'.<sup>92</sup> Francis Bullock's music locates her firmly in the drawing room, or rather the saloon at Uppark; and the greater volume of contemporary composers offers a diversity of repertoire, emblematic of the later nineteenth century.

A contrasting stance is adopted by Pierre Bourdieu, who maintains that 'art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social difference'.<sup>93</sup> Many nineteenth century aristocrats were preoccupied with maintaining their social distinction from the rest of the population, and one signifier of this endeavor, from their point of view, was the possession of a high level of cultural capital.<sup>94</sup> Through their attention to what was 'best' in music and their development of appropriate musical sensibilities, an individual would add to their cultural capital, which enabled the application of 'taste [which] is an acquired disposition to 'differentiate' and 'appreciate' ... to establish and mark differences by a process of distinction'.<sup>95</sup> Bourdieu aligns elite taste with the

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<sup>90</sup> One of the pieces of music has 'Louisa Bullock' written under 'Frances Bullock'. Louisa was a younger sister of Francis Bullock, the only sibling to whom she left a bequest.

<sup>91</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 118.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 119.

<sup>93</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 7.

<sup>94</sup> Bourdieu understands cultural capital as the individual's collected cultural elements, acquired through family and educational learning and experiences, including age, social mobility and aspirations, and place of residence. He perceives cultural capital as valued and evaluated by the social market, within which may occur a struggle between fractions for cultural dominance. Fractions are sub-divisions within a class who share a 'habitus', that is 'a system of dispositions'. Bourdieu advocated that a group needs to achieve distinction in matters of taste, so that their social and aesthetic superiority is conjoined, which was a constant goal of Victorian aristocracy.

<sup>95</sup> Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 466.

'aesthetic disposition' with its 'pure gaze'; and working class taste with the 'popular aesthetic' which is 'realist', 'earthy', grounded in function. For Bourdieu, these distinctions are paralleled in the differences between serious and popular music. He stipulates that 'nothing more clearly affirms one's "class", nothing more infallibly classifies, than tastes in music. This is of course because, by virtue of the rarity of the conditions for acquiring the corresponding dispositions, there is no more 'classifactory' practice than concert-going or playing a "noble" instrument.'<sup>96</sup> Whilst Frances Bullock certainly played a 'noble' instrument (and probably attended concerts), it might be said that her pure gaze had been sullied by the enticements of the market place of the new musical economy. The contemporary nature of her music invites Dahlhaus' opinion that 'triviality offends against taste', given her numerous arrangements of popular music, frequently decried as not tasteful. Dahlhaus viewed trivial music as akin to a fashionable commodity: both are the products of capitalist industrialized society and both potentially have a short life span.<sup>97</sup>

Frances Bullock's music is a ready example of an aristocratic woman's ownership of a miscellany of contemporary popular pieces: there are hints of 'the serious' but essentially her taste appears to have been for lighter arrangements and popular ballads. Her music also illustrates a pragmatic definition of 'popular', which endorses the distance between this label and 'serious'.<sup>98</sup> 'Popular' initially was understood as meaning 'well known', but not necessarily perceived as musically low status, and would be indicated on an item of sheet music by use of the adjective 'favourite'. Examples of this from Francis Bullock's music are Truzzi's piano arrangement (published c1845) of 'favorite airs' from Bellini's opera *Norma*, and Hüntgen's *Fantasie Brillante* where the linguistically hybrid front cover announces these are 'Les Favorites Three Brilliant Compositions'. Later in the century, 'popular' evolved into meaning 'well received', with this legend, or equivalent wording, used on the front covers of music scores to encourage purchasers. Ultimately 'popular' settled at a numerical definition, namely that the particular popular item had sold in great volume (a definition which has continued to the present day).

From mid-century onwards, an essentially social rather than musical distinction was accentuated in differentiating between music for mass consumption, seen as 'lighter' and entertaining, compared with music perceived to be more 'serious' or 'higher class'. History has elected to categorize music in this way, but at the time, the widening sheet music market provided for a

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>97</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 317.

<sup>98</sup> Scott, *Sounds of the Metropolis*, 9.

growing number of consumers, which would have included Francis Bullock, who probably bought music they liked and music they could play, without recourse to a comparative social perspective. Temperley comments that the division into two classes of music was nothing new as it can be evidenced in past centuries, but 'What was new in the nineteenth century was the control of functional and popular music by commercial interests on a more and more formidable scale, supported by the growing wealth of, in turn, the upper-middle, lower-middle, and working classes'.<sup>99</sup> The fiscal function of popular music was the delivery of financial return to the composer (in the absence of patronage), who might be composing both functional pieces in pursuit of profit, and serious music.<sup>100</sup> Advocates for high art continued to support serious music, sharing Dahlhaus' disdain for 'trivial music', as 'a paradoxical cross between sentimentality and mechanization ... triviality offends against taste' and, he maintained, is the product of nineteenth century commercialization of music 'as a compulsion to mass-produce and distribute commodities.'<sup>101</sup>

To describe all these arrangements of extracts from larger works as 'flimsy', is to disregard the rationale and intention of their production: they were not intended as 'great works', rather as pieces to be played at home which brought to the performer perhaps a memory of, or introduction to, a well-known piece or a current 'favourite', a sense of that piece, and the possibility of hearing and enjoying the music. Dismissive and derisory comment has been heaped upon nineteenth century music, fuelled by a protectionist attitude to high art and its social alignment, and evaluation according to those terms of reference. The extended output of nineteenth century music fulfilled a cultural and social function in conveying music-making opportunities both to the aristocracy and to a broader spectrum of society. The analysis of her music confirms that Frances Bullock joined in with acquisition of items from this augmented available domestic repertoire, perhaps nudged by her achieved rather than ascribed position as a member of the aristocracy, and her occupancy of a 'lesser' country house where cultural mores were less stringently endorsed. Theodor Adorno, described as a cultural elitist and Marxist sympathizer, decried what he perceived as the imposition by social forces of the (popular) culture industry, with everything subsumed by the market. Adorno saw popular music as compelling people 'to behave voluntarily in ways one expected them to behave in only when they were paid for it'.<sup>102</sup> He was highly critical of the commodification of music and the consequent social repression it exercised regarding the individual's freedom of taste and choice of repertoire. From

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<sup>99</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 3.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

<sup>101</sup> Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 312-14.

<sup>102</sup> Steven Schroeder, "Review of 'Essays on Music'," *Essays in Philosophy* 4, no. 2 (2003): 6.

such a vantage point, Francis Bullock's music is seen as the outcome of social pressures, separated from artistic merit, which unknowingly constructed her choices of scores.

This more holistic approach to the investigation of Frances Bullock's music draws out through the wider lens, and by adopting more diverse terms of reference, a fuller picture of the music in its context. A dominant feature of this analysis are the number and variety of social exchanges embedded in the acquisition and performance of the music, whether overtly so, or in a less obvious way, such as through linguistic or status features. Some of Frances Bullock's items present more obviously as a form of social conveyance, since they carry annotations, sometimes intriguing and sometimes seeming retrospectively incomplete, indicating they were gifts.

### 3.9 Gifting

In the mid nineteenth century, Jane Eyre, on being interrogated by Mr Rochester as to her views about presents, responded that 'a present has many faces, has it not? And one should consider all before pronouncing an opinion as to its nature'.<sup>103</sup> 'Its nature' may be interrogated in terms of the form of social alliance constructed by the gift, as explained by Jill Rappoport who suggests that for Victorian women, 'the traditions of giving...authorized women's diverse social interventions', that is to say, crossing social boundaries; and that such transactions were aspects of a 'sympathetic economy' which operated beyond the material differences of those involved.<sup>104</sup> In analysing gift relationships between Frances Bullock and other women, we can ask whether these gifts promoted relationships between social and economic equals, or whether they were a means of forging alliances across boundaries through affective exchange.

Several scores from Frances Bullock's music carry inscriptions that indicate their status as gifts, symbolic of different types of social alliance as a consequence of the diversity of donors. The gifts of music were given to Frances Bullock by family members and friends, and in a few cases by the composers themselves. Although the inscriptions are often brief and there remains much to be learned about some of the givers, these items nevertheless have much to tell us about how music effected transactions within the social fabric. Although the identity of every donor may not be known, this does not invalidate the status of the music as a gift, nor that meaning may be attributed to it. Analysis of both the content – i.e. the details of the music – and the process(es)

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<sup>103</sup> Charlotte Brönte, *Jane Eyre*, published 1847, 134.

<sup>104</sup> Jill Rappoport, *Giving Women: Alliance and Exchange in Victorian Culture* (Oxford: OUP, 2012), 15.

involved in the enactment of the gifting, can help shed further light on aspects of both the meaning and the value of the music to its owner.

The choice of sheet music as a gift encapsulates the intersection of two key facets of Victorian life, namely the commodification of music with domestic space. As James Davies has observed, printed music as a gift represents 'the infiltration of consumer society into the home'.<sup>105</sup>

Through its material form, sheet music both carried associations with the donor of the gift and their context into the recipient's home and the relationships therein, and also acted as a mediator of wider social communications. Eleven of the thirteen Frances Bullock scores that carry annotations suggesting they were gifts, present as obviously gifted to her, whilst two of the scores are more ambiguous in their inscriptions, and may have been gifts from her, or to her. The items of gifted music illustrate the different social alliances within which social communications take place, with donors who are friends, family members and composers. The timeline of these gifts spans from when Frances Bullock as a young woman (until in her '30s) received five gifts of music, in her '40s and '50s, two gifts, and as she approached 60 years of age, two further gifts.<sup>106</sup> The gifted music which is identifiable as having been received by Frances Bullock, broadly fits (using dates of publication save for the one item dated 1842) with three phases of her life. The music items from the 1830s-1842 are from the canon, and a popular ballad. These are the years when she was an adolescent, being invited to experience and acknowledge musical heritage, and – at the other end of the scale - engage with popular music. As a younger woman, she received gifts of dance music, in effect recognition of her sociability and confirmation of her social status. The third phase of gifts are those from Brinley Richards when she was in her '50s, as well as his dedication, published in 1860, to her.

### **Perceptions of 'gift'**

The concept of 'gift' incorporates several dimensions, not least when it is perceived as the focus of a 'gift system', which is variously described in 'gift literature'. Markus Giesler explained a gift system as having three elements, of which 'The first and most important characteristic is the existence of its social distinctions. Social distinctions are demonstrated through patterns of interaction that give rise to, and subsequently reinforce, gifting partners' self-identification and gifting outsiders' confirmation of the difference between the gift system and its social environment.' The influence of Mrs Wyndham as donor is of key importance in understanding a function of the gifts being to mark Frances Bullock as inside rather than outside her social milieu.

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<sup>105</sup> Davies, *Julia's Gift*, 294.

<sup>106</sup> Appendix F provides detailed information about these gifts, received and given.

But there is no way of knowing whether the gifts of music received by Frances Bullock were aspects of an exchange of music, a practice dictated by the norm of reciprocity, which forms Giesler's second element of a gift system, i.e. the 'set of rules and obligations that builds the complex pattern of give and take and helps establish moral standards of social solidarity.' The existence of rituals, 'rule-governed activities of symbolic expression by which the collective representations of gift giving are instilled into its members', is the third element of this system.<sup>107</sup>

An important consequence for Frances Bullock of this system of gifting is that it conveyed symbolic capital to Frances Bullock because the gifts endorsed her social position in consequence of what they represent in terms of esteemed composers and good taste.<sup>108</sup> Bourdieu utilized a further concept in his account of types of capital, namely 'habitus' which describes the way in which in the course of interaction with others, an individual behaves and outwardly displays their stance regarding culture. Thus by giving to Frances Bullock these particular pieces of sheet music, the donors are conveying to her both symbolic and cultural capital. Through the gift transaction, they pass in material form to Frances Bullock their evaluation of music that has cultural influence, i.e. equates to symbolic capital; and the sheet music is in itself a vehicle for the carriage of cultural capital. So in respect of Bourdieu's multi-dimensional analysis of types of capital, the gifts enhance Frances Bullock's social worth as they add to her accumulation of symbolic and cultural capital.

There are differing views as to whether gifting equates to an economic system. Marcel Mauss, a French sociologist who described gifting as a universal activity potentially encompassing everything material and non-material, understood the transaction of a gift to be a voluntary act, with accompanying features of obligation and the confirmation of a relationship, which instill 'necessary reciprocity'. Wegman endorsed an interactive (rather than economic) perspective on gifting as 'The decision to offer something as a gift has direct implications for the value of the object, the status of the individuals between whom it is exchanged, and the conduct that is expected of them. Gifts are tokens of friendship and goodwill, not commodities to be traded for money. They communicate a personal intention, not a market value.'<sup>109</sup> This distinction

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<sup>107</sup> Markus Giesler, "Consumer Gift Systems," *Journal of Consumer Research* 33, no. 2 (2006): 284.

<sup>108</sup> Bourdieu understands the outcomes of success in cultural production to be prestige and cultural influence, which accord influence and power to the holder. He terms these concepts 'symbolic capital', i.e. they are representations. Symbolic capital is realized in 'cultural capital', i.e. how the individual displays their cultural capital.

<sup>109</sup> Rob C. Wegman, "Musical Offerings in the Renaissance," *Early Music* 33, no. 3 (2005): 428.

between gift and commodity was confirmed by Appadurai, who perceived that ‘the commodity situation in the social life of any “thing” be defined as the situation in which its exchangeability (past, present or future) for some other thing is its socially relevant feature, since gifts, and the spirit of reciprocity, sociability, and spontaneity in which they are typically exchanged, usually are starkly opposed to the profit-oriented, self-centred, and calculated spirit that fires the circulation of commodities. Further, where gifts link things to persons and embed the flow of things in the flow of social relations, commodities are held to represent the drive – largely free of moral or cultural constraints – of goods for one another, a drive mediated by money and not by sociality’.<sup>110</sup> However, Jacques Derrida draws a parallel between the gift economy and (capitalist) consumption, because although, in his view, gifting is not bound up with material reciprocation, it may engender symbolic reciprocation because of feelings of guilt (donee) and altruism (donor), which harness the gift into a circular interaction and invalidate the selflessness of giving a gift. Such theoretical perspectives may assist in conceptualising the terms of reference for the gifts of music to Francis Bullock; and in real terms, annotations and inscriptions provide some insights into the nature of these gift exchanges.

### Annotations and Inscriptions

The language of the inscriptions on gifted items of music to Frances Bullock varies in terms of the words used, how she is addressed, how the donor presents themselves, and in the degree of intimacy or not conveyed by the inscription. Some of the inscriptions carry only names, such as ‘Miss Bullock/ Sir Hy Fetherstonhaugh/ Uppark/ Petersfield’ (publication date not known) on *Why is Love forever Changing* (UDB 285); and ‘Miss Joliffe/ Miss Bullock’ on *Boleras* (UDB 110). Whilst there is scope for conjecture as to the context of the former (and who inscribed, given the handwriting looks like that of Frances Bullock), the latter inscription more overtly suggests a ‘straight’ transfer of the item from one person to the next, as does ‘Miss Bullock/ Miss Louisa Bullock/ Winchmore Hill’ on *A Second Quadrille Rondo* (UDB 132).

Equally non-communicative, save for specification of donor and donee, are those inscriptions which include, ‘from’, a definition of which is ‘indicating the source or provenance of someone or something’.<sup>111</sup> Frances Bullock received *No 6 A Selection of Choruses from the Works of Handel, Haydn and Beethoven* ‘from’ Mr or Mrs (illegible on the score) S in Winchester, published in 1835

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<sup>110</sup> Arjun Appadurai, *Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value*, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 11.

<sup>111</sup> *Oxford Dictionaries*, s.v. “from”, accessed November 1, 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/from>.

when she was 17 years old; and a song, *We met* (UDB 452), published in that same year ‘from’ her sister. Another piano arrangement by Czerny of a canonic piece, Handel’s *Angels Ever Bright and Fair* (UDB 138), bears the inscribed date 1842, although the name following ‘from’ is illegible. Clearly and firmly inscribed on two polkas (UDB 028, 076) is ‘F. Bullock from the Hon Mrs C. Wyndham’. Her noble family background would have ensured that she was very aware of the rules of etiquette, so would be familiar with, and here practising, the directive that ‘Notes written in the third person, must be continued throughout in the same person; ... it is a style of correspondence much used and very proper upon many occasions. For compliment, inquiry where there is no intimacy between the parties, from superiors to inferiors, the form is elegant and proper’.<sup>112</sup> Whilst the use of (only) ‘from’ is consistent regarding these five pieces, the carriage of the music brokers varying meanings, ranging from the worth of the canon, to illusions emanating from a ‘Song of the Boudoir’, to the social capital invested in gifts from a true aristocrat.

More telling as to the less formal nature of the relationship between Frances Bullock and a donor is the inscription “Miss Frances Bullock from her sincere friend Mary’ (UDB 043), found by turning the cover to the inside page. Here the ‘from’ is illuminated by the ‘sincere’, with this seemingly more heartfelt inscription lifting the emotional tenor of the gift. Why is the inscription inside the score? Did the ‘sincere’ convey something other than its immediate meaning to the two women?<sup>113</sup> With greater formality, but nevertheless conveying positive intent, Mrs Philip Crawley inscribed ‘Miss Frances Bullock with the authoresses best regards’ indicating her motivation in giving her own composition to Frances Bullock.

The most intimate of the inscriptions on this gifted music is ‘Miss Bullock with my kind love’ on the *Oberon Polka de Salon* (UDB 210), intimating a closer relationship between donor and Francis Bullock. The donor has inscribed one (?) initial, which is difficult to discern. Less intimate, whether reflecting the nature of their association or that these are gifts from a man to a woman, are his own two compositions gifted from Brinley Richards to ‘To Miss Bullock with the composer’s compliments Dec 20 1873’; and ‘Miss Fetherstonehaugh with Brinley Richards’

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<sup>112</sup> Hartley, *Ladies Book of Etiquette*, 132.

<sup>113</sup> A definition of ‘sincere’ is ‘Free from pretence or deceit; proceeding from genuine feelings’. *Oxford Dictionaries*, s.v. “sincere”, accessed November 1, 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/sincere>.

compts Dec.29 1876', (UDB 190, 207).<sup>114</sup> 'Compliments' implies a level of formality and politeness from the donor, structuring some emotional distance with the donee recipient, and this is replicated in the bland 'To Miss Bullock, Uppark, Petersfield' dedication by Brinley Richards on the front cover of his *Auld Robin Gray* (UDB 189). A *Manuel of Etiquette* advises both women and men that 'Autographic papers, foreign curiosities, and the like, are elegant gifts. An author may offer his book, or a painter a sketch, with grace and propriety'.<sup>115</sup> Such a description of the inscribed music pieces (taken as akin to an autographed book) of Brinley Richards suggests an ambience of polite distance, emphasized by the reminder that 'letters sent with presents should be short, mere cards of compliment, and written in the third person', as are these inscriptions. The words used by the composer thus maintain the decorum implicit in the transaction. A further directive in this same manual by Cecil Hartley evokes further query as to the circumstances of these gifts (assuming a music item as a gift is framed similarly to a book): 'If you present a book to a friend, do not write his or her name in it, unless requested. You have no right to presume that it will be rendered any the more valuable for that addition; and you ought not to conclude beforehand that your gift will be accepted'.<sup>116</sup>

In only one of these inscriptions is their first name used by the donor, to the first name of the donee – 'Miss Frances Bullock from her sincere friend Mary'. Even the more intimate inscription, 'Miss Carnegie with F. Bullock's love' retains third-party separation. Yet this is in keeping with expectations of the time, that no one past the age of childhood used first names unless invited to do so; and older girls and young women addressed each other as 'Miss' until they became close friends. Furthermore, if an individual had a title, that was included in both oral and written communications.

The overview of the language used for these several inscriptions on Francis Bullock's music reveals conventional forms of address aligned with differing degrees of friendship and intimacy. Whilst some fragments of possible meanings underpinning, and conveyed within, the inscriptions, become more evident, the real contexts for these gifts are unknown. Nevertheless, the gifts in themselves demonstrate that 'In short, this [the exchange of gifts] represents an

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<sup>114</sup> Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh, Miss Bullock's sister, died in 1874, after which Miss Bullock assumed her name (and took her coat of arms).

<sup>115</sup> Routledge, *Manual of Etiquette*, 34.

<sup>116</sup> Cecil B.Hartley, *The Gentlemen's Book of Etiquette and Manual of Politeness* (Boston: G. W. Cottrell, 1860), 277.

intermingling. Souls are mixed with things; things with souls. Lives are mingled together'.<sup>117</sup> The mingling of these various donors in the life of Frances Bullock illustrates the symbiotic nature of music making and sociability, realized in the gift of a piece of music and the inscription it carries.

### **The Gift as a form of Social Currency**

This dual aspect of a gift of music invites more detailed examination of differing gift exchanges, regarding both the piece of music gifted and the nature of the social interaction within which the gifting took place. Gifts of music to Frances Bullock with high social currency are those from a member of the Petworth House family, which attest to Francis Bullock's relationships with social superiors. And, as Sharon Marcus observes, 'Friendship offered a vision of perfect reciprocity for those who could afford not to worry about daily survival...the object that epitomised friendship was the gift'.<sup>118</sup> 'From the Hon. Mrs C. Wyndham' is an annotation devoid of embellishment but rich in meaning for the recipient, Frances Bullock, of the gift of the pieces of sheet music on which this was inscribed.<sup>119</sup> These words convey meaning and symbolism, in that they act as a regulator of the social relationship of the Hon. Mrs C. Wyndham with Frances Bullock. The gift of music acknowledges their social tie, because it is a gift from an established aristocratic family line, and it affirms the social position of Frances Bullock as belonging to that social class. Giving sheet music as a gift also contributes to, and endorses, the social (re)production of a domestic culture. Frances Bullock's music confirms her standing as a domestic performer and these two gifted pieces, arranged for piano and so performable at home, are the material embodiment signifying that Mrs Wyndham accorded a value to the music; and also convey her acknowledgement of Frances Bullock as a domestic music maker.

The village of Rogate, where the Hon. Mrs C. Wyndham lived at Rogate Hall, lies some 4 miles north of Uppark. Such a distance would not preclude meetings of Mrs Wyndham with Frances Bullock in the context of the local aristocratic social round, or at their homes. Born into an aristocratic family and through marriage belonging to the illustrious Egremont lineage and thereby associated with the social status and social position of Petworth House, Mrs Wyndham

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<sup>117</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York: W.W.Norton & Company Inc., 1967), 18.

<sup>118</sup> Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire, and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton USA, Woodstock UK: Princeton University Press, 2007), 4.

<sup>119</sup> The Hon. Mrs C. Wyndham prior to her marriage was Elizabeth Ann, 3<sup>rd</sup> daughter of 4<sup>th</sup> Lord Polworth. She married Colonel Charles Wyndham in 1835. They lived at Rogate Lodge, Petersfield. Edward Walford, *Hardwicke's Titles of Courtesy: Containing Those Members of Titled Families Whose Names Do Not Fall within the Scope of the Peerage, Baronetage, and Knightage* (London: Robert Hardwicke, 192, Piccadily, W., 1859), 303.

bore all the hallmarks of aristocracy. Petworth House was more elevated socially than Uppark, given the Egremont and Leconfield families' patronage over many years of the arts, and its hosting of royal visits.<sup>120</sup> Frances Bullock, both in respect of her origins and situation at Uppark during the 1840s (at that time she was (only) the sister of the dairymaid Sir Harry took to be his wife), would in all likelihood be regarded as socially inferior. Nevertheless the gifts of sheet music of the *Firefly Polka* and *Beaufort Polka* from Lady C. Wyndham to Frances Bullock suggest that the two women had some meeting point in music.

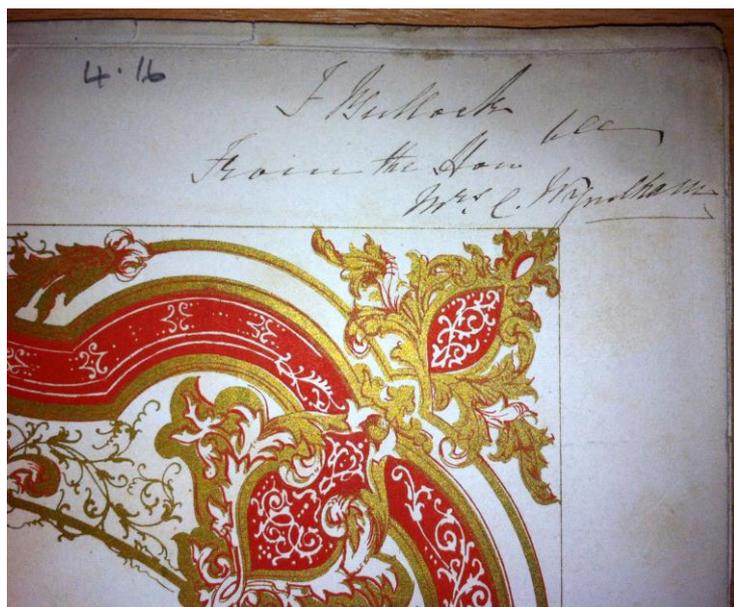


IMAGE 3-8. *FIREFLY POLKA*, UPPARK (UDB 076).

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<sup>120</sup> The Prince of Wales had been a regular visitor to Uppark over a number of years, enjoying Sir Harry's hospitality for the purpose of attending the races at Goodwood, and local fox hunting.



IMAGE 3-9. BEAUFORT POLKA, UPPARK (UDB 028).

The choice of two polkas, arranged for piano and thereby entirely appropriate items for inclusion in Frances Bullock's domestic repertoire, endorses Francis Bullock's membership of the elite. It also associates both women with the polka's status as a contemporary popular dance. The polka had arrived in London from Paris in the mid 1840s, and was so successful that contemporaries described the situation as 'polkomania',). The dance was approved by royalty and featured at court balls, while it could also be reminiscent of more local balls that both Lady Wyndham and Frances Bullock had attended.<sup>121</sup> Lady Wyndham's gift of sheet music for domestic use symbolises her recognition of their shared associations and experiences, and their positioning on the continua of private/public and rural/metropolitan. These two sheet music gifts are illustrations of how the initiative for a gift comes from the individual and its realisation is achieved through the mechanism of commercial exchange, a process which moved experience from the retention of personal souvenir(s) – such as the dance sheet from a ball – to 'a cultural moment in which individuals no longer made memories for themselves; memories were formed

<sup>121</sup> A notice in the *Hampshire Chronicle* Saturday 26 Dec 1863 stated that there was to be a Public Ball in aid of the 12th Hants Rifle Volunteers, to be held at the Dolphin Hotel, Petersfield on 14th January. The Lady Patronesses included Hon. Mrs. C. Wyndham and Lady Fetherstonhaugh. Dancing to commence at half-past nine o'clock. *Hampshire Chronicle*, accessed March 4, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000231/18631226/049/0004?browse=False>.

on their behalf'.<sup>122</sup> The development of the 'mass market' for music inevitably meant that reaching for 'special' became more difficult, so something of the personal touch was lost. But Lady Wyndham's gifts transmit her intention of elective affiliation to Frances Bullock, that is to say that she chose to confirm a pre-existing 'alliance' of whatever description between them, or alternatively through the donated gift to gesture to Frances Bullock that she was identified and accepted as part of the 'elite sisterhood'.

### Family Exchange

Some underlying meanings might be ascribed to the exchanges between Frances Bullock and family members. An intriguing gift is the song *We Met*, which carries the words 'Miss Bullock from Lady Fetherston' in the top right-hand corner of the cover; and at the bottom, the initials 'AB'.<sup>123</sup> Was this a gift from her sister, Mary Ann, the Lady Fetherstonhaugh of Uppark, to Frances? It was published in 1835, when Frances Bullock would have been 16 years old and her sister 30 years old. Perhaps a gentle sisterly tongue-in-cheek moment, given the narrative of unrequited love:

We met, t'was in a crowd, and I thought he would shun me;  
He came, I could not breathe, for his eye was upon me;  
He spoke, his words were cold, and his smile was unaltered;  
I knew how much he felt, for his deep toned voice faltered:

Alternative readings of this situation might be that this is an example of Weiner's finding that '...women's gifts in nineteenth-century literature change hands primarily between "sisters", the century's flexible shorthand for women already affiliated through ties of blood, taste or status.'<sup>124</sup> 'Sisters' is of course an all-inclusive term for women generally, although in this situation these two women are blood sisters. As referred to previously, Frances Bullock had moved to live at Uppark about 1824, when 6 years old, and she and her sister lived there together from the time of Sir Harry's death in 1846 until Mary Ann's death in 1874, during which time they seem to have shared their way of life and activities (along with Miss Sutherland).<sup>125</sup> The centrality of material culture to relationships and how individuals are symbolised and in effect, held, in a material

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<sup>122</sup> Davies, *Julia's Gift*, 292.

<sup>123</sup> UDB 452.

<sup>124</sup> Annette B. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1992), 102.

<sup>125</sup> H.G. Wells states that 'the three ladies led a spacious dully comfortable life between Uppark and Claridge's'. Wells, *Experiment in Autobiography*, Volume 1, 53. The *Morning Post*, Friday 26 May 1871, advised of the arrival at the Crawley's York Hotel, Abermarle Street, Piccadilly, of Lady Fetherstonhaugh, Miss Bullock and Miss Sutherland, from Uppark, Hants. *Morning Post*, accessed March 4, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000174/18710526/008/0003?browse=False>.

presence, is explored by Daniel Miller in *The Comfort of Things*. He looks at ‘how people express themselves through their possessions, and what these tell us about their lives ... the role of objects in our relationships, both to each other and to ourselves.’ Although this is a contemporary study, it has relevance to the nineteenth-century gifting between women, in that through his random narrated portraits, he illustrates how literally any material object acquires a significance through the relationships people construct with and around it. This complements the symbolic representation of material items referred to elsewhere; and here the gift of the sheet music from elder to younger sister may be cited, at the least, as an example of the use of Miller’s ‘material presence’ to bind their family tie.<sup>126</sup>

Another family exchange is found with *A Second Quadrille Rondo*, a piano arrangement by Rost of an original composition by Herz, is inscribed in ink ‘Miss Louisa Bullock Winchmore Hill’ and above that the name in pencil ‘Miss Bullock’. (Some pencil fingerings are in place for the right hand). This Miss Bullock was Louisa, sister of Mary Ann and Frances, who born in 1825 and so was seven years younger than Frances Bullock.<sup>127</sup> For the older (unmarried, so the lack of a daughter or daughter-in-law to inherit her music) sister to pass music to the younger was entirely in keeping with the practice of retaining music within the feminine family circle. It might also have signified positive feeling between the sisters, both for Frances Bullock to give to the younger woman the gift of music and for Louisa that her sister gave her a popular contemporary dance piece.<sup>128</sup>

### Composer Gifting

Gifts from composers which are both ‘keeping and giving’ provide a third perspective on the interface of gifting and social interaction. The personal association of Mrs Philip Crawley,

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<sup>126</sup> Daniel Miller, *The Comfort of Things* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 3. This is an account of thirty people, almost all from a single street in South London, selected from one hundred individuals and households studied over 17 months by Miller and his co-worker, Fiona Parrott. Whilst this cohort is very mixed with regard to age, ethnicity, gender, economic situation, this work has relevance because of the focus on the material object as both a stimulant and consequence of relationships.

<sup>127</sup> Maybe this intra-familial music exchange reflected Mary Ann Fetherstonhaugh’s description in a letter with her will to Francis Bullock, of Louisa, the youngest of the 11 Bullock siblings as ‘provident and will take care of what I leave her’. See Meade-Fetherstonhaugh and Warner, *Uppark and Its People*, 101. (The absence of the first name in ‘Miss Bullock’ would accord with the practice of using first names when addressing younger siblings).

<sup>128</sup> An additional gift to mention, evidencing a family connection, is *The Martyr, Sacred Song*, by Gordon Sutherland, on which is inscribed ‘Miss Sutherland with love from the author and composer’. (UDB 156). This song, published in 1888, is one of two songs by Sutherland listed in COPAC. The date supports the proposition that Miss Sutherland, as well as Francis Bullock, retained an interest in music until late on in their lives. (No information as to whether any relationship of Miss Sutherland to Gordon Sutherland).

composer of *Mazurka*, with Francis Bullock, is marked by the inscription on the music, "Miss Frances Bullock with the authoresses best regards".<sup>129</sup>



IMAGE 3-10. CRAWLEY, MAZURKA, UPPARK (UDB 307).

She was a member of the aristocracy, as evidenced by her social diary.<sup>130</sup> The nature of their association is unknown, and the true identity of this donor is protected as she is represented in the commercial public domain by her husband's name, although her inscription on the music, a private gift, declares her status as 'authoress', suggesting her sense of achievement in this role of composer. Only 29 women composers had entries in the first *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, compiled by George Grove between 1878-1889. A more recent compendium addresses this statistic, recognising the inaccessibility to the profiles of women composers in the nineteenth century, the reasons for which include [that] 'the number of women represented in these earlier dictionaries can be substantially augmented by reckoning in those hidden in the entries of their

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<sup>129</sup> UDB 307.

<sup>130</sup> See two examples of Mrs Crawley's social engagements:

The *Morning Post* of 11 April 1856, announced that Mrs Philip Crawley attended the Queen's Drawing Room and presented Lady Stewart Forbes Leith of Whitehaugh to the queen. (There is also a description of Mrs Crawley's dress, suggesting that her status required this should be noted). *Morning Post*, accessed October 25, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>.

In July that same year, the same newspaper advised that Mrs Philip Crawley and Miss Crawley attended Lady Dashwood's ball at the family mansion in Grosvenor Square. *Morning Post*, accessed October 25, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>.

“menfolk”, or by the use of a married name, the strategy adopted by Mrs Philip Crawley.<sup>131</sup> So if Mrs Philip Crawley appears to have been an amateur women composer, in that I have identified only 2 other compositions attributed to her (and been unsuccessful in finding her own name), that is not necessarily the case.<sup>132</sup> The *Evening Mail* (June 8, 1853) records that a March, ‘Nulli Secundus’ by Mrs Philip Crawley [was] performed at the royal dinner by the band of the Coldstream Guards.<sup>133</sup> And an account in the *Morning Post* (July 1, 1854) advises that

‘A fancy bazaar for the benefit of soldiers’ destitute families and widows, was opened at Willis’s Rooms, King-St., St. James-square under most distinguished patronage. Mrs Philip Crawley was superintendent a prominent stall. The band of the Coldstream Guards (under the direction of Mr. Godfrey) was present throughout the day and very appropriately opened the programme with a new march – as well scored as played – composed by Mrs Philip Crawley’.<sup>134</sup>

Composing for a band contradicted the mainstream of female composition which was for domestic repertoire, since these ‘lesser’ forms provoked less institutionalised opposition; or, from an alternative viewpoint, women were ‘allowed’ to engage compositionally with music to play at home, because this keyboard repertory was perceived, explicitly and implicitly, as gendered feminine, and so having relatively less worth musically and could be created by those of less ability, thus equating to the nineteenth century patriarchal evaluation of women. Derek Hyde refers to the growing respect for women composers during the second half of the nineteenth century, citing a report in the *Musical Times*, February 1900, which was read at the annual conference of the Incorporated Society of Musicians on women as musicians and referred to 489 women composers. However, three years earlier an article in the same journal

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<sup>131</sup> *The New Grove Dictionary of Women Composers*, ed. Julie Anne Sadie and Rhian Samuel (London: Macmillan, 1994), 4. Mrs Philip Crawley was composing at a time when it was still conventional for women composers to remain anonymous, as referred to by Deborah Rohr. Rohr, "Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: The Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839–1866," 313.

<sup>132</sup> I have found no references to Mrs Philip Crawley as a composer save for those items discussed here; nor references to other compositions (although, of course, these may exist). Searches have included oxfordmusiconline, Dictionary of National Biography, Betty Matthews’ *The Royal Society of Musicians of Great Britain, List of Members 1738-1984*, records of the Royal Academy of Music, the British Library, COPAC and elsewhere. The Oxford English Dictionary offers an eighteenth-century definition of ‘amateur’: ‘One who cultivates anything as a pastime, as distinguished from one who prosecutes it professionally’. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “amateur”, accessed November 1, 2017, <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/amateur>.

<sup>133</sup> *Evening Mail*, accessed October 25, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>.

<sup>134</sup> *Morning Post*, accessed October 25, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>. It might be conjectured that Mrs Philip Crawley took advantage of her connections - her husband was in the Coldstream Guards - in achieving these performances of her compositions. Notice of his retirement was in the *Cornish Telegraph* 17 April 1867. *Cornish Telegraph*, accessed October 25, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>.

questioned female competence and quality of output since 'women were not capable of abstract thought and that, as composers, they were more likely to succeed in song writing and opera, where words provided the prop'.<sup>135</sup> Hyde suggests that 'The piano brought the musical experience, the creative input so as to speak, into countless homes and it is for this reason that there was a much higher proportion of amateur women composers writing songs and piano music [termed by Hyde 'empty display music'] than in any other branch of composition'.<sup>136</sup> This statement narrates the situation, but Hyde has left unsaid a critical feature regarding women composers' activities, namely that cultural politics largely defined their compositional space as being domestic repertoire.<sup>137</sup>

Mrs Philip Crawley's *Mazurka* may be viewed as the conveyor of the transaction between herself and Francis Bullock, with this musical composition creating the passage of her best regards. Her position as the composer of the work makes this a particular type of exchange, since she as composer both gives the music to another, but retains it since it is her own. Annette Weiner has suggested that certain gifts can simultaneously be taken by the receiver and retained by the giver. She calls such gifts 'inalienable possessions', whose value is derived not from the exchange, but from their intrinsic relationship to their holder (the donor). She does not recognise the system of reciprocation and exchange, wherein the value accorded to the gift by others (as described by Mauss) is pertinent, and the response of the other contributes to identity endorsement (for both donor and donee). Because Mrs Philip Crawley was the composer of the *Mazurka*, she both retained its essence and gave of it to Francis Bullock. In this way the gift of the music is both held by her and passed to Francis Bullock, whilst the inalienable character of the sheet music as a gift lies intrinsically in the memory and consistent symbolism which this material object provides.<sup>138</sup> This is a different type of gifting involving dual ownership, rather than the giving of an (any) item from donor to donee.

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<sup>135</sup> Hyde, *New-Found Voices*, 70-71.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 63,50.

<sup>137</sup> See Jill Halstead, *The Woman Composer: Creativity and the Gendered Politics of Musical Composition* (Aldershot, UK and Brookfield, USA: Ashgate, 1997), 171.

There were exceptions to this, for example women composers such as Ethel Smyth and Augusta Holmes. Not only were there institutionalised and individual minders of women's' composition (and performance) possibilities, but as well, the new music schools, all of which admitted women, whilst providing serious training for women, did not permit access to further development since they were excluded from orchestras, conducting posts, university and church musical activities. See Rohr, "Women and the Music Profession in Victorian England: The Royal Society of Female Musicians, 1839-1866," 324.

<sup>138</sup> Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*, 23.

Similar circumstances are found in the two items of music gifted to Frances Bullock by the Welsh composer Brinley Richards. These are *The Harper's Grave*, a song (published in 1873); and *Titania, Valse de Concert*, a piano arrangement (published 1873), both of which are annotated 'with the composer's compliments'.<sup>139</sup> Although none of the remaining 20 compositions by Brinley Richards at Uppark carries Francis Bullock's name, their existence along with these 2 gifted items and the piece he dedicated to her, *Auld Robin Gray*,<sup>140</sup> give some meaning to the expression of a gift being 'a ritual practice through which the current value of a relationship may be communicated and maintained for a certain time. Gifts function as relationship signals...they also present themselves as normative ideas and as judgements of taste bearing meaning about both giver and recipient. They make moralities visible: they are in a sense feelings and also, temporally speaking, memories to be grasped and held because they are structurally associated with particular histories and bound up with particular individuals.'<sup>141</sup> These pieces of music are material items, given in a private social exchange and carrying symbolic meanings. They also combined the opportunity for music practice and performance at home, as well as representing a connection between public space and private domestic domain, and between the national (particularly metropolitan) and local (individual) musicking. Brinley Richards was based in London (he was born, and his family lived, in Carmarthen) and his compositions were subject to national and international – given he was a pupil of Chopin – influences, which are reflected in the three pieces of music that he directly gave to Francis Bullock. In this way these gifts contributed to the diffusion and establishment of cultural and social norms.

We do not know the terms of reference, or the nature, of the relationship of Brinley Richards and Frances Bullock. We might wonder at his boldness at apparently overstepping the line of appropriate conduct for a gentleman, as laid out in *The Handbook of Etiquette* (1860): 'Ladies may accept occasional presents of fruit and flowers, and game, from gentlemen who visit at their houses, or those of their parents; but, in fashionable life, game is almost the only present that acquaintances make each other.'<sup>142</sup> Maybe the rationale (as well as self-interest) for a gift of music, in addition to knowing that Frances Bullock collected music and played at home, lies in Cassell's additional advice that 'Presents have a great tendency to keep up friendships. Excepting

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<sup>139</sup> These pieces are discussed in detail in the chapter about Brinley Richards and his music.

<sup>140</sup> UDB 189, published c1860. Also discussed in that same chapter.

<sup>141</sup> Helmuth Berking, *The Sociology of Giving* (Sage Publications Ltd, 1999), 5, accessed October 26, 2016, <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/soton/reader.action?docID=10392741>.

<sup>142</sup> Cassell, *The Hand-Book of Etiquette: Being a Complete Guide to the Usages of Polite Society* (London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin, 1860), 40.

between relatives or engaged lovers, etiquette does not admit of very costly presents; articles of taste are chosen by acquaintances in their interchange of presents. Very intimate friends may study the useful in their presents.<sup>143</sup> These gifts of music may be understood in ways other than utilitarian, but were no doubt none the less useful to Frances Bullock as additions to her domestic repertoire, which they compliment.

### **A Dedication to Frances Bullock**

A parallel situation exists when a piece of music is subject of a dedication, as was *Auld Robin Gray*, from Brinley Richards to Francis Bullock. This gift of dedication was a public statement about this work and himself as composer, but the private gift was for her at home. As Emily Green has described, the public dedication ensures that 'the work will, for the rest of its printed existence, bear the names of both dedicator and dedicatee, meaning that, while it has been symbolically given to the dedicatee, it simultaneously remains the property of the composer... the dedication affords the composer the opportunity to give the work, but to never fully give it up.'<sup>144</sup> Thus a dedication from a composer is a further example of keeping-while-giving, bestowing particular meaning to the object – the sheet music – of the transaction.

Dedications on the front cover of a piece of music became increasingly popular during the first half of the nineteenth century. Such dedications might be to an individual composer or performer, it might be in receipt of a payment, or it might be a gift. For whatever reason it was placed, the dedication made a public declaration of a transaction between the composer (or sometimes the publisher) and the dedicatee, and in that sense it was performative. It was in effect an advertisement, and had the potential to influence the reception and popularity of a piece. Music publishers often sought to disguise the commodity aspect of their products by projecting aspects of the music that promoted its originality and individuality. Examples of ways in which they did this were by making a dedication to invite 'specialness', limiting production to invite authenticity, or alignment with a 'celebrity' to raise the social status of the consumer. It was in effect an advertisement, and had the potential to influence the reception and popularity of a piece.

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 39.

<sup>144</sup> Emily Hannah Green, "Dedications and the Reception of the Musical Score 1785-1850" (Ph.D., Cornell University, 2009), 48.

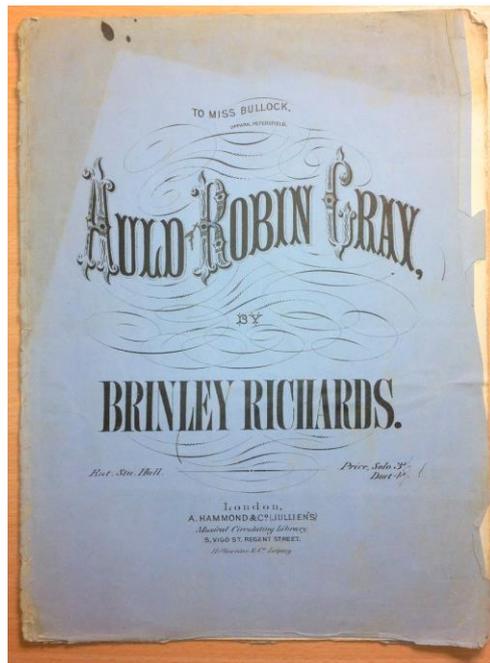


IMAGE 3-11. BRINLEY RICHARDS, *AULD ROBIN GRAY*, UPPARK (UDB 189).

### Gifts of Music from the Canon

Three of the five remaining gifts are arrangements of music by possibly the most esteemed composer of the time, George Frederic Handel. Through the gifting of piano arrangements of music from Handel's oratorios, the donor was possibly initiating, certainly inviting, engagement with music of distinction which was part of public culture and, essentially, at the core of the canon. The canon (which evolves over time) comprised a set of masterpieces from the 'classics' which was deemed to be musically authoritative. It propounded an ideology as to morality and musical taste, namely the rejection of commercialism, fashion-worship and virtuosity; and the promotion of a sense of elitism among its educated listeners. William Weber explains how Handel's oratorios espoused these values of the canon and presented what became a national secular focus for the political elite and the population generally, and a purveyor of good musical taste.<sup>145</sup> The upper-class origins of the canon designated association with the aristocracy, hence gifts of music from within that repertory made a statement about the social status of both donor and donee.

<sup>145</sup> Weber links the prestigious position of the oratorios to the foundation of the Concert of Antient Music, ('antient' meaning any music more than two decades old) which was 'a peculiarly modern institution: upper-class people displaying their social status and their musical sophistication while revering great music from the past ... [it] was rooted in a social class, the nobility, but also represented a specialised avenue of musical taste and social values'. William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (Clarendon Press, Oxford: 1992), 1.

The oratorios composed by George Frederic Handel consistently enjoyed very positive audience reception during the nineteenth century, and many of these were arranged for the domestic use of (not exclusively) members of the aristocratic female audience.<sup>146</sup> Neither the aristocracy nor the musical world hesitated to endorse unfailingly Handel's position as a canonic composer (which has remained unchallenged for 300 years).<sup>147</sup> In 1753, Handel, along with Dryden the poet, was described as having 'Excellencies [are] infinitely more numerous than ... Deficiencies' and that his character 'will devolve to latest posterity, not as Model(s) of Perfection, yet glorious Examples of those amazing Powers that actuate the human Soul.'<sup>148</sup> This reputation was perpetuated, as Harris reflects, 'throughout the eighteenth century, therefore, and well into the nineteenth, Handel's music exerted an enormous influence on composers and composition. He was revered, emulated, and perhaps even feared'.<sup>149</sup>

This popularity spread beyond the metropolis, with many performance of Handel's works and particularly the *Messiah*, in provincial cities with massed choirs (a consequence of public singing classes) and mass audiences participating in what was understood to be a musical and a religious experience.<sup>150</sup> Handel's music presented to the aristocracy an elision of musical genius and social ambition both at home and in public arenas, such as at Vauxhall Gardens, where it provided an expression of London's broader cultural life for willing public engagement, with performance of pastoral minuets and fashionable Italian arias, which 'would have enhanced the pleasure gardens' credibility and marketability as the resort of polite and fashionable society'.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> Scores/reductions/arrangements for domestic repertoire effected a link between public performance and the woman player at home, as described by Aspden: 'Handel's minuets were regularly supplied with English texts, almost always on pseudo-pastoral themes, to be sold as single song sheets intended for amateur performance ... more appropriate for the genteel female performer than the high drama of many an operatic aria'. Suzanne Aspden, "Disseminating and Domesticating Handel in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Beyond Boundaries: Rethinking Music Circulation in Early Modern England*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern, Candace Bailey, and Amanda Eubanks Winkler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 211.

<sup>147</sup> This contemporary reputation as a musical genius was ensured when Roubiliac's statue of Handel was placed in Vauxhall Gardens in 1738, described by Aspden as the process of ordering the national psyche through the instatement of a national image. "'Fam'd Handel Breathing, Tho' Transformed to Stone": The Composer as Monument," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 55, no. 1 (2002): 54. Handel endorsed his future posterity in his bequest of money for a statue of himself to be positioned in Westminster Abbey, the heart of national identity.

<sup>148</sup> Ellen Harris, "Handel's Ghost: The Composer's Posthumous Reputation in the Eighteenth Century," in *Companion to Contemporary Musical Thought* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 212.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>150</sup> Francis O'Gorman, ed. *Cambridge Companion to Victorian Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 105-6.

<sup>151</sup> Aspden, *Disseminating and Domesticating*, 218.

Handel enjoyed the patronage of British royalty and aristocracy for nearly 50 years, during which he became firmly established as a national figure, a musical genius, a purveyor of spiritual uplift through compositions, and an accessible composer for choral and individual performance. His domestic repertoire in Francis Bullock's music is represented by two pieces of music gifted to her, both of which illustrate the use of reduction to bring large-scale music compositions from a public venue to private domesticity. They are *Angels Ever Bright and Fair*, an aria from the oratorio *Theodora*, given to Frances Bullock in 1842 (date annotated) by a woman (name illegible).<sup>152</sup> And *No.6 A Selection of Choruses by Handel, Haydn and Beethoven*, was given on 'Nov 6<sup>th</sup>' (donor and year illegible).<sup>153</sup> These items tie together (aspects of the) canonic tastes of the donors and Frances Bullock, in that by gifting this choice of music to Frances Bullock both donors are confirming her social allegiance with them in respect of social class position. They are, in effect, drawing her into the cult of Handel and confirming her membership of that 'club'.

For nineteenth-century aristocracy, the importance of class position could not be underestimated and the significance of this was constantly endorsed in all social activities, and also in the expectations and mores of musical activities, certainly at the start of the century but with decreasing solidarity as the decades passed. The importance of these gifts of music is that they convey both symbolic and cultural capital to Frances Bullock because they endorse her social position in consequence of what they represent in term of esteemed composers and good taste. Frances Bullock's gifting of the Dead March from *Saul* to Miss Carnegie is an undoubted gesture to the establishment – in musical terms – given Handel's key position in the canon. From the perspective of Bourdieu, it confirms that she identified herself as a member of the aristocracy; from that of Berking, this gift may be interpreted as a 'relationship signal' - an understood way of communicating the emotions within a relationship, indeed of signifying friendship.

### Markers of Friendship

Less prestigious in their social overtones, but each having a particular significance, are the two gifts from friends, one a book of music, *Soirées des Pianistes* (UDB 043), and the other the *Oberon Polka de Salon* composed by a woman, Madame Anna Caroline Oury, referred to earlier

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<sup>152</sup> UDB 138

<sup>153</sup> UDB 419, arranged for organ or piano by Thomas Valentine. Published in 1835 –see Yu Lee An, *Music Publishers' Catalogues of Music for Sale: A Bibliography and Commentary* (University of Canterbury, 2008), 401.

in this chapter.<sup>154</sup> The number of individual pieces brought together under this heading, *Soirées des Pianists*, illustrates just how successful arrangements for domestic performance had become by the 1830s, following the market-led trend of bringing music into the home. The distinction of the *Oberon Polka* is that it was composed by a woman, it is one of only two compositions in Frances Bullock's music by a woman, and it is an original composition (rather than arrangement) of a popular contemporary dance, so carrying associations with a public social gathering but through its type, realizing the multiple 'public' aspects in the home.

There are no clues as to whether Frances Bullock reciprocated any of these gifts, and certainly no indications as to whether she felt any sense of obligation to do so. The literature regarding gifting falls broadly into two camps as to whether there is any such thing as a gift per se, or whether something presented by one person to another immediately constructs a system of exchange wherein the recipient of this 'gift' becomes obligated, by its presentation, to reciprocate to the donor. Marcel Mauss, regarded as 'a founding father' of gift theory, states that '...the positive contribution of the gift consists in the three obligations of giving, taking, and reciprocating, which set in train a dialectic of symbolic power in which the actors encounter and recognize one another as creditors and debtors in ever-shifting roles.'<sup>155</sup> A consequence of Mauss' proposition is that there can only ever be a temporary equilibrium between the degree of debt and the discharge from debt that emanate from the 'gift' because of the perpetual nature of the reciprocal process. A converse approach to the gift is adopted by Jacques Derrida whose view is that there has to be a lack of reciprocal circularity for a gift to exist and that this absence differentiates the gift economy from the consumer economy, the latter characterized by the giving of money in return for goods. But it might be said that Derrida compromises his position by his reference to the development of symbolic reciprocation as the response to possible altruistic feelings of the donor and feelings of guilt of the donee, which together annul the gift as such by introducing reciprocation, even if not in tangible form. In practical terms we can imagine the giving and receiving to and fro between Frances Bullock and acquaintances, with particular pieces of music gifting sparked by musical interest and/or recollections of shared occasions. We can wonder if those involved were aware of asymmetry between them, an aspect of a

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<sup>154</sup> Madame Oury (1808-80) was a German pianist and composer (of French descent), a pupil of Czerny, and described by Haweis as the most artistic pianoforte performer of her day.<sup>154</sup> She and her English violinist husband settled permanently in England from 1839, from which date she composed some 180 drawing-room pieces, mainly dances and fantasies for piano. This was a considerable volume of compositions from one of the very few women composing domestic repertoire.

<sup>155</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*, 8.

relationship which Mauss perceived as occurring when a gift is given, even between people of equal status, because the equation of obligatory reciprocation is never squared and there is always something owed. Whilst this obligation might be viewed negatively, at the same time it has the effect of building and confirming relationships.

The analysis of Frances Bullock's music reveals a range of types of music and variety of content which reflects the profile of the Uppark music accumulation. It affords a level of detail which provides some in-depth vignettes of the context and meaning of pieces of music. The achievement of an informed overview of Frances Bullock's repertoire provokes curiosity as to how this compares with the music owned by other aristocratic women, and whether they would own a similarly eclectic mix of older and contemporary, classical and popular music. The identification of music scores as signifiers and communicators of social and sociability aspects of Frances Bullock's life confirms the validity of this interrogative perspective, since it adds to the understanding of the dynamic role of this music repertoire. Moreover, the consideration of these social dimensions explains how they underpin 'the arrangement to play' which shapes and manages the use of music scores for musicking. Unpacking this particular example of domestic repertoire has brought to light the considerable number of arrangements owned by Frances Bullock, their origins, cultural connections and the commercial expediency of this form of composition. This endorses the currency of the arrangement as a critical factor in the discussion about nineteenth century domestic repertoire.



## Chapter 4 Brinley Richards: A 'Capital' Composer?

### 4.1 Introduction

To move from consideration of an item of domestic repertoire as a gift, to that same piece of music as a tangible element of the processes of production and acquisition of sheet music in the latter nineteenth century, achieves a connection of micro to macro. It encapsulates the trajectory of the piece of sheet music in the house to the retail market place, and is a reminder of the multidimensional richness of a piece of music as an object of study, given that it brings together the interface of cultural, social, and economic activity, each of which is associated with the acquisition of 'capital' according to Bourdieu (as referred to in chapter 4). This multi-faceted perspective frames the route into a study of Brinley Richards and his domestic repertoire as found at Uppark, to consider the extent to which he used different sorts of capital to promote his compositional career, against the backdrop of his performances, lecture recitals, teaching, his role as an instigator and examiner of regional Royal Academy of Music examinations, and his enquiry into the history of Welsh music. Consideration of these different aspects of 'capital' activity and how they mesh together, invites evaluation of the significance of capital for Brinley Richards and the designation, 'a capital composer'.

It can be only conjecture that Frances Bullock and Brinley Richards became acquainted through their shared interest in music. This is suggested by the number of compositions by Brinley Richards in the Uppark music, his personal inscriptions on two of the scores, and his two known dedications of compositions to Frances Bullock. Although his motivation for the personal attributes on these specific scores is unknown, they prompt the (unresolvable) question of how he perceived these compositions, which in turn occasions consideration of how typical these pieces of his overall compositional output may be, and how they, and other Brinley Richards compositions she owned, fit with Frances Bullock's collection. The sheet music of Brinley Richards at Uppark provides a vignette not only for the exploration of its musical features, but also the material and social elements, which contribute to understanding the interface of a domestic repertoire composer and an amateur domestic performer. Pertinent to this interconnection is the extent to which Brinley Richards concentrated on domestic repertoire composition and the possible reasons for this, as well as his expectations of who was acquiring his music and the performance needs of these consumers. Frances Bullock at Uppark, an aristocrat in a landed gentry home, was not only a consumer but also within the composer's

social network, which prompts attention to the issues of her typicality of the grouping, its membership and the criteria for belonging.

The lifespan of Brinley Richards (1817-1885) was almost identical to that of Frances Bullock (1818-1895).<sup>1</sup> Hence they shared the experience of the nineteenth century evolution of domestic music-making, and its extending compositional boundaries, but from different vantage points: the one in her private domain of her home at Uppark, where she probably mainly performed solo piano pieces, the other very much in the public domain as composer, performer, music scholar, educator and examiner. Frances Bullock owned 29 pieces composed by Brinley Richards, a significant amount of music by one composer. It is not known how this music came to be in her collection, how she and Brinley Richards became acquainted, nor the nature of their relationship, either formal or personal.<sup>2</sup> But these sheet music items invite consideration of his career and situation, in the context of the social-cultural frame within which both he and Frances Bullock existed, and their respective wider and shared musical environments.

## 4.2 Brinley Richards – One of the capital class?

The developments in the production of music, and the buoyant music market place of the capitalist nineteenth century economy, were central to Brinley Richards' success in the musical world. His arrangements with publishers meant that his compositions became part of the (Marxist) 'means of production' which realised profit, and consequently for him, income. Without this Brinley Richards would not have been able to sustain his musical career, in the absence of family finance and inherited privilege.<sup>3</sup> This collaboration with music publishers (discussed elsewhere in this chapter) provided the context for the production of his domestic

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<sup>1</sup> The birth year of Brinley Richards is variously cited. His father confirmed to him his year of birth as 1817 in a letter written on 3 February 1840 (Carmarthen Public Library, not referenced in public catalogue), accessed 22 April 2017.

<sup>2</sup> I have searched extensively for any relevant information, without success.

<sup>3</sup> The freelance musical career followed by Brinley Richards during the nineteenth century had been long-established. Cyril Ehrlich looked at the supply and demand of musicians in a continually uncertain market place with uncertain remuneration, over a time span of some 200 years. He traced the activities of musicians since the latter decades of the eighteenth century, illustrating vividly the 'portfolio' nature of their working lives and the struggle for status recognition. He highlighted the huge increase in the supply of printed music during the nineteenth century and suggested that 'This revolution in production and distribution brought unalloyed benefits to consumers, but for producers the effects were more equivocal. The main source of a composer's income shifted from lump sums of cash to royalty payments on sales'. Ehrlich pointed to the lack of information as to how composers fared in this 'expanding, precarious, unstable market-place'. Cyril Ehrlich, *The Music Profession in Britain since the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 103.

repertoire, and selling it in a market place resting on commodity relation, i.e. that the music was traded. Whilst widely known for his domestic repertoire compositions, it was Brinley Richards' overall profile as a musician whose career was made up of a number of interconnected activities, which brought him success, illustrating 'one of the defining characteristics of being a musician at this time: the obligation to piece together a living from a number of different musical or music-related activities, no one of which would have supplied a living income on its own.'<sup>4</sup> Teaching status and fees were determined to a large extent by concert platform prestige. His composer profile was linked to how known in other contexts, just as his status and fee level as a teacher was related to his lauded capacity as a performer. (That said, there are numbers of references to Brinley Richards freely giving his teaching time and expertise). Brinley Richards emerges both as reliant on the capitalist economy of nineteenth-century Britain; and as financially successful given that his probate value was £4411 17s. 3d (purchasing power of £562,880.95p in 2019).<sup>5</sup> He fulfilled Olleson's terms of reference for a successful musician: 'All in all, it was the musician's total profile that mattered, and his success and prestige both within and outside the profession were assessed on the basis of the sum total of his activities.'<sup>6</sup>

Brinley Richards was born in Carmarthen, the son of Henry Richards, a music shop proprietor and the local church organist, and his wife Elizabeth. Henry Richards is described as 'a characterful local musician' who conducted a Carmarthen instrumental ensemble and every week hosted the Carmarthen Philharmonic Society.<sup>7</sup> Rees suggests that 'Little or no Welsh seems to have been spoken in this Anglican home'. There is an absence of reference in any sources to the family's economic circumstances. Brinley Richards attended the local grammar school and was then briefly apprenticed to a surgeon, a situation which he apparently happily relinquished when his appearance at a local Eisteddfod gained aristocratic approval and financial support to study piano and composition at the Royal Academy. Thereafter he lived in London, although travelled extensively, particularly to Wales.<sup>8</sup>

Although he circulated to an extent in aristocratic circles, he was not a member of that class. There is nothing to suggest that Brinley Richards did not achieve the genteel status associated

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<sup>4</sup> Philip Olleson, "Samuel Wesley and the Music Profession" in *Music and British Culture 1785-1914*, eds. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Richards, Henry Brinley" by Anne Pimlott Baker.

<sup>6</sup> Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, 29.

<sup>7</sup> A. J. Heward Rees, "Henry Brinley Richards (1817-1885)," *Welsh Music History* 2 (1997): 173-4.

<sup>8</sup> This aristocratic patronage affected Brinley Richards' geographical and social transition, elements of his life which, after he ceased to be a student, he subsequently maintained by his own 'capitalist' endeavors.

with the Victorian bourgeoisie through hard work, politeness, maintaining respectability throughout his life, and the demonstration of bourgeois sensibilities. These are expressed in his letters, which illustrate his courtesy, awareness of social order, and solicitude for the wellbeing of others. From reading his correspondence and press commentaries, Brinley Richards emerges as a man who was both earnest and aspiring in his endeavours. His social aspirations are evident in the social networks emanating from his musical activities, not least his association with dedicatees.



IMAGE 4-1. BRINLEY RICHARDS, WITH PERMISSION, NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON.

This personal profile of a bourgeois gentleman is complemented by his musical activities, where he employed his educational and cultural faculties in his commitment to music education, raising awareness of musical history, and encouragement for ubiquity and standards of piano performance. Not only was Brinley Richards applauded over numbers of years for his piano performances, but he achieved comparable status as a piano teacher. Heward Rees, referring to Brinley Richards' exemplification of the contemporary hard-work ethic and his general *embourgeoisement* of attitude, wrote 'He became an instructor and assistant professor at the Academy, and eventually one of its most sought-after piano teachers. Much later he became a director of the Academy ... the instigator of the Royal Academy's system of external examinations

in 1881'.<sup>9</sup> Rees, contrasting Richards' unpretentious Welsh origins with his achieved adult social status and social network, suggests that Brinley Richards 'obviously acquired the necessary bearing and manners to make himself acceptable in the salons of high society' and thus garnered a lucrative income from private pupils.<sup>10</sup> Brinley Richards' practical interest in the welfare of Welsh students whom he met in London included giving some free piano lessons - an example of such a pupil was Mary Davies (subsequently co-founder and first President of the Welsh Folk Song Society).

Brinley Richards' address in London was 25 St Mary Abbots Terrace, Kensington W1, a fashionable residential area bordering 'Prince Albert's cultural quarter', which placed him well to participate in London's cultural life. This was geographically a long way from his family home in South Wales, but followed the trajectory of his childhood, which was 'cradled in music', as described in Francis Jones's detailed biographical account, and by Rees.<sup>11</sup> The example of a programme for 'Mr Brinley Richards' Evening Concert' at the Queen's Concert Rooms in Hanover Square, London (the principal concert venue in London) on 1 July 1863 firmly establishes his position in the metropolitan cultural milieu.

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<sup>9</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 177-8.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>11</sup> Jones also refers to a childhood filled with musical activities, and that 'His undoubted gifts impressed every one; he was in the way of becoming a minor local celebrity'. Francis Jones, "Henry Brinley Richards," in *God Bless the Prince of Wales: Four Essays for Investiture Year, 1969* (1969), 13.

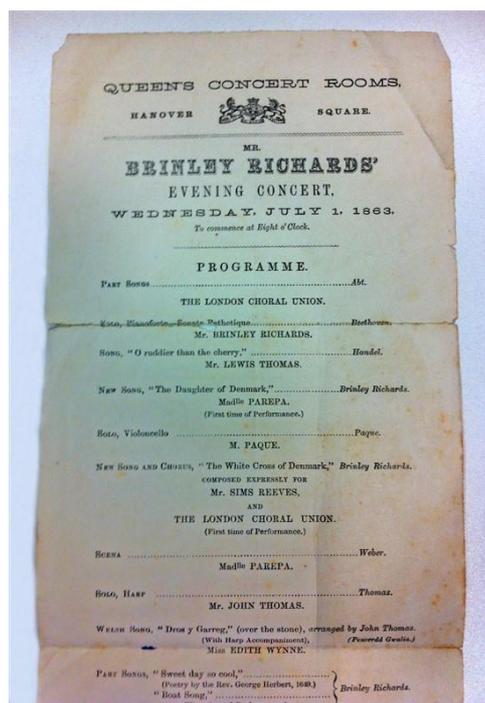


IMAGE 4-2. PROGRAMME FOR A CONCERT AT THE QUEEN'S CONCERT ROOMS, 1 JULY 1863.

CARMARTHEN PUBLIC LIBRARY ARCHIVES.

This programme includes both choral compositions and piano performances by Brinley Richards, a reminder that he was not only a composer of domestic repertoire. Living in London, Brinley Richards must have been only too aware of the features, identified by Scott, which characterized 'musical life associated with a capitalist economy and the consolidation of power of a wealthy industrial bourgeoisie' ... [namely] 'the commercialization and professionalization of music, new markets for cultural goods, and a growing rift between art and entertainment'.<sup>12</sup> His musical activities subscribed to these changes originating from industrialisation, and contributed to his demeanour as a bourgeois gentleman. John Tosh maintains that 'Any notion of a solid bourgeois masculinity is not tenable' as he perceives the balance of life components for a man of work, family and association(s) to be inherently unstable.<sup>13</sup> Nothing is known about Brinley Richards' family and domestic life, but Tosh's description of 'a bourgeois masculinity attuned to the market' is relevant to Brinley Richards' development of his compositional career, paralleled by his dedication to all aspects of his musical life which underlines the Victorian moral tenet of the elevation of work as a 'calling'. At a material level, Brinley Richards' membership of the

<sup>12</sup> Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 207.

<sup>13</sup> John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Essays on Gender, Family and Empire* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 39.

bourgeoisie was, in Marxist terms, confirmed by his position as a person of capital. He utilised his skills, and successfully addressed the interface of a 'portfolio' musical career and financial return, through both established and the more recent opportunities offered by nineteenth-century developments.<sup>14</sup> This possibility of earning a living from the domestic repertoire marketplace was a direct consequence of industrialised production of music and the capitalist economy, along with the social changes they provoked. As William Weber points out,

Nineteenth-century musicians opened up important new aspects of musical capitalism in publishing and concert tours, but what they did nevertheless grew out of the entrepreneurial tradition ... the main sources of change came from technical advances in building pianos and printing sheet music, and from the expansion of businesses and marketing strategies by which to sell them.<sup>15</sup>

Brinley Richards' wealth on death (referred to earlier) indicates that he fared economically better than many 'jobbing' musicians, and alongside his musical achievements, his social networks and the reported positive reception for his various undertakings, contributes to the relevance of 'capital' as a descriptor of this man.

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, drawing on studies from the 1960s, identified alternative types of 'capital' to the economic, and explored these in relation to social differentiation. Although this analysis has been the subject of critiques since his publications of the 1980s and '90s, he retains a position as a point of reference for understanding the inter-relationship of culture and class. Bourdieu defines cultural capital as the 'forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions... [it is] ... a form of knowledge, an internalized code or a cognitive acquisition which equips the social agent with empathy towards, appreciation for, or competence in, deciphering cultural relations and cultural artifacts.' From this perspective, Brinley Richards' success in the field of cultural production realized both of these, which Bourdieu perceived as necessary acquisitions in order to qualify for, and become a member of, the bourgeoisie. Along with the symbolic capital – defined by Johnson as the "degree of accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration, or honor ... founded on a dialectic of knowledge and recognition" - which he

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<sup>14</sup> Scott uses the term 'bourgeois' to 'refer to the capital half of the capital/labour relationship'. He maintains that utilizing this concept – rather than that of 'middle class' - allows for the fluidity of change and adaptation within this sector of the population; and for the permeable boundary between it and the aristocracy. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois*, 110.

<sup>15</sup> William Weber, "The Musician as Entrepreneur and Opportunist, 1700-1914", in *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914. Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists*, ed. William Weber (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 13.

accrued, he fulfilled the definition of a bourgeois man, part of the emergent elite, a social category distinct from the aristocracy and (landed) gentry.<sup>16</sup> Brinley Richards' social networks also endorsed his credentials as a member of the élite. At the age of 17, he had secured the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Burghersh (founder of the Royal Academy of Music) that supported him during his years at RAM and drew him into aristocratic networks. Such connections are also evidenced in the dedicatees of his music, which include some aristocratic piano pupils; and in his presentation to the Prince of Wales in 1867 following the success of *God Bless the Prince of Wales*. Membership of these networks provided Brinley Richards with social capital, in effect a sufficiently 'powerful' (in status terms) position from which him to advance his musical interests.

Having piano lessons from Chopin established a further, if only occasional, prestigious connection for Brinley Richards. In 1839, when 22 years old, he journeyed to Paris for piano lessons with Chopin, working on one of Chopin's books of studies.<sup>17</sup> Frederick Niecks narrates that 'Brinley Richards informed me that Chopin, who played rarely in these lessons, making his corrections and suggestions rather by word of mouth than by example, was very languid, indeed so much so that he looked as if he felt inclined to lie down, and seemed to say: "I wish you would come another time."' <sup>18</sup> In April 1848 Chopin came to London, and Brinley Richards again received some tuition in piano playing and attended an evening party where Chopin was present. Although these were brief person-to-person contacts, there are identifiable shared features of the music of these two men, suggestive of the influence of Chopin on Brinley Richards. Chopin wrote (not exclusively) for the expanding amateur female market performing music in the salon;

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<sup>16</sup> "Editor's Introduction," in Pierre Bourdieu, "The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature," ed. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 7.

• <sup>17</sup> See Grove for information on Chopin etudes published prior to 1839, namely *Douze Grandes Études* op.10, 1833; and *Douze Études* op.25, 1837. Kornel Michałowski and Jim Samson, s.v. "Chopin", *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.51099/>.

<sup>18</sup> Frederick Niecks, *Frederick Chopin as a Man and a Musician*, vol. 2 (London: Novello and Company, Limited, 1890), 72.

likewise Brinley Richards composed music to be played in the more intimate domestic setting.<sup>19</sup> Significantly, Chopin is renowned for his engagement with the feminine in respect of his compositions, as Kallberg comments: “A male composer who wrote in ‘feminine’ genres like the nocturne for domestic settings like the salon, he confuses our senses of the boundaries for gender’.<sup>20</sup> Brinley Richards, on account of his prolific composition of domestic music, would have been perceived likewise as associated with the feminine. As Kallberg states,

affiliation with women and with effeminacy usually led to lesser ranking in the aesthetic hierarchy, but what is striking is how what was only an occasional trope in the criticism of the 1830s and 1840s grew to an almost obsessive preoccupation of writers in the second half of the nineteenth century. They theorized the feminine as a lack.<sup>21</sup>

Brinley Richards appears to have been undeterred by belittling feminine association, successfully continuing his compositional career in domestic repertoire, and furthering his association with women dedicatees, throughout his life. However, financial opportunism may have driven this gender-related career pathway, for which he accrued acclaim only during his lifetime. The reception void after his death suggests that his musical achievements connected with the feminised domestic repertory were products of the moment and the market, retrospectively dismissed by compositional discourse.

Both Chopin and Brinley Richards were advocates for the traditional music of their homelands.<sup>22</sup> Brinley Richards’ commitment to Welsh music was possibly less heartfelt since there is some evidence that he promoted its status through association, thereby advancing his self-promotion.

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<sup>19</sup> The respective content and style of their compositions are of course very different. For example, any fairy-like references found in Brinley Richards’ *Titania* lack the magic of Chopin as perceived by his contemporaries: ‘In taking up one of the works of Chopin, you are entering, as it were, a fairy land, untrodden by human footsteps, a path, hitherto unfrequented, but by the great composer himself’. J. W. Davison, *Musical World*, 1843. And as Liszt remarked, ‘In most of Chopin’s *Ballades*, *Valses*, and *Études*, as well as in the pieces just mentioned [i.e., the mazurkas, preludes, nocturnes, and impromptus], there lies embalmed the memory of an elusive poesy... It brings closer the realm of fairies...’. Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History and Musical Genre* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1996), 67.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>22</sup> Jim Samson unpacks Chopin’s nationalism in terms of ‘... there was a prevalent tendency among the early romantics to idealise popular materials, to view them as expressive of a generalised notion of the natural, unpolluted culture of the ‘people’ ... something of the character of an exoticism, a lively local colour. Chopin was not averse to exploiting this aspect of folk materials, particularly in his early years. Increasingly, however, they came to assume for him a much deeper significance, as a symbolic representation of the nation’s spiritual identity ... he was a reticent nationalist, but a nationalist all the same’. Jim Samson, *The Music of Chopin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 4-5.

A lecture-recital he gave on behalf of the London City Mission (whose object was 'to improve the moral and spiritual condition ... of the labouring masses of this teeming Metropolis') endorsed his moral position. He aligned (with examples) Welsh national airs with music of status, saying that it 'contains the foundation of the present musical art, much of its peculiarity being found largely in Handel, Weber and unbounded'. He evidenced the connection of Welsh music with aristocracy by reference to 'the noble part played by Lady Llanover in fostering the musical art of Wales; but for patriotic efforts the national harp would have gone long since'.<sup>23</sup> Some years later Brinley Richards was reported to have explained that 'National Music, Mr Richards said, was not the music of art, though deeply interesting as a means of observing the development of music in its progress among different nations – as the music of sentiment rather than of art, though undoubtedly useful to art itself'.<sup>24</sup>

His frequent use of folk and national airs could also be read as endorsing his bourgeois status, since according to Dahlhaus 'It was ... the bourgeoisie, the searchers after "noble simplicity", who rediscovered the folk song and restored their unearthed material to a "second life" in nineteenth-century music culture'. Brinley Richards's motivation to promote Welsh music in London, to bring it to national notice, complements Dahlhaus' opinion that folk music came to mean national music, which was an ideological shift that aligned it with bourgeois aspirations and identity.<sup>25</sup> Brinley Richards' enmeshment within the capitalist system alongside his credentials for bourgeois status endorse his 'capital' profile, a position distinct from that of an aristocrat, even though both professionally and socially he appears to have had allegiance to that social class.

### 4.3 The Music of Brinley Richards at Uppark

Of the 29 scores by Richards at Uppark, all but one are for solo piano, there are two copies (same edition) of one item, and one piece for voice with piano accompaniment.<sup>26</sup> The 27 items of piano music substantially consist of music by other composers, which has been arranged for home performance by Brinley Richards, echoing the overall dominance of arrangements in Frances

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<sup>23</sup> South London Chronicle 24 March 1877, accessed December 12, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000443/18770324/006/0002?browse=False>.

<sup>24</sup> Extract from the "Carmarthen Journal", in the *North Wales Chronicle* Saturday 15 September 1877, accessed April 11, 2017,

<http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000094/18770915/021/0007?browse=False>.

<sup>25</sup> Samson, *Music of Chopin*, 4-5.

<sup>26</sup> Compositions by Brinley Richards are colour coded green in the Uppark database, Appendix A.

Bullock’s music collection. Within the oeuvre, there are four original compositions: one is Brinley Richards’ arrangement of his own renowned work, the national song of Wales, *God Bless the Prince of Wales*; another is his quickstep arrangement for solo piano of a piece he wrote for the Carmarthenshire militia and volunteers band, *The Carmarthenshire March*. In addition to these two original pieces, there is a ‘valse de concert’, *Titania*, and *The Monastery*. Various categories are represented in this music. The largest number of items falls into the category ‘arrangements of national airs’, followed by arrangements of popular/contemporary songs and arrangements of opera airs.

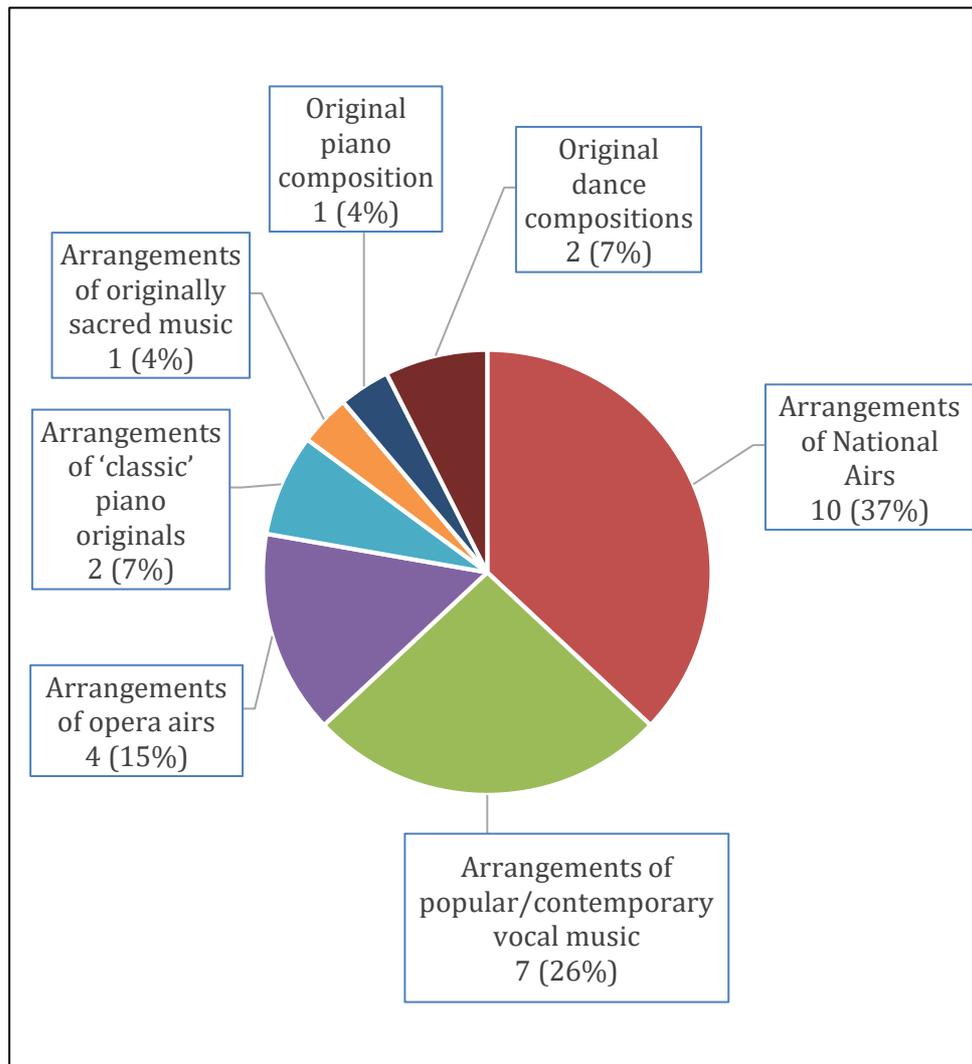


CHART 5-1. BRINLEY RICHARDS' UPPARK PIANO MUSIC.

The use of these various musical forms as the bases for arrangements reflects the interweaving of composer preference, public taste, and commercial expediency. Whilst the nineteenth

century vogue for traditional airs maintained some continuity of musical idiom, the volume of production was very different. And the quantum of solo piano arrangements of vocal pieces marked a development for the domestic market, capitalizing on increased knowledge and familiarity of the audience with the music along with their wish to be able as an individual to play it at home. Temperley suggests that ‘The national air satisfied a demand of the Romantic for music that seemed ‘natural’ and hence sublime. Authenticity was less important than a certain strangeness or crudity in the musical idiom ... in such productions it is difficult to say where adaptation ended and composition began’.<sup>27</sup> Such comment presages the lengthy nineteenth century legal battles on the issues of ownership and copyright with regard to arrangements, although there is an absence of references to these concerns with regard to Brinley Richards.

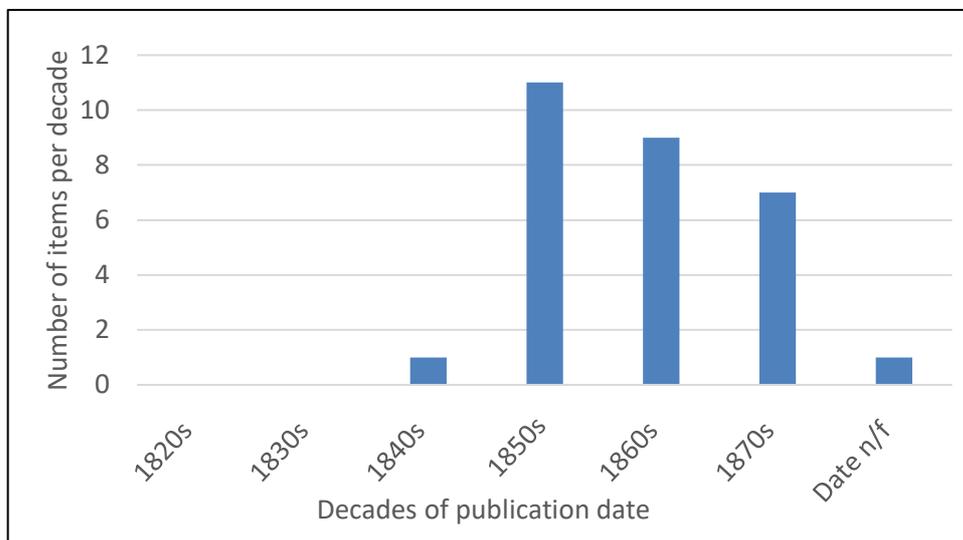


CHART 5-2. BRINLEY RICHARDS’ MUSIC AT UPPARK BY DECADE OF PUBLICATION.

The majority of the Brinley Richards’ music at Uppark was published in the 1850s and 1860s. These were the years of Frances Bullock’s life beyond the time when she was a younger woman who was culturally required to achieve the accomplishment of piano performance, and would have elected to play the piano and this music. By then, some 20 years since he moved to London to study at the Royal Academy of Music, Brinley Richards had established a compositional career, developing, as described by A. J. Heward Rees, his prowess as ‘a gifted and promising pianist-composer; one among many, it is true ... a real trail-blazer for Welshmen. In addition, he had obviously acquired the necessary bearing and manners to make himself acceptable in the salons

<sup>27</sup> Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 110.

of high society.<sup>28</sup> Contemporary opinion confirmed this opinion, as expressed in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1851 by a critic (later the musical correspondent of *The Times*) who placed Brinley Richards amongst the ablest musicians of the day and said that his name ranked among the highest in the realm.<sup>29</sup> The significant degree to which 'foreign' (European) composers are represented in Frances Bullock's music collection gives additional weight to Brinley Richards's compositional presence in one mid-nineteenth century account by Rees: 'It is exceedingly pleasant to observe a modern English composer to enter the lists so successfully with his foreign competitors on the ground which they have so long kept with the public, namely, that of interesting effect without much difficulty, and with a fair amount of musicianly depth and solidarity'.<sup>30</sup>

Messrs. Robert Cocks & Co., music publishers to Queen Victoria, were the publishers for a third of the Brinley Richards' Uppark music, exceeded in number by Chappell, who published half of it. The major part of Cocks' catalogue was popular piano pieces, which were published in profusion. (The catalogue exceeded 16,000 items when Robert Cock died in 1887). S. Chappell & Co. was a prestigious publishing firm who manufactured their own pianos from the 1840s, and therefore had an obvious interest in domestic repertoire. They published a vast quantity of sheet music. Remuneration from publisher to composer was not straight-forward: Brinley Richards would have received either a lump sum (quite possibly not very large) of cash for a composition – or royalty payment for each copy sold, neither of which systems guaranteed reasonable income for the composer.<sup>31</sup> The sheet music industry became highly competitive during the second half of the century, and Brinley Richards' composition of keyboard arrangements, primarily perceived by publishers as a commodity rather than a creative artefact, contributed to the centrality of that musical form in escalating the production of such scores.

The dominance of arrangements rather than original compositions in Frances Bullock's music by Brinley Richards signifies the key to his compositional career, which relied on such works, and for which he was applauded. These arrangements are for solo piano; they are intended for the domestic market; they are often arrangements of contemporary popular music; they epitomise

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<sup>28</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 124.

<sup>29</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 175.

<sup>30</sup> *Dramatic and Musical Review*, 1850s, in Jones, "Henry Brinley Richards," 16.

<sup>31</sup> This latter means of payment was pioneered by John Boosey, music publisher, as a means of spreading risk more equally between publisher and composer.

the commodification of music, its extended reception, and broader social consumption. In many ways 'the arrangement' as a musical form promoted the challenge of the second half of the nineteenth century to some existing conventions of musical practice. It also illustrates the evolving context of composition, which provokes a re-definition of the terms of reference by which to understand and critically evaluate the oeuvre of this composer. The nineteenth century understanding of 'arrangement' when used in music, was not narrowly prescriptive; rather, it was a practice of musical production, which enabled the circulation of material from an original composition in a form which was accessible in terms of its size, cost, 'playability' and the nature of the experience it offered, into the home. So 'an arrangement' may be seen as a dynamic process, drawing on what Lockhart refers to as 'a number of intertextual practices' – and these are both musical and social (in the widest sense) – together constituting 'the dense and multi-coloured weft of producers, consumers and market forces which patterned the fabric of that practice which is today all too-readily dismissed as monochromatic and uninteresting historical oddity—arrangement in the nineteenth century'.<sup>32</sup> Both Brinley Richards and Frances Bullock were 'actors' within this process, whose intersections were encapsulated by a piece of music, the arrangement.

For Frances Bullock, a solitary player in her quiet surroundings, her participation in these arrangements was playing the music. She would have been sitting in the 'huge, long room with many windows opening upon the park ... [with] a big harp beside a lyre-shaped music-stand, and a grand piano' as described by H.G. Wells.<sup>33</sup> The sound of the piano would be heard throughout the house, as Frances Bullock maybe tried out some new music and in effect, through the playing, would have some experience of 'occupancy' within the music. Leaving aside the issues of merit and taste, she would have brought what Christensen describes as the sensibilities nurtured in her (aristocratic) home, 'seclusion, security. . . and a more intimate emotional alchemy with the music' to her performance.<sup>34</sup> The piano carried Brinley Richards 's arrangements from the printed note into sounding music at Uppark and into every home where it was played, inviting the performer to listen to music which without the domestic repertoire they may never have heard. This listening to an arrangement of music originally within the public domain, in the private space of the home, is made possible because, as Szendy puts it, ' ...

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<sup>32</sup> Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine," 11, 134.

<sup>33</sup> Wells, *Tono-Bungay*, 25. This description is included as a Parish Record which advises that 'The Bladesover of this book is the Uppark of reality'. See Parish Record, Par 98/7/52, WSRO.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Christensen, "Public Music in Private Spaces: Piano-Vocal Scores and the Domestication of Opera," in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate Van Orden (Taylor & Francis, 2000), 286.

the arranger is a musician who knows how to *write down a listening*'...then addresses their listening to the public, in an adaptation'.<sup>35</sup> The public acquire the adaptation in the form of an arrangement, which they remove to their private home, where, like Frances Bullock, they would play and listen. The solo performer practising the piano at home would have ample opportunity to listen to and understand a piano arrangement in its entirety (even though it utilised only part of the 'original'), and in this way the bourgeois concert aesthetic against dismemberment of musical works may be described as also realized in the domestic setting. In this respect, an arrangement for piano served both a musical and personal/social function, as recognised by Dahlhaus:

A tiny number of works with unimpeachable claim to artistic status stand out against the vast output of nineteenth-century works which served an inestimable social function but leave us under no compunction to include them in a history of music as art. The difference between these works and art music was not simply one of aesthetic degree, as though it were a question of separating the successes from the failures: these works differed in kind, in a way that simply did not occur in the symphony and the string quartet.<sup>36</sup>

Although he highlights the aesthetic distinction of 'the vast output' from music with 'artistic status', his mention of 'an inestimable social function' resonates with the *raison d'être* for arrangements, since essentially their function was not only musical, but also social in a wide sense.

The music of Brinley Richards belonging to Frances Bullock includes arrangements of older works, with a mixture of solo piano arrangements of classical pieces, opera extracts, ballads and songs. These can be described as 'derivative' arrangements, since they all draw on the composition of an 'original' to provide material for Brinley Richards's arrangement. Two of Richards' works at Uppark illustrate this type of arrangement. *Popular and Classical Vocal and Pianoforte music, 9 P.F. Pieces* offers some arrangements of classical items, whilst recognising the influx of more contemporary composers. Similar to this is *The Pianist's Library*, published c1866, the front cover of which invites engagement with 'A collection of the Piano Forte works from the best masters, classical and modern'.

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<sup>35</sup> Peter Szendy, *Listen: A History of Our Ears* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2008), 7.

<sup>36</sup> Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 102.

These are the only compositions by Brinley Richards at Uppark which can be referred to as arrangements of pieces of music generally acknowledged as within the canon.<sup>37</sup>

His continuing success was spurred by his numerous arrangements of contemporary material, a fraction of which is exemplified in the Uppark music. This includes a song from the Balfe ballad opera *La Zingara*, and *Bolero*, which originally was a song from the briefly popular (it ran for only 2 seasons in London) *Esmerelda* by Fabio Campana. Originals by women composers are an arrangement of the song *Kathleen Aroon*, the original composed by Mrs Crawford; and *Strangers Yet* by Claribel, which is described as 'transcribed' by Brinley Richards. Rossini's 'Cuius Animam' from his *Stabat Mater* is the only sacred piece in this collection which has been arranged for piano. As Thomas Christensen remarks in relation to piano arrangements of opera vocal music: 'If we overlook for the moment its obvious deficiencies in acoustical reproduction, we can see that the piano-vocal score served an indispensable pedagogical role in the musical literacy of many bourgeois musicians. Through the modest piano-vocal score, the music of the opera house was heard by thousands of amateur musicians for the very first time'. He opines that it is difficult to underestimate the significance of piano arrangements for musical amateurs.<sup>38</sup> I suggest a parallel situation is to be found in the arrangements that Brinley Richards made for piano. He widened the range of music available within the domestic repertoire through arranging a variety of 'originals', which included national airs, operatic airs, classical pieces, ballads; he presented the domestic market with music which was usually not technically demanding; he promoted the musical literacy of domestic performers; he used to his advantage the expansion of numbers in terms of social status, of those who acquired and performed this music.

Whilst these music items are not 'original' per se, their different compositional status does not deny the worth of the study of arrangements, but from alternative terms of reference to those traditionally utilised in the analysis and evaluation of music. To approach a study of arrangements with the expectation of finding complexity and hidden artistic depth would be buying into what Lockhart describes as 'a false aesthetic economy'. It is necessary to re-frame

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<sup>37</sup> Brinley Richards is said, as a young man, to have studied with great intensity the established classic composers, as commented upon in *The Cambrian* (reprinted from the *Cardiff Times*): 'These studies of the old masters gave him a refined and elegant style, and to this he added the Celtic fire and individuality which light up and embellish his numerous compositions, adorning them with that happy union of brilliancy and artistic merit which, no doubt, has made them such a success in the musical world'. *The Cambrian*, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1882, 6, accessed March 9, 2017, <http://newspapers.library.wales>.

<sup>38</sup> Christensen, *Public Music in Private Spaces*, 84.

the perspective of enquiry to admit consideration of the derivations of keyboard arrangements, the nature of the arrangement as a musical form, and look at how ‘arrangements were extremely significant historically because they were responsible for disciplining countless aspects of the musical experience of the nineteenth-century audience’.<sup>39</sup> This inclusive approach illuminates the individual example of composer Brinley Richards’s domestic repertoire sheet music in the ownership of an aristocratic woman, Frances Bullock.

Brinley Richards’s music appears to have been popular and a ubiquitous inclusion in later nineteenth century domestic repertoire, as suggested by advertisements and examples of his compositions in music collections. An example of the former is the prominent position Chappell and Co. gave him in the *Illustrated London News*, where the advertisement of several pieces of his ‘new and popular music’ is centrally placed at the top of the page, out of alphabetical order by composer name.

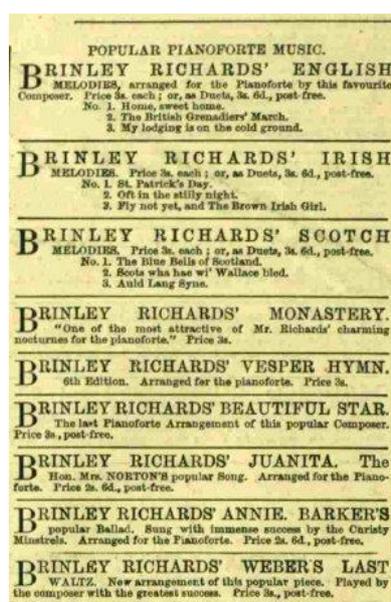


IMAGE 4-3. ADVERTISEMENT FOR BRINLEY RICHARDS' DOMESTIC REPERTOIRE COMPOSITIONS, ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS, 10 SEPTEMBER 1859.

Another advertisement extols the virtues of his compositions, stressing the merit, attraction and accessibility of the music for the amateur.

<sup>39</sup> Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine," 42.

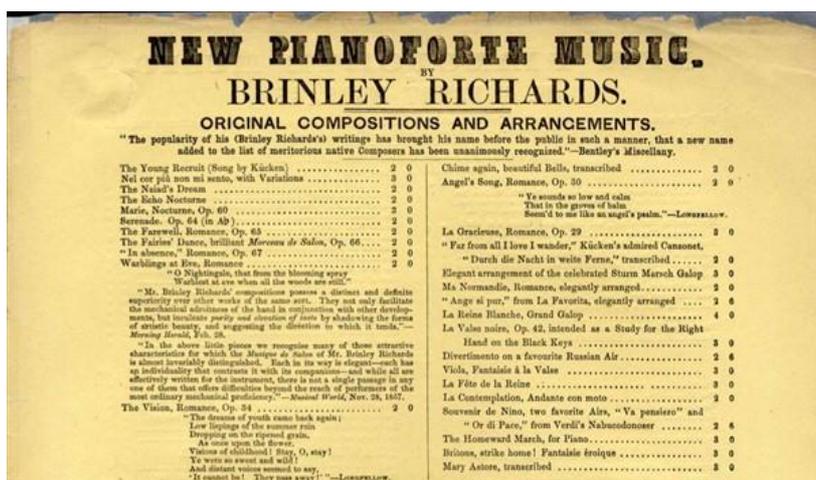


IMAGE 4-4. ADVERTISEMENT FOR BRINLEY RICHARDS' COMPOSITIONS, ON THE BACK COVER OF 'NON VEDESTO UN GENEROSO', AN ARRANGEMENT BY HIM OF A BOLERO FROM CAMPANA'S OPERA *ESMERALD*, BRITISH LIBRARY, SHELF NO. h.760.g. (20), no publisher given, London, 1870.

The size and content of these advertisements underline Brinley Richards's position as a known and applauded domestic repertoire composer, whose music was prominently brought to the notice of potential purchasers. Two women who acquired music by him, but not in nearly such volume as by Frances Bullock, were Victoria Cust Yorke (1823-1895) of Erdigg and Lady Alda Hoare (1861-1947) of Stourhead.<sup>40 41</sup> Interestingly, none of the items owned by these two nineteenth-century female aristocrats are found in the Uppark music, testifying to the volume of compositions of Brinley Richards, whose geographical reach is also illustrated by the different locations of these three women owners. The profile of this composer's music in each of the

<sup>40</sup> Two of the Brinley Richards' pieces, *The Dream of the Wanderer* (published 1859) and *Warblings at Eve* (published 1862), in Victoria Yorke's collection carry the embossed stamp of Bouchers & Co, Music Seller, Chester. This suggests not only that she purchased the music from there, but that as a young adult in her '30s, she chose to play pieces by Brinley Richards. The other three scores of Brinley Richards in her collection, all of which are arrangements, carry similar publication dates. These three scores are n.d., *Tell Me My Heart*; 1863, *Fly Not Yet!* and *The Brown Irish Girl*; 1865, *The Liquid Gem*. Dates of publication for the Brinley Richards' music at Erdigg were obtained from COPAC. My thanks to Professor Jeanice Brooks and Dr Katrina Faulds for information about the music at Erdigg.

<sup>41</sup> The two scores in Lady Alda Hoare's music collection both carry dates in 1873, although one, *The Melody of the Bridge*, is inscribed 'Alda Weston, Wolverton, 16<sup>th</sup> June /73'; and the other, *Warblings at Eve*, carries the information 'Alda Hoare/ Wolverton/ October/73'. Lady Alda married in 1887, suggesting a later inscription on *Warblings at Eve* than 1873. Knowledge of this music collection is from the author's research.

collections is broadly similar, with the dominance of arrangements for solo piano of lighter music. These examples build on the position of Brinley Richards as essentially a domestic repertoire composer, whose compositional output is illustrated by his music in Frances Bullock's collection.

Nearly all (96+%) of his compositions in her collection are solo piano music to play at home, and form part of the volume (80+%) of her music that is similarly scored. There is no definitive catalogue of the compositional output of Brinley Richards, so the degree to which his music at Uppark is overall representative of his work cannot be ascertained in any detail.<sup>42</sup> In acquiring this music, Frances Bullock aligned herself with other Victorian women as one of his dedicatees, but differed from (probably most of) them in the quantum of Brinley Richards' compositions within her collection, and (possibly) that he gifted two of his pieces to her.

### **The Music of the Frances Bullock/Brinley Richards association**

There are three scores which suggest that Frances Bullock and Brinley Richards had more than a passing acquaintanceship: two of the scores were gifts in the mid 1870s (there is a gap of three years) from him to her, and the third, probably published some years earlier around 1860, carries a dedication. These dates indicate that Frances Bullock and Brinley Richards were acquainted for some years. Possible contextualisation of these gifts from Brinley Richards, by all accounts a conventionally behaving man, is offered by *A Manual of Etiquette*, published in the 1860s when Brinley Richards and Frances Bullock were both in their '40s. In the chapter on 'Etiquette for Gentlemen', a directive is given that: 'A gift should be precious for something better than its price. It may have been brought by the giver from some far or famous place; it may be unique in its workmanship; it may be valuable only from association with some great man or strange event. Autographic papers, foreign curiosities, and the like, are elegant gifts. An author may offer his book, or a painter a sketch, with grace and propriety ... if you present a book to a friend, do not write his or her name in it, unless requested. You have no right to presume that it will be rendered any the more valuable for that addition'.<sup>43</sup> These two pieces of music, which are scores composed by him, are equivalent to the category of 'his book', or even to 'autographic papers'. If this directive was followed, it might have been at the request of Frances Bullock that Brinley Richards' words and signatures are on the front covers.

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<sup>42</sup> The catalogue of the National Library of Wales identifies 345 entries in response to the entry 'Brinley Richards piano'; the British library catalogue has 173 entries in response to the same enquiry.

<sup>43</sup> Routledge, *Manual of Etiquette*, 69.

The private communication by way of these handwritten personal inscriptions is repeated in the public arena, as Brinley Richards dedicated two pieces (one not in this collection) to Frances Bullock, with her name and location clearly presented on the front covers. One of these pieces is *Auld Robin Gray*. This Uppark edition has a plain front cover, with a dedication unremarkable in its presentation.

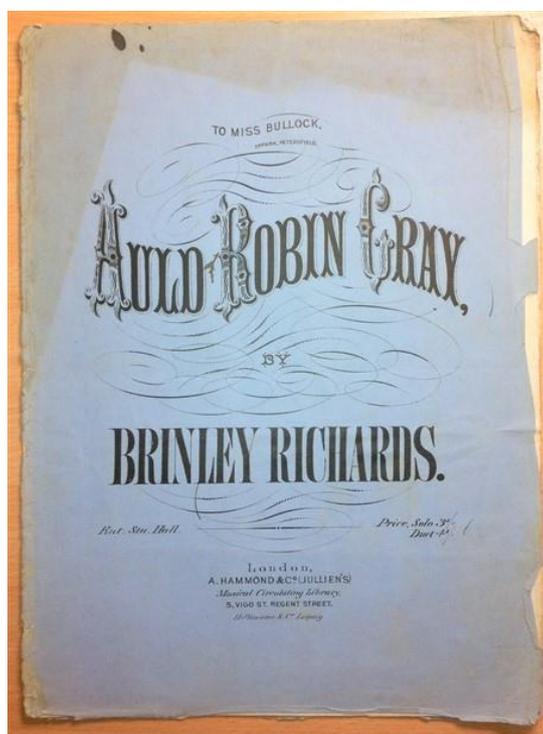


IMAGE 4-5. *AULD ROBIN GRAY*, UPPARK (UDB 189).

*Auld Robin Gray* was originally a Scottish melody (for a tragic ballad authored by Lady Anne Lindsay in 1772) which was arranged by many composers as both a vocal and instrumental piece.<sup>44</sup> The publication date of this instrumental solo piano arrangement by Brinley Richards is unknown.<sup>45</sup> It cannot be assumed that he gave this specific copy of *Auld Robin Gray* to Frances Bullock, as there is nothing to suggest that, and certainly no presentation binding (as was common when a composer dedicated music to someone).<sup>46</sup> Brinley Richards also dedicated a

<sup>44</sup> 'It was an especial favourite with Victorian readers, and when Francis Turner Palgrave included it in the first edition of his *Golden Treasury* in 1861 he added the following note: "there can hardly exist a poem more tragic in the highest sense than this: nor, except Sappho, has any Poetess known to the Editor equalled it in excellence." Jane Millgate, "Unclaimed Territory: The Ballad of 'Auld Robin Gray' and the Assertion of Authorial Ownership," *The Library: The Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 8, no. 4 (2007): 1.

<sup>45</sup> The date of publication of this edition of *Auld Robin Gray* is unknown. Brinley Richards also arranged this melody for four hands, publication date c1860 (National Library of Wales). I have not located the same edition as at Uppark elsewhere.

<sup>46</sup> It is possible that if there were a presentation copy, it was destroyed in the fire.

second composition to Frances Bullock, although this is not in her music collection. It would be unusual not to own a piece for which one is dedicatee, but it may have been destroyed by the fire if it had not gone astray at some point before then. The front cover advises that *Maritana, Gay Gitana* is 'W.C. Levey's Popular song, transcribed for the pianoforte'.<sup>47</sup> (It is relatively unusual to find the description 'transcribed' used, rather than 'arranged'. Possibly this choice of language by the publisher is intended to promote an implication of authenticity in the piece, which in compositional terms is an arrangement).<sup>48</sup> Published some 16 years later than *Auld Robin Gray*, the simple dedication is similarly placed at the top of the front cover, but is 'to Miss Fetherstonhaugh', recognising that she had adopted that name. (She became Lady Fetherstonhaugh in 1874).

Although these dedications include only bare information, Frances Bullock's presence in print moves her firmly to the public zone of the two spheres, demonstrating the potential of an item of music to traverse the fluid distance between these pragmatically contested concepts. The circumstances of this dedication are unknown, and are considered along with those of other dedicatees of Brinley Richards later in this chapter.

Two of the three scores of the Brinley Richards' music at Uppark, and personalised by him to Frances Bullock, are editions not located elsewhere. One of these is *The Harper's Grave*, for voice and piano, with the annotation in black ink at the top right-hand corner of the front cover, 'to Miss Bullock with the composer's compliments Dec 20 1873'.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> BL shelf reference h. 760h.(31.), accessed May 4, 2017 (London: Ashdown & Parry, 1876).

<sup>48</sup> 'Transcription: A term often used interchangeably with [arrangement](#). It is however possible to make a distinction between transcribing, as copying a composition while changing layout or notation (for example, from parts to full score), and arranging, as changing the medium'. *Oxford Companion to Music*, accessed December 12, 2017, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093>.

<sup>49</sup> This is the only item in the Brinley Richards collection at Uppark scored for voice and piano. It is an arrangement of a traditional Welsh air, dedicated to Mrs Edward Westbrook. Mary Davies, a Welsh singer who often performed with Brinley Richards and whose career he promoted from her childhood, referred to this song as winning a prize at the Ruthin Eisteddfod and sold by Brinley Richards for the benefit of a Welsh charitable school.

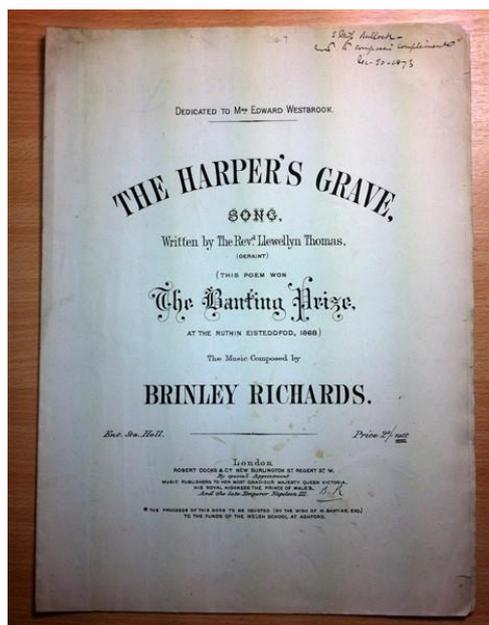


IMAGE 4-6. *THE HARPER'S GRAVE*, UPPARK (UDB 190).

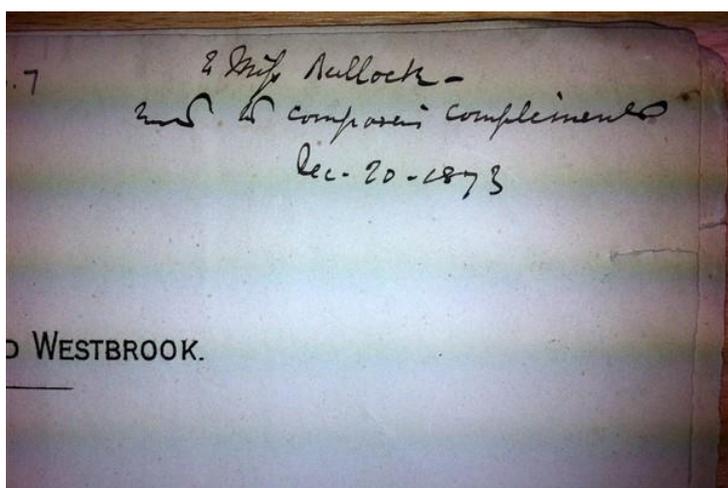


IMAGE 4-7. ANNOTATION, *THE HARPER'S GRAVE*, UPPARK (UDB 190).

The second gifted piece is *Titania*, a Valse de Concert scored for solo piano, dedicated to Lady Clarence Paget, and published in 1876.<sup>50</sup> Similarly to *The Harper's Grave*, this piece is annotated,

<sup>50</sup> The title aligns the music with the spiritual, mystical world of fairies, but this music with 'plodding' left hand crochets and the absence of rhythmic interest and dynamic variety does not evoke Roger Hansford's musical vignette of the fairy: '... its main features are immortality and charm ... it has a cheeky sense of fun, and groups of fairies are frequently depicted doing a light but formal dance in a lively manner'. The left-hand part consists almost exclusively of 'plodding' crochets, ever reminding of the 3/4 waltz rhythm, whilst the right hand is occupied with a melody based on crochets and minims, interspersed with quaver passages, but lacking rhythmic interest or variety in the texture and dynamics. The piece rests on major tonality (the key is A♭ major) and conventional harmonic progressions (both features which are listed by Hansford as characteristic of songs involving fairies). Roger Hansford, *Figures of the Imagination: Fiction and Song in Britain, 1790-1850* (London: Routledge, 2017), 176.

with the words in a similar position, 'Miss Fetherstonhaugh with Brinley Richards' compts Dec.29 1876'.<sup>51</sup> (This is almost the same date of the year as *The Harper's Grave*).

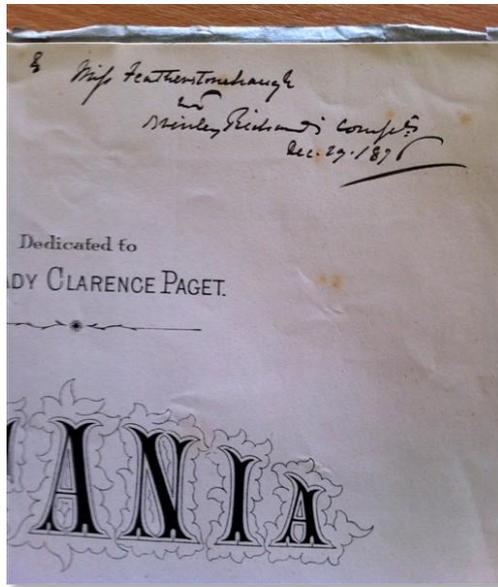


IMAGE 4-8. ANNOTATION, *TITANIA*, UPPARK (UDB 198).

By the date of publication, 1876, the waltz had ceased to be a risqué new dance and the nature of this concert waltz was maybe intended to acknowledge a mode of dance which was now 'mainstream' and a composer who showed 'the rather stifling earnestness of his later conformity to high Victorianism'.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> The use of the name 'Miss Fetherstonhaugh' suggests that Brinley Richards may not have known that Frances Bullock – as she used to be – had taken the title (and arms) of her deceased sister, who died in 1874. She therefore became 'Lady Fetherstonhaugh', signalling her aristocratic status.

<sup>52</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 176.



IMAGE 4-9. *TITANIA, VALSE DE CONCERT*, 'WHAT'S THE SCORE',  
BODLEIAN LIBRARIES, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, SHELFMARK MUS 400 B.42 (41).

The inscribed gifted music from Brinley Richards to Frances Bullock illustrates the passage of a composition by a known composer for the public market place, from that public domain to the privacy of Uppark, suggestive of Arendt's reflection, albeit some 100 years later, 'that even the twilight which illuminates our private and intimate lives is ultimately derived from the harsh light of the public realm.'<sup>53</sup> The inscription on both of these musical items makes visible the 'passage of light', between the very public life of Brinley Richards and the more private existence of Frances Bullock. The associations encapsulated within this gifted music are a reminder of the fluidity of the 'public' and 'private' spheres, illustrating the overlap of this previously conceptualized binary, as addressed by Austern, Bailey and Winkler in their introduction: 'The ease by which music and its materials cross physical and social barriers, especially as a communal or sociable process, makes it a particularly effective medium for reevaluating slippage between these historically vexing categories ... creating communities of shared taste and consumption'.<sup>54</sup> Rather than 'slippage', this particular exchange of music pieces evidences how the nineteenth century in various facets, promoted connections between public and private, with music as both

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<sup>53</sup> Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (University of Chicago Press, 1958), accessed October 24, 2017, [https://archive.org/stream/ArendtHannahTheHumanCondition2nd1998/Arendt\\_Hannah\\_The\\_Human\\_Condition\\_2nd\\_98\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/ArendtHannahTheHumanCondition2nd1998/Arendt_Hannah_The_Human_Condition_2nd_98_djvu.txt).

<sup>54</sup> Austern, *Beyond Boundaries*, 2.

a medium through which to identify with a location, and to provide a memory, thus contributing to an elision of the discrete spaces of public and private.

#### 4.4 Dedictees of Brinley Richards' music

Brinley Richards endorsed his alignment with the feminine through numerous female dedictees, who in effect were a form of investment from which he hoped for a return, whether financially through encouraging sales of his music, or from the symbolic capital he accrued through these associations. This practice of naming a dedictee on the front cover of a piece of music could have been a 'marketing strategy' by Brinley Richards (or possibly the publisher), who would have been aware that the use of what is in effect a paratext, might influence a prospective consumer's view of the style, provenance and quality of a composition, and positively impact its reception as the musical work 'adopts' the status of the dedictee. This has consequences for the performance and exposure of the work and the composer (and thereby should increase sales). Emily Green suggests that a dedication has illocutionary force, engaging the donor in a performative speech act, since the dedication is a kind of (written) utterance that necessarily involves a subject, the dedictee, in an act of exchange.<sup>55</sup> Brinley Richards' women dedictees may have been friends, pupils (young or older), people who themselves wanted publicity through a dedication, or people to whom Brinley Richards wished to express thanks. It would be usual for a composer to ask permission before naming a dedictee, and some music publications include 'by permission' alongside the name of the dedictee.<sup>56</sup> This connection between composer and dedictee becomes hierarchical through the request for permission to name the dedictee, and the dedictee's decision to grant the permission prior to the published dedication, so placing the composer in the relative position of being the less powerful participant in the exchange.

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<sup>55</sup> Emily Green, *Dedications*, 130.

<sup>56</sup> I have not found any published scores, either at Uppark or elsewhere, of Brinley Richards where the word 'permission' is evident.

Frances Bullock was just one of numbers of aristocratic women, and some men, to whom Brinley Richards dedicated pieces of music. There are thirteen dedicatees, including Frances Bullock, identified from his Uppark compositions. Three of these are men, and the remainder women.<sup>57</sup> In effect, this network of individuals that Brinley Richards formed through dedications becomes a signifier of his social status, inasmuch as status is symbolised by the statement of dedication on the music and the assumption made that these dedicatees represent 'social worth'. When these domestic music scores are in individual homes, they represent geographically scattered associations for Brinley Richards, endorsing the social position of both himself and the dedicatees, including Frances Bullock, and in this way the sheet music of domestic repertoire becomes an agent brokering sociability. A bound volume in the British Library of some of Brinley Richards' solo piano sheet music, with about half of the some thirty pieces of music subject of dedications, confirms the presence of aristocratic dedicatees in his mix of amateur names. The dedicated music includes *National Chorus*, dedicated to H.R.H. The Princess of Wales; four pieces of music dedicated to Lady Clarence Paget and one to her daughter, Olivia Paget; and *Maritana*, *Gay Gitana*, the dedication being to 'Miss Featherstonhaugh', which indicates that this was a post-1874 publication and that Brinley Richards (or the publishers) were not aware that this name is spelt differently, 'Fetherstonhaugh'.

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<sup>57</sup> The Uppark scores of the compositions dedicated to men are *Cuius Animam* is 'by permission to Signor Rossini'; *The Rising of the Lark* is 'Dedicated to Alfred [illegible] Esq.'; *The Carmarthenshire March*, *Quickstep* is 'Composed and Dedicated to the Right Hon.ble The Earl of Cawdor, and the Officers of the Militia & Volunteers of The County of Carmarthen'.

The Uppark scores of the compositions dedicated to women are *The Harper's Grave*, dedicated to Mrs Edward Westbrook; *La Zingara*, dedicated to Mrs George Pipone; *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Grand Fantasia*, dedicated to Lady Buckley; *Bonnie Dundee*, dedicated to Miss Colston; *The Monastery*, dedicated to Lady John Somerset; *The Ash Grove*, dedicated to Lady Digby Wyatt; *Titania Valse de Concert*, dedicated to Lady Clarence Paget; and *The Bells of Aberdovey*, dedicated to Miss M. Jane Williams.

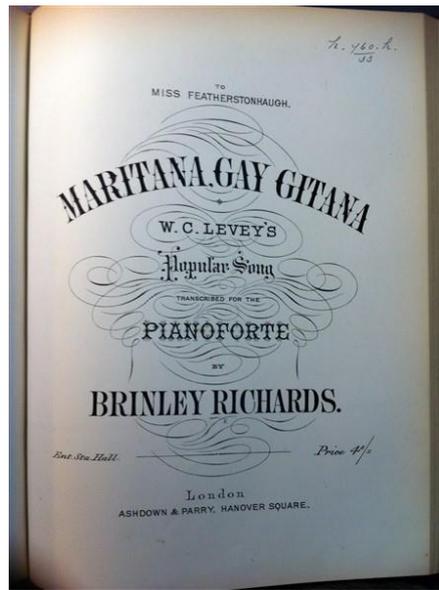


IMAGE 4-10. MARITANA, GAY GITANA,  
BRITISH LIBRARY SHELFMARK MUSIC COLLECTIONS h.760.h.(1).

The purpose of these dedications for Brinley Richards would be to promote and enhance his reputation through the acquisition of symbolic capital. Green describes this process as ‘the act of dedicating is a sub-category of the act of gift-giving. Though this statement may seem simple enough, the gift is a complex operation; it involves the exchange, in this case between dedicator and dedicatee, of both the tangible and the intangible, or symbolic’.<sup>58</sup> So it is not only the exchange between donor and recipient via an inscription item of sheet music which is involved; as critical to this transaction is the part played by the observer/audience, since it is they who ascribe the worth to the dedication, and consequently the symbolic capital.

The selection of members of the aristocracy as dedicatees would have had some measure of definite return because of the huge significance for the Victorians of social stratification. As Green explains, ‘specifically, dedications implicate the dedicatee in allusion to some degree by providing the reader, up front, with the name of a secondary influence, the source for a possible allusion’; and the allusion is realized in the moment of reception, i.e. when the observer/audience looks at a front cover with a named dedicatee and makes a ‘subjective’ connection, which may be unsubstantiated, of composer with the secondary identified ‘source’ and influence of the music. Essentially this is an aspect of the ‘culture of names’ where association is all. Hence in dedicating *Valse de Concert* to Lady Clarence Paget (1821-1895), daughter of an admiral and wife of Admiral Lord Clarence Edward Paget (1811 –1895) GCB, who

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<sup>58</sup> Green, *Dedications*, 40.

was a British sailor, politician and sculptor, it may be assumed that there was a return for Brinley Richards in respect of symbolic capital, on account of the elevated social status of his dedicatee.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, the dedicatee of *The Ash Grove*, Lady Digby Wyatt, held a high social position as she was married to a man of social standing, Sir Matthew Digby Wyatt (1820-1877).<sup>60</sup> Brinley Richards' composition *Freedom, Peace and Prosperity, The Carmarthenshire March, Quickstep* (also with the title in Welsh, and a dance form which lent itself well to marching) declares on the front cover that it is 'Composed and Dedicated to the Right Hon.ble The Earl of Cawdor, and the Officers of the Militia & Volunteers of The County of Carmarthen'. By this dedication, Brinley Richards would seek to promote his stance, since he is endorsing the role of the militia in providing national defence at times of war, and dealing with any civil disorder; and acknowledging the position of the Earl of Cawdor (1817-1898) as a powerful man, being Member of Parliament for Pembrokeshire, Lord Lieutenant of Carmarthenshire, and very wealthy as from considerable land ownership in Wales and Scotland.

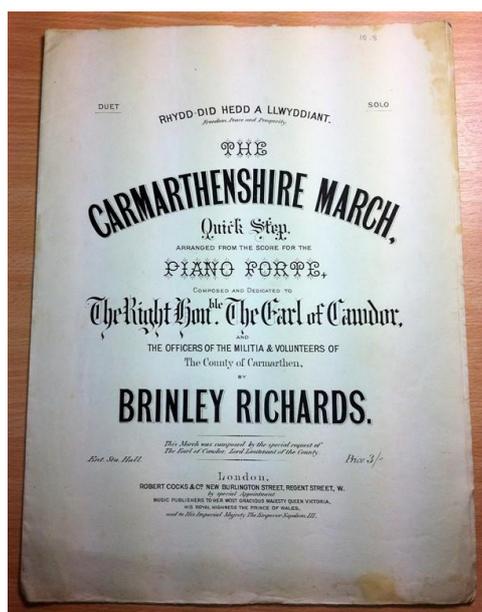


IMAGE 4-11. CARMARTHENSHER MARCH, UPPARK (UDB 191).

Brinley Richards' continuing output of arranged works over several decades ensured symbolic

<sup>59</sup> Lady Clarence Paget was actively involved with music, as she composed 'Two Mazurkas for pianoforte' published by Chappell & Co. There is an entry in COPAC for *Why so wan and pale, fond Lover*, a song composed by lady Clarence Paget with words by Sir J. Suckling, published in London in 1860.

<sup>60</sup> He was a British architect and art historian who became Secretary of the Great Exhibition, Surveyor of the East India Company and the first Slade Professor of Fine Art at the University of Cambridge. He was also one of the Victoria & Albert Museum's 'Art Referees'.

capital, as evidenced by the positive opinions expressed about him and his work in the press. A further source of acclaim, frequently recognised on the front covers of pieces of sheet music in that they presented two names, were composer-to-composer dedications and acknowledgements. This 'professional' liaison between composers was directed to the acquisition of credibility, achieved through written 'transactions' on the music, becoming at times a circle of exchange through reciprocations, as individual composers used each other to establish and maintain credibility for their output. An example of the value of a name is Brinley Richards' piano arrangement of *Cuius Animam*, a popular tenor solo from Rossini's (revised) *Stabat Mater*, which has 'By permission to Signor Rossini' on the front cover. The words used to effect this link with Rossini, renowned for his melodies and the most famous composer of his day, suggest, even though not explicitly stated, that he approves the composition, and influenced it. In this way a dedicated work may be seen 'through the lens of the compositional style of the dedicatee', and Green links this view to the music market in the comment that 'composer-to-composer dedications thus were a kind of snapshot in the public narrative developing around composers ... affirming composers' credibility by association'.<sup>61</sup> Association is an important feature of reputation, and this form of advertisement, often from the 1850s onwards promoted on a colour-printed lithographed cover, would influence reception of a work, in a market where 'popular' came to mean many sales.

#### 4.5 The use of National Airs

Frances Bullock's acquisition of a number of national airs arranged by Brinley Richards places her in the mainstream of nineteenth-century domestic repertoire, since the three music scores - a legendary ballad, a Welsh air and a concert waltz - which connect Frances Bullock and Brinley Richards are characteristic of the music in her collection, of music composed by him, and are representative of domestic music production generally in the second half of the 19th century. *Auld Robin Gray* and *The Harper's Grave* fitted into the 'national air' profile of Frances Bullock's music collection, which reflected a theme of her time, as suggested by contemporary comment: 'We have the right to claim for this country that there is a genuine national school of music, and by this country we mean the United Kingdom...the essential element of the English [subsequently clarified by examples as referring to UK wide] type of music is that which has supplied the songs for the people'.<sup>62</sup> Given her familiarity with these pieces, Frances Bullock would not have found

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<sup>61</sup> Emily Green, *Dedications*, 109.

<sup>62</sup> n/k, "Songs of the People," *Temple Bar - A London magazine for town and country readers* (1879): 104.

it unusual to be dedicated a piece of music which originally was a 'traditional' melody, nor would she have been surprised to see a vocal piece arranged for piano.<sup>63</sup> She is less likely to have acknowledged Ruth Solie's interpretation of 'this as a moment of transition in which the presumably authentic folk music of an earlier and more rural time becomes enmeshed in developing capitalist modes of marketing music to a mass audience, blurring the line between folk and popular song'.<sup>64</sup> The commercial basis of the music market meant that it was essential that arrangements of national airs were such that they could be performed by, at worst, not very skilled players; and that as with other domestic repertoire, the melodies and harmonies had to be appealing to the sheet music consumers (and their audience). Such accommodations meant that,

Inevitably, traditional material suffered at the hands of the redactors, the songs particularly, with the removal of what were seen as literary and musical crudités and the substitution of drawing room sensibility ... Given the laundering, it is hard to expect anything distinctive of the 'originals' to be left, and yet there are 'folk' characters in many of the pieces and these were significant for their popularity.<sup>65</sup>

National airs were even described as having characteristics, sufficiently sanitized, of 'wildness' and 'barbarity' by some nineteenth-century commentators. Thomas Moore, writing about such arrangements, stated that '... a work of this nature ... is found upon the piano-fortes of the rich and the educated – of those who can afford to have their national zeal a little stimulated, without exciting much dread of the excesses into which it may hurry them...'<sup>66</sup> This description goes some way to both illuminating Carew's comment and explaining the occurrence of arrangements of national airs in Frances Bullock's music and in domestic repertoire generally.

Brinley Richards extended his use of national airs as the bases for arrangements beyond those found in Britain, as stated in a recital review found in *The Era*: '... as all the world knows, his

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<sup>63</sup> Frances Bullock would have been familiar with the use of a Scottish air as the basis for a piece. Other items in her collection reflected this, such as *The Moon's on the Lake*, 'the celebrated Scotch song of the Macgregor's gathering', text by Walter Scott, arranged by Alexander Lee, published c1825; and *We're A'Noddin*, 'Thalberg's Fantaisie on the admired Scotch Air', arranged for piano, and published in 1833 (though acquired by Frances Bullock over twenty years later judging from the postmark stamped on the back cover from Eversley and Hartfordbridge in north east Hampshire, in 1856). *The Maid of Llanwellyn* is a Welsh folksong, the music originally composed by Charles Purday, here arranged for piano by Chaulieu and published c1830. Irish legends and traditions are represented in this collection by *True Love can ne'er forget*, 'a favourite ballad' composed by Samuel Lover and published in the 1830s.

<sup>64</sup> Solie, *Music*, 112.

<sup>65</sup> Derek Carew, "The Consumption of Music," in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 244.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Moore, *Irish Melodies*, 10 volumes 1808-1834, page not given.

pianoforte arrangements, from national to nigger melodies, are to be found in every boarding school and every drawing room in England'.<sup>67</sup> From the 1870s onwards, Black Minstrelsy, known as 'n...r minstrelsy', was booming as a form of entertainment which set out to mock people of African American descent, and from our perspective was thoroughly racist in approach and content. Such music was extremely popular in later nineteenth century Britain, and not perceived as transgressive, because as Michael Pickering points out, 'One could almost say that Victorian racism was a social phenomenon that did not know itself, and as such had not been publically named'. Pickering understands the presentation of these melodies as a kind of exotic national song, treated by the composer in a similar way to traditional airs, as a site of transaction. He termed this 'an acceptable prism' which constrained what could be expressed through it, but at the same time liberated the men behind the mask – and by extension the audiences who enjoyed their performances – by allowing the exploration of forms of expressiveness not usually sanctioned for the externally directed social self'.<sup>68</sup> Brinley Richards' use of the domestic musical medium as the route by which to make what might be termed a political statement, appears not to have been contentious, and adds a potentially provocative angle to the domestic repertoire, although it did not provoke contemporary comment.

Although Brinley Richards drew on 'national air' melodies from different corners of the British Isles (as illustrated in Appendix 1), he was at heart and through his public declamations, a Welshman, who was very keen to bring music from Wales to national notice.<sup>69</sup> He was not unsuccessful in this aim, as pointed out by Hereward Rees: 'From the early 1850s onwards, Richards had hit upon the idea of popularizing Welsh tunes by publishing decorative piano arrangements and variations on selected melodies in a manner suitable for both concert and salon performance...these useful and effective pieces became tremendously popular'.<sup>70</sup> This opinion echoes a view expressed in the *Musical Times*: 'The more we hear the music of the Principality, the more we are surprised to think that such fine melodies should be so little known ... Their present great popularity is unquestionably due to the skilful and interesting manner in which Mr. Brinley Richards has treated them'.<sup>71</sup> Brinley Richards was energetic and influential in

<sup>67</sup> *The Era*, 15 December 1867, accessed December 8, 2016, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>.

<sup>68</sup> Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 104. The Uppark collection contains no music of this description. One such example of a Brinley Richards composition of this type is 'Nigger quadrilles, arranged as duets for two performers on the Piano Forte, Unknown Binding, 1 Jan 1844', COPAC, accessed July 11, 2017.

<sup>69</sup> The term 'national air' was the parlance for folk tune/song until later in the nineteenth century. Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, 22.

<sup>70</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 180.

<sup>71</sup> *The Musical Times*, Pre-1858, date n.f

promoting the two strands of Welsh musical life, namely Celtic revivalism and chapel- and eisteddfod-based choralism, both of which carried the music and instrumentation of that country beyond its boundaries. Trevor Herbert opines that ‘There is no dispute about his musicianship, but while some writers characterize him as a propagandist for Welsh music, it is equally easy to see him as a sycophant.’<sup>72</sup> Whatever his terms of reference, Brinley Richards made a significant contribution to raising the profile of Welsh music in the context of growing cultural nationalism.

Brinley Richards’ Uppark music included a number of Welsh air arrangements, and he demonstrated concern, as expressed in correspondence, to retain the authentic credentials of his source melodies, while exercising some freedom in adapting them for the piano. An example of this is found in a letter he wrote regarding *The Bells of Aberdovey* (UDB 310), said to be an eighteenth-century traditional Welsh folk song (although this is disputed), which was published as a piano arrangement in 1862 (National Library of Wales). He acquired the original Welsh melody from Jane Williams, which he acknowledges both on the front cover of the sheet music and in a letter to her, dated March 23, 1868:

I am about to publish a collection of Welsh airs – with an essay – and I now write to request as a favour your sanction to add a few melodies from your own work? ... I wish to present the melodies in a form suitable for our “household instrument” – the pianoforte – there will be no attempt to add anything to the original melodies – save preferably the old variations of one or two familiar Harp variations [... illegible] already into the airs’.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Trevor Herbert, “Popular Nationalism: Griffith Rhys Jones (‘Caradog’) and the Welsh Choral Tradition” in *Music and British Culture 1785-1914*, eds. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 273.

<sup>73</sup> Papers relating to Henry Brinley Richards 1848-1871, ref. CDX/722, Carmarthenshire Archives (currently held at Glamorgan Archives).

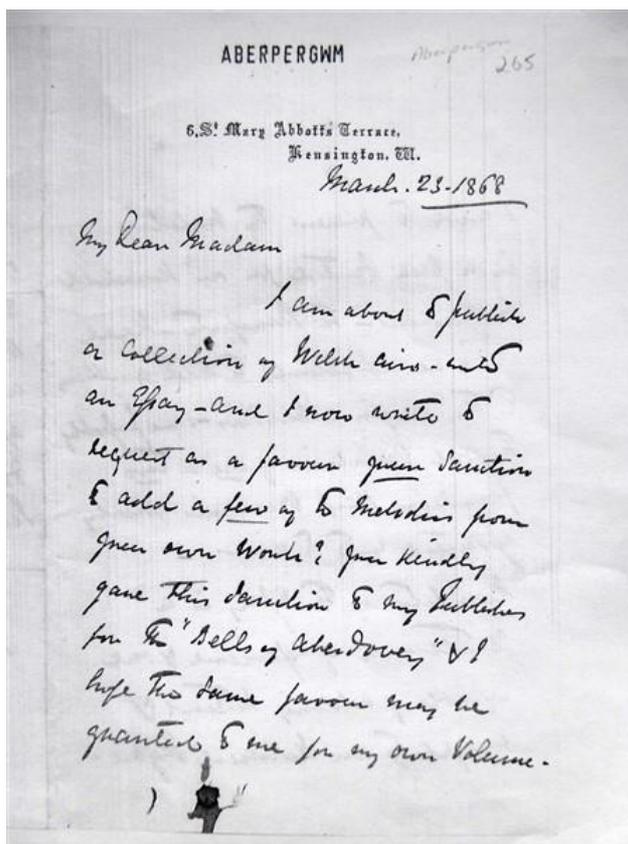


IMAGE 4-12. PART-TEXT OF A LETTER FROM BRINLEY RICHARDS TO JANE WILLIAMS, REQUESTING USE OF HER MELODIES.

CARMARTHENSHIRE ARCHIVES (CURRENTLY HELD AT GLAMORGAN ARCHIVES) REF. CDX/722.

There is clear reference here to some compromise on the presentation of the melody so that it is appropriate for the piano, and a reference to his intentions for composition. And Brinley Richards (or his publisher, who for this 1862 edition is Cocks & Co.) takes care to acknowledge the source of the melody on the front cover of the Uppark copy of this piece: "This melody is taken from the collection of Welsh melodies by Miss M. Jane Williams (of Ynys-lâs) and published by her express permission".<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> A different edition of *The Bells of Aberdovey*, also published by Robert Cocks & Co., carries no reference on the front cover to it being an arrangement by Brinley Richards. BL shelf reference H.1634. (18).

By developing a composition based on a melody provided by a female collector, Brinley Richards could draw profit from an established area of feminine activity concerned with the collection and performance of national music.<sup>75</sup>

In his *Songs of Wales* (1873), which includes *The Bells of Aberdovey*, Brinley Richards stresses that ‘In every instance I have been at great pains to give the tunes according to the best authorities. I have made no attempt to alter their original forms except in one case “Gwenllian’s Response” ... I have made the accompaniments to the songs as simple as possible, and have invariably allowed the air to be heard in preference to elaborate pianoforte passages.’<sup>76</sup> But it appears that Miss Williams was dissatisfied with Brinley Richards’ treatment of her material, as explained by Rees: ‘It must be emphasized, of course, that Richards was no collector of folk material himself and was certainly no purist in his handling of material printed by others. Letters exist which testify to a row between him and Maria Jane Williams over his use of well-known songs from her pioneering collection of 1844’.<sup>77</sup> Richards’ preface contains fulsome tribute to her admirable achievements in rescuing from oblivion so many melodies by, as he quaintly puts it, ‘her frequent intercourse with the peasantry in their cottages’.<sup>78</sup> Again, as in his *Recollections of Wales*, his intention was to make widely-known the melodies included, and in this he was even more brilliantly successful than before’. Rees acknowledges the contribution of both Miss Williams and Brinley Richards with his concluding view of Richards’ *Songs of Wales* ‘as a compilation it is indeed *sui generis* and at the same time very much a product of its age and its arranger’.<sup>79</sup> Whilst Richards’ motivation for Welsh song may ostensibly present as laudable, from a different point of view his strategy might be described as capitalising on female interest in national song, for his own ends. In effect he acted as an agent, with due recompense, between a woman song collector, a woman song-promoter, and a woman arranged-song performer. This *Bells of Aberdovey* is just one example of turning the use of what might be termed female genuine interest in national music into male

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<sup>75</sup> Maria Jane Williams (1795-1873) was one of the early collectors of national airs, contained in her publication of 1843, *The Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg*. Daniel Huws’ view is that the vagaries of accurate recording and the absence of modality in Miss Williams’ tunes challenge their musical reliability. Daniel Huws, “Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg,” *National Library of Wales Journal* XV, no. 1 (1967): ii.

<sup>76</sup> Brinley Richards, *The Songs of Wales: A Collection of the National Melodies* (London: Boosey & Co, 1873), ii.

<sup>77</sup> Letters viewed at National Library of Wales, archive references MS 5551B, 4704B, 7379B.

<sup>78</sup> Miss Williams asserted the unblemished character of her 1844 collection in the introduction: ‘The songs are given as ... obtained, ... in their wild and original state; no embellishments of the melody have been attempted, and the accompanying words are those sung to the airs’. Maria Jane Williams, “Introduction,” *Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg (1844)* (Aberystwyth: The Welsh Folk Song Society, 1988).

<sup>79</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 184.

financial return, through using the endeavour of women as the basis for his own compositions, so reflecting again the subordinate position of women in Victorian society.

For Brinley Richards the purpose of arranging Welsh airs for solo piano was not only to promote Welsh music, but for such compositions to be consumed by a wider population of women amateurs. He and his publisher appear to have been concerned with the credibility of the arrangements, in that they should reflect elements of the score from which they were derived. Ferdinand Hand, a German classical scholar and enthusiastic musician, and a contemporary of Brinley Richards, indicated to composers and recasters of folk songs that:

for new songs to be effective, they must remain in the same vein as traditional tunes. In doing so they court no loss of originality; on the contrary, by taking traditional melodies as their starting point they preserve that peculiarity of spirit that continues to thrive inbred in the Folk until altered or spoilt by alien influences.<sup>80</sup>

It was unfortunate for Brinley Richards, given his stated intention to be faithful to Miss Williams' version, that the 'peculiarity of spirit' presented to him by her was already tainted.

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<sup>80</sup> Hand, *Aesthetik der Tonkunst* vol.2., 1841, in Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music* (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 110.



Comparison of Maria Jane Williams's version of the score of *The Bells of Aberdovey* with Brinley Richards's vocal arrangement shows that Brinley Richards' arrangement varies only very slightly from Miss Williams's score. It is possible, as Huws explored, and Lewis, Davies and Kinney suggest, that Miss Williams compromised her position, because of her sponsors and her audience, both of whom would expect an accompaniment to the voice, and her omission of any modal aspects of the melody/accompaniment.<sup>81</sup> An obvious difference is that in Williams's publication the text is in Welsh, whereas that of Richards is in English with the Welsh words printed above. Miss Williams' received royal agreement to the dedication of her book of National Airs to Queen Victoria.<sup>82</sup> Both editions are for voice with accompaniment, and both Williams and Richards would have been aware that their audience would expect such. Richards' arrangement is directed to its audience in that there are four bars of piano introduction, which might be understood as a 'musical calling card', ensuring a 'proper' introduction (a fundamental Victorian élite requirement) to the music, by conveying the nature of the song's melody, anticipation of what is to come, and a request to the audience to be attentive; and an accompaniment with melodic interest which sounds almost complete without the vocal line (frequently doubled by the piano), in contrast with Miss Williams's accompaniment which is characterised by spread chords, as if the sound of the harp, and fuller. For the voice, Williams employs dotted rhythms that give added textual emphasis, whilst Richards' line is frequented by smoother quavers. He provides dynamic markings, she does not. The minimal extent of the differences in this brief example suggests that Brinley Richards certainly retained the vein of that which Miss Williams purported to be the original folksong, to the extent that he did not compromise his credibility as an exponent of traditional Welsh music, in the course of arranging it specifically for the domestic market. His approach fits with contemporary understandings of fidelity to tradition, as well as allowing him to construct from the National Air a piece which was tailored to the domestic music market.

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<sup>81</sup> Geraint Lewis, Lyn Davies and Phyllis Kinney, "Wales", *Grove Music Online*, accessed December 14, 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000041108?rskey=3OyViV&result=1>.

<sup>82</sup> Lady Augusta Hall (later Lady Llanover) wrote to Jane Williams conveying the information that Queen Victoria's permission for Williams' book to be dedicated to her was given '...on express promise ... her Majesty gave leave for Miss W. to dedicate Welsh airs *with Welsh words* to her, and sent a gracious word about her recollection of her Welsh subjects'. Huws, "Ancient National Airs of Gwent and Morganwg," 32-3.

## 4.6 Provincial and National Perspectives

Brinley Richards' driving interest was without doubt for the music of Wales, which he used in compositions, arranged, researched, and propagated to a wider audience, throughout his life. He travelled extensively in England and Wales, as he records in his correspondence and as indicated by many newspaper reports of his concerts and lecture-recitals, his vehicle for encouraging his audiences to learn about music and particularly to understand the history of Welsh music.<sup>83</sup> (He was also overseer of music exams for the Royal Academy, which involved considerable travelling). But whilst at heart he was essentially a Welshman, he was also very much part of metropolitan culture, giving numerous concerts and recitals in London, where he lived for most of his adult life. His dual situation is illustrated in the correspondence of John Vaughan, the squire of Penmaen Dovey in Merioneth, who wrote to a friend in August 1862: 'The Carnarvon Eisteddford begins on Tuesday next...the two first rate composers and publishers of Welsh music will be there, viz Mr John Thomas & Mr. Brinley Richards, two true patriots'. In October 1862, Vaughan received a letter from 'The blue-stocking, Miss Jane Davies, ... saying she had attended a concert at St James' Hall where she heard "twenty harps at once" and 400 voices singing songs and choruses from [Brinley Richard's] *Welsh Melodies*'.<sup>84</sup> In straddling this dimension, Brinley Richards exemplified the sense of dual nationality identified by Colley: 'It would be wrong, then, to interpret the growth of British national consciousness in this period in terms of a new cultural and political uniformity being resolutely imposed on the peripheries of the island by its centre... it was common to think in terms of dual nationalities, not a single national identity'.<sup>85</sup> Colley continues with consideration of the binational and (often) bilingual status of many residents of the British Isles, and the support for keeping alive local distinctions of English, Scotch, Irish and Welsh. Brinley Richards was very evidently an adherent to this view.

Frances Bullock did not openly display the sense of nationalism much evidenced by Brinley Richards. But she would have experienced the duality of metropolitan and provincial from a musical perspective (and no doubt with regard to other areas of life). It would have been very

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<sup>83</sup> The Cardiff Times, Saturday 21 October 1882 reported that 'Mr Brinley Richards then proceeded with his lecture, in the course of which he alluded to ancient notation, and what he described as the errors of Welsh historians. He said that without written evidence it would be impossible to ascertain the exact date or form of any ancient melody... No one, he said, had more cause to regret the errors of Welsh historians more than himself. Until the year 1875 he firmly believed what he had read about the knowledge of harmony amongst the ancient Welsh'. *Cardiff Times*, October 21 1882, accessed April 11, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/saved>.

<sup>84</sup> Jones, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 11.

<sup>85</sup> Colley Linda, *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico, 1992), 373.

apparent when she visited London, a city of such considerable contrast to South Harting, and offering so much opportunity for the purchase of sheet music and attendance at musical entertainment of all sorts. Equally, she would have experienced some elision of the metropolis and her rural domain through her sheet music, composed by Brinley Richards (and others), which conveyed currently popular music from London concert halls and stage, as well as ‘national airs’ which might otherwise have remained in their local situations, to her in the countryside confines of Uppark. The sheer volume and availability of domestic repertoire were significant in effecting much more of a connection between London and the rest of the country (and creating - in 21<sup>st</sup> century terms – a virtual community of those who played the piano at home).

Brinley Richards embodied the metropolitan/provincial link, not only through his personal circulation in terms of performances and education, particularly in Wales, but also through the distribution of his music countrywide. The speed with which music being performed at a ‘national level’ could reach to the individual in their domestic environment is illustrated by reference to two of his compositions. His anthem *God Bless the Prince of Wales* (described on the front cover as ‘the new national song’ and known as ‘the second national anthem’) was composed to great acclaim in 1862, the same year of publication of the keyboard arrangement at Uppark; and 1858 is the publication date of the Uppark piano arrangement by Brinley Richards of music from *La Zingara*, the Italian production of Balfe’s ballad opera, *The Bohemian Girl*, which was on the London stage that same year. The metropolitan world of music of all types was no longer pre-dominantly exclusive to itself.<sup>86</sup> The local market town ceased (for some) to be the only accessible source of ‘national’ culture, as transport to London or a major city became easier. And information about what was going on in other places, particularly London and major cities, was increasingly available in newspapers and magazines, many of which were directed to the same women who scanned musical advertisements and articles and purchased domestic repertoire.

Leon Botstein considered the influence of reading on music acquisition and concluded that ‘reading about musical works one did not or could not hear, and about concerts one did not attend, not only in one’s home city but in far distant locations, eventually led, as much as did

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<sup>86</sup> As the demographic of those interested in music altered, so too did the orientation of provincial inhabitants as Cowgill and Holman affirm: ‘... in earlier periods, the sense of oneself and one’s community in relation to others must have been experienced very differently, particularly before the development of national road, rail, and media networks’. Rachel Cowgill and Peter Holman, eds., *Music in the British Provinces 1690-1914* (Aldershot, UK and Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2007), 3.

hearing music, to buying sheet music'.<sup>87</sup> This revised orientation away from a focus on 'local', and engagement with networks, whilst axiomatic to the emergent profile of later nineteenth century music making, are also very pertinent to the musical lives of Frances Bullock and Brinley Richards, not least because of the expanding countrywide rail network. The content of Frances Bullock's domestic music collection and information about her journeys to London, confirm her links with metropolitan culture, both in material terms and attitudinally, given her ownership of current and popular piano and vocal music.<sup>88</sup> Brinley Richards straddled the metropolitan-local dimension, having a permanent home in London, where he composed and performed, and travelling often around the country and frequently to Wales. 'He was to be glimpsed arriving from distant London on remote railway platforms in the principality top-hatted, tail-coated, with grave and gentlemanly manners from a less vigorous age, eager to dispense wise counsel and his favourite theme of 'nationality' to ever larger eisteddfod audiences'.<sup>89</sup>

#### 4.7 Brinley Richards and the Market Place

During their lifetimes Frances Bullock and Brinley Richards witnessed developments in styles of composition, in the mode of production, in audience, in the intersections of the domestic with the social, and in the meaning(s) attributed to domestic sheet music. These aspects of domestic music demonstrated changes in musical practice such as expansion of the types of music found in the domestic music repertoire, a considerable increase in the production of printed music, the growth of music making at home, and the more frequent arrival in Britain of musicians and composers from Europe. The range, volume and composer-origins of Frances Bullock's music collection all illustrate, what were for her, positive aspects of this evolution of domestic music.

For Brinley Richards, these developments were also positive in terms of the opportunities they gave him for composition, for income, for delivering education and building social networks. The establishment of an industrialised society had a fundamental impact on the musical world which Brinley Richards and Frances Bullock experienced, altering the terms of reference for music as an

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<sup>87</sup> Botstein, *Listening through Reading*, 138.

<sup>88</sup> The Petersfield- London (Waterloo) railway line opened in 1859, making the coaching trade, which had thrived since the early 1800s, obsolete. The diary of Sarah Wells, sometime house keeper at Uppark, records several occasions when 'Miss F went to London' – this example dated 24 March 1890.

<sup>89</sup> An example of an enthusiastic welcome of Brinley Richards is portrayed in *The South Wales Daily News* for Monday 2 April 1877, which advises that 'Mr Brinley Richards had a most gratifying reception at Hirwain on Saturday. A large number of the respectable inhabitants, preceded by a Brinley Richards ass band, welcomed him at the station, and accompanied him into the town. If Hirwain had had the honour of being his birthplace, it could not have afforded him a heartier welcome'. *South Wales Daily News*, accessed April 11, 2017, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>.

art and a practice. Brinley Richards used the opportunities engendered by a robust sheet music market to produce music tailored to the domestic location, taste and pianistic ability of the market. This versatility and volume of production was enabled by music printers' use of mechanical and technical improvements in engraved and punched metal plates, moveable type, and lithography.<sup>90</sup> Alongside these developments, music publishing businesses emerged, capitalizing on the evolution of a music market based on private enterprise and profit, and utilising improved transport systems by road and rail for distribution. The emergence of the printing and publishing industries marked the end of music production and music sales by shopkeepers, instrument makers and individual scholars: as Temperley comments, 'the music publisher of the nineteenth century was indeed the successor to the Renaissance humanist prince who patronized the art of music'.<sup>91</sup>

Music publishing had been, in effect, a 'family affair' prior to industrialisation, and with few exceptions (notably, Novello's) continued during the nineteenth century in the form of small-scale businesses characterised by not infrequent changes of hand. Nevertheless, possibly the single greatest influence of the capitalist economy on musical life was the enormous growth of production in printed music and the consequent huge expansion of the music-purchase market. Alongside this were the changes in the stratification profile of the population, affording for some – the 'new middle class' – increased income and more leisure. Concurrently with these developments were the extended range of types of composition available in the music market place, and as Ruth Solie points out, 'Music-making in the home also underwent explosive development during the period and was largely responsible for the enormous demand for music teachers, printed music and keyboard instruments'.<sup>92</sup> These socio-economic developments created a different context for domestic music making: it became relatively democratized, no longer largely the province of high art and aristocracy, but an activity available to, and desired by, more people.

The public sheet music market place was the locus for the dissemination of the different sorts of

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<sup>90</sup> Ernst Roth, a manager and chairman of Boosey & Hawkes, described the vastly increased numbers of printed copies: 'It is characteristic of the growth of the trade that in 1837 an aria from one of Albert Lortzing's charming, trivial and highly successful operas sold 20,000 copies. The population had only to grow, as in fact it did, to make the music trade a major field of commerce. The nineteenth century was its golden age. My London printer used to tell me how he opened his printing-plant with a first order for 5,000 copies of the English vocal score of *Pagliacci*'. Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 6.

<sup>91</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 59.

<sup>92</sup> Solie, *Music*, 106.

music that Brinley Richards arranged for the domestic repertoire, including melodies from the original compositions of established canonic composers, as well as contemporary songs. But the dominance of his arrangements of national airs suggests that above all this form of presentation enabled him to realize his heartfelt (albeit perhaps financially driven) wish to bring Welsh music to a wider audience. These national airs from Wales, as well as the airs from other countries, provide the source material for over half of his compositions at Uppark. A further factor in his compositional choice of the arrangement may well have been for the financial return. As discussed below, whilst remuneration per item might be unremarkable, at the least production of a constant flow of compositions for publication, which were likely to sell given the popularity of such music and his reputation, ensured income from a vibrant domestic music market.

Retrospectively there is a perception, founded on the accessibility of arrangements of various different types of music, and the 'greedy' market of consumers ready to perform at home, of an interactive community of composers and performers. They were linked together by 'repackaged' domestic music scores, which carried with them, through their material presentation and in performance, (stereo-typical) identities and evocations of place. As the music scores moved between physical locations, they wove what Austern et al. term 'a nexus of social actions that both united and transcended persons and places, sometimes in unexpected ways'.<sup>93</sup> In effect, the domestic music repertoire acted as the focus for a community of interest in musicking. Frances Bullock was part of this music community, assisted by her ownership of arrangements by Brinley Richards to be more cognizant, both intentionally and otherwise, of trends and fashions in music than in previous generations.

### **The Perils of a Compositional Career - quality compromised for income?**

Brinley Richards expressed his views regarding finances in a letter to a friend in Carmarthen in 1883: 'But there is one thing, I fear apt to be forgotten, i.e. how all the educated musicians are to live? For unless one has an exceptionally good voice, the look out is not encouraging – though sometimes a pianist may contrive to exist – and, for means of a living all instruments are almost useless, unless save as luxuries.'<sup>94</sup> This salutary reflection on financial security may be pertinent to A. J. Heward Rees' pessimistic conclusion that:

It must be said that sadly, and with few exceptions, the bulk of Brinley Richards's

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<sup>93</sup> Austern, *Beyond Boundaries*, 5.

<sup>94</sup> Jones, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 20.

published compositions during the years of his maturity were produced for gain and can only be described as salon- or pupil-fodder. Much consists of clever but not too technically demanding transcriptions of popular songs and operatic airs which appealed to the public at the time. In other words, he relied largely on hack-work, undertaken at the behest of his publishers. This was naturally an important part of his livelihood, and the effectiveness and even the elegance of his work in this field was widely acknowledged. He was, in a word, adept at exploiting the 'pop' market of his day.<sup>95</sup>

Hans Lenneberg looked into the issue of music publisher costs and income, and concluded that publishers were not as financially ruthless as supposed, and that composers seldom made considerable – or even moderate – gain from their work. He introduced this analysis with the comment that

What these sources do not tell us about is the sale of individual works, information that is difficult to find even when one concentrates on it. Most of the literature about publishing deals with the technology of printing, with problems of dating and lists of works. This must be partly because we are not eager to deal with questions of money, but also because we cannot find the data required for a study of the business aspects of the dissemination of music.<sup>96</sup>

It seems likely that in this pursuit of popular compositions for the amateur domestic market, Brinley Richards did not realise considerable rewards, and probably like other composers, his earnings from music publishers were not high. This situation is exemplified by his composition *God Bless the Prince of Wales* which won nation-wide popularity and became known as the 'second national anthem'. Thousands of copies were sold at a cost of 4/- each, but as Rees records 'According to the best traditions, the piece was sold for a pittance to his main publishers, Robert Cocks, and made them a considerable fortune. They obligingly made an *ex gratia* payment of 100 guineas to Brinley Richards'.<sup>97</sup>

Rees' description subscribes to a prevailing opinion in dismissing such music as 'hack-work', and does not address the evolution of the market from that founded on patronage and aristocratic clientele, to a market placed within a capitalist economy geared to an increasing and more diverse number of consumers. Composers generally experienced a situation of somewhat 'rickety independence', as described by Hoppen, who views successful musicians from the 1850s onwards as commercial entrepreneurs, although considers that composition was never very

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<sup>95</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 178.

<sup>96</sup> The sources to which he referred are 'contemporary publishers' catalogues, reviews and, in some cases, the high prices publishers paid the more "popular" composers'. They are dated from the 1830s onwards. Hans Lenneberg, "Music Publishing and Dissemination in the Early Nineteenth Century. Some Vignettes," *The Journal of Musicology* 2, no. 2 (1983): 174.

<sup>97</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 183.

financially rewarding.<sup>98</sup> The prominence of the very considerable expansion in production of music to play in the home heralded this 'new' market place, which embraced such a span of types of music. Rees' slighting reference to 'gain' and his implied criticism of compromise by the composer in respect of the quality of the music and its users, dismisses the realities of composer livelihood and amateur music makers.

The evaluative obituary in the *Musical Times* similarly reflects a prevailing opinion of the time regarding the composition of domestic repertoire:

Mr. Richards settled in London as a teacher of the pianoforte; soon gaining a lucrative connection, and acquiring a certain kind of fame by the production of teaching pieces, morceaux de salon, &c. He was capable of better things than these, as some of his clever studies show, but circumstances condemned him to a particular class of work and kept him at it.<sup>99</sup>

The tenor of this narrative is somewhat derogatory, as the 'certain kind of fame' is attenuated by the 'particular class of work', since this refers to his considerable production of domestic repertoire and his commitment to music education, both of which are associated with the feminine and consequently subordinate as musical activities. Richards' 'lucrative connection' was essential if he was to pursue a musical vocation, since he had no family money and no means save for what he earned. As late in his life as 1883, he wrote 'I have a great many demands upon my "purse" which is unfortunately a very small one'.<sup>100</sup> Whilst he may have been judged from a restricted perspective as sacrificing musical quality for financial gain, contemporary sources of information about Brinley Richards suggest that he gave freely of his time and skills in several different areas of his activities. As he wrote in a letter to his friend, Edward Breese of Portmadoc, 'I have for a long number of years proved I hope loyal to my country & there has scarcely been anything connected with it to which I failed to give my aid – to say nothing of my efforts to introduce the South Wales Choir to Marlbro' House - & I help every charitable cause'. He goes on to refer to his attendance as an adjudicator at eisteddfodau at Wrexham, Mold, Bangor, etc, and adds 'I gave my professional aid everywhere without making any charge...but the Eisteddfod has never been a matter of £ s d with me...my last effort was to organise a Welsh concert at the Crystal Palace in aid of the Miners' Fund & for which I wrote "The Men of

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<sup>98</sup> Hoppen K.Theodore, *The Mid-Victorian Generation 1846-1886* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 398.

<sup>99</sup> *Musical Times*, June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1885, accessed July 5, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3356828>.

<sup>100</sup> Brinley Richards, letter, 22 May 1883, MS 7379B, National Library of Wales.

Wales".<sup>101</sup> He also frequently gave free music lessons to Welsh students who came to London to study music, even though teaching was a prime source of income for musicians in their financial state of 'rickety independence'.<sup>102</sup>

The socio-economic changes of the nineteenth century provided Brinley Richards with opportunities to establish a working life as a composer/musician, in the absence of family wealth and a ready aristocratic network to provide patronage. G.M. Trevelyan (1876-1962), a British historian and academic, known to be intellectual, liberal-minded and a nostalgic aristocrat, when writing in 1944, evoked England's past as the beacon of liberty and progress. He perceived that 'In the last half of the nineteenth Century "capital" and "labour" were enlarging and perfecting their rival organisations on modern lines', and increasingly segregated; whilst the lifestyle of the aristocracy persisted in the context of declining economic wellbeing.<sup>103</sup> This scenario did not favour the essentially self-employed, non-élite Brinley Richards. In contrast with the tendency to retrospective nostalgia, K. Theodore Hoppen, writing in 1998 and obliged by contemporary scholarship to be more rigorous and evidenced in his commentary, reflects on the process of industrialisation and the ideology of capitalism as underpinning a context of 'interlocking spheres ... in which the public culture of the period (as of almost all periods) was generated, not by a series of influences operating separately, but by means of developments resonating reciprocally – and perceived to be so resonating – between the spheres of politics, economics, science, literature and art'.<sup>104</sup> Hoppen's framing of circumstances explains how Brinley Richards was able to 'capture' the benefits of the recently enhanced means of production of sheet music, enter the market for sheet music that developed rapidly beyond the bounds of the aristocracy and the élite, and exploit the domestic music making enthusiasm of the later nineteenth century, which was a continuing activity for upper class women (albeit with an expanded repertoire) and, increasingly, a leisure pastime for the 'new' middle class.

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<sup>101</sup> Jones, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 18.

<sup>102</sup> See K. Theodore Hoppen who commented that 'Even a gifted composer like Sterndale Bennett was forced to teach until he dropped: in 1848 at the age of 32 he taught the piano for 1,632 hours'. Hoppen, *Mid-Victorian Generation*, 397.

<sup>103</sup> G.M. Trevelyan, *English Social History: A Survey of Six Centuries Chaucer to Queen Victoria* (London: Longmans, Green and Co.Ltd., 1944), 572.

<sup>104</sup> Hoppen, *Mid-Victorian Generation*, 16.

## 4.8 The Capitalist Era and Domestic Repertoire

The capitalist structure of exchange and profit fuelled the shift of musical compositions from what might be termed an art form, into objects of trade, that is printed products having economic value, to be bought and sold, thus fitting the definition of being a 'commodity'. Its advent as a commodity positioned keyboard sheet music at the interface of agency – the individual, mainly female, growing number of consumers – and the structure of the capitalist system, where production and marketing happened on a large scale, creating a market place with far more choices, and cheaper, music. My overview of Frances Bullock's music collection in chapter 4, confirmed her position as a consumer of predominantly a variety of contemporary music, and this is reflected in her Brinley Richards music, the majority of which has publication dates when she was in her '30s and '40s. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that Frances Bullock exercised individual choice in acquiring music composed by Brinley Richards, in that Brinley Richards was a prolific and well-recognised composer, self-marketing through his recitals, concerts and lectures, whose music was easily available to consumers. Though conversely, it might be argued that the market structure both determined and reduced her choices as a purchaser for domestic performance. Frances Bullock's ownership of this music contradicts aristocratic expectations of high-end repertoire in such a home as Uppark, and echoes Temperley's view as to a cultural merging of aristocratic and aspiring middle class repertoire by the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>105</sup>

Brinley Richards's dominant composition focus was on the domestic female market, recognizing the bourgeois emphasis on a (music) consumerist life style and the place of women in the home. This focus on domestic repertoire reflects the same situation identified by Derek Scott, who commented on the interlacing of music and wider socio-cultural elements, that 'nineteenth-century bourgeois songwriters can be seen as inextricably bound to and providing a cultural response to the society of which they form a part'.<sup>106</sup> In the same way, Brinley Richards and his piano-composer associates made a response to their social milieu, some key elements of which were the appetite for domestic music emanating partly from the premise that the principal location for women should be the home; the growing affordability of the piano, the consequent ownership, and its social status as a required item of furniture; and the increased social sense for an expanding number of the population (fuelled by the availability of sheet music) of the

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<sup>105</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 16.

<sup>106</sup> Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, x.

desirability of being connected with what was musically ‘current’, with their piano domestic repertoire. Underpinning both of these vocal and instrumental musical-social landscapes is the nineteenth century emergence of the bourgeoisie and the expanding middle class, who increasingly accessed the expanding sheet music market, which included Brinley Richards’s compositions. Lockhart refers to the musical experience of this domestic audience for such music, with regard to ‘the sensibilities they had nurtured in the bourgeois home—“seclusion, security. . . and a more intimate emotional alchemy with the music’ (redolent of Bourdieu’s pure gaze, in the search to engage with the beauty and artistic allure of music).<sup>107</sup> The bourgeois orientation, in its various respects, of Brinley Richards’s solo piano arrangements is referred to elsewhere but may be illustrated here with the dramatic indictment of Max Kalbeck, an influential nineteenth century music critic, of an arrangement which trespasses against its original: ‘One can divest the work of its instrumental robes, take from it the blood-crimson of its billowing drapery, and have it walk about dressed in the bourgeois clothes of a piano arrangement’.<sup>108</sup> Although Frances Bullock had achieved aristocratic status, the piano and Brinley Richards’ sheet music in the Uppark salon suggested an affinity with this bourgeois inclination. The breadth of repertoire in her collection contradicts any conjecture as to a defined alignment of this aristocrat with high art music; rather, she might be described as occupying a ‘middling’ position with regard to repertoire.

The introduction to a narrative about Chopin’s music declared that ‘... the number of amateurs possessed of sufficient technique to play Chopin’s music (for the most part extremely difficult) [was] very small’.<sup>109</sup> Such a view is not surprising, contrasting with the compositions of Brinley Richards, which whilst there is some variation in the demands on the performer, is largely ‘playable’ by the amateur. The change in the ethos of music making aligned with the consequences of a capitalist music market meant that in performance and social terms, it was essential that the music purchased by amateurs could be realised without too much difficulty, as they wanted to achieve performance both for themselves and for any audience. Temperley endorses this requirement regarding the required level of pianistic attainment, suggesting that ‘... because the players and singers of the drawing-room music were amateurs of modest

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<sup>107</sup> Lockhart, "Listening to the Domestic Music Machine: Keyboard Arrangement in the Nineteenth Century", 180.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>109</sup> G.C.Ashton Jonson, *A Handbook to Chopin’s Works: For the Use of Concert-Goers, Pianists and Pianola-Players* (London: William Heinemann, 1905), xiv, in *Ibid.*, 121.

accomplishment, it must be technically undemanding'.<sup>110</sup> This became a pre-requisite for the domestic market: sheet music would sell if its recognisable performance could be relatively easily achieved by the player, not least when the printed sheet was an arrangement of currently popular music which the performer wanted to realise within her (usually) own home and perhaps to an informal audience. It was not only Brinley Richards who was concerned that his music was appropriate to amateur players. The publisher Robert Cocks & Co. explained that '... a composition intended to be popular ought to be [that] it has no unnecessary difficulties'.<sup>111</sup> A key aspect of domestic music was that it should lie within the performance capacity of its demographic, i.e. many amateur women pianists. Attention to this aspect is reflected in a newspaper report about a recital given by Brinley Richards at the Hanover-square rooms in 1867. This included the information that a *Caprice à la Valse, The Nymphs of the Fountain* called forth enthusiastic applause... [and that] a line in the programme setting forth that "all the notes for the *right hand* are on the *black keys*", probably assured the young ladies present that the *Caprice* was not so difficult to play as it appeared to be'.<sup>112</sup> The compositions written by Brinley Richards for the domestic market avoided virtuosity, indeed he appeared to almost defiantly shun elaborate and showy pianism, as illustrated by a view expressed during a lecture to the Society of Arts, when he commented on pianistic performance style, stressing the need to address the intellectual aspect. *The Cambrian* reported this: 'We live in an age of what might be called aggressive music or rather aggressive pianoforte playing, the object being apparently the production of the greatest amount of sound, or, if you please noise, the intellectual claims of art not being considered worthy of attention'.<sup>113</sup> Whilst this might be seen as an aesthetic view reflecting elements aligned with those that Dahlhaus describes as characteristically bourgeois, it may also be advocacy for the contained feminine mode of piano playing, far removed from 'noisy' virtuosity.

Brinley Richards continued to compose piano transcriptions and arrangements for the woman-dominated domestic market throughout his life, implying that he was not deterred by the 'feminine' aligned with domestic music, perhaps because it was a buoyant means of income. The perceptions of this music for the home as trivial, and the definition of domestic performance practice as an exercise in female containment, contributed to the feminization of domestic

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<sup>110</sup> Temperley, *Romantic Age*, 119.

<sup>111</sup> Scott, *Singing Bourgeois*, 57.

<sup>112</sup> *The Era*, Sunday 15 December 1867, accessed April 27, 2017, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk>.

<sup>113</sup> *The Cambrian*, 8 February 1884, accessed March 9, 2017, <http://newspapers.library.wales/view/3337>.

repertory, its consequent subordinate position and reduced status for domestic music composers.<sup>114</sup> Susan McClary suggests an additional reason for this gender ascription, namely that ‘... the polemics that proliferate around moments of stylistic change are frequently expressed in terms of sexual identity’.<sup>115</sup> The developments in nineteenth century domestic music certainly realised changes in type, in availability, and in perceived reduced quality of the compositions, all of which might be summed as a change in style. And the (male) ‘lobby’ of musical opinion that disliked the increasingly evident changes manifest in musical culture as the nineteenth century moved on, elected to, in effect, scapegoat the domestic repertoire and all its associations with female identity, thereby consigning it to a lower order. The juxtaposition of being held in some disdain because of hack-work for a feminized market, set against the laudatory reception of some of his compositions, his performances and lecture-recitals, presents on the face of it a dissonant situation for Brinley Richards, yet one which he experienced for many years, and symptomatic of some consequences of the sometimes uncomfortable evolution of nineteenth century domestic repertoire.

#### 4.9 The Reputation of Brinley Richards and Contemporary Opinion

There is scant recent historical scholarship on Brinley Richards, save for passing references. However, there are many mentions of him in newspapers of the time, particularly in Wales, and also further afield in London and elsewhere. The extent of the press coverage is an indicator of Brinley Richards’ status both musically and socially, and reflects the significant role of the press in shaping and steering a composer’s fortunes.

Meirion Hughes proposes that the press in the nineteenth century (aided by the 1855 Newspaper Act which liberalised the market) was the single most important medium for the communication of ideas. By 1850, music criticism had established a secure place in journalistic culture... [and] a viable music press as such had been established, through the vigilance and writings of the watchmen. He also points out that ‘the watchmen rarely felt that they were engaged in objective value-free reporting of musical events. On the contrary, the majority wrote copy that was

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<sup>114</sup> Matthew Head identified these descriptive tenets of domestic repertoire which were perpetuated in the nineteenth century. Compositions which lay within this domain were given the ascription ‘female’ and the associated characteristics. Matthew Head, *Sovereign Feminine: Music and Gender in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 77, <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/soton-ebooks/>.

<sup>115</sup> Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minnesota and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 17.

subjective and reflective of their own music ideologies'.<sup>116</sup> This contemporary press material about Brinley Richards, dating from the 1850s, provides information about this composer's life and music, with references to his compositions, performances and musicological perspective; it also provides some detail and insights into his career and reputation as a composer of domestic music and his interactions with consumers of that music, and patrons, thereby contextualising his musical relationship to Uppark and to its owner. However, mindful of Hughes's evaluation of the quality of this press commentary, and the lack of alternative resources through which to subject this material to academic scrutiny, it is realistic to position such comment in context.

According to one later nineteenth-century account, Brinley Richards was responsible for improving the quality, and increasing the volume, of piano music tailored for domestic performance. The *North Wales Chronicle* welcomed with unabated enthusiasm the energies that he directed to compositions intended for – and successful in – the enhancement of domestic music making. It reported that:

the pianoforte was from the first Mr Brinley Richards' favourite instrument. His attention was at an early period directed towards this instrument and its capabilities, not only for interpreting the severer music of Beethoven and other of the classical writers, but as a means of dissemination; a style of composition, which while characterized by all the lightness and melody which would render it popular, should also possess a real artistic merit. Thanks in no small measure to his labours the music of the drawing room has undergone a much-needed change. We have now, it has been remarked, elegance as well as strength, brilliancy as well as scholarship, and a happy fluency of style totally different from the crabbed, harsh, and crude effusions which, at the time to which we have referred, were dignified with the name of Chamber Pianoforte Music ....It has been his good fortune to live and work at a time when this instrument has become one of the most indispensable of the "household gods" and it may almost be said without exaggeration that wherever there is a pianoforte there of necessity are the compositions of Brinley Richards to be found. Abroad as well as at home they are valued alike by the public and the profession, giving their composer a fame which is scarcely less than world-wide.<sup>117</sup>

Towards the end of his life, the culture and social context that had sustained Brinley Richards' career had altered. Contrasting with the many contemporary newspaper eulogies, Hereward

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<sup>116</sup> John A. Fuller Maitland, music critic during the 1880s and beyond, editor of *Grove 2*, and musical editor for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, described music journalists as 'Those whose duty it is to stand like watchmen on the walls of music'. "Musician's Pilgrimage", published 1898, Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot, England and Burlington, Vermont, USA: Ashgate, 2002), 1.

<sup>117</sup> *North Wales Chronicle*, 30 January 1875, accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>.

Rees' review more than a century after his death of Brinley Richards as a nineteenth century proponent of Welsh music, concludes that

Richards had believed, understandably for his time, that the best way to promote Welsh music was to enable it to shine in the presence of powerful people. By the end of his life rather different social forces and aspirations were beginning to emerge, and his real influence, like the bulk of his music, was already beginning to fade.<sup>118</sup>

Another contributory factor to Brinley Richards' receding profile was the demise of the piano arrangement. William Lockhart describes 'the movement of the practice [of arrangement] from near the centre of domestic musical life to an ever more peripheral position' so that by the end of the nineteenth century the quickly becoming-historical practice of arrangement had been rendered alien.<sup>119</sup>

Although Brinley Richards was a composer who enjoyed public prominence during his lifetime, retrospectively not only has opinion varied, but his name is little known. Rees commented that 'surprisingly little has appeared in print for a century or more, in spite of his once considerable reputation and achievements ...[he received] generally low posthumous value accorded to his compositions [which] must chiefly be to blame for such neglect'.<sup>120</sup> The popularity of nineteenth century domestic repertoire sustained Brinley Richards' career and profile through his lifetime, but the 'low value' to which Rees refers is indicative of the increasing separation of entertainment music from (high) art music, and the accorded relative values. The composer recognized the cultural divide between his compositional practice and that of the 'establishment', and was concerned that he was on the wrong side of the divide. He acknowledged this in an undated letter to Jane Williams, 'I am anxious to make my "national melodies of Wales" a work acceptable to the "Art World" as well as to my countrymen – otherwise I shall have rendered the cause which I advocate, no lasting benefits'.<sup>121</sup>

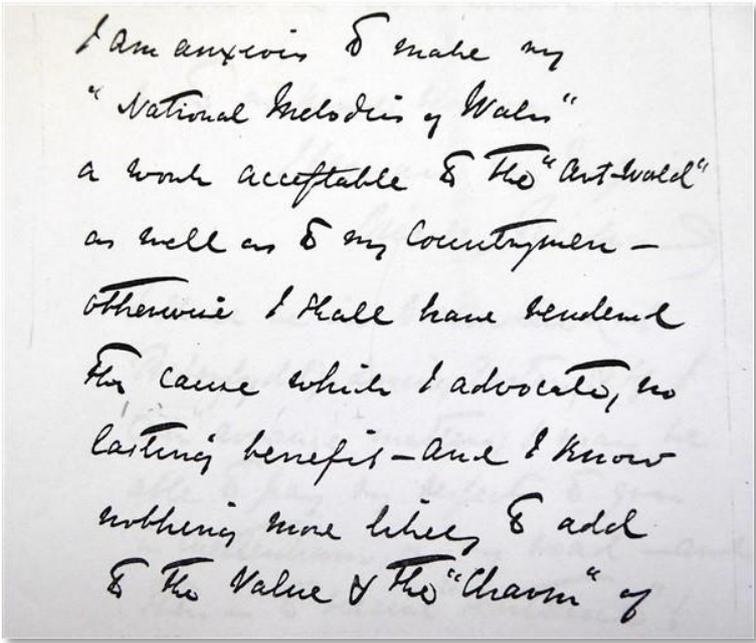
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<sup>118</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 173.

<sup>119</sup> Lockhart, *Listening to the Domestic Music Machine*, 65.

<sup>120</sup> Rees, *Henry Brinley Richards*, 187.

<sup>121</sup> Part-text of a letter from Brinley Richards to Jane Williams, ref. CDX/722, Carmarthenshire Archives.



I am anxious to make my  
"National Melodist of Wales"  
a work acceptable to the "Art-world"  
as well as to my Countrymen -  
otherwise I shall have rendered  
the cause which I advocate, no  
lasting benefit - and I know  
nothing more likely to add  
to the value of the "charm" of

IMAGE 4-15. PART-TEXT OF A LETTER FROM BRINLEY RICHARDS TO JANE WILLIAMS,  
CARMARTHENSHIRE ARCHIVES (CURRENTLY HELD AT GLAMORGAN ARCHIVES) REF. CDX/722.

History underlines the validity of Brinley Richards' expressed concern, since in spite of the sentiment expressed above, his posthumous reception has relegated him to the category of a composer of popular music with a domestic functional role, rather than any association with art music cultivated for its own sake. Although his name is now not widely known, he continues to be remembered in Carmarthen.

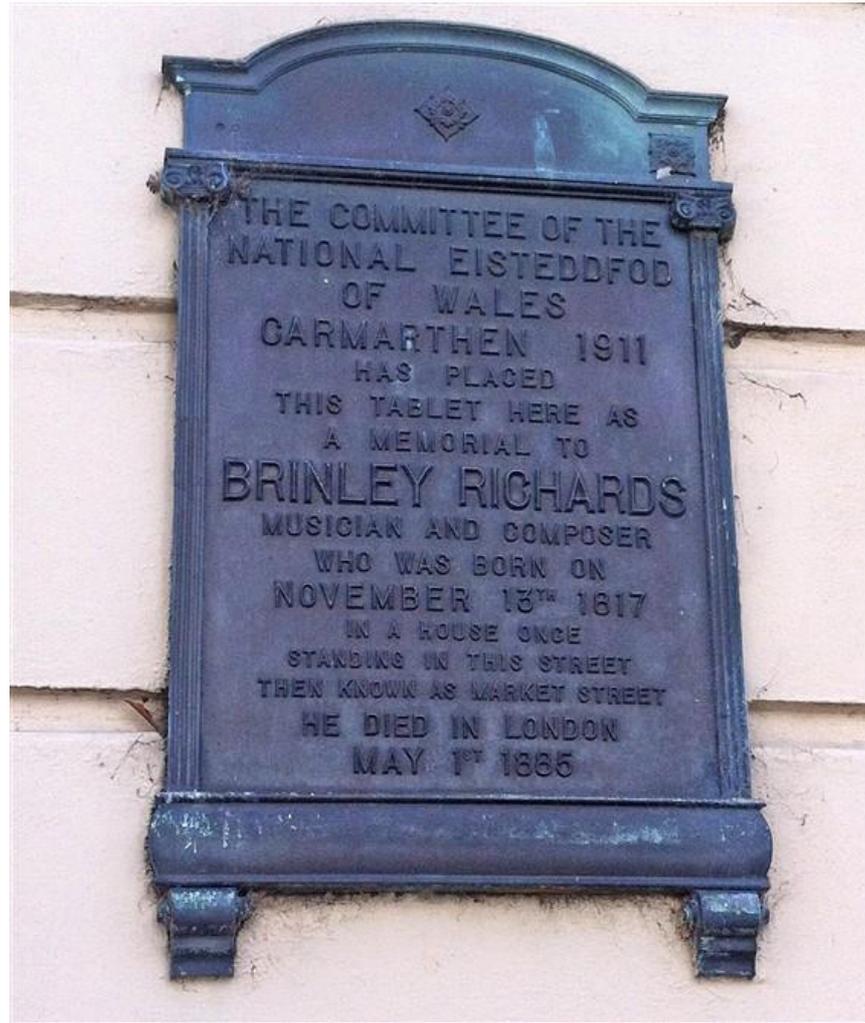


IMAGE 4-16. PLAQUE COMMEMORATING BRINLEY RICHARDS, HALL STREET, CARMARTHEN (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE AUTHOR).

Brinley Richards' positive contemporary reception is in counterpoint with the negative evaluations of the market for which he composed. He moved along his personal trajectory with its rhythms of a portfolio career and contours emerging from his profiles in different aspects of his musical life. He realised his individual career configuration alongside and within the dynamics of the realm of feminised domestic repertoire, a situation which reflects both the (sometimes unexpected) harmony and (essential) interdependence of lines of counterpoint. Just as a seemingly dominant musical line may after some bars be enveloped, so when Brinley Richards ceased to musick, his line ended, overwhelmed because of his association with what the dominant musical culture viewed as inferior music.



## Conclusions

Exploration of the Uppark sheet music reveals a musical and social world that has often gone unremarked in conventional music histories. Solie states that 'musical practices help to make social realities what they are' and the wider musical/socio-cultural perspective which frames this enquiry, to identify and understand this repertoire in relation to widely defined social context, reflects this intersection. This more holistic and behavioural view, concerned with musical and social practices, locates the Uppark music in an industrialised economy which propelled social changes, in consequence of which there were developments in all aspects of musicking. This study adopts Small's descriptive stance as the underpinning for enquiry, through the use of the 'arrangement to play' as the axis for analysis and interpretation, whether in respect of the narrative recounted by the Uppark music, or alternatively the scrutiny of an individual music score.

This project differs from other studies of nineteenth-century domestic repertoire in that it is methodologically grounded in, and developed from, (only) the music scores at Uppark. The information obtained from the scores in the process of listing them provided the basis for the ensuing investigation. The outcome of the study is a detailed profiling of various aspects of the Uppark music, particularly its content, context and acquisition. There is also a detailed account of the scores, including the many arrangements, belonging to the musical protagonist at Uppark, Frances Bullock; and the social/sociability elements associated with her music. The case study of Brinley Richards, which draws on his scores at Uppark both to review his compositions, and as the basis from which to evaluate his career within the (new) capitalist economy, reviews his position as a man who made his own way in the competitive musical world. A shared characteristic exposed by each of these case study explorations is the prevalence of musical arrangements found within the repertoires of the house and of Frances Bullock, as well as in the Brinley Richards compositions. This volume of derivative items suggests a wealth of associated social perspectives and social arrangements which are axiomatic to a framework for making sense of the nature and function of this domestic music in the nineteenth century.

The review of the long nineteenth century residents of Uppark and the women owners of music paints a picture of an essentially stable establishment, where the bounds of tradition and

aristocratic expectations prevailed, in contrast with the innovatory aspects of production and consumption evinced by the sheet music of the house. For the succession of Uppark residents, the trajectory of their association with music presents as conventional for their time.

Notwithstanding the social mobility and dramatic change in status enjoyed by herself and her sister, the rural quotidian life of Frances Bullock present as appropriately 'ordinary' for an elite woman of the mid-nineteenth century. On the face of it, her repertoire seems likewise unremarkable, although detailed comparison with the repertoire of a woman in a similar social milieu has yet to be made. And this 'unremarkable' description, contested by Sir Harry's lifestyle when a younger man, is similarly apt for the later Uppark occupants. However, the rich, diverse and multi-layered repository of information garnered from the sheet music which fills the bland, brown cardboard box at Uppark recalls the notion of paradox identified in relation to Uppark and its owners. For the evidence from the sheet music gathered at the house over the long nineteenth century contradicts potential assumptions about a staid approach to repertoire, limited evidence of types of musical form, highbrow aristocratic taste and scores defined only in relation to the private domestic sphere. Similarly assumptions regarding socio-cultural aspects of the music are challenged, including any class alignment of popular domestic music, repertoire expectations of the aristocracy, and the precedence of artistic rather than commercial interests of some composers and music publishers.

The relevance of 'accumulation' is confirmed as a concept to embrace the music of the different women at Uppark, underlining the compilation of the totality of the sheet music and recognising there were various sources of acquisition of the music. The process of listing the music indicates that music production practice evolved through the century, with changes in the paper used for printing music, the type/letter face of the music, the layout, use of illustrations, information on the front sheet, identification or not of plate numbers and the place of advertisements. The sheer number of scores at Uppark bears witness to the development and growth of nineteenth century music publishing and the commodification of music, and consequent escalation of its availability and lower prices. From consideration of his life, it can be seen that Brinley Richards successfully utilised this capitalist system to promote his livelihood, career, and affinity with, and commitment to publicising, the music of Wales.

The Uppark repertoire is eclectic and includes several types of music, dominated by compositions for solo piano, alongside vocal and instrumental ensemble items, the timeframe of which extends over the century. The acquisitions of Frances Bullock and Maysie Glyn confirm the continuing

social arrangement that piano performance skills were a necessary component of young women's marriage-eligibility portfolio, since each acquired more music as a young woman than at other times in their lives (so far as is known). Maysie Glyn's music particularly marks the domestic repertoire development to include lighter music, but such scores are also evident in respect of Frances Bullock's music. Closer consideration of individual scores reveals features which together construct the framing and soundscape of this collection of nineteenth century music, such as the prevalence of dance and music scores which reflect the increasing importance of canonic discourse and 'great works', both found here as arrangements; the positioning of the performance requirements of the repertoire to fit with the capacity of amateur players; the 'global' – as compared with local – contexts with which the music links, projecting connections far beyond domestic confines; the social significance of pieces of music, whether in respect of their intersection with metropolitan culture, or when gifted as markers of status acceptance, or the endorsement of family relationships. Not least relevant is the finding, previously expressed and now exposed within the Uppark repertoire, that the traditional locus of domestic repertoire in the 'private' domain is contradicted by its extended social tendrils and 'public' influences.

The pervasiveness of the 'arrangement' as a musical form, is evident in real terms from the Uppark music, in which nearly 60% of all of the solo piano compositions are arrangements, and which illustrate the musical, economic, and social factors which propelled the prominence of such repertoire. These include the choices which composers had as to the 'originals' used as the basis for an arrangement, ranging from canonic to contemporary, opera airs and national airs, pieces for numbers of instrumental players/singers or solo compositions. And that arrangements were composed which suited amateur performance skills (or the lack thereof) and provided pedagogic material that facilitated learning both musical and the associated social skills. An arrangement also communicates the intertextuality of its musical and its often multiple social meanings, as they are blended on the page and in performance, illustrated in the pieces arranged by Brinley Richards and owned by Frances Bullock, which reflected their musical-social association. The merits of the arrangement, characterising what has been termed an 'arranging age' marked by expanding piano popularity and the ubiquity of domestic musicking, are summarised by Samson:

The arrangement "can make available" (enlarging or reducing) what is inaccessible, or further publicise what is popular; it can celebrate or pay tribute to the exemplary composer or the exemplary work; it can cultivate and preserve the idiom of an earlier age; it can interpret, critique or parody material in the public domain; it can use the

offices of translation to high-light the idiomatic and the virtuosic; it can, quite simply, save composing time, especially where it is self-borrowing that is at issue.<sup>1</sup>

Broad patterns which emerge from this study of Frances Bullock's music are that her repertory was characterised by variety. This was not only in respect of the types of music therein; but also with regard to the years of publication, that it contained instrumental and vocal music, that the scores present both older and contemporary music. The items present music which is both 'serious' and 'light', and consist of both original and arranged compositions. Gender is a significant factor in determining not only the frameworks for the composition, performance and instrumentation of this domestic repertory, but also the feminisation of the domestic type and the patriarchal authority wielded over it. The continuum of local/provincial – metropolitan – cosmopolitan is evidenced many times in Frances Bullock's music as aspects of the scrutinised sheet music demonstrate the span of origins and influences which are contained within a single item. A dominant feature of the music consistently emerging is the significance of the socio-cultural aspects of a score, underlining the reality that a piece of music is by no means only a cultural experience but has important social aspects, not least with regard to performance and audience, but also in respect of symbolism, taste, class and network.

The role of taste as a mediator in choice of music is unclear. Whilst Maysie Glyn's liking as a young woman of the popular music of her age, there is no clear correlation of taste and music for Frances Bullock. Paradoxically, it seems that both women stepped aside from the cultural and symbolic capital associated with their social position (and an aspect of her family inheritance for Maysie Glyn) and in this respect were forging their own identities, in response to social changes. The content of their repertoires contested the hegemonic position of high art both as a feature of aristocratic life and more widely, since they included significant proportions of lighter music. Characteristic of this style as shown in some of the vocal items belonging to Frances Bullock, and to Maysie Glyn, was a less restricted engagement for the owner/performer and audience with the wider features of behaviour and emotion expressed with regard to both women and men, and a more liberal understanding of gender identity, particularly for women.

The Uppark music provides many examples of the sociability found in domestic repertoire, confirming the centrality of this aspect of the score, not only in respect of performance with

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<sup>1</sup> Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 105.

much of the music appropriate to the social situation of domestic musicking, and some of it scored for ensemble; but also for the social communications carried by a score given as a gift, or bearing a dedication. The study found that Frances Bullock received gifts endorsing her status as a member of the aristocracy, and that Brinley Richards accrued social capital through his network of dedicatees (which probably promoted the purchase of his works). The scores also indicate the socially regulated contribution of women composers to the repertoire, and the significant volume of contributions by European composers to domestic repertoire.

Utilizing this wider perspective to construct a more holistic profile and analysis of Frances Bullock's music than that afforded by a more restricted approach, provides a fuller picture of which music she owned and the various circumstances which contributed to her acquisition of the music, and some understanding of its wider aspects. The example of analysis of a dance score evidences a complex web of musical and social factors, showing how through its inclusion in domestic repertoire, dance demonstrated its musical versatility regarding instrumentation and location, whilst endorsing its position at the core of elite culture. The use of dance as a pedagogic and performance medium facilitated the life-stage passage of young women into marriage; and at the same time, the exposition of dance intended for domestic use widened access to the music and challenged the exclusive attitudes of the aristocracy. Establishing the profile of the content of this domestic repertoire belonging to one aristocratic woman provides a benchmark for future domestic repertoire comparisons.

This domestic repertoire belonging to one of the Uppark residents illustrates what might be termed an open door to nineteenth century music production, since Frances Bullock engaged with the prolific domestic music market in acquiring many and varied scores, not least of contemporary arrangements, scorned by some as musically inferior. Such evaluation ignores the social worth at that time of such music, which provided for the individual numbers of connections to a wider cultural and social world; and recognised the intersection of social change and music as producing a cultural medium whose elements had reciprocal dynamic momentum. The commodification of music was significant in effecting changes in the volume and variety of available domestic repertoire, as evidenced by Frances Bullock's scores, whose content and associations extended her cultural reach far beyond the confines of Uppark. The multi-perspective analysis this domestic repertoire shows that it is both an agent and a product of change, and a form of 'social currency'.

Frances Bullock's music gifts are diverse both in respect of the scores and the sources, reflecting the nature of her musical activities and her contacts. They provide an example of the gifting exchange system which Victorian women set up, as a means of communicating and building networks without male involvement. As Jill Rappoport explains, 'women took control of gift-giving to forge their own diverse alliances'; she maintains that looking at women's gift exchanges provides a picture as to how they defined and constructed their private relationships and their public activism.<sup>2</sup> Certainly these gifts of domestic repertoire suggest that Frances Bullock was musically active both within and without her home, and they both span and cohere the binaries of private/public and rural/urban (metropolitan) in their tangle of musical and social aspects.

Closer scrutiny of this now overlooked nineteenth-century Welsh composer and his work suggests the proposition that Brinley Richards was, in the widest sense, a 'capital' man. In addition to this dependence on the capitalist economy, Brinley Richards resided in London, the capital of Britain; he accrued cultural and symbolic capital; he invested his capital of musical expertise in women dedicatees; added to his stock through gathering expressions of acclaim and approval for his musical activities; and was in every sense 'a capital man' of his age. Brinley Richards achieved high status and widespread popularity over a span of forty years, not only as a composer but also as a pianist, scholar and educator. He composed a considerable number of short, tuneful, often technically undemanding pieces for the piano – quintessentially the sort of music that comprised the bulk of later nineteenth century domestic repertoire. Contemporary comment suggested that he was a renowned figure in the musical world, applauded for his compositions and his mastery of piano playing, illustrated by the claim of the musical editor of the *Illustrated London News* that 'of all the present composers of the pianoforte, no one has done so much for the instrument to which he has devoted himself. He is a musician of great and varied attainments, and has written many things not unworthy of a Beethoven or a Mendelssohn'.<sup>3</sup> He was of course a fervent advocate for the music of Wales, both through his compositions based on 'national airs', his encouragement of the performance of Welsh music, his promotion of music education in Wales, and his country-wide lecture–recitals, particularly about Welsh music.

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<sup>2</sup> Rappoport, *Giving Women*, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Illustrated London News*, 1867, cited in Francis Jones, "Henry Brinley Richards," 16.

From this perspective, Brinley Richards might be seen as a key figure and a man of his time in the domestic 'arrangement to play'. In summary, he composed arrangements, to be performed in the normatively arranged domestic location, by consumers arranged by social and cultural values.

For Brinley Richards, the dominance of 'arrangements', evidenced by his music in Frances Bullock's collection, secured fame and respect for his ability. Through tailoring his compositions to the amateur feminine market and their requirements in respect of taste for music and technique, he realised a musical career with sufficient financial return. For Frances Bullock, the domestic music of Brinley Richards that she owned provided a body of lighter solo piano pieces to perform in the potentially reflective solitude of her private domain and a personal link with the composer. For both Brinley Richards and Frances Bullock this music for domestic performance was central to their musical lives. It afforded them a return from individual, private endeavour - the one to compose, the other to perform.

So was he a 'capital' composer? Brinley Richards' life in music would have been very different had he not been working after the advent of a capitalist economy. His accumulation of cultural and symbolic capital, which might be viewed as his 'stock', continued throughout his working life and was assisted by reviews and comment in expanding newsprint in London and elsewhere. Although he visited Wales often, cherished his nationality, and was tireless in his promotion of Welsh music and the Welsh harp, Brinley Richards was a 'capital' man in that he lived and worked in London for many years. His performances in the capital, the heart of British cultural life, were important in promoting his profile, as was the network of aristocrat women dedicatees and associates with whom he had a musical dialogue. He always retained an aspiration for recognition of his music by the establishment, but posterity suggests that he did not achieve this. He was a composer/performer/educator who worked with the musical, social and economic arrangements of his day to build his reputation in the capital and more widely, particularly in Wales. The several capitalist strands, in various senses, which threaded into Brinley Richards' musical life, confirm his position as a 'capital composer'.

The study of domestic repertoire as an entity is a relatively recent musicological undertaking, and the findings of this study add to the accumulating body of knowledge. In broad terms, the themes and associations of the repertoire are not dissimilar from those identified in other work,

although other studies of later nineteenth century music are ongoing rather than completed.<sup>4</sup> Some details are specific to this Uppark music and its context, and there are further avenues of exploration. Comparison of the Uppark music, and particularly that owned by Frances Bullock, with the repertoire in other country houses must be a pending future project; as well as seeking opportunities to examine women's diaries, letters, accounts and other sources for their personal commentaries about their domestic repertoire, and particularly their views regarding performance. Another area of interest is consideration of the underlying dimensions of a woman's life, particularly with regard to her class and social status, and how these relate to her choice of repertoire and musical experiences.

The methodological perspective of this study has proved effective in exposing a fuller profile of the music in various dimensions, and although it requires some refinement in order to sharpen the focus, lends itself to future application for repertoire analysis. My listing of the Uppark music remains in the random order in which I found it, but it would have been more effective in progressing the research task if, further to negotiating such an arrangement with the caretakers of the music (the National Trust), I had initially identified and listed the music by category. And having identified clear objectives, to retain at all times a sense of purpose of the study. Notwithstanding these shortfalls, perhaps the most significant conclusion to be drawn from this work is that the dynamic of the arrangement to play serves to make sense of the role and function of nineteenth century domestic repertoire, which are denied when it is perceived only as a static product of musical composition.

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<sup>4</sup> Further sources to inform comparisons are fictional accounts of musicking.

## Appendices

### Contents

These documents are the working tools I used to analyse and interpret the music accumulation at Uppark.

#### A - Uppark database

This was compiled only from information available on the Uppark scores.

- i. 'UDB ref no' is the number assigned to a score, and used as its identifier
  - ii. 'Date' refers to the date of publication of the Uppark edition, as reflected on the score or ascertained from the plate number. Alternatively, the date was obtained from COPAC or another source, if the information matched with the Uppark score. (Frequently there were several editions of any one score).
  - iii. 'n.d.' indicates that no reliable date of publication has been found. (Information about a score is often limited in the absence of the front cover). 'n.d.' is also used to indicate that no information was available in relation to whichever aspect of the score that cell of the database relates.
- Rows coloured purple indicate music belonging to Frances Bullock.
- Rows coloured green indicate items composed by Brinley Richards.
- Rows coloured orange indicate women composers. There are two further women composers in Frances Bullock's music.
- B - Music belonging to Maysie Glyn**
- C - Overview of the level of difficulty of performance of items from Frances Bullock's solo piano music**
- D - Ensemble music belonging to Frances Bullock**
- E - Composers of Frances Bullock's music, by composition, nationality, gender, location of publisher**
- F - Gifts to/from Frances Bullock (ordered by date of publication, save for UDB 138 date of gift)**

## Appendix A - The Uppark Music Database

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
001	Popular and Classical Vocal and Pianoforte music, 9 P.F. Pieces	Brinley Richards	n.d.	Piano		Chappell's Musical Magazine Chappell & Co., 50, New Bond Street; Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.	W. Clows and Sons, Music and General Printers, Stamford Street, and Charing Cross.	Inside front cover no. 1 of 9 pieces, 'The Fairy's Dream' has 'pretty' written by it in faded ink and the same hand wrote 'pretty' centre top of the no 1 piece of music.	No. X
002	Six Concertos for the Organ or Piano-Forte	G. F. Handel	n.d.	Organ or Piano		Goulding D'Almaine Potter & Co., 20 Soho Sq & to be had at 7, Westend St Dublin		Green cover with title handwritten in ink 'Handels Concertos'. Inside front cover there is a blot and 4 ink words in handwritten olive/brown ink, possibly reading 'Stephen Sibly'	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
003	La Fiammina, Mazurka élégante pour piano	Joseph Ascher (Pianiste de S.M. l'Imperatrice des Français)	1857 London (COPAC)	Piano	Mr Georges de Windt	Mayence. chez les fills de B. Schott., Bruxelles, Scott frères, 82 Montagne de la Cour. Londres, Schott & Cie, 159 Regent Street.	14,865		'Dépot general de notre fonds de Musique, Leipzig C.F. Leede., Rotterdam w.f. Lichtenauer. 14865.- 15906.'.
004	Une Perle d'Italie pour piano	Camille Schubert 1810-1888	1850 London (COPAC)	Piano		London: Published only by Messrs. Robert Cocks and Co. (Music Publishers to her Majesty), New Burlington Street. New Piano Music by the same Distinguished Composer (List of Quadrilles, Valses, Redowa, Polkas)	9081		
005	Victoria, God Save	Wilhelm Kuhe 1823-1912		Piano		London, Ashdown & Parry, 18	A & P 920	Inside front cover is a Tennyson quote.	

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	the Queen, Fantasia					Hanover Square. (Successors to Wessel & Co.)			
006	The Prince of Wales Royal Wedding March	Adrien Baudouin	1863 (COPAC)	Piano		London, J.H.Jewell, Music publisher and Pianoforte Manufacturer, 104, Gt Russell St. Bloomsbury, Near the British Museum, Leipzig, Kistner., Paris, Tissier.	1269	Inside front cover same as front cover .	
007	"Les Charmes de l'Hiver", Cinq Valses Allemandes et un Grand Galop,	Camille Schubert	n.d.	Piano	Madame Tharp	London: Printed and Sold by C. Lonsdale (Late Birchall and Co.), Musical Circulating Library, 26, Old Bond Street., where may be had the following	576 & 580		Op. 20 "Also, arranged for the harp and pianoforte, by T. H. Wright, price 5s. An (ad lib) accompaniment for violin or flute, may be had

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
008	Cinq Fantaisies pour le Piano	Sigismond Thalberg (Pianiste de L.M. l'Empereur d'Autriche) Mozart, Bellini and Meyerbee	c1870 Paris (COPAC)	Piano		Paris, Maurice Schlesinger, Editeur de Musique, 97, Rue de Richelieu, Leipzig, Breitkopf et Hartel, Londres, Mori et Lamenu	M.S.2470	The '5' on 'Op. 20 Les Huguenots' is in red crayon.	List of 5 works including No 5. Op. 20 Les Huguenots. Inside front cover, possibly original front cover: 'Fantaisie pour le Piano sur des Motifs des Huguenots de Meyerbeer'.
	pour le piano- forte					Quadrilles, Waltzes &c. (list of pieces)			separately, price 1s.each'.

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
009	Grand Fantasia on the National Airs. God Save The Queen and Rule Britannia, for the Piano Forte	Sigismond Thalberg	1837 (COPAC)	Piano		London, published by Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Str. & 67 Conduit Str., where may be had by the same Author Fantasia from Mose In Egitto, Paris, Troupenas, Mayence, Scholl	2016		Op. 27
010	Caprice-Nocturne pour Piano	A. Gorla	1850 (COPAC)	Piano	Mlle Hyacinthe Delarue 1er.	Paris, chez Chabal, Boulevard, Montmartre, 11., Ch. 465. [Inside front cover has publisher's stamp in bottom RH corner] Le Boulevard [with a 'd'] Montmartre,	Ch.465	Pencil writing on top right hand of cover is probably 'Miss B'	Op. 6., 2e. Edition 'A. Vialon'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
011	A Parody in form of a Sonata for the Piano Forte	J.B. Cramer	1822 (COPAC)	Piano		Chabal, Le Coin de la Rue Vivienne.			
012	Ah Non Giunge, Air Favori dans La Sonnambula, arrange pour Piano	Réné Favarger	n.d.	Piano	Miss Edith Parris, Hopewell Hall	London, Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 201 Regent Street & 67 Conduit Street.	7001	On the top left-hand corner of the outside cover is an embossed publisher's stamp reading 'Cramer, Beale &...'; other words are too worn	Outside cover: 'Ah Non Giunge, La Sonnambula, René Favarger'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
013	Summer Sunshine, Lied, for the Piano Forte	Henry F. Schroeder	1862,18 68 (2 similar COPAC entries)	Piano		London, Addison, Hollier & Lucas, 210, Regent Street	A.H.L.5908	to read, inside numbers, possibly '10, 8, 60'.	
014	Le Premier Sourire, reverie	Félix Godefroid	n.d.	Piano, Flute	Mlle. Josephine Martin	Menestral, Paris	H1653	Above the first stave, there are some pencil words '4 notes de... pour une...' There are considerable number of pencil fingerings through the piece; and pencil crosses at some points.	Op. 46 At the bottom of the page: 'Paris, Au Ménestrel, 2 his, R Vivienne, H 1655, Imm Guillet 27,... [very faded words, possibly ends with 'champs']'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
015	Le Jet D'Eau, Morceau Brillant pour piano	Sydney Smith	1862 (COPAC)	Piano	Mademoiselle Eugenia Tombs	London, Ashdown & Parry, 18, Hanover Square. (Successors to Wessel & Co.), Leipzig, C. F. Peters, (A. Whistling)	A & P 1040	Top right-hand corner of front cover in black ink handwriting: 'Beatrice W. Turnour- Fetherstonhaugh, Uppark 1896.'	Op. 17
016	Lady Henriette Ballet pour le piano	Fred. Burmuller (Author of La Péri)	1844 (COPAC)	Piano	Honourable Lady Prudhoe	London: Published only by R. Cocks & Co. 20 Princes St. Hanover Square, Music Sellers to her majesty, in Paris by Colombier & at Mayence by B. Schott & Sons	6043 S. Parmenter, 304, Strand	Top right-hand corner 'F Bullock' in blue ink, thicker nib than signatures on other pieces of music.	Picture on the front cover: 'On stone by R.P.C.'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
017	Lieder der Brienzer Madchen chansons des Villageoises de Brienz, avec accompt. de Pianoforte ou Harpe ou Gitarre	n.d.	n.d.	Voice, Piano, Harp, Gitar				The text is in German and looks to be originally hand written.	'à Berne, chez U. Wanaz'. (Songs of village maidens) No. 48, 3rd edition
018	Book of finger exercises	n.d.	1834, written on the original (assume date of acquisition)	Piano				The second (inside) cover has something written in pencil across the top, and underneath that in pencil 'Miss Bullock'. In the centre of this cover is 'Miss	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\Other	Other information
019	Favorite Airs selected from Bellini's Opera of 'I Capuleti Ed I Montecchi , adapted	Bellini. Arranged by William Hutchins Callcott	n.d.	Piano, Flute		London : Printed and sold by Lonsdale and Mills, 140, New Bond Street; where may be had, arranged by the same author, list of other pieces	2627	Bullock' in the (usual) thin nib black ink. 'April 8th 1834' is written in pencil on a line drawn under the signature. 'not to be taken...' is written in pencil and the last word is illegible. There are pencil crosses against numbers of the exercises.	2 books of 'Favorite Airs'. The covers of both books are the same.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
020	for the Piano-forte, with an Accompaniment for the flute (ad libitum)	Bellini. Arranged by L. Truzzi	n.d.	Piano		London, T. Boosey & Co Foreign Musical Library, 28, Holles St, Oxford			2 books of 'Select Airs'. "Number 2' is handwritten in ink on Book 2 and 'Number 1' on Book 1. The covers of the 2 books are identical.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
021	Doubts	Gordon Sutherland. Louis Creswicke, lyricist	1890 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano			J.3775		
022	Galop Brilliant	Mce Decourcelle	n.d.	Piano			3534HL.		Op. 25
023	'For a Few Days' Galop	J. H. Tully	1863 (COPAC)	Piano	His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales	Concanen Lee & Siebe Lith 12, Frith St Soho W London, Lamborn Cock, Hutchings & Co. 62 and 63, New Bond St W	C.H.& Co.3634		'Introducing the popular melody.'
024	An Irish Melody for the Piano Forte	William Vincent Wallace	1846 (COPAC)	Piano	Mrs Elizabeth von n.d.	London, Messrs. R. Cocks & Co. 6, New Burlington Street, Piano Forte Manufacturers, and Music Sellers to the Queen. New Music by the same	7099	Embossed stamp centre bottom: 'North Street, Bennett, Chichester'.	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
025	No. 4 du Souvenir Theatral, Quatre Fantaisies Frillantes pour le Piano	Sigismond Thalberg (Pianiste de L.M. l'Empereur d'Autriche)	n.d.	Piano		author for the piano forte [followed by 6 titles]	W & CONo1718		No.3. sur La Straniera, Op.9; sur Norma, Op.12., No.2.; No. 4., sur Cauletti, Op.10; sur Don Juan, Op.14. "Sur Norma, Op. 12' is 'with permission of the Proprietors, Messrs Boosey & Co. Hollis Street, Cavendish Square'. Sur des Motifs de Bellini, et Mozart

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<b>UDB ref no.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scored for</b>	<b>Dedication</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Printer/ Plate number</b>	<b>Annotations\writing on the music\other</b>	<b>Other information</b>
026	Yes I Will Leave the Festive Scene	John Barnett. Liss Paton, lyricist	1825 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London, Mayhew & Co. Music Sellers to the Royal Family, No.17, Old Bond Street. of whom may be had the following Works of the above Composer (then a list of 20 titles)			In Answer to The Celebrated Serenade, The Light Guitar
027	Il Cosacco Della Volga, Canzone Russa	N. Vaccaj 179- 1849	probabl y 1820s (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London, Published by J. A. Novello, 69, Dean St, Soho	712	Top right-hand corner in faded thin black ink lettering, the name 'Constance Wyndham'. At the bottom with some of the letters missing 'Charles Olivier...New Bond St'. Pencil markings above the stave on 2 pages.	No. 1

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
028	The Beaufort Polka	Charles Milsom, Junr.	between 1844-48 (COPAC)	Piano	The Lady Blanche Somerset [large picture of coat of arms]	Bath, Milsom & Sons Piano Forte & Music Saloon, 2, Argyle St, London, Addison & Hodson, 240, Regent St. Cranmer, Beale & Co 201, Regent St. Chappell, 50, New Bond St., D'Almaine & Co. 20, Soho Sq., Jefferys & Co 21 Soho Sq.		Top right-hand corner 'F Bullock From the Hon Mrs C. Wyndham'	New Edition. "Parts may be had on application to the Author & of Addison & Hodson, London." Copyright. Arranged for large or small bands
029	No. 1 of The Favorite Airs in Bellini's Opera Norma	Bellini. Arranged by Maestro L. Truzzi	c1845 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Aldridge, Music & Musical Instrument Sellers 264, Regent Street.	209 Book 3. Bks 1 and 2 have no plate numbers	Top right-hand corner in black ink 'F Bullock, Up Park'.	3 books of Airs from Norma. The 3 covers are the same save for the number of the book and the price which is '4s' for nos 1 and 2; and '5s' for no 3.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
030	Select Airs from Herold's admired opera Le Pre aux Clercs Performed under the Title of The Challenge	Herold. Arranged by S. T. Rosenberg	n.d.	Piano, accompaniment (ad lib) for Flute		London, D'Almaine & Co. Soho Square			Book 1. Flute part does not look at all ad lib.
031	Estelle	Henry Smart	1874 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		This remarkably lovely Song has been published by the proprietor for private circulation only.	London, Augener & Co. 86, Newgate St.		Looks relatively modern. Copyright.
032	L'Enfant du Régiment, Fantaisie Militaire,	Chaulieu	1831	Piano	Chaulieu	London, T. Welsh, at the Royal Harmonic Institution, new		Something written in very faint pencil at top RH corner, 'Miss F'	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	pour le Piano Forte					Argyll Rooms, Regent Street.			
033	Select Airs, from Weber's Celebrated Opera, Euryanthe	Weber. Arranged by J. F. Burrowes	1824 (COPAC)	Piano, accompaniment (ad lib) for Flute		London. Published by Clemente & Co. 26 Cheapside.			Book 1
034	L'Arabesque, Caprice-Etude pour Piano	F. Brisson	n.d.	Piano	Mlle. Joséphine Martin	Paris, au Magasin de Musique du Roi, Alphonse Leduc, Editeur, Rue Vivienne, No.18,, Londres, Milan, F. Lucca.	A.L.518	In pencil adjacent to the publishing details is '3/6'. Bottom RH corner is publisher's stamp (probably printed) 'A. Leduc'	Op. 19
035	The Royal Scotch Waltzes	Jullien	1844 (COPAC)	Piano, Flute, Oboe		London, Published by Jullien, 3, Little Maddox Street.	M & N Hamhart lith printers...[illegible word] Charlotte St., Rathbone Pl.	Printer's stamp 'Julliene' in flowery lettering at bottom right hand corner.	Copyright. 6 waltzes: 1st 2 are for piano only, last 4 for piano with flute or oboe.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
036	Preludes for the Piano Forte in the different keys most generally used Major and Minor	T.A. Rawlings	1827 (COPAC)	Piano	All Amateurs & Students	London Published by Welsh & Hawes, Music Sellers by special Appointment to His Majesty, Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, Sussex and the Duchess of Kent. at the Royal Harmonic Institution, Argyll Rooms, 246, Regent St.	1243	Bottom centre is a stamp of the Royal Harmonic Institution. The music is annotated with several pencil fingerings and some vertical lines through the stave (possibly stopping points).	
037	Quadrille brilliant sur L'Enfant Pridgoue Opera de D.F.E. Auber	D.F.E. Auber	n.d.	Piano		Londres, chez T. Chappell, Paris, Brandus & Cie, Editeurs, No 87, rue Richelieu et 40 rue Vivienne. Par PILODO, Berlin, Chez A. M.	B.etCie.8732	In bottom left corner, in hand writing style, what looks like a name 'Victor Conidre', not at all sure about this as difficult to read. Bottom right corner	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
038	Romance sans paroles pour piano	G. Osborne	1844 (COPAC)	Piano	Madame la Princesse Michel Galitzin	Schlesinger, Successeurs de Mce Schlesinger et de Troupenas & Cie  Paris, chez Henry Lemoine, Professeur de Piano et Editeur, Rue de l'Echelle, 9, Londres, Cramer et Chappell, Propriété des Editeurs., Mayence, B. Schott. 2912.H.	2912 HL.	Many pencil fingerings on the score.	Op. 51 Inside front cover same as outside except publisher's stamp on centre bottom 'Henry Lemoine, Rue de l'Echelle no 9'. There is a line under this stamp which looks as though it runs through very small musical notes.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
039	Vocal Exercises for Village Classes, with notes in Illustration	Edited by Joseph R. W. Harding (Professor of Italian and English singing)	n.d.			London, John Shepherd, 98, Newgate Street.			Long explanatory note on front cover. Straight forward information about notation, note values, rhythm, keys et al. refers to tonic solfa. 'E.R.P.'.
040	Prince Albert Quadrilles	Hermann Strauss	n.d.	Piano		London, Coventry & Hollier, 71, Dean St. Soho		Top right-hand corner in black ink 'Fanny Bullock, Uppark'.	Picture of a man above title.
041	Three Easy Divertimentos for the Piano Forte	S. T. Lyon	1818 (COPAC)	Piano		London: Balla & Son, &c: 408, Oxford Street		Top right-hand corner has faded and indistinct pencil handwriting. Several fingerings on every page of music.	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
042	The Favourite Airs in Mayer's Opera of Medea	Mayer. Arranged by J. F. Burrowes	1826 (COPAC)	Piano, accompaniment for Flute		London, Printed & Sold by S. Chappell, Music Seller to His Majesty, 50 New Bond Street.	3081, 3082, 3083	Each book has writing in top right-hand corner in black thin nib: Book 1 'Miss Bullock, Uppark', Book 2 'Miss Frances Bullock, Uppark Dec 25/39' and something else which is illegible, Book 3 'Miss F. Bullock'.	In three books with individual covers.
043	Soirées des Pianistes		1833 (N&T)	Piano	Amateurs	London, Printed by R. Cocks & Co, Publishers of the Works of Chauileu, Czerny, Herz, Hummel, Hunten, Mayseder, Pleyel (C), Pixis, Weber, &c. 20, Princes St. Hanover Sq.	1387	The '10' on 'Book 10' appears to be in handwritten ink. The '3/-' appears to be in handwritten ink. On first page, inside the front cover, in thin black ink is handwritten 'Miss Frances Bullock from	Book 10 Some variation in information on first page.

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
044	Twelve Popular Airs [list of titles] arranged for the Spanish Guitar	Arranged by Matteo Carcassi	n.d.	Spanish Guitar		London Printed & Sold by, Music Seller to His Majesty, 50, New Bond Street.	L499	Top right-hand corner of the cover, writing in pencil, too faded to read. Bottom right hand corner 'Miss Frances Bullock, Uppark January 2 39'.	
045	If a Girl Like You Loved a Boy Like Me	Cobb and Edwards (Authors of 'In Zanzibar', 'Somebody's Sweetheart I want to be' etc.)	Copyright MCMV	Voice and Piano		London, Francis, Day & Hunter, 142, Charing Cross Road, Oxford Street End. And 22, Denmark Street (just round the corner) New York, The Gus Edwards	G. Udloff & Co 34, Eagle Street, Holborn W.C.		Sixpence Nett No 417, Sixpenny popular edition. (No Discount Allowed.)

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
046	Mayseder's favourite Divertimento	Mayseder. Arranged by Charles Saust	n.d.	Flute and Piano		Publishing Company, 1512, Broadway.  London. Published and Sold by & Co Importers of Foreign Music and Music Sellers to the Royal Academy of Music, 20, Princes Street Hanover Square 3, Doors from Regent Street. Where may be had the above Divertimento for the Violin and	11	Black thin nibbed pen 'Miss Frances' but this is more 'scrawley' than the usual hand and the lettering is indistinct. Pencil markings on page 9, the inside back cover.	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
						Piano Forte, also [other Maysander works]			

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
047	Deidre's farewell to Scotland	Marjory Kennedy-Fraser	n.d.	Voice and Piano		Paterson's Publications, Ltd. 152 Buchanan St., Glasgow, London. 95 Wimpole St., W.1., 114 Fifth Avenue, New York.			Air and English translation from Kenneth Macleod. On second inside page is the story of Deidre and the name 'Kenneth Macleod' at the end, possibly the author. Advertisements on the inside back cover and back cover for Paterson publications. 'Designs by Elsie Moore.' From the Hebrides, a series of songs. 1st verse traditional, 2nd and 3rd from

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
048	The Yeoman Cavalry Polka	H. M. Powell	n.d.	Cornet in A natural		Rüst & Stahl, 320. Regent Street.			Glenmasen M.S. Of 1238. Single instrument line.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
049	Suzanne, Suzanne!	Jean Gilbert. Arranged by Clifford Courtenay	Copyright MCMXI (1911)	Voice and Piano		Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew, Ltd., 16, Mortimer Street, London, W.	A.H. & Co Ltd 5858	There is a signature in purple ink, probably printed on, indecipherable. There is a raised stamp 'A. E. Cooke, Westgate, Peterborough'.	Vocal two-step from the musical play The Girl in the Taxi
050	Nocturne pour le piano	Théodore Döhler (pianist de S.A.R. le Rue de Lucques)	n.d.	Piano	Madame la Princesse de Belgiojoso	Paris chez Pacini Editeur de Musique, Rue Neuve St Augustine 59 au coin de celle de la Paix[with very faint words in between each following word]...Vienne...Millan...Londres...	3676	Turquoise/green stamp at centre bottom reading 'Pacini'.	Op. 24. Piano piece in 5 flats. "Executé par l'Auteur a son Concert à Paris". ('Il vient deparaître une deuxième Edition en Ré ##, pour les Elèves de seconde force.')

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
051	The Tartar Drum	D. Godfrey (B.M. Grenadier Gds).	c1866 (COPAC)	Piano		n.d. (no front cover)	12743		Mabel, waltzes
052	No.1 Conte du Soir (An Evening Story) Chants sans Paroles	A. Telliger	n.d.	Piano		The B. F. Wood Music Co Boston, New York, Leipzig, London, 84 Newman St, Oxford St. W.	B.F.W.1954-2	Centre bottom of the front cover is a stamp 'R. W. Pentland, 24 Frederick St., Edinburgh'. Top left hand of inside front cover in pencil is written 'ppp pp p mp mf f f fff'.	Op. 14 List of titles, underlined is 'No. 1 Conte du Soir (An Evening Story Chants sans Paroles'. 10 Morceaux Characteristiques pour piano
053	There's A Girl in Havana	E. Ray Goetz and A. Baldwin Sloane	Copyright 1911	Voice and Piano		London \ B. Feldman & Co 2&3 Arthur Street, new Oxford Street, W.C.		Ink stamp bottom right hand corner reading 'Handel Garth & Co Piano, Organ and Music Sellers 2 Shadwick Place, Edinburgh'.	No. 525, Feldmen's 6d edition "This Song may be Sung in Public without fee or licence Except at Theatres and Music Halls'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
054	Pluie de Corail, Caprice Brillant, pour Piano	Durnd de Grau	1863 (COPAC)	Piano	Mlle Arabella Goddard	London, Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, Regent Street, W. by special appointment Music Publishers to her most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria, and to His Imperial Majesty, The Emperor Napoleon III.	13,896	The number 13,896 is at centre bottom every page except front cover.	
055	Pride of the Prairie	George Botsford Happy. J. Breen, lyricist	Copyrig ht MCMVIII	Voice and Piano		London Francis, Day & Hunter, 142, Charing Cross Road, Oxford Street End. and 22, Denmark Street, New York. Jerome H. Renick & Co 141 West 41st Street.		Signature in top right-hand corner reading 'Maysie A Glyn'	No 586 Sixpenny Popular Edition. (No Discount Allowed.) 'Regd no 257,748'. 'The Theatrical and Music Hall Singing Rights of this Song are Reserved. For Permissions apply

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
056	Fantasia for the piano forte on favourite airs in Meyerbeer's Opera, Robert de Diabie	Meyerbeer Theodore Döhler	1838 (N&T)	Piano	M. Sigismond Thalberg, Pianiste to His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c.	London, Printed & Sold at Chappell's Musical Circulating Library, 50, New Bond Street, where may be had, Döhler's Fantasia from "Lé Pre aux clercs" Do Gustavus Rondino on the final air in "La Fiesta Della Rosa" Notturmo	5683		A difficult piece.  to Francis, Day & Hunter.!

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
057	Where the lazy daisies grow (fox-trot song)	Cliff Friend	Copyright 1924	Voice and Piano		London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 138-140. Charing Cross Road, W.C.2.	F.& D. 16701	Inside at bottoms of pages: F. & D. 16701.	
058	Hitchy Koo	Lewis F. Muir and Maurice Abrahams. L. Wolfe Gilbert, lyricist	1912 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		Francis, Day & Hunter, 142 Charing Cross Road, London W.C. F. A. Mills, 122, West 36th Street, New York.	F.& D.12716	'Francis, Day and Hunter' ink stamp at bottom right hand corner.	Introduced by the Famous American Ragtime Octette. Copyright.
059	Hitchy Koo	Lewis F. Muir and Maurice Abrahams. L. Wolfe Gilbert, lyricist	c1912 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		Francis, Day & Hunter, 142 Charing Cross Road, London W.C. F. A. Mills, 122, West 36th Street, New York.			Introduced by the Famous American Ragtime Octette. Same as 058 but different front cover and different advertisements. Copyright.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
060	The Moon is Rising	John Barnett. Charles Jeffreys, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and Piano					No front cover
061	Thorough Bass Simplified or the whole Theory & Practice of Thorough Bass	Joseph Corfe Gentleman of his Majesty's Chapels Royal & late Organist of the Cathedral at Salisbury	c1805 (COPAC)			London, Printed and Published by Preston at his Wholesale Warehouses, 71 Dean St. Soho. Late of the Strand.		There are a few pencil marks, e.g. p13, p15.	'Bass, laid open to the meanest capacity exemplified by short & easy rules tending to explain the nature & origin of all the CHORDS and FIGURES used in this SCIENCE'. Exercises applicable to each rule extracted from the Compositions of Handel, Corelli, Geminani, Tartini, Sacchini &c. This book discusses

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
									the theory of figured bass harmony.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
062	Artaxerxes , A Serious Opera	Dr. Arne	n.d.			London Sold by C. Mitchell, at his Musical Circulating Library, & Instrument Ware rooms, 51 Southampton Row, Russell Square. Terms of the library, Yearly Subscribers £2.2. Half Yearly £1 11 6, Quarterly £1 1, Monthly £10.6.	Sold by C. Mitchell, at his Musical Circulating Library, & Instrument Ware rooms, 51 Southampton Row, Russell Square. Printed by DALE No 19 Cornhill and the corner of Holles Street Oxford Street. Price 1s.	Over the original wording on the front cover a piece of paper has been stuck neatly.	Dale's New Edition. There is an overture and a lot of songs, each song headed by the name of the singer. Each song is on a double stave: the voice part below the treble line and the bass below the voice, usually figured. Possibly an earlier lithograph printing as many of the 's' are as an 'f'.
063	Le Bananier Chanson nègre	L. M. Gottschalk	1860 (COPAC)	Piano	Son ami A. Gorla	A Paris, au Bureau central de Musique, 8 Rue Favart, Londres, Schott 84, St	B.C.1136	Stamp bottom right hand corner 'Bureau Central de Musique Paris no 8 rue Favart'.	Op. 5

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	pour piano					James Street: Mayence, B. Schott, fils.			
064	Introduction & Rondo for the Piano Forte	Henry F. Schröder	1850 (N & T)	Piano		London, Published by Cramer, Beale & Co 201 Regent Street, & 67 Conduit Street.	5102		Op. 2
065	The Favourite Airs in Rossini's Admired Opera Generento la	Rossini. Arranged by A. Diabelli	n.d.	Piano		London, T. Boosey & Co Importers and Publishers of Foreign Music, 28 Hollis Street, Oxford Street. This Opera may also be had for two performers by Diabelli.			Books 1 and 2

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
066	A New Edition of the Beggars Opera	Dr. Arne	c1785(C OPAC)	Piano, Voice and Violin		MITCHELL'S Musical Library & instrument Warehouse, 159, New Bond Street, opposite Clifford Street.		Publisher information is on a neat piece of paper stuck over the original lettering. Underneath the publisher's information is 'Terms of the library: Terms of the library, Yearly Subscribers £2.2. Half Yearly £1 11 6, Quarterly £1 1, Monthly £-10.6'. Underneath this label is a list of titles and prices.	The Basses entirely new with the additional Alterations'. Each song is on a double stave: the voice part below the treble (right hand) line and the bass below the voice, usually figured.
067	Twenty Favourite Airs Selected from Rossini's	Rossini. Adapted by M. Rophino Lacy	1822 (N & T)	Piano, accompaniment (ad lib) for Flute		London, printed and Sold by Birchall & Co. 140 New Bond Street.	1307	Top right-hand corner, in the (usual) thin black nib ink is written 'FB'.	In two Books. Book 1.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	celebrated Opera La Gazza Ladra								
068	St Patrick was a Gentleman! Irish comic ballad	Arranged by T. B. Phipps	n.d.	Voice and piano		London, Published by T. E. Purday, 50 St Pauls Church Yard		On the back, in what looks like FB's writing, 'St Patrick was a Gentleman'.	
069	Dixie's Land	Arranged by Charles H. Osborne	1862 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Chappell & Co. 49 & 50, New Bond Street	11578	Under the last 3 bars in very small print 'J & W Pearman Lithos, 13, Castle St. East'.	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
070	Ye Banks and Braes	W. V. Wallace	1848 (N & T)	Piano	Miss Marriott	Published only by Her Majesty's Music Publishers, Messrs. R. Cocks and Co. New Burlington Street, London; where may be had, by the same distinguished composer [mark between distinguished and composer, possibly an error] [a list of works, presumably arranged for piano]	7934	Bottom centre, a raised paper (not ink) 'stamp' reading 'North Street\Bennett\Chichester'	Picture on front cover.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
071	Giralda Opera, Valse brillante pour piano	Ad. Adam For Piano by Fred Burgmuler	n.d.	Piano	Mademoiselle Juliette de Lannoy	Paris, BRANDUS et Cie., Editeurs, Successeurs de Mice. SCHLESINGER et de troupenais ET Cie. Propriétaires de l'ancien fonds de Conservatoire, Rue Richelieu 87 et Rue Vivienne, 40, Mayence, Schott. B et Cie. 5382 Londres, Chappell.	BetCie:5362		'A.V.'
072	Hush! The Breezes	L.R. C.M.G, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and Piano	Branksea Bazaar. In aid of the funds of the Bourne-mouth Sanatorium.	London: printed by Waterlow and Sons.		On the back cover a circular stamp, possibly a date, towards the bottom left corner.	
073	The Emperor of Russia's March	C.M.G	1843 (N & T)	Piano		London, Printed & Sold by C. Lonsdale, 26, Old Bond Street.	672		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
074	Hermance Schotisch	Fr. Lowenstein	n.d.	Piano		Paris, Alexandre. Grus, Edit., Boulevard Bonne Nouvelle, 31, vis à vis le Gymnase.	A.G.1174	Light blue stamp bottom right hand corner with the publisher details.	Underneath title is a picture of a woman holding a cane, possibly a violin bow upside down, with a name 'A. Syrel' or 'A Jurel' at the side.
075	Father Molloy, or The Confessions, A Characteristic Irish Song	Samuel Lover (Author of 'Rory O'Moore', 'The Low back'd Car', 'I'm not myself at all', etc.)	1855 (COPAC)	Voice and piano		London, Duff & Hodgson, 65, Oxford Street. [At the end of the word street there is a marking which could be initials]	D & H 1879	Above half way up on the fold side is written 'Father Molloy', this could be FB's handwriting.	
076	The Fire Fly Polka	Henry W. Goodban	c1850 (COPAC)	Piano		Stannard & Dixn, Lith. 7 Poland Street London R. Addison & Co. 201 Regent St.	1397	Top right-hand corner in thin black ink is written 'F Bullock from the Hon Mrs C. Wyncham'	Stamp 'Addison & Hodson 210 Regent Street 12 A 49'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
077	Set of Quadrilles, from the Opera of Jemma Da Vergy	Arranged John Weipert	c1840 (COPAC)	Piano	Mrs Elwyn	London, Published by John Weipert, 21, Soho Square.		Top RH corner in pencil are initials, 'FB'.	John Weipert is 'Director of HER MAJESTY'S Quadrille Band & Conductor of Music at Almack's also Harpist by special appointment to HER MAJESTY. The King and Queen of Hanover, King and Queen of Belgium, & all the English Royal Family'.
078	In the Dingle-Dongle-Dell	Clare Kummer	Copyright MCMIV	Voice and Piano		Jos. W. Stern & Co.	4320_4		4 verses and 'symphony' between verses, which is upbeat, 1 bar and a crochet (it is the first phrase of the song).

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
079	Goo Goo Vocal fox-trot	Max Darewski. Graham John, lyricist	Copyright 1924	Voice and Piano		Francis, Day & Hunter, 138-140 Charing Cross Road, London, W.C.2, New York: Leo Feist, Inc., 231-5, West 40th Street, Sydney: J. Albert & Son, 137-139, King Street. Publications, Francis Day Société Anonyme, 11 Rue Edouard VII, Paris. Printed in England.	F. & D.16716	Francis, Day & Hunter stamp bottom right hand corner.	Lots of different songs advertised on the back 3 pages.
080	Viotti's favourite Concerto in G	Arranged by J. L. Dussek	n.d.	Piano		London: published by Willis and Co., Egyptian-Hall, Piccadilly, and sold by all the principal music sellers in the United Kingdom.	65	'Miss F Bullock' written in very faded pencil along the top. Underneath that in the right-hand corner is 'Miss Franceses' in faded thin nib black in,	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
081	A collection of Arias		n.d.	Piano				writing elongated and almost illegible. At the bottom centre of the front sheet, in the same thin nib black ink, 'September 2nd'	About 40 pages.
082	Twenty Favourite Arias selected from Rossini's celebrated opera of La Gazza Ladra	Rossini. Adapted for piano by M. Rophino Lacy	1822	Piano, accompaniment (ad lib) for Flute		London, Printed and Sold by Birchall & Co 140, New Bond Street	1307		In two books.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
083	Dear Violetta, The Admired Air à la Tyrolienne	Mariani. J. R. Planché, lyricist	1834 (N & T)	Voice and Piano		London, Printed and Sold by, Music Seller to their Majesties, 50, New Bond Street, & Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201, Regent Street. This Opera is Published in Paris, under the title of Il Bravo.	4537	Top right-hand corner is written 'Miss F Bullock [and underneath that] Uppark April 1st'. Chappell stamp centre bottom of this cover. Indecipherable signature in the bottom right hand corner, could be same ink pen as the top signature.	'Adapted to the English Stage by T. Cooke. Director of the Music to the Theatres, Royal Drury Lane & Covent Garden'.
084	La Pluie De Perles, Valse Brillante pour le piano	G. A. Osborne	1848	Piano		London, D'Almaine & Co. 20, Soho Square.	11,839		Op. 61

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
085	Fantaisie brillante sur l'Opéra Les Monteneg rins de Limnander , pour piano	Limnander. Adapted for piano by A. Talexy	n.d.	Piano	Mme. Ernest Dumay	Paris, J. Meissonnier Fils, Rue Dauphine, 22 Au Ménestrel, Rue Vivienne, 2 bis Mayence, Schott fils J. M. 2805 Londres, Schott et Cie.	J.M.2805	Stamp bottom right hand corner 'J. Meissonnier, Paris, Rue Dauphine, 22'.	Op. 25. 2 front covers, the inside cover has most writing. 'A.V.' 'A. Vialon'.
086	Souvenir des pianists No 32 'Variations de Concert', for the piano forte, on the admired March in	Henri Herz	1830 (COPAC)	Piano	Miss Georgina Kynaston	London, Published by D'Almaine & Co, 20 Soho Square, Paris, by E. Troupenas, Mayence, by Messrs Schott.		Top right-hand corner of front cover, in thin-nibbed black ink 'Fanny Bullock Uppark 1858'	Op. 57. Copyright.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	Rossini's Grand Opera Guillaume Tell								
087	Fantasia Brillante, 'Sur des Thèmes favoris Italiens'	Francois Hüntten	n.d.	Piano		Londres, D'Almaine & Co, Soho Square		Top right-hand front cover in thin-nibbed black ink 'Miss F. Bullock Uppark'.	Op. 76. Copyright.
088	The Sonderborg Lament!	Miss Leila Taylor, aged 11 years	1864 (COPAC)	Piano	For the Benefit of the Poor of Sonderborg	Edward Gregg, Foreign Bookseller, Grosvenor Street, Eaton Square. S.W. Sold by the principal Music Sellers.			

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
089	Home they brought her warrior dead	Miss M. Lindsay. Alfred Tennyson, lyricist	1850 (N & T)	Voice and Piano		D'Almaine & Co.	12,403		On the back cover are the words 'Songs of a high moral order' and a British banner.
090	n.d.		n.d.	Flute			363	Top right-hand corner in very faint pencil 'Mrs Sibly'	Headed 'Flauto'. Flute part Andante (20 bars, 8/6/6) and 10 variations. Flute part only
091	The Fairly Lake, Book 1		n.d.	Flute					
092	The Cabinet. A series of Familiar Rondos, on favourite airs, 'Duke of York's	G. E. Fiorini	1825 (N & T)	Piano		London, Published by Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Street		Top right-hand corner in very faint pencil 'Duke of York's March'	Publisher's stamp 'Cramer Beale 201 28 8 46

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	Grand March'								
093	When Other Lips	Balfe. (Arranger n.d.)	n.d.	Voice and Piano			6738		No front cover
094	The Favorite Cavatina 'Di Tanti Palpiti' with Variations Concertante	Rossini, arranged by Mayseder	n.d.	Piano and Violin		London, Mayhew & Co, Music Sellers to the Royal Family, 17 Old Bond Street	27	Top right-hand corner in faint black ink with thin nib 'Miss F. Bullock'. Bottom right hand corner in faint black ink (assume written by same hand as the name) '/32'	No violin part seen and nothing on the music to suggest violin playing as well as the piano.
095	'The Highland Minstrel Boy', Admired	John Barnett, author of 'The Light Guitar' Harry Stoe Van Dyk, lyricist	1835 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London, Mayhew & Co Music Sellers to the Royal Family, 17 Old Bond Street		Top right-hand corner is an extremely faint pencil marking, some indistinct letters and then '18'	Bottom left hand corner of each sheet 'The Scotch Minstrel, No.5'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
096	No. 6 of the Gems of Melody, Carnaval de Venise	Selected and arranged by William Forde	1828 (N & T)	Piano, accompaniment (ad lib) for Flute		London, Published by R Cocks & Co. Importers & Publishers of Foreign Music, 20, Princes Street, Hanover Square where may be had for the Piano Forte Sacchinis 12 very easy Rondos cal.	367	There are pencil fingerings and markings on the music.	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
098	Polonaise sur des motifs favoris de l'Opera Norma de Bellini	Bellini Joseph Nowakowski	n.d.	Piano	Mademoiselle Sophie de Gorska [the first letter could be a different letter than a 'G', there is a comma over the 'o']	Varsovie chez Fr. Spiess & Comp. Rue des Sénateurs No 460 [this could be a comma rather than an acute accent]			Bottom left hand corner of the decoratively bordered title plaque is 'J. Dütschke lith', bottom middle are the initials 'SdG'. Within the border, at centre bottom, is 'De la Lithographie de Henri Hirszel à Varsovie Rue du Miel No 495'.
099	Select melodies No. 8 'My Lodging is on the cold ground', Tema and		n.d.	Flute			546		Flute part only.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	4 variations								
100	I stood amid the glittering throng	Henry R. Bishop. F.W. N. Bayley, esq., lyricist	c1840 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		Goulding and D'Almaine, 20 Soho Square	Engelmann Grat, Corindet & Co [Bottom middle of the sheet is a stamp of the printer.]	Very faint illegible pencil name on top right-hand corner, 'Miss F'	Fifth edition. At the top 'The Hon Miss... She was a fair and gentle girl, her bright smile greeted me by chance'. From the Morning Post, a note explaining this song written by Bishop 'after galloping with a certain illustrious person...'
101	The Fairies' Delight Polka	Henry F. Schröder	after 1850 (N & T)	Piano		London. Cramer, Beale & Co. 201, Regent Street & 67, Conduit St.	5304		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
102			n.d.	Piano			2072	Pencilled fingerings. What look like pencil scribbles on the back, as though it has been lent on when someone was writing on another piece of paper.	Book of 3 piano pieces
103	Repertoire Des Danses Viennoises. No.3 Pas Des Moissons eurs. The Harvest Fête.	Maretzek	1845 (COPAC)	Piano			100		Back cover advertises 'Twelve Select Quadrilles, by Jullien'.
104	Variations on an Austrian National Air	J. P. Pixis	n.d.	Piano					Op. 39. Back cover advertises pieces of music and a 'Musical Scrap-

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
105	Rule Britannia from Dr Arne's Opera of Alfred with Variations and an Introduction	Arne Fred. Kalkbrenner	n.d.	Piano	Mrs Fleming	London, printed by Goulding & D'Almaine, 20 Soho Square, & to be had of all Music Sellers in the United Kingdom		Top right-hand corner, which is very worn and torn, 'Frances Bullock Uppark' in black ink pen. Bottom right hand corner 'Miss Bullock'.	
106	Duo for Piano Forte & Violin, op.49	Fred. Kalkbrenner	n.d.	Piano and Violin	Mr Baillot	London, Printed and Published by Clementi & Co 26, Cheapside, & Chappell & Co, 50, New Bond Street.	1205	Top right-hand corner 'Miss F Bullock Uppark /31'	The music pages with this front sheet are for piano only.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
107	The Pretty Bird Quadrille, introducing the beautiful melodies, Oh Would I Were A Bird, Paddle Your Own Canoe, &c	Charles Coote, Junr.	1867	Piano			942		Back cover advertises music.
108	Musical Publications for the piano forte	Thos Valentine	n.d.	Piano			1187		3 brief piano pieces.
109	Bella Italia			Flute			1197		Flute part only. Several pieces, with a few piano accompaniment cues.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
110	Centre top page 2, title 'Boleras'	n.d.	n.d.				7035 R	On the back in pencil, top left-hand corner, what looks like a name crossed out, 'Miss Jolliffe', and underneath that in pencil, 'Miss Bullock'.	Plate number matches 'Trois Airs Caracteristiques' by Santiago de Masarnau
111	Sonata			Violin and Cello					
112	Variations Brillantes pour le Piano Forte sur La Dernière Valse de C.M.de Weber	Henri Herz, premier pianist de S. M. le Roi de France	1829 (COPAC)	Piano	Mademoiselle Caroline Hartmann	Londres, chez, T. Boosey & Co. Editeurs de Musique Etrangere, 28, Holles Street, Oxford Street. Paris, chez, Meissonnier, Bonn, chez, Simrock.		Top right-hand corner 'Fanny Bullock Up Park'.	
113	New Cachouch <sup>a</sup>	H. Herz	1840 (COPAC)	Piano					

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
114	Favorite Airs from Donizetti's Opera 'Lucia di Lammerm oor'	Donizetti. Arranged by W. H. Callcott	1844	Piano - plus flute part ad lib			583		Book 1
115	Favorite Airs selected from Bellini Opera of I Puritani	Bellini. Arranged by William Hutchins Callcott	1844 (COPAC)	Piano, accompa niment (ad lib) for Flute		London, Published by Cramer & Co, 201 Regent St. & Rich's Mills, 140, New Bond St. Where may be had, Arranged by the same Author, The above Opera as Duets, for the Piano Forte, with Flute Acc. (ad lib in 4 Books, each 5s')	1532	On the top right- hand corner of the cover are squiggled initials written with a very fine nib, could be 'FB'.	<i>Cramer catalogue 1852 records 3 books of Airs arranged by Callcott. Book 1 of 2. 3 separate books of piano items, 16 in total, and a thinner book of flute parts for only some of the items.</i>

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
116	Rondeau À La Suisse on two Favorite Airs	N. C. Bochsal. Arranged for the Piano by François Hüntten	1832 (N&T)	Piano		London, Printed and Sold by S Chappell, Music Seller to Their majesties, 50, New Bond Street	4135	4 pencil markings on the music and the word 'Tempo'.	
117	Cuius Animam, from Rossini's Stabat Mater	Rossini. Arranged by Brinley Richards	1860 (COPAC)	Piano	By permission to Signor Rossini	London, Cramer & Co.(limited) 201, Regent Street, Cramer & Co Piano Forte Gallery, 209, Regent Street	8442		Op. 39
118	Recollecti ons of Prince Charlie	Brinley Richards	n.d.	Piano		London, A. Hammond & Co (Jullien's), Musical Circulating Library, 5, Vigo St. Regent Street, Publishers of Josef Gung'l's Celebrated Dance Music	H.155		No. 1, 4 items

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
119	Rondo Villageois	Henri Ravina	n.d.	Piano	Madame Anais Guillaume	Paris, C. Beu, Editeur, Rue de la Chaussée d'Autin, 10	C.H.362		Publisher's stamp on the centre bottom front cover. Op. 17
120	Popular and Classical Vocal and Pianoforte Music, 6 Pianoforte Pieces	V. W. Wallace	n.d.	Piano		Chappell & Co, 50, New Bond Street; Simpkin, Marshall, &Co.	P. Grant and Co., Type-Music and general Printers and Lithographers, Red Lion Square, Holborn.		'Chappell's Musical Magazine', Edited by Edward F. Rimbault'. Many advertisements in the back, but no date. No. XI
121	'Il Mio Tesoro Intanto' from Don Giovanni		n.d.	Flute					Flute part only.
122	The Low-Backed Car!	Samuel Lover, Esq	1846 (N & T)	Voice and Piano		London: Duff and Hodgson, No.65, Oxford Street, where may be had the songs in Mr.	1185	On the left-hand side of top half, sideways on, is written in ink 'The low backed Car'	Initials 'SL' (the composer, Samuel Lover) - could be the same hand

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
123	Beethoven's Works, No.24. Grand Sonata for the Piano Forte	Ludwig van Beethoven. Edited by J. Moscheles	1836 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Published by Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201, Regent Street, and 67, Conduit Street	1816	Top right-hand corner, ink colour brown, 'Miss Frances Bullock'	Op. 53, NB. In this Edition the utmost care has been taken to mark by Maelzel's Metronome, the Author's time to each Movement
						<p>                     Lover's Irish Evenings [the songs are then listed]                 </p>			

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
124	Instructions for the Spanish Guitar, founded on the Systems of the first Masters of that Instrument, particularly those of Carulli, Giuliani &c with Morettis.	Alfred Bennett. Mus. Bac. Oxon.	1829 (N & T)	Guitar	Her Grace the Duchess of Richmond		3578		Inside front page has description of guitar and instructions for how ladies should hold it and how gentlemen should hold it, then several more pages of instruction followed by pages of numbered lessons (scales, studies, pieces). Further pages of instruction on technique, musical theory, with music to play. Then there are pieces (still numbered as lessons), the final one is for voice

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
									and 3 guitars. At the end there are diagrams showing the fingering for chords.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
125	To be Continued , Preparatory Exercises for the Piano forte, Calculated to form the Hand & give a correct idea of fingering. Chiefly intended as an introduction to the Studies of Cramer,	D Bruuguier	n.d. (NB. 7 refs in COPAC, dated 1825, but all published by Chappell & Co)	Piano		London, Published for the Author, at Mitchell's Musical Library & Instrument Warehouse, 159, New Bond Street, opposite Clifford Street.	431	Miss Sutherland August 5 or 8th 1828	Op. 15

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\Other	Other information
	Steibelt, Woelfl, &c								
126	The Tartar Drum	G. Herbert Rodwell. Edward Fitzball, lyricist	c1830 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London. Published by Goulding & D'Almaine 20, Soho Square.			Fifth edition
127	Cookes' favourite Air, Love's Ritornella	Arranged for the Guitar by C. M. Sola	1830 (COPAC)	Voice and Guitar	Mrs Shelton	London, Printed & Sold by, Music Seller to his Majesty, 50, New Bond Street	3713		

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<b>UDB ref no.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scored for</b>	<b>Dedication</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Printer/ Plate number</b>	<b>Annotations\writing on the music\other</b>	<b>Other information</b>
128	The First and Last Smile, canzonet	William Henry Cooke, late of Bath organist of St Mary's church Welshpool. Rev. John Evans, M.A, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and Piano	The Vicountess Combemere [the printed second 'm' has been overwritten with 'r']	London, D'Almaine & Co.20, Soho Square			

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<b>UDB ref no.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scored for</b>	<b>Dedication</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Printer/ Plate number</b>	<b>Annotations\writing on the music\other</b>	<b>Other information</b>
129	Weippert's admired Quadrilles, entitled 'Les Dames de la Cour'	John Weippert, Harpist to her majesty, the King and Queen of Belgium, All the English Royal Family, and Director of her Majesty's Royal Quadrille Band. Almack's &c	n.d.	Piano	Milises Montagu	London, published by John Weippert, 21, Soho Square			
130	Locomotif Walzer	Adolph Marschan	n.d.	Piano		London, T. Boosey & Co. 28, Hollies Street, Oxford Street			3 pieces, the first in 2/4 time

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
131	The celebrated gallop from the opera Lestocq or the Fête of the Hermitage	Auber. Arranged by Henri Herz	c1845 (COPAC)	Piano		London D'Almaine & Co Soho Square			
132	A Second Quadrille Rondo (subject taken from Herz)	Arranged by I. M. Rost	n.d.	Piano	Mills Godson	London, Balls & Son, 408, Oxford St.	1824	At the top right hand of the front cover in very faint pencil 'Miss Bullock'. Underneath that, in thin-nibbed black ink 'Miss Louisa Bullock Winchmore Hill'. Some pencil fingerings for right hand.	
133	Malmaiso n Valse	Pedro de Zulueta	Copyright MCMIX						Also published as a song.

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<b>UDB ref no.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scored for</b>	<b>Dedication</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Printer/ Plate number</b>	<b>Annotations\writing on the music\other</b>	<b>Other information</b>
134	Land of Hope and Glory	Edward Elgar. Arthur Benson, lyricist	Copyright 1902	Voice, Piano, Chorus		Boosey & Co, 295 Regent Street, London, W.	H3670	Maysie Glyn' top RH corner	indecipherable stamp bottom RH side

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<b>UDB ref no.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scored for</b>	<b>Dedication</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Printer/ Plate number</b>	<b>Annotations\writing on the music\other</b>	<b>Other information</b>
135	John Weippert's Admired Set of Waltzes entitled La Tuileries	John Weippert, Harpist to the Queen, their Majesties the King and Queen of Hanover, the King and Queen of Belgium, All the English Royal Family, & Director of Her Majesty's Royal Quadrille Band, Almack's &c.	n.d.	Piano	Miss Goldings	John Weippert, 21, Soho Square			
136	Third Concertante	Pleyel	1799 (COPAC)	Violin and Piano				'Frances Bullock' name handwritten in black ink with fine	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
137	We Met!		c1835 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		A. Betts, North piazza, Royal exchange		nib in top right-hand corner of front cover.	
138	Sabbath Recreations, A collection of choice pieces selected from the Great Church Composers	Czerny	1839 (N&T)	Piano	Miss Astley of Langdon Lodge, Ryde, Isle of Wight	London, printed and sold by & Co, 20, Princes Street, Hanover Square	3699	Top RH corner of the cover in pencil 'Fanny Bullock from n.d. 1842'	Book 3 only of Czerny's Sabbath Recreations, Angel's Ever Bright and Fair, music by Handel
139	Trois Melodies Irlandaises, No. 2		1833 (assumed from COPAC refs)	Piano			934		An introduction, the melody and 5 variations.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	'Groves of Blarney'								
140	Nocturne	Henri Ravina	1840 (COPAC)	Piano	Mademoiselle Inès Martineau	Paris, chez Henry Lemoine, Editeur de Musique, Rue de l'Echelle No 9	3101 H.	In blue ink at the bottom of the front cover what looks like 'Henry Lemoine' and possibly a street address.	Op. 13
141	Un rayon de tes yeux, Mélodie de Stigelli, Andante Rêverie	W. Krüger	1857 (COPAC)	Piano	Son élève Madame la Princesse Hélène de Podenas née de Vermoloff	n.d.	G.F. 234	Front cover top right corner in black ink, written by a different hand to 7.9) 'Miss Fanny Bullock'.	Op. 59
142	Pan Pipes, No. 3 Tempo di valse	Arthur Somervell	1901 (COPAC)	Piano		Augener Ltd, 63 Conduit Street (regent St Corner), 57 High Street, Marylebone & 18	11984	Pencil name on top RH front cover corner 'Lisa Fortnum'. Stamp on bottom. Something	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
143	Valse, The Lily of St Leonards Forest	John Pusey	1854 (COPAC)	Piano	By permission to Lady Alwyne	London, Jewell and Letchford, 17, Soho Square	304	in pencil at the start of the music.	Introduction and 3 pieces
144	Henry's Cottage Maid	Playel	1810 (COPAC)	Corni in A, Flauti, Violins 1 and 2, Viola, Basso, Cembalo and Voice		London, Printed and Sold at A. Bland & Weller's Music Warehouse no23, Oxford Street			'A favourite song as now singing at the principal concerts with the greatest applause'.
145	All'idea di quell Metallo and Cessa		n.d.	Flute part only			1076		Flute part only.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\Other	Other information
	di piu resistere								
146	Fantaisie de Concert sur des Airs Crosssais, Robin Adair, et 'Comin' thro' the Rye'	W. Kuhe	n.d.	Piano	Miss Louisa Scott	London, Joseph Williams, 11, Holborn Bars, E.C. and 123, Cheapside	4360		
147	Harpe Eoienne morceau de salon	Sydney Smith	1861	Piano	Mademoiselle Diana Ashton	London, Ashdown & Parry (successors to Wessel & Co) 18, Hanover Square, Leipzig, C. F. Peters (A. Whistling)	A & P. No 824		Op. 11

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
148	The Gorilla Quadrille	C.H R. Marriott	1864	Piano		Joseph Williams, limited, 32, Great Portland Street, W.	2927		Theme and variations, one vocal: My name is Gorilla and that you plainly see; By birth I am a Darkie but you can't get hold of me; I laugh Ah Ah! I sing Doo Dah. Ah Ah! Doo Dah. Ah Ah!; I'm th' wonderful Gorilla whom you've heard of but not seen.
149	Bentinck 'Sacred Air', Heures Des Amateurs	H. B. Walmisley. Arranged with Introduction by EB. Thomas Haynes Bayly, lyricist	n.d.	Piano		n.d.			An arrangement for Piano only, although lyricist is credited

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
150	La Belle Rachelle, Valse	Felix Gantier	n.d.	Piano		J. Brandard chromolith, printed in colors by M & N Hanhari [uncertain name]			Introduction and waltz for Piano
151	The Royal Highland Schottische	Arranged by W. Williams	c1885	Piano		Francis Bros & Day	F & D.1435		Appears to be an arrangement of 'The Keel Row'
152	Ocean Treasures Waltz	Herbert A. Sutton	1891	Piano		London, Hopwood & Crew, 42, New Bond Street, W.	H & C.3120		
153	Chanson des Paysans de Bohême	Jules Schulhoff	n.d.	Piano	Madame Nogué	A Paris chez Henry Lemoine, Professeur de Piano, et Editeur, de Musique, Rue de l'Echelle, No7, Londres, Robert Cocks	3500.HL	Bottom right hand corner of front cover is a smudged name and address, stamped, of Henry Lemoine.	The name 'E. Samar' is at the base of the oval floral front cover decoration, possibly the artist.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
154	Nocturne	Henri Ravina	1840 (COPAC)	Piano		A Paris chez Henry Lemoine, Professeur de Piano, et Editeur, de Musique, Rue de l'Echelle, No7, Bonn. N. Simrock	HL 3740	Bottom right hand corner of inside page is a stamped name and address of Henry Lemoine.	Op. 13, 3740 H.
155	Marche caractéristique	Maurice Decourcelle	n.d.	Piano	Madam.lle Graham	Paris, chez J.MEISSONNIER FILS, Rue Dauphine, 18.	J.M.2888		Publisher's stamp bottom right hand corner of inside page. Op. 27, J.M.2888
156	The Martyr, Sacred Song	Gordon Sutherland L.. C. Maurice	1888 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London, C. Jefferys, 67, Berners Street	J.3.720	Top right-hand corner of the front cover, handwritten in ink 'Miss Sutherland with love from the Author and Composer'.	I have been unable to find out anything about Gordon Sutherland

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
157	The Triumvirate or Homage to Schubert, No. 10 of Wessel & Co's Collection of the admired "Lieder ohne Worte" or "Songs without Words"	Francois Schubert. Transcribed by Fran. Liszt, Stephen Heller, Charles Czerny	1840 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Ashdown & Parry, (successors to Wessel & Co) 18, Hanover Square	W & Co No3305	Bottom right hand corner of front cover is a smudged name and address, stamped, of Henry Lemoine.	Inside front page 'Ellens Hymn (Ave Marie) by F. Liszt'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
158	Belgravia Waltz	Dan Godfrey (B.M. Grenadier Guards)	1865 (COPAC)	Piano			13490 Royal Musical Repository		
159	The Smile of my Love	Auber. Arranged by T. Cooke. Alfred Bunn Esq, lyricist	c1835 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London, D'Almaine & Co, Soho Square			Publisher's stamp at the end of the music. This Song was published originally under the title of "The blue of thine eye".
160	Tom Bowling	C.. Dibdin. Arranged by Bernard Austin	n.d. )	Voice and Piano		London, W. Paxton, 19, Oxford Street, W.		Bottom left hand corner of the cover is a stuck-on, half lilac label 'T. Leach discount bookseller, book binder & stationer Redhill'.	The popular song with new symphonies and accompaniments

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
161	New and Popular Dance Music	Dan. Godfrey, Charles D'Albert &c	December 25, 1869	Piano		Chappell & Co, 50, New Bond Street; Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. And F. Pitman, Paternoster Row, Agent for Bayswater – M. Marks, 83, Norfolk Terrace, Westbourne Grove			'Chappell's Musical Magazine', 'described as Extra Christmas Number, edited by Edward F. Rimbault', 'no. 84', 'Popular & classical vocal and pianoforte music'. Includes a new set of quadrilles entitled "Old Friends" composed expressly for "Chappell's Musical Magazine"
162	Dream Faces	Wm M Hutchinson	1882 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		W. Marshall & Co			
163	Duet in D, op.33	A. Diabelli	n.d.	Piano		London, Brewer & Co, 23, Bishopsgate Street, Within			

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<b>UDB ref no.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scored for</b>	<b>Dedication</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Printer/ Plate number</b>	<b>Annotations\writing on the music\other</b>	<b>Other information</b>
164	Meet me by the Linden Tree! A Ballad	George Linley, Author of Songs of the Trobadore, "Green Hills of Tyrol", Editor of the Edinburgh Musical Album.	1829 (N & T)	Voice and Piano		London, Published by I. Willis & Co. Royal Musical Repository, 55, St James Street, London, and 7, Westmorland St. Dublin.	1029		
165	Far Away	Music adapted from a melody by Hümmel Words from Summer Songs of Country Life, by kind permission of Messrs. G.	c1890 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London, W. Paxton, 431, Oxford Street, W.			

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
		Routledge & Sons							
166	Album of songs 'The Follies'	H. G. Pellissier. Arthur Davenport, lyricist	c1910 (COPAC)	Voice and Piano		London : Joseph Williams, Limited, 32, Great Portland Street, W.	J.W.15126	On the front cover, in black ink, is handwritten 'Maysie A. Glyn'. The composer's name '- H. G. Pellissier -' also stamped on the cover.	
167	22 pieces selected from Le	Mozart. Adapted by F. Fiorillo	1812 (COPAC)	Piano or Harp, Flute		London, Messrs Birchall & Co, No			Also NT 9.9. Sets 1 (9.2) and 3

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	Nozze di Figaro					140 New Bond Street.			(9.9) of 22 pieces in 3 books
168	Les Thernoises Contredanses Variées	Ch. Chauvieu	1831 (N & T, COPAC)	Piano	Mademoiselle Elisa Crensch du Condray	London, printed by and Co, 20 Princes Str, Hanover Sq; and in Paris by H. Lemeine	803		First set, Op. 114
169	Variations Brillantes pour le piano a quatre mains sur les motifs de l'Opera 'Lucie de Lamermoor'	Donizetti. Arranged by N. Louis	n.d.	Piano		Paris, chez Bernard Latte, editeur. Mayance et Anvers, chez les fils de B. Schott. Milan, chez Ricordi.	B.L.2133		Opera 78

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
170	'The Ev'ning Drum' ballad	S. Nelson. Charles Jeffreys, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and Piano		London, published by Leoni Lee, Music Seller to the Royal Family, 17 Old Bond St			The picture on the front has oriental characteristics. The words make no reference to place save 'faithful Selim's home'.
171	The Native Roundelay	Auber. Arranged by T. Cooke Alfred Dunn esq, lyricist	1835	Voice and piano		London: D'Almaine & co 20, Soho Square		Handwritten in the same fine ink pen hand 'Miss F Bullock Uppark April 1st'. In the vocal text, there is one ink handwritten correction: 'this garland's' written in place of crossed out 'the garland we' (p1)	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
172	Kind Words can never Die	Abby Hutchinson. Arranged by H. Stafford Treco	n.d.	Soprano, Chorus, Piano or Harmonium		London: Howard & Co, 25, Great Marlborough Street, W.	H & Co.200		Popular song and chorus: 3 verses for solo (soprano) voice, chorus sing the same words in 4 parts after each verse.
173	Mazourka Quadrille and Cellarius Waltz		n.d.	Piano					This is written instructions, with diagrams, as to how to perform these dances (no music) The music is suited to both forms and there are very detailed instructions with diagrams as to how to perform these dances.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
174	Homage à Arditi' Valse	H. Chollet	1865 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Oetzmann & Company 27, Baker Street, Portman Square. W.	O & Co.200		
175	Romances sans paroles	J. Rosenhain	n.d.	Piano	Sophie de Bade		M.S.3430(3)		Op. 31
176	Arrangement of the celebrated 'Glorious Galop'	R. Coote	between n 1876- 82 (COPAC)	Piano		Hopwood & Crew 42, New Bond Street, London	H & C.1402		
177	Horsey! Keep your tail up Keep the sun out of my eyes	Walter Hirsch and Bert Kaplan	copyright t 1923 on the original	Voice and Piano		B. Feldman & Co, 125, 127, 129, Shaftesbury Avenue, W.C.2, New York: M. Witmark & Sons copyright 1923			
178	Preghiera in the opera of	Giuseppe Verdi	n.d.	Voice and Piano		London, Printed & Sold by C. Lonsdale, 26 Old Bond Street	737		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\Other	Other information
179	John Weipert's Quadrilles entitled Abbeville	John Weipert, Harpist to the Queen, their Majesties the King and Queen of Belgium, the King and Queen of Hanover, all the English Royal Family, & Director of Her Majesty's Royal Quadrille Band, Almack's &c.'	1840 (COPAC)	Piano	Mrs and Miss Morris of The Retreat, Battersea				

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
180	Walking Home with Angelina	John C. Roundback. Geo. Totten Smith, lyricist	Copyright MCMill	Voice, Chorus and dance after second verse		London, Francis, Day & Hunter, 142, Charing Cross Road, Oxford Street End, and 22 Denmark Street (just round the corner)			No 129, sixpenny popular edition (no discount allowed)
181	Outward Bound suite	Alec Rowley	1922	Piano		Winthrop Rogers, Ltd, Sole agents: Hawkes & Son (London), Ltd	W.R.4089		
182	Mendelssohn's Werke Serie XI	n.d.	n.d.	Piano		Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel	M.B.64	Top right corner in black ink 'Glyn'	Stamped on the bottom of the cover is 'Novello, Ewer & Co 1, Berners Street, London W'
183	La Belle Capricieuse Grande Valse	F.M.D'Alquen	n.d.	Piano	Miss Brise Ruggles	London: published by Duff & Hodgson, 65, Oxford Street		Miss Bullcock with Mrs Mi.....rany'. This name is indecipherable.	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	fantastiqu e								
184	Carnival of Venice	Brinley Richards	1868 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Robert Cocks & Co. New Burlington St. Regent Street, W. by special Appointment, Music Publishers to her most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. and to his Imperial Majesty The Emperor Napoleon III. Leipzig Hofmeister	13,347		At bottom of each page is the number '13,347'.
185	Three Scotch Melodies	Brinley Richards	n.d.	Piano		London: Chappell & Co., 50, New Bond Street, W. Also by the same composer, Three	9568	'No 3' handwritten in ink.	'No.1., Solo, 36 Auld Lang Syne'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
186	Recollections of Wales No.3 The Rising of the Lark	Brinley Richards	1852 (COPAC)	Piano	[illegible] Esq	London: Robert Cocks & Co., New Burlington Street, (W.) Piano Forte Manufacturers, and Music Publishers by special warrant to Her Most Excellent Majesty, the Queen. Also by the same composer [list of 5 works].	9680	'No 3' handwritten in ink with a very fine nib.	'Complete in One Volume, Illustrated with a beautiful Frontispiece, ornamental Boards, Vignette, and gilt edges, 21s'. 'Copyright'. 12 pieces
187	Dreaming of Angels	Brinley Richards	1876 (COPAC)	Piano		London: Hopwood & Crew, 42, New Bond Street, W.	H.& C.1191		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
188	St Patrick's Day, No.1 of Three Irish Melodies	Brinley Richards	c1855 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Chappell, 50, New Bond Street. Also by the same popular composer, Three English Melodies [listed]	9515		
189	Auld Robin Gray	Brinley Richards	c1860 (COPAC)	Piano	Miss Bullock, Uppark, Petersfield	London, A. Hammond & Co.(Julien's) Musical Circulating Library, 5, Vigo St. Regent Street. Hoffmeister & Co. Leipzig.	H.1619		
190	The Harper's Grave	Brinley Richards. The Revd.Llewellyn Thomas, (Geraint), Lyricist	c1874	Voice and Piano	Mrs Edward Westbrook	London. Robert Cocks & Co new Burlington St Regent St W. By special Appointment Music Publishers to her most Gracious	1162A	Top right hand corner, in black ink 'to Miss Bullock with the composer's compliments Dec 20 1873'.	'This poem won The Banting Prize, at the Ruthin Eisteddfod, 1868'. 'The proceeds of this Song to be devoted (by the wish of W.Banting,

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
191	Rhydd-Did Hedd A Llwyddian t. Freedom, Peace and Prosperity . The Carmarthe nshire March, QuickStep	Brinley Richards	1871	Piano	The Right Hon.ble The Earl of Cawdor, and the Officers of the Militia & Volunteers of The County of Carmarthen	Majesty Queen Victoria, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, And the late Emperor Napoleon III.	15,538		'This March was composed by the special request of the Earl of Cawdor: Lord Lieutenant of the County'.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
192	La Zingara Op.43	Brinley Richards. Balfe, Lyricist	n.d.	Piano forte	Mrs George Pipone	London: Chappell 50 New Bond Street	8877		
193	Lucrezia Borgia, Grand Fantasia	Brinley Richards	1869 (COPAC)	Piano forte	Lady Buckley	London: Chappell & Co 50, New Bond Street Leipzig, Hoffmeister	14136		
194	My Lodging is on the Cold Ground No.3 of Three English Melodies	Brinley Richards	1850s (COPAC)	Piano		London: Chappell 50 New Bond Street	9500		
195	Bonnie Dundee	Brinley Richards	1854	Piano forte	Miss Colston	London, Chappell, 50, New Bond Street.	9044 J & W Pearman Lithos 13 castle St East		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
196	The Monastery	Brinley Richards	1850s (COPAC)	Piano	Lady John Somerset	London: Chappell & Co, 49 & 50 New Bond Street	9587		
197	The Ash Grove "Llwyn On"	Brinley Richards	1860 (COPAC)	Piano forte	Lady Digby Wyatt	London: Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, Regent Street, W. Leipzig: Hoffmeister	15426	Pencil marks (crosses, fingerings) on the music	Music publishers to her most gracious majesty, Queen Victoria, His royal highness, the Prince of Wales, and to His Imperial majesty, the Emperor Napoleon III the 'Recollections of Wales' by Brinley Richards contains a simplified arrangement of this charming welsh melody

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
198	Titania Valse de Concert	Brinley Richards	1876 (COPAC)	Piano	The Lady Clarence Paget	London: Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, Regent Street, W. Leipzig: Hoffmeister	16228		as 204 re publisher ... <i>(then)</i> And the late Emperor III arranged by BR
199	Kathleen Aroon	Brinley Richards	1865 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, Regent Street, W.	14382		Music publishers to her most gracious majesty, Queen Victoria, His royal highness, the Prince of Wales, and to His Imperial majesty, the Emperor Napoleon III
200	The British Grenadier's March	Brinley Richards	1850s (COPAC)	Piano		London: Chappell & Co., 50 New Bond Street, W.	9492		No 2 of Three English Melodies

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
201	The Pianist's Library	Edited by Brinley Richards	n.d.	Piano		London, Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, Regent Street, W. "Music publishers to her most gracious majesty, Queen Victoria, His royal highness, the Prince of Wales, and to His Imperial majesty, the Emperor Napoleon III"	13653		BR was editor of 'The Student's practice' and 'the classical pianist' A collection of the Piano Forte works from the best masters, classical and modern
202	Home, Sweet Home	Brinley Richards	NF	Piano		London, Chappell, 50, New Bond Street.	9493		No 1 of Three English Melodies
203	The Low-Back'd Carl	n.d.	1865 (COPAC)	Piano forte	Lady Eleanor Moreton	London, Chappell & Co., New Bond Street	9639 J & W Pearman Lithos 13 castle St East		Favorite Irish melody

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
204	God bless the Prince of Wales	Brinley Richards	1862 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, Regent Street, W. "Music publishers to her most gracious majesty, Queen Victoria, His royal highness, the Prince of Wales, and to His Imperial majesty, the Emperor Napoleon III"	13907		(The new national song)
205	Claribel's "Strangers Yet"	Transcribed for the piano forte by Brinley Richards	between 1864-74 (National Library of Australia)	Piano		London, Boosey & Co., 28, Holles Street.			

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
206	Esmeralda , Bolero	Arranged by Brinley Richards	n.d.	Piano		London, Duff & Stewart, 147, Oxford Street, W. Leipzig, Hoffmeister & Co Milian, Ricordi	D & S.3379		Composed by W.C. Levey
207	Titania	Brinley Richards	1876 (COPAC)	Piano	The Lady Clarence Paget	London, Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, Regent Street, W. Music publishers to her most gracious majesty, Queen Victoria, His royal higness, the Prince of Wales, and the late Emperor Napoleon III. Leipzig, Hoffmeister	16228	Top RH corner of inside front cover 'Miss Featherstonehaugh with Brinley Richards' compts Dec.29 1876'	Valse de concert

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
208	Rondeau Turc	F.Herold	1828 (N&T)	Piano forte		London, J.B.Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201, Regent Street.	705	A very few pencil crosses and fingerings	
209	Non Piu Andrai, Air	Mozart	n.d.	Piano forte		London Goulding & D'Almaine, Soho Square.		Top RH corner in black ink, one word 'Fanny'	arranged by J.Mazinghi
210	Oberon Polka de Salon	Madame Anna Caroline Oury	1858 (COPAC)	Piano forte	Lady Isabella Stewart	London, Boosey & Sons, 28, Holles Street, Oxford Street.		Front cover top RH corner in ink 'Miss Bullock\With my kind love' followed by illegible initials. Inside first page 'FB from [illegible]'	
211	Trois Rêveries Op.31	Henri Rosellen	n.d.	Piano		Back page at the bottom: Paris Chez Henry Lemoine, Rue de l'Échelle	3228.HL.		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
212	Hallelujah Chorus	<i>(name of the composer not given - Handel)</i>	Plate no suggests 1840 in N&T	Piano forte		London, J.A.Novello, 69, Dean St.Soho, & 35, Poultry, also in New York, at 389, Broadway.	824		adapted by J.H.Little
213	Heimweh Melodie, Op. 117	Albert Jungmann	c1900 (Parlour Songs Academ y)	Piano		London, Augener & Co 86 Newgate Street	A & Co.1293		Blue ink stamp at bottom centre front cover 'Augener & Co\ Music Library\ 81 Regent St London'
214	Pieces from Artaxerxes	Dr Arne. Revised by Mr T.Cooke	n.d.	Piano		Williams's New Edition of English Operas Published at No 2 Strand		Handwritten name in black ink on top RH corner of front sheet, 'Eliza'	Includes Overture for piano, 'Recitativo' for treble voice and piano (chords), 'Fair Aurora' duet for 2 treble voices and piano, 'Adieu thou lovely youth' for piano and treble voice

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
215	Concerto, Op.15	J.L.Dusseck	n.d.	Harp or Piano, with accompaniments		London, Printed by Goulding, D'Almaine & Co.,20 Soho Square, and to be had at 7 Westmorland St. Dublin	497	A very few pencil markings on the music on p19	Ink stain on top RH corner of cover
216	My Lodging is on the cold ground	Flute by C.Nicholson Piano Forte by J.T. Burrowes	n.d.	Flute and Piano	Inscribed to William Graham Esq'		1546		Front cover missing
217	Italian Air 'Benedett a sia la Madre'	J.B.Cramer	1832 (N & Y)	Piano Forte	Miss Emily Kerrison	London, Cramer, Adision & Beale, 201, Regent Street.	1065	4 pencil fingerings on p7	Arranged with variations
218	All details in Russian (language not known to me)		n.d.					In pencil, at top of p2, some words 'Your pretty dess'. On the back cover, in	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
219	All details in Russian (language not known to me)		n.d.					light black ink 'Russian Music'	
220	No title.		MS	Voice and Piano			Hand neatly written text and music on ruled manuscript. Both sides of a decorated sheet (about A5 size).	in pencil, French words at the top of different movements in this piece, ps 2, 3, 4 and 6	Text and music handwritten. Text largely illegible. (first word illegible, then 'awake music own love and list my lust ...')
221	"He with redoubled rage..."	Handel	MS	Piano	to Joshua		Hand neatly written text and music on ruled manuscript.	Front sheet, name in top RH corner 'Frances Bulllock'.	A celebrated chorus from Handel's Oratorio

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
222	Copenhagen Waltz	T. Latour	MS	Piano			Hand neatly written text and music on ruled manuscript.		
223	The Blue Bells of Scotland		MS	Piano			Hand neatly written text and music on ruled manuscript.	Front side: 'To be played Andantino with a clear and ringing sound' date At end of the MS, handwritten in margin 'October 31st 51' <i>(it looks like 51)</i> .	Staves appear to be hand drawn in ink 'Dreyschock' is on top RH corner - could be name of composer OR a name?
224	Pop goes the Weasel		MS	Treble clef only, a single line of music			Hand neatly written text and music on ruled manuscript.		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
225	Sailor Boy and other titles		MS	Vocal				Top RH corner 'In one o'clock'	Sailor Boy' (first page) treble and bass clef as for piano, text in between. 'Le Vaillant Troubadour' (2nd and 3rd pages) by Eglantine, for piano and treble voice on separate stave, with 4 additional written verses. Title only (4th page) 'Gang nae mair to yon Town', 'Mrs Mcleod of Rasay' - " treble and bass as for piano"

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
226	My Mary Anne		MS	Piano and voice					One verse only with music, 3 verses written out on the other side of the page
227	Information about rhythms and note values		MS						
228	Unreadable titles (2) handwritten on both sides of MS paper		MS	Piano				Black ink on one side, pencil on the other	
229			MS						On the other side of 228 MS, on the top back, in pencil, 'The Eltham Waltz composed by Miss Louisa Bullock'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
230	Miss Johnson's Book		MS	Treble line only on one side, treble and bass on the other				Black ink 'Miss J's reel' on one side, untitled black ink (all minims and semibreves) No 1 and No 2, on the other side.	Handwritten MS on both sides
231	2 titles: 'Foxlease Vesper' and 'Taps'		MS	Treble lines			Handwritten black ink	Red-pink mark towards bottom of page	2 items on the same side of a piece of double sided MS
232	Untitled		MS	Treble line and piano			Handwritten black ink	Some pencil notes follow the song	Text is about dreaming of the Hebrides Handwritten on inner 2 sides of double MS paper. Opening words are 'From the love sheiling in the misty isles.....'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
233	Untitled		MS	Treble line and piano			Pencil, on first page of double MS		Same music and text as 232 <b>but</b> different rhythms in penultimate 2 bars
234	Untitled		MS				Black ink, hand written		Line of notes (assume treble), lack of bar lines
235	(1)'The Malcolm Polka' and (2) 'The Agnes Polka'	(1) John Stiles (2) J. Browne	MS	Piano			Black ink on both sides	(1) 2 illegible initials at the end	Handwritten MS on both sides
236	Playels Third Concertante		MS	Violin Primo			Black ink, hand written, very neat and regular hand		Could possibly be handwritten as on MS (several pages)

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
237	Alexander's Ragtime Band	Words and music by Irving Berlin	1911 copyright	Voice and piano		London B.Feldman & Co., 2 & 3 Arthur Street, New Oxford Street, W.C. New York: Waterson, Berlin & Snyder Co.	Alexander's Ragtime Band 4		Sung with enormous success in John R. Huddleston and John Tiller's Grand Ballet "A Garden of Mirth" at the Winter Gardens, Blackpool
238	Oh, You Beautiful Doll	Music by Nat D'Ayer. Words by Seymour Brown	Copyright 1911 by Jerome H. Remick & Co	Voice and piano		London B. Feldman & Co., 2 & 3 Arthur Street, New Oxford Street, W.C. New York: Jerome H. Remick & Co.		Bottom RH corner, purple ink stamp. Garth & Co\ Publishers and Music Sellers\ 25 Chandwick Place\ Edinburgh	Front cover: Copyright. This song may be sung in public without fee or licence except at theatres and music halls. Latest American song

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
239	The Dollar Princess Waltz	arranged by Carl Kiefert	1911	Voice and piano		Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew Ltd. 16 Mortimer Street, Regent Street, London, W.	A.H. & C.Ltd. 4866	Bottom RH corner, what could be a handwritten or printed name, which I cannot read	
240	Twenty Two Pieces (in three Books) Selected from the Celebrated Opera of le Nozze di Figaro	Mozart. Adapted for the piano forte or harp with an accompaniment for the Flute, by F.Fiorillo	n.d.	Flute		London Printed & sold by Messrs Birchall & Co No 133 New Bond Street		This is book 1	Applications for right of performance to Mr George Edwardes, Daly's Theatre, Leicester Square, London. Copyright MCMIX (1911) to Ascherberg, Hopwood & Crew Ltd.
241	Valse du Sahel	Oeuvre 5	n.d.	Piano		Alger, Tachet, Rue bab-Azoun Paris, G.Flaxland, 4, Place de la Madeleine	Lithographe et Autographe Mthieu Guende		Madame Thurgar, Eieve de Madame Dulichen, Pianiste

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
242	Bad Luck to the Day when the Rot Tux the Praties	Words by A.E.K.	n.d.	Voice and piano				Irish song' handwritten in black ink on back cover	No front cover, no composer or publisher details
243	Bad Luck to the Day when the Rot Tux the Praties (duplicate of 242).		n.d.						No front cover
244	Overture to the Grand Opera, The Siege of Rochelle	Composed and arranged for the piano forte by M.W.Balfie	1835 (COPAC)	Piano		London, Published by Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201 Regent Street	1634	Top RH corner 'Frances Bullock' in black ink. Bottom RH corner, stamp 'L.B.Cramer & Co\ Regent St'.	performed at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
245	Everybody 's doing it now	Written & composed by Irving Berlin	1912	Voice and piano		B. Feldman & Co., 2 & 3, Arthur Street, New Oxford Street, London, W.C.			
246	Molly Doooley, Darlin'	Music by Dolores Grenefall Words by W. Boyle	1904	Voice and piano	Dedicated to and sung by Mr. Robert Cunningham		H & C Ltd 4247		Copyright 1912 by Waterson, Berlin & Snyder Co New York Irish traditional melody (Irish Traditional Music Archive, itma.ie accessed 23.02.18.)
247	The Museum, a selection of popular melodies, No 7	Arranged by Thomas Valentine	n.d.	Piano forte		London, .... <i>(crossed out in heavy black ink)</i> & Co. 148, New Bond Street		Top RH corner: in faint pencil 'Miss F Bullock'.	Copyright 1904 by Hopwood & Crew Ltd

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
248	Just a Wee Deoch-An-Doris No 392	Written and composed by Harry Lauder, Whit Cunliffe & Gerald Grafton	1911	Voice and piano					
249	Lightly tread 'tis hallow'd ground	composed by John Scotland. Arranged by William Hutchins Callcott	n.d.	Three voices, listed as treble 1, treble two and bass, and piano		London, printed and sold by C.Lonsdale, (late Birchall & Co) 26, Old Bond Street	565		Copyright MCMXI by B.Feldman & Co London England Glee for 3 voices
250	Tu Vedrai, Les Favorites Three Brilliant Compositions	François Hünten	n.d.	Piano forte		London, Printed and Published by R.Cocks & Co., 20 Princes Str., Hanover Square.	951	Top RH corner in black ink thin nib 'Miss Frances Bullock\ Uppark\April 4th 35' NB. Not sure about the year, figures difficult to read, could be '95' though	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
251	The Bell, The Bugle, and The Flag	Music by H.E.P. Verses by Guy N.Pocock	mid 1920s	Voice, chorus and piano		Lowe & Brydone Printers Ltd, London, N.W.10		<i>looks older publication than that date)</i>	Bottom centre, stamp 'Sold by W.H.Aldridge, 34(?)4 Regent Street' Song for the Watts Naval Training School
252	That Mysterious Rag	Berlin and Snyder	1911 copyright on the original	Voice and piano		B.Feldman & Co., 2 & 3, Arthur Street, new Oxford Street, London, W.C.			

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
253	My Mutter Song	Howard Talbot. Arthur Wimperis, lyricist	1911	Voice and piano		Chappell & Co Ltd, 50 New Bond Street, London, W.	23998		Bottom RH corner, raised lettering 'A.E. Cooke\ Westgate\ Peterborough'. Copyright 1911 by Ted Snyder Co. New York. Howard Talbot was instrumental in setting up the Association of Musical Directors 'for protective interests' in 1916. from the musical play 'The Arcadians'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
254	Everybody's doing it now	Irving Berlin	1912	Voice and piano		London B. Feldman & Co., 2 & 3, Arthur Street New Oxford Street, W.C.			Copyright, MCMXIX, by Chappell & Co Ltd. RH side over halfway down, purple ink stamp 'Howard Talbot' Bottom RH corner, raised lettering 'J. Claypole & Son \ Music Warehouse \ Peterborough'. The great song hit in the Empire Revue
255	Alexander's Ragtime Band	Words and music by Irving Berlin	n.d.	Voice and piano		London B. Feldman & Co., 2 & 3, Arthur Street New Oxford Street, W.C.		Top RH corner in black ink 'Maysie Glyn'	Copyright MCMXXII in America by B. Feldman & Co.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
256	A Third Concertante	Ignace Pleyel	n.d.)	Piano forte with an accompaniment for the violin		London, Printed & sold by Preston, at his Wholesale Warehouses, 97, Strand			Copyright. This is the violin obligato part
257	The Gaby Glide	Louis A. Hirsch. Harry Pilcer, lyricist	1911	Voice and piano		London Feldman & Co., 2 & 3, Arthur Street New Oxford Street, W.C.			The tremendous success story of Gaby Deslys and Harry Pilcer in the winter garden production 'Vera Violetta'
258	Oh, You Beautiful Doll	Nat D. Ayer. Seymour Brown, lyricist	1911	Voice and piano		London Feldman & Co., 2 & 3, Arthur Street New Oxford Street, W.C.			Bottom RH corner, raised lettering 'A.E.Cooke\ Westgate\ Peterborough'. Copyright 1911 by Shapiro Music Publishing Co., New York.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
259	Let us haste to Kelvin Grove	D.Schlesinger	1828 (N & T)	Piano forte. There are parts for flute and piano	Miss Jane Hector	London, J.B.Cramer, Addison & Brale, 201 Regent Street, corner of Conduit Street	702		Picture on front has name 'Sidney Kent' (the artist). Copyright 1911 in America by Jerome H.Remick & Co. Introduction & rondo on the favorite air, Op.10
260	Vip-I-Addy-I-Ay	Arranged by H.M.Higgs	1909	Piano		Chappell & Co Ltd, 50 New Bond Street, London, W.	41061		Two-step on the successful song by Will D. Cobb and John H. Flynn

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
261	Roses in June	Edward German. Clifton Bingham, lyricist	1909	Voice and piano with violin ad libitum. Violin and piano parts.		G. Ricordi & Co 265, Regent Street London, W.		Top RH corner in very faint pencil 'Maysie Glynn'. Above that in black ink (probably the same hand) 'Peter' and separately another letter 'p'. Stamped name	Copyright, MCMIX, by Chappell & Co Ltd. One of a set of 3, plate nos 103375, 1033376, 1033377
262	8 Chansons sans paroles	A. Tellier	1911	Piano		The B. F. Wood Music Co Boston, New York, Leipzig, London, 12 Rathbone Place, Oxford St W	B. F. W. 3925-3	top RH corner in blue ink pen 'Una and Muriel with best wishes.' 3 pencil marks on the music (p8)	Bottom RH corner is a purple stamped name. Copyright 1900, by G. Ricordi & Co. Edition Wood No 638
263	Home Sweet Home Home Waltz	Charles D'Albert	n.d.	Piano		London, Chappell & Co 50, New Bond Street	12971		Centre bottom stamp 'R. W. Pentland, 24 Frederick St, Edinburgh. Copyright MCMXI

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
264	Reels and strathspeys, Bk 3, Op 30	J. T. Surene	n.d.	Piano		Walker & Co., Engrs, Edinr.			
265	I want to sing in opera	Written and composed by Worton David and George Arthurs	1910	Voice and piano		London, Francis, Day & Hunter, 142, Charing Cross Road, W.C.			by the B. F. Wood Music Co.

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
266	Perles et Diamans	Léonie Tonel		Piano		London, L'Enfant & Hodgkins, 18, Rathbone Place, Oxford St			Bottom RH corner stamp 'J. Claypole & Son, Music Warehouse, Peterborough'. The bottom line of music on p4, after the end of chorus, is marked (printed) '(Play through business.) Copyright MCMX in the United States of America by Francis, Day & Hunter Mazurka Brillante
267	Bobby Dear	Words and music by Charles Scott-Gatty	1908	Voice and piano		Chappell & Co Ltd, 50 New Bond Street, London, W.	5758 on the front cover. 23662 at bottom of inside pages.	Top RH corner handwritten ink signature 'Maysie A. Glyn'	song

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
268	Bonne Bouche	Emile Waldteufel	n.d.	Piano		London, Hopwood & Crew, 42, new Bond Street	H & C.2026.		Bottom RH corner purple stamp 'Chappell & Co. Ltd'. Copyright, MCMVIII, by Chappell & Co Ltd. Polka
269	Songe D'Automn e	Archibald Joyce	1908	Piano	Miss Florence Roberts	Francis, Day & Hunter, 142, Charing Cross Road London W.C.	F. and D. 10517	Top RH corner handwritten ink signature 'Maysie A Glyn'	valse
270	The Russian Rondo (no 2)	John Parry	1824 (COPAC)	Piano forte	Miss E. Smith	London, published by Goulding D'Almaine Potter & Co, 20, Soho Square & to be had at 7, Westmorland Str. Dublin			Up from bottom RH corner purple stamp 'Archibald Joyce'. Bottom RH corner stamp 'Claypole & Son \ Music Warehouse \ Peterborough'. Copyright, MCMVIII, in USA by Francis, Day & Hunter.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
271	I want to be happy	Vincent Youmans. Irving Caesar, lyricist	1924	voice and piano		Chappell & Co. Ltd., 50, New Bond Street, London, W.1.	28569		from the musical comedy 'No No Nanette'
272	When Lubin sings of Youth's Delight	J. W. Hobbs, Gentleman of Her Majesty's Chapel's Royal J. Gill	1842	Voice and piano	Composed and dedicated to his friend Sir Henry R. Bishop	London, Printed and sold for the proprietor, by C. Lonsdale, 26, Old Bond Street.		Top RH corner 'F Bullock \ Uppark' in blue ink.	Canzonet after the style of Haydn which gained the Melodist's Prize 1842.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
273	Ma Champagne Op.149	N. Louis	n.d.	Piano à quatre mains	Mlle Nina Marchisio	Published in Paris Ménéstrel, Maison A. Meissonnier and Heugel, Rue Vivienne, 2 bis			In extremely small print under name Lonsdale 'R & E Williamson St.Lambeth'. Fantaisie à quatre mains Composed for Reims festival
274	O! Merry Row the Bonnie Bark	'the words chiefly written & the Music partly composed' by John Parry	n.d.	Voice and piano	Her Grace the Duchess of Northumberla nd	London, published by Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square	Printed by Goulding &Co Soho London		Inside first page red stamp, very faded, begins 'Au Menestrel...' , then unclear, appears to be an address.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
275	The cover/first song is 'Jenny Jones' (referred to below as 13.39a).		n.d.	Vocal					Bottom centre G & D stamp. This item comprises several songs sewn together. 'Miss F Bullock' in top RH corner in black ink. 'John Parry', the composer, written in black ink alongside his printed name.
276	Jenny Jones	John Parry. Charles Mathews, lyricist	1838 (COPAC)	Voice and piano		London, Published for the proprietor by Cramer, Addison & Beale 201, Regent Street	2119	top RH corner black ink 'Miss F Bullock' by the composer's name, in what looks like handwritten black ink, 'John Parry'	Favorite Welsh Ballad

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
277	Love Not	J. Blockley. Honourable Mrs Norton, lyricist	1828 (N & Y)	Voice and piano		London, Published by Cramer, Addison & Beale 201, Regent Street	759	Top RH corner very faint pencil name 'Miss Bullock'	Ballad, second edition
278	Angels ever bright & fair	Handel, arranged by J. B. Sale Charles Jefferys, lyricist	1831 (N & Y)	Voice and piano		London, Printed & Sold by Lonsdale & Mills, 140, New Bond Street	2474		Recitative & Air in the oratorio Theodora
279	My Pretty Gazelle	G. A. Hodson	1834 (N&Y)	Voice and piano	Miss A. Richardson	Printed & Sold by S. Chappell, Music Seller to their Majesties: 50 New Bond St	4360	Miss Bullock'	
280	Ship Ahoy! (All the nice girls love a sailor)	Bennett Scott. A. J. Mills, lyricist	1909	Voice and piano		Star Music Publishing Co Ltd, 51 High Street, New Oxford Street, London, W.C.			This item is inside the cover = 13.40a

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
281	Mary, I Believe'd Thee True	Sir John Stevenson. T. Moore, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and Piano		London, Published by J. Power, 31 Strand		Top RH corner very faint pencil name 'Miss Bullock'	Ballad
282	The Sea	The Chevalier Sigismond Neukomm. Barry Cornwall, lyricist	c1831 (COPAC)	Voice and piano	Captain Gosling, R.N.	London, Published by Cramer, Addison & Beale 201, Regent Street	1016	Top RH corner very faint pencil name 'Miss F'	
283	True Love can ne'er forget No 1	Written and composed by Samuel Lover esq	1834 (COPAC)	Voice and piano		London, published by J. Duff & Co 65, Oxford Street		Top RH corner very faint in pencil 'Uppark\ F Bullock\ Lady Fetherstone's'. Up from bottom RH corner, a very long pencil written word which is indecipherable. Bottom RH corner an initial (?) 'L'	Songs of the Legends and Traditions of Ireland

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
284	Then Be It So	Mrs Robert Arkwright. Jenny Jones, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and piano		London, Printed and sold at Chappell's Musical Circulating Library, 50 New Bond Street. Printed for the proprietor.	W.R.8115		Copyright MCMIX in England and America S. M. P. Co, Ltd, no 109 A ballad
285	Why is Love for ever changing	Louis Leo. Thomas Moore esq, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and piano		Published for the proprietor and to be had at Leoni Lee's, 17 Old Bond Street, Cramer Addison & Beale, Regent Street, & E. Dale's, 19, Poultry.		Top RH corner in thin black ink 'Miss F Bullock\ Sir Hy Featherstone\ Uppark\ Petersfield'	Ballad
286	I wonder if you miss me sometime s (I wonder if you care)	Bennett Scott A.J.Mills, lyricist	1910 (COPAC)	Voice and piano		Star Music Publishing Co Ltd, 51 High Street, New Oxford Street, London, W.C.			<i>this front cover is just an advertisement</i>

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
287	There's a Sun still Shining in the Sky	Composed and sung by H.G. Pellissier in 'The Folliès' entertainmen <sup>t</sup>	1908	Voice and piano		Joseph Williams, limited, 32, Great Portland Street, W.	Crome, Printer, 12 Ham Yard, Gt Windmill Street, W. J.W.14773	Top RH corner in black ink 'Maysie. A. Glyn'	Humerous song
288	Le Délire	Strauss	n.d.	Piano		Paris, Au Ménestrel, 2 bis, Rue Vinienne Londres, chez Scott et Cie.	J.S.72		Grand Valse
289	The Sailor's Journal	C.Dibdin		Voice and piano		London, C. Jefferys, 21 Soho Square	M. & N. Hanhart		Bottom centre front cover, stamp 'J & W Chester Agents\Augener & Co\ foreign & English music sellers\1, Palace Place\ Castle Square Brighton. Bottom RH corner in black ink 'Ed: R'. Date stamp '1856'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
290	We're A'Noddin	Sigismond Thalberg (Pianist to H.M.the Emperor of Austria)	1833 (N & T)	Piano forte		London, Mori & Lavenu's New Musical Subscription Library, 28 New Bond Street	3797	Top RH corner in faint almost indecipherable pencil 'Fanny Bullock'	Stamps on the back cover: 'Eversley' and 'Hartfordbridge SP17 1856' Fantasia and "Brilliant Variations", on the favorite Scotch Air
291	An Introduction to the Art of Singing		1807 (COPAC)		Dedicated by permission to Lady Brooke Pechelle	London, printed for the author by Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis 26 Cheapside		pencil markings p7	Composed and selected from the most eminent Authors by Thomas Bennett, Organist of the Cathedral, Chichester
292	Les Bords de L'Ebre	Mme D. Fournier	n.d.	Piano à quatre mains	Melle Josephine Martin	Paris au Magsin de Musique d'Alphonse Leduc, Editeur, Rue Vivienne, 18	A.L.603		Valse brillante

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
293	The Yeomanry Cavalry Polka	H. M. Powell	n.d.	Piano and cornet	Composed and respectfully dedicated to the Officers and Members of the N.H.Y.C.	London, Printed and Published for the composer by Rüst & Stahl, 320, Regent St.			Bottom RH corner stamp: ' <i>address round the edge too illegible as very faint.</i> In centre, 'Alphonse Leduc' with (ad lib) accompaniment for Cornet A Pistons
294	Trois Airs Elegants, with variations and rondos Op.159	Charles Chau lieu 1788-1849	1835 (N & T)	Piano	Miss Leigh of Wickham, Essex	London, Printed and sold by R. Cocks & Co., 20 Princes Street, Hanover Square and in Paris by Delloye & Co	2022	Centre top cover in very faint pencil 'Miss F Bullock'	Top LH corner raised stamp 'Rust & Stahl\Music sellers and pianoforte makers\ 320 Regent St'
295	An Original Air with Brilliant Variations	C. Mayer	1838 (N & T)	Piano forte		London, Printed and sold by R. Cocks & Co., 20 Princes Street, Hanover Square	3418	very occasional isolated pencil markings throughout	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
296	Windsor Castle	John Weippert	1840 (COPAC)	Piano Forte	Mrs F. A. Grant of Grant	and in Paris by Delloye & Co  London, Published by John Weippert, 21 Soho Square			Quadrilles, performed by his band at the Court Balls, Almack's &c
297	Les Camélias	Album Strauss	n.d.	Piano	à Mme la Csse G. Esterhazy de Rohan Chabot	Mayence, B.Schott et Fils Paris, Au Ménéstrel, 2 bis, r. Vivienne, maison A. Meissonnier- Heugel Londres, Schott et Cie			John Weippert - Harpist to Her Majesty, the King and Queen of Belgium, All the English Royal Family, & Director of Her Majesty's Royal Quadrille Band, Almack's &c. Redowa du Jardin D'Hiiver

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
298	Where the Bee sucks	Dr Arne. Arranged by Dr John Clarke	1830 (N & T)	Voice and piano		London, Printed and Sold by Lonsdale & Mills, 140, New Bond Street	2421		Air in The Tempest
299	The Shepherd' s Lay 'Chant du Berger'	M. Calos	n.d.	Piano		London, Brewer & Co, 23, Bishopsgate Street Within			
300	Zelmira book 1	Camille Playel		Piano forte		London published by the Royal Harmonic Institution, Argyll Rooms, 246, Regent Street	1574	Top RH corner in pencil, an illegible name	The inside pages appear to be a different piece of music A selection of the most popular airs from Rossini's opera

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
301	Fare thee Well!!!	Arrangement (n.d.) of an air by Mozart. Lord Byron, lyricist	1829 (N & T)	Voice and piano		London, Printed by Clementi & Co 26, Cheapside	1802	pencil marking p3	The Royal Harmonic Institution: 'Piano Fortes & Harps sold, lent on hire tuned and repaired. Foreign & English Harp Strings'. Bottom centre, stamp of 'The Royal Harmonic Institution'. Adapted to the celebrated air from La Clemenza di Tito (no reference to who did the adaptation)
302	My Life I Love You	G. Kallmark. Lord Byron, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and piano		Printed by Goulding & Co Soho Street, London			Maid of Athens

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
303	Les Etrennes	Adapted and fingered in a familiar manner by Czerny and Payer	1830 (COPAC)	Piano forte		London, Wessel & Co. Importers & Publishers of Foreign Music (by Special Appointment) to H.R.H. the Duchess of Kent, No 6, Frith Street, near Soho Square	W.& S. 147		First Melange of Twelve Foreign Airs including the Triumphal March from La Vestale of Spontini
304	The Moon's on the Lake	Alexander Lee	1825 (COPAC)	Voice and piano	Sir Walter Scott	London: Mayhew & Co. Music Sellers to the Royal Family, 17, Old Bond Street		Top RH corner in faint almost indecipherable pencil 'Miss Frances Bullock Uppark' pencil marking p4	The celebrated Scotch Song of the Macgregor's gathering
305	Queen of England		c1840 (COPAC)	Arranged for piano	Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen	London, Published by John Weipert, 21 Soho Square			Centre bottom cover, (Assumed printed) initials - illegible Vocal Quadrille including the celebrated Russian

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
306	Twenty Favorite Airs	M. Rophine Lacy	n.d.	This is the flute part Adapted for the Piano Forte with accompaniment for the flute ad lib		London, Printed & Sold by Birchall & Co 140, New Bond Street.	1307		In five books selected from Rossini's celebrated opera La Gazzaladra
									hymn as performed by his band at Her Majesty's Balls Almack's &c

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
307	Mazurka	Mrs Philipp Crawley	1850 (COPAC)	Piano forte - and a few words (assumed of a chorus) written above 2 lines		London, published for the Authoress/by Robert Cocks & Co. New Burlington Street		Top RH corner 'Miss Frances Bullock with the authoresses best regards'	Juan Carlos de Borbon. Infante de Espana
308	Blue Bell	Ch. Fontaine	n.d.	Piano		London, Metzler & Co. 35, 36, 37 & 38, Gt. Marlborough Street. W.			Mazurka de Salon
309	Chant National des Croates	Arranged by Brinley Richards	1860 (COPAC)	Piano forte		London, Chappell & Co 49 & 50, New Bond Street		Top centre back of penultimate page, something written in pencil - cannot read	Popular song by the Hon Mrs Norton "(Portuguese love song)"

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
310	The Bells of Aberdovey (Clychau Aberdyfi.)	Brinley Richards	n.d.	Piano	Miss M. Jane Williams, (Ynyslas)	London: Robert Cocks and Co., New Burlington Street, W.	14070		This melody is taken from the collection of Welsh melodies by Miss M. Jane Williams (of Ynys-lâs) and published by her express permission
311	Pensee Fugitive	C.Calos	n.d.	Piano					
312	No. 10 of Twelve Classical Pieces for the Harmonium	Arranged by Edward F. Rimbault	1864 (COPAC)	Piano		London: Chappell and Co., 50, New Bond Street, W.	12539	inside first page, in pencil, by the word 'Harmonium,' 'or Piano'	(2 pieces, 'I know that my redeemer liveth' and 'And the glory of the lord')
313	L'Elisire D'Amore	Henri Rosellen	n.d.	Piano		Paris, Henry Lemoine, Rue de l'Echelle 9	2169 IL		Les Charmes de Naples, 3 fantaisies sur les operas de Donizetti

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
314	March from Tannhauser	Richard Wagner	n.d.	Piano		London, Cramer, Wood & Co. 201 Regent Street.	8616		
315	The Maid of Athens	G. Kallmark. Lord Byron, lyricist	n.d.	Piano		London, Published by Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square.	391		
316	La Fille des Iles Daughter of the Isles	Composed by E.R.P. Edited by Joseph R.W. Harding	n.d.	Piano forte		London, Metzler & Co. 35,37 & 38, Gt Marlborough Street, W.			Polka-melodie
317	Be kind to the loved ones at home	Arranged by John Hartwell	1867(N &T)	Piano forte		London, Ashdown & Parry, 18, Hanover Square	A & P. No. 4403		Bottom centre front cover, publisher's stamp American melody
318	Gavotte in F		1896	Piano		Brighton, Lyon & Hall, Music sellers and publishers, Warwick mansion, Brighton. Entrances Junction		Top RH front cover in black ink 'Beatrice W. Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh \ Uppark 1896'	E. Reyloff

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
319	Trois Rêveries, Op.31	Henri Rosellen	n.d.	Piano	La Duchesse de Coigny	à Paris, chez Henry Lemoine, prof de Piano, Rue de l'Echelle 9	5228.H.	Top RH corner in pencil, an initial 'F'	
320	Valse brillante, Op.20	Jules Schulhoff	n.d.	Piano		à Paris chez C.Beu Editeur, Rue de la Chaussée d'Antin.	C.H.345		Centre bottom cover is the publisher's stamp
321	Nocturne, Op.24	Théodore Döhler, Pianiste de S.A.R. le Duc de Lucques	n.d.	Piano Forte	Madame la Princesse de Belgiojoso	A Paris, chez Pacini, No 59, rue Neuve St Augustin, pres la Rue de la Paix	3676		Rules for bagatelle on a piece of paper at the back of this music

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
322	Prayer	Mrs Henry Stisted \litografia Payer & Comp. James Montgomery, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and piano forte	Composed and published for the benefit of a Field Officer's Widow		The music engraved by Gio: Gto: Guidi\ Florence Via dell'Anguillara No.297. L. 4076 C.		
323	No 3\ Haydn's celebrated symphonies 334 (Vln and cello parts)		n.d.	Piano forte\ with an Accompaniment (ad lib) for a \ violin & violincello		London Published by Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square, Manufacturers of Cabinet, Harmonic and Square Piano Fortes, where an elegant assortment for sale may be seen.		Top RH corner 'Miss Frances Bullock\ Uppark thin ink line under price for No7 to 12 first page of music, pencil marking on 2nd stave	
324	La Harpe Eolienne	W. Krüger	1852	Piano	Sigismond Benedict	Paris, J. Maho, Passage Jouffroy, 10 London, J.J.Ewer	Paris, L. Parent Grav: et Imp: 35 rue		Bottom RH corner of inside cover, printed signature '

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
325	"She never blamed him, never!"	Symphonies and accompaniments by Henry R. Bishop. Thomas H. Bayly, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and piano		London Published by Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square, Musicsellers, publishers and manufacturers of every description of musical instruments.	Printed from patent copper types, by W.Clowes, Stamford Street		Above the first stave is 'Hindoostane'
326	Book 1 Haydn's Oratorio, The Creation	Arranged by N.B. Challoner	n.d.	Piano		London, Leoni Lee, Music seller to the royal family, 17, Old Bond Street.		Top RH corner 'Frances'	Note at bottom of front cover saying this adaptation is offered for the use of Musical Amateurs

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
327	No 4 of the Musical Album containing 'If O'er the Cruel Tyrant Love'	Arranged by Augs Meves	1827 (N & T)	Piano forte and flute ad lib. (NB. <i>No flute part</i> )	Mr M. C. Wilson	London, Published by J.B.Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201, Regent Street (Corner of Conduit Street)	594	p7, pencil markings on 4th stave	Dr Arne's favorite air
328	Kujawiak	O.Kolberga	n.d.	Piano Forte		Warsaw			
329	La Chandeleur	Arranged as a lesson for the piano forte by T. Smith	n.d.	Piano forte		London Published by Goulding D'Almaine, Potter & Co, 20, Soho Squt, & to be had at 7, Westmoreland St, Dublin.			no front cover An admired air

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
330	Adeste Fideles, the Portugese hymn on the Nativity		n.d.	Voice and piano forte		London, Published by J.Power, 34, Strand	882		Back cover is 'The Sicilian Mariner's Hymn' for 2 voices and piano forte solo voice first page, 1 line chorus first stave p2
331	Rendezvous	W. Aletter	1894	Piano		Leipzig. Bosworth & Co. London. 5 Princes Str. Oxford Str.	B. & Co. 451 Copyright 1894 by Bosworth & Co.		Intermezzo Roccoco
332	No 1 Haydn's Symphonies	No arranger name given. Inside bottom LH corner of pages 'No 1 Haydn's Over.e P.F.'	n.d.	Piano Forte		Printed & Sold by Birchall & Cattheir Musical Circulating Library No 140, new Bond Street.		Top Rh corner in very faint pencil 'Miss F Bullock' (and the rest is illegible)	with an accompaniment for a violin & violincello ad libitum

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
333	No1, Haydn's symphony - goes with 332. Violin and violincello parts sewn together, the cello part within the violin part		n.d.	Violin and cello				Top RH corner possibly a name in very faint illegible pencil	
334	Violin and violincello parts sewn together, the cello part within the violin part,		n.d.	Violin and cello				Sibly	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\Other	Other information
	for Haydn No3 symphony - goes with 323								
335	Flute and bass part (separate) for a Haydn symphony	Duet by D. Bruguier	n.d.				2465		no front cover (Assume Goulding and D'Almaine as same presentation as other Haydn works, i.e. 319 and 328, 329 and 330)
336	Flute part for 'Il Barbriere di Seviglia' Book 1	Arranged by T. Latour	n.d.				L 1920		No front cover. (Assume Goulding and D'Almaine as same presentation as Haydn works, i.e. 319 and 328, 329 and 330)

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
337	Flute part for 'Il Barbriere di Seviglia' Book 2	Arranged by T. Latour	n.d.				L 1921		no front cover (Assume Goulding and D'Almaine as same presentation as Haydn works, i.e. 319 and 328, 329 and 330)
338	Flute part for 'Il Barbriere di Seviglia' Book 3		n.d.				L 1922		No front cover. (Assume Goulding and Dalmaine as same presentation as Haydn works, i.e. 319 and 328, 329 and 330) Inside this music are 2 other pieces: a flute part for Mazzinghi's Air; and a violin part for Overture Henry 4th

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
339	Scottish Songs	Arranged with accompaniments by John Parry	n.d.	Voice and piano		London, Goulding and D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square		At the beginning of each song at the top of the page, an abbreviated version of the song name is written in pencil	This is several songs sewn together
340	A Scottish Song		n.d.	Voice and piano		London, Goulding and D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square			Same edition as 371
341	A Scottish Song		n.d.	Voice and piano		London, Goulding and D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square			Same edition as 371
342	Non piu mesta	Augs Meves	n.d.	Piano			239	quite a lot of pencil fingerings	no front cover hence no publisher name
343	Fleuve du tage	Ch. Chaulieu	1829 (N&T)	Piano	Miss Henrietta Jones	London, R. Cocks & Co, 20 Princes Str Hanover Sqe. Paris, by Meissonnier	564		Variations Op 77, No 1

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
344	Je Me Souviens	Wilhelm Ganz	n.d.	Piano	The Countess Thérèse Bernstorff	London, Hopwood & Crew, 42, New Bond Street\ publishers of the whole of the songs and ballads sung by the original Christy minstrels, St James' Hall, Moore & Crocker proprietors, and of Mr Harry Clifton's celebrated comic and motto songs			Op 30
345	Trianon		n.d.	Piano	à Mme la Ch. de Bourbon-Busset	Mayence, B. Schott et Fils Londres, Schott et Cie. Paris, au Mé.....2 bis r.V	J.S.66		from Polka-Louis XV \ Album-Strauss

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
346	No 2 of Schubert's four Impromptus	Fingered and edited by Chas. Hallé.		Piano		London, Chappell & Co, 49 & 50, New Bond Street	12306 J&W Pearman Litho's, 13, Castle St East		Op. 142
347	Chant National des Croates	Jacques Blumenthal	1850 (COPAC)	Piano	Madame Oury	Londres, Cramer Beale 7 Cie, 201, Regent St & 67, Conduit St Paris - Brandus & Cie Leipzig - Brettkopf & Hartel		Top left front cover, raised stamp 'Cramer, Beale & Co\21 9 48[ <i>could be 49</i> ] \201 Regent St'  Bottom centre front cover, raised stamp <i>[the imprint goes through each of the following 3 pages]</i> 'North Street \Bennett\ Chichester'	Arrangement by Blumenthal of a national march.
348	Bavarian Air	J.Mazzinghi	c1820 (COPAC)	flute					flute part only

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<b>UDB ref no.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Composer</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Scored for</b>	<b>Dedication</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Printer/ Plate number</b>	<b>Annotations\writing on the music\other</b>	<b>Other information</b>
349	Twenty Favorite Airs, selected from Rossini's celebrated opera of Il Turco in Italia	M. R. Lacy	Both books 1821 (N&T)	Adapted for piano		Printed and sold by Birchall & Co., 140, New Bond Street	Book 1: 1161 Book 2: 1197		Printed on thick paper; brown staining throughout behind the staves. In Two books, with accompaniment for flute ad libitum

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
350	The Osborne Polka	Theodore Treakell	1848 (COPAC)	Piano	Miss Louisa Steele	London: Publd for the proprietor by Addison & Co 210 Regent St		Top LH front cover, raised stamp going through pages, 'Addison & Nob'. Top RH corner front cover, raised stamp going through pages, 'Julien & co, music publishers\ 214 Regent St'. Bottom RH corner front cover, printed composer's signature	
351	Le Rossignol, A celebrated waltz	Arranged for piano forte by I. M. Rost	n.d.	Piano (4 hands)	Miss Rosa and Miss Helen Ford	London Balls & Son, 408, Oxford Street		Top RH corner in very thin black ink pen 'Miss Frances Bullock'.	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
352	March, Air de Ballet, Chorus of maidens, Air de Ballet		n.d.	Piano			1800		French and English words No front cover
353	Marselles Hymn		1830 (COPAC)	Voice and piano		London, Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square	Goulding & Co 20 Soho Square London		
354	New Instructions for the Spanish Guitar	Don Octavio Lorenzo Medina	n.d.	Guitar		London R. W. Keith, 131, Cheapside		5 black ink thin nib signatures of Frances Bullock - front cover 2, inside front cover, back cover 2	Looks as though there is a replacement blank paper front and back cover, of thickish paper, roughly cut. Unusual (smaller) size
355	Le Debut de la Jeunesse	François Hünten	n.d.	Piano forte	Demoiselles Barton	London, Printed & sold by R. Cocks & Co 20 princes Street, Hanover			Op.66, Quatre Airs Varies

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
356	Oh! Gentle Love!	Auber Alfred Bunn esq, lyricist	1835 (COPAC)	Voice and piano		Square Paris, Ph. Petit, & Leipzig by Breitkopf & Hartel  London D'Almaine & Co Soho Square	Copyright	Top centre in thin black ink pen 'Miss Frances Bullock'	Music arranged by T. Cooke

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
357	Title illegible as so florid	n.d.	n.d.	Voice and piano		n.d.	Engraved & printed by R. W. Tene N. Y.		Bound music book of vocal pieces, including arias by Donizetti, Michele Costa and by Nicola Vaccai. Front and back covers have come away from the spine which has no back to it. The pages inside are sewn together but coming apart. Pages are edged in gold. 2 pages of music and 2 pages of signatures at the back. Each page refers to 'lithograph of Fleetwood N.Y.'
358	n.d.	Tancredi P.F.	n.d.	Flute		n.d.			Bk 1

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
359	Flute part	Tancredi P.F.	n.d.	Flute		n.d.			Bk 2
360	Flute part	Tancredi P.F.	n.d.	Flute		n.d.			Bk 4 underneath bottom stave reads 'Bk 4. Burrowes'
361	France and England	Poetry by Barry Cornwall	1831 (N&T)	Voice and piano	Her Royal Highness Madame Adelaide d'Orleans	London, Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201, Regent Street	1078		
362	R. Cocks and Co's Catalogue of Modern Classical Publications		n.d.				Printed by J. Mallett, Wardour Street, Soho		
363	a page 5		n.d.	Voice and piano		London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 142, Charing Cross Road, W.C. and 22, Denmark	F. Gant, Type music and general Printer, 64, Berwick St, W.		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
						Street, Charing Cross Road			
364	a page 5		n.d.	Voice and piano		Goulding and D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square			
365	pages 23-26		n.d.	Three voices and bass line (cello?)					Duo II Marcello
366	a page 3		n.d.	Piano				pencil fingerings	
367	a page 11		n.d.	Piano			possibly 172		
368	flute part		n.d.						no. 6
369	a page 3 and 4		n.d.	Voice and piano			D & H 1741		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
370	Final page of popular song medley - 'Let's all go down the Strand', and 'Boiled beef and carrots'		n.d.	Voice and piano		London: Francis, Day & Hunter, 142, Charing Cross Road, W.C.	Printed by Henderson & Spalding, Sylvan Grove, Old Kent road, London, S.E.	Bottom LH corner 'D1114.10'	
371	pages 2 (assumed) and 3		n.d.	Piano			H 155		
372	4 pages of piano music		n.d.	Piano			H. & S. 4236		
373	a page		n.d.	Violin and piano			L 546		
374	pages 7 and 8		n.d.	Piano			M & S. 604		

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
375	pages 7 and 8		n.d.	Piano			M & S. 615		
376	pages 3-8		n.d.	Piano			A&Co2321		
377	pages 3-7		n.d.	Piano		Brandus, et Cie. 87, rue Richelieu	B. et Cie. 5154		
378	Cease your fumings (one page)	Kiallmark	n.d.	Flute					Flute part only
379	pages 3 and 4 of 'Mollie's March'	Charles Kinkel	1872	Piano			7329 - 3 Entered according to the Act of Congress in the year 1872, by J. L. Peters, in the Office of the Librarian of Congress at Washington	2 pencil markings on the music	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
380	4 pages of piano music		n.d.	Piano			6052		
381	Sul Margine D'un Rio	T. Latour	1825 (COPAC)	Flute			L 2087		Andante and 12 variations
382	The Soldier's Tear	Alexander Lee Thomas. Haynes Bayly, lyricist	c1835 (COPAC)	Voice and piano		London, Alexander Lee & Lee, Regency Music Warehouse, 86, Regents Quadrant		Bottom RH corner ink initials 'ALL'	Front cover only, with publisher's stamp
383	Mandolina ta fantaisie brillante	Jalilyah	c1870 (COPAC)			McDowell & Co, 25, Warwick Street, Regent Street, W.			cover only Op. 130
384	"Venus on Earth" valse (front cover only)	Paul Lincke	1907	Piano		Hawkes & Son, Denman Street, Piccadilly Circus, London, W.	H. & S. 4182	Top LH corner, ink signature 'May Glyn'	

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
385	L'Heure Suprême (front cover only)	Adolph Lotter	1907	Piano		Hawkes & Son, Denman Street, Piccadilly Circus, London, W.	Printed by H. G. Banks H. & S. 4236		Valse lente
386	I'm not myself at all (no front cover, incomplete)	music and words by Samuel Lover	1835 (COPAC)	Voice and piano			D & H 1741		
387	Jolly good luck to the girl who loves a soldier!	Kenneth Lyle Fred W. Leigh, lyricist	1907	Voice and piano					
388	Front cover and one page music (both sides) only	Santiago de Masarnau	n.d.	Piano	Mademoiselle Pauline Aubert	Paris, Richault, Boulevard Poissonnière, No 16, au premier	7035. R.		Op: 17, 3 Aïrs Caracteristiques de Danses nationales Espagnoles.

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	of Boleras Tirana Manchegas								Bottom centre, publisher's stamp
389	Silesian Air No.8 and Bosnian Air No.11	Mazzinghi	n.d.	Flute					Flute part only
390	front cover only of 'Les Charmes de Paris'	I.Moschelles	n.d.	Piano forte	Miss Buchwald	London. Published by Mori & Lavenn, 28, New Bond Street			Introduction and Rondo
391	30th set of Quadrilles	P. Musard	n.d.						Piano part and flute part but pages missing. Each quadrille titled by a first name. Dance instructions are printed

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
392	Flute part only for 24th set of Quadrilles	P. Musard	1831 (N&Y)	Flute			806		undernneath each quadrille
393	front cover only, J.J. Paderewski Op. 8, No.3	J. J. Paderewski	n.d.	Probably piano (no front cover so no details)		London: Willcocks & Co, Limited, Berners Street, W.		Top RH corner, name 'Beatrice W. Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh \ Uppark 1896'	
394	'Waiting'	Florence Perkins. M. Leigh, lyricist	n.d.	Voice and piano		G. & Co no other details			voice and piano song, appears complete

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
395	Variations pour le piano forte sur un Air National Autrichien	J. P. Pixis	n.d.	Piano		Edinburgh Published by Wood & Comp 12, Waterloo Place		Top RH corner, a name that looks like 'Fanny'	Front cover only, Oeuvre 39
396	Non Vedeste from Esmeralda	arranged by Brinley Richards	c1880	Piano		London, Chappell & Co, 50, New Bond Street	14659	a few pencil markings on the music	appears complete
397	Esmeralda , Bolero	W. C. Levey	1870	Arranged for piano by Brinley Richards		London, Duff & Stewart, 147, Oxford Street, W. Leipzig, Hoffmeister & Co Milian, Ricordi			
398	Come where my love lies dreaming	arranged by Brinley Richards	1859	Piano			10793		no front cover

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
399	Ye Banks and Braes	W. Vincent Wallis	1859	Piano forte	Mrs Macleod (of Macleod)	London, Published by R Mills, 140, New Bond Street			scotch melody front cover only
400	Mignon	M. Rivela	n.d.			Napoli Deposito presso gli Editori		Top RH corner 'Beatrice W. Turnour Fetherstonhaugh Malta 1895'	front cover only
401	3 Rêveries	Henri Rosellen	n.d.	Piano	la Duchesse de Coigny	Paris, chez Henry Lemoine, Prof de piano, Rue de l'Echelle <i>rest is illegible</i>	3228		front cover only, "Op. 31, Seconde edition".
402	Divertimento Rossiniano	arranged (n.d.) from operas of G. Rossini	n.d.	Piano forte		London, published by W. Eavestaff, 66 Great Russell Str		Top RH corner in very faint pencil 'Miss Bullcock' in what looks like childish handwriting	front cover only 'to be published occasionally'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
403	Ship Ahoy (All the nice girls love a sailor)	Bennett Scott. A. J. Mills, lyricist	1909	Voice and piano		London, W.C. the Star Music Publishing Co Ltd 51, High Street, New Oxford Street			No.109 The Star Co's 6d Editions Cover only - words on inside back cover, ending 'And you can trust a sailor, he's a white man all the while!' Copyright 1909 in USA by the Star Music Publishing Co Ltd
404	No 8 'Les Mandello'	Jules Schulhoff	n.d.	Piano forte		London, Ashdown & Parry (successors to Wessell & Co) 18, Hanover Square			Cover only. Top LH corner is the publisher's stamp

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
405	Musidora Polka - Mazurke	Adrien Taleyx	1850 (COPAC)	Piano	à Mademoiselle Pauline Devin	Paris, Alexandre. Brullé Editeur 16 Passage des Panoramas	A.B. 347 (the 3 could possibly be a 5)	Top LH corner in pencil 'Miss Bullock'	front cover and one page only of music. Bottom centre, a stamp, 'Ed. De Musique\Mayz\Bologne S. Mer' Bottom RH corner, a very faint stamp, which is illegible
406	Petit Divertissement, à la Paganini	T. Valentine	n.d.	Piano forte	The Honourable Mrs Bertie Percy	London: Published by H. Falkner, No.3, Old Bond Street		Top RH corner, faintly in pencil, 'Miss F.'	front cover only Bottom RH corner, what looks like composer's signature in pen (rather than printed)
407	The Maltese Girl's Song	written and composed by Joseph Aug. Wade Esq	n.d.	Voice and piano		London Leoni Lee, Music Seller to his Majesty, 17, Old Bond Street	Printed by Engelmann & Co	Top RH corner, faintly in pencil, 'Miss F.'	cover only

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
408	"Malmaison"	Pedro de Zulueta	1909	Piano		London Keith Prowse & Co Ltd 162 new Bond Street W. Publishing depot - 42 Poland Street W.	copyright MCMIX by Keith Prowse and Co Ltd (K.P & Co Ltd 1857)		Valse. Front cover and one page of music (both sides). Bottom RH corner, raised stamp 'J. Claypole & Son \ Music Warehouse \ Peterborough
409	Pages 3-30 of songs originally published in the 'Musical Bouquet' (which cost 3d an issue)	Several composers	n.d.	Voice (only)					The songs appear to be on themes of everyday life

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
410	3 sheets of music, with each page headed 'The Young English Woman'. Each piece folded into quarters (so the page is a bit larger than A4) and has 8 pages of music.		n.d.	Mixture of piano, and voice and piano.					referred to as 'Music Supplement'. Includes well known pieces. (not consecutive page numbering on the 3 sheets).

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
411	Bygone hours, from a set of songs	The honourable Mrs Norton and Mrs Price Blackwood	n.d.	Voice and piano	The Duke of Devonshire	London, Printed and sold at Chappell's Musical Circulating Library, 50, New Bond Street			front cover only
412	Song book (A5 size)	The music for the songs is by different composers	n.d.	voice and piano					(no cover) many of the songs have the reference 'words from LITTLE FOLKS'
413	Is there a heart that never loved	Flute by C. Nicholson Piano forte by J.F. Burrowes	n.d.	Flute and Piano	Lord Viscount Deerhurst	- <i>(Publisher unknown no indication)</i>	503		(no cover)
414	Select melodies with variations for the flute	C. Nicholson and J. F. Burrowes	n.d.	Flute part only		London, printed by F. T. Latour No 50, new Bond Street. And Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square		Top RH corner no 1 'Miss Bullock' in very thin black ink pen Centre top no 1 'Miss F Bullock' in very faint pencil Centre top no 2 'Miss	front covers only, nos 1 and 8

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
415	Sacred Airs	Mozart, Haydn, Marcello, Pergolesi, Naumann, Hummel, Dr Crotch &c.	n.d.	Arranged for the piano with accompa niments (ad lib.) for flute, violin & violon- cello		Printed & sold by C. Lonsdale, 20, Old Bond Street	173	F Bullock' in very faint pencil  Top RH corner in very faint pencil 'F Bullock'	arranged by William Hutchins Callcott Book 1, 3 pieces, piano part only and front cover only

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
416	Sacred Airs	Mozart, Haydn, Marcello, Pergolesi, Naumann, Hummel, Dr Crotch &c.	n.d.	Arranged for the piano with accompa niments (ad lib.) for flute, violin & violoncell o		Printed & sold by C. Lonsdale, 20, Old Bond Street	173	Top RH corner in very faint pencil 'F Bullock'	arranged by William Hutchins Callcott Book 2, 1 page piano part only, and front cover only
417	Songs of Scotland	No 5 of Chappell's Standard edition of the favorite songs of Scotland	1860ss (COPAC)			London: Chappell & Co, 50, New Bond Street, W.	12428 J & W Pearman Lithos 13, Castle St East		Cover only. 'symphonies and accompan-iments for the pianoforte, and choruses when required, by Edward F. Rimbault'

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
418	The Varieties of 12 much admired compositions for the pianos		n.d.	piano		Chicago, Published by Root & Cady 67 Washington St.	2614	Top RH corner in ink pen 'Geraldine Bethune Nov 2 1876'	front cover only Bottom centre a stamp, 'C. C. Dezouche\ Montreal\ 211 St. James St.'
419	No 6 A Selection of Choruses from the works of Handel, Haydn and Beethoven		n.d.	Arranged for organ or piano		London, H. Falkner, 3, old Bond Str.		Top RH corner in pencil 'Fanny Bullock from Mrs or Mr [illegible] S Winchester November 6th'	front cover only arranged by Thomas Valentine

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
420	In Old Madrid	arranged by Josef Meissler	1890	Assume piano		London, J. B. Cramer & Co 201 Regent Street, W.			Waltz on the melodies of Clifton Bingham and H. Trottere's Enormously Successful Song. Front cover only. Bottom LH corner, a raised stamp 'B. Cramer & Co \ 294 \ London'
421	n.d.		n.d.	piano					one sheet only number '15' in bottom LH corner
422	Turkish Rondo		n.d.	Flute or violin			115		one sheet only
423	n.d.		n.d.	piano			217		several pieces in one book
424	n.d.		n.d.	piano			391		one sheet only
425	Select melodies	Brahm	n.d.	flute			503		3 pages
426			n.d.	flute			594		one sheet only

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
427	Polacca e quartetto 'Son vergin vezzosa'		n.d.	flute			1531		
428	Quartetto 'A te O cara amor talora'		n.d.	flute			1532	I or J Puritani second book	
429	n.d.		n.d.	flute			1800		collection of short pieces
430	n.d.		n.d.	flute			1908		one sheet only, 4 short pieces
431	Nel cor piu non mi sento con variazione	Paesiello	n.d.	piano			2445		
432	n.d.		n.d.	piano			2597		Variations a few pencil markings on the music

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
433	n.d.		n.d.	piano			2614		2 pencil markings on the music
434	n.d.		n.d.	flute			2627		collection of short pieces
435	n.d.		n.d.	piano			3083		one sheet only
436			n.d.	piano			4135		collection of short pieces
437	Bygone Hours		n.d.	voice and piano			5752		
438	n.d.		n.d.	piano			M.6418		the 3 pages have been stitched together at the spine. The third page appears to be a different piece of music; centre bottom page has 'E & S 343'
439	n.d.		n.d.	piano			6535		

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
440	n.d.		n.d.	piano			9525		One sheet only
441	n.d.		n.d.	piano			11578		One sheet only
442	Bonnie Dundee		n.d.	voice and piano, with chorus		Chappell's Standard Edition of the favorite songs of Scotland'	12428		Part (last pages) is missing
443	n.d.		n.d.	piano			14659		one sheet only
444	n.d.		n.d.	piano			J & W Pearman Litho's, 13, Castle St East 13597		a few pencil markings on the music book of pieces (Italian titles), incomplete
445	n.d.		n.d.	piano		Published by Chappell and Co. Ltd, 50, New Bond Street	24593		one sheet only
446	Rendez-vous	W. Aletter. Adrian Ross, lyricist	Copyright 1903 Bosworth & Co.	voice and piano		Bosworth & Co., Leipzig		Top RH corner, in black ink, 'Maysie Glyn'	Bottom RH corner, 'raised' stamp 'J. Claypole & Son\ Music Warehouse\ Peterborough

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
447	Rodie Dear	R. G. Anderson	Copyright 1909 by R. G. Anderson	Piano	J. S. Barnes	London: Keith, Prowse & Co Ltd, Publishing depot, 42, Poland Street, W.			A two-step intermezzo one sheet only
448	La Montagna rde	J. Ascher	n.d.	piano					Mazurka one sheet only, the front cover
449	The airs from the opera of Lestocq	D. F. E. Aubert	1834 (COPAC)	piano		London Printed & published by D'Almaine & Co Soho Square		Top RH corner, in thin black ink pen 'Miss F Bullock \ April 4th 35'	complete Book 2
450	'Then you'll remember me' from the opera of the	M. W. Balfe. Alfred Bunn, lyricist	after 1856 (COPAC)	voice and piano		London. Published by Chappell, 50, New Bond Street.			ballad one sheet only (cover)

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
	Bohemian Girl								
451	The Beautiful Tulip bed	John Barnett Thomas. Haynes Bayly, lyricist	n.d.	voice and piano		London Mayhew & Co. 17, Old Bond St	Printed by Engelmann, Graf, Colindet & Co		cover and one other page
452	We met' from Songs of the Boudoir	Thomas Haynes Bayly wrote the poetry and selected the melodie	c1835 (COPAC)	voice and piano		London, A. Betts, Royal Exchange		Top RH corner 'Miss Bullock from Lady Fetherston' Initials at the bottom 'AB'	ballad
453	No 7, Soirées des Pianistes. 'Quant'é piu Bella'	Arrangement (n.d.) of an air by Beethoven	n.d.	piano forte		London, Printed and published by R. Cocks & Co., 20, princes St, Hanover sq			with variations, incomplete score

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
454	L'Arabesque	F. Brisson	n.d.	Piano		COPAC suggests Paris: Alphonse Leduc (1847).		Top RH corner, in pencil, 'Miss B'	Caprice-Étude Op.19 cover only
455	Ciribiribin	P. Bucalossi	1904 copyright	piano		Hachette & Co, Paris	C. 729 J.	Top LH corner in black ink 'Margaret Glynn'	Célèbre Chanson de A. Pestalozza Valse. No back cover
456	La Gitana	Ernest Bucalossi	1886	Piano		London: Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington St., W.			Waltz front cover only
457	The Circus Girl	Ivan Caryll	1897	Voice and piano		Chappell & Co Ltd 50, New Bond St London W.			Front cover only. "New musical play by J. T. Tanner & W. Palings Lyrics by Harry Greenbank & Adrian Ross"
458	The Maid of Llanwellyn	Chas. H. Purday	c1830	piano forte	Dedicated to Miss Thistlethwaite by Charles Chauhieu	London Published by Z. T. Purday, 45, High Holborn		Top RH corner in very faint pencil 'Miss F'	Caprice Brilliant on the popular ballad Op.131 front cover only

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
459	Au Clair de la Lune	Ch. Chaulieu	1830 (N&T)	piano forte		London, Published by Mori & Lavenu, 28, New Bond St	2597		Bottom centre, publisher's stamp front cover only
460	Five o'clock in the morning	Claribel	c1860 (COPAC)	piano					one sheet only, ps 5 and 6
461	L'Etoile	Gustave Colin	1909	piano	the Hon. Mrs Rupert Beckett				Valse no cover
462	Comédie d'Amour	Gustave Colin	1909	piano	Countess of Londesborough				Valse one sheet only
463	Annette	Charles Coote	n.d.	Piano		London: Hopwood & Crew, 42, New Bond St W.	H. & C. 1554 Stannard & Co 7, Poland St		Valse no back cover
464	Gent Garde	Charles Coote, Junr	n.d.	piano		Hopwood & Crew Ltd 42, New Bond Street, W.	H. & C. 1518		Quadrille no cover
465	Cure Lancers	Charles Coote	c1865 (COPAC)	piano		London: Hopwood & Crew, 42, New Bond St W.	H. & C. 450		Dance instructions at the bottom of each page of music

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
466	Cramer's Studio Bk.1		n.d.	piano					single page, ps 47 /48
467	30 Nuovi Studi di Meccanis mo, Op.849	C. Czerny	n.d.			Giuseppe Buonamici	Printed in Italy	Top RH corner in black ink 'Beatrice W. Turnour-Fetherstonhaugh \ Malta 1895'	Bottom RH corner, a stamp 'Musical Establishment \ S.Favi \ Malta, 33 S. da Mezzodi'. Bottom LH corner, raised stamp (very difficult to read) ... 6.1893' Op.849. Torn cover only
468	Galop Brilliant, op.25	Mce. Decourcelle	n.d.	piano	à Madame La Vicomtesse de Montault	Paris, chez Henry Lemoine, Rue de l'Echelle, 7	3534, 3560 HL		Front cover only. Bottom RH corner publisher's stamp
469	Euterpe	arranged by Anton Diabelli	1831 (N & Y)	Arranged for two performers on the piano		London: Printed and sold by Lonsdale and Mills, 140, New Bond Street	2445		A periodical collection of the most modern and popular airs, extracted

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
470	Masurka, Volkslied der Polen	von Dombrowsky	n.d.	Piano		Berlin bei T. Brandenburg. Jerusalem Strasse No 26 nahe dem Hausvogteiplatz	29		one sheet only
471	Book 1 of favorite airs in 3 books selected from Donizetti's opera 'Lucia di Lammermoor'	arranged by William Hutchins Callcott	n.d.	piano forte		London, Addison & Hodson, 210, Regent Street & 47, King Street		Top RH corner, something written in pencil but so indistinct that cannot read	Flute accompaniment ad lib (no part)

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
472	Mélodie d'Amour	H. Engelmann	n.d.	piano		London: W. Paxton & Co Ltd 95, new Oxford Street, W. C.	1457	Top left, 'To \ Muriel \ from Ruth & Wils'	front cover only
473	The Retreat	Stephen Glover	1889 (COPAC)	Piano	Genl Sir Charles Napier, K.C.B.	London Robert Cocks & Co New Burlington Street, W.			a descriptive march front cover only
474	First, 'Premier Sourire' of 6 morceaux de genre	Felix Godefroid	c1850 (COPAC)	piano		Paris, au Menestrel, Rue Vivienne, 2 bis, Heugel et cie Editeurs		Top RH corner, in ink, 'Miss Fanny Bullock'	Bottom RH corner, Publishers stamp 'au Menestrel' and the address
475	Belgravia	Dan Godfrey	1867 (COPAC)	Piano	Lady Cecilia Bingham	London: Chappell & Co 50, New Bond Street, W.			Walse front cover only
476	First movement of Graun's Te Deum	adapted from the score by C. Knyvett	Early 1820s (N&T)	Piano			Printed by the Royal Harmonic Institution (Lower Saloon, Argyll Rooms)		Bottom centre, RHI stamp as performed at the Ancient & Vocal Concerts

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
477	Arietta	Edward Grieg	1874 (COPAC)	Piano			7263 Edition Peters	Some pencil notes on the music. These seem to be names and dates: ??re pages 5, 7 and 10; 'Muriel' 24 May 1894' on p8	Op.12 <i>this is a collection of short pieces</i> no cover
478	Book 2 of select airs from Handel's sacred oratorios	William Hutchins Calcott	1841 (N & T)	piano forte, with accompaniments ad libitum for flute, violin and violincello	Misses Bickersteth (of Watton Rectory, Herts)	London, Printed & sold by C. Lonsdale, 26, Old Bond Street	442	Top RH corner, in very faint pencil 'F. Bullock'	
479	loose pages		n.d.	Voice and piano words under stave					no title

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
480	loose pages	Handel and another	n.d.	piano			173		no title
481	chorus from 'Deborah'	Handel, arranged by J. F. Burrowes	1820 (COPAC)	piano		London, Printed and sold by L. Lavenu, 26, New Bond Str			figured bass Cabinet of Handel no 40
482	The Heavens are telling		n.d.	piano					No front cover
483	Grand Hailstone chorus	Handel, adapted for the piano forte by T. Haigh	c1810 (COPAC)	piano forte		London, Printed and sold by Preston & Son, 97, Strand			
484	Selection of choruses from oratorios	Handel, arranged by J. W. Holder	1826 (N&T)	piano forte		London, Published by the Royal Harmonic Institution, Argyll Rooms, 246, Regent Street	3148	Top LH corner in black ink, 'Frances Bullcock'	No.91

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
485	Handel's Choruses	Handel, arranged by J. W. Holder	1837 (N & T)	piano forte		London: Published by Cramer, Addison, and Beale, 201 Regent Street, and 67 Conduit Street	2198		No.8 incomplete
486	Selection of choruses from oratorios	Handel, arranged by I. W. Holder	1825 (N & T)	piano forte		London, Published by the Royal Harmonic Institution, Argyll Rooms, 246, Regent Street	1887		No.68
487	Dead March in 'Saul'	Handel, arranged by William Hutchins Callcott	after 1850 (N & T)	piano forte		London, Published by Leader & Cock, 63, New Bond Street	Land C 1640	Top RH corner in black ink 'Miss Carnegie with F. Bullock's love'	
488	O Father whose Almighty Pow'r, a favorite	Handel, adapted by J. F. Burrowes	1820 (COPAC)	Organ or Piano		London, Printed and sold by L. Lavenu, 26, New Bond Str			No.22 The Cabinet of Handel

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
489	Sing unto God, from Judas Maccabaeus	Handel	n.d.	piano					Chorus V
490	Fall'n is the Foe, from Judas Maccabaeus	Handel	n.d.	piano				pencil mark after the final bar	Chorus VI
491	Hallelujah Chorus	Handel, arranged by T. Haigh	early 1830s (N & T)	Two performers on piano		London, G. Luff, 92, Gt Russell Street Bloomsbury	59		
492	Pieces for harp	Joseph Binns Hart	c1825-30						No cover. Hart's 24th set, as duets

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
493	La Citiana (The New Cachou-cha)	Henri Herz	1840 (COPAC)	piano forte	Princess Galitzin	London D'Almaine & Co Soho Square			Front cover only
494	Waltz Rondino Introduction, Maelzel's metronome	Henri Herz	c1830 (COPAC)	piano forte		London Goulding & D'Almaine, 20, Soho Square		pencil marks on the music	P2 only
495	Op.3	Henri Herz	n.d.	Piano				a lot of pencil marks on the music	
496	Introduction and brilliant variations on Mr Lover's celebrated song, Rory O More	W. H. Holmes	1846 (COPAC)	Piano	Miss Chapman	London, J. Duff & Co 65, Regent Street			Front cover only

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
497	The Deep Deep Sea	C. E. Horn. Mrs George Sharp, lyricist	c1831 (N & T)	Piano		Published by T. Welsh, at the Royal Harmonic Institution, New Argyll Rooms, 246 Regent Street	3539		Popular cavatina
498	Air Suédois	J. Herz	1824	Piano	Madlle Rosalie de Caraman	London, Cramer, Addison & Beale, 201, Regent Street			op.23 one page only
499	Op.75, No.3	H. Herz	n.d.	Piano			6535		one sheet only
500	Les bords du Rhin	François Hünten	n.d.	piano		London, Chappell, 50, New Bond Street			Grand Valse front cover only
501	Quatre Rondino	François Hünten	1827 (COPAC)	piano forte		Paris, Chez A. Farrenc, Professeur et Editeur de Musique	A.F.104	Top RH corner 'Miss F. Bullock\ Uppark House'	Bottom centre, publisher's stamp Op.21 cover only

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
502	La Sonnambu la		n.d.	piano		Chappell	J & W Pearman Lithos 13 Castle St East 13597		Popular operas for the piano/forte. Cloth cover, pages go up to 60 but 4-24 are missing
503	The Maltese Girl's Song	Written and composed by Joseph Aug. Wade	n.d.	voice and piano		Leoni Lee, Music Seller to his Majesty, 17, Old Bond Street			Maltese Air, No.1 Legendary Ballads
504	Le Retour de Windsor		n.d.						flute part only, 3 pages only
505			n.d.				2627		flute part only, 7 pages only. 7 short pieces with italian titles

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
506	No. 8 "Les Mandello" Quatre Mazurkas	Jules Schuhlhoff	1843 (N & T)	piano		Wessel & Co editions of the works of Jules Schilhoff	6368		Op.5 No.1 no cover Raised stamp on top LH corner of first blank page 'Ashdown & Parry\late Wessel & co \Hanover Square\ London
507	Piano selection No 1	Beethoven	c1821	piano		Goulding d'Almaine, Potter & Co	497		Theme and variations 'Quante piu Bella' from the opera of La Molinara no cover, no publisher
508	Non Piu Mesta	Arranged as a rondo by Augs Meves	n.d.	piano forte	Miss Rogers	Printed and published by I. Dean 148, New Bond Street, opposite Conduit Str		In faded pencil, top RH corner 'Miss Bullock'	The celebrated air, Finale to La Cenentola, front cover only

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
509	Barcarolle	Arranged by G. Pacini	n.d.	piano forte		London, Monro & May, 11, Holborn Bars, near Middle Row		some pencil fingerings. Very faint pencil writing top RH corner of the back of the one sheet	in the opera of Masaniello one page only, which has been repaired (1.5 inch paper border stuck on the non-stave side of the page)
510	Bavarian Air		n.d.	piano					one page only (no composer, no publisher)
511	The Beautiful Tulip Bed		n.d.	voice and piano					no cover, incomplete
512		Bentinck	n.d.	piano					one page only, no publisher
513	The Chocolate Soldier		n.d.	piano					incomplete, no cover, no details

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UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
514	Divo La Donna	Challoner	n.d.					pencil fingerings	Back page only. Music on one side; catalogue of select catalogue of music publications of W. Eavestaff, 66, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, London, on the back
515	Dream Faces, Waltz		n.d.	voice and piano			Hawker & Sons, Encrs & steam Lithos.		Back page only: music one side, W. Marshall & Co's popular music
516	Royal Scotch Quadrilles	Meyes	1840 (COPAC)	piano					No 3, Figure La Poule; No 4, Figure La Trenise
517			n.d.			Chappell and Co, 50, New Bond St			

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ Plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
518			n.d.			Chappell and Co, 50, New Bond St			
519			n.d.			Horsley's Editions of standard vocal music			
520			n.d.			Boosey & Co, 295, Regent Street, W.			
521			n.d.			Hopwood & Crew Ltd 42, New Bond Street, W.			Popular songs by Sidney Jones (as stated on the only page, the back cover)
522			n.d.			S. Chappell, No 135, new Bond Street			
523			n.d.			Willcocks & Co Ltd, Berners Street, W.			Louis Gregh (suggested by back cover)
524			n.d.			Chappell & Co Ltd, 50, New Bond Street, London, W.,			

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix A

UDB ref no.	Title	Composer	Date	Scored for	Dedication	Publisher	Printer/ plate number	Annotations\writing on the music\other	Other information
						New York, and Melbourne			

### Appendix B - Music Belonging to Maysie (Margaret) Glyn

UDB reference no.	Title	Publisher	Source of acquisition	Comment
17	Mendelssohns Werke Serie XI for piano	n.d.		Name written, 'Glyn'
19	Album of songs <i>The Follies</i>	ca1910		Name written, Maysie Glyn
055	Suzanne, Suzannel	ca1912	Stamp indicating purchased from 'A. E. Cooke, Westgate, Peterborough'	
151	Land of Hope and Glory	1902		Name written, 'Maysie Glyn'
253	My Motter Song	1911	Stamp indicating purchased from 'A. E. Cooke, Westgate, Peterborough'	
261	Everybody's doing it now	1912	Stamp indicating purchased from 'J. Claypole & Son, Music Warehouse, Peterborough'	
262	Alexander's Ragtime Band	n.d.		Name written, 'Margie Glyn'
265	I want to sing in opera	1911	Stamp indicating purchased from 'A. E. Cooke, Westgate, Peterborough'	
268	Roses in June	1909		Name written, 'Maysie Glyn', and the name 'Peter'
273	Perles et Diamans	1910	Stamp indicating purchased from 'J. Claypole & Son, Music Warehouse, Peterborough'	
274	Bobby Dear	1909		Name written, 'Maysie A. Glyn'
276	Songe d'Automme	1908		Name written, 'Maysie A. Glyn'

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix B

UDB reference no.	Title	Publisher	Source of acquisition	Comment
277	The Russian Rondo (no.2)	1908	Stamp indicating purchased from 'J. Claypole & Son, Music Warehouse, Peterborough'	
284	There's a Sun still Shining in the Sky	1908		Name written, 'Maysie A. Glyn'

### Appendix C - Overview of Level of Difficulty of Performance of Items from Frances Bullock's Solo Piano Music

UDB no.	Title	Date published	Original composition	Arrangement	Easy	Moderate	Difficult
016	Lady Henriette Ballet	1844	x		x		
028	The Beaufort polka	Between 1844-8	x		x		
076	The Fire Fly Polka	ca1850	x		x		
405	Musidora Polka	1850	x		x		
454	L'Arabesque	n.d.	x		x		
010	Caprice-Nocturne	1850	x		x		
018	Book of Finger Exercises	1834	x		x		
319	Trois Reveries	1850s	x			x	
474	First Reverie	n.d.	x				x
501	Quatro Rondino	c1827	x		x		
112	Variations Brillantes	1829		x			x
207	Valse de Concert	1876		x		x	
086	Variations de Concert	1830		x		x	
105	Rule Britannia	1829		x			x
209	Non Piu Andrai	n.d.		x			
189	Auld Robin Gray	c1860		x		x	
290	We're A'Noddin	1833		x		x	
080	Viotti Concerto	1814		x		x	
326	Haydn Creation	n.d.		x			
332	Haydn Symphony	n.d.		x			

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix C

UDB no.	Title	Date published	Original composition	Arrangement	Easy	Moderate	Difficult
406	Petit Divertissement	n.d.		X		X	
487	Handel march from 'Saul'	c1850		X	X		

### Appendix D - Ensemble Music belonging to Frances Bullock

UDB ref no	Original (O) /Arrangement (A)	Composer	Arranger	Description	Score at Uppark	Comment
042	A	Burrowes	Mayer	Opera air	Piano	No flute part
067	A	Lacy	Rossini	Opera air	Piano	No flute part
115	A	Calcott	Bellini	Opera airs	Piano Flute (separate part)	
415	A		Calcott	Sacred airs Bk 1	Piano	No flute, violin, cello parts
416	A		Calcott	Sacred airs Bk 2	Piano (incomplete)	No flute, violin, cello parts
106	O	Kalkbrenner		Duo for piano forte and violin	Piano	
136	O	#Pleyel		Third Concertante	Piano	
	O	#Pleyel			Violin	
094	A	Rossini	Mayseder	Cavatina	Piano	No violin part
046	A	Mayseder	Saust	Divertimento	Piano	No flute part
332	A	*Haydn	n.d.	Symphony no.1	Piano	No violin or cello parts
	A	*Haydn	n.d.	Symphony no.1	?	
323	A	+Haydn	n.d.	Symphony no.3	Piano	
334	A	+Haydn	n.d.	Symphony no.3	Violin and cello parts sewn together	
351	O		Rost		Piano duet, 4 hands	

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix D

UDB ref no	Original (O) /Arrangement (A)	Composer	Arranger	Description	Score at Uppark	Comment
414	O	Nicholson and Burrowes		n.d.	Flute part only	

## Appendix E - Composers of Frances Bullock's music, by composition, nationality, gender, location of publisher

### NOTES

- 1 Composers' names in alphabetical order for ease of reference
- 2 Items are categorised according to whether composition is an original or an arrangement
- 3 Publishers' names and locations are abbreviated to one word

COMPOSER	UDB NO.	SCORING			ENSEMBLE/OTHER INSTRUMENT		SOLO VOCAL		PERSON DETAILS		PUBLISHER		
		PIANO	Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr	NATIONALITY	GENDER			
Balfe	244		Orig	Arr x {of his own orig)						Irish	F	M	Cramer, London
Bayly	452						x			English		x	Betts, London
Beethoven	123		x							German		x	Cramer, London
Bishop	100						x			English		x	Goulding, London
Blockley	277						x			English			Cramer, London
Brisson	454		x							French		x	Leduc, Paris
Burgmuller	016		x							German		x	Cocks, London
Burrowes	042									English		x	Chappell, London

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix E

COMPOSER	UDB NO.	SCORING				ENSEMBLE/OTHER INSTRUMENT				SOLO VOCAL		PERSON DETAILS		PUBLISHER						
		PIANO	Orig	Arr		Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr	NATIONALITY	F	M	NAME AND LOCATION							
Callcott	115			x (Bellini),																
	415						x (sacred airs, flute and pf accomp)													
	416																			
	478																			
	487																			
Carcassi	044																			
Challoner	326																			
Chaulieu	032																			
	294																			
	458																			
COMPOSER	UDB NO.	SCORING				ENSEMBLE/OTHER INSTRUMENT				SOLO VOCAL		PERSON DETAILS		PUBLISHER						

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix E

		PIANO		ENSEMBLE/OTHER INSTRUMENT		SOLO VOCAL		NATIONALITY	GENDER		NAME AND LOCATION
		Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr		F	M	
Cooke	171						x (Auber)	Irish		x	D'Almaine, London D'Almaine, London
	449										
Crawley	307							English	x		Cocks, London
Czerny	138							Austrian		x	Cocks, London
D'Alquen	183							German		x	Duff, London
Dussek	080							Czechoslovakian		x	Willis, London
Godefroid	474							Belgian		x	Heugel, Paris
Goodban	076							English		x	Stannard, London
Goria	010							French		x	Chabal, Paris
Handel	221							German/naturalised English		x	MS copy by Frances Bullock
Herz	086							Austrian		x	D'Almaine, London
	112										Boosey, London
Hobbs	272							English		x	Lonsdale, London
Hodson	279							English		x	Chappell, London
Holder	484							English		x	Royal Harmonic Institution, London
<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>UDB NO.</b>	<b>SCORING</b>					<b>PERSON DETAILS</b>			<b>PUBLISHER</b>	

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix E

		PIANO		ENSEMBLE/OTHER INSTRUMENT		SOLO VOCAL		NATIONALITY	GENDER		NAME AND LOCATION
		Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr		F	M	
Hüntten	087		x (Italian theme)					German		x	D'Almaine, Londres Cocks, London
	250	X									Farrenc, Paris
	501	x									
Kalkbrenner	105 106		x (Arne)					German		x	Goulding, London Clementi, London
Krüger	141		x (Stigelli)					German		x	n/k
Lacy	067				x (Rossini, pf ad lib accomp with flute)			Spanish		x	Birchall, London
Lee	304					x		English		x	Mayhew, London
Leo	285					x		English		x	Lee, London
Lover	283					x		Irish		x	Duff, London
Marliani	083						x	Italian		x	Chappell, London
								(Tyro llean air)			
Mayseder	094							Austrian		x	Mayhew, London
Mazzinghi	209		x (Mozart)					English?		x	Goulding, London
<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>UDB NO.</b>	<b>SCORING</b>		<b>PERSON DETAILS</b>		<b>PUBLISHER</b>					

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix E

	PIANO	ENSEMBLE/OTHER INSTRUMENT	SOLO VOCAL		NATIONALITY	GENDER		NAME AND LOCATION
			Orig	Arr		F	M	
Medina	354	x (Guitar Instruction)						Keith, London
Meves	508	x (Rossini)			English		x	Dean, London
Milsom	028				English		x	Milsom, Bath
Neukomm	282			x	Austrian		x	Cramer, London
Nicholson & Burrowes	414				English		x	Latour, London
Oury	210				German		x	Boosey, London
Parry	276			x	Welsh		x	Cramer, London
Pleyel	300	X (Rossini)			Austrian		x	Royal Harmonic Institution, London
Richards	189	x (Scottish Air)			Welsh		x	Hammond, London
	190							Cocks, London
	207	x (Valse de Concert)						Cocks, London
Rosellen	319	x			French		x	Lemoine, Paris
Rost	132	X (Herz)			English?		x	Balls, London
<b>COMPOSER</b>	<b>UDB NO.</b>	<b>SCORING</b>				<b>PERSON DETAILS</b>		<b>PUBLISHER</b>

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix E

		PIANO		ENSEMBLE/OTHER INSTRUMENT		SOLO VOCAL		NATIONALITY	GENDER		NAME AND LOCATION
		Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr	Orig	Arr		F	M	
Stevenson	281					x		English		x	Power, London
Strauss (Herman)	040	x						Austrian/Germ an		x	Coventry & Hollier, London
Talexy	405	x						French		x	Brullé, Paris
Thalberg	290							German/Austri an		x	Mori, London
Truzzi	029							Italian		x	Aldridge (?), London
Valentine	247							English		x	Publisher name crossed out, London
	406 419							x (Paganini), x (choruses by Handel, Haydn, Beethoven)			Falkner, London Falkner, London
Wade	407					x		Irish		x	Lee, London
Weippert	077							English?		x	Weippert, London

**Appendix F - Gifts to/from Frances Bullock (ordered by date of publication, save for UDB 138 date of gift)**

UDB ref.no.	Item and composer	Inscription	Date	Date	Relationship to Frances Bullock
043	<i>Soirées des Pianists, Book 10</i>	Mary	'Miss Frances Bullock from her sincere friend Mary'	1833	Friend
419	<i>No 6 A Selection of Choruses from the Works of Handel, Haydn and Beethoven</i>	Mr/s S	'Fanny Bullock from Mr/s S Winchester November 6 <sup>th</sup> '	1835	Friend
452	<i>We met</i>	Lady Fetherston	'Miss Bullock from Lady Fetherston'	1835	FBF's sister
138	<i>Sabbath Recreations</i>	n/k	'Fanny Bullock from Mrs [illegible] 1842'	1842	Friend
028	<i>Beaufort Polka</i>	Mrs Constance Wyndham	'F Bullock from the Hon Mrs C. Wyndham'	mid 1840s	Aristocrat friend
307	<i>Mazurka</i>	Mrs Philip Crawley	'Miss Frances Bullock with the authoresses best regards'	1850	Gift from the composer
076	<i>Firefly Polka</i>	Mrs C. Wyndham	'F Bullock from the Hon Mrs C. Wyndham'	1850	Aristocrat friend
210	<i>Oberon Polka</i>	n/k	'Miss Bullock with my kind love'	1858	Friend
189	<i>Auld Robin Gray</i>	Brinley Richards	'To Miss Bullock, Uppark, Peterfield'	1860	Dedicated to FBF by the composer
190	<i>The Harper's Grave</i>	Brinley Richards	'To Miss Bullock with the composer's compliments Dec 20 1873'	1873	Gift from the composer
207	<i>Titania</i>	Brinley Richards	'Miss Fetherstonehaugh with Brinley Richards' compts Dec.29 1876'	1873	Gift from the composer
132	<i>A Second Quadrille Rondo</i>	Louisa Bullock	'Miss Bullock Miss Louisa Bullock Winchmore Hill'	n/k	Gift to or from sister

The Arrangement to Play: Music at Uppark, Appendix F

UDB ref.no.	Item and composer	Inscription	Date	Date	Relationship to Frances Bullock
487	<i>Dead March in Saul</i>	Miss Carnegie	'Miss Carnegie with F. Bullock's [illegible]	c1850	Gift to or from a friend

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